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INTRODUCTION

The Constitution of Vatican II on the sacred liturgy says that if the Christian people are to derive an abundance of graces from the liturgy, we must undertake a general restoration of the liturgy itself. Elements subject to change must adapt to the times, if they have grown less functional. This adaptation and change is very evident in the eucharistic liturgy. The Catholic world has become more and more conscious of relevancy in the eucharistic celebration. Much of the mysterious has disappeared with the advent of the vernacular, and the many shortcomings of the Roman canon are now glaringly evident to all. This has resulted in a cry for reform of the Roman canon.

Undoubtedly reform is needed. The age of experimentation is already here. However, in order to change or adapt the canon of the mass, we must have a great knowledge and deep understanding of what is involved. If we do not grasp the true significance of what is involved in this central act of Christian worship, we are in danger of destroying rather than reforming.

This thesis is concerned with two aspects of the Roman canon: the anamnesis and the epiclesis. These two points are traced through the very ancient, Old Testament milieu, the first Christian setting and the earliest

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anaphoras of the East and the West, as well as the liturgies of present day Catholicism. In any reform of the Roman canon, the place and the importance of the anamnesis and the epiclesis would have to be considered.

The prayer Unde et memores of the Roman canon is usually referred to as the anamnesis — the recalling or remembering. Here we are using the word in a wider context, to include the whole narrative account. The epiclesis or the 'calling down' refers to the prayer asking the Holy Spirit to sanctify the worshippers and to change the gifts into the Body and Blood of Christ. This epicletic prayer may be seen in the Quam oblationem of the Roman canon.

The thesis is divided into four chapters. The first chapter deals with the berakah or blessing of the Old Testament world. The second chapter studies the period of early Christianity with particular emphasis on the anaphoras of the East, while the third chapter studies the liturgies of the West. The final chapter is a summary and conclusion.

CHAPTER ONE

BERAKAH

Words are signs of ideas. When these ideas concern a style of life, it is very difficult to transfer them from one milieu to another. All talk is somebody's talk, in relation to some particular situation. Meaningfulness can only be defined in relation to what is being talked about. It would seem very simple, for example, to translate the Latin word domus by the English word 'house'. But, as Audet points out, it would be necessary to look at all the domestic, geographical, sociological and religious aspects of the word, in order to give the more correct meaning.¹ All this is especially true when we have to bring an idea across centuries of time and from one way of life to another.

Eucharist is this kind of word. It translates a meaning, a reality, which goes back to the Old Testament way of life. How far back can only be surmised. The principal meaning of the Greek word eucharistéo is to give, or to return thanks.² In reference to the mass, it

1 J. P. Audet, "Bénédition juive et Eucharistie chrétienne", in Revue Biblique, Vol. 65, No. 65, 1965, p. 372.

2 W. Bauer, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament, Chicago, University Press, 1957, p. 328.

would mean the offering of a gift, accompanied by words and gestures expressing gratitude.³ But the reality which this word attempts to translate is a religious experience which flourished in a very different milieu. It is important to look at other aspects of the reality translated by the word eucharistéo, which are not, perhaps, grasped by our present day understanding of the word Eucharist.

In this paper we are concerned with two aspects: anamnesis and epiclesis. The first is a recalling or remembering the wonderful works of God. The second, or epiclesis, is a word or prayer by which God is called down.⁴ Schillebeeckx speaks of both these aspects, with reference to the sacraments:

This twofold aspect of the sacraments (first Christ's own ritual prayer for grace, in which the Church prayerfully joins and with it gives ritual expression to her prayer, and second the effective bestowal of the prayer for grace) helps us better grasp that the substance of a sacrament always includes a twofold element: an epiclesis in the form of a request (in forma deprecativa), that is to say, a prayer in which we plead with the Father by the power of the Spirit and together with Christ; and a definite bestowal (in forma indicativa). Both elements are always present, even when they no longer appear, as was formerly the case, in two separate ritual moments in the Liturgy. Moreover the one essential moment (whether it be an expression in the form of an

3 J. P. Audet, art. cit., p. 374.

4 E. Schillebeeckx, Christ the Sacrament of Encounter with God, London, Sheed & Ward, 1965, p. 121.

epiclesis or an exclusively indicative formula) has in any case the twofold significance. In the contraction of the essential sacrament to the one moment in the whole of the richly developed liturgical rite, we have unfortunately lost sight of this double significance. There seems then to be reason to regret the fact that, at least in Western liturgy, the form of ritual realization has nearly always concentrated on an 'indicative formula' as the essentially sacramental moment, while the epiclesis, the request or deprecatory formula, sometimes obscured but still always really present within the liturgical whole, is mostly relegated to the level of a merely ceremonial adjunct.⁵

When Schillebeeckx speaks of the "definite bestowal of grace", the forma indicativa, it must be understood as the anamnesis — the recalling or remembering. Le Deaut is careful to point out that when God remembers something happens.⁶ The remembrance always corresponds to an active intervention. Schillebeeckx, then, sees both the anamnesis and the epiclesis as the twofold aspect of the sacraments. We are concerned with the Eucharist, attempting to see if anamnesis and epiclesis are aspects of the reality translated by the Greek word eucharistéo.

Audet traces the Eucharist back to a Jewish tradition which is called berakah.⁷ This Hebrew word, berakah,

5 E. Schillebeeckx, op. cit., p. 87.

6 R. Le Deaut, La Nuit pascale, Rome, Institut Biblique, 1963, p. 67.

7 J. P. Audet, "Genre littéraire et formes culturelles de l'Eucharistie", in Ephemerides Liturgicae, Vol. 80, 1966, p. 356.

means 'blessing'. It seems to have a very long history. Audet writes that when we first come across the berakah in the Old Testament, it is already well developed, and that its origins, whatever they be, are neither collective nor sacral.

The berakah is the spontaneous expression of sentiments by the individual consciousness, born from a certain faith in God. These sentiments were caused by circumstances more or less rare and more or less exceptional, in the life of the people.⁸

Today liturgists speak of the eucharistic blessing rather than of thanksgiving and the notion of praise has come to the fore. Ledogar writes that:

There seems to be considerable agreement among historians of the liturgy that the Eucharistic prayers of the many Christian traditions are all closely linked in their origins to a Jewish literary and cultic form called the berakah or 'blessing'.⁹

Audet claims that both admiration and thanksgiving are found in the berakah, but primacy of place must be given to admiration. He writes:

In any case there is no doubt in our opinion that the 'benediction', the veritable summit of cultic expression in Jewish antiquity, invites us to choose unequivocally for the primacy of admiration.¹⁰

8 J. P. Audet, "Bénédiction juive et Eucharistie chrétienne", p. 376 (the translation is my own).

9 Robert J. Ledogar, "The Eucharistic prayer and the gifts over which it is spoken", in Worship, Vol. 41, No. 10, December 1967, p. 581.

10 J. P. Audet, "Genre littéraire et formes culturelles de l'Eucharistie", p. 367 (translation is mine).

Ledogar agrees with Audet, that there is admiration and thanksgiving found in the berakah, but he would give primacy of place to thanksgiving. He writes:

When one offers praise on account of something God has done for him, we understand the praise offered to be an act of thanksgiving. Thanksgiving is a specific kind of praise.¹¹

Both Audet and Ledogar are in agreement therefore, that admiration, praise and thanksgiving are essential notes of the berakah or blessing. Ledogar, it seems, would be more in line with the tradition which translated berakah by the Greek word Eucharist. But since he claims that praise is a specific form of thanksgiving, we may conclude that there is not an essential difference in their understanding of berakah.

According to Audet, the berakah, in its most ample shape, usually contains three elements: 1) The introductory formula of praise; 2) the anamnesis of the mirabilia Dei; and 3) the concluding formula or doxology.¹²

1. The introductory formula of praise.

This introductory formula usually begins with some form of the word berakah, to bless. There is the very

¹¹ R. J. Ledogar, art. cit., p. 581.

¹² J. P. Audet, "Bénédiction juive et Eucharistie chrétienne", p. 371-399.

beautiful account of Isaac's marriage to Rebecca. Abraham, "advanced in years" sent his servant Eliezer to find a wife for his son Isaac. With sublime trust in God, Abraham felt that the God who had directed him to this land and promised it to his descendants, would continue his care, and direct Eliezer in his efforts. It was evening when the servant came to the well on the outskirts of town. He waited for a sign. When the women came to draw water, he asked for a drink. It was Rebecca who replied that she would not only give him to drink, but would also water his camels. Eliezer saw in this the intervention of God. He fell to his knees and prayed:

Blessed be Yahweh, God of my master Abraham, for he has not stopped showing kindness and goodness to my master. Yahweh has guided my steps to the house of my master's brother.¹³

First, there is adoration. Eliezer falls to his knees, as if the fulfillment of the asked for sign has put him in the presence of God. Then a blessing comes to his lips: blessed be Yahweh. There is admiration and thanksgiving that God has not ceased his favors to Abraham. Audet sees in this a proclamation of the Divine name and faith in the Divine name.¹⁴

13 Gn. 24, 26-27.

14 J. P. Audet, "Genre littéraire et formes culturelles de l'Eucharistie", p. 361.

2. The anamnesis of the mirabilia Dei.

Audet considers this element of the berakah as the most important.¹⁵ The anamnesis is the more or less prolonged development of the motives of praise, the wonderful acts that God has performed in creation or in the history of his people. It is an account of the acts which magnify the name of God for all his great wonders. It is sometimes long, and goes from the particular to the universal, touching on things referring to all men as well as to the Chosen Race.¹⁶ According to Audet, it is a treasure house of all that God has done.¹⁷ Audet also mentions prayer which has a place in this second element of berakah.¹⁸ We will remember that the mission of Abraham's servant was preceded by a prayer, that he would recognize the young girl chosen to be wife to Isaac. Prayer was never far from the consciousness of the Jewish people. It was an interior movement which gave rise to the 'blessing'. But it is very interesting to see the inverse order, that is, the blessing first and then the prayer. Audet says that

15 Quoted in R. J. Ledogar, art. cit., p. 582.

16 J. P. Audet, "Bénédiction juive et Eucharistie chrétienne", p. 379-380.

17 Idem, ibid., p. 379.

18 Idem, ibid., p. 380.

it is really an extraordinary thing for this ancient consciousness, to subordinate the request for oneself to the admiring praise which goes out of oneself.¹⁹ Because Yahweh has done this in the past, and because He continues to create his people to this very moment, therefore the assembly prays that God will act here and now:

Blessed be the Lord who has given rest to his people Israel, according to all that he has promised. There has not failed so much as one word of all the good things that he has promised by his servant Moses. The Lord God be with us as he was with our fathers, and not leave us nor cast us off, but may he incline our hearts to himself, that we may walk in all his ways, and keep his commandments and his ceremonies and all his judgements which he commanded our fathers.²⁰

There are many examples showing this second element of the berakah, that is the anamnesis of the mirabilia Dei. As Audet points out, the principal terrain is the Psalms:²¹

Give thanks to Yahweh, call aloud his name,
proclaim his deeds to the peoples!
Sing to him, play to him,
tell over all his marvels.
Glory in his holy name,
let the hearts that seek Yahweh rejoice.

Seek Yahweh and his strength,
seek his face untiringly;
remember the marvels he has done,
his wonders the judgements from his mouth.

19 J. P. Audet, "Bénédiction juive et Eucharistie chrétienne", p. 380-381.

20 1 Kings 8, 56-61.

21 J. P. Audet, "Bénédiction juive et Eucharistie chrétienne", p. 380.

Stock of Abraham his servant,
 sons of Jacob his chosen one.
 He is Yahweh our God,
 his authority is over all the earth.

Remember his covenant for ever
 his word of command for a thousand generations.
 The pact he made with Abraham
 his oath to Isaac.

He established it as a statute for Jacob,
 an everlasting covenant for Israel.
 I give you a land he said,
 Canaan your allotted heritage.

There where you were easily counted,
 few in number, strangers to the country.
 They went from nation to nation,
 from one kingdom to another people.

He let no man oppress them,
 he punished kings on their behalf.
 Do not touch my anointed ones he said,
 do not harm my prophets.²²

3. The concluding formula or doxology.

It seems that the berakah took its name from the initial formula of praise. Audet points out that, in keeping with Hebrew composition, the ensemble concluded with a return to the initial idea of blessing.²³ The form of this doxology depended on the facts mentioned in the anamnesis of the mirabilia Dei.²⁴ We have the example of

²² Ps. 105, 1-15.

²³ J. P. Audet, "Genre littéraire et formes culturelles de l'Eucharistie", p. 363.

²⁴ Aidan Kavanagh, "Thoughts on the Roman Anaphora", in Worship, Vol. 39, No. 1, December 1965, p. 521.

David appointing the Levites as ministers before the ark of Yahweh. They were to praise Yahweh, God of Israel, in song. After recalling the wonderful deeds of God for his people, the Levites concluded their song with a doxology:

Blessed be Yahweh the God of Israel
from all eternity and for ever.
And let all the people say, Amen.
Alleluia.²⁵

In this doxology, we see the return to the initial: blessed be Yahweh. And this concludes the general framework of the berakah or blessing.

Even today, the berakah remains a living tradition in Judaism. It has proven to be one of the most deep-rooted literary forms to which the older forms of Semitic religion gave birth.²⁶ There is no reason to say that Jesus and his disciples broke with this tradition in which they were so deeply immersed. Nor could we say that the transposition of these forms into Greek implied an alteration of their fundamental meaning. As we shall see later, the early Christian communities were dominated by a Jewish component. We could not even expect such an alteration until after the separation of church and synagogue. However, by that time the Semitic foundations of eucharistic theology were well established.

25 1 Chron. 15, 36.

26 A. Kavanagh, art. cit., p. 522.

We have seen the three elements or sections which are found in a complete berakah. To illustrate this point we give the berakah ha mazon as a typical example. Ligier would say that very likely the first Christians used this berakah for the Eucharistic action, simply inserting into it the words of institution.²⁷ In the Old Testament milieu, it was used at the Passover, the feast of tabernacles at every new moon celebration as well as various other occasions.

Barukh attah, blessed be you Lord, Our God, king of the universe, who has nourished us and the whole world by your goodness, tenderness, grace and mercy. Blessed be you who has nourished the universe.

Nodeh, we give you thanks, Lord, Our God, for giving to us the inheritance of a desirable land, vast and good, the alliance and law, life and food. For your goodness we give you thanks and bless your name always and forever. Blessed be you Lord for the land and food.

Rahem, be compassionate Lord God, on Israel your people, Jerusalem your city, on your sanctuary and dwelling place in Sion, sojourn of your glory, the great and holy house on which has been invoked your name. And restore to its place, in our day, the kingship of David, and construct soon Jerusalem. Blessed be you who have constructed Jerusalem.²⁸

26 Louis Ligier, "De la Cène à l'anaphore", in La Maison-Dieu, Vol. 87, 1966, p. 33.

27 Idem, ibid., p. 31-32.

In the baruk attah of this berakah ha mazon, we see very clearly the initial blessing: "Blessed be you Lord." This is followed by the anamnesis. It recalls the wonderful works of God in creation, as well as God's gift of the land, the alliance and the law, to his chosen people. It concludes with a request for compassion on Israel and the city of Jerusalem. This would be the place of the berakah epiclesis.²⁸ We shall now study this in more detail, as we look more closely at the meaning of the words anamnesis and epiclesis of the Old Testament milieu.

Modern authors tell us that anamnesis refers to the Unde et memores of the Latin mass and its analogs in other liturgies.²⁹ This prayer Unde et memores recalls the passion, death, resurrection and ascension of Christ. Just as in the New Testament we see the fulfillment of all the promises and aspiration of God's people in the Old Testament, so too, in the passion, death and resurrection of Christ, we see the fulfillment of the anamnesis of the Old Testament. The acts whereby God guided the chosen race are fulfilled and brought to fruition in Christ Jesus. To understand more fully the meaning of the word anamnesis therefore, we must study it in the Old Testament.

28 L. Ligier, "De la Cène à l'anaphore", p. 44.

29 F. A. Brunner, "Anamnesis", in the New Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 1, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1967, p. 475.

We have seen that anamnesis means to recall the wonderful works of God in creation, as well as His particular interventions with the chosen race. There are two aspects to this meaning. It is, first of all, recalling the interventions of God in the history of his people. The second aspect is reminding God of his alliance and his law. This meaning always corresponded to an active intervention. When God remembers, something takes place of happens: a new situation is created, or a former one is restored.³⁰ It is a real happening and not simply a recalling to mind. The same creative power which was present at the time of creation, for example, is now present in this particular concrete situation. The redeeming power of God was made present for them in the here and now. This meaning of anamnesis is brought out very clearly in the Mishna,³¹ where we see that every individual is considered as having experienced personally the exodus from Egypt:

It is therefore incumbent on every person of all ages, that he should consider as if he had personally gone forth from Egypt, as it is said, this is done because of what the Lord did for me in Egypt. We are therefore in duty bound to

30 R. Le Deaut, op. cit., p. 67.

31 For an understanding of the word Mishna, see K. Schubert, "Talmud", in the New Catholic Encyclopedia, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1967, p. 923-927.

thank, praise, extol, adore, glorify, honor, bless, exalt and reverence Him who wrought all these miracles for our ancestors and for us. He brought us forth from bondage, to freedom. He changed our sorrow into joy, our mourning into a feast. He led us from darkness into a great light, from servitude to redemption, let us therefore say in his presence, allelujah.³²

The above quotation speaks of the going forth from Egypt. This was the great event in the life of the chosen race. Moses, under God's direction, led his people from slavery in Egypt. He started them on their way towards the land which God had promised them. The Jews celebrate this passing over from slavery to freedom, each year. They call it the paschal feast. "This day is to be a day of remembrance for you...you are to declare it a day of festival, for ever."³³ The feast itself is called anamnesis. The people are called upon to 'remember' the wonderful works of God, in freeing his people from slavery, and the day itself is called: anamnesis.³⁴ Every paschal feast is, to this day, a re-presentation of that first exodus. Every individual plays a part in it, as if he himself had personally gone forth from Egypt. We could in fact say that the Jews were able to live again

32 Bernard Anderson, Understanding the Old Testament, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice Hall, 1966, p. 8.

33 Ex. 12, 14.

33 R. Le Deaut, op. cit., p. 70.

sacramentally, the happenings of the exodus, the departure from Egypt.³⁴

This word anamnesis is charged with meaning. The day of anamnesis is one for the Israelites to observe in re-presentation. It is also a day reserved by God for all time, so that He manifest and continue to manifest His great liberation, so this annual celebration becomes the anamnesis of other liberations. It recalls the hope of man founded on the fidelity of God, who Himself remembers the promise and the deliverance of old.

The chief content of Jewish culture and education was tradition or the memories of the past. The departure from Egypt was the central fact. These memories were kept alive in ritual and ceremonial which achieved a richness and variety hardly paralleled in the history of any other people. Throughout his life, from birth to death, the Jew was surrounded by signs and symbols which continually exhorted him to remember.

Audet points out another aspect of this word: anamnesis. This word is dynamic in character. By this is meant that new and different interventions on the part

34 Max Thurian, L'Eucharistie, Paris, Delachaux & Niestlé, 1959, p. 24.

35 N. Morris, The early church remembered better than it understood, London, Jewish School Press, 1937, p. 117.

of God in the history of his people, were continually incorporated into the berakah, and anamnesis made of it. Events, like the crossing of the Red Sea, were seen by other people as simple historical happenings, but for the Israelites they were also special interventions of God. God remembered the alliance. The people would therefore include this particular event in the berakah. They would frequently recall it in anamnesis.³⁶ This meaning of the word is evident from the common knowledge that the event marking the return of the Israelites to their homeland after the Second World War, is contained in the berakah. Very likely, the events of the most recent Israeli-Arab war will find their way into a berakah, to be recalled by future generations.

This developing reality is a most fascinating aspect of the commemorative nature of the Old Testament liturgy.³⁷ Bernard Cooke says that while the commemorative significance remains essentially unchanged, it is always a recalling of the Exodus, nevertheless a deepening of understanding takes place over the years.³⁸ Consequently

36 J. P. Audet, "Genre littéraire et formes culturelles de l'Eucharistie", p. 374.

37 Bernard Cooke, Christian Sacraments and Christian Personality, New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1965, p. 177.

38 Idem, ibid.

we find more detail within the ritual. Cultural and historical influences have their impact too, with the result that we find considerable development around the earlier and simpler ceremonial forms. What is spectacular in this process of liturgical growth is the influence of Israel's concept of Yahweh, and her recollection of his intervention in human history. By his intervention, he radically transformed the new events that came into their life situation, and made them part and parcel of the Old Testament world. In this process, the natural religious aspect of ancient man, was brought into relationship with the truths of revelation and so transformed.³⁹ This meaning of the word anamnesis is very important if we are to understand clearly how it was that Christ was not bound to the anamnesis more or less common, but that he could incorporate all the things fulfilled in Him.

Before concluding our analysis of the word anamnesis, we must look at the critique given by Thurian⁴⁰. He writes that this word means, first of all, to think of something which is already known and past:

39 B. Cooke, op. cit., p. 177.

40 Max Thurian, op. cit., p. 30-31.

Remembering Yahweh's achievements,
remembering your marvels in the past.
I reflect on all that you did,⁴¹
I ponder on all your achievements.

Secondly, it means to recall a work or duty of the past:

Remember your kindness Yahweh,
your love, that you showed long ago.
Do not remember the sins of my youth;
but rather, with your love, remember me.⁴²

Thirdly, it means to remember something in favor of
someone:

After that, they did not come on the sabbath
any more. I ordered the Levites to purify them-
selves, to come and supervise the gates, so that
the sabbath might be kept holy. For this too,
remember me, my God.⁴³

Finally, it means to recall something to someone. It is
this meaning of anamnesis which is very important for an
understanding of liturgical or sacrificial memorial.

I it is, I it is, who must blot out everything
and not remember your sins.
Remind me, let us judge this together;
State your own case and prove your innocence.⁴⁴

We can clearly see two meanings of the word anamnesis in
the above quotation. First God Himself remembers, and
secondly someone reminds God of something. This second
meaning is again evident in Isaia:

41 Ps. 77, 12-13.

42 Ps. 25, 6-7.

43 Ps. 13, 21-22.

44 Is. 43, 25-26.

On your walls, Jerusalem,
I set watchmen.
Day or night
they must never be silent.

You who keep Yahweh mindful
must take no rest.
Nor let him take rest
till he has restored Jerusalem,
and made her the boast of the earth.⁴⁵

It is as if the people were to say: look, God, you made an alliance with us, well remember it now and come to our aid. This concludes our study of the word anamnesis. We have seen it to be the most important element of the berakah. In fact without the anamnesis, it is impossible to have a berakah.⁴⁶

The second point with which we are concerned in this paper is the epiclesis. We must now look more closely at the meaning of this word. We have already seen that the epiclesis is a word or prayer by which God is 'called down'.⁴⁷ The New Catholic Encyclopedia defines it as: the invoking of a name, which in a liturgical context is the name of God, upon a person or thing.⁴⁸ The most

45 Is. 62, 6-7.

46 J. P. Audet, "Genre littéraire et formes culturelles de l'Eucharistie", p. 371.

47 Cf. supra, p. 2-3.

48 C. A. Maloney, "Epiclesis", in the New Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 5, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1967, p. 464-465.

ancient Christian liturgical epiclesis is that found in baptismal formularies where the Blessed Trinity is invoked over the catechumen. We are here concerned with the epiclesis as found in the Eucharist. But it is only one of many such forms. In other sacraments and blessings, similar prayers were used to ask God to send His Holy Spirit to sanctify the matter. There is an epiclesis for the water of baptism, and in the East there are epicleses in the prayers used to bless wine, oil and milk.

One of the first things to point out is the development of the epiclesis, over the centuries. Today we speak of a consecratory epiclesis, or the invocation of the Holy Spirit to change the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ. Sometimes we speak of the invocation of the Holy Spirit to sanctify the worshippers in order that they communicate fruitfully. This latter is called a plain epiclesis. In our study of the origin and source of this prayer, in the Jewish berakah, obviously we will not find any reference to the Holy Spirit. The Jews had a very strict monotheistic belief, and the idea of the Trinity would, I suppose, be suspect within Jewish circles. For this people, God is not an idea to be incorporated into a logical system. Today we attribute to one or other of the Three Divine Persons specific aspects of the wonderful works of God. For the Jewish people, He is the

God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and not the God of speculative thought. He is known by what He has done and will do.

In our study of the anamnesis, we quoted the berakah ha mazon.⁴⁹ The epiclesis appears in the same berakah. It is an invocation for the blessing of God on the people, the temple and the city of Jerusalem. Commenting on this berakah, Ligier points out that this section of the berakah was flexible.⁵⁰ The prayer would change from one liturgical celebration to another, and was the traditional place for the blessing of the third cup, within the Jewish Pasch. This cup symbolized the coming of the Kingdom, and the chastisement of the nations which did not invoke His name.⁵¹ "Pour out your wrath upon the nations who know you not, and upon the Kingdoms that do not call upon your name."⁵² Both the epiclesis for a blessing on the people and the city of Jerusalem, as well as the invocation for God to send down His wrath, placed the people in a state of waiting for a manifestation of God and the Kingdom. Both are clear examples of berakah

49 Cf. supra, p. 11.

50 L. Ligier, art. cit., p. 32.

51 Idem, ibid., p. 16.

52 Ps. 68, 6.

epiclesis, or in the words of Schillebeeckx, the "calling down" of God.⁵³

There are many examples of invocation, 'calling down', or epiclesis, in the Old Testament.⁵⁴ Thurian studies the epiclesis contained in the sacrifices of holocaust. This is probably the most ancient source we have, going back even to the period of Moses.⁵⁵ In all of these sacrifices there is an invocation on the part of the people, and a manifestation on the part of God:

Yahweh heard Manoah's prayer for favour, and the angel of Yahweh visited the woman again as she was sitting in the field; her husband Manoah was not with her...Then Manoah took the kid and the oblation and offered it as a holocaust on the rock to Yahweh who works mysteries. As the flame went up heavenwards from the altar, the angel of Yahweh ascended in the flame in the sight of Manoah and his wife.⁵⁶

In this type of sacrifice, the epiclesis, followed by a certain manifestation of God, would indicate the uniting of the faithful with God, which is likewise very important in eucharistic theology.

53 E. Schillebeeckx, op. cit., p. 121.

54 Ps. 69, 25; 69, 23-29; Lam. 3, 66; Os. 9, 14.

55 M. Thurian, op. cit., p. 52.

56 Jg. 13, 9. 19-20. Underlining ours.

Among these very ancient sacrifices, there was one of peace.⁵⁷ It signified a community of life between God and the people, and whoever offered such a sacrifice, introduced peace in the world.⁵⁸ Once again there is an invocation. This time, it is for unity, which in turn, becomes a thanksgiving, thus intimately uniting the thanksgiving and the invocation:

I will offer libations to My Saviour,
invoking the name of Yahweh.
I will offer you the thanksgiving sacrifice,
invoking the name of Yahweh.⁵⁹

No, let thanksgiving be your sacrifice to God,
fulfill the vows you make to the most high;
then you can invoke me in your troubles
and I will rescue you, and you shall honour me.⁶⁰

Oesterley, in his study of the epiclesis in the Jewish berakah, traces it to the Jews' deep awareness of the shekinah or presence of God.⁶¹ He says that this idea of shekinah may well be regarded as throwing light on the origin of the epiclesis. There is the thought of God tabernacling among his people through the descent of the

57 M. Thurian, op. cit., p. 52.

58 J. Bonsirven, Textes rabbiniques des premiers siècles chrétiens pour servir à l'intelligence du Nouveau Testament, Rome, Istituto Biblico, 1955, p. 37.

59 Ps. 116, 13, 17.

60 Ps. 50, 14-16.

61 W. O. E. Oesterley, The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1925, p. 227.

Divine Presence. Though this was conceived of as an invisible presence manifest in such things as the bright cloud guiding them in the desert, it was nevertheless real. Oesterley says there was an identification of the Spirit of God with the Presence of God, not in the developed Christian sense, but nevertheless a belief in the real presence of God by his Spirit.⁶² "Wherever two or three sit together occupied with the reading of the Torah, there is the Shekinah among them."⁶³

This concludes our analysis of the word epiclesis. We have seen that both the anamnesis and epiclesis are of Semitic origin. Both are found in the very ancient blessing or berakah. This, then, is the rich heritage of praise and thanksgiving which Jesus gathered from the lips of his people to give it full meaning and significance. Before studying the anamnesis and epiclesis, with their development, among the first Christians, we must look at both in the life and the actions of Jesus Christ.

It would be wrong to think that Jesus had to repeat only the words of anamnesis which were common among the people of that day. It was through him that God renewed all the good works which were such a great example

62 W. O. E. Oesterley, op. cit., p. 227.

63 Quoted in W. O. E. Oesterley, op. cit., p. 224.

to the chosen race on their march through the desert. The form of the berakah would certainly be the traditional one. It was the only thing known to his people. If there was any change, it would almost certainly be noted, and no mention is made of any change. But the words and the theme of the berakah would be all the things fulfilled in Christ. It would be evangelical in this sense. The crowning point was the death of Christ already passed in anticipation in hope and certitude of glory in the resurrection.

It is in this profound sense that the invitation to perpetuate the gestures of bread and wine must be at the same time an invitation to do it in memory of him. According to Audet, this invitation of Christ to take up his berakah with the gospel, the things fulfilled in him, as the anamnesis was an endeavour to awaken forever the understanding in the decisive values of his death and resurrection.⁶⁴ It was also an attempt to tie across the proclamation which every anamnesis had, hope and faith in the plan of God. It was, then, a memorial of a new alliance by Christ. It began with the praise of berakah, but this praise gradually enveloped the whole of the rite of the new alliance.

⁶⁴ J. P. Audet, "Genre littéraire et formes culturelles de l'Eucharistie", p. 372.

There are many examples of the berakah in the gospels:

At that time Jesus spoke and said: I praise you, Father, Lord of heaven and of earth, for hiding these things from the learned and the clever and revealing them to mere children. Yes, Father, for that is what it pleased you to do.⁶⁵

This is the classic form of berakah as we have already seen it. The motive for the blessing shows some of the mirabilia or wonders of God, as Jesus saw it accomplished in his action of announcing the good news. The 'wonders of God' are the announcing of the Kingdom of God, making its way into the hearts of the little ones, all those who take part in the ideal of brotherhood.

Just before the raising of Lazarus from the dead, there is another berakah said by Jesus:

Father I thank you for hearing my prayer. I knew indeed that you always hear me, but I speak for the sake of all these who stand round me, so that they may believe it was you who sent me.⁶⁶

Here there is a proclamation of the wonders of God. It is not however of some past happening, but the present wonder of Christ Himself and his saving mission. In those examples we see the proclamation of the Divine Name and

65 Mt. 11, 25-26. Underlining ours.

66 Jn. 11, 41-42.

the proclamation of the works of God. Both are necessary and fulfill the requirements of berakah.

The dynamic character of the anamnesis could well absorb change and adaptation to all the various circumstances.⁶⁷ It sought to link together all the various circumstances of Christian life into one anamnesis. This is why we can say that our whole life is a Eucharist.

67 Cf. p. 15-16.

CHAPTER TWO

EARLY CHRISTIANITY

Now as they were eating, Jesus took some bread, and when he had said the blessing he broke it and gave it to this disciples. 'Take and eat' he said, 'this is my Body.' Then he took a cup, and when he had returned thanks he gave it to them. 'Drink all of you from this' he said, 'for this is my Blood, the Blood of the covenant which is to be poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins. From now on I tell you, I shall not drink wine until the day I drink the new wine with you in the Kingdom of my Father.'¹

If we look closely at this account of the Eucharist, we can see the traditional elements of praise, blessing and thanksgiving. In fact the very words: blessing and thanksgiving, which imply praise, are used by the evangelist. In all the accounts of the Eucharist, the blessing and thanksgiving always precede the actions of breaking the bread and taking the cup. What is the significance of this relationship? What is the relationship of this word praise to the bread and the wine, over which it is said? We would agree with the research of Ledogar which shows that the essential element in all praise is public acknowledgement prompted by gratitude.²

1 Mt. 26, 26-28.

2 Robert J. Ledogar, "The Eucharistic prayer and the gifts over which it is spoken", in Worship, Vol. 41, No. 10, December 1967, p. 579.

It is precisely the notion of gratitude which relates the bread and the wine to the memorial meal, where they are changed into the Body and Blood of Christ.

Since all the accounts of the Last Supper vary in wording, it is impossible to know the exact words Christ used. For our present study, however, it is important to realize that Christ placed the Last Supper within the berakah, blessing the bread and wine with his own unique prayer. Forever after, it became a statement of the church's faith, not in the form of credal propositions but in the form of joyous proclamation of a faith experience.³ In the offering of the gifts, Christians give praise and thanksgiving. This praise was seen as an acceptance of the gifts by God, and the acceptance was thereby the sanctification of the gifts.⁴ Within the praise there was an anamnesis, and necessarily an epiclesis. We say necessarily because without the involvement of God in the eucharistic action, the celebration would be merely subjective memorial.⁵ In 1 Timothy we learn that:

3 R. Ledogar, art. cit., p. 581.

4 P. P. Saydon, A Catholic Commentary on Sacred Scriptures, London, Thomas Nelson, 1963, p. 231.

5 Gerald J. Sigler, "Themes for a Catechesis of the Canon", in Worship, Vol. 41, No. 9, November 1967, p. 525-526.

Everything God has created is good, and no food is to be rejected, provided grace is said for it; the word of God and prayer make it holy. If you put all this to the brothers, you will be a good servant of Christ Jesus and show that you have really digested the teaching of the faith and the good doctrine which you have always followed.⁶

In order to see more clearly the essential role of anamnesis and epiclesis in early church worship, we shall study three important sources: 1) the first Christians, 2) early church Fathers, and 3) anaphoras of the East.

1. The First Christians.

It appears that the synagogue and the church, during the sub-apostolic period, were not in any sense related.⁷ With the destruction of the temple around the year 70 A.D., Judaism and Christianity went their separate ways, and apparently the local synagogue and the local church within the larger milieu of the pagan society, did not come into contact with one another. The Christian church was not any more concerned with the Jew of the synagogue, and turned its attention to consolidating itself. It sought to purge itself of evil, to fight the

⁶ 1 Tim. 4, 4-5.

⁷ Stanley Harakas, "The relationship of church and synagogue in the Apostolic Fathers", in St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly, Vol. 2, No. 3, October 1967, p. 136.

battles of martyrdom with the gentile pagans and to organize its Scriptures.⁸ The Jews of the synagogue represented a small past and the pagan empire promised a greater future. When the Christian of the sub-apostolic period did come into contact with the Jew of the synagogue, he most probably sensed more strongly the discontinuity, rather than the continuity, for he had become a new creature.⁹ This may be the reason why not much interest was shown in the Semitic milieu of the early church.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that the local church of the sub-apostolic period was made up, or composed of converts from Judaism. Schonfield was one of the first to point out this fact.¹⁰ He then traces the influence of Judaism upon Christianity from the first to the twentieth centuries. The church of Jerusalem was made up of converts to Christianity from Judaism, and this local church had great authority and prestige. In fact it was only with the fall of Jerusalem that Paul could make his position regarding converts from paganism acceptable to the Christians of Jerusalem.¹¹ The point is that the

8 S. Harakas, art. cit., p. 136.

9 Idem, ibid.

10 Hugh Schonfield, The History of Jewish Christianity, London, Duckworth, 1936, p. 1.

11 Jean Daniélou, Théologie du judéo-christianisme, Paris, Desclée, 1957, p. 17-18.

traditions of Judaism were so strong in the church, that Paul found great difficulty making his point about the different mentality of the converts from paganism. Indeed the church of Jerusalem was a pioneering factor in the evangelization of the gentiles. In the Acts we read that they sent forth Barnabas, Judas and Silas who were converts from Judaism:

Then the Apostles and elders decided to choose delegates to send to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas; the whole church was concerned with this. They chose Judas known as Barsabbas, and Silas, both leading men in the brotherhood, and gave them this letter to take with them.¹²

The church of Jerusalem was responsible for the direction of the gentile Christians, not only of Antioch but also of Syria and Cilicia generally.¹³ This was natural, since these people had been the closest followers of Christ and had been guided by him in all things.¹⁴ This aspect of acceptance of direction by the converts from paganism is seen in the epistles:

Another reason why we continually thank God for you is that as soon as you heard the message that we brought you as God's message, you accepted it for what it really is, God's message and not some human thinking, and it is still a living power among you who believe it. For you, my

12 Acts 15, 22.

13 W. O. E. Oesterley, The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1925, p.98-99.

14 Idem, ibid.

brothers, have been like the churches of God in Christ Jesus which are in Judaea, in suffering the same treatment from your own countrymen as they have suffered from the Jews, the people who put the Lord Jesus to death, and the prophets too.¹⁵

Among the writings attributed to the early Christians of Judaic origin, is the Epistle to the Hebrews. Their theology was archaic, holding firmly to monotheism, but nevertheless accepting the divinity of Christ. In worship, these early Christians expressed themselves in the forms traditional to Judaism.¹⁶

Eucharistic theology did not begin with the Greek interpretation of the gospel message.¹⁷ It is true that there was a conflict of Greek and Syrian cultures, but the church refused to be caught in it. Eventually when the gentiles acquired predominance in numbers and authority in the church, new ways of expression were found, but the Semitic foundations of the berakah were never lost.¹⁸ If the manner of worship had been altered, we might reasonably expect some mention of it as being something new. Indeed the one aspect which does differ from the traditional way

15 1 Th. 2, 12-14.

16 J. Daniélou, op. cit., p. 17-18.

17 Idem, ibid., p. 1.

18 Gregory Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy, Westminster, Dacre Press, 1945, p. 101.

is given very explicit mention. The words of institution are mentioned in all the gospels. If the accustomed mode of worship was continued, the fact would be so natural as not to require any explicit reference. This silence therefore, apart from other arguments, in itself offers some justification for the belief that the earliest Christians continued to worship in their traditional way.¹⁹ By the time the 'gentile Christians' outnumbered the Christians of Judaic origins, the Semitic foundations were well established. The separation, whenever it came, was made with great delicacy and considerable knowledge of Jewish customs, by men who cherished the Jewish past.²⁰ We have only to remember such things as the retention of the host's invitation to offer the berakah and the guest's accent, so evident in our present day preface of the mass. Then again the Greek milieu called the action of worship Eucharist.

The New Testament milieu, where we find the accounts of the Eucharist, gives us another indication of the Jewish background. First of all, there is the use of the word apostle. This word is used only once by Herodotus and not at all by Philo, which leads Cerfaux to conclude

19 W. O. E. Oesterley, op. cit., p. 84-85.

20 G. Dix, op. cit., p. 101.

that its background is Jewish.²¹ Another example is the use of the word sacrifice.²² Paul refers to sacrifice in cultic terms, and most definitely Old Testament cult. The sacrifice is seen as a sweet smelling fragrance, reminiscent of the sweet smelling savour of the sacrifices of the Old Testament:

Thanks be to God, wherever he goes, makes us in Christ, partners of his triumph, and through us is spreading the knowledge of himself, like a sweet smell everywhere. We are Christ's incense to God for those who are being saved and for those who are not, for the last, the smell of death that leads to death, for the first the sweet smell of life that leads to life.²³

The sacrifice is said to be acceptable, and this is almost exclusively a New Testament word.²⁴ It is used of God's attitude toward human behaviour. We come across this word only twice in the Septuagint.²⁵ Used frequently in the New Testament, it seems to point to a true and proper sacrifice, one which is desired by God and one which he will accept.²⁶

21 R. Corriveau, The Liturgy of Life, unpublished doctoral thesis, presented to Academia Alfonsiana, Rome, 1967, p. 191.

22 Idem, ibid.

23 2 Cor. 2, 14-16.

24 R. Corriveau, op. cit., p. 192.

25 Idem, ibid.

26 Idem, ibid., p. 193.

When Paul writes his epistles to the churches which he established, frequently he speaks of the apostolate.²⁷ It is always in terms of worship, praise and thanksgiving which are the essential elements of berakah. The preaching of the gospel is worship of God in the Spirit. He thanks God for the Christian faith of the various communities.

Speaking of the apostolate and sacrifice, Paul draws attention to the purpose of offering the gifts. He seems to invite the worshippers to look not at themselves, but rather to God. This is characteristic of the berakah, as we saw in the example of Eliezer, the servant of Abraham.²⁸

Some authors would make a distinction between the Jews of Palestine and the Jews outside of Palestine, during this early period.²⁹ They would admit to the Semitic foundations of eucharistic theology, but would see this foundation as something quite different from Judaism of Palestine. However, it is increasingly recognized that this difference has been grossly exaggerated.³⁰ Judaism,

27 Rm. 12 and 13.

28 Cf. p. 6.

29 W. D. Davies, Invitation to the New Testament, New York, Doubleday & Co., 1966, p. 26.

30 Idem, ibid., p. 26-30.

inside and outside of Palestine, had certain basic beliefs. Belief in the one God was the constant thinking of the Jew. Together with this belief in the one God was the belief of a special relation between the one God and the one people, Israel. The living link between the God of Israel and the people Israel, was the law or Torah. Jews believed that the God of Israel revealed his will in the law, where He gave detailed instructions how to walk in his ways.

We agree with Oesterley that the Jewish Christian church formulated neither the doctrine of the Trinity, nor that of the Incarnation, for it could not think metaphysically.³¹ However, it made them necessary. When Greek theology performed for Christian thinking what it did for all human thinking, that of giving rational order and universal validity, the Jewish Christian church of this early period had not only provided the materials but made sure that the work would have to be done within the limits of undiminished monotheism, fidelity to historical reality and absolute moral value.³²

Christ was a Jew and his disciples were Jews. As we have seen, the Christian movement continued for some time within Judaism, and even when the Semitic milieu all

31 W. O. E. Oesterley, op. cit., p. 28.

32 Idem, ibid.

but disappeared, the Semitic foundations remained. To understand first century Judaism therefore, is to go a long way toward understanding the theology of the Eucharist, which sprung out of it.³³ Our research leads us to conclude that the anamnesis and epiclesis were therefore well known to the first Christians. The anamnesis concerned itself with the passion, death, resurrection and ascension of Christ, the perfect fulfillment of the berakah anamnesis of the Old Testament. The epiclesis became more pronounced and developed, but it made all the difference in the world, that the vivid excitement of the Spirit was first received by men who would interpret it according to Old Testament ideas and not permit it to go the way of Greek mateia or Phrygian frenzy.³⁴ The very life of the church depends upon its memory or anamnesis, and at the same time the Spirit acts as a spur to this same memory, delving into the past and bringing to the present day church the words and actions of Christ.³⁵

33 W. D. Davies, op. cit., p. 26.

34 W. O. E. Oesterley, Jew and Greek, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1925, p. 27.

35 W. D. Davies, op. cit., p. 508.

2. Early Fathers of the Church.

We are told that there is a similitude between the sacrifices of the Mosaic law and the sacrament of the Eucharist.³⁶ But what is this similitude? The early Fathers have not left us any systematic tract on the Eucharist, like we meet later on in the middle ages. For them, the Eucharist is a reality, more lived than discussed, and the writings we have are against some abuse, or concerning some abuse or development. It is more in the nature of a homily or catechesis.³⁷ Nevertheless they are sufficiently clear for us to form some idea of their concept of the Eucharist. There is St. Cyril of Jerusalem, who is the first to tell us how we must understand this cult:

Do not consider this bread and wine to be ordinary things, they are the Body and Blood of Christ, according to his word. After we have sanctified ourselves by the trisagion, we pray God to send His Holy Spirit down on the offerings so that he may make the bread his Body and the wine his Blood.³⁸

36 Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologiae, Part 3, Q. 73, art. 6.

37 A. Hamman, La Messe, Paris, Grasset, 1964, p.19.

38 Quoted in Jean Daniélou, The Bible and the Liturgy, Indiana, Notre Dame Press, 1956, p. 136.

There is St. Ambrose of Milan and his De Sacramentis, Theodore of Mopsuetia and his Homélie Catéchétiques. These and other Fathers, present to us the Eucharist as:

- 1) the real presence of the Body and Blood of Christ;
- 2) an ecclesiastic rite; 3) a true sacrifice, springing from the sacrifices of the Old Testament; 4) a memorial, which makes present not only the Body and Blood of Christ, but his sacrifice, passion, resurrection and ascension, of which the Eucharist is the anamnesis.³⁹

The Didache gives us a very ancient discipline of the Church, the most ancient liturgy of the Eucharist.⁴⁰ Audet dates the Didache between the years 50 and 70,⁴¹ and De Watteville says it is the most precious discovery of recent years.⁴² The Didache, then, helps us to see something of the piety and the worship of the church at the end of the first century, and even earlier, because the practice and custom would almost certainly be known prior to the writing of it. In fact, this writing shows us many different sources. De Watteville points to ten quotations

39 Jean De Watteville, Le sacrifice dans les textes eucharistiques des premiers siècles, Paris, Delachaux & Niestlé, 1966, p. 9.

40 Idem, ibid., p. 23.

41 J. P. Audet, La Didache: instructions des Apôtres, Paris, Gabalda, 1958, p. 219.

42 J. De Watteville, op. cit., p. 23.

from St. Matthew, five from St. Luke, some references to the epistle to the Romans and the first epistle to the Corinthians, as well as a number of references showing a Jewish influence.⁴³ Baumstark writes that the number of references one could establish between the Didache and the liturgy of Judaism are so numerous that it is possible to say the Didache was a christianization, pure and simple, of the Jewish prayer forms.⁴⁴ According to Audet, the Didache gives us the established tradition which belonged not to a local church, but rather to the different Christian communities.⁴⁵

The principal passages which treat of the Eucharist are found in chapters nine, ten and fourteen. De Watteville points to the words: "Remember Lord" of chapter ten of the Didache as a clear indication of the anamnesis.⁴⁶ The rite instituted by Christ has become a memorial, an anamnesis.

De Watteville writes that the real presence of Christ, described in chapters nine and ten of the Didache

43 J. De Watteville, op. cit., p. 23-24.

44 A. Baumstark, Liturgie comparée, Belgium, Chevetogne, 1953, p. 53.

45 J. P. Audet, op. cit., p. 174, 374.

46 J. De Watteville, op. cit., p. 32.

are bound up with mention of the Divine Name.⁴⁷ Daniélou sees here an invocation and concludes that it probably had the place of an epiclesis in this most ancient "breaking of bread".⁴⁸ Dix would agree when he writes that without doubt we have here the origin of the Eucharistic epiclesis.⁴⁹ De Watteville concludes that it is by the action of the Name as well as by the Incarnation that Christ comes transforming the bread and the wine into spiritual food and drink.⁵⁰

The Didache presents us with the Eucharistic rite of the very early church. It is closely associated with the berakah or blessing of the Old Testament, and retains the essential elements of anamnesis as well as the epiclesis.

St. Clement of Rome gives us the first piece of literature that we can date with some certainty.⁵¹ Historians tell us he lived around the end of the first century.⁵² In his epistle to the Corinthians he refers to

47 J. De Watteville, op. cit., p. 31.

48 J. Daniélou, op. cit., p. 208-209.

49 G. Dix, op. cit., p. 219-220.

50 J. De Watteville, op. cit., p. 31.

51 Idem, ibid., p. 39.

52 Joseph Lortz, History of the Church, Milwaukee, Bruce, 1956, p. 73.

the city of Jerusalem,⁵³ which leads some to think that it was written before the fall of that city.⁵⁴

In the writings of St. Clement of Rome there are only short and rare references to the Eucharist. Most of these references are found in chapters 41 and 42 of his letter to the Corinthians:

Since all these things are clear to us, and we have looked into the depths of Divine knowledge, we ought in proper order to all things which the Lord has commanded us to perform at appointed times. He has commanded the offerings and ministrations to be carried out, and not carelessly or disorderly but at fixed times and seasons. He has himself fixed according to his surpassing counsel where and by whom he desires them to be performed, in order that all things may be acceptable to his will. Those who make their offerings at the appointed time therefore, are acceptable and blessed, for they err not, following the ordinances of the Lord. For the High Priest has been allotted his proper ministrations, and to the priests their proper places has been assigned, and on the levites their own duties are laid. The lay man is bound by the lay ordinances.

Let us brothers, each in his own order, strive to please God with a good conscience, and with reverence not transgressing the fixed rule of each one's ministry. Not in every place, brothers, are the daily sacrifices for petitions and for sins and for trespasses offered, but only in Jerusalem. And even there the offering is not made in any place, but only before the sanctuary near the altar, after the offering has been inspected for defects by the high priest and the

53 Clement of Rome, Letter to the Corinthians, 41, 2, in Arbesmann, Kuttner et al. (editors), The Apostolic Fathers, Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1962, Vol. 1, p. 41f.

54 G. Dix, op. cit., p. 1.

above mentioned ministers. Those who do anything contrary to what is due to Him will suffer the penalty of death. You see, brothers, the more knowledge we have been given the more we are exposed to danger.⁵⁵

This epistle points to the fact that the Eucharist was considered as the accomplishment and the fulfillment of the Old Testament sacrifices. We could say then that the idea of anamnesis and epiclesis, so important to the Old Testament berakah, was not foreign to the Eucharist described by Clement. De Watteville points out that Clement used the vocabulary from the Septuagint: thusia (Gn. 4,5; Mal. 1,1); prosphora (Ps. 39,7); dora (Gn. 43, 26); leitourgiai (Es. 7,19) and thusiasterion (Ex. 29,38; Lev. 1,2).⁵⁶ In the Septuagint, all these words are used for sacrifices and worship of the priests and levites.

Lortz writes that Ignatius of Antioch was put to death under Trajan (98-117).⁵⁷ From the writings of Ignatius then, we gather some idea of the Eucharist at the very beginning of the second century. His main concern seems to be unity. In his letter to the Philadelphians, he writes: "As for me I played my part like a mediator

⁵⁵ Clement of Rome, Letter to the Corinthians, in The Apostolic Fathers, Vol. 1, p. 41f.

⁵⁶ J. De Watteville, op. cit., p. 42.

⁵⁷ J. Lortz, op. cit., p. 50.

appointed to bring about unity."⁵⁸ Although he speaks very little of the Eucharist, Ignatius does give us some idea of the common tradition and usage of that time. In his letter to the Ephesians, he writes:

Be zealous, therefore, to assemble more frequently to render thanks and praise to God. For when you meet together frequently, the powers of Satan are destroyed and danger from him is dissolved in the harmony of your faith.⁵⁹

De Watteville sees in this quotation, the traditional berakah of praise and thanksgiving in memorial or anamnesis for all the wonderful works fulfilled by Christ.⁶⁰

Historians place the birth of St. Justin the Martyr (at the beginning of the second century (100-110 A.D.)). He was born at Flavia Neapolis in Sarnia and his family was of pagan and Greco-Roman ancestry.⁶¹

In his dialogue with Tryphon, Justin speaks of the Eucharist as it seemed to be understood in the whole Roman Empire. For this reason he is a very important witness. He writes:

58 Ignatius of Antioch, Letter to the Philadelphians, 8,1, in The Apostolic Fathers, Vol. 1, p. 116.

59 Idem, Letter to the Ephesians, in The Apostolic Fathers, Vol. 1, p. 92.

60 J. De Watteville, op. cit., p. 52.

61 Arbesmann, Kutter et al. (editors), "St. Justin Martyr", in The Fathers of the Church, Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1962, Vol. 6, p. 9-10.

Likewise I continued the offering of flour, my friends, which was ordered to be presented to those cleansed from leprosy, was a prototype of the Eucharistic bread, which Our Lord Jesus Christ commanded us to offer in remembrance of the Passion He endured for all those souls who are cleansed from sin, and that at the same time we should thank God for having created the world, and everything in it, for the sake of mankind and for having saved us from sin in which we were born, and for the total destruction of the powers and principalities of evil, through Him who suffered in accordance with His will.⁶²

From this quotation we see the place given to praise and thanksgiving, for all the wonderful works of God. This could not be other than the anamnesis or recalling.

In chapter 70,3, of the dialogue with Trypho, Justin writes that Christ has given us the bread, to celebrate in memorial of what he did, for those who believe in him. The cup too, He has prescribed for us to make Eucharist, in memorial.⁶³ In chapter 65 of his first apology, Justin again speaks of the anamnesis:

At the conclusion of the prayers we greet one another with a kiss. Then bread and a chalice containing wine mixed with water are presented to the one presiding over the brethren. He takes them and offers praise and glory to the Father of all, through the name of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, and recites lengthy prayers of thanksgiving to God in the name of those to whom He granted such favours. At the end of these

62 Justin, Dialogue 41, quoted by Arbesmann, The Fathers of the Church, Vol. 6, p. 209-210.

63 Cf. J. De Watteville, op. cit., p. 70.

prayers of thanksgiving all present express their approval by saying Amen. This Hebrew word, Amen, means: 'so be it'.⁶⁴

In his analysis of the different texts, De Watteville says that for Justin the Eucharist required a very serious preparation. Only those who believed, were baptized and led a life in conformity with their faith could take part.⁶⁵ Before the celebration, all prayed that they obtain the grace to practise virtue and obtain eternal life. This would seem to be the invocation or epiclesis for the sanctification of the worshippers. Undoubtedly, the same prayer to which Justin refers in his first apology, 67,5: "We pray together in a high voice".⁶⁶

However Justin does not limit himself to affirming this real presence. He gives its explanation in comparing the action of the Word of God in the Eucharist to that which he had in the incarnation. By the prayer of the bishop who, invoking the Logos and taking up the very words of Jesus, transforms the species into the Body and Blood of Christ. He produces in a way a new incarnation of Christ, similar to the incarnation of Christmas. Justin even speaks (Dialog. 7,4) of the Eucharistic bread as the memorial of the fact that Christ became flesh for those who believe, that is anamnesis of the fact that by the power of the Word according to the will of God, by the intermediary of a Virgin, Christ was born man, according to the expression of 1 Apol. 46,5. However it should be noted that the action of

64 Arbesmann et al., "Justin the Martyr", in The Fathers of the Church, Vol. 6, p. 104-105.

65 J. De Watteville, op. cit., p. 71.

66 Idem, ibid.

the Word does not imply an inaction of the Holy Spirit. In fact chapter 33 of the first Apologia clearly says: 'By the Spirit and the power of God, we can only understand the word, the first born of God...and that spirit coming upon the virgin, and overshadowing her, made her to conceive, not by carnal intercourse, but by power.' We are thus in the presence of the beginning of the epiclesis, of a prayer formed of the words of Christ, a prayer which implores the miracle of the Real Presence by calling on the action of the word. If the vocabulary used by Justin is jolting at first, we should not forget as Jungmann points out, that in Greek, where Logos and pneuma come together in the notion of Spirit,... it is natural that the Logos be named most often as the power which consecrates the oblations.⁶⁷

St. Irenaeus lived around the end of the second century. In his writings Irenaeus insisted on the universal character of Christianity which the church spread to the ends of the earth, having received it from the Apostles and their successors.⁶⁸

Irenaeus makes reference quite frequently to the word of God.⁶⁹ We read that Spicq understands this, not as the incarnate word of God, but rather as the word of praise at meals.⁷⁰ In short, we must go to the berakah to see its full meaning. Against the Marcionites, Irenaeus

67 J. De Watterville, op. cit., p. 75-76.

68 Idem, ibid., p. 93.

69 F. Sagnard, "Irénee de Lyon contre les hérésies", in Sources Chrétiennes, Paris, Cerf, 1952, p. 51-53.

70 P. C. Spicq, Les Epîtres Pastorales, Paris, Gabalda et Cie, 1947, p. 116.

writes that as bread of the earth receiving the invocation of God (epiclesis), is no longer common bread, but the Eucharist, so our bodies after receiving the Eucharist are no longer corruptible having the hope of eternal resurrection.⁷¹ This would seem to indicate that it is the invocation or epiclesis which changes the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ. According to De Watteville, this is a plain epiclesis and in no way consecratory.⁷² Following this he concludes with the statement of Irenaeus: What is this then which is earthly? The body. What is this which is heavenly? The spirit.⁷³

A high point of apologetic achievement is reached in the first Christian who writes in Latin, Tertullian of Africa (end of second, beginning of third century). Roman as he was he proceeded in a much more practical manner than did the Greek apologists. As an experienced lawyer he was quite conversant with all the legal devices of handling a case in court. A powerful speaker, he contributed much toward reshaping the Latin language and endowing it with a Christian genius. As a man he was blunt and

71 J. De Watteville, op. cit., p. 95.

72 Idem, ibid., p. 98.

73 Tertullian, Adv. Haer. 5.9.3, cf. J. De Watteville, op. cit., p. 98.

quarrelsome. He died as a Montanist, but despite his apostasy, the merit of Tertullian's intellectual work in the service of the Church is extraordinarily great.⁷⁴

Tertullian speaks only occasionally about the Eucharist among his numerous works. He attributes the transformation of the bread and wine to the words of institution: "The bread which the Lord took and distributed to his disciples, He made it his Body by saying: this is My Body."⁷⁵ However, he speaks of the word of God and one wonders if this 'word' is limited to the words of institution. In speaking of Baptism, he says there is an invocation and God comes to rest on the waters, and then they are sanctified.⁷⁶ This is evidence of an epiclesis. Again he speaks of the flesh being washed in order that the soul be purified. The flesh is nourished by the Body and Blood of Christ in order that the soul be enriched by God.⁷⁷ This seems to put in parallel positions the Eucharist and Baptism. This would indicate that for Tertullian, the consecration of the bread and wine was an epiclesis.⁷⁸

74 J. Lortz, op. cit., p. 57.

75 Tertullian, Adv. Marcion. 4.40.3, cf. J. De Watteville, op. cit., p. 111-112.

76 J. De Watteville, op. cit., p. 106.

77 Idem, ibid., p. 111.

78 Idem, ibid., p. 112.

St. Cyprian was a disciple of Tertullian, and lived around the end of the third century. He regards the Eucharist as "manifesting the unity of the Christianity people".⁷⁹ In one of his letters he writes:

But if this insane madness has persevered among the mad, and at the departure of the Holy Spirit, that blindness which has begun has remained in its night, there will be a plan by us to separate each of the brethren from the error of these men and, lest any fall into the nets of error, to separate them from contagion of these men, since the oblation cannot be consecrated there where the Holy Spirit is not; nor does the Lord reward for his prayers and entreaties anyone who himself has dishonoured the Lord.⁸⁰

In this epistle Cyprian says, in other words, that the bread and wine are really the Body and Blood of Christ through the action and presence of the Holy Spirit. Kern writes that Cyprian attributes the transformation of the species to the Holy Spirit.⁸¹ He does not specify the moment and does not ask how. But the ensemble of the whole is the prayer of consecration, concludes Kern. St. Cyprian also speaks of the anamnesis. Chapter 16 of the sixty-third epistle, says that the sacrifice consists in the

⁷⁹ Cyprian, Epistle 63, 13, in The Fathers of the Church, vol. 51, p. 222.

⁸⁰ Cyprian, Epistle 65, 4, ibid.

⁸¹ Cyprian Kern, "En marge de l'Epiclesis", in Irenikon, Vol. 24, 1951, p. 176.

anamnesis of the Passion.⁸² It seems obvious then that the anamnesis and the epiclesis belonged to the thinking of Cyprian.

Theology was pushed more prominently to the fore as Christianity extended into the world of Hellenistic culture. The second century is its first classic age. Here we find not only the correct and successful solutions of the various problems but also the false solutions. The apologists are known as representatives of the correct solution. They laid the foundations of a structure which was completed in that center where Greek culture had made the deepest and most lasting impression, Alexandria. The second director of that school of Alexandria is called Clement. He died around 215 A.D., and left a clear perception of the intrinsic harmony and unity of all that was true in the world, and a certain development of paganism in preparation for Christ.⁸³

It is very difficult to know just what Clement really meant, because of his use of allegory.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, he does speak of the Eucharist as requiring a preparation, a living faith and a personal examination. Some

82 Cyprian, Epistle 63, 16, in The Fathers of the Church, vol. 15, p. 222.

83 J. Lortz, op. cit., p. 61.

84 J. De Watteville, op. cit., p. 153.

precautions are necessary before communion, for the Lord Himself is present. He is present by the Holy Spirit.⁸⁵ He conceives the Eucharist as the sacrifice par excellence.⁸⁶

From all of this, the Jewish background of these first centuries and the early writings of the Fathers of the Church, we can see something of the place and the importance of the anamnesis and epiclesis in the Eucharist. By the time either of these points becomes a problem for scholars, they are already an established tradition. Speaking of this problem, Sertillanges says that it was the transfusion of Hellenistic blood into the veins of the new civilization.⁸⁷

Certainly with the Fathers of the Church we have seen the Eucharist as a simple rite, and not very developed. With the scholastics there was a more precise development. And perhaps it was this concern with precise moments of consecration which disturbed the teaching of the Eucharistic unity.

Cullmann writes that nevertheless the Holy Spirit manifests himself in the worship of the Christian church

85 J. De Watteville, op. cit., p. 154.

86 Idem, ibid., p. 158.

87 P. Sertillanges, La Philosophie de St Thomas d'Aquin, Paris, 1940, Vol. 1, p. 9.

from the very early days.⁸⁸ The Spirit is the future which in virtue of the past actualizes itself in the present. It is no myth that is represented, but the Christ event of the present is closely bound up with the historical facts of the past time and the facts of the last days still in the future.

With our analysis of St. Clement of Alexandria, we come to the time of Hippolytus and the early anaphoras. We will now study the anamnesis and epiclesis in these early anaphoras.

3. Early Anaphoras.

The Apostolic Tradition, which most authors attribute to Hippolytus, is the most important document we have on the life of the Church at Rome around the end of the third century.⁸⁹ Many points are still discussed. For example, the author speaks explicitly of giving the tradition which comes from the churches.⁹⁰ Does he mean the parish churches at Rome, or the many churches in different parts of the world? The complete work indicates

88 Oscar Cullmann, Early Christian Worship, London, SCM Press, 1953, p. 35-36.

89 Bernard Botte, La tradition apostolique de saint Hippolyte, Munster, Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1963, p. 11-17.

90 Cf. J. De Watteville, op. cit., p. 166.

that it is rather the latter which is meant. The anaphora of Hippolytus then provides us with the common structure of the ancient church anaphoras, before they developed into different groups around the fourth century.⁹¹

There are many versions and editions of the anaphora of Hippolytus. Here we follow the accepted translation of Botte, given in La Tradition apostolique de saint Hippolyte.⁹²

91 J. De Watteville, op. cit., p. 167, footnote 13.

92 B. Botte, op. cit., p. 11-17:

"Le Seigneur soit avec vous.

Et avec ton esprit.

Elevez vos coeurs.

Nous les tenons vers le Seigneur.

Rendons grâces au Seigneur.

C'est digne et juste.

Nous te rendons grâces, ô Dieu, par ton Enfant bien-aimé Jésus-Christ, que tu nous as envoyé en ces derniers temps (comme) sauveur, rédempteur et messenger de ton dessein, lui, qui est ton verbe inséparable, par qui tu as tout créé et que, dans ton bon plaisir, tu as envoyé du ciel, dans le sein d'une vierge et qui ayant été conçu, s'est incarné et s'est manifesté comme ton Fils, né de l'Esprit-Saint et de la vierge.

C'est lui qui, accomplissant ta volonté et t'acquérant un peuple saint a étendu les mains tandis qu'il souffrait pour délivrer de la souffrance ceux qui ont confiance en toi.

Tandis qu'il se livrait à la souffrance volontaire pour détruire la mort et rompre les chaînes du diable, fouler aux pieds l'enfer, amener les justes à la lumière, fixer la règle (de foi) et manifester la résurrection, prenant du pain, il te rendit grâces et dit: prenez, mangez, ceci est mon corps, qui est rompu pour vous. De même le calice, en disant: ceci est mon sang qui est répandu pour vous. Quand vous faites ceci, faites-le en mémoire de moi.

Nous souvenant donc de sa mort et de sa résurrection, nous t'offrons ce pain et ce calice, en te rendant grâces de ce

It would be a mistake to see in this anaphora the Roman mass of the third century, already fixed into a more or less permanent form. It is still too early for a fixed text. The importance of this early anaphora lies in the fact that it records the forms and the models of rites already traditional, and the customs already long established. Since Hippolytus was a disciple of Irenaeus, born around the year 170, we have here an example of an anaphora used in Rome in the second half of the second century.⁹³

In this primitive model of Hippolytus the sanctus is noticeably lacking. The thanksgiving recalls the work of redemption and the words of institution form an integral part of this recital. With Dix we can enumerate the items of thanksgiving as the following: the action of the word of God, in creation, in the incarnation, in the passion and at the last supper.⁹⁴ We are in the presence

que tu nous as jugés dignes de nous tenir devant toi et de te servir comme prêtres. Et nous te demandons d'envoyer ton Esprit-Saint sur l'oblation de la sainte Eglise. En (les) rassemblant donne à tous ceux qui participent à tes saints (mystères) d'y participer pour être remplis de l'Esprit-Saint pour l'affermissement de (leur) foi dans la vérité, afin que nous te louions et glorifions par ton Enfant Jésus-Christ, par qui à toi gloire et honneur, avec le Saint-Esprit dans la sainte Eglise, maintenant et dans les siècles des siècles."

93 J. De Watteville, op. cit., p. 165.

94 G. Dix, Jew and Greek, Westminster, Dacre Press, 1953, p. 112.

of a strict Christology.⁹⁵

Dix points out that this anaphora of Hippolytus is at the same time typically Jewish in its form and feeling. It is saturated in Paschal conceptions which are transformed and christianized but recognizably Jewish all the same.⁹⁶ The Eucharist is presented as the remembrance of the deliverance from the devil and death, just as the Jewish Passover lamb was the anamnesis of the deliverance from Egyptian oppression.

The words of institution are contained in all the texts of this anaphora. The anamnesis is also clearly identifiable, placing as a unit the passion and the resurrection. There is likewise the epiclesis in this anaphora of Hippolytus. Vagaggini and De Watteville call it a consecratory epiclesis.⁹⁷ By this is meant a prayer asking the Holy Spirit to change the elements of bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ. However we agree with Lietzmann and Dix, that it is a plain epiclesis.⁹⁸ This

95 This section of the anaphora shows a great unity which is proof that the difficulties of separation from the agape meal had long since been overcome.

96 G. Dix, Jew and Greek, p. 112.

97 Cf. J. De Watteville, op. cit., p. 172.

98 Hans Lietzmann, Mass and the Lord's Supper, Fas. 2, Leiden, Brill, 1954, p. 65; and Gregory Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy, 1945, p. 125.

consists in the invocation of the Holy Spirit on the worshippers, in order that they may participate fruitfully in the eucharistic action.

As we have already noted, the early liturgies were extemporized at first. The eucharistic sacrifice varied in detail and prayers from place to place. Around the year 400, just before the church was rent by the schisms of Nestorianism and Monophysitism, we find the early fluid liturgies becoming established in certain well defined groups.⁹⁹

In this section we will look at the groupings of liturgies of the East as they are given by Attwater. In some groupings there are numerous anaphoras, particularly in the Ethiopic rite of the Alexandrian liturgy. We will choose one from each group and see the place of the anamnesis and epiclesis in that particular anaphora.

The Byzantium Liturgy, taking its name from its place of origin, Byzantium (Constantinople) and now in use in many parts of the world. Partly derived from it is:

The Armenian liturgy, used only by the Armenians. Two Alexandrian liturgies — the Coptic rite used in Egypt and the Ethiopic rite used in Abyssinia.

Two Antiochian liturgies: the Syrian rite, used in Syria, Irak and India. The Maronite rite, used also in Syria.

Two east Syrian liturgies: the Chaldean rite used in Irak, and the Malabar rite used in India.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ G. Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy, p. 125f.

¹⁰⁰ Donald Attwater, Eastern Catholic Worship, New York, Devin-Adair Co., 1945, p. xii.

a. Byzantium Liturgy.

In the Byzantium liturgy used by the Orthodox Eastern Church as well as many eastern Catholics, we have two anaphoras commonly used: that of St. John Chrysostom and that of St. Basil.¹⁰¹ We examine here the anaphora of St. John Chrysostom. First, the anamnesis is clearly evident:

You are the ineffable God, inconceivable, invisible, incomprehensible, eternally the same, you and your only begotten Son, and your Holy Spirit. You did bring us from nothing into being and when we had fallen, you did raise us again and have not ceased to do everything to draw us to heaven, and give us your future Kingdom... And he being come, and having accomplished for our sakes, all that was appointed, on the night on which he was given up—or rather gave himself up for the life of the world—took bread into his holy, pure and spotless hands, and when he had given thanks and blessed and hallowed it, he broke it and gave it to his holy Apostles and disciples saying: take, eat, this is my Body which is broken for you for the forgiveness of sins. Amen. Likewise the cup, after supper saying: take, drink ye all of this, this is My Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many for the forgiveness of sins. Amen.¹⁰²

The words of the epiclesis follow:

101 D. Attwater, op. cit., p. 20.

102 Kucharek Muzyka, The Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, Yorkton, Redeemer's Voice Press, 1964, p. 26-27.

Thus we offer unto thee this reasonable and bloodless worship; and we pray and beseech and implore thee to send down the Holy Spirit upon us and upon these gifts. Sir, bless this holy bread. And make this bread the precious Body of thy Christ. Amen. Sir, bless the holy cup. And that which is in this chalice, the precious Blood of thy Christ. Amen. Sir, bless both these things changing them by thy Holy Spirit. Amen. Amen. Reverend Sir, remember me, a sinner.¹⁰³

This text of the epiclesis represents the apex of development, for the prayer of invocation receives a solemn emphasis as a direct consecratory formula. The anaphora of St. Basil likewise has an epiclesis which is clearly consecratory. Orthodox theologians consider the epiclesis as at least an essential part of the consecration along with the words of institution.¹⁰⁴ The words of institution sow the seed which is perfected by the epiclesis. The school of Peter Mogilas goes even further and considers the epiclesis alone as consecratory.¹⁰⁵ This anaphora then establishes the reality of the eucharistic conversion. It bases the conversion upon the guarantee expressed in the recital of the institution. This conversion is completed by the invocation of the Holy Spirit on the gifts,

103 K. Muzyka, op. cit., p. 27.

104 Raymond Adams, "Holy Spirit and Real Presence", in Theological Studies, Vol. 29, No. 1, March 1968, p. 46.

105 S. Salaville, "Epiclese eucharistique", in Dictionnaire de Théologie catholique, Paris, Letouzey et Ané, 1924, Vol. 50, col. 230.

to make the bread the Body of Christ and the wine the Blood of Christ.¹⁰⁶

Most authors in the past have started off with preconceived notions, regarding either the words of institution or the epiclesis as the moment of eucharistic conversion. Texts have been quoted from St. John Chrysostom to back up both opinions. However it seems better, with Kern, to consider the question in the context of the whole eucharistic prayer.¹⁰⁷ The sacrament is accomplished in the whole prayer, words of institution and epiclesis included. At the time of this anaphora one did not think like a Hugh of St. Victor, or a Peter Lombard, of one instantaneous moment, but of the Eucharist in its totality.

b. Armenian Liturgy.

The Armenian liturgy has only one anaphora, that of St. Basil. Very similar to that of St. John Chrysostom, this anaphora clearly delineates the anamnesis and epiclesis. The anamnesis:

¹⁰⁶ Howard Frere, The Anaphora, London, SPCK, 1938, p. 109.

¹⁰⁷ Cyprian Kern, "En marge de l'épiclèse", in Irenikon, Chevetogne, D'Amay, 1951, p. 181.

Words cannot tell the immensity of thy mercy, who from earliest time hath cared for sinful man in divers manners, by the prophets, by the law, by the priesthood of Aaron, by the offering of beasts prefiguring another sacrifice. And at the end of the appointed time thou didst bring to nought the sentence on our transgression by giving us thy only Son, debt and debtor, offered and set apart, lamb and heavenly bread, high priest and sacrifice.¹⁰⁸

The epiclesis:

We worship thee, O merciful God; we pray and beseech thee to pour out upon us and upon these offerings, thy co-eternal and co-essential Spirit... by whose means thou hast made the consecrated bread to become truly the Body of Our Lord Jesus Christ, changing them by thy Holy Spirit.¹⁰⁹

As in the Byzantium liturgy, the epiclesis comes after the words of institution and is also consecratory.

c. Alexandrian Liturgies.

In the two earliest forms of epiclesis which we have in this liturgy, the invocation is a prayer for the gift of the Holy Spirit upon the communicants.

We pray thee and entreat thee to send the Holy Spirit on the oblation of this church. Do thou uniting them unto all who receive it for the sanctification and for fulfilling with the Holy Spirit, and for strengthening of faith in truth, that they may hallow thee.¹¹⁰

108 D. Attwater, op. cit., p. 58.

109 Idem, ibid., p. 60.

110 J. M. Harden, The Anaphoras of the Ethiopic Liturgy, London, SPCK, 1928, p. 26.

We have here an example of a plain epiclesis. This type of epiclesis is found also in the anaphoras of Our Lord of Gregory of Alexandria, Gregory of Armenia and the anaphora of Athanasius. In the anaphora of Our Lord there is a second form of epiclesis which is consecratory:

Wherefore we your servants pray thee, O Lord and entreat thee to send thy Holy Spirit and power, on this bread and this cup. May he make it the Body and the Blood of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.¹¹¹

In this group of liturgies, there is usually a short preliminary invocation linking the sanctus to the institution account. It is evident in Der Balizeh and Serapion, which we show below:

Holy, holy, holy, Lord of sabbaoth, full is the heaven and the earth of thy glory. Lord of hosts fill also this sacrifice with thy power and thy participation, for to thee have we offered this living sacrifice, this bloodless oblation. To thee we have offered this bread, the likeness of the body of the only begotten. This bread is the likeness of the holy body because the Lord Jesus in the night in which he was betrayed took bread and broke and gave to his disciples, saying: take ye and eat, this is my Body which is being broken for you and for the remission of sins.¹¹²

Most striking, in the anaphora of Serapion, is the prayer for union of the church drawn from the Didache and inserted between the words of the institution for the

¹¹¹ J. M. Harden, op. cit., p. 27.

¹¹² Idem, ibid., p. 48.

bread and the cup.¹¹³ Interesting too, is the fact that there does not seem to be a clear cut anamnesis. However, we have already seen that in Christ, his words and actions and anamnesis, there was the fulfillment of all God's interventions with his chosen people. This anaphora does contain the words of institution, and we conclude therefore that the idea of anamnesis exists.

There is an epiclesis of the word:

O God of truth, let thy holy word come upon this bread that the bread may become the body of the word; and upon the cup, that the cup may become the blood of truth; and make all who communicate, to receive a medicine of life for the healing of every sickness and for the strengthening of all advancement and virtue, not for condemnation, O God of truth, and not for censure and reproach.¹¹⁴

d. Antiochian Liturgy.

From the Antiochian group, we choose the anaphora of St. James. There are many sources for this anaphora and many redactions of it. It is necessary to distinguish the Jerusalem redaction, which is represented by the patristic witnesses and more ancient manuscripts as well as those of the fourteenth century, and the redaction of

113 J. Quasten, "Serapion of Thmuis", in the New Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 13, p. 105.

114 Idem, ibid.

the Patriarch of Antioch. This latter is the more ancient and is used today in the island of Zante.¹¹⁵

In the anaphora of St. James, the epiclesis follows closely the anamnesis:

Send down, O Lord, this thy most Holy Spirit upon us and upon these most holy gifts here before thee, that by His Holy Spirit, God of glorious presence, he may sanctify and make this bread the holy Body of Christ. Amen. And this cup the precious Blood of Christ. Amen.¹¹⁶

The epiclesis in this anaphora, according to Adams, retains primitive elements derived from the Apostolic Constitutions.¹¹⁷ The Holy Spirit is invoked to descend not only upon the gifts, but also upon the congregation. It is therefore both a plain and a consecratory epiclesis.

e. East Syrian Liturgies.

Within the east Syrian liturgies, we find the anaphora called: Addai and Mari. This anaphora is unusual for the fact that though it has an anamnesis and epiclesis, it does not have the words of institution. However, Bouyer contends that originally the words of institution were

115 A. Baumstark, Liturgie comparée, Paris, Ed. de Chevetogne, 1953, p. 61.

116 Quoted from F. E. Brightman, Liturgies: Eastern and Western, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1946, p. 287-288.

117 Cf. Raymond Adams, "The Holy Spirit and the Real Presence", in Theological Studies, Vol. 29, No. 1, March 1968, p. 46.

contained within the context of this anaphora.¹¹⁸ Botte would agree with this when he writes that there is no anamnesis without the words of institution.¹¹⁹ He says that those officiating knew by heart the formula of the rite, and there is no need to recite a rubric, when one is carrying it out.¹²⁰

The epiclesis:

And may there come, O My Lord, thine Holy Spirit and rest upon this offering of thy servants, and bless it and hallow it, that it may be to us, O My Lord, for the pardon of offenses and the remission of sins and for the great hope of resurrection from the dead, and for new life in the Kingdom of heaven with all those who have been well pleasing in thy sight. And for all the great and marvellous dispensation towards us, we will give thee thanks and praise thee without ceasing in thy church redeemed by the precious Blood of thy Christ with unclosed mouths and open faces.¹²¹

It is not difficult to see the great similarity this anaphora has with the Jewish berakah. It is perhaps for this reason that Bouyer says it is the oldest existent.¹²² The other anaphoras of the east Syrian group

118 L. Bouyer, Eucharistie, théologie et spiritualité de la prière eucharistique, Tournai, Desclée, 1966, p. 151-158.

119 Bernard Botte, "Problèmes de l'anamnèse", in Journal of Ecclesiastical History, Vol. 5, 1954, p. 152.

120 L. Bouyer, op. cit., p. 152.

121 F. E. Brightman, op. cit., p. 287.

122 L. Bouyer, op. cit., p. 156.

contain the words of institution, along with the anamnesis and epiclesis. The anaphora attributed to Theodore of Mopsuestia and used by the Chaldeans and Nestorians is remarkable in the fact that the epiclesis includes a doxology which in most liturgies terminates the anaphora:

And may there come upon us and upon this oblation the grace of the Holy Spirit; and may he bless and sanctify and seal them, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. And by the power of thy name may this bread become the holy Body of Our Lord Jesus Christ.¹²³

This epiclesis thus highlights the fact that to effect the presence of Christ, the cooperation of all three Persons is needed. Hence the prayer in question is an invocation of the Trinity as well as of the Holy Spirit.

f. Conclusion.

In all the liturgies we have studied thus far, there is a solemn prayer to the Father or the Son, to send the Holy Spirit to sanctify the gifts on the altar. This prayer is found after the words of institution and its consecratory significance is quite obvious. The position of the epiclesis after the words of institution is of theological significance. There is a Trinitarian structure

¹²³ Theodore of Mopsuestia, as quoted by Raymond J. Adams, "The Holy Spirit and the Real Presence", in Theological Studies, Vol. 29, No. 1, March 1968, p. 46.

to the anaphoras. In the anaphora, the Church first recounted the saving acts of the Father, who sent his Son. The Son in turn offered himself for the sins of the world and has been taken up into glory. The Holy Spirit now continues the redemptive mission of the Son by dwelling in the Church. Thus the anaphora became in effect a résumé of salvation history from creation to Pentecost. All Eastern liturgies name the redemptive mysteries of Christ, including passion, death, resurrection and the second coming of Christ. It would seem that the mention of these events in the anamnesis should normally be followed by the coming of the Holy Spirit in Pentecost. Such however is not the case. We do not find the coming of the Holy Spirit mentioned explicitly in any liturgy. This might account for the position of the epiclesis as a sequel to the anamnesis in nearly all rites.

The action of the Spirit is essential to the Eucharist, which is in the words of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy: "a sacrament of love, a sign of unity, a bond of charity." Without the action of the Holy Spirit, it would be a mere subjective memorial or anamnesis. The Constitution shows the close relationship of the Spirit of Pentecost with the Eucharist when it states that: "From that time onward the Church has never failed to come together to celebrate the Paschal mystery...celebrating

the Eucharist in which the victory and triumph of his death are again made present, and at the same time giving thanks to God for his unspeakable gift in Christ Jesus to the praise of his glory, through the power of the Holy Spirit."¹²⁴

The anaphoras recall, or bring Jesus back, from the past into the present. Only as it remembers Christ can the Church live. And the Spirit reminds the Church of Jesus. Through the Spirit, the creative source of the Church is vividly preserved and experienced in the present. Past and present meet in the Spirit. We have seen this again and again, in the berakah, among the first Christians as they worshipped, and in the various anaphoras of the East. With the Christian anaphoras, we have seen the wonderful works of God fulfilled in the passion, death, resurrection and ascension of Christ, vivified in the Holy Spirit. The words and actions of Christ, then, fulfill the promises of old. There is great similarity in all the anaphoras regarding the words of institution. It is clear from the following table.

¹²⁴ Walter M. Abbot, The Documents of Vatican II, New York, Guild Press, 1966, p. 140.

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Who in the same night	Eastern (some omit the phrase) Mozarabic, Anglican.
Who the day before	Western. No Eastern liturgy has this.
The night of the Paschal supper	Nestorius and some Syrian and Jacobite anaphoras.
In which he was betrayed, or rather surrendered himself	James (Greek), Chrysostom, Basil, Mark, Cyril, Basil, Gregory.
Holy etc. hands	Not in ap. trad.; Test. Dominum Serapion, Deir Bal., Severus, Gallican.
Holy, pure and spotless	In James (Syrian), Chrys., Nest., Mark, Gregory.
Looking up to thee	Not in ap. trad.; Test. Dom. Chrys. Nest. Serapion, Deir Bal., Mozar.
Gave thanks	Omitted before Take Eat by the ap. trad.; Severus, Nest., Serapion, Theo.
Eat ye all of it	Cyril, Basil (copt), Greg. Roman, Gallican, Nest. Theo.
Do this etc., after this is my Body	Cyril, Basil, Moz. Anglican.
Mingling with wine and water	All except ap. trad. West. Chrys., Theo.
Filled with Holy Spirit	James and Mark only.
Drink ye all	All except Ap. trad. Moz. apost. Serapion, Test. Dom.
My death till I come	All, except Roman, Chrys., Theo. Apos. Trad., the Apostles, some Ethiopic and Syrian anaphoras. James (Greek) has death of the son of man. Mozarabic has death of the Lord till he come in brightness from the heavens. Note that Resurrection is added here too. And the Gallican adds 'second coming'. ¹²⁵

125 Arthur Linton, Twenty Five Consecration Prayers, London, Macmillan Co., 1921, p. 26-27.

CHAPTER THREE

LITURGIES OF THE WEST

The liturgies of the West are generally divided into two groups: the Roman-African, and the Gallican. In both groups there were generally fixed forms with certain local differences.¹ Though no complete text of the African mass has come down to us, scattered references indicate that in many points it coincided with the Roman mass. We could presume that it contained all the essential elements present in the Roman canon. The Gallic liturgies have come down to us in four basic forms: the Gallic, the Celtic, the Mozarabic and the Ambrosian.²

In this chapter we shall study first the Roman liturgy, followed by the various Gallic liturgies enumerated above.

1. Roman Liturgy.

Little is known about the beginnings of the Latin mass in Rome. The oldest documents on this mass are the work of Frankish scribes and do not date beyond the eighth and ninth centuries. Even with all the apparatus of

1 J. A. Jungmann, The Mass of the Roman Rite, New York, Benziger, 1950, Vol. 1, p. 44.

2 Idem, ibid., p. 44.

literary criticism and textual analogies, we cannot reconstruct any records back beyond the sixth or fifth centuries.³ The canon transmitted in these documents is almost identical with the present day Roman Canon.

For our study we shall use the translation of the Roman canon approved by the Bishops of Canada in accordance with the second instruction of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, of May 4, 1967:

We come to you Father,
in this spirit of thanksgiving
through Jesus Christ your Son.
Through him we ask you to accept, and bless
these gifts we offer you in sacrifice.

We offer them for your holy Catholic church.
Watch over it and guide it;
grant it peace and unity throughout the world.
We offer them for N our pope,
for... our bishop
and for all who hold and teach the Catholic faith
that comes to us from the Apostles.

Remember Lord, your people,
especially those for whom we now pray: N & N.
Remember all of us gathered here before you.
You know how firmly we believe in you
and dedicate ourselves to you.
We offer you this sacrifice of praise
for ourselves, and for all who are dear to us.
We pray to you, our living and true God
for our well being and redemption.

In union with the whole Church,
we honor the memory of the saints.
We honor Mary the virgin mother of Jesus Christ Our Lord
We honor Joseph her husband,
the apostles, Peter and Paul,

3 J. A. Jungmann, op. cit., p. 49.

Andrew, James and John,
 Thomas, James, Phillip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon
 and Jude,
 Linus, Cletus, Clement, Sixtus, Cornelius, Cyprian,
 Lawrence, Chrysogonus,
 John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian,
 the martyrs and all the saints.
 May their merits and prayers,
 gain us your constant help and protection,
 Through Christ Our Lord. Amen.

Father accept this offering from your whole family.
 Grant us your peace in this life,
 save us from final damnation
 and count us among those you have chosen.
 Through Christ Our Lord. Amen.

Bless and approve our offering;
 make it truly spiritual and acceptable.
 Let it become for us
 the body and blood of Jesus Christ,
 Your only Son, Our Lord.

The day before he suffered,
 he took bread
 and looking up to heaven,
 to you his almighty Father,
 he gave you thanks and praise.
 He broke the bread,
 gave it to his disciples and said:
 take this and eat it all of you:
 This is My Body.

When supper was ended, he took the cup.
 Again he gave you thanks and praise,
 gave the cup to his disciples and said:
 take this and drink from it, all of you;
 this is the cup of my blood,
 the blood of the new and everlasting covenant —
 the mystery of faith.
 This blood is to be shed for you and for all men
 so that sins may be forgiven.
 Whenever you do this,
 you will do it in memory of me.

So now Lord, we celebrate the memory of Christ your Son
 We your people and your ministers,
 recall his passion,
 his resurrection from the dead,
 and his ascension into glory.

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And from the many gifts you have given us
we offer to you, God of glory and majesty,
this holy and perfect sacrifice:
the bread of life and the cup of eternal salvation.

Look with favor on these offerings.
Accept them as you did the gifts of your just
servant Abel,
the sacrifice of Abraham, our father in faith,
and the offering of your priest, Melchisedech.

Almighty God,
we pray that your angel may take this sacrifice
to your altar in heaven.
Then as we receive from this altar
the sacred Body and Blood of your Son,
let us be filled with every grace and blessing.
Through Christ Our Lord. Amen.

Remember, Lord, those who have died, N & N.
They have gone before us marked with the sign of faith,
and are now at rest.
May these and all who sleep in Christ,
find in your presence, light, happiness and peace.
Through Christ Our Lord. Amen.

For ourselves too, we ask a place
with your Apostles and martyrs,
with John the Baptist, Stephen, Matthias, Barnabas,
Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter, Felicity,
Perpetua, Agatha,
Lucy, Agnes, Cecilia, Anastasia and all the saints.
Though we are sinners, we trust in your mercy and love.
Do not consider what we truly deserve,
but grant us your forgiveness.
Through Christ Our Lord.

Through him you give us all these things.
You fill them with life and goodness,
you bless them and make them holy.

Through him, in him, with him,
in the unity of the Holy Spirit,
all glory and honor is yours,
almighty Father, for ever and ever. Amen.⁴

⁴ Bishops of Canada, The Canon of the Mass, Ottawa,
Liturgy Publication Service, 1967.

The anamnesis of the Roman canon is clearly the section beginning: "So now Lord, we celebrate the memory of Christ your Son." Mention is made of the passion, resurrection and ascension, thus continuing the account of Our Lord's life, for which the eucharistic prayer gives thanks. After the words: "passion, resurrection and ascension", one looks for mention of Pentecost, or an epiclesis, because as we have seen, it would otherwise be a mere subjective memorial. It is the Church's sacramental word of faith that brings about the manifestation of Christ's redemptive act.⁵ Through an epiclesis, or word of prayer, Christ's act of redemption comes into the Church's symbolic act. Naturally then we look for the epiclesis in the Roman canon.

There are various opinions regarding the epiclesis. Giuseppe Nocilli holds that there is no explicit epiclesis in the Roman canon.⁶ Others, however, identify the epiclesis variously as: the Veni sanctificator, in the offertory, the Quam oblationem before the words of institution, the Supra quae propitio and/or the Supplices te rogamus after the words of institution.

⁵ E. Schillebeeckx, Christ the Sacrament of Encounter with God, London, Sheed & Ward, 1965, p. 121.

⁶ Giuseppe Nocilli, La messa romana: suo sviluppo nella liturgia e nel canto, Venezia, Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, 1961, p. 148.

Adrien Fortescue quotes W. C. Bishop and E. Bishop, as considering the Quam oblationem the epiclesis of the Roman rite.⁷ Fortescue, though he agrees that the Quam oblationem is an invocation, argues that Rome once had an epiclesis of the Holy Spirit and that what is left of it is the Supplices te rogamus after the words of institution. He calls on the writings of Pope Gelasius I (492-496) to support his position. In a first reference Gelasius says that the bread and the wine change into the divine substance, the Holy Spirit working this. In a second, more certain reference to the epiclesis, Gelasius speaks of the priest as invoking the Holy Spirit to come to the consecration of the divine mystery. The Supplices te rogamus would represent a fragment of the old epiclesis with the essential clause invoking the Spirit left out. The invocation would seem to have been deliberately removed at Rome, because of the growing Western insistence on the words of institution as the moment of change.

Archidale King considers the Quam oblationem as most certainly an invocation.⁸ Speaking of the prayer Supplices te rogamus, he says that some authors think this

⁷ Adrian Fortescue, The Mass: A Study of the Roman Liturgy, London, Longmans & Green, 1937, p. 334.

⁸ Archidale King, Liturgy of the Roman Church, Milwaukee, Bruce, 1957, p. 322.

is a form of invoking the Holy Spirit upon those who are about to communicate, and that consequently we have here a very early form and tradition which preceded the present type of Eastern epiclesis.

Nicholas Cabasilas, a fourteenth century theologian, speaks of an epiclesis within the Roman canon, and this at the Supplices te rogamus.⁹ Refuting the attack of the Latins on the epiclesis, he says that the latter know perfectly well that the bread and wine is not yet consecrated after the words of institution. This is why, according to Cabasilas, the Latins pray that the elements may be carried on high as offerings not yet sanctified to be immolated at the 'altar in heaven'. The same author concludes: for this they need the hand of an angel.¹⁰

It seems clear that the idea of epiclesis is present in the Roman canon even though there is no explicit invocation of the Holy Spirit. As we have just seen, authors see an invocation or epiclesis in various prayers of this anaphora. But is it necessary to designate the divine power by name? We could speak of the word of God, as in the anaphora of Serapion, or the power of God, or the

⁹ Nicholas Cabasilas, A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy, London, SPCK, 1960, p. 77.

¹⁰ Idem, ibid., p. 322.

grace or wisdom of God. We could even speak of the angel of God. Whatever the term used, the reality of the epiclesis can hardly be put in doubt. Jungmann writes that in this early era there was no hard and fast rule. In fact in Greek Logos and pneuma have the meaning spirit.¹¹ One could use word or spirit interchangeably. Since God created and accomplished everything through the Logos, it was natural to invoke the word or the power as well as the Spirit. It is we who attribute various activities to one or other of the Persons of the Blessed Trinity.

2. Gallican Liturgies.

The origin of the Roman canon, as we have seen, must be no earlier than the sixth or at most the fifth centuries. It is widely accepted that the anaphora of Hippolytus was the traditional form followed at Rome.¹² However the liturgy was not fixed to a set pattern, but was in a somewhat fluid state. What, then, took place with the Roman liturgy, from the time of Hippolytus to the time of the Roman canon? Around the year 270, the liturgy was translated into Latin, the language of the people. Some years later, this liturgy was diffused throughout the

¹¹ J. A. Jungmann, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 191.

¹² Idem, ibid.

Frankish-German areas, and there it was fused with the customs and practices of the old Frankish empire. It was this Gallicanized liturgy which Gregory VII organized and arranged into what is known as the Roman canon. Liturgical books were made for the Roman curia, and these were carried and introduced everywhere in the West by the Franciscan missionaries.¹³

The Gallican liturgy, then, the name given to the liturgy at Gaul from the beginning of Christianity to about the end of the eighth century, was not different from that of Rome. If a different liturgy existed, it must remain a myth, because there are no extant sources for it. Modern authors conclude that the early Gallican liturgy did not come from Milan, nor from the East, but from Rome. It was only during the sixth and seventh centuries that the Gallican liturgy became enriched by the new rites that had their origin in the Orient.¹⁴

Most authors are in agreement that this Gallican liturgy had both the anamnesis and the epiclesis.¹⁵ From the extant texts, we see the usual introductory formula or

13 J. A. Abbo, "Roman Rite", in the New Catholic Encyclopedia, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1967, Vol. 12, p.612.

14 J. Quasten, "Gallicanism", in the New Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 6, p. 258.

15 Archidale King, Liturgies of the Past, Milwaukee, Bruce, 1959, p. 176.

preface which leads into the Sanctus. A post-sanctus follows leading to the words of institution. The next prayer, called post-secreta or post-mysterium, includes the anamnesis and the epiclesis.

King quotes Faustus, bishop of Riez, who died around the year 490.¹⁶ In a sermon entitled Magnitudo, the bishop says that after the invocatin of the Holy Name, the bread and wine is the Body and Blood of Christ. Since the bishop was speaking within the context of Gallican liturgy, King concludes that this prayer is a true epiclesis, even though the invocation of the Father is expressed by the words: invocation of the Holy Name.¹⁷

The two chief sources for the Gallican liturgy are: the Richneau fragments which are late seventh century documents; and the Missale Gothicum which is likewise a document of the late seventh century.¹⁸ The Richneau fragments contain eleven masses of purely Gallican type. Four of these masses have a definite epiclesis and only one is clearly missing the epiclesis. Referring to the Missale Gothicum, King says that the prayers are for the most part without an epiclesis, although in nine of the masses we

16 A. King, Liturgies of the past, p. 176.

17 Idem, ibid., p. 176.

18 J. Quasten, "Gallicanism", in the New Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 6, p. 259.

find one of a sort, in some cases very vague.¹⁹

There seems to be little doubt therefore that the Gallican liturgy contained the anamnesis and the epiclesis. Although we cannot trace this liturgy further than the fifth or the sixth centuries, we know that in all probability it traces its origin to Rome. We have already seen the tradition of Rome from the anaphora of Hippolytus, which contained both the anamnesis and the epiclesis. Fortescue says that a number of authors think that the Gallican rite is nothing but the old Roman rite before it was modified. It disappeared around the end of the eighth century.²⁰

3. Celtic Liturgy.

The term Celtic is applied to the Latin liturgies in use among the Celtic peoples of north western Europe, especially the Irish and the Scottish. So far as the mass is concerned, it is a liturgy generally composed of foreign elements: Gallican, Roman, Mozarabic, and Oriental patterns.²¹ Strictly speaking there never was a distinct

19 A. King, Liturgies of the Past, p. 176.

20 A. Fortescue, op. cit., p. 99.

21 J. A. Jungmann, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 46.

Celtic rite, but rather an eclectic composition of foreign elements.²²

According to the Stowe missal as well as the Bobbio, the anamnesis and the epiclesis are almost identical with the Roman canon. We therefore conclude that both the anamnesis and epiclesis existed in this so-called liturgy.

4. Mozarabic Liturgy.

In spirit and in substance, this is a Western liturgy. Its most evident influences are the Gothic and the Roman liturgies. There seems to be no doubt as to its origin. Cardinal Ximenes (1500) revised the books of the Old Spanish liturgy, and founded chapters at Toledo, Salamanca and Valladolid. It is romanized chiefly by the insertion of the Roman form of the words of institution. It is closely related to the Gallican, which we have seen to be essentially Roman.²³

Following the institution account there is an epiclesis, as well as the anamnesis. In fact, there are a number of epicleses in this canon.

²² L. C. Sheppard, "Celtic", in the New Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 3, p. 384-385.

²³ A. Fortescue, op. cit., p. 105-106.

5. Ambrosian Liturgy.

The city of Milan, Italy, has its own rite, called Ambrosian. Today it is almost completely romanized, having the whole Roman canon inserted. The origin of this rite is difficult to trace, and most scholars are in agreement that it is simply an older form of the Roman canon.²⁴

Since it has the Roman canon, the anamnesis and epiclesis are found in this liturgy. Two differences are detected: in the prayer Unde et memores the word gloriosissimae takes the place of the words gloriosae ascensionis. The word tremendae of the Ambrosian canon replaces the divinae majestatis of the Roman canon. In studying the Roman canon, we have seen the Unde et memores as the anamnesis and the Supplices te rogamus as an epiclesis. Therefore we conclude that the Ambrosian canon of today has both the anamnesis and the epiclesis.

6. Conclusion.

Once again we see the anamnesis of the passion, death, resurrection and ascension of Christ, in the liturgies of the West. It is the history of salvation accomplished and fulfilled in Jesus Christ. The 'recalling'

24 A. Fortescue, op. cit., p. 106.

is made by those who celebrate, but also made to God, reminding him of his new alliance. All those who have been identified with Christ by baptism, are now integrated into the history of salvation by the Eucharistic celebration.

However, the anamnesis is not simply a memory aid. If this were the full meaning, we could well ask, why not choose some other means to recall the things fulfilled in Christ? If it were a simple memory aid, the anamnesis would manifest itself as something mechanical, as the possession of a mystery. In the various anaphoras, it is impossible for the anamnesis to turn back on itself in this way, because it is at the service of the mystery. The reason for this is the epiclesis. Through the epiclesis, Christ's act of redemption comes into the Church's symbolic act. Schillebeeckx writes that through this epiclesis, a natural symbolic action, often one that already had its place in human ritual in virtue of its own meaning and power to signify, now receives a transcendent ecclesial signification.²⁵ This 'supper' then, is a sacrament of ecclesial faith, and becomes something entirely unique.

In these various rites, we have seen the work of the Father, in the preface. The work of the Son is

25 E. Schillebeeckx, op. cit., p. 122.

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'recalled' in the anamnesis. The work of the Spirit is invoked, in the epiclesis. As in the liturgies of the East, so also in the West, we have the Trinitarian theology.

Early Roman (c.215)	Middle Roman (c.400)	Present Roman (c.700)
Preface	Preface	Preface
Eucharistic Prayer	Eucharistic Prayer Sanctus?	Eucharistic Prayer Sanctus
	Intercessions for the "people, for Kings etc." Commemoration of martyrs	Prayer for the Church Memento of living Commemoration of saints
Words of Institution	Prayer for consecra- tion Words of institution	Prayer for conse- cration Words of institution
Anamnesis	Therefore mindful	Wherefore mindful
Verbal oblation	Verbal oblation Prayers of accep- tance	Verbal oblation Prayers of accep- tance
Epiclesis of Spirit upon participants		Invocation of grace upon participants
Blessings and Doxology	Memento of the dead	Memento of the dead "and of us sinners" Blessings and Doxology
END OF CANON		
Fraction of bread	Fraction Our Father	Our Father Fraction
Holy Communion	Holy Communion Post-Communion?	Holy Communion Post-Communion 26

26 Paul F. Palmer, "Sacraments and Worship", in Sources of Christian Theology, Westminster, Newman, 1955, Vol. 1, p. 70.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Vatican II's Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy declares that "the liturgy is the summit toward which the activity of the Church is directed; at the same time it is the fountain from which all her power flows."¹ The liturgy, and in particular the Eucharist, is the central act through which the Church proclaims the anamnesis of the passion, death and resurrection of the heavenly Lord. This mission of the Church was realized at Pentecost, when "those who received the Spirit were baptized."² And "they continued steadfastly in the teaching of the Apostles and in the communion of the breaking of bread and in prayers... praising God, and being in favor with all the people."³ Clearly then, for a proper understanding of the Eucharist, we must consider the mission of the Holy Spirit who vivifies the Church by manifesting this anamnesis as the risen, redeeming Lord. We attain union with the Lord by participating in the life of the Spirit. In Ephesians Paul says that there is one body and one spirit,⁴ and in this same

1 Walter M. Abbott, The Documents of Vatican II, New York, Guild Press, p. 142.

2 Acts 2, 41.

3 Acts 2, 42-47.

4 Eph. 4, 4.

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Spirit we have access to the Father.⁵ In the Holy Spirit we have been sealed and promised salvation.⁶ Thus the Holy Spirit becomes the movement of Christ towards us and the return of ourselves to Christ. In this movement two things are clear: first, a re-presentation or anamnesis of the passion, death and resurrection of Christ.

If the spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you, he who raised Christ Jesus from the dead will give life to your mortal bodies also through his spirit which dwells in you.⁷

Secondly, a work of incorporation into the Body of Christ which is the Church.

This power of the Spirit makes the Body of Christ grow together. Anyone who does not have the Spirit of Christ does not belong to Him.⁸ In the Eucharist the Holy Spirit is encountered precisely as He is sent from the Father and the Son, giving life and manifesting the presence of Christ in the service of the faithful. Adams comments on this life of the Spirit:

Thus, in the Eucharist the mission of the Son and the Spirit is continued and renewed in the re-presentation of the saving acts of God in Christ. The Eucharist recapitulates the Incarnation by

5 Eph. 2, 18.

6 Eph. 1, 13-14.

7 Rm. 8, 11.

8 Rm. 8, 9.

the Holy Spirit, the baptismal manifestation at the Jordan, Christ's death on the cross when he handed over the Spirit, and his resurrection and glorification when he became a life giving Spirit.⁹

The texts of the New Testament clearly show that the Church was aware of her constitution as the Body of Christ through the power and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. It was only natural to attribute the Eucharistic presence to this same power of the Spirit. In this paper we have tried to assess historically the development of the anamnesis and epiclesis from the Old Testament through the New Testament to the present day liturgies of the East and the West. From this investigation it is clear that the tradition of anamnesis inserted into the anaphora, particularly the anamnesis of the passion, resurrection and ascension, is of universal acceptance. There is no doubt that the epiclesis too had a place in the earliest traditions. However the idea of epiclesis has developed in meaning and content over the centuries. We have seen the idea of epiclesis within the Old Testament milieu, under the name of shekinah. This same idea, in the time of Hippolytus, was a prayer for sanctification of, and fruitful communion for, the worshippers. At this time the epiclesis is not viewed as a consecratory prayer. The

⁹ Raymond A. Adams, "Holy Spirit and Real Presence" in Theological Studies, Vol. 29, No. 1, March 1968, p. 39.

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Spirit is sent by the Father upon the gifts of the Church to manifest to the faithful the presence of Christ already in their midst as a covenant partner. In the latter part of the third century and at the beginning of the fourth, there is evidence of a growing realization that the words of institution in conjunction with a prayer of invocation effected the presence of Christ in the Eucharist. A résumé of our findings is contained in the following table.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

1: BLESSING: THANKS AND PRAISE
 2: ACCOUNT : CREATION-----
 OLD TEST-----
 CHRIST-----
 SANCTUS-----
 VERE SANCTUS
 EPICLESIS*-----
 INSTITUTION-----
 3: ANAMNESIS (OFFERING)-----
 4: EPICLESIS: CONSECRATORY-----
 COMMUNION-----
 INTERCESSIONS-----
 5: DOXOLOGY-----
 COMMEMORATIONS-----

A PRIMITIVE MODEL	x	x	x		x	HIPPOLYTUS	III
	x	xx	xxx	x	xxxxxx	APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTION	IVB
ANTIOCHEAN	xxx	xxx	xxx		xxxxxx	CHRYSOSTOMUS	IVB
SYRIAN FAMILY	xxx	xxx	xxx		xxxxxx	TWELVE APOSTLES	
BYZANTINE	xxx	xxx	xxx		xxxxxx	BASIL (BYZANTINE)	IVB
	xxx	xxx	xxx		xxxxxx	BASIL (ALEXANDR.)	IVA
	x	x	xxx	x	xxxxxx	JAMES (GK-SYRIAN)	
	xxx	xxx	xxx		xxxxxx	JAMES (ARMENIAN)	
ALEXANDRIAN	?	xxxx	xxx	x	x	SERAPION	IV
FAMILY	x	xxx ^o	xxx		xxxxxx	MARK	IV-V
EGYPTIAN	x	x ^o	xxx	x	????	DER BALIZEH FRAG.	VI
ROMAN LITURGY	xxx	xxx	xxx	x	openx	ROMAN CANON	IVB-V
	xxx	xxx	xxx	xx	xx	CONSILIUM # 2	1967
	xxx	xxx	xxx	open	x	CONSILIUM # 3	1967
	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	CONSILIUM # 4	1967

^o In these two cases offering missing.

* Only in the Der Balizeh Fragment and the Roman Liturgy is this epiclesis consecratory.

From this résumé of the patristic and liturgical data concerning the Eucharist, it is evident that the epiclesis of the Eucharist cannot be studied historically or ritually, in order to determine whether or not it has a consecratory function which can be pinpointed in time. The significance of the anamnesis and the epiclesis affects the whole area of eucharistic theology. Frequently theologians say that the worship of the church reflects her dogmatic belief. If this is so the epiclesis must be considered in terms of the action of the Spirit in liturgical cult and not in terms of any particular moment, of consecration.

We have seen the Trinitarian significance of the various anaphoras. The epiclesis is a reiteration of the Church's belief that her whole sacramental life has such a significance. The Fathers of the Church teach that the presence of Christ in the Eucharist is through the operation of the Spirit. The problem is in understanding the relationship between the sacrificial nature of the liturgy and the work of the Trinity in the representation of this sacrifice. Is the sacrifice confined to the words of institution or is the sacrifice a much more inclusive reality embracing the whole mystery of Christ's redemptive work, including the promise of the Father, the descent of the Holy Spirit and the koinonia of the faithful?

In the world of Aristotelian concepts, substantial change took place in the Eucharist, and therefore there must be a moment when this happened. The words of institution spoken by the priest in persona Christi became that particular moment. In fact, St. Thomas could say that if a priest pronounced these words of institution, with the proper intention, and without saying any other prayer, the elements would be consecrated.

In the East, generally speaking, neither the epiclesis nor the words of institution were considered apart from the whole canon. Theologians in the East, did not consider the epiclesis as a consecratory formula by itself. The priest prays in persona ecclesiae, and asks that the Father send the Spirit and sanctify the gifts. The words of Christ form part of the narrative of the saving acts of Christ. They belong to the anamnesis therefore. In the East the priest acts for the Church, while in the West, he acts as an alter christus. This means that in the West the priestly office has been assimilated to that of Christ. Perhaps, the solution lies in the fact that the priest acts both in persona ecclesiae and in persona Christi.

Kern has pointed out that every liturgy is an anamnesis of the Last Supper.¹⁰ In this act or memorial,

¹⁰ Cyprien Kern, "En marge de l'épiclese", in Irenikon, Vol. 23, 1951, p. 184.

however, the celebrant cannot be identified with the one who spoke at the Last Supper. He symbolizes him. Whereas the eucharistic elements are in reality the Body and the Blood of Christ. Consequently the Orthodox cannot understand how the celebrant speaks in the person of Christ and identifies his liturgical role with that of Christ Himself.

The East views the liturgy not merely as a sacrament and a sacrifice, but also as a participation in the life of the Trinity. The Holy Spirit is invoked to hasten the coming of the Kingdom, to manifest the presence of the Lord. The epiclesis therefore has an eschatological meaning. Even though the epiclesis is after the words of institution, it does not mean that Christ is not present before the epiclesis. The epiclesis means that the realization of the eucharistic presence depends not on the celebrant, but on the free grace of God. And this is what is meant by the phrase ex opere operato. God remains free in offering his grace and his presence.

Today the Spirit continues to manifest the presence of Christ to the new people of God, his church. The epiclesis calls down the Spirit upon the gifts and upon the faithful as they do anamnestic action, in order that they realize the events of the anamnesis are being recapitulated before their eyes. The Spirit unifies the faithful in one body because they partake of the one loaf and

drink of the same cup. "By this we know that we abide in him and he in us, because he has given us of his own Spirit."¹¹

The primitive typical structure of a berakah, as in the case of most anaphoras, is as outlined in the enclosed chart: blessing — account — anamnesis — epiclesis — doxology. In this structure there is blessing in return for blessings; the anamnesis or remembering so that God will remember and make present those same blessings. This is followed by a request, at least explicitly, for renewed blessings, which we call epiclesis. Thus the account runs organically into invocation, the anamnesis into epiclesis.

There is the Trinitarian structure which logically involves the Holy Spirit at the end, even if this is not emphatic. Thus the epiclesis follows the account. The epiclesis before the institution account, as it is in the Roman canon, is not a good or logical place. However, the early Christians were more concerned with the whole eucharistic action, and less concerned with the place or the moment of consecration.

In any reform of the Roman canon, therefore, this basic structure of blessing, account, anamnesis and

¹¹ 1 Jn. 4, 13.

epiclesis with the concluding doxology would be more apropos and in keeping with tradition. The whole canon could then be considered as consecratory.

Although the typical structure of a berakah, as also most anaphoras, is blessing — account — anamnesis — epiclesis — doxology, we see the Alexandrian family of anaphoras and the Roman canon, with an epiclesis before the institution account. It is our conclusion that this is not the better or more logical place. The majority of anaphoras have the epiclesis after the account and anamnesis, which is more in keeping with tradition, as well as Trinitarian theology. Moreover, one of the anaphoras with the epiclesis before the account is merely a fragment, called 'Der Balizeh'. In any reform, therefore, of the Roman canon, we should follow the sequence closer to tradition and more in keeping with Trinitarian theology: blessing — account — anamnesis — epiclesis — doxology.

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ABSTRACT OF

An Historical Assessment of the Anamnesis
and the Epiiclesis in the Eucharist¹

The contemporary canon controversy is not limited to the theological circle of experts. The ordinary Christian man and woman seeks, and is encouraged to enter more fully into the liturgical worship of the local parish. The vernacular has been a tremendous help to his understanding and appreciating his role. Likewise, it has made clear to him many inadequacies of the text of the Roman canon. All of this has led to a great cry for reform of the text.

In order to have reform, it is necessary to understand the reality which seeks to express itself through the text. What is involved. It requires a great knowledge and deep understanding of the Eucharistic action.

In this thesis we have looked at the anamnesis and the epiiclesis in the Jewish berakah. We have seen it as the rich heritage which Christ gathered from the lips of his people to give it full meaning and significance in his great redemptive acts. The earliest anaphoras of the East as well as the canons of the West continued to do and say

¹ James A. Nolan, M.A. thesis presented to the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ottawa through the Department of Religious Studies, 1968, vi-102 p.

as Christ did and said in anamnesis of the wonderful works of God.

In the berakah, as well as the various anaphoras, the sequence is blessing — account — anamnesis — epiclesis — doxology. We conclude that this is the sequence to be followed in any reform of the Roman canon. Furthermore, from the point of view of tradition, and Trinitarian theology, we must see all of these aspects as important, without pinpointing any one moment as the time when the gifts become the body and the blood of Christ. The whole canon is consecratory.