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HOC EST SACRIFICIUM LAUDIS:  
THE INFLUENCE OF HEBREWS ON THE ORIGIN, STRUCTURE, AND  
THEOLOGY OF THE ROMAN CANON MISSAE

By

The Rev'd Matthew S. C. Olver, B.A., M.Div.

A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School,  
Marquette University,  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for  
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

May 2018

## ABSTRACT

### HOC EST SACRIFICIUM LAUDIS: THE INFLUENCE OF HEBREWS ON THE ORIGIN, STRUCTURE, AND THEOLOGY OF THE ROMAN CANON MISSAE

The Rev'd Matthew S. C. Olver, B.A., M.Div.

Marquette University, 2018

One area of study that received a newfound level of attention during the twentieth century's Liturgical Movement was the relationship between the Bible and liturgy. The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum concilium*, highlights the importance and centrality of this relationship, declaring that "[s]acred scripture is of the greatest importance in the celebration of the liturgy" (SC 24). The broad movements of *ressourcement* and *la nouvelle théologie*, particularly figures such as Jean Daniélou and Henri de Lubac, emphasized the deep unity between Scripture and the very text of liturgical rites and argued that the liturgy is an expression of spiritual exegesis (whether it is called "typology" or "allegory"). What did not figure in these studies was a specific demonstration of these broad claims through the study of particular liturgical texts.

This dissertation seeks to fill that lacuna through a study of one liturgical text—the Roman Canon Missae—and its relationship to one specific book of the Bible: the Epistle to the Hebrews. A significant motivation for this research is a concern to demonstrate how this new scriptural avenue of inquiry can provide an additional source of rich material to liturgical scholars for any liturgical text, not just the Roman Canon. My approach situates this exploration of the ways Hebrews was used as a source within the broader orbit of the emergence and development of the text of the Roman Canon in order to demonstrate that attention to the place of Scripture, or even a single biblical book, can radically enrich the search for the origin and early evolution of liturgical rites. This new methodology includes a detailed proposal for a way to categorize the ways in which a liturgical text can utilize Scripture as a source.

Most of the unique features of the Roman Canon—including its unique institution narrative, emphasis on sacrifice, repeated requests for the Father's merciful acceptance of the sacrificial offering, the use of the phrase *sacrificium laudis* as a way to name and describe the eucharistic sacrifice, the centrality of Melchizedek's sacrifice in conjunction with those of Abel and Abraham, and the content of the anaphora's doxology—are all found in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

“The study of Eucharistic origins and of early Eucharistic forms can never be pursued satisfactorily either by Biblical scholars or by liturgists alone. For the liturgical tradition, which the liturgist studies, inevitably stems from the Old Testament, and is presupposed by the New. Each type of scholar, as he invades the field of the other, is liable to make many mistakes. But that is the only way in which progress can ever be made.”<sup>1</sup>

Arthur Hubert Courtain (1902-1988)  
Canon Librarian, University of Durham

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<sup>1</sup> “The Sacrifice of Praise: The Church’s Thanksgiving in N.T. Times,” *Theology* 58 (1955): 290.

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The views expressed and the judgments made are my own, and I am, of course, solely responsible for any errors of judgment and fact.

*Jesu, quem velatum nunc aspicio, Oro, fiat illud quod tam sitio:  
Ut te revelata cernens facie, Visu sim beatus tuae gloriae.  
Amen.*

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## ABBREVIATIONS

*The format of abbreviations, and the abbreviations themselves, follows The SBL Handbook of Style. Unless otherwise noted, all Scripture quotations are from the Revised Standard Version of the Bible.*

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	Anchor Bible Dictionary
ACC	Alcuin Club Collection
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AmB	Angelo Paredi, ed. <i>Sacramentarium bergomense: manoscritto del secolo IX della Biblioteca di S. Alessandro in Colonna in Bergamo</i> . Monumenta Bergomensia 6. Bergamo: Libri Edizioni Monumenta Bergomensia, 1962.
<b>Ambrose</b>	
<i>Cain</i>	<i>De Cain et Abel</i>
<i>Exp.</i>	<i>Ps. 118 Expositio Psalmi CXVIII</i>
<i>Instit.</i>	<i>De institutione virginis</i>
<i>Nab.</i>	<i>De Nabuthae historia</i>
<i>Off.</i>	<i>De officiis ministrorum</i>
<i>Sacr.</i>	<i>De sacramentis</i>
<i>Virg.</i>	<i>De virginibus</i>
ANF	<i>Ante-Nicene Fathers</i> , rep ed., 10 vol. Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994.
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i>
AsSeign	<i>Assemblées du Seigneur</i>

**Athenagoras**

*Leg.*            *Legatio pro Christianis*

*ATJ*            *Ashland Theological Journal*

*ATR*            *Anglican Theological Review*

**Augustine**

*Catech.*        *De catechizandis rudibus*

*Civ.*            *De civitate Dei*

*Doctr. chr.*    *De doctrina christiana*

*Faust.*         *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*

*Leg.*            *Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum*

*Trin.*          *De Trinitate*

BGBE            Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese

BIS              Biblical Interpretation Series

*BTB*            *Biblical Theology Bulletin*

*BSac*           *Bibliotheca sacra*

BTCB            Brazos Theological Commentary on the Bible

BVM             Blessed Virgin Mary

BZNW           Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft

CBQMS         Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series

CCSL            Corpus Christianorum: Series latina. Turnhout, 1953–

CeS              George F. Warner, ed., *The Stowe Missal: MS. D. II. 3 in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin*, reprint, Henry Bradshaw Society, 31-32. Suffolk: Henry Bradshaw Society & Boydell Press, 1989.

*CHECL*        Frances M. Young, Lewis Ayres, and Andrew Louth, eds. *The Cambridge History of Early Christian Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

**Clement of Alexandria***Strom.*        *Stromata**CNS*        *Cristianesimo nella storia**Const. ap.*    Marcel Metzger, ed. *Les Constitutions Apostoliques I*. SCh 320. (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1985); ———, ed. *Les Constitutions Apostoliques II*. SCh, no 329. Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1986; ———, ed. *Les Constitutions Apostoliques III*. SCh, no 336. Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1987.*CPL*        *Clavis patrum latinorum*. Edited by E. Dekkers. 2d ed. Steenbrugis, 1961.*CSEL*        Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum**Cyprian***Dom. or.*     *De dominica oratione**CSEL*        *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum**DACL*        Fernand Cabrol, and Henri Leclercq, eds. *Dictionnaire D'archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, 15 vols (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1907).*Danker*      Frederick W. Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 3rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.*DEL*        Domenico Sartore, Achille M. Triacca, and Henri Delhougne, eds. *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de la liturgie*, 2 vol. Turnhout: Brepols, 1992, 2002.*Denzinger*    Heinrich Denzinger and Peter Hünermann, eds. *Enchiridion Symbolorum: A Compendium of Creeds, Definitions, and Declarations of the Catholic Church*. 43rd. San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2012.*DLW*        Paul F. Bradshaw, ed. *The New Westminster Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002.*DR*        *The Downside Review**EL*        *Ephemerides Liturgicae**EO*        *Ecclesia Orans***Epiphanius***Pan.*        *Panarion (Adversus haereses)*

ET	English translation
<b>Eusebius</b>	
<i>Dem. ev.</i>	<i>Demonstratio evangelica</i>
<i>Hist. eccl.</i>	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>
FN	<i>Filología Neotestamentaria</i>
GaB	E. A. Lowe, ed., <i>The Bobbio Missal: A Gallican Mass-Book (Ms. Paris. Lat. 13246)</i> , repr. London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1991.
GaF	Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, Petrus Siffrin, and Leo Eizenhöfer, eds. <i>Missale Francorum: (Cod. Vat. Reg. Lat. 257)</i> . Rome: Herder, 1957.
GaG	Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, ed., <i>Missale Gothicum: (Vat. Reg. lat. 317)</i> , <i>Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta 5</i> Rome: Herder, 1961.
GaV	Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, ed. <i>Missale Gallicanum vetus (Cod. Vat. Palat. lat. 493)</i> . Rome: Herder, 1958.
GeV	Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, ed. <i>Liber sacramentorum Romanae Aeclesiae ordinis anni circuli (Cod. Vat. Reg. Lat. 316/Paris Bibl. Nat. 7193, 41/56) (Sacramentarium Gelasianum)</i> 2nd rev. ed. <i>Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta 4</i> . Rome: Herder, 1968.
GLS	Grove Liturgical Study
GrH	Deshusses, J. <i>Le sacramentaire grégorien: Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits. Vol. 1, Le sacramentaire, le supplément d'Aniane</i> . 3rd ed. <i>Spicilegium Friburgense 16</i> . Fribourg Suisse: Éditions universitaires, 1971. The <i>Hadrianum</i> (Cambrai 164 – olim 159) is part of this volume.
HAL	Ludwig Köhler, Walter Baumgartner, and J. J. Stamm, eds. <i>Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament</i> . Fascicles 1–5. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967.
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HeyJ	<i>Heythrop Journal</i>
HJ	<i>Historisches Jahrbuch</i>
<i>1 Clem.</i>	<i>1 Clement</i>

**Irenaeus***Haer. Adversus haereses**JL Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft**JBL Journal of Biblical Literature**JECS Journal of Early Christian Studies**JJS Journal of Jewish Studies**JLS Joint Liturgical Study**JAMS Journal of the American Musicological Society**JEAH Journal of Early Christian History**JMH Journal of Medieval History***John Chrysostom***Hom. Heb. Homiliae in epistulam ad Hebraeos**JSJ Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods**JSNT Journal for the Study of the New Testament**JSS Journal of Semitic Studies**JTS Journal of Theological Studies**JTI Journal of Theological Interpretation***Justin Martyr***1 Apol. Apologia i**2 Apol. Apologia ii**Dial. Dialogus cum Tryphone***Lactantius***Inst. Divinarum institutionum libri VII*

- LEW* F. E. Brightman, ed. *Liturgies, Eastern and Western; Being the Texts, Original or Translated, of the Principal Liturgies of the Church*. Vol. 1: Eastern Liturgies. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896.
- LG* *Lumen Gentium*, The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, the Second Vatican Council, November 21, 1964
- Lit. 12* *Liturgy of the Twelve Apostles*
- Lit. AM* *The Liturgy of the Saints Addai and Mari*
- Lit. Byz. Basil* *The Byzantine Anaphora of St. Basil*
- Lit. Chry.* *The Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*
- Lit. Deir Bal.* The Deir Balyzeh papyrus in Coptic
- Lit. Eg. Basil* *The Egyptian Anaphora of St. Basil*
- Lit. James* *The Liturgy of St. James*
- Lit. Mark* *The Liturgy of St. Mark*
- Lit. Nest.* *Anaphora of Mar Nestorius*
- Lit. Sarapion* The Prayers of Sarapion of Thmuis
- Lit. STR* Strasbourg Papyrus
- Lit. Theo.* *Anaphora of Mar Theodore of Mopsuestia*
- LM* *Le Muséon*
- LMD* *La Maison-Dieu*.
- LMS* Marius Férotin, ed. *Le liber mozarabicus sacramentorum et les manuscrits mozarabes*. Monumenta ecclesiae liturgica 6. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1912.
- LO* Marius Férotin, ed. *Le Liber ordinum en usage dans l'église wisigothique et mozarabe d'Espagne du cinquième au onzième siècle*. Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica 5. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1904.
- LP* L. Duchesne, ed. *Le Liber pontificalis*. 2nd ed., 3 vols. Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1955.
- LQF* *Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen*

*MT*            *Modern Theology*

**Methodius of Olympus**

*Symp.*            *Symposium (Convivium decem virginum)*

NPNF<sup>1</sup>            *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Series 1, rep ed., 14 vol. Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994.

NPNF<sup>2</sup>            *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Series 2, rep ed., 14 vol. Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994.

NRSV            New Revised Standard Version

*NRTh*            *Le Nouvelle Revue Théologique*

NTAbh            Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen

*NovT*            *Novum Testamentum*

NovTSup        Supplements to Novum Testamentum

*NTS*            *New Testament Studies*

NTTSD            New Testament Tools, Studies, and Documents

*OC*            *Oriens Christianus*

*OCA*            *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*

*OCP*            *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*

*ODCC*            F. L. Cross,, and E. A. Livingstone. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. 3rd rev. ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

**Origen**

*Princ.*            *De principiis*

*OTP*            James H. Charlesworth, ed., *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols. (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983).

*ParO*            *Parole de l'Orient*

*PB*            *Pastor Bonus*



- PE* Anton Hänggi, ed., *Prex eucharistica: textus e variis liturgiis antiquioribus selecti*. Spicilegium Friburgense 12. Fribourg: Éditions universitaires, 1968.
- PEER* R. C. D. Jasper and G. J. Cuming, eds. *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed*. 3rd rev. ed. Collegeville: Pueblo Books, 1987.
- Philo**
- Post.* *De posteritate Caini*
- Legat.* *Legatio ad Gaium*
- Mos. 1, 2* *De vita Mosis I, II*
- PL* *Patralogia latina*
- PRG* *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum (10<sup>th</sup> C.)*
- QL* *Questions Liturgiques*
- RRJ* *Review of Rabbinic Judaism*
- RBén* *Revue Bénédictine*
- RB* *Revue Biblique*
- RCF* *Revue du clergé français*
- REG* *Revue des études grecques*
- RevScRel* *Revue des sciences religieuses*
- RG* *Rassegna Gregoriana*
- RHE* *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*
- RIDA* *Revue internationale des droits et l'Antiquité*
- RivAC* *Rivista di archeologia Cristiana*
- RSPT* *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*
- RT* *Rivista di teologia*
- RSR* *Recherches de science religieuse*
- RTAM* *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*

<i>SacEr</i>	<i>Sacris erudiri: Jaarboek voor Godsdienstwetenschappen</i>
<i>Sacr.</i>	Ambrose. <i>Des sacrements, Des mystères, Explication du symbole</i> . Edited by Bernard Botte. SCh 25bis. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1961.
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SCh	<i>Sources chrétiennes</i>
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
<i>SL</i>	<i>Studia Liturgica</i>
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
<i>SP</i>	<i>Studia Patristica</i>
SSL	Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense
<i>StC</i>	<i>Studia catholica</i>
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SVC	Supplements to <i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
<i>SVTQ</i>	<i>St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly</i>
<i>T. 12 Patr.</i>	<i>Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs</i>
TANZ	Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>T. Dan</i>	<i>Testament of Dan</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . ed. Gerhard Kittel, tr. Geoffrey William Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964.
<b>Tertullian</b>	
<i>Adv. Jud.</i>	<i>Adversus Judaeos</i>
<i>Pud.</i>	<i>De pudicitia</i>
<i>TJ</i>	<i>Trinity Journal</i>
<i>T. Levi</i>	<i>Testament of Levi</i>

<i>T. Nepht</i>	<i>Testament of Nephtali</i>
<i>T. Reub</i>	<i>Testament of Reuben</i>
<i>Trad. ap.</i>	Bernard Botte, ed. <i>La Tradition apostolique</i> . 2nd ed. SCh 11bis. (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1968).
<i>TS</i>	<i>Theological Studies</i>
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
<i>Ve</i>	L. C. Mohlberg, Petrus Siffrin, and Leo Eizenhöfer, eds. <i>Sacramentarium Veronense: (Cod. Bibl. Capit. Veron. LXXXV [80])</i> . Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta 1. Rome: Herder, 1956.
<i>VLB</i>	Vetus Latina Beuron (Vetus Latina: Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel)
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
<i>WMANT</i>	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>WUNT</i>	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>YLS</i>	<i>Yearbook of Liturgical Studies</i>
<i>ZKT</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie</i>
<i>ZTK</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

## INTRODUCTION

The discrete study of liturgy and liturgical texts celebrates more than a century of inquiry at the onset of the twenty-first century. Liturgics slowly emerged as a discipline unto itself beginning in the late nineteenth century with giants like Anton Baumstark (1872-1948), who sought to clarify the methodology that would govern this new scientific comparative study. Paul Bradshaw's recent study, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship*, outlines the variety of methodologies that have been employed in the last century or so of scholarship: the philological method, connected to the French scholar Pierre Lebrun (1661-1729) and the German, Ferdinand Probst (1816-99); the 'structural approach' made famous by Gregory Dix's "green book," *The Shape of the Liturgy* (1945); the 'organic' approach, articulated most clearly by Baumstark; and the comparative method, aptly exhibited by the likes of Hieronymus Engberding (1899-1969) and Robert Taft (b.1932).<sup>2</sup> Like many attempts to organize, these categories are somewhat fluid yet nonetheless serve as a heuristic device in the attempt to identify currents and tendencies.

The philological method governed a great deal of the scholarship, in part because so many early liturgical scholars were classicists. Bradshaw explains that "they were treating liturgical texts like other ancient manuscripts, comparing variant readings and trying to arrive at the original that lay beneath them all."<sup>3</sup> Such an approach, however, has inherent limitations because it is often governed by some assumptions that turned out

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<sup>2</sup> Paul F. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy*, 2nd ed (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 1-14.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 3. One of the most recent studies of methodology is Teresa Berger and Bryan D. Spinks, eds., *Liturgy's Imagined Past/s: Methodologies and Materials in the Writing of Liturgical History Today* (Collegeville: Pueblo Books, 2016).

to be quite misleading. First, the longer these early texts were studied, the more it became clear that the prevailing assumption about the nature of liturgical evolution was completely backward: the evolution was not from uniformity to diversity but from diverse pluriformity to greater homogeneity.<sup>4</sup> Second, liturgical texts are “living literature,” and thus the approach and even posture to their preservation and copying was likely different from the approach to the copying and preservation of the works of someone like Cicero or Augustine.

Baumstark’s approach, known as the comparative method (though quite related to the organic method), was based on the scientific study of organisms and their evolution.<sup>5</sup> “the method was a systematic comparison and consequent classification on the basis of a supposed line of descent from the origin of species.”<sup>6</sup> This approach also presumes an organic, evolutionary model from simplicity to complexity. Many of Baumstark’s students, however, were more cautious in their conclusions and less likely to assume, for instance, that there are clearly discrete families of rites which can easily be classified according to genus and species. Bradshaw points to another recent scholar who has given considerable attention to this method, Robert Taft, S.J., who has argued for “a constant

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<sup>4</sup> Bradshaw, *Search*, 8-9. Also see the discussion of this issue in Robert F. Taft, “How Liturgies Grow: The Evolution of the Byzantine Divine Liturgy,” in *Beyond East and West: Problems in Liturgical Understanding*, NPM Studies in Church Music and Liturgy (Washington, D.C: Pastoral Press, 1984), 167–92.

<sup>5</sup> Anton Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée: Principes et méthodes pour l'étude historique des liturgies chrétiennes*, ed. Bernard Botte, 3rd rev. ed, ed. by Bernard Botte, Collection Irénikon (Chevetogne, Belgium: Éditions de Chevetogne, 1953); Anton Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy*, 1st English ed (London: A. R. Mowbray, 1958); Anton Baumstark, *On the Historical Development of the Liturgy*, trans. Fritz West (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2011). See the following studies and evaluations of Baumstark: Fritz West, *The Comparative Liturgy of Anton Baumstark*, GLS 31 (Bramcote: Grove Books, 1995) and Robert F. Taft and Gabriele Winkler, eds., *Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years after Anton Baumstark (1872-1948): Acts of the International Congress, Rome, 25-29 September 1998*, OCA 265 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto orientale, 2001).

<sup>6</sup> Bradshaw, *Search*, 9.

dialectic between structural analysis and historical research.”<sup>7</sup> Bradshaw explains that this sort of approach

proceeds from a close comparison of the similarities *and differences* between liturgical practices in different geographical regions, temporal periods, and ecclesiastical traditions to a hypothesis which attempts to account satisfactorily for the origin and development of those practices both in light of the tendencies already observed in the evolution of other liturgical phenomena and within the context of their known historical circumstances. Obviously, such a process works better for periods when historical data is more plentiful and especially after the emergence of actual liturgical texts, than it does in the less clearly defined world of the first three or four centuries of Christian history.<sup>8</sup>

My intention is to propose an additional methodology for the study of early eucharistical texts. This approach is not only sensitive to the difficulties posed by the paucity of evidence (both manuscripts and otherwise) in these early centuries.<sup>9</sup> It also probes a claim about the deep relationship between the Bible and early Christian liturgy that marked the biblical and liturgical movements of the twentieth century.

***The presenting question: How does Scripture function as a liturgical source?***

The liturgical object of this study is the Roman Canon Missae,<sup>10</sup> the principal anaphoral text of the Latin West, which continues to be prayed in the Missal of Paul VI as Eucharistic Prayer I.<sup>11</sup> The methodology that I propose is an examination of the way

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<sup>7</sup> Taft, “The Structural Analysis of Liturgical Units: An Essay in Methodology,” in *Beyond East and West*, 153.

<sup>8</sup> Bradshaw, *Search*, 14.

<sup>9</sup> At the end of his summary of methods, Bradshaw points out just how “fragmentary and often confusing [are the] primary sources” available to the scholar; *Ibid.*.

<sup>10</sup> I will refer to the text interchangeably as the Roman Canon, the Canon, the Latin anaphora, and the *textus receptus*.

<sup>11</sup> *Missale Romanum: Ex Decreto Sacrosancti Oecumenici Concilii Vaticani II Instauratum: Auctoritate Pauli PP. VI Promulgatum*, Editio typica 3 (Vatican City: Typis Vaticanis, 2002). *The Roman Missal: Renewed by Decree of The Most Holy Second Ecumenical Council of the Vatican, Promulgated by*

Scripture is utilized and appropriated as a source, both in the composition of the eucharological text and also in its redaction and evolution. Specifically, I wish to describe the degree to which the Epistle to the Hebrews is a source for both the structure and theology of the Roman Canon. My theory is not only that the Epistle to the Hebrews functions as a source for the very earliest strata of the Roman Canon. I also propose that after its place in the Biblical canon was fixed, a reading of Hebrews through the lens of fourth-century eucharistic practice possibly also contributed to the Canon's process of redaction that resulted in the Canon's unique emphasis on the acceptance of the sacrificial offering, the guiding principle that marks its singular structure.<sup>12</sup> In short, Hebrews exercises a definitive influence on both the earliest, pre-Ambrosian forms of the Roman Canon, and then possibly again during the process of its final redaction that took place sometime after the time of Ambrose in the late fourth century.

A significant motivation for this research is a concern to demonstrate how this new scriptural avenue of inquiry can provide an additional source of rich material to liturgical scholars for the study of any early liturgical text, not just the Roman Canon. The implication of Jean Daniélou's seminal study, *The Bible and the Liturgy*, is that

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*Authority of Pope Paul VI and Revised at the Direction of Pope John Paul II*, Third typical edition (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2011).

<sup>12</sup> Dominic Serra calls the Roman Canon, "the sole example of a Eucharistic Prayer of the Roman Family"; see "The Roman Canon : The Theological Significance of Its Structure and Syntax," *EO* 20, no. 1 (2003): 104; see also 99-100. See also John F. Baldovin, "Eucharistic Prayer," in Paul F. Bradshaw, ed. *The New Westminster Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 195-97 (hereafter *DLW*). Note, however, the discussion in the Introduction about the various Western rites and the debate about whether they are distinct rites or rather "uses" within a single rite. Serra and Baldovin refer to five families, but Bradshaw and Johnson note that there are no extant liturgical texts from the Gallican or Mozarabic (Spanish) rites from the fourth and fifth centuries; see Paul F. Bradshaw and Maxwell E. Johnson, *The Eucharistic Liturgies: Their Evolution and Interpretation* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2012), 77.

liturgical texts are themselves an expression of scriptural interpretation or exegesis.<sup>13</sup>

Liturgical scholars have tended not to produce studies on the use of Scripture in euchological texts. Rather, studies of these early texts tend to point to Scripture in more limited, discrete instances, usually in the footnotes of critical editions when a biblical passage is directly quoted or when the rite appropriates a noteworthy biblical phrase or idea.<sup>14</sup> Scripture also may appear in comparative liturgical studies when one of the differences between rites includes features such as an embellishment by the insertion of a Scripture phrase or verse.<sup>15</sup> But there are almost no studies whose primary focus is the attempt to articulate how Scripture is utilized in particular euchological texts.

The methodology I propose promises to yield a number of useful data. The first is the loci of scriptural passages and phrases which exercised influence in the production of

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<sup>13</sup> Jean Daniélou, *The Bible and the Liturgy*, University of Notre Dame Liturgical Studies, v. 3 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1956). See also Daniélou, “Le symbolisme des rites baptismaux,” *Dieu-Vivant* 1 (1945): 17–43; Daniélou, *The Lord of History: Reflections on the Inner Meaning of History* (London: Longmans, 1958); Daniélou, “The Sacraments and the History of Salvation,” in *The Liturgy and the Word of God*, ed. Aimé Georges Martimort (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1959), 21–32; Daniélou, *From Shadows to Reality: Studies in the Biblical Typology of the Fathers* (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1960).

<sup>14</sup> Paul Bradshaw discusses the use of Scripture in liturgies, and I will return to his discussion in detail in Chapter 3. See Paul F. Bradshaw, “The Use of the Bible in Liturgy: Some Historical Perspectives,” *SL* 22, no. 1 (1992): 35–52. For examples of footnoting of this sort, see Bernard Botte and Christine Mohrmann, eds., *L’ordinaire de la messe*, Études liturgiques 2 (Paris: Éditions de Cerf, 1953). Their mentions of Scripture are limited, however, to a footnote with a reference to the verse or passage. A few examples of more focused studies on how Scripture is used in euchological texts can be found. For example, see Aaron Milavec, *The Didache: Faith, Hope, & Life of the Earliest Christian Communities, 50-70 C.E.* (New York: Newman Press, 2003), especially 693-739; Jonathan Schwiebert, *Knowledge and the Coming Kingdom: The Didache’s Meal Ritual and Its Place in Early Christianity*, Library of New Testament Studies 373 (London: T & T Clark, 2008); Joseph G. Mueller, *L’ancien testament dans l’ecclésiologie des pères: Une lecture des Constitutions Apostoliques*, Instrumenta patristica et mediaevalia 41 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004). Another exception to this trend is the project still in progress at Universität Luzern that seeks to outline the use of Scripture in the entire *Missale Romanum*. For a brief discussion of the place of Scripture in the orations in the *Missale Romanum*, see Mary Pierre Ellebracht, *Remarks on the Vocabulary of the Ancient Orations in the Missale Romanum*. *Latinitas Christianorum Primæva*, fasc. 18. (Nijmegen: Dekker & Van de Vegt, 1963), 191-7.

<sup>15</sup> For example, in their introduction to the final form of the *Lit. Mark*, Jasper and Cuming point out that “the combination [of *Lit. Mark*’s use] of Daniel and Isaiah is already found in *1 Clement*”; see R. C. D. Jasper and G. J. Cuming, eds., *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed*, 3rd rev. ed. (Collegeville: Pueblo Books, 1987), 57 (hereafter cited as *PEER*).



a particular euchological text. This approach will allow for a higher degree of specificity in the description of the relationship between specific portions of the Bible and the origination of particular liturgical texts. If this sort of study is undertaken on multiple euchological texts, especially eucharistic prayers, it may very well produce a new set of data which can then be compared and analyzed between two or more anaphoras. For instance, the structural and linguistic connections between the Alexandrian/Egyptian anaphoras and the Roman Canon are well known. If one were to compare how these various anaphoras appropriate Scripture as a source, however, it may become clear that these anaphoras have different scriptural loci or even that they display distinct exegetical approaches.

Second, the identification of both particular scriptural texts that were appropriated within a euchological text as well as exegetical uses of certain biblical texts within a particular liturgy may well provide new data for scholars in search of answers to the perennial questions of dating and provenance. For example, both the *Anaphora of Theodore* and the *Anaphora of Nestorius* refer to the bread and wine as “first fruits.”<sup>16</sup> The use of this language seems to indicate that Jesus’s command to “do this” has been received and interpreted in such a way as to see a relationship between the Christian eucharistic action and the earlier, Jewish practice of offering first fruits. Irenaeus, for example, speaks of the bread and wine as “first fruits” (*adv. Haer.* 3.14.5). Thus, further research may demonstrate a relationship between the Irenaeus and these anaphora, and

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<sup>16</sup> Hereafter, *Lit. Theo.* and *Lit. Nest.* All subsequent English translations will be taken from Bryan D. Spinks, *Mar Nestorius and Mar Theodore, the Interpreter: The Forgotten Eucharistic Prayers of East Syria*, JLS 45/Gorgias Liturgical Series 44 (Cambridge/Piscataway, NJ: Grove Books/Gorgias Press, 1999). Fragments of liturgies which are known by a different sort of title, such as the Strasbourg Papyrus or the Louvain Coptic Papyrus, will be identified for the first time with their full title and subsequently with an abbreviated title that will be identified parenthetically at the first mention. All primary language citations will be taken from *PE* and English translations from *PEER* unless otherwise noted.

maybe even exegetical traditions in the same area from which the anaphora derives that connect first fruits to the Eucharist.

A large number of extant patristic texts are explicitly exegetical. One result of this preponderance of data has been the identification of various exegetical strains within these texts, some of which are tied to specific locales.<sup>17</sup> Thus, the particular loci of scriptural texts and the sort of exegesis expressed in a particular eucharological text may make it possible to identify connections with a particular patristic author, school of thought, and/or geographic region. While that research is beyond the scope of this work, I will gesture toward this sort of investigation in later chapters.

My intention in this methodological proposal is not to offer an alternative to the various methodologies already used in liturgical studies but to offer an additional and complementary methodology by focusing on Scripture's place as a source in liturgical prayer. Within all major Christian traditions, Scripture is regarded as the norm of Christian faith, inasmuch as it is the authoritative expression of the apostolic witness to the life and teaching of Jesus Christ. A survey of all uses of Scripture in the Roman Canon proving too large a task, I have limited my focus to an examination of the Roman Canon's use of one biblical book, the Epistle to the Hebrews. My narrowed focus is

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<sup>17</sup> The scholarship on patristic exegesis is vast; what follows are a number of representative examples: Henri de Lubac, *Scripture in the Tradition* (New York: Crossroad, 2001); Daniélou, *From Shadows to Reality*; Frances M. Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Manlio Simonetti, *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church: An Historical Introduction to Patristic Exegesis*, trans. John A. Hughes (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994); Peter Martens, *Origen and Scripture: The Contours of the Exegetical Life*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Frances M. Young, Lewis Ayres, and Andrew Louth, eds., *The Cambridge History of Early Christian Literature*, Cambridge Histories Online (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Michael Cameron, *Christ Meets Me Everywhere: Augustine's Early Figurative Exegesis*. Oxford Studies in Historical Theology. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); Hans Boersma, *Scripture as Real Presence: Sacramental Exegesis in the Early Church* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2017); Tarmo Toom, ed., *Patristic Theories of Biblical Interpretation: The Latin Fathers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

motivated not only by space constraints, but also because I will demonstrate that Hebrews exercised a considerable and unique impact on the structure and theological emphases of the Roman Canon.

### ***Christian anaphoras: structure and content***

This dissertation intentionally moves beyond the traditional confines of liturgical history into Scripture and its interpretation by the Fathers as it concerns the sacraments and liturgy. Consequently, my intended audience is wider than just those who are familiar with the terminology unique to the study of Christian liturgy, and therefore it is necessary to make a few introductory comments in order to orient those readers.

“Anaphora” is the Greek term that became the normative name in the scholarly literature to designate the prayer (also commonly called a Eucharistic Prayer) that Christians use when they gather to celebrate the ritual of the Eucharist.<sup>18</sup> This rite is commonly assumed to have been performed in response to the command of Jesus recorded in the Synoptic Gospels and 1 Corinthians to “do this in remembrance of me.”<sup>19</sup> The evidence, however, gives little indication that the accounts of the institution themselves were “derived from liturgical versions.” In fact, the evidence appears to indicate that they did not enter into anaphoral praying until the fourth century.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> The material in this paragraph is drawn from Baldovin, “Eucharistic Prayer” in *DLW* and my own insights, unless otherwise noted.

<sup>19</sup> See Matt 26:26-29; Mark 14:22-25; Luke 22:15-20; 1 Cor 11:23-25.

<sup>20</sup> The literature on this subject is vast. For two recent explorations of this question with citations of the relevant literature, see Andrew B. McGowan, *Ancient Christian Worship: Early Church Practices in Social, Historical, and Theological Perspective* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2014), 19-40; “Last Supper and Institution Narratives,” in Paul F. Bradshaw, *Eucharistic Origins* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 1-23. The quotation is from a typical articulation of the view that the biblical institution narratives reflect early liturgical practice: Jerome Murphy-O’Connor, “Eucharist and Community in First

The term “anaphora” literally means “a lifting up, an offering,” which points to one of many important facets of Christian eucharistic prayers, namely, that there are theological steps between the scriptural witness of the Last Supper that Jesus celebrated with his disciples (which has generally been assumed to have been a Passover meal) and the form and understanding of the Christian ritual itself. There is nothing explicit in the biblical accounts of the Last Supper that specifically indicating that the commemoration the disciples are to make is a sacrifice (though the language of the “blood of the covenant” in Matt 26:28 and Mark 14:24 are likely references to Jewish cultic practice). Nonetheless, the earliest extant Christian writings (such as *Didache*, Justin Martyr, and Irenaeus) indicate not only that Christians were celebrating, from the earliest times, some sort of ritual meal with bread and wine but that Christians also consistently used cultic language of “sacrifice” and related terms in connection to that ritual.<sup>21</sup> *Didache* 9 and 10 contain two prayer forms self-identified as a “eucharist” (εὐχαριστία; lit. “to give thanks”).<sup>22</sup> As the discussion of the structure of a number of early anaphoras in Chapter 2 will demonstrate, the prayers in *Didache* do not immediately resemble the later constructions that will be known as anaphoras. Both *Didache* prayers are clearly tripartite in structure and begin with the same phrase: “We give you thanks.” In fact, the first two sections of *Didache* 9 and 10 express praise and thanks, while the third sections are

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Corinthians,” in R. Kevin Seasoltz, ed., *Living Bread, Saving Cup: Readings on the Eucharist* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1982), 17, cited in Bradshaw, *Eucharistic Origins*, 11.

<sup>21</sup> For a discussion of these sources and a few others, see Andrew B. McGowan, “Eucharist and Sacrifice: Cultic Tradition and Transformation in Early Christian Ritual Meals,” in *Mahl und religiöse Identität im frühen Christentum = Meals and Religious Identity in Early Christianity*, ed. Matthias Klinghardt and Hal Taussig, *Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter 56* (Tübingen: Francke, 2012), 1–45.

<sup>22</sup> This and all subsequent citations of the *Didache* are taken from Michael W. Holmes, ed., *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations*, 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007). For an extensive bibliography on all aspects of *Didache*, see Lawrence J. Johnson, *Worship in the Early Church: An Anthology of Historical Sources*, 4 vols. (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2009), 32–34.

supplicatory (both include explicit prayers for the church), and each of the three sections concludes with a doxology.<sup>23</sup> There is no mention of the Last Supper or even of the death of Jesus. While there is no language of offering outside of “We give you thanks,” Didache §14 calls this act of breaking of the bread and giving thanks a sacrifice not once, but twice:

14.1 And on the Lord’s Day gather to break bread [κλάσατε ἄρτον; see Acts 2:42] and give thanks [εὐχαριστήσατε], after having confessed your offenses so that your sacrifice [θυσία] may be pure. 14.2. But let no one who has a quarrel with a companion join you till they have been reconciled, so that your sacrifice [θυσία] not be defiled. 14.3. For this is the sacrifice [ῥηθεῖσα] concerning which the Lord said, “In every place and time let offer me a pure sacrifice [θυσίαν καθάραν], for I am a great king, says the Lord, and my name is marvelous among the nations” [Mal 1:11, 14].

The quotation of Mal 1:11 in *Didache* 14.3 is a citation that Justin Martyr and Irenaeus repeat in their early apologetic arguments, and it also becomes incorporated in the anaphoras of the Alexandrian/Egyptian tradition.<sup>24</sup> In fact, Enrico Mazza argues that this use of Mal 1:11 likely served the same function that the recounting of Jesus’s institution of the ritual meal does in almost every eucharistic prayer after the fourth century, namely, the warrant for the present ritual action of the gathered Christian community.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> While these two features are noteworthy, it is also important to point out that it would be reasonable to expect these two features in almost any prayer that is directed to a deity or deities: an address to the deity that acknowledges in some fashion what makes the deity a worthy object of prayer followed by a request for the deity to act for the good of those who pray.

<sup>24</sup> For Justin Martyr, see *Dial.* 117.1 in Anton Hänggi, *Prex eucharistica: textus e variis liturgiis antiquioribus selecti*, Spicilegium Friburgense 12 (Fribourg: Éditions universitaires, 1968), 72 (hereafter cited as *PE*); ET = *PEER*, 27. For Irenaeus, see *Haer.* 4.18.2 in Irenaeus, *Contre les hérésies, livre IV*, ed. Adelin Rousseau, SChs 100 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1965), 598-9. All original language citations of *Against Heresies* will come from this edition; ET = ANF, I.

<sup>25</sup> Enrico Mazza, *The Origins of the Eucharistic Prayer* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1995), 191-92. See also Mazza, “L’anafora di Serapione: una ipotesi di interpretazione,” *EL* 95 (1981): 527. Mazza based this theory on Cesare Giraudo, *La Struttura letteraria della preghiera eucaristica*, *Analecta Biblica* 92 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1981), 384 and Thomas J. Talley, “The Literary Structure of the Eucharistic Prayer,” *Worship* 58 (September 1984): 417.

By the fourth century, most anaphoras include the following identifiable aspects, though not always in the same order or with identical vocabulary:

- (a) The prayer begins with a series of three exchanges between the presiding minister and the gathered people, often referred to as the “opening dialogue” or *Sursum corda*. The first is a simple greeting (either a form of “The Lord be with you/And with your spirit” in the Latin and Egyptian prayers or a longer quotation of 2 Corinthians 13:13); the second is an invitation to which the people make positive responses: “Up with your hearts (*sursum corda* in Latin) /We lift them to the Lord”; the third is similar: “Let us give thanks to the Lord our God/It is just and right.”<sup>26</sup>
- (b) A section of praise and thanksgiving nearly always follows the opening dialogue. In the various Western rites, this opening paragraph is called a “preface” and is highly variable; in the Eastern rites, this portion is almost always fixed and invariable. In some anaphoras, the focus of praise is almost entirely on the work of creation (as in many Egyptian liturgies), while in others this portion recounts many of the great acts of salvation that often culminate in the person and work of Jesus Christ.
- (c) By the middle of the fourth century, this section of praise usually incorporates the *Sanctus*, a hymn based on the angelic song in Isa 6:3. Some anaphoras append to

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<sup>26</sup> For a rich theological exploration of the implications of the first-person, plural pronouns of historic anaphora, see “The Ecclesia or Christian Community as a Whole Celebrates the Liturgy” in Yves Congar, *At the Heart of Christian Worship: Liturgical Essays of Yves Congar*, trans. Paul J. Philibert (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2010), 15-68. His quotation and discussion of St. John Chrysostom’s comment about the final exchange (the priest “does not even begin until after receiving from the faithful their agreement, when they say, ‘It is right to give him thanks and praise...;’” Ibid., 60-61.

this text the *Benedictus qui venit*, a doxological text sung by the crowds as Jesus enters Jerusalem soon before his crucifixion (see Matt 21:9).

- (d) In every anaphora after the fourth century except the Syrian *Anaphora of Addai and Mari*, an institution narrative based on the accounts in the Synoptics and 1 Corinthians 11 is included, either as the culmination of the section of praise (as in the West Syrian tradition) or as a subordinate clause within a section of petitions (as in the Roman Canon).<sup>27</sup>
- (e) Also found in nearly every anaphora after the fourth century is a customary progression after the institution narrative. The *anamnesis* (“the recollection”) section often begins with a coordinating conjunction, such as “therefore/wherefore” and a gerund like “remembering,” after which the central christological deeds of salvation are recounted, usually at least Christ’s death, resurrection, and ascension. This *anamnesis* is almost always joined directly with an oblation, which is expressed in a wide variety of language; The offering may be the bread and wine, the “gifts” God has given, or possibly “this spiritual and bloodless worship.”<sup>28</sup> Whether the oblation precedes or follows the *anamnesis*,

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<sup>27</sup> For a discussion of the unique syntactical place of the institution narrative in the Roman Canon, see Serra, “Roman Canon.”

<sup>28</sup> As the newly composed anaphora in the Missal of Paul VI contain an oblation of the consecrated bread and wine after an *epiclesis* and the institution narrative (and thus, after they have been consecrated), two of the four anaphora indicate that Christ is being offered in a way that is more straightforward than most early anaphora. The oblation in the Roman Canon has been interpreted as an oblation of Christ in his sacramental form, since the noun *hostia* (“sacrificial offering”) is used for the offering only after the institution narrative, though this fact is not conclusive (I discuss this in much more detail in Chapters 6 and 7). Further, none of the early anaphora state explicitly that Christ’s body and blood is what is being offered. Rather, the request for change by the Spirit almost always immediately follows the oblation itself. The closest that any of the anaphora gets to an oblation of Christ’s body and blood is in *Lit. Sarapion*, where the oblations are incorporated into the institution narrative: “We offered this bread, the likeness of the body of the only-begotten... We offered also the cup, the likeness of the blood”; *PEER*, 77. The oblation language in *Lit. Byz. Basil* is nearly identical (“...having set forth the likeness of the holy body and blood of your Christ”; *PEER*, 119). In contrast to this, Eucharistic Prayer III of the Missal of Paul VI directly follows the oblation (“we offer you in thanksgiving this holy and living sacrifice”) with this

these two features are almost always found in the same sentence and are constructed in such a way as to imply a direct relationship between the recollection of Christ's saving deeds and the act of making an offering to God.

- (f) With a few exceptions, the *anamnesis*/oblation unit is usually followed by an *epiclesis*. This request, which often directly invokes the Holy Spirit, asks that God act upon the offered bread and wine, often asking that they become Christ's Body and Blood.<sup>29</sup> The fact that this epicletic request nearly always follows the oblation, and in language that includes cultic terms, indicates that early Christians seemed to see a strong relationship between God's acceptance of the Christian sacrificial offering and that bread and wine being Christ's body and blood.
- (g) Most anaphoras include some form of intercessions in addition to the *epiclesis* (which is itself a request and thus almost always the beginning of the intercessory requests). Sometimes these intercessions are limited to prayers for those present, the faithful departed, and the divine fruit of the reception of the Eucharist. Other anaphoras (such as *Lit. Byz. Basil*, *Lit. Chry.*, *Lit. James*, and *Lit. Mark*) include extremely lengthy intercessions that cover almost every conceivable object of Christian prayer.

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petition: "Look, we pray, upon the oblation of your Church and, recognizing the sacrificial Victim by whose death you willed to reconcile us to yourself, grant that we, who are nourished by the Body and Blood of your Son and filled with his Holy Spirit, may become one body, one spirit in Christ"; *Roman Missal (2011)*, 653 (§113). The *anamnesis* and oblation in Eucharistic Prayer IV is even more explicit: "Therefore, O Lord, as we now celebrate the memorial of our redemption, we remember Christ's death and his descent to the realm of the dead, we proclaim his Resurrection and his Ascension to your right hand; and as we await his coming in glory, we offer you his Body and Blood, the sacrifice acceptable to you which brings salvation to the whole world"; *ibid.*, 660 (§122).

<sup>29</sup> Fortescue, in his discussion of its absence in the Roman Canon, writes: "The Epiclesis (ἐπίκλησις, *invocatio*) is, as now understood, an Invocation of the Holy Ghost that he may change the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. It exists in all the rites in the East and existed in the Gallican rite"; Adrian Fortescue, *The Mass: A Study of the Roman Liturgy* (London: Longmans, Green, 1926), 402.



(h) Anaphoras conclude with some form of doxology that is often explicitly Trinitarian.

These terms will be used frequently in all that follows and the meanings of each will be the definitions given here unless otherwise noted.

### ***Why study the Roman Canon?***

A number of factors make the Roman Canon a worthy object of this study. First, it is the liturgical source for nearly 1,500 years of Western eucharistic theology and also almost certainly the most widely used eucharistic prayer in the history of Christianity.<sup>30</sup> By placing its use of Scripture in the foreground, my hope is that its Scriptural theology will help to balance the influence of the the debates regarding the nature of Christ's presence in the eucharistic bread and wine, beginning with Ratramnus and Radbertus in the ninth century and Berengar in the eleventh century,<sup>31</sup> which often are the main lens through which its theology is considered. Second, like other early eucharistic prayers, its origins are shrouded in obscurity; thus, further insights into the murky origins of the Canon may offer greater clarity about what contributed to the origin of the characteristics that set it apart from other anaphoras. Third, it contains a number of singular and noteworthy features (which I will discuss in detail in Chapters 1 and 2). Fourth, the Roman Canon played an important role in a number of Reformation and post-Reformation developments in both theology and liturgy. Since the Roman Canon was the

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<sup>30</sup> See Serra, "The Roman Canon," 102, 105-06.

<sup>31</sup> See Enrico Mazza, *The Celebration of Eucharist: The Origin of the Rite and the Development of Its Interpretation* (Collegeville: Pueblo Books, 1999); Gary Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period: A Study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament according to the Theologians, c.1080-c.1220* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984).

prayer known by the first generation of reformers, it often served as the starting point in the composition of revised and reformed communion rites. Thus, if the theology of this anaphora is different from its interpretations by various reformers and against which their eucharistic theologies were formulated,<sup>32</sup> this study may well provide fodder for ecumenical *rapprochement* on the question of the nature of the Eucharist generally and eucharistic sacrifice specifically.

Finally, Latin sacramental theology underwent significant developments such that, for example, by the time of Thomas Aquinas, there was an assumption that *death* is not only constitutive of sacrifice but essential to it. The result was a search for the location of this death in the sacrifice of the Mass. A common answer, such as the one provided by Thomas, is that the death was disclosed “in the double consecration of bread and wine and hence in the mystical separation of Christ’s body from his blood” which “signifies his death on the cross.”<sup>33</sup> A more biblical and contextualized understanding of the notion of sacrifice that I believe is articulated in the Roman Canon is likely to challenge not only aspects of some medieval interpretations of the Canon like this one from Aquinas, but also many Reformation interpretations that were formulated in

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<sup>32</sup> *PEER*, 177-249. For one example, see Bryan D. Spinks, *Luther’s Liturgical Criteria and His Reform of the Canon of the Mass*, GLS 30 (Bramcote: Grove Books, 1982). For a wider look at the influence of the Roman Canon on Reformation liturgies, see Bryan D. Spinks, “The Roman Canon Missae,” in *Præx Eucharistica: Studia*, ed. Albert Gerhards, Heinzgerd Brakmann, and Martin Klöckener, Spicilegium Friburgense 42 (Fribourg: Academic Press, 2005), 142–3.

<sup>33</sup> Uwe Michael Lang, “Augustine’s Conception of Sacrifice in City of God, Book X, and the Eucharistic Sacrifice,” *Antiphon* 19, no. 1 (2015): 48. See Thomas Aquinas, *ST*, III, 74, a1, corpus and III, 76, a2, ad1. Lang cites Garrigou-Lagrangé’s summary of this position: “The essence of the Eucharistic sacrifice consists in the consecration, taken, not absolutely, but as sacramentally and mystically, separative of the blood from the body. On the cross the sacrifice consisted in the real and physical separation of Christ’s blood from His body. The action, therefore, which mystically and sacramentally separates that blood is the same sacrifice as that on the cross, differing therefore only in its mode, which there was real and physical and here is sacramental.” See Réginald Garrigou-Lagrangé, *Reality: A Synthesis of Thomistic Thought*, trans. Patrick Cummins (St. Louis: Herder, 1950), 254.

reaction to medieval ones. Therefore, this new understanding holds ecumenical promise on the question of eucharistic sacrifice.

### ***The anaphoras that will serve in comparisons***

A significant portion of the argument I make in the latter chapters of the dissertation is built on the assumption that Roman Canon is distinct in many ways from all other early Christian anaphoras. As Louis Bouyer notes, the student of early liturgies can be almost overwhelmed by their variety. Thus, “we have difficulty in classifying these documents and even more so when it comes to making up their genealogy.”<sup>34</sup> Nonetheless, a consensus gradually has emerged on the recognition of three Eastern and two Western general families: “going from East to West, they are the East Syrian, the West Syrian, the Alexandrian [or Egyptian], the Roman and the Gallican-Mozarabic types.”<sup>35</sup> These families are distinguished from one another primarily by way of their structure. Nonetheless, the fact that these categories have come to be recognized and accepted as an aid in the discussion of early anaphoras does not mean that the lines are as sharp as the schemas appear or that these families developed independently. Just as importantly, within these families there is “a whole series of secondary types,” such as the Milanese liturgy (still in use in the diocese of Milan),<sup>36</sup> the Old Spanish or Mozarabic liturgy (used presently in only one location, a chapel of the cathedral of Toledo), the Gallican liturgy (“used in the Frankish realm during the early part of the middle ages”

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<sup>34</sup> Louis Bouyer, *Eucharist: Theology and Spirituality of the Eucharistic Prayer*, trans. Charles Underhill Quinn (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press), 1968, 138.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. In Chapter 1, I will discuss the other Western rites other than the Roman.

<sup>36</sup> The Milanese/Ambrosian liturgy is not the liturgy depicted in Ambrose’s *De sacramentis*; its history is rather vague, and the first manuscripts do not appear until the eighth century.

though disappeared by the eighth century), and the Celtic liturgies (Latin rites in use among the Celts of northWestern Europe) that uniquely combined elements of “the Gallican, Roman, Mozarabic and (not least) oriental patterns [that] were borrowed and in some way or other woven together.”<sup>37</sup>

Throughout this dissertation, particularly when making claims regarding a unique aspect of the Roman Canon, I will make use of three other early anaphoras as representative examples of the variety of other types or “families” of anaphoras: *The Liturgy of Addai and Mari (Lit. AM)* as a representative of the East Syrian liturgy, the *Liturgy of St. James (Lit. James)* as a representative of the West Syrian style, and the *Liturgy of St. Mark (Lit. Mark)* as a representative of the Alexandrian. While I will refer to more than just these anaphoras throughout the dissertation, these three will function as the principle examples against which I can compare the Roman Canon in order to highlight its distinctiveness.

### ***The outline of the argument***

The dissertation proceeds in three movements or sections.

#### ***Part I: Comparative and historical liturgical analysis***

Part I consists of two chapters. **Chapter 1** provides a basis for the argument that follows and gives a basic introduction to the Roman Canon. It begins with a sketch of the content of the Roman Canon, followed by an outline of its unique features, a brief note

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<sup>37</sup> For basic bibliographic material on each of these sub-families of rites, see Josef A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development (Missarum Sollemnia)*, trans. Francis A. Brunner, 2 vols. (New York: Benziger, 1951), II:45.

about what is known about its origin, concluding with how it is situated within the wider array of Western rites or uses. **Chapter 2** is a simultaneous examination of both the Canon's structure and emphasis on acceptance, two of the characteristics that are unique to the Canon and, as I will argue in Chapter 5, related to its appropriation of Hebrews. This will also demonstrate how these two features relate to each other. I will also show that the way in which these two characteristics are interrelated is what really demarcates the Canon from other early anaphoras, and I will argue that its ordering principle is its unique emphasis on the acceptance of the sacrificial offering. I offer my own original proposal, which relies in significant ways on Matthew Connolly's little-known narrative analysis, on how to understand its structure. The second part of the chapter examines the structure of the three anaphoras chosen for comparison—*The Anaphora of Addai and Mari* (East Syrian), *Liturgy of St. Mark* (Alexandrian), and the *Liturgy of St. James* (West Syrian)—and outlines how their structures and the place of the acceptance of the offering are similar and distinct, both from each other and from the Roman Canon.

### ***Part II: Scriptural analysis***

**Chapter 3** looks at the twentieth-century claims about the relationship between the Bible and the Liturgy that paved the way for this methodological proposal. In **Chapter 4**, I propose a comprehensive taxonomy to describe and categorize the ways in which Scripture can be appropriated within a liturgical text. **Chapters 5 and 6** are the heart of the dissertation, where I aim to identify the connections of the Canon's structure and emphasis on the acceptance of the sacrificial offering with its appropriation of Hebrews.

### ***Part III: Theological analysis***

The dissertation concludes with Part III, whose single **Chapter 7** is a theological analysis of the Roman Canon in light of the conclusions and insights of the preceding two sections. Its purpose is to articulate the theology of the Roman Canon in view of its structure, emphasis on the acceptance of sacrifice, and my findings with respects to its use of Hebrews. In particular, this concluding chapter seeks to answer what the Roman Canon reveals regarding what actually transpires when it is prayed by its faithful adherents.

## PART I: COMPARATIVE AND HISTORICAL LITURGICAL ANALYSIS

“When we turn to our own Roman rite we come to what is perhaps the most difficult question in the whole field of liturgical study, namely how it arose.”<sup>38</sup>

Adrian Fortescue (1874-1923), *The Mass* (1912)

“Few problems in the history of the western liturgies have received as much attention from scholars and yet have proved so intractable as the question concerning the origin, development and final shaping of the Roman eucharistic canon.”<sup>39</sup>

Allan Bouley, O.S.B. (1936-), *From Freedom to Formula* (1981)

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<sup>38</sup> Fortescue, *Mass*, 110.

<sup>39</sup> Alan Bouley, *From Freedom to Formula* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1981), 200.

## **CHAPTER 1: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ROMAN CANON**

This dissertation focuses on the Roman Canon as a liturgical text and seeks to discover the extent to which Hebrews was used as a source in its early construction. Because my claim about the use of Hebrews is, at least in part, a question about its origin, my claim can only be tested within the context of what is already known about the anaphora's origins. In order to establish a working context, this chapter establishes basic, essential information for all that follows in the subsequent chapters. I will begin with an outline of the content of the Roman Canon and how it proceeds. Next, I will outline many of the features that set the Roman Canon apart from other early Christian anaphoras. My thesis presumes that the Roman Canon has many unique characteristics and that Hebrews is the source of least two of those: its structure and sacrificial terminology. In this chapter, I will outline four other significant distinctive features of the Roman Canon that will make more comprehensible the detailed discussion of its unusual structure and its related unique emphasis on the acceptance of the sacrificial offering in Chapter 2. Third, I will outline briefly what is known about the origin of the Roman Canon. Lastly, I will provide some additional context that situates the Roman Canon within the array of other Western rites or usages, namely, the Hispano-Mozarabic (Visigothic), the Gallican, the Celtic, and the Ambrosian.



## ***The content of the Roman Canon***

Since at least 1474, the Canon was printed with each paragraph separated from the other, “marked with initial letters, and divided by rubrics.”<sup>40</sup> Before that, however, it was often copied as one long paragraph.<sup>41</sup> Each paragraph of the Canon is typically referred to by the opening Latin words (a practice that I will follow). The character of these sections becomes more pronounced as distinct parts or even prayers in later manuscripts, such Brian Spinks goes so far as to claim that “in its final form, it is not structured as a single unitary prayer”<sup>42</sup> (though this is a bit of an overstatement). What follows is the full text of the Canon in Latin with my English translation.<sup>43</sup>

**Table 1.1 The Roman Canon, Latin and English**

<p><b>0</b> Dominus vobiscum / Et cum spiritu tuo. Sursum corda / Habemus ad dominum. Gratias agamus domino deo nostro / Dignum et iustum est.</p>	<p><b>0</b> The Lord be with you / And with your spirit. Up with your hearts/ We have them with the Lord Let us give thanks to the Lord our God / It is fitting and right.</p>
<p><b>0 Vere dignum</b> et iustum est aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte Pater, omnipotens aeterne Deus, per Christum Dominum nostrum. [<i>Proper preface inserted here</i>] Per quem maiestatem tuam laudant angeli, adorant dominationes, tremunt potestates, caeli caelorumque virtutes ac beata Seraphim socia exultatione concelebrant. Cum quibus et nostras voces ut admitti iubeas deprecamur supplici confessione dicentes:</p>	<p><b>0</b> It is truly fitting and just, our duty and our salvation, that we should always and everywhere give thanks unto you, O Lord, holy Father, almighty and eternal God, through Christ our Lord. [<i>Proper preface inserted here</i>] through whom Angels praise your majesty, Dominions adore, Powers tremble, the heavens and the heavenly Virtues with the blessed Seraphim join in exultant celebration. We pray you with suppliant confession, bid our voices also be admitted with theirs, saying</p>
<p><b>0 Sanctus Sanctus Sanctus</b> Dominus Deus</p>	<p><b>0</b> Holy, holy, holy Lord God Sabaoth. Heaven and</p>

<sup>40</sup> Geoffrey G. Willis, *Essays in Early Roman Liturgy*, ACC 46 (London: S.P.C.K, 1964), 121.

<sup>41</sup> For an example of this, see GeV, 234-46. Willis notes that “in the Gelasian sacramentary (*Vaticanus Reginensis* 316) of the eighth century, *Te igitur* does not even start a new line”; Willis, *Essays*, 122.

<sup>42</sup> Spinks, “Canon Missae,” 130.

<sup>43</sup> The Latin is taken from Hänggi, *Prex eucharistica*, 426-38; all subsequent quotations of the Canon will be from here and will be noted simply by the Latin incipit of the paragraph from which they come. The number of each paragraph follows the numbering I have assigned them in my proposed structural interpretation in Chapter 2.

<p>Sabaoth. Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua. Hosanna in excelsis. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Hosanna in excelsis.</p>	<p>earth are full of your glory. Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.</p>
<p><b>1 Te igitur</b>, 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 illibata.<sup>44</sup> In primis quae tibi offerimus pro Ecclesia tua sancta catholica, quam pacificare, custodire, adunare et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum, una cum famulo tuo papa nostro illo.<sup>45</sup></p>	<p><b>1 Therefore</b>, we humbly pray and beseech you, most merciful Father, through your Son Jesus Christ our Lord, to accept and bless these gifts, these dutiful offerings, these holy and unblemished sacrifices; which, above all, we offer you for your holy catholic Church; to grant her peace, to protect, unite and govern her throughout the world, together with your servant n. our pope, [for n. our bishop, and for all the orthodox who cultivate the catholic and apostolic faith.]</p>
<p><b>2 Memento, domine</b>, famulorum famularumque tuarum et omnium circum adstantium,<sup>46</sup> quorum tibi fides cognita est et nota devotio. [Pro quibus tibi offerimus vel]<sup>47</sup> qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis: pro se suisque omnibus, pro redemptione animarum suarum, pro spe salutis et incolunitatis suae tibi que reddunt vota sua aeterno Deo vivo et vero.</p>	<p><b>2 Remember, Lord</b>, your servants and handmaidens and all who stand around, whose faith and devotion are known to you, [for whom we offer to you and] who themselves offer to you this sacrifice of praise: for themselves for all their own, for the redemption of their souls, for the hope of their salvation and safety, and they pay their vows to you the eternal God, living and true.</p>
<p><b>3 Communicantes</b> et memoriam venerantes in primis gloriosae semper Virginis Mariae genetricis Dei et Domini nostri Iesu Christi, sed et beatorum apostolorum ac martyrum tuorum Petri, Pauli, Andreae, Iacobi, Ioannis, Thomae, Iacobi, Philippi, Bartholomaei, Matthaei, Simonis et Thaddaei, Lini, Cleti, Clementis, Xysti, Cornelii, Cypriani, Laurentii, Chrysogoni, Ionnis et Pauli, Cosmae et Damiani et omnium sanctorum tuorum, quorum meritis precibusque concedas, ut in omnibus protectionis tuae muniamur auxilio, [per Christum dominum nostrum. Amen.]</p>	<p><b>3 In fellowship</b> and venerating above all the memory of the glorious ever-virgin Mary, mother of our God and Lord Jesus Christ, and also your blessed apostles and martyrs, Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James, Phillip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Thaddeus, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Xystus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Laurence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian, and all your saints; by whose merits and prayers grant that we might be fortified by the protection of your help in all things; [through Christ our Lord. Amen]</p>
<p><b>4 Hanc igitur</b> oblationem servitutis nostrae sed et cunctae familiae tuae, quaesumus, domine, ut placatus accipias diesque nostros in tua pace disponas atque ab aeterna damnatione nos eripi et in electorum tuorum iubeas grege numerari, [per Christum dominum nostrum. Amen.]</p>	<p><b>4 Therefore</b>, Lord, we beseech you: be pleased to accept this oblation of our service, and that of your whole family; order our days in your peace and bid that we be delivered from eternal damnation and numbered among the flock of your elect; [through Christ our Lord. Amen]</p>
<p><b>5 Quam oblationem</b> tu, Deus, in omnibus, quaesumus, benedictam, adscriptam, ratam,</p>	<p><b>5 Which oblation</b>, O God, we beseech you to make in every respect blessed, approved, ratified, spiritual</p>

<sup>44</sup> I made a few specific choices about how to translate the five nouns used for the sacrifice and I am consistent in how I translate these terms in the Roman Canon, in the translation of the portion of an anaphora in Ambrose (see Table 1.4), and in my translations of the Latin text of Hebrews in Chapter 6: *donum* = gift; *hostiam* = sacrificial offering; *munera* = dutiful offering; *oblatio* = oblation; *sacrificium* = sacrifice. I also translate *immaculatam* as “spotless” or “without spot” and *illibata* as “unblemished.”

<sup>45</sup> Later manuscripts add: “et antistite nostro illo et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholicae at apostolicae fidei cultoribus;” *PE*, 428.

<sup>46</sup> This became *circumstantium* in 1482; see *Ibid.*, 429.

<sup>47</sup> This phrase was added in 1474; see *Ibid.* The brackets in the prayer indicate words or phrases that were added at a latter date that are discernable in the manuscript evidence.

rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris, ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui Domini nostri Iesu Christi.	(reasonable) and acceptable, so that it may become for us the Body and Blood of your most beloved Son, Jesus Christ our Lord.
<b>6 Qui pridie</b> quam pateretur accepit panem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas et elevatis oculis in caelum ad te Deum Patrem suum omnipotentem tibi gratias agens benedixit fregit dedit discipulis suis dicens: Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes. Hoc est enim corpus meum.	<b>6 Who, on the day</b> before he suffered, took bread in his holy and venerable hands, and with his eyes raised toward heaven to you, O God, his almighty Father, giving you thanks, he blessed, broke, and gave it to his disciples, saying: Take and eat from this, all of you: for this is my body.
<b>7 Simili modo</b> posteaquam cenatum est accipiens et hunc praeclarum calicem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas item tibi gratias agens benedixit dedit discipulis suis dicens: Accipite et bibite ex eo omnes, hic est enim calix sanguinis mei novi et aeterni testamenti, mysterium fidei, qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Haec quotiescumque feceritis, in mei memoriam facietis.	<b>7 In a similar way</b> , after supper, he took this precious cup in his holy and venerable hands, likewise giving you thanks, he blessed and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take and drink from this, all of you: For this is the cup of my blood, of the new and eternal covenant, the mystery of faith: which will be poured out for you and for many for the remission of sins. As often as you do this, you will do it for my remembrance.
<b>8 Unde et memores</b> , Domine, nos servi tui sed et plebs tua sancta eiusdem Christi Filii tui Domini Dei nostri tam beatae passionis nec non et ab inferis resurrectionis sed et in caelos gloriosae ascensionis offerimus praeclarae maiestati tuae de tuis donis ac datis hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, panem sanctum vitae aeternae et calicem salutis perpetuae.	<b>8 Therefore also</b> , O Lord, recalling the blessed passion of the same Christ your Son our Lord [God], and his resurrection from the dead, and his glorious ascension into heaven, we, your servants and your holy people, offer to your glorious majesty from the gifts you have given to us, this sacrificial offering—pure, holy, and spotless—the holy bread of eternal life and the cup of everlasting salvation.
<b>9 Supra quae</b> <sup>48</sup> propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris et accepta habere, sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui iusti Abel et sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam.	<b>9 Upon these sacrifices</b> , be pleased to look with a favorable and kindly countenance, and to accept them as you were pleased to accept the dutiful offerings of your righteous servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and that which your high priest Melchizedek offered to you, a holy sacrifice, a spotless sacrificial offering;
<b>10 Supplices te</b> rogamus, omnipotens Deus, iube haec perferri per manus [sancti] angeli tui in sublime altare tuum in conspectu divinae maiestatis tuae, ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum Filii tui corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus, omni benedictione caelesti et gratia repleamur, [per (eundem) Christum dominum	<b>10 We humbly pray you</b> , almighty God, bid these [sacrifices] to be born by the hands of your [holy] angel to your lofty altar in the presence of your divine majesty, so that as often as we receive the most holy Body and Blood of your Son through this participation at the altar, we may be filled with all heavenly benediction and grace; [through (the same)

<sup>48</sup> The *quae* in the *Supra quae* (and the *haec* in the *Supplices te*) is a relative pronoun also in the accusative neuter plural. If we work backward through the prayer to find the antecedent, we see that *quae* cannot refer to *munera* in the *Supra quae* because that is the term for the offerings of Abel, not the offerings made in this anaphora; in the *Unde et memores*, all the terms for the oblation are in the singular and none is neuter: *hostiam puram*, *hostiam sanctam*, *hostiam immaculatam*, *Panem sanctum vitae aeternae et Calicem salutis perpetuae*. *Oblationem* in both the *Quam oblationem* and the *Hanc igitur* is feminine and singular. Thus, the only terms for the gifts that are neuter plural in the entire prayer are the terms for the oblation that appear in the *Te igitur* at the very beginning of the prayer, all of which are in the accusative, neuter plural: *haec dona*, *haec munera*, *haec sancta sacrificia illibata*. Willis claimed that the “the antecedent of *quae* is ‘panem sanctum vitae aeternae et calicem salutis perpetuae,’” but he does not address the linguistic problems that I have just outlined; see Willis, *Essays*, 132.

nostrum. Amen.]	Christ our Lord. Amen]
<b>11 Memento etiam</b> , Domine, [famulorum famularumque tuarum illorum et illarum] qui nos praecesserunt cum signo fidei et dormiunt in somno pacis. Ipsis [Domine,] et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus locum refrigerii lucis et pacis ut indulgeas deprecamur, [per (eundem) Christum dominum nostrum. Amen.]	<b>11 Remember also</b> , O Lord, your servants and handmaidens N. et N. who have gone before us with the sign of faith and who rest in the sleep of peace; To them, [O Lord,] and all who rest in Christ, we entreat you to grant a place of refreshment, of light, and of peace, [through (the same) Christ our Lord. Amen]
<b>12 Nobis quoque</b> peccatoribus famulis tuis de multitudine miserationum tuarum sperantibus partem aliquam et societatem donare digneris cum tuis sanctis apostolis et martyribus, cum Ioanne, Stephano, Matthia, Barnaba, Ignatio, Alexandro, Marcellino, Petro, Felicitate, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnete, Caecilia, Anastasia, et [cum] omnibus sanctis tuis, intra quorum nos consortium non aestimator meriti sed veniae, quaesumus, largitor admitte, [per Christum dominum nostrum.]	<b>12 To us</b> your servants, who are sinners also, who trust in the multitude of your mercies, be pleased to grant some portion and fellowship with your holy Apostles and Martyrs, with John, Stephan, Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter, Felicity, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Cecelia, Anastasia, and [with] all your saints, in whose fellowship we beseech you to admit us, not weighing our merits, but pardoning us, [through Christ our Lord. Amen]
<b>13a Per quem</b> haec omnia, Domine, semper bona creas, sanctificas, vivificas, benedicis et praestas nobis.	<b>13a Through whom</b> , O Lord, you ever create all these good things; you sanctify them, quicken them, bless them, and bestow them upon us;
<b>13b Per ipsum</b> et cum ipso et in ipso est tibi Deo Patri omnipotenti in unitate Spiritus sancti omnis honor et gloria per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.	<b>13b Through him</b> , and with him, and in him, O God the Father Almighty, in the unity of the Holy Spirit all honor and glory is yours; through all the ages of ages. Amen

After the opening dialogue, a variable preface begins in praise and then moves directly to the commemoration of the particular Sunday, feast, or saint.<sup>49</sup> The introduction to the *Sanctus* that recalls the union of earthly worship with that in the heavenly realm of

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<sup>49</sup> The variable prefaces are one of the unique features of the Latin rite and a rich source of theological and euchological insight. Because of the massive number of extant prefaces, I have chosen not to include them in this study. Josef Schmitz highlights the range of prayer foci present in the prefaces that go beyond thanksgiving, including “petition, catechesis, doctrine, and panegyric”; see “Canon Romanus” in *Præx eucharistica: Studia*, 285-86 and Edward Foley et al., eds., *A Commentary on the Order of Mass of the Roman Missal* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2011), 263-64. For more, see Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, II:115-28, particularly 115-17 on the different shades of thanksgiving, praise, and adoration found in the prefaces; Cuthbert Johnson and Anthony Ward, “Sources of the Eucharistic prefaces of the Roman Rite,” *EL* 107 (1993): 359–83; Johnson and Ward, *The Prefaces of the Roman Missal: A Source Compendium with Concordance and Indices* (Rome: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1989); Bouley, *From Freedom to Formula*, 206-15; Edmond Eugène Moeller, *Corpus praefationum*. CCSL 161, 161A, 161B, 161C, 161D. (Turnholti: Brepols, 1980); Louis Soubigou, *A Commentary on the prefaces and the Eucharistic Prayers of the Roman Missal* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1971); Paul Cagin, “Les noms latins de la preface eucharistique,” *RG* 5 (1906): 321–58. Christiaan Kappes points out that one of the earliest extant prefaces, the so-called Mai fragment, contains Roman Stoic concepts that can be seen particularly in Seneca’s *De clementia* and is reflected in Origen and Clement, both residents of Alexandria (the provenance of *Lit. Mark*); Christiaan Kappes, “Lactantius and the Creation of the Roman Canon for Imperial Liturgy” forthcoming in *Ecclesia Orans*; manuscript provided by the author.

angels (a feature found in all early anaphoras that contain the *Sanctus*) transitions the preface from the particular mystery being celebrated to the wider and more general doxology of the *Sanctus*. The *Te igitur* follows the *Sanctus* and moves abruptly to the first of five requests that God accept the sacrificial offering. The conjunction *igitur* is noteworthy, as it indicates a degree of consequential relationship with what precedes it.<sup>50</sup> In the *Te igitur*, this request for acceptance is joined to an explicit verb of offering (*quae tibi offerimus*). This is the first of two places in the Roman Canon where the request for acceptance is joined directly to the act of offering. The second is found later in the *Unde et memores*, which is followed in the *Supra quae* with a lengthy request for divine acceptance based on the Old Testament precedents. The *Te igitur*'s offering and request for acceptance is joined to intercessions both for the church and for those who are making the offering (*Memento, Domine*). The intercessions are constructed to make it clear that their fulfillment is directly connected to, and seemingly conditioned on, God's acceptance of the sacrificial offering. The third paragraph (*Communicantes*) moves to a commemoration of the saints, connected by the memory of the saints (*memoriam*) to the *Memento* that introduces the intercessions in the previous paragraph. The *Hanc igitur* makes the second request for acceptance, which (as in the *Te igitur*) is followed by intercessions, this time for the peace and salvation of those who receive the sacrament. This latter request is a feature of many anaphoras and is sometimes referred to as a prayer for the "fruits of communion."<sup>51</sup>

The *Quam oblationem* is the third paragraph to begin with either a relative pronoun or coordinating conjunction (in this case, the relative pronoun *quam*), the first

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<sup>50</sup> See Serra's discussion of this in "Roman Canon," 108.

<sup>51</sup> For example, see *PEER*, 55.

being the *Te igitur* and the second being the *Hanc igitur*.<sup>52</sup> The antecedent to which *quam* refers is not immediately clear. One would assume it to be in the paragraph that directly precedes it; the term *oblationem* in the *Hanc igitur* is the same case, number, and gender (accusative, singular, feminine). However, given that the *Hanc igitur* (as well as the *Communicantes*) is part of a later strata than are the *Te igitur* and at least part of the *Memento, Domine* (as I will discuss later in this chapter), it is possible that *quam* refers to something earlier. In the *Te igitur*, the *oblationem* is named in a more expansive manner: *haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata* (and these are the objects of the relative pronoun *quae* in the *Supra quae*, since they are the only neuter plural nouns in the accusative).<sup>53</sup> The *Quam oblationem* also contains the third request for acceptance. This request is made through piling up of adjectives (*benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque*) which the offerers ask that God would make applicable to the offering “in order that” (*ut*) it would become Christ’s Body and Blood. As Serra puts it, “the acceptability of the offerings causes them to be identified with the Body and Blood of the Lord,”<sup>54</sup> as does their reasonableness and validity (*benedictam, adscriptam, ratam*). Thus, in one sense, this paragraph could be called an *epiclesis*, as the word means “calling upon.” However, to do so fails to distinguish how unlike almost every other *epiclesis* in two significant ways.<sup>55</sup> First, the *epiclesis* in the Roman Canon does not contain any request for the Holy Spirit to act upon the bread and wine. Second, this

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<sup>52</sup> In the version in Ambrose, this paragraph begins a new declarative sentence and is not a relative clause as in the Canon’s final form. Ambrose’s version begins, “Fac nobis...hanc oblationem...”; *Sacr.* 4.5.21.

<sup>53</sup> See footnote 51 where I discussed this in detail.

<sup>54</sup> Serra, “Roman Canon,” 112.

<sup>55</sup> Mazza argues that not only is the *Quam oblationem* of Ambrose not “a consecratory epiclesis in the modern understanding of the term,” neither is the *Quam oblationem* of the *textus receptus* “a true and proper consecratory epiclesis”; *Roman Rite*, 70, 71.

request for change is explicitly premised upon the divine acceptance of the offered bread and wine, while in most other anaphoras, the *epiclesis* directly follows the oblation of the bread and wine and without a prayer for acceptance.

This Body and Blood is modified by the lengthy subordinate clause that follows it—the Institution narrative (beginning with the relative pronoun *Qui*)—which explains why those present are making a sacrificial offering of bread and wine and asking God to accept it: Christ instituted this meal and instructed us to “do this.” The placement of the institution narrative in the Roman Canon is different than in other anaphoral families, where it usually concludes the thanksgiving section. Instead, as Serra points out, “the narrative appears within the supplicatory section of the prayer” and “functions in the schema as the *warrant* for this confident supplication.”<sup>56</sup> While the narrative is often referred to as “the consecration” because of a long tradition in the West that associates its recitation (particularly Christ’s words) with the changes of the bread and wine into Christ’s body and blood, the logic and prayer of the text of the Roman Canon does not demand this conclusion.<sup>57</sup>

The role of the *Qui pridie* as the warrant is expressed in the prayer in a number of ways. First, the *unde* (“therefore”) that begins the paragraph that follows the *Qui pridie* shows that the institution narrative provides the reason for the offering that occurs in the *Unde et memores*, mindful (*memores*) of his passion, death, and resurrection, as well as for the request for acceptance in the *Supra quae*. Second, the *Qui pridie* is a subordinate

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 104, 112-13; emphasis added.

<sup>57</sup> On page 194 of Jungmann’s *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, he titles the discussion of that portion of the prayer, “The Consecration: Account of Institution”; see Ibid., 202-3 for discussion of the institution as consecratory and the priest acting in the person of Christ. The focus on the instituting words is well attested, not just in the West, but also in the East; see Kenneth Stevenson, *Eucharist and Offering* (New York: Pueblo, 1986), 80-4.

clause that clarifies whose body and blood we pray that bread and wine may become when the Father makes it blessed, approved, and so forth, in the *Quam oblationem* and the offering and prayer for acceptance in the *Hanc igitur*. This does not necessarily indicate that the *Qui pridie* is a warrant for the requests that precede it, though it could imply that it does. However, as I discussed in note 51, the antecedent of *quae* in the *Supra quae* (neuter plural) can only be the terms for the oblation that appear in the *Te igitur* at the very beginning of the prayer, all of which are in the accusative, neuter plural: *haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata*. Thus, the sacrifice that is offered in the *Unde et memores* and for which acceptance is requested in *Supra quae* is identified grammatically as the same sacrifice that is offered and for which acceptance is request in the *Te igitur* and again in the *Memento, Domine*. Thus, the *Qui pridie* serves the warrant for the acts of offering and petitions for acceptance that both precede and follow it.

The paragraph that follows the institution narrative in the *Qui pridie* contains a feature that is nearly ubiquitous in early anaphoras: a coordinating conjunction that indicates a sense of consequence (in the Roman Canon, this is indicated with *unde*, “therefore”) joined to an explicit oblation of the bread and wine (*Unde et memores*). This is followed logically by the fourth request for acceptance (*Supra quae*), which is similar to the *Te igitur*, though the request follows (rather than precedes) the verb of offering (*offerimus*) and mention of the offering (*hostiam*). This request for acceptance is premised on the acceptance of three Old Testament sacrifices, two of which were offered by non-Jews (Abel and Melchizedek) and all of which occur prior to the introduction of



the Mosaic cult.<sup>58</sup> The *Supra quae* is a new sentence that introduces a new petition: that God would direct that the offerings be taken by the hand of God's holy angel to the *sublime altare* that is situated *in conspectus divinae maiestatis tuae*. The purpose of this request (indicated by *ut*) is that those about to receive the bread and wine that has been transported to heaven might consequently be filled with the benediction and grace that is constitutive of the place to which the angel takes the sacrifice, namely, heaven.<sup>59</sup> While the request is not directly for the transformation of the gifts, its logic is similar to that of the *Quam oblationem*: if God acts upon the gifts so that they are acceptable and received by the Father, then they become Christ's Body and Blood. This request of the *Supra quae* is followed by still another transition, this time to pray for the faithful departed (*Memento etiam*) and then to pray that those present might join a second list of saints and martyrs (*Nobis quoque*). The anaphora concludes with a double doxology, which Jungmann summarizes: "the first presents a picture of God's gifts streaming down from heaven through Christ's mediatorship, while the second brings into relief how, through Him, all

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<sup>58</sup> Interestingly, Jungmann says these sacrifices are of the "Old Law," even though none of them occurs within the orbit of the cultic system begun under Moses; see Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, II:226.

<sup>59</sup> This request that the sacrifice be taken to heaven has some similarities with the second of the double *epicleses* found in some anaphora, such as *Lit. Egy. Basil*: "And we, sinners and unworthy and wretched, pray you, our God, in adoration that in the good pleasure of your goodness your Holy Spirit may descend *upon us* and upon these gifts that have been set before you, and may sanctify them and make them holy of holies"; *PEER*, 71 (emphasis added). However, the request in the Roman Canon is really more about the fruit of receiving communion, a request that is also common in anaphora, as in *Lit. Egy. Basil* again: "Make us all worthy to partake of your holy things for sanctification of soul and body, that we may become one body and one spirit, and may have a portion with all the saints who have been pleasing to you from eternity"; *PEER*, 71. Geoffrey Willis points out that in some Eastern anaphoral prayers, particularly Egyptian ones, "the notion of the angel or angels has been mixed up with the epiclesis, so that some rites ask for the gifts to be taken up to the heavenly altar, and for the Holy Spirit to be sent down in exchange to sanctify the gifts upon the earthly altar. But the Roman rite never made this mistake, for the epiclesis did not find a place in it, and is indeed foreign to its structure and to its theory of consecration. It had instead, perhaps from the second century onwards, while it was still in Greek, the primitive theme of the heavenly altar"; Geoffrey G. Willis, *A History of Early Roman Liturgy to the Death of Pope Gregory the Great*, Subsidia (Henry Bradshaw Society) 1 (London: Boydell Press, 1994), 52.

honor and glory surge from creation up to God.”<sup>60</sup> Table 1.2 is a summary of the structure of the Canon depicted in outline, with an accompanying description of what

**Table 1.2 Description of each paragraph of the Roman Canon**

Description	Roman Canon Paragraph Names
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Dialogue</li> <li>-Thanksgiving in a variable preface, with a commemoration of the Sunday/feast/saint</li> <li>-pre-Sanctus</li> <li>-Sanctus &amp; Benedictus</li> <li>-1<sup>st</sup> Request for acceptance of the offering and 1<sup>st</sup> oblation</li> <li>-Intercession for church &amp; ...for those present who offer the sacrifice</li> <li>with 2<sup>nd</sup> oblation (<i>qui tibi offerunt</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>Sursum corda</i></li> <li><i>Vere dignum</i>, pt 1</li> <li><i>Vere dignum</i>, pt 2</li> <li><i>Sanctus &amp; Benedictus</i></li> <li><i>Te igitur</i>, pt 1</li> <li><i>Te igitur</i>, pt 2</li> <li><i>Memento Domine</i></li> <li><i>Communicantes</i></li> <li><i>Hanc igitur</i>, pt 1</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-1<sup>st</sup> Commemoration of Saints + intercession for those present</li> <li>-2<sup>nd</sup> Request for acceptance of offering for the purpose of a blessing</li> <li>-Intercession for peace and salvation</li> <li>-3<sup>rd</sup> Request for acceptance and blessing <i>so that</i> the gifts become Christ’s Body/Blood</li> <li>-Institution Narrative</li> <li>-Anamnesis</li> <li>-3<sup>rd</sup> Oblation</li> <li>-4<sup>th</sup> request for acceptance by appeal to divine acceptance of ancient sacrifices</li> <li>-request that an angel take the offering to the heavenly altar [implicit request for acceptance (5<sup>th</sup>)] <i>in order that</i> those who receive may be filled with grace</li> <li>-Intercession for departed</li> <li>-2<sup>nd</sup> Commemoration of apostles/martyrs + intercession for those present</li> <li>-Doxology</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>Hanc igitur</i>, pt 2</li> <li><i>Quam oblationem</i></li> <li><i>Qui pridie</i></li> <li><i>Unde et memores</i>, pt 1</li> <li><i>Unde et memores</i>, pt 2</li> <li><i>Supra quae</i></li> <li><i>Supplices te</i></li> <li><i>Memento etiam</i></li> <li><i>Nobis quoque</i></li> <li><i>Per quem &amp; Per ipsum</i></li> </ul>

<sup>60</sup> Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, II: 259. The first formula seems to be a generic formula for the blessing of additional material items (cheese, olives, oil) that was often altered depending on what was being blessed. Noteworthy is that the only other place where we see these prayers incorporated into the anaphora is in the Egyptian rites (see *Ibid.*, II:261).

occurs in each paragraph (similar outlines will be used in subsequent discussions of this and the other anaphoras).

A few broad structural characteristics are worthy of note. First, the *Qui pridie* is a natural middle point of the anaphora. Thus, for the sake of ease, I will refer to the portion that precedes it as Cycle 1, and to that which follows it as Cycle 2. Second, an intercessory unit is located both in the middle of the Canon's first cycle (before the institution narrative) and then again in the middle of the second cycle. In Cycle 1, the second half of the *Te igitur* and the *Memento Domine* are intercessions for the living (the Church and the offerers of the Eucharist, whose names can be inserted) followed by a recollection of Mary and a list of apostles and martyrs joined to a prayer for those present (*Communicantes*). In Cycle 2, the intercessions for the departed (*Memento etiam*, with a place for the insertion of names) are followed by a second recollection of saints and martyrs in the *Nobis quoque* (a prayer for those who are present). Thus, a basic parallelism is evident.<sup>61</sup>

Third, the sacrificial character of the Eucharist is the principal theological theme, joined to the conviction that God's acceptance of the sacrifice is of paramount importance. This is expressed first in four verbs of offering: *offerimus* in the *Te igitur*; *offerimus* and *offerunt* in the *Memento, Domine*; and *offerimus* again in the *Unde et memores*. In addition to these verbs of offering are the five requests for the acceptance of

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<sup>61</sup> In Aidan Kavanagh's analysis of the Roman Canon in anticipation of the revision of the Missal after the Second Vatican Council, he posits that this doubling as a structural problem. The coherence of the *Te igitur-Quam oblationem* group "puts this group of prayers once again in competition with the *Unde et memores-Supplices te rogamus* group. The purpose of the latter is anticipated by the former and interposed within the narrative sequence, disrupting that sequence's purpose of stating the motive for thanksgiving. Thereby, the structure of the narrative sequence is harmed, as is that of *Unde et memores* group. The secondary growth of oblatory and petitionary matter in the *Te igitur* group thus causes a dislocation within the Roman anaphora"; Aidan Kavanagh, "Thoughts on the Roman Anaphora (Part 2)," *Worship* 40, no. 1 (January 1966): 4-5.

the sacrificial offering: first in the *Te igitur* (*accepta habeas et benedicas*, the very first petition after the *Sanctus*); second in the *Hanc igitur* (*placatus accipias*); third in the *Quam oblationem* (*benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris*); fourth in the *Supra quae* (*propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris, et accepta habere*”); the final request in the *Supplices te* does not use a form of the verb *accipio* but rather asks for acceptance in a different manner: bid these sacrificial offerings be taken by the hands of your holy angel to your heavenly altar (*iube haec perferri per manus [sancti] angeli tui in sublime altare tuum in conspectu divinae maiestatis tuae*). All of the verbs of asking that describe the assembly’s action—*rogamus* (2x; *Te igitur* and *Supplices te*), *petimus* (*Te igitur*), *quaesumus* (2x; *Hanc igitur* and *Quam oblationem*)—are found in these five paragraphs; the rest of the requests, in contrast, are expressed in imperatives addressed to God.

Fourth, there is no direct request for the change of the offerings of bread and wine into Christ’s Body and Blood. The request that comes closest is in the *Quam oblationem*; but even there the logic is that the oblation becomes (*fiat*) Christ’s Body and Blood *as a result* of God’s acceptance of the sacrifice. One could argue that the list of five adjectives that the offerers ask God to make applicable to the sacrifice is gathered and summarized in the final adjective, *acceptabilem*. The only other reference to Christ’s Body and Blood is in the *Supplices te*. There, a rather complex idea is expressed. The purpose of the request for God to direct that the oblation be taken by an angel to the altar that stands in the presence of God is described in this way: “so that as often as we receive the most holy Body and Blood of your Son through this participation at the altar we may be filled with all heavenly benediction and grace.” There is no doubt that the concept that God’s

acceptance of the oblation is directly tied to the bread and wine becoming Christ's Body and Blood, but there is more to the *Supplices te*. It indicates that the transfer of the gifts to the heavenly altar, by means of angelic ministry, is the basis upon which the reception of the sacrament becomes the vehicle for the recipients to be filled with heavenly benediction and grace. The question is whether this heavenly transfer is simply another way to express divine acceptance or whether a related but distinct idea is also being expressed. If distinct, the idea could be articulated in this way: God's act of making the oblation blessed and acceptable is the means by which God makes the bread and wine Christ's Body and Blood; but in order for the now-transformed-oblations to be the means by which God fills the communicant with grace (i.e., for them to fulfill their divine purpose in the recipient), they must be transferred into the heavenly realms.

Finally, even without a close syntactical analysis, a degree of parallelism exists between the first and second Cycles of the anaphora. The parallelism is not exact, but at this point it is nonetheless clear that there is a set of features which occur in both cycles, and often in the same order (Table 1.3). The shared features of the two cycles are rather clear. Both might begin with a form of praise and are followed by an explicit act of sacrificial offering directly joined to a specific request for divine acceptance. This is followed in both cycles by intercessions for the living (plus the dead in Cycle 2) directly joined to a commemoration of the saints that includes a carefully chosen, fixed list of saints.

Some features of each Cycle, however, are not paralleled in the other. For instance, what is the parallel to the preface and *Sanctus* in Cycle 2? The *anamnesis* could be it, if the recollection of Christ's saving acts are interpreted doxologically; or the *Per*

**Table 1.3 Outline of Cycle 1 and Cycle 2 of the Roman Canon**

Cycle 1	Cycle 2
<p>-praise and thanksgiving (preface and <i>Sanctus</i>);  -1<sup>st</sup> prayer for acceptance (<i>Te igitur</i>) &amp;  1<sup>st</sup> oblation (<i>Te igitur</i>);</p> <p>-intercession for the Church and those present  (i.e. the living; <i>Te igitur</i> and <i>Memento</i>)</p> <p>4<sup>th</sup> oblation (<i>qui tibi offerunt</i>)</p> <p>-1<sup>st</sup> commemoration of the saints  (<i>Communicantes</i>) +intercession for those present  -2<sup>nd</sup> request for acceptance (<i>Hanc igitur</i>) for the  purpose of a blessing &amp;  Intercession for peace and salvation (<i>ibid.</i>)  -3<sup>rd</sup> request for acceptance and blessing <i>so that</i>  the gifts be Body/Blood (<i>Quam oblationem</i>)</p>	<p>-anamnesis (praise?) (<i>Unde et memores</i>, pt 1)</p> <p>-3<sup>rd</sup> oblation (<i>Unde et memores</i>, pt 2)  -4<sup>th</sup> request for acceptance (<i>Supra quae</i>)  -request that the sacrifice be taken to heaven  (<i>Supplice te</i>) for the purpose of a blessing  -intercession for the departed  (<i>Memento etiam</i>)</p> <p>-2<sup>nd</sup> commemoration of the saints (<i>Nobis quoque</i>)</p> <p>[concluding doxologies]</p>

*quem* and *Per ipsum* might be the parallel, if the relationship is chiasmic rather than parallel. The *Hanc igitur* is paralleled in the *Supplices te*, for both have a prayer of acceptance for the purpose (*ut*) of receiving a blessing. The *Quam oblationem* does not appear to have a clear parallel in Cycle 2, though the *Supplices te* respectively could be interpreted as such.<sup>62</sup> In short, both cycles contain the following features, though not always in the same order: direct praise and thanksgiving; an offering of the bread and wine; at least two requests for divine acceptance (three times in Cycle 1 and twice in Cycle 2); intercessions followed directly by a commemoration of the saints that includes an ordered list. But is there a deeper structural relationship between these two cycles?

<sup>62</sup> This is particularly the case since both the *Quam oblationem* and the *Supplices te* have been interpreted epiclestically. For example, John Baldovin writes that while there is no “explicit epiclesis,” the *Quam oblationem* is “the equivalent of what today would be considered a consecratory epiclesis” and that *Supplices te* is “a second formula of consecration”; John Baldovin, “History of the Latin Text and Rite” [of Eucharistic Prayer 1] in Foley et al., *A Commentary on the Order of Mass*, 250, 251.

### ***The unique features of the Roman Canon***

One of my working assumptions—almost universally shared—is that the Roman Canon is marked by a number of unique characteristics.<sup>63</sup> Two of the most glaring and significant of those unusual features is its structure and repeated requests that God accept the sacrificial offering. I will argue in Part II (Chapters 3-5) that these two features are directly related to the influence of an interpretation and appropriation of the Epistle to the Hebrews as a source in the process of the Canon’s composition, translation, and redaction. They are of such importance that I will save any discussion of these features until Chapter 2, where they are the central focus. In order to better understand the wide range of evidence discussed in the first section of this dissertation, however, it will be helpful to keep in mind the numerous ways in which the Canon is a singular example of anaphoral praying.

Fortescue notes a few distinguishing features of the Roman Mass in general. One set of peculiarities concerns the deacon: not only is there “the absence of all litanies of

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<sup>63</sup> Jungmann writes: “We are brought face-to-face with a sharp contrast: the Latin Mass as it has been practiced ever since, and the Greek Mass to which Hippolytus attests—and a broad gulf between them. In contrast to the smooth-flowing eucharistic prayer recorded by Hippolytus, the Roman canon, with its separate members and steps, and its broken-up lists of saints, present a picture of great complexity. For the new science of liturgy, schooled as it was in philology, here was an alluring problem”; Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, I:49. Mazza writes that the structure of the Roman Canon “resulted from the juxtaposition of previously unconnected fragments and consequently there was no clear conception guiding the development of the text. This peculiar characteristic becomes immediately evident when we compare the Canon with the Antiochene anaphora that eventually become the models” for the reform that resulted in the Missal of Paul VI; Mazza, *Eucharistic Prayers*, 54. Cypriano Vagaggini, an Italian theologian who played a part in the drafting of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, at the Second Vatican Council, listed ten defects of the Roman Canon in his influential *Il canone della messa e la riforma liturgica: problemi e progetti*, Quaderni di Rivista liturgica 4 (Torino: Elle Di Ci, 1966); ET = *The Canon of the Mass and Liturgical Reform*, trans. Peter Coughlan (Staten Island, NY: Alba House, 1967). . Defects 1-3 and 5 deal with matters of structure, while he called the fourth, “an exaggerated emphasis on the idea of the offering and acceptance of the gifts”; Ibid., 11-12, 86, 93-97, 106. The essay by Bryan Spinks is a discussion of all that distinguishes the Roman Canon from other anaphoral witnesses; “Canon Missae,” 129–43.

intercession said by the deacon,” there is also “the comparative eclipse of his function in the liturgy (except for the Gospel).” He adds to this the placement of the *Pax* just before the reception of Communion and not “at the beginning of the Mass of the Faithful as in all other rites.”<sup>64</sup> A quick scan of the contents of Jasper and Cuming’s *Prayer of the Eucharist* reveals that almost all early anaphoras are identified with the name of a saint or some references to the apostles. Not only does the Roman Canon have no such identifier, it was not until much later that the connection with Rome appeared in its identifying title.<sup>65</sup> This is all the more strange, since both Peter and Paul were identified with Rome because of their martyrdoms and because of the importance of the Roman See. Enrico Mazza lists seven names by which this particular eucharistic prayer is known in patristic and early medieval texts: *prex*, *prex mystica*, *prex canonica*, *canon*, *praedicatio*, *praedicatio canonis*, and *canon actionis*.<sup>66</sup> To this list should be added *eucharistia*,<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Fortescue, *Mass*, 110.

<sup>65</sup> However, the *Liber ordinum*, which was the *rituale* used in Spain before 712, has this title over a fragment of the Roman Canon: “Missa sancti Petri apostoli Romensis.” See Marius Férotin, ed. *Le Liber ordinum en usage dans l’église wisigothique et mozarabe d’Espagne du cinquième au onzième siècle*, Monumenta ecclesiae liturgica 5 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1904), II.1, col. 229 (hereafter LO) and Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, NPM Studies in Church Music and Liturgy (Washington, D.C: Pastoral Press, 1986), 52, n.68.

<sup>66</sup> Mazza, *Origins*, 240. He cites the following: *Prex* in Gregory the Great, *Epistolarum liber* 9, Ep. 26 (CSEL 140A:586f.); *prex mystica* in Augustine, *Trin.* 3.4.10 (PL82:874); *prex canonica* in Vigilus, *Ep.* 2.5 (PL 69:18); *Canon* in Gregory the Great, *Ep.* 26 (CSEL 140A:586f.); *praedicatio* and *praedicatio canonis* in “Firmilian, in the letter preserved for us within the correspondence of Cyprian (75.10) (L. Bayard, ed., *Saint Cyprien. Correspondance*, Collection des Universités de France [Paris, 1961] 2:298).” In the same place, Mazza also says the term is found in the section on Alexander I (c.109-116 or 106-115) in the *Liber Pontificalis*, which says that Alexander introduced the *Passio Domini* in the *Praedicatio sacerdotum* (*Lib. pont.* I:128); *Canon actionis* in Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, ed., *Liber sacramentorum Romanae aeclesiae ordinis anni circuli: (Cod. Vat. Reg. lat. 316/Paris bibl. Nat. 7193, 41/56) (Sacramentarium Gelasianum)*, 2<sup>nd</sup> rev. ed., *Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta* 4 (Roma: Herder, 1968), no. 1242. Hereafter GeV. Jungmann (all under the general title of *prex*) cites the same sources for *prex*, *prex mystica*, and *prex canonica* in *Mass* (Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, II:240, n. 5.) but adds *Ep.* 25 of Innocent I (Robert Cabié, ed., *La lettre du pape Innocent Ier à Décentius de Gubbio, 19 mars 416*, Bibliothèque de la Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique, fasc. 58 (Louvain: Publications universitaires de Louvain, Bureau de la R.H.E, 1973), 22, ln. 45. Fortescue adds the following citations in Cyprian where he uses *Prex* for the eucharistic prayer: *Ep.* 15.1 (PL 4:265); *Ep.* 60.4 (PL 4:362); *Ep.* 66.1 (PL 4:398); Fortescue, *Mass*, 323.



*oratio oblationis*, *oblationis sarificiis*,<sup>68</sup> and *action sacrificii*,<sup>69</sup> all of which emphasize the act of offering, as well as *oratio*<sup>70</sup> and *mysteria*.<sup>71</sup>

In the subsections that follows, I identify five more distinguishing characteristics of the Latin anaphora.

### ***The division of the Canon's paragraphs***

As noted earlier, the Canon has been presented for at least the last 500 years with each paragraph separated from the other. Nothing like this division of paragraphs is found in any of the Eastern anaphoras, nor in the Mozarabic and Gallican rites (though in the latter two, the four variable portions inevitably demarcate the paragraphs).<sup>72</sup> There is simply nothing comparable in *Lit. AM*, *Lit. Mark*, or *Lit. James*.

Related to this fact is the situation that, until the eighth century, the Canon was considered to begin with the *Sursum corda* and thus include the preface and *Sanctus*.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, II:102 (see n. 2).

<sup>68</sup> Jungmann cites *Ep. 23* of Celestine I (422-32) (PL 20:767); Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, I:54.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, II:102. He cites a list of examples provided in Paul Cagin, “Les noms latins de la preface eucharistique,” *Rassegna Gregoriana* 5 (1906): 321–58, especially 331ff.

<sup>70</sup> Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, II:102. He cites Cyprian, *Dom. or.* 31 (CSEL 3:289, l. 14).

<sup>71</sup> “*Pacem igitur asseris ante confecta mysteria quosdam populis imperare...*” Letter 25 of Innocent I, in Martin F. Connell, ed., *Church and Worship in Fifth-Century Rome: The Letter of Innocent I to Decentius of Gubbio: Text with Introduction, Translation and Notes*, JLS 52 (Cambridge: Grove Books, 2002), 23. Jungmann refers to this use in a discussion about whether *mysteria* is equivalent to *secreta*; Jungmann, II:90, n. 6. Jungmann cites another use of the term *mysteria* in *Ep. 7* of Boniface I (418-22) (PL 50:544C); Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, I:54. Lewis and Short also cite Ambrose’s use of the term for the Eucharist (“*mysterium celebrat*”) in 1 Cor 11:27; see “Mysterium” in Lewis and Short.

<sup>72</sup> These other Western rites or uses are discussed in the final section of this chapter.

<sup>73</sup> The *Sanctus* was in use in at least parts of the West by around 400 and was likely fixed therein by the time of the pontificate of Leo the Great (440-61). One of the main reasons for this assumption is the evidence that he composed prefaces that assume the presence of the *Sanctus*. See Bryan D. Spinks, *The Sanctus in the Eucharistic Prayer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 93-98; Lucien Chavoutier, “Un libellus Pseudo-Ambrosien sur le Saint-Esprit,” *SacEr* 11 (1960): 136–91; Pierre-Marie

Beginning in the eighth century, however, the manuscripts begin to reflect a change: the title *Canon Missae* is placed after the *Sanctus* and above the *Te igitur*. Before this time, the manuscripts tended to place a title such as *Incipit Canon Accionis* above the *Sursum corda*. Whether the change indicates a belief that the material from the *Sursum corda* through the *Sanctus* is secondary to the more essential action of the “canon” is difficult to say with any certainty.<sup>74</sup> What is clear, however, is that the shift makes the *igitur* of the *Te igitur* more difficult to interpret satisfactorily.<sup>75</sup> The most convincing interpretation is that it refers to what we now call the preface, which at one time was not separated from the *Te igitur* by the *Sanctus* and was not known in Rome until approximately the beginning of the fifth century.<sup>76</sup>

### ***Relatively little space given to praise and thanksgiving***

Unlike the Roman Canon, while the pre-*Sanctus* part of the Eastern prayer was fixed and often quite lengthy, between the pre- and post-*Sanctus*, those anaphoras “told

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Gy, “Le Sanctus romain et les anaphores orientales,” in *Mélanges liturgiques offerts au R.P. dom Bernard Botte, o.s.b. de l'Abbaye du Mont César à l'occasion du cinquantième anniversaire de son ordination sacerdotale (4 juin 1972)* (Louvain: Abbaye du Mont César, 1972), 167–74.

<sup>74</sup> Willis provides a clear summary of the debates regarding the beginning and conclusion of the Canon; see *Essays*, 121–22.

<sup>75</sup> Following Ratcliff, Willis argues convincingly, contra Denis-Boulet, Botte, and Mohrmann, that the *igitur* cannot be dismissed as a rhetorical flourish but that it reflects this pre-*Sanctus* form of the prayer and that the redactor(s) chose not to alter the text, probably out of respect for its antiquity. As Willis notes, “There is no hesitation in the manuscript tradition: no single manuscript omits *igitur* or substitutes anything else”; Willis, *Essays*, 123. Matthieu Smyth agrees: “The most recent textual additions, like the *Sanctus*, the institution narrative (the Last Supper account) or the *anamnesis*, appear there more like the intrusions that they truly are. It is flagrant in the case of the *Sanctus*, which was left without any embolism, *Vere sanctus*, to connect it to what follows”; “The Anaphora of the so-called ‘Apostolic Tradition’ and the Roman Eucharistic Prayer,” in *Issues in Eucharistic Praying in East and West: Essays in Liturgical and Theological Analysis*, ed. Maxwell E. Johnson (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2010), 78.

<sup>76</sup> I will discuss the emergence of the *Santus* later in this chapter.

the whole story of salvation each time they were used.”<sup>77</sup> In fact, the pre-*Sanctus* portion of some anaphoras is extremely long and detailed in its recollection of the praiseworthy and salvific deeds of God.<sup>78</sup> An unfortunate consequence for interpreters of the Roman Canon is the relativizing of the praise, thanksgiving, and the recollection of God’s saving deeds in history that occurs with the transfer of the title from before the *Sursum corda* to before the *Te igitur*. Even when the prefaces are taken into consideration—some of which do contain some mention of praise for divine saving action—the relative space given to doxological language in the Roman Canon is much smaller than in many other early prayers (the phrase *sacrificum laudis* notwithstanding).<sup>79</sup> Table 1.4 provides a rough breakdown of ratio of words given to praise and thanksgiving to the total words (with and without the intercessions, since they vary considerably in length) the Roman Canon and the three other anaphoras. As I will argue later, this notable absence corresponds to the Canon’s unique emphasis on the act of sacrifice and the repeated request that God accept the sacrifice and receive it favorably. Where verbal praise is tends to be primary in many

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<sup>77</sup> Bradshaw and Johnson, *Eucharistic*, 205-06. The principal exception to this is the Alexandria/Egyptian tradition, whose fixed preface was limited to praise for creation and not for enumerated events of salvation history.

<sup>78</sup> For example, the ppreface in *Apostolic Constitutions* (henceforth *Cont. ap*) 8 is maybe the longest (it runs four and a half pages in *PEER*, 104-09); the preface in *Lit. Byz. Basil* is also unusually long.

<sup>79</sup> In Jungmann’s discussion of the ppreface, he begins with a consideration of the central place of εὐχαριστία in Christian thought and prayer, beginning with the Epistles of St. Paul. He writes: “This gratitude for the benefits of the natural order is to be found remarkably amplified in a number of examples from the early Christian period, both within the eucharistic prayer and outside it. Later, the theme is less common. It is particularly infrequent in the Roman liturgy, though even here it is not entirely absent”; Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, II:115-16. He goes on to note how the theme of thanks was not only always somewhat muted in the Roman liturgy but that it appears to have been even more restrained in later development. While all Roman prefaces begin “with a declaration of the propriety, we might even say the obligation, of giving thanks,” they nonetheless embrace “only the barest outlines of the prayer of thanks” (Ibid., II:125, 124). In contrast, many “other liturgies [he highlights *Lit. Byz. Basil* in particular] intensify the word ‘thanksgiving’ by adding a long series of expressions all designating the praise and worship of God” (Ibid., II:126).

of the Eastern anaphoras, the offering of praise is expressed through material offering in the Roman Canon.

**Table 1.4 The ratio of doxological language to total words in *Lit. James*, *Lit. AM*, *Lit. Mark*, and the Roman Canon**

	Praise & thanksgiving/total words	Intercession/total words	Intercession/[total words minus praise & thanksgiving]
<i>Lit. James</i>	293/1900 = 15%	745/1900 = 39%	293/1155 = 25%
<i>Lit. AM</i>	377/635 = 59%	46/635 = 7%	377/579 = 65%
<i>Lit. Mark</i>	216/2625 = 8%	1305/2625 = 50%	216/1320 = 17%
<b>Roman Canon</b>	76/682 = 8%	261/943 = 28%	76/682 = 11%

**Note:** the number of words is based on the English translation and does not include the *Sanctus/Benedictus* or the concluding Doxology; the total word count does not include the opening dialogue.

### ***The variable portions of the Roman Canon***

Unlike most of the Eastern anaphoras, the Roman Canon includes at least three variable parts.<sup>80</sup> To situate this fact this broadly across the spectrum of variability in anaphoras, the Roman Canon sits in the middle, with the Eastern prayers remaining basically fixed, while the Gallican and Mozarabic prayers are almost completely variable. In the Roman Canon, the number of prefaces can vary considerably: while the 1570 missal of Pius V contains only eleven, the *Veronense* has 267, and the Gelasian (*Vaticanus Reginensis* 316) has 54.<sup>81</sup> The other two variable sections of the prayer are almost certainly later additions: the *Communicantes* and the *Hanc igitur*.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>80</sup> For a history of the variable parts of the entire liturgy (not only those in the anaphora), see Geoffrey G. Willis, *Further Essays in Early Roman Liturgy*, ACC 50 (London: S.P.C.K., 1968), 91-131.

<sup>81</sup> Spinks, "Canon Missae," 130.

<sup>82</sup> For a detailed history, see V. L. Kennedy, *The Saints of the Canon of the Mass*, Studi di antichità cristiana 14 (Rome: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1938). See also Ferdinand Probst, *Liturgie des vierten Jahrhunderts und deren Reform* (Munster: Druk und Verlag, 1893), 455 ff.; Fortescue,

In contrast, the only variability in the Eastern anaphoras are the diptychs,<sup>83</sup> which are the two lists of names read within the anaphora, one for the living and one for the dead. Neither *Lit. AM*, *Lit. Mark*, nor *Lit. James* contain any other variable portions. The Gallican and Mozarabic forms, however, are characterized by even more variability than the Roman or Eastern forms.<sup>84</sup> The Gallican rites contain four fixed portions of the anaphora: *Sursum corda*, *Sanctus*, institution narrative (known as the *secreta* because it was usually said in silence, out of reverence), and the concluding doxology. Between these forms, three sets of distinct, variable prayers are inserted for each Sunday and feast. Jasper and Cuming explain:

In the Gallican rite these passages are known as *contestatio* or *immolatio* (the equivalent of the preface), *post-Sanctus*, and *post-secreta* or *post-mysterium* (the Institution Narrative being known as *secreta*). The content, especially of the *post-secreta*, is less stereotyped than that of the Eastern and Roman prayers. Where the Eastern anaphora will have a sequence of *anamnesis*, offering, *epiclesis*, and intercessions, any or all of these elements may be absent from the *post-secreta*. The inclusion of an *epiclesis* is quite frequent.”<sup>85</sup>

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*Mass*, 142; Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, I:58, n. 33. Of the *Hanc igitur*: “[t]here are ten variants in the Leonine Sacramentary, the forty-one in the old Gelasian, but only six in the Gregorian, which have now been reduced to three in the *Missale Romanum*”; says Willis, *Essays*, 127.

<sup>83</sup> The Diptychs, from the Greek term meaning “double-folded, doubled,” are the two lists of names read within the anaphora, one for the living and one for the dead; “Diptychs,” in *DLW*, 154. Fortescue explains further that they “were two tablets (covered with wax at the beginning) hinged and folded together like a book”; Fortescue, *Mass*, 115. See also Edmund Bishop, “Appendix: Diptychs” in Richard Hugh Connolly, ed., *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, vol. 8.1, Texts and Studies, Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), 97-117. Peter Jeffery points out that in the Syrian liturgies, “the numerous litanies of the Greek form have been much reduced, often to no more than one or three repetitions of *Kurillison*. However the diptychs, which are read by the deacon simultaneously with the priest’s intercessions after the anaphora, have acquired the *Kurillison* as congregation response, and the name *Katholikon* (*Kathulikī*) survives for a similar list which is read during the fraction, leading into the Our Father”; Peter Jeffery, “The Meaning and Functions of the Kyrie,” in *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer: Trinity, Christology, and Liturgical Theology*, ed. Bryan D. Spinks (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2008), 170-71.

<sup>84</sup> The Gallican was combined with the Roman rite during the eighth and ninth centuries and is no longer in use as a distinct rite; see Paul F. Bradshaw, “Western Rites” in *DLW*, 475.

<sup>85</sup> *PEER*, 147.

Most of this description applies to the Mozarabic rites, though the names of the variable sections are slightly different: *illation*, *post-Sanctus*, and *post-pridie* respectively.<sup>86</sup>

### ***The structural and syntactical placement of the institution narrative***

The institution narrative in the Roman Canon is situated, Serra explains, “in the context of the *supplication* that follows the thanksgiving” and *Sanctus*.<sup>87</sup> This fact is in contrast to what we see in most other anaphora forms. In the West Syrian anaphoras (of which *Lit. James* is a representative example), the institution narrative concludes the anamnetic thanksgiving that continues after the *Sanctus*, which has no parallel in the Roman anaphora. *Lit. AM* famously lacks an institution narrative altogether, and it is debated whether it ever contained one.<sup>88</sup> *The Anaphora of St. Peter III*, or *Sharar*, another East Syrian anaphora that contains most of the text of *Lit. AM* does have an institution narrative, which is situated immediately after the second oblation.<sup>89</sup> In *Lit. Mark*, the institution narrative is situated in a similar, though not identical, location to that in the East Syrian rite. After the thanksgiving that concludes with a quotation of Mal 1:11, a long series of intercessions follows, interrupted about halfway through by a prayer of oblation that contains many similarities to the *Supra quae* in the Roman Canon. This prayer is followed by a pre-*Sanctus*, *Sanctus*, and a brief *epiclesis* (that does not request change in the bread and wine) that links the *Sanctus* to the institution narrative with a

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid. I address the non-Roman, Western rites in the final section of this chapter.

<sup>87</sup> Serra, “Roman Canon,” 104; emphasis added.

<sup>88</sup> Spinks notes that “Macomber suggested that it was removed by a reformer carried out by Iso’yab III,” the East Syrian/Nestorian catholicos from 628-46; Bryan D. Spinks, *Addai and Mari, the Anaphora of the Apostles: A Text for Students*, GLS 24 (Bramcote: Grove Books, 1980), 9; Everett Ferguson, ed., *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 2nd ed., (New York: Garland Publishers, 1997), I:597.

<sup>89</sup> The two texts are presented in parallel in Spinks, *Addai and Mari*, 18-19.

form of the verb “fill.”<sup>90</sup> In short, there are no direct parallels to the institution narrative’s role in the Roman Canon as the warrant for the request that God would bless, approve, and accept the sacrifice so that it might become the Body and Blood of Christ.

### ***The absence of an explicit pneumatic epiclesis***

Finally, Fortescue claims that alongside its unusual structure, the other most significant and distinctive feature of the Roman Canon is “the absence of any invocation of the Holy Ghost to consecrate the oblation,”<sup>91</sup> is maybe its most notable feature. The absence of an explicit *epiclesis* in any form, whether a Spirit-*epiclesis* (as in most extant anaphoras) or a Logos-*epiclesis* (as in the singular example of *Sarapion*).<sup>92</sup> A number of theories have been posited about the absence of an explicit *epiclesis* in the Roman Canon. Robert Taft suggests that this absence indicates the Canon’s antiquity. Since it appears that the *epiclesis* seems “to have spread from Antioch since the IVth century,”<sup>93</sup> Taft

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<sup>90</sup> PEER, 57. “Full in truth are heaven and earth of your holy glory through [the appearing of] our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ: fill, O God, this sacrifice with the blessing from you through the descent of your [all-]Holy Spirit.”

<sup>91</sup> Fortescue, *Mass*, 69.

<sup>92</sup> Fortescue provides a compact but comprehensive summary of the various positions on whether the Roman Canon ever had an *epiclesis* in “Appendix II: The Epiklesis” in *Ibid.*, 402-07. His theory is that the ubiquity of the location of the *epiclesis* after the oblation is based on the fact that the *anamnesis* always includes mention of the Ascension, which “leads naturally to the memory of Pentecost and so to the Holy Ghost” (*Ibid.*, 403). In the East Syrian prayers, intercessions are inserted between the *anamnesis* and the oblation (though not in *Lit. AM*, which lack the intercessions that are found in *Sharar*). The example from *Sarapion* is unique: “Let your holy Word come on this bread, O God of truth, that the bread may become the body of the Word”; PEER, 77. Thomas Cranmer created a new epicletic form in the 1549 English *Book of Common Prayer* that combines both forms in a pre-institution narrative *epiclesis*: “Heare us (O merciful father) we besech thee; and with thy holy spirite and worde, vouchsafe to blæsse and sancxtifie these thy gyftes, and creatures of bread and wyne, that they maie be unto us the bodye and bloude of thy moste derely beloved sonne Jesus Christe. Who in the same nyght...”; Brian Cummings, ed., *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662*, Reprint edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 30; original spelling retained. The manuscript of *Sarapion* was not discovered until 1895 and so Cranmer could not have known of it; see PEER, 74.

<sup>93</sup> Fortescue, 403. The clear description by Cyril of Jerusalem in *Catech. myst.* V.7 is one of the first mentions of the *epiclesis* as fasciliating consecration: “Then, having sanctified ourselves with these

surmises that the basic structure of the Canon was already established by the time of the Council of Constantinople in A.D. 381, and for unknown reasons was resistant to the addition of an explicit epicletic formula.<sup>94</sup> Another theory is that the Canon once contained an *epiclesis* but that it was removed at some point between the pontificate of Gelasius (492-96) and the first manuscript of the Canon in the seventh century.<sup>95</sup> As I will show, this is a theory with barely any evidence.

### ***The origin of the Roman Canon***

Discussions of origins nearly always begin with an admission like that of Jungmann: “The beginnings of the Latin Mass in Rome are wrapped in almost total darkness.”<sup>96</sup> Beginning in the fourth century, scattered references exist in various sources to parts of the Roman liturgy. A great deal of scholarship exists on the origins of Roman Canon specifically, which continues to be prayed by Christians in the Missal of Paul VI as Eucharistic Prayer I and in a form nearly unchanged since at least the papacy of Gregory the Great (590-604).<sup>97</sup> The principal modern studies came from F. Cabrol<sup>98</sup> in

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spiritual hymns [*Sanctus*], we beseech God, the lover of man, to send forth the Holy Spirit upon the (gifts) set before him, that he may make the bread the body of Christ, and the wine the blood of Christ; for everything that the Holy Spirit has touched, has been sanctified and changed”; *PEER*, 85-86; for the Greek text, see *PE*, 208; see also Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, II:191.

<sup>94</sup> Robert F. Taft, “‘Eastern Presuppositions’ and Western Liturgical Renewal,” *Antiphon* 5, no. 1 (2000): 15.

<sup>95</sup> This proposal is based on a passage from Gelasius (*Epist. Fragment 7.2* in Andreas Thiel, ed., *Epistolae Romanorum pontificum genuinae et quae ad eos scriptae sunt: Tomus 1. a S. Hilario usque ad Pelagium II*, reprint of 1868 ed. (New York: Olms, 1974), 486), which Fortescue and others interpret as evidence that the Roman Canon once contained an *epiclesis*. Fortescue concludes that the *epiclesis* “was removed at Rome, apparently deliberately, because of the growing Western insistence on the words of institution as the Consecration form,” and he goes on to give citations from Ambrose, Augustine, Caesarius of Arles, and Isidore of Seville to this effect; Fortescue, *Mass*, 406.

<sup>96</sup> Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, I:49.

<sup>97</sup> See Serra’s discussion of dating in Serra, “Roman Canon,” 105-07. He suggests that the central portions date as early as the pontificate of Damasus (366-384). Mazza proposes an even earlier dating; he



1925, Fortescue<sup>99</sup> in 1926, and finally Jungman with his *Missarum sollemnia: Eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe* in 1949, which remains the standard survey.<sup>100</sup> The earliest attempts to explain the origin of the final form of the Roman Canon, which everyone agrees underwent redaction at various points, were outlined helpfully by Fortescue, to which should be added the hypotheses of M. Righetti<sup>101</sup> and Opfermann,<sup>102</sup> which were popularized after the council by Cypriano Vagaggini.<sup>103</sup> The critical edition in the collection *Præx Eucharistica* (1968) includes a full bibliography that

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suggests that an early form of the Roman Canon reliant on the Alexandrian tradition came into existence in Latin at some point in the second century, during the first phase of Latinization; Mazza, *Origins*, 286.

<sup>98</sup> Fernand Cabrol, "Canon Romain," in *DACL*, 1847-1905.

<sup>99</sup> Fortescue, *Mass*.

<sup>100</sup> Josef A. Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia: Eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe*, 2nd rev. ed. (Wien: Herder, 1949); ET = Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*. Jungmann continued to revise and make corrections to the German edition; a third, corrected edition was published in 1952 (Wien: Herder), a fourth edition in 1958 (Wien: Verlag Herder), and a fifth edition in 1962 (Freiburg: Herder). The literature on the origin of the Canon is vast, though the last comprehensive study is probably that of Jungman. In addition to the three already cited, here are the most important studies: Baumstark, *Liturgia romana*; L. Duchesne and M. L. McClure, *Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution; A Study of the Latin Liturgy up to the Time of Charlemagne*, 2d. English ed., rev (London: SPCK, 1904); Edmund Bishop, *Liturgica Historica: Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918); Anton Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden der Liturgie*, EO 10 (Freiburg: Herder, 1923); Baumstark, *Missale romanum: Seine Entwicklung, ihre wichtigsten Urkunden und Probleme* (Eindhoven: Wilhelm van Eupen, 1930); Botte, *Le canon*; Walter H. Frere, *The Anaphora, or Great Eucharistic Prayer*. (London: SPCK, 1938); Baumstark, "Das 'Problem,'" Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London: Dacre Press, 1945); Baumstark, "Antik-römischer Gebetsstil im Messkanon," in *Miscellanea liturgica in honorem L. Cuniberti Mohlberg*, vol. I (Rome, 1948); Botte and Mohrmann, *L'Ordinaire de la messe*; King, *Liturgy of the Roman Church*; Klaus Gamber, "Canonica Præx: Eine Studie über den altrömischen Mess-Kanon," *Heiliger Dienst* 17 (1963): 57–64, 87–95; Willis, *Essays; Further Essays*; Theodor Klauser, *Kleine abendländische Liturgiegeschichte*, 5th. (Koln: Peter Hanstein Verlag, 1965); ET = *A Short History of the Western Liturgy: An Account and Some Reflections*, trans. John Halliburton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969); Righetti, *La Messa*; Vagaggini, *Canon of the Mass*; Bouyer, *Eucharist*; Klaus Gamber, *Missa Romensis* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1970); Bouley, *From Freedom to Formula*; Enrico Mazza, *The Eucharistic Prayers of the Roman Rite* (New York: Pueblo, 1986); Gordon P. Jeanes, ed., *The Origins of the Roman Rite*, Alcuin/GROW Liturgical Study 20 (Bramcote: Grove Books, 1991); Moreton, "Rethinking"; Mazza, *Origins*; Jeanes, ed., *The Origins of the Roman Rite*, vol. 2, Alcuin/GROW Liturgical Study 20 (Cambridge: Grove Books Ltd., 1998); Spinks, "Canon Missæ"; Ray, "Rome and Alexandria."

<sup>101</sup> Mario Righetti, *Manuale di storia liturgica: La Messa, commento storico-liturgico all'aluce del Concilio Vaticano II*, 4 vols. (Milano: Editrice Ancora, 1966), III:439-75.

<sup>102</sup> Opfermann, "Die Erforschung."

<sup>103</sup> Vagaggini, *The Canon of the Mass*, 28-34.

extends beyond Jungman's 1949 work. The text in *Prex*, along with Bernard Botte's two earlier critical editions and Eizenhöfer's remarkable work on sources, are the standard texts to which scholarly work appeal.<sup>104</sup> Mazza highlights in 1995 that "there are no recent studies dealing with the origin of the Roman Canon," even during all the work that took place after Vatican II when the *Romanum Missalle* was being completely revised.<sup>105</sup>

Robert Taft suggests that the strongly Christological focus on the Roman Canon is, in fact, "sign of [its] great antiquity." He goes on:

This eucharistic prayer, obviously formulated before the impact of the late fourth-century pneumatological resolution at Constantinople 1 (381 A.D.), reflects a primitive euchologic theology much older than almost any extant eastern anaphora except Addai and Mari and the no-longer used UrChrysostom and UrBasil, *pace* the common myth that everything eastern is automatically older."<sup>106</sup>

Here, Taft argues not from a reading of parallels or comparisons per se, but rather by asking questions about its content in light of the wider context of Christian theological development. Instead of assuming that the Spirit-*epiclesis* is part of the oldest strata of extant anaphoras, the lack of any mention of the Holy Spirit instead causes Taft to ask what this characteristic of the text might mean about its antiquity.<sup>107</sup> The logic is that its

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<sup>104</sup> *PE*, 424-26; Botte and Mohrmann, *L'ordinaire de la messe*; Bernard Botte, ed., *Le canon de la messe romaine*, Textes et études liturgiques 2 (Louvain: Abbaye du Mont César, 1935). See Serra, "Roman Canon," 106. For a detailed history of the Canon's sources, see Leo Eizenhöfer, ed., *Canon Missae Romanae: Pars prior, traditio textus*, Collectanea Anselmiana; rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Series Minor: Subsidia Studiorum 1 (Roma: Orbis Catholicus, 1954); Leo Eizenhöfer, ed., *Canon Missae Romanae: Pars altera, textus propinqui*, Collectanea Anselmiana; rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Series Minor: Subsidia Studiorum 7 (Roma: Casa Editrice Herder, 1966).

<sup>105</sup> Mazza, *Origins*, 242.

<sup>106</sup> Taft, "Eastern Presuppositions," 15.

<sup>107</sup> Matthieu Smyth agrees that this is one of a number of archaisms in the Roman Canon that point both to its considerable antiquity and its "older Judeo-Christian theology." "When it is not purely theological, as in the case of certain prayers of praise at the beginning of the Alexandrian anaphora of St. Mark, the theology of the *canonica prex* [i.e., Roman Canon] is binitarian: it is based on a relation of Father-Son (as unique mediator), where the Holy Spirit is the figure of the odd one out"; "The so-called 'Apostolic Tradition' and the Roman Eucharistic Prayer," in *Issues in Eucharistic Praying in East and West*, 77. Bradshaw commends a careful consideration of Smyth's arguments in Paul F. Bradshaw, "What Do We Really Know about the Earliest Roman Liturgy?," in *SP*, vol. LXXI (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 18.

venerability was so great, in part because of its connection to Rome, that subsequent popes felt no need to add certain items in order to prove its orthodoxy, no matter how ubiquitous those features had become in most other anaphoras and despite the evidence that later popes did make small alterations to the prayer.

In Juliette Day's article on interpreting the data about the Roman Canon, she lists three types of evidence typically used in studies of the Canon's origin:

(1) Texts which are believed to be from Rome in the period before 600 but which contain quotations, allusions or references to items which appear in the Canon. (2) Texts in latin [*sic*] from elsewhere in the Western church, Italy, North Africa, Gaul, which contain verbal parallels, allusions or references to the Canon. (3) And, there is also a third and more problematic category of texts which are not Roman and not in latin, most notably the Egyptian anaphoras, which have been identified as lying behind the Canon.<sup>108</sup>

All of the data about the emergence of the Roman Canon until the seventh century come from sources other than manuscripts of liturgies in Latin. As Metzger points out, the documentation for the Roman liturgy is significantly limited, "in no way comparable to that concerning Jerusalem or Antioch during the same period. No mystagogic catecheses, no sufficient allusions in the homilies and sermons."<sup>109</sup> Although no manuscripts of the Roman Canon exist prior to the seventh century, there is a raft of data that indicates the much earlier existence of language unique to the final form of the Roman Canon. But before I look at them, a note on the earliest texts of the Canon.

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<sup>108</sup> Day, "Interpreting," 55.

<sup>109</sup> Metzger, "Eucharistic Liturgy in Rome," 103. While there is no mystagogical catechesis in Rome, two exist in Ambrose from c. 360-70: *De sacramentis* and *De mysteriis* (see SCh 25bis).

### ***Manuscript evidence for the Roman Canon***

The earliest manuscripts date to the late sixth or early seventh century. References to various *collectae* of prayers, prefaces, and other materials abound for both Roman Africa and Gaul, but none of these materials have survived.<sup>110</sup> The earliest of these collections is the so-called *Veronese* (Verona Sacramentary), which is actually “a kind of pre-sacramentary.” It was incorrectly attributed to Pope Leo the Great (440-461) by Bianchini, in his 1735 edition of the single manuscript (*Cod. Bibl. Capit. Veron. LXXXV*) that survives; the document was consequently referred to as the Leonine Sacramentary. The one striking absence in this manuscript is the text of the Latin eucharistic prayer.<sup>111</sup> There is wide agreement that the *Veronese* dates from the fifth or sixth centuries, and some of the prayers date to as early as 400, but most after 440 and “more than half of them are later than 500.”<sup>112</sup>

Two sacramentaries contain the earlier texts of the final form of the Roman Canon. The oldest true sacramentary<sup>113</sup> is the so-called Gelasian Sacramentary, whose

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<sup>110</sup> See Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 34-35. For a complete discussion of all the manuscript evidence for the Roman Canon from the seventh through ninth centuries, see Edmund Bishop, “On the Early Texts of the Roman Canon,” *JTS* 4, no. 16 (1903): 555–78, reprinted in Bishop, *Liturgica*, 77-115. See also Serra, “Roman Canon.”

<sup>111</sup> Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 38-9.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 43; Vogel provides a detailed bibliography on the dating of its contents.

<sup>113</sup> Vogel defines a sacramentary as “a presider’s book containing all the texts he personally needs for the celebration of the Eucharist, the administration of the sacraments, the presiding of the Hours of Prayer, and for a variety of other liturgical events (the consecration of virgins, weddings, funerals, dedication of churches, etc.). By right it does not contain what the other ministers need for the performance of their specific liturgical functions, i.e., a Sacramentary has neither readings nor chants, because these are reserved to lectors, subdeacons, deacons or the *schola cantorum*. Nor does a Sacramentary normally have any but the sketchiest directions for carrying out the liturgy; these are contained in a special book called *Ordines*. A Sacramentary, in other words, did not resemble any of the late medieval or Tridentine books; it contained both more and less than the Missal, Pontifical, and Ritual of later centuries”; *Ibid.*, 64.

manuscript resides in the Vatican library;<sup>114</sup> a few important items help provide a firm date range between 628 and 715.<sup>115</sup> The Gelasian was “intended for the presbyters in charge of the neighborhood churches,” known as the *tituli*, and provides a full array of Sunday propers. The second type of sacramentary, the Gregorian, consists of the papal stational liturgies used at the Lateran basilica and other churches throughout Rome but no Sunday formularies.<sup>116</sup> One of the most famous of the Gregorian books, the *Hadrianum*, is the result of the request of Charlemagne (768-814) to Pope Hadrian I (772-95) taken by Paul Warnefrid (Paul the Deacon, Paul the Grammarian) “for a pure (*inmixtum*) Gregorian sacramentary, i.e., the papal sacramentary from the very pen of St. Gregory I, free from all post- or extra-Gregorian additions.”<sup>117</sup> The manuscripts of the Spanish Mozarabic rite contain a few texts related to the final form of the Roman Canon, and

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<sup>114</sup> The manuscript is titled “*Codex Vaticanus Reginensis latinus* 316, folios 3-245; its missing conclusion is found at Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale, codex latinus* 7193, folios 41-56.” Vogel goes on to explain that “the Paris supplement contains a long exorcism, a penitential and a *Breviarium apostolorum*; it was probably added to the Roman materials when it was transcribed in Gaul” (Ibid., 64-5).

<sup>115</sup> Among those materials is a mass for *S. Gregorii papae* who died in 60.. The *Canon actionis* contains what the *Liber pontificalis* says that Gregory inserted into the *Hanc igitur* (“diesque nostros in tua pace disponas atque ab aeterna damnatione nos eripi et in electorum tuorum iubeas grege numerari”), and the *Pater noster* is placed directly after the Amen of the Canon. Gregory explains that he placed it in that spot in an extant letter to Bishop John of Syracuse (see Gregory the Great, *Ep. IX, 26 ad Joannem Syracusanum* [CCSL CXL A, 586]; ET = John R. C. Martyn, trans., *The Letters of Gregory the Great*, Mediaeval Sources in Translation 40 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2004), II:562. All subsequent Latin and English quotations are taken from these two sources. Vogel explains: “The Sanctoral Cycle has both feasts of the Cross, although the *Exaltatio Crucis* (Sept 14) was introduced at Rome after the death of Gregory the Great, probably after the recovery of the True Cross from the Persians by the Emperor Heraclius in 628. The Sanctoral also contains the four feasts of the Blessed Virgin (*Purificatio*, Feb. 2; *Annunciatio*, March 25; *Assumptio*, Aug 15; *Nativitas*, Sept 8) unknown in Rome at the time of Gregory but which were being celebrated during the reign of the Syrian Pope, Sergius I (687-701);” Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 69. Further, it lacks the *Agnus Dei*, which the *Liber pontificalis* credits to Pope Serius I (687-701): “His statuit ut tempore confectionis dominici corporis Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis a clero et populo decantetur”; L. Duchesne, ed., *Le Liber pontificalis*, 2nd ed., 3 vols. Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome. (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1955), I:376. Hereafter *LP*. See also Bryan D. Spinks, *Do This in Remembrance of Me: The Eucharist from the Early Church to the Present Day*, SCM Studies in Worship and Liturgy Series (London: SCM Press, 2013), 200.

<sup>116</sup> Metzger, “Roman Eucharistic Liturgy,” 107.

<sup>117</sup> GrH, 85. See also J. Deshusses, “Les sacramentaires. État actuel de la recherche,” *AfL* 24 (1982): 19–46; ET = Deshusses, “The Sacramentaires: A Progress Report,” *Liturgy* 18 (1984): 13–60. For a lengthy discussion of the various manuscripts and their contents, see Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 79-102.

some have thought they might represent earlier forms of the Roman Canon.<sup>118</sup> Two additional fourth-century Arian fragments (quoted within an argument against Catholics) that bear on the Roman Canon were published by Cardinal Mai in 1828 (and thus are known as the “Mai fragments”). They contain material associated with the preface, *Te Igitur*, and *Supplices te* (both Vagaggini and Mazza use the longer, second fragment in their reconstructions).<sup>119</sup> Vogel dates the fragments to the fifth century and indicates that they have “numerous parallels with the Verona formularies,” which themselves date to the fifth and sixth centuries.<sup>120</sup>

### ***The transition from Greek to Latin and the emergence of Latin anaphoral prayers***

We must consider the origins of the Roman Canon within the context of the transition of the liturgical language in Rome from Greek to Latin, a process that

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<sup>118</sup> The *Post-bridie* (§627) in the *Liber mozarabicus* has many parallels to the *Ergo memores* and *Et petimus et praecamur* in Ambrose’s *De sacramentis* and the *Unde et memores* and *Supra quae* in the Roman Canon. Vagaggini and Mazza make use of this text in their respective attempts to reconstruct an early form of the Roman Canon. See §627 in *LMS*, col. 262, ln. 5ff. Prayer §1440 (col. 641, ln. 30ff) in the same collection shares significant language and themes with the *Te igitur* and the *Memento Domine* in the Roman Canon and is also utilized in the reconstructions of Vagaggini and Mazza. A prayer in the *Liber ordinum* is very similar, though not absolutely identical, to the Mozarabic prayer §1440 and is also used in the same reconstructions; see *LO*, col. 321, ln. 34ff. Jasper and Cuming, as well as Ray, note that this prayer is misidentified as a *Post-bridie* in the *Liber mozarabicus* and *Liber Ordinum* respectively. Jasper and Cuming suggest that it was more likely a *Post-Sanctus*. See *PEER*, 155-57; Ray, “Rome and Alexandria,” 101, 107. The “*Post-bridie*” is also similarly mislabeled in *PE*, 428 n. 1. For the theoretical reconstructions that use texts mentioned in this paragraph, see Vagaggini, *Canon of the Mass*, 28-34; Mazza, *Origins*, 240-86. An additional preface (which appears in slightly different versions in two other early collections) refers to the three ancient sacrifices in quite a different way than in the Roman Canon and the Mozarabic *Post bridie*: not as a basis upon which we can now rely for God to accept our sacrifices, but rather as a prefigured type of Christ: “We together immolate your sacrifice of praise, whose (prae)figurement righteous Abel instituted, and the lawful lamb manifested, Abraham celebrated, and the priest Melchizedek showed forth, but which as a true lamb, an eternal high priest, Christ fulfilled at his birth”; GeV no. 20. See the similar prayers in *LO*, no. 1420 and Ve, no. 1250.

<sup>119</sup> Angelo Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e vaticani codicibus*, vol. 3 (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1828); Giovanni Mercati, ed., *Antiche reliquie liturgiche ambrosiane e romane: Con un excursus sui frammenti dogmatici ariani del Mai* (Rome: Tipografia Vaticana, 1902), 47-56; *LMS*, 202; *PE*, 422; *PEER*, 116; Spinks, *Sanctus*, 95.

<sup>120</sup> Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 37, 41, and 54, n. 86.

concludes by the late fourth or early fifth centuries.<sup>121</sup> Precisely when this shift begins and ends in Rome is not clear, though it seems to have begun earlier in North Africa.<sup>122</sup> Mohrmann thinks there is enough evidence to suggest that “Greek was the only ecumenical language of Christianity” until the middle of the second century.<sup>123</sup> The switch from the use of Greek to Latin in the inscription on the papal tomb of Pope Cornelius (d. 253)<sup>124</sup> is one of the fixed data points from the third century that sheds light on the transition to Latin, along with the Latin letters from Roman clergy to Cyprian, bishop of Carthage (d. 258) and the composition in Latin of *De trinitate* by the later’s opponent, Novatian.<sup>125</sup> We can assume that the transition was already well developed by the end of the fourth century, since Pope Damasus (366-84) felt the need for Jerome to undertake a thorough revision of the Latin Scriptures, thus correcting the various Latin

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<sup>121</sup> See Christine Mohrmann, “Les origines de la latinité chretienne à Rome,” *VC* 3, no. 2 (April 1949): 67–106; Christine Mohrmann, “Les origines de la latinité chretienne à Rome,” *VC* 3, no. 3 (July 1949): 163–83.

<sup>122</sup> Christine Mohrmann, *Liturgical Latin, Its Origins and Character: Three Lectures* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1957), 16. Because Latinization likely began in North Africa, Spinks notes that “a number of scholars refer to the Roman canon as the Romano-African *canon missae*”; *Do This*, 204. See also the two articles by Mohrmann in the previous note and Theodor Klauser, “Der Übergang der römischen Kirche von der griechischen zur lateinischen Liturgiesprache,” in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, Studi e testi 122 (Vatican City, 1946), 467–82. In North Africa, the first converts spoke Latin and not Greek. For more on this, see J. B. Rives, *Religion and Authority in Roman Carthage: From Augustus to Constantine* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); Maura K. Lafferty, “Translating Faith from Greek to Latin: Romanitas and Christianitas in Late Fourth-Century Rome and Milan,” *J ECS* 11, no. 1 (March 27, 2003): 21–62. The fact that the transition began earlier in North Africa lends credibility to the theory that it was a North African native who made the first Latin translation of their Greek anaphora and which translation had influence in multiple geographic locales. In particular, the combination of his or her lived experience of the Greek anaphora combined with a longer communal use of Christian Latin makes such a person uniquely positioned to be an effective translator and redactor.

<sup>123</sup> Mohrmann, *Liturgical Latin*, 15.

<sup>124</sup> In light of this fact, Baumstark dates the origin of the Roman Canon to the time of Pope Cornelius. See Baumstark, “Das ‘Problem;’”; Mazza, *Roman Rite*, 296, n.17; Mazza, *Origins*, 285.

<sup>125</sup> Jungman, I:50; Uwe Michael Lang, “Rhetoric of Salvation: The Origins of Latin as the Language of the Roman Liturgy,” in *The Genius of the Roman Rite: Historical, Theological, and Pastoral Perspectives on Catholic Liturgy*, (Chicago: Hillenbrand Books, 2010), 26-27.

texts that were in circulation at the time.<sup>126</sup> During this same period, a transition from the improvisation of eucharistic prayers to fixed formulas was also occurring.<sup>127</sup>

### ***Possible Latin witnesses to the Roman Canon before Ambrose***

At least three additional sources also provide critical insight into the dating of this transition. The first is the *Passio sanctarum Felicitatis et Perpetuae* (c. 200). The Latin version of the text, which describes the martyrs' entry into heaven, recounts the thrice-holy hymn sung by the angels: *et introivimus et audivimus vocem unitam, dicentem: Agios, agios, agios sine cessatione* (12.2).<sup>128</sup> The second text is a quotation of a eucharistic prayer by Victorinus (c. 360) in both Latin (*Adversus Arium* I.30) and Greek (*Adversus Arium* II.8).<sup>129</sup> The combined use of liturgical Latin and Greek has led many to conclude that Greek was still being used in the liturgy in Rome as late as 360.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> Ibid., 41-2. See also H. A. G. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Texts, and Manuscripts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

<sup>127</sup> See Bouley, *From Freedom to Formula*, for the fullest discussion of the transition.

<sup>128</sup> Quoted in Mohrmann, *Liturgical Latin*, 16. For a discussion of how to interpret this passage, see Spinks, *Sanctus*, 51.

<sup>129</sup> Marius Victorinus c. 360 explains a Greek phrase in the eucharistic liturgy in *Adversus Arium* I.30 (PL 8:1063A; CSEL 83:64): “Populum περιούσιον, circa substantiam, hoc est circa vitam consistentem populum, sicuti et in oblatione dicitur: ‘Munda tibi populum circum vitalem aemulatore bonorum operum circa tuam substantiam venientem.’” Later in *Adversus Arium* II.8, in the middle of his Latin text, when he comes to the Canon, he switches over without comment to Greek (PL 8:1094B; CSEL 83:182-83). The passage reads, “Hinc oratio oblationis intellectu eodem precatur eum: σῶσον περιούσιον λαὸν, ζηλωτὴν καλῶν ἔργων.”

<sup>130</sup> The passage in Victorinus is cited in many studies of the Roman Rite as evidence of the shift from Greek to Latin. See Mohrmann, *Liturgical Latin*, 15-16, 50-51 and “Les origins”; Jungman, I:51; Klauser, *Short History*, 18; Bouley, *From Freedom to Formula*, 202, n.177; Willis, *History*, 21-22; Lang, “Rhetoric,” 27-28. Uwe Michael Lang suggests, however, that the context of the quotations raises questions about whether Greek was still the principal liturgical language at this late date. That context, he explains, is “Victorinus’ defense of the Nicene ὁμοούσιος, against those who argue that the word οὐσία/*substantia* is not found in Holy Scripture.” The fact that Victorinus cites the liturgy in both Latin and Greek might be an instance of a “skilled rhetorician” choosing “to refer to a version of that prayer that had already fallen out of use by his time, in order to reinforce his argument in favor of the ὁμοούσιος” by an appeal to antiquity. Nonetheless, the rhetorical context is the same for both the Latin and Greek quotation, which weakens Lang’s critique. Lang also asks whether it is fair to say that Victorinus is quoting “a fragment of the Roman



The third source that provides critical insight into the transition from Greek to Latin is Ambrosiaster, who has two passages of interest to us. The first comes from a commentary on 1 Corinthians 14:14 (“For if I pray in a tongue, my spirit prays but my mind is unproductive”).<sup>131</sup>

It is clear that our soul does not understand if it speaks in an unknown tongue. Latin-speakers sing in Greek and enjoy the sound of the words but do not understand what they are singing. The Spirit which is given in baptism knows what the soul is praying when it speaks or prays in an unknown tongue, but the mind, which is the rational soul, gets nothing out of it. What can a person achieve if he does not know what he is saying?<sup>132</sup>

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Canon,” as Klauser claims, especially since no vestige of such a phrase remains in the Roman Rite. See Lang, “Rhetoric,” 27-28 and Klauser, *Short History*, 18. Frere is a bit more vague and says that Victorinus “also refers to the Roman Canon,” which probably indicates that he does not interpret the quotation as coming necessarily from the eucharistic prayer itself, and he later notes that Victorinus’s comments in the passage about translation issues “seem to be references to a Roman Anaphora” (emphasis added); Frere, *Anaphora*, 142, 143. Mohrmann also says that Victorinus “gives a Greek quotation from the Roman Canon of the eucharistic liturgy,” without any note that the language quoted does not appear in any extant Latin liturgical texts; *Liturgical Latin*, 50. Jungmann seems to be on firmer ground when he suggests that the quotation (which contains an allusion to Titus 2:14) was likely “an excerpt from a blessing which was spoken either before or after the Great Prayer” (*Const. ap.* contains just such a prayer); Jungman, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, I:51, n. 5. See *Const. ap.* 2.57.20 for a pre-anaphoral episcopal prayer that makes use of Titus 2:14 as well as an allusion to the same verse in 8.41.8. Jungman and Lang both note that a similar prayer with an allusion to Titus 2:14 is found in the East-Syrian rite; Jungman, I:51, n. 5 and Lang, “Rhetoric,” 28. For the East-Syrian text to which they refer (a pre-anaphoral litany led by the deacon), see Brightman, 264, ln. 3. Lang does not mention the parallel in *Const. ap.* Frere also notes that “the Latin form of the phrase has no place in any extant form of the Canon; and the Greek form is not at all prominent in Greek Anaphoras”; *Anaphora*, 143.

<sup>131</sup> Alexander Souter, *A Study of Ambrosiaster*, vol. 7, no. 4, Texts and Studies; Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature (Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1967), 1. Souter’s work covers all the history of attributions and also provides the argument that the same figure is the author of both *Commentarius* and *Quaestiones*. See *Ibid.*, 1-12, 161-194. As Mohrmann notes, this text was “constantly used as a witness regarding the use of a liturgical language both during the Reformation and, in reaction, at the Council of Trent”; Mohrmann, *Liturgical Latin*, 53-54. For a history of this phenomenon, see Herman Schmidt, *Liturgie et langue vulgaire: Le problème de la langue liturgique chez les premiers réformateurs et au Concile de Trente*, trans. Dom Suitbert Caron, OSB, *Analecta Gregoriana*, n. 23 (Rome: Apud Aedes Universitatis Gregoriana, 1950), 126.

<sup>132</sup> “Si oravero lingua, spiritus meus orat; mens autem mea sine fructu est. manifestum est ignorare anumum nostrum, si lingua loquatur quam nescit, sicut adsolent Latini homines Graece cantare oblectati sono verborum, nescientes tamen quid decant. Spiritus ergo, qui datur in baptism, scit quid oret animus, dum loquitur aut perorate lingua sibi ignota; mens autem, qui est animus, sine fructu est. quem anim potest habere profectum, qui ignorant quae loquatur?” Ambrosiaster, *Commentarius in epistulas Paulinas. Pars II: In epistulas ad Corinthios*, ed. Heinrich Joseph Vogels, CSEL 81/2 (Vindobonae: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1966), 153; ET in Ambrosiaster, *Commentaries on Romans and 1-2 Corinthians*, trans. Gerald Lewis Bray, *Ancient Christian Texts* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2009), 185-86. Comment on I

The passage appears to indicate that some of the liturgy remains in Greek, even for Latin speakers. Since this work can be dated to the pontificate of Damasus (366-84), this could indicate that the transition from Greek to Latin is not yet complete but is nearing its conclusion.<sup>133</sup> What parts of the liturgy remain in Greek, and in what locations, it is difficult to say. However, it could also indicate that the transition has only just been completed, leaving this as a rhetorically compelling example for his readers. More specifically, as Mohrmann explains, Ambrosiaster's argument is quite subtle and more complicated than Klauser's interpretation.<sup>134</sup> The context is almost certainly about the "gift of tongues" and not the general issue of various languages. Ambrosiaster goes beyond Paul's argument when he claims that while the rational mind may not understand the Greek prayed in the liturgy by the Latin-speaker, the spirit may nonetheless be uplifted. That is, Mohrmann suggests that Ambrosiaster is making a distinction between "communication," which requires an understanding of the language, and "expression," which may occur without direct apprehension.<sup>135</sup> I remain unconvinced that this evidence indicates that Greek was still in use and find Mohrmann's interpretation convincing.

A second quotation is in Ambrosiaster's *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, which is cited by many as a sign of an early form of the Roman Canon.<sup>136</sup> The passage in question is found at the very end of a treatise on Melchizedek, where he refers to the

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Corinthians 14:14; translation from Ambrosiaster, *Commentaries*, 185-86. Cited in Lang, "Rhetoric," 28, n. 18.

<sup>133</sup> Lang, "Rhetoric," 28. Ambrosiaster, *Commentaries*, xvi.

<sup>134</sup> Mohrmann, *Liturgical Latin*, 53-58. Klauser discusses this passage in "Der Übergang," 467-82. See also Burkhard Neunheuser, "Histoire de la liturgie" in *DEL*, I:535-36.

<sup>135</sup> Mohrmann, *Liturgical Latin*, 55.

<sup>136</sup> Lang, "Rhetoric," 28, who says that "the eucharistic prayer in Rome refers to Melchisedek as *summus sacerdos*." Jungmann simply notes that a phrase from the *Supra quae* appears in a writing near the end of the fourth century. He interprets the writer as saying "that Melchisedech was the Holy Ghost"; Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, I:51.

application of the phrase “summus sacerdos” to Melchizedek in the “oblacione” (the Eucharistic prayer).<sup>137</sup> “Summus sacerdos” appears as a modifier of Melchizedek in the *Supra quae*: “et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam.”<sup>138</sup> Since Ambrosiaster’s text can be dated to c. 366-82,<sup>139</sup> this passage is usually considered evidence of an established Latin eucharistic prayer which calls Melchizedek “summus sacerdos,” a feature both of the version in Ambrose’s *De sacramentis* IV.27 as well as the Canon’s *textus receptus*.

A fourth source that may indicate an earlier version of the Roman Canon is a sermon by Zeno of Verona that also refers to Melchizedek as “summus sacerdos.”<sup>140</sup> In another sermon on the sacrifice of Isaac, he describes Abraham as “Abraham patriarcha noster,” which is precisely how Abraham is named in the same section of Ambrose’s version and also the *Supra quae*. Zeno also describes Isaac as offered by Abraham as

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<sup>137</sup> “Similiter et spiritus sanctus missus quasi antestes sacerdos appellatus est excelsi dei, non summus, sicut nostri in oblacione praesumunt, quia, quamvis unius sint substantiae Christus et sanctus spiritus, unius cuiusque tamen ordo seruandus est.” “CVIII. De Melchisedech,” §21, Pseudo-Augustine, *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti CXXVII*, ed. Alexander Souter, vol. 50, CSEL (Vindobonae: F. Tempsky, 1908), 268. “Likewise the Holy Spirit is sent as a priest, and is called the priest of the most high God (not the high priest as our people claim in the oblacione)”; ET = Spinks, “Canon Missae,” 132. Fortescue provides one of the clearest readings on the meaning of the passage: “He [Ambrosiaster] defends the astonishing theory that Melchisedek was the Holy Ghost” but claims nonetheless that “Melchisedek’s priesthood is less exalted than that of Christ”; Fortescue, *Mass*, 128.

<sup>138</sup> Melchizedek is also referenced in the anaphora in *Const. ap.* 8.12; ὁ τὸν Μελχισεδὲκ ἀρχιερεὺς σῆς λατρείας προχειρισάμενος (You chose Melchizedek to be high-priest of your service [λατρείας]) *Const. ap.* 8.12.23; ET = PEER, 107. Latter in the anaphora, Jesus is described as one whom God ordained “to be a sacrifice, who was a High Priest” (ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἱερέων); *Const. ap.* 8.12.30.

<sup>139</sup> Souter, *Ambrosiaster*, 66-74.

<sup>140</sup> “Quid, quod Abel iustus est sine hoc uulnere inuentus? ... Quid, quod Melchisedech, summus ipse sacerdos deo acceptissimus huius fuit cicatrices ignarus?” *Tractatus i.3*, ll. 36-41 in Zeno, *Tractatus*, ed. Bengt Löfstedt, CCSL 22 (Turnholti: Brepols, 1971), 25. The sermon dates from between 362 and 371 or 372. Ambrose indicates that Zeno died c. 380 (*Epist.* 1, 5, 1). See Magne, “Rites et prières”; Gordon Jeanes, “Early Latin Parallels to the Roman Canon? Possible References to a Eucharistic Prayer in Zeno of Verona,” *JTS* 37, no. 2 (1986): 427–31. See also Jeanes, ed., *The Origins of the Roman Rite*, 2 vols., GLS 20 (Bramcote, Nottingham: Grove Books, 1991/98), I:29 n.5; Serra, “Roman Canon,” 100. Jeanes lists a bibliography dealing with the dating of Zeno’s episcopate; Jeanes, “Early Latin Parallels,” 427, n.1.

“immaculata hostia,” which is used in the *Unde et memores* and *Supra quae*.<sup>141</sup> Very recently, Christaan Kappes proposed that the Stoic philosopher and Christian convert Lactantius (c. 250—c.325) was a translator and composer of an early version of the Latin anaphora. This is based in large part because of the way both the Ambrosian anaphora and the Mai fragment display imperiale and “juridical vocabulary” (particularly Seneca’s *De clementia*), which he argues was later redacted out of the *textus receptus* in favor of more scriptural language.<sup>142</sup>

### ***The earlier version of a Latin anaphora in De Sacramentis of Ambrose***

The earliest certain witness to large portions of an anaphora that bears many significant similarities to the Roman Canon is found in Book 4 of Ambrose’s *De Sacramentis* (4.5.21-22, 4.6.27; VI.6.24; henceforth *Sacr.*), dated 390.<sup>143</sup> Before quoting

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<sup>141</sup> “Abraham patriarcha noster exploratus a deo in senectute suscepit unicum filium.” *Tractatus* i.43, line 8 in Zeno, *Tractatus*, 114; Jeanes, “Early Latin Parallels”, 430-31. In i.59, lines 14 and following, Isaac is described as “innocens martyr offertur, immaculata hostia nec victima imparata” (Zeno, *Tractatus*, 134). A form of the phrase “immaculata hostia” occurs twice in the Roman Canon after the institution narrative, first in the *Unde et memores* (“hostiam immaculatam”) and also in the *Supra quae* (“immaculatam hostiam”), the latter paralleled identically in Ambrose’s *Sacr.* 4.27. While the *Liber Pontificalis* says that Pope Leo the Great (440-461) added the phrase concerning Melchizedek’s offering to the *Supra quae* (“sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam”), which falls approximately 100 years after Zeno’s sermons, the same phrase occurs just a few lines earlier in the *Unde et memores*: “hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam.” There, “immaculatam hostiam” is one of three phrases that function as synonyms for that which is offered in the Eucharist. Jeanes does not note that the very next sentence in Zeno’s sermon begins, “Ad hanc igitur”; “hanc igitur” is the incipit for one of the paragraphs of the Canon; whether a version of this paragraph existed at this period is unclear. Ambrose does not quote it, though his quotation of the Canon does not begin until the equivalent of the *Quam oblationem*. Regarding Leo’s insertion, see *LP*, I:239, l. 8; the sentence reads: “Hic constituit ut intra actionem sacrificii diceretur sanctum sacrificium et cetera.”

<sup>142</sup> Kappes, “Lactantius” (unpublished manuscript). He proposes Damasus as the redactor, given his stridently anti-Stoic posture and the overlap in language between some of his writing and the Canon.

<sup>143</sup> Ambrose, *Des sacrements, Des mystères, Explication du symbole*. Edited by Bernard Botte. SCH 25bis (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1961); ET = Ambrose, *On the Sacraments and On the Mysteries*, ed. J. H. Strawley, trans. T. Thompson (London: S.P.C.K., 1950). All subsequent quotations of the Latin are from SCH 25bis. All subsequent English translations of the anaphora itself will be my translation that is based on Thompson’s translations (particularly so that all identical terms in it and the *textus receptus* are translated in the same way). All subsequent quotations in English from the rest of the work are from the

part of an anaphora, he describes the portion that he does not quote in this way: “laus deo defertur, oratio petitur pro populo, pro regibus, pro caeteris” (*Sacr.* 4.4.14). This may refer to one or both of the following: (a) the “laus deo defertur” may refer to the preface, which probably did not yet include the *Sanctus*, as Ambrose makes no reference to the angelic hymn and there is other evidence that it had not yet reached Milan by 390; (b) “oratio petitur pro populo, pro regibus, pro caeteris” may refer to primitive versions of the *Te igitur* and *Memento, Domine*.<sup>144</sup> Ambrose goes on in *Sacr.* 4.5-6 to reproduce the text of the anaphora in use in Milan, which corresponds to seven sections in the final form of the Roman Canon. The Latin text of the portion of the anaphora that he provides is reproduced in Table 1.5 along with my English translation based on Strawley’s. Missing are any texts or explicit references to or quotations from (outside of those already mentioned) the *Sursum corda*, preface, *Sanctus*, *Te igitur*, *Memento, Domine*, *Communicantes*, and *Hanc igitur* before the institution narrative, as well as the *Memento etiam* and *Nobis quoque* after it.

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Strawley/Thompson translation. See also Johannes Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. 4, The Golden Age of Latin Patristic Literature (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1986), 171-72.

<sup>144</sup> The *Liber pontificalis* attributes the introduction of the *Sanctus* to Pope Sixtus (c. 119-28; he ordered that the people sing “Sanctus s. s. Dom. Deus Sab.” “intra actionem”; LP I:128). Gamber, however, proposes that the reference may actually be to Sixtus III (432-40), which would put the emergence of the *Sanctus* in the early part of the fifth century, a more plausible time period; Gamber, *Missa*, 65; cited in Spinks, *Sanctus*, 95. Davis, however, finds such a conclusion hazardous if it is based only on the name; see Davis, *Pontiffs (LP)*, xxvi. Peter Chrysologus in Ravenna refers to its use, so we can be assured of its fixity in that part of Italy by c. 450; see Righetti, *Manuale*, III:365. See Peter Chrysologus, *Sermo* 170.1 (CCSL 24B, 1040). In fact, as Bryan Spinks has demonstrated, a number of factors suggest that the *Sanctus* was introduced gradually in the West during the first part of the fifth century; Spinks *Sanctus*. In addition to the study by Spinks, a more recent study of the question was undertaken by Gabriele Winkler, *Das Sanctus: Über den Ursprung und die Anfänge des Sanctus und sein Fortwirken* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2002). Her later work focuses on the question of the origin of the *Sanctus* as well, and includes a close study of much of the Jewish Hekalot literature from the Second Temple Period and the possible origin of the *Sanctus* in baptismal, not eucharistic, rites. She, like Spinks, favors a Syrian origin, contra Taft, who contends that it emerged first in Egypt. See Robert F. Taft, *Il Sanctus nell’anafora: Un riesame della questione* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1999).

**Table 1.5 The Latin anaphora reproduced in Ambrose’s *Sacr.* 4.5.21-22, 4.6.27; 6.6.24**

4.5.21	
<b>Fac nobis, inquit,</b> hanc oblationem scriptam, [ratam,] <sup>145</sup> rationabilem, acceptabilem, quod est figura corporis et sanguinis domini nostri Iesu Christi.	Make for us, <i>he says</i> , this oblation approved, ratified, reasonable, and acceptable, which is the figure of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ,
<b>Qui pridie</b> quam pateretur in sanctis manibus suis accepit panem, respexit ad caelum ad te sancte pater omnipotens aeternae deus, gratias agens benedixit, fregit, fractumque apostolis et discipulis tradidit dicens: Accipite et edite ex hoc omnes. Hoc est enim corpus meum quod pro multis confringetur.	Who, the day before he suffered, took bread in his holy hands, and looked up to heaven to you, holy Father, almighty and eternal God, and giving thanks, he blessed and broke it, and delivered it to his apostles and disciples, saying: “Take and eat all of this: for this is my body which will be broken for many.”
4.5.22	
<b>Similiter etiam</b> calicem postquam cenatum est, pridie quam pateretur, accepit, respexit ad caelum ad te, sancte pater omnipotens aeternae deus, gratias agens benedixit, apostolis et discipulis suis tradidit dicens: Accipite et bibite ex hoc omnes, hic est enim sanguis mei,	In a similar way, after supper, the day before he suffered, he took the cup, looked up to heaven to you, holy Father, almighty and eternal God, and giving thanks, blessed it, delivered it to his apostles and disciples, saying: “Take and drink all of this: for this is my blood;
4.6.26	
quotienscunque hoc feceritis, totiens commemorationem mei facietis donec iterum adveniam	as often as you do this, so often you will make a memorial of me until I come again.”
4.6.27	
<b>Ergo memores</b> gloriosissimae eius passionis et ab inferis resurrectionis et in caelum ascensionis, offerimus tibi hanc immaculatam hostiam, rationabilem hostiam, incruentam hostiam, hunc panem sanctum et calicem vitae aeternae,	Therefore, having in remembrance his most glorious passion and his resurrection from the dead and ascension into heaven, we offer to you this sacrificial offering—spotless, spiritual, and unbloody—this holy bread and cup of eternal life,
<b>Et petimus et precamur,</b> uti hanc oblationem suscipias in sublime altare tuum per manus angelorum tuorum, sicut suscipere dignatus es munera pueri tui iusti Abel et sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos Melchisedech.	and we beseech and entreat that you would receive this oblation on your lofty altar by the hands of your angels as you were pleased to receive the dutiful offerings of your righteous servant Abel and the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham and that which your high priest

<sup>145</sup> SCh 25bis, edited by Botte, does not include *ratam* nor does he note it as a variant (*Des sacraments*, 114-15); neither does the text in *PE*, 421. The edition of Henry Chadwick, however, notes that *scriptam* is *adscriptam* in some manuscripts and that the adjective *ratam* also appears in some manuscripts; see Henry Chadwick, ed., *Saint Ambrose on the Sacraments* (London: A.R. Mowbray, 1960), 34. Most other versions and translations include this adjective; see Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, I:52; Strawley, *Sacraments*, 90; *PEER*, 144-45; Johannes Quasten, ed., *Monumenta eucharistica et liturgica vetustissima*, Florilegium patristicum 7 (Bonnae Sumptibus Petri Hanstein, 1935), 160.

	Melchizedek offered to you.
<b>VI.5.24</b>	
<b>Per dominum nostrum</b> Iesum Christum in quo tibi est, cum quo tibi est honor, laus, gloria, magnificentia, potestas cum spiritu sancto a saeculis et nunc et semper et in omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.	Through Jesus Christ our Lord, in whom and with whom honor, praise, glory, magnificence, and power is yours with the Holy Spirit, from the ages, both now and forever and unto all the ages of ages. Amen.

Table 1.6 provides an outline of the rite reproduced in Ambrose and its corresponding paragraphs in the Roman Canon, each identified by its incipits:

**Table 1.6 The parallel portions of the anaphora in Ambrose's *Sacr.* and the Roman Canon**

<b>Ambrose</b>	<b>Roman Canon</b>
	<i>Dominus vobiscum</i> <i>Vere digum</i> <i>Te igitur</i> <i>Memento, Domine</i> <i>Communicantes</i> <i>Hanc igitur</i>
<i>Fac nobis</i>	<i>Quam oblationem</i>
<i>Qui pridie</i>	<i>Qui pridie</i>
<i>Similiter etiam</i>	<i>Simili modo</i>
<i>Ergo memores</i>	<i>Unde et memores</i>
<i>Et petimus et precamur</i> (reversed order)	<i>Supra quae</i> <i>Supplices te</i>
	<i>Memento etiam</i> <i>Nobis quoque</i> <i>Per quem</i>
<i>Per quem</i>	<i>Per ipsum</i>

In each instance (except for the concluding doxology), the version in *Sacr.* is shorter than the Roman Canon, and there are a number of differences in content that are noteworthy. First, the paragraph leading into the *Qui pridie* begins in Ambrose's version with the imperative *fac* while the Roman Canon and the Mozarabic versions begin with a

relative pronoun *quam/quorum*, referring back to the *oblationem* in the preceding *Hanc igitur* (which oblation itself was described earlier in the *Te igitur* as “haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata”).<sup>146</sup> The request for acceptance is premised on the fact that the bread and wine already *est figura corporis et sanguinis domini nostri Iesu Christi*.<sup>147</sup> The *textus receptus*, however is quite different: *quod est* becomes *ut* [“so that”]...*fiat*. The request that the sacrifice be blessed, approved, and accepted is made in Ambrose on the basis of the bread and wine already being a “figure” of Christ’s Body and Blood; in the *textus receptus*, the request for acceptance is explained with a purpose clause beginning with *ut*. In the final form, divine acceptance is the basis for the transformation of the gifts, while in Ambrose their presumptive “figuralness” or sacramentality is the basis for divine acceptance.

Second, two of the five adjectives that the prayers ask God to make applicable to the oblation—*benedictam* and *ratam*—are not present in Ambrose but, Jungmann writes, only “add greater force to the guarded legal terminology of the Romans which is here in evidence.”<sup>148</sup> Third, in Ambrose, the offering is already a *figura (imago et similitudo* in

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<sup>146</sup> Jungmann helpfully notes that “the chief concern” of the form in Ambrose “is with the words of Christ thus introduced by it,” whereas the final form is a request that stands more on its own and whose concern is with God’s action upon the offering such that it will be for us the Body and Blood of Christ. See Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, II:187. Willis proposes that Ambrose’s version was “adjusted to fit in with the intercessory prayers which now precede, and the connection of a relative is close, and binds the prayer to the word *Hanc igitur oblationem* which begin the previous prayer”; *Essays*, 128. For the parallels in the early sacramentaries, see §1440, *LMS*, col. 641, ln. 30; *LO*, col. 321, ln. 34.

<sup>147</sup> Mazza comments that “there is no concern with how and why the bread and wine have become the sacrament that they now are. Everything is left implicit—yet clear—in the concept of the *imago et figura*”; *Roman Rite*, 71.

<sup>148</sup> Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, II:188. He points to Baumstark’s discussion of this in *Vom geschichtlichen*, 84. For example, these terms can be found in a pre-Christian Roman context in the dedication of the Decians at death in Livy, 8.9.6-8 (cited by Jungman, II:188, n. 8). Christiaan Kappes demonstrates this claim with exacting clarity by way of primary sources in Kappes, “Lactantius” (unpublished manuscript).



the Mozarabic texts) of Christ's Body and Blood.<sup>149</sup> The *Fac nobis* in Ambrose (which is the *Quam oblationem* in the final form of the Roman Canon) may have remained into the late fifth century, as Pope Gelasius uses nearly identical language.<sup>150</sup> Fourth, the content of the *Supra quae* and *Supplices te* in the Roman Canon is not only combined into one paragraph in Ambrose's version, but the order is reversed. Finally, the institution narrative in *Sacr.* bears almost no resemblance to the one in the *textus receptus*. This fact is noteworthy because, despite the many similarities between them, it is nearly impossible that Ambrose's version can "be reckoned as even an earlier form of the Roman Narrative."<sup>151</sup> The version in the *textus receptus* is marked by a few features that are found in only one fifth-century Latin Gospels manuscript (*Codex Veronensis*),<sup>152</sup> including the addition of the adjective *aeterni* to the institution phrase over the cup: "for this is my blood of the new and eternal covenant (*novi et aeterni testamenti*)."<sup>153</sup> The

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<sup>149</sup> Mazza discusses how these terms "are classical terms for sacramentality in the very early Church and are thus the equivalents of our *sacramentum*." His extrapolation, however, is questionable. He suggests that the "earlier theology" emphasized that the "sacramental character of the action being performed depends on the fact that what we do now is a copy, image, and likeness of what Jesus did in the upper room and of what he commanded his disciples to do in his memory. Since he commanded us to repeat that final meal which he had just celebrated with his disciples, it follows that what we do in obedience to his command is a likeness, image, and figure of what he himself had done, that is, of the Last Supper"; Mazza, *Roman Rite*, 69. Mazza appears to be going further than the patristic witnesses. Saxer's discussion of Tertullian, for instance (whom Mazza cites as a source for his claim), never indicated that the object to which the eucharistic *figura* points is the Last Supper. Rather, Saxer states that for Tertullian, "the eucharist is the figure of the passion, or...the eucharistic body of the Lord is the figure foretelling his crucified body." See Victor Saxer, "Tertullian" in Willy Rordorf, ed., *The Eucharist of the Early Christians*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (New York: Pueblo, 1978), 149. See also Victor Saxer, "Figura corporis et sanguinis Domini," *RivAC* 49 (1971): 65–89.

<sup>150</sup> "The image and similitude of the body and blood of Christ is celebrated in the mysterious action"; Gelasius, *Contra Eutyches*, 14; cited in Smyth, "The So-Called 'Apostolic Tradition,'" 78.

<sup>151</sup> Edward Craddock Ratcliff, "The Institution Narrative of the Roman Canon Missae: Its Beginning and Early Background," *SP* 2 (1957): 71.

<sup>152</sup> This fifth century manuscript of the Gospels should not be confused with the *Veronense* (Verona Sacramentary, also referred to as the Leonine Sacramentary), which is a manuscript from the fifth or sixth century that contains variable Mass prayers but not the text of the Canon (see the earlier section

<sup>153</sup> Ratcliff, "Institution Narrative of the Roman Canon," 70.

addition is almost certainly, Ratcliff argues, “a doctrinal addition, borrowed from Heb 13:22,” the benediction at the near-conclusion of the letter.<sup>154</sup>

The implications of these differences are not completely clear, but a few things can be noted. Because the narrative in the *textus receptus* reflects a number of peculiarities of an Old Latin manuscript that differs from the Vulgate,<sup>155</sup> Ambrose and the Canon not only have different sources for their respective institution narratives but the Canon’s source likely pre-dates Ambrose. How to explain very different institution narratives alongside other common material is much more difficult.

### ***Post-Ambrosian evidence for the further development of the Roman Canon***

A few other pieces of extra-liturgical evidence regarding the development of the Roman Canon must be considered. The *Liber Pontificalis* indicates that Leo the Great (440-61) appended the phrase *sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam* to the very end of the *Supra quae* to describe Melchizedek’s offering.<sup>156</sup> This addition might also be an indication, as Kennedy and Bouley suggest, that Leo undertook “a more extensive reworking” of this section, thus marking the transition from the shortened version in Ambrose to a two-paragraph division and reordering, witnessed in the final form of the

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<sup>154</sup> Heb 13:20-21: “Now may the God of peace who brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, the great shepherd of the sheep, by the blood of the eternal covenant [*sanguine testamenti aeterni*], equip you with everything good that you may do his will, working in you that which is pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.” The Vetus Latina has no variants for this phrase; see Roger Gryson, ed., *Epistulae Ad Thessalonicenses, Timotheum, Titum, Philemonem, Hebraeos*, vol. 25.2, VLB (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1983), 1652 (upper).

<sup>155</sup> See Ratcliff, “Institution Narrative of the Roman Canon,” 70-71.

<sup>156</sup> LP, I.239. Duschesne asserts that this addition was directed against the Manichees; *Ibid.*

Roman Canon.<sup>157</sup> Leo is acknowledged as the author of many liturgical compositions among them many of the variable portions of the Mass.<sup>158</sup>

The *Liber* attributes the composition of *sacramentorum praefationes et orationes, cauto sermone* to Gelasius I (492-96), and other ancient sources even tie him directly to the Canon.<sup>159</sup> The Stowe Missal, in fact, which dates from the late eighth century, places the title, *Canon dominus pape gilasi* [original spelling retained], above the *Te igitur*, and, as Fortescue's notes, "a multitude of other writers name Gelasius as author of a sacramentary or as composer of liturgical texts."<sup>160</sup> An Eastern-style litany known as the *Deprecatio Gelasii* was preserved, not in any of the sacramentaries, but in the works of Alcuin (d. 804), the Anglo-Saxon who worked closely with Charlemagne.<sup>161</sup> While the authorship of the text itself is reliably attributed to Gelasius,<sup>162</sup> there is no direct evidence

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<sup>157</sup> Bouley, *From Freedom to Formula*, 208. Kennedy writes: "This remark [from the *Liber pontificalis*] can only refer to some rearrangement of the two prayers after the Consecration, the *Supra quae* and the *Supplices*, which are found in the *De sacramentis* in the form of a single prayer"; *Saints*, 38.

<sup>158</sup> Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, I:55.

<sup>159</sup> Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 37; *LP*, I.255. Vogel points out that Gelasius is not said to have composed a sacramentary but merely "sacramentorum praefationes," which probably refers to prefaces in the modern sense of the term. For further sources, see Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 54, n. 87.

<sup>160</sup> Fortescue, *Mass*, 164; *CeS*, 10. In addition to the Stowe Missal and the *Liber Pontificalis*, Fortescue adds also John the Deacon (*Vita Gregorii*, ii.17 [PL 75:94]) and Walafrid Strabo (*De eccl. rerum exord.* [PL 114:946]) as well as other representative examples. Giovanni Di Napoli hypothesized, however, "that the title in Stowe should read '*Canon dominicus pape Pilagii*'" (instead of 'gilasi') and argued that the final re-ordering of the Canon was the work of Pelagius II (579-590); see Day, "Interpreting," 64. See Giovanni Di Napoli, "Il lento processo di formazione del canone romano," *EO XVII* (August 2000): 229-68.

<sup>161</sup> Kennedy, *Saints*, 34-5. For the text of the *Deprecatio*, see PL 101:560-2; the full title is *Deprecatio quam Papa Gelasius pro universali Ecclesia constituit canendam esse*, "The intercessions which Pope Gelasius ordained to be sung" for the universal church. For the Latin from the PL in columns with an English translation, see Appendix IV in Benedict Steuart, *The Development of Christian Worship: An Outline of Liturgical History* (London: Longmans, Green, 1953), 268-70.

<sup>162</sup> One of the first to examine the *Deprecatio* and ask about the likelihood of Gelasius as its author is Edmund Bishop in "Liturgical Comments and Memoranda IV-VII," *JTS* 12 (January 1, 1911): 407-13. For subsequent considerations, which agree with Bishop that Gelasius is the author, see W. Meyer, "Oratio Rythmica Gildas, Appendix I," in *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse* (Göttingen: Luder Horstmann, 1912), 100-101; Capelle, "Le Kyrie de la messe et le Pape Gélase"; Capelle, "Le pape Gélase et la messe romaine"; Capelle, "L'oeuvre liturgique de s. Gélase"; Kennedy, *Saints*, 35; Willis, *Essays*, 21." Willis reprints the text from Capelle (*Travaux*

about where it was located within the Mass,<sup>163</sup> and it is clear that it had disappeared by the sixth century (as no evidence is found in *Ordo Romanus VII*), likely during the pontificate of Vigilius (537-55).<sup>164</sup> Therefore, if it did enter the Roman liturgy under Gelasius, it remained, at most, only for a mere 50 years. Outside of the Stowe Missal, there is also no evidence in any extant writings of the period to indicate that Gelasius inserted this litany (or any other) into the introduction, and the *Liber Pontificalis* is silent on the matter.<sup>165</sup> Gelasius also provides the only significant piece of evidence that some have thought indicates that the Roman Canon once contained an *epiclesis*.

In reference to how the change in the bread and wine takes place, Gelasius explains that they “change into the divine substance, the Holy Spirit working this.”<sup>166</sup> Elsewhere, he writes: “How shall the heavenly Spirit, being invoked, come to the consecration of the divine mystery, if the priest who prays him to be present is

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*liturgiques*, II:126-8) but “in the form suggested by Callewaert, which distinguishes the deacon’s part (eg. “pro immaculate dei uiui ecclesia per totum orbem constituta”) from that of the *schola cantorum* (“divinae bonitatis opulentiam deprecamus”), while the response *Kyrie eleison* belongs to the people”; Ibid., 21-4 (quote is from 21). See C. Callewaert, “Les étapes de l’histoire du Kyrie: S. Gélase, s. Benoît, s. Grégoire,” *RHE* 38 (1942): 25–45. Thus, as Dix states succinctly, “it is manifestly based on an Eastern model,” but “it is undoubtedly of local Roman manufacture in the details of its phrasing”; Dix, *Shape of the Liturgy*, 453.

<sup>163</sup> About the lack of intercessions, Jungmann writes: “In the sacramentaries which otherwise permit us to gather a picture of the Mass as it was in the sixth century, no text is presented”; Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, I:336. The text from Alcuin does not indicate how or where in the Mass it is used.

<sup>164</sup> CeS, 10. Willis points out that the *Ordo Romanus VII* from the end of the sixth century describes the Mass in some detail, mentioning the Gospel, then the oblations, then the Secret. But no mention is made of the *oratio fidelium*, whether in its placement after the Gospel or at the beginning of the Mass, which is simply another indication that it had disappeared by this point; see Willis, *Essays*, 20-21; Capelle, “Le pape Gélase et la messe romaine.” See also Paul De Clerck, *La “prière universelle” dans les liturgies latines anciennes: Témoignages patristiques et textes liturgiques*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 62 (Münster Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1977), 296-98, 313-14. .

<sup>165</sup> Thus, it is perplexing that Dix claims, “In the sixth century a litany was certainly employed in the Introduction at Rome,” though he clarifies later that it is not necessarily the litany in the Stowe Missal: “it seems that Gelasius inserted the litany into the Roman Introduction”; Dix, *Shape of the Liturgy*, 453. But Dix’s conclusion is not unique to him; almost all discussions of the intercessions draw this same conclusion.

<sup>166</sup> “In divinam transeunt Sancto Spiritu perficiente, substantiam” (Gelasius, *Test. Veterum de duabus naturis*, 14 in Thiel, *Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum*, 542). ET = Fortescue, *Mass*, 405.

condemned as being full of evil deeds?”<sup>167</sup> Fortescue interprets the second quotation as sure proof “that Gelasius knew the Epiclesis” and concludes that it “was removed at Rome, apparently deliberately, because of the growing Western insistence on the words of institution as the Consecration form.”<sup>168</sup> Jasper and Cuming succinctly articulate the problem: “The difficulty is to account for the removal of any mention of the Spirit, unless it was done to confine the power of the consecration to *Qui pridie*. Even so, it is very odd that it should have left no trace in the writings of the Fathers.”<sup>169</sup> Until further evidence, idea that the Canon once had an *epiclesis* is very unlikely.

The figure of Pope Gregory the Great (590-604) looms large in the history of Roman liturgy.<sup>170</sup> For example, Fortescue notes the “old and constant tradition” that

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<sup>167</sup> “Nam quomodo ad divini mysterii consecrationem caelestis Spiritus invocatus adveniet, si sacerdos (et) qui eum adesse deprecatur, ciminosis plenus actionibus reprobetur?” Gelasius, *Epist. Fragment 7.2* in Thiel, *Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum*, 486.

<sup>168</sup> Fortescue, *Mass*, 405-6. He goes on to cite Ambrose, Augustine, Caesarius of Arles, and Isidore of Seville to this effect. For a wider discussion of this matter, including other sources that support a similar argument, see *Ibid.*, 402-7. Baumstark and Buchwald both attribute the rearranging of the Canon and the removal of the *epiclesis* to the editorial hand of Gregory the Great (590-604); see Baumstark, *Liturgia romana*, 187-90; Buchwald, “Die Epiklese,” 51-56 especially. See also Bishop, *Liturgica Historica*, 108-09. For a helpful discussion of whether the Roman Canon contains an *epiclesis*, including the argument that the *Supplices te* is an *epiclesis*, see Anne McGowan, *Eucharistic Epicleses, Ancient and Modern* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2014), 96-101. In John Baldovin’s commentary, he is a bit more circumspect when he describes the *Supplices te* as a “second formula of consecration,” corresponding to the *Quam oblationem*. The latter is, he says, “a plea for consecration, the equivalent of what today would be considered a consecratory *epiclesis*”; see Edward Foley et al., eds., *A Commentary on the Order of Mass of the Roman Missal* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2011), 251. The medieval commentary from the Eastern theologian, Nicholas Cabasilas, approaches this part of the Roman Canon in a similar fashion. He famously argued that the consecration in the Greek and in the Latin churches “is performed in the same way.” Rather than viewing the so-called Words of Institution as consecratory, he argues that the text of the Western liturgy assumes that *more* is necessary. Otherwise, he says, there would be no reason for more prayers to be made “for the offerings after the words of consecration [i.e., institution] have been pronounced.” See Nicolaus Cabasilas, *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1998), 76.

<sup>169</sup> *PEER*, 161.

<sup>170</sup> Gregory’s influence on the development of the liturgy outside of the Canon is greater than can be covered here. For more details, see Constant J. Mews, “Gregory the Great, the Rule of Benedict and Roman Liturgy: The Evolution of a Legend,” *JMH* 37, no. 2 (June 2011): 125–44.

Gregory not only “modified the Canon” but “was the last to touch it.”<sup>171</sup> Even though the extant manuscripts from the family of sacramentaries that bear his name do not date to his time but to that of his successor, Pope Honorius (625-38),<sup>172</sup> a number of sources provide reliable information about his hand in the development of the Roman liturgy.<sup>173</sup> One cannot conclude, however, that many variable orations cannot definitely be ascribed to his hand.<sup>174</sup> Whether or not he actually composed any of the chant that is associated with his name, he was most certainly concerned with musical excesses in Rome.<sup>175</sup>

The evidence for Gregory’s hand on the Roman liturgy comes from two sources. The first is a letter of Gregory to Bishop John of Syracuse in October of 598, in which he highlights a number of ways in which the Roman practice is distinguished from that of the Greeks.<sup>176</sup> He states that the Roman church uses “Alleluia” outside the time from Easter to Pentecost as some of the Greeks do (though not to the same extent)<sup>177</sup> and also

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<sup>171</sup> Fortescue, *Mass*, 135. Jungmann notes that Gregory’s alterations to the Canon itself are relatively few and are “for the most part, a return to older simpler forms.” Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, I:58. Bouley agrees: “The influence of his intent on the variable mass prayers is evident: the number of orations was drastically curtailed, and they were given a cohesive order required by other alterations he had introduced into the liturgy of the word; the number of variable prefaces, *hanc igitur* and *communicantes* was likewise reduced, and in some cases, Gregory authored the concentrated formulas himself”; Bouley, *From Freedom to Formula*, 210.

<sup>172</sup> Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 79.

<sup>173</sup> For a detailed study of whether Gregory himself edited a sacramentary, see H. Ashworth, O.S.B., “Did St. Gregory the Great Compose a Sacramentary?,” *SP* 2 (1957): 3–16. His conclusion is that Gregory left “a small collection of prayer formularies,” which were expanded by one of his successors, Boniface IV (608-15).

<sup>174</sup> Jungmann cites a number of studies demonstrating that many texts that can be ascribed to Gregory with certainty; see *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, I:63, n. 17.

<sup>175</sup> *LP*, xxvii.

<sup>176</sup> Gregory the Great, *Ep. IX, 26 ad Joannem Syracusanum* (CCSL CXL A, 586); Gregory, *The Letters of Gregory the Great*, II:562. Mews supplies the dating; “Gregory the Great,” 135.

<sup>177</sup> Willis explains that “Gregory has in fact discontinued the practice which Rome had formerly borrowed from the Greeks” in “St Gregory the Great and the Lord’s Prayer in the Roman Mass” in *Further Essays*, 178. Mews and Davis point to the interpolation in the entry in the *Liber pontificalis* for Honorius I (625-38; his papacy begins just 21 years after Gregory’s death): “He built many basilicas and monasteries for monks; he confirmed the decree of St Gregory on the Antiphonal and order of offices and psalms; and that the monks should leave off Alleluia in Septuagesima; and at Easter and Whitsun, as the people were

notes that in contrast to the Greek practice, the Roman use of the *Kyrie* is responsorial (a minister says *Kyrie eleison* and the people repeat it), and they also say *Christe eleison* (absent in the Greek liturgy).<sup>178</sup> A significant change introduced by Gregory and described in the letter is his placement of the Our Father (*orationem Dominicam*) immediately following the eucharistic prayer (*mox post precem*).<sup>179</sup> The second source for information on Gregory's liturgical work is in the *Liber pontificalis*, which states that he added *diesque nostros in tua pace disponas atque ab aeterna damnatione nos eripi et in electorum tuorum iubeas grege numerari* to the *Hanc igitur*.<sup>180</sup>

### ***The common source shared by the Alexandrian and Latin anaphoras***

In addition to these Roman and Latin sources, non-Latin liturgical sources indicate a relationship of the Roman Canon with other liturgical families of rites, most

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displeased, they should recite only 3 lessons and 3 psalms like the Roman church, and should perform their office in the Roman manner during all of those two weeks"; *LP*, 323-24; ET = Davis, *Pontiffs (LP)*, 67; Mews, "Gregory the Great," 135ff. Mews suggests that this reference "proves hitherto unnoticed testimony about texts alluded to by John the Deacon in the late ninth century," that is, in his *Life of Gregory* (unfortunately, Mews does not cite a particular passage in the *Life*). This comment in the *Liber* corresponds exactly with Gregory's direction in the letter to John of Syracuse and indicates more broadly that Honorius was trying to enforce reforms that Gregory had begun, including (as the quote here indicates) a combination of monastic and cathedral style offices.

<sup>178</sup> Peter Jeffery has shown that the *Kyries* were most likely not the result of the disappearance of the *Deprecatio Gelasii* (which Jungmann and others have claimed), a litanic form of intercessions, almost certainly introduced by Gelasius himself and modeled on Eastern forms. Rather, the *Kyries* are the remnant of the litany of saints that was often used as a processional chant at the beginning of the Mass (especially in Rome in the stationary liturgies) and which concluded with the *Kyries*. Jeffery, "Kyries," 127-94. For examples of the traditional attribution of the *Kyries* to the *Deprecatio*, see Josef A. Jungmann, *Public Worship: A Survey* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1957), 109 and Willis, *Essays*, 25.

<sup>179</sup> Gregory's usage in this context is for *prex* to refer to the Canon while *oratio* refers to the *Pater Noster*. He also notes that, unlike the Greek practice, where the people say the Our Father with the priest, the Roman practice is that it is said *a solo sacerdote*, which may also indicate his belief that it was something akin to an anaphora and thus properly the prerogative of the priest; *Ep. IX, 26 ad Joannem Syracusanum* (CCSL, CXL A, 586).

<sup>180</sup> *LP*, I:312. Davis adds, "but the LP does not reveal whether he did anything else of this kind," and indicates that he may have done more (see the proposal of Buchwald along these lines later in the paragraph). See *Pontiffs (LP)*, xxvii.

notably the Alexandrian/Egyptian family.<sup>181</sup> Baumstark was one of the first to outline the verbal similarities between the Roman and Alexandrian traditions, followed famously by Bouyer and more recently by Moreton, whose work guides this part of my discussion.<sup>182</sup> The conclusion that Mazza draws in his comparison of the Roman Canon with *Lit. STR*, the earliest version of what became the Alexandrian *Lit. Mark*, is that “the Alexandrian and Roman anaphoras are two different developments beginning from a single point.”<sup>183</sup> Further, Mazza points out that “what is held in common by the Alexandrian and Roman liturgies is unique to them.”<sup>184</sup>

The only parallel to the *Supra quae* and *Supplices te* (along with the earlier version in Ambrose’s *Sacr.* 4.27) in any extant anaphora is in *Lit. Mark*. The *Supra quae* and *Supplices te* are where the sacrifices of Abel, Abraham, and Melchizedek are recalled and an angel is to take the sacrifice to the heavenly altar; instead of Melchizedek, *Lit. Mark* follows the sacrifices of Abel and Abraham with appeal to “the incense of

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<sup>181</sup> Jungmann comments: “In many spots a glimmer of the most antique tradition [of the Roman Canon] peers through, displaying again and again the resemblances to peculiarities of the Egyptian liturgy”; *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, I:55. The footnote to this statement (n. 25) provides a long list of these similarities. Similarly, Mazza comments that “[t]he unanimous consensus of scholars emphasizes some verbal similarities between the Canon and the Alexandrian anaphora”; *Origins*, 11. At the end of Fortescue’s overview of various surveys from the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries, he concludes with two general approaches to the origin of the Roman Canon: the school of the French Benedictines (such as Dom Paul Cagin, O.S.B. and Dom Fernand Cabrol, O.S.B.), “which looks to the Gallican rite for the solution” and the German school (such as Probst, Baumstark, and Drews), “which looks to the Eastern rites (Antioch and Alexandria)”; Fortescue, *Mass*, 170. See Paul Cagin, *L’Eucharistia: Canon primitif de la messe ou formulaire essentiel et premier de toutes les liturgies*, Scriptorum solesmense 2 (Tournai: Picard, 1912); Fernand Cabrol, *Le livre de la prière antique* (Paris, 1900); ET = Cabrol, *The Prayer of the Early Christians*, trans. Ernest Graf, trans. from 6th French ed. (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, Ltd, 1930); Fernand Cabrol, *Les origines liturgiques* (Paris, 1906); Probst, *Liturgie*; Baumstark, *Liturgia romana*; Paul Drews, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Kanons in der römischen Messe* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1902).

<sup>182</sup> Baumstark, “Das ‘Problem;’” Bouyer, *Eucharist*, 214-43; Moreton, “Rethinking,” 63-66.

<sup>183</sup> *Origins*, 282. Mazza, however, makes no mention of Drews.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, 272.



Zachariah, the alms of Cornelius,] and the widow's two mites”<sup>185</sup> (see Appendix A for the parallel sections in Ambrose, *Lit. Mark*, and the Roman Canon). In addition, to this significant relationship, Moreton notes eight other verbal connections—use of the term *rationabiles/λογικός*; reference not only to the disciples but to the “apostles and disciples;” the unique *respexit ad caelum/ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν* in the institution narrative; the language indicating that Jesus looked toward or gave thanks to his “God and Father” over the bread; the appeal to the sacrifices of Abel, Abraham, and others as a basis for God’s acceptance of the eucharistic sacrifice; the use of *mysterium/μυστήριον* in the institution narrative; the oblation formula; the use of *Dominus vobiscum* instead of 2 Cor 13:13 in the opening dialogue of the anaphora; and the use of the term *memento/μνήσθητι* to begin the intercessions. Together, these constitute a significant collection of verbal similarities shared by these two traditions.

Structurally, the two traditions also share some other similarities, despite the fact that at first glance, their structures appear completely distinct. In Bouyer’s study, for example, he points out that if the *Sanctus* and intercessions are removed from both, “it seems indeed that the other apparent differences between Rome and Alexandria are merely differences between two variants of the same tradition.”<sup>186</sup> I will undertake my own discussion of the structural relationship between these two traditions in Chapter 2,

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<sup>185</sup> ET from *PEER*, 62. The only other anaphora where the triad of Abel, Abraham, and Melchizedek is found, outside of Ambrose and the Roman Canon, is *Const. ap.* 8.12.21, 23, though the context is quite different than in the Roman Canon. In *Const. ap.*, the three are mentioned in that order within a long recollection of the history of salvation. The references in *Const. ap.* read as follows: “...you accepted the sacrifice of Abel as being a righteous man, and then rejected the gift of Cain, who slew his brother, as being a man accursed” (8.12.21); then, about ten lines later, “It was you who rescued Abraham from the godlessness of his forefathers and made him inheritor of the world; and revealed your Christ to him; you chose Melchizedek to be high priest [ἀρχιερέα] of your service” (8.12.23); *PEER*, 107. While the three persons are mentioned in close proximity, *Const. ap.* does not connect these them to the reason for making the offering or for asking that it be accepted.

<sup>186</sup> Bouyer, *Eucharist*, 216. Where Mazza focuses on the earlier Egyptian witness of the *Lit. STR*, Bouyer turns frequently to *Lit. Sarapion*.

but it is worth describing briefly the two important attempts to explain how both anaphoral traditions developed from a single source.

Enrico Mazza proposed the first structural comparison between the *Lit. STR* and the Roman Canon.<sup>187</sup> In the chapter on the Roman Canon, newly composed for the monograph *The Origins of the Eucharistic Prayer*,<sup>188</sup> Mazza undertakes an analysis of *Lit. STR* and the Roman Canon and draws the following two conclusions:

(1) That at the time of the origin of the Roman Canon there existed an anaphoric text analogous to that represented by the Strasbourg Papyrus and further (2) that the Alexandrian and Roman anaphoras are two different developments beginning from a single point.<sup>189</sup>

The reason for the differences in the final form of each can be attributed to “the different points at which they insert the *Sanctus* and the account of the institution.”<sup>190</sup> His theory is that a parallel exists between *Lit. STR* and the whole of the Roman Canon, minus the later additions and a rearrangement of items, like moving “the canon’s prayers for the departed and the offerers—*Memento etiam* and *Nobis quoque*—to a position in front of the *Supra quae* in order to make the sequence of prayers in Mark.”<sup>191</sup> Mazza assumes that *Lit. STR*

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<sup>187</sup> Mazza builds upon an earlier proposal in a 1985 article where he argued that *Lit. STR* was a complete anaphora, as Kilmartin, R.-G. Coquin and Cuming had done before him. See Mazza, “Una Anafora incompleta?,” revised as Chapter 5 in *Origins*, 177-218; Coquin, “L’anaphore alexandrine de saint Marc,” 1969; Edward J Kilmartin, “Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers,” *TS* 35, no. 2 (June 1974): 268–87; G. J. Cuming, “Egyptian Elements in the Jerusalem Liturgy,” *JTS* 25, no. 1 (1974): 117–24; Cuming, “The Anaphora of St. Mark”; Cuming, *St. Mark*.

<sup>188</sup> “Chapter 7: The Roman Canon” in *Origins*, 240-86.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, 282.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.* He goes on: “To prove the value of these conclusions, it is enough to take the Roman Canon and displace the *Sanctus* and the account of the institution [along with the *Quam oblationem* that precedes it and “the offertorial and anamnestic embolism” that follows it] to the end of the text, that is, at the end of the intercessions, before the doxology. After this arrangement what we have before us is no longer the Roman Canon but the anaphora of Saint Mark. Vice versa, if we take the anaphora of Saint Mark and change the location of the *Sanctus* and account of the institution [similarly including the post-*Sanctus* embolism that precedes it and the “anamnestic offertorial embolism” that follows it] we obtain the Roman Canon”; *Ibid.*, 284-5.

<sup>191</sup> Ray, “Strasbourg Papyrus,” 50. See Appendix B for my visual summary of Mazza’s reconstructions of the complete version of *Lit. STR* and an earlier version of the Roman Canon, placed

should be compared with the whole of the Canon, and this requires him to rearrange portions of the Roman Canon in order to make the relationship clear. Walter Ray's proposal, however, avoids the approach of Vagaggini and Mazza, who rearranged the sources in order to identify structural relationships. In so doing, Ray provides a more convincing proposal for the stages of the evolution of both traditions.

Ray undertakes a structural comparison based not on a theory of how the two *might* relate to each other, but rather on texts of “the prayers *as we find them*.”<sup>192</sup> Ray argues not only that “the structure of STR is fully accounted for by the time we get to the *Quam oblationem* in the canon” (as outlined above by Mazza) but that “the structure is then repeated beginning with the *Qui pridie* of the canon.”<sup>193</sup> In other words, the Roman Canon reflects the structure in the *Lit. STR* not once, but twice: both before and after the

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in parallel with the *textus receptus* of the Canon. Mazza's process is this: he begins with the final form of the Roman Canon and then eliminates those portions which he thinks scholars agree are later insertions: the *Sanctus*, *Communicantes*, *Hanc igitur*, and *Per quem*, since the latter was associated with the blessing of fruits and other foods. He then turns to the sequence described in Ambrose, which he summarizes as preface and intercessions, plus the four paragraphs that are reproduced: *Fac nobis* (which corresponds to the *Quam oblationem*), *Qui pridie*, *Ergo memores* (which corresponds to the *Unde et memores*), and *Et petimus et praecamur* (which corresponds to the *Supplices te* and *Supra quae*). In order to reconstruct the preface, he turns to both the Mai fragment and some other prefaces from the *Sacramentum veronense*, *Liber ordinum*, and *Liber mozarabicus* (for Mazza's discussion and quotation of the specific texts, see *Origins*, 255-66). Ray explains that Mazza “found significant structural parallels” to *Lit. STR* in some of these early Roman prefaces. “The parallels involve those structural elements where STR appears to be innovating, in particular, a participial phrase introducing the offering, verbs of asking that introduce the petitions, and prepositional phrases tying the petitions to the offering in an upward movement through the mediator Christ. The pattern provided a structure that could be adapted to different circumstances. While some wording became more or less standardized—e.g., “hostias tibi laudis offerimus, per quem”—the structure remained flexible enough to accommodate the various occasions remembered in the first part of the variable preface. We see this especially in the different participles used to tie this part of the preface to the offering: *laetentes*, *celebrantes*, *recolentes*, *uenerantes* [see Ve n. 317, 728].... The plea for the acceptance of the offering is made necessary precisely because we cannot give thanks as we should, as would be required at this point in the prayer”; Ray, “Strasbourg Papyrus,” 47-8. Ray puts three of these prefaces in parallel with *Lit. STR* and the Mai fragment in his article that engages with Mazza's theory in *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>192</sup> Ray, “Strasbourg Papyrus,” 50; emphasis added.

<sup>193</sup> Ray, “Strasbourg Papyrus,” 51; see also “Rome and Alexandria,” 109-19. In the Alexandrian prayers and, to a lesser extent the East Syrian *Sharaq*, repeat material after the institution narrative that had appeared earlier; this pattern is not found in the pre- and post-institution narrative portions of the West Syrian anaphora. In the latter, as Dominic Serra puts it, “the supper narrative appears within the anamnetic thanksgiving of all anaphora belonging to the Antiochene Family”; Serra, “Roman Canon,” 103.

institution narrative. Jumping off from Mazza's use of the Roman prefaces to reconstruct an early version, Ray uses a preface from the *Veronese* to demonstrate a parallel between it, *Lit. STR*, and the post-institution-narrative section of the anaphora from Ambrose (see Appendix C for my summary of his reconstruction). "Both speak of God receiving the offering on the heavenly altar through the angelic liturgy as he received 'the gifts of the righteous Abel' and 'the sacrifice of our father Abraham.'"<sup>194</sup> While *Lit. STR* has a lacuna in the manuscript where the request for God's acceptance of the sacrifice with appeal to the ancient sacrifices would likely have been located, strong evidence suggests that an early version of what is found in the final version of *Lit. Mark* was present in the missing lines of the *Lit. STR*.<sup>195</sup> The sequence of the petitions in *Lit. Mark* agrees with the earlier witness of Ambrose, in contrast with the reordered and lengthened versions in the *Liber mozarabicus* and the Roman Canon. This fact probably indicates that the text in *Lit. Mark* significantly predates Ambrose and is likely part of the lacuna in the *Lit. STR* fragment (see Appendix D for a parallel of all four texts). Ray concludes:

It seems, therefore, more likely that the institution narrative in Ambrose was added to an existing prayer comparable to STR, which already had the elements in question, than that these elements were chosen to round out a section of prayer whose primary content was the commemoration of Christ's passion. This suggests that the second part of the canon was not composed by simply following the habitual pattern, perhaps because of the felt need to incorporate an institution narrative, but was adapted from an existing Strasbourg-type prayer, one which had already acquired such a narrative.<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>194</sup> Ray, "Strasbourg Papyrus," 53.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, 53; Ray, "Rome and Alexandria," 113. Ray is not the only one to make this suggestion. Mazza also thinks this is the case (*Origins*, 269-70); Gamber proposed the same theory much earlier; and Cuming agreed in his critical edition of *Lit. Mark* nearly twenty years after Gamber; see Klaus Gamber, "Das Papyrusfragment zur Markusliturgie und das Eucharistiegebet im Clemensbrief," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 8 (1959): 35; Cuming, *St. Mark*, 70; Ray, "Strasbourg Papyrus," 53.

<sup>196</sup> Ray, "Strasbourg Papyrus," 54. He provides a detailed proposal about precise development of each tradition from the *Lit. STR*-like tradition they share in "Rome and Alexandria," 119-25.

Instead of a *Lit. STR*-like prayer simply being expanded in a unique way by Latin Christians—a process which included the incorporation of the features that became ubiquitous in almost all anaphoras (especially institution narrative, *anamnesis*, and oblation)—as Mazza proposed, Ray suggests that there was a *Lit. STR*-like prayer that possessed those features and which was added to the earlier, Latin version of a *Lit. STR*-like prayer. The Roman tradition develops through what Ray calls “coupling”: “we are able to identify the full structure of STR twice in the canon,” he argues, “in the first part of the canon by using the early prefaces Mazza has identified, and in the second part by using the canon cited by Ambrose.”<sup>197</sup> This, it turns out, is the reason that so many items in the Canon’s Cycle 1 are found in Cycle 2. Beyond that, Ray suggests that both the Roman and Alexandrian prayers developed or evolved in the same basic fashion. While Mazza argued that only the Alexandrian prayer “added to the end by simple coupling” and “any new part that the anaphora received in its development,” Ray’s proposal is they both expand by coupling.<sup>198</sup>

### ***What is known about the Canon’s development***

The development of the Canon can be conceived in three stages. First, there are the translations of Greek prayers into Latin. Moreton points out that this is not “a matter of the Latin text being copied from the East,” but rather of a Latin text “being formed from comparable Greek anaphora prayers long used in Rome and Milan.”<sup>199</sup> When the Roman Canon is set side by side with *Lit. Mark* or any of its Egyptian predecessors,

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<sup>197</sup> Ray, “Strasbourg Papyrus,” 58.

<sup>198</sup> Mazza, *Origins*, 283.

<sup>199</sup> Moreton, “Rethinking,” 65.

Moreton's claim is as important as it is obvious: the Latin anaphora is not a simple translation. Rather, it uses these earlier Greek prayers as a source but them "penetrates their meaning in its own idiomatic way."<sup>200</sup> These adaptations were taking place in both the second and third centuries. There were almost certainly multiple attempts to Latinize multiple Greek prayers—not just in Rome, but throughout the Christian Latin-speaking world. Translations of Greek *Lit. STR*-like proto-anaphoras likely account for the following paragraphs of the Canon's *textus receptus*: the briefer form of the opening dialogue (which does not use 2 Cor 13:14), *Vere dignum*, *Te igitur*, *Memento domine*, possibly parts of the *Communicantes*, and the request for acceptance in *Quam oblationem*.

One of the characteristics that develops in Latin-speaking Christianity is the preservation in variable prefaces of the adaptability that marked early anaphoral prayer. Pope Damasus (366-84) is often connected with the Greek-to-Latin transition, and it is possible that he brought some stability to the various attempts at Latinizing Greek prayers in Rome by fixing the prefaces.<sup>201</sup>

The second phase also occurs before Ambrose and is likely the result of the encounter between the Latin anaphoras and one or more West Syrian-style anaphoras, possibly via Jerusalem and *Lit. James*,<sup>202</sup> though *Lit. Egy. Basil* is also a possible

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<sup>200</sup> Ibid.

<sup>201</sup> Bouley, *From Freedom to Formula*, 206-7.

<sup>202</sup> This is Ray's theory; see "Rome and Alexandrian," 126-27. Bradshaw theorizes that "Jerusalem became an important hub of the liturgical import-export business, a clearing-house for attractive ideas and practices with regard to worship," for pilgrimage was becoming a more important act of piety and Jerusalem was home to a significant number of holy sites; see *Search*, 222-23; he points to Joan E. Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places: The Myth of Jewish-Christian Origins* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Robert Louis Wilken, *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

candidate.<sup>203</sup> The differences between a *Lit. STR*-like prayer and what we see in Ambrose's *Sacr.* are not small. Given that Damasus is connected to the stabilizing of Roman eucharistic praying, he may also be the figure who oversaw this significant transition.<sup>204</sup> The changes that resulted from this encounter were the introduction of the institution narrative<sup>205</sup> (possibly replacing Mal 1:11 as the warrant for the prayer, a

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<sup>203</sup> Alexandria also encountered West Syrian prayers, and there was cross-pollination in both directions, especially between Jerusalem's *Lit. James*, and the Egyptian *Lit. Byz. Basil* and *Lit. Mark*. See PEER, 88-9 and Bradshaw and Johnson, *Eucharistic Liturgies*, 75-77; 137-79. One of the major differences between the Latin and Alexandrian traditions is the location of the intercessions. It seems likely that because there were still general intercessions outside the anaphora in the Roman liturgy when Rome encountered the West Syrian prayers and thus the redactor(s) felt no need to include intercessions within the eucharistic prayer itself. In contrast and for reasons unknown, the Alexandrians incorporated an extensive arrange of intercessions near the beginning of the prayer, ammended to the prayer for the church that is found in the first strophe and seen already in *Lit. STR*. This placement of the intercession at the beginning of the anaphora, before the institution narrative, is a unique marker of the Alexandrian tradition; no other anaphoral tradition has intercessions in this location.

<sup>204</sup> Probst, *Liturgie*, 455; Probst, *Die abendländische Messe vom fünften bis zum achten Jahrhundert* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1896), 264-66. The most serious reason to wonder whether Damasus oversaw this transition is that these changes are already reflected in the version attested by Ambrose. Could the changes have made it to Milan and have become fixed by the time of *Sacr.*? For one of the few who question Damasus' role in introducing variable portions while bringing stability to the Roman liturgy, see Johannes Beumer, "Die ältesten Zeugnisse für die römische Eucharistiefeyer bei Ambrosius von Mailand," *ZKT* 95, no. 3 (1973): 311-24.

<sup>205</sup> For the particular features of the Latin institution narratives and an argument that it, in fact, is the most scripturally faithful of the early anaphora, see Ratcliff, "Institution Narrative of the Roman Canon." As to the introduction of the narratives in general, Paul Bradshaw suggests that, *pace* the conventional theory popularized by Gregory Dix, which suggested that the Last Supper narratives "are derived from liturgical versions" used in the various churches, "the narrative functioned as a catechetical rather than a liturgical text as such, until at least the middle of the fourth century when it began to be inserted within eucharistic prayers themselves"; *Eucharistic Origins*, 11-15[15]; earlier quotation taken from Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "Eucharist and Community in First Corinthians" in *Living Bread, Saving Cup*, 17; for Dix's theory, see Dix, *Shape of the Liturgy*, 48. Andrew McGowan agrees. In the conclusion of his discussion of Justin Martyr's engagement with the narratives, he concludes: "Justin's varied terminology then, like that of Paul, suggests the interpretive use of the institution narrative as a logically secondary reflection, rather than its employment as an actual recitation or prayer." Even in *AT*, seemingly the earliest prayer to include the narrative, the words of institution seem "to represent a transition from an interpretive stage to one in which they are a liturgical text actually to be recited; the text is now read in the course of liturgical prayer, but still refers to, and interprets, the entire process of giving thanks. The text is now liturgical, but has not ceased to be catechetical; it refers not to itself but to the whole of which it is a part"; "Is There a Liturgical Text in This Gospel?": The Institution Narratives and Their Early Interpretive Communities." *JBL*, 118 (1999): 83, 84. *Lit. Sarapion* may well be an example of this transition mid-process, as the narrative is interspersed with *Didache* 9.4; see Johnson, *Prayers of Sarapion*, 226. See also Taft, "Mass without the consecration?" Bradshaw theorizes that its appearance in extant eucharistic prayers is "a consequence of the breakdown of the catechetical system in the fourth century." Thus, "the eucharistic liturgy was required to supply an element of catechesis—to try to communicate the true meaning of what was going on and to impress upon the worshippers the majesty and transcendence of God, the divinity of Christ, and the sense of awe that was the appropriate response in his presence in the eucharistic mystery."

scriptural feature that remains in *Lit. Mark*) and the *anamnesis*-oblation that follows it (a feature that marks almost all early anaphoras, except the East Syrian prayers). As I noted in the discussion of Ambrose, there were at least two narrative traditions that entered Latin anaphoras: the tradition witnessed in Ambrose and the distinct tradition found in the *textus receptus*. While almost all other anaphoras follow the oblation with a Spirit-*epiclesis*, no such incorporation occurred in the Latin anaphora. Instead, because the extant prayer in Ambrose includes the request that the sacrifice be taken into heaven through angelic ministry so that it might be acceptable (*Et petimus et precamur*), the redactor may have interpreted this request to have the same basic meaning as an *epiclesis*, namely, that the sacrifice is brought into contact with God, who accepts it, and is thereby changed. This second phase accounts for the addition of the following paragraphs (their names from Ambrose are listed before those of the Roman Canon): *Qui pridie*, *Similiter etiam* (*Simili modo*), *Ergo memores* (*Unde et memores*), *Et petimus et precamur* (*Supra quae* and *Supplices te*).

Two additional features of the Roman Canon likely emerged during this phase: the removal of the quotation of Mal 1:11 and the introduction of the key phrase *sacrificium laudis*. I propose that with the removal of Mal 1:11 (which appears in both

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The insertion of the narrative was, in particular, he suggests, “motivated by a desire to remind worshippers of the grounds and meaning of the liturgical rite being celebrated”; *Eucharistic Origins*, 135, 140. One reason that this may not tell the whole story is that the fourth century was also a period when there is an uptick in the emphasis on awe and mystery in the eucharistic liturgy. One way this was expressed was that the anaphora was recited inaudibly to the congregation. Thus, if catechesis was the impetus, silent recitations would mitigate any catechetical gains of the introduction of an institution narrative. Further, how are we to interpret the fact that institution narratives are so new and yet are interpreted as having a consecratory effect, not just in the West (Ambrose) but also in the East (such as Chrysostom’s sermons)? Another insight regarding the origin of the narratives is supplied by Maxwell Johnson, who suggests that with the decrease in martyrdoms, there may have been a corresponding decrease in a perception of the Eucharist as a participation in Christ’s sacrifice for the life of the world. The institution narratives, with their emphasis on the *pro nobis* character of Christ’s self-offering, makes this abundantly clear; see Maxwell E. Johnson, “Martyrs and the Mass: The Interpolation of the Narrative of Institution into the Anaphora.” *Worship* 87, no. 1 (January 2013): 2–22.



*Lit. STR* and *Lit. Mark* and would fall in the Roman Canon at the point where the intercessions begin, halfway through the *Te igitur*) *sacrificium laudis* replaced it in the *Memento, Domine* along with the introduction of a last supper institution narrative.<sup>206</sup> At the same time, this redactional move retains, albeit in consciously different scriptural language, Old Testament language as typologically referent to the Christian Eucharist, the sacrifice that takes place throughout the world, proclaiming the greatness of Israel's God, who is disclosed in Jesus of Nazareth and the Eucharist his church celebrates at his command. I suggest that the source of *sacrificium laudis* is not solely the creative appropriation of Scripture by the redactor, but the incorporation of an aspect of a second *Lit. STR*-like prayer that already included this phrase. As I will demonstrate in Chapter 2 (in the section on the structure of the East Syrian rites), this second Greek text is a source that is shared exclusively by the Roman Canon and *Lit. Theo*, but *not* with the Alexandrian tradition.<sup>207</sup>

The two different institution narratives in Ambrose and the *textus receptus* add an additional layer of complexity. Therefore, there were at least two streams of Latin anaphoras based on a common *Lit. STR*-like prayers. One possibility is that the same prayers received one institution narrative tradition in Rome and a different one in Milan (or the location from which Milan drew their prayer). If so, the incorporation of the institution narratives was the fork in the road where the two traditions began to develop in some different ways. The parallels in the Mozarabic and other sacramentaries that are

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<sup>206</sup> Mazza, relying on Thomas Talley, proposed that in *Lit. STR*, “the quotation of Malachi 1:11 is nothing other than the institution account of the Eucharistic sacrifice, a theology function is already played in *Didache* 14”; *Origins*, 192; Talley, “Literature Structure,” 417.

<sup>207</sup> Thus, a correlative to Mazza's claim about features shared only by the Alexandrian tradition and the Roman Canon (see *Origins*, 272) applies to the Canon and *Lit. Theo*: “What is held in common by the *Anaphora of Theodore* and Roman Canon is unique to them”; Mazza, *Origins*, 272.

nearly identical to parts of the prayer in Ambrose indicate that parts of the prayer tradition seen in Ambrose is geographically broader than just Milan. However, the fact that they and Ambrose all differ from the *textus receptus* seems to indicate that there were multiple Latin traditions based on the same source that each had some distinctive elements. Then, when they encountered some Eastern style anaphoras, one institution narrative tradition was incorporated in Rome and another in Milan.<sup>208</sup> The parallels that I mentioned (and will outline in more detail in Chapter 2) between only the Roman Canon and *Lit. Theo.* further complicate the picture and could indicate that there were multiple Greek anaphoral prayers that were like *Lit. STR* and that had their own unique qualities. One of those unique qualities that ended up in the *textus receptus* was the phrase *sacrificium laudis*, which is present in only two anaphoras: the *textus receptus* and *Lit. Theo.* Without more evidence, it is difficult to say much more about the Greek texts that lie behind the Canon..

By the end of the pontificate of Damasus in 384, the central content and basic structure of the Roman Canon is probably fixed: two cycles of oblation followed by multiple requests for divine acceptance (one before and one after the institution narrative). This text still underwent stylistic changes, edits, and insertions after Damasus. But the key features that set it apart were already in place by the time Ambrose preaches *De sacramentis* in 390.<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>208</sup> If *Lit. STR* and other similar Greek sources were the basis for the Latin anaphora tradition, it is likely that they did not yet include a last supper institution narrative. This means that early North African institution narratives (if they existed before the fourth century) probably did not influence the Latin anaphoras.

<sup>209</sup> It is possible that the prayers Ambrose discusses and reproduces in 390 antedate Damasus and thus are somewhat different than the anaphora Ambrose prayed when he became bishop in 374. But without further data, it is difficult to say more with any certainty.

The most significant addition in the third phase is the incorporation of the *Sanctus*, which likely took place in the first part of the fifth century, possibly during the pontificate of Sixtus III (432-40).<sup>210</sup> Phase three also includes the insertion of a phrase in the *Supra quae* that the *Liber* attributes to Leo the Great (440-61).<sup>211</sup> Since he is already intervening in what is the *Et petimus et precamur* in Ambrose's version, it is possible that he also divided, rearranged, and slightly recast that single paragraph into the two-paragraph form of the Canon's *textus receptus*: the *Supra quae* and *Supplices te*.<sup>212</sup> Some have suggested that Gelasius (492-96) added the two lists of saints.<sup>213</sup> However, since Pope Symmachus (468-83) funded the construction of shrines for four of the saints listed in the *Nobis quoque* (Alexander, Agatha, Agnes, and Felicity), it is quite possible that it was he who added to or expanded the *Communicantes*.<sup>214</sup>

Geoffrey Willis' study of the Roman *cursus* (the rhythmic endings that are a marked feature of Roman liturgy, especially the collects, particularly from the late fourth to seventh centuries) suggests that Gelasius may be the redactor who brought the Canon from the form we find in Ambrose to something very close to its final form, marked by this particular composition style and more carefully displaying the parallelism that marks

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<sup>210</sup> While the *Liber* attributes the introduction of the *Sanctus* to Sixtus I (c. 119-28), Gamber proposed that the reference may actually be to Sixtus III (432-40), which would put the emergence of the *Sanctus* in the early part of the fifth century (Gamber, *Missa*, 65). By approximately 400, the *Sanctus* was in use in parts of the West and definitely in Italy by around 450; see Fortescue, *Mass*, 11-13; Spinks, *Sanctus*, 49-50; Righetti, *Manuale*, III:365. Thus, while the misappropriation of the *Sanctus* to Sixtus I cannot be the sole basis upon which to attribute it to Sixtus III, the likely dating of the *Sanctus* fits well, with corrected attribution to Sixtus III.

<sup>211</sup> LP, I.239. The *Liber* also indicates that he composed prefaces; since the *Communicantes* contained variable portions for certain feasts, Leo may have had a hand in composing some of those variable portions, as well; see Kennedy, *Saints*, 195.

<sup>212</sup> Bouley wonders the same thing; see Bouley, *From Freedom to Formula*, 208.

<sup>213</sup> See Dix, *Shape of the Liturgy*, 557.

<sup>214</sup> See Batiffol, *Leçons sur la messe*, 226-33.

the two cycles before and after the narrative center.<sup>215</sup> Willis points out that while the twenty-two instances of the *cursus* are found unevenly in the Canon, they are more prominent in the portions that other evidence indicates were composed later (for example, the *Hanc igitur* has the most, with five; see Appendix E for his complete list). In the final version of the Canon, the section from the *Quam oblationem* through the *Supplices te* (the portion reproduced by Ambrose in his earlier version) contains only seven of these twenty-two instances. When the final form of this section is compared with the earlier Ambrosian version, only one of the seven rhythmic phrases is present in Ambrose. From these facts, Willis concludes that “these endings, like nearly all the others in the rest of the Roman Canon, are later modifications, stylistic if not substantial, and the Roman Canon, as received by St. Ambrose some time before 390, must have shown only the slightest traces of *cursus* in its language.”<sup>216</sup> Had it been composed by Ambrose or shortly before him (Willis proposes 350-70), it would likely have contained many more instances of this distinctive feature because Latin liturgical compositions from that period forward are all marked by the *cursus*. Lang concludes that “the Canon was revised not long after its first appearance in the year 390 and before the formative period of the collects,” which seem to mean somewhere “in the middle of the fifth century.”<sup>217</sup> Leo the Great (440-61) might seem to be the most likely candidate in this time period, sitting directly in the middle of the fifth century. However, there is little corroborating evidence for revision by his hand and of this magnitude.

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<sup>215</sup> “The *Cursus* in the Roman Canon” in Willis, *Essays*, 113-17.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, 117.

<sup>217</sup> Lang, “Rhetoric,” 39.

Thus, Gelasius (490-96), may be the best candidate to be the Canon's first significant redactor post-Ambrose, given (as Fortescue points out) "the constant tradition that ascribes to [Gelasius] the composition of the Canon."<sup>218</sup> This tradition can be seen in John the Deacon's *Life of Gregory*; the attribution of the composition of *sacramentorum praelectiones et orationes, cauto sermone* in the *Liber*; the attribution of the composition of a sacramentary to Gelasius by his contemporary, Gennadius of Marseilles (d. 496) and then later by Walafrid Strabo (c. 808-49); and the Stowe Missal placing the title *Canon dominus pape gilasi*, above the *Te igitur*.<sup>219</sup> Further, Gelasius was respected for his literary skills, as his predecessor employed him to compose papal documents.<sup>220</sup> Together, these facts indicate that it was probably Gelasius who brought the Canon very close to the form in the *textus receptus*, particularly by adding the Roman *cursus* and a closer parallelism between the two cycles. In my opinion, this is the most likely scenario, given the paucity of evidence for Leo.

The fourth and final phase likely consisted of the technical fine-tuning of the Canon into the tightly constructed form of the *textus receptus*, particularly the precise grammatical and syntactically features (to be described in Chapter 2) which evidence careful shaping. Given that there are no objections to the attribution to Gregory the Great as the last editorial hand to touch the Canon, this tidying up is almost certainly his work.

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<sup>218</sup> Fortescue, *Mass*, 164. We see something nearly identical in Bouley, *From Freedom to Formula*, 208.

<sup>219</sup> John the Deacon, *Vita S. Greg. M.* 2.3.2 (PL 75:292): "Ordinem itaque Romanum a Gelasio I quibusdam aut detractis, aut additis, aut immutatis, meliori forma donavit"; Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 37; *LP*, I.255; Gennadius of Marseilles, *de vir. Illustr.*, xcvi (PL 58:1115-6); Walafrid Strabo, *Eccl. rer.* I.22 (PL 114:946); Fortescue, *Mass*, 164; *CeS*, 10. The spelling of *pape gilasi* in the manuscript is retained.

<sup>220</sup> See J. N. D. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 47-8.

These final steps included fixing the form of the *Hanc igitur*, as was discussed earlier.

Table 1.7 depicts the stages of the Canon's development depicted in a visual summary.

### ***The various Western rites***

While the predominant Western anaphora, the Roman Canon, is not the only one that existed in the West. From at least the seventh century, multiple rites existed in Latin. Clearly distinguishing between them, however, poses thorny problems. The first question is whether, as Bryan Spinks puts it, these are “distinct rites” or rather “local versions or ‘uses’ of a rite”<sup>221</sup> (such as the uses of Bangor, Hereford, and Sarum in pre-Reformation England, all of which employed the Roman Canon as their eucharistic prayer). The variations within the Western/Latin tradition are usually listed as “the Roman, the Hispano-Mozarabic (Visigothic), the Gallican, the Celtic and the Ambrosian.” The difficulty that Spinks notes arises from the fact that our manuscript evidence for all of these is no earlier than the seventh century and “the process of synthesis and osmosis has blurred some of the distinctions.”<sup>222</sup>

While the medieval English “uses” all prayed the Roman Canon, it was not the only anaphora used by Latin-speaking Christians. By at least 254, Christianity was established in Spain, which was then conquered by Roman Visigoths in 470. The Visigoths were Arians, which meant that after their invasion, a tension remained between them and the native Hispano-Roman Christians. With the conversion of King Reccared

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<sup>221</sup> Spinks, *Do This*, 190.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid. Chapter 8 of Spink's book, *Do this in remembrance of me*, entitled “The Classical Western Rites,” is a detailed summary in English of the matter upon which I am deeply reliant in this section. An earlier and quite detailed history is Archdale A. King, *Liturgies of the Past* (London: Longman, Green, 1959).

**Table 1.7 Phases of the development of the Roman Canon**

Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Phase 4	Phase 5
<i>Pre-Ambrose (390)</i>		<i>Post-Ambrose (390)</i>		
Translation and Latin “idiomizing” of <i>Lit. STR</i> -like prayers	Circa Pope Damasus I (366-84): encounter with West Syrian-style anaphora: <i>Qui pridie</i> replaces Mal 1:11; <i>anamnesis</i> , oblation, & commendation of the sacrifice added—basic shape & structure of final text are now set	Circa Pope Sixtus III (432-40): addition of <i>Sanctus</i> (possibly during); Leo the Great (440-61) edits the <i>Et petimus et precamur</i> and divides it into the <i>Supra quae &amp; Supplices te</i>	Circa Pope Gelasius (490-96): introduction of the <i>cursus</i> and redaction to more carefully display the parallelism that marks the two cycles before and after the narrative center	Gregory the Great (590-604) puts the finishing touches on the Canon, including the <i>Hanc igitur</i>
<b>Sursum Corda</b> [ <i>First strophe</i> ] <b>Mai fragment</b> (preface)	Sursum Corda  preface—	Sursum Corda preface  <b>Sanctus</b>	Sursum Corda preface  <i>Sanctus</i>	Sursum Corda preface  <i>Sanctus</i>
[ <i>Second strophe</i> ] <b>Mai frag.</b> ( <i>Te igitur</i> )	Te Igitur	Te igitur	Te igitur	Te igitur
[ <i>Third strophe</i> ] [ <i>Te igitur, cont.</i> ] <b>Memento-living/dead</b>	Mementos	Memento Domine	Memento Domine Communicantes Hanc igitur	Memento Domine Communicantes <b>Hanc igitur</b>
<b>Fac nobis</b>	<i>Fac nobis</i> <b>Qui pridie</b> <b>Ergo memores</b> <b>Et petimus et precamur</b>	<i>Fac nobis</i> <i>Qui pridie</i> <i>Ergo memores</i> <b>Supra quae</b> <b>Supplices te</b>	<b>Quam oblationem</b> <b>Qui pridie (rev.)</b> <b>Unde et memores</b> Supra quae Supplices te <b>Memento etiam</b> <b>Nobis quoque</b> <b>Per quem</b> <b>Per ipsum</b>	Quam oblationem Qui pridie Unde et memores Supra quae Supplices te Memento etiam Nobis quoque Per quem Per ipsum
Per Dominum (doxology)	<i>Per Dominum</i>	<i>Per Dominum</i>	<b>Per quem</b> <b>Per ipsum</b>	Per quem Per ipsum

(586-601), however, the kingdom adopted the native, Nicene Christian faith, which spawned, among other things, a synthesis of the Spanish and Visigothic Christian worlds and liturgical creativity. Nearly a century later, Muslims from Arabia invaded in 711 and ultimately ruled Spain until 1085. This led nineteenth-century historians to coin the moniker “Mozarabic” to describe the people and Latin dialect spoken by the non-Muslim Hispano-Roman natives (sometimes written in Latin and sometimes in Arabic script).

Because of the Christian role in the final expulsion of the Muslims, the rite was allowed to remain, and thus existed much longer than its cousin, the Gallican rite, with which it maintains many structural and linguistic similarities.<sup>223</sup>

The nature of the Hispano-Roman rites original to Spain prior to the Visigoth invasion remains completely in the shadows. The best evidence for the *ordo communis* derives from around the time of the Arian and native Christian reconciliation at the turn of the seventh century in *De ecclesiasticis officiis* by Isidore of Seville. The sacrificial orientation of the eucharistic theology of this seventh century Spaniard is similar to the second-century writings of Justin Martyr in Rome and Irenaeus in Lyon,<sup>224</sup> emphasizing the continuity between Jewish and Christian sacrifices and Christ's institution of this sacrifice at the Last Supper.<sup>225</sup> The two extant collections of liturgical texts for the Mozarabic rites are the *Liber mozarabicus sacramentorum* and the *Liber ordinum*. Though these manuscripts are from the tenth century, some of the prayers are reliably dated to c. 400, the same period to which parts of *Veronensis* sacramentary (the earliest evidence for the Roman Rite) also date.<sup>226</sup>

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<sup>223</sup> W. C Bishop, *The Mozarabic and Ambrosian Rites: Four Essays in Comparative Liturgiology*, ed. Charles Lett Feltoe, (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., 1924), 46. The history in this paragraph is drawn from *Ibid.*, 18-54, *PEER*, 151 and Spinks, *Do This*, 190-91. For a recent study of the Hispano-Mozarabic anaphora, see Gabriel Ramis, "La anáfora eucarística hispano-mozárabe. Su historia y evolución," in *Prex Eucharistica: Studia*, 243-60.

<sup>224</sup> Both are discussed in Chapter 2.

<sup>225</sup> "It is commanded that Christians celebrate this sacrifice, having left behind and finished the Jewish sacrificial offerings that had been commanded to be celebrated during the slavery of the former people. Therefore, that sacrifice is done by us which the Lord himself did for us" (*De eccl.* 18.2); Isidore of Seville, *Isidore of Seville: De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, ed. Thomas I. Knoebel, *Ancient Christian Writers* 61 (New York: Newman Press, 2008), 41-2.

<sup>226</sup> See Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 36, 109; Marius Férotin, ed., *Le liber mozarabicus sacramentorum et les manuscrits mozarabes*, *Monumenta ecclesiae liturgica* 6 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1912), xiv-xvii (hereafter LMS); Spinks, *Do This*, 191.



The Mozarabic and Gallican anaphoras<sup>227</sup> show a good deal of structural similarity with each other with some Eastern anaphoras. What sets both apart from the various Eastern forms is their tremendous variability, a feature that is basically absent from the Eastern anaphoras, save for the diptychs<sup>228</sup>. The Gallican and Mozarabic forms contain four fixed portions—the *Sursum corda*, *Sanctus*, institution narrative, and Doxology—with three distinct variable portions for each Sunday and feast which are inserted after the first three fixed portions. This variability is almost certainly a remnant of the variability that characterized all early Christian eucharistic praying.<sup>229</sup> The length of the variable portions can vary widely, most especially in the prefaces, which range from eleven to eighty-eight lines.<sup>230</sup> The structures of the Gallican and Mozarabic rites are much more obviously linear than the Roman Canon, and are similar to the Eastern forms (especially the West Syrian structure), where praise and thanksgiving follow the *Sanctus*, after which comes the institution narrative. The section that follows the narrative occasionally includes an Eastern-style *epiclesis*, but there is no consistency on this point. The Mozarabic post-*Sanctus* begins characteristically, “Truly holy, truly blessed” and, like the Roman Canon and almost every early anaphora, includes a request for the acceptance of the sacrifice. Interestingly, the intercessions are located before the *Sursum corda* and were never compacted and absorbed into the anaphora as in the Roman Canon,

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<sup>227</sup> For a recent study of the Gallican anaphora, see the article by Paul De Clerck, “Les prières eucharistiques gallicanes,” in *Præx Eucharistica: Studia*, 203-23.

<sup>228</sup> See the earlier note about the diptychs.

<sup>229</sup> See Bouley, *From Freedom to Formula*.

<sup>230</sup> The range in Roman prefaces is between twelve and fifteen lines; see Spinks, *Do This*, 195 and M. C. Díaz y Díaz, “Literary Aspects of the Visigothic Liturgy,” in *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches*, ed. Edward James (Oxford : New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1980), 62. This article is a rich source of information about extant sources of the rite and the important scholarship up to 1980.

nor retained with the length and verbosity within the anaphoras as seen in the *Lit. Mark* and the Byzantine style evidenced in *Lit. James*, *Lit. Basil*, and *Lit. Chry.*

“Gallican” is a term used in at least five different ways when referring to liturgies, but here it refers to “the rites existing in Gaul before the reforms of Pipin and Charlemagne” (late eighth and early ninth centuries).<sup>231</sup> The basic structure of the whole Mozarabic liturgy is similar to the Gallican liturgy (although the Nicene Creed does not appear until the ninth century). It included uncommon ceremonies, such as the use of “a vessel shaped like a tower” to bring the bread and wine to the altar at the Offertory, and the arrangement of the broken bread into the form of a human figure (the Syrian Orthodox rite has something similar).<sup>232</sup> Like the Mozarabic prefaces, the *Contestatio*, as they were called in the Gallican anaphoras, vary wildly in length and subject, and the *oratio post-secreta* after the institution narrative is inconsistent in its mention of the Holy Spirit and inclusion of an *epiclesis*.<sup>233</sup>

The Ambrosian or Milanese rite is much closer than the Mozarabic and Gallican rites to what would become the later Roman rite.<sup>234</sup> While its structure “shows some

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<sup>231</sup> Spinks, *Do This*, 196. The five uses are discussed in King, *Liturgies of the Past*, 77. The liturgical reforms of Pipin and Charlemagne are often characterized as a violent imposition of the Romano-Western synthesis that existed at the time, which Spinks describes as “the rite that evolved in the City of Rome – probably itself a synthesis – migrated north of the Alps and west, where it was supplanted with and adapted to local uses and came to dominate and displace most other regional contenders, including older use in Rome itself.” But as Spinks points out, the more recent studies show the process to have been much more complex. Rosamon McKitterick, for instance, suggests “that their encouragement of liturgy emphasized its more didactic elements that were aimed more directly at the laity than any imposition”; Spinks, *Do This*, 211-12; he is summarizing Rosamon McKitterick in *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789-895* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977). For more on this matter, see Spinks’s discussion and the sources cited there: *Do This*, 211-13. On the manuscript evidence for this rite, see the discussions in Bouley, *From Freedom to Formula*, 181-92; Matthieu Smyth, *La liturgie oubliée: La prière eucharistique en Gaule antique et dans l’occident non romain* (Paris: Cerf, 2003), 51-96.

<sup>232</sup> Spinks, *Do This*, 197-98.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.*, 197-99.

<sup>234</sup> For a recent study of the Ambrosian anaphora, see Achille Maria Triacca, “Le preghiere eucaristiche ambrosiane,” in *Prex Eucharistica: Studia*, 145-202.

similarities with the Hispano-Mozarabic and Gallican rites,” the major difference is that its anaphora is the *Canon missae* of the Roman rite.<sup>235</sup> It still contains 263 prefaces which are unusual in their construction and source material.<sup>236</sup> The hybrid character of the available evidence does not allow for much clarity about its form before the seventh century. The same can be said for the Celtic rite or tradition.<sup>237</sup> The major evidence for the later tradition is the Stowe Missal, which dates from c. 792 and “may be less a witness to a quite distinct Celtic or Irish rite than a snapshot of the later Romano-Western synthesis at a particular point in time in Ireland.”<sup>238</sup>

O’Donoghue identified three distinctive elements of the Stowe Missal: (a) the liturgy begins with the Litany of the Saints; (b) for the fraction, a hymn is supplied that is basically “a catena of Scripture;” and (c) a unique form of the Communion chant. Especially since the Litany of the Saints was a feature of the opening of the Roman Rite for an early parts of its life,<sup>239</sup> this is a rather limited set of distinctive elements to call a separate rite.

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<sup>235</sup> Ibid., 206.

<sup>236</sup> See King’s discussion of them in Archdale A. King, *Liturgies of the Primatial Sees*, (London: Longmans, Green, 1957), 428-29. For the text before its reform after the Second Vatican Council, see Antonio Maria Ceriani, ed., *Missale Ambrosianum: Duplex (proprium de tempore)* (Milan: Typis R. Ghirlanda, 1913). For the current version in use in the Diocese of Milan, see *Missale Ambrosianum iuxta ritum Sanctae Ecclesiae Mediolanensis* (Milan: Centro Ambrosiano di Documentazione e Studi Religiosi, 1981). For more on the rite, see the bibliography in Spinks, *Do This*, 207, n.74. For the place of the Ambrosian and Mozarabic rites after Vatican II, see Vincent Lenti, “Liturgical Reform and the Ambrosian and Mozarabic Rites,” *Worship* 68, no. 5 (September 1994): 417–26.

<sup>237</sup> See Hugh P. Kennedy, “The Eucharistic Prayer in Early Irish Liturgical Practice,” in *Prex Eucharistica: Studia*, 225–36; Neil Xavier O’Donoghue, *The Eucharist in Pre-Norman Ireland* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011).

<sup>238</sup> See George F. Warner, ed., *The Stowe Missal: MS. D. II. 3 in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin*, reprint, Henry Bradshaw Society, 31-32 (Suffolk: Henry Bradshaw Society & Boydell Press, 1989) (hereafter CeS); see also Spinks, *Do This*, 190, 208.

<sup>239</sup> “The true history of the *Kyrie* in the Roman Mass is to be traced through the litany of saints sung at processions to stational Masses, Rogations, ordinations, and the processions to and from the font at the Paschal Vigil”; Jeffery, “*Kyrie*,” 192. For the history of the stational liturgies, see John F. Baldovin,

All of these rites or streams of traditions interacted with each other, and traces of each tradition can be found in the others. The Gallican and Mozarabic rites appear to be the most distinctive, but only the Mozarabic and Ambrosian have perdured alongside the Roman Rite (its later form a clear synthesis with Gallican features). The focus of this study will be limited to the Roman Rite, though I will refer to some of these other Western rites (particularly the Mozarabic) to the extent that they bear on the development of the rite in Rome.

### ***Conclusion***

The material in this chapter has supplied the necessary foundational information to make sense of all that follows in the subsequent chapters. This dissertation is concerned with how Hebrews functions as a source in the composition and redaction of the Roman Canon. This means that I am concerned about the Canon's origins, but from an avenue hitherto unexplored: specifically, the way a particular scriptural book was interpreted and used in the construction of this eucharistic prayer. My original contribution, however, can only be properly understood and analyzed when one has a complete understanding of what is contained in the Canon, the characteristics that set it apart from other early anaphoras, and what is known already about its origin. I have laid out these characteristics and this origin in Chapter 1. This survey included some original contributions, including a specific proposal about the ways that the Greek anaphoral source that lies behind the Latin anaphora was reshaped into a Latin idiom. I also proposed a way to view the stages of the Canon's development and tied this to particular

figures and dates. As is clear at this point, Scripture plays almost no part in most scholarship on the origin of the Roman Canon, and I will remedy this lacuna in Part II (Chapters 3-5).

Before I get to the topic of Scripture, however, I turn in Chapter 2 to the structure of the Roman Canon and its principal concern that God accept the sacrificial offering constitutive of the eucharistic action, two of its unique and distinguishing features. I will argue in Chapters 5 and 6 that these two interrelated features are a direct result of the influence of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Thus, it is critical that its oft-misunderstood structure be properly explicated and joined to an appreciation for just how unique are its repeated request for divine acceptance.

## CHAPTER 2 – THE STRUCTURE OF THE ROMAN CANON, ITS EMPAHSIS ON ACCEPTANCE OF THE SACRIFICE, AND HOW THESE CHARACTERISTICS COMPARE TO OTHER EARLY ANAPHORAS

Chapter 1 introduced the content of the Roman Canon , its attendant unique features, and an examination of the current state of the question on its composition and development. While there are numerous features that set the Canon apart from many, if not most, other early anaphoras, there are two distinctive qualities that loom large: its unusual structure and the repetition of verbs of offering that are coupled with repeated requests for God to accept the sacrificial offering. These features deserve their own discussion, in part because I will show in Part II (especially Chapters 5 and 6) that these features are a result of the Canon’s use of Hebrews as a source, and in its very earliest stages.

This chapter will demonstrate three claims. First, the Latin anaphora is characterized by careful construction and redaction that displays a clear structural plan and theological focus which center on the acceptance of the sacrificial offering.<sup>240</sup> Second, a clear structural relationship exists between the Roman Canon and not only the Alexandrian family (which has long been noted) but also with another previously unidentified anaphora: the East Syrian *Anaphora of Mar Theodore*. Third, the Canon’s structure is deeply tied to another of its unique characteristics: emphasis on the act of

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<sup>240</sup> Christiaan Kappes recently put forward a detailed study that shows how deeply rooted the language about legal debt and the acceptance of sacrifice is in Roman juridical formulae and Stoic philosophy, particularly Seneca; see “Lactantius” (unpublished manuscript).

offering a sacrifice and the anaphora's principal petitionary concern: that God would accept the sacrifice.

This study of the unique structure and emphasis of the final form of the Roman Canon's proceeds in two parts. The first part examines some of the proposals for making sense of the structure and concludes with my own proposal for how to understand its structure. I argue that the Canon is the result of careful redaction and deliberate shaping which likely occurred during the pontificate of Gelasius I, as argued in Chapter 1. I also will integrate my proposal into the stages of development that I also outlined at the end of Chapter 1. The second part of this chapter considers the structure of the Canon in relationship to the three anaphoras chosen as representative comparisons: *Lit. AM* for the East Syrian tradition; the Alexandrian *Lit. Mark*; and *Lit. James*, as a paradigmatic example of the West Syrian structure. Here will I not only show what is singular about the Canon's structure and attendant emphasis on the sacrifice, but I will also highlight some heretofore unnoticed structural similarities with not just one but two other anaphoral families. In spite of some of the structural similarities with other traditions, however, the Canon's unique emphasis on the acceptance of the sacrificial offering sets it apart from all other early anaphoral witnesses and is the ordering principle of its structure.

### ***The structure of the Roman Canon***

The structure of the Roman Canon's final form has perplexed many. Jungmann puts it rather starkly:

The canon itself...with the exception of the words of consecration, appears to be nothing more than a loosely arranged succession of oblations, prayers of

intercessions and a reverential citation of apostles and martyrs of early Christianity.<sup>241</sup>

The sixteenth-century chaplain to Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, Thomas Becon, was less circumspect: the prayer is “a hotch-potch [*sic*]...a very beggar’s cloak, cobbled, clouted and patched with a multitude of popish rags.”<sup>242</sup> From a more objective posture, Fortescue argues that, along with the absence of an explicit *epiclesis*, the other most distinctive feature of the Roman Canon is “the order of the various elements.”<sup>243</sup> Cypriano Vagaggini, a central figure in the formation of what became the Missal of Paul VI after the Second Vatican Council, argued that the Roman Canon could not stand under the weight of the new principles of liturgical form: it not only leaves “much to be desired,” it is clear that “we cannot entertain today the view that the present canon is one integral structure, or indeed that it is the best possible form of anaphora.”<sup>244</sup>

### ***Unsuccessful attempts to unravel the Canon’s structure***

The structure of the final form of the Roman Canon is clearly different from any of the three anaphoral examples—or any other early anaphora, for that matter. Nonetheless, a careful examination of its structure reveals that it may be less unusual than it first appears and certainly less distinctive than the other main features that set it apart, namely its repeated emphasis on sacrifice and the need for God’s acceptance. A few key

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<sup>241</sup> Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, II:101

<sup>242</sup> “The Displaying of the Popish Mass” in Thomas Becon, *Prayers and Other Pieces* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1844), 266; quoted in Spinks, “Canon Missae,” 130. Becon goes on to list the figures known to have contributed to the Canon: “The authors of this goodly and godly canon they make pope Alexander, pope Gelasius, pope Gregory, pope Sixtus, pope Leo, and a certain man called Scholasticus.”

<sup>243</sup> Fortescue, *Mass*, 110.

<sup>244</sup> Vagaggini, *Canon of the Mass*, 21, 23; the seven principles of reform, drawn from the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum concilium*, are given in *Ibid.*, 17-19.



attempts have been made to articulate more precisely the exact structure of the Canon and the way each segment relates to the others. Dominic Serra focuses on the rectilinear structure of the canon (as I did in Chapter 1) with special attention to the relative pronouns (*quam, qui*) and the transitional adverb *unde*. One of the important implications of his study is that, in spite of a long history of interpreting and naming the *Qui pridie* as that which effects “consecration,” the institution narrative sits within a subordinate clause. The dominical words, he argues, “function not as a declarative statement about the bread and the wine on the altar but rather as a warrant for God’s acceptance of the petition” and of the offering. Serra argues that the petition in the previous paragraph, the *Quam oblationem*, asks “that God hold the offerings (spoken of throughout the earlier petitions) acceptable so that they will become the body and blood of Jesus Christ.”<sup>245</sup> A principle concern of the Latin anaphora is the acceptance of the offering; in God’s acceptance, the transformation of the bread and wine occurs. Thus, as I demonstrated at the beginning of chapter 1, the more fundamental request for which the *Qui pridie* serves as a warrant is the prayer for acceptance made before and after the account of the institution, and to this request is joined the request for transformation. The means of transformation of the bread and wine is God’s acceptance of the sacrifice, and the request for transformation always follows the request for acceptance.

Johannes Emminghaus and Matthew Gerlach both argue that the Roman Canon has a chiasmic structure, though their diagrams differ in significant ways.<sup>246</sup> See Table 2.1 for Emminghaus’s proposal.

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<sup>245</sup> Serra, “Roman Canon,” 110.

<sup>246</sup> Johannes H. Emminghaus, *The Eucharist: Essence, Form, Celebration* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1978), 174-83, and Chart II: “Structure of the Roman Canon (Eucharistic Prayer I).”; Originally published as Johannes H. Emminghaus, *Die Messe: Wesen-Gestalt-Vollzug* (Klosterneuberg, Austria:

**Table 2.1 The structural outline of the Roman Canon by J. Emminghaus**

Outline	RC Texts	Content and Function
E <sup>1</sup>	<i>Sursum corda</i> <i>Vere Dignum</i> (preface) <i>Sanctus</i> and <i>Benedictus</i>	Praise in Dialogue
D <sup>1</sup>	<i>Te igitur</i>	Transition and First prayer for acceptance
C <sup>1</sup>	[ <i>In primis</i> from <i>Te igitur</i> ] <i>Memento Domine</i> <i>Communicantes</i>	1 <sup>st</sup> Intercessions: for church, Pope, Bishop for the living 1 <sup>st</sup> List of Saints
B <sup>1</sup>	<i>Hanc igitur</i> <i>Quam oblationem</i>	First Formula of Offering First (Consecratory) Epiclesis
A	<i>Qui pridie</i> <i>Simili modo</i> ( <i>Mysterium fidei</i> ) <i>Unde et memores</i>	Double Consecration: Bread Wine (Acclamation) <i>Anamnesis</i>
B <sup>2</sup>	<i>Supra quae</i> <i>Supplices te</i>	Second Formula of Offering Second (Communion) Epiclesis
C <sup>2</sup>	<i>Memento etiam</i> <i>Nobis quoque</i>	2 <sup>nd</sup> Intercessions: for Deceased for the Participants 2 <sup>nd</sup> List of Saints
D <sup>2</sup>	<i>Per quem</i>	Concluding Blessing
E <sup>2</sup>	<i>Per ipsum</i>	Praise of the final doxology <sup>247</sup>

Emminghaus notes a number of the features shared by both halves—or cycles—of the anaphora (a basic structural feature that I discussed in Chapter 1). The basic weakness

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Verlag Österreichisches Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1972). Matthew Thomas Gerlach, *Lex Orandi, Lex Legendi: A Correlation of the Roman Canon and the Fourfold Sense of Scripture* (Milwaukee, WI: e-Publications@Marquette, 2011). Gerlach notes that in the reprinted and updated edition of the book in 1997, Emminghaus' chart is changed significantly. In the revised edition, all indications of parallelism or chiasmus are erased, and the sections are simply grouped together in order as in the chart reproduced below; see Johannes H. Emminghaus, *Die Messe: Wesen-Gestalt-Vollzug*, rev. (Klosterneuberg, Austria: Verlag Österreichisches Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1992); ET = *The Eucharist: Essence, Form, Celebration*, ed. Theodor Maas-Ewerd, rev. ed. (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1997). Ralph Keifer also suggests that a non-rectilinear structure can be seen in the first part of the Canon, and Gerlach says that Walter Ray proposed, in an unpublished graduate paper, that the Roman Canon is structured chiastically; see Keifer, "Unity of the Roman Canon," 42-43; Gerlach, 185 n.68.

<sup>247</sup> Emminghaus, *Eucharist*, (1978), 174.

of Emminghaus's approach is that he presumes the Canon's structure to be a straightforward chiasm and consequently is forced to fit paragraphs into his structural theory in ways that are forced and unconvincing. For instance, he claims that the *Te igitur* is parallel to the *Per quem*. Yet the *Te igitur* is principally a request for acceptance joined to an act of offering and then intercessions, while the *Per quem* is an acknowledgement of what God does through Christ (create, sanctify, bless, and gives all good things). The only common term in both paragraphs is the term *benedicos*.

Second, Emminghaus assumes that the complete paragraphs will always work as thematic units within the chiasm. For example, while he does separate the two portions of the *Te igitur* (the first part consisting of offering/prayer for acceptance and the second part of intercessions for the church), he fails to distinguish the distinct portions of the *Unde et memores*. There, the first part is the classic recollection of Christ's saving deeds (*anamnesis*), while the second part is the second explicit offering of the gifts. While the *Unde* is a single clause and functions as a single unit, he labels the entire paragraph as *anamnesis* and ignores the oblation it contains (and labels the *Supra quae* as the second formula of offering. This is the first of a number of instances where he ignores the text in favor of his theory.

Third, Emminghaus joins the *Unde et memores* to the *Qui pridie* as the "climactic center" of the Canon, which again is not entirely satisfying. This move has a certain logic, since both sit quite literally halfway through the prayer. They also both contain material that is singular in its content: the *Qui pridie*, the recollection of the historical event of the last supper and the *Unde et memores*, the typical *anamnesis*, which recalls Christ's death, resurrection, and ascension. The problem is that this scheme fails to

distinguish that the *anamnesis* is grammatically and thematically joined to the act of oblation. This insight points to a wider problem with how Emminghaus characterizes the content paragraphs. He describes the *Te igitur* as the transition and first prayer for acceptance, without acknowledgement that it actually contains the Canon's first explicit verb of offering (*offerimus*). He identifies the *Hanc igitur* as the first formula of offering even though there has already been two offerings before that (first, in the *Te igitur* and again in the *Memento, Domine*). He makes the same error when identifying the *Supra quae* as the second formula of offering. Not only is the only verb of offering a reference to Melchizedek's sacrifice and not the Eucharistic one. But the clear concern of the *Supra quae* the divine acceptance of the offering. The actual verb of oblation is found in the previous paragraph, the *Unde et memores*, which he placed in the "climactic center" along with the *Qui pridie*.

Finally, he identifies the *Quam oblationem* as the first (consecratory) *epiclesis*. The typical form of a consecratory *epiclesis* (in all the West Syrian anaphoras, as well as the Alexandrian *Lit. Mark*) follows a clear formula: it requests the Father to bid the Holy Spirit to act in order that the bread and wine may become Christ's body and blood.<sup>248</sup> This characterization fails to acknowledge that this *epiclesis* does not directly concern the Holy Spirit, as almost every other *epiclesis* does, save *Lit. Sarapion*. Neither of these characterizes the *Quam oblationem*. In the Roman Canon, the Father is addressed and is the one asked to act. The action requested of the Father is not the sending of the Spirit but

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<sup>248</sup> *Lit. Mark*: "<?send> your Holy Spirit to sanctify and perfect them and make the bread the body...and the cup the blood of the new covenant of our Lord and God and Savior and King of all, Jesus Christ"; *Lit. James*: "send down, Master, your all-Holy Spirit himself upon us and upon these hold gifts set before you, that he may descend upon them, [and by his holy and good and glorious coming] may sanctify them, and make this bread the holy body of Christ and this cup the precious blood of Christ"; *PEER*, 66, 93.

making the oblations “blessed, approved, ratified, spiritual, and acceptable.” The consequence of the requests in both the Roman Canon and the West Syrian and Alexandrian anaphoras is, to be sure, that the bread and wine become Christ’s Body and Blood. But in my reading, the first concern in the Roman Canon, both in the *Quam oblationem* and throughout the anaphora, is with *divine acceptance* of the offered bread and wine, not their *transformation*.<sup>249</sup>

I recognize that this interpretation remains debatable because *ut* in the *Quam oblationem* may either indicate the intended, primary purpose of the offering or only the consequence. Is the reason that the prayer asks for acceptance the transformation of the bread and wine? That is a possible interpretation, but not the only one. But another interpretation also seems possible, and is the one I find more convincing. In this other interpretation, the Eucharist is the fulfillment of the prophecy of Mal 1:11, the “pure offering” that is offered among the Gentiles that is pleasing to the Father. This sacrifice is offered in response to Christ’s command and in memory of the saving deeds which it anticipated, particularly his death, resurrection, and ascension. Thus the *ut* of the *Quam oblationem* indicates a recognition that an enormously significant consequence of God’s acceptance is that the bread and wine are consecrated, that is, made for us into something holy, namely, Jesus. Transformation is a graced consequence of acceptance, not the primary motivation of the sacrifice.

Matthew Gerlach also proposes that the Roman Canon exhibits the features of a chiasm and diagrams the Canon in a somewhat different fashion (see Table 2.2). He begins with a rich discussion of the literary feature of the chiasm in antiquity.<sup>250</sup> He

**Table 2.2 The structural outline of the Roman Canon by M. Gerlach**

A – PRAISE: preface concluding with the <i>Sanctus</i> ( <i>Dominum [sic] vobiscum-Sanctus</i> )
B – INTERCESSION: first set of intercessions ( <i>Te igitur-Hanc igitur</i> )
C – EPICLESIS: consecration epiclesis ( <i>Quam oblationem</i> )
D – OFFERING: Institution Narrative/consecration ( <i>Qui pridie</i> )
E – CHRISTOLOGICAL ACCLAMATION: <i>Mysterium fidei</i> with memorial acclamation
D' – OFFERING: <i>Anamnesis</i> -offering, with plea for acceptance of gifts ( <i>Unde et memores</i> with the <i>Supra quae</i> )
C' – EPICLESIS: communion epiclesis ( <i>Supplices te</i> )
B' – INTERCESSION: second set of intercessions ( <i>Memento etiam-Nobis quoque</i> )
A – PRAISE: two doxologies and people's Amen ( <i>Per quem-Per ipsum</i> ) <sup>251</sup>

explains that a chiasm has “two principle characteristics: (1) inverse parallelism and (2) climactic centrality, which combine to produce (3) a rhetorical movement of thought which may be described as ‘helical.’”<sup>252</sup> The climactic centrality is what distinguishes

<sup>250</sup> Gerlach, 174-82. See also John W. Welch, “Chiasmus in Ancient Greek and Latin Literatures,” in Welch, ed., *Chiasmus in Antiquity: Structures, Analyses, Exegesis* (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1981), 250-68.

<sup>251</sup> Gerlach, 182-83.

<sup>252</sup> Gerlach, 76. The term “helical” is taken from John Breck, *The Shape of the Biblical Language* (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1994).

chiasmus from other forms of parallelism inasmuch as the center is “the conceptual center as well as the pivot.”<sup>253</sup>

Gerlach improves upon Emminghaus in at least one important way: he places the preface and *Sanctus* in parallel with both doxological conclusions (the *Per quem* and *per ipsum*), which attends more closely to the text and makes the claim of the chiasmus more straightforward. Also like Emminghaus, the intercessions which are followed directly by a recollection of the saints are interpreted as parallel to each other. But other aspects of Gerlach’s scheme are less persuasive.

First, he imposes on the Roman Canon the term *epiclesis*, specifically the categories of “consecration *epiclesis*” and “communion *epiclesis*.”<sup>254</sup> In the previous section, I pointed out that the term *epiclesis* within the Roman Canon can be misleading. To identify the *Supplices te* as a “communion *epiclesis*” is also a bit misleading. The *Supplices te* is structured quite differently from what is sometimes called the “double *epiclesis*” in some West Syrian anaphora, where the Spirit is invoked on the gifts and on the people, such as in *Lit. James*: “send down, Master, your all-Holy Spirit himself upon us and upon these holy gifts set before you.”<sup>255</sup> There are, in fact, several types of *epicleses* exist in early anaphora. The type in the Roman Canon is somewhat similar to that found in the Latin version of *Trad. ap.* There, the Spirit is invoked upon the oblation

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<sup>253</sup> Gerlach, 179. For more on the chiasmus in addition to the works cited above, see William E. Engel, *Chiastic Designs in English Literature from Sidney to Shakespeare* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009); Ronald E. Man, “The Value of Chiasm for New Testament Interpretation,” *BSac* 141, no. 562 (1984): 146–57; Augustine Stock, “Chiastic Awareness and Education in Antiquity,” *BTB* 14, no. 1 (1984): 23–27.

<sup>254</sup> Serra uses these two terms for these same paragraphs (“The Roman Canon,” 119).

<sup>255</sup> *PEER*, 93.

in order that unity would be engendered thereby “in the fullness of the Spirit.”<sup>256</sup> The central request in the *Supplices te* is not that God send us grace but rather bid the angel to take our sacrifice to the heavenly altar, the result of which is that when the offered bread and wine are received, the recipient is filled with heavenly benediction and grace.

Second, categorizing the *Qui pridie* primarily as oblation, as Gerlach does, is simply not warranted by the text of the anaphora. It contains no verb of offering, as in the *Unde et memores* (the verb again is *offerimus*), and it is difficult to see how even the general themes of the *Qui pridie* could be interpreted as parallel to the *Unde et memores* and *Supra quae*. Much more helpful is Emminghaus, who views the *Qui pridie* as the center of the anaphora. In my view, the weaknesses in both of these proposals spring from a desire to find in the Canon the evidence to confirm their respective prior theories about how to make sense of the Canon’s structure.

### ***A successful attempt to unravel the Canon’s structure***

The most compelling proposal to make sense of the Roman Canon’s structure is that of Matthew J. Connolly, whose approach differs significantly those of both Emminghaus and Gerlach.<sup>257</sup> Connolly presents a structure that provides both a

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<sup>256</sup> Paul F. Bradshaw, Maxwell E. Johnson, and L. Edward Phillips, *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary*, ed. Harold W. Attridge, Hermeneia--a Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002), 40. The Ethiopic reads: “We pray that you send your Holy Spirit on the oblation of your church. Having united [them], may you give to all who [par]take holiness, both for filling with the Holy Spirit and for strengthening the faith in truth”). In other words, the divine action of the giving of grace is a result of the reception of the elements, not of a direct action of the Holy Spirit upon the people. The Roman Canon’s approach is the same: the result of the request in the *Supplices te* that the angel take the sacrifice to the heavenly altar is that those who receive Christ’s Body and Blood from the earthly altar may be filled with all heavenly benediction and grace (*omni benedictione caelesti et gratia repleamur*).

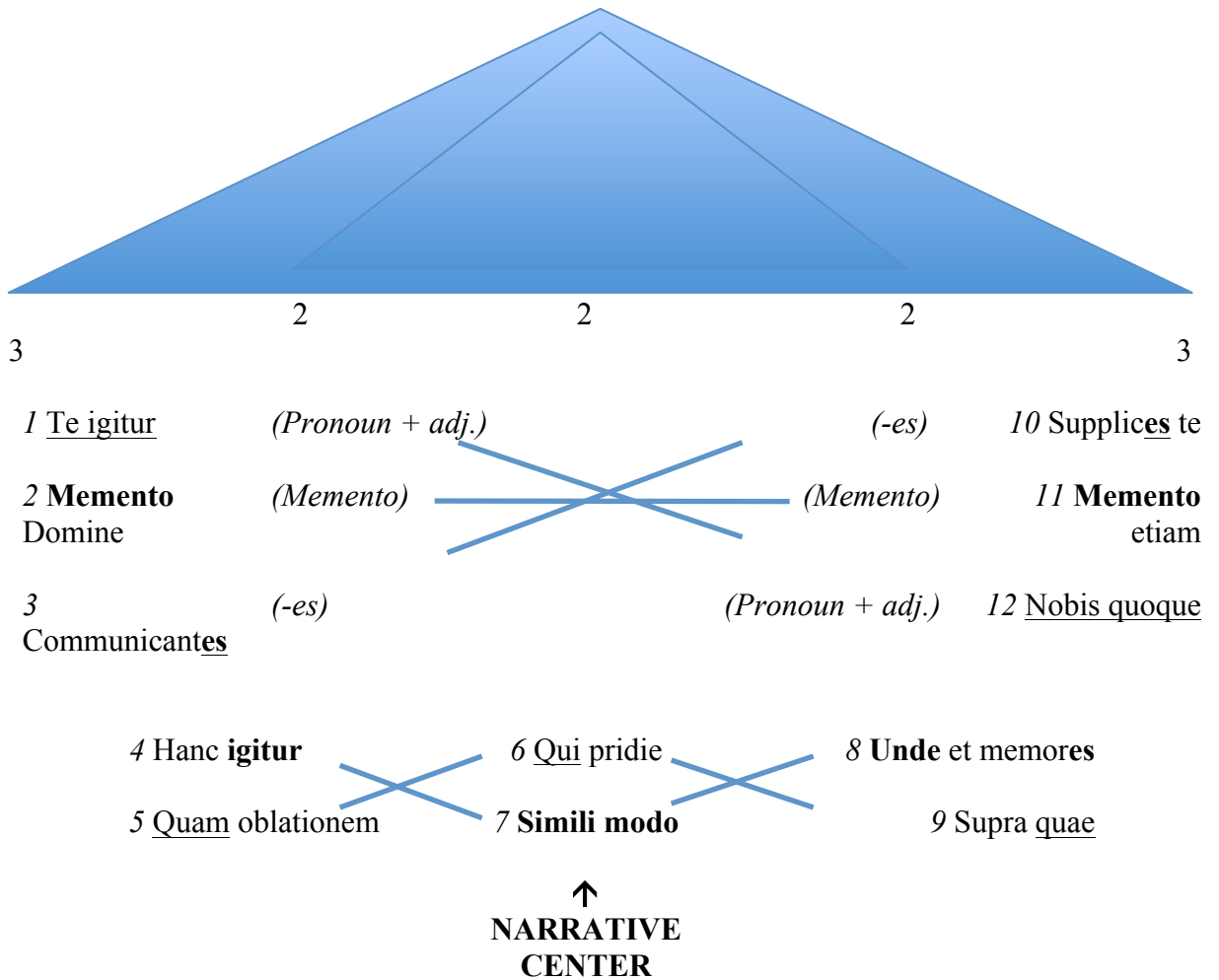
<sup>257</sup> Christiaan Kappes also proposes a persuasive chiasmic structure that is close to mine and that of Connolly. His, however, is based on a reconstruction of a pre-Ambrosian form of the Canon, which he



rectilinear reading as well as a diagram that is simultaneously characterized by chiasmus and parallelism, though in a more complex and subtle way than we have seen thus far.<sup>258</sup>

Connolly attends carefully both to the content of each paragraph and also to syntax and morphology. The result is ingenious and indicates how carefully the Canon was redacted

**Table 2.3 M. Connolly's structural outline of the Roman Canon**



styles Roman Canon alpha (RC<sub>a</sub>); Kappes, "Lactantius" (unpublished manuscript). Kappes has kindly given permission for me to reproduce it as Appendix F.

<sup>258</sup> Michael J. Connolly, "The Tridentine Canon Missae as Framework for a Liturgical Narrative," in *The Structural Analysis of Narrative Texts: Conference Papers*, ed. Andrej Kodjak, Michael J. Connolly, and Krystyna Pomorska, New York University Slavic Papers 2 (Columbus, OH: Slavica, 1980), 24–30.

and shaping. What follows is his complete diagram (Table 2.3), which I will then describe in detail.

Connolly's divides the Canon into twelve segments, beginning with the *Te igitur* and concluding with the *Nobis quoque*. To arrive at twelve paragraphs, he both divides the *Qui pridie* into two paragraphs (*Qui pridie* over the bread, and the *Simili modo* over the wine) and also leaves off the concluding doxologies *Per quem* and *Per ipsum*.<sup>259</sup> The two institution narrative segments, then, stand in the very middle of the prayer in what Connolly calls the "narrative center."<sup>260</sup> These two central paragraphs are each flanked by five segments, divided symmetrically as follows (Table 2.4):

**Table 2.4** The "narrative center" of the Roman Canon according to Connolly

1	+	<i>Memento domine</i>	+	3	+	<i>Qui pridie</i>	+	3	+	<i>Memento etiam</i>	+	1
<i>Te igitur</i>				↓		<i>Simili modo</i>		↓				<i>Nobis quoque</i>
				<i>Communicantes</i>		<i>Unde et memores</i>						
				<i>Hanc igitur</i>		<i>Supra quae</i>						
				<i>Quam oblationem</i>		<i>Supplices te</i>						

<sup>259</sup> Connolly, "Liturgical Narrative," 25. Connolly mentions that he left off the doxologies because they function "as a conclusory formula (*ekphōnēsis*). Connolly organizes his scheme along the lines of the medieval missals, whose presentation indicates that the Roman Canon begins at the *Te igitur* and not the opening dialogue (see the discussion of this development in Chapter 1). His paragraph divisions are as follows:

- |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| (1) <i>Te igitur</i>       | (2) <i>Memento, Domine</i> |
| (3) <i>Communicantes</i>   | (4) <i>Hanc igitur</i>     |
| (5) <i>Quam oblationem</i> | (6) <i>Qui pridie</i>      |
| (7) <i>Simili modo</i>     | (8) <i>Unde et memores</i> |
| (9) <i>Supra quae</i>      | (10) <i>Supplices te</i>   |
| (11) <i>Memento etiam</i>  | (12) <i>Nobis quoque</i>   |

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.*, 24-25.

Connolly's schema highlights a central feature of the anaphora which I discussed in Chapter 2, namely, that both *Memento* segments are followed by paragraphs which include a list of saints (the *Communicantes* and *Nobis quoque*). The content of each *momento* segment has a clear parallel with the other, the first containing intercessions for the living and the second for the dead. Each list of saints in the *Communicantes* and *Nobis quoque*, respectively, is structured in a precise fashion.<sup>261</sup> Connolly describes the ordering of the *Communicantes* in this way (Table 2.5).<sup>262</sup>

[it] contains twenty-five names, which, in order, divide into Mary plus twenty-four saints. The twenty-four saints, again in order, divide into twelve apostles and twelve martyrs. The twelve martyrs consist of six bishops (five Roman [popes] and one non-Roman) and six non-bishops (two clergy and four laymen):

**Table 2.5** Connolly's breakdown of the *Communicantes*

	$25 = 1 + 24$	
	$24 = 12 + 12$	
x x x x x popes		$12 = 6 + 6$
x bishop		$6 = 5 + 1$
x x <sup>263</sup> clergy		$6 = 2 + 4$
x x x x laymen <sup>264</sup>		

The second list of the *Nobis quoque* is a similarly precise (Table 2.6):

<sup>261</sup> Kennedy explores the ordering as well, and much of it corresponds with Connolly's approach; see *Saints*, 72.

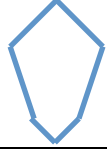

<sup>262</sup> The fact that the Blessed Virgin and John the Baptist stand at the head of each list of saints led Neil Roy to suggest that this functions like a *Deëis* in Christian art, where these two figures are often depicted on either side of Christ; see "The Mother of God, the Forerunner, and the Saints of the Roman Canon: A Euchological *Deëis*" in Johnson, *Issues in Eucharistic Praying*, 327-48.

<sup>263</sup> Connolly does not explain why he categorizes Chrysogonus as a cleric and not a layman. Almost nothing is known about him and he is normally not identified as a member of the clergy. If he is identified as a layman, the structure then has a clearer symmetry: five popes and one bishop not a pope (5 + 1), followed by one cleric and five layman (1 + 5). See "Chrysogonus, St.," in *ODCC*, 341. Kennedy categorizes him as a cleric; see *Saints*, 128-30.

<sup>264</sup> Connolly, "Liturgical Narrative.," 26.

[It] consists of one pre-redemptive martyr (John the Baptist) and fourteen post-redemptive martyrs. The fourteen martyrs make up two blocks of seven males and seven females. The seven males are arranged in a *subito crescendo—decrecendo* order of rank, one unpaired protomartyr (Stephen, a deacon by rank) and three pairs of martyr ranks (two apostles, two bishops, two presbyters). The seven females are arranged in a *crescendo—subito decrecendo* pattern based on the proximity of the place of martyrdom to Rome, i.e., three pairs in ascending proximity to Rome (two from North Africa, two from Sicily, two from Rome) and the final unpaired name suggesting Asia Minor (Anastasia):

**Table 2.6 Connolly's breakdown of the *Nobis quoque***

15 = 1 + 14		14 = 7 + 7		7 = 1 + (3 x 2)		7 = (3 x 2) + 1	
Joannes [Baptista]							
Stephanus		<i>Deacon</i>					
Matthias	Barnabas	<i>Apostles</i>					
Ignatius	Alexander	<i>Bishops</i>					
Marcellinus	Petrus	<i>Presbyters</i>					
		Felicitas	Perpetua			N. Africa	
		Agatha	Lucia			Sicily	
		Agnes	Caecilia			Rome	
		Anastasia				Asia? <sup>265</sup>	

So far, Connolly has simply brought greater clarity to items already highlighted. More substantially, however, Connolly proposes that there are two distinct sections within the Canon: an external section composed of the outer six segments arranged in two rows of three, and an internal section, composed of the six inner segments arranged in three rows of two. When arranged as in the following diagram, the first three and final three segments (presented in the order in which they appear—1-2-3 and 10-11-12) both form a parallel and create a chiasm (Table 2.7).

<sup>265</sup> The paragraph description and layout of the names and titles is taken from *ibid.*, 27.

**Table 2.7 The parallels and chiasms of the Canon's outer six paragraphs, according to Connolly**

1 <u>Te igitur</u>	A	(Pronoun + adj.)	(-es)	C'	10 <u>Supplices te</u>
2 <b>Memento</b> Domine	B	(Memento)	(Memento)	B'	11 <b>Memento</b> etiam
3 <b>Communicantes</b>	C	(-es)	(Pronoun + adj.)	C'	12 <u>Nobis</u> <u>quoque</u>

When thus arranged, the parallels are clear. The *Te igitur* and *Supplices te*<sup>266</sup> are both prayers for acceptance; both *Memento* segments are intercessions, first for the living and then for the departed; and the *Communicantes* and *Nobis quoque* are both recollections of the saints.

The chiasmic structure is found at the level of the morphology and syntax of the incipits of each paragraph: the *Te igitur* and *Nobis quoque* begin with “personal pronouns (the *we-thou* poles of prayer address) + adverb of function” followed by an adjective modifying the pronoun (A and A’); the *memento* segments begin with imperative verbs (B and B’); and the *Communicantes* and *Supplices te* begin with participles that function as “substantive adjectives, nominative plural, third declension (-3s)” (C and C’).<sup>267</sup> The six *external* segments, then, are constructed in such a way as both to parallel each other in their content and to exhibit a chiasm with respect to their morphological syntax.

The Roman Canon also contains six *internal* segments: the narrative center (*Qui pridie* and *Simili modo*) flanked by a group of two segments (Table 2.8):

<sup>266</sup> As noted a number of times, the *Supplices te* is a form of a request for acceptance, but in a less direct manner than the other four in *Te igitur*, *Hanc igitur*, *Quam oblationem*, and *Supra quae*.

<sup>267</sup> Ibid., 28. *Supplices* is actually not a participle, but an adjective and not a verb form. The participle of *supplico* in this case would be *supplicantes* not *supplices*.

**Table 2.8 The relationship of the Canon's six internal paragraphs, according to Connolly**

4 Hanc <b>igitur</b>	1'	6 Qui pridie 1''	1'''	8 Unde et memores
5 Quam oblationem	2'	7 Simili modo 2''	2'''	9 Supra quae
<p>↑ NARRATIVE CENTER</p>				

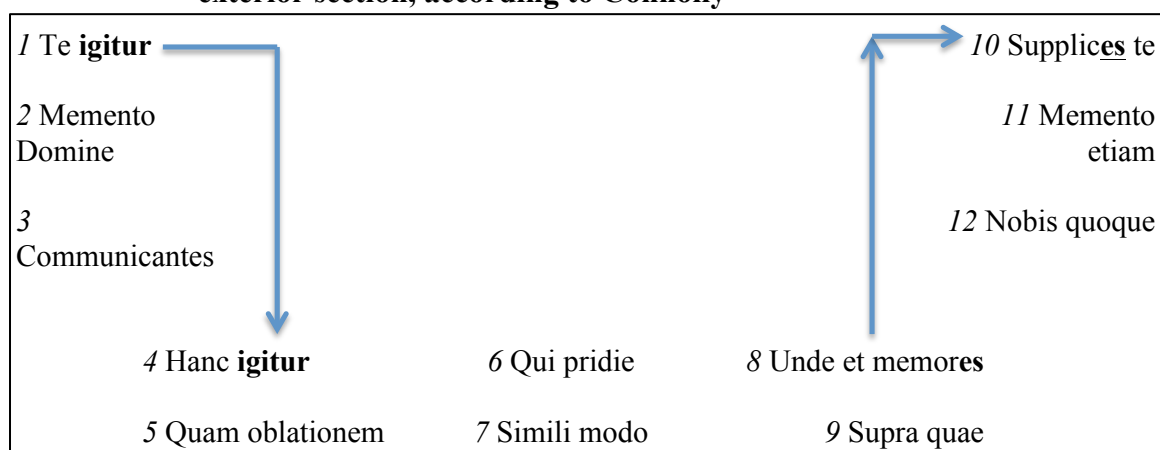
Connolly notes that while the external section consists of two columns of three segments (2 x 3 = 6), the internal section of segments is an inversion of this pattern: three columns consisting of two segments (3 x 2 = 6). Like the external segments, the internal segments also are bound together as a chiasm at the level of the morphology and syntax of their respective incipits. The *Hanc igitur*, *Simili modo*, and *Unde et memores* share “semantic adverbial binding (therefore—likewise—wherefore)” (1'—2''—1'''). The *Quam oblationem*, *Qui pridie*, and *Supra quae* share the use of a relative pronoun or adjective in their respective incipits: 2' (*quam*) to 1'' (*qui*) to 2''' (*quae*). Setting aside the *Qui pridie* and *Simili modo*, since they are the narrative center, we can see that the two outer columns of this internal section also parallel each other in what they express, though less explicitly than do the external segments. The *Hanc igitur* and *Unde et memores* (1' and 1''') are both concerned with offering and acceptance<sup>268</sup> while the *Quam oblationem* and *Supra quae* (2' and 2''') are concerned with the acceptance of the sacrifice and its results. He notes one additional connection: the conjunction *igitur* connects the first item in the exterior and interior segments, respectively, while the third-declension substantives

<sup>268</sup> The second half of the *Unde et memores* is an act of offering while the *Hanc igitur* is a request for acceptance. The first half of the *Unde et memores*, which is the *anamnesis*, does not fit this scheme exactly. One solution is to include the first part with an institutional “narrative center,” though this throws off the numerical symmetry.

ending in *-es* join the last item in the interior segment to the first item in the posterior column of external section (see Table 2.9).

Connolly's approach attends in much greater detail than do Emminghaus and Gerlach to both the content of the particular paragraphs and to the specific syntax and morphology of the Canon's final form. Before addressing the few ways in which I wish to amend Connolly's proposal, a

**Table 2.9** The connections between the first paragraph of each interior and exterior section, according to Connolly



few additional items are worth noting about his scheme. First, the two paragraphs containing distinct material, which complicates the task of diagramming the Canon's structure. The first of these is the *Te igitur*, which begins with a request for acceptance and offering and then moves into intercessions. The other is the *Unde et memores*, which begins with the *anamnesis* then moves seamlessly to an oblation. In Connolly's scheme, he solves this by dividing the *Te igitur* and then to group the second half that begins *In*

*primis* with the intercessory *Memento, Domine* which follows it.<sup>269</sup> The *Unde et memores* poses a more difficult problem. One possibility is to include the anamnestic first half as part of the narrative center. This, however, introduces new problems. The semantic adverbial binding that joins it to the *Hanc igitur* and *Simili modo* disappears, as does the numerical symmetry, since the narrative center now has three parts instead of two.<sup>270</sup> Thus, the better path seems to be to accept Connolly's proposal and simply acknowledge that the *Unde et memores* contains two portions and that the anamnestic portion functions as a unique construction which serves to introduce the formal post-institution narrative oblation.

Second, it turns out that Connolly's proposal attends to important aspects of the Canon's historical evolution, even though he does not address this. The basic groupings of paragraphs fit with the scholarly consensus about which paragraphs are oldest and which paragraphs were added at different stages, with just one major exception.<sup>271</sup> The only morphological features that are part of Connolly's construction and also appear in the version in Ambrose's *Sacr.* are the *Qui pridie* and the *Simili modo*, which indicates that the Canon's final form, marked by all of these features, is not native to the primitive text but rather the result of careful shaping. Just as Geoffrey Willis noted that the

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<sup>269</sup> However, this solution messes with the morphological correspondences that Connolly identified.

<sup>270</sup> One could also join the *Simili modo* to the *Qui pridie* so that the first half of the *Unde et memores* becomes the second part of the narrative center. Yet, dropping the *Simili modo* as a separate paragraph damages the chiasmus and parallelism of the internal segment.

<sup>271</sup> In the summary in Chapter 1 on the development of the Canon, I noted that of (what I am now calling in light of Connolly's work) the internal segments, a version of all except the *Hanc igitur* are observed in Ambrose. The Narrative Center was already in place by the time of Ambrose but was probably inserted relatively recently, some time earlier in the fourth century; it could be removed and Connolly's structural scheme still holds. Of the external segments, only the *Te igitur* and the *Supplices te* are likely part of the primitive portion of the prayer (language parallels of the *Te igitur* are found in the Mai fragments, as well as in the *Veronensis* and Mozarabic sacramentaries), and a primitive form of the *Supplices te* in Ambrose (as well as the final form of *Lit. Mark* and *Lit. Cyril*).



significant influx of the instances of *cursus* in the final version of the Canon (compared to Ambrose) points to a literary feature that came into prominence after the time of Ambrose, the syntax indicates both a careful shaping to connect the paragraphs to one another from a rectilinear perspective (as Serra demonstrated so clearly) and also a shaping that attends to the interrelationship of the sections in an even more subtle and complex fashion that Connolly has demonstrated.<sup>272</sup>

### ***My proposed interpretation of the Canon's structure***

I find Connolly's proposal exceedingly persuasive and have chosen to interpret the structure of the Canon according to his scheme, but with two small caveats. The first is an amendment that incorporates an insight from both Emminghaus and Gerlach, namely, to include the opening dialogue, preface, *Sanctus*, and final doxology into the diagram of the Canon's structure. When they are added, the preface and *Sanctus*, along with the *Per quem* and *Per ipsum*, together form what I call a "doxological inclusio" bracketing the entire prayer. The predominant theme of sacrifice and its acceptance is contextualized in its introduction and conclusion with an explicit posture of verbal praise. Thus, the phrase *sacrificium laudis* in the *Memento, Domine* (a version of which is found in Heb. 13:15—*hostiam laudis*) is the most fitting phrase to summarize the unique approach of the Roman Canon.<sup>273</sup>

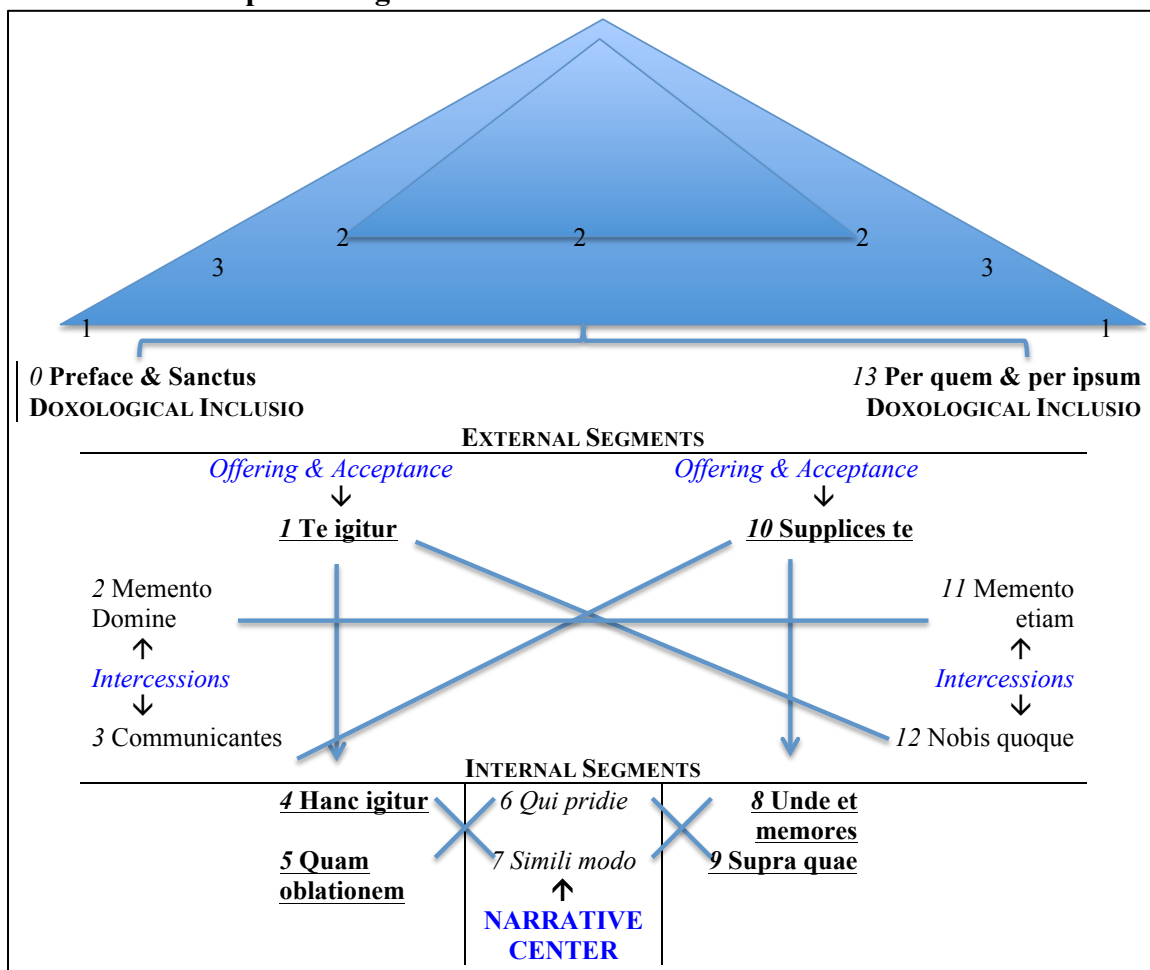
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<sup>272</sup> See "The *Cursus* in the Roman Canon" in Willis, *Essays*, 111-18; Serra, "The Roman Canon."

<sup>273</sup> The fact that this phrase appears in the New Testament only in Hebrews 13:15, is found almost exclusively in Western anaphora, and expresses a primitive and scriptural form of eucharistic theology is discussed in detail in Chapter 5. See Geoffrey G. Willis, "Sacrificium Laudis," in *The Sacrifice of Praise: Studies on the Themes of Thanksgiving and Redemption in the Central Prayers of the Eucharistic and Baptismal Liturgies; In Honour of Arthur Hubert Couratin*, ed. Bryan D. Spinks, Bibliotheca "Ephemerides Liturgicae" 19 (Rome: C.L.V. Edizioni liturgiche, 1981), 73–87.

My second amendment to Connolly's scheme is to highlight one additional structural relationship between the external and internal segments that corresponds to the Canon's historical evolution. The items that sit at the top of the rows in the external segments (*Te igitur* and *Supplices te*) share the themes of sacrifice and divine acceptance with the first and third rows of the internal section (*Hanc igitur* and *Quam oblationem*, and *Unde et memores* and *Supra quae* respectively). The following diagram shows the Roman Canon in outline using Connolly's scheme with my two amendments: a) the doxological inclusio added, and b) the placement of the *Te igitur* and the *Supplices te* brought towards the center so that the thematic relationship between these four segments is highlighted (Table 2.10). When these six segments concerning offering and acceptance are linked (*Te igitur*, *Hanc igitur*, *Quam oblationem*, *Unde et memores*, *Supra quae*, and *Supplices te*), three discreet divisions (plus the doxological inclusio) can be distinguished in the Canon (see Table 2.11).

Table 2.10 Proposed diagram of the structure of the Roman Canon



These divisions are not unique to the final form but can also be discerned in the earlier version in Ambrose's *Sacr.* 4, though it is clear that the *textus receptus* has been more carefully shaped. Neither the *Sanctus* nor the *Per quem* are mentioned or referenced in Ambrose, and it is likely that they have yet to enter the anaphora. This leaves a briefer, more primitive version of the doxological inclusio in the preface and *Per dominum*.

**Table 2.11 The three divisions in the Canon, outside the Narrative Center**

<b>Doxological Inclusio</b>	<b>Offering &amp; Acceptance</b>		<b>Intercessions</b>		<b>Narrative Center</b>
<u>0</u> preface and <u>Sanctus</u>	<b>1</b> <i>Te igitur</i>	<b>10</b> <b>Supplices te</b>	<b>2</b> <b>Memento Domine</b>	<b>11</b> <b>Memento etiam</b>	<i>6 Qui pridie</i> <i>7 Simili modo</i>
	<i>4 Hanc igitur</i>	<i>8 Unde et memores</i>	<b>3</b> <b>Communicantes</b>	<b>12</b> <b>Nobis quoque</b>	
<u>13</u> <i>Per quem &amp; Per ipsum</i>	<i>5 Quam oblationem</i>	<i>9 Supra quae</i>			
External Segments are listed in <b>bold</b> Internal Segments are listed in <i>italics</i> The Doxological Inclusio is listed in <u>underline</u>					

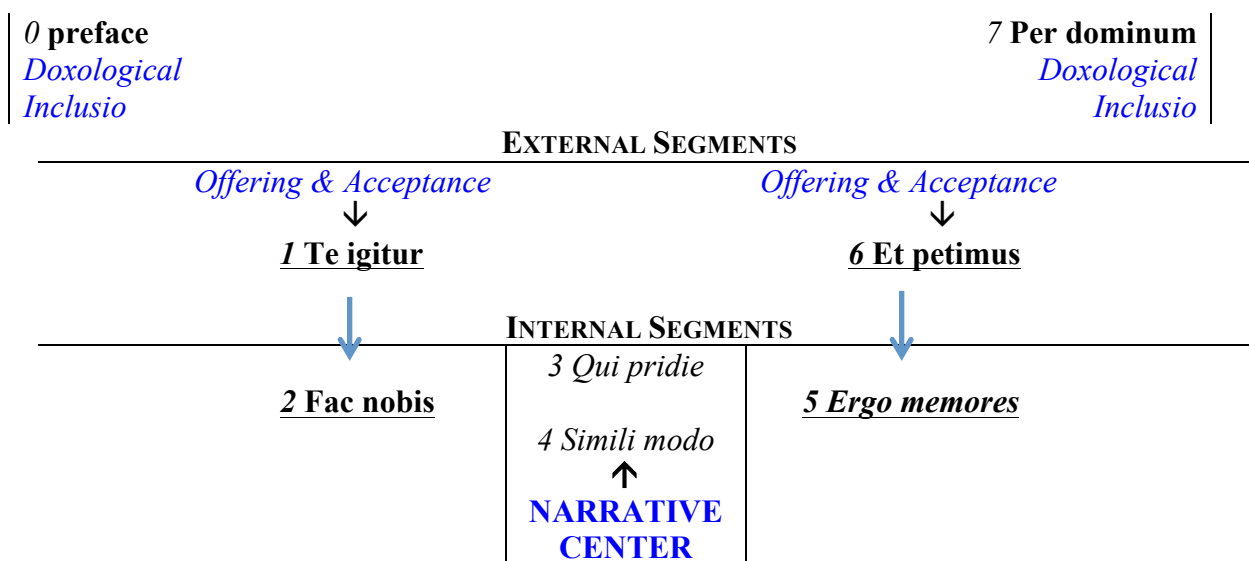
From the External Segment, the four paragraphs of intercessions and the recollection of the saints drop out.<sup>274</sup> Since there is little other evidence (except possibly the Mai fragment<sup>275</sup>) for the exact content of the Ambrosian version of the *Te igitur* and *Memento, Domine*, I will assume the version in the *textus receptus*. From the Internal Segments, the *Hanc igitur* drops out, as it is a later construction and not mentioned in Ambrose. The *Supra quae* and *Supplices te* are still in their earlier, more primitive form as

<sup>274</sup> The one caveat to this is that the *Memento, Domine* was likely, in a shorter version, part of the *Te igitur* (its content can be seen clearly in *Lit. STR*). Thus, what is likely is that the final form of the *Memento, Domine* is the result of a later redaction and maybe even its separation into a distinct paragraph. Jungmann says that only the following parts “could not be found at the beginning of the fifth century: *Communicantes, Hanc igitur*, and after the consecration, *Memento etiam* and *Nobis quoque*”; Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, 1:55. For a detailed history of their introduction, see Kennedy, *Saints*. As intimated in Chapter 1, a briefer form of the *Memento, Domine* (with prayers for the church and for those present) is almost certainly part of the earliest strata of the common sources shared with the Alexandrian tradition, given the witness of the Mozarabic texts and *Lit. STR*.

<sup>275</sup> Mai, *Scriptorum veterum*, III; Mercati, *Antiche reliquie liturgiche ambrosiane e romane*, 47-56; *LMS*, 202; *PE*, 422; *PEER*, 116; Spinks, *Sanctus*, 95; Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 37, 41, and 54, n. 86

the *Et petimus* in Ambrose and parallel the *Te igitur*. Just as in Connolly’s scheme, this approach works whether or not the institution narrative is present, which probably indicates that the skeleton of the structure predates its insertion. When my modified version of Connolly’s scheme is applied to the Ambrosian version, the diagram appears as follows (Table 2.12):

**Table 2.12** Proposed diagram of the Canon, applied to Ambrose’s *Sacr.*



The structure in Ambrose, then, may be described as follows: a) the anaphora is bookended by praise; b) it consists of two main portions, placed around the institution narrative; c) both portions are tripartite—they (i) contain praise; (ii) make an offering to God, which is followed by (iii) a request for its acceptance. Note also that the present tense verbs of offering in Cycle 2 of both Ambrose and the *textus receptus* share a grammatical structure: the present-tense verb “we offer” (*offerimus*) is introduced with a participle-like term, *memores*, which, as Walter Ray notes, “is an adjective with the force

of a participle” and is almost a Latin rendering of “the Greek participle μεμνημένοι found in the anamneses of most of the Greek anaphoras.”<sup>276</sup> In fact, while a participle is not used, the *igitur* of the *Te igitur* could be a way of indicating that its *offerimus* is in the context of the praise that preceded it (Table 2.13).

**Table 2.13 The two cycles of the Roman Canon, applied to Ambrose’s *Sacr.***

<i>Sacr.</i> 4.5.21 – Cycle 1		
Paragraph	Content	Description
*[preface	<i>Vere dignum</i> —it is right to <b>give you praise</b> ]	Praise
*[ <i>Te igitur</i>	Therefore, accept our sacrifice which <b>we offer...</b> ]	Offering contextualized as praise
<i>Fac nobis</i>	Make this offering “approved, ratified, reasonable, <b>acceptable...</b> ”	Request to accept the sacrifice
Narrative Center ( <i>Sacr.</i> 4.5.22, 6.26)		
<i>Qui pridie</i>	“Who on the day...”	Explanation? Warrant? Praise? <sup>277</sup>
<i>Sacr.</i> 4.6.27, 6.5.24 – Cycle 2		
Paragraph	Content	Description
<i>Ergo memores</i>	“Therefore, having in remembrance...[the saving deeds of Christ], <b>we offer</b>	Offering contextualized as praise
<i>Et petimus</i>	“We ask and pray... <b>receive this oblation...</b> ”	Request to accept the sacrifice
<i>Per Dominum</i>	“through our Lord Jesus Christ”	Doxological conclusion
<i>*These two paragraphs are not provided in Ambrose and thus their presence is somewhat speculative.</i>		

In the final form of the Roman Canon, a few items are added to this already stable structure: a) the intercessions in both section are expanded such that in Cycle 1, prayer is for the living and the church, and in Cycle 2, prayer is for the departed; b) to each of these intercessions is appended a carefully constructed commemoration of the saints.

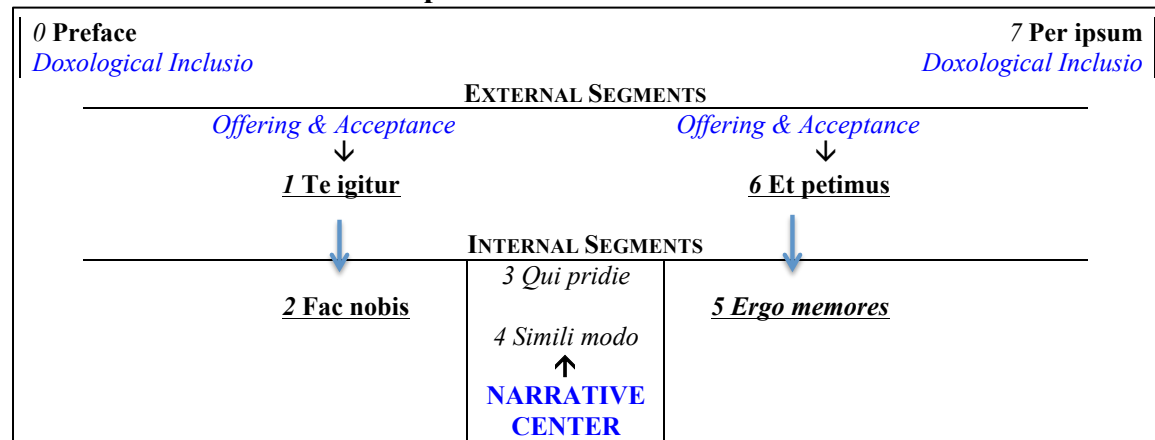
<sup>276</sup> Ray, “Rome and Alexandria,” 112.

<sup>277</sup> Ray proposes that the *Qui pridie* is from the opening praise section of a structure that was added to the original first part of the prayer (both of which follow the tri-partite structure of *Lit. STR*): “It is quite possible that the *Qui pridie* is what remained of the praise section of the STR-like structure when it was appended to the first part of the Canon”; *Ibid.*, 110.

The early core of the Roman Canon reflects from the very beginning its own unique emphasis on the offering of a sacrifice and the concern with God's acceptance of it. At the conclusion of Chapter 1, I identified the phases of the Canon's development. The second phase is likely when the Latinized construction that was based on Greek, *Lit. STR*-like antecedents was developed in light of anaphoral praying that used a recounting of the last supper institution, followed by a recalling of Christ's saving deeds (*anamnesis*) and an offering of bread and wine (oblation). This probably occurred through encounter with some West Syrian-style prayers, where this sequence appears to have emerged. But as noted in the previous chapter, these new features were incorporated into Latin anaphoral praying in a way that keeps sacrifice and its divine acceptance the central and dominant theme. The Latin anaphoral tradition expanded the identification of the Christian Eucharist with the prophesy of Mal 1:11 to express the offering of the Eucharist as the primary way that this act is a *sacrificium laudis*. The Eucharist is doxology not primarily because it verbally articulates praise and thanksgiving, but because it is an oblation of a verbal and material offering, both of which are rightly described as "spiritual" and which are made in response to what Jesus did on the day before he suffered.

From the perspective of the Canon's historical development, those portions of the prayer that are the oldest are also, in fact, the only portions of the anaphora that are concerned with the sacrificial offering and its acceptance (the *Hanc igitur* being the one exception) and are already present by the time of Ambrose (see Table 2.14).

**Table 2.14 The relationship between the Canon's complex structure and its historical development**



Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Phase 4	Phase 5
<i>Pre-Ambrose (390)</i>		<i>Post-Ambrose (390)</i>		
	Possibly during pontificate of Damasus I (366-84);			
<p><b>Sursum Corda</b> [First strophe] <b>Mai fragm</b> (preface)</p> <p>[Second strophe] <b>Mai frag.</b> (<i>Te igitur</i>)</p> <p>[Third strophe] [<i>Te igitur</i>, cont.] <b>Memento-living/dead</b></p> <p><i>Fac nobis</i></p> <p>Per dominum (doxology)</p>	<p><b>Sursum Corda</b></p> <p>preface—</p> <p><b>Te Igitur</b></p> <p><b>Mementos</b></p> <p><i>Fac nobis</i> <b>Qui pridie</b> <b>Ergo memores</b> <b>Et petimus et precamur</b></p> <p><i>Per dominum</i></p>	<p>Sursum Corda preface</p> <p><b>Sanctus</b></p> <p>Te igitur</p> <p>Memento Domine</p> <p><i>Fac nobis</i> <i>Qui pridie</i> <i>Ergo memores</i> <b>Supra quae</b> <b>Supplices te</b></p> <p><i>Per dominum</i></p>	<p>Sursum Corda preface</p> <p>Sanctus</p> <p>Te igitur</p> <p>Memento Domine Communicantes Hanc igitur <b>Quam oblationem</b> <b>Qui pridie (rev.)</b> <b>Unde et memores</b> Supra quae Supplices te <b>Memento etiam</b> <b>Nobis quoque</b> <b>Per quem</b> <b>Per ipsum</b></p>	<p>Sursum Corda preface</p> <p>Sanctus</p> <p>Te igitur</p> <p>Memento Domine Communicantes <b>Hanc igitur</b> Quam oblationem Qui pridie Unde et memores Supra quae Supplices te Memento etiam Nobis quoque Per quem Per ipsum</p>

What this indicates is that the core of the Canon's structure with its emphasis on sacrifice and acceptance are the central focus of the Latin anaphora in its most primitive form, namely, in the transition from Greek to Latin. An important question is whether the influence of Hebrews can be shown to be in the earliest strata of the prayer as well and



whether Hebrews influenced the Canon's structure, which was formulated precisely to disclose its central themes of sacrifice and acceptance. This is what I will show in Chapters 5 and 6. Before I consider the place of Hebrews in the Roman Canon, however, it is important to demonstrate to what extent this structure and emphasis in the Roman Canon is unique amongst early anaphoras.

### ***The structure of three historical anaphoras***

Now we are in a place to explore the structure of the other three anaphoras chosen for the sake of comparison in order to determine to what extent these emphases are representative in early anaphoral prayers. The discussion that follows is purposefully limited and focuses almost entirely on only these three aspects of early anaphoras: their structure, the place of sacrificial offering, and the request for divine acceptance. A wider comparison is possible, of course, but this would also dramatically increase the study's length. After a consideration of each anaphora in relationship to the Roman Canon, I will first compare each to the other two and then conclude with a comparison of all three anaphoras with the Roman Canon. The goal is to obtain the fullest possible picture of what is unique to the Roman Canon and what characteristics it shares with other early anaphoras.

### ***West Syrian – The Anaphora of St. James***

The *Lit. James*<sup>278</sup> exemplifies the most common of the Eastern anaphoral structures—the Antiochene or West-Syrian—and was the liturgy of Jerusalem until its suppression in the twelfth century. This structure is “often considered by modern liturgical reformers as *the* classic anaphoral structure”<sup>279</sup> and is the form that ends up dominating among Eastern Christians via the Byzantine version of the *Lit. Byz. Basil* and the *Lit. Chry.*<sup>280</sup> The logic of this structure has been praised for its Trinitarian shape, which is almost certainly intentional: it begins with address to the Father that culminates in praise for the Son and his institution of the Eucharist, followed by an anamnetic

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<sup>278</sup> For a recent summary of the scholarly literature on *St. James*, see Witvliet, “The Anaphora of St. James,” in *Essays on Early Eastern Eucharistic Prayers*, 153–72. For the Greek text as well as a Latin translation of the Syriac, see *PE*, 244–61 and 269–75. See also Massey Hamilton Shepherd, “Eusebius and the Liturgy of St. James,” *YLS* 4 (1963): 109–25; Bryan D. Spinks, “The Consecratory *Epiclesis* in the Anaphora of St. James,” *SL* 11 (1976): 19–32; Spinks, “Carefully Chosen Words?: The Christological Intentionality in the Institution Narrative and the *Epiclesis* of the Syriac Anaphora of St. James,” in *Studies on the Liturgies of the Christian East* (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 239–57; John Fenwick, *Fourth Century Anaphoral Construction Techniques*, GLS, no. 45 (Bramcote: Grove Books, 1986); Fenwick, *The Missing Oblation: The Contents of the Early Antiochene Anaphora*, JLS 11 (Bramcote: Grove Books, 1989). *St. James*, particularly because of its authorial ascription to the “brother of the Lord,” was quite influential in the Church of England (along with *Const. ap.*, which was often called the “Clementine liturgy” because the explanations provided in Book VIII are said to be transmitted by Clement of Rome), especially during revisions undertaken by English and Scottish non-Jurors in the eighteenth century; *PEER*, 88, 100.

<sup>279</sup> Bradshaw and Johnson, *Eucharistic Liturgies*, 327. John Baldovin also highlights the central influence of the West Syrian structure on the Liturgical Movement, especially twentieth-century liturgical revision; “Eucharistic Prayer,” 195. Jasper and Cuming point out that there are upwards of eighty West Syrian anaphora that exhibit this structure. Presently, most Eastern Orthodox churches use *Lit. Byz. Basil* only ten times a year: “on the first five Sundays of Lent, Maundy Thursdays, the eves of Easter, Christmas, and Epiphany, and the feast of St. Basil”; *PEER*, 129, 114. By around A.D. 1000, the *Lit. Chry.* “became, and has remained, the principal and normal rite of the Orthodox Church” and may well be “the form used in Antioch during Chrysostom’s episcopate (370-398)”; *PEER*, 129.

<sup>280</sup> A cross-pollinating influence among the Alexandrian *Lit. Mark* and the various forms of *Lit. James*, *Lit. Byz. Basil*, *Lit. Chry.* has been clearly demonstrated. Jasper and Cuming provide a brief background on its evolution: “It appears to be the result of a fusion of the old Jerusalem rite with the anaphora of *Lit. Basil* in its earliest form. Later, it influenced and was influenced by *Lit. Byz. Basil* and the Egyptian *Lit. Mark*. A Syrian translation, made probably soon after the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451), presents the text in an earlier stage than the Greek... The liturgy was widely used outside Jerusalem until its suppression in the twelfth century.” They also note the similarity between the language of *Lit. James* and that of the catecheses of Cyril of Jerusalem, both in the preface as well as in the use of the terms “awesome,” “bloodless,” and “sacrifice”; see *PEER*, 88-9. See also Bradshaw and Johnson, *Eucharistic Liturgies*, 75-77; 137-79.

offering of the gifts, after which the Spirit is asked specifically to act in the first of many petitions.<sup>281</sup> This form is the furthest of the three families from the Roman Canon, both in structure, phraseology,<sup>282</sup> and sacrificial theology. The Eastern anaphoras in general are often commended because of the considerable place given to praise and thanksgiving, and *Lit. James* does give more space to this than does the Roman Canon. As I showed in Table 1.4, 15% of *Lit. James*'s text is given to doxology (25% if the intercessions are not included in the word count) compared with just 8% (or 11% without intercession) in the Roman Canon.

Like all of the Syrian and Byzantine anaphoras, *Lit. James* introduces the opening dialogue with the "Grace" from 2 Cor. 13:13 and then moves immediately to effusive praise for creation and the glory that is God's by nature. The opening is generally brief and moves smoothly into the pre-*Sanctus*, which ties this praise offered by mortals with that of the myriad of heavenly beings and saints who forever praise and with whose song the worshipers join as they sing the *Sanctus*. A distinctive mark of the West Syrian prayers is that the introduction of the post-*Sanctus* begins with an affirmation of God's holiness that makes an explicit terminological link to the first word of the *Sanctus* (such as, "holy indeed"), and it then continues the praise begun in the preface. Like the East Syrian anaphoras, it moves to a recollection of salvation history and concludes with the coming of Jesus for the salvation of the world. The transition to the institution narrative follows naturally upon the summary declaration of Christ's saving actions. As Serra highlights, "the supper narrative appears within the anamnestic thanksgiving of all

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<sup>281</sup> See Baldwin, "Eucharistic Prayers," 195.

<sup>282</sup> One of the few linguistic connections posited is that between the *Memento etiam* and the "tone of Eastern liturgies such as *St. James*," even though the evidence is clear that the *Memento etiam* is Roman and probably has its basis in *Lit. STR*-like source it shares with *Lit. Mark*; *PEER*, 160.

anaphoras belonging to the Antiochene Family.”<sup>283</sup> In *Lit. James*, the people respond “Amen” to the institution narrative and then verbalize a brief *anamnesis* (“Your death, Lord, we proclaim and your resurrection we confess”), after which the anaphora continues with the common *anamnesis-offering-epiclesis* triad.

*Lit. James* is unique among the West Syrian anaphoras because it calls the offering “this awesome and bloodless sacrifice” (τὴν φοβερὰν ταύτην καὶ ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν).<sup>284</sup> The transition from oblation to *epiclesis* in *Lit. James* is lengthy and characterized by an emphasis on the mercy of God: the effectual reception of mercy by means of the sacrament is joined to the epicletic request by couching as an act of mercy the Father’s mission of the Spirit both on the people and on the gifts (sometimes called a double-*epiclesis*).<sup>285</sup> The intercessions then follow the *epiclesis*. In *Lit. James*, the intercessions begin “We offer to you, Master, for...” (Προσφερόμεν σοι, δέσποτα, καὶ ὑπὲρ...),<sup>286</sup> linking the intercessions with the act of eucharistic offering. The intercessions are lengthy and usually begin with the phrase, “remember, Lord” (μνήσθητι Κύριε). The anaphora concludes, as all others do, with a trinitarian doxology. See Table

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<sup>283</sup> Serra, “Roman Canon,” 103.

<sup>284</sup> *PEER* 92; *PE*, 248. The closest to this phrase is what we find in the *Lit. Chry.*, which calls the sacrificial offering “this reasonable and bloodless service”; προσφέροντες σοι τὴν λογικὴν καὶ ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν); *PEER* 133; *PE*, 228. See Appendix G for a comparison of the various adjectives employed in early anaphora for the gifts of bread and wine.

<sup>285</sup> This unified double-*epiclesis* is also found in *Lit. Eg. Basil* and in the following West Syrian-style anaphora: *Const. ap.* 8, *Lit. Byz. Basil*, and *Lit. Chry.*; see *PEER*, 71, 111, 119, 133. It is also found in the East Syrian *Lit. Theo.* See Bryan D. Spinks, *Mar Nestorius and Mar Theodore, the Interpreter: The Forgotten Eucharistic Prayers of East Syria*, JLS 45/Gorgias Liturgical Series 44 (Cambridge/Piscataway, NJ: Grove Books/Gorgias Press, 1999), 37.

<sup>286</sup> *PEER* 92; *PE*, 250.

2.15 for an outline of how the West Syrian structure compares when placed next to the Roman Canon.<sup>287</sup>

**Table 2.15 The Antiochene/West Syrian structure in parallel with the Roman Canon**

Antiochene/West Syrian	Roman Canon
-Dialogue with 2 Cor 13:13	-Dialogue
-Opening Praise & Thanksgiving	-Thanksgiving in a variable preface, with a commemoration of the Sunday/feast/saint
-pre- <i>Sanctus</i> & <i>Sanctus</i> & <i>Benedictus</i>	-pre- <i>Sanctus</i> and <i>Sanctus</i> & <i>Benedictus</i>
-Post- <i>Sanctus</i> summary of salvation	-1 <sup>st</sup> Request for acceptance of the offering and 1 <sup>st</sup> oblation
	-Intercession for church &...for those present who offer the sacrifice
	with 2 <sup>nd</sup> oblation ( <i>qui tibi offerunt</i> )
	-1 <sup>st</sup> Commemoration of Saints
	+ intercession for those present
	-2 <sup>nd</sup> Request for acceptance of offering for the purpose of a blessing
	-Intercession for peace and salvation
	-3 <sup>rd</sup> Request for acceptance and blessing <i>so that</i> the gifts become Christ's Body/Blood
-Institution Narrative	-Institution Narrative
- <i>Anamnesis</i>	- <i>Anamnesis</i>
-Oblation	-3 <sup>rd</sup> Oblation
	-4 <sup>th</sup> request for acceptance by appeal to divine acceptance of ancient sacrifices
- <i>Epiclesis</i>	-request that an angel take the offering to the heavenly altar [implicit request for acceptance (5 <sup>th</sup> )] <i>in order that</i> those who receive may be filled with grace
-Intercessions	-Intercession for departed
	-2 <sup>nd</sup> Commemoration of apostles/martyrs
	+ intercession for those present
-Doxology	-Doxology

<sup>287</sup> In this and the subsequent parallels, I will place the *Supplices te* (the request that the angel take the offering to the heavenly altar) in parallel with the *epiclesis* of the *anamnesis-oblation-epiclesis* triad present in almost every anaphora. See my discussion of the question of the presence of an *epiclesis* in the Roman Canon in Chapter 1, and then more extensively early in this chapter in my discussion of Emminghaus. Concerning the development of the Canon, I follow Willis, Batiffol and others who think that the Canon never had a pneumatic *epiclesis*. I place it in parallel because the *Supplices* serves a role similar to that of the *epiclesis* as it follows the *anamnesis* and oblation and is a request that God would act upon the elements so that they would become Christ's body and blood. See Pierre Batiffol, "La question de l'épiclesse eucharistique," *RCF* 56 (1908): 640–62; E. Bishop, "Appendix: Moment of Consecration" in Connolly, *Narsai*, 126–63.

The differences between the Roman Canon and the West Syrian tradition are significant. First, the Antiochene liturgy uses 2 Cor. 13:13 in the opening dialogue like almost all other Eastern anaphoras, instead of the simple *Dominus vobiscum* of the Latin rite and the Alexandrian. Second, the items for which praise and thanksgiving are articulated are much more numerous in the West Syrian prayers than in the Roman Canon, where the language is limited to the focus of the variable prefaces, the phrase *sacrificium laudis* in the *Memento, Domine*, and in the repeated cultic language regarding sacrifice and its divine acceptance. Third, the clarity and clear Trinitarian directionality of the West Syrian form makes the contrast between the two easier precisely because their structures are so clearly distinct. In fact, the major structural similarity—the institution narrative-*anamnesis*-oblation-*epiclesis* block—is clearer in the West Syrian and Alexandrian anaphoras than in the East Syrian anaphoras (where the intercessions are interposed between the the *anamnesis* and oblation). The parallel between the West Syrian anaphoras and the Roman Canon in the institution narrative-*anamnesis*-oblation-*epiclesis* block is fully realized, however, only if the *Supplices te* is interpreted epicleetically. Further, the length of the intercessions (especially in *Lit. James* and *Lit. Byz. Basil*, comparable only to the lengthy intercessions in *Lit. Mark*) is great and dwarfs the intercessions of the Roman Canon, both in length and detail.

Sacrificial language—whether explicit language of offering or prayers for the acceptance of the offering—is more muted in the West Syrian anaphoras than in Roman Canon. *Lit. James* contains only one oblation (“we offer to you, Master, this awesome and bloodless sacrifice” [προσφέρομέν σοι, δέσποτα, τὴν φοβερὰν ταύτην καὶ

ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν],<sup>288</sup> which directly follows the *anamnesis*. Most dramatically, the West Syrian anaphoras contain no clear request for acceptance of the offering.<sup>289</sup> Rather, the pattern in *Lit. James* and the rest of the West Syrian prayers is that the oblation is immediately followed by an explicitly consecratory *epiclesis*. The only other references to the sacrificial character of the Eucharist are relatively incidental: the aforementioned use of “We offer to you, for...” to introduce the intercessions and the prayer for the priests, “who stand around us in this holy hour, before your holy altar [ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἁγίου σου θυσιαστηρίου], for the offering of the holy and bloodless sacrifice [ἐπι προσενέξει τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ἀναίμακτου θυσίας].”<sup>290</sup>

However, the logic that underlies the means of consecration often goes unnoticed.

While the West Syrian prayers always ask the Holy Spirit to act in order to change or transform the bread and wine (neither of which is found in the Roman Canon), this

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<sup>288</sup> *PEER* 92; *PE*, 248.

<sup>289</sup> *Lit. James* follows the oblation with a request that could be interpreted as a request for acceptance, but if so, it is oblique: “we offer you, this awesome and bloodless sacrifice, that you ‘deal not with us after our sins nor reward us according to our iniquities,’ but according to your gentleness and love for man”; *PEER*, 92. Another exception to this general lack of a prayer for acceptance of the offering is *Const. ap.* 7.12.39, where the oblation is followed by a request for acceptance: “and we beseech you to look graciously upon these gifts set before you, O God who need nothing, and accept them in honor of your Christ; and to send down your Holy Spirit upon this sacrifice” (καὶ ἀξιοῦμέν σε, ὅπως εὐμενῶς ἐπιβλέψῃς ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα ἐνώπιόν σου, σὺ ὁ ἀσενδεὴς θεός, καὶ εὐδοκίῃς ἐν αὐτοῖς εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου καὶ καταπέμψῃς τὸ ἅγιόν σου Πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην). While the structure of *Const. ap.* follows the West Syrian form, the document is a Church Order, which as Bradshaw points out, “should not be treated in the same way as other ancient works.” In the case of *Const. ap.* and other such texts, “they may have been indulging in an idealized dream – *prescribing* rather than *describing* – imagining what the organization and liturgy of their community would be like if they were allowed to have their own way.” Thus, it is less likely “that they constitute the official handbook of a local church, as earlier scholars tended to suppose.” Instead of relying upon a claim to actual apostolic authority, “collections of liturgical texts and canon law were produced which derived their authority from individual living bishops and genuine synodical assemblies.” Bradshaw argues that *Const. ap.* was likely composed before 381, since it does not reflect Constantinople’s pneumatology; see *Origins*, 91, 95, 96, 96-97. However, the pneumatology of Constantinople I was not accepted everywhere, which calls into question his method for dating *Const. ap.*, and *Testamentum Domini* (another church order) is thought to come after *Const. ap.* On Constantinople I, see Henry Chadwick, *East and West: The Making of a Rift in the Church: From Apostolic Times until the Council of Florence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 20-26.

<sup>290</sup> *PEER* 94; *PE*, 252.

request always comes *after* the oblation. Thus, the logic that underlies the structure is that the transformation of the gifts follows upon God's acceptance of the sacrificial offering. In other words, the West Syrian prayers and the Roman Canon share an underlying logic regarding consecration: change follows upon God's acceptance of the offering. This, as I showed in the first part of this chapter, is the clear and explicit logic of the Roman Canon.

In light of this discussion of the four anaphoral families, Bouyer's claim that the West Syrian anaphoras display a more developed shape is all the clearer.<sup>291</sup> The West Syrian structure is both more simplified, more orderly, and more polished than the Roman Canon. This is not to say that the Roman Canon and the East Syrian prayers (which clearly show signs of being comprised of distinct prayers that were formed into a more coherent unity) do not have a structure that evidences careful shaping and redaction. The difference is that the Roman Canon in particular retains many of the characteristics of its earliest forms, to which were added the various additional elements, such as the institution narrative, *Sanctus*, and commemoration of the saints.

### ***Alexandrian – The Anaphora of St. Mark***

My example of the Alexandrian/Egyptian family of anaphoras is the *Lit. Mark*, the liturgy of the patriarchate of Alexandria.<sup>292</sup> Tradition holds that Mark the Evangelist brought Christianity to Egypt, whose Christians honor this tradition by its eponymous

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<sup>291</sup> Bouyer describes the West Syrian structure as that “intentional, systematic and obtained by a procedure of elaborate rhetoric”; Bouyer, *Eucharist*, 192-93.

<sup>292</sup> The critical edition, with a discussion of all the manuscript evidence and a complete bibliography, is Geoffrey J. Cuming, *The Liturgy of St. Mark*, OCA 234 (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1990).



anaphora.<sup>293</sup> The earliest manuscript of the final form of *Lit. Mark* dates from the thirteenth century. Because of the existence of additional early fragments, however, much can be discerned about its earlier forms. While its final form is much longer than the East Syrian anaphoras and much closer to the Roman Canon in length to *Lit. James* and *Lit. Byz. Basil*, the earlier Alexandrian form (witnessed in the fragment *Lit. STR*, for instance) is much closer in length to *Lit. AM* and *Lit. Sharar*.

The extant data for the Alexandrian/Egyptian tradition is greater than for any other geographic area.<sup>294</sup> Strasbourg Papyrus gr. 285 in Greek (henceforth *Lit. STR*); the Deir Balyzeh Papyrus in Coptic (henceforth *Lit. Deir Bal.*); the Louvain Coptic papyrus; the John Rylands Papyrus gr. 465 in Greek and the British Museum Tablet in Coptic. A Coptic version (*Lit. Cyril*) with some unsubstantial differences from the Greek form was in existence by 451 (though it may date to as early as A.D. 300).<sup>295</sup> *Lit. Cyril* remains one of the rites of the Coptic Church, though used rarely, and is the best evidence of how the rite looked in the fifth century when compared with the Greek version, whose manuscripts date much later.<sup>296</sup> This liturgy was also influenced by the Byzantine tradition, including *Lit. James*, *Lit. Egy. Basil* and *Lit. Byz. Basil*, *Lit. Chry.*, and *Lit. Gregory*, plus the Jerusalem Catecheses of Cyril and Book VIII of *Apostolic*

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<sup>293</sup> Robert Louis Wilken, *The First Thousand Years: A Global History of Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012). 25. There is a great deal of evidence about liturgical activity in Latin Christianity spread across North Africa, but “nothing survives of an African sacramentary or other collection of prayers, not even a single fragment of a eucharistic prayer”; Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 34-35.

<sup>294</sup> *PEER*, 52.

<sup>295</sup> See *PE*, 135-39 for the Latin translation of the Coptic text; for the English translation from a different manuscript, see *LEW*, 164-80.

<sup>296</sup> Cuming, *St. Mark*, xxxii-xxxiii.

*Constitutions*.<sup>297</sup> While the anaphora in the Sacramentary attributed to Sarapion (*Lit. Sarapion*), bishop of Thmuis (in the Nile delta area) is Egyptian and shares some deep affinity with the *Lit. Mark/Lit. Cyril* tradition, it is something of an outlier in its structure, vocabulary, phrasing, and theological emphasis.<sup>298</sup>

The Alexandrian tradition contains several unique characteristics.<sup>299</sup> The first is that the opening thanksgiving makes no mention of salvation history, whether in the Old Testament or in the work of Christ.<sup>300</sup> The second is that an offering or oblation occurs near the beginning, at the very conclusion of the thanksgiving section of the fixed preface. The third is that the intercessions are located *before* the *Sanctus* and directly follow the opening paragraph thanksgiving (seen in *Lit. Deir Balyzeh*, *Lit. STR*, and *Lit. Mark*).<sup>301</sup> Fourth is the complete absence of the *Benedictus* joined to the *Sanctus*. Fifth, there are two distinct *epicleses* in this anaphora. The first comes directly after the

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<sup>297</sup> Ibid., xiv; see *PEER*, 67-73 (*Lit. Eg. Basil*), 88-99 (*Lit. James*), 114-123 (*Lit. Byz. Basil*), 129-34 (*Lit. Chry.*), 82-87 (Cyril of Jerusalem), and 103-113 (*AC*).

<sup>298</sup> For a summary of these, see *PEER*, 74-75. For its relationship with *Lit. Mark*, see Cuming, *St. Mark*; John F. Baldovin, "Eucharistic Prayer," in *DLW*, 196. For more on Sarapion, see Maxwell E. Johnson, "The Archaic Nature of the Sanctus, Institution Narrative, and *Epiclesis* of the Logos in the Anaphora Ascribed to Sarapion of Thmuis," in *Essays on Early Eastern Eucharistic Prayers*, 73-108; Johnson, ed., *The Prayers of Sarapion of Thmuis: A Literary, Liturgical, and Theological Analysis*, OCA 249 (Roma: Pontificio istituto orientale, 1995); Geoffrey J. Cuming, "Thmuis Revisited: Another Look at the Prayers of Bishop Sarapion," *TS* 41 (1980): 568-75; Bernard Botte, "L'Eucologe de Sérapion est-il authentique?," *OC* 48 (1964): 50-57; F. E. Brightman, "The Sacramentary of Serapion of Thmuis," *JTS* 1 (1900): 88-113.

<sup>299</sup> Mazza provides a similar list in *Origins*, 177-78. For a full discussion of the relationship between these texts in the development of the final form of *Lit. Mark*, see G. J. Cuming, "The Anaphora of St. Mark: A Study in Development," *LM* 95 (1982): 115-29.

<sup>300</sup> *PEER*, 56.

<sup>301</sup> *Lit. Sarapion* does not contain all the unique characteristics of the general Alexandrian tradition. In *Lit. Sarapion*, the intercessions are placed at the end in the typical West Syrian position while *Lit. Deir Bal.* contains an intercession for the Church in the context of a quotation from *Didache* 9 after the post-*Sanctus epiclesis* and before the institution narrative. See Bouyer, *Eucharist*, 206. *Lit. Sarapion* also shares a relatively rare feature with *Lit. AM*, that "it is not truly *one* prayer, but a series of short prayers, connected by their sense, but completely separate in their composition." *Deir Baalyzeh* and *Lit. Sarapion* also share another unique feature, their reference to the passage in *Didache* 9 about the bread scattered over the hills; Ibid., 208.

*Sanctus*, is almost always non-consecratory in nature, and begins with “a resumption of the idea of fullness” taken from the last phrase of the *Sanctus* (“fill, O God, this sacrifice also with the blessing from you through the descent of the Holy Spirit” in *Lit. Mark*).<sup>302</sup> The second *epiclesis* is explicitly consecratory and is located within the typical unity of institution narrative-*anamnesis*-oblation-consecratory *epiclesis* sequence. Since the intercessions occur before the *Sanctus*, there is nothing between the lengthy *epiclesis* and the concluding doxology, and the former moves smoothly into the later.<sup>303</sup> Finally, the *anamnesis* begins with the verb “proclaiming/announcing” [καταγγέλλοντες<sup>304</sup>], which is not found in other anaphoras (see Table 2.16 for a summary of six Egyptian anaphoras with *Lit. Mark* in the middle).<sup>305</sup>

*Lit. Mark*, the form of the Alexandrian anaphora that serves as my text for comparison with the Roman Canon, is structured as follows. After the opening dialogue, it begins with (a) an opening paragraph that consists of two parts. Part one is direct adoration and praise for the work of creation, which culminates in mention of Christ, though only in the context of creation and with mention neither of his role in salvation

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<sup>302</sup> PEER, 64. This feature is seen in the British Museum Tablet, *Lit. Mark* and *Lit. Sarapion* (in *Lit. Deir Balyzeh* we have a consecratory *epiclesis*, and in the Louvain Coptic Papyrus, there is the connecting word “full” but without an *epiclesis* of any form). *Lit. STR* appears to be an earlier form of the liturgy and does not contain a *Sanctus* or an *epiclesis*, though the latter absence is almost certainly due to the fact that it is fragmentary and incomplete. See Michel Andrieu and Paul Collomp, “Fragments sur papyrus de l’anaphore de saint Marc,” *RevScRel* 8, no. 4 (1928): 489–515. *Lit. Deir Bal.* has the post-*Sanctus epiclesis* and the manuscript is also incomplete, missing the section just before the doxology, where the *epiclesis* is found in *St. Mark* and *Saparion*. *Sarapion* is unique because, before the *Sanctus*, there is an additional *epiclesis*, asking the Father to give to those present “a spirit of light” and the “holy spirit.” *Lit. Saporion* also inserts a reference to having offered earlier (i.e., the verb is in the past tense and must refer to an offering prayer before the anaphora) a “living and bloodless sacrifice.” This reference is similar to the offering of the “reasonable and bloodless” sacrifice in *Lit. STR* and *Lit. Mark* at the conclusion of the opening preface of Thanksgiving for Creation and Christ.

<sup>303</sup> *Deir Baalyzeh* is unusual because the post-*Sanctus epiclesis* is explicitly consecratory. It is fragmentary, however, and is missing 15 lines between the *anamnesis* and the conclusion of the anaphora. See Bouyer, *Eucharist*, 206.

<sup>304</sup> The term is also used in both the British Museum (Rylands) Fragment; see PE, 112.

<sup>305</sup> Only *Lit. Mark* and *Lit. Sarapion* are complete anaphora; the rest are fragmentary.



nor of any other events in the so-called “salvation history.” The second part of the paragraph (Mazza calls this the second strophe<sup>306</sup>) consists in an explicit oblation of the sacrifice to the Trinity composed mostly of a complete quotation of Mal 1:11 as a description of the eucharistic sacrifice. This is a unique feature, and the logic appears to be that sacrifice is the fitting response to the recognition and recollection of all that we see in God that has led us to this act of praise and adoration. Next comes (b) an extremely lengthy sequence of intercessions. Approximately halfway through the intercessions is a paragraph that concerns the offerers. It bears considerable resemblance to the language and features in the Roman Canon’s *Supra quae* and *Supplices te*: it asks God to accept the sacrifice of the offerers (1) at the heavenly altar, (2) by means of the ministry of the archangels, (3) as God had previously accepted the sacrifices of Abel, Abraham, “the incense of Zechariah, the alms of Cornelius, and the widow’s two mites.”<sup>307</sup> The prayer then moves to (c) a lengthy and prolix pre-*Sanctus* that begins with a continuation of the thanksgiving from the opening preface. The (d) post-*Sanctus* is very brief and begins with the word “full” (connecting it to “full of your glory” in the *Sanctus*) and moves directly into a brief *epiclesis*: “fill, O God, this sacrifice also with the blessing from you through the descent of your all-Holy Spirit.”<sup>308</sup> This *epiclesis* is followed by the (e) institution narrative and (f) a robust *anamnesis* that moves smoothly into the second oblation (the verb here in the past tense<sup>309</sup>). A lengthy praise of the Paraclete serves as the transition

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<sup>306</sup> Mazza, *Origins*, 177.

<sup>307</sup> *PEER*, 62.

<sup>308</sup> *Ibid.*, 64.

<sup>309</sup> The first oblation that appears in the second strophe of the preface of praise and thanksgiving is in the present tense (προσφερόμεν), while the second oblation is in the past (προεθήκαμεν); see *PEER* 59, 65; *PE*, 102, 114. The past tense in the second oblation would seem to refer to the first oblation and

from the oblation to the (g) second *epiclesis*, which is explicitly transformative [“make the bread the body...and the cup the blood...”<sup>310</sup>]. The anaphora concludes with a brief (h) doxology (see Table 2.17 for a comparison of the structure of *Lit. Mark* with the Roman Canon).

**Table 2.17 The Alexandrian structure in parallel with the Canon’s**

<i>Lit. Mark</i>	Roman Canon
-Dialogue with 2 Cor 13:13 -Opening Thanksgiving	-Dialogue -Thanksgiving in a variable preface, with a commemoration of the Sunday/feast/saint -pre- <i>Sanctus</i> and <i>Sanctus &amp; Benedictus</i>
-1 <sup>st</sup> oblation [Mal 1:11] -Intercessions, pt 1 - Request for acceptance of the sacrifice -Intercessions, pt 2	-1 <sup>st</sup> Request for acceptance of the offering and 1 <sup>st</sup> oblation -Intercession for church & ... for those present who offer the sacrifice with 2 <sup>nd</sup> oblation ( <i>qui tibi offerunt</i> )
-pre- <i>Sanctus &amp; Sanctus</i>	-1 <sup>st</sup> Commemoration of Saints + intercession for those present -2 <sup>nd</sup> Request for acceptance of offering for the purpose of a blessing -Intercession for peace and salvation
-1 <sup>st</sup> <i>Epiclesis</i> (non-consecratory; <i>Fill...</i> )	-3 <sup>rd</sup> Request for acceptance and blessing <i>so that</i> the gifts become Christ’s Body/Blood
-Institution Narrative - <i>Anamnesis</i> -2 <sup>nd</sup> oblation	-Institution Narrative - <i>Anamnesis</i> -3 <sup>rd</sup> Oblation
-2 <sup>nd</sup> <i>epiclesis</i> (consecratory)	-4 <sup>th</sup> request for acceptance by appeal to divine acceptance of ancient sacrifices -request that an angel take the offering to the heavenly altar [implicit request for acceptance (5 <sup>th</sup> )] <i>in order that</i> those who receive may be filled with grace
-Request for fruit of reception	-Intercession for departed -2 <sup>nd</sup> Commemoration of apostles/martyrs + intercession for those present
-Doxology	-Doxology

indicates that the oblation has already taken place and also possibly that the entire anaphora up to this point should be considered sacrificial in character.

<sup>310</sup> PEER, 66.

Structurally, there are several significant connections between the Roman Canon and the Alexandrian prayers. It has gone unnoticed that the opening of both is marked by the unusual absence of any mention of God’s work of salvation in history, particularly the work of Christ (though this sometimes appears in some of the variable Latin prefaces). As I showed in Table 1.4, only 8% of *Lit. Mark*’s text is given to doxology (17% if the intercessions are not included in the word count) compared with just 8% (or 11% without intercession) in the Roman Canon.

But, the structure of each is quite different from that of the other. There is no parallel in the Roman Canon to the lengthy intercessions that follow the opening paragraph in *Lit. Mark* and, outside of the different location, the structure of *Lit. Mark* is similar to that of the West Syrian anaphoras. Like the Roman Canon, the Alexandrian anaphoras contain an explicit oblation both before *and* after the institution narrative. The first falls at the conclusion of the opening preface of thanksgiving in *Lit. Mark*, which quotes Mal 1:11 and makes an oblique reference to Rom 12:1 by calling the sacrifice “reasonable” and “bloodless.”<sup>311</sup> The second oblation in *Lit. Mark* is found in the typical location, after the institution narrative, between the *anamnesis* and *epiclesis*. In addition, in the midst of the intercessions in *Lit. Mark* is a long request for the acceptance of the sacrifice, which echoes the principal themes of the *Supra quae* and *Supplices te* of the

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<sup>311</sup> [τ]ὴν θυ[σί]αν τὴν λογικὴν, τὴν ἀναί[μακτ]ον λατρε[ίαν] in *Lit. STR* and τὴν λογικὴν καὶ ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν in *Lit. Mark; PE*, 116, 108. Also see Appendix G for a comparison of the adjectives used to describe the offered bread and wine in early anaphora. *Lit. Sarapion* speaks of a “living [ζῶσαν; not λογικὴν as in the others] and bloodless sacrifice,” and not at the conclusion of the preface but just before the institution narrative. The adjectives λογικὴν and ἀναίμακτον are found in the pseudapigraphal *Testament of Levi* 3:6; ἀναίμακτον is used for the first time in surviving Christian literature in *Legatio 13* of Athanagoras.

Roman Canon, but in the shorter combined form as in Ambrose's *Sacr.* 4.6.27.<sup>312</sup> Also, in *Lit. Mark*, this material is before the institution narrative, rather than after it as in the Latin tradition. Likewise, the Alexandrian structure shares with the Roman Canon mention of divine work upon the gifts *in connection with the act of offering* two times, before and after the institution narrative.

The connection between *Lit. Mark* and Ambrose is important, as it is one of a number of parallels unique to *Lit. Mark* and the Latin anaphoral tradition.<sup>313</sup> The claim that these two liturgies have a unique relationship is widespread and uncontroversial.<sup>314</sup> One of their most noteworthy shared features is the mention of an angel or angels who help to connect the earthly offering to the heavenly altar. This mention is joined to an appeal for acceptance on the basis of the divine acceptance of previous sacrifices. The version of this portion of the anaphora in *Lit. Mark* is similar to the most important witness to an earlier form of the Roman Canon, Ambrose's *Sacr.* 4.27 (see Table 2.18 and Appendix D). Two more differences are notable. First, all of the Western, Latin texts (including Ambrose's *Sacr.* and the *textus receptus*) that refer to the accepted sacrifices of Abel and Abraham conclude with a reference to the sacrifice of Melchizedek, while while the Alexandrian rite concludes with a number of New Testament offerings (see Table 2.18).<sup>315</sup> Second, in Ambrose and *Lit. Mark*, the reference is to angels (plural),

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<sup>312</sup> The other parallel to this is found in Mozarabic rite (Post Pridie, §627, *LMS*, col. 262, ln. 5 ff) and it follows the order in the Roman *textus receptus*, not Ambrose and *Lit. Mark*. See Appendix D for a parallel of all four texts.

<sup>313</sup> "What is held in common by the Alexandrian and Roman liturgies is unique to them"; Mazza, *Origins*, 272.

<sup>314</sup> As I showed in Chapter 1, this claim is not original but begins with Anton Baumstark, "Das 'Problem,' 204–43. See also Bouyer, *Eucharist*, 187–243; Mazza, *Origins*, 240–86; Moreton, "Rethinking;" Ray, "Strasbourg Papyrus;" Ray, "Rome and Alexandria."

<sup>315</sup> The material in Ambrose's *Sacr.* 4.6.27 is also in a *Post pridie* [§627] in the *Liber mozarabicus*.



**Table 2.18 Parallel section in Ambrose's *Sacr.*, *Lit. Mark*, and the Canon**

<i>Sacr.</i> 4.27	<i>Lit. Mark</i>	Roman Canon
Et petimus et precamur, uti hanc oblationem suscipias in sublime altare tuum per manus angelorum tuorum, sicut suscipere dignatus es munera pueri tui iusti Abel et sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos Melchisedech.	Τῶν προσφερόντων τὰς θυσίας, τὰς προσφεράς, τὰ εὐχαριστήρια πρόσδεξαι ὁ Θεὸς εἰς τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἐπουράνιον καὶ νοερόν σου θυσιαστήριον εἰς τὰ μεγάθη τῶν οὐρανῶν διὰ τῆς ἀρχαγγελικῆς σου λειτουργίας ... ὡς προσεδέξω τὰ δῶρα τοῦ δικαίου σου Ἄβελ, τὴν θυσίαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ, [Ζαχαρίου τὸ θυμίαμα, Κορνηλίου τὰς ἐλεημοσύνας] καὶ τῆς χήρας δύο λεπτά...	<b>Supra quae</b> propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris: et accepta habere, sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui iusti Abel, et sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae: et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam.
<p>...and we pray and beseech you to <u>receive this offering</u></p> <p><u>on your altar on high</u></p> <p>by the hands of your angels,</p> <p>as you vouchsafed to receive the <u>gifts of your righteous servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and that which the high priest, Melchizedek offered to you.</u></p>	<p><u>Receive, O God, the thank-offerings [εὐχαριστήρια] of those who offer the sacrifices, at your [holy and heavenly and] spiritual altar in [the vastnesses of] heaven by the ministry of your archangels,</u></p> <p>...</p> <p><u>as you accepted the gifts of your righteous servant Abel, the sacrifice of our father Abraham,</u></p> <p>[the incense of Zechariah, the alms of Cornelius, ] and the widow's two mites...</p>	<p>[<i>Supra quae</i>] Vouchsafe to look upon them with a favorable and kindly countenance, and <u>accept them</u></p> <p>as you vouchsafed to accept the <u>gifts of your righteous servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our Patriarch Abraham, and that which your high priest Melchizedek offered to you,</u> a holy sacrifice, an unblemished sacrificial offering; [<i>Supplices te</i>] We humbly beseech you, almighty God, bid these gifts be borne <u>by the hands of your angel to your altar on high, in the sight of your divine majesty...</u><sup>316</sup></p>

<sup>316</sup> The material in Ambrose's *Sacr.* 4.27 is also in a *Post pridie* [§627] in the *Liber mozarabicus*. Material common to all three is underlined; material common to just two of the three is double-underlined. The Greek text of *Lit. Mark* is from *PE*, 108; items in brackets are not in *Coptic Lit. Cyril*. ET = *PEER*, 146 (Ambrose, *Sacr.*), 62 (*Lit. Mark*), and 165 (Roman Canon). In the Roman Canon, I changed the translation of *hostiam* in the *Supra quae* from "victim" to "sacrificial offering" and the *haec* in the *Supplices te* as "these gifts" rather than "these things." The reason for the latter change is that, like the *quae* in the *Supra quae*, the only terms for the bread and wine that are neuter-plural—and thus could be the object of *quae* in the entire prayer—are the terms in the *Te igitur: haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata*. There are two prefaces that refer to these three sacrifices but in a rather different way than all the other uses; see *Liber sacramentorum Romanae aeclesiae* (GeV, no. 20), preface for Christmas and *Veronensis*, no. 1250, fourth preface in December. I discuss these in more detail in Chapter 5 where I survey the place of Melchizedek in liturgical texts. Only one other anaphora refers to these sacrifices. *Apost. con.* 8.12.21 (in its lengthy summary of salvation history) refers to God's acceptance of Abel's sacrifice; a few lines later it

while the Mozarabic and Roman Canon texts refer instead to just one angel.<sup>317</sup>

The structural connections between the Roman Canon and the Alexandrian tradition become clearer if the *Sanctus* is removed from both (since it was inserted into different locations in the two anaphoras) and the two lists of saints (these were some of the last features to enter the Roman Canon) (see Table 2.19).

**Table 2.19 The Alexandrian structure in parallel with the Roman Canon, minus the *Sanctus***

Alexandrian	Roman Canon
-Dialogue with 2 Cor 13:13	-Dialogue
-Opening Thanksgiving	-Thanksgiving in a variable preface, with a commemoration of the Sunday/feast/saint
-1 <sup>st</sup> oblation [Mal 1:11]	-1 <sup>st</sup> Request for acceptance of the offering combined with 1 <sup>st</sup> oblation
-Intercessions	-Intercession for church & ... for those present who offer the sacrifice with 2 <sup>nd</sup> oblation ( <i>qui tibi offerunt</i> )
-Request for acceptance of the sacrifice	-1 <sup>st</sup> Commemoration of Saints + intercession for those present
-1 <sup>st</sup> <i>epiclesis</i> (non-consecratory; <i>Fill...</i> )	-2 <sup>nd</sup> Request for acceptance of offering for the purpose of a blessing + Intercession for peace etc
[-Institution Narrative]	-3 <sup>rd</sup> Request for acceptance and blessing <i>so that</i> the gifts become Christ's Body/Blood
- <i>Anamnesis</i>	-Institution Narrative
-2 <sup>nd</sup> oblation	- <i>Anamnesis</i>
-2 <sup>nd</sup> <i>epiclesis</i> (consecratory)	-3 <sup>rd</sup> Oblation
-Request for fruit of reception	-4 <sup>th</sup> request for acceptance by appeal to divine acceptance of ancient sacrifices
	-request that an angel take the offering to the heavenly altar [implicit request for acceptance (5 <sup>th</sup> )] <i>in order that</i> those who receive may be filled with grace
	-Intercession for departed
	-2 <sup>nd</sup> Commemoration of apostles/martyrs + intercession for those present
-Doxology	-Doxology

mentions Abraham—though not his sacrifice (8.12.23)—followed by Melchizedek (ἀρχιερέα σῆς λατρείας; Ibid.). This type of prayer construction is one of the types identified in Chapter 4 as a “Therefore” use.

<sup>317</sup> As discussed in Chapter 1, there are additional textual and structural correspondences between the Roman Canon (especially when the earlier version of the Roman Canon in Ambrose's *Sacr.* is taken into account) and the earlier versions of the Alexandrian liturgy, particularly *Lit. STR*.

This simple change discloses that the structural relationship of the two is much closer than first appears and that one of their most significant differences is the placement of the *Sanctus*.<sup>318</sup> Bouyer is bold enough to say that “their general structural analogy...invites us to connect the two.”<sup>319</sup> When we do, the outlines of the two anaphoras (in his opinion) “agree exactly” with the exception of “the position of the intercessions and commemorations” of the saints.<sup>320</sup> This corresponds with the earlier discussion in Chapter 1 of Walter Ray’s theory that both developed by coupling.<sup>321</sup>

In short, the Alexandrian anaphoras and the Roman Canon share these characteristics: they contain two explicit oblations of the gifts, one before and one after the institution narrative; before the institution narrative, they share a sequence of oblation-intercession-request for acceptance (noting that each connects these features in different ways and at different lengths); they also share two unique, connected features: the request for angelic assistance to transfer the sacrificial offering to the heavenly altar and the appeal for divine acceptance of the offering on the basis of God’s acceptance of previous sacrifices (the first two sacrifices mentioned in both anaphoras are those of Abel and Abraham).

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<sup>318</sup> Mazza also points this out, and I take Walter Ray’s point that claims Mazza does not take into account that these two traditions developed in a similar way for a while and that it was only later that the combination of the development of *Lit. Mark*’s intercessions, under the influence of *Lit. James*, plus the insertion of the *Sanctus* at different points together result in two anaphoral structures that then *appear* to be different. See Mazza, *Origins*, 282-83; Ray, “Rome and Alexandria,” 119; about the later insertion of the *Sanctus*, see R.-G. Coquin, “L’anaphore alexandrine de saint Marc,” *LM* 82 (1969): 334.

<sup>319</sup> Bouyer, *Eucharist*, 214.

<sup>320</sup> *Ibid.*, 215, 218.

<sup>321</sup> See Ray, “Strasbourg Papyrus” and “Rome and Alexandria.”

### ***East Syrian – The Anaphora of Addai and Mari***

The array of Eastern anaphoras is dizzying and difficult to summarize accurately.<sup>322</sup> The East Syrian anaphora<sup>323</sup> serving in my comparison with the Roman Canon is the *Anaphora of Addai and Mari* (henceforth *Lit. AM*),<sup>324</sup> still in use by the Ancient (Assyrian) Church of the East and the Chaldean Catholic Church<sup>325</sup> and

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<sup>322</sup> Bradshaw and Johnson provide an excellent overview in “Chapter 5: The Christian East” of *Eucharistic Liturgies*, 137-92 and point the reader to the important studies of the various rites. They explain: “There are seven distinct living liturgical traditions in the Christian East.... Those living liturgical traditions are the Armenian, Byzantine, Coptic, Ethiopic, East Syrian, West Syrian or Antiochene, and Maronite Rite, all of which exist as both Orthodox and Eastern Catholic Churches, with the exception of the Maronites who have always been in union with Rome.” These liturgical traditions are related to, but distinct from, the rites or “families” of liturgies. “Apart from the Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopic, and Maronite Rites or ‘families,’ which are distinct Orthodox or Eastern Catholic Churches, several different churches belong to the Byzantine, East Syrian, and West Syrian ‘families’ or rites. The Byzantine Rite, known to us in its earliest form from the early eighth-century *Barberini Euchologion* 336, is the dominant, largest, and most influential liturgical tradition of and in the Christian East” (Ibid., 137-38).

<sup>323</sup> Like the Latin *consecratio*, Bradshaw and Johnson explain that, “among the Syrians, Armenians, and Copts the title of the liturgy underscores its sacrificial or offering character with the use of *Qurbana* (Syriac), *Badarak* (Armenian), or *Prosfora*. For East Syrians and Ethiopians the title *Quedussah* or *Keddase* reflect the overall influence of the *Sanctus* and the process of sanctification of the eucharistic gifts and communicants”; Bradshaw and Johnson, *Eucharistic Liturgies*, 142.

<sup>324</sup> *PEER* 39-44 (*Addai and Mari*) and 45-51 (*Lit. Sharar*); *PE*, 375-80 (*Addai and Mari*) and 410-15 (*Lit. Sharar*); Spinks, *Addai and Mari*, 14-23 (both texts in parallel). For a recent summary of the scholarship on *Lit. AM*, see Stephen B. Wilson, “The Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari,” in *Essays on Early Eastern Eucharistic Prayers*, ed. Paul F. Bradshaw (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1997), 19–38. The earliest English translation of the oldest manuscript is from W. F. Macomber, “Addai and Mari,” *OCP* 32 (1966): 335–71. In *Addai and Mari*, Bryan Spinks provides a scholarly translation into English from the Syriac, a discussion of the manuscript evidence, and a full bibliography of English and foreign language sources. A. Gelston produced a thorough examination of all the manuscript evidence in *The Eucharistic Prayer of Addai and Mari* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992). For the critical Latin translation, see *PE*, 375-80; for the English translation taken from a number of different Latin sources, now dated in light of Spinks's work, see *LEW*, 247-305. See also Spinks, “Priesthood and Offering in the Kuššāpê of the East Syrian Anaphoras,” *SL* 15, no. 2 (1982): 104–17; Spinks, “Eucharistic Offering in the East Syrian Anaphoras,” *OCP* 50, no. 2 (1984): 347–71 (both are reprinted and expanded in Spinks, *Prayers from the East*); Bouyer, *Eucharist*, 146-47.

<sup>325</sup> Bradshaw and Johnson, *Eucharistic Liturgies*, 138-39, 171. The East Syrian rite “is also sometimes referred to as ‘The Assyro-Chaldean Rite,’ ‘The Assyrian or Chaldean Rite,’ or as part of the ‘Persian Family’ of rites”; Ibid., 138. The Syro-Malabar Catholic Church in India uses only *Lit. AM*; “the Portuguese were responsible for the suppression of the anaphora of Theodore and Nestorius on the grounds that they were written by heresiarchs”; Spinks, *Prayers from the East*, 125. The text of *Lit. AM* was preserved by three traditions: the Nestorian/Church of the East along with the Chaldean Church (centered in Mosul) and the Malabar Church of India, the latter two now in communion with Rome; Spinks, *Addai and Mari*, 4.

infamously lacking an institution narrative (it is debated whether it was removed before the tenth century).<sup>326</sup> Almost the entire text of *Lit. AM* is included in another Syrian anaphora, *The Anaphora of St. Peter III*, which is also known as *Sharar* after its first Syriac word (hereafter *Lit. Sharar*) and is still in use in the Maronite Church.<sup>327</sup> I will

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<sup>326</sup> Jasper and Cuming explain: “Some scholars have thought that the presence of an *anamnesis* implies a preceding institution narrative. The phrase ‘we have received through tradition the form which is from you’ recalls Justin’s ‘by a word of prayer which is from him,’ which is involved in a similar uncertainty as to the presence or absence of an Institution Narrative. The whole section may be derived from *Theodore* or *Nestorius*”; *PEER*, 40. Taft thinks that *Addai and Mari* is the oldest extant Eastern anaphora; see Taft, “Eastern presuppositions,” 15. Jasper and Cuming concur, considering it among “the oldest surviving eucharistic prayers”; *PEER*, 40. On October 26, 2001, “Guidelines for Admission to the Eucharist Between the Chaldean Church and the Assyrian Church of the East,” was promulgated by Pope John Paul II and states that Chaldean Catholics are permitted to receive the Eucharist at an Assyrian Eucharist celebrated using the Liturgy of Addai and Mari and are assured that they receive the Body and Blood of Christ as at a Catholic Eucharist. For a defense of this decision, see Robert F. Taft, “Mass without the Consecration?: The Historic Agreement on the Eucharist between the Catholic Church and the Assyrian Church of the East Promulgated 26 October 2001,” *Worship* 77, no. 6 (November 2003): 482–509. For a critique that includes engagement with other similar critiques, see Ansgar Santogrossi, “Anaphoras without Institution Narrative: Historical and Dogmatic Considerations,” *Nova et Vetera* 10, no. 1 (2012): 27–59.

<sup>327</sup> Distinguishing the various non-Chalcedonian Eastern Churches can be confusing. Maronites are Syrian Christians who today live primarily in Lebanon and derive their name from St. Maro, a companion of St. John Chrysostom. After Maro’s death, his disciples founded a monastery on the Orontes and it is to this foundation to which modern Maronites are connected. Their separate existence derives from their rejection of the teaching at Constantinople III that Christ has two wills (the Monothelite controversy), but they united with Rome in the twelfth century; see “Maronites” in *ODCC*. Ephraim Carr explains: “Syrian Christians became divided by reason of Chalcedon [451] into Melkites, who were loyal to the council and the emperor (*malko* = ‘ruler’ or ‘king’), and the anti-chalcedonians. The Melkites gradually accepted also the liturgy of the imperial capital and became by the twelfth century part of the Byzantine rite. The Syrian faithful who rejected the council slowly formed their own church, a move fostered by Jacob Baradi (+578) and his establishment of an independent hierarchy from 543 onward. Thus the Syrian church came to be called Jacobite”; “Liturgical Families in the East” in Anscar J. Chupungco, ed., *Introduction to the Liturgy*, vol. I, Handbook for Liturgical Studies (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1997), 15. Bryan Spinks explains further: “The non-Chalcedonian Churches divide into two distinct theological groupings. On the one hand are the so-called Miaphysite Churches: Syrian Orthodox and their Indian subbranches; Armenian; Coptic and Ethiopic. On the other is the so-called Diophysite Church, the Church of the East or Assyrian Church. However, in terms of liturgical traditions and their interrelationship, the alignments are rather different. The Syriac-speaking churches – Syrian Orthodox, Church of the East, and the Chalcedonian Maronite Church – once shared a common theological literature, and liturgical ordos or structures. Their traditions are shared by the ecclesiastical offshoots of the Church of the East, such as the Syro-Malabar Church and the Chaldean Church, and, from the Syrian Orthodox, such churches as the Syrian Catholic, Malankara Orthodox, Syrian Jacobite and Mar Thoma Church. The Armenian Church was influenced first by Cappadocian Greek-speaking and Syriac-speaking missionaries, then by Byzantium, and also by Rome, and these influences are reflected in its liturgical traditions. The Coptic Church has preserved some liturgical forms which seem to be indigenous, and others which show clear signs of influence from Palestine and Syria. The Ethiopic Church owed its origins – and, until the twentieth century, its patriarch – to the Coptic Church, but its liturgy shows some considerable eclectic independence in its development. In all these churches it is difficult to date the developed mature liturgical forms”; “Eastern Christian Liturgical Traditions: Oriental Orthodox” in Kenneth Parry, ed., *The Blackwell Companion to Eastern Christianity*, Blackwell Companions to Religion (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2007), 339.

therefore engage both *Lit. AM* and *Lit. Sharar* in my discussion of East Syrian anaphoras, while recognizing that *Lit. Sharar* is distinctive enough that East Syrian experts do not consider it a part of the East Syrian family but rather as the sole representative of the Maronite family.<sup>328</sup>

Two additional anaphoras, along with *Lit. AM*, are used by the Ancient (Assyrian) Church of the East and the Chaldean Catholic Church: the anaphoras of *Mar Theodore of Mopsuestia (Lit. Theo.)* and *Mar Nestorius (Lit. Nest.)*.<sup>329</sup> These anaphoras do not fit

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<sup>328</sup> W. F. Macomber, "A Theory on the Origins of the Syrian, Maronite, and Chaldean Rites," *OCP* 39 (1973): 235–42. Spinks argues that *Lit. AM* and *Lit. Sharar* are both redactions of an earlier Syriac tradition. For more on *Lit. Sharar*, see Bryan D. Spinks, "A Tale of two Anaphoras: Addai and Mari and Maronite Sharar," in *The Anaphoral Genesis of the Institution Narrative in Light of the Anaphora of Addai and Mari: Acts of the International Liturgy Congress, Rome, 25-26 October 2011*, ed. Cesare Giraudo (Rome: Edizioni Orientalia Christiana, 2013), 259–74; Spinks, *Do This*, 165–70; Spinks, *Prayers from the East*, Worship (Washington, D.C.: Pastoral Press, 1993); Emmanuel Khoury, "Genesis and Development of the Maronite Divine Liturgy," in *The Eucharistic Liturgy in the Christian East*, ed. John Madey (Kottayam: Prakasam Publishers, 1982), 101–31; Spinks, *Addai and Mari, the Anaphora of the Apostles: A Text for Students*, Grove Liturgical Study 24 (Bramcote: Grove Books, 1980); W. F. Macomber, "Maronite and Chaldean Versions of the Anaphora of the Apostles," *OCP* 37 (1971): 55–84. J. M. Sauguet compiled a critical edition in *Anaphorae Syriacae*, vol. II Fasc. 3 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1973), 275–323.

<sup>329</sup> *PE*, 381–96 (Latin translation); Bryan D. Spinks made a critical English translation in *Forgotten Eucharistic Prayers*, whose introduction provides an overview of the scholarly literature on both anaphora. The Syro-Malabar Catholic Church in India uses only *Lit. AM*; "the Portuguese were responsible for the suppression of the anaphora of Theodore and Nestorius on the grounds that they were written by heresiarchs"; Spinks, *Prayers from the East*, 125. All English quotations from *Lit. Theo.* and *Lit. Nest.* are taken from his translation. A Syriac edition of *Lit. AM* along with *Lit. Theo.* and *Lit. Nest.* was furnished by the Archbishop of Canterbury's mission in the late nineteenth century: *The Liturgy of the Holy Apostles Adai and Mari: together with two additional liturgies* (Urmia, Persia, 1890); an English translation was made by J. Payne Smith, *The Liturgy of the Holy Apostles Adai and Mari: Together with Two Additional Liturgies*, reprinted from the edition of 1893, London (New York: AMS Press, 1970); a different translation (with the complete text of *Lit. AM*) was made by K. A. Paul and George Mookan: *The Liturgy of the Holy Apostles Adai and Mari: Together with the Liturgies of Mar Theodorus and Mar Nestorius, and the Order of Baptism* (Trichur, India: Mar Narsai Press, 1967). For more on the Archbishop's mission, see F. N. Heazell and J. Payne Smith, *Kurds & Christians* (London: Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., 1913); J. F. Coakley, "The Archbishop of Canterbury's Assyrian Mission Press: A Bibliography," *JSS* 30 (January 1, 1985): 35–73.

Little has been published on *Lit. Theo.*: see F. E. Brightman, "The Anaphora of Theodore," *JTS* 31, no. 122 (1930): 160–64; "Les anaphores syriennes orientales," in Bernard Botte, ed., *Eucharisties d'Orient et d'Occident*, 7–24; Georg Wagner, *Der Ursprung der Chrysostomusliturgie*, Veröffentlichungen des Abt-Herwegen-Instituts Maria Laach, Bd. 59 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1973), 51–72; W. K. Macomber, "An Anaphora Prayer Composed by Theodore of Mopsuestia," *ParO* 6–7 (1975–76), 341–47; Enrico Mazza, "La struttura dell'Anaphora nelle Catechesi di Teodoro di Mopsuestia," *EL* 102 (1988): 147–83, reprinted in English in *Origins*, 287–331; D. Webb, "The Anaphora of Theodore the Interpreter," *EL* 104 (1990): 3–22; Spinks, *Prayers from the East*. Vagaggini includes a discussion and translation in *Canon of the Mass*

neatly into the structures that can be observed in the first two anaphoras. In fact, they follow the basic West Syrian structure but with three noteworthy (East Syrian) differences: (a) the opening dialogue is extremely magnified and includes an oblation (also in *Lit. AM* and *Lit. Sharar*); (b) the intercessions interrupt the traditional *anamnesis-oblation-epiclesis* block (also in *Lit. Sharar*), and are situated before the *epiclesis*, a characteristic that is most commonly associated with the East Syrian prayers; and (c) the insertion in the midst of the anaphora of *kuššāpê*, priestly prayers said while kneeling and in a low voice (also found in *Lit. AM*).<sup>330</sup>

*Lit. Sharar* and *Lit. AM* are of particular importance because they were two of the few anaphoras to be composed in Syriac.<sup>331</sup> In fact, *Lit. AM* is generally agreed to be one of the earliest extant anaphoras, from between the second and fourth centuries. *Lit. Sharar* and *Lit. AM* are important also because of the strong evidence of a significant Semitic influence on the Syrian Christianity of this period, which was centered in both

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58-67. A critical edition was prepared by Jacob Vadakkal: *The East Syrian Anaphora of Mar Theodore of Mopsuestia: Critical Edition, English Translation and Study* (Kottayam, India: Oriental Institute of Religious Studies India Publications, 1989). In addition to the sources just cited by Botte and Spinks, see also the following sources on *Lit. Nest.*: A. Gelston, "The Origin of the Anaphora of Nestorius: Greek or Syriac?," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 78, no. 3 (1996): 73–86; Bayard H. Jones, "Formation of the Nestorian Liturgy: The Great Conflation," *ATR* 48, no. 3 (July 1966): 276–306; Jones, "Sources of the Nestorian Liturgy," *ATR* 46, no. 4 (October 1964): 414–25; Jones, "History of the Nestorian Liturgies," *ATR* 46, no. 2 (April 1964): 155–76. Sébastien Naduthadam produced a critical edition as a doctoral thesis, but it remains unpublished and nearly inaccessible: "L'Anaphore de Mar Nestorius: Édition critique et étude" (Institut catholique de Paris, Faculté de théologie et de sciences religieuses, 1992).

<sup>330</sup> While the Roman Rite has private priestly prayers that appear as early as seventh-century manuscripts (which Bouyer sees as parallels to the *kuššāpê*; *Eucharist*, 377-78), they are not said in the midst of the Canon itself. Spinks explains: "The root meaning of *kššp* is 'to speak softly or whisper,' and in the *Ethpa'al*, 'to pray in a low voice, or supplicate earnestly.' On such prayers elsewhere, he writes: "In the Egyptian and West Syrian eucharistic rites we see the development of the *accessus ad altare* rites, which convey the idea of preparation for the sacrifice, and the confession of unworthiness by the priest. We also find a similar development in the *Prothesis* prayer. These various prayers share with the *kuššāpê* [Rudolf] Otto's concept of the *mysterium tremendum* [see *The Idea of the Holy*], and spring from a similar spirituality or psychology, and may be considered as belonging to the same liturgical genre"; "*Kuššāpê*," 104-05.

<sup>331</sup> In contrast, *Lit. Theo.* and *Lit. Nest.* were almost certainly composed in Greek and translated into Syriac; see Spinks, *Addai and Mari*, 3; Jones, "Formation of the Nestorian Liturgy," 276.

Edessa (Urfa, Turkey) and Nisibis (Nusyabin, Syria), an area that was part of the so-called Nestorian Schism after the Council of Ephesus in 431. There is a wide consensus that a consequence of this Semitic influence was that these two anaphora retained a rather distinctive connection to Christianity's Semitic roots. Because of the community's lengthy linguistic, cultural, and political isolation, it was simultaneously shielded from much influence by the Byzantine world and its West Syrian-style anaphoras.<sup>332</sup> Further, as Spinks explains, "The *Peschitta*, the Syriac Old [and New] Testament, appears to have been a Jewish production, in fact another Targum; and the great Syrian theologians, Aphrahat and Ephraem, seem to have been considerably influenced by Jewish sectarian teaching."<sup>333</sup> Thus, one of the reasons liturgical scholars are so interested in *Lit. AM* and *Sharar* is its depiction of an early expression of Christian anaphoral praying, marked by a unique and a consciously Semitic influence that is also generally free from Byzantine or Western influences.

The structure of the broader East Syrian families of rites is the most difficult to summarize because significant differences remain among them. A distinguishing feature is their unique placement of the intercessions before the *epiclesis*. Even though "most of [*Lit.*] *AM* is contained in *Lit. Sharar*, and the relationship points to a common origin, or a common source underlying both anaphoras,"<sup>334</sup> some differences remain between them.

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<sup>332</sup> PEER, 41; Spinks, *Addai and Mari*, 3. For more on this history, see Robert Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom: A Study in Early Syriac Tradition*, rev. ed. (London: T&T Clark International, 2004).

<sup>333</sup> Spinks, *Addai and Mari*, 3; again, see Murray, *Symbols*, 18.

<sup>334</sup> Spinks, *Addai and Mari*, 9. For more on the relationship between these two, see Ignatius Ephraem Rahmani, *Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi* (Mosul: Moguntiae, 1899); Anton Baumstark, "Altlibanesishe liturgie," *OC* 4 (1904): 190–94; Hieronymus Engberding, "Urgestalt, Eingenart und Entwicklung eines altantiochenischen eucharistischen Hochgebetes," *OC* 29 (1932): 32–48; Macomber, "Maronite and Chaldean Versions."



Further, *Lit. Theo.* and *Lit. Nest.* contain even more variants, which I will highlight in the footnotes. I have summarized all four in parallel in Table 2.20.

*Lit. AM* and *Lit. Sharar* proceed in the following manner:<sup>335</sup> (a) a verbose opening dialogue that uses the Grace from 2 Cor. 13:13 and, uniquely, an explicit oblation;<sup>336</sup> (b) an opening of thanksgiving and praise to the Trinity and pre-*Sanctus*; (c) *Sanctus*; (d) thanksgiving for the work of salvation addressed to Christ (the switch from addressing the Father to addressing the Son is a unique feature);<sup>337</sup> (e) the second oblation addressed to the Father, either in the context of the recollection of the various orders in the church (*Lit. AM*) or the departed (*Lit. Sharar*);<sup>338</sup> (f) an institution narrative that is addressed

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<sup>335</sup> For a different outline of the East Syrian forms (which elides the differences between the various examples of it) see Bradshaw and Johnson, *Eucharistic Liturgies*, 76-77; see also Baldwin, “Eucharistic Prayer,” in *DLW*, 195-96 and *PEER*, 39-44.

<sup>336</sup> *Lit. Sharar* begins with a prayer of oblation, followed by the people’s response in the Dialogue, “It is fitting and right.” “We offer to you, God our Father, Lord of all, an offering and a commemoration and a memorial in the sight of God, living from the beginning and whole from eternity, for the living and for the dead...”; *PEER*, 46. See also Spinks, *Addai and Mari*, 15.

<sup>337</sup> In *Lit. Sharar*, all that follows the *Sanctus* is addressed to Christ. In *Lit. Theo.* and *Lit. Nest.*, the post-*Sanctus* is addressed to the Father and begins with a link to “holy” in the *Sanctus*, as in many West Syrian anaphora.

<sup>338</sup> While *Lit. Theo.* has three oblations, neither it nor *Lit. Nest.* contains an oblation in this location; instead, both adhere to the West Syrian structure, where the *anamnesis* is followed by an oblation.

**Table 2.20 The four East Syrian anaphoras in parallel (*Lit. AM*, *Lit. Sharar*, *Lit. Theo.*, and *Lit. Nest.*)**

<i>Lit. AM</i>	<i>Lit. Sharar</i>	<i>Lit. Theo.</i>	<i>Lit. Nest.</i>
<p>-Dialogue with 2 Cor 13:13 and 1<sup>st</sup> oblation</p> <p>-Opening Thanksgiving to Father</p> <p>-pre-<i>Sanctus</i> &amp; <i>Sanctus</i></p> <p>-Thanksgiving addressed to Christ,</p> <p>incarnation, and salvation</p> <p>-Intercession for the Church with 2<sup>nd</sup> oblation of Body/Blood, while recalling the departed</p> <p>-Intercessions with commemoration of the departed</p> <p>-<i>Anamnesis</i></p>	<p>-Dialogue with 2 Cor 13:13 and 1<sup>st</sup> oblation</p> <p>-Opening Thanksgiving to Father</p> <p>-pre-<i>Sanctus</i> &amp; <i>Sanctus</i></p> <p>-Thanksgiving addressed to Christ,</p> <p>incarnation, and salvation</p> <p>-2<sup>nd</sup> oblation of Body/Blood, while recalling the departed</p> <p>-Institution Narrative addressed to Christ</p> <p>-<i>Anamnesis</i> (very general)</p> <p>-Intercessions addressed to Christ with 1<sup>st</sup> prayer for acceptance and requests for fruit of comm.</p> <p>-2<sup>nd</sup> Prayer for acceptance through intercession of Mary</p> <p>-Prayer for the departed with commemoration of BVM</p> <p>-More Intercessions</p> <p>-<i>Epiclesis</i> (non-consecratory) for the fruit of reception</p> <p>-Doxology with reference to Rev 22:3-4</p>	<p>-Dialogue with 2 Cor 13:13 and 1<sup>st</sup> oblation</p> <p>-Opening Thanksgiving to Father</p> <p>-pre-<i>Sanctus</i> &amp; <i>Sanctus</i></p> <p>-Thanksgiving to the Father (with 'holy' connection),</p> <p>incarnation, and salvation</p> <p>-Institution Narrative addressed to the Father</p> <p>-<i>Anamnesis</i></p> <p>-2<sup>nd</sup> oblation</p> <p>-lengthy Intercessions</p> <p>-<i>Epiclesis</i> (consecratory; "upon us and this oblation") &amp; prayer for fruit of reception</p> <p>-Doxology with reference to Rev 22:3-4</p>	<p>-Dialogue with 2 Cor 13:13 and 1<sup>st</sup> oblation</p> <p>-Opening Thanksgiving to Father</p> <p>-pre-<i>Sanctus</i> &amp; <i>Sanctus</i></p> <p>-Thanksgiving to the Father (with 'holy' connection),</p> <p>incarnation, and salvation</p> <p>-Institution Narrative addressed to the Father</p> <p>-<i>Anamnesis</i></p> <p>-2<sup>nd</sup> oblation</p> <p>-lengthy Intercessions</p> <p>-<i>Epiclesis</i> (consecratory; "upon us and this oblation") &amp; prayer for fruit of reception</p> <p>-Doxology with reference to Rev 22:3-4</p>

uniquely to Christ (only in *Lit. Sharar*);<sup>339</sup> (g) *anamnesis*;<sup>340</sup> (h) intercessions that are again addressed to Christ, which include the following: a prayer for acceptance and a second oblation, a request for acceptance through the intercessions of Mary (only in *Lit. Sharar*),<sup>341</sup> prayers for the departed with a commemoration of the BVM, plus additional intercessions (only in *Lit. Sharar*); (i) an *epiclesis* for the effect of a fruitful communion (namely, pardon for sins, the hope of the resurrection, and life in the kingdom);<sup>342</sup> finally (j) a concluding doxology that is uniquely contextualized within the economy of salvation that seems to recall the imagery of Rev 22:3-4.<sup>343</sup>

When set side-by-side, the structural relationship between these two East Syrian anaphoras (*Lit. AM* and *Lit. Sharar*) and the Roman Canon are as follows (Table 2.21).

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<sup>339</sup> It is addressed to the Father in *Lit. Theo.* and *Lit. Nest.*

<sup>340</sup> The *anamnesis* in both lack the typical “death, resurrection, ascension” sequence and are clearly addressed to Christ in *Lit. Sharar* (“We remember you, only-begotten of the Father, firstborn of Being, spiritual lamb, who descended from on high...” (Spinks, *Addai and Mari*, 19) but it is less clear in *Lit. AM*. The paragraph that precedes it, however, is very clearly addressed to the Father. So when the anamnestic paragraph begins with address to the “Lord” before whom we stand, it seems that it is addressed to the Father. However, when it then describes the offerers standing “before you at this time having received by tradition of the example which is from you,” it then appears to be addressed to Christ. Spinks says that it is “clearly a reference to the institution of the eucharist, and one might speculate as to whether there is some connection here to 1 Cor. 11:23, where, underlying Paul’s Greek, the Rabbinical technical terms *qibbel*, received, and *masar*, delivered, are used to introduce the institution. Perhaps we have here an East Syrian ‘shorthand’ narrative of institution” (*Addai and Mari*, 28). But this is complicated further by the fact that the paragraph ends by declaring that what the offerers are doing is “performing this great and dread mystery of the passion and death and resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ,” which would be an odd way to speak if this portion of the anaphora were addressed to Christ. Spinks does not mention this confusion. All quotations from *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>341</sup> The text of this inclination prayer is not included in *PEER* 49 and is only mentioned in the rubric. Spinks includes it in his translation: “Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, pray for me to your only begotten son, who was born from you, that he will pardon my debts and sins: and receive from my lowly and sinful hands this oblation which my weakness offers upon this holy altar of Mar N.[estorius]... through your intercession for us, Holy Mother”; Spinks, *Addai and Mari*, 18.

<sup>342</sup> *Lit. AM* includes the words “bless and sanctify” in the *epiclesis*. Both *Lit. Theo.* and *Lit. Nest.* contain consecratory epicleses, like West Syrian prayers (though they also include the prayers for fruitful receptions as in *Lit. AM* and *Lit. Sharar*); *Lit. Theo.* is the only one of the four to have a true so-called “double *epiclesis*”: “upon us and this oblation.”

<sup>343</sup> Spinks provides this insight in *Addai and Mari*, 29.

**Table 2.21 The East Syrian structure in parallel with the Roman Canon**

East Syrian	Roman Canon
-Dialogue with 2 Cor 13:13 and 1 <sup>st</sup> oblation -Opening thanksgiving to the Father -pre- <i>Sanctus</i> & <i>Sanctus</i> -Thanksgiving addressed to Christ, incarnation, and salvation -2 <sup>nd</sup> oblation (with a recollection of either the ministries or the departed) -Intercessions ( <i>Lit. AM</i> only) [-Institution Narrative addressed to Christ -Anamnesis (including his “propitiatory sacrifice”) [-Intercessions addressed to Christ with 1 <sup>st</sup> prayer for acceptance and fruits of communion] [-2 <sup>nd</sup> prayer for acceptance through intercession of Mary] [-Prayer for the departed with commemoration of BVM] -*Other intercessions - <i>Epiclesis</i> (non-consecratory) for the fruit of reception -Doxology with reference to Rev 22:3-4	-Dialogue -Thanksgiving in a variable preface, with a commemoration of the Sunday/feast/saint -pre- <i>Sanctus</i> and <i>Sanctus</i> & <i>Benedictus</i> -1 <sup>st</sup> Request for acceptance of the offering and 1 <sup>st</sup> oblation -Intercession for church & ... for those present who offer the sacrifice with 2 <sup>nd</sup> oblation ( <i>qui tibi offerunt</i> ) -1 <sup>st</sup> Commemoration of Saints + intercession for those present -2 <sup>nd</sup> Request for acceptance of offering for the purpose of a blessing -Intercession for peace and salvation -3 <sup>rd</sup> Request for acceptance and blessing <i>so that</i> the gifts become Christ’s Body/Blood -Institution Narrative - <i>Anamnesis</i> -3 <sup>rd</sup> Oblation -4 <sup>th</sup> request for acceptance by appeal to divine acceptance of ancient sacrifices -request that an angel take the offering to the heavenly altar [implicit request for acceptance (5 <sup>th</sup> )] <i>in order that</i> that those who receive may be filled with grace -Intercession for departed -2 <sup>nd</sup> Commemoration of apostles/martyrs + intercession for those present -Doxology
Items in brackets are not found in <i>Lit. AM</i>	

The differences between these two anaphoral families are substantial; what follows is a list of the most significant variances. First, the Latin *Dominus vobiscum* opens the dialogue in the Roman Canon, rather than the Grace from 2 Cor. 13:13. Further, the East Syrian opening dialogue is lengthy and complex and includes an oblation, while the Canon has neither feature. Second, the East Syrian prayers all contain a post-*Sanctus* section of praise and thanksgiving, which the Roman Canon lacks. Third, the fact that

part of the anaphora (or all of the post-*Sanctus* in *Lit. Sharar*) is addressed to Christ sets it apart, not only from the Roman Canon but from all the other anaphoral traditions. Fourth, of *Lit. AM*, *Lit. Sharar*, and the Roman Canon, only *Lit. AM* somewhat awkwardly insert intercessions (fused with the oblation) between the *anamnesis* and the *epiclesis*.<sup>344</sup>

A number of interesting similarities exist, however, between these two seemingly disparate traditions. In particular, three characteristics are shared by *Lit. Sharar* (but not *Lit. AM*) and the Roman Canon. The first is that both have at least two oblations, one before<sup>345</sup> and one after the institution narrative.<sup>346</sup> Second, there is a significant petition connected to the oblation: for the departed (*Lit. Sharar*) or for the Church (Roman Canon). Finally, both also include a warrant upon which the offering or the request for acceptance of the offering is based: the intercessions of the Blessed Virgin (*Lit. Sharar*) or God's previous acceptance of the sacrifices of Abel, Abraham, and Melchizedek (Roman Canon).<sup>347</sup> This request is directly followed in both by a recollection of the saints, which is an additional, though more oblique, appeal to an external factor; in this case, that we are part of the same mystical body as the saints. Finally, *Lit. AM* and *Lit. Sharar* are marked by a feature that is unusual among early anaphoras other than the Roman Canon, namely, that they are made up of distinct prayers that nonetheless have

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<sup>344</sup> Bouyer, *Eucharist*, 146.

<sup>345</sup> The Roman Canon has two oblations before the institution narrative: in the *Te igitur* and the *Memento, Domine. Lit. Mark* is also characterized by an explicit oblation near the beginning of the eucharistic prayer, which makes this a characteristic shared by all three traditions.

<sup>346</sup> *Lit. Sharar*, along with the three others East Syrian prayers, includes an oblation in the dialogue.

<sup>347</sup> This appeal to God's acceptance of past sacrifices is paralleled in only one other anaphora: *Lit. Mark*.

been placed together in a conscious and carefully structural sequence such that the parts cohere into a unified whole.<sup>348</sup>

Further, there are two important non-structural items that overlap between the Latin and East Syrian traditions. First, in *Lit. AM* and *Lit. Sharar*, the Spirit is not invoked for the purpose of the direct change of the gifts (unlike in the West Syrian, *Lit. Theo.*, *Lit. Nest.*, as well as the Alexandrian anaphoras). Rather, the purpose of the *epiclesis* is that the reception of the Eucharist may have the same effects as Christ's own self-sacrifice: "remission of debts, forgiveness of sins, and the great hope of resurrection from the dead, and new life in the kingdom of heaven."<sup>349</sup> Thus, *Lit. AM* and *Lit. Sharar* share with the Roman Canon the absence of a direct request for the change or transformation of the bread and wine into Christ's Body and Blood, what might be identified as a reverential linguistic posture, which focuses repeatedly on God's action of acceptance.<sup>350</sup>

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<sup>348</sup> Bouyer calls attention to this phenomenon in *Ibid.*, 146, 208. For more on the various paragraphs of the Roman Canon, see my Introduction.

<sup>349</sup> *PEER*, 43. As Bouyer comments, the purpose of the *epiclesis* is neither to consecrate nor transform the offering, "but to cause our celebration of the Eucharist to produce its fruit in us"; *Eucharist*, 184. A similar approach can be seen in the transition from the 1549 to 1552 English prayer books. In 1549, the *epiclesis* read, "Hear us (O merciful Father) we beseech thee; and with thy Holy Spirit and word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these thy gifts, and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ." In 1552, however, the mention of the Holy Spirit and Word drop out of the construction and the purpose clause is altered: "Hear us, merciful Father, we beseech thee : and grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood"; Cummings, *Book of Common Prayer*, 30, 137. In the American Prayer book, the two forms are combined: a logos and pneumatic *epiclesis* that is directed toward change and not reception: "And we most humbly beseech thee, O merciful Father, to hear us; and of thy almighty goodness, vouchsave to bless and sanctify, with thy Word and Holy Spirit, these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine; that we receiving them according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood"; Paul Victor Marshall, ed. *Prayer Book Parallels: The Public Services of the Church Arranged for Comparative Study* (New York: Church Hymnal Corp., 1989), 364.

<sup>350</sup> It is possible that the greater clarity in the West Syrian and Alexandrian anaphora about the purpose of the *epiclesis* (i.e. "that it may become...") reflects later shaping and a desire for theological clarity, while both the Roman Canon (in the *Quam oblationem*) and *Lit. AM* reflect an earlier, more

Second, the four East Syrian anaphoras give more prominence to the idea of sacrifice and the desire for its acceptance than any of the other traditions. All four of the East Syrian anaphoras include at least two acts of offering: first in the opening dialogue and then again after the *anamnesis*. The requests for acceptance vary widely among the four East Syrian prayers: *Lit. AM* and *Lit. Nest.* make no such request (like the West Syrian anaphoras) while *Lit. Sharar* contains two requests in the intercessory section, more than are found in any West Syrian or Egyptian anaphoras. *Lit. Theo.*, however, includes three requests for the acceptance of the sacrifice, more than any other extant anaphora save the Roman Canon. This emphasis on sacrifice does not, however, come at the expense of verbal articulations of praise and thanksgiving. As I showed in Table 1.4, 59% of the anaphora's text is given to doxology (65% if the intercessions are not included in the word count) compared with just 8% (or 11% without intercession) in the Roman Canon.

This last fact is just the first of a number of unexpected connections between the Roman Canon and *Lit. Theo.* (and to a lesser degree, *Lit. Nest.*). The three mentions of the sacrifice in *Lit. Theo.*, whether in the oblations or the requests for acceptance, also point to the second connection, namely, a collection of adjectives modifying the offering, four of which are shared with the Roman Canon: “spiritual” and “acceptable” (*Quam oblationem*), “holy” (*Te igitur* and *Unde et memores*), and “pure” (*Unde et memores*).<sup>351</sup>

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primitive form of oration that (for unknown reasons) remained resistant to later redaction and shaping. Bouyer argues that “the order of the West Syrian eucharist, as admirable as it is, is obviously an order that was intentional, systematic and obtained by a procedure of elaborate rhetoric. And, furthermore, it was conceived within the framework of a trinitarian theology that was itself very evolved”; Bouyer, *Eucharist*, 192-93.

<sup>351</sup> All of these adjectives are found in *Lit. Nest.*, plus the adjective “spotless,” which probably corresponds to either *illibata* (*Te igitur*) or *immaculatum* (*Unde et memores*). See Appendix G for a grid that shows these and many other common adjectives for the gifts and in which anaphora they are found.

Third, the term “mystery” is used in the institution narrative (*hic est enim calix sanguinis mei novi et aeterni testamenti, mysterium fidei* in the Roman Canon; “on that night in which he was betrayed, he performed this great and holy and divine mystery” in *Lit. Theo.*<sup>352</sup>), which is notable because of its absence from both *Lit. Sharar* and *Lit. Nest*, though it is present in *Lit. AM*. Fourth, only the Roman Canon and *Lit. Theo.* have the following uninterrupted sequence in common:<sup>353</sup>

- (a) a prayer of oblation *combined with* a prayer for acceptance;
- (b) intercession for the church (specifically for its peace, protection, and unity), including the hierarchy;
- (c) prayer for salvation and forgiveness, and
- (d) prayer for those for whom the oblation is offered, within which the use of the term “sacrifice of praise” is used for the eucharistic offering; followed by
- (e) mention of the apostles, martyrs, etc.

This long sequence of intercessions (though often greatly expanded) is not uncommon. The most glaring difference between this sequence and most anaphoral traditions is that a prayer for acceptance is joined to the oblation and is not followed by a pneumatic *epiclesis*. Further, no other anaphoras use the phrase *sacrificium laudis* or its equivalent within the anaphora, let alone in the part praying for those for whom the sacrifice is offered.<sup>354</sup> While the long sequence of the intercessions may be identified in some other

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<sup>352</sup> Spinks, *Forgotten Eucharistic Prayers*, 35.

<sup>353</sup> In the Roman Canon, this is found in the first four paragraphs after the *Sanctus* (*Te igitur, Memento domine, Communicantes, and Hanc igitur*); in *Lit. Theo.*, these prayers come as part of the block after the institution narrative.

<sup>354</sup> This phrase will be the object of further study in Chapter 5, because the single use of the term in the New Testament is in Heb 13:15. After an exhaustive study of the term (including a list of every instance of the phrase and its variants in the early Latin sacramentaries and collections, save for the use of “*laudis hostiam*” in a preface in *LMS*, no. 1420), Geoffrey Willis concluded that it is almost an exclusively



anaphoras, it is not joined to an oblation and request for acceptance, they usually lack at least one of the items in the sequence, and none uses *sacrificium laudis*.

The closest parallel to this shared sequence is in the Alexandrian texts (*Lit. STR* and the final forms of *Lit. Mark* and *Lit. Cyril*; for a detailed parallel of the section in the Roman Canon with *Lit. Theo.*, *Lit. Nest.*, and *Lit. STR*, see Appendix I).<sup>355</sup> Nonetheless, in both *Lit. STR* and *Lit. Mark*, there is only a request for acceptance, and no verb of oblation. The Alexandrian prayers also use the term “peace,” but only as a request for the whole world and not for the church’s peace, protection, and unity, as in the Canon and *Lit. Theo.*<sup>356</sup> This petition is followed directly by intercessions for salvation and the forgiveness of sins, which are absent in *Lit. STR* and *Lit. Mark* (and in the sequence of intercessions in West Syrian anaphoras). Immediately after this request in the Roman Canon and *Lit. Theo.* is an intercession for those for whom the sacrifice is offered, which again has no parallel in the Alexandrian prayers nor in *Lit. Nest.* Most striking is that, embedded in this part of the anaphora in both the Roman Canon and *Lit. Theo.*, is the use of the rare term, “sacrifice of praise,” which is directly connected in both anaphoras to a recounting of the apostles and martyrs.<sup>357</sup> I have found no study that makes any such connection between *Lit. Theo.* and the Roman Canon—not even that of Mazza, who

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Latin term and only appears elsewhere in a pre-anaphoral prayers in *Lit. James* and in *Lit. Chry.*, which likely means that the phrase is a later addition in those liturgies. Willis makes no mention of its presence in *Lit. Theo.*; see “Sacrificium laudis,” 82. In his study of *Lit. Theo.*, Vadakkal compares it with Byzantine and West Syrian anaphora. See *Mar Theodore*, 181-82 (*Lit. Basil*), 188-89 (*Lit. Chrys.*), 196-97 (*AC*), 203-04 (*Lit. James*), 208 (*Lit. 12*).

<sup>355</sup> Appendix H shows to what degree this sequence can be seen in a number of other early anaphora: *Lit. Mark*, *Lit. Egy. Basil*, *Lit. Basil*, *Lit. 12*, *Lit. Chry.*, and *Lit. James*.

<sup>356</sup> In *Lit. Nest.*, the request is “that you would preserve it from all violent disturbance and harm from all occasions of stumbling.”

<sup>357</sup> Only the Roman Canon (among the four anaphora I show in parallel in Appendix I) makes a clear distinction between the saints as ones with whom we have fellowship (and whose merits and prayers aid the offerers) and the more general language of *Lit. Theo.*, *Lit. Nest.* and the Alexandrian prayers, where the offering is in memory of them or possibly even offered for their sake.

identifies all the anaphoras with which he thinks *Lit. Theo.* has a textual relationship.<sup>358</sup>

This connection deserves a deeper study.

In short: the East Syrian anaphoras and the Roman Canon share these characteristics: multiple verbs of offering the gifts, one before and one after the institution narrative (three in *Lit. Sharar*); these oblations are immediately followed by intercessions; the second oblation in each includes an appeal to an external source and is then followed by a contextualizing of the request within the mystical communion of saints; both share the sequence of institution narrative-oblation-*anamnesis* (*Lit. Sharar* includes intercessions in this progression while the Roman Canon does not); finally, neither includes a direct request for the transformation of the gifts but relies instead on a construction that implies a reverential distance and the action of the Father for the bread and wine to have their intended effect on the recipients.

### ***Similarities and differences between Lit. AM, Lit. Mark, and Lit. James***

Having outlined the structure of these three anaphora families and their individual relationship with the Roman Canon, we now proceed to the similarities and differences among these three, allowing for a clearer discussion of what distinguishes the Roman Canon from all of them and what characteristics it shares with some or all of them (see Table 2.22).

The most obvious similarity between these three anaphoras is that they all begin with the dialogical exchange between priest and people that incorporates 2 Cor 13:13, move directly into praise and thanksgiving, and conclude in some form of trinitarian doxology.

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<sup>358</sup> Mazza, “La struttura dell’Anaphora nelle Catechesi di Teodoro di Mopsuestia,” 165-74; ET = *Origins*, 310-19.

Second, all three include the *Sanctus*, which is always introduced in such a way as to make it clear that the ritual prayer of the anaphora is in union with the worship undertaken by the saints with angelic creatures in heaven. Note that in all three anaphoras, praise and thanksgiving bracket the *Sanctus*. Further, the *Sanctus* is followed by a form of praise that is introduced with a verbal formula which connects it to the *Sanctus* (“And with these heavenly armies we...” in *Lit. AM*; the connecting word “full” in the Alexandrian anaphoras; and “holy indeed” in the West Syrian forms). Third, all include some form of intercession within the anaphora beyond requests directly and topically connected with the Eucharist (such as a request for a fruitful reception of the sacrament).

**Table 2.22 Antiochene/West Syrian, East Syrian, and Alexandrian anaphoral structures in parallel**

<b>Antiochene/West Syrian</b>	<b>East Syrian</b>	<b>Alexandrian</b>
-Dialogue with 2 Cor 13:13	-Dialogue with 2 Cor 13:13 and 1 <sup>st</sup> oblation	-Dialogue with 2 Cor 13:13
-Opening Thanksgiving	-Opening thanksgiving to the Father	- Opening Thanksgiving
-pre- <i>Sanctus &amp; Sanctus &amp; Benedictus</i>	-pre- <i>Sanctus &amp; Sanctus</i>	
-Post- <i>Sanctus</i> (link “holy indeed”)		
summary of salvation	-Thanksgiving addressed to Christ, incarnation, and salvation	
	-2 <sup>nd</sup> oblation (with a recollection of either the ministries or the departed)	-1 <sup>st</sup> oblation [Mal 1:11]
	-Intercessions ( <i>Lit. AM</i> only)	-Intercessions, pt 1 -Request for acceptance -Intercessions, pt 2 -pre- <i>Sanctus</i> - <i>Sanctus</i> (no <i>Benedictus</i> ) -Post- <i>Sanctus</i> , 1 <sup>st</sup> <i>Epiclesis</i> (non-consecratory; link “full”)
-Institution Narrative	[-Institution Narrative addressed to Christ]	-Institution Narrative
- <i>Anamnesis</i>	- <i>Anamnesis</i> (including his “propitiatory sacrifice”)	- <i>Anamnesis</i>
-Oblation	[-Intercessions addressed to Christ with 1 <sup>st</sup> prayer for acceptance and fruits of communion] [-2 <sup>nd</sup> prayer for acceptance through intercession of Mary] [-Prayer for the departed with commemoration of BVM] -*Other intercessions	-2 <sup>nd</sup> oblation
- <i>Epiclesis</i>	- <i>Epiclesis</i> (non-consecratory) for the fruit of reception	-2 <sup>nd</sup> <i>Epiclesis</i> (consecratory) -Request for fruit of reception
-Intercessions		
-Doxology	-Doxology with reference to Rev 22:3-4	-Doxology

\*Portions in brackets are missing from *Addai and Mari*<sup>359</sup>

<sup>359</sup> This table is based on a similar one in Bradshaw and Johnson, *Eucharistic Liturgies*, 77. I added more detail to the outlines of the three families and also provided additional examples of the anaphora in the final row. Both *Testamentum Domini* and the *Anaphora of Epiphanius of Salamis* lack the *Sanctus* and have only the briefest intercessions; see *PEER*, 138-42.

Antiochene/West Syrian	East Syrian	Alexandrian
Early Eastern Anaphoras according to Types		
Antiochene/West Syrian	East Syrian	Alexandrian
-AT - <i>Lit. Byz. Basil</i> (all versions) -Lit. James -Cyril of Jerusalem (?) -Const. ap. VIII -Lit. 12 -Lit. Chry. -Testamentum Domini -Anaphora of Epiphanius of Salamis	-Lit. AM - <i>Lit. Sharar</i> —may also be considered the single Maronite structure -Lit. Nest. -List. Theo.	-Lit. STR -British Museum Fragments -Louvain Coptic Papyrus -John Rylands parchment -Lit. Deir Bal. -British Museum tablet -Lit. Sarapion -Lit. Mark -Lit. Cyril

The fourth similarity is that they generally share the use of Institution narrative-*anamnesis*-oblation-*epiclesis* block, though, as noted previously, *Lit. AM* lacks the institution narrative,<sup>360</sup> and the intercessions in the East Syrian prayers are located between the *anamnesis* and the oblation. Nonetheless, the unity of *anamnesis*-oblation-*epiclesis* with intercessions in close vicinity is clear in all three. Another unique characteristic of the East Syrian prayers is the switch from addressing the Father to addressing the Son, a feature not found in any other tradition.

A few additional similarities regarding sacrifice are shared only by the East Syrian and Alexandrian anaphoras. The first is that these two anaphoral traditions contain at least two explicit oblations of the bread and wine, while the West Syrian forms contain only one. The first oblation is near the beginning of the anaphora and before the *Sanctus* (in the dialogue, in the East Syrian prayers), while the second occurs after the *anamnesis*

<sup>360</sup> The reference to the “commemoration of the body and blood of your Christ which . . . you taught us” and having “received through tradition the form which is from you” are both thought to be references to Christ’s institution; see *PEER*, 43 and Spinks, *Addai and Mari*, 28-9.

as part of the *anamnesis-oblacion-epiclesis* block. Similarly, both traditions contain an explicit request for the acceptance of the sacrifice,<sup>361</sup> something that never occurs in the West Syrian anaphoras.<sup>362</sup> Third, both traditions share a prayer for acceptance and/or an oblation that is situated within a sequence of intercessions.<sup>363</sup> Fourth, *Lit. Sharar* and *Lit. Nest.* have intercessions (as part of the oblation in the opening dialogue) located before the *Sanctus*, which is a feature that marks the Alexandrian anaphoras. Finally, both contain a portion of the anaphora that addresses prayer directly to the Trinity.

The Alexandrian anaphoras are distinct from the other two in a number of important ways. First, they lack any reference to salvation history in the opening. Second, the vast intercessions and their sacrificial interlude regarding the acceptance of the sacrifice are situated before the *Sanctus* and institution narrative.<sup>364</sup> This probably indicates less about a fundamentally different approach to anaphoral structure than that the later addition of the *Sanctus* and the intercessions (or at least their radical expansion) was incorporated into the anaphoras in slightly different ways in the various anaphoral families. If the *Sanctus* is removed from each, the structures of each share a much stronger structural affinity (see Table 2.23).

Outside of the placement of the intercessions at the front of the anaphora in the Alexandrian anaphoras, the East Syrian and Alexandrian traditions show a number of noteworthy structural similarities (especially *Lit. Sharar*). Unlike the West Syrian, whose

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<sup>361</sup> *Lit. AM* has no such request; *Lit. Sharar* has two; *Lit. Theo.* has three; *Lit. Nest.* has none.

<sup>362</sup> See the earlier note on this point in the section on *Lit. James*.

<sup>363</sup> This is found in all four East Syrian prayers; in *Lit. Mark* they are located before the *Sanctus*; in the East Syrian, before the *epiclesis*.

<sup>364</sup> Though, as noted, *Lit. Sharar* and *Lit. Nest.* contain intercessions as part of the oblation in the opening dialogue.

**Table 2.23 Antiochene/West Syrian, East Syrian, and Alexandrian anaphoral structures in parallel, minus the *Sanctus***

Antiochene/West Syrian	East Syrian	Alexandrian
-Dialogue with 2 Cor 13:13	-Dialogue with 2 Cor 13:13 and 1 <sup>st</sup> oblation	-Dialogue with 2 Cor 13:13
-Opening Thanksgiving	-Opening thanksgiving to the Father	- Opening Thanksgiving
-Post- <i>Sanctus</i> (link “holy indeed”)	-Thanksgiving addressed to Christ, incarnation, and salvation	
summary of salvation	-2 <sup>nd</sup> oblation (with a recollection of either the ministries or the departed)	-1 <sup>st</sup> oblation [Mal 1:11]
	-Intercessions ( <i>Lit. AM</i> only)	-Intercessions, pt 1 -Request for acceptance -Intercessions, pt 2 -Post- <i>Sanctus</i> , 1 <sup>st</sup> <i>Epiclesis</i> (non-consecratory; link “full”) -Institution Narrative
-Institution Narrative	[-Institution Narrative addressed to Christ]	- <i>Anamnesis</i>
- <i>Anamnesis</i>	- <i>Anamnesis</i> (including his “propitiatory sacrifice”)	-2 <sup>nd</sup> oblation
-Oblation	[-Intercessions addressed to Christ with 1 <sup>st</sup> prayer for acceptance and fruits of communion] [-2 <sup>nd</sup> prayer for acceptance through intercession of Mary] [-Prayer for the departed with commemoration of BVM] -*Other intercessions	
- <i>Epiclesis</i>	- <i>Epiclesis</i> (non-consecratory) for the fruit of reception	-2 <sup>nd</sup> <i>Epiclesis</i> (consecratory) -Request for fruit of reception
-Intercessions		
-Doxology	-Doxology with reference to Rev 22:3-4	-Doxology

Items in brackets are not found in *Addai and Mari*

structure unfolds in what appears to be a carefully shaped order (which I discussed earlier in the section on *Lit. James*), the East Syrian and Alexandrian anaphoras show a doubling or parallelism, particularly *Lit. Mark* (Table 2.23). In the first cycle before the institution

**Table 2.24** *Lit. Sharar* and *Lit. Mark* in parallel, divided into two cycles

Structure	East Syrian	Alexandrian
Dialogue with 2 Cor 13:13		
<i>Cycle #1</i>		
<b>Praise &amp; Thanksgiving</b>	-preface of Thanksgiving -pre- <i>Sanctus</i> - <i>Sanctus</i>	-preface of Thanksgiving
<b>Oblation</b>	-Thanksgiving to Christ for Incarnation & salvation -1 <sup>st</sup> oblation (with recollection of the ministries or departed) -Intercessions ( <i>Lit. AM</i> only)	-1 <sup>st</sup> oblation [Mal 1:11]
<b>Request for Acceptance</b>		-Intercessions, pt 1 -Request for acceptance -Intercessions, pt 2
<b>Doxology with Holy Spirit</b>		-pre- <i>Sanctus</i> - <i>Sanctus</i> (no <i>Benedictus</i> ) -1 <sup>st</sup> <i>epiclesis</i> (non-consecratory)
Institution Narrative		
<i>Cycle #2</i>		
<b>Praise &amp; Thanksgiving</b>	- <i>Anamnesis</i> (including his “propitiatory sacrifice”) [-Intercessions to Christ with prayer for acceptance & 2 <sup>nd</sup> oblation]	- <i>Anamnesis</i>
<b>Oblation</b>		-2 <sup>nd</sup> oblation
<b>Request for Acceptance</b>	[-Request that sacrifice would be accepted through intercession of Mary] [-Prayer for the departed with commemoration of BVM] [-Other intercessions]	
<b>Doxology with Holy Spirit</b>	- <i>Epiclesis</i> (non-consecratory) for the fruit of reception -Doxology	-2 <sup>nd</sup> <i>epiclesis</i> (consecratory) -Request for fruit of reception -Doxology

narrative, the anaphoras proceed as praise and thanksgiving, oblation, and request for acceptance—with a doxological conclusion via the *Sanctus* that is connected to an



invocation of the Holy Spirit (not-consecratory, in this case). After the institution narrative-*anamnesis* unit, a similar pattern is visible in the second cycle: praise (in the form of the anamnestic recollection of the saving acts of Christ), second oblation, request for acceptance, and a doxological conclusion with an invocation of the Spirit. The parallels are not perfect, however. If the first request for acceptance and intercessions in *Lit. Sharar* was placed before rather than after the *anamnesis*, the two would look much more similar in the first cycle.<sup>365</sup> In the second cycle, *Lit. Mark* lacks a second request for the acceptance of the sacrifice as in the East Syrian, but otherwise the basic structural parallel holds. Table 2.23 shows *Lit. Sharar* and *Lit. Mark* in parallel and divided into two cycles, the first of which begins with the dialogue and the second with the institution narrative.

This structural similarity could indicate that an initial basic structure was used in both anaphoras in a primitive stage and that, as the universal features of *Sanctus* and institution narrative became normative and were incorporated, their insertion prompted additional editing. It is difficult to imagine otherwise. In the case of these two anaphoras, the insertions and growth of the anaphoras took place by recapitulating the structure of the first part in the second part, resulting in a basic parallelism between Cycles 1 and 2. *Lit. Mark* also contains an additional parallel in the structure of the first and second cycles: inclusion of Mal 1:11 in the opening paragraph of the preface—providing a scriptural *raison d'être* for what precedes and follows it in a way quite like the institution narrative does for the second cycle.

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<sup>365</sup> In the earlier discussion of the East Syrian prayers, I pointed out that one of their characteristics is that each paragraph is something of an independent unit assembled in this order at some point, which makes the proposal regarding a slight reordering less arbitrary.

### ***The relationship between the four anaphoral families***

I am now at a place to draw some specific conclusions about what is unique about the structure of the Roman Canon, what structural features it shares with other anaphoras, and how the emphasis on the acceptance of the sacrificial offering in the Roman Canon compares with the other anaphoras (see Table 2.24 for a structural outline of all four families in parallel).

#### ***General connections between the four anaphoral families***

First, unlike Eastern anaphoras, the preface of the Canon is variable.<sup>366</sup> Such variability is only found in the other Western rites—the Gallican and the Mozarabic.<sup>367</sup> In the three Eastern anaphoral families, there is also an absence of a direct parallel to what I called the “doxological inclusio” of the Roman Canon.<sup>368</sup> This is due in large part to the Canon’s variable and brief prefaces, which keep the content of the pre-*Sanctus* section focused on the feast or mystery being celebrated. Thus, the fixed opening paragraphs of the other traditions are much broader in their focus and variable in length.

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<sup>366</sup> This was the case at least by the time of Gelasius (492-96), and probably before that as indicated in Chapter 1,

<sup>367</sup> Recall, however, that, in contrast to the Roman Rite, they have three other variable portions. See the discussion of these features in the section on manuscripts evidence in the Introduction. The Roman Canon also has two other portions that are variable, the *Communicantes* and the *Hanc igitur*, but these variances are limited to acknowledging particular feasts and are in no way comparable to the complete paragraphs that vary in the Mozarabic and Gallican rites; see Kennedy, *Saints*; Probst, *Liturgie*, 455ff.; Fortescue, *Mass*, 142; Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, I:58, n. 33.

<sup>368</sup> I discuss this earlier in the chapter as part of my proposal for how to understand the structure of the Roman Canon.

**Table 2.25 Antiochene/West Syrian, East Syrian, the Roman Canon, and Alexandrian anaphoral structures in parallel**

<b>West Syrian</b>	<b>East Syrian</b>	<b>Roman Canon</b>	<b>Alexandrian</b>
<p>-Dialogue with 2 Cor 13:13</p> <p>-Opening thanksgiving</p> <p>-pre-<i>Sanctus</i> &amp; <i>Benedictus</i></p> <p>-Post-<i>Sanctus</i> (link “holy indeed”) summary of salvation</p> <p>-Institution Narrative</p> <p>-<i>Anamnesis</i></p> <p>-Oblation</p> <p>-<i>Epiciclesis</i></p> <p>-Intercessions</p> <p>-Doxology</p>	<p>-Dialogue with 2 Cor 13:13 and 1<sup>st</sup> oblation</p> <p>-Opening thanksgiving to the Father</p> <p>-pre-<i>Sanctus</i> &amp; <i>Sanctus</i></p> <p>-Thanksgiving addressed to Christ, incarnation, and salvation</p> <p>-2<sup>nd</sup> oblation</p> <p>(with a recollection of either the ministers or the departed)</p> <p>-Intercessions (<i>Lit. AM</i> only)</p> <p>[-Institution Narrative addressed to Christ] (<i>-Anamnesis</i> (“propitiatory sacrifice”))</p> <p>[-Intercessions addressed to Christ with 2<sup>nd</sup> prayer for acceptance and fruit of communion]</p> <p>-*Request that sacrifice would be accepted through intercession of Mary</p> <p>-*Prayer for the departed with commemoration of BVM</p> <p>-*Other intercessions for the fruit of reception</p> <p>-Doxology for economy of salvation</p> <p>Items in brackets are not found in <i>Lit. AM</i></p>	<p>-Dialogue with <i>Dominus vobiscum</i></p> <p>-Thanksgiving in a variable preface, with a commemoration of the Sunday/feast/saint</p> <p>-pre-<i>Sanctus</i> &amp; <i>Sanctus</i> &amp; <i>Benedictus</i></p> <p>-1<sup>st</sup> Request for acceptance of the offering with 1<sup>st</sup> oblation</p> <p>-Intercession for church</p> <p>-... for those present who offer the sacrifice with 2<sup>nd</sup> oblation (<i>qui tibi offerunt</i>)</p> <p>-Commemoration of Saints + those present</p> <p>-2<sup>nd</sup> prayer of acceptance for blessing</p> <p>-Intercession for peace and salvation-</p> <p>-3<sup>rd</sup> Request for acceptance and blessing <i>in order that</i> the gifts be Body/Blood</p> <p>-Institution Narrative</p> <p>-<i>Anamnesis</i></p> <p>-2<sup>nd</sup> oblation</p> <p>-4<sup>th</sup> request for acceptance by appeal to divine acceptance of ancient sacrifices</p> <p>-request that an angel take the offering to the heavenly altar</p> <p>-Intercession for departed + those present</p> <p>-2<sup>nd</sup> Commemoration of apostles/martyrs</p> <p>-Doxology</p>	<p>-Dialogue with 2 Cor 13:13</p> <p>-Opening thanksgiving</p> <p>-1<sup>st</sup> oblation [Mal 1:11]</p> <p>-Intercessions, pt 1</p> <p>-Request for acceptance</p> <p>-Intercessions, pt 2</p> <p>-pre-<i>Sanctus</i> &amp; <i>Sanctus</i></p> <p>-1<sup>st</sup> <i>Epiciclesis</i> (non-consecratory; link “full”)</p> <p>-Institution Narrative</p> <p>-<i>Anamnesis</i></p> <p>-2<sup>nd</sup> oblation</p> <p>-2<sup>nd</sup> <i>epiclesis</i> (consecratory)</p> <p>-request for fruit of reception</p> <p>-Doxology</p>

If the *Sanctus* is not included, however, the opening dialogue and preface of the Canon can be considered the first part of the doxological inclusio.<sup>369</sup>

Second, the presence of the *igitur* in the Roman Canon remains something of a mystery. While the three other anaphoral traditions all continue after the *Sanctus* with doxological language marked by clear linguistic and thematic reference to the *Sanctus*, the post-*Sanctus* *Te igitur* in the Roman Canon appears to begin *en medias res*: its first verb is one of offering based on an unspecified antecedent.<sup>370</sup> Grammatically, the question is about the antecedent to which the *Te igitur* refers in its opening words: on what basis does the priest pray, “*therefore, accept and bless these gifts*”?<sup>371</sup> The fact that

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<sup>369</sup> This is most true in the *Lit. Mark*, where the *Sanctus* is preceded by a robust opening paragraph that concludes with the oblation that quotes Mal 1:11, the lengthy intercessions which are interrupted by the request for acceptance paralleled in the Roman Canon, and finally by a robust pre-*Sanctus*. Had the *Sanctus* been placed before the Mal 1:11 oblation in *Lit. Mark*, it would look remarkably like the Roman Canon, save for its long intercessions.

<sup>370</sup> *Igitur* is a connecting word used twice in the Canon—in the *Te igitur* and the *Hanc igitur*—and in both instances the antecedent is unclear and does not refer to what directly precedes (see Willis, *Essays*, 127). The logic of the other coordinating conjunction *unde* that follows the institution narrative, however, is clear and is represented in almost all early anaphoral constructions: in light of Christ’s institution of this action, the gathered Christians recall the central mysteries of his death, resurrection, and ascension and offer to God the bread and wine that are part of the gifts he has first given to us. Jungmann indicates a few exceptions to this nearly universal construction: the prayer of *Sarapion* has the anamnestic construction after the institution of the bread and then again after the wine (“Therefore we also offered the bread, making the likeness of the death... therefore we also offered the cup, presenting the likeness of his blood”; *PEER*, 77). The order is sometimes reversed as in the Armenian rite, where the oblation precedes the *anamnesis* (a feature also seen in the 1764 Scottish Book of Common Prayer, as well as the American prayer books through the 1928 edition). Further, the Gallican rites frequently omit the *anamnesis* altogether (for example, see in the *Missale Gothicum* in Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Liturgia romana vetus tria sacramentaria complectens, Leonianum scilicet, Gelasianum, et antiquum Gregorianum*, 2 vols. (Venetiis: Typis Jo. Baptistae Pasquali, 1748), I:518, 522, 526, 544, 548). See Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, I:218ff.

<sup>371</sup> In short, the *igitur* is evidence of an opening section before the intrusion of the *Sanctus*. Spinks summarizes the logic: “It is meet and right to give you thanks through Christ. Therefore [*igitur*] through Christ we ask you to accept our thanksgiving”; Spinks, *Sanctus*, 94. Botte and Moremann do not take the *igitur* as a serious problem, argue that it is nothing more than a *de*, and fail even to provide a translation of it into French; Botte and Mohrmann, *L’Ordinaire de la messe*, 75. N. M. Denis-Boulet similarly argues that “*igitur* n’a guère qu’une valeur explétive”; see Aimé Georges Martimort, ed., *L’Église en prière: Introduction à la liturgie* (Paris: Desclée, 1961), 392. Drews thought that it was originally situated after the institution narrative, as in the *Lit. James*, a proposal which would seem to presume the normativity of the West Syrian structure which the Roman Canon hardly resembles at all; see Fortescue’s discussion of this in Fortescue, *Mass*, 156-60.

the *igitur* was never redacted out,<sup>372</sup> even after the introduction of the *Sanctus* in the late fourth or early fifth century, almost certainly means that the *igitur* is a remnant of an earlier version of the Canon before the *Sanctus* was inserted.<sup>373</sup>

### ***Distinctive features of the structure of the Roman Canon***

Another feature of the unique opening structure of the Roman Canon is the placement of the *Sanctus*. In all three of the Eastern anaphoras, praise and thanksgiving bracket the *Sanctus*, whereas praise only precedes the *Sanctus* in the Roman Canon in the form of the variable preface. In other words, a post-*Sanctus* section of praise would reduce the parallelism between the two cycles.

The division of the intercessions of the Roman Canon into two sections, one before and one after the institution narrative, has no parallel in the Eastern anaphoras surveyed. The only anaphora to have something like this are the East Syrian ones, where intercessions appear near the beginning and also toward the end of the prayer (the comparison is complicated by the absence of the institution narrative in *Lit. AM*). While the intercessions in both the East Syrian and the Alexandrian rites are interrupted with an oblation of the gifts, the intercessions are nonetheless a single unit, interrupted by a feature which appears to be an insertion (an oblation, request for acceptance, and intercession of the Saints in *Lit. Sharar* and the request for acceptance via Old Testament sacrifices in *Lit. Mark*). In contrast, the two sets of intercessions in the Roman Canon are

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<sup>372</sup> Willis, *Essays*, 123. The *igitur* also makes the eighth-century development where manuscripts place the title of the canon over the *Te igitur* instead of the opening dialogue all the more perplexing, since the grammar of the *Te igitur* presumes that it is at least a second (or third) step in a process that began at some earlier point in the prayer.

<sup>373</sup> Willis agrees; *Ibid.*, 124; see also Chavoutier, “Libellus.”

(a) comparatively brief, (b) and are each followed immediately by commemorations of the Blessed Virgin, apostles, and martyrs.<sup>374</sup> Further, the fact that neither the commemoration of the living (*Memento, domine*) nor the dead (*Memento etiam*) has any connection to the portion of the prayer that precedes them, points to an insertion at a later date.<sup>375</sup>

Finally, in the previous section, I suggested that there is rudimentary—though not exact—structural similarity between the East Syrian and Alexandrian anaphoras, namely, the parallelism between the cycle before and the cycle after the institution narrative. The Roman Canon also has the double cycle they share, though with its own unique idiosyncrasies (see Table 2.25 for a parallel summary of *Lit. Sharar*, the Roman Canon, and *Lit. Mark*). But, the East Syrian and Alexandrian rites do not fit perfectly into a scheme of two, tri-partite cycles. In Cycle 1, the Roman Canon begins with praise and thanksgiving, which is followed by an oblation. In *Lit.*

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<sup>374</sup> See my earlier discussion of the structure of these two carefully ordered lists.

<sup>375</sup> The *Memento* of the dead is, in fact, missing in some of the Gregorian manuscripts, though as Botte and Andrieu point out, “its language is thoroughly archaic, and it must have existed, even if not part of the Canon, earlier than the sixth century”; see Willis, *Essays*, 125, 132; Botte, *Le canon*, 67-9; Michel Andrieu, *Les “ordines romani” du haut moyen âge*, vol. II, *Spicilegium sacrum lovaniense*, Etudes et documents 23 (Louvain: “Spicilegium sacrum lovaniense” bureaux, 1948), 274-82; Michel Andrieu, “L’insertion du Memento des morts au canon romain de la messe,” *Rev ScRel* I (1921): 151–57. The first commemoration of the saints (*Communicantes*) has no clear connection to the *Hanc igitur* and *Quam oblationem* that follow it; for a discussion of the grammatical awkwardness, see Willis, *Essays*, 127.

Table 2.26 The two cycles of *Lit. Sharar*, the Roman Canon, and *Lit. Mark*

<b>Structure</b>	<b><i>Lit. Sharar</i></b>	<b>Roman Canon</b>	<b><i>Lit. Mark</i></b>
<b>Opening</b>	-Dialogue with 2 Cor 13:13 and 1 <sup>st</sup> oblation	-Dialogue with <i>Dominus vobiscum</i>	-Dialogue with 2 Cor 13:13
<b>Praise &amp; Thanksgiving</b>	-Opening Thanksgiving -pre- <i>Sanctus</i> & <i>Sanctus</i>	-Thanksgiving in a variable preface, with a commemoration of the Sunday/feast/saint -pre- <i>Sanctus</i> & <i>Sanctus</i> & <i>Benedictus</i>	-Opening thanksgiving
<b>Oblation</b>	-Post- <i>Sanctus</i> (link “holy”) Thanksgiving addressed to Christ for incarnation & salvation  (with a recollection of either the ministries -2 <sup>nd</sup> oblation or the departed)	-1 <sup>st</sup> Request for acceptance of the offering with 1 <sup>st</sup> oblation -Intercession for church -... for those present who offer the sacrifice with 2 <sup>nd</sup> oblation ( <i>qui tibi offerunt</i> ) -Commemoration of Saints + those present -2 <sup>nd</sup> Request for acceptance of offering -Intercession for peace and salvation	-1 <sup>st</sup> oblation [Mal 1:11] -Intercessions, pt 1
<b>Request for Acceptance</b>	-Intercessions ( <i>Lit. AM</i> only)	-3 <sup>rd</sup> Request for acceptance and blessing <i>in order that the gifts be Body/Blood</i>	-Request for acceptance -Intercessions, pt 2 -pre- <i>Sanctus</i> & <i>Sanctus</i> -1 <sup>st</sup> <i>epiclesis</i> (non-consecratory); link “full”
<b>Doxology with Holy Spirit</b>			
<b>Institution Narrative</b>			
	<b>Cycle #1</b>		
	<b>Cycle #2</b>		
<b>Praise &amp; Thanksgiving</b>	- <i>Anamnesis</i> (+“propitiatory sacrifice”) -*Intercessions addressed to Christ with 1 <sup>st</sup> prayer for acceptance	- <i>Anamnesis</i>	- <i>Anamnesis</i>
<b>Oblation</b>	-*2 <sup>nd</sup> Request for acceptance through intercession of Mary	-2 <sup>nd</sup> oblation -4 <sup>th</sup> request for acceptance like the divine acceptance of ancient sacrifices	-2 <sup>nd</sup> oblation
<b>Request for Acceptance</b>	-*Prayer for the departed with commemoration of BYM -*Other intercessions - <i>Epiclesis</i> (non-consecratory) for the fruit of reception	-request that an angel take the offering to the heavenly altar -Intercession for departed + those present -2 <sup>nd</sup> Commemoration of apostles/martyrs	
<b>Doxology with Holy Spirit</b>	-Doxology for economy of salvation	-Doxology	-2 <sup>nd</sup> <i>Epiclesis</i> (consecratory) -request for fruit of reception -Doxology
	*These portions are missing from <i>Addai and Mari</i>		

*Mark*, however, the oblation is connected to a request for acceptance, a feature lacking in the East Syrian prayers. If the *Sanctus* had been placed just before the Mal 1:11 oblation in *Lit. Mark*, it would more closely share the structure in that portion of the Canon utilizing shared language and themes (the angel and the appeal to the other sacrifices). In Cycle 2, however, the Roman Canon has greater affinity with the East Syrian anaphoras than *Lit. Mark*, as outlined in detail in the earlier examination of those anaphoras. Because both lack a direct, transformative *epiclesis* (unlike *Lit. Mark* and the West Syrian anaphoras), the Roman Canon and East Syrian anaphoras share the following sequence after the institution narrative: *anamnesis* followed by a second oblation connected to a second (fourth in the Roman Canon) request for acceptance on the basis of a named warrant, prayers for the departed and a commemoration of the saints in close proximity to a request for a fruitful communion, and the doxological conclusion. Further, neither has a direct request for the change of the bread and wine. None of the anaphoras surveyed shows anything like the strict and complex relationship of the pre- and post-institution narrative portions of the Roman Canon. While they are the most structurally distinct, what the Roman Canon shares with the West Syrian anaphoras is a carefully arranged structure according to a particular pattern.

Further, the two anaphoras with which the Roman Canon share distinctive common sources also have structural similarities with the Canon, but in the opposite parts of the Canon: the linguistic connection that is shared only by *Lit. Mark* and the Roman Canon is located in Cycle 1 of the former and Cycle 2 of the latter. However, the long request for the acceptance of the sacrifice found in the midst of the intercessions in Cycle 1 of *Lit. Mark* contains the principal themes of the *Supra quae* and *Supplices te* in Cycle



2 of the Roman Canon, but in the shorter combined form and in the order of the version found in both Ambrose's *Sacr.* 4.27, which is ostensibly its more primitive form. Thus, while they share a common source for this material, the Roman Canon incorporated it near the end of the prayer while *Lit. Mark* retained it within the intercessions in an earlier, pre-*Sanctus* section.<sup>376</sup> Similarly, my discovery of the combination of the sequence of prayers and unique vocabulary that is shared only by the Roman Canon and *Lit. Theo.* (See II.C) is located in Cycle 1 of the Roman Canon (*Te igitur* through *Hanc igitur*) but in the post-institution narrative "Cycle 2" of *Lit. Theo.*

***The relationship between structure and emphasis on the acceptance of the sacrificial offering***

The structure of the West Syrian is furthest from the Roman Canon. It is also the anaphoral family that has the least emphasis on the acceptance of sacrifice. Not only is there only one oblation in *Lit. James*, there is no request for acceptance. In the Roman Canon, the requests for acceptance follow the act of offering: three times in Cycle 1 and twice in Cycle 2. The request that follows the oblation in all the West Syrian prayers (and the Alexandrian ones as well) is a request that the Holy Spirit act upon the gifts (*epiclesis*) rather than that the Father accept the offered sacrifice. The structure of the

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<sup>376</sup> While Kappes, in his reconstruction of an early third-century version of the Roman Canon has mention of the three Old Testament sacrifices in a pre-institution narrative position as in *Lit. Mark*, the similar location does not solve the problem of the parallel portions located in different places in *Lit. Mark* and the Roman Canon. In the latter two instances, God's acceptance of the ancient sacrifices is the concern. In GeV, however, the import of the ancient sacrifices is that they are figures ("figura") of Christ, "the true Lamb, the eternal high priest," who fulfilled this typology at his birth: "Vere dignum: tui laudis hostiam iugiter immolantes, cuius figuram Abel iustus instituit, agnus quoque legalis, ostendit, celebravit Abraham, Melchisedech sacerdos exhibuit, sed verus agnus, aeternus pontifex, hodie natus Christus implevit. Et ideo cum angelis..."; GeV, 20. Nonetheless, while the construction is a bit different, the *textus receptus* assumes that there is some sort of significant relationship between the ancient sacrifices and the eucharistic sacrifice like this preface. See Kappes, "Lactantius" (unpublished manuscript).

West Syrian prayers bears a strong and clear relationship to its thematic concerns: verbal praise and oblation for the sake of God's favorable response to the lengthy intercessions (one of the family's hallmark features). Concern for acceptance of sacrifice is only expressed obliquely.

The Alexandrian *Lit. Mark* differs from the West Syrian prayers not only because (like the Roman Canon and East Syrian prayers) it does not reflect the Trinitarian progression of West Syrian anaphoras and has the intercessions before the *Sanctus*, but also because it offers the bread and wine both before and after the institution narrative and clearly articulates the importance of divine acceptance through petitions. In other words, what distinguishes *Lit. Mark* from the West Syrian prayers, in spite of the significant influence of those prayers on *Lit. Mark*, is precisely what *Lit. Mark* shares with the Roman Canon: repeated offering and request for acceptance. Nonetheless, when its structure is considered as a whole, it too does not indicate that offering sacrifice and divine acceptance are its principal concerns. Even if the lengthy intercessions are removed from *Lit. Mark*, a comparison of it to the Roman Canon still reveals repeated requests for acceptance in the Latin anaphora that have no parallel in *Lit. Mark*.

I argued that the structure of the East Syrian prayers is difficult to generalize. Nevertheless, a few shared characteristics indicate that, while they all reflect a great concern for both the offering of sacrifice and God's acceptance of it, the structure of these anaphoras does not seem to have a direct relationship to those concerns the way it does in the Roman Canon. In fact, one feature of the East Syrian anaphoras (especially *Lit. AM* and *Lit. Sharar*) is a difficulty in identifying how each section relates to what precedes and follows it, and even how the structure of the whole is coherent as a unity.

Notably, these prayers share with *Lit. Mark* the presence of two oblations and prayers for acceptance of the sacrifice (though in the East Syrian prayers, only in *Lit. Sharar* and *Lit. Theo.*), compared to the single oblation in the West Syrian prayers and no requests for divine reception. So, while the East Syrian prayers generally share an emphasis on the offering of sacrifice and God's acceptance, this emphasis appears only in discrete places and does not seem to have had any discernable impact on their overall structure.

The Roman Canon's structure, then, has a relationship to both one East Syrian anaphora as well as the Alexandrian tradition more broadly, each at different points. In its final form, however, the Roman Canon stands alone. It shares with almost all other anaphoras the basic features outlined in the Introduction. But in contrast to them, they are marshaled in the Canon within a particular approach to anaphoral prayer that expresses the *sacrificium laudis* primarily through the material offering of the bread and wine.

### **Conclusion**

At the heart of both cycles of the Roman Canon is the act of offering—situated near each cycle's beginning and followed by the repeated petition that God would accept the sacrifice, along with some other, intercessions characteristic of most anaphoras. None of the Eastern anaphoras has anything like this immediate act of offering and request for acceptance, save for the East Syrian oblation that occurs within the opening dialogue. Similarly, only *Lit. Theo.* (and *Lit. Sharar*, to a lesser extent) contain anything close to the Roman Canon's repeated concern for the acceptance of the sacrifice.<sup>377</sup> While these

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<sup>377</sup> While these two anaphora contain more requests for acceptance than other early anaphora, they do not have anything close to the number of requests for acceptance that are carefully spaced throughout the entirety of the Roman Canon.

two anaphoras contain more than one request for acceptance, a larger difference remains: the rather distinctive construction of *Lit. Sharar* and the mostly-West Syrian *Lit. Theo.*, with its lengthy intercessions, is characterized by a different overall anaphoral structure than the Canon's final form; where they move to verbal expressions of praise, *the Roman Canon expresses this praise in the act of offering sacrifice and corresponding petitions for acceptance*. This is the *sacrificium laudis* in the Latin tradition. The Roman Canon is able to retain this singular focus on sacrifice even while incorporating many of the common features of anaphoras: opening dialogue; a front-loaded *Sanctus*; intercessions for the church, those who make the offering, and the dead; recollection of the saints; the institution narrative *anamnesis*- oblation block; and a concluding doxology. In other words, the final form of the Roman Canon is actually as tightly constructed as the West Syrian anaphoras, but utilizes the common features in its extremely focused vision of the Eucharist as an act of sacrifice needing divine acceptance.

In concert with this clear structure, the thematic heart of the Canon is to make a sacrificial offering that God accepts. Given that verbal praise bookends the prayer, and that both acts of offering are made in the context of praise, I tentatively suggest that the Roman Canon expresses a particular approach to the doxological character of the genre of anaphoras: praise and adoration are expressed primarily through the act of offering bread and wine precisely as a sacrifice. The mighty acts for which God is praised are less frequently mentioned in the Roman Canon than in the other anaphoral families surveyed, replaced by the predominance of sacrificial language. While the structure bears certain resemblances to the anaphoras surveyed, it appears that when new features were incorporated into the Canon (the institution narrative and the *anamnesis*-oblation that

follows it, as well as the *Sanctus*), it was done in such a way as to preserve its unique emphasis, such that the structure is molded in service to its distinctive thematic and theological approach.

One of the effects of God's acceptance that the Canon always names right away is that the offering becomes Christ's Body and Blood. The anaphora's principle concern is praise, which is expressed less through verbs of adoration or lengthy recounting of divine deeds, than through the act of sacrifice.<sup>378</sup> *Sacrificium laudis* is the context in which the requests for acceptance and then transformation take place. Transformation of the gifts into Christ's Body and Blood is not a request that stands alone but follows the request for divine acceptance and relies on it. In the Roman Canon, the sacrifice of praise is spiritual precisely because it is a material offering that God makes spiritual in his acceptance, and is given back to us as the Body and Blood of Christ.

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<sup>378</sup> Mazza draws a similar conclusion: "Since the sacrifice that is offered is the act of thanks, this strophe is at the same time offertory and thanksgiving: it is the one thing precisely because it is also the other"; *Origins*, 280-81.

## PART II: SCRIPTURAL ANALYSIS

“I hope I shall not be misunderstood if I say that, fundamentally, the Roman liturgy is far removed from the Bible.”<sup>379</sup>

Theodore Klauser (1894-1984), *A Short History of the Western Liturgy* (1965)

The Roman Canon is “directly Biblical in inspiration and texture.”<sup>380</sup>

Louis Bouyer (1913-2004), “The Word of God Lives in the Liturgy” (1959)

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<sup>379</sup> Klauser, *Short History*, 41-42.

<sup>380</sup> Louis Bouyer, “The Word of God Lives in the Liturgy,” in *The Liturgy and the Word of God*, 54.

## CHAPTER 3: THE BIBLE AND THE LITURGY

### *Introduction*

One area of study that received a newfound level of attention as part of the Liturgical Movement is the relationship between the Bible and liturgy.<sup>381</sup> The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum concilium*, highlights the importance and centrality of this relationship in its description of the norms to guide the reform of the liturgy:

Sacred scripture is of the greatest importance in the celebration of the liturgy. For it is from scripture that lessons are read and explained in the homily, and psalms are sung; the prayers, collects, and liturgical songs are scriptural in their inspiration and their force, and it is from the scriptures that actions and signs derive their meaning. Thus to achieve the restoration, progress, and adaptation of the sacred liturgy, it is essential to promote that warm and living love for scripture to which the venerable tradition of both eastern and Western rites gives testimony (SC 24).<sup>382</sup>

Louis-Marie Chauvet points out that this text “is not formulated as a desire or an exhortation, but as a statement of fact: according to the living tradition of the Church, the only liturgy, in the true Christian sense, is in fact one which is shaped by the Bible ... in the whole cluster of texts and actions which make up the liturgy.”<sup>383</sup> Not only has the Bible always been a liturgical text for Christians because it has always been read publically when they gather for corporate worship, but the liturgical rites and the

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<sup>381</sup> The most comprehensive survey of this twentieth-century scholarship is found in Gerlach, *Lex Orandi, Lex Legendi*, 31-49.

<sup>382</sup> English translations of Vatican II documents are taken from the Vatican website unless otherwise noted; [http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist\\_councils/ii\\_vatican\\_council/index.htm](http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/index.htm).

<sup>383</sup> Chauvet, “What Makes the Liturgy Biblical?,” 121.

corresponding ceremonies also rely fundamentally on the Scripture for their meaning and interpretation.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine more closely the ways in which the content of the liturgical rites “derive” not only “their meaning” [accipiunt significationem suam] from the Scriptures but also their content. The first part of this chapter considers some of the ways in which this general relationship has been considered in the last century. The second part outlines my own proposal for classifying the ways that Scripture can function as a source for the text of liturgical rites in order to better explore and understand their interrelationship.

### ***The Bible and/in the Liturgy***

In this section, I survey a number of the ways in which twentieth-century scholars have construed the relationship between the Bible and the liturgy.

#### ***La nouvelle théologie***

One approach to the Scripture-liturgy relationship is found in the scholarship of major twentieth-century figures like Louis Bouyer,<sup>384</sup> Henri de Lubac,<sup>385</sup> and Jean Daniélou, as well as in the broader movement of *ressourcement* and *la nouvelle*

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<sup>384</sup> Louis Bouyer, “Liturgie et exégèse spirituelle,” *LMD* 7 (1946): 27–50; Bouyer, *Liturgical Piety*, Liturgical Studies 1 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1955).

<sup>385</sup> Henri de Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum: The Eucharist and the Church in the Middle Ages; Historical Survey*, Faith in Reason (London: SCM, 2006); de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis*, 3 vols.1 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999-2009).. For an illuminating discussion of the debate between de Lubac and Daniélou on the proper terms for this exegesis (the former favoring the term “allegory,” the latter insisting upon “typology”) and how these terms have been used in subsequent scholarly work, see Peter Martens, “Allegory/Typology Distinction: The Case of Origen,” *J ECS* 16, no. 3 (September 2008): 283–317; Martens, “Origen against History?”



*théologie*, with which Daniélou and de Lubac are traditionally associated. Central to this approach was “a reunification of theology, including a return to Scripture, a return to the Fathers, and a liturgical revival.”<sup>386</sup> Susan Wood shows the relationship between liturgy and exegesis in this approach to theology: “spiritual exegesis is inseparable from the liturgy which is structured to comment on the mysteries of Christ by a meditation upon the Old Testament texts within a dynamic of promise and fulfillment.”<sup>387</sup> In large part, the concern of the *ressourcement* thinkers was to bring the interpretation of Scripture into a spiritual horizon that includes the liturgical rites themselves and the liturgical context in which the Scriptures are publicly proclaimed, received, and preached.<sup>388</sup> Bouyer, Daniélou, and de Lubac all note that the liturgy itself is an expression of the kind of spiritual exegesis (whether called “typology” or “allegory”) that they wish to commend. Daniélou’s study, *The Bible and the Liturgy*, is an examination of how central aspects of the liturgical rites, the celebration of feasts, the centrality of the Lord’s Day, and other practices are themselves a form of scriptural exegesis.<sup>389</sup> His purpose is to demonstrate just how deeply the Bible and early liturgy are interrelated. But what does not figure in any of these studies is a specific demonstration of these broader claims through the study of particular liturgical texts.

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<sup>386</sup> Susan K. Wood, *Spiritual Exegesis and the Church in the Theology of Henri de Lubac* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 22.

<sup>387</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>388</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>389</sup> Daniélou, *Bible and the Liturgy*. See also Daniélou, “Le symbolisme des rites baptismaux”; Daniélou, *Lord of History*; Daniélou, “The Sacraments and the History of Salvation”; Daniélou, *From Shadows to Reality*. Geoffrey Wainwright’s paper from the 1991 Societas Liturgica conference is a call to the current generation to re-read Daniélou in order to re-learn and imbibe what Wainwright calls “Daniélou’s liturgico-typological approach.” See Geoffrey Wainwright, “‘Bible et Liturgie’: Daniélou’s Work Revisited,” *SL* 22, no. 2 (1992): 154–62.

What *The Bible and the Liturgy* does, however, is provide a methodical, systematic consideration of the relationship between the Bible and early Christian ritual.

He describes the broad strokes of his perspective in an essay from 1945:

[T]he Christian has at his disposition several registers, a multi-dimensional symbolism, to express this unique reality [that is, “the mystery of Christ dead and risen”]. The whole of Christian culture consists in grasping the links that exist between Bible and Liturgy, Gospel and Eschatology, Mysticism and Liturgy. The application of this method to scripture is called spiritual exegesis; applied to liturgy it is called mystagogy. This consists in reading in the rites the mystery of Christ, and in contemplating beneath the symbols the invisible reality.<sup>390</sup>

Daniélou demonstrates these claims through an expansive examination of the Fathers and other early Christian texts. A principal good of his work was to address the question of the relationship of the Christian cult to “the liturgy of Judaism,” not just wider Hellenistic culture. Like Gregory Dix in *The Shape of the Liturgy*, Daniélou is convinced that Christian sacraments “are directly related” to the liturgy of Judaism.<sup>391</sup> Despite the scant extant evidence for Jewish liturgical practice until around the eighth century,<sup>392</sup>

Daniélou’s work remains useful because his emphasis on typological interpretation

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<sup>390</sup> Jean Daniélou, “Le symbolisme,” 17. ET from Taft, “The Liturgy of the Great Church: An Initial Synthesis of Structure and Interpretation on the Eve of Iconoclasm,” 74. Schmemmann echoes Daniélou’s argument in his essay on symbols, namely, that the whole liturgy proclaims the mystery of Christ; Alexander Schmemmann, “Symbols and Symbolism in the Byzantine Liturgy,” in *Liturgy and Tradition: Theological Reflections of Alexander Schmemmann* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1990), 115–28.

<sup>391</sup> Daniélou, *Bible and the Liturgy*, 6. In his discussion of this new interest in the Jewish background to Christian worship, Bradshaw argues that “it became axiomatic for those searching for the origins of every aspect of primitive Christian liturgical practice to look primarily for Jewish antecedents” (*Search*, 23).

<sup>392</sup> For a survey of the history of the examination of the relationship between Jewish and Christian liturgical practice and the growing consensus that many previously held assumptions must be reconsidered in light of a more sober assessment of a whole range of assumptions about first-century Jewish practice that guided a great deal of scholarship, see “Chapter 2: The Background of Early Christian Worship” in Bradshaw, *Search*, 21–46; James H. Charlesworth, “A Prolegomenon to a New Study of the Jewish Background of the Hymns and Prayers in the New Testament,” *JJS* 33, no. 1–2 (1982): 264–85; Ruth Langer, *To Worship God Properly: Tensions between Liturgical Custom and Halakhah in Judaism*, Monographs of the Hebrew Union College, 22 (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press; Distributed by Wayne State University Press, 1998), especially 1–40; Paul F. Bradshaw and Lawrence A. Hoffman, eds., *The Making of Jewish and Christian Worship*, Two Liturgical Traditions 1 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), especially 22–68; 109–155.

highlights how the New Testament and the Fathers make use of aspects of the Old Testament and its sacrificial cult to inform discussion of Christian cult. Daniélou makes another important contribution in his later book, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, where he demonstrates the degree to which early Christianity appropriated Jewish thinking, particularly that of Second Temple Literature, in the New Testament and early Christian writings.<sup>393</sup>

Enrico Mazza's 1989 study of mystagogy (not part of *la nouvelle théologie*) uses terminology in a way that is very similar to Daniélou, even though his specific focus is somewhat different: for both, "spiritual exegesis" concerns the interpretation of Scripture while mystagogy concerns the interpretation of liturgy. Mazza defines mystagogy as a sacramental theology "that seeks to give a theological explanation not only of the sacramental fact, but of each rite making up the liturgical celebration."<sup>394</sup> His study is more narrowly focused than Daniélou's because it looks only at the "literary and liturgical phenomena" of the patristic mystagogies produced by Ambrose, Theodore of Mopsuestia, John Chrysostom, and Cyril of Jerusalem that "appeared precisely at the end of the fourth century."<sup>395</sup> His organizing principle was the particular mystagogy of the various Fathers.<sup>396</sup> Daniélou, on the other hand, organizes his chapters around Christian sacraments or actions (the preparation, baptism, the sphragis, confirmation, eucharistic

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<sup>393</sup> Jean Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, trans. John A. Baker, The Development of Christian Doctrine before the Council of Nicaea 1 (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1964).

<sup>394</sup> Enrico Mazza, *Mystagogy: A Theology of Liturgy in the Patristic Age* (New York: Pueblo, 1989), ix.

<sup>395</sup> Mazza., *Mystagogy*, x.

<sup>396</sup> Daniélou writes: "The mystagogic catecheses are the most important documents for the theology of worship, but they are not the only ones. For we find in various other works passages related to the symbolism of the sacraments." He then proceeds to discuss the range of sources utilized in his study (*Bible and the Liturgy*, 16-17).

rites), around aspects of sacred time (the Sabbath and the Lord's Day, the "eighth day," Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost), and particular aspects of the Old Testament that are taken up in Christian theology (the paschal lamb, Psalm 22, the Canticle of Canticles, and the Feast of Tabernacles). One of the most significant overlaps between these two studies is that their object is the writings of the Fathers, *not* liturgical rites themselves.<sup>397</sup>

### ***The Liturgical Movement***

Inspired in part by the concurrent ecumenical movement, liturgical scholars also made the Bible-liturgy relationship a focus of their study. The 1957 Strasbourg congress on the topic and the volume edited by Aimé G. Martimort that resulted from it,<sup>398</sup> which focused mostly on the ways in which the Bible is used in the liturgy broadly, though not specifically in euchological texts, mark an important milestone. Another is the thirteenth congress of Societas Liturgica in 1991, whose theme was the Bible and the liturgy.<sup>399</sup>

This approach includes the consideration of how the scriptural texts arise within liturgical communities (which requires an awareness of the degree to which each influences the other),<sup>400</sup> the study of liturgical material *in* the Bible,<sup>401</sup> the way Scripture functioned in

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<sup>397</sup> Mazza, *Mystagogy*.

<sup>398</sup> *Parole de Dieu et Liturgie. (3e Congrès National du Centre de Pastoral liturgique: Strasbourg)*, Lex Orandi 25 (Paris: Cerf, 1958); ET = Aimé Georges Martimort, ed., *The Liturgy and the Word of God*; see also Achille M. Triacca, "Bible et liturgie" in Domenico Sartore, Achille M. Triacca, and Henri Delhougne, eds., *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de la liturgie*, vol. I, A-L (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), 129-44 (henceforth *DEL*).

<sup>399</sup> The congress was held at Trinity College, Toronto, Canada, August 12-17, 1991. For the published papers and a list of the Short Communications, see *SL*, 22.1 (1992), 1-120 and 22.2, 121-162.

<sup>400</sup> See Klaus-Peter Jörns, "Liturgy: Cradle of Scripture?," *SL* 22, no. 1 (1992): 17-34; Renato De Zan, "Bible and Liturgy," in *Introduction to the Liturgy*, 33-51. Robert Richardson provides a careful explanation of his claim that "the New Testament texts and the Church's rites, in the period when both were fluid, must be studied together and with reference to localities"; see Lietzmann and Richardson, *Mass and Lord's Supper*, 221-86. See also Chauvet, *Symbol and Sacrament*, 190-212; Chauvet, "What Makes the Liturgy Biblical?," 127-8.

the propers and lectionaries,<sup>402</sup> the history and function of the homily,<sup>403</sup> and the theological and structural relationship between the “liturgy of the catechumens/word” and the “liturgy of the faithful/altar.”<sup>404</sup>

Renato De Zan, an Italian exegete who teaches at Sant’Anselmo, proposes a much more concrete framework by which the relationship between Scripture and liturgy can be understood than the general claims of *la nouvelle théologie* theologians: not—“as is often the case—as two autonomous realities, alike in some ways and opposite in others, but rather as a single reality in which, in the order of salvation, the liturgy complements the Bible and vice versa.”<sup>405</sup> First, De Zan proposes that there is an “intratextual continuum” of the Bible and the liturgy where “Scripture preserves the memory of the foundational saving Event.”<sup>406</sup> He identifies six common elements within this continuum:

- a) “Scripture presents at the beginning the primordial-original saving Event, already experienced as a celebration by a group of people.” Thus, the institution of the Eucharist is described in its first celebration by Jesus with his disciplines (Matt 26:26-28; Mark 14:22-24; Luke 22:19-20) just as the

<sup>401</sup> See Grelot, *La liturgie dans le Nouveau Testament*. De Zan also points to the journal *Internationale Zeitschriftensschau für Bibelwissenschaft und Grenzgebiete* (Dusseldorf: Patmos Verlag) and Paul-Emile Langevin, ed., *Bibliographie biblique 1930-1970*, 3 vols. (Québec: Presses de l’Université Laval, 1972).

<sup>402</sup> See Bradshaw, “Use of the Bible,” 36-43; Horace T. Allen, Jr., “Lectionaries—Principles and Problems: A Comparative Analysis,” *SL* 22, no. 1 (1992): 68–83; Marjorie Procter-Smith, “Lectionaries—Principles and Problems: Alternative Perspectives,” *SL* 22, no. 1 (1992): 84–99; De Zan, “Bible and Liturgy,” 42-50.

<sup>403</sup> John F. Baldovin, “Biblical Preaching in the Liturgy,” *SL* 22, no. 1 (1992): 100–118.

<sup>404</sup> See De Zan, “Bible and Liturgy,” 40.

<sup>405</sup> De Zan, “Bible and Liturgy,” 35-6. See also chapter 14, “How the Liturgy Makes Use of Scripture” in Cipriano Vagaggini’s magisterial *Il senso teologico della liturgia; Theological Dimensions of the Liturgy: A General Treatise on the Theology of the Liturgy*, trans. Leonard J. Doyle and W. A. Jurgens, from the fourth Italian edition, rev. and augmented by the author (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1976). The focus of the chapter is almost entirely on the way Scriptures are arranged and used in the propers and how the Bible is read in the liturgy.

<sup>406</sup> De Zan, “Bible and Liturgy,” 36.

institution of the Passover is described in its first enactment by the enslaved Israelites (Exod 12:1-13, 16).<sup>407</sup>

- b) There is a profound relationship between the community present when the rite was instituted and that same community at its subsequent celebrations, such that the latter is no longer a “mere witness” to but a “custodian and first interpreter of the Event.” A further link between the primitive and subsequent communities is “the definitive and eschatological fulfillment of the salvation begun in the saving Event itself.”<sup>408</sup>
- c) There is also a relationship between the instituting community and subsequent celebrations in other communities. They not only receive the memory of the Event, “its first interpretation and laws for celebration,” but “as its custodians, they transcend and enrich the first interpretation” through development that nonetheless respects “their original spirit.”<sup>409</sup>
- d) While engaging in subsequent celebrations, the instituting community, “recalls and interprets the foundation saving Event” in “the oral phase of the memory-interpretation.” This interpretive recall naturally moves into various written texts, which “will contain the memory of the foundation saving Event, its primitive interpretation, its fundamental laws for celebration, an essential explanation of the various links” between “reinterpretation [of the Event] and subsequent changes in celebration.”<sup>410</sup>

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<sup>407</sup> Ibid.

<sup>408</sup> Ibid., 37.

<sup>409</sup> Ibid.

<sup>410</sup> Ibid.

- e) Alongside the many written texts there “is also the biblical text, a memory and interpretation of the event.” However, it is distinguished from the other written texts because it is “filled with a divine, saving power that transcends pure memory and interpretation. Indeed, the text is a bearer of salvation, and for the Christian liturgy it forms an essential part of the post-biblical celebrations.”<sup>411</sup>
- f) Finally, subsequent celebrations remain profoundly anchored to the texts from which they were birthed. He writes, “the liturgy is born from the Word and is shaped by it, even though a contributing part is also played by the theological and cultural understanding of different times and places where the celebrating community lives.”<sup>412</sup>

These common elements all concern the genesis of both the liturgy and the Scriptures, and De Zan provides a helpful summary of these common elements in two pithy claims: “(1) there is an intimate relationship between belief, celebration, and transmission, and (2) there is integral relationship between the liturgy and the birth of the Bible.”<sup>413</sup> These broad proposals suggest a framework within which to view the origin of both the Bible and the liturgy. In De Zan’s view, the biblical text is not necessarily chronologically prior: “many biblical texts originated in the liturgy.”<sup>414</sup> This claim springs from a particular understanding of the nature and purpose of the Bible. As he puts it, “Scripture

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<sup>411</sup> Ibid.

<sup>412</sup> Ibid., 37-8.

<sup>413</sup> Ibid., 38. De Zan provides helpful bibliographic material on studies of the relationship between the origins of both the Bible and liturgy in Ibid., 38-9.

<sup>414</sup> Ibid.

is for faith that celebrates.”<sup>415</sup> Thus, some parts of Scripture were composed consciously and specifically in order to be read liturgically.

On the other side of this presentation of an “intratextual continuum” between the Bible and liturgy, De Zan suggests that there is a corresponding “extratextual continuum” that consists of two parts: “the underlying structures” of the liturgical celebration and the ways in which Scripture is reformulated in its liturgical use, which moves us closer to the particulars of the liturgical text.<sup>416</sup> Scripture is a unique source not only of “expressions, sentences, and pericopes,” but also on a less noticeable plain: liturgical rites “have a consequentiality that follows certain logical patterns or structural schemes.”<sup>417</sup> De Zan explains his claim:

Beneath the succession of [liturgical] texts lies a recurring “model,” an “archetype [*sic*],” a “plan,” an “example to imitate” that transforms and orders both the individual prayers and the entire celebration. Indeed, the structure for celebration and the structuring of liturgical texts are derived from certain prayer and celebration schemes that are biblical in nature.<sup>418</sup>

De Zan is not original in the insight that liturgies follow certain patterns. For example, Robert Taft, drawing on Lévi-Strauss’ analysis of myth, contends not only that liturgies “have a common ‘deep structure’” but that “they also operate and evolve according to certain common ‘laws.’”<sup>419</sup> De Zan does not propose that the seven scriptural models or

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<sup>415</sup> Ibid., 39.

<sup>416</sup> Ibid. Since this study is concerned principally with the use of the Bible as a source in the liturgical texts themselves, I will not discuss the second part of De Zan’s intratextual continuum on the ways that Scripture is reformulated when it is read liturgically. Nonetheless, De Zan’s discussion is extremely insightful and worthy of careful consideration. See Ibid., 42-50.

<sup>417</sup> Ibid., 39.

<sup>418</sup> Ibid. 39-40.

<sup>419</sup> Taft, “Structural Analysis,” 152. The relationship between structuralism and patristic and medieval exegesis has been pointed out and is worthy of further research. John H. Hayes and Carl R. Holladay, *Biblical Exegesis: A Beginner’s Handbook*, 3rd ed. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2007), 17-19, 148; Vlad M. Niculescu, “Origen Otherwise than Origen: Toward an Alternative Approach to



archetypes are equally influential—he thinks covenant, Passover, and blessings are the most important—but that each has its own degree of effect on the central liturgical rites of Christians.<sup>420</sup>

- a) Covenant: this is both a legal and a theological structure that governed the relationship of the Jewish people to their God. All four versions of the institution narratives have Jesus saying that the cup is the blood of the covenant (a “new” covenant in Luke and 1 Corinthians corresponding to Jer 31:31; Matthew and Mark’s versions bear a relationship to Exod 24:8 and Zech 9:11). A covenant is ratified through both a covenantal document and a corresponding sacrifice. This “twofold division” is fundamental to the Christian eucharistic celebration, built as it is “upon the two inseparable moments of Word and Sign,” Scripture and eucharistic Sacrifice.<sup>421</sup>
- b) Passover: By the time of Jesus, this cultic family meal began with the slaughter of the animal followed by the familial meal in the home.<sup>422</sup> Jesus is identified as “the Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world” by John the Baptist (John 1:29, 36), as “our Paschal Lamb” with a corresponding feast by St. Paul (1 Cor 5:7), and as the “slain-but-living” Lamb in Revelation (5:6; 7:17). These all bear a connection to the suffering servant song in Isa 52:13—53:12 (which itself has a particular resemblance to the language of the Matthean institution narrative). The Synoptics says that the Last supper is the Passover meal, while John’s Gospel

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Origen’s Incarnational View of Scripture and of Scriptural Exegesis,” *Phronema* 30, no. 1 (January 2015): 43–62.

<sup>420</sup> De Zan, “Bible and Liturgy,” 40.

<sup>421</sup> De Zan., 40.

<sup>422</sup> Ibid. The rest of the material in this section on Passover is not mentioned by De Zan but is my own contribution.

makes the Last Supper refer to Jesus' death, which that Gospel says happens on the day the Paschal lamb is sacrificed (John 19:31). The eucharistic celebration necessarily has a reliance upon the Passover.

- c) De Zan identifies two forms of Jewish prayer as having exerted considerable influence on early Christian anaphoras, namely the tripartite *berakâ* (see Luke 1:68; Eph 1:3; 1 Pet 1:13) and the bipartite *tôdâ* (see Ps 9:1-12, 13-20; *Jub* 10:3-6).<sup>423</sup> To these, at least a few other Jewish prayer structures should also be mentioned, particularly the *Birkat ha-mazon* (see *Jub* 22:5-9) and the *Kiddush*.<sup>424</sup> A protracted debate continues regarding how and which of these bore the more significant influence on early Christian eucharistic practice and the subsequent eucharistic prayers.<sup>425</sup> Enrico Mazza cites a conversation where the estimable Dom Bernard Botte remarked “that it wasn't possible to identify the Jewish liturgy that had given birth to the anaphora.” Mazza agrees and says that instead, we “must deal not with one single liturgy but with an ensemble of influences

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<sup>423</sup> *Ibid.*, 41. The *berakah* is De Zan's third example of his seven scriptural models, while the *todah* is the seventh.

<sup>424</sup> Biblical citations are taken from Talley, “Literary Structure,” 404-8. De Zan cites Talley's earlier article on the Berakah, but does not cite this article from a few years later, where Talley deepens his argument and his critique of Cesare Giraudo's claim that some early Christian anaphora were influenced by the bi-partite structure of the Jewish *todâ*. See De Zan, “Bible and Liturgy,” 41, n. 20; see his mention of Giraudo on 42, n. 29; and see Giraudo, *La Struttura letteraria*; Giraudo, “Irrepetibilita dell'evento”; Giraudo, “Le récit de l'institution dans la prière eucharistique a-t-il des précédents?,” *NRTh* 106 (1984): 513-35.

<sup>425</sup> Mazza provides an excellent summary of the unfolding of this debate among Christian and Jewish scholars, engages with each of the major figures of the debate, and provides a fulsome bibliography of the relevant sources; see *Origins*, 1-11. John Laurance's summary of Mazza's approach is quite helpful; see “The Eucharistic Prayers of the Roman Rite, by Enrico Mazza (Book Review),” *TS* 48, no. 4 (December 1987): 759. Paul Bradshaw also provides a summary of the arguments in “Zebah Todah and the Origins of the Eucharist,” *EO* 8, no. 3 (1991): 245-60 (though he does not engage with the Italian version of Mazza's book published just a year before). See also Aidan Kavanagh, O.S.B. “Thoughts on the Roman Anaphora (Part 1),” *Worship* 39, no. 9 (November 1965): 515-29; Baldwin, “Eucharistic Prayer” in *DLW*, 193-94. Gary Anderson urges caution about making sharp demarcations between the various sacrificial rites in the Old Testament, given that the final form is redacted in the Second Temple period and may not reflect earlier cultic practice at all; see “Sacrifice and Sacrificial Offerings,” in *ABD*, V:870-86. I return to the *tôdâ* in Chapter 5 in my discussion of *sacrificium laudis* in Scripture.

stemming from different liturgies.”<sup>426</sup> For this study, given the lack of agreement about which particular structure was most influential, it is sufficient simply to acknowledge that the debate itself indicates that Jewish prayer forms, both from the first century and those reflected in the canonical Old Testament that received its redaction during the Second Temple period, influenced early Christian eucharistic praying. Thus this constellation of Jewish forms should be considered formative to early Christian praying and prayer structures.

- d) Sacrifice:<sup>427</sup> Sacrifice was at the center of Jewish life in the Old Testament and it becomes a central paradigm through which to understand not just the saving

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<sup>426</sup> Mazza, *Origins*, 9.

<sup>427</sup> The literature on this topic is vast. See Burkhard Neunheuser, “Sacrifice” in DEL, 356-69. In much of the current literature, the adjective “spiritual” is often used when speaking of Christian sacrifice. The claims of Robert Daly and others about the “spiritualization of sacrifice” in Judaism and into Christianity have been widely accepted. See *Christian Sacrifice: The Judaeo-Christian Background before Origen*, Studies in Christian Antiquity (Catholic University of America), no. 18 (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1978); Daly, *The Origins of the Christian Doctrine of Sacrifice* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978); Daly, *Sacrifice Unveiled: The True Meaning of Christian Sacrifice* (Edinburgh: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2009); Frances M. Young, *The Use of Sacrificial Ideas in Greek Christian Writers from the New Testament to John Chrysostom*, Patristic Monograph Series 5 (Cambridge, MA: Philadelphia Patristic Foundation, 1979); Everett Ferguson, “Spiritual Sacrifice in Early Christianity and Its Environment,” in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*, ed. Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase, vol. II.20.i (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972), 1151–89. This general argument plays a significant role in Louie-Marie Chauvet’s argument about the nature of sacrifice; see *Symbol and Sacrament*, 228-319. For an appreciative response, see John H McKenna, “Eucharist and Sacrifice: An Overview,” *Worship* 76, no. 5 (September 2002): 387. But rightly, it has not been uncontested; for example, see Harold W. Attridge, “Christian Sacrifice (Book review),” *JBL* 100, no. 1 (March 1981): 145-147; Jonathan Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple: Symbolism and Supersessionism in the Study of Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 220; Andrew B. McGowan, “Eucharist and Sacrifice--Cultic Tradition and Transformation in Early Christian Ritual Meals,” in *Mahl und religiöse Identität im frühen Christentum = Meals and Religious Identity in Early Christianity*, ed. Matthias Klinghardt and Hal Taussig, TANZ 56 (Tübingen: Francke, 2012), 14-15. For more on the relationship between food and sacrifice that pervaded ancient near eastern culture, see G. Dorival, “L’originalité de la Bible grecque des Septante en matière de sacrifice,” in *La cuisine et l’autel: les sacrifices en questions dans les sociétés de la Méditerranée ancienne*, ed. Stella Georgoudi, Renée Koch Piettre, and Francis Schmidt (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 309–15; Dale B. Martin, *The Corinthian Body* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 4-6; Derek Collins, “Nature, Cause, and Agency in Greek Magic,” *TAPA (1974-)* 133, no. 1 (2003): 17–49.

action of Christ but also the entire Christian life. As De Zan puts it, this sacrifice “becomes the center, cause, model, and content of every Celebration.”<sup>428</sup>

- e) Anamnesis: In the Corinthian account of the institution, Jesus commands his disciples to do this “unto my anamnesis” [εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν]. Especially in view of Odo Casel’s theory of *mystery*, anamnesis has become a central concept for theologically connecting the historical last supper and Christ’s sacrificial death to the church’s celebration of the Eucharist.<sup>429</sup> As Bradshaw notes, the structure in most historical anaphoras is “having in remembrance...we offer.”<sup>430</sup> At a minimum, De Zan suggests that “anamnesis is a biblical structure for celebration that has passed over into the [Christian] Celebration.”<sup>431</sup>
- f) *rib*: De Zan explains that this is a term for “a Semitic legal structure used by the prophets to make the experience of pardon come alive for the people of God.”<sup>432</sup> The structure is normally a divine accusation by means of his Word, a response of acknowledgment and repentance by the people, and the divine response of pardon. (However, De Zan does not provide examples of where the influence of the *rib* can be discerned in Christian rites.)

These biblical models or archetypes which constitute what De Zan calls the “extralitururgical continuum” of the Bible in the Liturgy move us closer to seeing the relationship between the Bible and specific aspects of particular liturgical rites.

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<sup>428</sup> De Zan, “Bible and Liturgy,” 41.

<sup>429</sup> Ibid., 41; For extensive discussion and bibliography, see Burkhard Neunheuser, “Mémorial” and “Mystère,” in DEL 14-27 and 55-69.

<sup>430</sup> Bradshaw, “Anamnesis,” in *DLW*, 11.

<sup>431</sup> De Zan, “Bible and Liturgy,” 41. See Chauvet’s discussion of Deuteronomy 26:1-11 in *Symbol and Sacrament*, 283-86.

<sup>432</sup> De Zan, “Bible and Liturgy,” 41.

In De Zan, we see a more precise and analytical approach than those of Daniélou and others. De Zan remains, however, in a minority among liturgical scholars, as we will see in the next section.<sup>433</sup>

### ***Baumstark on the use of the Bible in liturgical texts***

The twentieth-century considerations of the Bible and the liturgy that I have examined thus far have remained at a broad level of discourse and have not really attempted to describe how the Bible is used in liturgical texts with much specificity.<sup>434</sup> As I noted in the introduction, the formal study of liturgy dates only to the second part of the nineteenth century, and during all that time, the place of the Bible in the liturgy has not been a central focus for liturgical scholars, though it is not totally absent. The English liturgical scholar F.E. Brightman<sup>435</sup> (1856-1932) noted in the preface to *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (1898) that part of what he decided to add to Hammond's original work (first published in 1878) was significantly expanded "references to biblical quotations in the text." He acknowledges that while some might consider the number of references he

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<sup>433</sup> The other key article on this topic is the paper given by Louis-Marie Chauvet at the 1991 Societas Liturgica congress, where he presses more deeply into the fundamentally biblical character of the liturgy, both the text of the rites and the very nature of the ritual. I will have recourse to this throughout the rest of the article; Chauvet, "What Makes the Liturgy Biblical?"

<sup>434</sup> A few monographs appear to address this topic, though I have yet to be able to obtain copies of these works. Two volumes are cited by Mazza in *Origen*, 2. The first, written by a disciple of Jungmann, is a "theology of the Mass through an exposition of biblical and anaphoric texts"; see Luis Maldonado, *La plegaria eucarística: Estudio de teología bíblica y litúrgica sobre la misa* (Madrid: La Editorial Católica, 1967). The second focuses on the accounts of salvation history in Eastern anaphora, with considerable attention to the biblical material; see José Manuel Sánchez Caro, *Eucaristía e historia de la salvación: estudio sobre la plegaria eucarística oriental*, Biblioteca de autores cristianos 439 (Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1983). See also the collected volume of Italian essays, especially "L'eucologia, antica e recente, come espressione e risonanza di temi biblici: la Scrittura ricompresa" by Renato De Zan in Aldo Natale Terrin, ed., *Scriptura crescit cum orante*, *Bibbia e liturgia* 2 (Padua: Abbazia di Santa Giustina, 1993), 169-86.

<sup>435</sup> He was the librarian at Pusey House, Oxford, from 1884-1903 and subsequently a fellow of Madgalen College until his death.

cites to be excessive, he is convinced that it is eminently worthwhile both “to trace the sources of liturgical language” and also to indicate the way liturgical texts are more broadly associated with Scripture.<sup>436</sup>

One of the most significant influences on how liturgical scholars have viewed this relationship is one of the father’s of liturgical scholars, Anton Baumstark (1872-1948), and his famous “laws,” which he outlined in his influential *Comparative Liturgy*. He argued that one of the essential tasks for the historian of liturgy “is to determine the laws which govern their evolution and to find criteria which will enable him to determine their relative age.”<sup>437</sup> One of these laws, which he drew from the work of one of his students, Fritz Hamm (1901-70), directly concerns this study and is framed by Baumstark thus: “the older a text is the less it is influenced by the Bible.”<sup>438</sup> But as straightforwardly as this law is articulated, Hamm and Baumstark qualify the claim.<sup>439</sup>

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<sup>436</sup> *LEW*, x-xi.

<sup>437</sup> Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy*. See also West, *Comparative Liturgy of Anton Baumstark*; Taft, “Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years after Anton Baumstark”; Taft, “Anton Baumstark’s Comparative Liturgy Revisited,” in *Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years after Anton Baumstark*.”

<sup>438</sup> Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy*, 59. See Fritz Hamm, *Die liturgischen Einsetzungsberichte im Sinne vergleichender Liturgieforschung untersucht* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1928), 33. While he cites Hamm, another of his students, Hieronymus Engberding, also discusses this point; see Hieronymus Engberding, *Das eucharistische*, xxiv, lxxii-vii, 33-34, 39-40, 42-50, 53, 56. Engberding’s study was of the development of the *Lit. Byz. Basil*. In John Fenwick’s estimation, the general trend of the development of anaphora from shorter to longer (and the insertion of Biblical quotes in later states of redaction), has not been seriously challenged by any scholars; see *Fourth Century Anaphoral Construction Techniques*, 4. Nonetheless, see the objections to Engberding’s conclusions in Ioannes Michael Hanssens, *Institutiones Liturgicae de Ritibus Orientalibus*, vol. 3 (Rome: Univ. Gregoriana, 1932), 577-78. In both of Taft’s essays, he refers to this as Law 4; Taft, “Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years after Anton Baumstark (d 1948),” 526; Taft, “Anton Baumstark’s Comparative Liturgy Revisited,” 199. Bradshaw also highlights this law in his discussion of methodologies in the study of liturgy, under the heading “The Organic Approach”; Bradshaw, *Search*, 11.

<sup>439</sup> Baumstark’s gives an additional reason for this law: “It may happen that in genuinely primitive *strata* of liturgical prose, where Scriptural quotations or reminiscences might appear to exist, the language which the Scriptural author himself used is, in fact, only the echo of liturgical language already established in the bosom of the most primitive Christian communities.” See *Comparative Liturgy*, 59. This is the sort of claim that Bradshaw suggests should only be made tentatively; see Bradshaw, *Search*, 447-72.

The focus of Hamm's 1928 dissertation written under the direction of Baumstark is the institution narrative,<sup>440</sup> and he derives the law from his observation that "earlier anaphoras never cite verbatim from one of its New Testament redactions."<sup>441</sup> I suggest, however, that if this is the principal basis for the creation of a law, the plurality of scriptural sources for the institution narrative—three Synoptic and one Pauline—makes it something of an exception among scriptural sources, especially since these texts are the source of a dominical imperative to "do this."<sup>442</sup> We cannot assume that Hamm's observation that early institution narratives did not quote any one of the four New Testament versions verbatim necessarily indicates a general trend among early liturgies. It may well be the trend and it is also possible that there are other reasons why liturgical prayers may move from being less textually reliant on the Bible to being more so. But when it comes to the originality or non-originality of biblical quotations in liturgies, it is more prudent not create a rule until a more comprehensive study demonstrates this claim.<sup>443</sup>

What we are to make of Baumstark's law has been a matter of debate. Paul Bradshaw agrees (though without citing any sources): "The more primitive examples of this kind of borrowing [from Scripture] tend to be very short, and it is only in later texts

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<sup>440</sup> Hamm, *Die liturgischen*.

<sup>441</sup> Taft, "Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years after Anton Baumstark (d 1948)," 526; Taft, "Anton Baumstark's Comparative Liturgy Revisited," 199.

<sup>442</sup> The point here is that the institution narrative was important enough a foundational event that it is depicted four times, and it is difficult to think of other passages that are so central to the Eucharist that also have multiple presentations in the New Testament.

<sup>443</sup> Analogously, E.P. Sanders showed that one should not conclude that shorter Gospel parallels are necessarily older than longer (i.e., belonged to Q) and that longer ones belonged to the evangelists. Gospel texts get both longer and shorter, as well as more and less scriptural. See E. P. Sanders, *The Tendencies of the Synoptic Tradition*, SNTSMS 9 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

that longer quotations begin to appear.”<sup>444</sup> Notice that Bradshaw is more specific in his claim: he suggests that the tendency of earlier euchological texts is not to use the Bible less in a general way, but that they are less likely to include “longer quotations.”<sup>445</sup> While this may be true, the full citation of Malachi 1:11 in *Didache* 14:1-3 and the Strasbourg Papyrus are two pieces of contrary evidence.<sup>446</sup> On the other hand, the final form of the *Lit. Mark* has a number of full scriptural citations that do not appear in earlier manuscripts (such as the Strasbourg Papyrus and the British Museum tablet) and which likely show the anaphora in an earlier form.<sup>447</sup> Bernard Botte (who edited the third French edition of *Comparative Liturgy* from which the English translation comes) clarifies that not only are there exceptions to Baumstark’s law (he mentions the prayers in *I Clem.* 59-61) but that the focus of Hamm’s study is not just any use of the Bible but specifically “the *literal assimilation to Biblical texts*.”<sup>448</sup> Botte’s comment highlights the essential insight that there are different ways in which a liturgical text can use Scripture as a source. Baumstark adds this caution: “We must avoid exaggeration, however, and not pretend to discover Biblical reminiscences everywhere,”<sup>449</sup> a concern Bradshaw

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<sup>444</sup> Bradshaw, “Use of the Bible,” 43.

<sup>445</sup> Ibid.

<sup>446</sup> See Milavec’s extensive discussion of this passage in *The Didache*, 527-77. For the Strasbourg Papyrus, see *PE*, 116.

<sup>447</sup> See Cuming, *St. Mark*; Ray, “The Strasbourg Papyrus” and Cuming, “The Anaphora of St. Mark: A Study of Development” in *Eastern Eucharistic Prayers*, 39-72; *PEER*, 52-66.

<sup>448</sup> Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy*, 59, n.2; emphasis added. Botte, who revised Baumstark’s work, also added his own comments in some of the footnotes in order to note where and why he disagreed with Baumstark and to note where the scholarship had departed subsequently from Baumstark.

<sup>449</sup> He adds in a footnote: “This is a criticism from which, e.g., F. E. Brightman, in a generally very praiseworthy appendix to his work, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, is not always free”; Baumstark., 59, n. 3.



echoes.<sup>450</sup> What the latter does not mention is Baumstark's claim a few pages later in *Comparative Liturgy*: "Another Jewish heritage in the Christian euchological style is its constant use of explicit and formal Biblical quotations, as distinct from the Biblical reminiscences of varying degrees of certainty which we have already considered."<sup>451</sup> He then goes on to discuss both Eastern and Western formulas of prayer that make use of Scripture in various ways, such as forms of divine address, quotations of divine sayings, and the appeal to Biblical petitions as the basis for petition in the present. The obvious question remains: How do we determine what is an exaggerated interpretation of liturgy's use of Scripture and how should we characterize the various ways in which the Bible can be appropriated in a euchological text? Neither Baumstark, nor Botte, nor Bradshaw offers any clear criteria. The one who comes the closest, however, is Paul Bradshaw in his essay, "The Use of the Bible in the Liturgy."

### ***Bradshaw on the Bible and/in Liturgical Rites***

Bradshaw suggests something of a system by which to distinguish the various uses of Scripture in liturgy. He explains that the first and most obvious way is when one or more portions of the Bible are read aloud in the liturgy, a phenomenon he considers from a number of vantage points, such as different purposes that might motivate the reading of Scripture (and particular passages) and the creation of lectionaries. In the next section, he goes on to suggest three levels at which Christians "have drawn upon the

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<sup>450</sup> "One of the problems often encountered by those researching the sources of early Christian liturgical texts is the difficulty in deciding in a given instance whether a conscious allusion to some biblical phrase was intended or not, since the parallelism may consist of only one or two words"; Bradshaw, "Use of the Bible," 53.

<sup>451</sup> Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy*, 64. To be clear, Bradshaw does not cite Baumstark in "Use of the Bible."

Scriptures in order to articulate their own praise and prayer.”<sup>452</sup> First, there is what he calls “linguistic borrowing,” or what Chauvet calls “simple allusions,” which is the most superficial of the uses.<sup>453</sup> Here, scriptural words and phrases are “scattered,” Bradshaw says, “like grains of salt throughout the texts of prayers and hymns to enhance their biblical flavor.”<sup>454</sup> For example, *Lit. Basil* introduces a summary of the incarnation, “But when the fullness of the times had come, you spoke to us in your Son himself,”<sup>455</sup> which alludes to the language of both Eph 1:10 and Heb 1:2. Acknowledgment of this use of Bible in euchological texts often appears most as footnotes in critical editions or major studies of euchological texts when a biblical passage is directly quoted, when the rite appropriates a noteworthy biblical phrase or idea,<sup>456</sup> or when the use of Scripture differs between related liturgies (such as the earlier example of the *Lit. Mark*).<sup>457</sup> He briefly notes another matter that adds considerable complexity to the task of determining if a word or phrase is, in fact, derived from the Scripture: namely that there was a variety of both Greek (whether for the Septuagint<sup>458</sup> or the New Testament<sup>459</sup>) and Latin<sup>460</sup> versions of the Bible.<sup>461</sup>

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<sup>452</sup> Bradshaw, “Use of the Bible,” 43.

<sup>453</sup> Ibid.; Chauvet, “What Makes the Liturgy Biblical?,” 129.

<sup>454</sup> Bradshaw, “Use of the Bible,” 43.

<sup>455</sup> *PE*, 234-5; *PEER*, 118.

<sup>456</sup> For example of footnoting of this sort, see Botte and Mohrmann, *L’Ordinaire de la messe*. But these mentions are limited to a footnote with a reference to the verse or passage. A few examples of more focused studies on the way Scripture is used in euchological texts can be found. For example, Milavec, *The Didache*, especially 693-739; Schwiebert, *Knowledge and the Coming Kingdom*.

<sup>457</sup> For example, in their introduction to the final form of the *Lit. Mark*, Jasper and Cuming point out that “the combination [of its use] of Daniel and Isaiah is already found in *1 Clement*”; *PEER*, 57.

<sup>458</sup> For a current history of the Septuagint, see Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005).

<sup>459</sup> See Bart D. Ehrman and Michael William Holmes, eds., *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, 2nd ed, NTTSD, v. 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

Closely related to this is what Chauvet describes in *Symbol and Sacrament*: because the liturgy is a ritual, it “functions in an eminently symbolic way.”<sup>462</sup> One of the characteristics of symbol, he notes, is its economy or restraint: for example, a small amount of bread and wine, not enough for an actual feast, is sufficient for the Eucharist. Similarly, a biblical name, “image or turn of phrase can suffice to crystalize symbolically in this image whole sections of Scripture.”<sup>463</sup> This quality, when combined with what he calls *paideia*, the “free improvisation” that is characteristic of the rabbinic technique in the targum or midrash, allows for a unique quality of the liturgy. The Jewish *paideia* was able, he explains, “to play with signifiers” and

to tinker with the biblical verses drawn from the Torah, the Prophets, or the Writings, to “thread them together like pearls, as was said then,” and to put them into relationship with the oral traditions, in order to obtain in this way a “living concordance” of the Bible and to draw out of the texts, *a priori* foreign to each other, an affinity of meaning.<sup>464</sup>

Both in the writing of the Fathers and the liturgy, he suggests, this principle is at work.

This “symbolic permeation” is a characteristic that is basic and fundamental to all ritual

<sup>460</sup> The most recent history of these texts is in H. A. G. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Texts, and Manuscripts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

<sup>461</sup> Bradshaw notes a similar problem for contemporary Christians; Scriptural allusions may simply elude many contemporary Christians, even those well-versed in Scripture, because of the wide variety of translations available; Bradshaw, “Use of the Bible,” 44.

<sup>462</sup> Chauvet, *Symbol and Sacrament*, 340. When Chauvet uses the term “symbolic,” it is not a synonym for allegory or type. While type refers to the way a previous event points to some future event (such as the sacrifice of Isaac and his rescue as a type of Christ’s death and resurrection), “symbol” is how Chauvet speaks of how a ritual event is our means by which we access certain realities, since in his view all reality is mediated. Thus, to say that one way we have access to the person Christ is through the symbol of the Eucharist is not to introduce a contrast with “real” or “true” access.

<sup>463</sup> Chauvet, “What Makes the Liturgy Biblical?,” 130.

<sup>464</sup> *Ibid.*, 131. The internal quotations are from C. Perrot, “La lecture de la Bible dans les synagogues au premier siècle de notre ère,” *LMD* 126 (1976), 39-41.

texts and which must be considered carefully when looking at the relationship of the Bible to Christian liturgy.<sup>465</sup>

A second use of Scripture is what Bradshaw describes as “complete appropriation.”<sup>466</sup> Here, “Christians not only incorporated biblical phrases and images into the hymns and prayers which they composed, but also began to take over entire literary units and made them their own”; examples include the fixed use of Psalms 148-50 in morning prayers, the later use of Psalm 50[51] at morning prayer, or the use of Old Testament canticles like Dan 3:35-60. “The use of New Testament material as canticles,” such as the fixed use of the *Benedictus Dominus Deus* in the morning Office, the *Magnificat* at Vespers, and the *Nunc dimittis* at Compline was a practice which developed more slowly.<sup>467</sup> A third example noted by Bradshaw of the influence of the Bible on liturgical rites is the emergence of ceremonies meant to imitate particular events or activities in the Bible. Citing Kenneth Stevenson, he suggests that this can take place in at least two related ways: in either “rememorative” or “representational” fashions. In “rememorative” rites, the particular event (for example, the Palm Sunday entrance or the Last Supper) is “celebrated but not directly reenacted.” In “representational” rites, on the other hand, there is a much more conscious attempt to *re-stage* an event in order to place the participants *in* the event, such as the medieval practices of burying a host or the various practices related to the washing of feet on Maundy Thursday.<sup>468</sup> Neither of these

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<sup>465</sup> Chauvet, “What Makes the Liturgy Biblical?,” 131.

<sup>466</sup> Bradshaw, “Use of the Bible,” 42-43.

<sup>467</sup> *Ibid.*, 46. In this section of the paper, Bradshaw begins to use the terms “typology” and “allegory” more or less interchangeably, which introduces some confusion, especially given all the debates surrounding both terms.

<sup>468</sup> *Ibid.*, 49. See Kenneth Stevenson, “On Keeping Holy Week,” *Theology* 89, no. 727 (January, 1986): 32ff; Stevenson, “Ceremonies of Light: Their Shape and Function in the Paschal Vigil Liturgy,” *EL*

uses seems to describe the ways in which Scripture functions as a source for [the text of anaphoras or other early rites within] the Roman Canon.

In addition to these two, Bradshaw, points out two additional ways in which the Bible functions as a source for early liturgical rites, and these move us closer to the goal of a comprehensive classification of a liturgical text's use of Scripture. He calls the first and most useful one "typological interpretation." By this he means the way in which the use of Scripture in liturgical texts both reflects and "arise[s] from the allegorical and typological methods of interpreting biblical images and events adopted by the early Christians."<sup>469</sup> Chauvet speaks of both simple and explicit allusions, and his examples of the latter fit somewhat with some of how Bradshaw speaks of typology. Chauvet's examples are those of typology: the relationship between Old Testament high priests and Christian bishops, the seventy elders and Christian priests, or the sacrifices of Abel, Abraham, and Melchizedek and the Christian Eucharist.<sup>470</sup> Despite the potential of Bradshaw's suggestion, his discussion of typology and allegory is of limited help, partly because he borrows restrictive definitions of the two terms from Bornert<sup>471</sup> when both the

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99 (1985), 175ff; Stevenson, *Jerusalem Revisited: The Liturgical Meaning of Holy Week* (Washington, D.C: Pastoral Press, 1988), 9-13. For a summary of the foot washing traditions associated with Maundy Thursday, see Peter Jeffery, "Mandatum Novum Do Vobis: Toward a Renewal of the Holy Thursday Footwashing Rite," *Worship* 64, no. 2 (March 1990): 117-21.

<sup>469</sup> Bradshaw, "Use of the Bible," 44. For one summary of the recent scholarship on the typological/allegorical methods used by patristic writers, see Jason Byassee, "Chapter 1: The 'Return to Allegory' Movement," in *Praise Seeking Understanding: Reading the Psalms with Augustine*, Radical Traditions (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 9-53. See also Young, *Biblical Exegesis*, especially 119-213.

<sup>470</sup> Chauvet, "What Makes the Liturgy Biblical?," 129.

<sup>471</sup> Relying on R. Bornert, Bradshaw defines typology as "pertaining to a connection between different *events* in the course of salvation history" and allegory as "referring to a perceived correspondence between the meanings of two or more *texts*." Pointing to the distinction that is often made between the allegorizing tendencies of the Alexandrian school stemming from Origen and the typological tendencies of the Antiochene schools, he follows Bornert who argues that "allegorizing was really the Alexandrian way of practicing typology, and many of the fathers who were not Alexandrians used typology in such a way that they frequently ended up in allegory." See Bornert, *Les Commentaires byzantins de la divine liturgie du VIIIe au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1966), 47-82. The quotations are

relationship between these two terms and their definitions have a controverted history in twentieth-century scholarship.<sup>472</sup> Bradshaw's example of this allegorical-typological appropriation of Scripture in the liturgy is the ordination prayers in the *AT* "where the bishop is seen as entering upon an office which stood in succession to those of the princes and priests of the Old Covenant, the presbyterate is compared to the seventy elders appointed by Moses (Num 11:16f), and the model for the diaconate is the service of Christ."<sup>473</sup> Within the context of this dissertation, using the terms "typological" or "allegorical" to describe uses of Scripture lacks the precision necessary to accurately distinguish the ways in which Scripture can be appropriated. The categories I propose in Chapter 5 are an attempt to bring this precision.

The second additional way that Bradshaw describes Scripture's function as a source for early liturgical rites concerns less the *text* of the ritual than the "representational ritual *form*" that arose from what he calls an "allegorical reading" or interpretation of the liturgy, most often as a chronological telling of the life of Christ. This approach is usually said to have begun with Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428) and to have arrived in the Byzantine tradition with Germanus I of Constantinople (d. c.730),

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Bradshaw's summary of Bornert; see Bradshaw, "Use of the Bible," 45. Frances Young looks at method in patristic exegesis in "Chapter 9: The Question of Method," in Young, *Biblical Exegesis*, 186-213. Robert Taft looks at the history of practice of reading the liturgy as an allegory of the life of Christ, and in so doing addresses patristic exegetical method; see Robert F. Taft, "The Liturgy of the Great Church: An Initial Synthesis of Structure and Interpretation on the Eve of Iconoclasm," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 34-35 (January 1980): 45-70.

<sup>472</sup> For a helpful survey of the wide and conflicting definitions given to these two terms in twentieth-century scholarship (both within and outside theological disciplines), especially on the debate between de Lubac and Daniélou on what term to use when describing patristic exegesis, see the two articles by Peter Martens: "Allegory/typology Distinction" and "Origen against History?"

<sup>473</sup> Bradshaw, "Use of the Bible," 45. He also notes that this approach is reflected in the construction of Eucharistic lectionaries. It is noteworthy that he does not point to a single piece of scholarship that focuses on how this typological-allegorical approach is expressed in liturgical rites, which may indicate how little this question concerns liturgical scholars.

while it is said to have begun in the West with the Venerable Bede (672-735) and to have passed through his influence to Amalarius of Metz (c. 780-850).<sup>474</sup> What is instructive about this example is that it highlights how Patristic exegesis seems to have influenced the way Scripture functions as a source for liturgical rites. It also lends supports to my supposition that the ways the Fathers read Scripture will also likely be reflected in the liturgical rites of the same period.

As this discussion shows, attempts to analyze and classify liturgical rites according to its appropriation of Scripture appears to be a relatively recent phenomenon. The purpose of a method or an analysis is, quite simply, to achieve greater understanding of the subject. The quantification and description “is simply a model” that attempts to reveal how something came to be (in this case, a liturgical rite) and to help in the search for interpretation and meaning.<sup>475</sup> Bradshaw outlines various methodologies—the philological method, with its focus on manuscripts;<sup>476</sup> the structural approach evidenced in Dix’s *The Shape of the Liturgy*;<sup>477</sup> the organic or comparative approach, defined in large part by the *Liturgie comparée* of Anton Baumstark and the work of his students.<sup>478</sup>

Renato De Zán likewise produced a remarkable overview of the array of methodological proposals suggested for assisting in a more careful scientific approach to the study of the liturgy, especially as it concerns the utilization of “anthropology,

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<sup>474</sup> Ibid., 50-51. Bradshaw points to Taft, “The Liturgy of the Great Church,” 55, 62-6. There, Taft provides a bibliography of critiques of this sort of allegorization; see Ibid., 45, n. 1. Schmemmann has a strongly worded essay where he roundly attacks and rejects this allegorizing of the liturgy in the Byzantine tradition; see Schmemmann, “Symbols and Symbolism.”

<sup>475</sup> Taft, “The Structural Analysis of Liturgical Units,” 152-3.

<sup>476</sup> Bradshaw, *Search*, 1-6.

<sup>477</sup> Ibid., 6-8; Dix, *Shape of the Liturgy*.

<sup>478</sup> Bradshaw, *Search*, 9-14; Baumstark, *Liturgie Comparée*; ET = Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy*. See my earlier discussion of these methodologies in the Introduction.

sociology, linguistics, comparative history of religions,” the whole array of literary studies, and so forth.<sup>479</sup> Scripture figures explicitly in only one of the methodologies he outlines. Matias Augé (1936-), emeritus professor of liturgics at Sant’Anselmo, proposes that the first step in the study of a particular liturgical text is to clarify “the biblical roots of the liturgical texts and the peculiarities of the literary language.”<sup>480</sup>

De Zan also offered his own methodological proposal whose complexity is impressive and which takes into account the various sorts of historical-critical methods, as well as more post-modern methods (such as actantial, conversational, narrative structural, and so on).<sup>481</sup> The role of Scripture as a source falls under the category of literary analysis. The first step in this part of the process is to identify two types of sources: “primary sources, which are the biblical roots of the euchological text,” and “material sources, which are the text’s ecclesiastical roots.” He divides primary sources into two categories:

To search for the primary sources means to identify the biblical citations and allusions contained in the prayer text. This means we must compare it to the Latin text of the Bible with the help of concordances.<sup>482</sup>

For De Zan, a “biblical citation” is defined as a “euchological text [that] contains one or more words identical to the biblical text” (this seems an extremely minimal threshold, especially since correctly identifying the quotation a single word may be quite difficult).

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<sup>479</sup> Renato De Zan, “Criticism and Interpretation of Liturgical Texts,” in *Introduction to the Liturgy*, 332–41. The quotation is on 332 and is taken from the 1979 “Instruction on liturgical formation in seminaries,” §59.

<sup>480</sup> *Ibid.*, 333; M. Augé, “Principi di interpretazione dei testi liturgici,” *Anamnesis* 1 (1974): 159–79, esp. 162–65.

<sup>481</sup> For his methodological proposal, see De Zan, “Criticism and Interpretation of Liturgical Texts,” 341–65.

<sup>482</sup> De Zan., 358. In the same volume, De Zan also provides an outline of the steps within the process of textual criticism of a liturgical text; see “Liturgical Textual Criticism,” in *Introduction to the Liturgy*, 367–79.



Allusion, on the other hand, is when “the euchological text expresses the same theme as the biblical text, but in different words.”<sup>483</sup> Similarly, Chauvet distinguishes between “explicit” and “simple” allusions.<sup>484</sup>

### ***The need for precise system to classify uses of the Bible in liturgical texts***

My survey thus far has outlined a direction and some useful categories for describing and categorizing the ways in which euchological texts appropriate the Bible. Yet the efforts thus far are only a first step toward uncovering and describing the specific ways in which the Bible is appropriated as a rich liturgical source.

The patristic mystagogies studied by Daniélou and Mazza were concerned with the meaning of the liturgy and often provided an interpretation of the liturgy, the content of which could range considerably. Sometimes, as in Ambrose, the nature of the mystagogical explanations are straightforward and tied directly to the ritual text or ceremony: that is, Ambrose quotes or summarizes an aspect of the rite itself and then explains its meaning. For example, in *Sacr.* V.1.1, after quoting the portion from the Canon about the sacrifices of Abel, Abraham, and Melchizedek, he explains the biblical relationship between Melchizedek and Christ and why water is mixed with wine. The principle that seems to guide him is the unity of God’s actions for our salvation, and that earlier actions are *figures* of later Christological realities.<sup>485</sup> Other examples, such as the

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<sup>483</sup> De Zan, “Criticism and Interpretation of Liturgical Texts,” 358, n. 64. In the same footnote, he suggests the use of the following volume in order to better understand “the game of biblical illusions in prayer texts”; Albert Blaise, *Le vocabulaire latin des principaux thèmes liturgiques*, Corpus Christianorum. Scholars version (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2013).

<sup>484</sup> Chauvet, “What Makes the Liturgy Biblical?,” 129-30.

<sup>485</sup> For example, “If Melchizedek has not a beginning of days, could Christ have it? But the figure is not greater than the reality [Sed non est plus figura quam ueritas]”; Ambrose, *Sacr.* V.1.1.

tradition beginning with Theodore of Mopsuestia, begins with an interpretive lens (such as, “the liturgy is an allegory of Christ’s Passion”) and then explains particular actions in light of that lens.<sup>486</sup> My approach is different from both of these in that I begin with the liturgical text. There is a similarity, however, because in both approaches the Bible is brought to bear on the interpretation of the liturgy. As Mazza puts it, “the problem faced in mystagogy is how to apply the Scriptures to the mystery being celebrated.”<sup>487</sup> My methodology, however, is nearly the opposite. Instead of beginning with the liturgical rite and asking, “What does this mean?” I instead ask, “What can be discerned about the ways in which the Bible was appropriated in the creation of this euchological rite through a careful reading of it?” Daniélou and Mazza both seek to articulate what the liturgy *means* in light of the Bible (i.e., looking forward); I am looking at the liturgy and asking what role the Bible plays in the genesis of the rite.

My own research focuses particularly on the Roman Canon, which makes Theodor Klauser’s comment in his standard history of the Western liturgy all the more noteworthy: “I hope I shall not be misunderstood if I say that, fundamentally, the Roman liturgy is far removed from the Bible.”<sup>488</sup> Contrast this with Bouyer’s contradictory claim, that the Roman Canon is “directly Biblical in inspiration and texture”<sup>489</sup> (these are the epigrams for Part II of the dissertation). Research on the place of Scripture in the

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<sup>486</sup> Mazza, *Mystagogy*, 61. Mazza suggest that the reason for this approach is that Theodore “draws his inspiration from the Ritual: a fact that brings home to us the authority that the Ritual enjoyed”; *Ibid.*

<sup>487</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>488</sup> Klauser, *Short History*, 41-42.

<sup>489</sup> Louis Bouyer, “The Word of God Lives in the Liturgy,” in *The Liturgy and the Word of God*, 54.

Roman Canon in particular is almost nonexistent.<sup>490</sup> In fact, my tentative conclusion is that there has yet to be a systematic study of the ways in which the Bible can be utilized in the composition of specific liturgical rites in general, and the Roman Canon in particular. Botte's two critical editions of the Roman Canon, as well as that of Eizenhöfer, for instance, include footnotes at every point where they judge there to be some reliance on the Bible. These "reliances," however, are rarely discussed.

The contributions of Bradshaw, Chauvet, and De Zan provide helpful first steps, but more specificity is needed, a gap I hope to address in what follows. Typology<sup>491</sup> is

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<sup>490</sup> One significant exception to this lacuna is the recent multi-volume ongoing project organized by the Universität Luzern that seeks to outline all of the uses of Scripture in the Roman Rite and provide a detailed explication and commentary on the current *Missale Romanum*. Two volumes have been published thus far in the scholarly series and also in the more popular versions, which are intended for parish use. Walter Kirchschräger, Birgit Jeggle-Merz, and Jörg Müller, eds., *Gemeinsam vor Gott treten: Die Liturgie mit biblischen Augen betrachten*, Luzerner biblisch-liturgischer Kommentar zum Ordo Missae 1 (Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2014); Walter Kirchschräger, Birgit Jeggle-Merz, and Jörg Müller, eds., *Das Wort Gottes hören und den Tisch bereiten: Die Liturgie mit biblischen Augen betrachten*, Luzerner biblisch-liturgischer Kommentar zum Ordo Missae 2 (Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2015); Walter Kirchschräger, Birgit Jeggle-Merz, and Jörg Müller, eds., *Mit der Bibel die Messe verstehen*, vol. 1: *Die Feier des Wortes Gottes* (Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2015); Walter Kirchschräger, Birgit Jeggle-Merz, and Jörg Müller, eds., *Mit der Bibel die Messe verstehen*, vol. 2: *Die Feier der Eucharistie* (Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2016).

<sup>491</sup> Two other broad terms could be used here and have been used by others: allegory and figural reading. Daniélou and de Lubac debated vigorously, as noted earlier, whether there is a clear distinction between typology and allegory. Daniélou contended that there was and that typology is the form of exegesis "native to the Christian soil, and opposed it to 'allegory,' now defined as an impoverished form of nonliteral exegesis foreign to Christianity" (Martens, "Allegory/Typology Distinction," 288). De Lubac argued that given Paul's usage of the term in Gal 4:24 and the long history of the term by patristic and medieval exegetes, such a distinction was extremely misleading. For a complete bibliographic list of the Daniélou and de Lubac's arguments, see *Ibid.*, 283, n. 1 (for Daniélou) and Henri de Lubac, "'Typologie' et 'Allégorisme,'" *RSR* 34 (1947): 180–226. Figural reading, on the other hand, has the benefit of terminologically sidestepping this influential debate and is a term that figures in the more recent work of Richard Hays on how the New Testament makes use of the Old: Richard B. Hays, *Reading Backwards: Figural Christology and the Fourfold Gospel Witness* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2014); Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2016). Ephraim Radner contributes to this debate in his recent monograph, *Time and the Word: Figural Reading of the Christian Scriptures* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016). His study assumes that the term includes the "spiritual," "allegorical," and "prophetic" ways of reading Scripture and is an attempt to explore the sort of assumptions that undergird the methodology. I ultimately chose to stay with "typology" simply because the term is used by all three of my main interlocutors and is, to my mind, less confusing to the average reader. The debates about this term within Biblical studies is beyond the scope of this chapter. One of the important and influential of studies is Leonhard Goppelt, *Typos: Die typologische Deutung des Alten Testaments im Neuen* (Gütersloh: Unveränderter reprografischer Nachdruck der Ausg, 1939); reprinted with an additional chapter: *Typos: Die typologische Deutung des Alten Testaments im Neuen. Anhang:*

highlighted by each of these three authors as well as many of the other writers surveyed thus far. My proposed categories do not include typology<sup>492</sup> because it is simply a way to describe the fundamental assumptions that most patristic authors bring to the Scriptures.<sup>493</sup> My hunch is that the majority of the uses of Scripture in the liturgy can be properly described as typological. Daniélou describes this approach at the beginning of *The Bible and the Liturgy*. This approach is found in the Bible itself, first in the Old

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*Apoklyptik und Typologie bei Paulus* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966); ET = *Typos, the Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New*, trans. Donald H. Madvig (Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans, 1982). He defines the terms in this way: in *typology*, “[o]nly historical facts—persons, actions, events, and institutions—are material for typological interpretation: words and narratives can be utilized only insofar as they deal with such matters. These things are to be interpreted typologically only if they are considered to be divinely ordained representations of types or future realities that will be even greater and more complete. If the antitype does not represent a heightening of the type, if it is merely a repetition of the type, then it can be called typology only in certain instances and in a limited way. This is true also when the interpreted does not view the connection between the two as being foreordained in some way, but as being accidental or deliberately contrived (a parabolic action is not a type of the event that it represents).

“If those things or narratives are interpreted as the expression of a general truth so that there is a one-to-one correspondence between fact and idea than we are dealing with *symbolic meaning*.

“If the writer wishes to explain or describe what has happened or is literally there, it is an example of *literal interpretation*.

“Neither the facts nor the literal sense of a passage taken as a whole is material for allegorical interpretation, but the ideas a phrases are. Viewing these metaphorically, allegory seeks to find in them, ‘in addition to the literal sense of the text, and, at times, even to the exclusion of it...’ another different and presumably deeper meaning. The historicity of what is reported and the literal meaning of the text are of no consequence for allegorical interpretation, but for typology that are foundation (the literal meaning, at least, is foundational for symbolic interpretation. The allegorist, however, does not view this double meaning as something forced upon the text, but as something intended and given in the text.” Goppelt, *Typos, the Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New*, 17-18; Goppelt quotes F. Torrey, *Hermeneutik des neuen Testaments* (Verlag: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1930), 213. For a survey of typology in Biblical studies, see Tibor Fabiny, “Typology: Pros and Cons in Biblical Hermeneutics and Literary Criticism (from Leonhard Goppelt to Northrop Frye),” *RILCE. Revista de Filología Hispánica* 25, no. 1 (January 2009): 138–52.

<sup>492</sup> Intertextuality, usually defined as the study of the way that the New Testament makes use of the Old, has become a major subfield in biblical studies and cannot be surveyed in this context. A recent article by Leroy A. Huizenga offers a helpful survey of the major issues at stake; Leroy Andrew Huizenga, “The Old Testament in the New, Intertextuality and Allegory,” *JNST* 38, no. 1 (September 2015): 17–35. This approach draws on literary theory that is often thought to have begun with Julia Kristeva’s 1966 essay, where she coined the term “intertextuality”; see “Bakhtine, le mot, le dialogue et le roman,” *Critique* 33 (1967): 438–65; see also Huizenga, “The Old Testament in the New,” 23–25.

<sup>493</sup> While I will follow Daniélou’s definition, my intention is not to enter into the debate about the precise meaning of typology and whether it is a better term than allegory (i.e., his debate with de Lubac). Rather, I am using the term as a recognizable shorthand to describe the basic posture of the patristic approach and which is fairly distinct from modern historical-critical methods.

Testament, where the prophecies (whether of the flood in Genesis or the dry bones in Ezekiel) assume a later fulfillment. Such an expectation of fulfillment is itself based on the assumption of the profound unity of God's actions in the world, specifically for the salvation of those creatures that bear the divine image and likeness. Thus, the New Testament "did not invent typology, but simply showed that it was fulfilled in Jesus Christ."<sup>494</sup> Paul's reading of Israel's life in 1 Corinthians 10 is usually cited as the classic example and exposition of this approach within the confines of Scripture itself.<sup>495</sup>

I do not want you to be unaware, brothers and sisters, that our ancestors were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and all were baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea, and all ate the same spiritual food, and all drank the same spiritual drink. For they drank from the spiritual rock that followed them, and the rock was Christ (1 Cor 10:1-4).

Paul goes on to describe the relationship between those earlier events and Christ in verse 11: "Now all these things happened to them as a type [τυπικῶς; *figura* in the Vulgate] and they were written for our correction." Daniélou adds that "this is what St. Paul calls the *consolation Scripturarum* (Rom 15:4; τῆς παρακλήσεως τῶν γραφῶν). The "eschatological" fulfillment (as Daniélou describes it) is not only in "the life of Jesus," he

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<sup>494</sup> Daniélou, *Bible and the Liturgy*, 5. He quotes Herald Riesenfeld along these lines in note 5: "The only thing specifically Christian in the patristic exegesis of the Old Testament is the application to Christ"; *Ibid.*, citing Harald Riesenfeld, *The Resurrection in Ezekiel XXXVII and in the Dura-Europos Paintings*, Uppsala Universitets årsskrift, 11 (Uppsala: Lundequistska bokhandeln, 1948), 22.

<sup>495</sup> Robert Louis Wilken, in an essay adapted from his series introduction to *The Church's Bible*, argues that the identification of this passage as a hermenutical key for a Christian reading of the Old Testament begins with Origen, who maintained that Christian interpreters should follow Paul's method and "should apply this rule in a similar way to other passages. Augustine agreed: Paul's reading of the rock in the wilderness "is a key as to how the rest [of the Old Testament] is to be interpreted"; "How to Read the Bible," *First Things* 181 (March 2008): 24–5. He also, it is worth pointing out, uses allegory to identify the approach what Goppelt calls typology. A recent book by Matthew Bates attempts to demonstrate how early Christian interpreted the Old Testament in Trinitarian theology; see *The Birth of the Trinity: Jesus, God, and Spirit in New Testament and Early Christian Interpretations of the Old Testament*, Reprint edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016). The work of Richard Hays has also been influential on the use of the Old Testament in the New (and I will engage with him a bit in the next chapter). See Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*; Hays, *Reading Backwards*; Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989). For two recent assessments of Hays, see Thomas J Millay, "Septuagint Figura: Assessing the Contribution of Richard B. Hays," *SJT* 70, no. 1 (2017): 93–104; N. T. Wright, "Pictures, Stories, and the Cross: Where Do the Echoes Lead?," *JTI* 11, no. 1 (2017): 49–68.

continues, but also in the Church. Just as there is a christological typology, so “there exists a sacramental typology, and we find it in the New Testament:” manna as a figure of the Eucharist in the Gospel of John; crossing the Red Sea and baptism in 1 Corinthians 10; the flood and baptism in 1 Pet 3:21.<sup>496</sup> This sort of typology is not, Daniélou stresses, “the personal theology of the Fathers” but an attempt to continue the “biblical theology” of the Scriptures that they received as their authority. While some may debate Daniélou’s definition of typology, my purpose in using the term is to signal my working assumption: early Christian euchology assumes a deep unity of God’s salvific action from the beginning of the Old Testament and culminating in Jesus, and then continuing to the apostolic bands and the church throughout history, including the New Testament, the sacraments, and Christian doctrine. Typology is not one way that Scripture is appropriated in euchological texts; instead, the appropriation of Scripture in such texts presumes a kind of unity to God’s actions in history, and thus a unity of the Scriptures because of “the mystery that has been hidden for ages and generations but has now been revealed” in Christ Jesus (cf. Col 1:26).

### ***Conclusion***

The place of the Bible in the liturgy was a topic of concern both for theologians, such as de Lubac and Daniélou, but also for scholars of liturgical history. While they continued to debate the proper terminology for the method of biblical interpretation in the Fathers and which is expressed in the church’s ordered prayer, both de Lubac and Daniélou assume that the church’s sacraments and euchological rites possess an intrinsic

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<sup>496</sup> Daniélou, *Bible and the Liturgy*, 5.

and peculiar relationship to the Bible. More recently, liturgical scholars have begun an attempt to describe with more specificity the character of this relationship. These attempts, however, whether reliant on general literary theory or more specifically on critical scholarship of the Bible, remain wanting in their specificity.

## CHAPTER 4: A PROPOSED SYSTEM TO CLASSIFY THE WAY A LITURGICAL TEXT USES SCRIPTURE AS A SOURCE

To help provide more precision to the complex ways that Scripture is used as a source in the composition and redaction of euchological texts, I propose the following categories as a means to distinguish the various ways Scripture can function as a liturgical source. Before delineating these categories, however, we must address the linguistic challenges to be overcome.

### *The difficulties in classifying liturgy's use of Scripture*

The first complication relates to issues that I addressed in Chapter 1 regarding the transition of the liturgical language in the West from Greek to Latin and the fact that the Roman Canon is almost certainly based on multiple Latin translations and adaptations of extant Greek prayers, one of which was *Lit. STR* or something nearly identical. If this is the case, it is likely that the language of the scriptural texts upon which the authors of the Greek text drew was also Greek (though various versions of Latin scriptural texts also circulated at the time).<sup>497</sup> Similarly, the translation and transmutation of these texts into the developing ecclesiastical Latin as well as the incorporation of theological themes particular to that locale present a few additional items to consider. The authors and redactors could be drawing from a Greek biblical text, which they themselves rendered into Latin. Or, while they may not have a Latin text from which to draw, they may nevertheless be familiar with portions of the Bible in Latin by way of liturgical usage. Finally, it is also possible that the authors and redactors had access to both Greek and

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<sup>497</sup> See Houghton, *Latin New Testament*.



Latin versions of the Bible which they are able to reference. It is even possible that the redactor only had access to a Latin version.

This matters for a number of reasons. Since we only have a Latin text of the Roman Canon (excluding the medieval Greek translation<sup>498</sup>), it may be more difficult to discern certain uses of Scripture if the author was drawing on a Greek biblical text and/or earlier versions of it were composed in Greek. As Jerome notes, “if I translate word by word, it sounds absurd; if I am forced to change something in the word order or style, I seemed to have stopped being a translator.”<sup>499</sup> Second, there are variations in both the Greek and Latin biblical manuscripts, which also complicate the identification of uses of Scripture in the euchological text. In studies of the scriptural sources in other early anaphoras, it is necessary to identify analogous linguistic complications. As the quotation from Jerome indicates, this issue of translation matters particularly when studying later liturgical texts, especially those that are themselves a translation from an original, such as the vernacular liturgies of the Missal of Paul VI.<sup>500</sup>

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<sup>498</sup> A medieval translation of the Roman Canon into Greek (which the editor calls “a rude translation of the ancient Latin”) is known under the title, *Liturgy of St. Peter*; C. A. Swainson, ed., *The Greek Liturgies, Chiefly from Original Authorities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1884), 189-203.

<sup>499</sup> “Si ad verbum interpretor, absurd resonat: so ob necessitate aliquid in ordine, in sermone mutavero, ad interpretis videbor officio recessisse.” Jerome, *Eusebii Interpretata Praefatio*, in Eusebius, *Eusebii Werke*, ed. R. Helm, vol. VII, 1, *Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* 47 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1954), 2. ET = Anscar J. Chupungco, “The Translation of Liturgical Texts,” in *Introduction to the Liturgy*, 388.

<sup>500</sup> Chupungco discusses the issues related to this, as well as the history of the translation of the Missal of Paul VI, in his article: Chupungco, “The Translation of Liturgical Texts,” 385-96. For more on the translation of the current missal, see Keith F. Pecklers, *Dynamic Equivalence: The Living Language of Christian Worship* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2003); Peter Jeffery, *Translating Tradition: A Chant Historian Reads Liturgiam authenticam* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2005); Pecklers, *The Genius of the Roman Rite: On the Reception and Implementation of the New Missal* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2009), 47-68.

### ***The proposed classification system***

With those caveats noted, I now turn to my proposed categories. I begin my study with the Latin text of the Roman Canon (noting textual variants when necessary).<sup>501</sup>

#### ***Suggestion***<sup>502</sup>

“Suggestion” is the use of a few words—perhaps even just one word—from one or more places in Scripture whose primary purpose is to give the rite a scriptural fragrance or “aroma.”<sup>503</sup> As Bradshaw articulates well, this category presents us with “the

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<sup>501</sup> Citations of the Greek will come from Eberhard Nestle et al., *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 28th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2015); citations of the Vulgate are taken from Bonifatius Fischer et al., eds., *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, 5th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007); variations in the Vetus Latina in Hebrews are taken from Gryson, *Hebraeos* (VLB 25.2).

<sup>502</sup> While I considered using the term “allusion,” I decided against it because of its common use and varied meanings within literary and biblical studies. As noted earlier, De Zan uses the term “allusion” to describe a situation where “the euchological text expresses the same theme as the biblical text but in different words”; see De Zan, “Criticism and Interpretation of Liturgical Texts,” 358. In biblical studies, for example, Richard Hays uses the terms “echo” and “allusion” in his discussion of the use of the Old Testament in the Pauline Epistles. “The concept of allusion depends both on the notion of authorial intention and on the assumption that the reader will share with the author the requisite ‘portable library’ to recognize the source of the allusion; the notion of echo, however, finesses such questions: ‘echo is a metaphor of, and for, alluding, and does not depend on conscious intention.’” There is no specific data about either the author/redactor or even the immediate community within which the Roman Canon emerged. This is decidedly unusual for Paul and many of the communities to whom he wrote. The distinction Hays makes is predicated in large part on the assumption that we can know something about the author and the context of the writing and thus make reasoned judgments about authorial intention on the basis of this knowledge. I decided that it was not prudent to have a category that is predicated on authorial intention. Instead, my distinctions are based on more objectively distinguishable ways in which Scripture is used. See *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, 1-33 (the quote is from p. 29). The quotation about echo within the passage quoted from Hays is from John Hollander, *The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and after*, Quantum Books (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 64. Hays returns to this in his more recent book on the Gospels and adds a third category, “quotation,” which he defines this way: “a ‘quotation’ is introduced by a citation formula (e.g., ‘as it is written’), or it features the verbatim reproduction of an extended chain of words, often a sentence or more, from the source text”; Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 10. Hays uses the term “metalepsis” (which he takes from the literary critic John Hollander’s book *The Figure of Echo*) to refer to the phenomena of intertextuality, which “places the reader within a field of whispered or unstated correspondences” between the Testaments; Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, 29.

<sup>503</sup> Bradshaw uses the phrase, “biblical flavor” when he describes one use of biblical language in the texts of liturgies, which he calls “linguistic borrowing.” This category is rather broad in his usage. My first two categories – Suggestions and Borrowing – are an attempt to introduce a distinction into his broader

difficulty in deciding in a given instance whether a conscious reference to some biblical phrase was intended or not, since the parallelism may consist of only one or two words.”<sup>504</sup> An example of this difficulty is found in Botte and Mohrmann’s second critical edition of the Roman Canon where they suggest in a footnote that the phrase *pro redemptione animarum suarum* in the *Memento Domine* is taken from Psalm 48:8-9:<sup>505</sup>

“He shall not give to God his ransom, nor the price of the redemption of his soul [redemptionis animae suae].”<sup>506</sup> The words are the same, but it is not clear that the reference is definitely to this verse. It turns out that there are a number of other psalms with similar language and themes, such as Ps 33:23; 54:19; 70:23; 71:14. Such a basic Christian idea as the redemption of one’s soul may have become part of the Roman Canon simply because this concept is so deeply embedded in the Christian tradition.”<sup>507</sup>

A less ambiguous example is found in the introduction to the summary of the incarnation *Lit. Basil*, “But when the fullness of the times had come, you spoke to us in your Son himself.”<sup>508</sup> The sentence combines the distinctive language of both Eph 1:10 and Heb 1:2 in such a way as to highlight’s the prayer’s Scriptural verbage. Suggestion may or

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category. See Bradshaw, “Use of the Bible,” 43. For an example of tries to introduce a further distinction into the idea of allusion within the context of discussing intertextuality, see Tzvi Novick, “Biblicized Narrative: On Tobit and Genesis 22,” *JBL* 126, no. 4 (2007): 755–64.

<sup>504</sup> Bradshaw, “Use of the Bible in the Liturgy.” 53. Unlike De Zan’s distinctions, which are between citation (which “contains one or more words identical to the biblical text”) and allusion (where “the euhological text expresses the same themes as the biblical text but in different words”), I have decided to organize my distinctions somewhat differently, basing them on their function within the liturgical text and the type of usage. See De Zan, “Criticism and Interpretation of Liturgical Texts,” 358. This is similarly distinct from Chauvet’s distinction between “explicit” and “simple” allusions; Chauvet, “What Makes the Liturgy Biblical?,” 129-30.

<sup>505</sup> Botte and Mohrmann, *L’Ordinaire de la messe*, 76, n. i. This footnoted reference is absent in his earlier 1935 edition; see Botte, *Le canon*, 34.

<sup>506</sup> English translations of the New Testament in this chapter will be my own from the Vulgate, unless otherwise noted.

<sup>507</sup> Bradshaw, “Use of the Bible,” 43.

<sup>508</sup> *PE*, 234-5; *PEER*, 118.

may not arise from authorial intention and this category does not presume to attempt a definitive answer to that question. What marks this use is the combination of drawing from at least two separate biblical sources and the fact that the source may just as likely be a ubiquitous scriptural idea as the quotation of a particular verse or verses.

### ***Borrowing***

“Borrowing”<sup>509</sup> picks up a word or phrase which may be expressed in identical or varying formulations and which is found in a number of places in the Bible, but whose purpose is more theological than simply the Scriptural fragrance of a Suggestion use. An example of this is found in the same paragraph in the Roman Canon, the *Memento Domine*, in the phrase *qui offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis*. The phrase, *sacrificium laudis* (sacrifice of praise) has its basis in the Hebrew *zēbach tôdâ* (זֶבַח תּוֹדָה) and is described in Lev 7:11-15. This sacrifice is offered in response to the reception “of some specific favors that the offerer attributes to God” and includes not just an animal sacrifice, but it joined to a ceremony that involves bread and is accompanied by a hymn.<sup>510</sup> In addition to Ps 49:14[50:14]<sup>511</sup> (the passage Botte cites in his edition), the phrase appears verbatim in

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<sup>509</sup> Botte uses the term “allusions” in this footnoted comment on Baumstark’s law regarding Scripture; see Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy*, 59, n. 2. As mentioned earlier, Bradshaw uses the term “linguistic borrowing” to describe how scriptural words and phrases are “scattered” “like grains of salt throughout the texts of prayers and hymns to enhance their biblical flavor”; Bradshaw, “Use of the Bible,” 43.

<sup>510</sup> James Swetnam, “Zēbach Tôdâ (Zbh Twdh) in Tradition : A Study of ‘Sacrifice of Praise’ in Hebrew, Greek and Latin,” *Filologia Neotestamentaria* 15 (2002): 68-9; Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 3 (New York: Doubleday, 1991), 412-3. Swetnam’s article examines the meaning of the phrase in the Masoretic text, LXX, Vulgate, Greek New Testament, and Roman Canon and this topic will be examined in more detail in Chapter 5 in the section on *sacrificium laudis*.

<sup>511</sup> The Psalms have yet to be published in the Vetus Latina (VLB) series. I have consulted the Vetus Latina Database from Brepols ([www.brepols.net](http://www.brepols.net)) and have noted a few variations to the use of *sacrificium laudis*. All citations of the Vetus Latin are from the database, unless otherwise noted, in which case they will be from the published volume in the series, which is still in progress. The database contains

the Vulgate<sup>512</sup> in Ps 49:23[50:23],<sup>513</sup> Ps 106:22[107:22],<sup>514</sup> and Tobit 8:19,<sup>515</sup> with variations in Ps 115:17[116:17] (sacrificabo hostiam laudis), 2 Chron 29:31 (Obtulit ergo universa multitudo hostias, et laudes, et holocausta, mente devota) 2 Chron 33:16 (immolavit super illud victimas et pacifica et laudem),<sup>516</sup> Amos 4:4-5 (offerite ... sacrificare de fermentato laudem),<sup>517</sup> Jonah 2:10[2:9] (ego autem in voce laudis immolabo tibi),<sup>518</sup> 1 Macc 4:56 (obtulerunt holocausta cum laetitia et salutaria laudis),<sup>519</sup> and Heb 13:15 (offeramus hostiam laudis semper Deo).<sup>520</sup> But interestingly, the verb *offero* is only connected once in the Vulgate with the phrase *sacrificium laudis*: Tobit

scans of the typed or handwritten 3x5 cards that list each variation to each verse or parts of a verse. There are 149 citations of the verse listed in the database. Setting aside slight spelling or case differences, the vast majority of the 84 uses are consistent. The few variants are: *hostiam laudis* (16); *laudes/laudem/laudis* (6); *victimam laudis* (1); *hostiam iubilationis* (1); *hostiam gratulationis* (1)

<sup>512</sup> Setting aside slight spelling or case differences, the vast majority of the 84 uses are consistent. The few variants are: *immolate confessionem* (four times); *deo uictimam laudis offertur* (twice); *hostias laudes/laudis* (four times).

<sup>513</sup> The citations in this section follow the Vulgate's numbering, since the Latin follows the numbering of the LXX. After each citation, I include the numbering in the Masoretic text in brackets, which is the numbering followed in modern English translations.

<sup>514</sup> 65 citations of the verse are listed in the database. Setting aside slight spelling or case differences, the few variants for *sacrificium laudis* are: *hostias gratiarum* (1); *laudis...exultation* (1); *hostia laudis* (12); *victimam laudis* (1); *laudem immolat* (1); *hostiam gratulationis* (1); *benedicis laudes Domino reddat* (1).

<sup>515</sup> This passage does not appear in LXX or in modern English translations; only in the Vulgate.

<sup>516</sup> 12 citations of the verse are listed in the database and the variants for *hostias* are: *victimam* (2); *sacrificium laudis* (2).

<sup>517</sup> There are no significant variations in the *Vetus Latina*.

<sup>518</sup> 23 citations of the verse are listed in the database and the variants for *laudis immolabo* are: *confessionis et supplicationis immolabo* (1); *laudis...reddam* (1); *laudis et confessionis sacrificabo tibi: reddam, quod vovi sacrificium salvatori* (1); *laudis...supplico* (1); *immola Deo sacrificium laudis* (1); *sacrificium laudis oblatum* (1); *sacrificium tibi laudis offerimus* (1); *immolamus tibi, domine deus noster, victimam laudis* (1); *tibi semper laudes hostia referamus* (1); plus a number of variants in different manuscripts of the *Missale Gothicum*, which they have tied to this verse.

<sup>519</sup> 17 citations of the verse are listed in the database. Setting aside slight spelling or case differences, the few variants for *obtulerunt...salutaria laudis* are: *obtulerunt...sacrificium salutaris & laudis* (1); *sacrificium laudis* (5); *victimam laudis* (1); *tibi semper laudes hostias referamus* (1); *hostiam laudis offerimus* (2); *laudis hostias immolare* (3)

<sup>520</sup> *θυσίαν αινέσεως* is consistently translated *hostias laudis* (or *laudis hostias*), though occasionally it is translated *sacrificium laudis*, as in the Roman Canon (verse 15); *θυσία* is occasionally translated *sacrificiis* instead of *hostiis* (verse 16); Gryson, *Hebraeos* (VLB 25.2), 1643, 1645.

8:19<sup>521</sup> (*sacrificium tibi laudis tuae et suae sanitatis offerre*).<sup>522</sup> In the three psalms, a synonym for *offero* is used: *immola* in Ps 49:14[50:14] and forms of “sacrifice” in Ps 106:22[107:22], and 115:17[116:17]. It seems clear that the use of this phrase is meant to evoke this scriptural category and apply it directly to the Mass and to the act of the Eucharistic Prayer.<sup>523</sup>

The *Memento Domine* contains intercessions for all those present (as well as the persons for whom those present intend to offer the Mass). The Scriptural phrase *sacrificium laudis* is the name the rite gives to act of the eucharistic offering. In this instance, the *Memento Domine* incorporates a repeated scriptural concept—a concept expressed in the Bible through a number of varying but related formulas (verbs of offering combined with the phrase “sacrifice of praise” in the accusative), and applies it to the Eucharistic act. Borrowing makes use of a more narrow, and thereby, more specific phrase or idea from Scripture than Suggestion. Further, Borrowing also assigns more specific theological weight to the word, phrase, or idea than Suggestion, whose use tends to be more general.

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<sup>521</sup> There are a few variations in the Vetus Latin for Tobit 8:19: “immolate Deo sacrificium laudis”; “id est, immolations laudis”; “suscipe, quaesumus, domine Iesu, omnipotens deus, sacrificium laudis oblatum”; “sacrificium tibi laudis offerimus”; “immolamus tibi, domine deus noster, victimam laudis”; “sempter laudes hostia refermus.”

<sup>522</sup> Willis lists all the passages where the phrase occurs and includes Sirach 33:2, though the verse does not contain the phrase.

<sup>523</sup> Walter Hampel, “The Morning and Evening Sacrifice: A Sacrifice of Praise through the Psalms,” *ATJ* 34 (2002): 1–11; for relationship of the phrase to its use in the Roman Canon, see J. Swetnam, “Zebach Tôdâ,” 85–6.

### Quotation

“Quotation”<sup>524</sup> is a use of a phrase or clear idea from a single biblical text within a liturgical text, whose use often carries with it some significant theological heft. An example of Quotation is found in the second half of the institution narrative (the *Simili modo*), where the phrase “mystery of faith” is included in the instituting phrase over the cup: “Hic est enim calix sanguinis mei, novi et aeterni testamenti, mysterium fidei qui pro vobis.” The phrase *mysterium fidei* appears just once in the Vulgate, in 1 Tim 3:9: “they [deacons] must hold the mystery of the faith [mysterium fidei; τὸ μυστήριον τῆς πίστεως] with a clear conscience.” Since the usage of μυστήριον in 1 Tim 3:9 (as well as in 3:16, εὐσεβείας μυστήριον) appears to be different than the typical use of the term in the Pauline corpus, Scripture scholars<sup>525</sup> and liturgical scholars<sup>526</sup> are somewhat divided on

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<sup>524</sup> Bradshaw had a category he termed “complete appropriation,” though it is different from the category I am calling “Quotation.” Complete appropriation describes for Bradshaw how “Christians not only incorporated biblical phrases and images into the hymns and prayers which they composed, but also began to take over entire literary units and made them their own.” He has in mind here the fixed use of particular psalms at certain offices or the appropriation of scriptural songs or hymns. See Bradshaw, “Use of the Bible,” 46.

<sup>525</sup> Dunn argues that the expression seems “to have become formalized as a liturgical phrase”; James D. G. Dunn, “Mystery” in *The New Interpreter’s Dictionary of the Bible* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2006), 4:187. In contrast, Magee argues “the picture of mystery emerging in this passage develops from earlier Pauline foundations while advancing Paul’s specific agenda to promote the inseparable bond between orthodoxy and piety in 1 Timothy”; G. S. Magee, “Uncovering the ‘Mystery’ in 1 Timothy 3,” *TJ* 29, no. 2 (2008): 265.

<sup>526</sup> Jungmann writes, “regarding the meaning of the words *mysterium fidei*, there is absolutely no agreement.” He writes later, “How or when or why this insertion was made, or what external event occasioned it, cannot readily be ascertained”; Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, II:200-01. For more on this see Botte, *Le canon*; Giovanni Lucchesi, *Mysterium fidei: Il testo della consecrazione eucaristica nel canone romano*, Biblioteca cardinale Gaetano Cicognani (Faenza, Italy: Lega, 1959); Paul-Dominique Dognin, “L’énigme Du Mysterium Fidei: À Propos de L’ancienne Formule Consécratoire Du Vin,” *RSPT* 92, no. 1 (January 2008): 77–85. While Kavanagh does not mention this phrase, his insight on the relationship between anamnesis and *eucharistia* in his essay on the Roman anaphora ends up providing a linguistic and theological rationale for the inclusion of the phrase into the institution narrative over the cup. He writes: “it implies the closest natural links between anamnesis and “gospel” within the very heart of the eucharistia. These links mean that the “gospel” is “confessed” (*exomologesis*) in the narrative-commemoration (anamnesis) of the eucharistic *berakah*. This insight not only brings to light the actual indissolubility of the *kerygma* and the Christian *eucharistia*, but it also reveals the ideal balance that should

its meaning in this context. The best and most recent comprehensive study on mystery in New Testament and early Christian literature is by T. J. Lang.<sup>527</sup> He suggests that the word in 1 Tim 3:9 most likely refers “more specifically [than the broader phrase in 3:16] to the historical facts of Christ’s manifestation in the world.” If, as he suggests, it is also related to the uses of μυστήριον in Eph 6:19 and 1 Cor 2:1, 7, where it serves as “a shorthand expression for the saving power of the cross,”<sup>528</sup> its use in the Roman Canon probably intends to identify those saving events with the sacramental Body and Blood in the Eucharist. The purpose of the Quotation use can vary, but a direct quotation from a passage whose content is unique in the New Testament indicates that its use is not simply to make the rite scriptural in a general way but rather to introduce into the rite the unique content of a particular scriptural passage. Quotation is like Borrowing, except that the latter makes use of a range of scriptural sources.

### ***Appropriation***

Appropriation is the term I am using for what Bradshaw labels as “complete appropriation.”<sup>529</sup> In liturgical rites, Appropriation occurs in a number of ways. The first is that entire chapters, particularly from the Psalms, are fixed into a rite, such at the daily

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obtain between the *kerygma*, baptism, and Eucharist in all areas of Christian life and worship. Thus the *kerygma* is the call to hope and faith in the wonders God has worked, and continues to work in Jesus; baptism is the actual incorporation of a person into that order of wonders which constitute the “gospel” and brings to completion the wonders both of creation and the whole of salvation history; and the Eucharist is simultaneously the “confession” (*exomologesis*) and the celebration, in marveling and joyful praise, of that wonder’s dynamic presence within individuals and their communities as well—“until the Lord comes.” See Kavanagh, “Thoughts on the Roman Anaphora (part 1),” 528.

<sup>527</sup> T. J. Lang, *Mystery and the Making of a Christian Historical Consciousness: From Paul to the Second Century*, BZNV 219 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 118-25.

<sup>528</sup> *Ibid.*, 118.

<sup>529</sup> Bradshaw, “Use of the Bible,” 42-43.



use of Psalm 95[6] at the first office of the day in Chapter 9 of the *Rule of St. Benedict* or the introduction of Psalm 43 during the so-called “prayers at the foot of the altar” around the time of the tenth century.<sup>530</sup> A practice that developed somewhat later, according to Bradshaw, is the appropriation of portions of Scripture outside the Psalms that are already hymnic in nature (usually called canticles), such as the *Benedictus Dominus Deus* at the morning office, the *Magnificat* at Vespers, the *Nunc dimittis* at Compline, and the *Benedicite omnia opera* spoken in the Roman Rite by the priest during his recession.<sup>531</sup>

The Divine Office also contains many additional types of liturgical construction that are examples of Appropriation that are much shorter uses than the fixing of canticles. Here, the text of Scripture is not inserted into a sentence constructed by the rites’ author(s). Instead, the phrase or sentence simply becomes the liturgical text. The opening versicle and response<sup>532</sup> at the first night office, *Domine labia mea aperies / et os meum adnuntiabit laudem tuam*, is appropriated completely from Ps 51[50]:15. Similarly, the versicle and response said at the opening of the rest of the offices, *Deus in adiutorium meum intende / Domine ad adiuvandam me festina* is taken directly from Ps 70:1[69:2]. Another common versicle and response in the Latin office tradition, *Domine exaudi orationem meam / et clamor meus ad te veniat* comes directly from Ps 102[101]:2. Even the salutation, *Dominus vobiscum / et cum spiritu tuo*, likely is taken from Ruth 2:4 [Dominus vobiscum qui responderunt ei benedicat tibi Dominus] and 2 Tim 4:22 [Dominus Iesus cum spiritu tuo] behind it, and possibly the greeting of Jesus [pax vobis]

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<sup>530</sup> See Jungmann’s discussion of this in Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, I:290-98.

<sup>531</sup> Bradshaw, “Use of the Bible,” 46. For the use of the *Benedicite* at the end of the Mass, see Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, I:294; II:460-64.

<sup>532</sup> “Versicle” in *ODCC*, 1689.

to his disciples after the resurrection (see John 20:19; 20:21, 29).<sup>533</sup> In place of the salutation that begins the opening dialogue in some ancient anaphoras (such as Addai and Mari and the *Lit. James*), the salutation is replaced with 2 Cor 13:14.<sup>534</sup> This verse also became known as “The Grace” after it was added in 1559 as the conclusion to morning and evening prayer as well as the litany, and remained in Anglican Prayer Book tradition.<sup>535</sup> A similarly unique Anglican (and also more widely Reformed) use of Scripture in the offices is the reading of “sentences” (as they are known) of Scripture, and often served as a warrant for what was to follow in the rite. They appeared at the opening of morning and evening prayer in the 1552 English BCP preceding the confession.<sup>536</sup> The *capitulum* or “Little Chapter” was an invariable (except for the season) verse of Scripture that was also a fixture in the Latin breviary.<sup>537</sup> Another feature of the Latin breviary tradition is the Responsory, whose structure usually consists of: “refrain; psalm verse; part of refrain; first half of the Gloria Patri; whole or part of refrain.”<sup>538</sup> Litanies of intercessions in the Frankish and Gallican tradition were imported in the Latin breviary and were then replaced by *capitella* or suffrages: “psalm verses which were used both for

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<sup>533</sup> “Dominus vobiscum,” in *ODCC*, 498. For a more detailed discussion of its origin, see Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, I:361-6; F. J. van Beeck, “A Note on Two Liturgical Greetings and the People’s Reply,” *EL* 103, no. 6 (1989): 519-22; Michael K. Magee, “The Liturgical Translation of the Response ‘Et Cum Spiritu Tuo,’” *Communio* 29 (Spring 2002): 152-71.

<sup>534</sup> “The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with all of you.” See *PE*, 405 (Addai and Mari) and 244-5 (St James).

<sup>535</sup> “Grace” in *DLW*, 232; Hatchett, *Commentary*, 131-2.

<sup>536</sup> “Sentences” in *DLW*, 429. While the English BCP tradition kept the “offertory” sentence, it was transformed along similar lines. Instead of being part of the propers and thus keyed to the feast or lessons of the day, the list of options were often about the giving of alms to the poor, as these were read while the innovative act of a collection of an offering of money took place. See also “Offertory” in *DLW*, 338.

<sup>537</sup> “Chapter, Little,” in *ODCC*, 320.

<sup>538</sup> “Responsory,” in *DLW*, 407

petition and response.”<sup>539</sup> A set of these was appended to the *Te Deum* quite early and follow the pattern of complete psalm sentences arranged as versicles and responses. The English Prayer Books retained the *Te Deum* with its appended suffrages and also included a set of six suffrages in morning and evening prayer drawn primarily from Prime in the Sarum breviary, each of which are psalm verses just as in the medieval practice.<sup>540</sup> The history of the use of the Lord’s Prayer (Matt 6:9-13; Luke 11:2-4; the doxology, an adaptation of 1 Chron 29:11 witnessed as early as *Didache* 8.2 in a shortened form) is complex, but the point remains: the prayer has been adapted into Christian liturgical rites across time and is taken directly from the Matt 6 version.<sup>541</sup>

This last example points to a few different types of Appropriation. The *Didache*’s form of the Our Father might better be called a Composite Appropriation, since two portions of Scripture are combined into a fixed liturgical text. Other examples of Composite Appropriation can be found in the Roman Rite, in what are known as the minor propers or variable chants of the Mass (introit, gradual, alleluia or tract, offertory, and communion<sup>542</sup>). These are not exactly the same as the previous examples, in that while the text of proper chants are fixed, that are not the text of a rite. But, as I will show, they are also not the same as the reading of an Epistle or Gospel text, whose texts are not

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<sup>539</sup> “Intercession” and “Suffrages” in *DLW*, 255, 451.

<sup>540</sup> “Te Deum” in *ODCC*, 1581-2; Hatchett, *Commentary*, 123-4; John Henry Blunt, *The Annotated Book of Common Prayer: Being an Historical, Ritual, and Theological Commentary on the Devotional System of the Church of England* (London: Rivingtons, 1866), 198-200. The psalm verses used in the suffrages at the conclusion of the *Te Deum* are 2:11; 145:2 123:4; 33:22; 31:1; 71:1. The psalm verses used in the English Prayer Book suffrages are Pss. 85:7; 20:9; 132:9; 28:11; 122:7 (as modified in the primer of Henry VIII); and 51:1 1a and 12b (taken from Hatchett, *Commentary*, 124).

<sup>541</sup> “Lord’s Prayer,” in *ODCC*, 996. See also Joachim Jeremias, *The Prayers of Jesus*, SBT, series 2, 6 (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978); Kenneth Stevenson, *The Lord’s Prayer: A Text in Tradition*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004); *ABD*, 4: 356-62.

<sup>542</sup> Mary Berry, “Chants of the Proper of the Mass,” in *DLW*, 104-5. The sequences, which were suppressed in the conciliar reforms, were always compositions and were never simple appropriations from the Psalms or other portions of Scripture; see *DEL*, II:558.

altered. The variable Mass chants are often taken from Scripture (particularly the psalms), though sometimes they new compositions, or even some sort of hybrid of the two. For example, the introit for the feast of the Immaculate Conception is a straightforward combination of Is 61:10 and Ps 30:1 with the *Gloria Patri*. Here, two verses are combined into a single unit. And while the *Missale* lists the source of the verses, they are not verbally identified when they are used in the Mass the way the Epistle or Gospel is identified clearly when they are proclaimed. This sort of combination is common in the Mass propers, especially in introits.

The Gradual and Alleluia for the Immaculate Conception display a second variation of Appropriation that I will call an Amended Appropriation. The Gradual, takes Judith 13:18 but inserts the Virgin's name in the midst of the text ("*Benedicta est tu, Virgo Maria, a Domino Deo excelso, prae omnibus mulieribus super terram*"), thus articulating a typological interpretation of the text through the simply interpolation of the Virgin's name. The Alleluia does the same time: it quotes the first part of Cant 4:1, inserts Mary's name, and then adds a dogmatic claim concerning the feast ("*Alleluia. Tota pulchra es, Maria: et macula originalis non est in te. Alleluia*").<sup>543</sup> Analogous to the variable chants of the Mass are the antiphons use with the psalms and canticles in the Divine Office, which can evidence these same sorts of variations on Appropriation.<sup>544</sup>

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<sup>543</sup> Catholic Church, *Missale Romanum Anno 1962 Promulgatum*, ed. Cuthbert Johnson and Anthony Ward, Bibliotheca "Ephemerides Liturgicae," supp. 2 (Roma: C.L.V., Edizioni liturgiche, 1994), 438. In both quotations, the insertion of Mary's name is noted through removing the italics, the insertion of the dogmatic claim in the Alleluia through underlining.

<sup>544</sup> The term "antiphon" was used in the Latin tradition not only for what are commonly considered antiphons, the proper texts appointed to be said before and after the appointed psalms and canticles in the Divine Office, but also for the introit. The texts of these were taken primarily from the psalms but also at times from the gospel reading for the day. "Antiphon" in *DLW*, 17. "Some of the most important antiphons are those that were sung at the *Benedictus* in the morning office and the Magnificat in the evening office, some taking their text from the gospel reading of the day. Some Latin antiphons are

All of these examples should be distinguished from the reading of Scripture in the Mass or Office according to a lectionary. This is not only because Psalm texts are never “proclaimed” as lessons but also because (as I mentioned) their source is not identified verbally when they are sung or said. Thus, in their use, they function more like a fixed part of the rite than a Epistle or Gospel, which is identified as a portion of Scripture. Nonetheless, it is important to note when biblical texts (or patristic texts, for that matter) are “‘selected’ and ‘cut’ according to definite liturgical criteria” and then “placed in a new literary-theological-celebrative context,” this “makes them ‘liturgical texts’ in the true and proper sense.”<sup>545</sup>

### ***Therefore***

As mentioned earlier, Kenneth Stevenson distinguished between “rememorative” and “representational” rites as events being celebrated versus re-enacted, a distinction that Bradshaw seems to commend.<sup>546</sup> I do not find Bradshaw’s examples of this distinction to be convincing, however. Why would a Palm Sunday liturgy on the Mount of Olives with palm branches and “Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord” be considered merely rememorative (Bradshaw suggests it is only because there is no

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sung as independent chants, as a devotional ‘anthem’ at the end of the office or as part of the repertory of chants sung during a liturgical procession”; Ibid.

<sup>545</sup> De Zan, “Criticism and Interpretation of Liturgical Texts,” 331, n. 1. He continues: “...we should rightly distinguish a biblical or patristic passage in its original setting (the Bible or the writings of the Fathers) form a passage that forms part of a ritual program with its own shape and functions. In the first case we should speak of biblical or patristic texts; in the second, we should speak of biblical-liturgical or patristic-liturgical texts.” For more on how the context of the liturgical reading of Scripture alters the text, see De Zan, “Bible and Liturgy,” 42-50; Kevin W. Irwin, “Chapter 3: Word,” in *Context and Text: Method in Liturgical Theology* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1994), 83–127.

<sup>546</sup> Bradshaw, “Use of the Bible,” 49; Stevenson, “Ceremonies of Light: Their Shape and Function in the Paschal Vigil Liturgy,” 175ff; Stevenson, “On Keeping Holy Week,” 32ff; Stevenson, *Jerusalem Revisited*, 9-13.

donkey and two celebrations of the Eucharist, not just one) but burying a consecrated host on Good Friday be considered representational reenactment? Given how debatable the distinction could be (is not the Eucharist both “rememorative” and “representational”?), I propose the distinction I make in the next two categories—Therefore and Imitation—as both clearer and more helpful than Stevenson’s distinction between “rememorative” and “representational.”

A Therefore usage is a direct appeal made by way of either Quotation or explicit reference to either some particular item or a series of items in the Scriptures as a warrant for either the ritual action itself or a petition within the rite.<sup>547</sup> Of the few varieties of Therefore, one sort of appeal is to the direct institution of the current liturgical action or prayer in the Scriptures. A second type of Therefore usage is a prayer’s appeal to an event as a typological anticipation of a current liturgical action or prayer, to a pattern of divine activity which serves as the basis for the present petition, or to a pattern of previous ways of praying that the text of the rite assumes to be warrant for the present liturgical petition.

Daniélou actually takes this a step further and argues that the very basic character of Christian anaphoral prayer expresses a Therefore view of the past:

“This double aspect of the *narratio*, which corresponds to thanksgiving, and the *exceptatio*, which corresponds to the prayer of petition, is constitutive of Christian thought [he cites Augustine, *Catech.* 7; PL 40:317C]. It rests on the faith in what God has done in the past in order to find the foundations for hope in what He will do in the present and in the future. We thus see how, by this very fact, it shows the continuity between the Old Testament, the New Testament and the

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<sup>547</sup> *Ergo*, the Latin term for “therefore,” has a helpful double allusion. Chauvet notes that “Christian liturgy, because it comes from *ergon* (a ‘doing’—doing the symbolic which aims at the communication between human beings and God) and not from *logos* (a well constructed and argued discourse), does not escape the laws of rituality.” See Chauvet, “What Makes the Liturgy Biblical?,” 130. Thus, such a liturgical action is an *ergon* undertaken as an *ergo*.

Sacraments. It thus invites us to look in the Old Testament for the prefiguration of the Sacraments.<sup>548</sup>

While he does not state this explicitly, Daniélou's claim is really about the sacraments themselves, not (necessarily) particular liturgical rites used for this or that sacrament. Sacramental prayer generally, and anaphoras in particular, is a Therefore construction. Thus, when he says that the sacrifices of Abel and Isaac "are figures of the sacrifice of Christ, and therefore of the Mass inasmuch as it is the representation of this sacrifice," he is claiming that those and other Old Testament events (Melchizedech, the manna of the Exodus, the messianic meal of the Covenant in the prophets, and the Passover meal) are all fulfilled in the Eucharist.<sup>549</sup> This category as I construe it is limited to explicit appeals or references to something in the Scriptures as a warrant for either the present request or the liturgical action itself.

The first type of the Therefore use is found in almost all anaphoras in the institution narrative. In this feature, the Last Supper narrative is recalled in some form, often an amalgamation of the four narratives found in the New Testament (1 Cor 11:23-25; Matt 26:26-29; Mark 14:22-25; Luke 22:15-20).<sup>550</sup> The institution narrative is usually situated such that it has a causal connection with either what precedes or follows it. In the Roman Canon, the institution narrative has a direct relationship with the petitions that precede it, as Dominic Serra has argued.<sup>551</sup> But, like most other anaphoras, the institution narrative in the Roman Canon is followed by an anamnesis-oblation that begins with a conjunction such as "therefore" (the adverb *unde* is used in the Roman Canon). Similarly,

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<sup>548</sup> Daniélou, *The Bible and the Liturgy*, 143.

<sup>549</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>550</sup> For more on the introduction of the institution narrative into Eucharistic prayers see the discussion in Chapter 1.

<sup>551</sup> Serra, "Roman Canon."

baptism is based on the dominical command to baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit (Matt 28:19) and most rites make some explicit reference to this institution by Jesus.

The second type of Therefore usage is similar to the σκοπός category in Joseph Mueller’s discussion of traditional forms of exegesis and their expression in liturgical forms of prayer in *Apostolic Constitution*.<sup>552</sup> The typical use of the term, meaning a goal or target (the limit of the definition given in a standard lexicon<sup>553</sup>), and is found in Phil 3:14: “I press on toward the goal [σκοπόν] for the prize of the heavenly call of God in Christ Jesus” (NRSV). Nonetheless, the term σκοπός has a wider range of meaning. Both *Apostolic Constitution* and Gregory of Nyssa make use of the term in a punning manner where a conscious, double signification is clear: σκοπός is both the overseer (which *Const. ap.* II.6.7-12 interprets as the bishop by way of a reading of Ezra 33) and simultaneously as the model for the people. *2 Clem.* 19:1 is another example of this: “For by doing this [i.e., repenting with one’s whole heart] we will set a σκοπόν for all the young people who desire to devote themselves to piety and the goodness of God.”<sup>554</sup> Those who act in this way exercise leadership in the Christian community, provide a model for younger Christians to follow, serve as an example of the goal or target toward which the younger Christian should aspire, and even display a context in which one can see the consistent way that God acts towards those who repent and “practice

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<sup>552</sup> Mueller, *L’ancien testament dans l’ecclésiologie des pères*, 159-67. This monograph is another example of scholarship that looks at the use of Scripture in a liturgical work.

<sup>553</sup> Danker, 931.

<sup>554</sup> For a discussion of the two main meanings of the term that Mueller uses—namely, a watcher/overseer and the object to which a person looks as a model or goal—see Marguerite Harl, “Le guetteur et la cible: les deux sens de skopos dans la langue religieuse des Chrétiens,” *Revue des Études Grecques* 74, no. 351 (1961): 450–68. ET from *2 Clement* taken from Holmes, *Apostolic Fathers*, 163.



righteousness:” that is, God grants them salvation, blesses them, and “though they may endure affliction for a little while in the world, they will gather the immortal fruit of the resurrection” (2 *Clem.* 19:3). Baumstark uses the term *Paradigmengebete* to name prayers that appeal for divine assistance which recall “that on former occasions analogous petitions have been granted” and suggests that they are “diffused in all religions” and not unique to Christianity and Judaism.<sup>555</sup> This prayer form is especially central in prayers for commending a soul at death and in prayers for exorcism.<sup>556</sup> Mueller’s σκοπός category and Baumstark’s *Paradigmengebete* are both included in my Therefore designation. The only difference is that I have expanded the definition to include also the appeal to the dominical institutions in baptism liturgies and anaphoras.

Outside of the institution narrative, the principal example of Therefore in the Roman Canon is in the *Supra quae* when the divine acceptance of the three historical sacrifices of Abel, Abraham, and Melchizedek functions as the basis for the petition for the divine acceptance of the eucharistic sacrifice.<sup>557</sup> The causal connection between the

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<sup>555</sup> Baumstark’s example is specifically about God’s action in the past, but it could equally apply to the other examples I have described as well. See Anton Baumstark, “Paradigmengebete ostyrischer Kirchendichtung,” *OC*, New series 10-11, 1923, 1–32; Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy*, 72 (but see 71-80).

<sup>556</sup> Baumstark points to specific examples of both, along with accompanying scholarly investigation, in *Comparative Liturgy*, 72-73. In brief, in the Roman Rite for the Commending of a Soul at Death, there is a litanal form with the repeated formula, *Libera...sicut liberasti...*; “Deliver, O Lord, the soul of your servant, as you delivered Enoch and Elijah from the death all must die” [“Libera , Domine, animam servi tui, sicut liberasti Henoch et Eliam de communi morte mundi”]. The forms in exorcism prayers are a bit different. One such construction consists of the repeated formula, each of which begins with the phrase, “Cede ergo Deo, qui...” followed by an event in the Scripture. For example, “Yield to God, who, by the singing of holy canticles on the part of David, His faithful servant, banished you from the heart of King Saul” [“Cede ergo Deo, qui qui te per fidelissimum servum suum David, de Rege Saule spiritalibus canticis pulsum fugavit”]. See *Rituale Romanum Pauli V Pontif. Maximi Jussu Editum Atqua a Felicis Recordationis Benedicto XIV, Auctum et Castigatum* (Remondini: Bassani, 1834), 108-09 and 295-96.

<sup>557</sup> These sacrifices are important to Daniélou’s approach in the chapter on the Eucharist in *The Bible and the Liturgy*. However, his interpretation of them is not based on a close reading of the text of the Roman Canon itself: “The Eucharist is the memorial of the sacrifice of Abel, Melchisedech, and Abraham,” he writes (*The Bible and the Liturgy*, 143). But, a careful reading of the *Supra quae* makes it clear that

acceptance of the ancient sacrifices and the request that God look with favor and accept the sacrifice of those making an offering in the present is indicated by the adverb *sicuti* (just as). The appeal is not primarily to the act of offering undertaken by Abel, Abraham, and Melchizedech. Rather, the appeal is to God's action of *accepting* those various sacrifices. One of the most noteworthy aspects of this example is that the appeal is not to one particular passage, but to a whole collection of them, both the set of passages in Genesis that describe each of these sacrifice plus the mention of these events throughout the New Testament, especially in Hebrews. Therefore will almost always makes use of one or more of the first three classifications (Suggestion, Borrowing, or Quotation) but nonetheless must also be distinguished from them. Part of what characterizes the Therefore use is that the liturgical action is undertaken in part because there is a belief that our ritual action is necessary (as in the case of baptism and the Eucharist) or at least is exhibited in the Scriptures as exhibiting fitting qualities of proper creaturely prayer and worship (such as the appeal to God's previous actions or the forms of petition exhibited by holy persons).

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those sacrifices are not called figures or types of the Eucharist. Rather, they are examples of sacrifices which God accepted and which must have been pleasing. In particular, the *Supra quae* prays in a way as to rely or lean on God's past acceptance as a basis to now ask in faith that God would accept this particular sacrifice, the offered bread and wine. However, there is an example in the Latin sacramentaries of a preface that describes these three sacrifices as "figures" (*figurum*) of Christ (see GeV, no. 20; *LMS*, no. 1420; Ve, no. 1250; these are all discussed in Chapter 5 and the full texts are reproduced in parallel in Appendix K). The Gelasian and *Veronensis* both state that Christ disclosed these in his birth (*hodie natus Christus implevit*) while the Mozarabic version says simply that Christ, our great high priest, disclosed that to which the figures pointed. In the 1962 *Misalle Romanum*, there are no prefaces that mention Melchizedech, though he appears in many proper Alleluias for priest and bishop confessors or martyrs, as well as in the votive Mass for Christ, the Great High Priest, and in the prayer for the blessing of a chalice.

### ***Imitation***

Imitation is, like Therefore, the ritual “therefore” of something in the Scriptures, but is distinguished from the Therefore use in two ways. First, the Imitation use always involved bodily action, where the Therefore usage may only be expressed in the syntax of a prayer, whether by an appeal to God’s past action—“who didst wonderfully create, and yet more wonderfully restore the dignity of human nature”<sup>558</sup> or by an appeal to righteous Biblical figures’ actions—“Yield to God, who, by the singing of holy canticles on the part of David, His faithful servant, banished you from the heart of King Saul.”<sup>559</sup> The Imitation use is also distinguished from the Therefore use at the level of motivation. If the Therefore is motivated by either a response to divine command (as in baptism and the Eucharist) or the evidence of revelation (such as the nature of God’s actions towards creatures or the forms of petition characteristic of great biblical figures), the Imitation use springs from a human desire to make possible a ritual experience of a particular biblical event.

As mentioned earlier, Kenneth Stevenson distinguished between “rememorative” and “representational” rites as events being celebrated versus re-enacted, a distinction that Bradshaw seems to commend.<sup>560</sup> I do not find Bradshaw’s examples of this distinction to be convincing, however. Why would a Palm Sunday liturgy on the Mount

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<sup>558</sup> Collect for the Second Sunday after Christmas in *The Book of Common Prayer [1979]* (New York: Seabury Press, 1979), 162. Translation from Hatchett notes that this collect is appointed for the first Mass of Christmas in Ve (no. 1239), as a Christmas collect for Matins or Vespers in the GeV (no. 27), and in “other prayers for the birthday of Our Lord” in the GeH (no. 52); see Hatchett, *Commentary*, 170.

<sup>559</sup> From the rite for exorcism, *Rituale Romanum*, 295-96.

<sup>560</sup> Bradshaw, “Use of the Bible,” 49; Stevenson, “Ceremonies of Light: Their Shape and Function in the Paschal Vigil Liturgy,” 175ff; Stevenson, “On Keeping Holy Week,” 32ff; Stevenson, *Jerusalem Revisited*, 9-13. BV90 .S73 1988

of Olives with palm branches and “Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord” be considered merely rememorative (Bradshaw suggests it is because there is no donkey and two celebrations of the Eucharist) but burying a consecrated host on Good Friday be considered representational reenactment? Given how debatable the distinction could be (is not the Eucharist both “rememorative” and “representational?”), I propose the distinction outlined above between Therefore and Imitation as both clearer and more helpful than Stevenson’s distinction between “rememorative” and “representational.”

The Imitation use includes the sorts of varied examples provided by Bradshaw: the forty-day feast by Egyptian Christians directly following the Epiphany in imitation of the fast of Jesus (Matt 4:2; also Mark 1:12-13); the *Apertio* or *Effeta*, where spittle was used on the ears and lips as part of a pre-baptismal rite (in imitation of Jesus’ healing of the deaf mute in Mark 7:32-5); the foot washing of the newly baptized in North Africa or the Latin foot-washing rituals associated with Maundy Thursday.<sup>561</sup>

The Imitation use, then, is a conscious use of a biblical event that serves as a basis for a ritual action but where the biblical source is not explicitly an “institution” of the ritual action.<sup>562</sup>

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<sup>561</sup> Bradshaw, “Use of the Bible,” 49. It is important to note, however, that the approach to the practice of foot washing by various Anabaptists groups is sufficiently distinct from most of the Latin pre-Reformation liturgical expressions of the action that the former should be categorized as *ergo* and not *imitatio*. For the Anabaptists, foot washing is treated as the faithful response to an ordinance that is sacramental in quality. They interpret the words of Jesus, after having washed his disciples’ feet, as a dominical institution: “[I]f I, your Lord and Teacher, have washed your feet, you also ought to wash one another’s feet. For I have set you an example, that you also should do as I have done to you” (John 13:14-15). *The Mennonite Encyclopedia; a Comprehensive Reference Work on the Anabaptist-Mennonite Movement* (Hillsboro, Kan: Mennonite Brethren Pub. House, 1955), II:347-51 (with extensive bibliography); *The Brethren Encyclopedia* (Philadelphia, PA: Brethren Encyclopedia, Inc, 1983), I: 481-2; John D. Roth, *Practices: Mennonite Worship and Witness* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 2009), 114.

<sup>562</sup> I recognize that this distinction is not as straightforward as it might appear. What actually counts as institution? Is Matt 28:19 an institution of baptism? Is Jas 5:14 an institution of the anointing of the sick? This is an area that deserves more study and thought.

### ***Explication***

This category is the most nuanced of the classifications and may, at first blush, seem indistinguishable from either the Therefore or Imitation uses. However, what distinguishes Explication most clearly from the other two is that in the former, one or more texts are interpreted and used *in light of other parts of the biblical canon*, often moving seamlessly between the Old and New Testaments. In other words, Explication inserts a number of additional steps between the movement of particular biblical texts to their use as a euchological text. This step involves the work of exegesis, though of a particular sort: what de Lubac called “allegorical exegesis” and Daniélou “sacramental typology.”<sup>563</sup> This relationship between the testaments is not conceived in the wooden manner of simple promise and fulfillment but rather in the interpenetration of each in the other. De Lubac expresses the complex notion of this relationship through his frequent citation of this phrase from Augustine: “the New Testament is concealed in the Old; the Old is revealed in the New” [Novum testamentum in Vetere latebat; Vetus nunc in Novo patet].<sup>564</sup> For both, what lies beyond the literal sense of the biblical text is a spiritual sense that unites the various parts of the Bible into a true unity precisely because of the

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<sup>563</sup> The debate between these two about which term is more appropriate does not affect my argument here. For a summary of de Lubac’s approach, with some reference to his differences with Daniélou, see Wood, *Spiritual Exegesis*, 25-51. For an introduction to Daniélou’s approach, specifically as it concerns sacraments, see Daniélou, *The Bible and the Liturgy*, 3-17. The wide variety of uses of and meanings applied to the terms “typology” and “allegory” in the twentieth-century is laid out in Martens, “Allegory/Typology Distinction.”

<sup>564</sup> Cited in Wood, *Spiritual Exegesis*, 48. She summarizes this perspective by saying that “this dialectic is that the Testaments are included in each other.”

action and will of the one God presented therein, specifically the work of Christ the Son.<sup>565</sup>

One example of Explication is the act of offering or oblation in the Eucharistic prayer. While the evidence is quite strong that sacrificial language permeates almost all mentions or discussions of the Eucharist in extant Patristic literature and early liturgies,<sup>566</sup> it remains the case that the Eucharist is never specifically called a sacrifice or an offering in the New Testament.<sup>567</sup> A distance remains between the language of the New Testament and the univocal witness of early Christian anaphoras of the inclusion of the explicit offering of bread and wine to God that is described as a sacrifice and often connected to Jewish cultic sacrifices.

Two famous patristic examples demonstrate the sort of spiritual exegesis that lies behind the way rites such as the Roman Canon speak of the ritual eucharistic action as an offering and sacrifice and thus evidence a sort of exegesis that makes an exegetical application in a rite possible.<sup>568</sup> The first is from chapter 41 of Justin Martyr's *Dialogue*

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<sup>565</sup> Both rely heavily on Origen, who, along with Jerome, spoke of three senses: historical, moral, and mystical. Augustine and Cassian, however, use a quadripartite delineation: literal, tropological (moral), allegorical (which corresponds to the mystical in the tripartite scheme), and anagogical (applying the Scriptures eschatologically). See the clarifying discussion from Susan Wood in *Spiritual Exegesis*, 27-30. For Daniélou's argument that the four-fold distinction is simply a development of a more basic distinction between literal and spiritual, see Jean Daniélou, "Les divers sens de l'écriture dans la tradition chrétienne primitive," in *Analecta Lovaniensia Biblica et Orientalia*, sér. II, fasc. 6 (Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1948), 119-26.

<sup>566</sup> For scholarship on the place of sacrifice in Christian cult, see note 419 in Chapter 3.

<sup>567</sup> There is, however, the use of cultic terminology in connection with the Eucharist. For example, the term "covenant" in connection with Christ's blood in the Synoptic and Corinthian institution narratives certainly has sacrificial connotations. The discussion of participation in 1 Cor 10:1-22 seems to imply that the Eucharist is sacrificial and is a means of participation in the body and blood of Christ that is analogous to the way pagan sacrifices are a means of participation with demons. 1 Cor 5:6-8 may indicate that the Eucharist is sacrificial in the command to celebrate the festival joined to the proclamation that Christ, the paschal lamb, has been sacrificed. Other passages could be cited.

<sup>568</sup> Michael Vasey puts it like this: "Two facts are clear: the New Testament never speaks of the Eucharist as a sacrifice, and the early church very quickly began to do so"; "Eucharist, Sacrifice, and Scripture" in Colin O. Buchanan, ed. *Essays on Eucharistic Sacrifice in the Early Church*. GLS 40

*with Trypho*. There, he says that the offering of fine flour for the sake of purification after leprosy in Lev 14 is a type of the Eucharist. “As the Levitical leprosy-offering related to physical cleansing,” Andrew McGowan explains, “the Eucharist is related to the purification of souls.”<sup>569</sup> Using the adverb ὅθεν (hence), Justin then pivots to Mal 1:11 (also cited in *Didache* §14, Tertullian, and the *Lit. Mark*) to argue that the bread and cup of the Eucharist is the sacrifice offered in every place to God by the Gentiles.<sup>570</sup> Irenaeus, in *Against Heresies*, interprets Jesus’ institution of the Eucharist to the disciples as the institution of an offering of “the first-fruits of his own, created things,” a reference to Lev 2:14. The bread and wine that Jesus says are his body and blood are, Irenaeus continues, “the new oblation of the new covenant; which the Church receiving from the apostles, offers to God throughout all the world, to Him who gives us as the means of subsistence the first-fruits of His own gifts in the New Testament” (*Haer.* 4.17.5).<sup>571</sup> Then, like Justin, he also immediately appeals to Mal 1:11-12 as a proof that God prophesied about this new offering before the advent of the new covenant.

In both of these examples, the dominical institution is interpreted in light of other biblical passages in order to give the Last Supper event a meaning that could not be obtained from the four textual witnesses alone. This differs from one aspect of the Therefore use already discussed, namely, the appeal within a rite to Jesus’ institution of the Eucharist or baptism. It is also distinct from the Therefore appeal to a consistent way

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(Bramcote: Grove Books, 1984), 7. I do not intend to suggest that either of these examples are the exegetical sources that lie behind the Roman Canon. I choose these two because they come from well-known sources and also because they offer two different interpretations of the Eucharist as a sacrifice that appeal to different Old Testament sacrifices.

<sup>569</sup> McGowan, “Eucharistic and Sacrifice,” 10.

<sup>570</sup> *PEER*, 21-22.

<sup>571</sup> ET = ANF, I:484.

of addressing God in the Scriptures or to the consistency of God's action in particular situations as a basis for prayer in the present. Instead, these examples demonstrate an appeal to a particular passage or set of passages (the institution narratives, in this instance) that are then interpreted by way of a particular vision of the unity of both the Old and New Testaments. While neither Justin nor Irenaeus explain exactly *why* they interpret the biblical institution narratives and Christian practice as a sacrifice, it is clear that at least part of what lies behind this interpretation is a combination of an assumption about the typological relationship between Israel and both Jesus and the Christian Church and an exegesis of the institution narratives in light of other New Testament texts (such as those that speak of the death of Jesus as a sacrifice, the claim throughout the Epistle to the Hebrews that Jesus is the great High Priest, the broad conception of the Christian life in cultic terms in the Pauline corpus,<sup>572</sup> and so on). Like the Therefore and Imitation uses, Explication will make use of at least one of the first three classifications but is also distinguishable from them.

### ***Names and Locations***<sup>573</sup>

The use of biblical names and locations within an anaphora is another use distinctive enough to warrant its own category. In discussing the Therefore usage, I mentioned Abel, Abraham, and Melchizedek. The use of these names in the *Supra quae*

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<sup>572</sup> See the discussion by Jonathan Klawans on the Pauline use of cultic language and how the concept of “spiritualization” is a serious misreading. He writes: “These metaphors are, rather, borrowings from sacrifice. Sacrificial metaphors operate on the assumption of the efficacy and meaning of sacrificial rituals, and hope to appropriate some of that meaning and apply it to something else.” See Jonathan Klawans, “Interpreting the Last Supper: Sacrifice, Spiritualization, and Anti-Sacrifice,” *NTS* 48, no. 01 (2002): 11–15; the quotations is from p. 13.

<sup>573</sup> My thanks to Joris Geldhof at the 2017 NAAL meeting of the Liturgical Theology Seminar for asking where names (especially those in the *Communicantes* and *Nobis quoque*) fit into my scheme, which led me to include this additional category.



was quite particular: the context is God's acceptance of their *sacrifices* and it is to these events that appeal is made for God's acceptance of the eucharistic offering within the Roman Canon. Nonetheless, the very use of their names necessarily introduces the wider scriptural context and history of each individual. For example, though it is not mentioned in the Roman Canon, hovering in the background is the fact that Cain kills his brother Abel in jealousy precisely because God accepted Abel's sacrifice and not Cain's. Thus, that Abel is a priest who offered an acceptable sacrifice and is then killed is a fact that cannot help but be viewed within a certain figural relationship to Jesus, a priest who is not killed after the offering of his sacrifice but who exercises his priesthood in the very offering of himself when he lays down his life. Similar examples could be provided for both Abraham and Melchizedek.

But the Roman Canon also includes the names of thirteen biblical persons in the *Communicantes* (the Virgin Mary plus Paul and the 12 apostles minus Judas: Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon, and Thaddaeus) and four more in the *Nobis quoque* (John [the Baptist], Stephen, Matthias, and Barnabas), plus the categories of apostles and martyrs. As I described in Chapter 1, the names in both sections are arranged in a particular order and structure.<sup>574</sup>

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<sup>574</sup> Matthew Connolly succinctly describes the arrangement of the list of names in the *Communicantes*, which “contains twenty-five names, which, in order, divide into Mary plus twenty-four saints. The twenty-four saints, again in order, divide into twelve apostles and twelve martyrs. The twelve martyrs consist of six bishops (five Roman [popes] and one non-Roman) and six non-bishops (two clergy and four laymen).” A similarly ordered construction is found in the second list of the *Nobis quoque*. This list “consists of one pre-redemptive martyr (John the Baptist) and fourteen post-redemptive martyrs. The fourteen martyrs make up two blocks of seven males and seven females. The seven males are arranged in a *subito crescendo—decrecendo* order of rank, one unpaired protomartyr (Stephen, a deacon by rank) and three pairs of martyr ranks (two apostles, two bishops, two presbyters). The seven females are arranged in a *crescendo—subito decrecendo* pattern based on the proximity of the place of martyrdom to Rome, i.e., three pairs in ascending proximity to Rome (two from North Africa, two from Sicily, two from Rome) and the final unpaired name suggesting Asia Minor (Anastasia).” Connolly, “Liturgical Narrative,” 26, 27. See my detailed discussion in Chapter 2.

Significant consideration of all the biblical details and intertextual relationships could be given for each of these names within the context of the Roman Canon, but a few general comments will suffice to indicate what is added through the introduction of names. First and most obviously, the use of a biblical name means the interpreter needs to look at all scriptural mentions of that name to try and determine how many of those references may be relevant to its liturgical use. Second, the arrangement of the names calls to mind certain items of tradition and interpretation, such the various lists of the apostles.<sup>575</sup> For instance, grouping the twelve apostles in the *Communicantes* in the Roman Canon points to the interpretation of the college of apostles as the first college of bishops and the first to receive the new Christian priesthood. The Maundy Thursday celebration in the West became a celebration not only of the institution of the Eucharist but also the institution of the priesthood.<sup>576</sup> The fact that Mary is connected to the apostles in the Roman Canon not only points to the biblical scene of Pentecost where Mary is with the other woman and the apostles in an upper room (Acts 1:12-14; 2:1-4) but also gestures toward the interpretation of Mary as an icon of the Church.<sup>577</sup> Another example is the mention of Stephen in the *Nobis quoque*. The inclusion of his name introduces the very idea of Christian martyrdom since he is the protomartyr, along with the way in which his death is presented, which purposely imitates aspects of the death of

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<sup>575</sup> See Matt 10:2-4; Mark 3:16-18; Luke 6:14-16; Acts 1:14.

<sup>576</sup> See John Paul II, "Letter to all Priests on the occasion of Holy Thursday, 1979," [http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/letters/1979/documents/hf\\_jp-ii\\_let\\_19790409\\_sacerdoti-giovedi-santo.html](http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/letters/1979/documents/hf_jp-ii_let_19790409_sacerdoti-giovedi-santo.html), accessed November 12, 2017. He writes in no. 1.2, "It is this, the annual feast of our priesthood, that unites the whole Presbyterium of each Diocese about its Bishop in the shared celebration of the Eucharist."

<sup>577</sup> *LG*, no. 53.

Jesus.<sup>578</sup> It also introduces the biblical origin of the order of deacons and the early connection made by writers such as Ignatius between martyrdom, Jesus, and the Eucharist.<sup>579</sup> Much more could be said about each of these two examples as well as the others, but this indicates the complex and polyphonous material that can be introduced through the use of a name in an anaphora.<sup>580</sup>

Biblical locations and places are also distinctive enough to be distinguished from the other uses already outlined, and they work in a similar fashion to the use of a biblical name. A remarkable example is the double use of *Zion* in the *Lit. James*. It is used first in the Greek version of the extended epiclesis,<sup>581</sup> where the extended recollection of the ways in which the Holy Spirit has acted in Scripture culminates with this clause: “who descended upon your holy apostles in the likeness of fiery tongues [in the Upper Room of the holy and glorious *Zion* on the day of the holy Pentecost].”<sup>582</sup> The second use of the term appears later in the anaphora, in the paragraph that follows the extended epiclesis, to which is appended a long list of desired results for those who receive: “We offer to you,

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<sup>578</sup> Nickelsburg writes: “The story of Stephen’s death and its aftermath is modeled after the account of Jesus’ passion. . . . The story of Stephen’s martyrdom contains all the major generic components: cause and conspiracy (6:8-11); trial (6:12-7:53); condemnation (7:54); vindication and exaltation [of Jesus] (6:15 [7:55-56]); confession that Jesus is the Son of God (9:20).” See also Jaroslav Pelikan, *Acts*, BTCB (Grand Rapids: Brazos Press, 2005), 106-8.

<sup>579</sup> See Ignatius, *Smyrn.* 7.1; *Rom.* 2.2, 4.2, 7.3; *Eph.* 5.2

<sup>580</sup> Many other interesting questions could also be considered: How do we interpret that Paul is listed after Peter in the *Communicantes* as part of the list of Apostles, even though he is not one of the twelve? Why the particular list of names for the Apostles? Is there a reason to the order in which the Apostles are listed? Is there a reason beyond the desire not to repeat names that Peter and Paul are not listed in the *Nobis quoque* with the list of martyrs, especially since their martyrdom is often said to have established Rome as the apostolic center of the Church? Why is Matthias listed with the martyrs in the *Nobis quoque* even though he is added to the number of the Apostles before Pentecost (in Acts 1:12-26), especially when others of the twelve in addition to Peter are traditionally thought to have been martyred also?

<sup>581</sup> The fifth century Syriac version is shorter than the Greek version and does not contain this phrase; *PEER*, 88.

<sup>582</sup> Jasper and Cuming., 93; *PE*, 250-251.

[Master,] for your holy places also, which you glorified by the theophany of your Christ [and the descent of your all-Holy Spirit;] principally for [holy and glorious] Zion, the mother of all the churches.”<sup>583</sup> The use of the term Zion is infrequent in early anaphoras,<sup>584</sup> which makes this use intriguing, though not completely surprising, since from approximately the fifth to the seventh centuries “the Liturgy of St. James was the predominant rite in the patriarchates of both Jerusalem and Antioch.”<sup>585</sup> There is a relatively early identification between the “cenaculum” of the Last Supper and the Pentecost event (some would add the site of Jesus’s Ascension and Peter’s first sermon), now commemorated in Jerusalem’s Church of the Apostles, and the first mention of Zion seems to be making this assumption.<sup>586</sup> Zion figures significantly in the Scriptures: in the messianic context of Psalm 2 where the Lord sets his king on the holy hill of Zion, joined to “you are my son; today I have begotten you,” quoted twice in Hebrews (1:5; 5:5); the promise of its inviolability in Ps 46-48; it serves as a synonym for Jerusalem and allegorically for heaven itself (Heb 12:22; Rev 14:1).<sup>587</sup>

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<sup>583</sup> PEER, 94; PE, 250-251; 272 (Latin translation of the Syriac).

<sup>584</sup> The only other text in Jasper and Cuming where the term is used is in the opening section of praise and thanksgiving in the *Testamentum Domini*, where the Father is described as “the founder of the heights, kind of the treasures of light, visitor of the heavenly Zion...” See PEER, 139 and Grant Sperry-White, ed., *The Testamentum Domini: A Text for Students, with Introduction, Translation, and Notes*, GLS 19 (Bramcote: Grove Books, 1991), 16.

<sup>585</sup> Fenwick, *Anaphoral Construction*, 11. Massey Shepherd notes the similarities between a sermon of Eusebius that dates from c. 314-19 and is appended to Book X of Eusebius’s *Ecclesiastical History*. One of those parallels is in X.70 where Eusebius refers to “the region above the heavens, with the models of earthly things which are there, and the so-called Jerusalem above, and the heavenly Mount of Zion.” See Massey Hamilton Shepherd, “Eusebius and the Liturgy of St. James,” *YLS* 4 (1963): 109–13.

<sup>586</sup> For a thorough discussion, see H. Leclercq, “Cénacle,” in Fernand Cabrol and Henri Leclercq, eds., *Dictionnaire D’archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, Vol. 2 pt. 2 (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1907), 3031-7. See also “Cenaclulum” in *ODCC*, 313. See also “Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land” Eric M Meyers, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), II:342-4.

<sup>587</sup> “Zion,” in *ODCC*, 1782.

The use of names and locations within a liturgical text can function in a wide variety of ways, and it seems unwise to fix such a purpose in a definition. These two examples indicate, nonetheless, the type of biblical, and thus theological, resonances that such uses can introduce, which is enough to warrant a category of their own.

### ***Juxtaposition***<sup>588</sup>

The final category is different in kind from all the others but is critical to the way in which Scripture can be used in a rite. Gordon Lathrop's liturgical theology, *Holy Things*, is organized around the broad theme of juxtaposition.<sup>589</sup> His approach begins with the ordinary words that can be used for "the stuff of Christian assembly," since all of it "is drawn from common experience and common life:" "meeting, gathering, book, washing, meal, song, speech instead of divine service, evangelary, baptism, Holy Eucharist, offertory, sermon." His proposal is this: "start with the simple things, the common human materials, then see how communal meaning occurs as these things are juxtaposed to each other and gathered together with speech about the promise of God."<sup>590</sup> As has been mentioned, the very reading of portions of Scripture within the liturgical assembly alters how the text functions for the hearers. "Ancient texts are used to speak a

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<sup>588</sup> My thanks to Timothy Brunk at the 2017 NAAL meeting of the Liturgical Theology Seminar for suggesting that Gordon Lathrop's category is so fundamental to the very nature of liturgy as to warrant its own category.

<sup>589</sup> Gordon Lathrop, *Holy Things: A Liturgical Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993). Ephraim Radner considers the question of juxtaposition, both when it comes to what he calls "figural reading" in general, and in the way that lectionaries juxtapose particular texts and thus suggest certain types of interpretation thereby; see "Juxtapositional Reading and the Force of the Lectionary" in Radner, *Time and the Word*, 205-34.

<sup>590</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-11.

new grace,” Lathrop writes: “this is the liturgy pattern for the use of the Bible.”<sup>591</sup> The first chapter, “The Biblical Pattern of Liturgy” demonstrates his thesis through a series of vivid readings and examples of the power of these juxtapositions.

This same principle is at work when the Bible is appropriated within a liturgical rite and juxtaposed, either with additional parts of Scripture that are being similarly used or with the text of the liturgical rite that may not be using Scripture in a formal way. Many of the examples that I have used thus far are also a demonstration of Juxtaposition. The Borrowing use of the phrase “sacrifice of praise” within a eucharistic rite (as the Roman Canon does in the *Memento Domine*) reveals a new facet to a phrase that, on its own, might have a more limited scope. Even more potent is the Quotation use’s insertion of the phrase, *mysterium fidei* into the institution narrative over the cup in the Roman Canon. In this case, the richly compact theological phrase from 1 Tim 3:9 connotes the actions of Jesus at the Last Supper and his death which it discloses, and consequentially with the eucharistic action within which this ritual text is prayed.

A few forms of liturgical constructions characterized by their use of Appropriation—especially suffrages, responsories, and Alleluias—consist by definition of the Juxtaposition of sentences of Scripture next to each other. The use of the verses from Judith and Canticle of Canticles on the feast of the Immaculate Conception (especially when Mary’s name is inserted into the text) brings a radically new meaning to the texts by virtue of their liturgical use. The use of the *Benedictus qui venit* just before the Canon could easily lead the faithful to consider the peculiar sacramental way that Christ will soon come to his people, despite its non-eucharistic scriptural source. Paul

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<sup>591</sup> Ibid., 19.

Bradshaw points to the use of the *epphatha* as described by John the Deacon to express a meaning precisely opposite to the opening of the afflicted man's ear's and mouth: "It was oil that was used, and the rite was understood instead as a symbolic closing or sealing of the senses similar to that described in the *AT* attributed to Hippolytus."<sup>592</sup> Almost every instance of Juxtaposition is likely simultaneously to be an instance of one of the other identified categories.

### ***The interaction of these classifications***

It is clear from these examples of the various categories that the lines between them are somewhat fluid. Even though the purpose of categorizing in this way is to help manage the data in a meaningful way and to better understand the euchological texts, the texts themselves will still transcend the categories. The composers and redactors are unlikely to be working within the confines of these categories. Thus it is likely that each identified use of Scripture will span multiple categories at any given time. The first three categories—Suggestion, Borrowing, and Quotation—will always be the foundation of the Therefore, Imitation, and Explication. Further, I suspect that it will be the exception when any of eight uses do not have an aspect of Juxtaposition. To mix metaphors, the boundaries between these categories are porous and a scriptural usage may function polyphonously.

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<sup>592</sup> Bradshaw, "Use of the Bible," 40.

## ***Conclusion***

These proposals for how to classify the use of Scripture in euchological texts are simply a first step and offer them as such. They certainly take us further than Bradshaw's two categories of linguistic borrowing and typological interpretation and De Zan's distinction between citation and allusion. Whether they adequately distinguish the various ways Scripture can be used is something that must be tested. An important corollary consideration is that these euchological texts are the fruit of prayer, that is, the fruit of praying the Scriptures and the reading and proclamation of the Scriptures within the context of worship. That is to say that the study of these texts can never ignore the fundamentally theological character of the euchological texts undergoing such technical and structural study.

The work of testing the usefulness of these categories must be in the context of the study of Scripture in specific rites and not just the attempt to theorize about this relationship outside of actual euchological texts. This future attention to the ways biblical texts and exegesis are reflected in euchological texts has the potential not only to provide greater clarity on how the early Christians related to the Bible in general and specifically within their liturgical rites. This work may also provide an additional source for answering questions about the dating and provenance of those rites by identifying the overlap with particular strains of patristic exegesis, about which we have significant evidence. But first we must take the step to attend carefully to the particularities of Scripture's function as a source in specific euchological texts.



## CHAPTER 5: THREE CENTRAL USES OF HEBREWS IN THE ROMAN CANON: MELCHIZEDEK, *SACRIFICIUM LAUDIS*, AND SACRIFICIAL TERMINOLOGY

### *Introduction*

We have now arrived to the heart of this dissertation where I will demonstrate the ways in which I believe that the Epistle to the Hebrews was used as a source in the formation of the Roman Canon.<sup>593</sup> I will proceed with the chapter in two parts. Part I is a focused overview of the reception and use of Hebrews in early Christianity, including questions of authorship and audience. This provides a bit of context to the place of Hebrews in the first few centuries of Christianity as I try and answer how Hebrews was utilized by the translators and redactors of what became the Roman Canon. Part II is a detailed look at three of the most certain pieces of evidence for the Canon's reliance on the Epistle to the Hebrews in descending order of certainty: (a) the appeal to the sacrifice of Melchizedek alongside the sacrifices of Abel and Abraham; (b) the use of the phrase

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<sup>593</sup> Scripture translations thus far have been from the RSV. In this chapter and the next, however, any quotations of the Bible that are related to the Canon's use of Hebrews will be my own translation of the Vulgate based on the Douay-Rheims and will be noted "AT," for author's translation. It is important that the translations of the Roman Canon, Ambrose, and the Vulgate to conform to one another so that key terms are always translated the same way (see the footnote with Table 1.1 about how I have translated some particular words). The Douay-Rheims is a rather literal translation of the Vulgate, which is useful for this study, but it also sometimes skips a word or phrase of the Latin in its translation and also uses antiquated syntax and pronouns, which made it less than ideal. Thus, my translation is based on the Douay-Rheims with modernized syntax and pronouns, restores anything missed in the Douay-Rheims, and makes sure that some key terms are consistently translated between the Roman Canon, Ambrose, and Hebrews. For Hebrews, I will check variant readings in the *Vetus Latina* in Gryson, *Hebraeos* (VLB 25.2). I have consulted the *Vetus Latina* Database from Brepols ([www.brepols.net](http://www.brepols.net)) and have noted a few variations to the use of *sacrificium laudis* and other important terms. All other citations of the *Vetus Latina* are from the *Vetus Latina* Database from Brepols ([www.brepols.net](http://www.brepols.net)), unless otherwise noted, in which case they will be from the published volume in the series, which is still in progress.

*sacrificium laudis*, and (c) the nouns used for the object of sacrifice that it shares with Hebrews.<sup>594</sup>

The sections on Melchizedek and *sacrificium laudis* begin with an exploration of the place of each in Scripture, in order to determine if the claim that Hebrews is the biblical source is defensible. Second, I will look at a few places where the topic is taken up in early Christian literature in order to see if the use in the Canon corresponds to or is distinct from other early Christian uses. Finally, I will show whether or not these items are found in other early anaphoras. This is all for the purpose of determining whether Hebrews is not only the source for these topics in the Roman Canon, but also whether the influence of Hebrews is unique for the Roman Canon. The final section will demonstrate the distinct overlap between the sacrificial terminology in the text of Hebrews in the Vetus Latina and the Vulgate and that of the Roman Canon.

In each of these sections, I am particularly attentive to possible overlaps with the Alexandrian tradition, since, as I have already shown, the Latin and Alexandrian traditions share a common source that is unique to those two traditions. The purpose of my attention to the Alexandrian tradition is to see if the incorporation of material from Hebrews is an additional characteristic that these anaphoral traditions share, or whether the influence of Hebrews is distinct to Latin anaphoral prayers. Chapter 6 is the second part of this study, where I will work through the Canon chronologically to identify, categorize, and discuss each use of Hebrews within it, relying on the work in this chapter.

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<sup>594</sup> A fourth instance is the insertion of the adjective *aeterni* from Heb 13:22 into the institution narrative over the cup, a feature that has no parallel in any other early anaphora (see the discussion in Chapter 1 in the section on Ambrose). This use is so certain that it does not require a discussion in this chapter, though I will discuss it when I get to the *Qui pridie* in Chapter 6.

### ***The place of the Epistle to the Hebrews in early Christianity***

As Raymond Brown reminds us, much about the authorship and provenance of Hebrews remains unclear: “[I]t has become fashionable to compare this work to its own description of Melchizedek, ‘without father or mother or genealogy’ (7:3).”<sup>595</sup> As late as the Reformation and even beyond, a debate persisted about Hebrews’ authorship, whether Luke, Paul (the opinion of early Alexandrians Pantaenus and Clement,<sup>596</sup> and later writers, such as Hilary of Poitiers [*Trin.* 4.11]), Barnabas (Tertullian), Apollos (Luther), or some unknown figure. Contemporary scholarship has added more names to the list of possible authors, such as Silvanus, the deacon Philip, Jude, Aristion.<sup>597</sup> Brown argues strongly that Hebrews was sent to Jewish converts living in Rome.<sup>598</sup> In fact, he suggests

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<sup>595</sup> Raymond Edward Brown and John P. Meier, *Antioch and Rome: New Testament Cradles of Catholic Christianity* (New York: Paulist Press, 1983), 139.

<sup>596</sup> Hagner points out that because of the obvious dependence of *I Clem.* on Hebrews, Eusebius highlights the tradition that Clement was the translator of Hebrews; Donald Alfred Hagner, *The Use of the Old and New Testaments in Clement of Rome* (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 179. See Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* III.38.3.

<sup>597</sup> W. L. Lane, “Letter to the Hebrews,” in Daniel G. Reid, ed., *The IVP Dictionary of the New Testament* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2004), 465-6. Regarding Apollos, Lane writes: “Luke’s description of Apollos as ‘an eloquent man’ (Acts 18:24), a designation associated with formal rhetorical training and so used by Philo (see Philo *Post.* 53; *Legat.* 142, 237, 310; *Mos.* 1, 2), which has suggested to many scholars that Apollos was the author of Hebrews”; *Ibid.*, 466. For a comprehensive history of the history of authorship, see Clare K. Rothschild, *Hebrews as Pseudepigraphon: The History and Significance of the Pauline Attribution of Hebrews*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen Zum Neuen Testament 235 (Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2009).

<sup>598</sup> Brown and Meier, *Antioch and Rome*, 140-58. Koester notes that from as early as the fourth century, interpreters have suggested Jerusalem as the destination, but a number of factors press against this: the elegant Greek style, the use of the LXX, and the discussions of the Levitical cult concerning the ancient Tabernacle and not the Jerusalem temple. The degree of agreement with Brown on Rome as the destination is significant and Koester provides a full list of scholarly sources; Koester, *Hebrews*, 48-50. Brown gives the following reasons for his claim: “Hebrews was written in the period between 65-90; yet it was already known in Rome by the year 96! Within at most thirty years of being written, Hebrews was cited by *I Clement*, which was written from the church of Rome to Corinth. Indeed, through the whole second century Rome remains the main witness for an awareness of Hebrews, for it was known in and by such Roman evidence as the *Shepherd of Hermas*, the Old Testament commentaries of Hippolytus (+235), Canon Muratori, and the presbyter(?) Gaius”; Brown and Meier, *Antioch and Rome*, 147. When he mentions Canon Muratori, he doesn’t mean to imply that it, in fact, lists Hebrews as part of the list of canonical Scripture. He notes on the following page that it is the implicit and explicit rejection of Hebrews in Muratori and Gaius respectively that is worth noting, as both were of Roman origin.

that a rejection of some parts of Hebrews in *1 Clement* and *Shepherd of Hermas*, along with its absence from Ambrosiaster's commentary on Paul's letters, seems to indicate that "Hebrews was a work received by the Roman church but never enthusiastically appropriated" until much later.<sup>599</sup> The author was likely known to Roman Christians but was not an apostle (certainly not Peter or Paul), which is one of the main reasons for the hesitancy about its canonical status. Nonetheless, the author's influence left a significant mark in Rome.<sup>600</sup> It is only when consensus began to converge around Pauline authorship near the beginning the fourth century that hesitancy in Rome about Hebrews' canonicity finally disappeared.<sup>601</sup> Hebrews enjoyed a warmer and earlier reception in the East than among Latin-speaking Christians until the fourth century, when its place in the Canon is secured.

The earliest use of Hebrews in a Christian text is almost certainly *1 Clement*,<sup>602</sup> which is conventionally dated to the year 96, though it is more accurate to expand the range from 90-115.<sup>603</sup> What is particularly noteworthy about the connection between

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<sup>599</sup> Brown and Meier, *Antioch and Rome*, 148.

<sup>600</sup> The scholarship is varied on this point. Attridge, Rothschild, and Peeler all contend that the author of Hebrews either knew or was in the orbit of Paul, though Attridge maintains that Hebrews is not an intentional Pauline pseudepigraphon. See Attridge, *Hebrews*; Clare K. Rothschild, *Hebrews as Pseudepigraphon: The History and Significance of the Pauline Attribution of Hebrews*, WUANT 235 (Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2009); Amy L. B. Peeler, *You Are My Son: The Family of God in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, LNTS 486 (London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2014).

<sup>601</sup> Brown and Meier, *Antioch and Rome.*, 149-50.

<sup>602</sup> Heb 11:37 in *1 Clem.* 17:1; Heb 1:3-5, 7 in *1 Clem.* 36:2-6; Ps 104[103]:4 in the wording of Heb 1:7 in *1 Clem.* 36:3; Lane, "Hebrews," 469-70. There are further allusions to Hebrews in *1 Clem.* 9:3-4 (Heb 11:5-7); *Ibid.*, 478; see also Attridge, *Hebrews*, 6-7. On the use of Hebrews in *1 Clement*, see Andrew F. Gregory, "1 Clement and the Writings That Later Formed the New Testament," in *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, ed. Andrew F. Gregory and Christopher M. Tuckett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 152-3; Christoph Hentschel, "Lebendiges Gotteswort: Die Rezeption des Hebräerbriefs im Ersten Clemensbrief und im Hirten des Hermas," ThD thesis (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, 2008), 38-222.

<sup>603</sup> Dating *1 Clement* is difficult. Holmes notes that 96 is to be trusted if the references to persecution are literal and likely point to those at the end of Diocletian's reign (81-96) and the beginning of Nero (96-98). "Welborn, however, has correctly pointed out the conventional and stereotypical character of

these two texts is that *1 Clem.* 35:12 and 52:3 also speak of a “sacrifice of praise” (θυσίαν αινέσεως) in precisely the same wording as Heb 13:15, the one place the phrase appears in the New Testament.<sup>604</sup> In fact, as Raymond Brown points out, “through the whole second century Rome remains the main witness for an awareness of Hebrews,” which is one of the strongest pieces of evidence that Rome is the likeliest destination of the letter.<sup>605</sup> Thus, he concludes: “the Roman direction of Hebrews makes more sense... than any other theory.”<sup>606</sup> Attridge, however, after surveying the discussion and evidence, is more reticent to fix the physical location of the addressees, though he is clear that there is no evidence that excludes Rome.<sup>607</sup>

Based on the extant literature of the first few centuries in the West, Hebrews tends to be discussed within two main contexts. First, it seems that much of the Western reticence regarding its canonical status is due to a number of passages which imply that

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the language in those two passages [1.1 and 7.1], which suggests (but does not require) that the terms may not refer to a specific event or set of circumstances at all”; Holmes, *Apostolic Fathers*, 36. Attridge agrees that the date of 96 “is based primarily on the assumption that the phrase ‘the sudden and repeated misfortunes and calamities which have befallen us’ of the first chapter [*1 Clem.* 1:1] refers to a persecution of Christians under Domitian. The evidence for such a development is extremely weak, however, and it is doubtful that a special persecution of Christians took place in Rome under Domitian”; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 7; see n. 55 for the relevant literature about the possible persecution under Domitian. He goes on to argue that since the work is accepted by Clement in Alexandria in the second century, the *terminus ad quem* falls at about 115 and fixes the range at 90-115; *Ibid.*, 6-9.

<sup>604</sup> *1 Clem.* 35:7-12 quotes Ps 50[49]:16-23. *1 Clem.* 52:3 uses θυσίαν αινέσεως in the context of quoting Ps. 50[49]:14-15 and 51:17[50:19]. But given that *1 Clement* definitely quotes Hebrews in the places already noted, it is possible that the single use of the phrase in the New Testament is what lies behind the use in *1 Clement*. Ps 51[50] is also quoted in *1 Clem.* 18.

<sup>605</sup> Brown and Meier, *Antioch and Rome.*, 147. They discuss the possible sources and destinations for the letter in *Ibid.*, 142-9. In addition to *1 Clement*, the other Roman witnesses are *Shepherd of Hermas*, the Old Testament commentaries of Hippolytus, the Muratorian Canon, and the presbyter Gaius. “Only at the end of the second century does Hebrews surface clearly in the East,” they continue, “with the Alexandrian Pantaenus, and in North Africa with Tertullian”; *Ibid.*

<sup>606</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.

<sup>607</sup> Attridge, *Hebrews*, 9-13.

repentance after baptism was not possible (Heb 6:4-6; 10:26-31; and 12:17).<sup>608</sup> *Shepherd of Hermas* takes a more lenient position on the possibility of repentance (Herm. *Mand.* 4.3.1-7), as does Cyprian who argued contra the Novatianists that those who had repudiated the faith could be restored (see *Ep.* 51 of A.D. 252), even though earlier Tertullian had taken a more rigorist approach (see *Pud.* 20).

The other context relates to the authorship of Hebrews. Although Tertullian suggested Barnabas as Hebrews' author, the Alexandrian exegetes Pantaenus and Clement favored Pauline authorship (though the latter notes the stylistic differences between Hebrews and the other Pauline epistles). According to Eusebius, the presbyter Gaius did not count Hebrews among the Pauline letters, while Hippolytus did.<sup>609</sup> One of the earliest extant lists, the so-called Muratorian Canon (ca. 170-190), does not include Hebrews in its list of canonical texts, though it also omits James, 1 and 2 Peter, and perhaps 3 John, and includes the Wisdom of Solomon and the Apocalypse of Peter.<sup>610</sup>

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<sup>608</sup> “For it is impossible to restore again to repentance those who have once been enlightened, who have tasted the heavenly gift, and have become partakers of the Holy Spirit, and have tasted the goodness of the word of God and the powers of the age to come, if they then commit apostasy, since they crucify the Son of God on their own account and hold him up to contempt.” (Heb 6:4-6 RSV). “For if we sin deliberately after receiving the knowledge of the truth, there no longer remains a sacrifice for sins, but a fearful prospect of judgment, and a fury of fire which will consume the adversaries. A man who has violated the law of Moses dies without mercy at the testimony of two or three witnesses. How much worse punishment do you think will be deserved by the man who has spurned the Son of God, and profaned the blood of the covenant by which he was sanctified, and outraged the Spirit of grace? For we know him who said, ‘Vengeance is mine, I will repay.’ And again, ‘The Lord will judge his people’” (Heb 10:26-31 RSV). “For you know that afterward, when he [Esau] desired to inherit the blessing, he was rejected, for he found no chance to repent, though he sought it with tears” (Heb 12:17 RSV).

<sup>609</sup> However, the evidence about Hippolytus comes only from Photius in the ninth century and may be unreliable; see PG 103.404A; 103.1104D.

<sup>610</sup> Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament: Its Origin, Development, and Significance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 191-201; 305-07. For more, see Jonathan J. Armstrong, “Victorinus of Pettau as the Author of the Canon Muratori,” *VC* 62, no. 1 (2008): 1-34; Joseph Verheyden, “The Canon Muratori: A Matter of Dispute,” in *Biblical Canons* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003), 487-556; J.-D Kaestli, “La place du Fragment de Muratori dans l’histoire du canon : A propos de la thèse de Sundberg et Hahneman,” *CNS* 15, no. 3 (1994): 609-34; Everett Ferguson, “Canon Muratori: Date and Provenance,” in *SP* (Elmsford, NY: Pergamon Press, 1982), 677-83; Jr. Albert C. Sundberg author, “Canon Muratori: A Fourth-Century List,” *HTR*, no. 1 (1973): 1.

Hebrews does appear, however, in the manuscript P<sup>46</sup>, an Egyptian papyrus dated around the same time as the Muratorian Fragment (c. 200) that clearly implies that Hebrews is Pauline (it places Hebrews after Romans, possibly because Italy is mentioned in Heb 13:24, but almost certainly because of its length and theological importance).<sup>611</sup> No quotations from Hebrews are found in any of the extant writing of Irenaeus, and Hebrews is not treated in Ambrosiaster's commentaries on the Pauline epistles. Canon 25 of the Council of Carthage in 397 includes Hebrews at the end of the Pauline epistles and before the two Petrine epistles. The wide use of Hebrews in Jerome and Augustine, however, seems to have come about as a result of its usefulness in the Christological debates that took place mainly in the East.<sup>612</sup>

Not until Alcuin (c. 735-804) is there a surviving Latin commentary of any length on Hebrews. That work, however, is not original but is based in large part on Chrysostom's exegetical sermons,<sup>613</sup> a collection of thirty-four homilies on the book that date from his last years as patriarch of Constantinople, 403/4.<sup>614</sup> They are a nearly line-by-line treatment and quickly become influential in both the East and the West.

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<sup>611</sup> Koester, *Hebrews*, 21.

<sup>612</sup> On Augustine's affirmation of Hebrews as Pauline, see *Doctr. chr.* 2.8 and *Civ.* 16.22. Rowan Greer's magisterial work, which remains the most sustained treatment of the early Patristic interpretation of Hebrews in Greek, includes a detailed consideration of the interpretations given by Athanasius and the Cappadocians in the Arian debates; Rowan A. Greer, *The Captain of Our Salvation: A Study in the Patristic Exegesis of Hebrews*, BGBE 15 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1973), 65-128.

<sup>613</sup> Heen and Krey, *Hebrews*, xix. For a history of early medieval commentaries on Hebrews, see Eduard Riggenbach, *Historische Studien zum Hebräerbrief* (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1907). Cassiodorus (c. 485-c. 540) mentions that "we had Mutianus, a most skillful writer, translate into Latin the thirty-four homilies written in Greek by St. John, Bishop of Constantinople, on the epistle to the Hebrews"; Cassiodorus, *An Introduction to Divine and Human Readings*, trans. Leslie Webber Jones, *Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies* 40 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946), 90.

<sup>614</sup> *Hom. Heb.* (homiliae 1-34) in PG 63, 9-236; ET = NPNF<sup>2</sup> 14, 363-522. Quasten notes that "the title states that they were published after his death from stenographic notes by Constantine, a priest of Antioch. Cassiodorus reports (*Inst.* I, 8) that his friend Mutianus translated these 34 homilies on Hebrews into Latin at his request"; Johannes Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. 3, *The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature* (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1963), 450. Chrysostomus Bauer is less certain of the dating; see *Chrysostom and His Time*, vol. 2 (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1960), 94-5.

Cassiodorus (*Inst.* 1.8.3) indicates that they had already been translated into Latin by the mid-sixth century and were in wide circulation. Before Chalcedon, the only surviving Alexandrian commentary—though fragmentary—was from Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444).<sup>615</sup> Origen (185-254) also produced a commentary, now lost, but even without it, “the extant citations of Hebrews [elsewhere] in Origen far outweigh any other exegete of the first two centuries.”<sup>616</sup> In addition to Chrysostom, there is a commentary by Theodoret (c. 393-c. 466)<sup>617</sup> and fragments by Theodore of Mopsuestia (c. 350-428).<sup>618</sup> The most sustained treatment of patristic exegesis of Hebrews remains Rowan Greer’s *Captain of our Salvation*, though it is limited to only Eastern figures from Origen through Cyril.<sup>619</sup> Oecumenius, the sixth-century author of the first Greek commentary on Revelation, also penned an incomplete commentary.<sup>620</sup> Ephraim the Syrian (c.306-373) produced a brief commentary of sorts that only exists in Armenian (which was translated

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<sup>615</sup> P. E. Pusey, *Cyril of Alexandria*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1872), 362-440 (commentary) and 461-8 (homilies).

<sup>616</sup> Heen and Krey, *Hebrews*, xxiv. See Pamela Bright, “The Epistle to the Hebrews in Origen’s Christology,” in *Origeniana Sexta: Origène et La Bible/Origen and the Bible*, ed. Gilles Dorival and Alain le Boulluec (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1995), 559–65; J. Allenbach, ed., *Biblia patristica: Index des citations et allusions bibliques dans la littérature patristique*, vol. 3, Origène (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1975), 449-57.

<sup>617</sup> PG 82, 673-786; ET = “Interpretation of Hebrews” in Robert Charles Hill, ed., *Theodoret of Cyrus: Commentary on the Letters of St. Paul*, vol. 2 (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2001), 136-207.

<sup>618</sup> “Fragmenta in epistolam ad Hebraeos (in catenis)” in Karl Staab, ed., *Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche: aus Kettenhandschriften gesammelt und herausgegeben*, NTAbh 15 (Münster: Aschendorf, 1933), 113-212. See the article by Frances Young that engages with these authors and their exegesis of Hebrews: “Christological Ideas in the Greek Commentaries on the Epistle to the Hebrews,” *JTS* 20, no. 1 (1969): 150–63.

<sup>619</sup> Greer, *The Captain of Our Salvation*.

<sup>620</sup> PG 119:271-452; Staab, *Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*, 423-69.



into Latin translation in the late nineteenth century) and consists of a concise paragraph of biblical text followed by a few comments.<sup>621</sup>

In addition to its place in the christological debates, Hebrews also figured in the work of the early Alexandrian exegetes, particularly Clement and Origen. There, Koester argues, “Alexandrian interpreters made three assumptions about Scripture that are closely related to Hebrews.” First, he suggests, “they use the concept of old and new ‘covenants’ to identify the unity and diversity within the Bible,” particularly using the many contrasts made in Heb 8-10. Second, “the relationship between the two testaments was said to be one of ‘shadow’ and ‘reality,’ drawing on Heb 8:5 and 10:1.” The shadows in the Old Testament are revealed and brought into the light in the new. Third, when Hebrews 1:1 declares that God spoke “in many and various ways,” Clement and Origen both argued that this included Greek philosophy.<sup>622</sup> The seeming rejection of the possibility of repentance after baptism did not seem to bother interpreters such as Origen, who interpreted this claim in Hebrews more as an “incentive to [Christians to] persevere on their spiritual journey, not to cause them to despair.”<sup>623</sup> As noted in Chapter 4, Daniélou also sees in the treatment of Melchizedek in Hebrews an emblematic example of the typological relationship between the Old and New Testaments.<sup>624</sup>

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<sup>621</sup> Ephraim the Syrian, *Srboyn Ep'remi Matenagrowt'iwnk'*, vol. 3.4 (Venetik, Armenia: S. Ghazar, 1836); Latin translation of the Armenian = *S. Ephræm Syri commentarii in epistolas D. Pauli nunc primum ex Armenio in Latinum sermonem*, trans. Mekitharist Fathers (Venice: Typographia Sancti Lazari, 1893). The ACCS volume on Hebrews indicates that they contracted Marco Conti to translate the work from Armenian (Heen and Krey, *Hebrews*, xxiv), but personal correspondence with Conti clarified that his translation was from the Latin. However, he explains, “as far as I know, and from my knowledge of Armenian, the Mechitarist [Latin] translation is quite good and accurate, so definitely reliable.” The author provided me with his translation. At present, there is unfortunately no plan to publish Conti’s English translation.

<sup>622</sup> Clement, *Strom.* 1.5, 9; 6.7, 8, 11; 7.16; Origen, *Princ.* 4.2.4, 9.

<sup>623</sup> The quotations in this paragraph are all from Koester, *Hebrews*, 20.

<sup>624</sup> *The Bible and the Liturgy*, 142-52.

One of the stranger parts of the history of Hebrews in early Christianity was the idea in some places that Melchizedek was superior to Christ or even divine,<sup>625</sup> ideas which sit in the stream of some Second Temple Jewish literature that presented an exulted and even semi-divine role for Melchizedek.<sup>626</sup>

### ***The use of Hebrews in the Roman Canon***

A survey of the use of Scripture as a source in the Roman Canon would be an almost prohibitively vast project.<sup>627</sup> One reason this study is limited to Hebrews is that its influence on the Roman Canon is nearly certain in at least one instance—the inclusion of Melchizedek in the *Supra quae*—and almost certainly in another: the use of the phrase “sacrifice of praise” (in the *Memento, Domine*) which is almost an exclusively Western eucharological phrase and which appears in the New Testament only in Heb 13:15. Hebrews is the only place in the New Testament that mentions Melchizedek: eight times in chapters 5-7, as the author argues that Jesus is a priest, not according to the Levitical priesthood under the Mosaic law, but a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek.<sup>628</sup> He is only mentioned in two additional places in the Old Testament: the account of Abraham’s encounter with him in Gen 14:17-20<sup>629</sup> and then in Psalm 110:4, which

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<sup>625</sup> For an example of a refutation of this belief, see “Against Melchizedekians” in Epiphanius of Salamis’s *Pan.*, 4, 56; Heen and Krey, *Hebrews*, xxv.

<sup>626</sup> Fred L. Horton, *The Melchizedek Tradition: A Critical Examination of the Sources to the Fifth Century A.D. and in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, SNTSMS 30 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

<sup>627</sup> See Appendix J for a preliminary attempt to produce a comprehensive list of scriptural sources in the Roman Canon. This list does not yet include a categorization of each use according to the categories outlined in Chapter 4.

<sup>628</sup> Heb 5:6, 10; 6:20; 7:1, 10, 11, 15, 17.

<sup>629</sup> “And the king of Sodom went out to meet him, after he returned from the slaughter of Chodorlahomor, and of the kings that were with him in the valley of Shave, which is the king’s valley. But

Hebrews interprets as a prophecy about Jesus: “The LORD has sworn and will not repent: ‘You are a priest for ever according to the order of Melchizedek.’” Thus, Enrico Mazza’s claim about the relationship between the Roman Canon and the Alexandrian tradition of *Lit. Mark* could be amended to aptly describe the relationship between the Canon and the Epistle to the Hebrews: “what is held in common by Hebrews and the Roman liturgy is unique to them.”<sup>630</sup> To this, I would add the additional claim that none of what is held in common by the Alexandrian tradition and the Roman Canon involves the use of Hebrews. What this indicates is that part of what marks the process of translation and Latinization of the Greek source or sources that are shared with the Alexandrian tradition (both linguistically and thematically) is the introduction of the Hebrews material.

In this chapter I will show that the reliance on Hebrews extends beyond these two linguistic particular instances and that the Roman Canon also draws on the sacrificial terminology of Hebrews, language that is also reflected in early Christian writing on the Eucharist. After a discussion of the Melchizedek, *sacrificium laudis*, and the sacrificial terminology in general, I will outline chronologically all the particular uses of Hebrews in the Roman Canon. This first discussion is crucial, as almost all of the uses of Hebrews in the Roman Canon relate to Melchizedek, *sacrificium laudis*, and the language of sacrifice.

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Melchisedech, the king of Salem, bringing forth bread and wine, for he was a priest of the most high God; he blessed him, and said: “Blessed be Abram by the most high God, who created heaven and earth. And blessed be the most high God, by whose protection, the enemies are in thy hands. And he gave him a tithe of everything” (Gen 14:17-20 AT).

<sup>630</sup> The original quote is this: “What is held in common by the Alexandrian and Roman liturgies is unique to them”; Mazza, *Origins*, 272.

### **Melchizedek**

Supra quae propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris et accepta habere, sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui iusti Abel et sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahæ et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam.

As discussed in Chapter 1, Melchizedek<sup>631</sup> appears in the Roman Canon (see quotation above) and also in the anaphora quoted by Ambrose in *Sacr.* 4.6.27. That section of the *textus receptus* (the *Supra quae* and *Supplies te*) is also paralleled in the Alexandrian tradition, but with one glaring exception: *Lit. Mark* does not include Melchizedek in the list of sacrifices that serve as a basis for request that God accept the eucharistic sacrifice.<sup>632</sup> What this suggests is that while the Latin anaphora and *Lit. Mark* share a common source (possibly *Lit. STR*), Melchizedek was consciously introduced into the Latin Western anaphoral idiom when the Greek text was being translated and

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<sup>631</sup> The contemporary literature on Melchizedek is quite vast. A few important works to note are Franco Manzi, “La figura qumranica di Melchisedek: possibili origini di una tradizione letteraria del primo secolo cristiano?,” in *SP*, vol. 30 (Louvain: Peeters, 1997), 61–70; Geoffrey G. Willis, “Melchisedech, the Priest of the Most High God,” *DR* 96, no. 325 (1978): 267–80; Horton, *The Melchizedek Tradition*; Roger Le Deaut, “Le titre de ‘Summus Sacerdos’ donné à Melchisédech est-il d’origine juive?,” *RSR* 50 (1962): 222–29; Gustave Bardy, “Melchisédech dans la tradition patristique,” *RB* 36 (1927): 25–37. When Second Temple literature is included, especially the place of Melchizedek in 2 Enoch, the list grows: Poorthuis, “Enoch and Melchizedek in Judaism and Christianity: A Study in Intermediaries;” Charles A. Gieschen, “Enoch and Melchizedek: The Concern for Supra-Human Priestly Mediators in 2 Enoch,” in *New Perspectives on 2 Enoch: No Longer Slavonic Only*, ed. Andrei A. Orlov, Gabriele Boccaccini, and Jason Zurawski, *Studia Judaeoslavica*, v. 4 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 369–85; C. Böttrich, “The Melchizedek Story of 2 (Slavonic) Enoch: A Reaction to A. Orlov,” *JSJ* 32, no. 4 (2001): 445–70; Andre Orlov, “Melchizedek Legend of 2 (Slavonic) Enoch,” *JSJ* 31, no. 1 (2000): 23–38; Paul J. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchirešac*, CBQMS 10 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981). Melchizedek also figures in the fragments that make up 11QMelch from Qumran; see Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 1206–9; Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ, v. 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 216–21; Charles A. Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology: Antecedents and Early Evidence*, AGJU, Bd. 42 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 171–4. For a comprehensive list of contemporary scholarship on Melchizedek, see Brian C. Small, *The Characterization of Jesus in the Book of Hebrews*, Biblical Interpretation Series 128 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 169–70. For a recent text that focus just on the canonical texts concerning Melchizedek, see Alan Kam-Yau Chan, *Melchizedek Passages in the Bible: A Case Study for Inner-Biblical and Inter-Biblical Interpretation* (Warsaw: De Gruyter Open, 2016).

<sup>632</sup> See Appendices A and D for parallels of the relevant portions in English and in original languages from Ambrose, *Lit. Mark*, the *Liber Mozarabicus*, and the Roman Canon.

appropriated. This is almost certainly the case because Melchizedek is present in every strata of early evidence for the Roman Canon and never in the Alexandrian sources. In order to better situate the place of Melchizedek in the Roman Canon, I will explore the three sacrifices of Abel, Abraham, and Melchizedek, the references to Melchizedek in early Christian writings, and the place of Melchizedek in early anaphoras.

### ***The Sacrifices of Abel, Abraham, and Melchizedek***

Commentators on the Canon often describe the three sacrifices of the *Supra quae* as “sacrifices of the Old Law.”<sup>633</sup> While they are recounted in the Old Testament, they are clearly not sacrifices within the Mosaic law and cult. Geoffrey Willis makes the following insightful observation:

These three pre-Levitical sacrifices are clearly chosen because Christian liturgists saw the Eucharist as the fulfilment, not of the Temple sacrifices, of the Old Covenant, which they believed to have been now rejected by God, and superseded by the Christian Oblation, but earlier offerings recorded in the Old Testament. These offerings were not offerings repeatedly offered, as were the Levitical offerings, by a succession of priests who were dying and constantly being replaced, but were in each case the offerings of one man, who had no successors.<sup>634</sup>

Not only were none of these sacrifices made under the old, Mosaic covenant,<sup>635</sup> of the three, but of the three, only Abraham was a Jew. Willis’s insight about the singularity of

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<sup>633</sup> For example, see Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, II:229 and Fortescue, *Mass*, 348.

<sup>634</sup> Willis, “Melchisedech,” 267.

<sup>635</sup> Hebrews is clear that the appeal to Melchizedek is not an appeal to the Aaronic/Levitical priesthood under the law of Moses, but to a different sort of priesthood altogether: “Now if perfection had been attainable through the Levitical priesthood (for under it the people received the law), what further need would there have been for another priest to arise after the order of Melchizedek, rather than one named after the order of Aaron? For when there is a change in the priesthood, there is necessarily a change in the law as well. For the one of whom these things are spoken belonged to another tribe, from which no one has ever served at the altar. For it is evident that our Lord was descended from Judah, and in connection with that tribe Moses said nothing about priests. This becomes even more evident when another

the three sacrifices is particularly noteworthy (even if it does not apply exactly to Melchizedek, as Genesis 14 never states explicitly that the bread and wine that he brought were part of a sacrifice)<sup>636</sup> precisely because of the emphasis on the singularity of Christ's sacrifice in Hebrews: "Who [Jesus, the high priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek; see Heb 6:20] does not need daily (as the other priests) to offer sacrifices, first for his own sins, and then for the people's: for this he did once, in offering himself" (Heb 7:27).<sup>637</sup> Thus, it is important to keep in mind that the three sacrifices whose divine acceptance serve as the basis for the request that God accept the eucharistic sacrifice are cultic, to be sure, but are neither Levitical nor Mosaic.

These sacrifices have additional peculiarities. The sacrifices of Abel and his brother Cain are the first sacrifices depicted in the Bible. The text does not indicate that the two brothers were given any direction about what to sacrifice or how to offer; the sacrifices are simply offered. Abel offers firstborn animals from his livestock and their fat portions, and God has regard for them and accepts them. Cain, on the other hand, offers

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priest arises in the likeness of Melchizedek, who has become a priest, not according to a legal requirement concerning bodily descent but by the power of an indestructible life"; (Heb 7:11-16 RSV).

<sup>636</sup> Willis, "Melchisedech," 267. Willis concedes this when he writes: "Melchisedech is not stated by Genesis to have made an offering, but is said to have been the priest of the Most High, and the concepts of priest and offering are inseparable"; Ibid. Jungmann notes the same thing in a footnote to his claim that Melchizedek, who is a "priest of the most high God, offers us bread and wine." "The Biblical text of Gen 14:18 speaks directly only of 'producing' or 'bringing forward' by Melchisedek (Vulgate also: *proferens*). Still the reference to the priesthood gives reasons and substance to the supposition that his deed involved a sacrificial action"; Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, II:228, n. 12. In the later section on Melchizedek in early Christian writing, I will discuss the fact that many early Christians assumed that Melchizedek did, in fact, offer bread and wine in sacrifice.

<sup>637</sup> The idea of adding to Christ's offering of himself through the repeated offering of the Mass was a reformation concern and is expressed in the opening paragraph of the eucharistic prayer in the first English prayer book of 1549: "O God heavenly father, which of thy tender mercie diddest geve thine only sonne Jesu Christ to suffre death upon the crosse for our redemption, who made there (by his *one* oblacion *once* offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblacion, and satysfaccyon, for the sinnes of the whole worlde, and did institute, and in his holy Gospell commaund us, to celebrate a perpetuall memory of that his precious death, untill his comming again"; Cummings, *Book of Common Prayer*, 30; emphasis added.

the fruit of the ground, for which God has no regard and thus does not accept it (Gen 4:3-5). The only reason provided for why one is accepted and the other rejected is in Gen 4:7, where God speaks to Cain: “If you do well, will you not be accepted? And if you do not do well, sin is crouching at the door; its desire is for you, but you must master it” (RSV). God’s explanation makes a straightforward connection between the acceptability of a sacrifice and the internal disposition of the one who offers it. This is noteworthy because, as I will discuss in the next section, there is a debate as to whether the phrase “sacrifice of praise” is sometimes metaphorical, meaning that it refers only to the internal disposition of the person that is expressed in verbal praise and thanksgiving, or whether it always has a material, cultic connotation.

Abraham’s sacrifice is not identified in the Roman Canon but is almost always interpreted as the sacrifice (or more accurately, binding—*akedah*) of his son Isaac in Genesis 22. This is the only act of sacrifice identified in Heb 11 as indicative of Abraham’s faith, and this is also often interpreted by Christians as a type of Christ’s sacrifice: both are sons who are sacrificed and yet live.<sup>638</sup> Thus, Abraham’s sacrifice is in a certain way a non-sacrifice, at least in the sense that Isaac is not killed. The fact that Isaac did not die, however, is secondary: what is key (at least in the interpretation of Hebrews) is that Isaac was offered (*προσενήνοχεν*), which is interpreted as an act of faith on the part of Abraham.

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<sup>638</sup> The interpretation of Heb 11:19 is along these same lines: the fact that Isaac is saved at the very last minute by the intervention of an angel who directs that Abraham should not, in fact, kill his son and that his willingness to do so is indication that he fears God (Gen 22:12): “By faith Abraham, when he was tested, offered up Isaac, and he who had received the promises was ready to offer up his only son, of whom it was said, “Through Isaac shall your descendants be named. He considered that God was able to raise men even from the dead; hence, figuratively speaking, he did receive him back”; (Heb 11:17-19 RSV). It does not say that Abraham was *willing* to offer his son, but that he “offered” (*προσενήνοχεν*; *offerebat*) his son. Thus, in Abraham’s experience, the fact that he did not have to slay his son and that he did not die is in a certain sense secondary and that the reception back of his son after the provision of the ram was as if Isaac had been resurrected.

Finally, as noted earlier, in the one narrative mention of Melchizedek in Genesis 14, there is no specific description of the sacrifice that he offered. That fact that he is a priest no doubt means that he offered sacrifice. The only material with which the text says that he does anything is bread and wine, which he brings forth. As Gerhard von Rad points out, “Such a positive, tolerant evaluation of a Canaanite cult outside Israel is unparalleled in the Old Testament.”<sup>639</sup> Thus, it appears that the Roman Canon is interpreting Gen 14:18, which says that Melchizedek brought forth bread and wine, as a description of his sacrifice (not merely providing food for Abraham and his men). Hence, Melchizedek’s sacrifice is described by the Roman Canon with the same adjectives as the sacrifice of the Eucharist: *sanctum sacrificium (Supra quae and Te igitur)* and *immaculatam hostiam (Supra quae and Unde et memores)*.

Further, as I have intimated, while Melchizedek’s priesthood is central to Hebrews 5-7<sup>640</sup> (where he is referenced by name seven times), the sacrifices of Abel and Abraham also figure prominently in Hebrews where they serve as two principal examples of faith. In Hebrews 11, a list of Old Testament examples provides evidence that one receives divine approval on the basis of actions that demonstrate faith. The following figures, along with a brief description of their faithful exploits, are listed there: Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, the People of Israel, and Rahab (Heb

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<sup>639</sup> He continues: “Above all, Abraham’s homage to a heathen servant of the cult is quite unusual from the standpoint of the Old Testament faith in Yahweh. The initiative came from Melchizedek. He honors the returning victor with a meal and gives Abraham the benediction of his god. He considers, therefore, full of presentiments, that the ‘highest god’ helped Abraham to victor; and he knows nothing about the plans and secrets of Israel’s God. But Abraham submits to this benediction and gives Melchizedek a tenth, which implies a recognition of a proprietary claim, a sovereign right”; Gerhard von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary*, trans. John H Marks, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1972), 180.

<sup>640</sup> Eizenhöfer specifically points to Heb 7:1, 3, and 4; *Canon Missae Romanae: Pars altera*, 150.



11:4-21).<sup>641</sup> Abel (whom the Canon calls *iusti*, “righteous,” which is taken directly from Jesus’ description in Matt 23:34 as δίκαιον, which the Vulgate renders as *iusti*) and Abraham are named specifically because they offer a sacrifice that demonstrates their faith;<sup>642</sup> none of the actions listed for any of the other figures is sacrifice.<sup>643</sup> Thus, offering an acceptable sacrifice is the reason these two figures are identified.<sup>644</sup> Abel is said to have “offered to God a sacrifice that exceeded Cain’s, through which he received a testimony that he was righteous, a testimony that God gave through his dutiful offerings that were brought forth” (Heb 11:4 AT)<sup>645</sup> while Abraham, “when he was tested, offered up Isaac, and he who had received the promises was ready to offer up his only-begotten son, of whom it was said, ‘Through Isaac shall your seed be named’” (Heb 11:17-18 AT). The text goes on to provide a sort of midrash on the event: Abraham “judged that God was able to raise up even the dead; hence, he did receive him back as a figure [ἐν παραβολῇ;<sup>646</sup> in parabolam],” (Heb 11:19 AT).<sup>647</sup>

The way Melchizedek is discussed in Gen 14:18 and again in Hebrews 5-7 connects directly to Abraham. The only priestly act described of Melchizedek is that he

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<sup>641</sup> Verse 32 adds: “And what more shall I say? For time would fail me to tell of Gideon, Barak, Samson, Jephthah, of David and Samuel and the prophets.”

<sup>642</sup> Eizenhöfer cites Heb 11:17; *Canon Missae Romanae: Pars altera*, 150.

<sup>643</sup> Abel and Abraham (the latter’s sacrifice, specifically) are also mentioned together in 4 Macc 18:11.

<sup>644</sup> Multiple examples of Abraham’s faith are given: leaving his homeland and going to a place he did not know, along with Sarah’s faith that she could conceive in her old age.

<sup>645</sup> Eizenhöfer cites Heb 11:17; *Canon Missae Romanae: Pars altera*, 150.

<sup>646</sup> Danker points out that the two uses of this term in Hebrews (the other is in Heb 9:9 in the context of a discussion of the tabernacle’s relationship to the heavenly sanctuary) both have the sense of “type” or “figure” (similar to τύπος in Rom 5:14); Danker, 759.

<sup>647</sup> The NRSV gives the sense that the provision of the ram in place of Isaac meant that Abraham “figuratively” received his son back. But a better rendering would indicate rather that Abraham receiving his son as alive, though he was all but dead, is itself a figure pointing forward, namely, to the actual resurrection of the Son of God, who is depicted as “a Lamb standing, as though it had been slain” (Rev 5:6).

blessed Abraham, though the text describes him as both “king of Salem” and a “priest of the Most High God” (Vulgate: *sacerdos Dei altissimi*; LXX: ἱερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου). The connection between priesthood and kingship is found in the New Testament, both in 1 Peter 2 (where Christians are described as a “holy priesthood” who offer “spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ” [2:5; *spiritalis sacerdotium sanctum offerre spiritales hostias acceptabiles Deo per Iesum Christum*; ἱεράτευμα ἅγιον, ἀνενέγκαι πνευματικὰς θυσίας εὐπροσδέκτους θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] and also a “royal priesthood” [*regale sacerdotium*; βασιλείον ἱεράτευμα]) and also in Revelation (Christ makes Christians a kingdom, priests to his God and Father in 1:5 [*regnum sacerdotes Deo et Patri*; βασιλείαν, ἱερεῖς τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ] and again in 5:10). Some, such as Jerome, interpreted Melchizedek as something of a Gentile parallel to the Levitical priesthood, “a priest of the uncircumcised” before the introduction of circumcision and before Abraham is asked to offer Isaac.<sup>648</sup> Further, in the interpretation of Hebrews, the call of Abraham is directly connected to Melchizedek: God calls and established his covenant with Abraham (6:13); he indicates the solemnity of this by swearing by himself (Heb 6:13; Gen 22:16-17); Jesus brings this to completion by becoming a high priest according to the order of Melchizedek (Heb 6:20), a priest who was Abraham’s superior since Abraham paid him tithes (Heb 7:4-10).

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<sup>648</sup> Willis, “Melchisedech,” 270; Jerome, *Ep.* LXXIII, 3 (ante circumcisionem functus sacerdotio).

### ***Melchizedek in early Christian writers***

After *1 Clement*, Justin Martyr is the earliest Christian author to demonstrate a use of Hebrews<sup>649</sup> and also articulate a number of basic sacrificial themes in the Roman Canon. He discusses the three figures of Abel, Abraham, and Melchizedek in *Dialogue with Trypho* 19 (c. 135), where he also points out that the sacrifices of Abel, Noah, and Melchizedek were acceptable to God even though all three were uncircumcised. In fact, Melchizedek is named often in this work: Justin returns to his argument from *Dialogue with Trypho* 19 again in chapter 33 and refers to Christ's Melchizidekian priesthood in chapters 63, 83, 93 (simply a reference to him as "the eternal priest of God"), 113, and 116 ("Christ the High Priest"). Hebrews has often been interpreted as a general critique of cult, and Raymond's Brown's comment is representative: "Jesus has rendered otiose all sacrifices, the Levitical priesthood, and an earthly Holy of Holies."<sup>650</sup> Justin speaks of sacrifice a great deal throughout *Dialogue with Trypho*. Like Hebrews, Justin argues that Levitical sacrifices are ended and no longer acceptable to God (for example, see his lengthy discussion in *Dialogue with Trypho* 22) and (quoting Psalm 50 at length) that God (in contrast) wants a sacrifice of praise, a broken spirit, etc. But, Justin also states explicitly that the Eucharist is a sacrifice, which means that at least in his view, material sacrifice in general is not rendered otiose, but only those of the Mosaic covenant.<sup>651</sup>

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<sup>649</sup> See *1 Apol.* I 12.9 [cf. Heb 3:1]; *Dial.* 13.1 [cf. Heb 9:13-14]; 19.3 [cf. Heb 11:5]; 19.4 [cf. Heb 5:6; 6:20; 7:1-2]; 46.3; 56.1 [cf. Heb 3:5]; 67.9 [cf. Heb 12:21]; 96.1 [cf. Heb 7:17, 24]; 113.5 [cf. Heb 5:6, 10]; 121.2 [cf. Heb 4:12-13]; see Lane, "Hebrews," 478.

<sup>650</sup> Brown and Meier, *Antioch and Rome*, 156

<sup>651</sup> Koester makes an identical claim: "Hebrews' most radical point is not the rejection of sacrifice in general, but its rejection of the sacrifices prescribed by the law"; *Hebrews*, 438.

There was a range of interpretations regarding Melchizedek's bread and wine among early Christian writers. Willis points out that Origen interprets the bread and wine "as being supplies of ordinary food for the army of Abraham, and not as being the material of a sacrifice offered to God by Melchizedek."<sup>652</sup> However, both Jewish and Christian commentators have interpreted the bread and wine as a sacrificial offering and (for the Christian interpreters) as a type of the Eucharist.<sup>653</sup> Epiphanius of Salamis (c. 310–320 – 403) provides a helpful overview of various matters of interpretation regarding Melchizedek—some of them rather bizarre—in his collection of heresies and their refutation, *Panarion*, which includes a refutation of the Melchizedekians and an engagement with Melchizedek in Hebrews 7.<sup>654</sup> The earliest evidence for an interpretation that Melchizedek's bread and wine was a sign of the Eucharist is found with Clement of Alexandria (c. 150-215), who states plainly that when Melchizedek "gave bread and wine," he furnished "a type of the Eucharist."<sup>655</sup> Tertullian (c. 155 – c. 240) points out that Melchizedek not only lacked circumcision but also did not observe the Sabbath and was still "chosen to the priesthood of God."<sup>656</sup> His mention of Melchizedek is in a passage where he also points to God's acceptance of Abel's sacrifice but then, two chapters later, lists the sacrifices of Abel (which he calls *hostiam sanctam*), the translation of Enoch, the preservation of Noah, Abraham's offering of Isaac, and

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<sup>652</sup> Willis, "Melchisedech," 268; Origen, *Ep.*, LXXIII, 6.

<sup>653</sup> Willis, "Melchisedech," 268-9, 271-6. For examples of the latter, see Epiphanius *Haer.* V, i, 4; Chrysostom, *De Melchisedechianibus*, III (PG LVI, 260); Clement, *Strom.* IV, 25. In addition to Willis' summary, see Gustave Bardy, "Melchisédech Dans La Tradition Patristique," *RB* 36 (1927): 25–37.

<sup>654</sup> PG 82:681ff; Karl Holl, *Epiphanius*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1915); Frank Williams, ed., *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 36 (Leiden: Brill, 1994). See also Heen and Krey, *Hebrews*, xxv; Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. 3, 384-96. See the quotation in Heen and Krey, *Hebrews*, 100-01.

<sup>655</sup> *Strom.* 4, 25; ET = Heen and Krey, *Hebrews*, 102; see also Willis, "Melchisedech," 275.

<sup>656</sup> *Adv. Jud.* 2; ET = ANF 3, 153.

Melchizedek's priesthood as examples of persons having spiritually received the law and having been spiritually circumcised.<sup>657</sup> Around the same time, in the first part of the third century, Cyprian (d. 238) gives an extended reading of Melchizedek and his relationship to the Eucharist, worth quoting at length:

Also in the priest Melchizedek we see prefigured [praefiguratum] the sacrament of the sacrifice of the Lord, according to what divine Scripture testifies, and says, "And Melchizedek, king of Salem, brought forth bread and wine." Now he was a priest of the most high God, and blessed Abraham. And that Melchizedek bore a type of Christ, the Holy Spirit declares in the Psalms, saying from the person of the Father to the Son: "Before the morning star I begot You; You are a priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek;" which order is assuredly this coming from that sacrifice and thence descending; that Melchizedek was a priest of the most high God; that he offered wine and bread; that he blessed Abraham. For who is more a priest of the most high God than our Lord Jesus Christ, who offered a sacrifice to God the Father, and offered that very same thing which Melchizedek had offered, that is, bread and wine, to wit, His body and blood?"<sup>658</sup>

Willis proposed that this passage "strongly suggests that he had before him the African Canon, and that this canon contained the phrase *sacerdos Dei summi* (the Vulgate's rendering of Heb 7:1) as applied to Melchizedek."<sup>659</sup> By the time of Ambrose, however,

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<sup>657</sup> *Adv. Jud.* 4. "Denique doceant, sicuti iam praelocuti sumus, aut Adam sabbatizasse, aut Abel hostiam deo sanctam offerentem sabbati religione placuisse, aut enoch translatum sabbati cultorem fuisse, aut Noe, arcae fabricatorem, propter diluuium imminens sabbatum obseruasse, aut Abraham in obseruatione sabbati Isaac filium suum obtulisse, aut Melchisedech in suo sacerdotio legem sabbati accepisse" (CSEL, LXX, 251).

<sup>658</sup> *Letter 63*, 4.1 in G. W. Clarke, ed., *The Letters of St. Cyprian of Carthage, Vol. 3, Letters 55-66*, ACW 46 (New York: Newman Press, 1986), 44. ANF misidentifies this as letter 62. "Item in sacerdote Melchisedech sacrificii dominici sacramentum praefiguratum uidemus, secundum quod scriptura divina testatur et dicit: *Et Melchisedech rex Salem protulit panem et uinum* [Gen xiv, 18]. Fuit autem sacerdos Dei summi, et benedixit Abrahae. Quod autem Melchisedech typum Christi portaret, declarat in Psalmis Spiritus sanctus ex persona Patris ad Filium dicens: *Ante luciferum genui te. Tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech* [Psal. cix, 4, 5]. Qui ordo, utique hic est de sacrificio illo ueniens et inde descendens, quod Melchisedech sacerdos Dei summi fuit, quod panem et uinum obtulit, quod Abraham benedixit. Nam quis magis sacerdos Dei summi quam Dominus noster Jesus Christus, qui sacrificium Deo Patri obtulit, et obtulit hoc idem quod Melchisedech obtulerat, id est panem et uinum, suum scilicet corpus et sanguinem"; *Ep. LXIII*, 4 (PL 3, 375B). Willis quotes this in "Melchisedech," 279 but strangely omits the following portion: "quod Abraham benedixit. Nam quis magis sacerdos Dei summi quam Dominus noster Jesus Christus, qui sacrificium Deo Patri obtulit." He also seems to indicate that Cyprian did not consider Melchizedek's bread and wine a sacrifice, though the above quoted passage indicates the exact opposite.

<sup>659</sup> Willis, "Melchisedech," 279.

the biblical phrase *sacerdos Dei summi* (priest of the Most High God) had evolved into *summus sacerdos* (high priest), which would seem to be a way of expressing what Hebrews says implicitly, namely, that if Jesus is a high priest after the order of Melchizedek, then Melchizedek must also have been a high priest.

Eusebius takes the exegesis a step further and describes a number of characteristics of Melchizedek's priesthood that make it superior to those under the Old Covenant and also closer to the Christian sacrifice, which Daniélou outlines (though his approach contains some distasteful anti-Semitic undertones). First, Melchizedek's priesthood was not tied to a genealogical line (as Heb 7:16 points out—"not according to a legal requirement of a mandate of the body but by the power of an indestructible life"), which makes it "universal" (Daniélou's term).<sup>660</sup> Second, while Jewish temple worship was limited to Jerusalem, there is nothing about the sacrifice of Melchizedek (who is king of Salem, which is identified with Zion and Jerusalem; see Ps 76:2) that makes it limited to one location and thus it fulfills the prophecy of Mal 1:11.<sup>661</sup> Third, the matter of the sacrifice—bread and wine—have a more natural and obvious correspondence to the Eucharist than most of the matter of Jewish sacrifice and thus revealed in a type the sacrament that was to come.<sup>662</sup> Willis argues that an important change can be identified:

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<sup>660</sup> *Bible and the Liturgy*, 146; Eusebius, *Dem. Ev.* V, 3 (PG XXII, 265 B-C).

<sup>661</sup> *Bible and the Liturgy*, 146; see Eusebius, *Dem. Ev.* I, 10 (PG XXII, 92C) and *Dem. Ev.* V, 3 (PG XXII, 265 B-C).

<sup>662</sup> *Bible and the Liturgy*, 146; see Eusebius, *Dem. Ev.* V, 3 (PG XXII, 365D). Daniélou positively quotes a Fr. Feret on this point: "The bread and wine presented by Melchisedech to Abraham are a more spiritual offering, nearer to natural simplicity than all the sacred butcheries prescribed by the Jewish law"; Henri Marie Féret, "La Messe, rassemblement de la communauté," in *La messe et sa catéchèse vanves 30 avril-4 mai 1946*, Lex Orandi (Paris: Du cerf, 1947), 229. To these three, Daniélou adds a final characteristic: while the institution of the Eucharist took place in the context of the Paschal meal, thus fulfilling the Mosaic covenant, Christ did so with the elements of bread and wine in order "to show its continuity with the covenant with Noe of which Melchisedech was the High priest. Thus, Christ is the fulfillment not only of the figures of the worship of the Old Testament, but of all the sacrifices which in all religions and all times men have offered to God, which he takes up and transubstantiates in His Own

by the time of the fourth century, the Levites and Levitical priesthood are now acceptable types of the Christian ministry and Levitical sacrifices as types of the Eucharist. This is not seen, however, in second century writers such as Justin and Irenaeus, where the argument is that God does not accept the sacrifices of the Old Covenant but only the “pure sacrifices” of Mal 1:11, which is specifically fulfilled in the Christian’s eucharistic sacrifice of bread and wine. The reason Abel, Abraham, and Melchizedek are fitting sacrifices is precisely because they are pre-Mosaic.<sup>663</sup>

A few other fourth-century authors also mention Melchizedek. As noted in Chapter 1, two of the few possible non-euchological references to the existence of an early form of the Latin anaphora are the references to Melchizedek as *summus sacerdos* in both Ambrosiaster<sup>664</sup> and in a sermon by Zeno of Verona, both from the second half of the fourth century.<sup>665</sup> Ambrose demonstrates a general affinity with Eusebius’s position and argues that the obsolescence of Levitical sacrifices and the singular finality of

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sacrifice”; *The Bible and the Liturgy*, 146, quoting *Le mystère de l’Avent*, 25 (ET = *Advent* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1951).

<sup>663</sup> Willis, *History*, 51. Willis goes further, however, than I think is warranted. He explains all three: “for Abel offered lambs, as Christians offer the Lamb of God; Abraham his only son, as Christians offer the only Son of God; and Melchisedech brought forth bread and wine, the elements of the Christian Eucharist”; *Ibid*, 52. I do not see any evidence that second century writers thought that Christians offered Christ in the Eucharist; this seems only to be expressed beginning in the fourth century in writers such as Ambrose (see the discussion of what is offered in the Eucharist in Chapter 7).

<sup>664</sup> “Likewise the Holy Spirit is sent as a priest, and is called the priest of the most high God (not the high priest as our people claim in the oblation).” “Similiter et spiritus sanctus missus quasi antestes sacerdos appellatus est excelsi dei, non summus, sicut nostri in oblatione praesumunt, quia, quamvis unius sint substantiae Christus et sanctus spiritus, unius cuiusque tamen ordo seruandus est.” “CVIII. De Melchisedech,” §20, Pseudo-Augustine, *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti CXXVII*, ed. Alexander Souter, CSEL 50 (Vindobonae: F. Tempsky, 1908), 268; ET = Spinks, “Canon Missae,” 132.

<sup>665</sup> *Sermoni i.3*, ll. 36-41 in Zeno, *Tractatus*, ed. Bengt Löfstedt, CC 22 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1971), 25. Recall that not only does Zeno call Melchizedek “summus sacerdos,” he speaks of Abraham as “Abraham patriarcha noster” (*Sermoni i.43*, line 8 in Zeno, *Tractatus*, 114) as in the Canon. Further, he describes Isaac as offered on the altar by Abraham as an “immaculata hostia” (*Sermoni i.59*, lines 14 in Zeno, *Tractatus*, 134), a phrase that appears twice in the *textus receptus* and also in the form in Ambrose; the sacrificial offering is described in the *Ergo memores* as “hanc immaculatam hostiam, rationabilem hostiam, incruentam hostiam.”

Christ's sacrifice does not necessarily mean the absence of Christian priests and sacrifices. "The mysteries of the Christians are older than those of the Jews;" because Melchizedek offered bread and wine, "he, then, is the author of the sacraments" (*Sacr.* 4.3.10).

### ***Melchizedek in liturgical texts***

Melchizedek is mentioned in only a few other anaphoras. However, it is only in Western texts that he is identified in a way similar to the reference to him and his sacrifice in the Canon's *Supra quae*:<sup>666</sup>

(a) *A Post-pridie* (§627) in the *Liber mozarabicus* contains many parallels to the *Ergo memores* and *Et petimus et praecamur* in Ambrose's *Sacr.* (and thus the *Unde et memores* and *Supra quae* in the Roman Canon). It is clearly an alternative (and possibly earlier) version and appeal is made to the Old Testament sacrifices in the same way as in the Roman Canon: as a basis for God's acceptance of *this* Eucharistic offering.<sup>667</sup>

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<sup>666</sup> Willis notes that there are two Coptic sources that make use of clearly unscriptural stories about Melchizedek in a liturgical context (Abraham being sent to Mount Tabor to find Melchizedek); see Willis, "Melchisedech," 276-7; Stephen Gaselee, *Parerga Coptica*, vol. II (Cambridge: University Press, 1914), 7-9, 11-13.

<sup>667</sup> "Hanc quoque oblationem ut accepto habeas et benedicas supplices exoramus, sicut habuisti accepto munera Abel pueri tui iusti, et sacrificium Patriarche Patris nostri Abrahe, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech. Descendat hic queso inuisibiliter benediction tua, sicut quondam in Patrum hostiis uisibiliter descendebat. Ascendat odor suauitatis in conspectu divine Maiestatis tue ex hoc sublimi altario tuo per manus Angeli tui: et deferatur in ista solemnia Spiritus tuus Sanctus, qui tam adstantis quam offerentis populi et oblata pariter et vota sanctificet"; §627 in *LMS*, col. 262, ln. 5ff. I have maintained the Latin orthography as reproduced in the published versions of the sacramentaries which often contain different endings from current standard Latin orthography (for example, in the quotation above, *Patriarche*, *Abrahe*, *divine*, and *tue* would be spelled *Patriarchae*, *Abrahae*, *divinae*, and *tuae*. In all subsequent quotations, I will include a note that original spellings have been maintained. For the reconstructions that this use this and the other texts mentioned in this paragraph, see Vagaggini, *Canon of the Mass*, 28-34; Mazza, *Origins*, 240-86.



- (b) The *Liber mozarabicus* also contains a few other references to Melchizedek: a blessing that refers to Christ as a high priest after the order of Melchizedek<sup>668</sup> and another *Post pridie* that identifies Melchizedek as a type of Christ.<sup>669</sup>
- (c) An additional preface in both the Gelasian sacramentary and the *Veronensis* refers to the three ancient sacrifices in a fashion that is quite different from the Roman Canon and the related texts mentioned in (a). This is the version from the Gelasian sacramentary:

We together immolate your sacrifice of praise [hostiam laudis], whose (prae)figurement righteous Abel instituted, and the lawful lamb manifested, Abraham celebrated, and the priest Melchizedek showed forth, but as a true lamb, an eternal high priest, which Christ fulfilled at his birth.<sup>670</sup>

Here, God's acceptance of the ancient sacrifices does not serve as a basis upon which we can now rely for God to accept our sacrifices, but rather as a prefigured type of Christ, a typological approach that is very similar to the way Abraham's sacrifice is interpreted in Heb 11:19 (I discuss this in the next section).

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<sup>668</sup> LMS §581, col. 239, ln. 30ff. "Dominus Ihesus Christus, qui est summus sacerdos secundum ordinem Melchisedech, ipse uos suis donis repleat suaque benediction sanctificet"; original spelling maintained.

<sup>669</sup> LMS §654, col. 277, ln. 12ff. "Hec duo a te elicita munera, que tibi Melchisedech typicus ille sacerdos celi Domino obtulit, atque ut a nobis in veritate offerretur premissit"; original spelling maintained.

<sup>670</sup> "Vere dignum: tui laudis hostiam iugiter immolantes, cuius figurum Abel iustus instituit, agnus quoque legalis ostendit, celebravit Abraham, Melchisedech sacerdos exhibuit, sed verus agnus, aeternus pontifex, hodie natus Christus implevit." GeV no. 20; this is the preface Kappes uses in his hypothetical reconstruction of an early form of the Roman Canon (see the discussion in Chapter 1). While he does note that a version appears in the *Liber Mozarabicus* (no. 1420, preface for the 14<sup>th</sup> Sunday) he does not point out that there is also a version in the *Veronensis* (no. 1250, fourth preface in December): "Vere dignum: tuae laudis hostiam iugiter immolantes, cuius figurum Abel iustus instituit, agnus quoque legalis ostendit, celebravit Abraham, Melchisedech sacerdos exhibuit, sed verus agnus et aeternus pontifex hodie natus Christus implevit." See Appendix K for the text of all three in parallel. I addressed this preface earlier in my discussion of the Therefore category in Chapter 4.

- (d) The *Liber ordinum* refers to God's acceptance of Abel and Melchizedek's sacrifice in a blessing of priestly hands,<sup>671</sup> and both the Hadrianum and the *Missale Francorum* mention Melchizedek in the blessing of a basilica and of eucharistic vessels.<sup>672</sup>
- (e) Melchizedek is referenced in the anaphora in *Apostolic Constitutions* VIII.12.23, but only within its lengthy recounting of salvation history.<sup>673</sup>

Melchizedek, then, holds a special place in the Latin tradition.<sup>674</sup> He appears in every witness to the Roman Canon, in the related Mozarabic rite, in a few Latin prefaces, and was inserted into the portion of the prayer that it shares in common with no other extant anaphoral witness except the Alexandrian tradition. Willis suggests that the place of Melchizedek in Latin anaphoral praying "can probably be traced to the second

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<sup>671</sup> *LO*, col. 158, ln. 12ff. "Sint hec in conspectus tuo libenter accepta, sicut quondam Abel famuli tui vel Melchisedec munera tibi placuerunt oblate"; original spelling maintained.

<sup>672</sup> "Per quem te supplices deprecamur, ut altare hoc sanctis usibus praeparatum, caelesti dedicatione sanctifices, ut sicut melchisedech sacerdotis praecipui oblationem dignatione mirabili suscepisti, ita imposito novo huic altari munera semper accepta ferre digneris, ut populus qui in hanc ecclesiae domum sanctam conuenit, per haec libamina celesti sanctificatione saluatus nimarum quoque suarum salute perpetuam consequantur"; original spelling maintained; Hadrianum (Cambrai 164 – olim 159) in Deshusses, J. *Le sacramentaire grégorien: Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits. Vol. 1, Le sacramentaire, le supplément d'Aniane*. 3rd ed. Spicilegium Friburgense 16 (Fribourg Suisse: Éditions universitaires, 1971), no. 821. Hereafter GrH. "...ita nunc manens in aeternum, summe sacerdos sacerdotum secundum ordinem Melchisedech (utu diximus), patenam hanc et calicem hunc et Omnia instrumenta altaris huius ecclesiae seu basilicae..."; original spelling maintained. Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, Petrus Siffrin, and Leo Eizenhöfer, eds. *Missale Francorum: (Cod. Vat. Reg. Lat. 257)* (Rome: Herder, 1957), p. 19, ln. 66ff. Hereafter GaF.

<sup>673</sup> ὁ τὸν Μελχισεδέκ ἀρχιερέα σῆς λατρείας προχειρισάμενος (You chose Melchizedek to be high-priest of your service) *Apos. Con.* 8.12.23; ET = *PEER*, 107. Later in the anaphora, Jesus is described as one whom God ordained "to be a sacrifice, who was a High Priest" (ὁ ἀρχιερὺς ἱερεῖον); *Apos. Con.* 8.12.30. Oddly, Willis writes that "it does not appear that Melchisedech is even mentioned in any Greek or Syriac anaphora"; "Melchisedech," 277. He is mentioned in a few other liturgies: in *Lit. 12*, the offering of Melchizedek is mentioned in an incense prayer ("The Lord accept thine oblation and smell the savour of thine incense as he did accept the oblation of Melchizedek and the incense of Aaron and Zacharias"; *LEW*, 213); in *Lit. AM*, as part of a litany that lists things for which the oblation is offered ("And of Melchisedek and Aaron and Zacharias and all priests"; *LEW*, 276); and as part of a vesting prayer in the Armenian rite ("O our Lord Jesus Christ who deckest thyself with light as with a garment, thou didst show thyself upon earth in unspeakable humility and didst converse with men, who wast made eternal high priest after the order of Melchisedec and didst adorn thine holy church: almighty Lord who hast granted us to put on the same heavenly garment..."; *LEW*, 413).

<sup>674</sup> Willis agrees and states that the addition of Melchizedek to the sacrifices of Abel and Abraham is both unique to the Roman liturgy and "has every appearance of being a thoroughly primitive feature"; Willis, "God's Altar," 246.

century” and includes from that time an interpretation of Gen 14:18 that Melchizedek did not simply bring out bread and wine as food but offered it as a sacrifice.<sup>675</sup> If, as seems likely, *Lit. STR* was one of the Greek prayers that was translated and appropriated into Latin and stands as one of the sources for the earliest forms of the Roman Canon, one of the ways that the “reasonable sacrifice and bloodless oblation” there identified as the Christian Eucharist and the fulfillment of the prophecy of Mal 1:11 is translated into the Latin anaphoral tradition is through the use of Melchizedek. In other words, to insert Melchizedek is to replace the prophetic word that speaks of the Eucharist with a typological figure who does the same.

The near complete absence of Melchizedek from Eastern anaphoras is perplexing. As Willis points out, “the sacrifices of Abel and Abraham are frequently cited, but never that of Melchisedech.”<sup>676</sup> Willis’s theory is that the proliferation of the strange and unscriptural legends about Melchizedek may have served as a practical check on his inclusion in the developing Eastern rites, a theory which assumes that at least the core of the Latin anaphora is more ancient than many Eastern anaphoras. He concludes that “why Melchisedech has so firm and enduring a place in Roman liturgy... must remain a mystery.”<sup>677</sup> The answer may well be the direct influence of Hebrews on Latin liturgical compositions.

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<sup>675</sup> Willis, “Melchisedech,” 278. On the following page, Willis refers to Cyprian’s discussion of Melchizedek’s sacrifice as a prefigurement or type of the Eucharist, which he assumes is an indication that the African canon spoke of Melchizedek as *sacerdos Dei summi*. Thus, while he does not provide a footnote or other source, his reference to the second century is almost certainly the witness of Cyprian.

<sup>676</sup> *Ibid.*, 280.

<sup>677</sup> *Ibid.*

What this brief study makes clear is that Melchizedek has a unique place in the Latin anaphoral tradition and that early Christian writers interpreted the bread and wine that Melchizedek brought in Genesis 14 as a type of the Eucharist. Further, the patristic witnesses to Melchizedek's sacrifice as a type of the Eucharist emanate from both East and West, which makes his place in the Latin anaphoral tradition all the more noteworthy. Further, the fact that Melchizedek has a significant place in Hebrews, and that the sacrifices of Abel and Abraham are also given a prominence unparalleled elsewhere in the New Testament, indicates that the place of Melchizedek and the other two sacrifices in the Roman Canon is likely due to the influence of Hebrews.

### ***Sacrificium laudis***

The phrase *sacrificium laudis* appears in the second paragraph of the Roman Canon, the *Memento, domine*. The context is within the intercessions that began in the *Te igitur*. The phrase does not appear in the anaphoral text in Ambrose's *Sacr*. However, as noted in Chapter 1, Ambrose does not reproduce that part of his anaphora but describes it generally as *laus deo defertur, oratio petitur pro populo, pro regibus, pro caeteris* (*Sacr*. 4.4.14). The way that the *Te igitur* and *Memento, Domine* (which function as a unit) are constructed is that *haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata* are offered for the intentions outlined in the intercessions that follow the verb of offering (*tibi offerimus*):

[*Te igitur*] "...primis quae tibi offerimus pro ecclesia tua sancta catholica, quam pacificare, custodire, adunare et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum, una cum famulo tuo papa nostro n., et antistite nostro n. et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholicae at apostolicae fidei cultoribus.

Memento, domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum et omnium circumstantium, quorum tibi fides cognita est et nota devotio, pro quibus tibi offerimus vel qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis pro se suisque omnibus, pro redemptione animarum suarum, pro spe salutis et incolumitatis suae tibi reddunt vota sua aeterno deo vivo et vero.

The meaning of *hoc sacrificium laudis* in the *Memento, Domine* is clearly as a shorthand technical term to refer to action of the celebration of the Eucharist, specifically the act of offering that occurs in the *Te igitur* (and which also occurs later in the *Unde et memores*). The phrase occurs only once in the New Testament, in Heb 13:15: “Through him then let us always offer up a sacrifice of praise<sup>678</sup> [θυσίαν αἰνέσεως]<sup>679</sup> to God, that is, the fruit of lips who confess his name” (AT). The phrase is more common in the Old Testament (as I showed in the section on the Borrowing use of Scripture in Chapter 4), however, which merits a brief consideration of its meaning there in order to try and ascertain its meaning in Heb 13:15 and determine whether it is clear that the Canon is drawing on Hebrews and not the use of *sacrificium laudis* in the Psalms.<sup>680</sup>

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<sup>678</sup> As I noted in Chapter 1, I chose to translate each of the five nouns differently when they appear in the Roman Canon and in the Vulgate so that they can be distinguished easily in translation. The one exception to this is that I will translate *hostiam laudis* in Heb 13:10 as “sacrifice of praise” and not “sacrificial offering of praise,” both for sake of ease and succinctness, and also because *hostia* and *sacrificium* are synonyms.

<sup>679</sup> The term is a New Testament *hapax*, as Attridge points out, Swetnam explains that αἰνέσεως “is an artificial construct designed by the translators of the Septuagint to express an Israelite cultic reality for which they felt there was no corresponding reality in Greek cult”; Swetnam, “*Zebach Tôdâ*,” 77. For a related term, see H. Schlier, “αἰνέω,” in *TDNT*, I:177-8.

<sup>680</sup> M. J. Moreton wrote two articles, both with the titles “The Sacrifice of Praise.” The first from 1967 begins with a consideration of this phrase, both in Hebrews 13 and in its use liturgically—in *Lit. Chry., Lit. James*, and in the Western tradition, including the English prayer books—and then moves into a summary of the development of eucharistic liturgies, never to return to the “the sacrifice of praise.” The discussion lacks theological precision and nuance and adds nothing to this discussion; “Sacrifice of Praise,” *Church Quarterly Review* 165, no. 357 (October 1964): 481–94. The second engages with the Church of England’s *Alternative Services Second Series*, a report of the Church of England’s Liturgical Communion which included a number of services, including a new order for Holy Communion which employ the words, “we offer unto thee this bread and this cup.” As Fenwick and Spinks explain, this “resulted in a controversy, and dissent from the report by Colin Buchanan, an Evangelical member of the Liturgical Commission; John Fenwick and Bryan D. Spinks, *Worship in Transition: The Liturgical Movement in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Continuum, 1995), 73-4. Moreton engages with a different phrase in the new anaphora and attempts to explore its meaning: “Hear us, O Father, through Christ thy Son our Lord; through him accept our sacrifice of praise; and grant that these gifts of bread and wine may be unto us his

### *The “sacrifice of praise” in the Masoretic Text of the Old Testament*

In the Old Testament, the *zebach tôdâ* (זֶבַח תּוֹדָה) stands behind the phrase sometimes rendered in English as “sacrifice of praise” but more often as “thanksgiving sacrifice/oblation.”<sup>681</sup> The *zebach tôdâ* is “a type of bloody sacrifice proper to the worship of the temple (*zebach*) but which also involves ceremonies which in themselves are not a sacrifice (*tôdâ*).”<sup>682</sup> The word *tôdâ* appears approximately thirty times in the Masoretic text and in fewer instances when combined with *zebach*.<sup>683</sup> The general term *tôdâ* can have a range of meanings: “1. A sacrifice, and with *zebach*, as sacrifice of the community; 2. A hymn of thanksgiving or praise; 3. A choir or choir of Levites; 4. A praise of God’s judgment.”<sup>684</sup> What Swetnam calls “the basic text involving the *tôdâ* in the Old Testament is found at Lev 7:11-15 in a passage devoted to a description of various types of sacrifices associated with the official cult of the temple.”<sup>685</sup> This

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Body and Blood.” His approach is again rather wooden; he assumes the phrase in its origin can only be metaphorical/non-material but that its use in the Latin tradition can only mean one thing that is its direct opposite: “in all these cases it is clear that the sacrifice offered is the sacrifice of Christ, ritualized in the eucharist, and it is the offering of this eucharistic service which gives praise to God.” While the second part of this sentence is sound, Moreton never shows in the Roman Canon or the many Latin prefaces where the phrase is used how it is clear that the Church is offering Christ in the Eucharist. While Latin fathers such as Augustine argued as much, it is not clear that this is what the Roman Canon intends to communicate. Michael J. Moreton, “Sacrifice of Praise,” *Church Quarterly* 2, no. 3 (January 1970): 241–49 (quotations are from 241, 242.

<sup>681</sup> Travis J. Bott, “Praise and Metonymy in the Psalms” in William P. Brown, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of the Psalms*, Oxford Handbook (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 141.

<sup>682</sup> Swetnam, “*Zebach Tôdâ*,” 65.

<sup>683</sup> I list most of these uses in the section on the category of Borrowing in Chapter 4.

<sup>684</sup> *Ibid.*, 66. Swetnam summarized this in English based on the entry in *HAL*, 1562-3. See his discussion of principal examples in the Hebrews text of each meaning in “*Zebach Tôdâ*,” 69-71.

<sup>685</sup> *Ibid.*, 67. Jacob Milgrom provides a translation of these verses in *Leviticus 1-16. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 3 (New York: Doubleday, 1991), 380). Swetness reproduces the translation but with two corrections: a change in the proposition in verse 12 to “as” and a translation of *tôdâ* as “praise” rather than “thanksgiving” in order to better express its fundamental purpose in this context (both are indented with underlining that I have added): “This is the ritual for the sacrifice of well-being [זֶבַח הַשְּׁלָמִים] that one may offer to the Lord. If he offers it as praise [עַל־תּוֹדָה], he shall offer as

sacrifice is offered in response to the reception “of some specific favors that the offerer attributes to God.” The rite includes not just an animal sacrifice (note that this is the only Old Testament sacrifice “where the meat from the sacrificed animal is eaten by lay persons”) but also a ceremony involving bread and is accompanied by a hymn.<sup>686</sup> It is clear in this context (and in many others that Swetnam lists) that the sacrifice of praise is clearly a material sacrifice, and not simply a non-material “spiritualization” of a cultic act.<sup>687</sup> Travis J. Bott explains further that in some instances (like Ps 26:6-7 and 107:22), “[b]y metonymy, the action of thanksgiving stands for the sacrifice that accompanies it.”<sup>688</sup> In other words, to pose the question as a sharp material/non-material option is to impose a set of categories that may be foreign to the linguistic and cultural context.

Nonetheless, in a number of instances *zebach tôdâ* may carry a metaphorical, non-material meaning. “Metaphorical,” I think it is important to point out, is a preferable adjective to “spiritual” (or the description, “spiritualization of sacrifice”) as the latter term is misleading, especially when discussing the Eucharist.<sup>689</sup> Willis uses the term

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the sacrifice of praise [על־זבח התודה] unleavened cakes mixed with oil, unleavened wafers smeared with oil, and well-soaked cakes of semolina mixed with oil. This offering, with cakes of leavened bread added, he shall offer as his sacrifice of praise [*zebach tôdâ*] of well-being. Out of this he shall present one of each [kind of] offering as a contribution to the Lord; it shall belong to the priest who dashes the blood of the well-being offering. And the flesh of his sacrifice of praise [*zebach tôdâ*] of well-being shall be eaten on the day that it is offered; none of it shall be put aside until morning” (paragraphing and verse numbers removed); Swetnam, “*Zebach Tôdâ*,” 68. See Daly’s discussion of the passage in *Christian Sacrifice*, 11-21.

<sup>686</sup> Swetnam, “*Zebach Tôdâ*,” 68-9; Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 413.

<sup>687</sup> He points to Lev 22:29; Jon 2:10; Amos 4:5; Jer 17:26; 33:11; Swetnam, “*Zebach Tôdâ*,” 69-71.

<sup>688</sup> Bott, “Praise and Metonymy,” 141-2.

<sup>689</sup> Attridge uses this term in his commentary when discussing Heb 13:15; *Hebrews*, 400. He also addresses this problem incisively in his review of Robert Daly’s major book on sacrifice, where the category “spiritualization” plays a major role (*Christian Sacrifice: The Judaeo-Christian Background before Origen*, Studies in Christian Antiquity (Catholic University of America), no. 18 (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1978). Attridge writes, “A major deficiency arises from the use of the not uncommon category of ‘spiritualization.’ Daly recognizes in his introduction (p. 4) that this is a term ‘so broad in potential meaning that it can hardly be defined in a few words.’ He rejects a precise use

“metaphorical” when discussing non-material interpretations of θυσία in his essay on *sacrificium laudis*.<sup>690</sup> “Spiritual” is the usual translation of λογικὴν in Rom 12:1 (one of only two places where the term is used in the New Testament<sup>691</sup>), the adjective used to describe the worship (λατρείαν) of Christians when they offer their “bodies” (τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν) as a “living sacrifice” (θυσίαν ζῶσαν). The fact that θυσία does not refer to an animal that is killed is no reason to conclude that worship that is λογικὴν is non-material. Paul is clear that the matter of the sacrifice is the bodies of particular Christians. Nonetheless, “spiritual” is commonly used by some scholars to indicate that something is non-material, specifically, when early Christians speak of a “spiritual sacrifice,” this is interpreted to mean a verbal or internal sacrifice that does not have a material component.<sup>692</sup> Robert Taft notes that this tendency, which includes the assumption that

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of the term in the sense of a ‘radical dematerialization of sacrifice,’ and proposes a use in the ‘much broader sense which includes all those movements and tendencies ... which attempted to emphasize the true meaning of sacrifice.’ This use can include anything from prophetic or philosophical criticism of cultic activity to allegorical interpretation of ritual. A category of such breadth is really not very helpful either as an analytical tool or even as a principle of organization. Daly does, to be sure, indicate for each text the ways in which ‘spiritualization’ occurs and such specification is often helpful. At times, however, it is not particularly illuminating, as when we are told that Clement of Rome ‘both spiritualizes and institutionalizes’ sacrifice. This is only an ‘apparent paradox,’ because ‘spiritualization is neither anti-material nor anti-institutional in its basic principles’ (p. 317). Similarly, to be told that Philo ‘oscillates between an idealization and a spiritualization of the idea of priesthood’ (p. 405) is hardly informative, given the initial definition of ‘spiritualization.’ (Daly’s phrase, by the way, is an erroneous paraphrase of Wenschkewitz: *einer Idealisierung der Priester und einer Spiritualisierung des Priesterbegriffs*. Neither formulation is particularly apt for Philo.) One can sympathize with the attempt to make some basic distinctions here, but it is clear that they have not been made very well. It might have been more useful, for instance, to differentiate symbolic interpretations of traditional cult, metaphorical application of cultic terms to non-cultic activity, and the application of cultic terms to non-traditional ritual activity. These three uses of the language of cult and sacrifice operate in the material surveyed, often at the same time, but to describe them all as ‘spiritualization’ is really not very helpful.” Harold W. Attridge, “Christian Sacrifice (Book),” *JBL* 100, no. 1 (March 1981): 145–6.

<sup>690</sup> “Sacrificium Laudis,” in *The Sacrifice of Praise: Studies on the Themes of Thanksgiving and Redemption in the Central Prayers of the Eucharistic and Baptismal Liturgies: In Honour of Arthur Hubert Couratin*, ed. Bryan D. Spinks, Bibliotheca “Ephemerides Liturgicae” 19 (Rome: C.L.V. Edizioni liturgiche, 1981), 73.

<sup>691</sup> The other is in 1 Pet 2:5.

<sup>692</sup> For examples, see Daly, *Christian Sacrifice*; Young, *The Use of Sacrificial Ideas in Greek Christian Writers from the New Testament to John Chrysostom*; Ferguson, “Spiritual Sacrifice in Early Christianity and its Environment.” This is also a weakness in Kenneth Stevenson’s important book,



the earlier original sense of the phrase “sacrifice of praise” was non-material, is contradicted by nearly every early Christian source.<sup>693</sup> Robert Taft and Willis also note that this tendency toward a metaphorical interpretation is found among Scripture scholars.<sup>694</sup>

Swetnam then examines four key Old Testament passages where *zēbach tôdâ* is sometimes interpreted metaphorically—Jon 2:10, Ps 50[49]:14, 23, Ps 107[106]:22, and Ps 116:17[115:9]<sup>695</sup> and concludes that it “is sufficient to indicate how subjective is the proof that the *tôdâ* has become ‘spiritualized.’” He continues:

One cannot avoid the suspicion that a superficial interpretation of the vigorous language of the prophets against a false view of sacrifice has served as an unstated premise for attempts to prove this “spiritualization.” Like any ritual, the *tôdâ* was open to the abuse of formalism. But this does not mean that in its correct execution it was not a meaningful way—perhaps the meaningful way—to praise God for many an Israelite. The case for “spiritualized” meaning of the *tôdâ* would seem to be inconclusive.<sup>696</sup>

Willis comes to the same conclusion and notes that many who wish to give a metaphorical interpretation to *θυσίαν αἰνέσεως* in Heb 13:15 are likely “influenced by

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*Eucharist and Offering* (New York: Pueblo Pub. Co., 1986). He too assumes that there is a fixed notion of sacrifice to which something can be done, namely, “spiritualize it,” such that it is no longer material.

<sup>693</sup> He writes: “Recent studies on this topic usually argue for the recovery of what is considered to be the original Christian sense of the term — what Willis calls the “metaphorical sense”: an offering of praise apart from any rite such as the Eucharist understood sacrificially. Willis’ essay, though limited to the phrase ‘sacrificium laudis,’ restores some equilibrium to the discussion by showing how often in early Christian sources the expression is given an explicitly eucharistic interpretation — and that from the earliest times. Indeed, in liturgical texts the expression is found only in the eucharistic service, never in the preceding Liturgy of the Word. And in the Western liturgical sources, at least, it is always given a eucharistic connotation;” Robert F. Taft, “The Sacrifice of Praise (Studies in Honour of Arthur H Couratin), Review,” *Worship* 56, no. 2 (March 1982): 176–7.

<sup>694</sup> Swetnam’s two principal examples are H.-J. Hermisson, *Sprach und Ritus im Altisraelitischen Kult. Zur “Spiritualisierung” der Kultbegriffe im alten Testament*, WMANT 19 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1965). Willis points to B.F. Westcott’s commentary, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (London: Macmillan, 1892), 443. See the wry comment on Westcott recorded by Willis in “Melchisedech,” 74, n. 3.

<sup>695</sup> Swetnam, “*Zēbach Tôdâ*,” 71-6; I engage each of these four texts in Chapter 4 in the section on the category of Borrowing.

<sup>696</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

their reluctance to think of the Eucharist as in any true sense a sacrifice.”<sup>697</sup> In a recent study of sacrifice and cult in Hebrews, Benjamin Ribbens argues that Ps 50[49] encapsulates the trajectory in the prophetic statements. These, he notes, “are often identified as criticism of the cult” and a move toward the “spiritualization” of sacrifice.<sup>698</sup> This is a misreading of prophetic critique, he counters, which did not call for the elimination of cult but “for a correspondence between the internal dispositions of the person offering the sacrifice and the significance of the external ritual.”<sup>699</sup> Ribbens goes on to clarify that the prophetic and Second Temple literature “is not contrasting material and non-material sacrifices but is contrasting the abuse of the cult with its proper performance.”<sup>700</sup>

This reading is contested, however. Attridge is unequivocal that “sacrifice of praise” in Heb 13:15 “reflects its metaphorical application” as seen in the Psalms, especially Ps 50[49]:14, 23, and 107[106]:22.<sup>701</sup> There are two issues at stake, however, and it is important to distinguish them. First, there is the question about whether the Old Testament uses under discussion are actually metaphorical. Swetnam<sup>702</sup> argues convincingly that there would need to be more evidence that *zebach tôdâ* can have a

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<sup>697</sup> Willis, “Melchisedech,” 74.

<sup>698</sup> I will engage more with the “spiritualization thesis” in the next section.

<sup>699</sup> Benjamin J. Ribbens, *Levitical Sacrifice and Heavenly Cult in Hebrews*, BZNW 222 (Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), 27.

<sup>700</sup> *Ibid.*, 28. Psalm 50 indicates that God does not accept Israel’s sacrifices (v. 7-9), that God does not need their sacrifices (v. 12-13), and that a sacrifice of praise is what honors God (v. 14 [*sacrificium laudis*; θυσίαν αινέσεως] and 23 [*sacrificium laudis*; θυσία αινέσεως]). Psalm 50[49] repeats the theme of Psalm 49[48], namely, that God has no delight in sacrifices and burnt offerings (v. 18; *sacrificium, holocaustis*; θυσίαν, ὀλοκαυτώματα); that a repentant heart is what is acceptable to God (v. 19); and that as a result of such a heart, God will delight (acceptabis; εὐδοκήσει) in sacrifices and burnt offerings (v. 21).

<sup>701</sup> He notes that in Ps 27[26]:6 and 116:17[115:9], “the reference may be to actual bloody sacrifices. In Ps 50[49]14, 23 and 107[106]:22 the emphasis seems to be more clearly on the praise as sacrifice”; *Hebrews*, 400, n. 137.

<sup>702</sup> Swetnam’s article was published twelve years after Attridge’s commentary.

specifically non-material, metaphorical meaning.<sup>703</sup> He explains: “The attempt to interpret the use of *tôdâ* in combination with *zebach* in Ps 50 as involving a shift in emphasis from a full to an attenuated meaning of *zebach* runs counter to the way the verbal form of *zebach* is used in the psalm.”<sup>704</sup> The negative view of sacrifice is most probably not a rejection of sacrifice—as the context appears to be a trial of the offerers within the context of a sacrifice in the temple—“but as a warning against a false view about sacrifice and, in fact, about the entire Law.”<sup>705</sup> In Ps 107[106]:22, *zebach tôdâ* is used in the context of recounting a number of dangers from which God delivered Israel. The two parts—“sacrifice of praise” and “recount his deeds with shouts of joy”—highlight how full and complex a sacrifice is. The verbal expression of praise in the unleavened bread ritual that follows the blood sacrifice is the decisive, even critical, element, but there is nothing to indicate that it is severed from the material sacrifice.<sup>706</sup> I remain unconvinced that these Psalm texts are merely metaphorical. The second issue is this: regardless of whether the source is metaphorical, is the Christian adoption in Heb 13:15 metaphorical? This is the question that I intend to answer in the following sections.

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<sup>703</sup> Hartmut Gese makes this point forcefully. Other language, such as “Circumcise therefore the foreskin of your heart, and be no longer stubborn” (Deut 10:16) or “rend your hearts and not your garments,” take physical actions and use them metaphorically in a way that is conscious, clear, and excludes a literal meaning. But this is precisely what is *not* happening in Ps 50, he argues; the concern is about a sacrifice properly offered, not a metaphoricizing of sacrifice. See “Psalm 50 und das alttestamentliche Gesetzesverständnis” in Johannes Friedrich, Wolfgang Pöhlmann, and Peter Stuhlmacher, eds., *Rechtfertigung: Festschrift für Ernst Käsemann zum 70. Geburtstag* (Tübingen : Göttingen: Mohr ; Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1976), 70-71.

<sup>704</sup> Swetnam, “*Zebach Tôdâ*,” 73.

<sup>705</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

<sup>706</sup> *Ibid.*, 75-6; Hermisson, *Sprach und Ritus*, 36.

### *The “sacrifice of praise” in the Septuagint*

The Septuagint nearly always translates *zēbach tōdā* with the two terms used in Heb 13:15, *θυσίαν αἰνέσεως*. While *θυσία* was a common word from Greek religious terminology, *αἰνέσις* “is an artificial construct designed by the translators of the Septuagint to express an Israelite cultic reality for which they felt there was no corresponding reality in Greek cult.”<sup>707</sup> This Greek phrase is used in the LXX for all the passages discussed thus far (the numbering is that from LXX with the Masoretic in brackets): Lev 7:2, 5[7:12, 15], Ps 49:14, 23[50:14, 23], Ps 106:22[107:22], and Ps 115:8[116:17]. Thus, the translators did not make any interpretive distinction when translating the passages from Leviticus and those in the Psalms, though they did make distinctions among at least three different meanings of *tōdā*.<sup>708</sup> McGowan points out that the Septuagint also collapses the distinctions between many forms of sacrifice, rendering them all as *θυσία*, thus not only taking “the radical step of claiming linguistic equivalences between Israelite and gentile rituals,” but also constructing “these equivalences in specific ways that are not always obvious, avoiding some Greek words

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<sup>707</sup> Swetnam, “*Zēbach Tōdā*,” 77. He goes on: “It is based on the Greek verb *αἰνέω* and its choice is significant for it shows the principal characteristic of the *tōdā* as the translators saw it.” While some like Cazelles have indicated that Philo’s preference for *εὐχαριστία* points to the Christian appropriation of the term in its more metaphorical sense (which seems to predominate in Philo), Laporte points out that he also uses the *αἰνέσις*, and thus the situation is more complicated. See H. Cazelles, “L’anaphore et l’Ancien Testament,” in *Eucharisties d’Orient et d’Occident. Semaine liturgique de l’Institut Saint-Serge*, Lex Orandi (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1970), 20; Jean Laporte, *La doctrine eucharistique chez Philon d’Alexandrie* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1972); ET = Laporte, *Eucharistia in Philo*, Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity 3 (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1983).

<sup>708</sup> See Swetnam, “*Zēbach Tōdā*,” 78; see also A. E. Goodman, “The Linguistic Tradition of the Psalter,” in *Words and Meanings: Essays Presented to David Winton Thomas on His Retirement from the Regius Professorship of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge, 1968*, ed. D. Winton Thomas, Peter R. Ackroyd, and Barnabas Lindars (London: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 112.

and preferring others.”<sup>709</sup> Most important in this context, *θυσία* is used for both *zebach* and *minhah*, collapsing the practical distinction between cereal offerings and meat offerings. This is noteworthy in that it demonstrates that the New Testament writers and early Christians are working within a linguistic context where Greek cultic language is used to describe an enormous range of Jewish cultic actions, from destructive holocaust sacrifices on one end to communal meals with bread and meat on the other. Thus, McGowan argues that the “extension of the meaning of *θυσία* is deeply significant” and “helps pave the way for an extension of Greek cultic language to the meatless Eucharistic meal setting, not necessarily as a spiritualized or even metaphorical application of the idea, but simply as a direct and descriptive means of speaking about a sacred communal meal, and even a meatless one.”<sup>710</sup>

The Septuagint, then, is already a phase in the evolution of the idea of sacrifice such that *θυσία* can designate a wide variety of different, even conflicting, practices. Thus, Attridge’s appeal to the widespread “metaphorical application of the language of sacrifice either to prayer or to ethical categories...in the Hellenistic period, among Greco-Roman moralists, Jews who continue and expanded the prophetic critic of cultic formalism, and early Christians”<sup>711</sup> does not take seriously enough the complex and developing conceptions of sacrifice in this period among Greeks, Jews, and Christians. The collapse by the Septuagint of Hebrew distinctions regarding different types of

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<sup>709</sup> McGowan, “Eucharistic and Sacrifice,” 6; see also G. Dorival, “L’originalité de la Bible grecque des Septante en matière de sacrifice,” in *La cuisine et l’autel: Les sacrifices en questions dans les sociétés de la Méditerranée ancienne*, ed. Stella Georgoudi, Renée Koch Piettre, and Francis Schmidt (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 309–15; Christian Eberhart, ed., *Ritual and Metaphor: Sacrifice in the Bible*, Society of Biblical Literature. Resources for Biblical Study 68 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011); Eberhart, *The Sacrifice of Jesus: Understanding Atonement Biblically*, Facets (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011).

<sup>710</sup> McGowan, “Eucharistic and Sacrifice,” 6.

<sup>711</sup> Attridge, *Hebrews*, 400.

sacrifice in using the term *θυσία* is just one of many ways in which sacrifice is being reconsidered. “There may be,” McGowan allows, “intellectual tendencies in the Hellenistic and Late Ancient worlds that deserve to be called ‘spiritualization,’” including the complex views of Philo.<sup>712</sup> After the destruction of the Jerusalem temple, this conversation becomes an earnest necessity in Judaism. Such development is similarly occurring in Christianity, as Christians are sifting through the cultic language of the Old Testament for the application of this terminology in the New Testament, especially that which is connected to the death of Jesus, and Christian ritual practice, which soon used sacrificial language for its eucharistic rite. McGowan highlights that the major sources to which Attridge appeals (particularly Frances Young, Robert Daly, and Everett Ferguson<sup>713</sup>) all undertake their work with the assumption that there is an “Archimedean point on which to stand” so that Eucharist and sacrifice “can be taken as a stable entity influencing the other.” However, McGowan argues, both are “two changing realities” in the first and second centuries.<sup>714</sup> “A more adequate account of the use of sacrificial ideas in early Christianity,” McGowan maintains, “will attend to each of ‘spiritualization,’ synthesis, and critique, as processes which contribute to the extension and transformation of ‘sacrifice.’”<sup>715</sup>

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<sup>712</sup> McGowan, “Eucharist and Sacrifice,” 4. Attridge points to the following sources on Philo’s views: Laporte, *La doctrine eucharistique chez Philon d’Alexandrie*; Laporte, *Eucharistia in Philo*; Valentin Nikiprowetzky, “Le spiritualisation des sacrifices et le culte sacrificiel au temple de Jérusalem chez Philon d’Alexandrie,” *Semita* 17 (1967): 97–116.

<sup>713</sup> See the discussion in Chapter 3 of the weaknesses that these and other authors demonstrate in their approach to sacrifice and the concept of “spiritualization.”

<sup>714</sup> McGowan, “Eucharistic and Sacrifice,” 3.

<sup>715</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

### *The “sacrifice of praise” in Heb 13:15*

The meaning of *θυσίαν αινέσεως* in Heb 13:15 is thus cast in a different light in the wake of the aforementioned developments in the Septuagint and the strong evidence that *zebach tôdâ* seems to always include reference to a material, bloody sacrifice. While the explanatory phrase that follows the term in Hebrews, “that is, the fruit of lips praising his name” (τοῦτ’ ἔστιν καρπὸν χειλέων ὁμολογούντων τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ), might appear to indicate that the use of phrase in this context is metaphorical/non-material, Swetnam points out that it is rooted in a reference to the *zebach tôdâ*, which is consistently material and bloody in the Old Testament. He suggests two further clues to its meaning in this context. First, the death of Jesus is presented as a bloody, material sacrifice that is nonetheless outside of Jerusalem (13:12) and thus “outside the Old Testament cultic prescriptions,” while at the same time describing the effects of Jesus’ death (expiation for sins) in a way that alludes to the Day of Atonement.<sup>716</sup> Second, a few verses earlier, there

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<sup>716</sup> Swetnam, “*Zebach Tôdâ*,” 80. For more on the Day of Atonement in Hebrews, see G. W. Buchanan, “The Day of Atonement and Paul’s Doctrine of Redemption,” *NovT* 32, no. 3 (1990): 236–49; Felix H. Cortez, “From the Holy to the Most Holy Place: The Period of Hebrews 9: 6-10 and the Day of Atonement as a Metaphor of Transition,” *JBL*, 2006, 527–547; Thomas Hieke and Tobias Nicklas, *The Day of Atonement: Its Interpretations in Early Jewish and Christian Traditions*, Themes in Biblical Narrative: Jewish and Christian Traditions 15 (Leiden: Brill, 2012); Isaac Kalimi, “The Day of Atonement in the Late Second Temple Period: Sadducees’ High Priests, Pharisees’ Norms, and Qumranites’ Calendar(S),” *RRJ* 14, no. 1 (January 1, 2011): 71–91; Hanno Langenhoven, “The Day of Atonement as a Hermeneutical Key to the Understanding of Christology in Hebrews,” *JEAH* 1, no. 1 (2011): 85–97; David M. Moffitt, “Blood, Life, and Atonement: Reassessing Hebrews’ Christological Appropriation of Yom Kippur,” in *Day of Atonement* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 211–24; Deborah W. Rooke, “The Day of Atonement as a Ritual of Validation for the High Priest,” in *Temple and Worship* (London: Clark International, 2005), 342–64; R. B. Jamieson, “Hebrews 9.23: Cult Inauguration, Yom Kippur and the Cleansing of the Heavenly Tabernacle,” *NTS* 62, no. 4 (October 2016): 569–87; Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity: The Day of Atonement from Second Temple Judaism to the Fifth Century* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003); Isaac Malheiros, “Os títulos sacerdotais e as alusões ao Dia da Expição em Hebreus,” *Caminhando* 22, no. 1 (2017): 133–48; Nicholas J. Moore, *Repetition in Hebrews: Plurality and Singularity in the Letter to the Hebrews, Its Ancient Context, and the Early Church*, WUNT 2. Reihe 388 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 167-71, 180-9; David M. Moffitt, *Atonement and the Logic of Resurrection in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, *NovTSup* 141 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 215-96; Benjamin J. Ribbens, *Levitical Sacrifice and Heavenly Cult in Hebrews*, *BZNW* 222 (Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), 117-

is the somewhat cryptic sentence, “We have an altar [θυσιαστήριον] from which those who serve the tabernacle have no right to eat” (Heb 13:10 AT). The very next sentence refers to the eating of the animals by those who brought them to the tabernacle, which lends itself to a material interpretation of the eating in 13:10. Thus, “the contrast presented in vv. 9-10 is not between physical eating and metaphorical eating, but between two types of physical eating, one involving the ceremonial meals of the Jewish dispensation, and the other involving the ceremonial meals of the Christians.”<sup>717</sup>

Swetnam’s interpretation of this specific passage is a particular application of the sort of development in the concept of sacrifice taking place during this period:

Thus, when placed in its immediate context, the phrase *θυσίαν αινέσεως* of Heb 13:15 is seen as a Christian adaptation of the Old Testament *zebach tôdâ*. The Old Testament *zebach tôdâ* or “sacrifice of praise” involved a bloody sacrifice in

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19, 130-4, 152-4, 164-5; Brian C. Small, *The Characterization of Jesus in the Book of Hebrews*, BIS 128 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 379-8, 412-3, 423-4, 402-3.

<sup>717</sup> Ibid., 81. Some liturgical scholars have suggested that the *zebach tôdâ* is a Jewish antecedent to the Christian Eucharist. For variations on this theory, see Cazelles, “L’anaphore et l’Ancien Testament”; Jean Laporte, *La doctrine eucharistique chez Philon d’Alexandrie* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1972); ET = Laporte, *Eucharistia in Philo*; Henry Cazelles, “Eucharistie, Bénédiction et Sacrifice Dans l’Ancien Testament,” *La Maison-Dieu* 123 (1975): 49–72; Charles Perrot, “Le Repas Du Seigneur,” *LMD* 123 (1975): 29–46; Thomas J. Talley, “Eucharistic Prayer of the Ancient Church according to Recent Research: Results and Reflections,” *SL* 11, no. 3–4 (1976): 138–58; Cesare Girauda, *La Struttura Letteraria Delta Preghiera Eucaristica*, *Analecta Biblica* 92 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1981); Thomas J. Talley, “The Literary Structure of the Eucharistic Prayer,” *Worship* 58 (September 1984): 404–20. Hartmut Gese went as far as to theorize that Christ’s instituting supper was consciously a *tôdâ* meal eaten in anticipation of the sacrifice to take place on the following day. See Hartmut Gese, “Psalm 22 und das Neue Testament: der älteste Bericht vom Tode Jesu und die Entstehung des Herrenmahles,” *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 65, no. 1 (1968): 1–22; Gese, “Die Herkunft des Abendmahls,” in *Zur biblischen Theologie: alttestamentliche Vorträge* (Munich: Kaiser, 1977); ET = “The Origin of the Lord’s Supper” in *Essays on Biblical Theology* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Pub. House, 1981). Paul Bradshaw gave a thorough engagement with all of these theories and comes to the following persuasive conclusion: “It is completely unnecessary, therefore, to resort to the theory of a connection with the *zebah todah* to explain the Christian eucharistic prayer. First-century Judaism was familiar with two closely parallel liturgical constructions which expressed praise to God, and the selection of *eucharistein* over *eulogein* by the early Christians as the dominant form for their prayers appears to have been no more than a matter of simple linguistic preference, perhaps one which had precedents in the Hellenistic Judaism from which many of them came. The consistent use by Philo of *eucharistein* rather than *eulogein* to refer to prayer at meals may possibly be an indication that there were already in existence forms of grace in Hellenistic Judaism which began with that verb, and the Christians were doing no more than following a common custom, but one eventually rejected by later Rabbinic Judaism, which declared the *berakhah* form alone to be legitimate”; Paul F. Bradshaw, “Zebah Todah and the Origins of the Eucharist,” *EO* 8, no. 3 (1991): 260.



the temple offered by the priests there together with a non-bloody ceremony involving the eating of bread and the singing of a hymn. In Heb 13:7-17 the phrase θυσίαν αινέσεως (v. 15) refers immediately to the public song of praise-thanks-giving that is based on the unique bloody sacrifice of Christ on the cross (v. 12) and is accompanied with a meal commemorating that sacrifice (v. 10). These are the essential elements of the Old Testament *zebach tôdâ* but transformed into the Christian *zebach tôdâ*.<sup>718</sup>

This is a not a “spiritualization” of sacrifice, but a development that nonetheless shows a continuity with what precedes it.<sup>719</sup>

The Latin rendering of Heb 13:15 in the *Vetus Latina* has four major variants:

offeramus deo semper laudes hostias  
offeramus hostias laudis semper deo  
referamus hostias laudis semper deo  
offerimus sacrificium laudis semper deo<sup>720</sup>

All agree on the translation of αινέσις as *laus*, while θυσίαν is translated as either *hostias* or *sacrificium*. As I will show in the following section on sacrificial terminology, *sacrificium* and *hostia* are used interchangeably in the New Testament. Swetnam points out that the plural *hostias* corresponds to a variant reading of θυσίαν as θυσιάς, which is found in P<sup>46</sup>, possibly the earliest manuscript to include Hebrews in the Canon. While the Vulgate renders the phrase *hostiam laudis*, there are also variants in the Vulgate, both *sacrificium laudis* and *laudes hostias*.<sup>721</sup>

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<sup>718</sup> Ibid., 82-3.

<sup>719</sup> Harold Attridge provides a clarifying comment on the usefulness of the term “spiritualization,” which comes within his very critical review of Daly’s influential book, *Christian Sacrifice* (1978), which influenced so many writers on the nature of Christian conceptions of sacrifice in relationship to the Eucharist: “One can sympathize with the attempt to make some basic distinctions here, but it is clear that they have not been made very well. It might have been more useful, for instance, to differentiate symbolic interpretations of traditional cult, metaphorical application of cultic terms to non-cultic activity, and the application of cultic terms to non-traditional ritual activity. These three uses of the language of cult and sacrifice operate in the material surveyed, often at the same time, but to describe them all as ‘spiritualization’ is really not very helpful”; Attridge, “Review of Christian Sacrifice,” 145-6.

<sup>720</sup> Gryson, *Hebraeos* (VLB 25.2), 1643 (upper); the various Latin textual witnesses are discussed back on page 1048.

<sup>721</sup> Swetnam, “*Zebach Tôdâ*,” 83.

While it is impossible to prove if the text of the Roman Canon is definitely referencing Heb 13:15, it is almost certain that Ps 50:14[49:14] is being referenced, since the sacrifice of praise is connected to fulfilling one's vow to God (see the connections in Table 5.1). The way the phrase is used in the Roman Canon clearly indicates that *sacrificium* is understood materially as it is used as a stand-in for the act of offering bread and wine as gifts, offerings, and unblemished sacrifices. It is difficult to imagine that the phrase's biblical origin is used accidentally.

Further, as noted earlier, *I Clement* not only refers to Hebrews<sup>722</sup> but uses the phrase "sacrifice of praise" twice (35:12 and 52:3<sup>723</sup>), in precisely the same wording as Heb 13:15, following the LXX, while also consciously quoting Psalm 50[49]. *I Clem.* 35:12 reads: "The sacrifice of praise [θυσίαν αινέσεως] will glorify me, and that is the

**Table 5.1 Ps 50:14[49:14] and *sacrificium laudis* in the *Memento, Domine***

Ps 50:14[49:14]	Roman Canon
<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Immola</i> Deo <b>sacrificium laudis</b>,  et <b>redde</b> Altissimo <b>vota tua</b>.</p>	<p>Memento, domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum et omnium circumstantium, quorum tibi fides cognita est et nota devotion, pro quibus tibi offerimus vel qui tibi <i>offerunt</i> hoc <b>sacrificium laudis</b> pro se suisque omnibus, pro redemptione animarum suarum, pro spe salutis et incolumitatis suae tibi que <b>reddunt vota sua</b> aeterno deo vivo et vero.</p>

way by which I will show him the salvation of God" (a near quotation of Ps 50:23

<sup>722</sup> For a thorough examination of all the ways that *I Clement* depends on Hebrews, see Hagner, *The Use of the Old and New Testaments in Clement of Rome*, 17-95.

<sup>723</sup> There, *I Clem.* quotes from both Ps. 50[49]:14-15 and Ps 51:17[50:19].

[49:23])<sup>724</sup> Further, the verse that directly follows (*1 Clem.* 36:1) has eucharistic undertones: “This is the way, dear friends, in which we found our salvation, namely Jesus Christ, the High Priest of our offerings [τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν προσφορῶν], the benefactor and helper of our weakness.”<sup>725</sup> Even more, the verses that follow seem to allude to both the illumination of baptism (“through him the eyes of our hearts have been opened; through him our foolish and darkened mind springs up into the light”) and to the Eucharist (“through him the Master has willed that we should taste immortal

**Table 5.2** Similar allusions to Baptism and Eucharist in Hebrews 6 and *1 Clement*

Hebrews 6:1-5	<i>1 Clement</i> 36:3
<p><sup>1</sup> Therefore let us leave the elementary doctrine of Christ and go on to maturity, not laying again a foundation of repentance from dead works and of faith toward God, <sup>2</sup> with instruction about <b>ablutions</b> [βαπτισμῶν], the <b>laying on of hands</b>, the resurrection of the dead, and eternal judgment. <sup>3</sup> And this we will do if God permits. <sup>4</sup> For it is impossible to restore again to repentance those who have once been <b>enlightened</b> [φωτισθέντας], who have <b>tasted the heavenly gift</b> [γευσάμενους τε τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς ἐπουρανίου], and have become <b>partakers of the Holy Spirit</b>, <sup>5</sup> and have <b>tasted the goodness of the word of God and the powers of the age to come</b> [καλὸν γευσάμενους θεοῦ ῥῆμα δυνάμεις τε μέλλοντος αἰῶνος]</p>	<p>through him <b>the eyes of our hearts have been opened</b>; through him our foolish and <b>darkened mind springs up into the light</b>;</p> <p>through him the Master has willed that we should <b>taste immortal knowledge</b> [τῆς ἀθανάτου γνώσεως ἡμᾶς γεύσασθαι], for “he, being the radiance of his majesty, is as much superior to angels as the name he has inherited is more excellent.”<sup>726</sup></p>

knowledge”). *1 Clem.* 36 is, in fact, full of direct allusions to Hebrews: Heb 2:18, 3:1 in *1*

<sup>724</sup> Holmes, *Apostolic Fathers*, 92-3.

<sup>725</sup> Ibid.

<sup>726</sup> Holmes, *Apostolic Fathers*, 92-3.

*Clem.* 36:1; Heb 1:3-4 in *1 Clem.* 36:2; Heb 1:7 in *1 Clem.* 36:3; Heb 1:5 in *1 Clem.* 36:4; Heb 1:13 in *1 Clem.* 36:5.<sup>727</sup> Most importantly, part of *1 Clem.* 36:3 also bears a strong resemblance to Heb 6:3-5, both of which contain possible allusions to both baptism<sup>728</sup> and the Eucharist (see Table 5.2 on the previous page).

The combination of the term βαπτισμῶν with the laying on of hands and the reference to being “enlightened” in Heb 6 (a term that became common for baptism<sup>729</sup>)

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<sup>727</sup> See Attridge’s discussion of the relationship in *Hebrews*, 6-9.

<sup>728</sup> Koester: “Since Heb 6:1-3 concerns the teachings that are appropriate for new converts and connects ‘baptisms’ with the laying on of hands, this passage probably refers to Christian baptism.” He goes to suggest that the mention of the Holy Spirit in connection with the laying on of hands indicates that “the laying on of hands probably was part of their rite of initiation,” something that Tertullian (*Bapt.* 7-8) and Cyprian (*Ep.* 73.607) mention; see *Hebrews*, 305. Attridge is more circumspect; he allows that “there may be an allusion to baptism, but the term ‘enlightened’ does not yet function as a technical designation for the ritual”; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 169 (see n. 46).

<sup>729</sup> Attridge agrees strongly; see *Hebrews*, 169. In Chrysostom’s baptismal catechesis, he interprets Heb 6:4 as a reference to baptism: “Now to explain what baptism is, why it was introduced into our life, and the numerous benefits it brings us. Yet if you agree, we will first speak about the names of this mystical purification, for it has more than one name. There are many different types. In fact, this rite of purification is called the bath of rebirth. ‘It has saved us,’ says [the apostle], ‘by a bath of rebirth and of renewal in the Holy Spirit’ [Titus 3:5]. It is also called illumination, and it was the apostle Paul himself who so designated it when he said, ‘Recall these first days when, after being illuminated, you endured a great conflict of suffering’ [Heb 10:32]. Also, ‘It is impossible to restore to penance those who were once enlightened, those who have tasted the heavenly gift and yet have fallen, to bring about in them the renewal of their conversion’ [Heb 6:4, 6]”; *Catechesis* 1.8 from John Chrysostom, *Trois catéchèses baptismales*, ed. Auguste Piédagnel and Louis Doutreleau, SC 366 (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1990), 126-27. For more on the terminology generally, see Hans Conzelmann, “φῶς, etc.” in *TDNT*, 9:310-58; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 169. Here are additional examples; ET for all is taken from Lawrence J. Johnson, *Worship in the Early Church: An Anthology of Historical Sources*, 5 vols. (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2009). Page numbers are noted parenthetically for each source and all refer to this source.

Justin, *1 Apol.* 59: “Illumination is the name given to this washing since those being taught these things are enlightened [illuminated] in their minds” (I:67). See also *1 Apol.* 61.12; 65:1; *Dial.* 122.5.

Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* I.6.25: “...baptized, we are enlightened; enlightened, we are adopted as children; adopted, we are made perfect; becoming perfect, we receive immortality. It is written, ‘I say, ‘you are all gods and children of the Most High.’” Numerous are the names for this: grace, illumination, perfection, bath. It is a ‘bath’ by which we are purified from our sins; it is ‘grace’ that takes away the punishment merited by our sins; it is ‘illumination’ within which we gaze upon the beautiful and holy light of salvation, namely, the light that allows us to see God; it is ‘perfection’ in that nothing is lacking” (259-60).

Methodius of Olympus, *Symp.* 8.6: “So the Church must preside over the [baptismal] bath since the Church is the mother of those who are washed in it. More precisely, the Church’s power relative to this bath is called ‘the moon’ because those who are renewed and reborn shine with a new light, namely, with new clarity. This is why we also call them, descriptively, the ‘newly enlightened.’ The Church has them see through the recurring representations of his Passion [in Holy Week?] the full spiritual moon and its perpetually renewed memory till the glorious and perfect light of the great day appears” (II:124).

has a strong thematic connection to the idea of the opening of the heart and the darkened mind springing into the light in *1 Clem.* 36:2 (not to mention the foundational beliefs that are often identified with pre-baptismal teaching, namely, resurrection and judgment).

Similarly, the presence of the verb γεύομαι (tasted) in both texts lends itself toward a possible eucharistic interpretation.<sup>730</sup> When this is combined in the context of Heb 13:15 where the phrase “sacrifice of praise” appears, namely, “We have an altar [θυσιαστήριον] from which those who serve the tabernacle have no right to eat [οὐ φαγεῖν οὐκ]” (Heb

Basil, *Homily 13 on Baptism* 3 (PG 31, 424): “Ignorance of God is death to the soul. The unbaptized person is not enlightened. Lacking illumination [baptism] the eye cannot function; the soul cannot contemplate God. So it is that any time is appropriate for being baptized in order to be saved, whether it be day, night, a precise hour, or the shortest moment. Nonetheless, the most appropriate time for baptism is that time whose spirit is closest to that of baptism. And what could be closer than the day of the Pasch? This day commemorates the Resurrection, and baptism makes resurrection possible for us. May we receive the grace of resurrection on the day of the Resurrection” (II:146-7); *Homily 13 on Baptism* 4: “But just as Christ, who gives this Illumination, has many names, the same is true for this gift. [. . .] We call it a Gift, Grace, Baptism, Anointing, Illumination, the Garment of Immortality, the Bath of New Birth, the Seal—in short, all that is excellent. We call it a Gift because it is given without any previous contribution; Grace because it is granted even to those who are in debt; Baptism because sin is buried with it in the water; Anointing because it is priestly and royal since [priests and kings] were the ones who were anointed; Illumination because of its splendor; Clothing since it covers our shame; Bath because it washes us; Seal because it preserves us” (II:147).

*Apos. Con.* II.32.3. “. . . For by him [the bishop] the Lord has given you the Holy Spirit through the imposition of the hands. Through him you have learned the holy doctrines, ‘have known God’ [Gal 4:9] and have believed in Christ. Through him you have been sealed with the ‘oil of gladness’ [Ps 45:7] and with the chrism of understanding. Through him you have been made ‘children of the light’ [John 12:36; 1 Thes 5:5] Through him at the moment of enlightenment the Lord has enclosed each and every one of you with his holy voice, doing so by the testimony of the laying on of the bishop’s hands: ‘You are my son, this day I have begotten you’ [Ps 2:7]” (II:220).

It is even used as a proper name for baptism at the Synod of Neo-Caesarea (c. 320): Canon 6—“A pregnant woman may be illuminated [baptized] whenever she requests this” (II:163).

<sup>730</sup> Biblical scholars are hesitant to affirm that there are eucharistic allusions in Hebrews 6. Koester says that “this seems unlikely”; *Hebrews*, 314; see also 127-29, where he cites a wide range of scholarship on the question, as well as Ronald Williamson, “The Eucharist and the Epistle to the Hebrews,” *NTS* 21, no. 2 (January 1975): 300–12. Attridge points out that “tasted” (γευσάμενους) is a “common metaphor for experiencing something” (he points to Ps 34:8[33:9], which is cited in 1 Pet 2:3 and Prov 31:18, and the full study by Johannes Behm, “γεύομαι” in *TDNT* 1:675-77). He goes on to say that while “tasting” “is used once in the New Testament (Acts 20:11) in a eucharistic context, although there is no need to see a sacramental allusion” here in Hebrews; *Hebrews*, 170. Nonetheless, some strong arguments have been put forth: see James Swetnam, “Christology and the Eucharist in the Epistle to the Hebrews,” *Biblica*, no. 1 (1989): 74–95; Swetnam, “Hebrews 9:2 and the Uses of Consistency,” *CBW* 32, no. 2 (April 1970): 205–21; Swetnam, “On the Imagery and Significance of Hebrews 9:9-10,” *CBW* 28, no. 2 (April 1966): 155–73; Swetnam, “Greater and More Perfect Tent: A Contribution to the Discussion of Hebrews 9:11,” *Biblica* 47, no. 1 (1966): 91–106. Interestingly, in Chrysostom’s exegetical sermon on Heb 6:1-6, he sees a clear baptismal reference but makes no Eucharistic interpretation of “tasting”; *Hom.* 9 in NPNF<sup>1</sup> 14, 409-12.

13:10), it becomes more probable that *I Clement* is not just relying on Hebrews 6 for its language to speak about baptism and Eucharist, but that it is using the phrase “sacrifice of praise” as a consciously eucharistic allusion.<sup>731</sup>

Still one more connection between Hebrews and *I Clement* is that *I Clem.* 44:4 describes bishops as those “who have offered the gifts [προσενεγκόντας τὰ δῶρα],” which seems to be a way of describing a central action of theirs in a way that identifies them with Christ, who is “the High Priest of our offerings [τόν ἀρχιερέα τῶν προσφορῶν].”<sup>732</sup> As Willis puts it, the reader of *I Clement* is meant to “conclude that the Church’s eucharistic *actio* is to be identified with that of Christ himself.”<sup>733</sup> The connections between Hebrews and *I Clement* around the phrase “sacrifice of praise” in a context of quoting Ps 50[49] demonstrate an early connection between Hebrews and the phrase in question and in the vicinity of Rome. Further (and this is much more tentative), *I Clement* was influential in early Christianity as it was considered canonical by some and was important enough to be translated into Latin, Syriac, and Coptic and could help explain why the only other anaphora to include the phrase “sacrifice of praise” is *Lit. Theo.*, the East Syrian prayer that was likely composed first in Greek and then translated and used in Syriac.

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<sup>731</sup> In Geoffrey Willis’ article on the heavenly altar, he notes that, “It might have been expected that a Christian writer [that of Hebrews], applying the concept of the priesthood of Melchisedech to that of Christ, would have drawn out the identity of their two oblations, but the author to the Hebrews says nothing of this, and leaves the Christian readers to call it to mind themselves”; Geoffrey G. Willis, “God’s Altar on High,” *The Downside Review* 90, no. 301 (October 1972): 245.

<sup>732</sup> Holmes, *Apostolic Fathers*, 104-5.

<sup>733</sup> Willis, “Sacrificium laudis,” 77.

Koester provides an excellent summary of the scholarly debates regarding whether Hebrews makes any allusions to the Eucharist.<sup>734</sup> He concludes that it “is most plausible that Hebrews makes no allusion to the Lord’s Supper. Given the lack of clear reference to the meal, it seems best to interpret Hebrews without assuming that the author alludes to it in either a positive or a negative way.”<sup>735</sup> Attridge heartily agrees: “Had the author been interested in making allusions to a sacramental Lord’s Supper, the regulations for these sacrifices of the Old Testament [the sacrifices of praise] would have provided a rich source of symbolism...Nothing, however, is made of these characteristics of the actual sacrificial meal.”<sup>736</sup> However, what matters in this study is not really whether it can be determined with certainty that the author of Hebrews intended to allude to the Eucharist in the passages discussed above. Rather, the evidence that matters is whether early Christian writers interpreted Hebrews in this way, whether in their writings or in liturgical texts. As I will show in the following sections, this is most certainly the case.

### ***“Sacrifice of praise” in early Christian writers***

Geoffrey Willis argued that after *1 Clement*, the use of the phrase “sacrifice of praise” appears exclusively in North Africans writing in Latin, though the use is wider than that.<sup>737</sup> Tertullian uses the phrase when quoting Psalm 50[49]:14 in a context where he not only cites God’s acceptance of Abel’s sacrifice but does so while appealing to Mal

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<sup>734</sup> Koester, *Hebrews*, 127-9.

<sup>735</sup> *Ibid.*, 128.

<sup>736</sup> Attridge, *Hebrews*, 400.

<sup>737</sup> For an exhaustive list of every possible use of this or a related term, see Eizenhöfer, *Canon Missae Romanae: Pars altera*, 74-9.

1:10-11.<sup>738</sup> Cyprian uses the phrase three times in reference to Ps 50[49], one of which is in a paragraph where he also quotes Mal 1:11, which means that both authors intend a eucharistic allusion.<sup>739</sup> Christiaan Kappes points out in his study that Tertullian and Cyprian have two different Vetus Latina texts of Mal 1:10-11 and that the texts of Cyprian and Lactantius agree over against the Vetus text used by Tertullian, which is the one fixed in the Vulgate.<sup>740</sup> All three connect the *sacrificium laudis* with the sacrifice prophesied in Mal 1:10-11. The “pure sacrifice” of Mal 1:10 is rendered *oblatio munda* in Jerome’s Vulgate, but in Cyprian in Lactantius, it is a *hostia pura*, which is the *sacrificium acceptum* (rendered in Ambrose’s version as *immaculatam hostiam*).<sup>741</sup> Philastrius (died c. 397), an Italian bishop who knew Ambrose, uses the phrase in reference to Ps 50[49].<sup>742</sup> Ambrose,<sup>743</sup> whom Willis claims never cited the phrase,<sup>744</sup> uses it six times in six different works,<sup>745</sup> only one of which seems to have a eucharistic

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<sup>738</sup> Adv. Jud. V.

<sup>739</sup> Twice in *Test.* I.16 (where Mal 1:11 is quoted) and then again in *Test.* III, 30.

<sup>740</sup> See Tertullian *Adv. Jud. V* in *Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani Opera*, ed. Emil Kroymann, 2nd ed., Corpus Christianorum Scriptorum Latinorum 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954), 1351; Cyprian *Test.* I.16 in *Opera I: Ad Quirinum. Ad Fortunatum. De Lapsis. De Ecclesiae Catholicae Unitate*, ed. G. Hartel, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 3/1 (Vindobonae: Apud C. Geroldi Filium Bibliopolam Academiae, 1868), 50; Lactantius, *Divinarum Institutionum*, ed. S. Brandt, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 19 (Vindobonae: F. Tempsky, 1880), 306-7.

<sup>741</sup> Kappes explains: “Damasus’s reform of CM [*Canon Missae*] must have taken place before Hieronymus’s edit of Mal 1:11 (*terminus ante quem* 383). Damasus rearranges the parataxis to prioritize the *Vetus Latina*’s *hostia pura*, making CM’s *sanctam* and *immaculatam* non-juristic synonyms versus the triple list of philosophical and legal technicalities in CM<sub>α</sub>”; Kappes, “Lactantius” (unpublished manuscript). CM<sub>α</sub> (see Appendix f) is his theoretical reconstruction of an early version of the Canon as produced by Lactantius.

<sup>742</sup> *Diversarum hereseon liber*, 10.

<sup>743</sup> The phrase *sacrificium offerre* (offering the sacrifice) is a way that Ambrose speaks about the celebration of the Eucharist; see *Off.* I.205

<sup>744</sup> Willis, “Sacrificium laudis,” 81-82.

<sup>745</sup> Here are the other five instances where the phrase appears in Ambrose. Both in his commentary on Ps 118 (*Exp. Ps. 118* 14.24) and similarly in *Instit.* 2.8 (CPL 0148), he uses the phrase in a way that seems to refer only to verbal praise. The following uses seem to have nothing to do with either the Eucharist specifically or with Ps 50[49]: *Cain.* 1.9.34 (CPL 0125); *Nab.* 16.67 (CPL 0138); *Off.* 1.10.35;



context.<sup>746</sup> The eucharistic use in *Virg.* II.2.18 is particularly noteworthy because the connection between the *sacrificium laudis* and paying one's vow is found in the *Memento, Domine*, the opening portion of the anaphora to which Ambrose alludes but does not quote in *Sacr.*<sup>747</sup> The phrase abounds in Augustine and many of his uses are explicitly eucharistic.<sup>748</sup>

### ***The "sacrifice of praise" in early liturgical texts***

The phrase is much more common in Western than in Eastern liturgical sources. In the anaphoras I have consulted for comparison, "sacrifice of praise" is found neither in *Lit. AM* nor in *Lit. Mark*. Outside the Roman Canon, it appears in three other eucharistic liturgies, but only one of those uses is actually within the anaphora. As Willis notes, it is found in *Lit. James* and *Lit. Chrys.*, two West Syrian prayers sharing the same response

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<sup>746</sup> In *Virg.* II.2.17-18, he weaves together the virgins making their vow, the psalm of assent which would become the psalm affixed at the beginning of the Roman rite and connected with ordinations (Ps 43; "I will go unto the altar of God..."), the offering to God of the sacrifice of praise (*Immolo deo sacrificium laudis*), and the paying of one's vow (which alludes to both the context of Ps 50[49]:15 and the act of making a vow as a virgin).

<sup>747</sup> The phrase appears also in Apponius, a figure about whom little is known. Quasten suggests that he wrote in the early fifth century in Rome. His main extant work is a commentary on the Song of Songs, where he quotes the phrase twice: *In Canticum canticorum expositio*, V, line 409ff and VII, lines 729ff. The second use of the phrase is explicitly eucharistic, and cites Ps 50[49]:15, including the portion of paying vows, which may indicate a familiarity with a form of the Latin anaphora that includes both *sacrificium laudis* connected to the paying of vows, as in the *Memento, Domine*. See Johannes Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. 4, 565-6.

<sup>748</sup> Willis, "Sacrificium laudis," 81-82. For Eucharistic examples, see *Faust.* XX.21 (citing Ps 50[49]:23); *Ep.* XXVI.18; *Ep.* CXL.46 (quotes Ps 50[49]:9, 12, and 23 and connects the *sacrificium laudis* with the *sacrificium novi testamenti*); in *Civ.* XX.5, Ps 50[49]:14, 15 are both cited in the context of his argument that God has no need of Old Testament sacrifices. His argument continues in XX.6, where Augustine begins with his famous definition of a sacrifice: "every act done in order that we might cling to God in holy fellowship, that is, every act which is referred to the final good in which we can be truly blessed." He lists all sorts of sacrifices (mercy, good works, our bodies, etc.) and culminates with mention of the Church's offering of herself: "This is the sacrifice of Christians: 'although many, one body in Christ' (Rom 12:3-5). And this is the sacrifice that the Church continually celebrates in the sacrament of the altar (which is well known to the faithful), where it is made plain to her that, in the offering she makes, she herself is offered"; Augustine, *The City of God: Books 1-10*, ed. Boniface Ramsey, trans. William Babcock, 1st ed. (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 2012), 310, 312.

of the people at the offertory that includes the phrase, *θυσίαν αινέσεως* within the Prayer of the Veil just before the opening dialogue of the anaphora.<sup>749</sup> In addition, the phrase is also used in *Lit. James* in an incense prayer at the very beginning of the liturgy (a use that Willis does not indicate).<sup>750</sup> Dating these prayers is difficult, but they are not as old as the text of the anaphoras themselves, which means that they almost certainly entered the rite after the phrase is fixed in the Roman Canon. However, the phrase appears in another anaphora which Willis does not identify and which I discussed in Chapter 2: the East Syrian *Lit. Theo.*<sup>751</sup> What is particularly important is the use of the phrase in *Lit. Theo.* is the only usage in any Eucharistic prayer where it is absolutely certain that the source is not Psalm 50[49] but Heb 13:15 (and also possibly Heb 11:2; see Table 5.3).

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<sup>749</sup> Willis, “Sacrificium laudis,” 82. In *Lit. James*, the prayer of the veil, where the phrase appears twice), first in the prayer said by the priest: “Lord, have mercy on us: since we are full of fear and trembling, when about to stand at Your holy altar, and to offer this dread and bloodless sacrifice for our own sins and for the errors of the people: send forth, O God, Your good grace, and sanctify our souls, and bodies, and spirits; and turn our thoughts to holiness, that with a pure conscience we may bring to You a peace-offering, the sacrifice of praise.” Then, soon after, in response to the deacon bidding the people to attend reverently and offer peace, the people exclaim, “The offering of peace, the sacrifice of praise”; see *LEW*, 49; ET = ANF 7, 537. For *Lit. Chry.*, see *LEW*, 383 (ln. 31). Robert Taft points out that when it comes “to the Byzantine evidence, Willis refers to the phrase ‘sacrifice of praise’ in the anaphoral dialogue as being found only in ‘the modern form of the rite’ (p. 82). In fact it is found in all sources that give complete information on the subject. The absence, in whole or in part, of diakonika, responses, chants, and so on in Byzantine euchology mss, which often give only *incipits* or nothing at all of such pieces, has even less value than most arguments *ex silentio*.” Taft, “Review of The Sacrifice of Praise (Studies in Honour of Arthur H Couratin), Edited by Brian D. Spinks,” 177.

<sup>750</sup> The text of the opening incense prayer reads, “Sovereign Lord Jesus Christ, O Word of God, who freely offered Yourself a blameless sacrifice upon the cross to God even the Father, the coal of double nature, that touched the lips of the prophet with the tongs, and took away his sins, touch also the hearts of us sinners, and purify us from every stain, and present us holy beside Your holy altar, that we may offer You a sacrifice of praise...”; *LEW*, 32; ET = ANF 7, 543. The Greek term in all three uses is *θυσίαν αινέσεως*.

<sup>751</sup> See Appendix H for a comparison of Unique sequence in the Roman Canon and *Lit. Theo.* with other early anaphora, and Appendix I for the parallel text of the Roman Canon, *Lit. Theo.*, *Lit. Nest.*, and *Lit. STR*, with special attention to the unique relationship between the Canon and *Lit. Theo.*

**Table 5.3 The reliance of *Lit. Theo.* on Heb 13:15 and 11:2**

<i>Lit. Theo.</i>	Heb 13:15, 11:2
<p>Yes, our Lord and our God [<i>repeat</i>]</p> <p>receive from us by your grace</p> <p>this <b>sacrifice of praise</b></p> <p>which is the reasonable <b>fruit of our lips</b></p> <p>that it may be a good memorial before you</p> <p>for the <b>righteous of old...</b></p>	<p>Through him then</p> <p>let us continually offer up</p> <p>a <b>sacrifice of praise to God</b>,</p> <p>that is, the <b>fruit of lips</b></p> <p>that confess his name. [<i>Heb 13:15</i>]</p> <p>For by it [faith] the <b>men of old</b></p> <p>Attained a [good] testimony. [<i>Heb 11:2</i>]</p>

There is no question that the combination of “sacrifice of praise” and “fruit of lips” (καρπὸν χειλέων) is taken from Heb 13:15. Not only does the second phrase appear nowhere else in the New Testament, it is never used with “sacrifice of praise” in the Old Testament. Further, it is possible that the reference to the “righteous of old” in *Lit. Theo.* is drawn from the introductory language to the great recounting of the faithful “men of old,” introduced in Heb 11:2 and which then runs through the entire chapter. If this is true, it means that there was possibly a Greek source common to both the Roman Canon and *Lit. Theo.* that relied on Hebrews and in a way that is not seen in any other anaphoras. This turns out to be the strongest evidence that the phrase is not the result of only Ps. 50[49], but also of a specific quotation of Heb 13:15. Further, if this is true, it means that this lost Greek source may be impetus for later redactors to turn to Hebrews and draw other aspects that are distinct to that book into the Latin anaphora.

*Sacrificium laudis*, or the synonymous alternative, *hostia laudis* (recall that the *Vetus Latina* and the Vulgate witness to both options in the manuscript traditions for Heb 13:15), is much more frequent in the Latin liturgical books. In addition to the fixed use in

the *Memento, Domine* in the Roman Canon, the following uses of one of the two phrases are found in the Latin sacramentaries:

- eighteen times in the *Veronense* (sometimes referred to as the Leonine Sacramentary), the earliest of the so-called sacramentaries;<sup>752</sup>
- six times in the Gregorian *Hadrianum* (though this reduction is due in part to the fact that it only provides the papal stational liturgies but no Sunday propers),<sup>753</sup>
- another Gregorian book (the Missal from Arras) has only two uses, both *super oblatas*;<sup>754</sup>
- four times in the Gelasian books: twice in *Vat. Reg. Lat. 316*<sup>755</sup> and twice in *Sangallensis 348*,<sup>756</sup>
- only once in the Gallican tradition.<sup>757</sup>
- In the 1962 *Missale Romanum*, one of the two Latin phrases is used only nine times.<sup>758</sup>
- The phrase “sacrifice of praise” was retained by Cranmer in the eucharistic prayer of his first *Book of Common Prayer* of 1549, but with an almost certainly metaphorical or “anti-material” sense (i.e., entirely verbal) and thus “anti-Roman Mass” program.<sup>759</sup>

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<sup>752</sup> Willis lists the following 13 prayers which use a form of *hostia laudis*: Ve, 29, 38, 202, 285, 314, 644, 718, 728, 760, 767, 845, 928, and 1235; forms of *sacrificium laudis* are much less frequent: no. 33, 106, and 755; Willis, “Sacrificium laudis,” 82-4.

<sup>753</sup> For *sacrificium laudis*, see GrH, 152.2, 163.2; for *hostiam laudis*, see GrH, 46.2, 69.2, 146.2, and 169.2.

<sup>754</sup> GrH, 60 and 825.

<sup>755</sup> GeV, 733 and 1068.

<sup>756</sup> Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, ed., *Das fränkische Sacramentarium Gelasianum in alamannischer Überlieferung (Codex Sangall. No. 348)* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1970), no. 741, 1244.

<sup>757</sup> Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, ed., *Missale Gothicum: (Vat. Reg. lat. 317)*, *Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta 5* (Rome: Herder, 1961), no. 469.

<sup>758</sup> *Sacrificium laudis* appears eight times in the following propers: the *Secreta* for the second Mass for All Souls’ (no. 4015), the *Postcommunio* for the third Mass for All Souls’ (no. 4027), in a section of various orations (no. 5068), the *Secreta* for a Mass for one or several departed priests (no. 5110, 5111), the *Postcommunio* for deceased friends and benefactors (no. 5180), and in the *Graduale* of the common for confessor bishops, quoting Ps 106:22 (no. 5835). *Hostia laudis* appears only once, in the *Secreta* for the Apparition of the Immaculate Virgin Mary (Feb 11; no. 2173).

<sup>759</sup> The *anamnesis* that follows the institution narrative: “Wherefore, O Lorde and heavenly father, accordyng to the Instytucyon of thy derely beloved sonne, our saviour Jesu Christ, we thy humble servauntes do celebrate, and make here before thy divine Majestie, with these thy holy giftes, the

The concept of a “sacrifice of praise” is one main way that the Latin tradition appropriates a Scriptural phrase and interprets it in a specifically eucharistic way. The meaning is clearly not identical to the typical usage in the Old Testament, where it refers to a bloody sacrifice. The question is the degree to which the Latin usage corresponds with the meaning of its one use in the New Testament in Heb 13:15 or whether the tradition has taken a metaphorical usage and transformed it into a Christian cultic usage to refer to its un-bloody rite.

### ***Sacrificial terminology***

In addition to the use of Hebrews with the figure of Melchizedek (in the context of his sacrifice, along with those of Abel and Abraham) and the phrase *sacrificium laudis*, there is a distinct overlap between the sacrificial terminology in the text of Hebrews in the *Vetus Latina* and the *Vulgate* and that of the Roman Canon. There are five nouns used for the offered bread and wine in the Roman Canon: *donum*, *munus*, *sacrificium*, *oblatio*, and *hostia*. Table 5.4 shows where each of these terms occurs, plus the earlier version in Ambrose’s *Sacr.* 4.5.21-22 and 4.6.26-27:

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memoryall whyche thy sonne hath wylled us to make, havynge in remembraunce his blessed passion, mightie resurreccyon, and gloryous ascencion, renderynge unto thee most hartie thankes, for the innumerable benefites procured unto us by the same, entierely desiryng thy fatherly goodnes, mercifully to accepte this our Sacrifice of praise and thankesgeving...”; Cummings, *The Book of Common Prayer*, 31. Brightman notes that the *Antididagma* of the Cathedral Chapter of Colgne included this version of the phrase (and on which Cranmer may have drawn): “deinde offertur commune laudis et gratiarum actionis sacrificium pro tota Ecclesia...”; see F. E. Brightman, *The English Rite, Being a Synopsis of the Sources and Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer, with an Introduction and an Appendix; by Frank E. Brightman.*, 2 vols. (London: Rivingtons, 1915), II:694. Moreton adds that “in Lutheran practice, ‘sacrificium laudis’ was replaced by ‘gratiarum actionis sacrificium’ or ‘Dankopfer;’” Moreton, “Sacrifice of Praise” (1970), 249, n. 13.

Table 5.4 Sacrificial nouns in Ambrose's *Sacr. 4* and the Roman Canon

	<i>donum</i>	<i>munus</i>	<i>sacrificium</i>	<i>oblatio</i>	<i>hostia</i>
<b>Ambrose, <i>Sacr. 4</i></b>					
<i>Fac nobis</i>				Fac nobis, inquit, hanc <b>oblationem</b> scriptam, rationabilem, acceptabilem,	
<i>Ergo memores</i>					Offerimus tibi hanc immaculatam <b>hostiam</b> , rationabilem <b>hostiam</b> , incruentam <b>hostiam</b>
<i>Et petimus et precamus</i>				Et petimus et precamur, uti hanc <b>oblationem</b> suscipias in sublime altare tuum	
<b>Roman Canon</b>					
<i>*Te igitur</i>	haec <b>dona</b> , haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata	haec <b>dona</b> , haec <b>munera</b> , haec sancta sacrificia illibata	haec <b>dona</b> , haec munera, haec sancta <b>sacrificia</b> illibata		
<i>Hanc igitur</i>				Hanc igitur <b>oblationem</b> servitutis nostrae	
<i>Quam oblationem</i>				<b>oblationem</b>	
<i>Unde et memores</i>	offerimus praeclarae maiestati tuae de tuis <b>donis</b> ac datis, hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam				offerimus praeclarae maiestati tuae de tuis donis ac datis, <b>hostiam</b> puram, <b>hostiam</b> sanctam, <b>hostiam</b> immaculatam
<i>*Supra quae</i>		<b>munera</b> pueri tui iusti Abel, sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus	munera pueri tui iusti Abel, <b>sacrificium</b> patriarchae nostri Abrahae, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus		munera pueri tui iusti Abel, sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus

	<i>donum</i>	<i>munus</i>	<i>sacrificium</i>	<i>oblatio</i>	<i>hostia</i>
		Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam	Melchisedech, sanctum <b>sacrificium</b> , immaculatam hostiam		Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam <b>hostiam</b>
* = Indicates the use of at least two of these terms together					

In both the *Te igitur* and the *Unde et memores*, there is a triple repetition of terms. In the *Te igitur*, three different terms are used as synonyms, with the repeated *haec* before each: *dona*, *munera*, and *sacrificia* (gift, dutiful offering, and sacrifice). In the *Unde et memores*, a new term is introduced for the offering—*hostia*—and this time the same term is repeated thrice, with a different adjective attached each time: *hostiam puram*, *hostiam sanctam*, *hostiam immaculatam* (a sacrificial victim—pure, holy, immaculate).<sup>760</sup> Both of

<sup>760</sup> The version in Ambrose does not contain any material before the *Fac nobis* (the *Quam oblationem* in the *textus receptus*), which means there is nothing in Ambrose to compare with the uses in the *Te igitur*. Like in the *textus receptus*, Ambrose has the triple repetition of the term *hostia* in the paragraph after the *Qui pridie*; the difference is in the use of adjectives:

<b>Ambrose</b>	<b>Roman Canon</b>
<i>immaculatam hostiam</i>	<i>hostiam puram</i>
<i>rationabilem hostiam</i>	<i>hostiam sanctam</i>
<i>incruentam hostiam</i>	<i>hostiam immaculatam</i>

The only commonality between the adjectives *hostiam immaculatam*, a phrase also used by a contemporary of Ambrose, Zeno of Verona, as discussed in Chapter 1 (*Tractatus* i.59, lines 14-16 in CCSL 22, 134). This is the phrase inserted by Leo the Great (440-61) in the *Supra quae* to describe the sacrifice of Melchizedek: *sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam* (LP I:229). The two terms *hostia* and *immaculatus* appear together only in one place in the Vulgate: in a description of the sacrifice that is required when one who has taken vows as a Nazirite, which seems not to have been necessarily life-long (Num 6:14). Christiaan Kappes points out that the *Vetus Latina* uses the phrase *hostia pura* in its translation of Mal 1:11, though Jerome's Vulgate renders it *oblatio munda*. Since Jerome's work was so late in Damasus' papacy, and Jerome would have likely made the connection between Malachi 1 and this part of the Canon, Kappes suggests Damasus' reform almost certainly took place before Jerome's edit of Mal 1:11. Thus, Ambrose still reflects an earlier version of the Canon where the adjectives have more juridical implications, while in the *textus receptus*, we can see how "Damasus rearranges the parataxis to prioritize the *Vetus Latina*'s 'Hostia pura,' making RC's 'holy' and 'immaculate' non-juridic synonymms versus juristic glosses in RC<sub>a</sub>" (Kappes, "Lactantius").

these uses make use of two common Latin stylistic devices: asyndeton, where related items are piled up on each other and are not divided by a conjunction; and hendiadys, where two or more ideas are juxtaposed or placed together in order to reinforce the

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The second phrase in Ambrose, *rationabilem hostiam*, uses the adjective for a second time. It was the only one of five adjectives shared by the Roman Canon in the *Quam oblationem* and its parallels in Ambrose and both Mozarabic texts. In this section, the parallel in the Roman Canon is *hostiam sanctam*, which is an aspect of the original meaning of the Greek λογικός (translated into Latin as *rationabilem*) but is not a synonym for it, as we will see. The term *rationabilis* (in any of its forms) occurs only twice in the Vulgate New Testament (plus Job 32:3). There, the Christian recipients of the letter in Rome are enjoined to “present your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, which is your spiritual worship [τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ὑμῶν].” The only other use of a form of λογικὴν is in 1 Pet 2:2: “Like newborn infants, long for the pure, spiritual milk [τὸ λογικὸν ἄδολον γάλα; *rationabile, sine dolo lac concupiscite*].” Mohrmann argues that the Latin term underwent a significant shift in meaning. At least through the time of Ambrose and Ambrosiaster, it shared its definition with its Greek derivative, λογικός, meaning “spiritual” in that it has been elevated to the sphere of the divine and in a manner that does not exclude its materiality. Jungmann agrees when he explains that λογικὸν θυσία “is an exact description of the spiritual sacrifice proper to Christianity, a sacrifice lifted high above the realm of [only] matter” (Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, II:189). But by the time of Leo the Great (440-61), its meaning has narrowed and “signified merely ‘what was suited to reason or the nature of things;’” see Christine Mohrmann, “*Rationabilis-λογικός*,” *Revue internationale des droits et l’Antiquite* 5 (1950): 225–34; Bernard Botte, “Traduction du Canon de la messe,” *La Maison-Dieu* 23 (1950): 37–53. Kappes, however, suggests that by the beginning of the third century, *rationabilem* as an adjective for worship clearly refers to worship that accords with natural law and is “conformable to right reason”; Kappes, “*Lactantius*” (unpublished manuscript).

Finally, the third phrase in Ambrose, *incruentam hostiam*, is noteworthy. Athenagoras (c. 185), an Athenian who some think was the head of the catechetical school in Alexandria, is credited with “introducing into the vocabulary of Christian theology the term ‘unbloody sacrifice’” (Joseph Crehan, “Introduction,” Athenagoras, *Embassy for the Christians, The Resurrection of the Dead*, trans. Joseph Hugh Crehan SJ (New York: Paulist Press, 1956), 24-25). In *Legatio pro Christianis*, he responds to the charge that Christians were not properly religious because they did not honor the gods. He explains that, while they do not need to offer sacrifice, Christians nonetheless offer “a bloodless sacrifice, our spiritual worship” (θυσίαν καὶ τὴν λογικὴν προσάγειν λατρείαν; *Leg.*, 13 (PG VI, 945-6); see also Athenagoras, *Embassy*, 44). The idea of an unbloody sacrifice, however, does not originate with Athenagoras, but predates Christianity. One of the earliest uses appears in the literature of Second Temple Judaism in the *Testament of Levi*, where the angels offer “to the Lord a pleasing odor [ὄσμὴν εὐωδίας], a rational and bloodless oblation [λογικὴν καὶ ἀναιμακτον προσφοράν] (*T. Levi* 3:4-6; ET = *OTP*, I:789; Greek is taken from R. H. Charles, ed., *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (London: Oxford University Press [1908] Hildesheim, Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1960), 34. See where Aquinas attributes propitiatory sacrifices to the angels in ST.I-II.102.4.ad. 6. The only other use of the term *incruentam* in a Latin liturgical text is in a *Post-secreta* (no. 527) in the *Missale Gothicum*, which repeats the three adjectives with *hostiam* exactly as in Ambrose (GaG, 120; see Ray, “*Strasbourg Papyrus*,” 53).

Finally, the adjectives *rationabilem* and *incruentam* are found in the Alexandrian sources that uniquely share other material with the Roman Canon (as I already discussed in Chapter 2): in *Lit. STR*, “giving thanks through him we offer the spiritual sacrifice, the bloodless worship” ([ε]ὐχαριστοῦντες τοῦντες προσφέρο[μ]εν [τ]ὴν θυ[σί]αν τὴν λογικὴν, τὴν ἀναι[μακτ]ον λατρε[ί]αν); in *Lit. Mark*, “giving thanks we offer this spiritual and bloodless worship” (εὐχαριστοῦντες προσφέρομεν τὴν λογικὴν καὶ ἀναιμακτον λατρείαν) (Greek text for *Lit. STR* and *Lit. Mark* are taken from *PE* 116, 102).



idea.<sup>761</sup> Of the five terms, only *oblatio* is used on its own and not in close conjunction with one of the other nouns.<sup>762</sup>

All five of these terms are found in the New Testament, but the vast majority of those uses occur in Hebrews (for a complete table of all of these terms and their use in the Roman Canon, Vetus Latina, and the Vulgate, along with the Greek term used for each, see Appendix L).<sup>763</sup> When these terms appear in the New Testament, *hostia* is always used on its own. Each of the other four are always used in combination with one of the others, and they are joined together with “and” (see Table 5.5). The variations that appear in the Vetus Latina (Appendix L includes a complete list of all variations from Vulgate) are consistent: δῶρα is translated as either *munera* or *dona*; θυσίας is usually translated *hostia* but sometimes as *sacrificium*; προσφοραν is always as *oblationem*. The phrase δῶρά τε καὶ θυσίας (*dona/munera et sacrificia*; “gifts and sacrifices”), an example of hendiadys, is found in Heb 5:1, 8:3, 9:9, and 11:4.<sup>764</sup> Attridge notes that this combination

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<sup>761</sup> See “Asyndeton” and “Hendiadys” in David E. Aune, ed., *The Westminster Dictionary of New Testament and Early Christian Literature and Rhetoric* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), 66-67; 213. Aristotle thought asyndeton was only appropriate in oral speech, but not in writing (*Rhet.* 3.12.2[1413b]) though Quintilian was of the opinion that it was fitting when used in the epistolary form (*Inst. Or.* 3.3.50).

<sup>762</sup> *Oblatio* is used in the *Hanc igitur*, a section I indicated in Chapter 1 is part of the later strata of the anaphora.

<sup>763</sup> Outside of Hebrews, *hostia* is the most common of the five: Luke 2:24 (the sacrifice offered for the purification of the BVM); Acts 7:41-2 (to refer to Israel’s sacrifices in the desert); Rom 12:1 (the living *sacrifice* that is to be the body of Christian); 1 Cor 10:18 (the sacrifices of Israel); in Eph 5:2, *hostia* is joined to *oblationem* by *et* and is an example of hendiadys; Phil 4:18 (referring to the monetary gifts that were to be sent to Paul by way of Epaphroditus); and 2 Pet 2:5 (the spiritual sacrifices that Christians offer as a holy priesthood which are acceptable to God). The only other use of any of these terms outside of Hebrews in Phil 2:17, where Paul describes himself as a libation (*immolor*) and sacrifice (*sacrificium*).

<sup>764</sup> A variation on this in in Heb 10:5—θυσίαν καὶ προσφοραν; *Hostiam et oblationem*; “sacrificial offerings and oblations.” Interestingly, when Attridge lists the various rhetorical figures that are used in Hebrews, he does mention hendiadys, though none of the examples he gives are in the verses just listed. He points to 2:2; 5:2; 6:10; 8:5; 11:36; 12:18; see Attridge, *Hebrews*, 20-1 (see n.164). He also does not mention the use of polysyndeton, though he does give examples of asyndeton (7:3, 26; 11:32-34, 37; 12:25; *Ibid.*, 20, n. 160). Koester does not mention hendiadys though he does point to the use of asyndeton in 11:32-38 and 12:18-24; Koester, *Hebrews*, 94.

**Table 5.5** Instances where the sacrificial nouns *donum*, *munus*, *sacrificium*, or *oblatio* appears in pairs in the New Testament and the Canon

Pairs or groups of sacrificial terms	Location of pairs & groups in Roman Canon and New Testament
<i>donum, munus, sacrificium</i>	<i>Te igitur</i>
<i>Donum, hostia</i>	<i>Unde et memores</i>
<i>Donum, sacrificium</i>	Heb 5:1
<i>Donum, hostia, offero</i> (verb form of the noun <i>oblatio</i> )	
<i>Munus, hostia</i>	Heb 8:3; 9:9; 11:4
<i>munus, sacrificium, hostia</i>	<i>Supra quae</i>
<i>Sacrificium, immolor</i> (not exactly a hendiadys, but it is the joining of two sacrificial terms nonetheless)	Phil 2:17 (Paul describing his own ministry)
<i>Oblatio, hostia</i>	Eph 5:2 (description of Christ); Heb 10:5; 10:8; 10:11-14; Heb 11:4
<i>Oblatio, hostia, holocaustoma</i>	Heb 10:5; 10:8

of terms “is a fixed expression for sacrifices generally” and that this should not be interpreted as an attempt to distinguish different types of Old Testament sacrifices.<sup>765</sup>

What is noteworthy at this point is that the interchangeability of these various terms for the object of a sacrifice is another example of McGowan’s claim that the concept of sacrifice was experiencing a period of development in the first and second centuries.<sup>766</sup> Just as the use of *θυσία* in the Septuagint is evidence of a development where one Greek term is considered an acceptable rendering of the multiple Hebrew terms for different types of sacrifice, it appears that the Latin terms *donum*, *munus*, *sacrificium*, *oblatio*, and *hostia* are understood to be basically interchangeable terms for sacrifice. They can equally refer to the specifically cultic sacrifices of the Old Testament,

<sup>765</sup> Attridge, *Hebrews*, 143 (including n. 85), 218, and 242. Koester agrees; see *Hebrews*, 285.

<sup>766</sup> McGowan, “Eucharist and Sacrifice.”

the death of Jesus, and the eucharistic sacrifice. It is difficult to say for certain whether anything should be made of any of the specific terms, that is, whether *hostia* has a stronger material connotation than, say, *munera* or *oblatio*. For example, the only place in the New Testament where *donum* is used alongside and as a synonym for *sacrificium* (as it is in the *Te igitur*, along with *munera*) is in Heb 5:1, to describe what the Levitical high priest offers. In both contexts, the terms are used to describe a sacrifice whose purpose is to deal with sin: “for sins” in Heb 5:1 and “for the redemption of their souls, for the hope of their salvation” in the Roman Canon. Is this connection close enough to count as an instance where the Roman Canon used Hebrews as a source? Similarly, the term is also *donum* for the “heavenly gift” tasted by those who have been enlightened. Is it possible that this passage and its use of *donum* is in mind, along with Heb 13:15 (“an altar from which those who serve the tabernacle have no right to eat”), in the use in the *Te igitur*<sup>767</sup> of *dona*, *munera*, and *sacrificia* as synonymous terms for the eucharistic offering? It is difficult to say with any certainty.

An important early witness for much of the Latin sacrificial terminology in both Hebrews and the Roman Canon is found in *Against Heresies*, the apologetic work of

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<sup>767</sup> *Donis* is also used in the *Unde et memores* (*de tuis donis ac datis*) but not in the parallel in the *Ergo memores* in Ambrose. The presence of “gift” in the *Unde et memores* is almost certainly due to the influence of West Syrian style anaphora (likely also the source for the Anamnesis) as “gift.” The term expresses a theme common in the Byzantine and Egyptian anaphora, namely that what is offered in the Eucharist are gifts we have already received from God (see Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, I:224-5). It is extremely common for anaphora to speak of the bread and wine as gifts. What is distinctive is the double prepositional phrases that are seen in a few others place: the *Lit. Egy. Basil.*: “...we have set before you your own from your own gifts, this bread and this cup” (τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν δῶρων σοὶ προσφέρομεν κατὰ πάντα καὶ διὰ πάντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν; “tua ex tuis donis tibi offerimus, pro omnibus, propter Omnia, et in omnibus”; *PEER* 71; *PE*, 352, 353); *Lit. Byz. Basil.*: “offering you your own from your own, in all and through all” (Τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοὶ προσφέροντες κατὰ πάντα καὶ διὰ πάντα; *PEER* 119; *PE*, 236); and also in the *Lit. Chry.*, “offering you your own from your own, in all and for all” (τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοὶ προσφέροντες κατὰ πάντα καὶ διὰ πάντα; *PEER* 133; *PE*, 236).

Irenaeus (c. 130-202).<sup>768</sup> His is the earliest evidence of a full-blown argument about a Christian sacrificial system that is both in continuity with and also different from that of the Mosaic law. In *Against Heresies* 4.18, Irenaeus distinguishes between “oblations then and oblations now” (*oblaciones enim et illic, oblationes autem et hic*; προσφοραὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ, προσφοραὶ δε καὶ ἐνταῦθα) that is, sacrifices among the Jews and sacrifices “in the church” (*in ecclesia*; ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ; *Haer.* 4.18.2). He explains that God ordained sacrifices under the law in order to point typologically to the true Christian sacrifice which is how we are to interpret the critique of sacrifices found in the prophets and some of the Psalms (*Haer.* 4.17.2). The genus of oblations was never abrogated by Christ (*non genus oblationum reprobatum est*; οὐ τὸ γένος τῶν προσφορῶν ἠθέτηται); only the species has changed (*sed species immutata est tantum*; ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶδος ἥλλανται μόνον; *Haer.* 4.18.2).<sup>769</sup> Irenaeus does not argue that what Jesus instituted with his disciples was

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<sup>768</sup> While Irenaeus, who was likely born in Smyrna (present day İzmir, Turkey) and then emigrated to Lyon in Gaul, wrote in Greek, *Against Heresies* had been translated into Latin by the third century. In fact, the only complete manuscripts of the work are in Latin, and Richard Norris explains that “was widely read in the early centuries of the Christian movement”; Norris, “Irenaeus” in *CHECL*, 47. He goes on to explain the manuscript evidence: “even though we lack the complete text in its original Greek, we possess the full ancient Latin version, probably of the third century, as well as thirty-three fragments of a Syriac version and a complete Armenian version of books 4 and 5. The severely literal Latin translation has been preserved in four principal manuscripts, ranging in date from the ninth to the fifteenth century. It was first printed in the 1526 edition of Desiderius Erasmus; but the standard edition until recently has been that of R. Massuet (1712), who introduced the current chapter- and paragraph-divisions into books 1–4 (those in book 5 had been provided by François Feu-Ardent in his edition of 1575). It is Massuet’s edition that is reprinted in volume 7 of J.-P. Migne’s *Patrologia Graeca*”; *ibid.* Quasten adds that “a number of the fragments from the lost Greek original are preserved by Hippolytus, Eusebius, and especially by Epiphanius. Additional fragments are found in some *cantenae* and papyri.” He provides a bit more insight on the question of dating the Latin translation: “H. Jordan and A. Souter think that this translation was made in North Africa between the years 370 and 420. According to H. Koch, however, it must have originated before 250, because Cyprian made use of it. W. Sanday goes beyond this and assigns it to the date 200”; Johannes Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. 1, *The Beginnings of Patristic Literature* (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1950), 291-2 (see 292-3 for a complete list of secondary literature through 1950).

<sup>769</sup> He explains how a sacrifice is made pure at the very end of 4.18.3: “Igitur non sacrificia sanctificant hominem, non enim indigent sacrificio Deus, sed conscientia ejus qui offert sanctificat sacrificium, pura existens, et praestat acceptare Deum quasi ad amico” (*Ibid.*, 604-6). “Therefore one is not sanctified by sacrifices, but it is the conscience of the offerer that sanctifies the sacrifice, making it pure, and God bestows acceptance as from a friend.” McGowan notes that the Greek is lacking for 4.18, but that

the fulfillment of the offering of fine flour, as Justin did (*Dial.* 41.1), but instead that it is an offering of first fruits.<sup>770</sup> The church received this first fruits offering from the apostles and offers it throughout the world in fulfillment of Mal 1:11 (Justin also claims that the Eucharist is the sacrifice that fulfills Mal 1:11 in *Dial.* 41.2). Throughout his discussion in 4.18, Irenaeus uses terms that are found in the sections of the Roman Canon that refer to the sacrifice<sup>771</sup> (Table 5.6 outlines the overlap in terminology). Sections 17 and 18 of Book 4 display an approach to the Eucharist as a sacrifice which is certainly compatible with the sacrificial language of the Roman Canon. It is particularly noteworthy that all five of the terms for the eucharistic offering in the *Te igitur* (*donum, munus, sacrificium, oblatio*, plus *hostia* in the quotation of Mal 1:11 that he says applies to the Eucharist) are used by Irenaeus for the Eucharist. Further, Irenaeus uses the adjectives *sanctus* (used in *Unde et memores*, and also in the *Ergo memores* in Ambrose) and *purus* (used in the *Unde et memores*; the synonym *immaculatum* is in the *Ergo memores* in Ambrose) the Christian eucharistic sacrifice. Further, he speaks of a heavenly altar toward which not just our prayers but also our *oblaciones* are directed, which is very much like how the *Supra quae* speaks of the heavenly altar: “Supplices te rogamus, omnipotens deus, iube haec perferri per manus sancti angeli tui in sublime altare tuum in conspectu divinae

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it is quoted by John of Damascus (*Sacra Parallela*, Fr. 7) and that Irenaeus refers uses προσφορά for “offering” and θυσία for “sacrifice”; “Eucharist and Sacrifice,” 13-4.

<sup>770</sup> The Eucharist is “the new oblation of the new covenant; which the Church receiving from the apostles, offers to God throughout all the world, to Him who gives us as the means of subsistence the first-fruits of His own gifts in the New Testament” (*Haer* 4.17.5; ET = ANF I:486). “Quam ecclesia ab apostolic accipiens, in universo modo offert Deo, ei qui alimenta nobis praestat, primitias suorum munerum in novo testamento.” A few anaphora use the term “first fruits:” both *Lit. Theo.* and *Lit. Nest.* Speak of the Eucharist “the living and reasonable oblation of our first fruits” (Spinks, *Forgotten Eucharistic Prayers*, 28, 34); *Lit. Byz. Basil* uses the term (“the first fruits of eternal good things”), not for the oblation in the Eucharist but for the person of Christ (recalling 1 Cor. 15:20, 23) in the pre-Sanctus section of praise (*PEER*, 117).

<sup>771</sup> Magne does not go into this level of detail; what is reproduced in the table concerning Irenaeus is my own research; all quotes taken from SCh 100.

**Table 5.6 Sacrificial terminology for the Eucharist that is shared by Irenaeus and the Roman Canon**

<b>Roman Canon</b>	<b>Irenaeus</b>
<b>Te igitur</b>	<i>Adversus Haereses</i>
<i>haec dona</i>	4.18.6—“ <i>Offerimus enim ei...sed gratias agentes donationi ejus</i> ”
<i>haec munera</i>	4.18.1—“... <i>si acceptetur munus ejus;</i> ” he then quotes Matt 5:23-24 (i.e., “when you are offering your gift at the altar...”) as a reference to the Eucharist, and the term “ <i>munus</i> ” is used three times.
<i>haec sacrificia illibata</i>	<i>I could not find any uses of illibata but it could be interpreted as a synonym of puram and immaculatam; however, sacrificium is used throughout sections 17 and 18.</i>
<b>Unde et memores</b>	
<i>hostiam puram</i>	after quoting Mal 1:11 in 4.17.5 ( <i>et in omni loco incensum offertur nomini meo et sacrificium purum</i> ), the adj is used in 4.18.1 ( <i>purum sacrificium</i> ), 4.18.3 ( <i>sacrificium, pura</i> ), and 4.18.4 ( <i>purum sacrificium</i> ),
<i>hostiam sanctam</i>	see “ <i>hostiam puram/immaculatam</i> ”
<i>hostiam immaculatam</i>	4.18.5—“ <i>Offerimus enim ei quae sunt ejus, congruenter communicationem et unitatem praedicantes carnis et Spiritus.</i> ” This comes just after speaking of being nourished by the Body and Blood of the Lord. Thus, this passage could be interpreted to say that what is offered is the Lord’s Body and Blood, perfect and sinless (though he never seems to speak of Christ’s death as a sacrifice).
<b>Supplices te</b> —“ <i>sublime altare tuum in conspectus divinae maiestatis tuae</i> ”	4.18.6—“ <i>Est ergo altare in caelis, illuc enim preces nostrae et oblationes diriguntur</i> ”

maiestatis tuae.” Thus, it is clear that the following items are both present in Irenaeus and reflected in the Roman Canon: the sacrificial terminology of the Eucharist; an interpretation of the Eucharist as a sacrifice that is directly related to but distinct from Jewish sacrifice; articulation of the notion that there is a heavenly altar toward which our prayers and our material sacrifice are to be directed.

This does not prove, nor do I claim, that Irenaeus knew of the *Te igitur* or other parts of the Roman Canon. It does, however, point to a few facts. First, what we can see in the writings of Justin and Irenaeus is, McGowan explains, “the application of sacrificial understandings and interpretations to a wider range of practices than was previously seen as cultic.”<sup>772</sup> Second, it would not be surprising if this terminology was present in the eucharistic prayers employed (extemporized?) by Irenaeus. Third, in light of the robust and Scriptural nature of Irenaeus’ argument and the how influential *Against Heresies* was amongst early Christians, it is possible that his exegesis concerning the Eucharist and its corresponding theology had an influence on the theological tenor of the translation and adaption of Greek prayers into Latin.

### **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I explained that Melchizedek and the phrase *sacrificium laudis* hold a singular place in the Roman Canon compared with other early anaphoras, and showed the distinct overlap between the sacrificial terminology of Hebrews in the *Vetus Latina* and the *Vulgate* and that of the Roman Canon. With Melchizedek, I demonstrated that, in addition to the fact that Hebrews is the only place he is mentioned in the New Testament, the sacrifice of Abel and Abraham also function as key examples of the sort of active faith that Hebrews intends to enjoin on its readers. Second, I showed that early Christian writers were nearly unanimous in their interpretation of Melchizedek as a type of Christ and the bread and wine he brought forth as a type of the Eucharist. Finally, while the appeal to the sacrifices of Abel and Abraham is shared with the Alexandrian

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<sup>772</sup> McGowan, “Eucharist and Sacrifice,” 15.

tradition, the deletion of the New Testament sacrifices and their replacement with the sacrifice of Melchizedek, which is described in the Roman Canon in language identical to how it names the eucharistic sacrifice (*sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam*), not only makes Hebrews its definite source but expresses a rich theology of sacrifice that unites the three ancient sacrifices with the eucharist while sidestepping the Levitical cult and its sacrifices.

Regarding *θυσίαν αινέσεως/sacrificium laudis*, I showed that the phrase has been given an over-metaphorical interpretation by many modern interpreters and that in the Old Testament, it almost certainly always includes a reference to a material, bloody sacrifice. Second, I argued that there are good reasons to consider that the use of the phrase in Heb 13:15 is not entirely metaphorical or non-material. Third, *sacrificium laudis* appears in a number of early Christian writers, though its meaning is not consistently material and is sometimes metaphorical. Finally, I demonstrated that the phrase is unique to only the Latin anaphoral tradition and *Lit. Theo.*, an East Syrian-style anaphora that only exists in Syriac but was almost certainly composed in Greek. As I showed in Chapter 2, *Lit. Theo.* and the Roman Canon share a unique combination of the exclusive use of this phrase in an early anaphora in the context of a distinct progression of topics and other vocabulary. The source of the phrase in *Lit. Theo.* is definitely Heb 13:15, because it quotes the entire verse and then joins it to language from Heb 11:2). This means that not only was there likely a Greek source common to both the Roman Canon and *Lit. Theo.* It also means that this lost Greek source may be impetus for later redactors to turn to Hebrews and draw on other distinct aspects of that scriptural book.



Finally, I established that the sacrificial terminology used in the *Vetus Latina* and *Vulgate* versions of Hebrews are prominent both in the Roman Canon and in the version of the Latin anaphora given by Ambrose in *Sacr.* 4 and concluded that Hebrews is a likely source for its wide range of Latin sacrificial terms.

I am now in a place to survey both the anaphora in Ambrose's *Sacr.* and the *textus receptus* and identify every place in both where they might be making use of Hebrews. This chapter has demonstrated a strong likelihood that Hebrews exercised a definitive influence on (a) the *Memento, Domine's* use of *sacrificium laudis*; (b) the appeal to the three ancient sacrifices in the *Supra quae*; and (c) the range of five sacrificial nouns that are used interchangeably in Hebrews in the *Te igitur, Hanc igitur, Quam oblationem, Unde et memores,* and *Supra quae*. In the next chapter, I will also demonstrate that a key phrase in the *Qui pridie* is taken from Hebrews, which means that the narrative center (see Chapter 2) is also marked uniquely by Hebrews. This chapter has argued for the strong likelihood that almost all of the oldest paragraphs of the Canon contain this reliance on Hebrews. The systematic considering of the Canon from the *Te igitur* through the conclusion in Chapter 6 will make this claim even more persuasive.

## CHAPTER 6: PARTICULAR USES OF HEBREWS IN THE ROMAN CANON MISSAE

In Chapter 5, I outlined in detail two of the most certain places that the Roman Canon uses Hebrews as a source—the appeal to the sacrifices of Abel, Abraham, and Melchizedek as well as the wide range of sacrificial terminology. I also examined one additional feature of the Canon that appears only once in the New Testament: the phrase *sacrificium laudis*. What follows is a description of each part of the Roman Canon that uses Hebrews, along with an identification of the type of use according to the categories proposed in Chapter 4. Because significant parts of the Roman Canon share material exclusively with the Alexandrian tradition (*Lit. STR* and *Lit. Mark*), I will indicate whether the material from Hebrews included in the Roman Canon is also present in the Alexandrian sources and whether the material common to both traditions contains traces of influence from Hebrews.<sup>773</sup>

The discussion is divided by the paragraphs of the Roman Canon, beginning with the *Te igitur*. When the version in Ambrose's *Sacr.* parallels the *textus receptus*, I will identify the section by the incipits of both anaphoras. Then, in each paragraph, I will identify the term or phrase in question and indicate which category or categories I think best describes its use and then provide commentary. I will conclude by indicating the importance that Hebrews played in the formation of the Latin anaphoral tradition, particularly as it concerns the anaphora's development, structure, and emphasis on the acceptance of the sacrificial offering.

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<sup>773</sup> See Appendix M for a table of every possible use of Hebrews in the Roman Canon. Each verse or verses is listed with the relevant part of the Latin biblical text and the possible corresponding parts in Ambrose's *Sacr.* and the *textus receptus*.

## *Te igitur and Memento, Domine*

*clementissime*

Type: Suggestion

The adjective “merciful” is not common in early anaphoras, but appears only in *Lit. Sharrar* (“merciful Lord, who raised your voice on the cross and gathered us from vain error”) and *Lit. Sarapion* (“We beseech you through this sacrifice: be reconciled to us all and be merciful, O God of truth”).<sup>774</sup> Jesus is often addressed with a request to have mercy on an individual in the Gospel, and mercy is a common theme in the epistles.<sup>775</sup> The term use for this in the Vulgate is *miser cordia* (54 uses in the New Testament<sup>776</sup>), not *clementia*, which is never used there, though it does later become a common adjective in the Latin West.<sup>777</sup> A form of *miseratio* (a synonym for *miser cordia*) is used later in the *Nobis quoque* (*Nobis quoque peccatoribus famulis tuis de multitudine miserationum tuarum*). Kappes argues in his study that *miser cordia/miseratio* only enters the Roman Canon in the fifth century (his evidence is that neither of these terms are used in Ambrose or the Mai fragment).<sup>778</sup> The term *miser cordia* was only introduced after the influence of Lactantius was replaced by the biblical concept of mercy, something Seneca saw as a vice. For Seneca, *clementia* was a more disciplined and reasonable form of *miser cordia*. Miklós Könczöl explains: “*Clementia* and *severitas* are presented as virtues” in *De*

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<sup>774</sup> PEER, 49, 77.

<sup>775</sup> See Rudolph Bultmann, “ἔλεος,” in *TDNT*, II:477-87. TT

<sup>776</sup> Some form of the Greek ἐλεήμων appears 78 times in the New Testament, though a form of the word is also translated as alms (such as in Matthew 6:3, “when you give alms [ἐλεημοσύνην].”

<sup>777</sup> See Eizenhöfer’s exhaustive list of uses in *Canon Missae Romanae: Pars altera*, 36-9. “Clemency” plays a significant part of Christiaan Kappes’ argument that the Canon reflects Stoic philosophical language and concepts, particularly Seneca’s *De clementia*; Kappes, “Lactantius” (unpublished manuscript).

<sup>778</sup> Ibid.

*clementia* and contrasted with the “two opposing vices” of “*miser cordia* and *crudelitas*.” The error of the later two is that they lack temperance: “*clementia* and *severitas* are moderate, while *miser cordia* means relentless mercy and *crudelitas* relentless severity in the punishment.”<sup>779</sup> Jesus is described in Heb 2:17 as “a merciful [ἐλεήμων<sup>780</sup>] and faithful [*miser cors et fidelis*] high priest” and in Heb 8:12 the Lord is said to “be merciful [ἰλεως<sup>781</sup>] toward their iniquities” (a quotation of Jer 31:31-34); in this instance, the Vetus Latina and Vulgate render the adjectives as *propitius*.<sup>782</sup>

While there is no direct evidence that the Roman Canon relies on Hebrews, as opposed to elsewhere in the Bible, for the concept of God’s clemency and mercy, it is worth asking if the concept of mercy in the Canon bears any relationship to its emphasis on the acceptance of sacrifice. The superlative *clementissime* in the *Te igitur* is very closely connected to the first request for acceptance and act of offering, while the declaration that those who pray the Roman Canon (like the saints before them) trust in the multitude of God’s mercies (*multitudine miserationum tuarum*) comes after all the acts of offering and pleas for acceptance have been made. If a eucharistic reading of Hebrews is influential in the later redaction of Hebrews in the fifth century, the mercy of the both the Son and the Father in Hebrews may have spurred the introduction of these terms.

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<sup>779</sup> Miklós Könczöl, “Clemency and Justice in the ‘De Clementia’ of Seneca,” *Iustum Aequum Salutare* 4 (2008): 67.

<sup>780</sup> Danker, 316.

<sup>781</sup> *Ibid.*, 474.

<sup>782</sup> Gryson, *Hebraeos* (VLB 25.2), 1368 (upper).

*accepta habeas*

Type: Borrowing

I demonstrated in Chapter 2 that one of the distinguishing features of the Roman Canon is the centrality of God's acceptance of the eucharistic sacrifice. The Canon contains four direct requests for acceptance (in the *Te igitur*, *Hanc igitur*, *Quam oblationem*, and *Unde et memores*), plus the additional oblique request that the sacrifice be taken to the heavenly altar by the angel in the *Supplices te*.<sup>783</sup> The acceptability of sacrifice is not prominent in Hebrews (or elsewhere in the New Testament), at least with the use of terms like "acceptable" or "pleasing." The sacrifice Abel offered is described as *plurimam hostiam*, a greater sacrifice, that is, one that is more acceptable (Heb 11:4). This corresponds with Genesis 4:3-7, which indicates that the Lord "had regard" for Abel and his sacrifice (*respexit Dominus ad Abel et ad munera eius*; Gen 4:4). The other direct mention of the notion of acceptability is at the end of Hebrews 12, where the recipients are enjoined to "serve, pleasing God, with fear and reverence" (*serviamus placentes Deo cum metu et reverentia*), though no explicit description or explanation is provided for what this worship might entail.<sup>784</sup> Elsewhere in the New Testament, 1 Pet 2:5 (a verse that will reoccur many times in this chapter) says a bit more on this topic: Christians are a

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<sup>783</sup> There are only two requests for acceptance in the text from Ambrose, and there is no parallel text provided for the *Te igitur*, so it is impossible to know whether there is a parallel there; there is no parallel to the request in the *Hanc igitur*; the request that the oblation be made *acceptabilem* is in the *Fac nobis* (parallel to the *Quam oblationem*). The most notable difference is that there is only one request for acceptance in the *Et petimus*. The version in the *textus receptus* is, as I have already discussed, divided into two paragraphs: (a) the acceptance of the sacrifice based on the three ancient sacrifices the concern of the *Supra quae* and, as a separate idea, (b) the transferal of the gifts to the heavenly altar in the *Supplices te*. This difference introduces a second, though oblique, request for acceptance into the *textus receptus*: explicitly in the *Supra quae*, and then implicitly in the distinct request for angelic transferal of the gifts.

<sup>784</sup> The Vulgate is rather different from the received Greek in Heb 12:28. The doxological aspect of λατρεύομεν is obscured in the Latin translation *serviamus*. The adverb εὐαρέστως is similarly limited by the translation *pacentes*, especially with paired with paired with *serviamus*. The please character of worship, namely that it is acceptable to God, has become an exhortation that general service be pleasing to God. The Vetus Latina provides no variants.

“holy priesthood” (*sacerdotium sanctum*) whose purpose is “to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ” (*offerre spirituales hostias acceptabiles Deo per Iesum Christum*).<sup>785</sup>

Christiaan Kappes, however, argues that the source of the pleas for acceptance have their source in “a Stoic appeal to the divinity to enter into a legal contract with humanity.”<sup>786</sup> His detailed and textual argument for the reliance on certain Stoic terminology and legal constructs is compelling. However, as he points out, the version in Milan by the time of Ambrose has already “been filtered through recent interpolations and edits following the anti-philosophical papacy of Damasus.”<sup>787</sup> Nonetheless, it remains quite possible that, given the significant and no doubt obvious uses of Hebrews already, that the importance of God’s acceptance of Abel and Abraham’s sacrifices in Hebrews, along with the place of God’s mercy, also influenced the late redaction process that produced the *textus receptus*.

There is also present in Hebrews a general theme that is directly connected to the notion of the acceptability of sacrifice, namely, the contrast between “every priest [who] stands daily at this service, offering repeatedly the same sacrifices, which can never take away sins” and Christ, the Melchizedekian high priest who “offered for all time a single sacrificial offering for sins” (Heb 10:12). One of the main arguments of Hebrews is that both the (Melchizedekian) priesthood and the material of the sacrifice (his flesh and blood) are not just superior to Levitical priesthood and sacrifice but categorically more

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<sup>785</sup> There is a significant common shared tradition between Hebrews and 1 Peter, including that the death of Christ “is portrayed in cultic terms, as the sacrifice of a sinless victim”; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 30. For more on this, see *Ibid.*, 30-31; Koester, *Hebrews*, 57-58, 69-70; Ceslas Spicq, *L’Épître aux Hébreux*, 2 vols. (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, 1952), I:139-44.

<sup>786</sup> Kappes, “Lactantius” (unpublished manuscript).

<sup>787</sup> *Ibid.*

effective. In light of the other significant ways that Hebrews is used in the Roman Canon, one has to wonder whether Hebrews' notion of the perfectly acceptable nature of Christ's *immaculatum* self-sacrifice (Heb 9:14) is being connected with the sacrificial offering in the Eucharist which the *Quam oblationem* asks that God make acceptable (*quaesumus, benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris*) so that it may become Christ's body and blood (*ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi filii tui domini nostri Iesu Christi*). If so, this would mean that Hebrews is being used in such a way as to indicate what neither it nor the Roman Canon say explicitly: that it is Christ who is offered to the Father in the Eucharist.

*haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata*

Type: Borrowing

I discussed these three terms, along with *hostia* and *oblatio*, extensively in the previous section of this chapter. The vast majority of the uses of all five terms (27 of 35) in the New Testament are in Hebrews and they always refer to Old Testament sacrifices or to the death of Jesus as a sacrifice. None of the uses is ever metaphorical or non-material. *Hostia* is the most common term (20 uses), followed by *oblatio* (7), *munus* (4),<sup>788</sup> *sacrificium* (3), and *donum* (1) (see Appendix N for a chart of their use in the New Testament). The Roman Canon also appears to reflect the way the terms are used as synonyms for each other in Hebrews. In light of the other evidence set out in this section, it is safe to surmise that the redactors of the Roman Canon used this terminology in an attempt to borrow and appropriate scriptural language in order to broaden the

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<sup>788</sup> Eizenhöfer suggests Heb 5:1, 8:3, and 9:9 as sources for the three terms in the *Te igitur*; *Canon Missae Romanae: Pars altera*, 47.

terminology for the sacrificial offering through biblical idioms. Such a use might even be an attempt to indicate an exegetical approach that connects the sacrifice of Jesus (which fulfills and completes all prior sacrifices) with the eucharistic sacrifice, as we saw in Irenaeus.

*sancta sacrificia illibata*

Type: Borrowing

Eizenhöfer makes an interesting suggestion that the combination of the recollection of the resurrection that is followed quickly by the mention of the *hostiam immaculatam* in both Ambrose and the final form may echo Heb 9:14.<sup>789</sup> A few verses earlier, Christ is said to have appeared in heaven (verse 11) and entered into the Holy Place (verse 12) because of his resurrection. Then a contrast is highlighted: “For if the sprinkling of defiled persons with the blood of goats and bulls and with the ashes of a heifer sanctifies for the cleansing of the body, how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God [obtulit immaculatum Deo], purify your conscience from dead works to serve the living God” (9:13-14). This is definitely the same idea that is expressed in Heb 7:26<sup>790</sup> (though Eizenhöfer does not point this out), where Jesus is identified as a high priest with five qualities (adjectives and

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<sup>789</sup> Eizenhöfer, *Canon Missae Romanae: Pars altera*, 140. He cites Heb 9:14 again for the same phrase, *immaculatam hostiam*, which is used in the *Supra quae* to describe Melchizedek’s sacrifice; *ibid.*, 151. Attridge points out that the Greek adjective (ἄμωμον) “is derived from the Old Testament’s cultic prescriptions about the physical perfection of the victims, and it had been applied to Christ in early Christianity [see 1 Pet 1:19]. In Hebrews, as in that early Christian tradition, Christ’s blamelessness was seen to be moral, not physical, and his offering was not made for his own needs”; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 251. See also Friedrich Hauk, “ἄμωμος,” in *TDNT*, IV:830-31.

<sup>790</sup> Attridge points out that the first three adjectives—ὁσιος ἄκακος ἀμίαντος—“recall in a general way the biblical prescription for Levitical purity”; Attridge, *Hebrews*, 212.



participles): *sanctus, innocens, inpollutus, segregatus a peccatoribus, et excelsior caelis factus*. *Inpollutus* is certainly a synonym of *immaculatum*.<sup>791</sup>

*supplices...offerimus*

Type: Borrowing

The term *supplices* is used twice in the Canon (though never in Ambrose), first in Cycle 1 in the *Te igitur* and then again in Cycle 2 in the *Supplices*. The term indicates, as Jungmann puts it, the “reverently reserved form of offering” that characterizes the posture of sacrifice and the Canon’s repeated requests for acceptance.<sup>792</sup> Any cognate of *supplices* is very rare in the New Testament: it occurs only twice, both times in Hebrews (5:7 and 10:29). The use in 5:7 may be a source for the term in the Canon. In Heb 5:7, Jesus is said to have offered prayers and supplications in the days of his flesh (*in diebus carnis suae preces supplicationesque ... offerens*). Every other time Hebrews refers to Jesus making an offering or a sacrifice as a high priest, Hebrews indicates that Jesus offers himself and always with a form of the verb *offero* (see 7:27; 9:14, 28; 10:10, 12, 14). In Heb 5:7, however, Jesus offers both “prayer and begging entreaties.” This would seem to indicate that Christ offered on earth what he now offers in heaven: both supplications and himself. Christ, in the heavenly sanctuary, is there *pro nobis* (Heb 9:24) offering his own, living blood as our mediator (*testamenti novi mediatorem Iesum et*

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<sup>791</sup> *Immaculatum* is used a few other places in the New Testament. The closest parallel in 1 Pet 1:19, where Jesus is described as “a lamb without blemish or spot” (*incontaminati et immaculati*). The recipients of the 2 Peter are encouraged to be found by the Lord “without spot or blemish” (*inmaculati et inviolate*; 3:14), with a similar idea on Col 1:22 (*vos sanctos et immaculatos et inreprehensibiles coram ipso*); similarly in Eph 1:4, that God intends for his followers to be *sancti et immaculati in conspectu eius*. The 144,000 elect are described as spotless, but with a synonym, *sine macula* (Rev 14:5). Eph 5:27 says that Christ intends to “present the church to himself in splendor, without blemish or wrinkle [*non habentem maculam aut rugam*] or any such thing, that she might be holy and without spot [*sancta et immaculata*].”

<sup>792</sup> Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, II:150.

sanguinis sparsionem melius loquentem quam Abel; Heb 12:24). Thus, it is possible that the concept expressed in Heb 5:7 lies behind the use of *supplices* in the Canon to describe the prayer that is constitutive of the Eucharistic prayer and is itself part of what is being offered. Given that Jesus offered up *preces supplicationesque*, the use of Heb 5:7 would be an indication that the redactors understood the action of the eucharist—praise, prayer, material offering of bread and wine—to somehow be one with that of Christ, who offered both praise and prayer to the Father, along with the material offering of his body.

*Spe salutis et incolumitatis suae*

Type: Borrowing

The term “hope” is quite common in the New Testament. It occurs most frequently in Romans (twelve uses) and Acts (ten), and Hebrews and 2 Corinthians tie with each other for the next highest number of uses at seven. Heb 6:19 is related to a number of places in the New Testament where hope is directly identified as the person of Jesus (see also Rom 8:24; Col 1:5; 1 Tim 1:1 and Tit 2:13).<sup>793</sup> In Heb 6:19, however, hope is like Christ because it has “entered within the veil” of the temple where Jesus has gone precisely because he is a priest after the order of Melchizedek (Heb 6:18-20). Further, hope is identified as a distinguishing marker of the saints (along with faith and patience) in Heb 6:9-12. This one mention of hope in the *Memento, Domine* is almost immediately followed by the *Communicantes*, which rejoices in the communion shared with the saints, beginning with the Mother of God. Hope is not often depicted in early anaphoras as a result of the eucharistic offering, though it is found in two East Syrian

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<sup>793</sup> See Attridge, *Hebrews*, 183.

rites<sup>794</sup> and also in some Egyptian liturgies, including *Lit. STR*, which may be a source of the term in the Roman Canon.<sup>795</sup> This reliance on Heb 6:19 is possible but uncertain.

*sacrificium laudis*

Type: Borrowing

Recall from the extensive previous discussion on *Sacrificium laudis* (θυσίαν αινέσεως) that this phrase not found in the text of any early anaphora, save for *Lit. Theo.* and the Roman Canon's *Memento, Domine*.<sup>796</sup> However, *1 Clement* uses this phrase (35:12 and 52:3) and very likely draws it from Hebrews. Even though the use of the term in *1 Clem.* 52:3 is part of a quotation of Ps 50[49]:14–15 and Ps 51:17[50:19], *1 Clement* makes direct allusions to multiple parts of Hebrews. Most relevantly, the verses that follow *1 Clem.* 35:12 draw on Heb 1:2-7, 13; 2:18; and 3:1, as well as 6:3-5, the latter having possible eucharistic (and definitely baptismal) allusions (“those who have once tasted the heavenly gift” and the “word of God”). Further, the one place where θυσίαν αινέσεως is found (Heb 13:15) is a passage that includes a reference to eating from an altar (Heb 13:10), which is the one other place in Hebrews which has been thought to have possible eucharistic allusions. Further, beginning with Cyprian, *sacrificium laudis* is

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<sup>794</sup> In *Lit. AM*: “May your Holy Spirit, Lord, come and rest on this offering of your servants ... that it may be to us ... the great hope of resurrection from the dead”; and *Lit. Sharar*: “You, Lord, through your great mercy, be graciously mindful of all the holy and righteous Fathers, when we commemorate your body and blood, which we offer to you on your living and holy altar, as you, our hope, taught us in your holy gospel”; *PEER*, 43, 47.

<sup>795</sup> In *Lit. STR*, the offering is made “for all who hope in you,” followed directly by a prayer for the dead (this is not found in *Lit. Mark*); in the Deir Balyzeh Papyrus (an Egyptian fragment that shares portions with *Lit. Mark*), the prayer moves into the doxology asking that God “provide us your servants with the power of the Holy Spirit, for strengthening and increasing of faith, for the hope of the eternal life to come; through our Lord Jesus Christ...”; *PEER*, 54, 81.

<sup>796</sup> The corresponding portion of the Roman Canon in Ambrose is only described briefly and is not quoted, and so we cannot know if Ambrose’s text contained the phrase or not.

given a eucharistic interpretation and is used repeatedly in Latin liturgical sources as a shorthand for eucharistic action. As noted earlier, it is almost certain that Ps 50:14[49:14] lies behind the Roman Canon's use of *sacrificium laudis*, since the sacrifice of praise is connected in both to fulfilling one's vow to God. The use of the phrase in the Roman Canon is certainly more than just the Suggestion of scriptural language but is almost certainly meant to connect this common Old Testament phrase to the New Covenant's ritual action of the Eucharist. It is difficult to ascertain with certainty whether *sacrificium laudis* is an allusion to Heb 13:15, yet the cumulative effect of what I show about other uses of Hebrews in the Roman Canon makes the allusion to Heb 13:15 more likely than not.

*redemptione animarum suarum*

Type: Borrowing

The term *redemptionem* is not uncommon in the Vulgate.<sup>797</sup> Of the nineteen instances, nine connect redemption directly with the blood or death of Jesus.<sup>798</sup> Rom 8:23 speaks of the "redemption of our bodies" (*redemptionem corporis nostri*). The exact phrase, *redemptione animarum suarum*, is not found anywhere else in the New Testament. Both times *redemptionem* is used in Hebrews it is connected to the death of

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<sup>797</sup> It appears nineteen times: Matt 20:28; Mark 10:45 (the first two are nearly identical); Luke 1:68; 2:38; 21:28; 24:21; Acts 7:35; Rom 3:24; 8:23; 1 Cor 1:30; Eph 1:7; 1:14; 4:30; Col 1:14; 1 Tim 2:6; Heb 9:12, 15; 11:35; 1 Pet 1:18.

<sup>798</sup> Matt 20:28 and Mark 10:45 ("the Son of man came not to be served but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many"); Rom 3:24 ("the redemption which is in Christ Jesus, whom God put forward as an expiation by his blood"); Eph 1:7 ("redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of our sins"); Col 1:14 ("in whom we have redemption, the forgiveness of sins"); 1 Tim 2:6 "who gave himself as a ransom for all"); Heb 9:12 ("he entered once for all into the Holy Place, taking not the blood of goats and calves but his own blood, thus securing an eternal redemption"), 15 ("a death has occurred which redeems them from the transgressions under the first covenant"); 1 Pet 1:18-19 ("you were ransomed from the futile ways inherited from your fathers, not with perishable things such as silver or gold, but with the precious blood of Christ.")

Jesus. The redemption of one's soul is the first reason for which the anaphora says those who are present offer the *sacrificium laudis*. It is possible that the Canon's redactor may be using this term in light of Heb 9:12, the context of which is the effect of Christ completing his work: "he entered once into the Holy Place, neither by the blood of goats or calves but by his own blood, thus securing an eternal redemption" (9:12-13). If this is the case, it is also a noteworthy interpretation of the verse that follows, which indicates that if the blood of bulls and goats in the Jewish cult was effective, how much more effective will be the blood of the high priest who is according to the order of Melchizedek. The effect of his blood is to "cleanse your conscience from dead works to serve the living God" (9:14). It is not difficult to imagine an interpretation that connects this to Christ's Body and Blood in the Eucharist. If this passage was in the mind of the Canon's redactors, the interpretation would be that participation in the sacrificial action of the eucharistic sacrifice has the same effect as Christ's priestly action. In other words, that the sacrifice of Christ and the eucharistic sacrifice are united in some basic way, such that proper participation in the eucharistic sacrifice is a means by which the effects of the sacrifice of Christ are made available to Christians. It is also worth noting that in Justin's discussion of how the offering of flour for those cleaned by leprosy (Lev 14:10, 20) in *Dialogue with Trypho* 41.1 was a type of the Eucharist, he indicates that Christ's purpose in instituting this sacrifice "was for a remembrance of the suffering which he suffered for those who are cleansed in their souls from all wickedness."<sup>799</sup> This is conceptually very close to what the Canon indicates in the *Memento, Domine*, namely, that the Eucharist is offered by those present "for the redemption of their souls." Since Justin does not

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<sup>799</sup> ET = *PEER*, 27.

reproduce any examples of the text of prayers used at the Eucharist, we cannot know with certainty how he prayed; but it would not be surprising if Justin's eucharistic praying expressed just such a connection.

Neither "sacrifice of praise" nor the connection between redemption and the eucharistic sacrifice is found in *Lit. STR* or *Lit. Mark*. Both traditions do share, however, the immediate act of offering followed directly by a petition for the peace of the church. Not long after, both also connect the offering with intercession for those who are present with the use of the term "hope." The Alexandrian idea of the effect of "those who offer the sacrifices at your holy and heavenly and spiritual altar" is quite different, however, from that in the Roman Canon. The section in *Lit. Mark* that parallels the *Supra quae* and *Supplices te*) expresses a different intention for the offering: "give them imperishable things for perishable, heavenly things for earthly, eternal for temporal."<sup>800</sup> Thus, it seems that when their common source was brought into Latin, this more abstract idea was replaced with something both more concrete and explicitly scriptural: "the redemption of their souls [redemptione animarum suarum], for the hope of their salvation and safety [spe salutis et incolumitatis suae], to pay their vows to you the eternal God, living and true" (*Memento, Domine*). Redemption<sup>801</sup> is a common notion in the New Testament, as is the idea of hope<sup>802</sup> (the one mention of the phrase "hope of salvation" appears in I Thess 5:8, which describes the helmet we are to don as "the hope of salvation" [spem

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<sup>800</sup> ET = *Ibid.*, 62.

<sup>801</sup> See Hermann Martin Friedrich Büchsel, "ἐξαγοράζω," in *TDNT*, I:126-8.

<sup>802</sup> See Rudolph Bultmann, "ἐλπίζ [in Hellenistic Judaism and early Christianity]" in *TDNT*, II:529-35.

salutis])).<sup>803</sup> I have already pointed out that the idea of paying one's vows is almost certainly drawn from Is 50[49]:10, since that text connects the "sacrifice of praise" with paying one's vow to God and is often cited by the Fathers. Thus, *redemptione animarum suarum* clearly borrows a concept that is prominent in the New Testament and one that is expressed in Heb 9:12. However, it is not clear that this phrase is necessarily drawn from Hebrews, though it is quite possible.

*Deo vivo et vero*

Type: Borrowing

The phrase "living God" (*Deo vivo*) is used thirteen times in the New Testament. Four of the thirteen uses, however, are in Hebrews (3:12; 9:14; 10:31; 12:22); only two of the thirteen have any cultic context: in 2 Cor 6:16, Christians are described as "the temple of the living God" (*estis templum Dei vivi*). Heb 9:14, however, uses the phrase in direct connection with the sacrificial offering of Jesus: "How much more shall the blood of Christ, who by the Holy Spirit offered himself unspotted [*immaculatum*] unto God, cleanse our conscience from dead works, to serve the living God?" None of the Alexandrian rites name God in this way. Thus, it seems quite possible that the Canon's redactor could have drawn this way of speaking about the God unto whom those present offer the *sacrificium laudis* from Heb 9:14, where the *immaculatum* sacrifice of Christ, "the mediator of the new testament (*novi testamenti mediator est*; 9:15)" is offered in order to "cleanse our conscience from dead works, to serve the living God" (9:14).

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<sup>803</sup> It is noteworthy that the description of God as "living and true" (*vivo et vero*) is also found in 1 Thessalonians, the only place it is found in the New Testament: "how you turned to God from idols, to serve a living and true God; 1 Thess 1:9).

## ***Communicantes***

The names of Mary and the twelve apostles are all found in the Bible, but none of them is mentioned in Hebrews. There is nothing else in the *Communicantes* that appears to draw on Hebrews. As noted in Chapter 1, this section of the Canon is considered part of the latter strata of the Canon, and my theory is that the influence of Hebrews is present in the earliest Latin strata so this absence is to be expected.

## ***Hanc igitur***

*oblationem*

Type: Borrowing

See the earlier discussion of *dona*, *munera*, and *sacrificia*. The *Hanc igitur* simply adds an additional synonym for the sacrifice: *oblationem*.

## ***Fac Nobis (in Ambrose)/Quam oblationem (textus receptus)***

*oblationem*

Type: Borrowing

See the earlier discussion of *dona*, *munera*, and *sacrificia*. The *Quam oblationem* repeats the use of *oblatio* used first in *Hanc igitur*.

*scriptam, rationabilem, acceptabilem (Ambrose)*

*benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque (textus receptus)*

Type: Suggestion



While none of these adjectives are drawn from Hebrews, the adjective *acceptabilem* is found in one key verse, 1 Pet 2:5, where the term *hostiam* is also found within a context where Christians are described as a *sacerdotium sanctum* who offer *spirituales hostias acceptabiles Deo per Iesum Christum*. This one verse contains four key components of the Roman Canon: a) the concept of a holy, Christian priesthood; b) the notion of a spiritual *hostiam*, a term that always refers to material sacrifices in the New Testament (either Jewish or the death of Christ); c) the importance of the divine acceptance of sacrifice, expressed with the term *acceptabiles*, forms of which are used four times in the Roman Canon (*Te igitur, Hanc igitur, Quam oblationem, and Supra quae*) to ask God to accept the eucharistic sacrifice; and d) the notion that the divine acceptance of sacrifice occurs *per Iesum Christum*, a concept that is expressed twice in the Canon (*Per quem* and *Per ipsum*).

The source of the two adjectives *rationabilem* and *acceptabilem* are almost certainly the common source shared by the Latin and Alexandrian traditions and are worthy of a few comments. The three adjectives in Ambrose and the five in the *textus receptus* are all synonyms for “acceptable” except *rationabilem*. This adjective also happens to be the only adjective shared by every Latin witness to this part of the anaphora: the Ambrosian anaphora, the *textus receptus*, and the parallel found in the Mozarabic rite.<sup>804</sup> The Mozarabic text appears to witness to an intermediary form of

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<sup>804</sup> “Per [quem] petimus et rogamus ut accepta habeas et benedicas haec munera et hec sacrificia inlibata quae tibi offerimus pro tua ecclesia sancta catholica, quam pacificare digneris per universum orbem terrarum diffusant. Memorare etiam, quaesumus Domine, famulorum tuorum, quorum oblationem benedictam, ratam rationabilemque facere digneris, quae est imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis Iesu Christi Filii tui Domini ac Redemptoris nostri.” §1440 in *LMS*, col. 641, ln. 30ff.

development.<sup>805</sup> In addition to the shift to the relative pronouns in the *textus receptus* (from the declarative *Fac nobis, inquit, hanc oblationem* in Ambrose), the five adjectives for the offering scattered between the Ambrosian and Mozarabic witnesses are combined in the final form of the Roman Canon<sup>806</sup> (see Table 6.1 for these sources in parallel).

**Table 6.1 The adjectives for the sacrificial offering in Ambrose, the *Liber mozarabicus*, and the Roman Canon**

Ambrose	<i>Liber Mozarabicus</i>	Roman Canon
scriptam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque	benedictam, ratam, rationabilem,	benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque

The only adjective shared by all three is *rationabilis*, an adjective found in the Alexandrian sources that lie behind them: “we offer the reasonable sacrifice and this bloodless service ([τ]ὴν θυ[σί]αν τὴν λογικὴν, τὴν ἀναί[μακτ]ον λατρε[ίαν])” in *Lit. STR* and “we give thanks to you and offer this reasonable and bloodless service (τὴν λογικὴν καὶ ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν)” in *Lit. Mark*.<sup>807</sup> The source for *λογικὴν* is almost certainly Rom 12:1 (one of two places where the term appears in the New Testament<sup>808</sup>), where

<sup>805</sup> Mazza notes that there is “general consensus” that “the redactions in Ambrose and in the Mozarabic (more accurately, Old Spanish) liturgy are earlier than that of the Roman Canon; that of Ambrose seems to be the earlier of the two.” He goes on to conjecture: “It is impossible to tell from the rest of the text whether the writer of the prayer in the [Roman] Canon was giving priority to Ambrose over the Spanish text or vice versa. He seems to have regarded both as traditional sources and to have respected both equally”; *Roman Rite*, 68 and 300-01, n.78.

<sup>806</sup> See Appendix G for a grid of common adjectives for the eucharistic offering in ancient anaphora; see also the discussion of the Alexandrian rite in Chapter 2, particularly the adjectives “reasonable” and “bloodless.”

<sup>807</sup> *PE*, 116, 102; *PEER*, 53, 59.

<sup>808</sup> As I mentioned in the earlier section in the section on sacrificial terminology, the only other use of any form of *λογικὴν* in the Greek text or *rationabilis* in the Vulgate is in 1 Pet 2:2: “Like newborn infants, long for the pure, spiritual [λογικὸν].”

Christians are enjoined, “present your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, which is your spiritual [λογικὴν; *rationabile*] worship.” Further, Rom 12:1 in the Vulgate not only contains the adjectives *rationabilis*, but also the sacrificial noun *hostiam*. The material of the sacrifice is the Christian body, which the passage describes as “living.” This means that it is also possible that this verse is the source of the adjective *incruentam* (“unbloody”), which is found in both Alexandrian sources and also in Ambrose’s version of *Unde et memores* (the *Ergo memores*; see more the discussion below). Finally, the sacrifice in Rom 12:1 is described as *sanctam*, an adjective used for the sacrifice once in the *Te igitur* and twice in the *Unde et memores* (it is also used in the *Ergo et memores* in Ambrose). Here again we find a source devoid of any influence of Hebrews but retaining the influence of the common source shared with the Alexandrian rites.

This brings to a conclusion Cycle 1 of the Roman Canon, which contains a number of parallels with the Alexandrian prayers of *Lit. STR* and *Lit. Mark*. When all three are put in parallel (see Table 6.2), it is clear that when the prayer was Latinized, the following changes were made: (a) the quotation of Mal 1:11 is removed; (b) Mal 1:11 is replaced with both a request for acceptance of the sacrifice and also a fuller naming of the sacrifice with a sequence of synonyms—*haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata*; (c) the prayers for the church are expanded to include the hierarchy (the same expansions happen in *Lit. Mark* but in a later and longer intercessory section); (d) the section on church is also expanded to include those who are present and who offer the sacrifice as well as those for whom they offer it (a theme that is also expanded in the

intercessory portion of *Lit. Mark* in the same portion that parallels the *Supra quae* and *Supplices te*;<sup>809</sup> (e) the theme of peace is multiplied and mentioned first when praying for the church (*Te igitur*) and its hierarchy and then again when praying for those present (*Hanc igitur*); (f) into this expansion is inserted the *sacrificium laudis*, a biblical term to describe the offering of the sacrifice, and the corresponding notion of paying one's vows (drawn from Ps 50[49]:10); (g) the recollection of the twelve apostles and twelve early martyrs is inserted at a later period into the already expanded intercessions for the church (which begin in the *Te igitur*, continue in the *Memento, Domine*, and continue in the *Hanc igitur*). See Table 6.2 for these three sources placed in parallel and the insertions described above noted with the corresponding letter.

What is important to note when looking at what the Roman Canon shares with the Alexandrian tradition in Cycle 1 and what was introduced in the Latinization process is that none of the items I have identified as possibly having their source in Hebrews is found in the Alexandrian tradition. The four nouns used for the sacrifice in the *Te igitur*

**Table 6.2** The portions of Alexandrian *Lit. STR* and *Lit. Mark* that parallel the Roman Canon (from the *Te igitur* through the *Hanc igitur*)

<i>Lit. STR</i>	Roman Canon	<i>Lit. Mark</i>
[opening praise]... <u>giving thanks</u> through him to you with him and the Holy Spirit,  <u>we offer</u> the reasonable sacrifice and this <u>bloodless service, which all the nations offer you "from sunrise to sunset," from south to</u>	[ <i>Te igitur</i> ] Therefore, we humbly pray and entreat you, most merciful Father, through your Son Jesus Christ our Lord, to accept and bless these gifts, these offerings, these holy unblemished sacrifices; these, above all, <u>we offer</u> for  (a)	<u>we give thanks</u> to you and  (b)  <u>offer</u> this reasonable and <u>bloodless service, which all the nations offer you [Lord,] "from sunrise to sunset," from north to</u>

<sup>809</sup> Because items (c) and (d) are also in *Lit. Mark*, it is possible that they were present in the common source but end up in different places because of the different ways in which the two traditions incorporated the new elements in the fourth century: *Sanctus*, institution narrative, and anamnesis, plus expanded intercessions.

<i>Lit. STR</i>	Roman Canon	<i>Lit. Mark</i>
<p>north, [for] your "name is great among all the nations, and in every place incense is offered to your holy name and a pure sacrifice." Over this sacrifice and offering we pray and beseech you,</p> <p style="text-align: right;">remember <b>your holy</b> and only <b>Catholic Church</b>,</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>all your peoples</b></p> <p style="text-align: right;">and all your <b>flocks</b>. Provide the peace which is from heaven in all our hearts, and grant us also the peace of this life.</p>	<p><b>your holy catholic Church</b>;</p> <p>to grant her <u>peace</u>, to protect, unite and govern her throughout the world, together with your servant n. our pope, for n. our bishop, and for all the orthodox who hold the catholic and apostolic faith.</p> <p><b>[Memento, Domine]</b> Remember, Lord, your servants and handmaidens and <b>all who stand around</b>, whose faith and devotion are known to you, for whom we offer to you and who offer to you this sacrifice of praise: for themselves, for the redemption of their souls, for the hope of their salvation and safety, to pay their vows to you the eternal God, living and true; <b>[Communicants...]</b> <b>[Hanc igitur]</b> Therefore, Lord, we pray you be pleased to accept this oblation of our service, and also of your whole family, and to order our days in your <u>peace</u>, and to command that we be delivered from eternal damnation and be numbered among the <b>flock</b> of your elect;</p>	<p>south, for your "name is great among all the nations, and in every place incense is offered to your holy name and a pure sacrifice," <u>a sacrifice and offering</u>. And <u>we pray and beseech you</u>, for you are good and love mankind: <u>remember</u>, Lord, <b>the holy</b> and only <b>catholic</b> and apostolic <b>Church</b> from one end of the earth to the other,</p> <p>(e)</p> <p>(c)</p> <p><b>all your peoples</b> (d)</p> <p>(f)</p> <p>(f)</p> <p>(g)</p> <p>(e)</p> <p>and all your <b>flocks</b>.<sup>810</sup></p>

<sup>810</sup> PEER, 53-4; 59-60.

and the *Hanc igitur*—*dona, munera, sacrificia*, and *oblationem*—are the terms that are most likely the result of the use of Hebrews as a source. The corresponding removal of Mal 1:11 and its replacement with *sacrificium laudis* not only substitutes one biblical use for another but also provides a succinct biblical term for the eucharistic sacrifice whose only New Testament source is Hebrews. Of course, there is no reason that the redactors would limit themselves to the New Testament for eucharistic language. It remains a live question, however, whether the use of certain biblical language provides insight into how these Christians were interpreting the Bible. Particularly with *sacrificium laudis*, it is difficult to be absolutely certain whether its use in the Roman Canon in an explicitly eucharistic way indicates that the phrase in Heb 13:15 was being read eucharistically. The other uses in Cycle 1—*clementissime, redemptione animarum suarum*, and *Devo vivo*—are examples of the Borrowing use, but it is unclear if their source is definitely from Hebrews. However, the two most certain uses of Hebrews in the Roman Canon are in the institution narrative and Cycle 2. As such, I propose that it is best to defer judgment about some of these more questionable uses of Hebrews until they can all be considered collectively and in light of each other.

### ***Qui pridie***

*aeterni testamenti*

Type: Quotation and Juxtaposition

The instituting words over the cup include these words: “For this is my blood of the new and eternal covenant (*novi et aeterni testamenti*).” Neither the Synoptic institution narratives nor 1 Corinthians 11:23-26 contains the adjective “eternal.”

Nonetheless, the Roman institution narrative as reflected in the *textus receptus* is perhaps

the most biblical of the institution narratives, relying heavily on Matthew's Gospel with some Pauline supplements and which was almost certainly known in Cyprian's time.<sup>811</sup> However, Ratcliff showed that the fifth century *Codex Veronensis* contains a number of differences from the Vulgate.<sup>812</sup> First, it is the only Latin manuscript to include the phrase *ex hoc omnes* (all of you) in the institution words over the bread (the phrase is present in the Greek text in the words over the wine only). Second, this manuscript (as well as other non-Latin manuscripts, including the Old Syriac) contains the *enim* in the familiar *hoc est enim corpus meum* of the Roman Canon. Finally, this is the only manuscript that adds the adjective *aeterni* to the institution phrase over the cup as quoted above. Not only is this adjective (or even any reference to the "blood of the covenant") not found in Ambrose, the adjective is not found in any other anaphoras (except for the fixed *secreta* or institution narrative in the Gallican rite<sup>813</sup>). This may indicate that *Codex Veronensis* was influenced by Latin liturgical practice. Ratcliff argues that the addition of *aeterni* is not simply a literary flourish, but rather

. . . a doctrinal addition, borrowed from Heb 13:20. The phrase is found nowhere else in the Vulgate (save in Sirach 17:12[10]) Together with the words *mysterium fidei*, borrowed from 1 Tim 3:9, it illuminates and heightens, in phraseology understood to be Pauline, the meaning of the *calix domini*, the Eucharistic cup.<sup>814</sup>

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<sup>811</sup> Willis, *History*, 45-50. Ratcliff, "Institution Narrative of the Roman Canon." Willis there provides a line-by-line examination of the *Qui pridie* with a demonstration of the sources for nearly every word in; see Table 1 in Willis, *History*, 149, where he shows the narrative's relationship to *Apostolic Tradition* and to Cyprian.

<sup>812</sup> Ratcliff, "Institution Narrative of the Roman Canon," 70.

<sup>813</sup> See *PEER*, 147, 150.

<sup>814</sup> Ratcliff, "Institution Narrative of the Roman Canon," 78; Willis also notes the use of Hebrews 13:20 in *History*, 49. Koester points out that while "eternal covenant" is found only in this place in the New Testament, the "OT used 'eternal covenant' for God's covenants with Noah (Gen 9:16), Abraham (17:7, 13; 1 Chron 16:17; Ps 105:10), and David (2 Sam 23:5), and for statutes concerning the Sabbath (Exod 31:16) and the sanctuary (Lev 24:8)"; *Hebrews*, 573. Attridge notes that the phrase is "hardly a standard part of a traditional doxology "and that is rehearses, in an extremely condensed way, the exposition of Christ's sacrificial act. That blood, by its power to cleanse the 'heavenly' reality of consciences, provided effective access to God in the eternal covenant promised by the prophets"; *Hebrews*, 406-7. He adds that

This Quotation from Heb 13:20 is significant.<sup>815</sup> The liturgical benediction from which it is taken identifies Jesus as “the great shepherd of the sheep” and identifies the source of the benediction’s power as “the blood of the eternal covenant.” The insertion of this phrase in the institution narrative over the cup is almost certainly intentional, meaning to identify a unity between Christ’s own blood, the wine of the last supper, and the eucharistic wine. This use is also a variation on the Quotation use from Chapter 4. Here, a quotation is inserted into an already amended institution narrative drawn primarily from Matthew’s gospel, with a number of idiosyncratic variations.<sup>816</sup> This might more accurately be called a Composite Quotation, since two quotations are combined to create something new.<sup>817</sup>

### ***Ergo memores (in Ambrose)/Unde et memores (textus receptus)***

*immaculatam hostiam, rationabilem hostiam, incruentam hostiam (Ambrose)*  
*hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam (textus receptus)*  
 Type: Borrowing

See the earlier discussion of *haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata*. Here, however, a new term is introduced—*hostia*—which is the most common

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the adjective “eternal” “is used in Hebrews for salvation (5:9), judgment (6:2), redemption (9:12), spirit (9:14), and inheritance (9:15), all of which are involved with the covenant”; *ibid.*, 407, n. 30. He also adds additional Old Testament reference to the eternal covenant that are not mentioned by Koester: Isa 55:3; 61:8; Jer 32[39]40; Ezek 16:60; 37:26; *ibid.*, n. 31.

<sup>815</sup> Eizenhöfer suggests that Heb 9:19-20 is in the background here as well, though this seems a bit of a stretch: “For when every commandment of the law had been declared by Moses to all the people, he took the blood of calves and goats, with water and scarlet wool and hyssop, and sprinkled both the book itself and all the people, saying, ‘This is the blood [hic sanguis testamenti] of the covenant which God commanded you’”; Eizenhöfer, *Canon Missae Romanae: Pars altera*, 133.

<sup>816</sup> For a thorough discussion of the source of every part of the institution narrative in the Roman Canon, see Ratcliff, “Institution Narrative of the Roman Canon.”

<sup>817</sup> See Sean A. Adams and Seth Ehorn, eds., *Composite Citations in Antiquity*, The Library of New Testament Studies 525 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015).



New Testament term for “sacrifice.” Only it and *oblatio* are used by Hebrews for the self-offering of Christ as a sacrifice.<sup>818</sup> The introduction of a new term after the institution narrative could be interpreted as an indication that something is now different about the matter of the sacrifice—that is, that it has been consecrated or changed—and, as a result, a new term is needed. However, *immaculatam hostiam* is the term used for the bread in the offertory prayer that occurs much earlier in the liturgy (but whose composition post-dates the Canon significantly), and thus it seems unlikely that anything is meant by the use of a new term.<sup>819</sup>

It is noteworthy that the use of *hostiam* in 1 Pet 2:5 has a number of possible eucharistic allusions. First, the exhortation itself could be read eucharistically: “like living stones be yourselves built into a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices [spirituales hostias; πνευματικὰς θυσίας] acceptable to God through Jesus Christ.” The notion that everyone present offers the eucharistic sacrifice is articulated clearly in the Roman Canon: not only are both verbs of offering in the first-person plural (*offerimus* in the *Te igitur* and *Unde et memores*), but the *Memento, Domine* identifies that those who stand around the altar are those *qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis*. Second, while the adjective in 1 Pet 2:5 is πνευματικὰς and not λογικὴν, the idea has resonance with the λογικὴν θυσίας of Rom 12:1, whose form of the adjective was used in many Greek anaphoras, as I discussed in Chapter 2. Third, the *Vetus Latina* varies

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<sup>818</sup> For example: “But when Christ had offered for all time a single sacrifice [hostiam] for sins, he sat down at the right hand of God” (Heb 10:12).

<sup>819</sup> Fortescue makes this point; see Fortescue, *Mass*, 329. When the prayer *Suscipe sancte Pater* which accompanied the offering of the bread began to be fixed in the Latin offertory were introduced by the 10th or eleventh century, the assumption in the West was that the institution narrative was the consecratory heart of the Canon. Thus, if there had been general agreement that the term *hostia* after the *Qui pridie* indicated a transformation of the gifts, it would seem unlikely that the offertory prayer for the bread would identify it as *immaculatam hostiam*. As it is, the term *hostia* is used frequently in Latin offertory prayers; see Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, II:41-70.

in the translation of πνευματικὰς θυσίας: not only *spirituales hostias*, as in the Vulgate, but also *hostias immaculatas* and *victima*,<sup>820</sup> thus suggesting the idea that the whole people of God, who are a holy priesthood, offer *hostias immaculatas*.

In addition to the triple use of *hostiam* in the paragraph that follows the institution narrative, differences exist among the adjectives applied to *hostia* in Ambrose and those in the *textus receptus* (see Table 6.3):

**Table 6.3** The triple adjectival phrases for the sacrificial offering in Ambrose and the Roman Canon

Ambrose, <i>Sacr.</i> 4.27	Roman Canon, <i>Unde et memores</i>
...offerimus tibi hanc immaculatam hostiam, rationabilem hostiam, incruentam hostiam...	“...offerimus... hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam

I discussed the Ambrosian form in detail in footnote 760 but there are some important connections between Hebrews and the adjectives used for *hostiam*. The obvious first point is that the only commonality between the adjectives in the two sources is *hostiam immaculatam* (see my earlier discussion of *sancta sacrificia illibata* in the *Te igitur*).

There I discussed that Eizenhöfer suggested that *immaculatam* may echo Heb 9:14, and I further proposed that Heb 7:26 expresses a similar idea, where Jesus is described as a high priest who is, among other things, *sanctus* and *inpollutus*. Here, instead of the synonyms *illibata* or *inpollutus*, *immaculatam* is used. Given that this adjective is the only one that is shared with Ambrose, it is probable (though not certain) that this is found in the earliest Latinizations of Greek anaphoral prayers.

<sup>820</sup> Gryson, *Hebraeos* (VLB 25.2), 101 (upper).

The two other adjectives in Ambrose—*rationabilem* and *incruentam*—are both terms found in the Alexandrian sources and thus it is nearly certain that this part of Ambrose reflects a more primitive version that still clearly reflects the Alexandrian source. Why they are replaced by *puram* and *sanctam* in the final form is not totally clear. It is possible that in the phase when the institution narrative was introduced in the stream that produced the *textus receptus* (they likely represent two different textual streams, since their institution narratives are so radically different), *rationabilem* landed after the narrative in Ambrose’s version but stayed much earlier in the *textus receptus* (it is one of the qualities that God is asked to make true for the sacrificial offering in the *Quam oblationem*).

Regarding the use of Hebrews, it is worth noting that the *rationabilem* and *incruentam* could only describe a non-animal sacrifice. Hebrews is at pains to indicate that “it is impossible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sins” (Heb 10:4) and that “Christ had offered for all time a single sacrifice for sins” (10:12). For the sake of argument, let us presume that the redactors of the Roman Canon accept these basic claims of Hebrews (it would be strange if they did not). Presuming they do, these adjectives (especially the ones in Ambrose) indicate that this eucharistic sacrifice is not like the animal sacrifices of the temple, nor it is (exactly) like the sacrifice of Christ, since his blood was shed. But, if the eucharistic sacrifice is one that concerns the redemption of souls and the hope of salvation, and if the prayer is concerned that the bread and wine offered be accepted by the Father so that it becomes the Body and Blood of Christ, it is reasonable to conclude that this prayer is hinting at the claim that the

eucharistic sacrifice is in some way part of the sacrifice of Christ but in a way that does not contradict its “once for all” character (Heb 7:27).

If the redactor had this constellation of texts in mind—1 Pet 2:5; Rome 12:1; Heb 7:26; 9:12-14; 10:1-12—the use of *hostiam immaculatam* may indicate a perspective that identifies the church’s spiritual *sacrificium laudis* with the *hostiam immaculatam* of the “apostle and high priest of our confession” (Heb 3:1)—the one “designated by God a high priest after the order of Melchizedek” (Heb 5:10)—which Christ brought into the heavenly temple, namely, himself (and specifically his blood; see Heb 9:12, 14; 10:19; 12:24; 13:12, 20). In other words, the intension of using *immaculatum hostiam* may be to indicate a clear identification between the church’s sacrifice in the Eucharist and Christ’s one sacrifice of himself.

*salutis perpetuae*

Type: Borrowing

Eizenhöfer suggests that the adjective *salutis perpetuae* for the cup being offered alludes to Heb 5:9, which calls that which Jesus offered in the flesh “the source of eternal salvation [*salutis aeternae*].”<sup>821</sup> If so, this is an example of Borrowing. Its purpose is to allow for a parallelism between the two prepositional phrases that modify the holy bread and cup which are being offered: *vitae aeternae* modifies the bread while *salutis perpetuae* (the later being a synonym for *aeternae*) the cup.

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<sup>821</sup> Eizenhöfer, *Canon Missae Romanae: Pars altera*, 143.

***Et petimus et precamus (in Ambrose)/Supra quae and Supplices te (textus receptus)***

*Supplices te*

Type: Borrowing

See the earlier discussion of *supplices...offerimus*.

*munera pueri tui iusti Abel et sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam*

Type: Borrowing, Therefore, Names, and Juxtaposition

The person of Melchizedek and the sacrifices of Abel and Abraham were discussed in great detail earlier in Chapter 5, which especially highlighted the power of the introduction of these particular Names into the anaphora. What is most important here is that the appeal to other sacrifices (along with the request that the angel take the sacrifice to the heavenly altar) is the most obvious portion of the anaphora that Ambrosian version and the *textus receptus* share with *Lit. Mark*.<sup>822</sup> The one other ancient parallel to this part of the anaphora is a Mozarabic *Post pridie* that seems to give witness to a middle state of development between Ambrose and the *textus receptus* (Table 6.4).<sup>823</sup>

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<sup>822</sup> The corresponding portion in *Lit. STR* is damaged, so it is not possible to determine if the parallel is present there.

<sup>823</sup> “Hanc quoque oblationem ut accepto habeas et benedicas supplices exoramus, sicut habuisti accepto munera Abel pueri tui iusti, et sacrificium Patriarche Patris nostri Abrahae, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech. Descendat hic queso inuisibiliter benedictio tua, sicut quondam in Patrum hostiis uisibiliter descendebat. Ascendat odor suauitatis in conspectu diuinae Maiestatis tuae ex hoc sublimi altario tuo per manus Angeli tui: et deferatur in ista solemnia Spiritus tuus Sanctus, qui tam adstantis quam offerentis populi et oblata pariter et vota sanctificet”; original spelling retained. §627 in *LMS*, col. 262, ln. 5ff. For the reconstructions of this use and the other texts mentioned in this paragraph, see Vagaggini, *Canon of the Mass*, 28-34; Mazza, *Origins*, 240-86. Mazza discusses the differences between these texts in *Origins*, 269-72.

**Table 6.4 Material common to *Lit. Mark*, Ambrose, the *Liber mozarabicus*, and the Roman Canon**

<i>Lit. Mark</i>	Ambrose, <i>Sacr. 4.27</i>	<i>Liber Mozarabicus</i>	Roman Canon
<p>Receive, O God, the thank-offerings [<i>eucharistia</i>] of those who offer the sacrifices, at your (holy and heavenly and) spiritual altar <u>in [the vastness of] heaven</u> by the ministry of your archangels, <u>much or little, secretly or openly, willing but unable, and those who offered the offerings today;</u> as you accepted the gifts of your righteous Abel, the sacrifice of our father Abraham,</p> <p><u>[the incense of Zachariah, the alms of Cornelius,] and the widow's two mites; [receive also their thank-offerings,] and give them imperishable things for perishable...</u></p> <p>[words in brackets are absent from the Coptic Lit. Cyril]</p>	<p>Et petimus et precamur, uti hanc oblationem</p> <p>suscipias in sublime altare tuum</p> <p>per manus angelorum tuorum,</p> <p>sicut suscipere dignatus es munera pueri tui iusti Abel et sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos Melchisedech.</p> <p>[taken from above and placed for the sake of comparison]</p> <p>uti hanc oblationem suscipias</p> <p>in sublime altare tuum per manus angelorum tuorum,</p>	<p>Hanc quoque oblationem</p> <p>ut accepto habeas et <u>benedicas supplices</u> exoramus,</p> <p>sicut habuisti accepto munera Abel pueri tui iusti, et sacrificium Patriarchae Patris nostri Abrahae, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech.</p> <p>Descendat hic queso inuisibiliter benediction tua, sicut quondam in Patrum hostiis uisibiliter descendebat.</p> <p>Ascendat odor suauitatis</p> <p>In conspectu divinae Maiestatis tuae ex hoc sublimi altario tuo per manus Angeli tui:</p> <p>et deferatur in ista solemnia Spiritus tuus Sanctus, qui tam adstantis quam offerentis populi et oblata pariter et vota sanctificet</p>	<p><b>Supra quae</b> propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris:</p> <p>et accepta habere,</p> <p>sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui iusti Abel, et sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae: et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam.</p> <p><b>Supplices te</b> rogamus, omnipotens Deus, iube haec perferri per manus [sancti] angeli tui in sublime altare tuum in conspectu divinae maiestatis tuae,</p> <p>ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum Filii tui Corpus et Sanguinem sumpserimus, omni benedictione caelesti et gratia repleamur.</p> <p>824</p>

<sup>824</sup> ET of *Lit. Mark*, PEER, 62; Greek text: Τὰς θυσίας, τὰς προσφοράς, τὰ εὐχαριστήρια πρόσδεξιαι ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἐπουράνιον καὶ νοερόν σου θυσιαστήριον εἰς τὰ μεγέθη διὰ τῆς ἀρχαγγελικῆς σου λειτουργίας, τῶν τὸ πολὺ καὶ ὀλίγον, κρύφα καὶ παρησιᾶ, βουλομένων καὶ οὐχ ἔχόντων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ τὰς προσφοράς προσενεγκάντων ὡς προσεδέξω τὰ δῶρα τοῦ δικαίου σου Ἄβελ, τὴν θυσίαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ, [Ζαχαρίου τὸ θυμίαμα, Κορηλίου τὰς ἐλεημοσύνας] καὶ τῆς χήρας τὰ δύο λεπτά, πρόσδεθαι καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ εὐχαριστήρια καὶ ἀντίδος αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῶν φαρτῶν τὰ ἄφθαρτα, ἀντὶ τῶν ἐπιγείων τὰ οὐράνια, ἀντὶ τῶν προσκαιρῶν τὰ αἰώνια; Cuming, *St. Mark*, 31-2. Mozarabic text is Post Pridie, §627, LMS, col. 262, ln. 5ff.

The most obvious difference between *Lit. Mark/Ambrose* and the *Liber Mozarabicus/ Roman Canon*<sup>825</sup> is that the two principal parts of the prayer (a) are reversed in their order and (b) the requests are divided into two clearly distinct prayers in the later two. Furthermore, the content of the request differs as well, which is tied to the order of the construction. The request in Ambrose is that God would receive this oblation at the heavenly altar by the hands of his holy angels. The triple appeal to the sacrifices of Abel, Abraham, and Melchizedek is a peculiar sort of orational construction whereby the past action of God serves as the basis of an appeal in the present, which I proposed in Chapter 5 as a *Therefore* use. The request might be paraphrased thus: “As your angels assisted the sacrifices of these past faithful servants by bringing the offerings to your heavenly altar, so we ask you do the same for us.”

In the Mozarabic *Post pridie* and the Roman Canon’s *Supra quae*, however, the request is different. The requesting verbs are more flowery in their construction, though not different in substance: instead of simple acceptance, the prayer first asks that this request would be viewed by God in a favorable and kindly manner, after which the actual request is made. Here, the prayer is that this sacrifice would be accepted as God has previously accepted the three ancient sacrifices of Abel, Abraham, and Melchizedek. This is also a *Therefore* use; but the content of the request has changed. Only *separately* and *subsequently* is God asked to bid the sacrifice be taken into his divine presence through

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<sup>825</sup> The structure of the Mozarabic prayer is like that of the Roman Canon, including a similar request for “benediction” in the communicant, though it does conclude with a sort of Spirit-epiclesis, which remains noticeably absent in the Roman Canon. This feature (i.e., “as you accept the sacrifice, please give your blessing”) is also present in the Alexandrian anaphora, including *Lit. Sarapion*. See Mazza’s discussion of this; *Origin*, 271-2.

the hand of a single angel. Thus, in Ambrose the emphasis is on the request for the angels' assistance,<sup>826</sup> while in the Roman Canon, the concern is first with divine acceptance (the repeated request of the anaphora) followed by the transfer of the sacrifice from the earthly to the heavenly altar. The purpose of the angels' work in Ambrose is to be the mediator of the sacrifice in order to facilitate God's acceptance of the sacrifice. In the *textus receptus*, however, the angel is to take the sacrificial offering to the heavenly altar *in order that* ("ut") all who receive Christ's Body and Blood "may be filled with all heavenly benediction and grace."

In the *textus receptus*, Melchizedek's offering is described as *sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam*, an insertion attributed to Leo the Great (440-61) in the *Liber pontificalis* and not present in any of the other three witnesses.<sup>827</sup> *Sanctum sacrificium* is one of the three synonymous adjective-noun pairs for the eucharistic sacrifice in the *Te igitur*, while *immaculatam hostiam* repeats one of the three adjectives joined to *hostiam* in the preceding *Unde et memores* (and witnessed, as I demonstrated, in both Ambrose and the *textus receptus*). This insertion corresponds to the idea that Ambrose articulates in *Sacr.* His introduction to his discussion of the Eucharist is

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<sup>826</sup> There is no parallel in Ambrose for the request of the fruit of communion in the recipients. Second, while in Ambrose and the *Lit. Mark* the angels are mentioned in the plural, in the Mozarabic text and the Roman Canon, the angel is singular, which has led to speculation whether this could be a reference to Jesus (as *angelus* was a common Christological term in the first few centuries) or possibly an oblique reference to the Holy Spirit. See Bernard Botte, "L'Ange du Sacrifice," *Cours et conférences des Semaines Liturgiques* VII (1929): 209–21; Botte, "L'Ange du Sacrifice et l'épiclese de la messe romaine au moyen âge," *RTAM* 1 (1929): 285–308. Moreton thinks that "the Roman use of the singular *per manus angeli tui* is probably older, and may derive from *angelum voluntatis tuae*, referring to Christ, in the Christological paragraph in *Trad. ap.*, and from the LXX of Isaiah 9.5 before that: Μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος"; Moreton, "Rethinking."

<sup>827</sup> Kennedy and Bouley propose that this notice most likely indicates that Leo is the source of the reworking of the *Et petimus et precamur* paragraph in Ambrose into the two-paragraph version that is found in the final form of the Roman Canon; see Bouley, *From Freedom to Formula*, 208. Kennedy writes: "This remark [from the *Liber pontificalis*] can only refer to some rearrangement of the two prayers after the Consecration, the *Supra quae* and the *Supplices*, which are found in the *De sacramentis* in the form of a single prayer"; *Saints*, 38.



concerned primarily with Melchizedek (see 4.3.8-12). He describes Melchizedek bringing bread and wine. “Who had the bread and wine? Abraham had not. But who had? Melchizedek. He, then, is the author of the sacraments” (4.3.8-10). Then, just a page later as he begins the next section, Ambrose writes: “Who, then, is the author of the sacraments but the Lord Jesus?” (4.4.13).<sup>828</sup> As discussed earlier in this chapter, by the time of Ambrose, Melchizedek is widely interpreted in the Latin West as a type of Christ—or even as a theophany—and Ambrose clearly claims a strong identity between Melchizedek and Christ in his catechetical teaching. With Leo’s insertion, the Roman Canon makes the same sort of claim: to call both our eucharistic sacrifice and that of Melchizedek an *immaculatam hostiam* is to claim that both share an identification or unity with Christ’s one offering of himself.

*in sublime altare in conspectu divinae maiestatis tuae*

Type: Borrowing

Among the few references to the heavenly altar in the New Testament, the explicit references are all in Revelation, and none of them deals with sacrifice and do not appear to have any direct connection to this part of the Roman Canon.<sup>829</sup> There are two additional possibilities for a source in the New Testament. One is the discussion in 1 Corinthians 10 regarding participation:

The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion [communicatio] of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not a partaking [participatio] of the body of Christ? Because there is one bread, we who are many are one body, for we all partake of the one bread. Consider the people of Israel; are not those who eat the sacrifices partners in the altar [qui edunt hostias participes sunt altaris]? (1 Cor 10:16-18)

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<sup>828</sup> Ibid., 86.

<sup>829</sup> Rev 6:9; 8:3, 5; 9:13; 11:1; 14:18; 16:7.

One could, by analogy, conclude that in the Corinthian context there is an altar (or at least something akin to an altar) where the “cup of blessing” and the “bread which we break” is received (though it may simply be a natural and potent image). The second reference is to a verse that I have referenced multiple times in this chapter, Heb 13:10: “We have an altar from which those who serve the tent have no right to eat.” Irenaeus, whose sacrificial terminology I discussed earlier in the chapter, talks about the heavenly altar in the lengthy chapter on sacrifice in *Against Heresies* 4:

... thus is it, therefore, also His will that we, too, should offer a gift at the altar, frequently and without intermission. The altar, then, is in heaven (for towards that place are our prayers and oblations directed); the temple likewise [is there], as John says in the Apocalypse, ‘And the temple of God was opened’ [Rev 11:19]; the tabernacle also: For, behold, He says, ‘the tabernacle of God, in which He will dwell with men [Rev 21:3].’ (*Haer.* 4.18.6)<sup>830</sup>

Given the paucity of references to a heavenly altar in the New Testament, it is certainly possible that both the reference to the altar in Heb 13:10, combined with the rich depiction of a heavenly temple where Jesus has entered as high priest in Hebrews, influenced both the approach of Irenaeus and also that of the Roman Canon. However, the heavenly altar is an idea that is found in the Alexandrian sources and my theory so far has been that all Hebrews material is a part of the Latinization of Greek sources. There is simply not enough evidence to draw any clear conclusion about the source of the concept of the heavenly altar toward which both prayers and oblations are offered. Nonetheless,

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<sup>830</sup> “Sicut et [ideo] nos quoque offerre vult munus ad altare frequenter sine intermissionibus. Est ergo altare in caelis, illuc enim preces nostrae et oblationes diriguntur; et templum, quemadmodum Johannes in Apocalypsi ait: *Et apertum est templum Dei* [Rev 11:9]; et tabernaculum: *Ecce, enim, inquit, tabernaculum Dei, in quo habitabit cum hominibus* [Rev 21:3]”; SCh 100, 614-15 (l. 139-45); ET = ANF, I:486.

the witness of Irenaeus indicates that the thought is present as early as the second century.<sup>831</sup>

The term “majesty” (μεγαλωσύνη/μεγαλειότης) is not very common in the New Testament: it appears only once in the Gospels<sup>832</sup> (Luke 9:43; in response to Jesus’ exorcism on a little boy, the people are astonished at the majesty of God), once in 2 Pet 1:16 (“we were eyewitnesses of his majesty/greatness [*magnitudinis*]”), Jude 25 (“to the only God, our Savior through Jesus Christ our Lord, be glory, majesty [*magnificentia*]...”), and twice in Hebrews. In Heb 1, after “[Jesus] had made purification for sins, he sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on high [*sedet ad dexteram majestatis in excelsis*]” (1:3). In Heb 8:1, after the lengthy argument about Jesus being a Melchizedekian priest in chapters 5-7, we are told, “we have such a high priest, one who is seated at the right hand of the throne of the Majesty [*magnitudinis*] in heaven.” In both of these instances, the term *majestatis* refers to God: in both, Jesus is said to be seated at

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<sup>831</sup> Jungmann provides a list of the other Eastern rites where the heavenly altar, including *Lit. James* and *Lit. Mark*; Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, II: 231, n. 31. Willis states the matter with much more certainty: “St Clement’s words [*I Clem.* 35:12; 36:1; 44:4] suggest that the notion that the eucharistic offering is carried up from earth to heaven and there offered by Christ himself is identical with the words *iube haec perferri per manus sancti angeli tui in sublime altare tuum*. That is to say, the petition of the developed Roman Canon, as it stood round about the year 700, goes back in Roman Liturgy to the end of the first century, and is therefore thoroughly primitive. Neither in the time of St Clement nor of St Irenaeus was the text of the Eucharistic Prayer fixed and authoritative; for long after that it was at the discretion of the celebrant. But it seems very likely that certain important themes became a standard and usual constituent of the Eucharistic Prayer at an early date, though the form was still fluid, and the celebrant would clothe the basic notion in his own words. It may well be, as Professor Ratcliff has suggested that the concept of the heavenly altar had a place in the Eucharistic Prayer of St Irenaeus”; Willis, “God’s Altar,” 237; see Edward C. Ratcliff, “The Sanctus and the Pattern of the Early Anaphora, II,” *JEH* 1, no. 2 (1950): 133.

<sup>832</sup> It is used in the Vulgate in a few more places as a translations for δόξα: Matt 19:28, 24:30, 25:31, Luke 9:26, 31, 21:27 (almost all of which are in reference to Christ’s power and glory upon his return to each). It is used in Acts 19:27 when Demetrius warns the residents of Ephesus that Paul’s preaching may result in the temple of Artemis coming to nothing and even that she might be “deposed from her magnificence [*μεγαλειότητος*].” Δόξα is used in Rev 15:8 to describe the presence of God in the heavenly temple and is rendered *majestate* in the Vulgate. Hagner points out that *I Clem.* makes the similar substitution. When *I Clem.* 36:2 quotes Heb 1:3-4, he substitutes μεγαλωσύνης for δόξα, which Hagner thinks is due to the fact that μεγαλωσύνης is used at the end of Heb 1:3. See Hagner, *The Use of the Old and New Testaments in Clement of Rome*, 179.

the right of the Majesty “on high” or “in heaven,” that is, at the right hand of God.<sup>833</sup> The wider vision of Hebrews is the ministry of Jesus, who, after his own self-offering and resurrection, entered, “not into a sanctuary made with hands, a copy of the true one, but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God on our behalf” (Heb 9:24). Thus, it is possible that Hebrews stands as the source for both the heavenly temple and the majesty of the presence of God, even for the Greek sources that lie behind the Canon.

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<sup>833</sup> See Mark 16:19; Luke 22:69; Acts 2:33; 5:31; 7:5, 56; Rom 8:34; 2 Cor 6:7; Col 3:1; Heb 1:3; 10:12; 12:3; 1 Pet 3:22. In Heb 8:1, the Vulgate uses *magnitudinis* instead of *maiestatis*; however, some other Latin manuscripts use *maiestatis* instead of *magnitudinis*; see Gryson, *Hebraeos* (VLB 25.2), 1352 (upper).

***Memento, etiam****de multitudine miserationum*

Type: Suggestion

See the earlier discussion of *clementissime*. This paragraph contains no additional material that is drawn from Hebrews. The evocative phrase, *signo fidei* is likely a borrowing use from Rom 4:11.

***Nobis quoque***

The Names of John the Baptist, along with Stephen, the protomartyr, and the martyred apostles Matthias and Barnabas are significant but not relevant for this study since none of them is mentioned in Hebrews. There is nothing else in the *Nobis quoque* that appears to draw on Hebrews. As noted in Chapter 1, this paragraph is also considered part of the later strata of the Canon and my theory is that the influence of Hebrews is present in the earliest Latin strata and so this absence is to be expected.<sup>834</sup>

***Per quem (in Ambrose)/Per quem and per ipsum (textus receptus)****Per quem haec omnia, domine*

Type: Suggestion

Eizenhöfer notes that in Heb 2:10, Jesus is described as the one “for whom and by whom all things exist (propter quem omnia et per quem omnia).” This, along with Heb 13:15 (“Per ipsum ergo offeramus hostiam laudis semper Deo”) is very close to the “Per dominum” in Ambrose and “per ipsum” in the Roman Canon, though there are many

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<sup>834</sup> For a thorough history, see Kennedy, *Saints*.

New Testament texts that express similar ideas.<sup>835</sup> A prominent example is 1 Pet 2:5 (which I have referenced multiple times thus far): the spiritual sacrifice that is offered to God is done so *per Iesum Christum*. The strongest connection, however, is the conclusion of the doxology in Heb 13:20-21 (see Table 6.5).<sup>836</sup> Especially since the phrase *aeterni*

**Table 6.5 Heb 13:21 and parallels in Ambrose and the Roman Canon**

Heb 13:21	Ambrose, <i>Sacr.</i> 4.6.27	Roman Canon
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>per</b> <u>Iesum Christum</u>:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">cui <b>est</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>gloria</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">in</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>sæcula sæculorum. Amen.</b></p>	<p><b>Per</b> dominum nostrum <u>Iesum Christum</u> in quo tibi est, cum quo tibi <b>est</b></p> <p><u>honor</u>, laus, <b>gloria</b>, manificentia, potestas cum spiritu sancto a saeculis et nunc et semper et in <u>omnia</u> <b>saecula saeculorum. Amen.</b></p>	<p><b>Per</b> <i>ipsum</i> et cum ipso et in ipso <b>est</b> tibi deo patri omnipotenti in unitate spiritus sancti omnis <u>honor</u></p> <p>et <b>gloria</b></p> <p>per <u>omnia</u> <b>saecula saeculorum. Amen.</b></p>

*testament* in the institution narrative over the cup is definitely drawn from this same passage, it seems quite likely that the doxological language also has its source in this doxology that concludes Hebrews.

While liturgical evolution often results in the expansion of language and phrasing, rather than its reduction,<sup>837</sup> it is noteworthy that the doxology in the Roman Canon is

<sup>835</sup> See the complete list in Eizenhöfer, *Canon Missae Romanae: Pars altera*, 178-80.

<sup>836</sup> For more on the doxology, which Attridge calls “the work’s own ‘sacrifice of praise’ to God” (*Hebrews*, 408), see Attridge, *Hebrews*, 404-08;

<sup>837</sup> There are many exceptions to this, as I noted in Chapter 3. For example, “reasonable sacrifice and bloodless service” in *Lit. STR* is simplified to “reasonable and bloodless service” in *Lit. Mark*; *PEER*, 53, 65.

shorter and simpler than in Ambrose, but with a noteworthy addition as well. The Father is now identified by name (*deo patri omnipotenti*), but at the same time the long list of attributes ascribed to God is reduced from *honor, laus, gloria, magnificentia, potestas* to simply *honor et gloria*. The phrase “honor and glory” is found thirteen times in the New Testament, two of those in Hebrews (2:7 [while quoting Ps 8:4-6]) and 2:9).<sup>838</sup> The doxology in the *textus receptus* is much closer to that of *Apostolic Tradition* than Ambrose, though this is an exception, rather than the rule.<sup>839</sup> It is possible that form in both *Apostolic Tradition* and the final form of the Canon rely on the doxology at the end of Hebrews 13.

### ***The use of Hebrews in the development and structure of the Roman Canon***

When we turn to the development and structure of the Latin anaphora in light of this chapter, two related facts are clear. First, the influence of Hebrews was very early. The overlap in the influence of Hebrews on the Ambrosian version and the *textus receptus* is almost complete (see Appendix M for a table of every possible source in Hebrews with the corresponding paragraphs in both Ambrose and the final form). If we set aside the question of the *Te igitur* (with eight possible uses of Hebrews) and *Memento, Domine* (with only two possible uses) because neither are quoted in Ambrose, the differences are even fewer. First, since there is no parallel to the *Hanc igitur* in Ambrose, that anaphora lacks that paragraph’s use of the noun *oblatio*, and, more

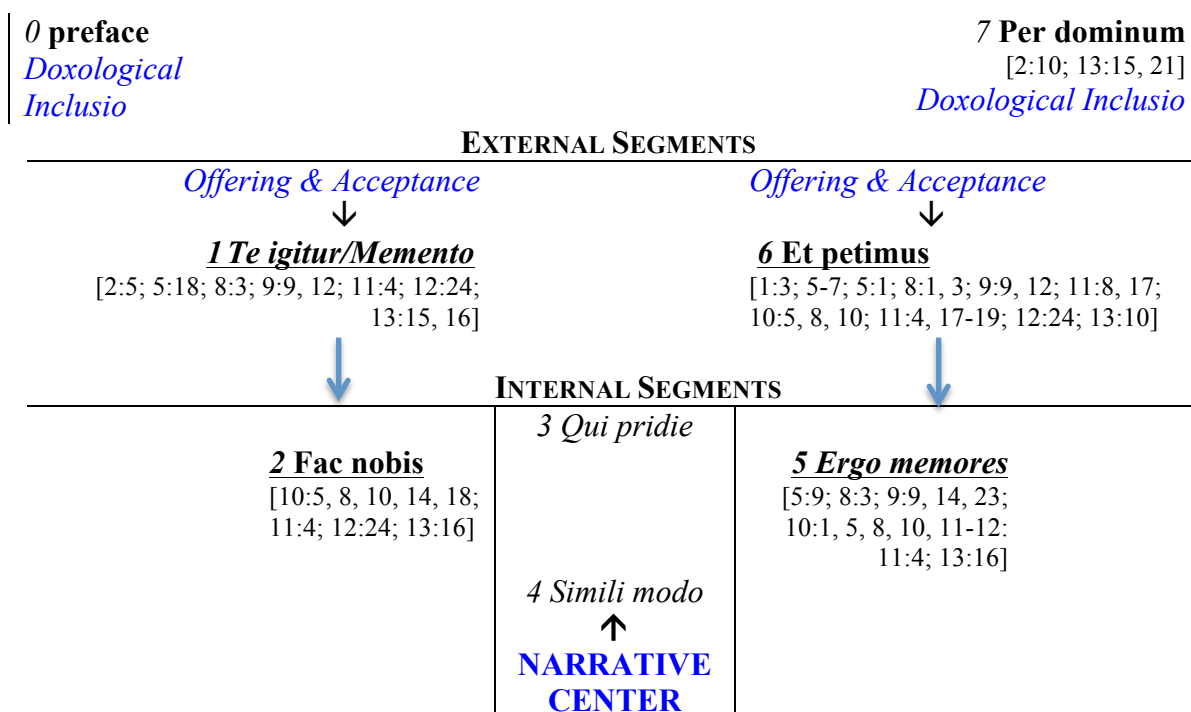
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<sup>838</sup> The other uses are in Rom 2:7, 10; 1 Tim 1:17; 1 Pet 1:7; 2 Pet 1:17; Rev 4:9, 11; 5:12, 13; 7:12; 21:26.

<sup>839</sup> See Jungmann’s discussion in Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, II:265. It is his opinion that the form given in Ambrose is an expansion of the more primitive form that is preserved in the *textus receptus*.

significantly, lacks its request for acceptance. Second, as noted earlier, the institution narratives of the two texts are quite different and the Ambrosian version lacks the insertion of the adjective *aeterni* for *testamenti* in the instituting phrase over the cup: “this is the blood of my new covenant.” This is an important distinction, because it brings a eucharistic interpretation to the connection between Christ’s blood and the new covenant in Heb 13:20. The many other differences between the two versions of the *Qui pridie* indicate that the institution narratives are based on distinct sources in Ambrose and the Roman Canon. Third, there is much less concern with the acceptance of the sacrifice in Ambrose: there are only two requests, which, when considered against the whole text, is vastly less than the five requests in the Roman Canon. Table 6.6 depicts the place of Hebrews in each of the paragraphs in Ambrose’s version of the anaphora:

**Table 6.6**     **The place of Hebrews in the structure of the Ambrosian anaphora**  
(updated version of Table 2.12)





Not only do we not know if there was the prayer for acceptance in the Ambrosian version of the *Te igitur* (I included it in Table 5.13, since it is almost certain that some version of a *Te igitur/Memento, Domine* was present), the request for acceptance in the *Hanc igitur* is missing as well as the first act of explicit offering in the *Te igitur*. The *textus receptus* also makes acceptance even more central when it divides the *Et petimus* into two distinct paragraphs so that the *Supra quae* is specifically and exclusively concerned with the acceptance of the sacrifice, while the second paragraph (*Supplices te*) focuses on the angelic transfer of the gifts to the heavenly realm in such a way as to repeat the request for acceptance (as the *Quam oblationem* almost immediately repeats the request for acceptance in *Hanc igitur*), but in a more oblique way.

Thus, some additional aspects of the development of the Canon are introduced between Ambrose and Gregory the Great that I did not address in Chapters 1 and 2 and which I can now identify. My study of the influence of Hebrews highlights that the resolution of the two *Qui pridie* streams favored the stream that drew on Hebrews. It also points out that the paragraphs that were added later—*Communicantes*, *Memento etiam*, and *Nobis quoque*—are all devoid of any use of Hebrews (see Table 6.7). This would further strengthen the claim that the influence of Hebrews was quite early. Table 6.7 also indicates that the influence of Hebrews is not just on the paragraphs which are the oldest but also those that are most focused on offering and acceptance (as opposed to intercession).<sup>840</sup> In addition to Hebrews, two other New Testament texts also exerted considerable influence on the Canon in the earliest stages: 1 Peter 2:5 (which is not surprising, given that Hebrews and 1 Peter share many themes) and Rom 12:1, which is

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<sup>840</sup> Recall that I discussed in Chapter 1 that the *Te igitur* and *Memento, Domine* were likely a single paragraph and were only divided out into the two paragraphs seen in the *textus receptus* at some later, unknown time.

**Table 6.7 The place of Hebrews in the structure of the Roman Canon (updated version of Table 2.11)**

<b>Doxological Inlusio</b>	<b>Offering &amp; Acceptance</b>		<b>Intercessions</b>		<b>Narrative Center</b>
<u>0 preface and Sanctus</u>	<b>1 Te igitur</b> [2:5; 5:18; 8:3; 9:9; 12; 11:4; 12:24; 13:16]	<b>10 Supplices te</b> [1:3; 5-7; 5:1; 8:1, 3; 9:9; 12; 11:8, 17; 11:4, 17-19; 12:24; 13:10]	<b>2 Memento Domine</b> [9:12; 13:15]	<b>11 Memento etiam</b>	<i>6 Qui pridie</i> <i>7 Simili modo</i> [13:20]
	<b>4 Hanc igitur</b> [10:5, 8, 10, 14, 18; 11:4 12:28; 13:16]	<b>8 Unde et memores</b> [5:9; 8:3; 9:9, 12, 23; 10:1, 5, 8, 10, 11-12; 11:4; 13:16]	<b>3 Communicantes</b>	<b>12 Nobis quoque</b>	
	<b>5 Quam oblationem</b> [10:5, 8, 10, 14, 18; 11:4; 12:24; 13:16]	<b>9 Supra quae</b> [11:4; 12:24; 13:16]			
<u>13 Per quem &amp; Per ipsum</u> [2:10; 13:15, 21]					
External Segments are listed in <b>bold</b> Internal Segments are listed in <i>italics</i> The Doxological Inlusio is listed in <u>underline</u>					

almost certainly a result of a common source shared with the Alexandrian tradition (see the discussion of the Alexandrian tradition in Chapter 2 and the discussion of the adjectives in the *Fac nobis/Quam oblationem* in Chapter 5). Finally, it's not exactly clear what to make of the fact that the *Hanc igitur* appears to reflect the influence of Hebrews

(the use of the term *oblatio* and the request for acceptance of the offering), even though there is not any clear evidence for its existence at the time of Ambrose. Was some version of it already present in Ambrose’s version and he simply does not reproduce it for some reason? Or could it have been present in the Roman but not the Milanese version?

I propose the following resolution to this intersection of development, structure, and the book of Hebrews. Table 6.8 depicts the structure of the anaphora in Ambrose with its use of Hebrews included.

**Table 6.8** The two cycles of the Roman Canon, applied to Ambrose’s *Sacr.* (revised version of Table 2.13)

<i>Sacr.</i> 4.5.21-22 – Cycle 1		
Paragraph	Content	Hebrews
*[preface	<i>Vere dignum</i> —it is right to <b>give you praise</b> ]	
*[ <i>Te igitur</i>	Therefore, accept our sacrifice which <b>we offer...</b> ]	2:5; 5:18; 8:3; 9:9, 12; 11:4; 12:24; 13:16
<i>Fac nobis</i>	Make this offering “approved, ratified, reasonable, <b>acceptable...</b> ”	10:5, 8, 10, 14, 18; 11:4; 12:24; 13:16
Narrative Center ( <i>Sacr.</i> 4.5.22, 6.26)		
<i>Qui pridie</i>	“Who on the day...”	
<i>Sacr.</i> 4.6.27, 6.5.24 – Cycle 2		
Paragraph	Content	Hebrews
<i>Ergo memores</i>	“Therefore, having in remembrance...[the saving deeds of Christ], <b>we offer</b> ”	5:9; 8:3; 9:9, 14, 23; 10:1, 5, 8, 10, 11-12; 11:4; 13:16
<i>Et petimus</i>	“We ask and pray... <b>receive this oblation...</b> ”	1:3; 5-7; 5:1; 8:1, 3; 9:9, 12; 11:8, 17; 10:5, 8, 10; 11:4, 17-19; 12:24; 13:10
<i>Per Dominum</i>	“through our Lord Jesus Christ”	2:10; 13:15, 21
*These two paragraphs are not provided in Ambrose and thus their presence is somewhat speculative		

One possibility is that the use of Heb 13:20 in the version of the *Qui pridie* that ends up in the *textus receptus* inspired a Eucharistic re-reading of Hebrews; and that a result of this re-readings was the insertion of an additional request for acceptance in each cycle—the *Hanc igitur* in Cycle 1 and the division of the *Et petimus* into the *Supra quae* and

*Supplices te* in Cycle 2. These two insertions transform the anaphora to now look like this (see Table 6.9, with additions noted in bold). Regardless of who oversaw this redaction,<sup>841</sup> the transformation was significant. In Ambrose, we see something closer to a West Syrian anaphora, except with a request for acceptance before the institution narrative.

**Table 6.9** The two cycles of the Roman Canon after a revised *Qui pridie* and the addition of two more requests for acceptance

CYCLE 1		
PARAGRAPH	CONTENT	HEBREWS
preface	<i>Vere dignum</i> —it is right to give you praise	
<i>Te igitur</i>	Therefore, accept our sacrifice which we offer...	2:5; 5:18; 8:3; 9:9, 12; 11:4; 12:24; 13:16
<i>*Hanc igitur</i>	<b>Accept our oblation and bring us salvation</b>	<b>10:5, 8, 10, 14, 18; 11:4 12:28; 13:16</b>
<i>Quam oblationem</i>	Make this offering “approved, ratified, reasonable, acceptable...”	10:5, 8, 10, 14, 18; 11:4; 12:24; 13:16
NARRATIVE CENTER		
<i>Qui pridie</i>	“Who on the <b>day</b> ... the new <b>and eternal</b> covenant”	<b>*Heb 13:20</b>
CYCLE 2		
PARAGRAPH	CONTENT	HEBREWS
<i>Unde et memores</i>	“Therefore, recalling... [the saving deeds of Christ], we offer	5:9; 8:3; 9:9, 14, 23; 10:1, 5, 8, 10, 11-12; 11:4; 13:16
<i>Supra quae</i>	“We ask and prayer... receive this oblation...”	1:3; 5-7; 5:1; 8:1, 3; 9:9, 12; 11:8, 17; 10:5, 8, 10; 11:4, 17-19; 12:24; 13:10
<i>*Supplices te</i>	<b>“Bid these oblations be brought into heaven” (i.e. <i>accepted</i>)</b>	<b>1:3; 5-7; 5:1; 8:1, 3; 9:9, 12; 11:8, 17; 11:4, 17-19; 12:24; 13:10</b>
<i>Per ipsum</i>	“through him and with him...”	2:10; 13:15, 21

<sup>841</sup> Since Leo the Great (440-61) is credited with adding the description of Melchizedek’s sacrifice, he may be the person who structured the Canon for sacrifice by introducing the additional request in each cycle. Gelasius (490-96) still remains a likely candidate as redactor of the Canon he received so that it more carefully displayed the parallelism that marks the two cycles before and after the narrative center, including the introduction of the Roman *cursus* (see the end of Chapter 1 for a discussion of these possibilities). However, as noted in Chapter 1, there is little corroborating evidence for revision at Leo’s hand and of this magnitude. Thus, Gelasius may be the best candidate to be the Canon’s first significant redactor post-Ambrose, given (as Fortescue points out) “the constant tradition that ascribes to [Gelasius] the composition of the Canon”; Fortescue, *Mass*, 164. Bouley says something nearly identical in Bouley, *From Freedom to Formula*, 208.

While it could have contained a *Te igitur* like the one in the *textus receptus*, the presence of a completely different *Qui pridie* means that it is possible that its version of the *Te igitur* lacked a request for acceptance or an oblation. Even if it did contain a *Te igitur* like the one found in the final form, it remains the case that with the additions the structure is ordered almost entirely by the offering of sacrifice and the concern that God accept it:

**Table 6.10 The place of acceptance in the two cycles of the Roman Canon**

<b>Cycle 1:</b>	Please accept as we offer	Please accept	Please accept
<b>Cycle 2:</b>	Remembering we offer	Please accept	Please accept

At some later point, the intercessions (the two *Mementos*) are expanded and the commemoration of the saints (*Communicantes* and *Nobisi quoque*) are inserted and redacted so as to parallel each other in each cycle.

One of the themes of Hebrews is that, regardless of precisely what we are to conclude about why God gave a Law that that not effective, “through Christ’s death and resurrection...God established a priest of an order that transcends the Law’s limitations.”<sup>842</sup> The order of Christ’s priesthood is not the priesthood that was established under the Law (that of Aaron and the Levites) but is of the order of Melchizedek, who predates Moses and the establishment of the Mosaic covenant. Thus, the critique of cult is not absolute, but rather narrow and focused. It is the sacrifices of the Law that are not effective: “every priest indeed stands daily ministering and often offering the same sacrifices which can never take away sins” (Heb 10:11). Were Melchizedek’s sacrifices effective? The text does not say. Abel’s sacrifice certainly pleased God, as did

<sup>842</sup> Koester, *Hebrews*, 115.

Abraham's. There is no question that Hebrews is used in a number of substantial and singular ways in the Roman Canon, which is an anaphora that assumes that God has enjoined a sacrifice upon Christians. While it is possible to interpret Hebrews as allowing for the possibility of a cultic system whose effectiveness is grounded entirely in Christ's exercise of his priesthood, where he offered himself as a sacrifice for sin "once for all" (Heb 7:27; 9:12, 26, 10:10), the text of Hebrews does not make such argument, at least overtly.

John Chrysostom provides perhaps the clearest example of an interpretation of Hebrews where its firm declaration that the sacrifices of the Law are ineffectual still has space for a Christian cult with priests and sacrifice:

Do we not offer the sacrifice daily? Indeed we do offer it daily, re-presenting his death. How then is it one sacrifice and not many? ... We offer the same person, not one sheep one day and tomorrow a different one, but always the same offering. ... There is one sacrifice and one high priest who offered the sacrifice that cleanses us. Today we offer that which was once offered, a sacrifice that is inexhaustible. This is done as a remembrance [anamnesis] of that which was done then, for he said, 'Do this in remembrance of me.' We do not offer another sacrifice as the priest offered of old, but we always offer the same sacrifice. Or rather we re-present the sacrifice.<sup>843</sup>

In Chrysostom's interpretation, the Eucharist is a sacrifice; but it is only acceptable to the Father because it is the same sacrifice as Christ's, a once-for-all sacrifice that is "inexhaustible." Ambrose expresses a similar perspective, though not with an explicit appeal to Hebrews:

We have seen the High Priest coming to us; we have seen and heard him offering his blood for us. We priests follow, as well as we can, so that may we offer sacrifice for the people. Though we can claim no merit, we are to be honoured in the sacrifice; for, although Christ is not now visibly offered, yet he is himself offered on earth, when the body of Christ is offered. Moreover, it is made clear

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<sup>843</sup> John Chrysostom, *Hom. in Heb.* 17.3 on Heb. 9:24–26; ET = Robert Louis Wilken, *The Spirit of Early Christian Thought: Seeking the Face of God* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 35.

that he himself offers in us, since it is his words which sanctify the sacrifice which is offered.<sup>844</sup>

Ambrose here provides an explanation for how the sacrifice of a particular Eucharist could also be Christ's one sacrifice: because Christ in us both makes the offering and sanctifies us by means of his very words (presumably the words repeated in the institution narrative). But the question that has animated this study is this: does the Roman Canon rely on the Epistle to the Hebrews in a substantial way for its particular approach to Christian Eucharistic praying? And if so, how does it interpret Hebrews in light of the Eucharist? The final chapter attempts to answer these two questions.

### ***Conclusion***

In this chapter, I built on the results of the exploration in Chapter 5 of three key uses of Hebrews in the Roman Canon to prove two central claims. First, I demonstrated even more firmly that Hebrews exercised a definitive influence on key and unique aspects of the Roman Canon. Second, I proved that this influence came during the process of Latinization and does not have its source in the Greek, Alexandrian sources upon which the Canon relies.

The introduction of Melchizedek (whose divine acceptance serves as the basis for the anaphora's request that God accept *this* eucharistic sacrifice) to the list of ancient sacrifices stands at the heart of the changes to the Greek source that is shared with the Alexandrian rite in the process of Latinization. What is important about this change is that it is so precise: a list of sacrifices is present; the New Testament references are

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<sup>844</sup> Ambrose, *In Ps 38:25*; ET = Henry Bettenson, ed., *The Later Christian Fathers: a Selection from the Writings of the Fathers from St. Cyril of Jerusalem to St. Leo the Great*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 186.

deleted<sup>845</sup> and a third pre-Levitical, Old Testament sacrifice is added to those of Abel and Abraham. Not only is Melchizedek the heart of Hebrews 5-7, but the sacrifices of Abel and Abraham are also critical examples of faith in Hebrews 11. I have demonstrated that the insertion of Melchizedek's sacrifice after those of Abel and Abraham is the result of a conscious use of the Epistle to the Hebrews. This indicates that the appeal to Hebrews is not solely a use of the figure of Melchizedek, but a focus on the centrality of the sacrifices of Abel and Abraham as expressions of true faith who are joined with the figure of Melchizedek, the author of the priesthood of Christ, "the author and perfecter of our faith" (Heb 12:1). The appeal in the Canon is to those three sacrifices *as a group*. It is also noteworthy that all the Latin witnesses to this part of the anaphora prior to the *textus receptus* appeal only to these three ancient sacrifices<sup>846</sup> (without any of the additional sacrifices found in *Lit. Mark*), always as a group, and that no other extant anaphoras refer to these three figures as a triad. Thus, it is clear that the unity of these three ancient sacrifices is a definitive marker of the Latin anaphoral tradition and that this marker is unquestionably the result of its reliance on Hebrews as a source.

The second most noteworthy use of Hebrews in the Roman Canon is the addition of the adjective *aeterni* to the phrase "blood of the covenant" in the institution narrative over the cup, thus creating a Composite Quotation that is marked by Juxtaposition. This borrows doxological, liturgical language (a benediction) from Heb 13:22 and inserts it

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<sup>845</sup> "The incense of Zachariah, the alms of Cornelius, and the widow's two mites" (*Lit. Mark*); *PEER*, 62.

<sup>846</sup> Ambrose, *Sacr.* 4.6.27; §627 in *LMS*, col. 262, ln. 5ff. As mentioned earlier, two additional prefaces in the Gelasian sacramentary and the *Veronensis* refer to the three ancient sacrifices in a fashion different from the Roman Canon. In these two texts, God's acceptance of the ancient sacrifices does not serve as a basis upon which we can now rely for God to accept our sacrifices, but rather as a prefigured type of Christ, a typological approach that is similar to the way Abraham's sacrifice is interpreted in Heb 11:19. See GeV no. 20; *Veronensis* (no. 1250, fourth preface in December).



creatively into a second liturgical context. The essential structure and content from the conclusion to the doxology in Heb 13:21-22 is also the basis for the anaphoral doxologies in both Ambrose and the *textus receptus* (*per Dominum* and *Per Ipsum*; refer to Table 6.5). The third feature is the use of the five basically interchangeable sacrificial nouns: *hostiam*, *oblatio*, *munus*, *sacrificium*, and *donum*. The Latin text of Hebrews is the only place in the Bible where all five of the terms for sacrifice are used; 27 of the 35 times that any of them are used in the New Testament are found in Hebrews and with a good deal of interchangeability. If the Scriptures are a source for the redactors of the Canon, Hebrews is the only book that provides the linguistic range of interchangeable sacrificial nouns.

In light of these certain uses, the many other possible uses of Hebrews throughout the Canon discussed in this chapter should be viewed less tentatively. The phrase *sacrificium laudis* stands as a particularly important example of these other, less certain uses. I established that the likelihood of these additional uses is strengthened by the strong possibility that the source shared uniquely by the Roman Canon and *Lit. Theo.* draws the phrase *sacrificium laudis* from Heb 13:15. This is clear because the use of the phrase in *Lit. Theo.* includes a quotation of almost the entirety of Heb 13:15 in addition to language from Heb 11:2.<sup>847</sup> As demonstrated, this indicates that the spark of the influence of Hebrews may very well have arisen from this Greek source, whose relationship to the Roman Canon has never been identified until now. This provides a plausible reason not only for why Hebrews plays such an important role as source. At the same time, it proposes a plausible Greek source for the introduction another Scriptural idea (*sacrificium laudis*) that replaced Mal 1:11. The Greek source shared with *Lit. Theo.*,

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<sup>847</sup> However, it is possible that the Greek source had the phrase θυσίαν αινέσεως and that *Lit. Theo.* added the additional language from the rest of Heb 13:15, plus the language from Heb 11:2.

along with *Lit. STR*, contain material found in the *Te igitur* and *Memento, Domine* of the *textus receptus*. If I am correct, the redactor kept terminology from *Lit. STR*, but replaced the quotation of Mal 1:11 with a different scriptural phrase (*sacrificium laudis*) from a distinct Greek source and then structured the intercessions that followed according to the order and language found in this second source.<sup>848</sup> As a result, the Latin translators and redactors of the early Latin anaphoras gave considerable attention to Hebrews more broadly as they Latinized and shaped the nascent Latin anaphoral prayers.

The witness of the late fourth-century Milanese anaphora in Ambrose's *Sacr.* confirms my thesis but also points to a more complex influence of Hebrews on the *textus receptus*. In all the paragraphs of the Roman Canon that are also reproduced by Ambrose, the presence of Hebrews can also be seen, with one major exception: their notably different institution narratives, including the lack of the adjective *aeterni* for the covenant in the institution language over the cup in Ambrose's version. This likely indicates that Hebrews influenced *multiple streams of Latin anaphoras* that were redacted together into the form that comes down to us in the seventh century manuscripts as the *textus receptus*. The Hebrews-influenced stream seen in Ambrose is combined with a second stream containing a distinct institution narrative with the addition of the phrase from Heb 13:22 inserted into it. But, there is still another Hebrews-reliant stream that includes the phrase *sacrificium laudis*. Given that the places where Ambrose uses the phrase are never connected in a strong way to the Eucharist, it seems probable that this phrase was not included in the anaphora he used, which means that the *sacrificium laudis* stream (shared with *Lit. Theo.* and reflected in the *Te igitur* and *Memento, Domine*) could have included

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<sup>848</sup> For more on this, refer back to the section on the East Syrian anaphora in Chapter 2.

the Hebrews-influenced institution narrative, or they could be distinct sources. If they were distinct, this is possible evidence of three, distinct Hebrews-influenced sources that were redacted together to produce the *tetus receptus*. A definitive resolution cannot be found, however, without further evidence.

There is still one more aspect of the Canon that reflects the influence of Hebrews. At the end of the previous section, I quoted from John Chrysostom's sermon on Heb 9:24–26 where he interprets the rejection of Levitical cult in such a way that it poses no threat to the existence of a Christian cult with Christian priests. Instead, that critique of Levitical cult in Hebrews includes within it an indication that the acceptable sacrifices of Abel, Abraham, along with the priesthood of Melchizedek, all point to a fundamental and sacrificially-constituted form of relationality that is to mark the worship of the God of Israel who is revealed in Jesus Christ. This form of sacrifice is related to both pre-Levitical and Levitical sacrifices in certain ways, but also turns them inside out in others. Christian sacrifice is truly spiritual a la Rom 12:1 (in the sense that it is completely conformed to the divine *Logos*) and material (in that bread and wine are used). Its high priest offered a bloody material sacrifice and bids that his followers offer just such a sacrifice, not through the death of another *hostia* but through a graceful incorporation into this one sacrifice which put away sin once-for-all (Heb 7:27; 9:12, 26; 10:10). This Christian sacrifice fulfills the *sacrificium laudis* within the Mosaic cult because it includes a bloody sacrifice (albeit under a sacramental form) that is followed by a meal of thanksgiving in which bread is shared, all of which is fueled by a sacrifice whose effects are inexhaustible.

I propose that a eucharistic re-reading of Hebrews of this sort took place during the final redaction process that brought the Canon near to its final form, possibly during the pontificate of Leo the Great. Even if the themes of acceptance first appeared under the influence of Stoicism (as in Seneca) as Christiaan Kappes argues,<sup>849</sup> whether at the hand of Lactantius or another, the emphasis on acceptance was recast in the final and thoroughly scriptural form of the *textus receptus*. The final form is no longer concerned with God entering into a contract with humanity. Rather, the acceptance of the sacrifice is concerned entirely with the human participants' reception of the fruits of Christ's self-offering and even with the reception of Christ himself (*ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui Domini nostri Iesu Christi* as the *Quam oblationem* says). I think that the acceptance of Abel's sacrifice serves the foundation to emphasize the perfectly acceptable character of Christ's offering of himself to the clement and merciful Father, and thus influenced the structure of the Canon so as to make our offering of the eucharistic sacrifice the ultimate way to express our praise and thanks for Christ's sacrifice. It turns out that this act of thanksgiving is simultaneously the means by which we receive all the benefits of that sacrifice because the Father makes us one with it in mercy and in grace.

The centrality of Melchizedek's sacrifice in conjunction with those of Abel and Abraham; the addition of the adjective *aeterni* to the phrase "blood of the covenant"; the source of the phrase *sacrificium laudis* as a scriptural way to name the eucharistic sacrifice; the Latin terminology to name and describe the eucharistic sacrifice; the emphasis on sacrifice and the absolutely fundamental need to have the Father look in

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<sup>849</sup> Kappes, "Lactantius" (unpublished manuscript).

mercy and make the sacrifice acceptable; the essential structure and content of the Latin anaphora's doxology—all of these features unique to the Roman Canon are present because they are drawn from the Epistle to the Hebrews.

### PART III: THEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

And now, O Father, mindful of the love  
that bought us, once for all, on Calvary's tree,  
and having with us him that pleads above,  
we here present, we here spread forth to thee  
that only offering perfect in thine eyes,  
the one true, pure, immortal sacrifice.

Look, Father, look on his anointed face,  
and only look on us as found in him;  
look not on our misusings of thy grace,  
our prayer so languid, and our faith so dim:  
for lo, between our sins and their reward  
we set the Passion of thy Son our Lord.

And then for those, our dearest and our best,  
by this prevailing presence we appeal:  
O fold them closer to thy mercy's breast,  
O do thine utmost for their souls' true weal;  
from tainting mischief keep them white and clear,  
and crown thy gifts with strength to persevere.

And so we come: O draw us to thy feet,  
most patient Saviour, who canst love us still;  
and by this food, so awful and so sweet,  
deliver us from every touch of ill:  
in thine own service make us glad and free,  
and grant us never more to part with thee.<sup>850</sup>

William Bright (1824-1901),  
Church of England priest and Regius Professor at Oxford, 1868-1901

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<sup>850</sup> “And now, O Father, mindful of the love” in H. W. Baker, William Henry Monk, and Charles Steggall, eds., *Hymns Ancient and Modern for Use in the Services of the Church*, (London: W. Clowes, 1875), 451. I am grateful to Rowan Williams for his suggestions that this hymn is “a perfect rendering of the Roman Canon in English poetry, with an elusive added poignancy.”

## **CHAPTER 7: A NEW SACRIFICE OF PRAISE: TOWARD A SCRIPTURAL THEOLOGY OF THE ROMAN CANON BY WAY OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS**

### ***Introduction***

This final chapter brings to a conclusion the study of the influence of the Epistle to the Hebrews on the Roman Canon, but in a different mode. Thus far, the study has been historical and comparative, engaging extant research and also proposing some of my own theories. What follows is an attempt to step into a different posture so as to articulate the theology of the Roman Canon in a scriptural idiom, primarily by way of Hebrews. The last two chapters have shown not only that at least parts of Hebrews exercised an influence on the Roman Canon that is not seen in any other anaphora, but also that a number of the distinctive features of the Canon have their source in Hebrews. This chapter is organized under a set of basic questions regarding the Roman Canon itself: What are its theological concerns? Who offers the sacrifice? What is offered in the sacrifice? What is the relationship between this sacrifice and that of Christ? Why is the sacrifice offered?

The chapter's two principal sources are the text of the Roman Canon and the Epistle to the Hebrews, as well as a few other particularly relevant Scripture texts.<sup>851</sup> The literature on the theology of the Roman Canon and Latin eucharistic theology is vast and well beyond the scope of this project. As such, for the purpose of this conclusion, I will focus on the central theological concerns of the Canon in light of the fact that I have

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<sup>851</sup> Occasionally I will connect what I am saying to a relevant historical point of development by way of a footnote. But I will keep the text of this chapter relatively free from engagements with secondary literature.

demonstrated that Hebrews served as a source for a number of its important features: the phrase *aeterni testamenti* in the institution narrative over the cup; Melchizedek and his sacrifice, along with those of Abel and Abraham, as the basis of asking for divine acceptance; the Latin terminology for the material of the sacrifice; the phrase *sacrificium laudis*; and the doxological language that concludes the anaphora. The task has not been undertaken by previous scholars or theologians, and as such, this theological engagement will generally be free from conversations with secondary literature on the theology of the Roman Canon. Secondary literature will only be cited when it is necessary to provide proof for historical or textual claims or if I need to quote a theological insight that has been expressed in a particularly noteworthy manner.

The Roman Canon is a prayer; thus, as such, I will engage the text from the posture of a Christian theologian who is probing the scriptural character of this anaphora, a prayer Christians have believed to reflect the highest form of worship creatures can offer to their Creator.

### ***The central theological concerns of the Roman Canon***

The purpose of the Roman Canon is to offer sacrifice. Scripture mentions numerous ways by which God is rightly praised. The exuberant Psalm 150 enumerates a host of descriptors for worthy worship: it occurs in certain places (“in his mighty sanctuary;” “in his mighty firmament”); with certain motivations (“for his mighty deeds”); via certain methodologies (“according to his excellent greatness”); with different instruments (trumpet sound, lute, harp, timbrel, strings, pipe, sounding cymbals, loud



clashing cymbals); and with particular bodily motions, such as dance. The text of the Roman Canon likewise describes qualities that mark its form of eucharistic worship:

- It is a means to give thanks (*gratias agere* in the *Vere dignum*);
- it is made through Christ (noted at the beginning, in the *Vere dignum*, and at the end, in the *Per ipsum*);<sup>852</sup>
- it is an exultant celebration with angelic creatures (exultatione concelebrant in the *Vere dignum*) who are already singing the *Sanctus* and *Benedictus*;
- it is an offering to God (*offerimus* in the *Te igitur* and *Unde et memores*);
- what is offered are variously called gifts, dutiful offerings, holy and unblemished sacrifices (*Te igitur*), an oblation (*Hanc igitur* and *Quam oblationem*), sacrificial

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<sup>852</sup> In addition, by the eleventh century, the concluding phrase *per [eundem] Christum dominum nostrum* is appended to the end of the *Communicantes*, *Hanc igitur*, *Supplices te*, *Memento etiam*, and *Nobis quoque*. Jungmann notes that all of these paragraphs, save for the *Supplices te* are almost certainly not yet a part of the Canon at the beginning of the fifth century (Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, I:54; 288). Some have suggested that one piece of evidence that lends credence to the conjuncture that the *Communicantes*, *Hanc igitur*, *Supplices te*, *Memento etiam*, and *Nobis quoque* were later compositions, and possibly drawn from other sources, is that each of them concludes with the incipit, *per Christum dominum nostrum* (to which “Amen” was later added to all but the *Nobis quoque*). See V. Leroquais, *Les sacramentales et les missels manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*, I-IV (Paris, 1924). Cited in Ellard, 382. Ellard traces the history of the additions of the “Amens” beginning with a copying of St. Thierry, Rheims in the ninth century in red ink, another around 985 in the same scriptorium, and a third in a Mass-book for St.-Denys of Nogent-le-Rotrou (near Alençon in Normandy) (Ibid., 382-83). Bernold of Constance in 1085 highlights the practice of adding “Amens” as a practice not to be followed since only the pope has such a prerogative. But, in the rather restrained commentary on the Canon by Bishop Odo of Cambrai in 1105, he comments on the “Amens” as the end of the *Supplices te* and *Memento etiam* as though they are part of the received text. From this point they seem to spread, even to the point of being inserted into a three-hundred-year-old manuscript in Amiens on the Somme (Paris *MA BN lat9432*). While the *Nobis quoque* does contain the concluding *per Christum dominum nostrum*, it was resistant to the “Amen.” Ellard shows that the attack on this innovation can be seen at the beginning of the thirteenth century when the following rubric is added after the word *nostrum*: *His respondent angeli Amen* (Ellard 386; see *MS Laon 234*). Among the Dominicans in the thirteenth century, there is a resistance to the other Amens as well, with similar arguments about the angels being provided (such as Hugh of St.-Cher, St. Albert the Great). Nonetheless, someone added the “Amens” to *MS B N lat 8884* around the fourteenth century and they remained thereafter. Rome remained resistant to the final interpolated Amen, and the rubric about the angel is also found in *MS Avignon 140 (52)*. When the first missal was printed in Rome in 1474, the sixteen editions still extant all contain this rubric after the *per Christum dominum nostrum* of the *Nobis quoque*: “His non dicitur amen.”

offerings that are pure, holy and spotless, and “the holy bread of eternal life and the cup of everlasting salvation” (*Unde et memores*);

- it is a fitting context for all manner of petitionary prayer (found in the *Te igitur*, *Memento, Domine, Hanc igitur*, and *Memento etiam*);
- it is a *sacrificium laudis* (*Memento, Domine*);
- the doxological prayer occurs in the communion of the saints (particularly the Blessed Virgin, apostles, and martyrs in the *Communicantes* and *Nobis quoque*);
- the sacrificial offering becomes the body and blood of Jesus, through whom we pray, when it is accepted by the Father (*Quam oblationem*).

Here is how the foci of the Canon might be expressed in a single sentence: the sacrificial offering of praise and thanksgiving is expressed primarily through the material offering of bread and wine to God the Father through his Son Jesus Christ, in union with both the angelic host and the faithful departed, and during which it is fitting to offer prayers for the whole range of human and ecclesial needs.

One characteristic that marks the Latin anaphora is what is often described as an absence: the relative deficiency of verbal praise and thanksgiving.<sup>853</sup> While the various prefaces express verbal praise in varying degrees, it is true there is no real parallel to the more lengthy and exalted language of many of the Eastern anaphoras (usually situated on either side of the *Sanctus*), especially the emphasis on praise that takes up nearly 60% of the text of the East Syrian *Lit. AM*. Nonetheless, this relative reduction in verbal

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<sup>853</sup> See section 2 in Chapter 1 for a more detailed discussion of this and the other unique characteristics of the Roman Canon, especially Table 1.4, where I enumerate the rough percentages of the Roman Canon, *Lit. James*, *Lit. AM*, and *Lit. Mark* that are given to praise in relationship to the whole.

doxology corresponds to an increase in another area: an unusual emphasis on the offering of sacrifice and the repeated request for divine acceptance.

The term that bridges this gap between a less verbose expression of praise and the increase in emphasis on the Eucharist as a sacrifice is *sacrificium laudis* in the *Memento, Domine*, a phrase explored in detail in Chapters 5 and 6, and is unique to only the Roman Canon and *Lit. Theo* (the latter's use is unquestionably a reliance on Heb 13:15 since it quotes the entire verse). The evidence discussed in those chapters leads me to conclude that it is extremely likely that the phrase is inserted because of a eucharistic interpretation of Heb 13:7-17 by the redactors of the Canon. James Swetnam argues that the context within which the phrase *sacrificium laudis* is used in Heb 13:15 communicates an intentional eucharistic undercurrent, despite the clause follows that follows —“that is, the fruit of lips praising/confessing his name (τοῦτ' ἔστιν καρπὸν χειλέων ὁμολογούντων τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ; id est, fructum labiorum confitentium nomini ejus)—which has been interpreted as expressing an entirely metaphorical meaning of sacrifice. Swetnam proposes that the comparison of two kinds of eating is “between two types of physical eating, one involving the ceremonial meals of the Jewish dispensation, and the other involving the ceremonial meals of the Christians.” This comparison is made within the broad context of a discussion of the bloody, sin-expiating death of Jesus outside the walls of Jerusalem that is linked to the bloody, sin-expiating sacrifice of Yom Kippur. Thus, whatever the *tôdâ* of the Christian is, it is clearly linked to and anchored in the bloody sacrifice of Jesus, as the ethical deeds of Heb 13:16 clearly are. The early translators-redactors of the Roman Canon interpreted Heb 13:15 in basically the same way as Swetnam, who writes,

the phrase *θυσίαν αινέσεως* (v. 15) refers immediately to the public song of praise-thanksgiving that is based on the unique bloody sacrifice of Christ on the cross (v. 12) and is accompanied with a meal commemorating that sacrifice (v. 10). These are the essential elements of the Old Testament *zebach tôdâ* but transformed into the Christian *zebach tôdâ*.<sup>854</sup>

The Canon, however, takes it one step further and indicates another aspect constitutive of this Christian *zebach tôdâ*: material sacrifice. The material aspect is not disconnected from the verbal praise and prayer, just as it was not for Jesus in his own self-offering. When Hebrews references the sacrifice of Jesus, it always indicates that what is offered by Christ is himself (see 7:27; 9:14, 28; 10:10, 12, 14). But in Heb 5:7, an additional offering is added: Jesus is also said to have offered prayers and supplications in the days of his flesh (in *diebus carnis suae preces supplicationesque ... offerens*). In fact, he continues to offer prayers in his flesh in the heavenly temple as a priest (7:24-25); and if he continues to act as a high priest (all of whom are obligated to sacrifices for sin; 5:10), he must continue to plead his own blood in the Holy Place on our behalf (9:11-14; 13:12).<sup>855</sup> Interpreted through Hebrews, the Roman Canon situates the Christian *sacrificium laudis* in continuity with both the Jewish rite and the sacrifice of Christ, where he offered not only himself but also *preces supplicationesque*.

The Hebraic slant of the Roman Canon might be described in this way: the Christian ritual *sacrificium laudis* is connected to the Jewish *zebach tôdâ* in the same way that it is related to Christ's sacrifice: in each, a material offering is joined to verbal articulations of doxology with prayer. The Christian *zebach tôdâ* is, like its Jewish

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<sup>854</sup> Swetnam, "*Zebach Tôdâ*," 82-3.

<sup>855</sup> Rowan Williams writes: "...Christ's heavenly intercession, while not identical with his sacrifice, is in some sense continuous with it: his place and role as intercessor *depend* on his sharing of our condition in its constraint and pain, and so on his death. He does not offer himself again as on Calvary, but it is as the one who has endured the cross that he now lives as mediator and advocate"; "A Response" in Buchanan, *Essays on Eucharistic Sacrifice*, 36.

predecessor, joined to a meal. The Christian *zebach tôdâ* is connected to Christ's sacrifice because it is offered both in union with, and in commemoration of, that singular sacrifice where he offered not only "himself without spot to God (*obtulit immaculatum Deo*)" (Heb 9:14) but also *preces supplicationesque* (5:7).

### ***Who offers the sacrifice?***

The priest and the Christian people offer the eucharistic sacrifice in the Roman Canon, and this is indicated in two main ways. First, both uses of the verb of offering (*offerimus* in the *Te igitur* in Cycle 1 and the *Unde et memores* in Cycle 2) are in the first-person plural, a feature not only found in all three anaphoras that I have examined (*Lit. James*, *Lit. AM*, and *Lit. Mark*) but in all early anaphoras. It reflected in the earliest Christian praying, beginning with the prayer taught by Jesus to his disciples and the early prayers of *Didache* 9 and 10. Second, the persons to whom the "we" refers is extrapolated in both Cycle 1 and Cycle 2 after the verbs of offering: in the *Memento, Domine* and then again in the *Unde et memores*. In the first instance, the clarification includes a few groups of people: *famulorum famularumque tuarum*, the introduction to the insertion of particular names of those present for whom the sacrifice is offered, sometimes referred to as the *Memento* of the living (the flipside of the diptychs for the dead in the *Memento etiam*).<sup>856</sup> This *Memento* also includes *omnia circum adstantium*, that is, all those present at a particular celebration (the language is a reminder that standing was the common, early posture of prayer).<sup>857</sup> Finally, the *Memento* is for the living persons for whom those

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<sup>856</sup> For more on this, see Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, II:159-66.

<sup>857</sup> See *Ibid.*, 166-9.

present offer the sacrifice (*pro quibus tibi offerimus vel*). A second extrapolation of the “we” is found in the *Unde et memores*, where those present are described as *nos servi tui sed et plebs tua sancta*. The second phrase, *et plebs tua sancta*, could describe the same set of people as the first phrase (that is, the servants of God who are praying the prayer in a particular place). or, it could indicate two other related but distinct groups. The *plebs sancta* could either refer simply to the whole church, in which case the implication is that the whole ecclesial Body of Christ offers the Eucharist at every Mass. Or the *plebs sancta* could have a narrower meaning and refer only to the saints, some of whom were already recalled in the *Communicantes* and will be commemorated in the *Nobis quoque*. The first option seems more likely, both because the *Communicantes* actually indicates that the sacrifice is made “in fellowship” with the saints and also because every time the “we” is clarified in the anaphora, an additional portion of the church is identified. The phrase *plebs sancta* also recalls a verse that has reappeared throughout this study, 1 Pet 2:5, where the letter’s Christian recipients are called a “holy priesthood (sacerdotium sanctum)” who offer “spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Christ Jesus” (*spirituales hostias, acceptabiles Deo per Jesum Christum*); and then, just a few verses later in 2:9, they are further called a “royal priesthood” (*regale sacerdotium*). In short, the whole array of the ecclesial Body of Christ offers this eucharistic sacrifice and this sacrifice is fittingly summed up as our “service” (*servitutis*) in the *Hanc igitur*.

Hebrews might not appear to have anything to add this, but chapter 13 contains some material that appears to be interpreted in a way that confirms this understanding of who offers the eucharistic sacrifice. First, it is important to remember that from the perspective of Hebrews, priests offer sacrifices and sacrifices are offered by priests (see

Heb 10:11). A high priest has an obligation (*debet*) to offer sacrifice for sins, which is why Jesus, as a high priest, offers sacrifice for sins (Heb 5:1-10), one that is “without spot” and offered to God (*obtulit immaculatum Deo*; Heb 9:14). As the Roman Canon calls Melchizedek a high priest (*Supra quae*) and is clearly familiar with major aspects of Hebrews, it is reasonable to assume that the Canon’s redactors understand Melchizedek also to have offered sacrifices for sins, since Jesus is a high priest “after the order of Melchizedek” (see 5:6, 10; 6:20; 7:11, 17). So when chapter 13 speaks of both a “an altar from which they who serve the tabernacle have no power to eat” (13:10) and then, a few verses later, exhorts its readers to “offer to God a sacrifice of praise” (*offeramus hostiam laudis semper Deo*; 13:15), the essential components of sacrifices are assumed to be present among the followers of Jesus: an altar which has food and the offering of *sacrificium/θυσίαν*. At a minimum, the holy and royal priesthood of 1 Peter 2 is properly descriptive of the recipients of both biblical books. It is clear that from the perspective of Hebrews, the priesthood of Levi is no longer of any avail (Heb 7:11). Thus, the implication appears to be that the redactors of the Roman Canon interpret Hebrews 13 to indicate that the priesthood of those who now offer sacrifices acceptable to God through Christ is a Melchizedekian priesthood.

If Christians do have some share in the priesthood of Melchizedek, this is only possible from the perspective of Hebrews through direct participation in Jesus and his Melchizedekian High Priesthood. The fact that Melchizedek is not just a priest but also a king (“who indeed first by interpretation is king of justice: and then also king of Salem, that is, king of peace”; Heb 7:2; see also Gen 14:18) allows for his royal priesthood to resonate with the royal priesthood of the Church expressed in 1 Pet 2:9 and implied in

Heb 13. This participation is not possible by way of lineage (*legem mandati carnalis factus est*; 7:16) through the tribe of Judah (see Heb 7:14), but rather through a sharing in that which makes Christ a priest after Melchizedek: the power of an indissoluble life (*sed secundum virtutem vitae insolubilis*; 7:16). How one receives a sharing in this Melchizedekian priesthood, and whether the priesthood of the presiding priest differs from those Christians who join in the offer, is not explained or indicated in Hebrews.

### ***What is offered in the sacrifice?***

In the Roman Canon, a great number of things are presented as offerings. The first things offered are both thanks (*gratias agere*) and praise (*laudant*) in the *Vere dignum*, which is made in union with an array of angelic powers (as well as the other figures within the church, discussed at the beginning of the previous section). The primary verbal expressions of this praise are the *Sanctus* and *Benedictus* hymns, along with those divine aspects or activities which are declared in the proper preface. Second, the anaphora says that the church offers “these gifts, these dutiful offerings, these holy and unblemished sacrifices” (*haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata; Te igitur*), a triple naming of one and the same material offering. These terms (along with the two additional terms, *oblatio* in the *Hanc igitur* and *Quam oblationem*, as well as *hostia* [the most common New Testament sacrificial noun] in the *Unde et memores*) were explored in detail in both Chapters 5 and 6. There, I showed that all are used more or less interchangeably in Hebrews to refer either to the material of Levitical sacrifices or to the sacrifice of Christ (the latter is only referenced with the terms *hostia* or *oblatio*; see Appendix L). The *Hanc igitur* adds that this sacrifice is the “oblation of our service



(*oblationem servitutis*),” which connects to the identification of the church as “servants” in both Cycle 1 (*Memento, Domine*) and Cycle 2 (*Unde et memores*). The *Quam oblationem* indicates that when God acts upon the gifts (making them *benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque*) they become the body and blood of Christ for those who offer it (*ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui Domini nostri Iesu Christi*).

The term *hostia* is not used for the offering until after the institution narrative in the *Unde et memores*. It is introduced by a clause that identifies them first as *de tuis donis ac datis*, which seems to be a way of emphasizing the fundamental distinction between those who offer sacrifice and God who receives it: God is the source of our resources, and we can only offer back what God has first given to us. The term *hostia* is introduced in the same paragraph immediately after this phrase and is repeated three times, each use paired with different adjectives: *hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam*. The final designation of the gifts follows immediately on the heels of the thrice repeated *hostiam*: “the holy bread of eternal life and the cup of everlasting salvation.” As indicated in the previous chapter, it is possible that *hostiam immaculatam* (the one common name for the offerings between this and the parallel section in Ambrose’s *Sacr.* 4.6.27) has its source in Heb 9:14, which indicates that Jesus “offered himself without spot to God (*obtulit immaculatum Deo*).” Not only is Jesus identified as a “spotless sacrificial offering,” he is described with the synonym *inpollutus*, as well as *sancta* (see Heb 7:26), an adjective used for the bread and wine offered earlier in both the *Te igitur* and the *Unde et memores*.

Of the three ancient sacrifices, only that of Melchizedek is identified or described: *sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam*. The use of these terms would appear to directly connect Melchizedek's sacrifice with that of those praying this anaphora, both in Cycle 1 (*haec sancta sacrificia illibata in the *Te igitur**) and in Cycle 2 (*hostiam immaculatam in the *Unde et memores**). In addition to praise and thanksgiving, along with the material offerings described in these many and various ways, the Canon also indicates that intercession is part of what makes this a uniquely Christian sacrifice. The act of material offering is connected directly to intercessory prayer, beginning in the *Te igitur*: *In primis quae tibi offerimus pro Ecclesia tua sancta catholica*. As was previously discussed, Hebrews makes it clear that not only does Jesus offer himself as a sacrifice (that is, physically) he also offered prayers and supplications (*preces supplicationesque ... offerens*) while on earth and continues to do so in heaven as a priest in the heavenly temple (7:24-25; 9:11-14; 13:12).

### ***What is the relationship of this sacrifice to the sacrifice of Christ?***

There are two places in the Canon that directly connect the Eucharist and the sacrifice of Christ. The first is the relationship between the name given to what is offered in the Eucharist in the *Unde et memores*—"the cup of everlasting salvation (*calicem salutis perpetuae*)"—and the language of the institution narrative: *hic est enim calix sanguinis mei novi et aeterni testament*. The language in the *Unde* almost certainly intends to identify the material eucharistic offering with the cup of the meal Jesus shared at the last supper with his disciples (though how they are connected is not directly stated). As I have already indicated, the institution narrative functions explicitly in the Roman

Canon as the warrant for the eucharistic action.<sup>858</sup> The narrative says that the cup is *calix sanguinis mei novi et aeterni testamenti, mysterium fidei, qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum*. The Canon confirms the identification of the eucharistic cup that is offered in sacrifice with Christ's cultically-effective blood in a number of ways. One is that the effects of Christ's blood in the institution narrative are said to be the same basic effects (expressed in synonyms) desired in the offering of the Eucharist: *remissionem peccatorum* in the institution narrative and the *pro redemptione animarum suarum, pro spe salutis* in the *Memento, Domine*. If the effect of both is the same and both are the blood of Christ, then a real identification is being expressed between the two. Heb 13:20 (part of the concluding doxology of Hebrews) is the source for the adjective *aeterni* in the institution narrative (discussed in Chapter 6). When that benediction is read eucharistically, the effects of the blessing—equipping us with all goodness so that we may do the will of God, and thus working in us which is well pleasing (*aptet vos in omni bono, ut faciatis ejus voluntatem: faciens in vobis quod placeat coram se; Heb 13:21*)—are interpreted as the effects of the reception of the Eucharist. Furthermore, the blood of Christ is a major theme in Hebrews and is one of the main ways the writer speaks of the sacrifice of Christ in cultic terms (for example, see Heb 9:11-14, where the sprinkled blood of Christ is presented as categorically superior to the blood sprinkled by the high priest in the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement, Yom Kippur). When this aspect of how Hebrews presents the death of Jesus is also

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<sup>858</sup> As Serra explains it, “the narrative appears within the supplicatory section of the prayer” and “functions in the schema as the warrant for this confident supplication”; Serra, “Roman Canon,” 104, 112-13. I will indicate what I believe to be an important implication of this in the penultimate section on why the sacrifice is offered.

interpreted eucharistically, the effects of Christ's blood offered in his self-sacrifice would appear to be identified with the reception of the eucharistic bread and wine.

The second main identification of the eucharistic cup with the blood of Christ is found in the *Quam oblationem*, which also contains an unusual feature of the Roman Canon. *Lit. AM*, *Lit. Sharar*, and the Roman Canon all speak indirectly about the *means* of the transformation of the bread and wine; none asks directly for this transformation. Yet most Eastern anaphoras, especially the West Syrian form, ask directly for pneumatic action upon the offered gifts so that they may become Christ's body and blood.<sup>859</sup> The principal concern of this part of the Roman Canon is not with change, but with a different sort of divine action vis-à-vis the offered sacrifices: that God make them *benedictam*, *adscriptam*, *ratam*, *rationabilem*, *acceptabilemque*. Three of the five adjectives directly concern divine acceptance of the offering (*adscriptam*, *ratam*, *acceptabilem*). While *Rationabilem* is almost certainly the Latinization of the Greek λογικὴν in *Lit. STR* and *Lit. Mark*, the connection of the term in Latin with the divine Logos has almost certainly disappeared by this point,<sup>860</sup> which means that *benedictam* and *rationabilem* are most likely intended as synonyms and to refer broadly to the request that the material offerings are appropriated by God for divine purposes.

However, this connection between the eucharistic cup and the blood of Christ in the *Quam oblationem* introduces a complication. The logic of the request is that the bread

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<sup>859</sup> It is possible that the greater clarity in the West Syrian and Alexandrian anaphora about the purpose of the *epiclesis* (i.e. "that it may become...") reflects later shaping and a desire for theological clarity, while both the Roman Canon and *Lit. AM* reflect an earlier, more primitive form of oration that (for whatever reasons) remained resistant to later redaction and shaping. Bouyer argues that "the order of the West Syrian eucharist, as admirable as it is, is obviously an order that was intentional, systematic and obtained by a procedure of elaborate rhetoric. And, furthermore, it was conceived within the framework of a trinitarian theology that was itself very evolved"; Bouyer, *Eucharist*, 192-93.

<sup>860</sup> See Mohrmann, "Rationabilis-λογικός."

and wine are not yet the body and blood of Christ, as the present, passive subjunctive verb *fiat* indicates. The implication in the first part of this section, and earlier in this chapter, is that the Canon assumes an identification between the material offerings and Christ's self-offering on the cross. This request that God make the offering acceptable and raise it to the realm of the divine is the third of five such requests for acceptance in the Canon. However, it is the only one of the requests that indicates explicitly that the bread and wine are to become Christ's body and blood<sup>861</sup> and that this occurs when God accepts the offered sacrifice.<sup>862</sup>

An additional complication is one mentioned in Chapter 5, namely, that the *Unde et memores* introduces the term *hostia* after the institution narrative, which could indicate that the offered sacrifice has been altered—that is, that it has been consecrated or changed—and, as a result, a new term is required. However, as noted, *hostia* is the term used for the bread in various offertory prayers. Since those priestly prayers were almost certainly composed after a point when the institution narrative's consecratory power was the dominant perspective, the use of *hostia* in the offertory prayers probably indicates that the prayer's composers did not interpret the use of *hostia* in the *Unde* as indicating that the bread and wine had just been transformed or were something fundamentally different than they were in the *Te igitur*.<sup>863</sup> Related to this complication is that there are still two more requests for acceptance after the institution narrative: first in the *Supra quae* (on the

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<sup>861</sup> The *Supplices te* indicates that when people “participate in the altar (altaris participatione),” they receive the body and blood of Christ, but it makes no mention of when or how they become his body and blood.

<sup>862</sup> In my discussion of the structure of the Roman Canon and the other anaphoral families, I pointed out something that often goes unnoticed in discussions of epicleses and consecration: the West Syrian prayers and the Roman Canon share an underlying logic regarding consecration, namely, that change follows upon God's acceptance of the offering.

<sup>863</sup> Fortescue makes this point; see Fortescue, *Mass*, 329; also, see Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, II:41-70.

basis of God's acceptance of the sacrifices of Abel, Abraham, and Melchizedek) and then again more obliquely in the *Supra quae*, where the anaphora asks the Father to bid *sancti angeli tui* to bear the sacrifice to the heavenly altar which stands *in conspectu divinae maiestatis tuae*. If divine acceptance is necessary for the bread and wine to become Christ's body and blood, it would seem strange to offer the sacrifice again, and then ask that it be accepted again, if they had already been changed.

The conundrum includes a number of interconnected questions: What effects the transformation of the bread and wine? Is there a way to interpret the Roman Canon as indicating that the words of institution are the source of consecration and transformation? If so, how is this reconciled with the *Quam oblationem*, which assumes that transformation of the offered gifts is the result of divine acceptance? There are at least two fruitful ways to untangle these questions. One option is to turn to the version of the anaphora in Ambrose. His version of the *Quam oblationem*, the *Fac nobis*, differs in a few significant ways from the *textus receptus*. Most relevant here is that his anaphora makes no mention of the change or transformation of the bread and wine (either in that paragraph, or anywhere else). Instead of asking that God accept and bless the offering so that (ut) it may become Christ's body and blood (as in the *textus receptus*), what follows the request in Ambrose's version is the *basis* for God's acceptance, not the result of it. The reason or warrant is that it is already "the figure (*figura*) of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ" (*Sacr.* 4.5.21). To assume that the bread and wine are already a figure of Christ's body and blood would seem to proceed from an assumption that the conscious choice to offer bread and wine in faithful response to the bread and wine Jesus shared with his disciples (since Christ was clear that this meal was connected to his coming self-

offering) is what makes them a *figura* of Christ's body, not a particular prayer formula. Thus, terms such as *hostia* could still recall the language of Hebrews that Christ is an immaculate sacrificial offering (see Heb 7:26; 9:14) without needing to make or imply a strict claim that the bread and wine have necessarily and definitely undergone a transformation. This perspective is almost certainly not working within a universe that is particularly concerned with the identification of a particular moment of change. Instead, the claims that Ambrose makes elsewhere in *De sacramentis* (see 4.4.15-18) that the bread and wine are transformed or converted into Christ's body and blood are still grounded in an assumption which gets no more specific than the claim that after this offering of prayer, praise, and bread and wine, the material offering is now Christ's Body and Blood. Edward Kilmartin, in a comment on how Ambrose connects the consecration of the offered bread and wine to the *sermo Christi*, implies that it would be anachronistic to conclude that the words of Christ are being set in opposition to an Eastern-style pneumatic epiclesis. Note that when Ambrose introduces his anaphora, he explains that consecration occurs by the power of Christ's creative word, and then says, "hear what the words are" (*Accipe quae sunt verba; Sacr.* 4.5.21). What follows are not immediately the words of Jesus in the institution narrative but the *Fac nobis*. Kilmartin explains that Ambrose's distinction is not between the words of Christ and the rest of the words in the anaphoral prayer, but between the words of Christ's and words a priest might say:

In *De sacramentis* the consecration is attributed to the "sermo Christi" [*Sacr.* 4.4.14] and this is opposed to the words of the priest spoken on his own authority. How should this be interpreted? *The words of Christ confer a consecratory power on the prayer as a whole.* Ambrose is concerned to attribute the efficacious power of consecration to Christ alone and not to fix the words of Christ as the moment of

consecration. It may be significant that he does not say precisely “post verba Christi” the bread and wine become the body and blood.<sup>864</sup>

What marks both the version of the anaphora in Ambrose and in the *textus receptus* is the lack of interest in the confecting of transformation, but rather with offering to God what is fitting and just.

A second option to help disentangle the questions around the means of the gifts’ conversion and whether Christ is offered is to not interpret the Canon in a strictly chronological manner. The Jesuit Maurice de la Taille offers a helpful explanation in this regard:

It has been the common opinion of the our doctors and theologians that in the rites of the Church what is really effected in one individual time duration should, in its solemnisation [*sic*], be distributed in time, and be, so to speak, diffused and expanded in a series of ceremonial actions, in the various phases of the Liturgy, so to secure a salutary adaptation of the faith and devotion of those concerned to the various actions and benefits of the one essential action, more fully explained by these different ceremonies.<sup>865</sup>

This approach does not try and interpret the Canon according to the laws of a complex mathematical equation, where temporal sequence and precision are essential to a proper

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<sup>864</sup> Edward J Kilmartin, “Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers,” *Theological Studies* 35, no. 2 (June 1974): 286. Kavanagh points out that this is expressed clearly in the confession Berengar was forced to sign: “I, Berengarius, believe in my heart and confess with my mouth that the bread and wine placed on the altar are substantially changed by the mystery of sacred prayer and the words of our Redeemer...and that they are, after consecration, the true body of Christ”; Denzinger, 355.

<sup>865</sup> Maurice de la Taille, *The Mystery of Faith, Book II: The Sacrifice of The Church* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1950), 419. He then quotes the *Glossa ordinaria* on the Decretals of Gregory IX by Gregory of Parma, where the latter discusses the words *Jube haec perferri* in the *Supplices te*: “It seems that this prayer is superfluous, because it is said after the words by virtue of which the Body of Christ is consecrated (*conficitur*), and hence the prayer about what has been done is superfluous. I reply: not only does Scripture not attend to such strict time limits, but the priest, too, as he cannot say many things at one time, SO SPEAKS AS IF TIME STOOD STILL, AND AS IF THOSE THINGS STILL HAD TO BE DONE WHICH AT THE BEGINNING OF HIS SPEECH HAD NOT YET BEEN DONE. And the words are not to be referred to the time of their utterance (but to the mind or thought of the speaker)”; Gregory of Parma, *Decretales D. Gregorii papae IX suae integritati una cum glossis restitutae* (Lyons, 1584), II:1813-14.



outcome.<sup>866</sup> Rather, the various parts of the anaphora (and the liturgy as a whole), which are present and can be distinguished and described, exist as they do in order to help disclose the *admirabile commercium* that takes place between Creator and creature in this rite. God's acceptance of our praise, thanksgiving, prayer, and material offering, and the transformation of them into Christ are simply aspects of one divine act and which are only distinguished as a condescension to our creatureliness. As Pope Gregory IX articulates it, "the words are not to be referred to the time of their utterance, but to the mind or thought of the speaker."<sup>867</sup> From this perspective, one could say simultaneously that Christ is offered *and* that bread and wine are also offered. This simultaneity seems as much to be the result of God's gratuity to allow our offering to be identified with Christ's as it is with the conversion of bread and wine into the body of the Lord. The fundamental point is this: to whatever extent the Canon is concerned with the transformation of the gifts, that concern is exponentially overshadowed by the intention to offer that which is properly due to God through the mediation of Jesus Christ: adoration, thanksgiving, prayer, and bread and wine; none without the other.

### ***Why is the sacrifice offered?***

The basis upon which the sacrifice is offered is that Christ instituted this rite and told us that as often as we do this, we make his remembrance (Haec quotiescumque

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<sup>866</sup> Aidan Kavanagh quote Sebastian Moore on this point: "Temporal limitation [of consecration] to a prayer excludes the surrounding prayer: limitation to the words of our Lord, which are not a prayer but are cited by the Prayer, does not"; Sebastian Moore, "The Theology of the Mass and the Liturgical Datum," *The Downside Review* 69, no. 215 (1950): 41, n. 1; Kavanagh, "Thoughts on the Roman Anaphora (Part 2)," 6.

<sup>867</sup> Ibid.

feceritis, in mei memoriam facietis). Furthermore, if the institution narrative is the warrant for the eucharistic act, as the syntax makes clear,<sup>868</sup> it is difficult not to conclude that the Canon's redactors interpret the institution narrative as Irenaeus did: The Eucharist is "the new oblation of the new covenant; which the Church receiving from the apostles, offers to God throughout all the world, to Him who gives us as the means of subsistence the first-fruits of His own gifts in the New Testament."<sup>869</sup> If the institution narrative is the basis for this action whose constitutive prayer is structured for the purpose of offering sacrifice that is acceptable to God, the institution is somehow the establishment of a sacrifice.

The reasons for which the sacrifice is offered are many:

- To render thanks (*gratias agere* in the *Vere dignum*) and adoration (adorant) to God
- As a means for seeking the peace, protection, unity, and divine governance of the holy Catholic Church (*Te igitur*)
- For the redemption of the souls and the hope of the salvation and safety of the entirety of the church who joins in making this eucharistic sacrifice (*Memento, Domine*); and further, that they might be delivered from damnation and counted among God's elect (*Hanc igitur*)
- In order to properly pay one's vows to God (*Memento, Domine*)
- As a means of fellowship with, and fitting commemoration of, the Blessed Virgin, the apostles, martyrs, and all the saints (*Communicantes* and *Nobis quoque*)

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<sup>868</sup> See Serra, "Roman Canon."

<sup>869</sup> *Haer* 4.17.5. "Quam Ecclesia ab Apostolis accipiens in universo mundo offert Deo, ei qui alimenta nobis praestat, primitias suorum munerum in novo Testamento"; SCh 100, 592; ET = ANF I:486.

- As a means for seeking God’s gift of a place of refreshment, light, and peace for the faithful departed (*Memento, etiam*)

The purpose of offering sacrifice in Hebrews—particularly the sacrifice of Christ—is much narrower. It is essentially offered for the sake of effecting salvation (see Heb 2:10, 11; 5:9; 6:9-20), which is sometimes often with reference to dealing with sin (2:17; 9:28; 10:11, 18) and once with reference to the devil and his rule of death (2:14). If the commemoration of the saints and prayers for the dead are set aside, a significant portion of the remaining reasons for which the Canon states that the eucharistic sacrifice is offered coincides with the purpose and effect of Christ’s sacrifice. While the scope of the Canon’s intention in offering sacrifice is broader than in Hebrews, it is fair to say that the Canon indicates at least that a means by which the effects of Christ’s sacrifice can be received is through participation in offering the Eucharist and receiving the offered bread and wine that have become Christ’s body and blood. Chrysostom’s interpretation of the Heb 10:11 in light of the Eucharist (“And every priest stands daily at his service, offering repeatedly the same sacrifices, which can never take away sins”) expresses quite aptly the basic posture of the Roman Canon by way of Hebrews:

There is one sacrifice and one high priest who offered the sacrifice that cleanses us. Today we offer that which was once offered, a sacrifice that is inexhaustible. This is done as a remembrance [anamnesis] of that which was done then, for he said, ‘Do this in remembrance of me.’ We do not offer another sacrifice as the priest offered of old, but we always offer the same sacrifice. Or rather we represent the sacrifice.<sup>870</sup>

The Eucharist is only a sacrifice because of Christ, both by way of institution and also because Christ willed that the faithfulness to his command also includes the grace

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<sup>870</sup> John Chrysostom, Hom. in Heb. 17.3 on Heb. 9:24–26; ET = Wilken, *Spirit of Early Christian Thought*, 35.

necessary for the Eucharist not to be a work *in addition to* that of Christ, but one that flows from it and is incorporated back into it.

### ***Conclusion***

Everything that a creature most needs from God (peace, protection, unity, communion, redemption, hope for salvation, safety, deliverance from damnation, being counted among the elect, the gift of refreshment, light, and peace for the dead) and everything that is fitting for creatures to do in relation to God (offer sacrifices, pay our vows to God, venerate and share in fellowship with the saints; remember Christ's passion, resurrection, and ascension; name God as the giver of gifts; be filled with heavenly benediction and grace) is said to be accomplished in this prayer. The sacrifice of verbal praise and thanksgiving, material oblations, and prayers of intercessions are together the meaning of the eucharistic *sacrificium laudis*. Just as the prayer was ordered and shaped into a complex unity of its final form, so are these various strands of sacrifice in the anaphora inseparable from one another. As Enrico Mazza explains so beautifully, "the sacrifice that is offered *is* the act of thanks." This means that the formula marking the acts of offering in both Cycle 1 and Cycle 2 (thanking/remember, we offer...) "is at the same time offertory and thanksgiving: it is the one thing precisely because it is also the other."<sup>871</sup> The Roman Canon is concerned principally with doxology, thankful praise that is fitting and right, *dignum et iustum*. The most fitting praise is that which includes the offering of bread and wine along with our prayer and praise, in response to Christ's death and formed by divine precepts.

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<sup>871</sup> *Origins*, 280-81; emphasis added.

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## **APPENDICES**

**Appendix A: The unique portion of the anaphora shared by only the Latin and Alexandrian rites**

<b>Sacr. 4.27</b>	<b>Lit. Mark</b>	<b>Roman Canon</b>
<p>Et petimus et precamur, uti hanc oblationem suscipias in sublime altare tuum per manus angelorum tuorum, sicut suscipere dignatus es munera pueri tui iusti Abel et sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos Melchisedech.</p>	<p>Τῶν προσφερόντων τὰς θυσίας, τὰς προσφεράς, τὰ ευχαριστήρια πρόσδεξαι ὁ Θεὸς εἰς τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἐπουράνιον καὶ νοερόν σου θυσιαστήριον εἰς τὰ μεγέθη τῶν οὐρανῶν διὰ τῆς ἀρχαγγελικῆς σου λειτουργίας ... ὡς προσεδέξω τὰ δῶρα τοῦ δικαίου σου Ἀβελ, τὴν θυσίαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ, [Ζαχαρίου τὸ θυμίαμα, Κορνηλίου τὰς ἐλεημοσύνας] καὶ τῆς χήρας δύο λεπτά...</p>	<p><b>Supra quae</b> propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris: et accepta habere, sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui iusti Abel, et sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae: et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam.</p>
<p>...and we pray and beseech you to <u>receive this offering</u></p> <p><u>on your altar on high</u></p> <p><u>by the hands of your angels,</u></p> <p><u>as you vouchsafed to receive the gifts of your righteous servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and that which the high priest, Melchizedek offered to you.</u></p>	<p><u>Receive, O God, the thank-offerings</u> [ευχαριστήρια] of those who offer the sacrifices, at your [holy and heavenly and] spiritual altar in [the vastnesses of] heaven <u>by the ministry of your archangels,</u></p> <p>...</p> <p><u>as you accepted the gifts of your righteous servant Abel, the sacrifice of our father Abraham,</u></p> <p>[the incense of Zechariah, the alms of Cornelius, ] and the widow's two mites...</p>	<p>[<i>Supra quae</i>] Vouchsafe to look upon them with a favorable and kindly countenance, and <u>accept</u> them</p> <p>as you vouchsafed to <u>accept the gifts of your righteous servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our Patriarch Abraham, and that which your high priest Melchizedek offered to you,</u> a holy sacrifice, an unblemished sacrificial offering; [<i>Supplices te</i>] We humbly beseech you, almighty God, bid these gifts be borne <u>by the hands of your angel to your altar on high, in the sight of your divine majesty...</u><sup>872</sup></p>

<sup>872</sup> The material in Ambrose's *Sacr. 4.27* is also in a *Post pridie* [§627] in the *Liber mozarabicus*. Material common to all three is underlined; material common to just two of the three is double-underlined. Greek text of *Lit. Mark* from *PE*, 108; items in brackets are not in Coptic *Lit. Cyril*. ET = *PEER*, 146 (Ambrose, *Sacr.*), 62 (*Lit. Mark*), and 165 (Roman Canon). In the Roman Canon, I changed the translation of *hostiam* in the *Supra quae* from "victim" to "sacrificial offering" and the *haec* in the *Supplices te* as "these gifts" rather than "these things." The reason for the latter change is that, like the *quae* in the *Supra quae*, the only terms for the bread and wine that are neuter-plural—and thus could be the object of *quae* in the entire prayer—are the terms in the *Te igitur*: *haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata*.

**Appendix B: My summary of Enrico Mazza's reconstructions of the early Roman Canon & Lit. STR in its entirety with the textus receptus of the Roman Canon<sup>873</sup>**

<b>Mazza's Lit. STR Reconstruction</b>	<b>Mazza's Roman Canon Reconstruction</b>	<b>Roman Canon</b>
<i>First Strophe</i>		
"...to bless you...your true Son, our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ"	<i>Sacramentarium Bergomense &amp; Mai fragment</i>	preface ( <i>Vere dignum</i> )
<i>Assumes the Sanctus has yet to enter either anaphora</i>		Pre-Sanctus and Sanctus
<i>Second Strophe</i>		
"giving thanks through him to you...we offer the reasonable sacrifice and this bloodless service...[ending with Mal 1:11 quotation]"	Mai fragment, pt 2	<i>Te igitur</i> , pt 1
<i>Third Strophe</i>		
"Over this sacrifice and offering we pray and beseech you, remember your holy and only Catholic Church..." <i>Mazza then adds the paragraph from Lit. Mark that comes from the midst of the intercessions that asks for the acceptance of the sacrifice at the heavenly altar by angelic ministry and the invocation of accepted Scriptural sacrifices as the basis for the present request for acceptance.</i>	<i>Liber ordinum</i> , col. 321  <i>Et petimus et precamur</i> (Ambrose, <i>Sacr.</i> 4.6.27)	<i>Te igitur</i> , pt 1 <i>Memento, Domine</i> Aspects of <i>Memento, etiam</i> and <i>Nobis quoque</i> Parts of <i>Quam oblationem</i> <i>Supplices te</i> <i>Supra quae</i>

<sup>873</sup> See Mazza, *Origins*, 255-66.

**Appendix C: Lit. STR/Lit. Mark in parallel with a Veronese preface and the post-institution narrative section in Ambrose's Sacr. 4<sup>874</sup>**

<i>Lit. STR/Lit. Mark</i>	<b>Veronese preface: <i>In pentecosten ascendentibus a fonte</i></b>	<b>Ambrose, <i>Sacr. 4</i></b>
<i>First Strophe</i>		
<p>“[It is truly meet and right...to praise you and]...to bless you...your true Son, our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, <u>through whom</u> to you with him and with the Holy Spirit”</p>	<p>It is meet (<i>Vere dignum</i>)</p> <p><u>Who</u> (<i>qui</i>) ascended above the highest heavens and, sitting at your right hand, pours out the promised Holy Spirit of adoption.</p>	<p><u>Who</u> the day before (<i>qui pridie</i>) he suffered took bread in his holy hands... Likewise, after supper, the day before he suffered, he took the cup...</p>
<i>Second Strophe</i>		
<p>“<u>giving thanks</u> through him to you...  <i>we offer</i> the reasonable sacrifice and this bloodless service...[ending with Mal 1:11 quotation]”</p>	<p>Therefore <b>rejoicing</b> (<i>unde laetantes</i>) before your altar, Lord of powers,  <b>We offer</b> you the sacrifice of praise...</p>	<p>As often as you do this, you do it in my remembrance. Therefore, <b>remembering</b> (<i>ergo memores</i>) his most glorious Passion and resurrection from the dead, and ascension into heaven, <b>We offer to you</b> this spotless sacrifice, reasonable sacrifice, bloodless sacrifice, this holy bread and this cup of eternal life. And we pray and beseech you...</p>
<i>Third Strophe</i>		
<p>“Over which sacrifice and offering <b>we pray and beseech you</b>,  <u>remember your holy</u> and only <i>Catholic Church</i>, all your peoples and your flocks. <i>The peace which is from heaven</i> bestow on all our hearts, and <i>grant us</i> also the <i>peace</i> of this life...”</p> <p>[only in <i>Lit. Mark</i>] ...<b>Receive</b>, O God, <b>the thankofferings</b> of those who offer the sacrifices, <i>at your spiritual altar in heaven by the</i></p>	<p>[Mozarabic “post pridie” §1440] Through whom <b>we pray and beseech you</b>, almighty Father, vouchsafe to accept and bless these offerings and these unblemished sacrifices, above all, those which we offer to you for <i>your holy Catholic Church</i>: vouchsafe to <i>grant it peace</i> spread through the whole world in <i>your peace</i>...</p> <p><u>Remember</u>, Lord, also your servants...</p> <p>Vouchsafe to <b>make their offering blessed, ratified, and reasonable</b>; it is the image and likeness of the body and blood of Jesus Christ,</p>	<p>And <b>we pray and beseech you</b></p> <p><b>To receive this offering</b> on your altar on high by the hands of your angels,</p>

<sup>874</sup> Ray, “Rome and Alexandria,” 110-12. All the text of the prayers and the highlighting is taken verbatim from Ray’s translation. I have added the strophe designations so that the tripartite structure can be viewed more clearly.

<b><i>Lit. STR/Lit. Mark</i></b>	<b>Veronese preface: <i>In pentecosten ascendentibus a fonte</i></b>	<b>Ambrose, <i>Sacr. 4</i></b>
<i>ministry of archangels... as you accepted the gifts of your righteous Abel, the sacrifice of our father Abraham, and the widow's two mites...</i>	your son and our redeemer.	<i>as you vouchsafed to receive the gifts of your righteous Abel, and the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and that which the high priest Melchizedek offered to you...</i>

**Appendix D: The commendation of the sacrifice in Ambrose, Lit. STR/Lit. Mark, Liber mozarabicus, and the Roman Canon**

Ambrose, <i>Sacr.</i> 4.27	<i>Lit. Mark</i> ( <i>&amp; Lit. STR</i> )	<i>Liber</i> <i>Mozarabicus</i> , <sup>875</sup>	Roman Canon
<p>Et petimus et precamur, uti hanc oblationem <b>suscipias</b></p> <p><b>in</b> <b>sublime</b> <b>altare tuum</b></p> <p><b>per manus angelorum</b> <b>tuorum,</b></p> <p><b>sicut suscipere</b> <b>dignatus</b> <b>es munera</b> <b>pueri tui iusti Abel</b> <b>et sacrificium</b> <b>patriarchae nostri</b> <b>Abrahae</b> et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos Melchisedech.</p>	<p><b>Receive</b>, O God, the thank-offerings of those who offer the sacrifices,</p> <p><b>at your holy and</b> <b>heavenly and spiritual</b> <b>altar</b> in the vastnesses of heaven <b>by the ministry of your</b> <b>archangels,</b> much or little, secretly or openly, willing but unable, and those who offered the offerings today; <b>as you accepted</b> <b>the gifts of</b> <b>your righteous Abel,</b> <b>the sacrifice</b> <b>of our father</b> <b>Abraham,</b></p> <p>[the incense of Zachariah, the alms of Cornelius,] and the widow's two mites; [receive also their thank- offerings,] and give them imperishable things for perishable, heavenly things for earthly, eternal for temporal.</p>	<p>Hanc quoque oblationem</p> <p>ut <b>accepto habeas et</b> benedicas supplices exoramus,</p> <p><b>sicut habuisti accepto</b> <b>munera</b> <b>Abel pueri tui iusti,</b> <b>et sacrificium</b> <b>Patriarche Patris</b> <b>nostri Abrahe,</b> et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech.</p> <p>Descendat hic queso inuisibiliter benediction tua, sicut quondam in Patrum hostiis uisibiliter descendebat. Ascendat odor suauitatis</p> <p>In conspectu divine Maiestatis tue <b>ex hoc</b> <b>sublimi altario tuo</b> <b>per manus Angeli tui...</b></p>	<p><b>Supra quae</b> propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris: et <b>accepta habere,</b></p> <p><b>sicuti accepta habere</b> <b>dignatus</b> <b>es munera pueri tui</b> <b>iusti Abel,</b> <b>et sacrificium</b> <b>patriarchae nostri</b> <b>Abrahae:</b> et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam.</p> <p><b>Supplices te</b> rogamus, omnipotens Deus, iube haec perferri <b>per manus [sancti]</b> <b>angeli tui</b> <b>in sublime altare tuum</b> in conspectu divinae maiestatis tuae...</p>

<sup>875</sup> PEER, 62 (*Lit. Mark*); Post Pridie, §627, *LMS*, col. 262, ln. 5 ff.



***Appendix E: The rhythmic clausulae (cursus) in the Roman Canon<sup>876</sup>***

***Te igitur***

rogamus et petimus	<i>tardus</i>
regere digneris	<i>trispondaicus</i>
orbe terrarum	<i>planus</i>

***Memento, Domine***

nota devotio	<i>tardus</i>
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***Communicantes***

sanctorum tuorum	<i>planus</i>
precibusque concedes	<i>planus</i>
muniamur auxilio	<i>tardus</i>

***Hanc Igitur***

familiae tuae	<i>planus</i>
placatus accipias	<i>planus</i>
pace disponas	<i>planus</i>
damnatione nos eripi	<i>tardus</i>
grege numerari	<i>trispondaicus</i>

***Quam oblationem***

Déus in ómnibus	<i>tardus</i>
fácere dignéris	<i>trispondaicus</i>

***Qui pridie***

-none-

***Unde et memores***

plebs tua sancta	<i>planus</i>
gloriisae ascensionis	<i>velox</i>
salutis perpetuae	<i>tardus</i>

***Supra quae***

respicere digneris	<i>trispondaicus</i>
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<sup>876</sup> Willis, Early Roman Liturgy, 33-4.

*Supplices te rogamus*

[sanguinem sumpserimus	<i>velox</i> ] <sup>877</sup>
gratia repleamur	<i>velox</i>

*Memento etiam, domine*

indulgeas deprecamur	<i>velox</i>
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*Nobis quoque peccatoribus*

donare digneris	<i>planus</i>
largitor admitte	<i>planus</i>

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<sup>877</sup> When Lang reproduces this list, he adds this additional instance on the basis of the suggestion of the Hungarian Classicist Zoltan Rihmer, “who “who argues that, according to late ancient grammarians, the stress would have been on the second syllable from the end, not on the third, according to the Renaissance humanists that formed out understanding of Latin.” If he is correct, this means that “the two *clausulae sanguinem sumpserimus* and *gratia repleamur* would then form a neat parallelism at the end of the prayer, emphasizing the petition to enjoy the supernatural fruits of sacramental communion:

... that all we who at this partaking of the altar shall receive the most sacred Body and Blood of thy Son (*ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum Filii tui corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus*),

may be fulfilled with all heavenly benediction and grace (*omnia benediction caelesti gratia repleamur*); Lang, “Rhetoric,” 41.

## Appendix F: Christiaan Kappes' reconstruction of the Roman Canon, arranged by its chiasmic structure

from Christian Kappes, "Lactantius and the Creation of the Roman Canon for Imperial Liturgy" (forthcoming).

Kappes explains the arrangement of the reconstruction:

I identify small rhythmic clauses below by accenting Latin words (e.g., *donáre dignéris*), just as G.G. Willis first identified.<sup>878</sup> I leave, in B<sub>2</sub> and E<sub>2</sub>, these post-350 *clausulae* according to the Christian rhythmic *cursus* because I cannot reconstruct these phrases to a pre-350 form.<sup>879</sup> I use Subscript (Parenthesis) to designate the parataxis or close association of two or more terms. [Square brackets] identify the source of citations or other pertinent information. <Angle brackets> indicate a more primitive reading from a more ancient source, while ~~strikethrough~~ eliminates a presumably late reading (partially justified in the Appendix to this article)."

### Textus Receptus of the CM

**A<sub>1</sub>** [CM *Textus Receptus*:] *Dominus Vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo. Sursum corda. Habemus ad Dominum. Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro. (Dignum et iustum) est.*

**B<sub>1</sub>** *Vere dignum et iustum est aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique **gratias** agere, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus, per Christum Dominum nostrum.*

**C<sub>1</sub>** *Per quem maiestatem tuam laudant angeli, adorant dominationes, tremunt potestates, caeli caelorumque virtutes, ac beata Seraphim socia exultatione concelebrant: cum quibus et nostra voces ut admitti iubeas deprecamur, supplices confessione dicentes: 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.*

**D<sub>1</sub>** *Te igitur clementissime Pater per Iesum*

### Hypothetical Reconstruction of CM<sub>α</sub>

**A<sub>1</sub>** [CM *Textus Receptus*:] *Dominus Vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo. Sursum corda. Habemus ad Dominum. [Arian Frag:] Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro. (Dignum et iustum) est.*

**B<sub>1</sub>** [Arian Frag:] *(Dignum et iustum) est, (aequum et iustum) [Cf. CM *Textus Receptus*: salutare]. Est nos tibi super omnia **gratias** agere Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens aeterne Deus, qui incomparabili tuae bonitatis honestate lucem in tenebris fulgere dignatus es mittens nobis Iesum Christum sospitatorem animarum nostrarum, qui nostrae salutis causa humiliando se ad mortem usque subeicit, ut nos ea quae Adam amiserat immortalitate restitutos efficeret sibi heredes et filios. Cuius benignitatis agere **gratias** tuae tantae magnanimitati quibusque laudibus nec sufficere possumus petentes*

**C<sub>1</sub>** [Arian Frag:] *de tua magna et flexibili pietate **accepto ferre sacrificium istud**, quod tibi offerimus **stantes ante conspectum tuae divinae pietatis**.*

**D<sub>1</sub>** [Lactantius hypothetically redacted CM[x]/Arian Frag:] *Te igitur,*

<sup>878</sup> Willis, "Cursus in the Roman Canon" in *Essays*.

<sup>879</sup> *Ibid.*, 113-117.

*Christum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum supplices rogámus et pétimus*

**E<sub>1</sub>** *uti accepta habeas et benedicas haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata. Inprimis quae tibi offerimus pro ecclesia tua sancta catholica, quam pacificare, custodire, adunare et régere dignéris toto órbe terrárum, una cum famulo tuo papa nostro illo et antistite nostro illo episcopo. Memento, Domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum, et omnium circumadstantium, quorum tibi fides cognita est, et nóta devótio, qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis pro se suisque omnibus, pro redemptione animarum suarum, pro spe salutis et incolumitatis suae: tibi que reddunt vota sua aeterno Deo vero et vivo.* [I omit possibly fourth-century (?) *Communicantes* and much later *Hanc igitur*]

**F<sub>1</sub>** *Quam oblationem tu, Deus, in omnibus, quaesumus, benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque fácere dignéris, ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui Domini Dei nostri Iesu Christi. Qui pridie quam pateretur accepit panem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, elevatis oculis in caelum ad te Deum Patrem suum omnipotentem, tibi gratias agens, benedixit, fregit, dedit, discipulis suis, dicens, Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes. Hoc est enim corpus meum. Simili modo, postquam coenatum est, accipiens et hunc praeclarum calicem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, item tibi gratias agens, benedixit, dedit discipulis suis, dicens, Accipite et bibite ex eo omnes: hic est enim calix sanguinis mei novi et aeterni testamenti, mysterium fidei, qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Haec quotiescumque feceritis in mei memoriam facietis.*

**F<sub>2</sub>** *Unde et memores sumus, Domine, nos tui servi, sed et plébs tua sáncta, Christi Filii tui Domini Dei nostri tam beatæ passionis necnon et ab inferis resurrectionis, sed et in*

*clementissime Pater* [Arian Frag:] *per Iesum Christum et Deum nostrum per quem,* [CM Textus Receptus:] *supplices* [cf., infra, CM **D<sub>2</sub>**] *<te>* [Arian Frag:] *petimus et rogamus per Christum Dominum nostrum*

**E<sub>1</sub>** [CM Textus receptus:] *uti accepta habeas et benedicas haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia* [cf., infra, Appendix:] ~~*illibata*~~. *Inprimis quae tibi offerimus pro ecclesia tua sancta catholica, quam pacificare, custodire, adunare et régere dignéris toto órbe terrárum* <sup>880</sup> *<terrae>*, *una cum famulo tuo papa nostro illo* [I omit what follows, as Lactantius composed for worship at Rome:] ~~*et antistite nostro illo episcopo*~~ *<et famulo tuo illo imperatore nostro cum coniuge sua et prole>* <sup>881</sup> [I delete from here the possibly Damasian fourth-century (?) *Memento*, later (?) *Communicantes* and much later *Hanc igitur*. I reinsert the hypothetically displaced fragment from GeV *Praefatio: Natalis* 1.4.20:] *Tui laudis hostiam, iugiter immolantes, cuius figura iusti Abel instituit et agnus legalis ostendit, Abraham celebravit, Melchisedech Pontifex exhibuit, sed agnus eternus, verus Pontifex, Christus natus implevit.*

**F<sub>1</sub>** [Ambrosius:] *(Fac' nobis hanc oblationem scriptam ratam rationabilem, (acceptabilem) quod figura est corporis et sanguinis domini nostri Iesu Christi.* [CM Textus Receptus:] *Qui pridie quam pateretur accepit panem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, elevatis oculis in caelum ad te Deum Patrem suum omnipotentem, tibi (gratias agens, benedixit, fregit, dedit) discipulis suis dicens: Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes. Hoc est enim corpus meum. Simili modo, postquam cenatum est, accipiens et hunc praeclarum calicem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, item tibi (gratias agens, benedixit, dedit, discipulis suis dicens: Accipite et bibite ex eo omnes. Hic est enim calix sanguinis mei. novi et aeterni testamenti, mysterium fidei, qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Haec quotiescumque feceritis, in mei memoriam facietis.*

**F<sub>2</sub>** [Ambrose:] *Ergo memores* [I omit a presumably later fourth-century theological gloss in Ambrosius:] ~~*gloriosissimae eius passionis et ab inferis resurrectionis et in caelum ascensionis, offerimus*~~

<sup>880</sup> Ibid., 112, notes «órbe terrárum» instantiates the *cursus planus* (i.e., perhaps a Damasian edit to Lactantius's ubiquitous «orbe terrae»).

<sup>881</sup> *Missa canonica*, in *Præx Eucharistica: Textus e variis liturgiis antiquioribus selecti*, vol. 1, edd. A. Gerhards-H. Brakmann (Spicilegium Friburgense. Texte zur Geschichte des kirchlichen Lebens 12), Academic Press Fribourg, Fribourg <sup>3</sup>1998, 449. Emperor Constantine uniquely began the custom of calling himself *famulus* in a letter to Council of Arles, but by citing Lactantius, per Digeser, *Lactantius*, 66-67. For the authenticity of this section of Ambrosius's CM, see E. CATTANEO, «La preghiera "per coloro che governano"», *La Civiltà Cattolica* (2003) 269.

caelis gloriósae ascensionis: offerimus praeclarae maiestati tuae de tuis donis ac datis (*hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam*), panem sanctum vitae aeternae et calicem salutis perpétuae.

**E<sub>2</sub>** *Supra quae propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris, et accepta habere, sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui iusti Abel, et sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam.*

**D<sub>2</sub>** *Supplices te rogamus, omnipotens Deus,*

**C<sub>2</sub>** *iube haec perferri per manus angeli tui in sublime altare tuum in conspectu divinae maiestatis tuae,*

**B<sub>2</sub>** *ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum Filii tui corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus omni benedictione caelesti et grátia repleámur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.* [I omit CM, *Textus Receptus*, *Memento etiam*, *Nobis quoque peccatoribus*, and *Per quem* ]

**A<sub>2</sub>** *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.*

*tibi hanc immaculatam hostiam, rationabilem hostiam, incruentam hostiam*) [I delete a hypothesized Milanese departure from the original CM<sub>α</sub> at E<sub>2</sub> + D<sub>2</sub>, *infra*, as attested in Ambrosius:] ~~*et petimus et preeamur ut hanc oblationem suseipias in sublime altare tuum per manus angelorum tuorum, sicut suseipere dignatus es munera pueri iusti Abel et sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos Melchisedech.*~~

**E<sub>2</sub>** [CM *Textus Receptus*.:] *Supra quae propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris et accepta habere, sicuti accepta habere* [I omit the possibly Damasan fourth-century (?) *Memento etiam* & later (?) *Nobis quoque peccatoribus*, forming a chiasmic structure with **E<sub>1</sub>** *Memento* and *Communicantes*] [CM *Textus Receptus*.:] *dignatus es munera pueri tui iusti Abel et sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam.*

**D<sub>2</sub>** [CM *Textus Receptus*.:] *Supplices te* [Ambrosius.:] ~~*petimus et*~~ [CM *Textus Receptus*.:] *rogamus omnipotens Deus,*

**C<sub>2</sub>** [CM *Textus Receptus*.:] *jube haec* [cf., *supra*, **C<sub>1</sub>**: *sacrificium*] *perferri per manus angeli tui in sublime altare tuum in conspectu divinae maiestatis tuae,*

**B<sub>2</sub>** [CM *Textus Receptus*.:] *ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum filii tui corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus omni benedictione caelesti et grátia repleámur* [cf. Acts 2:4] [I omit the post-fourth century CM, *Textus Receptus*, *Per Quem*].

**A<sub>2</sub>** [CM *Textus Receptus*.:] *Est tibi Deo [...]* (*honor et gloria*) *per omnia saecula saeculorum.*

**Appendix G: Grid of common adjectives for the gifts in early anaphoras**

	ἐξλοσκομένοι <b>propitiate</b>	λογικὴν, <i>rationabilem</i> <b>spiritual</b>	ἀναμιμακτον, <i>incrumetam</i> , <b>bloodless</b>	φοβερὴν <b>awesome</b>	ζῶσαν, <b>living</b>	ἁγίαν, <i>sancta</i> , <b>holy</b>	εὐάρεστον, <i>acceptabilem</i> , <b>acceptable</b>	<i>illibata</i> , <b>unblemished</b>	<i>ratam</i> , <b>ratified</b>	καθαρὰν, unbloody <i>puram</i> , <b>pure</b>	<i>immaculatam</i> <b>immaculate</b>
<b>Jewish- Early Christian</b>											
<i>T. Levi</i>	ἐξλοσκομένοι (the angels offer)	λογικὴν	ἀναμιμακτον								
<i>Rom 12:1</i>		λογικὴν			ζῶσαν	ἁγίαν	εὐάρεστον				<i>immaculatam</i> <i>hostiam</i>
<i>Num. 6:15 (Vulgate)</i>											
<i>I Pet. 2:2</i>		τὸ λογικὸν ( <i>rationabile</i> ) ἄδολον γάλα.									
<b>Latin</b>											
<i>Athenagoras Legato 13</i>		λογικὴν	ἀναμιμακτον								
<i>Mozarabic Missale Gothicum Ambrose</i>		<i>rationalem</i> <i>hostiam</i> <i>Ergo</i> <i>memores</i> <i>Quam</i> <i>oblationem</i>	<i>incrumetam</i> <i>hostiam</i> <i>Ergo</i> <i>memores</i>								<i>immaculatam</i> <i>hostiam</i> <i>Ergo</i> <i>memores</i> <i>Unde et</i> <i>memores</i> , ( <i>Supra quae</i> )
<i>Roman Canon</i>						<i>Te igitur</i> , <i>Unde et</i> <i>memores</i> , ( <i>Supra quae</i> )	<i>Quam</i> <i>oblationem</i>	<i>Te igitur</i>	<i>Quam</i> <i>oblationem</i>	<i>Unde et</i> <i>memores</i>	<i>Unde et</i> <i>memores</i> , ( <i>Supra quae</i> )



	ἐξλασκόμενοι <b>propitiate</b>	λογικῆν, <i>rationabilem</i> <b>spiritual</b>	ἀναίμακτον, <i>incruentam</i> , <b>bloodless</b>	φοβερὰν <b>awesome</b>	ζῶσαν, <b>living</b>	ἁγίαν, <i>sancta</i> , <b>holy</b>	εὐάρεστον, <i>acceptabilem</i> , <b>acceptable</b>	<i>illibata</i> , <b>unblemished</b>	<i>ratam</i> , <b>ratified</b>	καθάρων, unbloody <i>puram</i> , <b>pure</b>	<i>immaculatam</i> <b>immaculate</b>
<b>East Syrian</b> <i>Lit. Sharar</i>	“your propitiatory altar,” Christ’s death is “propitiatory sacrifice”					sanctum				purum	
<i>Lit. Theo.</i>		[pre-anaphoral prayer]; opening dialogue	[pre-anaphoral prayer]; opening dialogue (unslain)		[pre-anaphoral prayer]; opening dialogue, post-Inst. oblation	[pre-anaphoral prayer]; post-Inst. oblation	opening dialogue; post-Inst. oblation			Second prayer for acceptance	
<i>Lit. Nest.</i>		Pre-Sanctus oblation	Pre-Sanctus oblation (unslain)	post-Inst. Oblation (plus <i>glorified &amp; exalted</i> )	Pre- and post-Sanctus oblation; post-Inst. oblation	post-Sanctus oblation; post-Inst. oblation	Pre-Sanctus oblation; post-Inst. oblation				post-Inst. Oblation (spotless)



**Appendix H: Comparison of unique sequence in the Roman Canon and Lit. Theo. with other early anaphoras**

	<i>Lit. Theo.</i>	Roman Canon	<i>Lit. Mark</i>	<i>Lit. Egy. Basil</i>	<i>Lit. Basil</i>	<i>Lit. 12</i>	<i>Lit. Chry.</i>	<i>Lit. James</i>
<b>1. a prayer of oblation combined with a prayer for acceptance</b>	yes	yes	Oblation only; acceptance is much later	Oblation only	--	Oblation only	--	Oblation only
<b>2. intercession for the church (specifically for its peace, protection, and unity), including the hierarchy</b>	yes	yes	Church; general peace	Yes; includes peace (but epiclesis & other prayers intrude)	Yes	Church only (unity but not peace)	Not here	2 and 3 reversed
<b>3. prayer for salvation and forgiveness</b>	yes	yes	yes	--	--	3 and 4 reversed	Yes	2 and 3 reversed
<b>4. prayer for those for whom the oblation is offered</b>	yes	yes	Yes; joined to prayer for acceptance	yes	yes	3 and 4 reversed	Not here	yes
<b>5. use of the term "sacrifice of praise"</b>	yes	yes	--	--	--	--	--	--
<b>6. mention of the apostles, martyrs, etc.</b>	yes	yes	Earlier, before prayer for acceptance	yes	yes	yes	Not here	Yes

**Appendix I: The Roman Canon, Lit. Theo., Lit. Nest., and Lit. STR,<sup>882</sup> with special attention to the unique relationship between the Canon and Lit. Theo.**

- Material that is common between only the Roman Canon and *Lit. Theo.* (CAPITALS)
- Material that is common between the Roman Canon, *Lit. Theo.* and *Lit. Nest.* (**bold**)
- Material that is common between all four anaphoras (**bold underline**).
- Material that is common between the Roman Canon, *Lit. Theo.*, and Strasbourg (**bold underline italics**)
- Material that is common between only *Lit. Theo.* and *Lit. Nest.* (underline)
- Material that is common between only the Roman Canon and *Lit. Nest.* (*underline italics*)
- Material that is common between only *Lit. Nest.* and Strasbourg (**bold italics**)
- Material that is common between only *Lit. Theo.*, *Lit. Nest.* and Strasbourg (*italics*)

Roman Canon	Lit. Theo.	Lit. Nest.	Strasbourg
<p><i>Te igitur</i>            1 Therefore, WE HUMBLY            PRAY AND ENTREAT YOU,            most merciful Father, through            your Son Jesus Christ our Lord,            TO ACCEPT and bless these gifts,            THESE OFFERINGS, these <b>holy</b>  <u>unblemished</u> sacrifices;</p> <p>these, above all, <u>we offer</u></p>	<p>...And we offer before your            glorious Trinity...this living and  <b>holy</b> and acceptable            sacrifice...WE BESEECH YOU            AND DESIRE FROM YOU,            THAT your adorable Divinity, my            Lord, may be well pleased and in            your mercifulness THIS PURE            AND HOLY OFFERING MAY            BE ACCEPTED...            ...this oblation is <u>offered</u>...</p>	<p>We offer to you <b>this sacrifice</b>,            living and <b>holy</b> and acceptable and            glorified and awful and lofty and  <u>unblemished</u></p> <p>on behalf all creatures.</p>	<p>...we offer the reasonable            sacrifice and this bloodless            service, which all the nations offer            you [.,Lord,] "from sunrise to            sunset," from north to south, [for]            your "name is great among all the            nations, and in every place incense            is offered to your name and a <u>pure</u>            sacrifice."            Over this sacrifice and offering            we pray and beseech you,            remember</p>

<sup>882</sup> The English text of *Lit. Theo.* and *Lit. Nest.* are taken from Bryan D. Spinks, *Mar Nestorius and Mar Theodore, the Interpreter: The Forgotten Eucharistic Prayers of East Syria*, JLS 45/Gorgias Liturgical Series 44 (Cambridge/Piscataway, NJ: Grove Books/Gorgias Press, 1999). Strasbourg is taken from *PEER*, 53-54.

Roman Canon	Lit. Theo.	Lit. Nest.	Strasbourg
<p>for <u>your holy catholic Church</u>;</p> <p>to GRANT HER PEACE,</p> <p>to PROTECT,</p> <p>UNITE</p> <p>and govern her throughout the world, together with your servant n. our pope, for n. our <b>bishop</b>,</p>	<p>on behalf of all your <u>holy Catholic Church</u>,</p> <p>THAT YOUR TRANQUILITY AND PEACE MAY DWELL IN IT ALL THE DAYS OF THE WORLD. ...</p> <p>LET PERSECUTIONS AND TUMULTS AND STRIFES AND SCHISMS AND DIVISIONS BE REMOVED FROM IT,</p> <p>and let us all ADHERE TO ONE ANOTHER IN UNANIMITY, with a pure heart and with perfect love.</p> <p>And on behalf of <u>all our fathers the bishops</u></p> <p>and <u>perioideutae and priests</u></p> <p>and <u>deacons who are in this ministry of truth...</u></p>	<p>And on behalf of the <u>holy apostolic and Catholic Church</u>, which is from one end of the earth to the other, THAT YOU WOULD PRESERVE IT FROM ALL VIOLENT DISTURBANCE AND HARM FROM ALL OCCASIONS OF STUMBLING. ...</p> <p>And on behalf of <u>all our Fathers</u>, the <b>Bishops</b> in every place, who proclaim the right word of faith of the truth. And on behalf of all the priests who serve before you in faith and in righteousness and in the holiness of truth. And on behalf of all the deacons who hold <u>the mystery of faith</u><sup>1</sup> in a pure conscience. ...</p>	<p><u>your holy and only Catholic Church</u>, all your peoples and flocks. Provide the peace which is from heaven in all our hearts, and grant us also the peace of this life...</p>

<sup>1</sup> This phrase is used in the *Qui pridie*, the institution narrative over the cup, in the Roman Canon.

<p><b>Roman Canon</b> and for <i>all the orthodox</i> who hold the catholic and apostolic faith.</p>	<p><b>Lit. Theo.</b> And on behalf of <i>all the children of the holy Catholic Church here and in every place</i>, that they may grow in the worship of your lordship in faith and truth and in good and virtuous works, <b>for the salvation of their lives.</b> ...</p>	<p><b>Lit. Nest.</b></p>	<p><b>Strasbourg</b> ...<i>for all of us who call upon your name, for all who hope in you.</i></p>
<p><i>Memento, domine</i> 2 REMEMBER, Lord, YOUR SERVANTS and handmaids and all who stand around, whose faith and devotion are known to you, FOR WHOM WE OFFER TO YOU and who offer to you</p> <p>THIS SACRIFICE OF PRAISE:</p> <p>for themselves, <b>for the redemption of their souls,</b> <b>for the hope of their salvation</b> and safety, to pay their vows to you the eternal God, living and true;</p> <p><i>Communicantes</i> 3 In fellowship and venerating above all the memory of the glorious ever-virgin Mary, mother of God and of our Lord Jesus Christ,</p>	<p>And FOR ALL THOSE FOR WHOM THIS OBLATION IS OFFERED, that they may acquire mercy and favor before you and live... ...receive from us THIS SACRIFICE OF PRAISE, which is the reasonable fruit of our lips that it may be a good memorial before you</p>	<p>And whatever therefore my Lord we mortal humans have transgressed and sinned, remit and forgive and remove and pardon, you the Gracious one who in your compassion govern all...</p>	

Roman Canon	Lit. Theo.	Lit. Nest.	Strasbourg
<p>and also your blessed <u>apostles</u> and <u>martyrs</u>, <u>Peter</u>, <u>Paul</u>, <u>Andrew</u>, <u>James</u>, <u>John</u>, <u>Thomas</u>, <u>James</u>, <u>Phillip</u>, <u>Bartholomew</u>, <u>Matthew</u>, <u>Simon</u> and <u>Thaddeus</u>, <u>Linus</u>, <u>Cletus</u>, <u>Clement</u>, <u>Xystus</u>, <u>Cornelius</u>, <u>Cyprian</u>, <u>Laurence</u>, <u>Chrysogonus</u>, <u>John</u> and <u>Paul</u>, <u>Cosmas</u> and <u>Damian</u>,<sup>2</sup> and all your <u>saints</u>;</p> <p>by whose merits and prayers grant us by the protection of your help in all things;</p>	<p>for the <u>righteous</u> of old [?],</p> <p>the holy <u>prophets</u>, of the blessed <u>apostles</u>, the <u>martyrs</u></p> <p>[<u>martyrs</u>] and <u>confessors</u>, and <u>bishops</u> and <u>teachers</u>,</p> <p>and <u>priests</u> and <u>deacons</u></p> <p>and of all the children of your holy Catholic Church who in faith in truth departed from this world</p>	<p>We ask you ... that you would remember over this offering,</p> <p>the <u>fathers</u> and <u>patriarchs</u> [?],</p> <p>and <u>prophets</u> and <u>apostles</u>;</p> <p>and the <u>martyrs</u> and <u>confessors</u>, <u>bishops</u> and <u>teachers</u>,</p> <p>and <u>priests</u> and <u>deacons</u> and all the sons of our ministry, who have gone forth from this world;</p> <p>and all those who in faith in truth have departed from this world, whose names you know;</p>	<p>Give rest to the souls of those who have fallen asleep; remember those of whom we make mention today, both those who names we say [and] whose we do not say ... [Remember] our orthodox <u>fathers</u> and <u>bishops</u> everywhere; and grant us to have a part and lot with the fair ... [<u>fragment</u>] of your holy <u>prophets</u>, <u>apostles</u>,  and <u>martyrs</u>...</p>

<sup>2</sup> In the names of the twelve martyrs ("Linus...Damian"), the first six are bishops, the next two priests, and the last four are laymen.

<b>Roman Canon</b>	<b>Lit. Theo.</b>	<b>Lit. Nest.</b>	<b>Strasbourg</b>
<p><i>Hanc igitur</i>  4 Therefore, Lord, we pray you be pleased to accept this oblation of our service, and also of your whole family, and to order our days in your peace, and to command that we be delivered from eternal damnation and be numbered among the flock of your elect;</p>	<p>that in your grace, my Lord, you will</p> <p>    <b>pardon all their sins and offenses, which in this world in a mortal body and in an immutable soul, they sinned and offended before you...</b></p>	<p>    <b>absolving and forgiving them, whatsoever they have sinned or transgressed before you, as humans prone to evil and liable to natural passions.</b></p>	

## Appendix J: The Roman Canon, footnoted uses of Scripture

0 Dominus vobiscum <sup>883</sup> /	0 The Lord be with you /
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<sup>883</sup> **Gen 26:3** – “Sojourn in this land, and I will be with you [erogue tecum], and will bless you.” Similar passages, “I [God] will be with you:” Gen 31:3; Ex 3:12; 18:19; Dt 31:23; Josh 1:5; 3:7; 7:12; Judg 6:16; 1 Kg 11:38; Is 43:2;

**Gen 48:21** – “Then Israel said to Joseph, “Behold, I am about to die, but God will be with you [erit Deus vobiscum], and will bring you again to the land of your fathers.” Similar passages, “The Lord [will] [not] be with you:” Ex 10:10; Num 14:43; Dt 31:8; Josh 1:17; 1 Sam 17:37; 1 Sam 20:13; 2 Sam 14:17; 1 Chron 22:11; 22:16; 2 Chron 20:17

**Ex 24:9** – “Behold the blood of the covenant which the LORD has made with you [pepigit Dominus vobiscum] in accordance with all these words.”

**Num 14:43** – “because you have turned back from following the LORD, the LORD will not be with you [non enim est Dominus vobiscum].”

**Judges 6:12** – “And the angel of the LORD appeared to him and said to him, “The LORD is with you [Dominus tecum], you mighty man of valor.” (Eizenhöfer)

**Ruth 2:4** – “And behold, Boaz came from Bethlehem; and he said to the reapers, “The LORD be with you [Dominus vobiscum]!” And they answered, “The LORD bless you [Benedicat tibi Dominus].”

**2 Chron 15:1-2** – “The Spirit of God came upon Azariah the son of Oded,<sup>2</sup> and he went out to meet Asa, and said to him, “Hear me, Asa, and all Judah and Benjamin: The LORD is with you [Dominus vobiscum], while you are with him.”

**2 Chron 19:11** – “And behold, Amariah the chief priest is over you in all matters of the LORD; and Zebadiah the son of Ishmael, the governor of the house of Judah, in all the king’s matters; and the Levites will serve you as officers. Deal courageously, and may the LORD be with the upright [et erit Dominus vobiscum in bonis]!”

**2 Chron 20:17** – “Fear not, and be not dismayed; tomorrow go out against them, and the LORD will be with you [Dominus erit vobiscum].”

**Dan 10:19** – “And he said, “O man greatly beloved, fear not, peace be with you [pax tecum]; be strong and of good courage.” And when he spoke to me, I was strengthened and said, “Let my lord speak, for you have strengthened me.””

**Amos 5:14** – “Seek good, and not evil, that you may live; and so the LORD, the God of hosts, will be with you [erit Dominus Deus exercituum vobiscum], as you have said.”

**Matt 28:20** – “...teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you [ego vobiscum sum] always, to the close of the age.” (Eizenhöfer)

**Luke 1:22** – “And the angel came to her and said, “Hail, O favored one, the Lord is with you [Dominus tecum]!” (Eizenhöfer)

**John 20:19** – “Jesus came and stood among them and said to them, “Peace be with you [Pax vobis].” Repeated in Jn 20:21, 26

**Rom 15:33** – “The God of peace be with you all [Deus autem pacis sit cum omnibus vobis]. Amem.”

**Rom 16:20** – “The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you [Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi cum omnibus vobis].” Repeated in I Thes 5:28; 2 Thess 3:18

**1 Cor 16:23** – “The grace of the Lord Jesus be with you [Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi vobiscum].”

Et cum spiritu tuo. Sursum corda <sup>884</sup> / Habemus ad dominum. Gratias agamus domino deo nostro / Dignum et iustum est. <sup>885</sup>	And with your spirit. Up with your hearts/ We have them with the Lord Let us give thanks to the Lord our God / It is fitting and right.
<b>0 Vere dignum</b> et iustum est aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agree, domine, sancte Pater omnipotens aeternae Deus : per Christum dominum nostrum. [ <i>Proper preface inserted here</i> ] Per quem maiestatem tuam laudant angeli, adorant dominationes, tremunt potestates, <sup>886</sup> caeli caelorumque virtutes ac beata seraphim socia exultatione concelebrant.	<b>0</b> It is truly fitting and right, our duty and our salvation, that we should always and everywhere give thanks unto you, O holy Lord, Almighty Father, eternal God, through Christ our Lord [ <i>Proper preface inserted here</i> ] through whom Angels praise your majesty, Dominions adore, Powers tremble, the heavens and the heavenly Virtues with the

**2 Cor 13:11** – “The God of love and peace will be with you [*Deus pacis et dilectionis erit vobiscum*].” Repeated (minus *dilectionis*) in **Phil 4:9** – “What you have learned and received and heard and seen in me, do; and the God of peace will be with you [*pacis erit vobiscum*].”

**2 Cor 13:14** – “The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you all [*Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et caritas Dei, et communicatio Sancti Spiritus sit cum omnibus vobis*].”

**Gal 6:18** – “The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit [*Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi cum spiritu vestro*], brethren.” (Eizenhöfer)

**Phil 4:23/Phlm 25** – “The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit [*Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi cum spiritu vestro*].” (Eizenhöfer)

**Col 4:18** – “I, Paul, write this greeting with my own hand. Remember my fetters. Grace be with you [*Gratia vobiscum*].”

**2 Thes 3:16** – “Now may the Lord of peace himself give you peace at all times in all ways. The Lord be with you all [*Dominus sit cum omnibus vobis*].”

**1 Tim 6:21** – “Grace be with you [*Gratia tecum*].”

**2 Tim 4:22** – “*Gratia vobiscum*.”

**Titus 3:15** – “*Gratia Dei cum omnibus vobis*.”

<sup>884</sup> **Lam 3:41** – “Let us lift up our hearts [*Levemus corda nostra*] and hands to God in heaven.” (Eizenhöfer)

**John 11:17** – “Jesus lifted up his eyes [*elevatis sursum oculis*] and said...” (Eizenhöfer)

<sup>885</sup> Botte (1935) cites four sources: *ApostTrad* 4.iii; Cyprian *De dom. Or.* 31; Augustine, *Miscellanea agostiniana*, Romae, I, 30-31; *Const. ap.* 8.12.4-5.

<sup>886</sup> **Ps 148:2** – “Praise him, all his angels, praise him, all his host! [*Laudate eum, omnes angeli ejus; laudate eum, omnes virtutes ejus*].”

**Eph 1:20-21** – “when he raised him from the dead and made him sit at his right hand in the heavenly places [*in caelestibus*],<sup>21</sup> far above all rule [*supra omnem principatum*] and authority [*et potestatem*] and power [*et virtutem*] and dominion [*et dominationem*], and above every name that is named”

**Col 1:16** – “for in him all things were created, in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones [*throni*] or dominions [*dominationes*] or principalities [*principatus*] or authorities [*potestates*]<sup>21</sup>—all things were created through him and for him.”



Cum quibus et nostras voces ut admitti iubeas deprecamur supplici confessione dicentes:	blessed Seraphim join in exultant celebration. We pray you, bid our voices also be admitted with theirs, supplicating, confessing, and saying
<b>0 Sanctus sanctus sanctus</b> dominus deus sabaoth. Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua. <sup>887</sup> Hosanna in excelsis.	<b>0</b> Holy, holy, holy Lord God of Sabaoth. Heaven and earth are full of your glory. Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is he who

<sup>887</sup> **Is 6:3** – “Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory [Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus Dominus, Deus exercituum; plena est omnis terra gloria ejus; Ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος σαβαωθ, πλήρης πᾶσα ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ].”

**Questions of Is 29** – ““Around him are incorporeal seraphim, six-winged cherubim: With two wings they cover their face, and with two wings their feet, and flying with two, they cry, 'Holy, Holy, (Holy) Lord of Hosts, the heaven and earth are full of your glory. Such guardians stand around the throne of the Divinity.” (Charlesworth I:598) This is the only source that has the first part of the Sanctus identically.

**1En 39:12** – “” (Charlesworth I:31)

**2En 21:1** – “” (Charlesworth I:134)

**3En 1:2** – “” (Charlesworth I:257)

**3En 40:2** – “” (Charlesworth I:291)

**Appex3En 21:7** – “” (Charlesworth I:305)

**Appex3En 48:1** – “” (Charlesworth I:310) One of YHWH’s 70 names

**Appex3En 48:1** – “” (Charlesworth I:310)

**QuestEz 29** – “” (Charlesworth I:598)

**TestAb 3:2-3** – “beside the road there stood a cypress tree. And by the command of God the tree cried out in a human voice and said, “Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God who is summoning him to those who love him.” (Charlesworth I:883)

**TestSol 26:** manuscript variation “After the comment about Solomon's death and burial in Jerusalem” (v. 9 of the reconstructed text), MS H continues vv. 9f.: “And the Temple of the LORD God, in which a river has its source under his throne, was completed, in which there stood ten thousand angels and a thousand archangels, and cherubim shouting and seraphim calling and saying, ‘Holy, holy, holy, Lord Sabaoth,’ and ‘blessed are you forever and ever. Amen.’” James H. Charlesworth, ed., *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols. (Garden City, N.Y: Doubleday, 1983), I:987, note f.

**TestFaAdam 1:4-5** – ““The fourth hour is the “holy, holy, holy” praise of the seraphim. And so I used to hear, before I sinned, the sound of their wings in Paradise when the seraphim would beat them to the sound of their triple praise. But after I transgressed against the law, I no longer heard that sound.” (Charlesworth I:993)

**TestFaAdam 1:4-5** – “These other orders, thrones and seraphim and cherubim, stand before the majesty of our Lord Jesus the Messiah and serve the throne of his magnificence, glorifying him hourly with their “holy, holy, holy.” The cherubim bear up and reverence his throne and keep the seals; the seraphim serve the inner chamber of our Lord; the thrones guard the gate of the holy of holies. This is truly the explanation of the services according to the plan of the angels in this world.” (Charlesworth I:995)

**ApocAb 16:3** – ““He whom you will see coming directly toward us in a great sound of sanctification is the Eternal One who has loved you. You will not look at him himself.” Other manuscripts substitute “three-fold Sanctus” for “sound of sanctification,” or simply add after it, “saying, ‘holy, holy, holy.””

Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini. Hosanna in excelsis. <sup>888</sup>	comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.
<b>1 Te igitur</b> , clementissime pater, per Iesum Christum filium tuum dominum nostrum supplices rogamus <sup>889</sup> ac petimus, uti accepta habeas <sup>890</sup> et benedicas haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata, <sup>891</sup> in primis quae tibi offerimus	<b>1 Therefore</b> , we humbly pray and entreat you, most merciful Father, through your Son Jesus Christ our Lord, to accept and bless these gifts, these offerings, these holy unblemished sacrifices; these, above all, we

**Rev 4:8** – “And the four living creatures, each of them with six wings, are full of eyes all round and within, and day and night they never cease to sing, ‘Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God Almighty, who was and is and is to come! [Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus omnipotens, qui erat, et qui est, et qui venturus est; ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος.]”

<sup>888</sup> **Mt 21:9, 15** – “Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord! Hosanna in the highest! [Hosanna filio David: benedictus, qui venit in nomine Domini: hosanna in altissimis; ὠσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαυὶδ· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου· ὠσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις.]” The first sentence is repeated verbatim in 21:15.

**Mark 11:9-10** – “Hosanna! Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord! Blessed is the kingdom of our father David that is coming! Hosanna in the highest! [Hosanna: benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini: <sup>10</sup> benedictum quod venit regnum patris nostri David: hosanna in excelsis; ὠσαννὰ· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου· **10** εὐλογημένη ἢ ἐρχομένη βασιλεία τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Δαυὶδ· ὠσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις.]”

**John 12:13** – “Hosanna! Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord, even the King of Israel [Hosanna, benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini, rex Israël; ὠσαννὰ· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου,[καὶ] ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ!]” (Mk and Jn from Botte 1952)

<sup>889</sup> **Heb 5:7** – “In the days of his flesh, Jesus offered up prayers and supplications [preces, supplicationesque], with loud cries and tears, to him who was able to save him from death, and he was heard for his godly fear.”

<sup>890</sup> **Heb 11:4** – “By faith Abel offered to God a more acceptable sacrifice [plurimam hostiam] than Cain, through which he received approval as righteous, God bearing witness by accepting his gifts.”

**1 Peter 2:5** – “and like living stones be yourselves built into a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ [et ipsi tamquam lapides vivi superaedificamini, domus spiritualis, sacerdotium sanctum, offerre spirituales hostias, acceptabiles Deo per Iesum Christum].”

<sup>891</sup> **Ex 29:18** – “And thou shalt offer the whole ram for a burnt offering upon the altar: it is an oblation to the Lord, a most sweet savour of the victim of the Lord [et offeres totum arietem in incensum super altare oblatio est Domini odor suavissimus victimae Dei].”

**Heb 9:14** – “how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without blemish to God [obtulit immaculatum Deo], purify your conscience from dead works to serve the living God.”

**Eph 5:2** – “Walk in love, as Christ loved us and gave himself up for us, a fragrant offering and sacrifice to God] [tradidit se ipsum pro nobis oblationem et hostiam Deo in odorem suavitatis; παρέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν προσφορὰν καὶ θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ εἰς ὄσμην εὐωδίας]

**Phil 4:18** – “I am filled, having received from Epaphroditus the gifts you sent, a fragrant offering, a sacrifice acceptable and pleasing to God [odorem suavitatis hostiam acceptam placentem Deo; ὄσμην εὐωδίας, θυσίαν δεκτὴν, εὐάρεστον τῷ θεῷ].

Gifts that are First fruits: Ex 23:16-19; 34:22-26; Lev 2:12-14; 23:9-22 Num 18:12-13 (including bread and wine); Deut 26; 1 Cor 15:20-23 (Christ as first fruits)

Mal 1:11 (a sacrifice offered in every place)

pro ecclesia tua sancta catholica, quam pacificare, custodire, adunare et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum, una cum famulo tuo papa nostro n., et antistite nostro n. et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholicae at apostolicae fidei cultoribus. <sup>892</sup>	offer for your holy catholic Church; to grant her peace, to protect, unite and govern her throughout the world, together with your servant n. our pope, for n. our bishop, and for all the orthodox who hold the catholic and apostolic faith.
<b>2 Memento, domine</b> , famulorum famularumque tuarum <sup>893</sup> et omnium circumstantium, quorum tibi fides cognita est et nota devotion, pro quibus tibi offerimus vel qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis <sup>894</sup>	<b>2 Remember, Lord</b> , your servants and handmaidens and all who stand around, whose faith and devotion are known to you, for whom we offer to you and who offer to you this sacrifice of praise:

<sup>892</sup> Botte and *PE* omit the following clause found in latter editions that conclude this section: “et antistite nostro N. et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholicae at apostolicae fidei cultoribus.”

<sup>893</sup> Names were able to be inserted here in the 1474 missal (*PE* 428)

<sup>894</sup> Lev 7:11-15

**Ps 50[49]:14** – “Offer to God a sacrifice of thanksgiving [*sacrificium laudis*; θυσίαν αινέσεως], and pay your vows to the Most High.”

**Ps 49:23** – “He who brings thanksgiving as his sacrifice honors me [*tunc acceptabis sacrificium iustitiae oblationes*].”

Ps 51:17[50:19] – “

**Ps 106:22** – “And let them offer sacrifices of thanksgiving [*sacrificium laudis*], and tell of his deeds in songs of joy!”

Ps 115:17[116:17] – “

**Tobit 8:19** – “And thou hast taken pity upon two only children. Make them, O Lord, bless thee more fully: and to offer up to thee a sacrifice of thy praise [*sacrificium tibi laudis*], and of their health, that all nations may know, that thou alone art God in all the earth.” [note that this is found only in the Vulgate, but not in LXX or in English translations]

**Ps 115:8[116:17]** – “I will offer to thee the sacrifice of thanksgiving [*sacrificabo hostiam laudis*] and call on the name of the LORD.”

2 Chron. 29:31 – “

**2 Chron. 33:16** – “He [Manasseh] also restored the altar of the LORD and offered upon it sacrifices of peace offerings and of thanksgiving [*immolavit super illud victimas et pacifica et laudem*]; and he commanded Judah to serve the LORD the God of Israel.”

**Amos 4:4-5** – ““Come to Bethel, and transgress; to Gilgal, and multiply transgression; bring [offerte] your sacrifices every morning, your tithes every three days; offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving of that which is leavened [*sacrificate de fermentato laudem*], and proclaim freewill offerings, publish them.”

**Jonah 2:10[2:9]** – “But I with the voice of thanksgiving will sacrifice to thee [ego autem in voce laudis immolabo tibi]; what I have vowed I will pay.”

**1 Macc. 4:56** – “So they celebrated the dedication of the altar for eight days, and offered burnt offerings with gladness; they offered a sacrifice of deliverance and praise [*“obtulerunt holocausta cum laetitia et salutaria laudis*].

**Heb 13:15** – “Through him then let us continually offer up a sacrifice of praise [*offeramus hostiam laudis*; θυσίαν αινέσεως] to God.”

pro se suisque omnibus, pro redemptione <sup>895</sup> animarum suarum, <sup>896</sup> pro spe <sup>897</sup> salutis et incolumitatis suae tibi reddunt <sup>898</sup> vota sua aeterno deo vivo <sup>899</sup> et vero.	for themselves, for the redemption of their souls, for the hope of their salvation and safety, to pay their vows to you the eternal God, living and true;
<b>3 Communicantes</b> <sup>900</sup> et memoriam venerantes in primis gloriosae semper Virginis Mariae genetricis	<b>3 In fellowship</b> and venerating above all the memory of the glorious ever-virgin

**1 Clem. 35:12** – “The sacrifice of praise will glorify me, and that is the way by which I will show him the salvation of God.”

**1 Clem. 52:3** – “And again he says: “Sacrifice to God a sacrifice of praise, and pay your vows to the Most High; call upon me in the day of your affliction, and I will deliver you, and you will glorify me.”

<sup>895</sup> **Ps 49[48]:7-9** – “<sup>7</sup> Truly no man can ransom himself [redemptionis animæ suæ; λυτρώσεως τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ], or give to God the price of his life, <sup>8</sup> for the ransom of his life is costly, and can never suffice,<sup>9</sup> that he should continue to live on for ever, and never see the Pit.” (Botte 1953)

**Rom 8:23** – “and not only the creation, but we ourselves, who have the first fruits of the Spirit, groan inwardly as we wait for adoption as sons, the redemption of our bodies [redemptionem corporis nostri].”

**Heb 9:14** – “how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without blemish to God [obtulit immaculatum Deo], purify your conscience from dead works to serve the living God.”

<sup>896</sup> **Ps 48:7-8[49:8-9]** – “Truly no man can ransom himself, or give to God the price of his life, for the ransom of his life [redemptionis animæ suæ] is costly, and can never suffice.”

Ps 33:23; 54:19; 70:23; 71:14

<sup>897</sup> **1 Thess 5:8** – “Since we belong to the day, let us be sober, and put on the breastplate of faith and love, and for a helmet the hope of salvation [galeam spem salutis; περικεφαλαίαν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας].” (Botte 1953)

**Heb 6:19** – “We have this as a sure and steadfast anchor of the soul, a hope that enters into the inner shrine behind the curtain.”

<sup>898</sup> **Ps 50[49]:14** – “Offer to God a sacrifice of thanksgiving, and pay your vows [redde Altissimo vota tua; ἀπόδος τῷ ὑψίστῳ τὰς εὐχὰς σου] to the Most High.”

**Ps 66[65]:13**: “I will come into thy house with burnt offerings; I will pay thee my vows [reddam tibi vota mea; ἀποδώσω σοι τὰς εὐχὰς μου].”

**Ps 116[115]:12-14**: “<sup>12</sup> What shall I render to the LORD for all his bounty to me? <sup>13</sup> I will lift up the cup of salvation and call on the name of the LORD, <sup>14</sup> I will pay my vows to the LORD [Vota mea Domino reddam; τὰς εὐχὰς μου τῷ κυρίῳ ἀποδώσω] in the presence of all his people.” (all from Botte 1953)

<sup>899</sup> **1 Thess 1:9** – “...you turned to God from idols, to serve a living and true God [Deo vivo, et vero; θεῷ ζῶντι καὶ ἀληθινῷ]” (Botte 1935, 1953)

**Heb 9:14** – “how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without blemish to God [obtulit immaculatum Deo], purify your conscience from dead works to serve the living God.”

<sup>900</sup> **Rom 12:13** – “Contribute to the needs of the saints [necessitatibus sanctorum communicantes; χρεΐαις τῶν ἁγίων κοινωνοῦντες]...” (Botte 1953, citing Optatus of Milève 11.4)

a) Passages that use *communicatio* or *communio*/κοινωνία connected to the Eucharist:

<p>dei et domini nostri Iesu Christi, sed et beatorum apostolorum ac martyrum tuorum Petri et Pauli, Andreae, Iacobi, Ioannis, Thomae, Iacobi, Philippi, Bartholomaei, Matthaei, Simonis et Thaddaei, Lini, Cleti, Clementis, Xysti, Cornelii, Cypriani, Laurentii, Chrysogoni, Ionnis et Pauli, Cosmae et Damiani et omnium sanctorum tuorum, quorum meritis precibusque concedas, ut in omnibus protectionis tuae muniamur auxilio,<sup>901</sup> [per Christum dominum nostrum. Amen.]</p>	<p>Mary, mother of God and of our Lord Jesus Christ, and also your blessed apostles and martyrs, Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James, Phillip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Thaddeus, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Xystus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Laurence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian, and all your saints; by whose merits and prayers grant us by the protection of your help in all things;</p>
<p><b>4 Hanc igitur</b> oblationem servitutis nostrae sed et cunctae familiae tuae,<sup>902</sup> quaesumus, domine, ut placatus<sup>903</sup> accipias diesque nostros in tua pace</p>	<p><b>4 Therefore</b>, Lord, we pray you be pleased to accept this oblation of our service, and also of your whole family, and to order our</p>

**Acts 2:42** – “And they devoted themselves to the apostles’ teaching and fellowship [communication; κοινωνία], to the breaking of bread [fractionis panis; κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου] and the prayers.” In **Heb 13:16**, κοινωνία is a sacrifice pleasing to God.

**1 Cor 10:16** – “The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a participation in the blood of Christ [communicatio sanguinis Christi; κοινωνία ἐστὶν τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ]? The bread which we break, is it not a participation in the body of Christ [participatio corporis Domini; κοινωνία ἐστὶν τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ]?”

b) Passages that use *communicatio* or *communio*/κοινωνία to refer to communion/fellowship between Christians: 2 Cor 6:15; Phil 1:5; Philem 6; I John 1:3, 7;

c) Passages that use *communicatio* or *communio*/κοινωνία and the word “saints”: Rom 15:26; 2 Cor 8:4

d) Passages that use *communicatio* or *communio*/κοινωνία and connected to the Holy Spirit/God: 1 Cor 1:9; 2 Cor 13:13; Phil 2:1; 3:10; I John 1:6

<sup>901</sup> [Per (eundem) Christum Dominum nostrum.]

<sup>902</sup> **Eph 3:14-15** – “<sup>14</sup> For this reason I bow my knees before the Father, <sup>15</sup> from whom every family [lit. “from whom all fatherhood/paternity”] in heaven and on earth is named...”

**Gal 4:4-7** – “<sup>4</sup> But when the time had fully come, God sent forth his Son, born of woman, born under the law, <sup>5</sup> to redeem those who were under the law, so that we might receive adoption as sons. <sup>6</sup> And because you are sons, God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, “Abba! Father!” <sup>7</sup> So through God you are no longer a slave but a son, and if a son then an heir.” (The connection is thematic, not linguistic)

<sup>903</sup> **Ex 28:38** – “It [“a plate of pure gold” engraved with the words “Holy to the LORD” and fastened “on the turban by a lace of blue”] shall be upon Aaron’s forehead, and Aaron shall take upon himself any guilt incurred in the holy offering which the people of Israel hallow as their holy gifts; it shall always be upon his forehead, that they may be accepted before the LORD [ut placatus sit eis Dominus; δεκτὸν αὐτοῖς ἐναντι κυρίου].”

**Ez 16:60, 63** – “I will remember my covenant with you in the days of your youth, ... <sup>63</sup> that you may remember and be confounded, and never open your mouth again because of your shame, when I forgive you all that you have done, says the Lord GOD [cum placatus tibi fuero in omnibus quae fecisti, ait Dominus Deus; ἐν τῷ ἐξιλάσκεσθαί με σοι κατὰ πάντα, ὅσα ἐποίησας, λέγει κύριος].”

**Ez 43:27** – “[v. 18 “These are the ordinances for the altar...” followed by instructions for sin offerings] Seven days shall they make atonement for the altar and purify it, and so consecrate it. <sup>27</sup> And when they have completed these days, then from the eighth day onward the priests shall offer upon the altar

disponas atque ab aeterna damnatione nos eripi et in electorum tuorum iubeas grege numerari <sup>904 905</sup> , [per Christum dominum nostrum. Amen.]	days in your peace, and to command that we be delivered from eternal damnation and be numbered among the flock of your elect;
<b>5 Quam oblationem</b> tu, deus, in omnibus, quaesumus, benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris, <sup>906</sup> ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi filii tui domini nostri Iesu Christi. <sup>907</sup>	<b>5 Which oblation</b> , we beseech you, O God, to make bless, approved, ratified, spiritual (reasonable) and acceptable, that it may be(come) the Body and Blood of your dearly beloved Son, Jesus Christ our Lord;
<b>6 Qui pridie</b> quam pateretur accepit panem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas et elevatis oculis in caelum ad te deum patrem suum omnipotentem tibi gratias agens benedixit fregit deditque discipulis suis dicens:  Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes, hoc est enim corpus meum. <sup>908</sup>	<b>6 Who, on the day</b> before he suffered, he took bread in his holy and venerable hands, and lifting his eyes toward heaven to you, O God, his almighty Father, gave you thanks, blessed, broke, and gave it to his disciples saying: Take and eat from this, all of you: for this is my body.
<b>7 Simili modo</b> postquam cenatum est accipiens et hunc praeclarum <sup>909</sup> calicem in sanctas ac	<b>7 In a similar way</b> , after supper, taking also this glorious cup in his holy and

your burnt offerings and your peace offerings; and I will accept you, says the Lord GOD [et placatus ero vobis, ait Dominus Deus; και προσδέξομαι ὑμᾶς, λέγει κύριος].”

<sup>904</sup> This idea is a wide one on the New Testament; the parables of **Mat 25**, especially the separation of the sheep from the goats. Think also of the reference to the “book of life,” in **Phil 4:3** (“And I ask you also, true yokefellow, help these women, for they have labored side by side with me in the gospel together with Clement and the rest of my fellow workers, whose names are in the book of life”) and throughout Rev (3:5; 13:18; 17:8; 20:12, 15; 21:27; 22:19).

<sup>905</sup> [Per Christum Dominum nostrum.]

<sup>906</sup> **Rom 12:1** [*παραστήσαι τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν θυσίαν ζῶσαν ἁγίαν εὐάρεστον τῷ θεῷ, τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ὑμῶν / present your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, which is your λογικὴν worship*]

**TestLevi 3:4-6** – “There with him are the archangels, who serve and offer propitiatory sacrifices to the Lord [οἱ λειτουργοῦντες και ἐξιλασκόμενοι πρὸς κύριον] in behalf of all the sins of ignorance of the righteous ones. They present to the Lord a pleasing odor, a rational and bloodless oblation [λογικὴν και ἀναμιακτον προσφοράν].”

**1 Pet 2:5** – “like living stones be yourselves built into a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ [sacerdotium sanctum offerre spiritalis hostias acceptabiles Deo per Iesum Christum; ἀνερέγκαι πνευματικὰς θυσίας εὐπροσδέκτους [τῷ] θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ].”

<sup>907</sup> **1 Cor 10:18, 21** [Consider the practice of Israel; are not those who eat the sacrifices partners in the altar? ... You cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of demons. You cannot partake of the table of the Lord and the table of demons.]

<sup>908</sup> **Ma 26:26-28; Mk 14:22-25; Lu 22:19-20; 1 Cor 11:23-26**. “on the night” is closest to 1 Cor 11:23; both Luke and 1 Cor add, “Do this in remembrance of me” for the bread. Only 1 Cor 11:25 has “Do this in remembrance” for the cup.

<sup>909</sup> **Ps 23[22]:5** – “Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of my enemies; ... my cup overflows [impinguasti in oleo caput meum; και τὸ ποτήριόν σου μεθύσκον ὡς κράτιστον].” (Botte 1953)

<p>venerabiles manus suas item tibi gratias agens benedixit deditque discipulis suis dicens: Accipite et bibite ex eo omnes, hic est enim calix sanguinis mei novi et aeterni testamenti,<sup>910</sup> mysterium fidei,<sup>911</sup> qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum.</p> <p>Haec quotiescumque feceritis, in mei memoriam facietis.</p>	<p>venerable hands, again he gave thanks to you, blessed and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take and drink from this, all of you: For this is the cup of my blood, of the new and eternal testament, the mystery of faith: which will be shed for you and for many for the remission of sins. As often as you do this, you will do it for my remembrance.</p>
<p><b>8 Unde et memores</b>, domine, nos servi tui sed et plebs tua sancta eiusdem Christi filii tui domini nostri tam beatae passionis necnon ab inferis resurrectionis sed et in caelos gloriosae ascensionis offerimus praeclarae maiestati tuae de tuis donis ac datis<sup>912</sup></p> <p>hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam,<sup>913</sup> panem sanctum vitae aeternae et calicem salutis perpetuae.<sup>914</sup></p>	<p><b>8 Therefore also</b>, O Lord, recalling the blessed Passion of your Son Christ our Lord, and his resurrection from the dead, and his glorious ascension into heaven, we your servants and your holy people offer to your glorious majesty from the gifts you have given to us, this pure offering, this holy offering, this immaculate offering, the holy Bread of eternal life and the Cup of everlasting salvation;</p>

<sup>910</sup> Heb 13:20 – “

<sup>911</sup> **1 Tim 3:9** – “they [deacons] must hold the mystery of the faith [mysterium fidei; τὸ μυστήριον τῆς πίστεως<sup>911</sup>] with a clear conscience.”

<sup>912</sup> **1 Chron 29:14** – “But who am I, and what is my people, that we should be able thus to offer willingly? For all things come from thee, and of thy own have we given thee.”

<sup>913</sup> Heb 7:26 – “

**Heb 9:14** – “how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without blemish to God [obtulit immaculatum Deo], purify your conscience from dead works to serve the living God.”

**1 Pet 2:5** – “like living stones be yourselves built into a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ [sacerdotium sanctum offerre spiritalis hostias acceptabiles Deo per Iesum Christum; ἀνερέγκαι πνευματικὰς θυσίας εὐπροσδέκτους [τῶ] θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ].”

<sup>914</sup> **Ps 115:13** – “I will lift up the cup of salvation... [Calicem salutaris accipiam; ποτήριον σωτηρίου λήμνομαι]” (Botte 1935, p 40)

**Heb 5:9-10** – “...being made perfect he became the source of eternal salvation [causa salutis aeternae; αἴτιος σωτηρίας αἰωνίου] to all who obey him, being designated by God a high priest according to the order of Melchizedek.”

**Heb 7:24-25** – “he [Jesus] hold his priesthood permanently [in aeternum; see below], because he continues forever [semper aeternum habet sacerdotium; ὁ δὲ διὰ τὸ μένειν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἀπαράβατον ἔχει τὴν ἱερωσύνην]. Consequently he is able for all time [in perpetuum; πάντοτε ζῶν] to save those who draw near to God through him, since he always lives [semper vivens; ] to make intercession for them.” (both from Botte 1953) Also, cf. **Lk 1:33** – “he will reign over the house of Jacob for ever [in aeternum; εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας]; and of his kingdom there will be no end [non erit finis; οὐκ ἔσται τέλος]” and **Rev 1:17b-18a** – “Fear not, I am the first and the last, and the living one [ego sum primus, et novissimus, et vivus; ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος καὶ ὁ ζῶν]; I died, and behold I am alive for evermore.”

<p><b>9 Supra quae</b><sup>915</sup> propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris et accepta habere, sicuti accepta<sup>916</sup> habere dignatus es munera pueri tui iusti<sup>917</sup> Abel et sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae<sup>918</sup> et quod</p>	<p><b>9 Upon which</b> vouchsafe to look with a favorable and kindly countenance, and accept them as you vouchsafed to accept the gifts of your just servant Abel, and the</p>
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**Is 51:6** – “...my salvation will be for ever [salus autem mea in sempiternum erit; τὸ δὲ σωτήριόν μου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἔσται], and my deliverance will never be ended.”

**Is 51:8** – “my deliverance will be for ever, and my salvation to all generations [salus autem mea in sempiternum erit, et justitia mea in generationes generationum; ἡ δὲ δικαιοσύνη μου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἔσται, τὸ δὲ σωτήριόν μου εἰς γενεὰς γενεῶν].”

<sup>915</sup> See if there is any argument about the influence of Hebrews [11] on Roman Canon (since all three figure in Hebrews).

<sup>916</sup> Note that none of these are Levitical sacrifices: the first is the proto-sacrifice (after God’s sacrifice of the animal to clothe Adam and Eve); the second is the (non) sacrifice (*aquedah*) of Isaac which began to be interpreted as that which is commemorated at every sacrifice; and finally the enigmatic sacrifice of Melchizedek.

<sup>917</sup> **Gen 4:4** – “Abel brought of the firstlings of his flock and of their fat portions. And the LORD had regard for Abel and his offering.”

**Mat 23:35** – “...that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed on earth, from the blood of innocent Abel [Abel justī; Ἀβελ τοῦ δικαίου] ...”

**Heb 11:4** – “By faith Abel offered to God a more acceptable sacrifice than Cain [Fide plurimam hostiam Abel, quam Cain, obtulit Deo; Πίστει πλείονα θυσίαν Ἀβελ παρὰ Κάϊν προσήνεγκεν τῷ θεῷ], through which he received approval as righteous [per quam testimonium consecutus est esse justus; δι’ ἧς ἐμαρτυρήθη εἶναι δίκαιος], God bearing witness by accepting his gifts; he died, but through his faith he is still speaking.”

**AscenIsa 9:8** – “there I saw the holy Abel and all the righteous.”

**TAbr 13:2-3** – “This is the son of Adam, the first-formed, who is called Abel, whom Cain the wicked killed. And he sits here to judge the entire creation, examining both righteous and sinners.” (Charlesworth I:889-90).

**TAbr 11:2** – “This is Abel, who first bore witness, and God brought him here to judge.” (Charlesworth I:900; see also 871ff).

Jewish Prayer in **Const. ap. 7.37.4** – “accept the entreaties on the lips of your people, who (have come) out of (the) gentiles, who call upon you in truth, even as you received the gifts of the righteous in their generations: Abel, especially—you beheld and accepted his sacrifice; Noah, when he had come out of the ark; Abraham, after his coming out from the land of the Chaldeans.” (Charlesworth II:684)

Jewish Prayer in **Const. ap. 8.5.3-4** – “(You are) the one who marked out beforehand, from the beginning, priests for dominion over your people: Abel at first, Seth and Enos and Enoch and Noah, and Melchizedek and Job; the one who showed forth Abraham, and the other patriarchs.” (Charlesworth II:688)

Jewish Prayer in **Const. ap. 8.12.21** – “And while indeed from Abel, as from a devout man, you favorably received a sacrifice.” (Charlesworth II:693)

Jewish Prayer in **Const. ap. 8.12.22-23** – “You are the one who delivered Abraham from ancestral godlessness, and appointed him heir of the world, and showed to him your Christ [Christian interpolation] the one who appointed Melchizedek a high priest in your service.” (Charlesworth II:693)

<sup>918</sup> **Gen 22:1-14. 22:2** – ““Take your son, your only son Isaac, whom you love [ἡγάπησας; the post-baptismal voice echoes this – Mt 3:17; Mk 1:11; Lk 3:22], and go to the land of Moriah, and offer him there as a burnt offering [offeret eum in holocaustum; ἀνένεγκον αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ εἰς ὄλοκάρπωσιν] upon one of the mountains of which I shall tell you.” What is translated “burnt offering” remains *holocaustum*



tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, <sup>919</sup> sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam. <sup>920</sup>	sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and that which your high priest Melchizedek offered to you, a holy sacrifice, and immaculate offering;
<b>10 Supplices</b> <sup>921</sup> te rogamus, omnipotens deus, iube haec perferri per manus sancti angeli tui <sup>922</sup> in sublime altare tuum in conspectu divinae maiestatis tuae, <sup>923</sup> ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione <sup>924</sup>	<b>10 We humbly pray you</b> , almighty God, bid these [offerings] to be born by the hands of your [holy] angel to your lofty altar in the presence of your divine

throughout the passage (vv. 3, 6, 7, 8, and 13). In v. 13, Abraham “took the ram, and offered it up as a burnt offering [obtulit holocaustum; ἀνήνεγκεν αὐτὸν εἰς ὄλοκάρωσιν] instead of his son.”

**Heb 11:17, 19** – “By faith Abraham, when he was tested, offered up [obtulit; προσενήνοχεν] Isaac, and he who had received the promises was ready to offer up [offerebat; προσέφερεν] his only son ... He considered that God was able to raise men even from the dead; hence, figuratively speaking, he did receive him back [in parabolam accepit; ἐν παραβολῇ ἐκομίσατο].

**Gal 3:6-7** – “<sup>6</sup>Thus Abraham “believed God, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness.”<sup>7</sup> So you see that it is men of faith who are the sons of Abraham.”

<sup>919</sup> **Gen 14:18** – “And Melchizedek king of Salem brought out bread and wine [proferens panem et vinum]; he was priest of God Most High [erat enim sacerdos Dei altissimi; δὲ ἱερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου];

**Ps 110[109]:4** – “The LORD has sworn and will not change his mind, ‘You are a priest for ever after the order of

Melchizedek [Tu es sacerdos in æternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech; Σὺ εἶ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδεκ].” Quoted in Heb 5:6, 7:17, 7:20 (identical Latin and Greek).

**Heb 5:1-10**, especially 5:6 (above), and 5:10 – “being designated by God a high priest after the order of Melchizedek [pontifex juxta ordinem Melchisedech; ἀρχιερεὺς κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ].”

**Heb 6:20** – “Jesus has gone as a forerunner on our behalf, having become a high priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek [secundum ordinem Melchisedech pontifex factus in æternum; κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ ἀρχιερεὺς γενόμενος εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα].”

**Heb 7:1-28**, especially 7:1 – “Melchizedek, king of Salem, priest of the Most High God [sacerdos Dei summi; ἱερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου],” 7:3 – “resembling the Son of God he continues a priest for ever [manet sacerdos in perpetuum; μένει ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸ διηνεκές]”

<sup>920</sup> **Heb 7:26** – “For it was fitting that we should have such a high priest, holy, blameless, unstained [sanctus, innocens, impollutus], separated from sinners, exalted above the heavens.”

**Heb 9:14** – “how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without blemish to God [obtulit immaculatum Deo], purify your conscience from dead works to serve the living God.”

<sup>921</sup> **Heb 5:7** – “In the days of his flesh, Jesus offered up prayers and supplications [preces, supplicationesque], with loud cries and tears, to him who was able to save him from death, and he was heard for his godly fear.”

<sup>922</sup> **Rev 8:3** – “And another angel came and stood at the altar with a golden censer; and he was given much incense to mingle with the prayers of all the saints upon the golden altar before the throne.”

<sup>923</sup> **Heb 13:10** – “We have an altar from which those who serve the tent have no right to eat.”

**1 Cor 10:16-18** – “The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a participation in the blood of Christ [communicatio sanguinis Christi; κοινωνία ἐστὶν τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ]? The bread which we break, is it not a participation in the body of Christ [participatio corporis Domini; κοινωνία ἐστὶν τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ]?”<sup>17</sup> Because there is one bread, we who are many are one body, for we all partake

sacrosanctum filii tui corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus, omni benedictione caelesti <sup>925</sup> et gratia repleamur <sup>926, 927</sup> [per eundem Christum dominum nostrum. Amen.]	majesty, that all [of us] who [have] received the most holy Body and Blood of your Son from this altar may be filled with all heavenly benediction and grace;
<b>11 Memento etiam</b> , domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum N. et N. qui nos praecesserunt cum signo fidei <sup>928</sup> et dormiunt in somno <sup>929</sup> pacis.  Ipsis domine, et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus locum refrigerii lucis et pacis ut indulgeas deprecamur, [per eundem Christum dominum nostrum. Amen.]	<b>11 Remember also</b> , O Lord, your servants and handmaidens N. et N. who have gone before us with the sign of faith and who rest in the sleep of peace; To them, O Lord, and all who rest in Christ, we pray you to grant a place of refreshment, of light, and of peace;
<b>12 Nobis quoque</b> peccatoribus famulis tuis de multitudine miserationum <sup>930</sup> tuarum sperantibus partem aliquam et societatem donare digneris cum tuis sanctis apostolis et martyribus, cum Ioanne, Stephano, Matthia, Barnaba, Ignatio, Alexandro,	<b>12 To us</b> your servants, who are sinners also, who trust in the multitude of your mercies, grant some portion and fellowship <sup>931</sup> with your holy Apostles and Martyrs, with John, Stephan, Matthias,

of the one bread [de uno pane participamus; τοῦ ἑνὸς ἄρτου μετέχομεν].<sup>18</sup> Consider the practice of Israel; are not those who eat the sacrifices partners in the altar [nonne qui edunt hostias, participes sunt altaris; οὐχ οἱ ἐσθίοντες τὰς θυσίας κοινωνοὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου εἰσὶν?]" (Botte 1953 notes 1 Cor 10:18 in connection with the heavenly altar).

<sup>924</sup> **Heb 8:1** – “Now the point in what we are saying is this: we have such a high priest, one who is seated at the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in heaven [in dextera sedis magnitudinis in caelis].”

**Heb 9:24** – “For Christ has entered, not into a sanctuary made with hands, a copy of the true one, but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God on our behalf.”

<sup>925</sup> **Eph 1:3** – “Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has blessed us in Christ with every spiritual blessing in the heavenly places [in omni benedictione spirituali in caelestibus in Christo; ἐν πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ πνευματικῇ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις ἐν Χριστῷ].”

<sup>926</sup> Jesus: **Jn 1:14** – “et Verbum caro factum est et habitavit in nobis et vidimus gloriam eius gloriam quasi unigeniti a Patre plenum gratiae et veritatis.”

Mary: **Lk 1:28** – “Ave gratia plena [κεχαριτωμένη] Dominus tecum benedicta tu”;

Stephen, Acts 6:8 – “Stephanus autem plenus gratia et fortitudine [πλήρης χάριτος καὶ δυνάμεως] faciebat prodigia et signa magna in populo.” *Plena* is used in the vulgate in all three of these.

<sup>927</sup> [Per {eundem} Christum Dominum nostrum. {Amen.}]

<sup>928</sup> **Rom 4:11** – “He received circumcision as a sign or seal of the righteousness which he had by faith while he was still uncircumcised. The purpose was to make him the father of all who believe without being circumcised and who thus have righteousness reckoned to them.”

<sup>929</sup> Common use of “sleep” for death in New Testament.

<sup>930</sup> **Ps 51:1[50:3]** – “Have mercy on me, O God, according to thy steadfast love; according to thy abundant mercy [secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum; κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν σου] blot out my transgressions.”

**Ps 69:16[68:17]** – “Answer me, O LORD, for thy steadfast love is good; according to thy abundant mercy [secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum; κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν σου], turn to me.” (Both from Botte 1953)

<sup>931</sup> See note in *Communicantes* on fellowship and apostles.

Marcellino, Petro, Felicitate, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnete, Caecilia, Anastasia, et omnibus sanctis tuis, intra quorum nos consortium non aestimator meriti sed veniae, quaesumus, largitor admitte, [per Christum dominum nostrum.]	Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Mercellunus, Peter, Felicity, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Cecelia, Anastasia, and with all your saints, in whose fellowship we ask you to admit us, not weighing our merits, but pardoning us;
<b>13a Per quem</b> haec omnia, domine, semper bona creas, sanctificas, vivificas, benedicis et praestas nobis.	<b>13a Through him</b> , O Lord, you ever create, <sup>932</sup> sanctify, quicken, bless, and bestow upon us all things;
<b>13b Per ipsum</b> <sup>933</sup> et cum ipso et in ipso est tibi deo patri omnipotenti in unitate spiritus sancti omnis honor et gloria <sup>934</sup> per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.	<b>13b Through him</b> , and with him, and in him, all honor and glory is yours, O God the Father Almighty, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, <sup>935</sup> through all the ages of ages. Amen

<sup>932</sup> **John 1:3** – “all things were made through him.”

<sup>933</sup> **Heb 2:10** – “For it was fitting that he, for whom and by whom [propter quem omnia, et per quem] all things exist, in bringing many sons to glory, should make the pioneer of their salvation perfect through suffering.”

**Heb 13:15** – “Through him then let us continually offer up a sacrifice of praise [offeramus hostiam laudis] to God, that is, the fruit of lips that acknowledge his name.”

**Heb 13:21-22** – “Now may the God of peace who brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, the great shepherd of the sheep, by the blood of the eternal covenant,<sup>21</sup> equip you with everything good that you may do his will, working in you that which is pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.”

**1 Pet 2:5** – “like living stones be yourselves built into a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ [sacerdotium sanctum offerre spiritalis hostias acceptabiles Deo per Iesum Christum; ἀνερέγκαι πνευματικὰς θυσίας εὐπροσδέκτους [τῷ] θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ].”

<sup>934</sup> Rom 2:7, 10; 1 Tim 1:17; 1 Pet 1:7; 2 Pet 1:17; Rev 4:9, 11; 5:12, 13; 7:12; 21:26.

**Heb 2:7, 9** – “Thou didst make him for a little while lower than the angels, thou hast crowned him with glory and honor.” “But we see Jesus, who for a little while was made lower than the angels, crowned with glory and honor because of the suffering of death.”

<sup>935</sup> **2 Cor 13:14** – “The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you all.”

***Appendix K: A preface from the Gelasian Sacramentary that mentions Abel, Abraham, and Melchizedek, and its parallels in the Liber mozarabicus and Veronensis***

<i>Liber sacramentorum Romanae aeclesiae</i> (GeV, no. 20), preface for Christmas	<i>Liber mozarabicus</i> , no. 1420, preface for the 14 <sup>th</sup> Sunday	<i>Veronensis</i> , no. 1250, fourth preface in December
<p>Vere dignum:</p> <p>tui laudis hostiam iugiter immolantes,</p> <p>cuius figurum Abel iustus instituit, agnus quoque legalis ostendit,</p> <p>celebravit Abraham, Melchisedech sacerdos exhibuit, sed verus agnus, aeternus pontifex,</p> <p>hodie natus Christus implevit.</p>	<p>Dignum et iustum est, equum et salutare est</p> <p>tibi laudis hostiam immolare,</p> <p>Domine sancte, per Ihesum Christum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum.</p> <p>Cuis figurum Abel iustus instituit, agnus quoque legalis ostendit,</p> <p>Abraham celebravit, Melchisedech exhibuit, sed verus agnus et Pontifex Dominus noster</p> <p>Ihesus Christus implevit.</p>	<p>Vere dignum:</p> <p>tuae laudis hostiam iugiter immolantes,</p> <p>cuius figurum Abel iustus instituit, agnus quoque legalis ostendit,</p> <p>celebravit Abraham, Melchisedech sacerdos exhibuit, sed verus agnus et aeternus pontifex</p> <p>hodie natus Christus implevit.</p>

**Appendix L: The sacrificial nouns in Ambrose's *Sacr.*, the Roman Canon, and every use of them in the Vulgate New Testament<sup>936</sup>**

	<i>donum</i>	<i>munus</i>	<i>sacrificium</i>	<i>oblatio</i>	<i>hostia</i>
<b>Ambrose, <i>Sacr.</i> 4</b>					
<i>Fac nobis</i>				Fac nobis, inquit, hanc <b>oblationem</b> scriptam, rationabilem, acceptabilem	
<i>Ergo memores</i>					Offerimus tibi hanc immaculatam <b>hostiam</b> , rationabilem <b>hostiam</b> , incruentam <b>hostiam</b>
<i>Et petimus et precamur</i>				Et petimus et precamur, uti hanc <b>oblationem</b> suscipias in sublime altare tuum	
<b>Roman Canon</b>					
<i>*Te igitur</i>	haec <b>dona</b> , haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata	haec dona, haec <b>munera</b> , haec sancta sacrificia illibata	haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta <b>sacrificia</b> illibata		
<i>Hanc igitur</i>				Hanc igitur <b>oblationem</b> servitutis nostrae	
<i>Quam oblationem</i>				<u>oblationem</u>	
<i>Unde et memores</i>	offerimus praeclarae maiestati tuae de tuis <b>donis</b> ac datis, hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam				offerimus praeclarae maiestati tuae de tuis donis ac datis, <b>hostiam</b> puram, <b>hostiam</b> sanctam, <b>hostiam</b> immaculatam
<i>*Supra quae</i>		<b>munera</b> pueri tui iusti Abel, sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanctum	munera pueri tui iusti Abel, <b>sacrificium</b> patriarchae nostri Abrahae, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanctum		munera pueri tui iusti Abel, sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificium,

<sup>936</sup> Variants in the Vetus Latina are noted for each verse and are taken from the Vetus Latina Database from Brepols (www.brepols.net) unless otherwise noted.

	<i>donum</i>	<i>munus</i>	<i>sacrificium</i>	<i>oblatio</i>	<i>hostia</i>
		sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam	<b>sacrificium</b> , immaculatam hostiam		immaculatam <b>hostiam</b>
<b>New Testament</b>					
<b>Luke 2:24</b> <sup>937</sup>					<b>hostiam</b> (refers to the sacrifice offered for the purification of the BVM)
<b>Acts 7:41-42</b> <sup>938</sup>					<b>Hostiam/hostias</b> (refers first to the sacrifice offered to the golden calf and then to Israel's sacrifices in the desert)
<b>Rom 12:1</b> <sup>939</sup>					I appeal to you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, to present your bodies as a living sacrificial offering [ <b>hostiam</b> ; θυσίαν], holy and acceptable to God, which is your spiritual worship [ <i>rationabile obsequium</i> ].
<b>1 Cor. 10:18</b> <sup>940</sup>					[v. 16: The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a participation [ <i>communicatio</i> ; κοινωνία] in the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not a participation [ <i>participatio</i> ; κοινωνία] in the body of Christ?] Consider Israel in the flesh; are not those who eat the sacrificial offerings [ <b>hostias</b> ; θυσίας] partners [ <i>participes</i> ; κοινωνοὶ] in the altar?

<sup>937</sup> 82 citations of the verse are listed in the database. Setting aside slight spelling or case differences, the few variants for *hostiam/hostias* are: *sacrificium* (16); *munera* (2); *holocaustum* only (1); *oblationis* (1).

<sup>938</sup> Setting aside slight spelling or case differences, the few variants for *hostiam/hostias* are, verse 41 with 10 citations of the verse listed in the database: *sacrificium* (2); verse 42 with 25 citations of the verse listed in the database: *sacrificia* (3); *victimam* (2).

<sup>939</sup> 216 citations of the verse are listed in the database. Setting aside slight spelling or case differences, the few variants for *hostiam/hostias* are: *sacrificium* (4); *victimam* (1); *dona* (1).

<sup>940</sup> 47 citations of the verse are listed in the database. Setting aside slight spelling or case differences, the few variants for *hostiam/hostias* are: *sacrificia* (9); *sacrificia et hostias* (1).

	<i>donum</i>	<i>munus</i>	<i>sacrificium</i>	<i>oblatio</i>	<i>hostia</i>
*Eph 5:2 <sup>941</sup>				And walk in love, as Christ loved us and delivered himself up for us, a fragrant oblation [ <i>oblationem</i> ; προσφορὰν] and sacrificial offering [ <i>hostiam</i> ; θυσίαν] to God.	And walk in love, as Christ loved us and delivered himself up for us, a fragrant oblation [ <i>oblationem</i> ; προσφορὰν] and sacrificial offering [ <i>hostiam</i> ; θυσίαν] to God.
*Phil 2:17 <sup>942</sup>			Even if I am to be immolated [ <i>immolor</i> ; σπένδω] upon the sacrifice [ <i>sacrificium</i> ; θυσία] of your faith, I am glad and joy with you all.		
Phil 4:18 <sup>943</sup>				I am filled, having received from Epaphroditus the things you sent, a sweet odor [ <i>odorem suavitatis</i> ; ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας], a sacrificial offering that is acceptable and pleasing to God [ <i>hostiam acceptam, placentem Deo</i> ; θυσίαν δεκτὴν, εὐάρεστον τῷ θεῷ].	
*Heb 5:1 <sup>944</sup>	Every high priest chosen from among mortals is put in charge of things pertaining to God on their behalf, to offer gifts [ <i>dona</i> ; δῶρά] and sacrifices [ <i>sacrificia</i> ; θυσίας] for sins.		Every high priest chosen from among mortals is put in charge of things pertaining to God on their behalf, to offer gifts [ <i>dona</i> ; δῶρά] and sacrifices [ <i>sacrificia</i> ; θυσίας] for sins.		

<sup>941</sup> Eph 5:2—In addition to *oblationem*, προσφορὰν is variously translated as *sacrificium* and *hostiam*; In addition to *hostiam*, θυσίαν is variously translated as *sacrificium*, *victimam*, and *oblationem*; Roger Gryson, ed., *Epistula Ad Ephesios*, vol. 24.1, VLB (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1962), 207 (upper).

<sup>942</sup> Phil 2:17—The Greek σπένδω is translated as *libor* (or *libari*, *laboro*) instead of *immolor* (or *superimmolor*); θυσία is also translated as *victima* instead of *sacrificium*, though the latter is the dominant translation; Roger Gryson, ed., *Epistulae Ad Philippenses et Ad Colossenses*, vol. 24.2, VLB (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1966), 164 (upper).

<sup>943</sup> Phil 4:18—The Greek θυσίαν δεκτὴν, εὐάρεστον τῷ θεῷ is variously translated as *sacrificium acceptum (sanctum) gratum/pracitum* in addition to *hostiam acceptam, placentem Deo*; *Philippenses* (VLB 24.2), 254 (upper),

<sup>944</sup> Heb 5:10—The Greek δῶρά is translated as *munera* instead of *dona* in some places, and θυσίας as *hostia* in some places instead of *sacrificia*; Gryson, *Hebraeos* (VLB 25.2), 1223-4 (upper).

	<i>donum</i>	<i>munus</i>	<i>sacrificium</i>	<i>oblatio</i>	<i>hostia</i>
<b>Heb 7:27</b> <sup>945</sup>					Unlike those [high] priests, he has no need to offer sacrificial offerings [ <i>hostias</i> ; θυσίας] daily, first for his own sins, and then for those of the people; for this he did once for all when he offered himself.
<b>*Heb 8:3</b> <sup>946</sup>		For every high priest is appointed to offer dutiful offerings [ <i>munera</i> ; δῶρά] and sacrificial offerings [ <i>hostias</i> ; θυσίας]; thus, it is necessary for this priest also to have something to offer.			For every high priest is appointed to offer dutiful sacrifices [ <i>munera</i> ; δῶρά] and sacrificial offerings [ <i>hostias</i> ; θυσίας]; thus, it is necessary for this priest also to have something to offer.
<b>Heb 8:4</b> <sup>947</sup>		Now if he were on earth, he would not be a priest at all, since there are priests who offer dutiful offerings [ <i>munera</i> ; δῶρα] according to the law.			
<b>Heb 9:6</b> <sup>948</sup>			These things being thus ordered, the priests always entered into the tabernacle to accomplish their sacrificial duties [ <i>sacrificiorum officia consummantes</i> ; λατρείας ἐπιτελοῦντες]		

<sup>945</sup> Heb 7:27—The Greek θυσίας is translated as *sacrificia* in some places instead of *hostia*; Gryson, *Hebraeos* (VLB 25.2), 1347 (upper).

<sup>946</sup> Heb 8:3—there are no variations in the use of *munera* and *hostias*; Ibid., 1353-4 (upper).

<sup>947</sup> Heb 8:4—There is one variation where δῶρα is translated as *hostias* instead of *munera*; Ibid., 1356 (upper).

<sup>948</sup> Heb 9:6—λατρείας ἐπιτελοῦντες is variously translated as *ministeria consummare*, *servitia consummantes*, and *ministeria complentes/celebrantes*; Ibid., 1383 (upper).



	<i>donum</i>	<i>munus</i>	<i>sacrificium</i>	<i>oblatio</i>	<i>hostia</i>
*Heb 9:9 <sup>949</sup>		According to this arrangement, dutiful offerings [ <i>munera</i> ; δῶρά] and sacrificial offerings [ <i>hostiae</i> ; θυσίας] are offered which cannot, according to the conscience, perfect him who serves...			According to this arrangement, dutiful offerings [ <i>munera</i> ; δῶρά] and sacrificial offerings [ <i>hostiae</i> ; θυσίας] are offered which, according to the conscience, perfect him who serves...
Heb 9:23 <sup>950</sup>					Thus it was necessary for the patterns of the heavenly things should be with these [rites], but the heavenly things themselves with better sacrificial offerings [ <i>hostiis</i> ; θυσίας] than these.
Heb 9:26 <sup>951</sup>					But now, he has appeared a single time at the end of the ages to put away sin by the sacrificial offering [ <i>hostiam</i> ; θυσίας] of himself.
Heb 10:1 <sup>952</sup>					For since the law, having been a shadow of the good things to come, not the true form of these realities, can never, by the same sacrificial offerings [ <i>hostiis</i> ; θυσίας] which are continually offered every year, perfect those who draw near.
*Heb 10:5-6 <sup>953</sup> [the triad is repeated in 10:8 when it quotes Ps 40:6-8 LXX again]					Therefore, when Christ came into the world, he said, “Sacrificial offerings and oblations [ <i>Hostiam et oblationem</i> ; θυσίαν καὶ προσφορὰν] you have not desired, but a body have you prepared for me; <sup>6</sup> in burnt offerings and sin offerings [ <i>holocaustomata pro peccato</i> ; ὀλοκαυτώματα καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας] pleased you not.
*Heb 10:8					See above

<sup>949</sup> Heb 9:9—there are no variations in the use of *munera* and *hostias*; Ibid., 1388 (upper).

<sup>950</sup> Heb 9:23—there are no variations in the use of *hostias*; Ibid., 1420 (upper).

<sup>951</sup> Heb 9:26—in addition to *hostiam*, θυσίας is translated as *sanguinem* and *sacrificium*; Ibid., 1427 (upper).

<sup>952</sup> Heb 10:1—in addition to *hostiam*, θυσίας is also translated as *sacrificiis*; Ibid., 1437 (upper).

<sup>953</sup> Heb 10:5-6—The Greek θυσίαν is translated as *sacrificium* instead of *hostiam* in some places, and προσφορὰν as *holocaustum* in just one instance instead of *oblationem*; The same is true for θυσίαν in Heb 10:8, but there is no variation on *oblationem*; Ibid., 1444, 1447 (upper).

	<i>donum</i>	<i>munus</i>	<i>sacrificium</i>	<i>oblatio</i>	<i>hostia</i>
Heb 10:10 <sup>954</sup>				And by that will we have been sanctified through the single oblation [ <i>oblationem</i> ; προσφορᾶς] of the body of Jesus Christ.	
Heb 10:11-14 <sup>955</sup>				<sup>11</sup> And every priest indeed stands ministering daily [ <i>ministrans</i> ; λειτουργῶν], offering frequently the same sacrificial offerings [ <i>hostias</i> ; θυσίας], which can never take away sins. <sup>12</sup> But when Christ had offered for all time a single sacrificial offering [ <i>hostiam</i> ; θυσίαν] for sins, he sat down at the right hand of God, <sup>13</sup> then to wait until his enemies should be made a stool for his feet. <sup>14</sup> For by a single oblation [ <i>oblatione</i> ; προσφορᾶ] he has perfected for all time those who are being sanctified.	
Heb 10:18 <sup>956</sup>				Where there is forgiveness of these, there is no longer any oblation [ <i>oblatio</i> ; προσφορὰ] for sin.	
*Heb 11:4 <sup>957</sup>		By faith Abel offered [ <i>obtulit</i> ; προσήνεγκεν] to God a greater sacrificial offering [ <i>hostiam</i> ; θυσίαν] than Cain, through which he received a testimony that he was righteous, a testimony that God gave through his dutiful offerings [ <i>muneribus</i> ; δώροις] that were brought forth...		By faith Abel offered [ <i>obtulit</i> ; προσήνεγκεν] to God a greater sacrificial offering [ <i>hostiam</i> ; θυσίαν] than Cain, through which he received a testimony that he was righteous, a testimony that God gave through his dutiful offerings	By faith Abel offered [ <i>obtulit</i> ; προσήνεγκεν] to God a greater sacrificial offering [ <i>hostiam</i> ; θυσίαν] than Cain, through which he received a testimony that he was righteous, a testimony that God gave through his dutiful offerings [ <i>muneribus</i> ; δώροις] that were brought forth [ <i>muneribus</i> ;

<sup>954</sup> Heb 10:10—there are no variations in the use of *oblationem*; *ibid.*, 1451 (upper).

<sup>955</sup> Heb 10:11-14— θυσίας is translated as *sacrificia* in some places instead of *hostias* (verses 11 and 12); προσφορᾶ is consistently translated as some version of *oblatione* (*oblationem* or *oblatio*) (verse 14); *ibid.*, 1453, 1456, 1458 (upper).

<sup>956</sup> Heb 10:18—προσφορὰν is consistently translated as *oblatio*; *ibid.*, 1462 (upper).

<sup>957</sup> Heb 11:4— θυσίαν is occasionally translated as *sacrificium* instead of *hostiam*; προσήνεγκεν is consistently translated as *obtulit*; δώροις is occasionally translated as *super donis* instead of *muneribus*; *Ibid.*, 1503, 1504.

	<i>donum</i>	<i>munus</i>	<i>sacrificium</i>	<i>oblatio</i>	<i>hostia</i>
				[ <i>muneribus</i> ; δώροις] that were brought forth;	δώροις]...
Heb 13:15-16 <sup>958</sup>					Through him then let us continually offer up a sacrificial offering of praise [ <i>hostiam laudis</i> ; θυσίαν αινέσεως] to God, that is, the fruit of lips that confess his name. <sup>16</sup> Do not neglect to do good and to share what you have, for with such dutiful offerings [ <i>hostiis</i> ; θυσίας] God's favor is obtained.
1 Pet 2:5 <sup>959</sup>					like living stones be yourselves built into a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrificial offerings [ <i>spirituales hostias</i> ; πνευματικὰς θυσίας] acceptable to God through Jesus Christ.
* = Indicates the use of at least two of these terms are used in conjunction with each other as synonyms, either as a polysyndeton (in the New Testament) or asyndeton (in the Roman Canon) but all are a hendiadys					

<sup>958</sup> Heb 13:15-16—θυσίαν αινέσεως is consistently translated *hostias laudis* (or *laudis hostias*), though occasionally it is translated *sacrificium laudis*, as in the Roman Canon (verse 15); θυσίας is occasionally translated *sacrificiis* instead of *hostiis* (verse 16); Ibid., 1643, 1645 (upper).

<sup>959</sup> 1 Pet 2:5—The Greek πνευματικὰς θυσίας is variously translated as *hostias immaculatas* and *victimias*, in addition to *spirituales hostias*; Gryson, Roger Gryson, ed., *Epistulae Catholica* (VLB 26.1.2), 101 (upper).

**Appendix M: The \*definitive and possible uses of Hebrews in the Roman Canon**

Hebrews	Content	Location in Ambrose	Location in Roman Canon
1:3	“majesty on high” (sedet ad dexteram <b>majestatis</b> in excelsis)	<i>Et petimus (in sublime altare)</i>	<i>Supplices te (in conspectu divinae maiestatis tuae)</i>
2:5	“merciful high priest” ( <b>misericors</b> fieret, et fidelis pontifex) <b>note:</b> <i>misericors</i> not <i>clemens</i>		<i>Te igitur (clementissime pater)</i>
*2:10	“for whom and by whom all things exist” ( <b>propter quem</b> omnia, et per quem Omnia)	<i>Per dominum (in quo tibi est cum quo tibi)</i>	<i>Per ipsum (per ipsum et cum ipso et in ipso)</i>
*2:16, et al.	<b>Abraham</b> (2:16; 6:13, 15; 7:1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9; 11:8, 17)	<i>Et petimus (sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahæ)</i>	<i>Supplices te (sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahæ)</i>
*5-7	<b>Melchizedek</b> (5:6, 10; 6:20; 7:1, 10, 11, 15, 17)	<i>Et petimus (quod tibi obtulit summu sacerdos Melchiseceh)</i>	<i>Supplices te (quod tibi obtulit summu sacerdos Melchiseceh)</i>
*5:1	High priest is chosen to offer gifts and sacrifices (offerat <b>dona</b> , et <b>sacrificia</b> pro peccatis)	<i>Et petimus (sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahæ)</i>	<i>Te igitur (haec dona...haec sancta sacrificia illibata); Supplices te (sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahæ)</i>
5:9	“eternal salvation” (causa <b>salutis æternæ</b> )	<i>Ergo memores (calicem vitae aeternae)</i>	<i>Unde et memores (panem sanctum vitae aeternae et calicem salutis perpetuae)</i>
6:5	“tasted the goodness of the word of God” ( <b>gustaverunt nihilominus bonum Dei verbum</b> )	General theme	
7:26	“for it was fitting that we should have so a great a high priest who is holy, blameless, unstained, separated from sinners, exulted above the heavens” (pontifex <b>sanctus innocens inpollutus</b> segregatus a peccatoribus et excelsior caelis factus)	<i>Ergo memores (hanc immaculatam hostiam, rationabilem hostiam, incruentam hostiam);</i>	<i>Te igitur (haec dona...haec sancta sacrificia illibata), Unde et memores (hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam);</i>
7:27	Unlike those [high] priests, he has no need to offer sacrificial offerings [ <b>hostias</b> ; θυσίας] daily,	<i>Ergo memores (hanc immaculatam hostiam, rationabilem hostiam, incruentam hostiam)</i>	<i>Unde et memores (hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam) immaculatam)</i>

Hebrews	Content	Location in Ambrose	Location in Roman Canon
8:1	“seated at the right hand of the throne of the majesty on high” (consedit in dextera sedis <b>magnitudinis in caelis</b> ); <b>note:</b> <i>magnitudinis</i> not <i>maiestatis</i>	<i>Et petimus (in sublime altare)</i>	<i>Supplices te (in conspectu divinae maiestatis tuae)</i>
*8:3	“For every high priest is appointed to offer dutiful offerings and sacrificial offerings” (offerendum <b>munera</b> , et <b>hostias</b> )	<i>Ergo memores (hanc immaculatam hostiam, rationabilem hostiam, incruentam hostiam); Et petimus (munera pueri tui iusti Abel)</i>	<i>Te igitur (haec munera); Unde et memores (hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam); Supplices te (munera pueri tui iusti Abel)</i>
8:4	Now if he were on earth, he would not be a priest at all, since there are priests who offer dutiful offerings [ <i>munera</i> ; δῶρα] according to the law.	<i>Et petimus (munera pueri tui iusti Abel)</i>	<i>Te igitur (haec munera); Supplices te (munera pueri tui iusti Abel)</i>
9:6	These things being thus ordered, the priests always entered into the tabernacle to accomplish their sacrificial duties [ <i>sacrificiorum officia consummantes</i> ]	<i>Et petimus (sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae)</i>	<i>Te igitur (haec dona... haec sancta sacrificia illibata); Supplices te (sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae)</i>
*9:9	“dutiful offerings and sacrificial offerings are offered” ( <b>munera</b> , et <b>hostiae</b> offeruntur)	<i>Et petimus (munera pueri tui iusti Abel)</i>	<i>Te igitur (haec munera); Supplices te (munera pueri tui iusti Abel)</i>
*9:12	“neither through the blood of goats or calves, but by his own blood, he entered once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption” (neque per sanguinem hircorum aut vitulorum, sed per proprium sanguinem <b>introivit semel in Sancta, aeterna redemptione inventa</b> )	<i>Et petimus (in sublime altare)</i>	<i>Memento, Domine (pro redemptione animarum suarum, pro spe salutis) Supplices te (in conspectu divinae maiestatis tuae)</i>

Hebrews	Content	Location in Ambrose	Location in Roman Canon
*9:14	“How much more shall the blood of Christ, who by the Holy Spirit offered himself without spot unto God, cleanse our conscience from dead works, to serve the living God?” (quanto magis <b>sanguis Christi</b> , qui per Spiritum Sanum semetipsum <b>obtulit immaculatum</b> Deo, <b>emundabit conscientiam</b> )	<i>Ergo memores</i> (hanc <b>immaculatam hostiam</b> , rationabilem hostiam, incruentam hostiam, hunc panem sanctum et <b>calicem vitae aeternae</b> )	<i>Te igitur</i> ( <b>haec sancta sacrificial illibata</b> ); <i>Unde et memores</i> ( <b>hostiam puram</b> , hostiam sanctam, <b>hostiam immaculatam</b> , panem sanctum vitae aeternae et <b>calicem salutis perpetuae</b> )
*9:23	“Therefore, it is necessary that the patterns of heavenly things should be cleansed with these rites: but the heavenly things themselves with better sacrifices [ <b>hostiis</b> ] than these”	<i>Ergo memores</i> (hanc <b>immaculatam hostiam</b> , rationabilem <b>hostiam</b> , incruentam <b>hostiam</b> )	<i>Unde et memores</i> ( <b>hostiam puram</b> , <b>hostiam</b> sanctam, <b>hostiam</b> ) <b>immaculatam</b> )
9:26	But now, he has appeared a single time at the end of the ages to put away sin by the sacrificial offering [ <b>hostiam</b> ; θυσία] of himself.	Ibid. ↑	
*10:1	“the same sacrifices which are continually offered year after year” (eisdem ipsis <b>hostiis</b> quas offerunt indesinenter)	Ibid. ↑	
*10:5	“when Christ came into the world, he said, ‘Sacrifices and offerings you have not desired, but a body you have prepared for me’” (Ideo ingrediens mundum dicit: <b>Hostiam</b> et <b>oblationem</b> noluisti: corpus autem aptasti mihi)	<i>Fac nobis</i> (hanc <b>oblationem</b> ), <i>Ergo memores</i> (hanc <b>immaculatam hostiam</b> , rationabilem <b>hostiam</b> , incruentam <b>hostiam</b> ); <i>Et petimus</i> (hanc <b>oblationem</b> )	<i>Hanc igitur</i> (hanc <b>oblationem</b> servitutis nostrae), <i>Quam oblationem</i> (Quam oblationem) <i>Unde et memores</i> ( <b>hostiam puram</b> , <b>hostiam</b> sanctam, <b>hostiam</b> <b>immaculatam</b> )
*10:8	You have neither desired nor taken pleasure in sacrificial offerings and oblations [ <b>hostias</b> et <b>oblationes</b> ]	Ibid. ↑	

Hebrews	Content	Location in Ambrose	Location in Roman Canon
*10:10	“In that will, we are sanctified by the oblation of the body of Jesus Christ once” (In qua voluntate sanctificati sumus per <b>oblationem</b> corporis Jesu Christi semel)	<i>Fac nobis</i> (hanc <b>oblationem</b> ), <i>Et petimus</i> (hanc <b>oblationem</b> )	<i>Hanc igitur</i> (hanc <b>oblationem</b> servitutis nostrae), <i>Quam oblationem</i> (Quam oblationem)
*10:11-12	“And every priest indeed stands daily ministering and often offering [offerens] the same sacrificial offerings [ <b>hostias</b> ] which can never take away sins. But this man, offering [offerens] one sacrificial offering [ <b>hostiam</b> ] for sins, for ever is seated on the right hand of God”	<i>Ergo memores</i> (hanc immaculatam <b>hostiam</b> , rationabilem <b>hostiam</b> , incruentam <b>hostiam</b> )	<i>Unde et memores</i> ( <b>hostiam</b> puram, <b>hostiam</b> sanctam, <b>hostiam</b> immaculatam)
*10:14	“For by one oblation he has perfected for ever those who are sanctified” (Una enim <b>oblacione</b> , consummavit in sempiternum sanctificatos)	<i>Fac nobis</i> (hanc <b>oblationem</b> ), <i>Et petimus</i> (hanc <b>oblationem</b> )	<i>Hanc igitur</i> (hanc <b>oblationem</b> servitutis nostrae), <i>Quam oblationem</i> (Quam oblationem)
*10:18	“Now, where there is a remission of these, there is no more an oblation for sin” (Ubi autem horum remissio: jam non est <b>oblatio</b> pro peccato)	Ibid. ↑	
*11:4, 17-19	Sacrifices of <b>Abel</b> and <b>Abraham</b>	<i>Et petimus</i> (munera pueri tui iusti Abel sacrificium patriarchae nostri <b>Abrahae</b> )	<i>Supplices te</i> (munera pueri tui iusti Abel sacrificium patriarchae nostri <b>Abrahae</b> )
*11:4	“By faith Abel offered to God a greater sacrifice than that of Cain (Fide plurimam <b>hostiam</b> Abel, quam Cain), by which he obtained a testimony that he was righteous, God giving testimony to his dutiful offerings ( <b>muneribus</b> )	<i>Ergo memores</i> (hanc immaculatam <b>hostiam</b> , rationabilem <b>hostiam</b> , incruentam <b>hostiam</b> ); <i>Et petimus</i> ( <b>munera</b> pueri tui iusti Abel)	<i>Te igitur</i> (haec <b>munera</b> );  <i>Unde et memores</i> ( <b>hostiam</b> puram, <b>hostiam</b> sanctam, <b>hostiam</b> );  <i>Supplices te</i> ( <b>munera</b> pueri tui iusti <b>Abel</b> )
*11:4	<b>Abel</b>	<i>Et petimus</i> (munera pueri tui iusti <b>Abel</b> )	<i>Supplices te</i> (munera pueri tui iusti <b>Abel</b> )

Hebrews	Content	Location in Ambrose	Location in Roman Canon
11:4	“a greater sacrificial offering” ( <b>plurimam</b> hostiam); i.e. more acceptable	<i>Fac nobis</i> (Fac nobis hanc oblationem scriptam... <b>acceptabilem</b> );  <i>Et petimus</i> (hanc oblationem <b>suscipias</b> in sublime altare tuum per manus angelorum tuorum)	<i>Te igitur</i> ( <b>accepta habeas</b> et benedicas haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata), <i>Hanc igitur</i> (Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae ... placatus <b>accipias</b> ), <i>Quam oblationem</i> (Quam oblationem tu, deus, in omnibus, quaesumus ... <b>adscriptam</b> ... <b>acceptabilemque</b> facere digneris), <i>Supra quae</i> (Supra quae propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris et <b>accepta habere</b> ) <i>Supplices te</i> (Supplices te rogamus...in conspectu divinae maiestatis tuae)
12:24	“to Jesus the mediator of the new testament, and to the sprinkled blood that speaks better than that of Abel” (et <b>testamenti novi</b> mediatorem Jesum, et sanguinis aspersionem melius loquentem quam <b>Abel</b> )	<i>Et petimus</i> (munera pueri tui iusti <b>Abel</b> )	<i>Qui pridie</i> (hic est enim calix sanguinis mei <b>novi</b> et aeterni <b>testamenti</b> ), <i>Supplices te</i> (munera pueri tui iusti <b>Abel</b> )
12:28	“let us offer to God acceptable worship, with reverence and awe” (serviamus <b>placentes</b> Deo, cum metu et reverentia)	<i>Fac nobis</i> (Fac nobis hanc oblationem scriptam... <b>acceptabilem</b> )  <i>Et petimus</i> (hanc oblationem <b>suscipias</b> in sublime altare tuum per manus angelorum tuorum)	<i>Te igitur</i> ( <b>accepta habeas</b> et benedicas haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata), <i>Hanc igitur</i> (Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae ... <b>placatus accipias</b> ), <i>Quam oblationem</i> (Quam oblationem tu, deus, in omnibus, quaesumus...adscriptam... <b>acceptabilemque</b> facere digneris), <i>Supra quae</i> (Supra quae propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris et <b>accepta habere</b> ) <i>Supplices te</i> (Supplices te rogamus...in conspectu divinae maiestatis tuae)



Hebrews	Content	Location in Ambrose	Location in Roman Canon
13:10	“We have an altar from which those who serve the tabernacle have no power to eat” ( <b>Habemus altare</b> , de quo edere non habent potestatem, qui tabernaculo deserviunt)	<i>Et petimus (sublime altare)</i>	<i>Supplices te (Supplices te rogamus, omnipotens deus, iube haec perferri per manus sancti angeli tui in sublime altare tuum in conspectu divinae maiestatis tuae)</i>
13:15	“Through him then let us continually offer up a sacrifice of praise to God” ( <b>Per ipsum ergo offeramus hostiam laudis</b> semper Deo)	<i>Per dominum (in quo tibi est cum quo tibi)</i>	<i>Memento, Domine (offerimus vel qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis) Per ipsum (per ipsum et cum ipso et in ipso)</i>
13:16	“And do not forget to do good and to share: for with such sacrificial offerings God’s is favorably disposed” (Beneficentiæ autem et communionis nolite oblivisci: talibus enim <b>hostiis promeretur Deus</b> )	<i>Fac nobis (Fac nobis hanc oblationem scriptam...acceptabilem);  Ergo memores (hanc immaculatam hostiam, rationabilem hostiam, incruentam hostiam)</i>	<i>Te igitur (accepta habeas et benedicas haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata), Hanc igitur (Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae... placatus accipias), Quam oblationem (Quam oblationem tu, deus, in omnibus, quaesumus...adscriptam... acceptabilemque facere digneris), Unde et memores (hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam), Supra quae (Supra quae propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris et accepta habere)</i>
*13:20	“And may the God of peace, who brought again from the dead the great shepherd of the sheep, our Lord Jesus Christ, in the blood of the everlasting testament [in <b>sanguine testamenti æterni</b> ], make you fit in all goodness, that you may do his will; doing in you that which is well pleasing in his sight”		<i>Qui pridie (hic est enim calix sanguinis mei novi et æterni testamenti)</i>

Hebrews	Content	Location in Ambrose	Location in Roman Canon
*13:21	“though Jesus Christ, to whom be glory unto ages of ages. Amen” ( <b>per Jesum Christum: cui est gloria in sæcula sæculorum. Amen</b> )	<i>Per dominum (in quo tibi est cum quo tibi est honor, laus, gloria... in monia saecula saeculorum Amen)</i>	<i>Per ipsum (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)</i>

**Appendix N: The sacrificial nouns of the Roman Canon in the New Testament**

	Eph	Phil	Hebrews	1 Pet
<i>domum</i>			5:1	
<i>munus</i>			8:3, 8:4; 9:9;	11:4
<i>sacrificium</i>		2:17	5:1, 9:6,	
<i>oblatio</i>	5:2		10:5-6, 8, 10,	14, 18, 11:4
<i>hostia</i>	5:2	4:18	7:27, 8:3, 9:9, 9:23, 10:1, 10:5-6, 8, 10, 11, 12,	11:4, 13:15, 16
[ <i>hostia</i> is also used in Luke 2:24, Acts 7:41-2, Rom 12:1, 1 Cor 10:18]				