

THE SACRAMENTARY OF SERAPION  
FROM A THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF B. LIT.  
WITHIN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD (\*)

BY  
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9. EUCHARISTIC LITURGY

In Serapion the Liturgy is of great significance being the centre of the worship of the faithful. It gives much precious information about Liturgical history, especially in Egypt in the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

As has already been said, the several prayers in the MS. are not arranged in their proper order; the Anaphora is placed first and the other preanaphoral prayers follow. But Brightman's order has been accepted, which places the prayers 19-30 before the Anaphora and 1-76 after it.

We can discern here the classical shape of the Liturgy with the Liturgy with the Synaxis and the Eucharist, and also the part of the Catechumens and that of the Faithful. Certainly all these have become a unity and one service, but they can be distinguished because the Catechumens could not stay at the Eucharist.

In the preliminary «missa catechumenorum» the prayers are placed: (19) before the lessons, (20) the prayer of the sermon, (21) for the Catechumens and (28) a benediction of the Catechumens.

The «εὐχὴ πρώτη Κυριακῆς» (19), which was said before the reading of the Scriptures, corresponds to the prayer of Trisagion of St. Mark and it does not seem to have its corresponding type any other eastern rite. Elsewhere in the 4<sup>th</sup> century the rite commenced with a blessing and the lessons. But with the prayer (19) we see a very important element of Egyptian worship. Although it corresponds to the so-called «prayer of Trisagion» of St. Mark it has an idealogical similarity not with the prayer of Trisagion of the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, but rather with prayer in the corresponding place «before the Gospel»: «Ἐλλαμψον ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν et.c.» (L.E.W. p. 371). Therefore, it is very probable, that the prayer which in other rites is before the Gospel has its origin in the «εὐχὴ πρώτη Κυριακῆς» of Serapion.

(\*) Συνέχεια ἐκ τῆς σελ. 439 τοῦ προηγουμένου τεύχους.

The Sacramentary of Serapion does not inform us what kind of lections were read and whether psalms had been introduced between them. Certainly that might be assumed from other sources contemporary with Serapion or earlier. It seems that Serapion would follow the practice of the whole Church in that time. Therefore parts of the old Testament, Moses and the Prophets, would be read and also parts of the Acts of the Apostles or the Epistles of Paul and the Gospels<sup>86</sup>.

86. Apost. Const. B, 57. H, 5 P. Gr. 1, 728a and 107a And others.

At any rate, from the time of St. Augustine there were certain days on which the first lesson in the Liturgy was that of the Epistle or the Acts and not of the Prophets<sup>87</sup>. Between the lessons psalms were inserted.

The prayer after the sermon (20), as has been said (Ch. 8) applies also to these who are outside the Church. God is asked to send Holy Spirit, and Jesus Christ to visit the people and to speak to the minds of all, promoting the faith et.c. It seems that this refers to the Catechumens and their preparation for Baptism<sup>88</sup>. There may be a corresponding prayer in the Coptic and Abyssinian rites (L.E.W. pp. 157, 220) and Brightman also compares it with the prayer of St. James «ὁ ἐνηχῆσας ἡμᾶς» (L.E.W. p. 38). It does not seem to be in other rites. The rubric «μετὰ τὸ ἀναστῆναι ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμιλίας εὐχῆ» might recall the «surgentes oremus» of some of Origen's sermons<sup>89</sup>.

The prayers for the Catechumens and their benediction (21,28) are the only prayers which are in the Sacramentary of Serapion representing the ceremony of the dismissal of the Catechumens. God is asked to release them from the devices of Satan; also He is asked for the Catechumens to be confirmed in knowledge, knowing «τὸν Θεὸν καὶ ὃν ἀπέστειλε Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν», and to become worthy of the «λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας». The benediction gives the Lord «εὐλογίαν γνώσεως καὶ εὐσεβείας».

The three benedictions (28-30) are together in the MS. as «formulae» of one kind and Brightman thinks that these are pontifical actions which were introduced in their proper place in the preceding series.

There is no dismissal of the penitents but the benediction of the Catechumens is followed by their dismissal and we might say after this point we have the part of the Faithful.

The prayers and intercessions which follow and which may be

87. Cf. P. Trempelas, *Αἱ τρεῖς Λειτουργίαι*, p. 47.

88. Cf. Cabrol and Leclercq' *Dict. d'Arch. Chret. et de Lit.* XI, 608.

89. Cf. Brightman, *op. cit.*, p. 94. J. H. Srawley, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

regarded as the beginning of the Liturgy of the Faithful, cannot be arranged with certainty in their proper order. At any rate, these consist (see ch. 18) of the «εὐχὴ ὑπὲρ λαοῦ» (27) which has petitions for all the people, the believers, the princes and the other classes of people, the travelling, the afflicted, captives, poor and sick. In this group there is also a benediction of the people (29), a prayer for the sick (22) a benediction of the sick and the other prayers (23, 24, 25, 26) which have been referred to in the previous chapter.

There is no doubt that the Catechumens were not present during the recitation of these prayers. They were allowed to hear the Gospel and the sermon but after the prayer for them and the benediction by the bishop they had to leave. After their dismissal the Church corporately fell to prayer. We might assume either that the litanies of the deacon would follow and that the above prayers were the contribution of the officiating bishop or presbyter who summed up the deacon's petitions in a brief prayer, or that they were parallel to those of the deacon. That, of course, occurs in the Liturgy of St. Mark (L. E; W. p. 119f.). These prayers also can be regarded as the conclusion of the Synaxis<sup>90</sup>, but, of course, as pre-anaphoral prayers for the Faithful only, when Synaxis and Eucharist were united in one service. As has been said before Duchesne regards these prayers either as liturgical prayers before the Anaphora or as non-liturgical ones for use in non-liturgical services<sup>91</sup>.

At any rate, these prayers express the Egyptian usage at that period very well, and they find a parallel in the intercessions which appear in other Egyptian Liturgies or in the «three prayers of the Council of Laodice (can. 19)<sup>92</sup>.

As has been said in chapter 8, the Kiss of Peace, is not referred to in Serapion, but its existence may be regarded as certain since it is referred to in other Egyptian authors like Clement, Origen and Timothy of Alexandria. This, of course, has been connected with the divine Eucharist from the beginning, and it was preserved in it for a very long time. To-day in the Orthodox Church it is restricted to the clergy only. It is found in all the early Liturgies and was placed by the Easterns between the departure of the Catechumens and the Anaphora. Very early evidence of this is that of Justin<sup>93</sup>.

90. Cf. G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, p. 46.

91. *Christian Worship*, p. 79.

92. Cf. J. H. Srawley, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

93. *Apology A'*, 65 P. Gr. 6,428a.

In Serapion there is no offertory prayer after the Kiss of Peace; in this position in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, it would be perhaps an anachronism. In Serapion there is the reference to «προσενεγκότας τὰ πρόσφορα καὶ τὰς εὐχαριστίας» at the end of the intercessions after the consecration.

The «Sursum Corda» is not in the MS., but as it is presupposed by the beginning of the Eucharistic prayer of Serapion (1) «Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστι... αἰνεῖν, ὑμνεῖν, δοξολογεῖν...» we may pass on to consider the Anaphora itself.

This prayer «προσφόρου» of Serapion is a very significant contribution to the history of Liturgy since it is the earliest Eucharistic prayer from Egypt. Without any doubt this prayer is an Egyptian production having originality, and displaying the influence of the personality of Serapion; but is also the revision of the earlier Egyptian liturgical tradition or rather is the expression of that tradition in the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

The prayer «προσφόρου» of Serapion commences with the «Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστιν etc.» without having the usual shape of the Eucharist and without any reference to the word: «Εὐχαριστία». It does not refer, directly, to the creation, and it has not the usual shape of the thanksgiving with its four main points of the Creation, Incarnation, Passion and Last Supper. It speaks about the relation of the Father to the Son and perhaps through that relation, the relation of the Father to Nature, mankind, creation and the incarnation is made manifest. The Father is known by the Son and through Him has been spoken of and interpreted and made known «τῇ γεννητῇ φύσει». Perhaps, this can be regarded as a trace of «Eucharistia».

Also God the Father affords to reconciliation to all through «τῆς ἐπιδημίας τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ... Υἱοῦ» i. e. the incarnation. This, also, can be regarded to as a trace of reference to the redemption.

God the Father knows Son and reveals His glories to the Saints; but also He is known by the Son and is interpreted by Him to the Saints.

There is no doubt that there is a repudiation of Arianism and its theory about the Son as created. In the vocabulary of the Sacramentary and especially of this prayer we find very frequently the «gnosis» of the Father by the Son and vice versa, and it recalls the christian gnosis in Alexandria in its later counter-attack against Arianism. This, of course, means that at least the first part of this prayer was written at the time of the Arian quarrels, and particularly in the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century but continues containing an older tradition. This

first part of the Anaphora stands independent of other liturgical texts.

The Preface of the «Sanctus», as has been said, is almost the same as that of St. Mark and Der-Balyzeh thus proving a common origin from the Egyptian tradition; it begins with the words: «Σὺ γὰρ ὁ ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἔξουσίας etc». It is a kind of theological hymn with no element of thanksgiving, and G. Dix discerns that «the use of the Sanctus at the Alexandrian Eucharist, preceded by a preface closely resembling Serapion, can be traced in the writings of Origen at Alexandria c. A. D. 250»<sup>94</sup>.

Therefore it can be assumed that the use of the Sanctus with its preface began at Alexandria at an early period and perhaps thence spread to the other Churches, since there are no evidences of its use in the Liturgy earlier than those which have been referred to above<sup>95</sup>.

The Sanctus itself is rather simple and corresponds almost completely with Isaiah 6,3. Therefore this accords with the «Sanctus» of most Egyptian rites. In St. Mark we can discern only a few small elaborations which, of course, are explained by the difference of date of the two Liturgies. It has been suggested that the «δύο τιμιώτατα Σεραφείμ» referred to in this part of the prayer refer to the Son and the Holy Spirit, as such an idea is present in Origen<sup>96</sup> and as the same prayer of Serapion in some way suggests it, when in the preface of the «Sanctus» it says: «Let the Lord Jesus and Holy Spirit speak in us and hymn thee through us»<sup>97</sup>. We may say that what follows the Sanctus is built on the word «πλήρης» which is an Egyptian characteristic and not on the word «ἅγιος» which is a Syrian one<sup>98</sup>. Serapion taking the cue from the word «πλήρης» continues his prayer as St. Mark and Der-Balyzeh do.

94. The Shape of the Liturgy, p. 165.

95. There is, in St. Clement of Rome, a reference to the Sanctus (Epistle to the Copinthians 34 ch.) and it was thought that that was a reflection of the use of the «Sanctus» in the Church of Rome (Cf. E. C. Ratcliff: «The Sanctus and the Pattern of the Early Anaphora» in «The Journal of Eccl. Hist., v. I, No. 2, Oct. 1950, pp. 125 ff.) But it is a question whether the above reference of St. Clemett reflects a liturgical practice or it is just a quotation from the Bible as the Epistle of St. Clement to the Corinthians is full of such quotations from the Old Testament.

96. «Περὶ Ἀρχῶν», 3,14, (Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller etc., p. 346.

97. Cf. G. Dix, Prim. Consecr. Pr., Theol. 37, 1938, p. 273.

98. Cf. B. Capelle, L' Anaphore de Serapion, Le Museon v. 59 (1046), p. 428.

Thus we have the transition from the Sanctus to the offering of the eucharistic bread and wine. The several transition do not appear normal. This, perhaps can be explained by the fact that in the Eucharistic Prayer there were certain common elements unchanged; these elements were common in every community and they were repeated in every celebration of the Sacrament. On the other hand the celebrant was free to join them in his own way. Before long use had created a unity in the Eucharistic Prayer and consequently the transition from one phase of this prayer to another appeared logically consistent; the transition could take place quite naturally, and it was sufficient that the main common traditional elements of the Eucharist should be in it. Serapion remembers characteristic Egyptian rules in the Anaphora but he is not completely restricted by them.

In the «εὐχή προσφόρου Σαραπίωνος» the transition is not an absolutely normal one, especially at the point where the development of the Sacrament approaches its crucial point, i. e., the recitation of the words of institution and the consecration by the Epiclesis.

Serapion usually takes a word from a preceding phrase and idea of the prayer, and with it goes further on into the formation of a new stage in the process of the celebration of the Sacrament. So, with the «πλήρης ὁ οὐρανός...» of the «Sanctus», we are introduced into a kind of preliminary invocation: «πλήρωσον καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτης τῆς σῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς σῆς μεταλήψεως».

Certainly this preliminary invocation makes us wonder whether that point was originally the consecration, the Eucharistic prayer being without the words of institution or the Epiclesis of the Logos or of the Holy Spirit; or, alternatively, whether that preliminary invocation was the consecration even if the eucharistic prayer did have the words of institution afterwards as part of the whole rite. Of course, it is difficult to find, with absolute certainty, an answer to all these questions.

The liturgical evidence which derives from the Fathers of that period is very scanty and it is scattered in several works; also, its real meaning being often doubtful. What we may say about this is that it is not impossible that this is a kind of preliminary petition that the gifts may be filled with divine power; this petition is not necessarily the real consecration. Actually this order exists also in other, later, liturgies especially Egyptian ones like that of St. Mark. We find also there that the Eucharistic prayer has a preliminary invocation while the real epiclesis is placed after the Lord's words of institution.

We face, actually, a real difficulty with the sentences which follow that preliminary epiclesis: «σοὶ γὰρ προσηνέγκαμεν ταύτην τὴν ζῶσαν θυσίαν τὴν προσφορὰν τὴν ἀναίμακτον. Σοὶ προσηνέγκαμεν τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον τὸ ὁμοίωμα τοῦ σώματος τοῦ μονογενοῦς. Ὁ ἄρτος οὗτος τοῦ ἁγίου σώματός ἐστιν ὁμοίωμα». The perfect «προσηνέγκαμεν» makes the understanding of this most important part of the Eucharist obscure. Lietzman says that: the perfect «προσηνέγκαμεν» is used because the offering of the bread and wine is the whole sacrifice and the consecration takes place at the small epiclesis. He thinks, also, that there were no words of institution in the past. The second epiclesis is a Syrian interpolation<sup>99</sup>. Capelle, correctly, thinks that the use of the perfect is a personal characteristic of Serapion. In St. Mark (he says) we have instead of the perfect the present «προσφέρομεν». Also that perfect means only the placing of bread and wine on the altar. This becomes obvious from St. Mark where we have «σοὶ ἐκ τῶν σῶν δῶρων προεθίκαμεν». On the other hand, it is quite clear that the Epiclesis of the Logos is the moment of consecration. The latter has a very clear similarity in its vocabulary and style with the other Sacramentary and its difference from the Syrian Epiclesis is obvious<sup>100</sup>.

The small epiclesis is a kind of early and prompt projection of the most important and basic point of the Liturgy, which is the descent of God, either as Logos or as Holy Spirit in order that the elements should be changed into the body and blood of Christ. That idea possesses the mind of the celebrant during the celebration of the Eucharist so strongly that he expresses it in a preliminary way before the real Epiclesis. Of course, this idea finds its full expression in the climax of the whole Eucharistic prayer which is the Epiclesis when the Logos (in Serapion) is asked to «ἐπιδημήσῃ» and consequently to change the bread and wine into the body and blood of the Logos Himself. It has been said already that in other Egyptian ecclesiastical writers also, like Athanasius, Origen and Clement, the descent to the Logos is regarded as the consecrating power which changes the elements of the Eucharist into the body and blood.

Therefore this preliminary invocation can keep its place in the prayer as a preliminary invocation and nothing else, while the real Epiclesis comes after the Lord's words of institution «Ἐπιδημησάτω ὁ Ἅγιός Σου Λόγος etc». It would be an excess of zeal to attempt to

99. Mass and Lord's Supper, p. 180.

100. Cf. B. Capelle, L'Anaphore de Serapion, Le Museon, v. 59 (1949), p. 428 f.

find out interpolations in this part of the Eucharistic prayer apart from that of the Didache about the scattered bread which is really an interpolation foreign to the context. In favour also of the view that the moment of the consecration in Egypt in the 4th century and earlier was that of the prayer for the descent of the Logos, is the sentence of St. Athanasius which has been referred to also in a preceding chapter (6): «οὗτος ὁ ἄρτος καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ὅσον οὐπω εὐχαὶ καὶ ἱκεσίαι γεγόνασι, ψιλὰ εἰσι· ἐπὶ δὲ αἱ μεγάλαι εὐχαὶ καὶ αἱ ἄγαι ἱκεσίαι ἀναπεμφθῶσι, καταβαίνει ὁ Λόγος εἰς τὸν ἄρτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον, καὶ γίνεται αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα»<sup>101</sup>, The same idea is present in Serapion and also in Origen and Clement (see ch. 6). Also the «same idea is found in a number of Ethiopic rites which are of Egyptian connection if not actual origin»<sup>102</sup>.

The Epiclesis of the Logos, as it is in Serapion is a consecratory one and it is «the moment» of the change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of the Logos. Therefore the eucharistic elements are identified with the body and blood by the Epiclesis of the Logos<sup>103</sup>. The preliminary invocation is not as has been said, a preepiclesis or a part of the Epiclesis; the Epiclesis of the Logos is the only consecratory one<sup>104</sup>.

The use of the term «ἐπιδημία» in the Epiclesis for the coming of the Logos makes us wonder about the connection of the Eucharist with Incarnation, since this term is used for the Incarnation.

It is important to notice that Serapion in the Epiclesis refers to the effects of the Eucharist on man. These are not only spiritual but have an influence on the human body as well. Christians receive in Communion «φάρμακον ζωῆς» obviously eternal and spiritual; but on

101. From E. Bishop's Appendix in Texts and Studies, v. 8 no. I, p. 156.

102. G. Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy, p. 108.

103. I wonder whether one could say that Irenaeus presupposes the existence of the Epiclesis of the Logos when he speaks about the liturgical uses of a heretic, Marcus the Magician, and whether the latter reflects and imitates the use of the Church, in the verse: «Ποτήρια οἴνω κεκραμένα προσποιούμενος εὐχαριστεῖ, καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐκτείνων τὸν λόγον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως πορφύρεα καὶ ἐρυθρὰ ἀναφαίνεσθαι ποιεῖ, ὡς δοκεῖν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὰ ὄλα χάριν τὸ αἷμα τὸ θαυμάσιον ἐν τῷ ἐκείνῳ ποτηρίῳ διὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως αὐτοῦ». (Κατὰ Αἰρέσεων» 1.13.2 P. Gr. 7,580 fl.). Also there is another verse of Irenaeus in support of the probable consecratory power of the Logos which says: «Ὅποτε... τὸ ποτήριον καὶ ὁ ἄρτος ἐπιδέχεται τὸν Λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ γίνεται ἡ εὐχαριστία σῶμα Χριστοῦ». («Κατὰ Αἰρέσεων». 5.2.3 P. Gr. 7,1126b, 1127a).

104. Cf. P. Trempeles, Τρεῖς Λειτουργίαι, p. 114.



the other hand they receive bodily strength as the Sacrament is for «θεραπείαν παντός νοσήματος καὶ εἰς ἐνδυνάμωσιν πάσης προκοπῆς καὶ ἀρετῆς». Therefore the Eucharist is «φάρμακον ζωῆς» for the soul and body. The Epiclesis concludes with: «Σὲ γὰρ τὸν ἀγένητον ἑπεκαλεσάμεθα διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι».

While speaking of the preliminary invocation we have spoken also about the Epiclesis although it comes after the words of institution.

The recital of the words of institution is rather simple in character. Apart from a few non-essential additions it is a scriptural one. These few additions are present also in other Egyptian rites; but the additions which are imported into later rites are not in Serapion, e.g. those about the hands and eyes of the Lord<sup>105</sup>.

Very important is the emphatic reference to bread and wine as the «ὁμοίωμα τοῦ σώματος» and «ὁμοίωμα τοῦ αἵματος» (likeness) of the Only begotten. Of course, this is referred to before the consecration. Also important is the lack of an «εὐχαριστεῖν» and of an anamnesis which has been replaced by a narrative of the institution.

The idea of the «likeness» of the elements before the consecration reminds us of similar ideas in Athanasius, Irenaeus and other fathers that the elements are plain bread and wine before the consecration. Also it reminds us of Serapion's reference to the body of Christ as «ὅμοιον» to ours in his treatise against the Manichees (LIII, 23 f.). He says also that our bodies have been honoured «ὡς οἰκίαν εἶναι τοῦ πεποικηότος, ὡς ταμεῖον εἶναι τοῦ Κυρίου, ὡς ἐνδημεῖν πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ τὴν οἰκῆσιν τῶν σωμάτων ἀποδέχεσθαι» (v, 8 f.).

Is it also the same idea that as God dwells in the «ὅμοια» bodies of men so He does in the other «ὁμοιώματα» of the body of His Logos i. e. the eucharistic elements? It seems, also, that this word «ὁμοίωμα» has the same meaning as St. Cyril's of Jerusalem's word «τύπος» (Mystag. Catech. 4,3 ed. F. L. Cross) where it is suggested that the bread and wine are the perceptible means by which the body and blood of Christ are bestowed. Perhaps this «likeness» is another kind of anamnesis<sup>106</sup>.

This use of the word «likeness» in the relation of the bread and wine to the body and blood of Christ, and the thought of sacrifice in reference to the bread and wine, is something which according to

105. Cf. Brightman, op. cit., p. 96.

106. Cf. B. Capelle, op. cit., p. 436.

Wordsworth<sup>107</sup> «we should expect from what we read in Tertullian, Justin and Irenaeus and it helps us to understand their language». Between the institutions there is the petition for reconciliation with God «through sacrifice». The bread and wine are offered separately. This offering is called by Serapion «θύσια» which recalls Hippolytus who calls it «priestly» ministry. It is the same thing expressed in a different way<sup>108</sup>. There is no doubt that the idea of sacrifice is very strong in Serapion. The expressions «καταλλάγηθι», and «ἰλάσθητι» are very common and they may be connected with the idea of sacrifice<sup>109</sup>.

There is no doubt that the quotation from the Didache about the bread scattered on the mountains, which has been interpolated between the words of institutions, spoils the whole symmetry of the prayer and is inconsistent with the context.

The prayer goes on after the Euclesis : «ἐλεηθήτω ὁ λαὸς οὗτος»: God is asked to grant to the people the companionship of the Angels «εἰς κατάργησιν τοῦ πονηροῦ καὶ εἰς βεβαίωσιν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας». At this point, intercession takes place for the departed and there is the rubric «μετὰ τὴν ὑποβολὴν τῶν θαυμάτων» which, certainly, presupposes the recitation of names, loudly or secretly, or the diptychs.

Afterwards the prayer of the departed goes on up to the point when a prayer follows in which God is asked to accept the Eucharist of the people and to bless «τοὺς προσενηγότας τὰ πρόσφορα καὶ τὰς εὐχαριστίας».

It is difficult to believe that this part of the Eucharist (after the Euclesis) was situated from the beginning in this position and that intercessions followed the consecration in the traditional Eucharistic prayer of the original Egyptian type. That becomes obvious from the conventional doxology which is at the end of the prayer «Ὡσπερ ἦν καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἔσται» etc. which is not a logical conclusion in accordance with the preceding. This doxology should be placed immediately after the : «Σὲ γὰρ τὸν ἀγέννητον ἐπεκαλεσάμεθα διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς ἐν Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι» there the doxology of the eternal Trinity would follow quite naturally.

Of course, the introduction of such intercession after the consecration derived from the idea that the prayer ought to have a greater effectiveness in the presence of the consecrated gifts; this idea is to be

107. Prayer-Book of Sarapion, p. 43.

108. Cf. G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, p. 172.

109. Cf. B. Capelle, *op. cit.*, p. 436.

found in the 4th century especially in St. Cyril of Jerusalem<sup>110</sup> who says that: «μετὰ τὸ ἀπαρισθῆναι τὴν πνευματικὴν θυσίαν, τὴν ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν, ἐπὶ τῆς θυσίας ἐκείνης τοῦ ἱλασμοῦ παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν Θεὸν ὑπὲρ . . .».

Certainly, there is no uniformity about the position of intercessions in the Liturgies in the several Churches. In St. Mark we find them before the Sanctus, perhaps because of the idea that «the special intentions of the sacrifice ought to be named before it was actually offered». In Rome the intercessions of the living were at the beginning of the prayer after the Sanctus, and those of the departed at the end<sup>111</sup>. Elsewhere there is another order, and so on. According to G. Dix the result when «the Synaxis and Eucharist came to be fused into a single rite, celebrated as a normal rule without a break, was a duplication between the old intercessions, the «prayers of the faithful», at the close of the Synaxis, and the new intercessory developments within the eucharistic prayer»<sup>112</sup>.

At any rate the placing of intercessions after the consecration, even if there were others before it, is natural because thus the grace which derives from the sacrifice of Calvary was sought on behalf of certain persons and classes in which the christian community was interested<sup>113</sup>. This idea, of course, is evident in St. Cyril of Jerusalem and his church is, perhaps, the first innovator of it.

Very important is the recital of the names of the departed, and the Sacramentary of Serapion seems to be the earliest document in which we find them. Of course, the way in which St. Cyril of Jerusalem speaks about the commemoration of the departed and their separation into several classes, presupposes that the practice was in use in the 4th century, at least in Jerusalem and, as we see in Serapion, in Egypt as well. In the West the recital of the names of the living is referred to by Jerome and earlier by a canon (29) of the Council of Elvira (about 305 - 306)<sup>114</sup>.

Thus the recitation of names in the Liturgy was in use in the 4th century either of the living or the departed. But Serapion is the earliest witness of the recitation of the names of the departed, and perhaps this practice was introduced into the Liturgy in his time.

110. Catech. Mystag. E, 8 and 9 P. Gr. 33,1116a f.

111. Cf. G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, p. 171.

112. *Ibid.*, p. 171.

113. Cf. P. Trempelas, «Αἱ Τρεῖς Λειτουργίαι», p. 119.

114. E. Bishop, *Appendix in Texts and Studies*, v. 8, no. 1, p. 98.

Important also is the fact that there is intercession for the offerers of «τὰ πρόσφορα καὶ τὰς εὐχαριστίας». Certainly, that means that the people used to offer the gifts for the Eucharist, and perhaps also other gifts for the Church and the community; but, probably, that took place before the Eucharist. That tradition is continued in subsequent centuries, as we can see in the Egyptian Liturgies (See St. Mark L. E.W. p. 124 also L.E.W. Appendix J, p. 504) and in the other Eastern rites (See L.E.W. Appendix No, p. 522 also note 10 p. 525). To-day in the Eastern Church the people provide the gifts for the celebration of the Eucharist, even if the offertory does not take place publicly at the appropriate point of the Liturgy. In the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom there is the prayer of the prothesis which prays for «τῶν προσενεγκότων καὶ δι' οὓς προσήγαγον».

The prayers which follow the Eucharistic one have a close relation with the coming Communion. Therefore the «prayer of the fraction», as has been said (see ch. 8) is a preparatory one for the Holy Communion. From the rubric of this prayer «μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν ἢ κλάσις καὶ ἐν τῇ κλάσει εὐχὴ», probable conclusions are derived about the recitation of the Lord's prayer and its probable position in the Liturgy represented in the Sacramentary of Serapion (see ch. 8), if that «μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν» does not refer to the Eucharistic Prayer itself. In the East the Lord's prayer was recited from an early period as we deduce from St. Cyril of Jerusalem<sup>115</sup> and from other eastern Liturgies.

The «Prayer of the Fraction», and Egyptian and Syrian characteristic, occurs also in other Egyptian liturgies, Coptic and Euthiopic. In Serapion the God of truth is asked to make the believers worth of the communion; there is again the idea that the effects of the communion are for both soul and body.

The prayers of the Communion follow (3,4,6). There is no the «Holy Things to those who are holy» and the answer to it, and it seems that that is a later element; neither is there any information about elevation.

Comparing other Egyptian documents and rites with Serapion we see that at this point all coincide; that is they have a preliminary to the Communion benediction of the people, a prayer after the Communion, and a final benediction. Thus the same order is in the Liturgy of St. Mark (L.E.W. pp. 137, 141), in the Liturgy of the Coptic Jacobites (L. E. W. pp. 183, 186), in the Anaphora of the Ethiopic Church

115. Catech. Mystag. 5,11 P. Gr. 33,1117 fl.

Ordinances (L.E.W. pp. 191, 192), and in the Liturgy of the Abyssinian Jacobites (L.E.W. pp. 235,243).

In these prayers apart from the idea that the communicant receives the body and blood of Christ and «μέρος ἔχει μετὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος» there is also the idea that the Christian must approach the Sacrament in cleanness and purity and that the divine elements strengthen him for the struggle for virtue and «σωφρονισμόν». There is also the same idea of the effects of the Communion on both soul and body : «τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ζῶντα ἔστω σώματα καὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ αὐτῶν καθαραὶ ἔστωσαν ψυχαί». But in the order of these prayers there is a peculiarity<sup>116</sup>. That is the clergy take the communion before the first benediction as we deduce from the rubric of the prayer (3) : «Μετὰ τὸ διαδοῦναι τὴν κλάσιν τοῖς κληρικοῖς χειροθεσία λαοῦ».

Usually the communion of the clergy is situated at the beginning of the communion of all the Christians and is included in the framework of the general prayer of the Communion. Brightman expresses a probable opinion that the «μετὰ τὸ διαδοῦναι τὴν κλάσιν τοῖς κληρικοῖς» does not refer to the communion of the clergy, but rather to the distribution of the Bread to the several concelebrating clergymen in order to distribute it to the people ; the communion of the clergy takes place silently without any special notice in the Sacramentary of Serapion.

Before the final benediction there is the «prayer for the offered oils and waters» (5). This blessing of the oils and waters occurs also in other earlier or later rites but not always in the same position (see ch. 8). The blessed oil and water become «Φάρμακον θεραπευτικόν» and God is asked to grant «δύναμιν θεραπευτικὴν ἐπὶ τὰ κτίσματα ταῦτα, ὅπως πᾶς πυρετὸς καὶ πᾶν δαιμόνιον καὶ πᾶσα νόσος διὰ τῆς πόσεως καὶ ἀλλείψεως ἀπαλλαγῇ».

Although the evidence about the uses of holy water are not very early, nevertheless it seems that this took place from a period earlier than Serapion as in the Sacramentary its blessing is taken for granted. The respect in which it was held was related, of course, to its use at Baptism, apart from the other uses. In the fourth century according to various sources water is sanctified either by liturgical blessing or by the individual blessing of some holy person<sup>117</sup>.

116. Cf. Brightman, op. cit., p. 98.

117. H. Leclercq, The Catholic Encyclopedia, v. 7, p. 433.

Also oil is a product of «great utility the symbolic signification of which harmonizes with its natural uses».

Apart from its other uses in the Old Testament and the Primitive Church, it acquired significance by its use in the lamps on the graves of martyrs. There was the idea that it relieved the sick and that it brought a kind of spiritual contact with the Saints<sup>118</sup>. At any rate its natural healing qualities helped to create this idea.

It is important that its blessing takes place in Serapion «διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ μονογενοῦς»; this is «an interesting example of survival of the old idea of the power of the «Name of God».

(Συνεχίζεται)

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118. H. Leclered, op. cit. v. 7. p. 423.