



<https://theses.gla.ac.uk/>

Theses Digitisation:

<https://www.gla.ac.uk/myglasgow/research/enlighten/theses/digitisation/>

This is a digitised version of the original print thesis.

Copyright and moral rights for this work are retained by the author

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study,  
without prior permission or charge

This work cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first  
obtaining permission in writing from the author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any  
format or medium without the formal permission of the author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author,  
title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

Enlighten: Theses

<https://theses.gla.ac.uk/>  
[research-enlighten@glasgow.ac.uk](mailto:research-enlighten@glasgow.ac.uk)

BIBLICAL WARRANTS FOR WORSHIP

An Examination of the Scriptural and  
Early Patristic Basis for the Major  
Liturgical Practices of the Church of Scotland

A SUMMARY

William Leslie Avery  
Faculty of Divinity

University of Glasgow  
June, 1969.

ProQuest Number: 10647295

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10647295

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code  
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.  
789 East Eisenhower Parkway  
P.O. Box 1346  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

## BIBLICAL WARRANTS FOR WORSHIP

In this thesis the writer researches the following statement made by Dr. O.B. Milligan in the Preface to the Book of Common Order of the Church of Scotland:

Further, the Church of Scotland, adhering to the Scottish Reformation and receiving "the Word of God which is contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as its supreme rule of faith and life", bases all its worship on Holy Scripture. Without reservation of any kind it may be asserted that everything contained in this Book receives its warrant from that source.

In this study the writer shows the extent to which this forthright affirmation by Dr. Milligan can be supported by the evidence. While the debt to the Old Testament worship is not overlooked, the writer concentrates on the writings of the New Testament. Also he extends the scope of his investigation beyond the New Testament Canon. Inasmuch as the patristic literature down to Hippolytus reflects liturgical practices which extend back to the times when parts of the New Testament were written, the writer has included this additional evidence.

Of necessity the writer has had to be selective in terms of the contents of the Book of Common Order. He has restricted himself to those Orders and parts of them which are related to regular public worship. Nevertheless, it will be clear to anyone who consults the Book of Common Order that any Orders which are not explicitly considered contain much with which the writer does deal.

As a background for his study of the worship of the Church of Scotland, the writer outlines the service of the Synagogue at the time of Jesus; it was this worship which the Christian Church inherited and which the first Christians continued to practise. Then, turning more specifically to the Book of Common Order, he discusses three elements of a general nature:

Sunday; the Christian Year; and the Lectionary.

The next chapter focuses attention upon features common to most services: Calls to Worship and Prayer; Psalms, Paraphrases, Hymns and Canticles; Scripture Readings; Creed; Prayers, including the Lord's Prayer; Congregational Responses; Intimations; Sermon; Ascriptions; Offerings; and Benediction.

A chapter is devoted to each of the two Sacraments - Baptism and the Lord's Supper - as well as to the rite of Confirmation. The writer draws the thesis to a close by stating his conclusions and making some general observations about the validity and truth of Milligan's statement. A Selected Bibliography follows the last chapter.

Although Milligan's assertion cannot be completely substantiated, the writer demonstrates in this study the large extent to which it is true. Furthermore, it may be pointed out that many of the liturgical practices of the Church of Scotland are common to all branches of the Christian Church. Therefore, the results of this research have significance not only for the Church of Scotland but also for the whole of Christendom.

BIBLICAL WARRANTS FOR WORSHIP

An Examination of the Scriptural and Early Patristic Basis  
for the  
Major Liturgical Practices  
of the  
Church of Scotland

by  
William Leslie Avery

A Thesis  
submitted in fulfilment of  
the requirements for  
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
to the  
Faculty of Divinity  
University of Glasgow  
Glasgow, Scotland

1969

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I	INTRODUCTION .....	1
II	WORSHIP IN THE SYNAGOGUE .....	5
III	ELEMENTS OF A GENERAL NATURE .....	22
	a) Sunday .....	22
	b) the Christian Year .....	34
	c) the Lectionary .....	60
IV	ELEMENTS COMMON TO MOST SERVICES .....	78
	a) Calls to Worship and Prayer .....	78
	b) "Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs" .....	80
	c) Scripture Readings .....	133
	d) Creed .....	135
	e) Prayers .....	159
	f) Congregational Responses .....	199
	g) Intimations .....	204
	h) Sermon .....	205
	i) Ascriptions .....	213
	j) Offerings .....	216
	k) Benedictions .....	226
V	SACRAMENTS AND ORDINANCES	
	a) Baptism .....	232
VI	SACRAMENTS AND ORDINANCES	
	b) Confirmation .....	304
VII	SACRAMENTS AND ORDINANCES	
	c) The Lord's Supper .....	350
VIII	CONCLUSION .....	444
	A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	448

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS AND DEDICATION

I wish to thank my Supervisor, Dr. William Barclay, for accepting me as a research student and for guiding my study in a most helpful and efficient manner.

The assistance of all librarians has been invaluable, but Dr. S. Mechie of Trinity College deserves special mention.

I must record my sincere appreciation to Mrs. J. Khan who typed the body of this thesis, and to Mrs. S. Wall for typing its Bibliography.

This thesis is affectionately dedicated to my wife, Greta, to whom my particular thanks are due; in spite of her own full academic programme she found time to offer assistance and encouragement in this research, and to complete the final corrections.

## ABBREVIATIONS

The writer uses standard abbreviations for the Books of the Bible, Manuscripts and Versions. In addition the following ones appear in the footnotes and Bibliography. Any other abbreviations are those common to scholarly reporting, and, therefore, are not singled out for mention.

ANCL	Ante-Nicene Christian Library, eds. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson.
BFChTh	Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie
BG	Bible Guides, eds. W. Barclay and F.F. Bruce.
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
CLH (or CHLS)	The Cambridge Liturgical Handbooks, eds. H.B. Swete and J.H. Srawley.
CQR	Church Quarterly Review
CTL	Crown Theological Library
DAC	Dictionary of the Apostolic Church, 2 vols., ed. J. Hastings.
DACL	Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie, eds. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq.
DB	Dictionary of the Bible, 5 vols., ed. J. Hastings.
DCA	Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, 2 vols., eds. W. Smith and S. Cheetham.
DCG	A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospel, 2 vols., ed. J. Hastings.
DT	Dogmatic Theology, 10 vols. by F.J. Hall.
EB	Études Bibliques
E.H. (or HE)	Ecclesiastical History by Socrates and Sozomen
EQ	Evangelical Quarterly
ERE	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, 13 vols., ed. J. Hastings.
ESW	Ecumenical Studies in Worship, ed. J.G. Davies and A.R. George.

ET	The Expository Times
Ev. Th.	Evangelische Theologie
HDB	Dictionary of the Bible. First Edition, ed. J. Hastings; Second Edition, eds. F.C. Grant and H.H. Rowley.
IDB	The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, 4 vols., ed. G.A. Buttrick.
ITL	International Theological Library, ed. S.D.F. Salmond and C.A. Briggs.
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JE	The Jewish Encyclopedia, 12 vols., ed. I. Singer.
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
KJV	King James Version
LCT	Library of Constructive Theology, ed. J. Marchant.
LHD	Library of History and Doctrine, eds. S.L. Greenslade and others.
LXX	The Septuagint
NPNF(2)	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, eds. P. Schafr and H. Wace.
N.S.	New Series
NTL	The New Testament Library, eds. A. Richardson, C.F.D. Moule and F.V. Filson.
NTS	New Testament Studies
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies, ed. B.M. Metzger.
OLPT	The Oxford Library of Practical Theology, eds. W.C.E. Edmund and F.E. Brightman.
ODCC	Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, ed. F.L. Cross.
O.S.	Old Series

RB	Revue Biblique
RHPhR	Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses
RSV	Revised Standard Version
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SCM	Student Christian Movement
SHT	Studies in Historical Theology, ed. S.L. Greenslade.
SJT	Scottish Journal of Theology
SNTS M.S.	Society for New Testament Studies, Monograph Series, ed. M. Black.
S.P.C.K.	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
ST	Studia Theologica
TTL	Theological Translation Library, eds. T.K. Cheyne and A.B. Bruce.
TWBB	A Theological Word Book of the Bible, ed. A. Richardson.
TWNT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, ed. G. Kittel.
UNT	Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZTK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche
WZU Leipzig	Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx Universität Leipzig

#### Abbreviations for Bible Commentaries

Commentaries on Books of the Bible which form part of a larger work are cited in the footnotes as if they were separate studies by themselves.

Abingdon	The Abingdon Bible Commentary, eds. F.C. Eiselen, E. Lewis and D.G. Downey.
Black	Black's New Testament Commentaries, ed. H. Chadwick.

Cambridge	The Cambridge Bible Commentary, eds. P.R. Ackroyd, A.R.C. Leaney, and J.W. Packer.
CBSC	The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges, ed. J.J.S. Perowne.
Century	The Century Bible, ed. W.F. Adeney.
CGTSC	Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges, eds. J.A. Robinson, and others.
DSB	The Daily Study Bible Series, ed. W. Barclay.
EGT	The Expositor's Greek Testament, 5 vols. ed. W.R. Nicoll.
Expositor's	The Expositor's Bible, ed. W.R. Nicoll.
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, ed. H. Lietzmann.
IB	The Interpreter's Bible, 12 vols., ed. G.A. Buttrick.
ICC	International Critical Commentary, eds. S.R. Driver, A. Plummer, and C.A. Briggs.
Meyer	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament, ed. H.A.W. Meyer.
Moffatt	The Moffatt New Testament Commentary, ed. J. Moffatt.
New Century	The Century Bible, New Edition, eds. H.H. Rowley and M. Black.
New Clarendon	The New Clarendon Bible, ed. C.K. Barrett.
New Peake	Peake's Commentary on the Bible, Revised, ed. M. Black.
Pulpit	The Pulpit Commentary, eds. H.D.M. Spence and J.S. Exell.
Torch	The Torch Bible Commentaries, eds. J. Marsh, D.M. Paton, and A. Richardson.
Tyndale	The Tyndale New Testament Commentaries, ed. R.V.G. Tasker.
Westminster	Westminster Commentaries, ed. W. Lock.

Unless otherwise noted, Scriptural quotations in this thesis are from the RSV, Copyright 1946 and 1952, by the Division of Christian Education of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America.

Unless the writer indicates otherwise, his citations from the patristic literature are from the following sources (of which further details appear in the Bibliography):

I Clement and the Epistles of Ignatius (Shorter): Ancient Christian Writers I  
Newly Translated and Annotated by J.A. Kleist.

The Epistles of Ignatius (Longer) and the Pastor of Hermas: ANCL I  
Translated by A. Roberts, J. Donaldson and F. Crombie.

II Clement: The Apostolic Fathers  
Translated with Introductions, Notes and Dissertations by  
J.B. Lightfoot.

The Didache, the Epistle of Barnabas, the Epistle(s) and the  
Martyrdom of Polycarp, the Fragments of Papias, and the Epistle to  
Diognetus: Ancient Christian Writers VI.  
Newly Translated and Annotated by J.A. Kleist.

Justin Martyr: Apology I; II; Dialogue with Trypho: ANCL II  
Translated by M. Dods and G. Reith.

Theophilus: To Autolytus: ANCL III.  
Translated by M. Dods.

Irenaeus: Against Heresies; Fragments from the Lost Writings of  
Irenaeus: ANCL V, IX.  
Translated by A. Roberts and W.H. Rambaut.

Irenaeus: Proof of the Apostolic Preaching: Ancient Christian  
Writers XVI.  
Translated and Annotated by J.P. Smith.

Clement of Alexandria: ANCL IV, XII.  
Translated by W. Wilson.

Tertullian: ANCL VII, XI, XV, XVIII.  
Translated by P. Holmes and S. Thelwall.

Hippolytus: Apostolic Tradition.  
Translated with Introduction and Notes by B.S. Easton.

Hippolytus: Commentary on Daniel: ANCL VI.  
Translated by S.D.F. Salmond

Hippolytus: Against the Heresy of One Noetus; The Discourse on the  
Holy Theophany: ANCL IX.  
Translated by S.D.F. Salmond

The Clementine Recognitions and Homilies: ANCL III, XVII.  
Translated by T. Smith, P. Peterson and J. Donaldson.

The Apostolic Constitutions: ANCL XVII.  
Translated with Notes by J. Donaldson.

Basil: On The Spirit: NPNF (2) VIII.  
Translated with Notes by B. Jackson.

Unless the chronology is of vital importance various writings by one author are given in the sequence in which they appear in the sources rather than with attention to their dates.

In this thesis references to Philo, Josephus, Pliny the Younger, Pliny the Elder and Pausanias are taken from the Loeb Classical Library. Those from E. Schürer's A History of the Jewish People are from the translation by J. Macpherson, S. Taylor and P. Christie. Citations from the Mishnah are from H. Danby's translation. References from the New Testament Apocrypha are quoted from M.R. James, The Apocryphal New Testament. Passages from Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History are taken from the two volume translation with Introduction and Notes by H.J. Lawlor and J.E.L. Oulton. For Epiphanius' Panarion the writer has consulted Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller XXV, ed. K. Holl.

The writer would point out that an error in pagination (undetected until the typing of the thesis was completed) means that there is no page 261.

It remains only to add that the writer, as a Canadian, has adhered to North American grammatical usage and expression; also he has prepared this thesis format essentially in harmony with the principles of the Canadian pamphlet Scholarly Reporting in the Humanities.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

In the Preface to the 1940 Book of Common Order of the Church of Scotland, Dr. Oswald B. Milligan wrote these words:

Further, the Church of Scotland, adhering to the Scottish Reformation and receiving "the Word of God which is contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as its supreme rule of faith and life", bases all its worship on Holy Scripture. Without reservation of any kind it may be asserted that everything contained in this Book receives its warrant from that source.<sup>1</sup>

As Convenor of the Committee on Public Worship and Aids to Devotion, Dr. Milligan was anxious to point out the principle of adherence to Scripture which had guided the Committee in its work. The writer believes that this forthright affirmation, which Dr. Milligan made on behalf of the Committee, requires examination and elucidation. It must be admitted that a great many worshippers (both clergy and laity) are not aware of any Biblical precedents for what they say and do; nor is the connection between what is done in worship today and the worship of the Scriptures always clear.

In this study the writer proposes to show the extent to which Dr. Milligan's statement can be supported by the evidence. The debt to

---

<sup>1</sup>O.B. Milligan, "Preface", Book of Common Order of the Church of Scotland, v, (hereafter cited as Book of Common Order); underlining mine. In this thesis the writer uses the 1952 reprint of the 1940 Book of Common Order, which is exactly the same except for minor corrections and a New Lectionary; the only difference in pagination occurs after the Lectionary section, which in the original is seven pages longer (pp. 313-27); this Table of Lessons is followed in both by the same five pages of Appendix.

the Old Testament Jewish worship is not to be overlooked, but the writer will concentrate on the writings of the New Testament in view of the fact that he is discussing Christian worship.

Furthermore, in consultation with his supervisor, Dr. Barclay, the writer has decided to broaden the scope of his investigation beyond the New Testament Canon; it has been agreed that the early patristic literature should also be examined; therefore, the writer includes the evidence of the Fathers down to Hippolytus, whose Apostolic Tradition, dated about A.D. 215, "may with equal safety be invoked for the practice of thirty or even fifty years earlier".<sup>1</sup> The writer must point out that in this thesis he will use the terms "patristic" and "the Fathers", in a somewhat restricted sense, to refer to the works of the Fathers up to and including Hippolytus. Inasmuch as these patristic writings reflect liturgical practices which extend back to the times when parts of the New Testament were written, it has seemed advisable to include this further evidence, in order to make this investigation more complete.

In addition, while making this study of the worship of the Church of Scotland, the writer is aware that his conclusions will apply not only to that denomination. Many of its liturgical practices are common to all branches of the Christian Church. Insofar as the worship of other Churches corresponds to that of the Church of Scotland, this thesis will set forth the Biblical and patristic warrants (or lack of them), for their liturgical practices as well. In this investigation it is the worship of the Church of Scotland which will be specifically

---

<sup>1</sup>B.S. Easton, The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus, p. 25.

examined; nevertheless, the results of this research, far from being limited to that one body, will have relevance for the whole of Christendom.

Of necessity, the writer has had to be selective in terms of the contents of the Book of Common Order. He has restricted himself to those Orders and parts of them which are related to regular public worship. Therefore, this thesis contains no specific consideration of the Orders<sup>1</sup> for the Solemnization and Blessing of Marriages, the Burial of the Dead, the Ordination and Admission of Elders and Deacons, the Dedication of Church Workers, Church Property, Buildings, Contents, and Furnishings, and Remembrance Sunday; nor does it explicitly examine the Prayers, Prefaces and Sentences for the Seasons of the Christian Year, and Special Prayers.<sup>2</sup> However, it will be clear to anyone who consults the Book of Common Order, that these Orders and Prayers contain much with which the writer does deal; therefore, they are not completely ignored.

As a background for his study of the worship of the Church of Scotland, the writer will outline the service of the Synagogue at the time of Jesus; it was this worship which the Christian Church inherited and which the first Christians continued to practise. Then, turning more specifically to the Book of Common Order, he will discuss three elements of a general nature: Sunday; the Christian Year; and the Lectionary.

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. Book of Common Order, pp. 154-232.

<sup>2</sup>cf. Book of Common Order, pp. 233-306; 323-7.

The next chapter will focus attention upon features common to most services: Calls to Worship and Prayer; Psalms, Paraphrases, Hymns and Canticles; Scripture Readings; Creed; Prayers including the Lord's Prayer; Congregational Responses; Intimations; Sermon; Ascriptions; Offerings; and Benediction.

A chapter will be devoted to each of the two Sacraments - Baptism and the Lord's Supper - as well as to the rite of Confirmation. After this treatment of the "Sacraments and Ordinances of the Church",<sup>1</sup> the writer will draw the thesis to a close by stating his conclusions, and making some general observations about the validity and truth of Milligan's statement.

---

<sup>1</sup>Book of Common Order, vii, p. 87.

## CHAPTER II

### WORSHIP IN THE SYNAGOGUE

In its liturgical practices, the Christian Church is greatly indebted to the Synagogue. In fact, it is not an exaggeration to say that it is impossible to appreciate the worship of the early Christians without an understanding of the worship of the Synagogue. A.R.S. Kennedy has pointed out that it was the Synagogue, rather than the Temple, which "supplied the mould and model for the worship of the Christian Church".<sup>1</sup> The writer wishes, therefore, to set forth the main elements in the liturgy of the Synagogue at the time of Christ, as the basis for appreciating the worship which the first Christians inherited.

The main source of information regarding early Synagogue worship is the Mishnah.<sup>2</sup> Megillah 4:3 states:

If there are less than ten present they may not recite the Shema with its Benedictions, nor may they go before the Ark, nor may they lift up their hands, nor may they read the prescribed portion of the Law or the reading from the Prophets . . . .

This passage gives the chief elements in the Synagogue service:

- a) the Shema with its Benedictions;
- b) prayers (said by the one going "before the Ark");

---

<sup>1</sup>A.R.S. Kennedy, "Synagogue", HDB, First Edition, p. 884.

<sup>2</sup>The writer cannot enter into any detailed discussion of the date, and therefore the reliability of this source for pre-Christian elements of Synagogue worship. Suffice it to say that he accepts the arguments of W.O.E. Oesterley (The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy, pp. 16-35) for the Mishnah's genuineness and authenticity in this regard.

- c) Scripture readings: i) the Law;  
ii) the Prophets;

d) the Priestly Benediction (for which the worshippers "lift up their hands")

To these were added the translation of the readings into the vernacular, plus a learned discourse or sermon (optional).

In order to appreciate these different parts it is necessary to examine each in more detail. At the same time also, it is important to realize that up till the end of the first Christian century there was no fixed prescribed order;<sup>1</sup> thus, at the time of Christ, there was a certain fluidity and flexibility in Synagogue worship.

a) The Shema<sup>6</sup> and its Benedictions

The Shema<sup>6</sup> (so called for its opening word שְׁמַע) consists of the three paragraphs: Deuteronomy 6:4-9; 11:13-21; and Numbers 15:37-41.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>F.C. Grant, Ancient Judaism and the New Testament, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup>These passages read respectively: "Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God is one Lord; and you shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your might. And these words which I command you this day shall be upon your heart; and you shall teach them diligently to your children, and shall talk of them when you sit in your house, and when you walk by the way, and when you lie down, and when you rise. And you shall bind them as a sign upon your hand, and they shall be as frontlets between your eyes. And you shall write them on the doorposts of your house and on your gates" (Deut. 6:4-9); "And if you obey my commandments which I command you this day, to love the Lord your God, and to serve him with all your heart and with all your soul, he will give the rain, that you may gather in your grain and your wine and your oil. And he will give grass in your fields for your cattle, and you shall eat and be full. Take heed lest your heart be deceived, and you turn aside and serve other gods and worship them, and the anger of the Lord be kindled against you, and he shut up the heavens, so that there be no rain, and the land yield no fruit, and you perish quickly off the good land which the Lord gives you. You shall therefore lay up these words of mine in your heart and in your soul; and you shall bind them as a sign upon your hand, and they shall be as frontlets

While originally Deuteronomy 6:4 may well have been used alone, certainly by the time of Christ, the Shema<sup>1</sup> consisted of the three Biblical passages.<sup>1</sup>

Basically the Shema<sup>2</sup> is a pre-creedal<sup>2</sup> confession of faith;<sup>3</sup>

Friedländer summarizes the Shema<sup>4</sup> as follows:

The first section teaches the Unity of God, and our duty to love this One God with all our heart, to make His Word the subject of our constant meditation and to instil it into the heart of the young. - The second section contains the lesson

between your eyes. And you shall teach them to your children, talking of them when you are sitting in your house and when you are walking by the way, and when you lie down, and when you rise. And you shall write them upon the doorposts of your house and upon your gates, that your days and the days of your children may be multiplied in the land which the Lord swore to your fathers to give them, as long as the heavens are above the earth" (Deut. 11:13-21); "The Lord said to Moses, 'Speak to the people of Israel, and bid them to make tassels on the corners of their garments throughout their generations, and to put upon the tassel of each corner a cord of blue; and it shall be to you a tassel to look upon and remember all the commandments of the Lord, to do them, not to follow after your own heart and your own eyes, which you are inclined to go after wantonly. So you shall remember and do all my commandments, and be holy to your God, who brought you out of Egypt, to be your God: I am the Lord your God'" (Num. 15:37-41).

<sup>1</sup>cf. W.O.E. Oesterley, op. cit., p. 44; C.W. Dugmore, (The Influence of the Synagogue upon the Divine Office, p. 18) believes that the second paragraph of the Shema<sup>1</sup> (Deut. 11:13-21) was added perhaps in the half-century before Antiochus Epiphanes who reigned 175-64 B.C., and that Num. 15:37-41 was probably joined to it during the Roman rule which began in 63 B.C.

<sup>2</sup>cf. the statement of C.W. Dugmore, (op. cit., pp. 16-7): "There was nothing in Judaism comparable with the Christian creeds until the twelfth century of the Christian era when Maimonides composed his Thirteen Principles of the Faith"; cf. below pp. 136-7.

<sup>3</sup>W.O.E. Oesterley, op. cit., pp. 42-3; E. Schürer (A History of the Jewish People, II, ii, pp. 77, 84) distinguishes the Shema<sup>1</sup> from prayer by calling it a "confession of faith", but F.C. Grant, (op. cit., p. 43), equates prayer and the Shema<sup>1</sup>.

of reward and punishment: that our success depends on our obedience to the Will of God. . . . - The third section contains the commandment of tsitsith, the object of which is to remind us of God's precepts: "Ye shall see it and remember all the commandments of the Lord and do them, and that ye seek not after your own heart and your own eyes, after which ye used to go astray, that you remember and do all my commandments, and be holy unto your God."<sup>1</sup>

The Shema<sup>f</sup>, to be said by every adult male Israelite each morning and evening,<sup>2</sup> was recited in unison<sup>3</sup> in the Synagogue; furthermore, any language, not just Hebrew, might be used.<sup>4</sup>

The Mishnah prescribes that Benedictions are to accompany the Shema<sup>f</sup>:

In the morning two Benedictions are said before [the Shema<sup>f</sup>] and one after; and in the evening two Benedictions are said before and two after, the one long and the other short (Berakoth 1:4).

The reason for placing the Shema<sup>f</sup> in this "Benedictory parenthesis" is, as Oesterley indicates, "to emphasize the veneration in which the Shema<sup>f</sup> was held".<sup>5</sup>

These prayers which framed the Shema<sup>f</sup> are usually known by the Hebrew terms which give their themes; those which precede it are the Yôtzzer (Creator) and the 'Ahabah (Love), while the Geullah (Redemption) follows<sup>6</sup>; the second Benediction after the evening Shema<sup>f</sup> is the Hashkibenu (Cause us to lie down).

<sup>1</sup>M. Friedländer, The Jewish Religion, pp. 436-7.

<sup>2</sup>Berakoth 1:1-4.

<sup>3</sup>Noted explicitly by A.R.S. Kennedy, op. cit., p. 883.

<sup>4</sup>Sotah 7:1.

<sup>5</sup>W.O.E. Oesterley, op. cit., p. 46.

<sup>6</sup>According to M. Friedländer, (op. cit., p. 170), these first three Benedictions "contain an indirect declaration of the three fundamental principles of our religion [i.e. Judaism], the Existence of the Creator, Revelation and Divine Justice".

The Yötzer praises the Creator for light and darkness, the regular sequence of day and night:

Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who formest light and createst darkness, who makest peace and createst all things; who in mercy givest light to the world and to them that dwell therein; who in thy goodness renewest the work of creation every day continually, and who hast arranged the lights in heaven, rejoicing the world which thou hast created: Blessed art thou, O Lord, Creator of the luminaries!<sup>1</sup>

"The 'Ahabah praises God for his love and goodness:

With abounding love hast thou loved us, O Lord our God, with great and exceeding pity hast thou pitied us, our Father, our King; it is us whom thou hast chosen out of all peoples and tongues; in love hast thou brought us near to thy great Name; our King, that we may praise thee and proclaim thy unity: Blessed art thou, who hast chosen thy people Israel in love!

The Geullah expresses faith in the permanent validity of the Law and looks forward to the future redemption of Israel:

True, steadfast, firm, enduring, right, and faithful; beloved and precious, desirable and pleasant, revered and mighty, well-ordered and acceptable, good and beautiful is this word which thou hast spoken to us from of old and for evermore. Thou hast been the support of our fathers, their Shield and Salvation, their Deliverer and Redeemer from of old. Thou art the first and thou art the last, and beside thee we have no King, Redeemer, or Saviour: Blessed art thou, O Lord, who redeemest Israel!

The Hashkibenu is a fitting evening prayer, which requests God's protection during the night:

Cause us to lie down, O Lord our God, in peace; and cause us to rise, O our King, to life. And spread over us the tabernacle of Thy peace; and guide us by Thy good counsel. Deliver us for Thy Name's sake, and be a shield about us. Keep far from us every enemy, - pestilence and sword, hunger, and grief; drive away the evil one [lit. Satan]

---

<sup>1</sup>The rendering of this prayer, as well as that of the following 'Ahabah and Geullah, is the one given by F.C. Grant (op. cit., pp. 49, 50-1).

from before us and behind us. Shelter us under the shadow of Thy wings, for Thou, O God, art our Guardian and Deliverer; for Thou, O God, art a gracious and merciful King. Guard our going out and coming in that it may be for life and peace from henceforth and for ever. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, that guardest Thy people Israel for ever.

Although each of these Benedictions now contains further material which has been added from time to time, they still belong, as Schürer states, "fundamentally to the period of the Mishna".<sup>2</sup>

Thus the first element in the worship of the Synagogue at the time of Christ is the Shema<sup>1</sup> and its Benedictions.

#### b) Prayers

This second part of the service is known as "going before the Ark";<sup>3</sup> as Rabbinowitz points out, these words constitute "a technical term of frequent occurrence in the Mishnah, denoting the reciting in public of the Tefillah, i.e. the prayer consisting of benedictions".<sup>4</sup> So much was this the chief prayer of the Israelite that this section of the service was called simply תפילה "the Prayer";<sup>5</sup> two other terms used for this second element of the Synagogue worship are the Shemoneh Esreh<sup>6</sup> (literally "Eighteen", the number of Benedictions of

<sup>1</sup>The writer has quoted this prayer as it is given by W.O.E. Oesterley (The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy, p. 51).

<sup>2</sup>E. Schürer, op. cit., p. 84.

<sup>3</sup>cf. Megillah 4:3.

<sup>4</sup>J. Rabbinowitz, Mishnah Megillah, p. 117.

<sup>5</sup>E. Schürer, op. cit., p. 85; C.W. Dugmore, op. cit., pp. 12-3.

<sup>6</sup>Berakoth 4:3.

which it was composed), and the Amidah ("Standing", because the congregation stands for its recital<sup>1</sup>).

Before continuing this discussion of the Shemôneh 'Esreh, the writer wishes to quote these Benedictions in the form in which they were "probably in common use in Palestine either in the days of Jesus or soon after";<sup>2</sup> the translation is that given by F.C. Grant,<sup>3</sup> based upon an ancient Palestinian recension, with later additions in square brackets:

O Lord, open thou my lips  
And my mouth shall show forth thy praise.

1. Blessed art thou, O Lord,  
The Most High God, Maker of heaven and earth,  
Our Shield and the Shield of our fathers.  
Blessed art thou, O Lord, the Shield of Abraham!
2. Thou art mighty for ever,  
Thou sustainest the living  
And givest life to the dead.  
Blessed art thou, O Lord, who makest the dead to live!
3. Holy art thou and terrible is thy Name,  
And there is no God beside thee.  
Blessed art thou, O Lord, the holy God!
4. Bless us, our Father, with the knowledge that cometh from thee,  
And with intelligence and understanding from thy Law.  
Blessed art thou, O Lord, gracious giver of knowledge!

<sup>1</sup>Berakoth 5:1; Taanith 2:2; M. Friedländer, op. cit., p. 437; F.C. Grant, op. cit., p. 44; N. Levison, The Jewish Background of Christianity, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup>F.C. Grant, op. cit., p. 46.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 46-8.

5. Turn us to thyself again, O Lord, and so shall we return;  
Renew our days as in the days of old.  
Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hast pleasure in repentance!
6. Forgive us, our Father, for we have sinned against thee;  
Wash away our transgressions from before thine eyes.  
Blessed art thou, O Lord, who dost abundantly forgive!
7. Look upon our distress, and wage our battle,  
And deliver us for thy Name's sake.  
Blessed art thou, O Lord, the Redeemer of Israel!
8. Heal, O Lord our God, the sorrows of our hearts,  
And send forth healing for our wounds.  
Blessed art thou, O Lord, who healest the sick among thy  
people Israel!
9. Bless to us, O Lord our God, this year,  
And fill the world with the treasures of thy goodness.  
Blessed art thou, O Lord, who blessest the year!
10. Blow the great trumpet for our deliverance,  
And raise up the banner for the gathering of our dispersed.  
Blessed art thou, O Lord, who gatherest the dispersed of thy  
people Israel!
11. Restore our judges as in former days,  
And our counsellors as at the beginning,  
And be thou alone Ruler over us.  
Blessed art thou, O Lord, who lovest judgment!
- [12. As for the apostates, let there be no hope,  
And in judgment cause the kingdom of arrogance soon to be  
destroyed.  
Blessed art thou, O Lord, who humblest the proud!]
13. Upon the proselytes of righteousness bestow thy mercies,  
And grant us a good reward with those who do thy will.  
Blessed art thou, O Lord, the confidence of the righteous!
14. Have mercy, O Lord our God, upon thy city Jerusalem,  
And upon Zion, where thy glory dwelleth,  
And upon the kingdom of the house of David thine Anointed.  
Blessed art thou, O Lord, the God of David [who buildest Jerusalem] !
15. Hearken, O Lord our God, to the voice of our petition,  
For thou art a gracious and merciful God.  
Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hearest prayer!
16. Be gracious, O Lord our God, and dwell in Zion,  
And let thy servants serve thee in Jerusalem.  
Blessed art thou, O Lord, for thee will we worship in fear!

17. We give thee thanks, O Lord our God,  
For all the blessings of thy goodness.  
Blessed art thou, O Lord, to whom it is a good thing to  
give thanks!
18. Send forth thy peace upon Israel, thy people,  
And bless us all as one.  
Blessed art thou, O Lord, who makest peace!

In contrast to the unison Shema<sup>1</sup> these prayers were said by a single individual,<sup>1</sup> but the congregation responded "Amen" after each paragraph.<sup>2</sup> Every adult member of the congregation was competent to lead this prayer.<sup>3</sup> Rabbinowitz outlines the procedure:

after the Shema<sup>1</sup>, the head of the congregation would call upon one of the worshippers, inviting him by the formula יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֶחָד or יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֶחָד, to step before the Tebah and read aloud the Tefillah. If the person so invited was unable to recite it from memory (the prayers had not as yet been reduced to writing), he would refuse the invitation.<sup>4</sup>

Although the original form of the Shemôneh 'Esreh was much shorter than its present<sup>5</sup> one, the majority<sup>6</sup> of these Benedictions are

<sup>1</sup>Except "on fast days he was supported by two members of the congregation", J. Rabbinowitz, op. cit., p. 117; cf. E. Schürer, op. cit., p. 78; W.O.E. Oesterley and G.H. Box, A Short Survey of the Literature of Rabbinical and Mediaeval Judaism, p. 174; A.R.S. Kennedy, op. cit., p. 883.

<sup>2</sup>E. Schürer, op. cit., p. 78; C.W. Dugmore, op. cit., p. 8; A.R.S. Kennedy, op. cit., W.O.E. Oesterley, The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy, p. 71; H.H. Rowley, Worship in Ancient Israel, p. 235; cf. Berakoth 8:8; Taanith 2:5.

<sup>3</sup>Megillah 4:6.

<sup>4</sup>J. Rabbinowitz, op. cit., p. 117.

<sup>5</sup>It is still called "Shemôneh 'Esreh" (Eighteen), although since the end of the first Christian century it has actually contained nineteen rather than eighteen Benedictions.

<sup>6</sup>Scholars differ in their dating of the individual Benedictions; E. Schürer (op. cit., p. 88) says that the Shemôneh 'Esreh "must have virtually attained its present form about A.D. 70-100", but that "its groundwork may safely be regarded as considerably more ancient" (cf. H.H. Rowley, Worship in Ancient Israel, p. 235); G. Dalman ("Gottesdienst,

pre-Christian in origin with subsequent amplification.

As may be seen from an examination of its contents, the Amidah has three groups of Benedictions:<sup>1</sup> i) the first three consisting of ascriptions of praise; ii) the last three which stress the element of thanksgiving; and iii) the middle paragraphs containing petitions for individual and national well-being. The Amidah element formed part of

---

synagogaler", Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, ed. A. Hauck, VII, pp. 10-1) suggests that at least twelve of the eighteen are older than A.D. 70 (cf. A.R.S. Kennedy, op. cit., p. 883); C.W. Dugmore (op. cit., pp. 22, 114-27) believes that originally there were fewer than eighteen Benedictions, but that gradually the rest were added; following the dating of L. Finkelstein ("The Development of the Amidah", JQR, N.S., XVI, 1925-6, pp. 1-43, 127-70) Dugmore makes ten of them pre-Christian, F.C. Grant (op. cit., p. 48) believes that nine pre-date the coming of Christ, and N. Levison (op. cit., pp. 139-40) reduces this number to six; W.O.E. Oesterley (The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy, p. 55) argues, however, that with two exceptions, (the twelfth and the fifteenth), the Benedictions all belong "substantially to pre-Christian times"; new light was thrown on this matter by the publication of "A leaf from a Liturgical Book" in 1935, a papyrus from the graves of Egypt; A. Marmorstein ("The Oldest Form of the Eighteen Benedictions", JQR, N.S., XXXIV, 1943-4, pp. 137-59) believes that this source gives a Greek translation of the Hebrew Shemôneh 'Esreh as it was used at the beginning of the first Christian century; furthermore, he points out that this Greek prayer, like the original Amidah comprised seventeen Benedictions; if he is correct, then the Synagogue service which the early Christians inherited, contained a shorter form of all but two of the Benedictions now used.

<sup>1</sup>cf. G. Dalman ("Gottesdienst, synagogaler", Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, ed. A. Hauck, VII, pp. 10-1).

the three daily services,<sup>1</sup> but its form was not constant; the opening and concluding Benedictions were used every day, but those of the intervening section were said only on ordinary week-days; on Sabbaths, Festivals, and the Day of Atonement they were replaced by petitions more specifically pertaining to the occasion.<sup>2</sup>

Oesterley<sup>3</sup> draws attention to the fact that the opening and closing series of Benedictions, which are the oldest,<sup>4</sup> had a fixed character from the beginning, while the petitions were really extempore; although their subject-matter was set, the phraseology was left to the leader. In this way the first and last groups "form a fixed framework between which are placed the variable Benedictions of the intermediate group".<sup>5</sup>

In concluding this discussion of the second element in the worship of the Synagogue, the writer would stress its importance for every Jew; it constituted, as Grant remarks, "the very heart or 'canon' . . . of the synagogue service".<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Berakoth 4:1; Taanith 2:2; cf. Daniel 6:10.

<sup>2</sup>W.O.E. Oesterley, The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy, p. 59; F.C. Grant, op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>3</sup>W.O.E. Oesterley, The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy, pp. 55, 67.

<sup>4</sup>cf. C.W. Dugmore, op. cit., p. 22, who points out that L. Zunc (Die Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden, p. 380) was the first to make this suggestion.

<sup>5</sup>W.O.E. Oesterley, ibid., p. 59.

<sup>6</sup>F.C. Grant, op. cit., p. 46.

c) Scripture Readings

After these Prayers came the readings from Scripture; the two lessons were taken respectively from the Law and the Prophets.

i) The Law

The reading from the Torah followed a cycle of three or three and one-half years; the Pentateuch was divided into one hundred and fifty-four sections so that it was read completely in half of a Sabbatic period of seven years.<sup>1</sup>

Any member of the congregation, even minors, were allowed to read the Lessons,<sup>2</sup> but if priests and Levites were present they took precedence;<sup>3</sup> normally the reader stood.<sup>4</sup> Often, more than one person was involved in the reading of a single section, the Mishnah states:

This is the general rule: when the Additional Prayer<sup>5</sup> is appointed and it is not a Festival-day, the Law is read by four. On a Festival-day it is read by five, on the Day of Atonement by six, and on the Sabbath by seven (Megillah 4:2).

<sup>1</sup>A. Büchler, "Triennial Cycle: The Reading of the Law and Prophets in a Triennial Cycle", JQR, O.S., V, 1892-3, pp. 420-68; VI, 1893-4, pp. 1-73; E. Schürer, op. cit., pp. 79-80; A.R.S. Kennedy, op. cit., p. 883; H.H. Rowley, op. cit., p. 235; A. Guilding, The Fourth Gospel and Jewish Worship, p. 44; I. Sonne, "Synagogue" IDB, IV, p. 490; on the other hand, G.F. Moore (Judaism, I, p. 300) and F.C. Grant (op. cit., p. 44) believe that these triennial divisions for the readings came later.

<sup>2</sup>Megillah 4:6.

<sup>3</sup>Gittin 5:8.

<sup>4</sup>Yoma 7:1; Sotah 7:7.

<sup>5</sup>cf. below p. 21.

Each one read at least three verses,<sup>1</sup> and might never repeat them from memory;<sup>2</sup> the first and the last reader had to say a Benediction, respectively at the beginning and the end.<sup>3</sup>

ii) The Prophets

The Torah was read every day but the lesson from the Prophets<sup>4</sup> came only at the Sabbath morning service. In contrast to the first Scripture reading; this Haphtarah, as it was called, was not fixed; the reader was allowed to choose the passage,<sup>5</sup> and furthermore, it was always read by one person only.<sup>6</sup>

With the exception of Esther, the books of the Hagiographa were not read in the Synagogue in the first century A.D.<sup>7</sup> Scholars differ in their views as to whether any Psalms were used in the public worship

<sup>1</sup>Megillah 4:4.

<sup>2</sup>Megillah 2:1.

<sup>3</sup>Megillah 4:2.

<sup>4</sup>Including the historical books Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings; cf. E. Schürer, op. cit., p. 81; N. Levison, op. cit., p. 141.

<sup>5</sup>Megillah 4:2; cf. Luke 4:17 ff.; E. Schürer, ibid.; F.C. Grant, op. cit., p. 44; however, I. Sonne (op. cit., p. 490) doubts that the choice of the Haphtarah was left entirely to the reader.

<sup>6</sup>Megillah 4:5.

<sup>7</sup>A.R.S. Kennedy, op. cit., p. 883; F.C. Grant, op. cit., p. 44.

of the Synagogue at this period.<sup>1</sup>

Immediately after being read, the Scripture lessons were translated into the vernacular;<sup>2</sup> in Palestine the everyday language was Aramaic, but outside Palestine the usual language of the translation was Greek which was understood throughout the Mediterranean world and the Near and Middle East.<sup>3</sup> Any competent person might be called upon to give this translation, even minors<sup>4</sup> and blind persons.<sup>5</sup>

In order to emphasize the superiority of the Law<sup>6</sup> and to avoid making any mistakes, omissions or additions,<sup>7</sup> the Torah lesson was read

<sup>1</sup>G. Dalman ("Gottesdienst, synagogaler", Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche; ed. A. Hauck, VII, p. 13; cf. A.R.S. Kennedy, op. cit., p. 883) is quite explicit that they had no place whatsoever; W.O.E. Oesterley (The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy, pp. 73-6) thinks that no doubt some were used, while G.F. Moore (Judaism, I, p. 296) sees the pre-Christian use of Psalms in the worship of the Synagogue as an uncertain possibility; F.C. Grant (op. cit., p. 44) states very definitely that various Psalms were used at that time as "psalms for the day"; N.H. Snaith ("The Triennial Cycle and the Psalter", ZAW, LI, 1933, pp. 302-7; cf. E.G. King, "The Influence of the Triennial Cycle upon the Psalter", JTS, XVI, 1915, pp. 203-13; H. St. John Thackeray, "The Story of Hannah and Other Lessons and Psalms for the Jewish New Year's Day", JTS, XVI, 1915, pp. 177-204) maintains that in Palestine by the first Christian century there was a triennial cycle for the Psalter, so that all the Psalms were read in the Synagogue during a three-year period; cf. below pp. 81-3.

<sup>2</sup>Megillah 4:4, 6.

<sup>3</sup>F.C. Grant, op. cit., p. 44.

<sup>4</sup>Megillah 4:6.

<sup>5</sup>Megillah 4:6; J. Rabbinowitz, (op. cit., p. 126) comments that the "reason why a blind man may act as translator of the scriptural readings is because it was forbidden for the translator to read from a text."

<sup>6</sup>A.R.S. Kennedy, op. cit., p. 883.

<sup>7</sup>F.C. Grant, op. cit., p. 45.

and translated one verse at a time, while the Haphtarah was done in three verse units; the only exception was when one verse of the prophetic reading formed a separate paragraph, in which case it was dealt with by itself.<sup>1</sup>

d) Priestly Benediction

The Synagogue service was brought to a close with a blessing pronounced by a priest;<sup>2</sup> for this Benediction he faced the members of the congregation, who stood with hands raised as high as their shoulders, and responded "Amen" after each of the three parts.<sup>3</sup> If no priest was present this concluding section of the liturgy may well have been omitted,<sup>4</sup> although some scholars<sup>5</sup> believe that a prayer was substituted on such occasions.

The Sermon was an optional part of Synagogue worship, but was frequently included.<sup>6</sup> If such a discourse was introduced it came after the Scripture readings. Its content tended to be an explanation and

<sup>1</sup>Megillah 4:4.

<sup>2</sup>Megillah 4:3,5,6,7; Sotah 7:6; Tamid 7:2.

<sup>3</sup>Berakoth 5:4; cf. A.R.S. Kennedy, op. cit., p. 883; E. Schürer, op. cit., p. 82.

<sup>4</sup>L. Rabinowitz, "The Synagogue and its Worship", A Companion to the Bible, First Edition, ed. T.W. Manson, p. 458; G. Dalman, "Synagogue, II, The Service", The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, ed. S.M. Jackson, XI, p. 215; cf. H.H. Rowley, op. cit., p. 237.

<sup>5</sup>e.g. E. Schürer, op. cit., pp. 82-3; A.R.S. Kennedy, op. cit., p. 883; F.C. Grant, op. cit., p. 45.

<sup>6</sup>cf. E. Schürer (ibid., pp. 76, 82) who cites Philo to the effect that the sermon was the most important part of the whole service.

application of these passages. Dalman suggests that the address was more often based on the Haphtarah than the Torah.<sup>1</sup> The preacher sat to give the sermon.<sup>2</sup>

Preaching was not confined to any particular persons; any member of the congregation might be asked by the ruler of the Synagogue to give the address;<sup>3</sup> furthermore, any likely visitor might be invited to give the sermon.<sup>4</sup>

These then were the main elements in worship of the Synagogue at the time of Christ. The opening Shema<sup>5</sup> with its Benedictions, was followed by the Shemôneh 'Esreh; then came the Scripture readings from the Law and (on the Sabbath) the Prophets, with a continuous translation into the vernacular; a discourse might be given before the concluding Priestly Benediction.

A full liturgy with all of these parts took place only at the Sabbath morning service - the principal one of the week;<sup>5</sup> at the others, such as those held daily in the larger towns where ten "men of leisure"<sup>6</sup> were available to form the minimum legal congregation, some of these

<sup>1</sup>G. Dalman, "Synagogue, II, The Service", The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, ed. S.M. Jackson, XI, p. 215; cf. H.H. Rowley, op. cit., p. 236.

<sup>2</sup>G. Dalman, ibid.; L. Rabinowitz, op. cit., p. 458; H.H. Rowley, op. cit., p. 236; E. Schurer, op. cit., p. 82; cf. Matt. 5:1; Luke 4:20.

<sup>3</sup>E. Schürer, op. cit., p. 82.

<sup>4</sup>F.C. Grant, op. cit., p. 45; A.R.S. Kennedy, op. cit., p. 883.

<sup>5</sup>E. Schürer, ibid., p. 83; A.R.S. Kennedy, ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Megillah 1:3; cf. Megillah 4:3.

items were omitted.<sup>1</sup> According to Dugmore,<sup>2</sup> the daily Morning and Evening services consisted of the Shema with its Benedictions and the Tefillah, while the Afternoon one had only the latter element. Grant agrees that there were three daily services, held in the "morning (dawn), early afternoon, and evening, corresponding to the hours of the old morning and evening sacrifices and the final burning of the scraps and other remains on the altar at the end of the day".<sup>3</sup> He also points to the "additional" Service or Musaf on festivals, corresponding to the additional offerings prescribed in Numbers 28-29, and to the fifth Service held annually on the Day of Atonement, related to the old custom of closing the temple gates at evening.<sup>4</sup>

Even a cursory comparison between the worship of the Synagogue and that of the early Church as set forth in the New Testament reveals the tremendous influence which the former had upon the latter. In view of the fact that the first Christians were Jews, these similarities are not unexpected; in fact the reverse would be even more unusual. Although the early Christians made changes and additions due to the coming of Christ, nevertheless these factors in no way "diminish the significance of the Church's debt to the synagogue".<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>E. Schürer, ibid., A.R.S. Kennedy, ibid.

<sup>2</sup>C.W. Dugmore, op. cit., pp. 12-3.

<sup>3</sup>F.C. Grant, op. cit., p. 43.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., cf., S.S. Cohon, "Synagogue", HDB, Second Edition, p. 945.

<sup>5</sup>H.H. Rowley, op. cit., p. 242.

## CHAPTER III

### ELEMENTS OF A GENERAL NATURE

In his analysis of the Biblical and patristic basis for the major liturgical practices of the Church of Scotland, the writer wishes first to discuss three elements of a general nature:

- a) Sunday;
- b) the Christian Year;
- c) the Lectionary.

a) Sunday

In the Book of Common Order, as indeed throughout Christendom, it is assumed that the appropriate day for regular public worship is Sunday. Does this practice have any warrant in the Scriptures and the Fathers?

It must be made clear at the outset that Sunday is different from the Sabbath.<sup>1</sup> The Sabbath is the seventh day of the week, whereas Sunday is the first. The Sabbath, (the keeping of which is enjoined in the Pentateuch and especially the Decalogue<sup>2</sup>), is to be a day free from work in memory of God's resting after creation, and also a holy day completely devoted to God; furthermore, the Sabbath rest is to remind the people of Israel of their escape from bondage in Egypt

---

<sup>1</sup>For a fuller discussion of the relationship between the Sabbath and Sunday cf. P. Cotton, From Sabbath to Sunday; W.B. Galloway, The Decalogue and the Lord's Day; G. Gilfillan, The Sabbath; J.A. Hessey, Sunday: its Origin, History and Present Obligation; W. Hodgkins, Sunday: Christian and Social Significance; W. Milligan, The Decalogue and the Lord's Day; H.B. Porter, The Day of Light: The Biblical and Liturgical Meaning of Sunday; W. Rordorf, Sunday, trans. A.A.K. Graham; J.N. Andrews, History of the Sabbath and First Day of the Week; S.V. McCasland, "The Origin of the Lord's Day", JBL, XLIX, pp. 65-82; and F.H. Yost, The Early Christian Sabbath.

<sup>2</sup>Exodus 20:8-11; 23:12; 31:12-7; 34:21; 35:2,3; Leviticus 19:3; Deuteronomy 5:12-5.

because of Yahweh's "mighty hand and outstretched arm".<sup>1</sup> Sunday, on the other hand, is observed primarily because on that day Christ rose from the dead.<sup>2</sup>

Having pointed out these basic distinctions between the Sabbath and Sunday, the writer would agree with two points made by McArthur<sup>3</sup> in his discussion of their relationship: first, it is the Sabbath which gives the framework of worship on one specific day of the week; and secondly, the general influence of the Sabbath is evidenced by the fact that for a long time Sunday was considered to begin on Saturday evening at 6 p.m. - the same hour at which the Sabbath began on Friday.

Nowhere in the New Testament is there any commandment to worship on the First Day of the week instead of the Seventh. Inasmuch as Sunday worship became the regular practice it is necessary to set forth those passages from the New Testament and the patristic writings which provide a warrant for this custom.

As the writer has indicated, it is Christ's resurrection which gives Sunday its main significance for Christians. No matter how much they differ on other details of the resurrection, the four Gospels are unanimous that Christ rose on "the first day of the week".<sup>4</sup> The Synoptic Gospels record the one Sunday only, the first Easter, but the Fourth Evangelist carries his account through to the second Sunday. The Acts of the Apostles describes the coming of the Holy Spirit on the

<sup>1</sup>Deuteronomy 5:15.

<sup>2</sup>Matthew 28:1 ff.; Mark 16:2,9; Luke 24:1; John 20:1,19.

<sup>3</sup>A.A. McArthur, The Evolution of the Christian Year, pp. 13-5.

<sup>4</sup>cf. above n. 2.

day of Pentecost (Acts 2:1 ff.) which may well have been on a Sunday.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, it was as a reminder of Christ's resurrection from the dead, and of his living presence among them through the Holy Spirit, that the early Christians met for worship on Sundays.

Support for Sunday worship comes, by implication, from the decision of the "Council of Jerusalem"<sup>2</sup> that Gentiles are not required to keep the Law of Moses; since the Sabbath was a very conspicuous part of the Torah, it is significant that no mention is made of it; the judgment of James was adopted, which freed the Gentiles from observing the Law except that they "abstain from the pollutions of idols and from unchastity and from what is strangled and from blood".<sup>3</sup>

Three New Testament writers mention Sunday explicitly in connection with liturgical practices: Paul tells the Corinthians: "On the first day of every week, each of you is to put something aside and store it up, as he may prosper, so that contributions need not be made when I come" (I Corin. 16:2); in the Acts of the Apostles Luke writes: "On the first day of the week, when we were gathered together to break bread, Paul talked with them, intending to depart on the morrow; and he prolonged his speech until midnight" (Acts 20:7); in Revelation John records his vision in which he was allowed to witness the worship of the Church triumphant; this phenomenon occurred while he was "in the spirit on the Lord's day" (Rev. 1:10). As McArthur points out, this

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. H.B. Porter, op. cit., pp. 36,41-5; A.A. McArthur, op. cit. pp. 141-3.

<sup>2</sup>cf. Acts 15:1-29.

<sup>3</sup>Acts 15:20,29.

title for Sunday - the Lord's Day - is one which "more adequately conveyed the day's significance".<sup>1</sup> Certainly it is the term which predominates in the writings of the Fathers.

But before proceeding to discuss the evidence of this early Christian literature, the writer must mention another interpretation which has been given to these words (ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ) from Revelation, and also an explanation of how they arose.

There are those<sup>2</sup> who suggest that John was referring to the eschatological "Day of the Lord" (ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ κυρίου). Certainly there is a similarity between these two expressions, but it is significant that John did not use the words normally found in the Septuagint

<sup>1</sup>A.A. McArthur, op. cit., p. 14.

<sup>2</sup>In this footnote and the following one, the writer has added any details of the works which he has been able to locate; Peake's references are far from complete and Stott simply names the authors of the commentaries with the general notation "in loc." A.R.S. Peake (The Revelation of John), p. 220, n.1) observes that this view is held by J.J. Wetstein (Novum Testamentum Graecum, II, p. 750); S.R. Maitland (An Enquiry into the 1260 Years; A Second Enquiry on the same Subject); J.S. Russell (The Parousia: A Critical Inquiry into the New Testament Doctrine of our Lord's Second Coming, pp. 371 ff.); F. Huidekoper (Judaism at Rome, Works of Frederic Huidekoper, I, p. 262, cf. p. 70, n.15) who quotes from Origen's Commentary on John X. 20: "The whole house of Israel shall be raised in the great κυριακῇ Day of the Lord, death having been conquered"; J.B. Lightfoot (ed. and trans. Ignatius and Polycarp, The Apostolic Fathers, First Edition, II, i, p. 129); J.H. Todd (Discourses on Prophecies in the Apocalypse, pp. 59, 295-303); F.J.A. Hort (The Apocalypse of St. John I-III, pp. 14-6); A. Deissmann ("Lord's Day", Encyclopaedia Biblica, III, col. 2815) and E.C. Selwyn (The Christian Prophets and the Prophetic Apocalypse, p. 192, n.1). W. Stott ("A Note on the Word ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ in Rev. 1:10", NTS, XII, 1965-6, p. 70, n.2) indicates that, in addition to Wetstein, Hort, Maitland and Todd, F.J. Züllig (Die Offenbarung Johannis) and W. Milligan (Revelation (Expositor's Bible), p. 13) believe that John is referring to the "Day of the Lord".

and the New Testament for this "Day of the Lord", or even his own ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ μεγάλη (Rev. 6:17; 16:14); his terminology may well reflect his conscious intention to avoid any confusion between ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα and ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ κυρίου. In any event, it is generally agreed<sup>1</sup> that "the Lord's day" in Revelation 1:10 is a reference to Sunday, the first day of the week; but the additional view that these words point more

---

<sup>1</sup>W. Stott, who accepts this interpretation, observes (*ibid.*, p. 70, n.2) that it is upheld by H. Alford (*The Greek Testament*, IV, pp. 553-5); H.B. Swete (*The Apocalypse of St. John*, p. 13); A. Plummer (*Revelation (Pulpit)*, pp. 5-6); W.H. Simcox, (*Revelation (CBSC)*, p. 7, and *Revelation (CGTSC)*, revised by G.A. Simcox, p. 46); R.H. Charles (*Revelation*, I, (ICC), p. 23); C. Anderson Scott (*Revelation (Century)*, p. 130); Austin Farrer (*The Revelation of St. John the Divine*, p. 64); M. Kiddle (and M.K. Ross, *Revelation (Moffatt)*, p. 11); C. Brüttsch; E.B. Allo (*L'Apocalypse*, p. 11); P. Ketter (*Familienbibel . . . mit Erläuterungen versehen*); H. Lilje (*The Last Book of the Bible: The Meaning of the Revelation of St. John*, trans. O. Wyon); and P. Carrington (*The Meaning of the Revelation*). W. Rordorf who favours this view, mentions (*op. cit.*, p. 207, n.3) that, in addition to R.H. Charles, E.B. Allo, M. Kiddle (and M.K. Ross), and W. Stott, it is maintained by W. Hadorn (*Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, p. 34); A. Wikenhauser (*Die Offenbarung des Johannes* p. 31); E. Lohmeyer, rev. G. Bornkamm, (*Die Offenbarung des Johannes (HNT)*, p. 15); and cites H. Dumaine ("Dimanche", *DACL*, col. 859, n.4) who refers to a Syrian, Ethiopic and Arabic version of Rev. 1:10 which actually reads "on the first day of the week". cf. W. Barclay, *Revelation*, I (*DSB*), p. 54; T.F. Glasson, *Revelation (Cambridge)*, p. 21; T.S. Kepler, *The Book of Revelation*, p. 49; R.H. Preston and A.T. Hanson, *Revelation (Torch)*, p. 57; J. Moffatt, *Revelation (EGT, V)*, p. 342; M. Rist, *Revelation IB, XII*), pp. 373-4; and N.J.D. White "Lord's Day", *DB*, III, pp. 138-9.

specifically to Easter Sunday<sup>1</sup> is an unwarranted restriction.<sup>2</sup>

The origin of the term ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα has been discussed a great deal. Nevertheless, ever since Deissmann<sup>3</sup> first popularized it, many scholars<sup>4</sup> have adopted the idea that this name was given in contrast to the term applied to days dedicated to the Roman Emperor. R.H. Charles

<sup>1</sup>W. Rordorf (op. cit., pp. 208-9) observes that this identification is made by A. Strobel ("Die Passa -Erwartung in Lk. 17:20 f", ZNW, XLIX, 1958, p. 185); C.W. Dugmore ("Lord's Day and Easter", Neotestamentica et Patristica, Supplements to Novum Testamentum, VI, 1962, pp. 272-81); K.A. Strand ("Another Look at 'Lord's Day' in the Early Church", NTS, XIII, 1966-7, pp. 174-81); and J. van Goudoever (Biblical Calendars, Revised, pp. 169 ff.). W. Stott (op. cit., p. 70) writes that this explanation was "only recently suggested", but W. Rordorf (ibid. p. 208) more correctly notes that it "has recently been revived" (underlining mine); this association had been made, for example, by J.G. Eichhorn in his Commentarius in Apocalypsin Joannis, I, pp. 38-41, which was published in 1791.

<sup>2</sup>cf. e.g. W. Rordorf, ibid., pp. 209-14; W. Stott, op. cit., p. 72; H. Alford, op. cit., p. 555; A. Plummer, op. cit., p. 5; N.J.D. White, op. cit., p. 139; and F. Dusterdieck, Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Revelation of John (Meyer, Bible Students Library), trans. H. E. Jacobs, p. 109.

<sup>3</sup>A. Deissmann, Bible Studies, trans. A. Grieve, pp. 217-9; \_\_\_\_\_, "Lord's Day", Encyclopaedia Biblica, III, cols. 2815-6; \_\_\_\_\_, Light from the Ancient East, Revised, trans. L.R.M. Strachan, pp. 357-61; in the last named work, Deissmann notes (p. 359, n.4) that his conclusions are shared by E. Schürer ("Die siebentägige Woche im Gebrauche der christlichen Kirche der ersten Jahrhunderte", ZNW, VI, 1905, p. 2) and A. Thumb (ZDWF, I, 1900, p. 165; and Archiv für Papyrusforschung, II, p. 424). Although this view did not actually originate with Deissmann, it is often attributed to him (e.g. R.H. Charles, op. cit., p. 23; W. Stott, op. cit., p. 73), because he was the first person to make it generally known; Deissmann, however (in the first two references noted), acknowledges his initial indebtedness to H. Usener (Bulletino dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica, 1874, pp. 73 ff.); cf. W. Rordorf, op. cit., p. 206, n.5.

<sup>4</sup>e.g. W. Rordorf (op. cit., pp. 206-7) indicates that besides Deissmann, the following writers hold this view: M.G. Glazebrook, "Sunday", ERE, XII, p. 104; R.H. Charles, op. cit., p. 23; P. Cotton, op. cit., p. 126; and E. Lohmeyer (rev. G. Bornkamm), op. cit., p. 15. Cf. W. Barclay, op. cit., p. 54; T.S. Kepler, op. cit., p. 49; M. Kiddle (and M.K. Ross), op. cit., p. 11; and J. Moffatt, op. cit., p. 342 who cites the support of G. Thieme, Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Mäander und das Neue Testament, p. 15.

points out that apparently the first day of each month, or possibly one day per week,<sup>1</sup> was called Σεβαστή ("Emperor's Day") in Asia Minor and Egypt before the Christian era,<sup>2</sup> and proceeds to summarize this argument:

If these conclusions are valid we can understand how naturally the term "Lord's Day" arose; for just as the first day of each month, or a certain day of each week, was called "Emperor's Day", so it would be natural for Christians to name the first day of each week, associated as it was with the Lord's resurrection and the custom of Christians to meet together for worship on it, as "Lord's Day". It may have first arisen in apocalyptic circles when a hostile attitude to the Empire was adopted by Christianity.<sup>3</sup>

The additional extra-Biblical evidence for Sunday worship must now be examined. The Didache, (dated by some scholars before the end of the first century A.D. and later by others<sup>4</sup>), gives the following

<sup>1</sup>R.H. Charles (ibid.) writes that "according to two inscriptions from Ephesus and Kabala - to which might be added an Oxyrhynchus papyrus (circ. 100 A.D.) - it is inferred by Buresch (Aus Lydien, 1898, pp. 49-50) and Deissmann that Σεβαστή was a day of the week". However, Deissmann ("Lord's Day, Encyclopaedia Biblica, III, col. 2816) observes that K. Buresch was reviving "an old conjecture of Waddington", in calling Σεβαστή a day of the week rather than one of the month. On the other hand, W. Rordorf (op. cit., p. 206, n.6) suggests that "it has not yet been established that the Σεβαστή was celebrated weekly".

<sup>2</sup>cf. J.B. Lightfoot, ed. and trans., The Apostolic Fathers, Second Edition, I, ii, pp. 678-715. e.g. On January 17, 27 B.C., the senate conferred the title "Augustus" on the Emperor Octavian; the meaning of the terms augustus and σεβαστός is almost identical - sublime, majestic, venerable; inscriptions from the time of the Empire, especially in Asia Minor and Egypt, mention the Σεβαστή ἡμέρα which recurred regularly; it is very probable that they refer to an "Augustus day" in honour of the Emperor.

<sup>3</sup>R.H. Charles, op. cit., p. 23.

<sup>4</sup>cf. e.g. J.A. Robinson, Barnabas, Hermas and the Didache, p. 43; A.J. Maclean, "Introduction", The Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles, trans. C. Bigg, xxvi-xxxi; "The Didache", ODCC, p. 397; F.E. Vokes, The Riddle of the Didache, pp. 27-87; J.A. Kleist, "Introduction", Ancient Christian Writers, VI, pp. 4-12; M.H. Shepherd, Jr., "Didache", IDB, I, pp. 841-3; J.P. Audet, "Didache", New Catholic Encyclopedia, IV, p. 859.

directive: "On the Lord's own day, assemble in common to break bread and offer thanks" (14:1). The first phrase of this sentence in Greek -  $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha\kappa\eta\grave{\nu}\ \delta\epsilon\ \kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$  - means literally "On the Lord's day of the Lord"; this rather laboured expression is termed by Kleist "a somewhat pleonastic expression, to present the idea that the Sunday is very specially set aside to honor the Lord".<sup>1</sup>

Two writings which may well have emerged at approximately the same time - one from a pagan source, the other Apocryphal - indicate that the first day of the week was normative for Christian worship. Pliny the Younger wrote a Letter (X.96) to the Emperor Trajan from Bithynia about the year A.D. 112, wanting to know how to deal with the Christians; he describes their worship, indicating that they met on a "fixed day before it was light" (stato die ante lucem); almost certainly this "fixed day" was Sunday.<sup>2</sup> Although it was not received into the New Testament, the Gospel of Peter, (usually dated between A.D. 90 and 150<sup>3</sup>), does furnish genuine support for the importance of Sunday; in words reminiscent of the four canonical Gospels, it describes the time leading up to the first Easter: "Now in the night whereon the Lord's day dawned, as the soldiers were keeping guard two by two in every watch, there came a great sound in the heaven" (9:35); the Gospel of

<sup>1</sup>J.A. Kleist, op. cit., p. 153, n.86.

<sup>2</sup>cf. e.g. O. Cullmann, Early Christian Worship. trans. A.S. Todd and J.B. Torrance, p. 10, n.4; A.A. McArthur, op. cit., p. 18; J.H. Strawley, The Early History of the Liturgy, p. 29; W. Rordorf, op. cit., pp. 202-3, n.5.

<sup>3</sup>cf. e.g. P. Gardner-Smith, "The Date of the Gospel of Peter", JTS, XXVII, 1926, pp. 401-7; M.S. Enslin, "Gospel of Peter", IDB, III, pp. 766-7.

Peter goes on to record: "Now early on the Lord's day Mary Magdalene, a disciple (fem.) of the Lord . . . took with her the women her friends and came unto the tomb where he was laid" (12:50-1).

The Epistle of Barnabas, probably written during Hadrian's reign (A.D. 117-38), attacks the Jewish observance of the Sabbath, adding that Christians worship on Sunday, the "Eighth Day", due to Christ's resurrection:

He further says to them: Your new moons and Sabbaths I disdain. Consider what He means: Not the Sabbaths of the present era are acceptable to me, but that which I have appointed to mark the end of the world and to usher in the eighth day, that is, the dawn of another world. This, by the way, is the reason why we joyfully celebrate the eighth day - the same day on which Jesus rose from the dead; after which He manifested Himself and went up to heaven. (Barnabas 15:8-9).

Ignatius of Antioch, who was martyred about A.D. 110, also distinguishes between the Sabbath and Sunday, and points to Christ's resurrection as the basis for observing the latter; to the Magnesians he writes:

Consequently, if the people who were given to obsolete practices faced the hope of a new life, and if these no longer observe the Sabbath, but regulate their calendar by the Lord's Day, the day, too, on which our Life rose by His power and through the medium of His death - though some deny this; and if to this mystery we owe our faith and because of it submit to sufferings to prove ourselves disciples of Jesus Christ, our only Teacher: how, then, can we possibly live apart from Him . . . ?

(Magnesians 9:1-2).<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>The text cited is from the shorter form of the Ignatian letters; they have also survived in a longer version for which the corresponding section reads: "Let us therefore no longer keep the Sabbath after the Jewish manner, and rejoice in days of idleness; . . . But let every one of you keep the Sabbath after a spiritual manner, rejoicing in meditation on the law . . . . And after the observance of the Sabbath, let every friend of Christ keep the Lord's day as a festival, the resurrection - day, the queen and chief of all the days of the week". It is important to notice from this passage that, while observance of the Sabbath is not forbidden, Sunday is more important because of Christ's resurrection.

Around the middle of the second Christian century, Justin Martyr relates Sunday observance to creation and Christ's resurrection and also to circumcision; his initial Apology (I. 67) declares;

But Sunday is the day on which we all hold our common assembly, because it is the first day on which God, having wrought a change in the darkness and matter, made the world; and Jesus Christ our Saviour on the same day rose from the dead.

In his Dialogue with Trypho (41), Justin observes:

The command of circumcision, again, bidding [them] always circumcise the children on the eighth day, was a type of the true circumcision, by which we are circumcised from deceit and iniquity through Him who rose from the dead on the first day after the Sabbath, [namely through] our Lord Jesus Christ. For the first day after the Sabbath, remaining the first of all the days, is called, however, the eighth according to the number of all the days of the cycle, and [yet] remains the first.

Melito of Sardis was virtually a contemporary of Justin;<sup>1</sup> his many writings include a Treatise On the Lord's Day (περὶ κυριακῆς).<sup>2</sup> Although it has not survived, the fact that it was written provides further evidence that the early Christians worshipped on Sunday. Similarly, Dionysius of Corinth sent a letter to Soter, the Bishop of Rome about A.D. 170 in which he writes: "This day, therefore, we spent as a holy Lord's day".<sup>3</sup>

One of the Fragments from the Lost Writings of Irenaeus (VII) refers to his Treatise On Easter; in it he mentions that the practice "of not bending the knee upon Sunday, is a symbol of the resurrection";

<sup>1</sup>F.L. Cross (The Early Christian Fathers, p. 103) cites the evidence of Eusebius that "Melito occupied a prominent position in the Church under Antonius Pius (138-161) and reached the height of his fame under Marcus Aurelius (161-180)".

<sup>2</sup>Eusebius (Ecclesiastical History, IV.26.2) lists the writings of Melito.

<sup>3</sup>Quoted by Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, IV.28.11.

it is suggested that this custom dates from "apostolic times", and is also observed at Pentecost which "is of equal significance with the Lord's day". Irenaeus was Bishop of Lyons in the last quarter of the second century A.D., and this fragment indicates that Christians at that time worshipped on Sunday; this observance was linked with Christ's resurrection and they believed that they were heeding the example of the apostles.

Gilfillan argues that by the time of Irenaeus, the word Sabbath was beginning to be "attached to the Christian holy day"<sup>1</sup>; he finds his belief illustrated by Irenaeus<sup>2</sup> and Clement of Alexandria.<sup>3</sup> The writer, however, finds this interpretation too biased and conjectural to warrant any serious consideration.

Indeed, Clement of Alexandria, whose works were probably written in the last decade of the second Christian century, has an explicit reference to the observance of Sunday. He writes that the Gnostic "keeps the Lord's day . . . glorifying the Lord's resurrection in himself (The Miscellanies VII.12).

Tertullian, who wrote at the end of the second century A.D. and the beginning of the third, also endorses worship on the Lord's day.

<sup>1</sup>J. Gilfillan, op. cit., p. 369.

<sup>2</sup>Irenaeus notes that Jesus healed on the Sabbath day (Against Heresies, IV.12.1.), and goes on to write: "But the Sabbaths taught that we should continue day by day [or the whole day] in God's service" (ibid. IV.16.1).

<sup>3</sup>Clement of Alexandria suggests that the eighth day "may possibly turn out to be properly the seventh, and the seventh manifestly the sixth, and the latter properly the Sabbath, and the seventh a day of work" (The Miscellanies VI.16).

In his Apology (16) he indicates that Christians "devote Sun-day to rejoicing". His Treatise On Idolatry (14) makes the point that heathens would not have shared "the Lord's day" with Christians, even if they had known it. In his work On Prayer (23), Tertullian mentions "the day of the Lord's Resurrection", urging Christians on that day "to guard not only against kneeling, but every posture and office of solicitude". In a Treatise On the Soldier's Chaplet (3), he makes this prohibition of kneeling even stronger, and adds fasting as well: "We count fasting or kneeling in worship on the Lord's day to be unlawful". Tertullian's To the Nations (13) mentions the fact that Christians "make Sunday a day of festivity". Similarly, his work De Anima (9) refers to "the sacred rites of the Lord's day in the church".

The fact that worship was on Sunday is further reflected in the Apostolic Tradition (20-3) of Hippolytus; candidates for Baptism fast on Friday, are exorcised on Saturday, spend the whole night in vigil, and then at "cockcrow" on Sunday morning<sup>1</sup> the ritual begins; Baptism is followed by anointing and signing, and immediately thereafter the Eucharist is observed. Admittedly, this full service which Hippolytus describes did not occur every Sunday, but there is no suggestion that it was unusual to meet for worship on that day.

Sunday worship continued, secretly where necessary because of persecution, until eventually the Emperor Constantine espoused Christianity. The Edict of Milan in A.D. 313 made Christianity a

---

<sup>1</sup>Almost certainly Easter Sunday.

religion which the state recognized and tolerated; with regards to the Lord's Day, in A.D. 321 Constantine enacted legislation which provided for "rest on the venerable day of the sun",<sup>1</sup> including the cessation of public works and the closing of the law courts. Thus, for the first time, Sunday was officially recognized as the Christian's holy day, although this abstinence from work actually pertains more to the Jewish Sabbath than the Christian Sunday.

This survey makes it abundantly clear that there is ample Biblical and patristic evidence for Sunday worship. In the New Testament itself, I Corinthians, Acts and Revelation indicate that from about a generation after Christ onwards, Christians did worship on Sunday. While many may have continued to keep the Sabbath as well, their observance of the first day of the week points beyond doubt to a weekly reminder of Christ's resurrection. Subsequent patristic writings support this connection between Sunday and the first Easter. In this matter of Sunday worship, therefore, the Church of Scotland is practising something for which there is adequate warrant in the Scriptures and the Fathers.

b) The Christian Year

The second element of a general nature, for which the Biblical and patristic basis must be examined, is the Christian Year. The Book of Common Order<sup>2</sup> has an elaborate one which obviously did not exist in New Testament times. On the basis of the evidence, the writer

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. B.J. Kidd (A History of the Church to A.D. 461, II, pp. 8 ff.) who cites this and other legislation which Constantine enacted to ensure both the equality and the preference for Christianity.

<sup>2</sup>Book of Common Order, pp. 313-27.

believes that the primitive Christian Calendar was extremely simple, consisting of the weekly observance of Sunday and two annual festivals of Pascha<sup>1</sup> and Pentecost.<sup>2</sup>

The writer has discussed "Sunday" which McArthur rightly calls "the basis of the Christian Year"<sup>3</sup> and "the foundation of the structure".<sup>4</sup> It is necessary now to consider the Scriptural and patristic evidence for these two yearly celebrations which are derived from, and related to, the Jewish feasts of Passover and Pentecost.

i) Pascha<sup>5</sup>

The primitive Christian Pascha was a unitive commemoration of both the Crucifixion and the Resurrection; it was not until the fourth century that Good Friday developed as a separate celebration, with the result that the Christian Pascha became limited to the theme of the

<sup>1</sup>The writer uses this word to refer to the early Christian counterpart of the Jewish Passover; also, it is a convenient single term to indicate the total experience of Christ's death and resurrection, which was subsequently separated into the double ceremony of Good Friday and Easter.

<sup>2</sup>G. Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy, pp. 335-41; A.J. Maclean, "Calendar, the Christian", DCG, I, pp. 251-64; R. Sinkler, "Festival", DCA, I, p. 669; J. Wordsworth, The Ministry of Grace, p. 63.

<sup>3</sup>A.A. McArthur, op. cit., pp. 13-29.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 10; cf. ibid., p. 13.

<sup>5</sup>The writer reserves his discussion of the relationship between the Passover Meal and the Last Supper until he deals with this Sacrament (cf. below pp. 360-84); at this point he will simply set forth the evidence for the annual primitive observance of the Christian Pascha.

Resurrection.<sup>1</sup>

Inasmuch as this Christian observance represented, in certain aspects, a transformation of the Jewish Passover, some understanding of the Old Testament background and significance of this festival is required. Exodus 12:1 ff. describes the first Passover. Originally there were the two feasts - Unleavened Bread and the Passover - but later these merged; Passover, which initially referred to the ritual of a single night, came to coincide with the first of the seven days during which leavened bread was forbidden; there are those<sup>2</sup> who believe that the terms Unleavened Bread and Passover were by New Testament times used interchangeably for the festival as a whole.

The Passover ritual consisted of two elements: a) a lamb or goat was killed and its blood smeared with a bunch of hyssop on the lintel and door posts; and b) a meal was eaten. The original purpose of the application of this blood to the houses of the Israelites, (and which the annual celebration commemorated), was that the Lord, who was smighting the Egyptians with a deadly plague, might see it and pass over. Among other things, the meal consisted of the roasted

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. G. Dix, The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St. Hippolytus of Rome, I, pp. 73-4; \_\_\_\_\_, The Shape of the Liturgy, pp. 338-40; 348-53; F.E. Brightman, "The Quartodeciman Question", JTS, XXV, 1924, pp. 257, 268; A.A. McArthur, op. cit., pp. 87-8.

<sup>2</sup>e.g. E.G. Hirsch, "Passover", JE, IX, pp. 548, 553-6; F.H. Woods, "Festivals and Fasts (Hebrew)", ERE, V, p. 864; G.B. Gray, Sacrifice in the Old Testament, pp. 384-6; J.C. Rylaarsdam, "Passover and Feast of Unleavened Bread", IDB, III, pp. 663-4.

lamb or goat with Unleavened Bread<sup>1</sup> and bitter herbs.<sup>2</sup>

While McArthur<sup>3</sup> is undoubtedly correct in noting that originally the festivals of Unleavened Bread and Passover, (as well as Pentecost and Booths or Tabernacles), were associated with the events of the natural year, certainly well within Old Testament times,<sup>4</sup> they had become a commemoration of the deliverance from Egypt; as Thackeray observes, the three main Jewish festivals came to symbolize events in their national history:

The spring festival [i.e. Unleavened Bread and Passover] recalls the liberation from Egypt, the slaying of the firstling of the flock the slaying of the first-born, the unleavened bread the haste of the departure. Pentecost - though this identification came later - celebrates the law-giving on Mount Sinai. Lastly, the booths of the vintage-gatherers stand for the hut-dwellings of the Israelites during their forty years' wanderings. Egypt, Sinai, Wilderness; the feasts now mark the stages on the route to Canaan.<sup>5</sup>

Furthermore, by the first Christian century, a strong eschatological note had been added to this commemorative character of the Passover.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>This חֲמֵץ was a reminder of that which the Israelites made on the night they fled from Egypt; there was no time to make leavened bread because of their haste.

<sup>2</sup>These בִּרְרִימָה pointed to the bitterness which they had endured as slaves in Egypt.

<sup>3</sup>A.A. McArthur, op. cit., p. 77; cf. H. St. John Thackeray, The Septuagint and Jewish Worship, pp. 41-3; G.B. Gray, op. cit., p. 285; J.F. McLaughlin, Exodus (Abingdon), pp. 262-3; F.J. Taylor, "Passover", TWBB, pp. 163-4; and J.C. Rylaarsdam, op. cit., pp. 663-4.

<sup>4</sup>At least before the compilation of the book of Exodus - the fifth century B.C.

<sup>5</sup>H. St. John Thackeray, op. cit., p. 42.

<sup>6</sup>cf. e.g. J. Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, Revised, trans. N. Perrin, pp. 256-62; G.B. Gray, op. cit., p. 385; and J.C. Rylaarsdam, op. cit. p. 665.

As the writer has indicated, he will discuss further details of the Passover feast when he deals with the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. At this point it is necessary simply to state his conclusion that the Last Supper was a Passover meal. Therefore, it is no accident that Christ's Passion and Resurrection occurred at the Passover season; as this festival commemorated the deliverance from Egypt, so Christ was to accomplish a new deliverance for all mankind - redemption from sin and death. In the context of Christ's Passion and Triumph, McArthur writes:

This Pascha therefore stands as the decisive mountain-ridge, the abiding frontier between, on the one side, the Jewish Passover of the Old Covenant, and, on the other, both the annual Christian Pascha and the weekly celebration of the Christian Eucharist.<sup>1</sup>

The fact that the Lord's Supper (with its Passover associations) was celebrated weekly (no doubt because the Lord's day commemorated Christ's resurrection), does not mean that no yearly observance of the Christian Pascha took place. New Testament evidence for the primitive Christian celebration of this festival appears in I Corinthians 5:7-8. Paul urges:

Cleanse out the old leaven that you may be fresh dough, as you really are unleavened. For Christ, our paschal lamb, has been sacrificed. Let us therefore, celebrate the festival, not with the old leaven, the leaven of malice and evil, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.

---

<sup>1</sup>A.A. McArthur, op. cit. p. 79.

Some scholars<sup>1</sup> deny that this passage supports the primitive Christian observance of the Pascha, saying that Paul is speaking figuratively; however, it must be remembered that later in this same Epistle, Paul mentions Pentecost (16:8), which came fifty days after the Sabbath following Passover (Lev. 23:15-6); furthermore, he is writing to Gentiles, who would not have been accustomed to celebrating the Jewish Passover. Paul's exhortation that the Corinthians should "celebrate the festival" may very well indicate that they are to observe the Christian Pascha;<sup>2</sup> this latter, along with its overtones

---

<sup>1</sup>e.g. G.G. Findlay, I Corinthians (EGT, II), p. 810; A. Robertson and A. Plummer, I Corinthians (ICC), p. 103; C. Hodge, An Exposition of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, p. 87; A.P. Stanley, The Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians, I, p. 99; J. Moffatt, I Corinthians (Moffatt); H.L. Goudge, I Corinthians (Westminster), p. 40; and H.A.W. Meyer (rev. W.P. Dickson), Critical and Exegetical Hand-book to the Epistles to the Corinthians (Meyer, Bible Students Library), trans. D.D. Bannerman, pp. 117-8, who draws particular attention to the fact that A.L.C. Heydenreich (Commentarius in priorem D. Pauli ad Corinthios Epistolam) strongly upholds the opposite view.

<sup>2</sup>J. Wordsworth (op. cit., pp. 353-4), noting that it is impossible to be absolutely certain, proceeds to write that "most readers of St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians have recognised that the phrase 'Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us' coupled with the expression of his intention to remain at Ephesus until Pentecost (5:7 and 16:8) make it probable that Christians were having some special kind of celebration at the time when he was writing, and that that time was coincident with the Jewish Passover"; cf. H. Hering, The First Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians, trans. A.W. Heathcote and P.J. Allcock, pp. 36-7; F. Godet, Commentary on St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, I, trans. A. Cusin, p. 268; J. Dowden (The Church Year and Kalendar, p. 105) considers any inference from Paul's words that a Christian Pascha was actually observed to be "unwarrantable", but does admit that this passage "is steeped in reminiscences of the Hebrew festival, and that these are already receiving a new complexion and a new meaning".

from the Jewish celebration, would receive its primary meaning for them from Christ's death and resurrection. Also, if I Corinthians was written in the spring at the time of the Passover,<sup>1</sup> the significance of this reference is heightened.

Other New Testament references to the Passover<sup>2</sup> will be considered later in relation to the Lord's Supper; nevertheless, this passage in a letter written to Gentile Christians would seem to testify to their celebration of the Christian Pascha.

Implicit and explicit suggestions of this Christian festival are found also in the Fathers. The Epistle to Diognetus, which may be Apostolic,<sup>3</sup> mentions "the Lord's Passover" (12:9) and Kleist<sup>4</sup> interprets these words as a reference to Easter. In his Dialogue with Trypho (40),

<sup>1</sup>cf. e.g. C.K. Barrett, I Corinthians (Black), pp. 127-8; F. Godet, op. cit., p. 267; H.L. Goudge, op. cit., XXI, p. 40; J. Moffatt, I Corinthians (Moffatt), p. 58; T.C. Edwards, A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, p. 467; J.A. Beet, A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians, pp. 95-6; but T.W. Manson ("St. Paul in Ephesus: (4) The Corinthian Correspondence", BJRL, XXVI, 1941-2, p. 328) maintains that this Epistle was probably written in the autumn or early winter of the year prior to the Pentecost which Paul mentions (I Corin. 16:8).

<sup>2</sup>Besides those in the Passion narratives of the four Gospels (4 in Matthew, 5 in Mark, 6 in Luke, and 7 in John) there are numerous suggestions that Christ is the paschal lamb.

<sup>3</sup>This Epistle appears in The Apostolic Fathers, ANCL, I, pp. 299-316, but "The Epistle to Diognetus", ODCC, p. 401 suggests that it probably dates from the second or perhaps the third century, and J. Knox, "Letter to Diognetus", IDB, I, p. 844, dates it "probably not earlier than the third century A.D."

<sup>4</sup>J.A. Kleist, Ancient Christian Writers, VI, p. 221, n. 79.

Justin writes: "The mystery, then, of the lamb which God enjoined to be sacrificed as the passover, was a type of Christ"; in the same work (72), Justin notes that the Jews have removed from Esdras the words: "This passover is our Saviour and our refuge".

Irenaeus indicates that Moses prophesied Christ's  $\pi\tau\alpha\sigma\chi\alpha$  : "Of the days of His passion, too, he was not ignorant; but foretold Him, after a figurative manner, by the name given to the passover; and at that very festival, which had been proclaimed such a long time previously by Moses, did our Lord suffer, thus fulfilling the Pass-over" (Against Heresies, IV. 10.1). Another indication from Irenaeus that the Pascha was celebrated is shown by his intervention in the Quartodeciman question (upon which the writer will comment presently<sup>1</sup>); there would have been no such problem if the Pascha was not being observed. Furthermore, one of the Fragments from the Lost Writings of Irenaeus, VII, mentions his Treatise On Easter; in addition, Eusebius (Ecclesiastical History, IV. 26.2, 4) mentions that Melito of Sardis wrote two Treatises On the Pascha and that Clement of Alexandria also composed a book with the same title (On the Pascha). Although these works have not survived, the fact that they were written testifies indirectly to an early Christian observance of this festival.

Allusions to the observance of the Pascha are found also in Tertullian; his Treatise On Prayer (18) mentions the Christian "day

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. below pp. 45-7; the part played by Irenaeus in this controversy is summarized by Eusebius (Ecclesiastical History, V. 23-4).

of the passover", and an interpretative footnote reads "i.e. 'Good Friday' as it is now generally called". In his work On Baptism (19), Tertullian indicates that the Passover is a most appropriate day for Christian Baptism, because on it "the Lord's passion . . . was completed". Tertullian's On the Soldier's Chaplet (3) refers to the joy of Christian worship "from Easter to Whitsunday". His Treatise On Fasting (14) points out that Christians annually "celebrate the passover" and the "passover season". Tertullian interprets Moses' words "the passover of the Lord" (Exodus 12:11) to mean "the passion of Christ" (An Answer to the Jews, 10).

Similarly, the Apostolic Tradition (29) of Hippolytus mentions "the paschal season" during which fasting is observed, and a footnote indicates that these words refer to "Friday, Saturday and Sunday after midnight".

Although some of these passages seem to point more particularly to what is now known as Good Friday or to Easter, it must be remembered that up until the fourth Christian century, the Pascha was essentially a unitive commemoration of Christ's death and resurrection.

In addition to these patristic passages which mention the Pascha or the Christian Passover, the writer believes that various references to fasting imply such an association.

Undoubtedly the early Jewish Christians would continue to observe the Passover, gradually transforming it into a feast of Christian redemption. Jeremias offers the following description of the form which their celebration took:

1. While the Jews were holding the passover meal in the night Nisan 14/15, the Christian community fasted represent-

actively for Israel.

2. Exodus 12 was read and explained. 3. After midnight, at about 3 a.m., the fast was broken by the celebration of the Lord's Supper (Agape and Eucharist).<sup>1</sup>

This primitive Christian custom of fasting in the Passover night is derived, according to Jeremias,<sup>2</sup> from Jesus' avowal of abstinence (Luke 22:15-8). Although no additional New Testament evidence is available, this practice is well attested in the Fathers.

There are general references to fasting, without any suggestion of a particular occasion or event, in the Epistle of Barnabas (3,7); the Pastor of Hermas (Similitudes 5:1-3); Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians (7:2); The Instructor (III.12) and The Miscellanies (VI.12) by Clement of Alexandria; and Tertullian's Treatises On Prayer (19,23); On the Soldier's Chaplet (3); and On Fasting (passim); in addition, the Didache (8:1), Clement of Alexandria (The Miscellanies VII.12), and Tertullian (On Fasting, 2,14) mention regular fasting on Wednesday and Fridays. But the writer finds particular significance in the fact that the Didache (7:4) makes this abstinence a requirement for Christian initiation: "Before the baptism, let the baptizer and the candidate for baptism fast, as well as any others that are able. Require the candidate to fast one or two days previously". Similarly Justin Martyr associates fasting with Baptism:

---

<sup>1</sup>J. Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, Revised, trans. N. Perrin, p. 123; cf. \_\_\_\_\_, "Πάσχα" TWNT, V, pp. 900-3; B. Lohse, Das Passafest der Quartadecimaner BFChTh, V, 54) pp. 63-70. In the passage from which the above quotation is made, Jeremias goes on to suggest that the primary emphasis of this early Christian observance was eschatological, because the expectation of the coming of the Messiah took precedence over the remembrance of his passion and resurrection.

<sup>2</sup>J. Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, Revised, trans. N. Perrin, pp. 123-5.

As many as are persuaded and believe that what we teach and say is true, and undertake to be able to live accordingly, are instructed to pray and to entreat God with fasting, for the remission of their sins that are past, we praying and fasting with them. Then they are brought by us where there is water, and are regenerated in the same manner in which we were ourselves regenerated (Apology, I.61).

Although these two sources do not state explicitly that this fasting and subsequent baptizing took place at the Pascha, it would seem that such was the most likely occasion; as the writer will show presently, Tertullian and Hippolytus indicate that this time was considered the most appropriate for Baptism, and both have this Sacrament preceded by fasting.

The connection between the Pascha and fasting is brought out clearly by Irenaeus in a passage quoted by Eusebius: "For not only is there a controversy about the day, but also about the very manner of the fast. For some think they ought to fast a single day, but others two, others again even more. And in the opinion of others, the 'day' amounts to forty continuous hours" (Ecclesiastical History, V. 24.12). Likewise Tertullian refers to the Christians' "day of the passover, when the religious observance of a fast is general, and as it were public" (On Prayer, 18).

In his Treatise On Baptism Tertullian connects the Pascha with Baptism and fasting: "The Passover affords a more [than usually] solemn day for baptism; when, withal, the Lord's passion, in [the faith of] which we are baptized, was completed" (19); the next chapter of this same work begins: "They who are about to enter baptism ought to pray with repeated prayers, fasts, and bendings of the knee, and vigils all the night through".

Further evidence for paschal fasting occurs in Tertullian's work On Fasting; he criticizes the Psychics who fast "on the Paschal-day, beyond the limits of those days in which 'the Bridegroom was taken away'" (13), and proceeds to indicate that Christians fast on "the preparation-day" (14).

Hippolytus also links fasting and Baptism with the Christian Pascha. His Apostolic Tradition (20) instructs: "They who are to be baptized shall fast on Friday"; on the intervening Saturday the bishop exorcises the candidates, who spend that night in vigil, and are baptized at "cockcrow" (21) on (Easter) Sunday morning. Another reference to fasting at the time of the Pascha appears later in the same document: "Let no one at the paschal season eat before the offering is made, otherwise he shall not be credited with the fast. But if any woman is with child, or if anyone is sick and cannot fast for two days, let such a one, on account of his need, [at least] fast on Saturday, contenting himself with bread and water" (Apostolic Tradition, 29).

From these patristic references it is learned that by the beginning of the third Christian century, the Pascha - the unitive commemoration of Christ's death and resurrection - usually culminated in Baptism on Easter Sunday; this Sacrament, in turn, was normally preceded by fasting on (Good) Friday and Saturday.

Before concluding this discussion of the Pascha, the writer must comment on the Quartodeciman problem. During the episcopate of Victor of Rome (A.D. 189-99) a controversy broke out between the Churches of Asia and the rest of Christendom over the correct date for

the celebration of the Pascha. Eusebius (Ecclesiastical History, V. 23-4) succinctly summarizes the issue:

Now a question of no small importance arose in their time. For the communities of the whole of Asia, relying on a tradition of great antiquity, thought that they ought to observe the fourteenth day of the moon - the day on which the Jews were ordered to sacrifice the lamb - as the day for the festival of the Saviour's Pascha; since they deemed it necessary at all costs to put an end to their fast on that day, no matter on what day of the week it should fall. But it was not the custom for the churches throughout all the rest of the world thus to celebrate it, preserving as they did by an apostolic tradition the custom which had obtained hitherto, that it was not proper to end the fast on any other day than on the day of the resurrection of our Saviour. So then, synods and assemblages of bishops came together, and unanimously drew up in letters an ecclesiastical decree for the faithful everywhere, to the effect that the mystery of the Lord's resurrection from the dead should never be celebrated on any other but the Lord's day, and that on that day alone we should observe the close of the paschal fast.

Eusebius goes on to refer to a whole series of letters from councils held at that time which all "gave the same decision".

However, the Asian Christians, although a minority, defended the antiquity of their practice. Under the leadership of Polycrates, they appealed to the Apostle Philip, John of Ephesus, Polycarp of Smyrna, Thraseas of Eumania, Sagaris of Laodicea, Papirius, and Melito of Sardis in support of their dating.

Victor wanted to excommunicate the Churches of Asia, but Irenaeus and others intervened for the sake of peace in the Church, reminding him that such action would be too severe; moreover, it was noted that this custom of observing the Pascha on the fourteenth did not originate in Victor's time but much earlier, and yet it had not previously caused controversy.<sup>1</sup> Apparently this conciliatory attitude

---

<sup>1</sup>Eusebius (Ecclesiastical History, V. 24.14-7) quotes Irenaeus

prevailed and, as Dix observes, the "churches of Asia came into line with the rest of the catholic church early in the third century."<sup>1</sup>

This, then, was the first festival in the primitive Christian calendar - the Pascha, which has been described as "the Jewish Pass-over feast transcended and Christianized".<sup>2</sup> Certainly this observance was derived from its Old Testament prototype, but the Christians transformed it in the light of Christ's death and resurrection.

## ii) Pentecost

The second festival of the primitive Christian calendar was Pentecost. Like the Pascha, it had a Jewish background. Leviticus 23:15-6 gives the relevant regulations for its observance:

And you shall count from the morrow after the sabbath, from the day that you brought the sheaf of the wave offering; seven full weeks shall they be, counting fifty days to the morrow after the seventh sabbath; then you shall present a cereal offering of new grain to the Lord.

In Numbers 28:26, Pentecost is said to take place on "the day of the first fruits":

---

to the effect that Xystus of Rome (c. A.D. 120) and his successors (Telesphorus, Hyginus, Pius and Anicetus) were at peace with the Quartodecimans, although they did not accept the latter's dating; Irenaeus also notes that Polycarp (who traced the Quartodeciman practice back to the Apostle John) and Anicetus were in communion, in spite of this difference over the date of the Pascha. A.A. McArthur (op. cit., pp. 80,105-6) attributes this divergence to the discrepancy between the Synoptic Gospels and John over the date of the Last Supper, suggesting that, while the rest of Christendom adhered to the Synoptic reckoning, the Asian Churches (from which region the Fourth Gospel may well have originated) followed the Johannine chronology; on the other hand, G. Dix (The Shape of the Liturgy, p. 338) believes that the "Asiatic custom was an early reaction to Jewish usage under the influence of some judaizing movement in the latter part of the first century, similar to those combatted earlier by S. Paul in his epistles to the Galatians and Colossians".

<sup>1</sup>G. Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy, p. 337.

<sup>2</sup>G. Dix, ed. and trans., The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St. Hippolytus of Rome, I, lxvi.

On the day of the first fruits, when you offer a cereal offering of new grain to the Lord at your feast of weeks, you shall have a holy convocation.

Exodus 34:22 also makes explicit this association between the "feast of weeks" and the "first fruits": "And you shall observe the feast of weeks, the first fruits of wheat harvest". Similarly Deuteronomy 16:10 tells the people: "Then seven weeks after the beginning of the harvest you shall keep the feast of weeks to the Lord your God". This same festival is called "the feast of harvest" in Exodus 23:16.

The Greek term for this celebration - Pentecost - means literally fifty, and derives from the fact that it took place seven weeks after "the morrow after the sabbath" or fifty days after the sheaf (or omer) offering.

In the New Testament there are three explicit references to Pentecost: Acts 2:1 ff. describes the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on "the day of Pentecost"; subsequently Paul "was hastening to be at Jerusalem, if possible, on the day of Pentecost" (Acts 20:16); in I Corinthians 16:8 Paul writes: "But I will stay in Ephesus until Pentecost".

One important question is the day on which Pentecost occurred. The Church of Scotland is following universal Christian custom in celebrating it on Sunday; the New Testament, however, gives no specific direction.

From Leviticus 23:15-6 it would appear that for the Jewish people the day of Pentecost would always coincide with Sunday - fifty days from the sheaf or omer offering, which took place "on the morrow

after the sabbath". However, the Sadducees and the Pharisees disagreed strongly on this issue;<sup>1</sup> the former did believe that the sheaf offering should occur on the Sunday following the first Sabbath after Passover, so that Pentecost would come on Sunday, seven weeks thereafter; the latter on the other hand, interpreted the "sabbath" of Leviticus 23:15 to mean the first day of the Passover, Nisan 15, when work was forbidden, so that the day of Pentecost would vary from year to year.

This Pharisaic reasoning is not logical. G.B. Gray<sup>2</sup> points out that while it is possible to agree that the "morrow after the sabbath" means "the day after the first day of Unleavened Bread ranking as a sabbath", the further reference to the "morrow after the seventh sabbath" cannot be so explained; also, there is no satisfactory reason why the Torah would not have made this meaning explicitly clear, if such an interpretation was intended.

Nevertheless, the Mishnah agrees with the Pharisees with regard to the sheaf offering<sup>3</sup> and rejects the identification which the Sadducees made between Pentecost and the first day of the week.<sup>4</sup> G.B. Gray<sup>5</sup> cites the first century evidence of Philo and Josephus to

<sup>1</sup>cf. the discussion by J.L. Magnus, "Pentecost", The Jewish Encyclopedia, IX, pp. 592-5; A.A. McArthur, op. cit., p. 142.

<sup>2</sup>G.B. Gray, op. cit., p. 334.

<sup>3</sup>Menahoth 10:3.

<sup>4</sup>Hagigah 2:4.

<sup>5</sup>G.B. Gray, op. cit., pp. 323-5.

the effect that the sheaf was offered on Nisan 16th in keeping with this Pharisaic teaching.

In trying to determine the day upon which the Holy Spirit came upon the disciples (as recorded in Acts 2:1 ff.), it is a question of whether to follow the chronology of the Synoptics or that of John, and also of determining whether they adhered to the teaching of the Pharisees or of the Sadducees in this matter. According to the Synoptic Gospels,<sup>1</sup> the first day of Unleavened Bread would be from 6 p.m. on Thursday till the same time on Friday of the week of the Passion; on the Pharisaic reckoning the sheaf offering would thus be on Saturday as would Pentecost seven weeks later. According to John's chronology, the first day of Unleavened Bread that year was on Friday night and Saturday;<sup>2</sup> therefore, irrespective of whether the Pharisaic interpretation of Leviticus was adhered to or not, the sheaf offering would have been on Sunday, as would Pentecost. On the other hand, if the interpretation of the Sadducees was followed Pentecost would always be on a Sunday.

The Fourth Gospel leaves no doubt as to the day of the week on which the Spirit came upon the disciples; it occurred on Easter afternoon "the first day of the week"<sup>3</sup>. If, in fact, the first Christian Pentecost took place on a Saturday, McArthur is right in stating that "the change to the weekly day of Christian worship for the commemoration

---

<sup>1</sup>Mark 14:12; Matthew 26:17; Luke 22:7.

<sup>2</sup>John 18:28; 19:14, 31.

<sup>3</sup>John 20:19.

of the event must have taken place at a very early date."<sup>1</sup>

The writer believes that the first Christians, who were also Jewish, continued to celebrate Pentecost as they had been accustomed, but incorporated into it the specifically Christian content of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Porter observes the "striking fact that Christians unquestioningly retained Pentecost (note Acts 20:16; I Cor. 16:8) whereas other equally important Jewish feasts, Tabernacles and the Atonement, were quickly dropped".<sup>2</sup>

If Pentecost had already been identified with the Law-giving on Mount Sinai, its significance for the early Christians is heightened. This transformation of an agricultural festival into an historical commemoration occurs in Rabbinical Judaism; scholars<sup>3</sup> differ as to

<sup>1</sup>A.A. McArthur, op. cit., p. 143.

<sup>2</sup>H.B. Porter, op. cit., p. 44, n.3.

<sup>3</sup>J.C. Rylaarsdam ("Feast of Weeks", IDB, IV, p. 827), and A.W.F. Blunt and D.R. Jones ("Feast of Pentecost", HDB, Second Edition p. 748), noting that this association is not mentioned by either Philo or Josephus, say that it came as a consequence of the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in A.D. 70; J.L. Magnus (op. cit., p. 594) suggests that Philo and Josephus were silent on the matter due to the current calendar controversy over the dating of Pentecost; Magnus finds the background for this association between Pentecost and the giving of the Law in the Book of Jubilees (6:1-21), which was written in the last quarter of the second century B.C. - the Covenant with Noah regarding the eating of blood is made on the Feast of Weeks, which Covenant is renewed with Abraham and with Moses on the same day; P. Carrington (The Primitive Christian Calendar, pp. 161-2) also cites the support of the Book of Jubilees in stating his belief that "a historical commemoration was found for it [Pentecost], which must be as old as the composition of the Pentateuch"; W.D. Davies ("Contemporary Jewish Religion", New Peake, p. 709) suggests that in Judaism at the time of Jesus, Pentecost signified the giving of the Law at Sinai.

whether it had taken place by the time of the first Christian day of Pentecost. Accepting the fact that this identification was possibly current at the time of Christ, the writer would summarize its significance in the words of McArthur:

As the Old Covenant, ratified, in the Exodus which the Passover commemorated, was completed on Mount Sinai, so the New Covenant, ratified in the events which the Christian Pascha commemorated, the Cross and the Resurrection, was completed on the festival of Pentecost when the power of the Holy Spirit came upon the disciples of the Lord. So the Christian Pentecost was the birthday of the Church as the new Israel of God.<sup>1</sup>

McArthur<sup>2</sup> and Porter<sup>3</sup> both suggest that it is against the background of this identification that Paul's sharp contrast between the Law and the Spirit<sup>4</sup> should be viewed.

The two New Testament references to Pentecost in relation to Paul's travels (Acts 20:16; I Corin. 16:8) may very well refer to the Jewish celebration;<sup>5</sup> but it must be remembered that according to Acts 2:1 ff. it was on the Jewish day of Pentecost that the Holy Spirit came. Up till that time the followers of Jesus would know

<sup>1</sup>A.A. McArthur, op. cit., p. 143.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 144-5.

<sup>3</sup>H.B. Porter, op. cit., p. 42.

<sup>4</sup>cf. Rom. 7:6; 8:2,15,23 (cf. reference to "first fruits"); Gal. 4:4-6, 24-6 (cf. mention of "Sinai"); II Corin. 3:3-8.

<sup>5</sup>cf. e.g. G.W.H. Lampe, Acts (New Peake), p. 918; G.H.C. Macgregor, Acts (IB)IX, p. 269; J. Héring, op. cit., p. 184; Lampe and Macgregor suggest that Paul desired to be in Jerusalem for the day of Pentecost (Acts 20:16) in order to demonstrate his loyalty to the Jewish Christians.

only the Jewish feast; no doubt they continued to observe it in the Jewish manner, but also they would remember that on that occasion they had been "filled with the Holy Spirit" (Acts 2:4).

In addition to these New Testament passages which explicitly mention Pentecost, there may well be certain allusions to this festival. Because Pentecost was originally an offering of "first fruits", it is possible to see a reflection of this idea in the view that the risen Christ is "the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep" (I Corin. 15:20, cf. 23); furthermore, Christians are called "a kind of first fruits" (James 1:18), and "first fruits from God and the Lamb" (Rev. 14:4). Admittedly, these references are not conclusive, but it is hard to believe that the Christian interpretation of Pentecost would have shed its heritage from Judaism which included this idea of "first fruits".

Definite patristic evidence for the celebration of Pentecost does not appear until Irenaeus, but L. Duchesne makes the point that this festival "is implied rather than explicitly mentioned in early Christian writings".<sup>1</sup> One of the Fragments from the Lost Writings of Irenaeus (VII) refers to "his treatise On Easter, in which he makes mention of Pentecost also; upon which [feast] we do not bend the knee".

From Tertullian it is learned that the term "Pentecost" might mean either the fiftieth day or the whole season of fifty days after the resurrection. Both senses seem to be intended in his Treatises On Baptism (19) and On the Soldier's Chaplet (3). In the first reference Tertullian discusses the most suitable times for this Sacrament;

---

<sup>1</sup>L. Duchesne, Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution, Revised, trans. M.L. McLure, p. 240.

he indicates that the Pascha is the most fitting occasion, but continues:

After that, [the space of] Pentecost is the most joyous space for conferring baptisms; wherein, too, the resurrection of the Lord was repeatedly proved among the disciples, and the hope of the advent of the Lord indirectly pointed to, in that, at that time, when He had been received back into the heavens, the angels told the apostles that "He would so come, as He had withal ascended into the heavens;" at Pentecost, of course. But, moreover, when Jeremiah says, "And I will gather them together from the extremities of the land in the feast-day," he signifies the day of the Passover and of Pentecost, which is properly a "feast-day."

The second passage in Tertullian which implies this double meaning mentions that fasting or kneeling in worship on the Lord's day is unlawful, and adds: "We rejoice in the same privilege also from Easter to Whitsunday".<sup>1</sup>

Other references to Pentecost in Tertullian's writings signify the entire period of fifty days. His work On Idolatry (14) suggests that pagans, even if they had known Pentecost, would not have shared it with the Christians; Tertullian criticizes the Christians for taking part in heathen festivals and goes on to write: "Call out the individual solemnities of the nations, and set them out into a row, they will not be able to make up a Pentecost". In his Treatise On Prayer (23) Tertullian refers to the prohibition of kneeling or any form of solicitude during prayer on Sundays, and proceeds: "Similarly, too, in the period of Pentecost; which period we distinguish by the same solemnity of exultation". Likewise, Tertullian's

---

<sup>1</sup>This name Whitsunday, by which Pentecost is also known, relates to the practice of having candidates for Baptism at that time dressed in white garments - "White Sunday".

work On Fasting (14) mentions the annual Christian Passover, and asks the rhetorical question: "Why in the fifty ensuing days do we spend our time in all exultation?"

This same note of joy during the season of Pentecost is preserved by Hippolytus; in his discussion of the paschal fast, he remarks: "But if anyone on a voyage or for any other necessary cause should not know the day, when he has learned the truth he shall postpone his fast until after Pentecost" (Apostolic Tradition, 29); this passage indicates that Pentecost is such a joyous time that it must not be interrupted by fasting.

From these references it is clear that at the beginning of the third Christian century, Pentecost (both the season and the day) was a festival characterized by exultation; no signs of sorrow or gloom were permitted. Just as Sunday carried a weekly reminder of Christ's resurrection, so also the period of Pentecost, which Easter day inaugurated, was to echo the same note of victory.

In spite of the lack of explicit documentary evidence relating to Pentecost for the period between the original Whitsunday and Pentecost at the end of the second century A.D., it seems logical to assume that the celebration of this festival continued and was a joyous occasion. Even in Old Testament times Pentecost was a season of rejoicing,<sup>1</sup> but for Christians it would be an even greater period of happiness; the promise of Joel 2:28 was fulfilled with the coming of the Holy Spirit upon the disciples. Therefore the Christian

---

<sup>1</sup>e.g. Deut. 16:11 instructs the people that at the feast of weeks they should "rejoice before the Lord."

observance of Pentecost would always include particularly the commemoration of this outpouring as recorded in Acts 2:1 ff.

These were the two annual festivals - Pascha and Pentecost - which, along with the weekly Sunday, constituted the primitive Christian Year. However, the writer is fully aware that some scholars would make it more elaborate, and he wishes now to comment upon some of their theories.

McArthur<sup>1</sup> very ingeniously finds evidence for the primitive Epiphany in John 1:1-2:11. On the basis of the Epistle to Diognetus 11:3-5 and The Miscellanies I.21 by Clement of Alexandria, he argues that Epiphany was in existence by the end of the second century A.D. as a unitive festival of both the Incarnation and Christ's Baptism. McArthur finds further support for his views from the pagan background which associated the winter solstice (originally January 6) with the birth of light and with Dionysus, the god of wine; according to Pliny the Elder (Natural History, II.106; XXXI.13) and Pausanias (Description of Greece, VI.26) water changed into wine at the time of the old solstice festival. These three lines - the unitive nature of Epiphany, the birth of light, and the conversion of water into wine - McArthur finds converging on John 1:1-2:11.

The writer agrees that such an interpretation is possible but highly conjectural. Against it is the fact that the Prologue of the Fourth Gospel (John 1:1-18) is usually taken as a distinct unit apart from what follows; furthermore, scholars do not unanimously think of

---

<sup>1</sup>A.A. McArthur, op. cit., pp. 58-69.

this Prologue as setting forth the birth of light in the sense of the manifestation or shining forth associated with Epiphany;<sup>1</sup> in addition, the material of John 1:19-51 is not really related to the themes of Epiphany.

The writer tends to feel that McArthur is making the Scriptures fit the mould of his theory rather than letting them speak for themselves; on his own admission, this thesis with regards to Epiphany is a "wholly tentative hypothesis" for which a "precise conclusion is certainly precluded".<sup>2</sup>

Carrington<sup>3</sup> also argues for a fuller primitive calendar. He cites the evidence of the First Epistle to the Corinthians by Clement of Rome, which was written towards the end of the first Christian century; Clement refers to "stated times" (40:1). Carrington renders these words "appointed seasons" and suggests that Clement is referring to the festivals of the Levitical Law - Pascha, Pentecost, New Year, Day of Atonement, and Tabernacles.

However, the writer is inclined to think that Carrington is trying to fit the Scriptures into his theory for the arrangement of Mark's Gospel which he sets forth as follows:

The rich liturgical material of the Corinthian epistles, which is closely connected with a gospel tradition, makes it perfectly evident that a Christianized form of the Hebrew Calendar was even then in existence, so that it would have been possible and even quite natural for Mark to have arranged his gospel for the liturgical year with a view to having it read in the churches. This Christian-

---

<sup>1</sup>e.g. C.K. Barrett (The Gospel According to St. John, pp. 134-5) interprets "light" in this context as the light of judgement.

<sup>2</sup>A.A. McArthur, op. cit., p. 69.

<sup>3</sup>P. Carrington, The Primitive Christian Calendar, pp. 37-44.

ized Calendar was of course merely a simplified form of the old Hebrew Calendar as used by Jewish Christians in Palestine where the whole Christian tradition had received its primary form. There is no reason to think that there ever was a form of Christianity anywhere which dispensed with this Calendar.<sup>1</sup>

But if the early Christians continued indefinitely to observe the major Jewish festivals, as Carrington suggests, it is indeed strange that there is no indication of this fact in the New Testament; only the Pascha and Pentecost are mentioned. It is hard to escape the thought that Carrington's mind worked from his theory to the Scriptures, rather than in the opposite direction.

Similarly Aileen Guilding<sup>2</sup> argues that the Fourth Gospel was arranged according to the various seasons or festivals of the Jewish liturgical year. Between the Prologue (1:1-18) and Epilogue (21), she finds three clearly marked divisions: 1:19-4:54; 6,5,7-12; and 13-20. Miss Guilding suggests that the last two of these divisions represent the following repetition of the themes of the Jewish celebrations:

Passover	The themes of John 6 are repeated in John 13
New Year	" " " " 5 " " " " 14
Tabernacles	" " " " 7-9 " " " " 15:1-16:24
Dedication	" " " " 10 " " " " 16:25-18:27
Purim	" " " " 11b " " " " 18:28-19:27 <sup>3</sup>

To this table Dr. Guilding adds the comment: "Chapter 19:28 ff.

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 43.

<sup>2</sup>A. Guilding, The Fourth Gospel and Jewish Worship.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 49.

returns to Passover and quotes the lection that would be read on the second sabbath in Nisan, Exodus 12:46".<sup>1</sup>

If these conclusions are valid, it is logical to assume that the early Christians continued to observe the complete Jewish Calendar, perhaps in a Christianized form. But the writer is not convinced. Would the Jewish influence on Christianity be as strong as her thesis necessitates? Or does she give John's Gospel a date earlier than usual?<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, the silence of the rest of the New Testament about these festivals - except Pascha and Pentecost - cannot be overlooked. In the Preface of the book *Miss Guilding* herself admits that her results are "provisional and incomplete".

From his research the writer is led to reiterate his conviction that the primitive Christian Calendar consisted simply of the weekly observance of "the Lord's day" (Sunday) and the two annual feasts - Pascha and Pentecost. The fuller Christian Year, such as the one set forth in the Book of Common Order,<sup>3</sup> did not begin to develop until the fourth century.<sup>4</sup> It is beyond the scope of this thesis to trace the elaboration of the liturgical cycle. Suffice it to make the point here that Milligan is certainly overstating the case to a marked degree, in claiming Scriptural warrant for such a developed Christian Calendar.

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>cf. the review of her book by N.H. Snaith, JTS, N.S., XII, 1961, pp. 322-4.

<sup>3</sup>Book of Common Order, pp. 313-27.

<sup>4</sup>cf. A.J. Maclean, op. cit., pp. 251-64; J. Dowden, op. cit., pp. 14 ff., J. Wordsworth, op. cit., pp. 352 ff.; G. Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy, p. 347 ff.; and A.A. McArthur, op. cit., p. 10.

c) The Lectionary

Besides its elaborate Christian Year the Book of Common Order has an accompanying two-year Lectionary;<sup>1</sup> for the morning services, one lesson each from the Old Testament, Epistles and Gospels is given, while the evening Table of Lessons makes provision for one passage each from the Old and New Testaments. Again it must be asked whether there is Biblical and patristic warrant for following these suggested readings.

The writer has already<sup>2</sup> mentioned the triennial cycle of one hundred and fifty-four sections into which the Torah had probably been divided by the time of Christ. Thus, the idea of a lectionary was not new to the first Jewish Christians; undoubtedly they would continue to read these prescribed portions of the Pentateuch when they met for worship in the Synagogue. But a Christian lectionary would differ from this triennial cycle by including readings from the New Testament as well as the Old.

With regards to a Table of Lessons such as the one set forth in the Book of Common Order, two points must be made: a) writings need first of all to be accepted as Scriptures before they can be incorporated into a lectionary; that is to say that the materials must exist for constructing a Table of Lessons before the same can be drawn up; the process cannot be reversed; the Scriptures have to precede the lectionary, not vice versa; and b) the Christian Year

---

<sup>1</sup>Book of Common Order, pp. 313-20 (The pages for the Lectionary section of the 1940 version are 313-27; cf. above p.1,n.1); a New Lectionary appeared in the 1952 reprint of the 1940 Book of Common Order, but in both instances this Table of Lessons is for two years.

<sup>2</sup>cf. above p. 16.

must be very developed before an elaborate lectionary can be devised which is based upon it; in other words, particular days and Sundays of the Christian Calendar must be acknowledged as such, before lessons which are appropriate to the specific occasions can be chosen.

The only explicit evidence for the public reading of the New Testament writings comes at the end of two of Paul's letters. I Thessalonians 5:27 reads: "I adjure you by the Lord that this letter be read to all the brethren"; similarly, Colossians 4:16 states: "And when this letter has been read among you have it read also in the church of the Laodiceans; and see that you read also the letter from Laodicea". It appears, however, that Paul enjoined the reading of these Epistles, not as forming part of a lectionary, but as instruction and direction from himself. In fact, W. Neil observes that if the Thessalonian passage means that the Epistle is to be read in corporate worship, Paul is "establishing an important precedent".<sup>1</sup>

Some scholars see additional references in the New Testament to the public reading of portions of it by the early Christians.

Timothy is urged to "attend to the public reading of Scripture" (I Tim. 4:13). Although most commentators<sup>2</sup> interpret this injunction

<sup>1</sup>W. Neil, Thessalonians (Moffatt), p. 137; cf. J. Moffatt (I Thessalonians (EGT, IV), p. 43) who acknowledges that this Epistle was to be read publicly at the weekly worship, but adds that the emphasis of Paul's injunction "points to a period when such public reading of an apostolic epistle was not yet a recognised feature in the worship of the churches".

<sup>2</sup>e.g. A.T. Hanson (I Timothy (Cambridge) p. 54) who observes that this passage is the first reference to the reading of the Scriptures in public worship among Christians; E.F. Scott (I Timothy (Moffatt) p. 52) who notes that there was as yet no Christian Scripture; however, Scott goes on to suggest that "memoirs of Jesus" and writings by the apostles were also read, citing the support of Justin Martyr; D. Guthrie, I Timothy (Tyndale), p. 97.

to mean the reading of the books of the Old Testament,<sup>1</sup> some give it more content.

Lock,<sup>2</sup> underlining the fact that the reading is to be public, believes that besides the Old Testament, the following would be read: Apostolic letters (I Thess. 5:27; Eph. 3:4; Col. 4:16; Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, IV.23); apocalypses (Mark 13:14; Rev. 1:3; cf. Tertullian, Apology, 39); and the memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the prophets (Justin, Apology, I.67).

Higgins<sup>3</sup> also contends that "scripture" in I Timothy 4:13 could include, in addition to the Old Testament, the Epistles (Eph. 3:4; Col. 4:16; I Thess. 5:27) and "memoirs of the apostles" (Justin, Apology I.67).

Similarly, E.K. Simpson, in discussing this passage, writes that "by this time portions of the New Testament and the Old Testament . . . were read aloud in Christian assemblies".<sup>4</sup> Likewise, Gealy says that the minister in Timothy's position "would be constantly engaged in reading both old and new scriptures, the O.T., apocalypses, writings of apostles and teachers, letters of officials, hymns and devotional lyrics composed by prophets, accounts of the early beginnings of the church such as came to form<sup>5</sup> the Gospels and Acts".<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Which had of course been accepted as Scripture.

<sup>2</sup>W. Lock, I Timothy (ICC), p. 53.

<sup>3</sup>A.J.B. Higgins, I Timothy (New Peake), p. 1003.

<sup>4</sup>E.K. Simpson, The Pastoral Epistles, p. 70.

<sup>5</sup>Underlining mine.

<sup>6</sup>F.D. Gealy, I Timothy (IB, XI) p. 432; cf. ibid., p. 350, n.8.

The writer is in full agreement that the early Christians read Apostolic letters and documents in public worship; however, he does not believe that these writings had, by the time of the composition of Timothy,<sup>1</sup> achieved the status of Scripture; the underlined words in the passage just quoted from Gealy corroborate this contention. Thus, this direction to Timothy can hardly imply the following of any lectionary which included the New Testament books. Furthermore, the citing of evidence from the middle of the second century (Justin), in order to support the existence of a practice believed to be current at the time of Timothy, is precarious; it approaches the matter from the wrong end and tends to read more into the New Testament references than is actually intended.

Three other places where some scholars see allusions to the public reading of parts of the New Testament are: Ephesians 3:4; Revelation 1: 3 and Philemon 2.

The Ephesian<sup>2</sup> passage states: "When you read this you can perceive my insight into the mystery of Christ", Whether the word

---

<sup>1</sup>Dated anywhere from A.D. 60 to 180, depending on whether or not the Pauline authorship is upheld; although he cannot enter into a discussion of this matter, let the writer simply state his belief that the Pastoral Epistles contain some genuine Pauline fragments which were incorporated into them by an early second-century pseudonymous disciple.

<sup>2</sup>The writer cannot go into the technical problem of the authorship of Ephesians; let him simply say that he finds its tone very Pauline, although he doubts that Paul actually wrote it.

"read" in this sentence means the public reading of this Epistle is debatable.<sup>1</sup> But even if it does, this fact would in no way imply that it was to be read as part of a lectionary.<sup>2</sup>

At the beginning of Revelation (1:3) John writes: "Blessed is he who reads aloud the words of the prophecy, and blessed are those who hear, and who keep what is written therein". Although the author thus elevates Revelation to the same status as the Old Testament prophecy,<sup>3</sup> it was not immediately given official recognition as Scripture.<sup>4</sup> Most

<sup>1</sup>W. Lock (op. cit., p. 53) and A.J.B. Higgins (op. cit., p. 1003) include Ephesians 3:4 as a passage supporting the public reading of Scripture; on the other hand, F.W. Beare (Ephesians (IB, X) p. 667) writes that this Ephesian reference "cannot be to reading aloud in church, as in Col. 4:16; but to reading for study - private reading, with time to weigh what is read. It is an invitation to read and read again, pondering on the significance of what is written".

<sup>2</sup>F.J.A. Hort (Prolegomena to St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans and the Ephesians, pp. 150-1) implies some such use in a fanciful interpretation of this passage; he attributes to "read" the semitechnical sense of reading "the prophetic parts of the Old Testament", and continues: "The recipients of the Epistle were to perceive St. Paul's understanding in the mystery of Christ not simply by reading his exposition, but by keeping it in mind when they read ancient prophecy, comparing the one with the other". in the writer's estimation, this theory is rightly rejected by E.F. Scott (Ephesians (Moffatt), p. 184); F.W. Beare (op. cit., p. 666); J.A. Robinson (St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, p. 168); and T.K. Abbott (Ephesians (ICC), p. 80); however, the writer admits that if Hort's views were true, (bearing in mind that the Jewish Christians inherited the lectionary from the Synagogue), it is just possible that Ephesians would come to have particular portions of it read in conjunction with the set synagogal lections; but since Hort's thesis is not acceptable, such a possibility vanishes.

<sup>3</sup>cf. e.g. M. Rist, Revelation (IB, XII), p. 367; R.H. Charles Revelation I (ICC), p. 8; M. Kiddle (and M.K. Ross), Revelation (Moffatt) pp. 4-5; and A. Farrer, The Revelation of St. John the Divine, pp. 28-9.

<sup>4</sup>cf. e.g. M. Rist's comment (ibid.): "Paradoxically, this work for which the author claimed so much, divine in origin and deserving to be read in church alongside the O.T. books, had difficulty in being accepted into the N.T. canon of scripture, and once having been accepted, continued to have difficulty in maintaining this position."

scholars<sup>1</sup> agree that the "reading aloud" was to take place in public worship; but the author of Revelation can hardly have intended his book to be read as a lectionary with prescribed portions for specific occasions.

In Philemon 2, Paul addresses Philemon, Apphia, Archippus, and "the church in your house". Therefore, since the letter is directed to a whole group, as well as individuals within it, some commentators<sup>2</sup> suggest that Paul intended the Epistle to be read to the whole "house church". But even if such an interpretation is correct, it in no way points to the existence of a primitive Christian lectionary.

This survey of the New Testament evidence does not lend any support to the view that a Table of Lessons using both the Old and New Testaments existed in the Apostolic period. Almost certainly the main reason why such a lectionary was not drawn up is that the writings which came to form the New Testament had not yet been accepted as Scripture.

The earliest suggestion of anything approaching a New Testament Canon is the Muratorian Fragment; Westcott stresses the high antiquity of this document, and refers to it "as a summary of the opinion of the

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. e.g. M. Rist, ibid.; T.F. Glasson, Revelation(Cambridge), p. 16; W. Barclay, Revelation I (DSB), pp. 31-2; R.H. Charles, op. cit., pp. 7-8; J. Moffatt, Revelation(EGT, V), p. 336; A. Farrer, op. cit., p. 60; W.H. Simcox, Revelation(CBSC), p. 2; M. Kiddle (and M.K. Ross), op. cit., pp. 4-5; G.B. Caird, Revelation(Black), p. 13; I.T. Beckwith, The Apocalypse of John, p. 422; and T.S. Kepler, The Book of Revelation, p.46.

<sup>2</sup>e.g. M.R. Vincent, Philemon(ICC), p. 177; J. Knox, Philemon (IB, XI), pp. 562-3; and C.F.D. Moule, Worship in the New Testament, p. 44.

Western Church on the Canon shortly after the middle of the second century".<sup>1</sup> Except for I and II Peter, I John, James, and Hebrews, all other books which eventually constituted the New Testament are acknowledged. Although the apocryphal Apocalypse of Peter is also included, it is noted that it was not universally accepted.<sup>2</sup> Since this Fragment is the first indication that the books of the New Testament were coming to be acknowledged as Scripture, it is difficult to see how any Christian lectionary can antedate it.

However before proceeding to examine the patristic evidence (or lack of it) for the existence of a lectionary, the writer must acknowledge that certain scholars do believe that the primitive Christian Church had its Table of Lessons.

Carrington (whom the writer has already cited as supporting a fuller Christian Year) has a "liturgical theory" about the composition and arrangement of Mark; in the "Foreward" of The Primitive Christian Calendar: A Study in the Making of the Marcan Gospel, Carrington enunciates this view:

The Gospel consists of a series of lections for use in the Christian ecclesia on the successive Sundays of the year, and of a longer continuous lection which was used on the annual solemnity of the Pascha (Passover) at which the Passion was commemorated. The series of lections for the year are numbered from 1 to 48 (or 49) in Codex Vaticanus (B), and the remaining lections (49-62) constitute the Passion lection.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>B.F. Westcott, A General Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament, p. 215.

<sup>2</sup>B.F. Westcott, op. cit., p. 222.

<sup>3</sup>P. Carrington, op. cit. xi; cf. \_\_\_\_\_, "St. Mark and his Calendar", CQR, CLIV, 1953, pp. 211-8; and "The Calendrical Hypothesis of the Origin of Mark", ET, LXVII, 1955-6, pp. 100-3.

According to Carrington, the primitive Church observed a "Christianized form of the Hebrew Calendar"<sup>1</sup> and the different sections of Mark correspond to the seasons of this liturgical year - New Year, Spring Sowing, Passover, Pentecost, Midsummer, and Tabernacles. Thus he divides Mark into the following lections:

1: 1-8	10-34	13-21	<u>The Passion Lection</u>
9-11	35-5:1	22-6	13:32-14:2
12-3	5: 2-20	27-9:1	14: 3-9
14-20	21-43	9: 2-27	10-6
21-8	6: 1-6	28-9	17-26
29-34	7-13	30-2	27-42
38-45	14-29	33-50	43-52
2: 1-12	30-44	10: 1-16	53-72
13-4	45-52	17-45	15: 1-15
15-7	53-6	46-52	16-23
18-22	7: 1-16	11: 1-11	24-37
23-8	17-23	12-9	38-41
3: 1-6	24-30	20-12:12	42-7
7-13	31-7	12:13-40	16: 1-8
14-35	8: 1-9	41-4	
4: 1-9	10-2	13: 1-31	

The writer admits that Carrington's "liturgical theory" is within the realm of possibility, but he is not convinced; the whole thesis is too conjectural. Too often Carrington makes undocumented statements and draws unwarranted conclusions. For example, he assumes that the existence of an elaborate Hebrew Calendar would lead directly into a simplified, but nevertheless quite full Christian Year; yet he gives evidence only for Sunday and the Pascha, and then says that the reference of Clement of Rome (First Epistle to the Corinthians, 40:1) to "appointed seasons" (or "stated times") must be to those of the Levitical Law - Pascha, Pentecost, New Year, Day of Atonement and

---

<sup>1</sup>P. Carrington, The Primitive Christian Calendar, p. 43.

Tabernacles; furthermore, Carrington offers no satisfactory explanations as to why some of the Jewish Festivals, for which (according to him) portions of Mark were composed and arranged, disappeared in the later Christian Calendars. Similarly Carrington unquestioningly adopts the view that the chapter - enumerations of Vaticanus are the oldest; he ignores the fact that H. von Soden<sup>1</sup> has plausibly argued that these divisions appear later than the composition of Mark. In addition, whenever the lections are too long, too numerous or too few, Carrington fabricates reasons for these exceptions.

The writer believes that this "liturgical theory" presupposes too organized a Christian Year and attributes to Mark too detailed a sense of having consciously structured his Gospel; he tends to suspect that Carrington fitted Mark into his thesis rather than examining the Gospel on its own. Therefore, he discounts this suggestion that Mark provides evidence for the existence of an early Christian lectionary.<sup>2</sup>

G.D. Kilpatrick also finds a New Testament basis for believing that the primitive Church had a Table of Lessons; he argues that Matthew is a "revised Gospel lectionary"<sup>3</sup> which "was written to be read liturgically".<sup>4</sup> On the basis of internal and external evidence - too

<sup>1</sup>H. von Soden, The History of Early Christian Literature, trans. J.R. Wilkinson, pp. 142-64.

<sup>2</sup>cf. A. Farrer ("A Liturgical Theory about St. Mark's Gospel", CQR, CLIII, 1952, pp. 501-8), R.P. Casey ("St. Mark's Gospel", Theology LV, 1952, pp. 362-70), and W.D. Davies ("Reflections on Archbishop Carrington's The Primitive Christian Calendar", The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology, eds. W.D. Davies and D. Daube, pp. 124-52) who severely criticize Carrington's theory.

<sup>3</sup>G.D. Kilpatrick, The Origin of the Gospel according to Saint Matthew, p. 59.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 72.

closely-knit to be detailed here - he suggests that "the Gospel was compiled out of materials which had already been read and expounded in the services of the Church and that the evangelist composed it to serve this purpose more fully in the future".<sup>1</sup> Kilpatrick finds five main central divisions in Matthew, each of which closes with a similar type of formula - "(And) when Jesus (had) finished . . . ." (Matt. 7:28; 11:1; 13:53; 19:1; and 26:1).

The writer accepts the fact that this "liturgical" interpretation of Matthew may be right, but, as Kilpatrick himself admits, it is only a "hypothesis".<sup>2</sup> K. Stendahl agrees that Kilpatrick's thesis is quite feasible, but prefers to give Matthew a broader interpretation; he calls this Gospel "a handbook for teaching and administration within the church",<sup>3</sup> noting in this sense its similarity to the Dead Sea Scroll's Manual of Discipline. Although Matthew was compiled a generation after Mark came into being, the writer does not believe that the Church at that time was as highly and rigidly organized in its liturgical celebrations as Kilpatrick's theory presupposes. Therefore, he would term this "liturgical hypothesis" an improbable possibility.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 100.

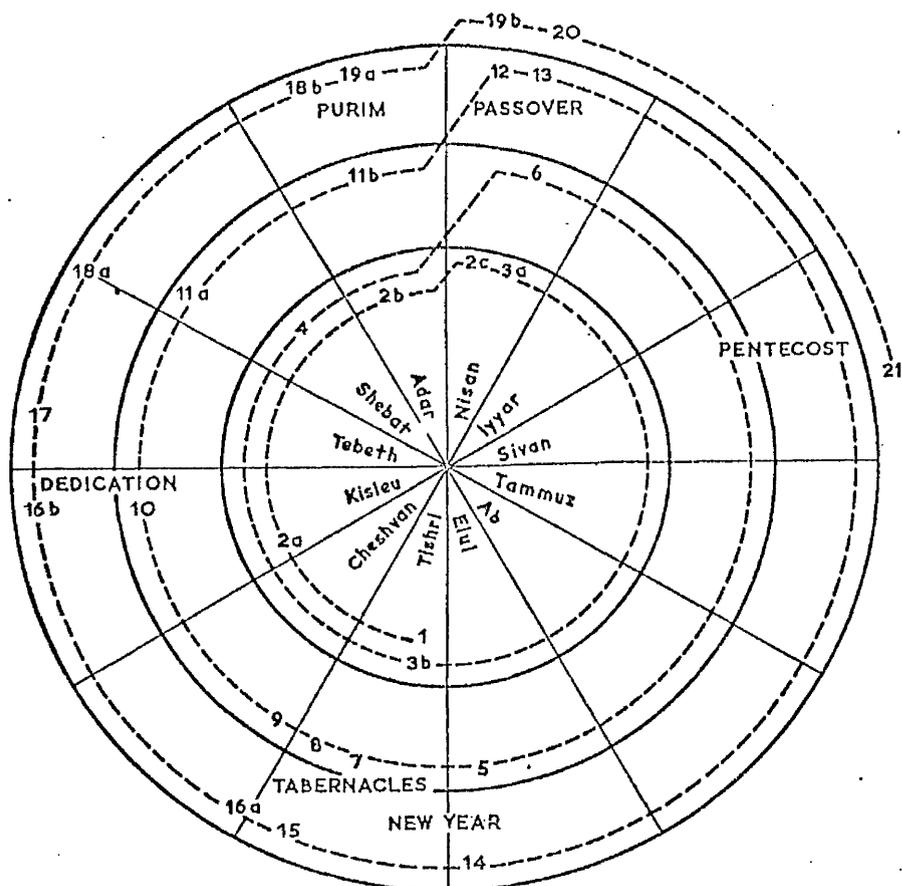
<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>3</sup>K. Stendahl, Matthew (New Peake), p. 769.

<sup>4</sup>cf. the reviews of this book by A.E.J. Rawlinson, (CCR, CXLIV, 1947, pp. 91-3), who rejects Kilpatrick's main contentions about Matthew being a "revised Gospel lectionary", and T.W. Manson (JTS, XLVIII, 1947, pp. 217-9) who finds this "hypothesis" basically plausible.

Aileen Guilding is another scholar who argues for the existence of an early Christian lectionary. In The Fourth Gospel and Jewish Worship, Miss Guilding first of all establishes (at least to her own satisfaction) that "the triennial cycle was not superimposed on the Pentateuch, but the Pentateuch was adapted to suit the cycle".<sup>1</sup> Then she proceeds to show how the Fourth Evangelist arranged his Gospel to be "a Christian commentary on the lections of the triennial cycle".<sup>2</sup>

The following chart<sup>3</sup> shows the different divisions of months, festivals, and chapters, which Dr. Guilding believes were operative in the compilation of John's Gospel; this plan covers three and a half lectionary years, working from the inner circle outwards.



<sup>1</sup>A. Guilding, The Fourth Gospel and Jewish Worship, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 231.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 48.

The writer agrees that John may have consciously arranged his Gospel in this way, but, on the whole, he finds Miss Guilding's views unconvincing. Her first conclusion concerning the arrangement of the material of the Pentateuch is highly conjectural; too many exceptions are explained away for insufficient reasons.<sup>1</sup> Without this base her main thesis loses considerable force. Furthermore, her theory necessitates the transposition of chapters in John's Gospel;<sup>2</sup> discrepancies are ingeniously explained away by reference to the double lectionary system beginning in Nisan or Tishri;<sup>3</sup> and the inclusion of John 21 (which almost certainly is not part of the original Gospel<sup>4</sup>) is required by her "liturgical scheme".<sup>5</sup>

These considerations make it hard for the writer to escape the conclusion that Professor Guilding imposed her arrangement upon the Fourth Gospel rather than impartially approaching its structure. Thus, he is led to restate his conviction that the Scriptures furnish no acceptable evidence for the existence of a primitive Christian lectionary.

<sup>1</sup>cf. J.R. Porter ("The Pentateuch and the Triennial Lectionary Cycle: An Examination of a Recent Theory" Promise and Fulfilment, ed. F.F. Bruce, pp. 163-74) who severely criticizes this part of her thesis.

<sup>2</sup>A. Guilding, ibid., pp. 45-6.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 10-20; 173-7; 212-29.

<sup>4</sup>cf. e.g. G.H.C. Macgregor. John(Moffatt), pp. 367-9. Even those who hold that this chapter was added later by the same author (e.g. C.K. Barrett, John(New Peake), p. 867; B.F. Westcott, The Gospel According to St. John, p. 299; J.H. Bernard; John, I(ICC), pp. 687-92; W.F. Howard, John, (IB, VIII), p. 446; J.O.F. Murray, Jesus according to S. John, pp. 370-1) provide evidence against Miss Guilding's thesis; if John was composed consciously to correspond to the Jewish lectionary and festivals this chapter would have been included at the same time as the rest rather than added later.

<sup>5</sup>A. Guilding, op. cit., p. 228.

The writer will now show that an examination of the patristic writings yields the same verdict.

The First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians (I Clement) contains no direct references to the public reading of Scriptures but familiarity with them is taken for granted throughout; this knowledge would have been gained almost certainly through hearing them read and expounded in worship.<sup>1</sup> Clement is always appealing to the Scriptures, but the following passages are particularly significant in implying that his readers were accustomed to listening to the Biblical message: "Let us . . . do what the Scripture says" (13:1); "For somewhere the Writing says" (28:3) introduces a quotation from Psalm 139:7-8; the Pentateuch is called "the sacred books" in distinction from "the other Prophets" (43:1); "You have looked deep into the sacred writings" (45:2); "Surely, you are acquainted, beloved, and well acquainted, with the Sacred Scriptures, and have explored the oracles of God" (53:1); "we are writing to persons . . . deeply versed in the writings that contain God's educative revelation" (62:3). It may also be worth noting that Clement appears to suggest that the Pauline I Corinthians<sup>2</sup> was read: "Take up the epistle of the blessed Apostle Paul" (47:1).

The pseudonymous II Clement, which probably dates from the middle of the second Christian century,<sup>3</sup> contains an exhortation "to the end that ye may give heed to the things which are written [ $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$  γεγραμμέναις =

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. W.O.E. Oesterley, The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy, pp. 114-6.

<sup>2</sup>The context indicates that this particular Epistle is meant.

<sup>3</sup>cf. e.g. J.B. Lightfoot, ed. and trans. The Apostolic Fathers, I, ii, Second Edition, pp. 201-4; M.H. Shepherd, Jr., "Epistles of Clement", IDB, I, p. 649; and W.O.E. Oesterley, The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy, p. 104.

the Scriptures], so that ye may save both yourselves and him that readeth (τὸν ἀναγινώσκοντα) in the midst of you" (19:1). This mention of the "reader" undoubtedly witnesses to the reading of Scripture in public worship. However, it must be admitted that these Clementine passages which support this practice, in no way imply that these readings formed part of a lectionary.

The Didache (16:2) states: "Assemble in great numbers intent upon what concerns your souls". Kilpatrick<sup>1</sup> and Oesterley<sup>2</sup> see in these words a possible reference to the public reading of Scripture and other acceptable writings. But again, even if this passage is to be so interpreted, it does not imply a fixed Table of Lessons.

The Epistle of Barnabas has the following two indirect references to the reading of the Bible in public worship: "when one has learned the just demands of the Lord, as contained in the Scriptures, the proper thing is to make them the rule of one's life" (21:1); "Be learners in God's school, studying what the Lord requires of you" (21:6). But to try to find any hint of the existence of a Christian lectionary in these passages would be overtly conjectural.

The letters of Ignatius presuppose on the part of his readers an intimate acquaintance with the Scriptures;<sup>3</sup> almost certainly this knowledge would have been received primarily from hearing them read and explained in services of worship.

<sup>1</sup>G.D. Kilpatrick, op. cit., p. 64, n.2.

<sup>2</sup>W.O.E. Oesterley, op. cit., p. 116.

<sup>3</sup>Every chapter either quotes or alludes to passages in the Scriptures.

Polycarp's First Epistle (or Covering Note) to the Philippians (13:2) implies that these Ignatian Epistles are to be read in Church:

The epistles of Ignatius - those addressed by him to us and any others in our possession - we are sending you herewith in compliance with your request. They are attached to this note. You will be able to derive great profit from them, for they deal with faith, patient endurance, and, in general,<sup>1</sup> with matters that bear upon spiritual growth in Our Lord.

But there is still no thought that these letters of Ignatius (which incidentally did not become official "Scripture") formed part of a lectionary, or implied the existence of one.

Justin Martyr gives the first explicit reference to the reading in public worship from both the Old Testament and what came to be part of the New: "And on the day called Sunday, all who live in cities or in the country gather together to one place, and the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read, as long as time permits (Apology, I.67). The following sentence, (which appears in the preceding chapter of this same work), clarifies the meaning of this reference to the "memoirs of the apostles": "For the apostles, in the memoirs composed by them, which are called Gospels, have thus delivered unto us what was enjoined upon them".

It is significant that the reading continues "as long as time permits"; this idea of a lectio continua argues against the existence of a lectionary;<sup>2</sup> if there had been a set Table of Lessons, then the readings would have continued until they were completed, rather than simply filling the time available.

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, III.36.15.

<sup>2</sup>cf. J.A. Jungmann, The Early Liturgy, trans. F.A. Brunner, p. 42.

Justin's Dialogue with Trypho has two allusions to the public reading of the Bible: "Then I said, 'Since I bring from the Scriptures and the facts themselves both the proofs and the inculcation of them, do not delay or hesitate to put faith in me'" (28); "For it is a ridiculous thing . . . that he who founds his discourse on the prophetic scriptures should leave them and abstain from constantly referring to the same scriptures, because it is thought he can bring forth something better than Scripture" (85). But any suggestion that these passages point to a fixed Table of Lessons would exceed the bounds of accepted possibility.

In his letter to Soter, Dionysius of Corinth mentions that letters were read in Church: "This day, therefore, we spent as a holy Lord's day, in which we read your epistle, from the reading of which we shall always be able to obtain admonition, as also from the former epistle<sup>1</sup> written to us through Clement".<sup>2</sup> But once more the point must be made that the reading of such Epistles in no way implies the existence of a lectionary.

Irenaeus suggests the public reading of the Bible when he writes: "And then shall every word also seem consistent to him [the faithful believer], if he for his part diligently read the Scriptures in company with those who are presbyters in the church, among whom is the apostolic doctrine, as I have pointed out" (Against Heresies, IV. 32.1). But again there is no hint that these Scriptures are arranged

<sup>1</sup>i.e. I Clement.

<sup>2</sup>Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, IV.23.11.

in the form of a lectionary. The same may be said about the reference to "righteous hearing and divine reading" in Clement of Alexandria (The Miscellanies, VI.14).

In his Apology, Tertullian explicitly mentions the reading of Scripture in corporate worship: "We assemble to read our sacred writings, if any peculiarity of the times makes either fore-warning or reminiscence needful" (39). In addition, an allusion to Bible reading may be intended in his statement that "in public . . . the word of God is dispensed" (On Female Dress, II.11). Tertullian's Treatise De Anima (9) makes the point that "the reading of the Scriptures" forms part of "the sacred rites of the Lord's day in the church". Nevertheless, none of these even remotely implies that these readings followed the pattern of a fixed Table of Lessons.

Similarly, Hippolytus writes: "The reader is appointed by the bishop's giving him the book" (Apostolic Tradition, 12); also, in the same work, he mentions the "hearers of the word" (16,17), and those who "attend and hear the word of God" (31). The logical interpretation of these references (particularly the one to the "reader") is that the Scriptures are read in Church. To make them allude to a lectionary as well would be unwarrantable.

From this survey of the Biblical and patristic evidence, the writer is drawn to conclude that there were no set Tables of Lessons for use in the Churches in the period under investigation. Some local congregation may have drawn up their own series of readings for particular occasions (e.g. the Pascha and Pentecost), but these were something far different from the fixed series of lessons which emerged from the

fourth century onwards.<sup>1</sup> Although the Christian Church inherited the cycle of lections from the Synagogue, the desire to include the new writings (which came to form the New Testament) would lead to a complete revision and Christianization of any strictly Jewish lectionary; furthermore, the lack of agreement as to which documents of this new Christian literature should be read in public, prevented "the compiling of lectionaries of more than local authority down to the fourth century".<sup>2</sup>

Milligan has claimed that there is Scriptural warrant for everything in the Book of Common Order; this examination of the evidence indicates how unfounded and exaggerated his statement is with regards to the two-year lectionary. On the basis of his research, the writer is compelled to conclude, with Dix, that there is "no serious evidence for the existence of any organised cycle of lessons for the ordinary Sunday synaxis anywhere in pre-Nicene times".<sup>3</sup>

From this consideration of worship on Sunday, which has adequate Biblical and patristic support, and the Christian Year and the Lectionary, which do not, the writer wishes to turn to those elements which are common to most services.

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. G. Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy, pp. 361 ff.; L. Duchesne, Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution, Revised, trans. M.L. McLure, p. 112.

<sup>2</sup>G. Dix, ibid., p. 361.

<sup>3</sup>G. Dix, ibid.

## CHAPTER IV

### ELEMENTS COMMON TO MOST SERVICES

#### a) Calls to Worship and Prayer

Most of the Orders of Service in the Book of Common Order open with the minister saying "Let us worship God", followed by Scripture sentences as a "Call to Prayer".<sup>1</sup> The Biblical warrants for this practice (if any) are certainly very sparse. The services of worship alluded to in the New Testament omit any such references.

It is very probable that Christianity took over this element from Judaism. The first Christians, being Jewish, were accustomed to the worship of the Temple and Synagogue. In the Temple, after the preparations for the morning burnt offering, the priests would go to the Chamber of Hewn Stones (which served as the Temple Synagogue) for a service of prayer; this gathering began with the leader's words: "Recite ye a Benediction!", with which the congregation did respond, followed by the Decalogue and the Shema ;<sup>2</sup> according to Cohon,<sup>3</sup> this "Benediction" or Call to Worship was modelled after the call of the Levites in the assembly of Ezra-Nehemiah (Neh. 9:5).<sup>4</sup> Box observes,

---

<sup>1</sup>Book of Common Order, pp. 11,18,24,30,37,43,50,56,61,66,70,75,80,84,105,111,124,134,149.

<sup>2</sup>Tamid 5:1.

<sup>3</sup>S.S. Cohon, "Synagogue", HDB, Second Edition, p. 945.

<sup>4</sup>C.W. Dugmore (The Influence of the Synagogue upon the Divine Office, p. 12) agrees that this opening versicle is derived from Nehemiah 9:5 (cf. Ecclesiasticus 45:25; 50:22) but notes that in the Mishnah (Berakoth 7:3), R. Ishmael gives the wording of this initial Benediction as "Bless ye the Lord who is to be blessed" in contrast to R. Akiba who shortens it to "Bless ye the Lord".

however, that the leader's opening words may possibly mean merely "Begin the liturgical service".<sup>1</sup>

Similarly, Snaith points out that in New Testament times, the Synagogue service began with an "invitation to Prayer" which "consisted of a Blessing and then the Shema".<sup>2</sup>

Although the Shema<sup>3</sup> was fixed and constituted a kind of Creed,<sup>3</sup> nevertheless its use in the Temple and Synagogue (plus that of the Decalogue in the Temple) shows that the early Jewish Christians were familiar with the citing of Scripture at the beginning of their worship.

Each Christian service would have some kind of a beginning and it is not unreasonable to assume that this introduction would initially be patterned after the Jewish model, but later be expanded, so that other Scriptures were incorporated as "Calls to worship" or "Calls to Prayer".

Dix<sup>4</sup> refers to the "Opening greeting by the officiant and reply of the church" as the first element in the "original unchanging outline of the Christian synaxis everywhere" and offers the following elucidation of it:

This was in a sense only a polite method of "calling the meeting to order" and indicating that proceedings were about to begin. . . . It is found all over Christendom in one of two forms: "The Lord be with you", or "Peace be unto

<sup>1</sup>G.H. Box, "Worship (Hebrew)" ERE, XII, p. 793; cf. C.W. Dugmore (ibid.) who observes that the invocation "Bless ye the Lord who is to be blessed" was probably an "established formula for calling the people to prayer".

<sup>2</sup>N.H. Snaith, "Worship in the Old Testament", A Companion to the Bible, Second Edition, ed. H.H. Rowley, p. 545.

<sup>3</sup>cf. below pp.155-6.

<sup>4</sup>G. Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy, p. 38; cf. ibid, pp. 443-70.

you" (or "to all"). Both are of Jewish origin (cf. Ruth 2:4, John 20:19) and came into Christian use from the beginning. . . . The reply of the church, "And with thy spirit", suggests by its "semitic parallelism" that it, too, came originally from Jewish usage, of which there may be an echo in II Tim. 4:22.<sup>1</sup>

It would seem, therefore, that the "Calls to Worship" and "Calls to Prayer" parts of the worship of the Christian Church were adopted and adapted from Judaism. Conclusive Biblical and patristic evidence is lacking, (in spite of Milligan's claim), for so opening services of Christian worship. Nevertheless, the Jewish practice of citing Scripture at the beginning of their liturgies in the Temple and Synagogue, and the presence of a "Call to Prayer" (or "Call to Worship") in the words of Scripture in later Christian Orders of Service, lead the writer to conclude that this element, (if not always the wording), was taken over by the Christian Church from Jewish worship.

b) "Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs"<sup>2</sup>

At every service set forth in the Book of Common Order, provision is made for songs of praise - Psalms, Paraphrases,<sup>3</sup> Hymns, and Canticles.<sup>4</sup> Since Milligan has claimed Biblical warrant for the complete contents of these Orders, it is necessary to determine the extent to which the

<sup>1</sup>G. Dix, ibid., p. 38.

<sup>2</sup>cf. Ephesians 5:19 and Colossians 3:16.

<sup>3</sup>For the purposes of this discussion, the writer will not treat the Paraphrases as a separate category; he will include them as part of the material covered by the term "hymn".

<sup>4</sup>The writer does not give the individual page references in the Book of Common Order where congregational singing is enjoined; the Morning, Evening and Children's Orders each suggest at least four such occasions.

Scriptures and Fathers support this practice of singing in worship.

It may be wise to point out that some of the passages subsequently discussed in the sections on Ascriptions,<sup>1</sup> Creeds,<sup>2</sup> and Prayers<sup>3</sup> might equally be considered in this context; the early Christians were not as "category-conscious" as some present liturgical scholars tend to make them; the same words could be used for different purposes in the primitive Christian Church.

The first Christians were familiar with songs in worship, particularly the Psalms, from the Temple and Synagogue. In his discussion of Hebrew and Jewish Hymns, G. Margoliouth mentions some which are found in the Old Testament and Intertestamental literature, but stresses the fact that "the Book of Psalms is the great hymnal treasury of the ancient Hebrew Ecclesia, or Church".<sup>4</sup>

The Mishnah prescribes the special Psalm for each day of the week, which the Levites sang in the Temple:

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. below pp. 213-6.

<sup>2</sup>cf. below pp. 135-59.

<sup>3</sup>cf. below pp. 159-99.

<sup>4</sup>G. Margoliouth, "Hymns (Hebrew and Jewish)", ERE, VII, p. 43; cf. N. Snaith who entitles his study of the Psalter Hymns of the Temple; J. Paterson, The Praises of Israel: Studies Literary and Religious in the Psalms; H.H. Guthrie, Jr., Israel's Sacred Songs, who derives his content almost entirely from the Psalms; C. Westermann, The Praises of God in the Psalms, trans. K.R. Crim; E.A. Leslie, The Psalms, who classifies many of the Psalms as "Hymns" or "Songs"; G.S. Gunn, Singers of Israel, which deals with the Psalms; E.G. Hirsch, "Psalms", JE, X, p. 244; W.O.E. Oosterley, The Psalms in the Jewish Church, especially pp. 110 ff.; \_\_\_\_\_, The Psalms, I; \_\_\_\_\_, A Fresh Approach to the Psalms; \_\_\_\_\_, The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy, pp. 73-6; A. Edersheim, The Temple: Its Ministry and Services, pp. 171-3; S. Mowinckel, The Psalms in Israel's Worship, I,II, trans. D.R. Ap -Thomas.

On the first day they sang The earth is the Lord's and all that therein is, the round world and they that dwell therein [Psalm 24]; on the second day they sang Great is the Lord and highly to be praised in the city of our God, even upon his holy hill [Psalm 48]; on the third day they sang God standeth in the congregation of God, he is a judge among the gods [Psalm 82]; on the fourth day they sang O Lord God to whom vengeance belongeth show thyself [Psalm 94]; on the fifth day they sang Sing we merrily unto God our strength, make a cheerful noise unto the God of Jacob [Psalm 81]; on the sixth day they sang The Lord is king, and hath put on glorious apparel [Psalm 93]; On the Sabbath they sang A Psalm: a Song for the Sabbath Day [Psalm 92]; a Psalm, a song for the time that is to come, for the day that shall be all Sabbath and rest in the life everlasting (Tamid 7:4).

For the various festivals also, the Jews designated certain Psalms, of which the most important was the Hallel-Psalms 113-8; it was sung at the Feasts of Passover, Tabernacles, Weeks, Dedication and New Moons.<sup>1</sup> Additional information about the proper Psalms for the different festivals occurs in the tractate Sopherim, especially chapters 17, 18 and 19.<sup>2</sup>

In addition the Psalms may well have been sung in the Synagogue service at the time of Christ. E.G. Hirsch writes:

In the synagogues the Psalms were chanted antiphonally, the congregation repeating after every verse chanted by the precentor the first verse of the psalm in question. "Halleluyah" was the word with which the congregation was invited to take part in this chanting. Hence it originally prefaced the Psalms, not, as in the Masoretic text, coming at the end. At the conclusion of the psalm the "makre" or precentor added a doxology ending with וְאָמַר אָמֵן ("and say ye Amen"), whereupon the congregation replied "Amen, Amen".<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. W.O.E. Oesterley, The Psalms in the Jewish Church, pp. 120-5.

<sup>2</sup>cf. H. St. John Thackeray, The Septuagint and Jewish Worship p.46, who calls this tractate "our fullest extant authority" for the festival Psalms, and then continues to cite its evidence for the various feasts; E.G. Hirsch, ibid.; W.O.E. Oesterley, The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy, pp. 74-5.

<sup>3</sup>E.G. Hirsch, op. cit., pp. 247-8.

On the other hand, Mowinckel<sup>1</sup> discounts the view that the Psalms were sung in the Synagogue prior to mediaeval times.

Whether or not the Psalms formed part of the Synagogue service when Christ came, no one disputes the fact that they were sung in Hebrew worship at that time. It was logical, therefore, that the Christian Church should continue this tradition of singing in its corporate worship.

The writer wishes now to examine the New Testament and patristic evidence for the existence and liturgical usage of each of the various kinds of songs referred to in the Book of Common Order - Psalms; Hymns (and Paraphrases); and Canticles.

#### A) Psalms

Several passages in the New Testament suggest the use of Psalms. Matthew 26:30 and Mark 14:26 reads: "And when they had sung a hymn, they went out to the Mount of Olives". The writer will later demonstrate his conviction that in Matthew and Mark this meal at which the Institution of the Lord's Supper took place was the Passover.<sup>2</sup> If this view is valid, then the "hymn" mentioned here would almost certainly be the second part of the Hallel-Psalms 114 (or 115) to 118 and 136.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>S. Mowinckel, op. cit., I, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup>cf. below pp. 360-84.

<sup>3</sup>e.g. S.E. Johnson, Matthew(IB, VII), p. 576; \_\_\_\_\_, Mark(Black) p. 232; W. Barclay, Matthew, II (DSB), p. 378; \_\_\_\_\_, Mark(DSB), pp. 355-6; K. Stendahl, Matthew(New Peake), p. 795; A.W. Argyle, Matthew (Cambridge), p. 198; F.V. Filson, Matthew(Black) p. 277; E.P. Gould, Mark(ICC), p. 266; F.C. Grant, Mark(IB, VII), p. 878; B.H. Branscomb, Mark(Koffatt) p. 264-5; R.McL. Wilson, Mark(New Peake), p. 816; C.F.D. Moule, Mark(Cambridge), p. 116; C.S. Phillips, Hymnody Past and Present pp. 11-2; M. Patrick, The Story of the Church's Song, pp. 16-7; E.E. Ryden, The Story of Christian Hymnody, p. 3.

While this gathering of Jesus and the disciples was not strictly speaking a public one, nevertheless, it was corporate; also, as the Passover, it had a liturgical significance. Therefore, the writer believes that this reference is a valid New Testament witness to the use of the Psalter in worship.

In Ephesians 5:18-9 the author urges them to "be filled with the Spirit addressing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody to the Lord with all your heart". Similarly, the Colossians (3:16) are exhorted to "sing psalms and hymns and spiritual songs with thankfulness in your hearts to God".

Many scholars state or imply that the "psalms" of these quotations refer to those of the Old Testament;<sup>1</sup> even some who hold that such an interpretation is an undue restriction agree that the canonical Psalms are probably included in the term.<sup>2</sup> Although neither passage is given an explicitly liturgical setting, the writer agrees with Lamb that undoubtedly they both "are applicable to common worship, for Christians, filled with the Spirit, should express their joy, not only in private, not only in family groups, but above all in the fellowship of common prayer".<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>e.g. G.H.P. Thompson, Ephesians and Colossians(Cambridge), pp. 81, 155; G. Johnston, Ephesians(New Century), p. 23; C.W. Dugmore, The Influence of the Synagogue upon the Divine Office, p. 80; E.E. Ryden, op. cit., p. 4; W.O.E. Oesterley, A Fresh Approach to the Psalms, p. 178; \_\_\_\_\_, The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy, p. 148.

<sup>2</sup>e.g. C.F.D. Moule, Worship in the New Testament, p. 69; J.B. Lightfoot, St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon, p. 225; W. Lock, "Hymn", DB, II, pp. 440-1; \_\_\_\_\_, Ephesians(Westminster) p. 60; J.A. Lamb, The Psalms in Christian Worship, pp. 19-20; L.B. Radford, Colossians(Westminster), p. 285; H.G.C. Moule, Colossians(CBSC), pp. 129-30; \_\_\_\_\_, Ephesians(CBSC), p. 136.

<sup>3</sup>J.A. Lamb, ibid., p. 19.

Besides these specific references to the Psalms, it may be noted that the early Christians - both the writers and the speakers whose words are reported - appear to have had a detailed knowledge of the Psalter.<sup>1</sup> Almost certainly this familiarity would come from the public worship of the Temple and Synagogue, which the Jewish Christians continued to attend; there can be little doubt that later, when the Christians were forced to meet separately, they incorporated their accustomed use of the Psalms into their gatherings.

There is unequivocal evidence for the use of Psalms in Christian worship at the end of the second century,<sup>2</sup> and two interpretations of this fact are possible: either the Christians discontinued for a while the use of the Psalter in their worship, but subsequently returned to the primitive practice; or, the Jewish liturgical use of the Psalms continued without interruption in the Christian Church. The present writer believes that the second alternative is much more plausible; he would conclude, therefore, that the New Testament does provide sufficient, though in a sense slight, warrant for the use of Psalms in Christian worship.

There are also some patristic references which witness to the presence of Psalms in public worship. Numerous quotations from the Psalter, and passages which reflect its ideas and language occur in

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. e.g. C.A. Briggs and E.G. Briggs, Psalms, I (ICC), ci-ii for a list of Psalm references in the New Testament.

<sup>2</sup>cf. below pp. 87-9.

the Apostolic Fathers;<sup>1</sup> according to Lamb,<sup>2</sup> I Clement and the Epistle of Barnabas contain thirty-four and sixteen respectively.<sup>3</sup> This widespread familiarity with the Psalms came no doubt through their use in corporate worship. The same may be said about the writings of Justin and Irenaeus, both of whom display an extensive knowledge of the Psalms.<sup>4</sup> Although neither explicitly mentions the use of the Psalter in public worship,<sup>5</sup> it is hard to avoid the conclusion that they are testifying indirectly to this practice by quoting or reflecting it so often.

The Apocryphal Acts of Paul<sup>6</sup> has a fragment which mentions the "psalms of David" (9) in connection with the Eucharist; evidently they came after "every one took the bread". Although this document is heretical, it may well reflect current liturgical practices, which would

<sup>1</sup>Besides those mentioned in subsequent footnotes, the writer detects the following: Didache 3:7; 12:1; Ignatius, Ephesians 15:1; Magnesians 13:1; Polycarp, Second Epistle to the Philippians 12:1; Pastor of Hermas, Visions 1:1,2; 2:1,2,3; 3:4,9,11; 4:1,2; Commandments 1; 5:2; 9; 12:3,4,6; Similitudes 1.

<sup>2</sup>J.A. Lamb, op. cit., p. 25.

<sup>3</sup>The writer detects a Psalter reference only in the following places: I Clement 14:4,5; 15:2,3,4,5; 16:15; 18:1,2; 22:1; 26:2; 27:7; 28:3; 35:6; 36:3,4; 46:3; 48:2; 50:6; 52:2,3,4; 54:3; 56:3; 59:3,4; 61:2; Epistle of Barnabas 2:10; 5:13; 6:4,6,15,16; 9:1,2; 10:10; 11:5,6-7; 12:10.

<sup>4</sup>The writer finds the following references to the Psalms in their writings: Justin, Apology, I.35,38,40,41,45,51,54; Dialogue with Trypho, 28,30,32,34,36,37,39,42,55,56,63,64,69,79,85,86,88,97,103,110,114,118,121,122,124,127,141. Irenaeus, Against Heresies, I.14.9; 22.1; II.2.5; 20.3; 28.7; 30.1; 34.3; III.5.1; 6.1,3; 8.3; 9.2; 10.1.2.3.5; 11.8; 12.1,2; 16.2,3; 17.2; 18.5; 19.2; 22.2,4; 23.7; IV.2.1; 3.1; 4.3; 5.2; 9.1; 11.3; 17.1,3; 20.8; 21.3; 28.1; 31.2; 33.1,11,12,13; 36.2,6,8; 38.4; 39.2; 41.1,2,3; V.7.1; 8.3; 17.2; 18.3; 21.2; 31.2; 33.1.

<sup>5</sup>J.A. Lamb (op. cit., p. 26) notes the possibility that, by the time of Irenaeus, the term "hymn" (which Irenaeus does use, cf. below p.121) included, or even sometimes specifically denoted, a Psalm; cf. Irenaeus, Against Heresies, IV.9.2.

<sup>6</sup>Dated by M.R. James, The Apocryphal New Testament, p. 270, about A.D.160.

include, therefore, the use of the Psalter.

Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian refer clearly to the corporate singing of Psalms. In his discussion of the proper conduct at feasts, Clement quotes from Psalm 150:3 - "Praise Him on the psaltery"<sup>1</sup> - and goes on to urge that the first manifestation of love to God be "in thanksgiving and psalmody" (The Instructor II.4). In the same passage, he cites Paul's words from Colossians 3:16 about "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs", adding the comment: "For the psalm is a melodious and sober blessing. The apostle calls the psalm 'a spiritual song'". Similarly, in The Miscellanies Clement refers to the Psalms; he instructs that each member of the household of faith should "according to the blessed David, sing, giving thanks" (I.1); he then proceeds to quote Psalm 51:7-12. In a later portion of this same work, Clement observes that part of the Gnostic's devotion consists of "psalms and hymns during meals and before bed" (VII.7). Each of these references implies that the use of the Psalms is a group activity; while Clement does not state explicitly that the Psalms formed part of a public service, these excerpts appear to point to such a usage.

The evidence of Tertullian is more specific. In his Treatise On Prayer he mentions that those who are "more diligent in prayer are wont to subjoin in their prayers the 'Hallelujah', and such kind of psalms" (27); a footnote indicates that the "Hallelujah" may be a reference to the last five Psalms known as "the great Hallelujah"; in the next chapter of this Treatise, Tertullian notes the "psalms and hymns" (28) amid which the prayers of the faithful are escorted to God's altar. In To His Wife Tertullian refers to the "psalms and

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. KJV rendering.

hymns" (II.8) which echo between the two partners in Christian marriage. Tertullian's De Anima states that "the chanting of psalms" (9) formed part of the services of public worship. His Exhortation to Chastity comments about the man deprived of his wife: "If he is singing a psalm, he satisfies himself" (10). In his Treatise On Fasting Tertullian cites Psalm 133:1 - "See, how good and how enjoyable for brethren to dwell in unity!" - and adds the significant remark: "This psalm you know not easily how to sing, except when you are supping with a goodly company!" Tertullian's work Against Marcion (III.22) indicates that the members of the congregation use Psalms 21 and 67<sup>1</sup> in giving praise to the Lord. Most of these passages from Tertullian have either an explicit or implicit reference to public worship; and those which do not, at least furnish evidence for the singing of the Psalms.

The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus also furnishes evidence for the liturgical use of the Psalter. The Ethiopic version of chapter 26 discusses, as Easton<sup>2</sup> notes, the prelude to a congregational Agape; part of it reads:

Then, rising up after supper, the children and virgins having prayed, they shall sing psalms. Then the deacon, holding the mixed cup of the offering, shall say a Hallelujah Psalm.<sup>3</sup> Then, the presbyter having commanded, "And also such-and-such Psalms", after the bishop has offered the cup with the proper thanksgiving, all shall say "Hallelujah" as the Psalms are sung. . . . Then, when the Psalm is completed, he shall give thanks over the bread, and shall give the fragments to all the believers.

---

<sup>1</sup>Tertullian actually quotes from Psalm 22:22,25, and Psalm 68:26 - KJV and RSV numbering.

<sup>2</sup>B.S. Easton, The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus, p. 59.

<sup>3</sup>B.S. Easton (ibid., n.2) observes that in Ethiopic use the Hallelujah Psalms are 104-106; 134-135; 145-150.

In this passage Hippolytus sets the use of Psalms clearly within a context of corporate worship.

Thus it may be concluded that the provision for the singing of Psalms, which the Book of Common Order makes in its services, has an adequate Biblical and patristic basis.

### B) Hymns (and Paraphrases)

In addition to the Psalms, the early Christians sang "hymns and spiritual songs". This new element in their worship was inevitable; as Ryden writes:

The psalms had their limitations from the Christian point of view, since the language of the Old Testament was inadequate to describe the glories of a completed redemption. The divine nature of Christ, as well as the whole Christian concept of the Holy Trinity, demanded a new approach to worship. Only by giving expression to their faith in a crucified, risen and glorified Saviour could the first Christians find a form of worship that satisfied their souls.<sup>1</sup>

Most scholars agree that there are fragments of distinctively Christian hymns embedded in the New Testament.<sup>2</sup> Martin encourages the search for such examples and suggests the following criteria:

the presence of introductory formulas (as in Eph. 5:14; I Tim. 3:16); the use of a rhythmical style and an unusual vocabulary which are different from the style and language of the surrounding context of the letter in which the verses appear; the presence of theological concepts (especially Christological doctrines) which are expressed in language which is exalted and liturgical; and the setting of certain passages in a cultic milieu (for example, the baptismal motifs are clear in Eph. 5:14).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>E.E. Ryden, op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>2</sup>The writer does not pause at this point to document this statement; the names of those who agree will emerge as he studies the individual passages.

<sup>3</sup>R.P. Martin, Carmen Christi, pp. 18-9.

On the basis of these guide-lines Martin<sup>1</sup> proposes the following classification for New Testament hymns:

- i) the Lukan canticles;
- ii) hymns in the Apocalypse;
- iii) Jewish-Christian fragments and ejaculations ('Amēn, Hallelûjah, Hôsa 'na, Mārānâ thâ, 'Abbâ);
- iv) distinctively Christian forms.

This fourth section, Martin, (making the point that some hymns may be placed in more than one category), subdivides as follows:

- a) sacramental (Eph. 5:14; Tit. 3:4-7); (with hesitation Rom. 6:1-11; Eph. 2:19-22;
- b) meditative (Eph. 1:3-14; Rom. 8:31-9; I Cor. 13);
- c) confessional (I Tim. 6:11-6; II Tim. 2:11-3);
- d) Christological (Heb. 1:3; Col. 1:15-20; I Tim. 3:16; John 1:1-14; I Pet. 1:18-21; 2:21-5; 3:18-21; Phil. 2:6-11).<sup>2</sup>

The writer will deal with the Lukan canticles in the next section of this chapter;<sup>3</sup> the hymns of the Book of Revelation will be cited in the section on Prayers;<sup>4</sup> the writer would note in passing their strong liturgical tone and suggest again the impossibility of making distinct categories for the worship material of the New Testament; with respect to Martin's third class of hymns, the writer will discuss the 'Amēn under

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>cf. below pp. 129-32.

<sup>4</sup>cf. below pp. 160-2.

Congregational Responses;<sup>1</sup> "Hallelu-jah" appears only in Revelation 19:1-8 (4 times), which passage is included in the discussion on Prayers,<sup>2</sup> as are also "Mārānā thā"<sup>3</sup> and "Abbā";<sup>4</sup> Hōśa'na is found in the Orders of Service for the Lord's Supper, and will be dealt with in that context.<sup>5</sup>

Having made these clarifications, the writer wishes now to comment on each of the passages which Martin calls "distinctively Christian" hymns, as well as certain additional ones which either are hymns themselves or provide evidence for the existence of the same; for the sake of convenience, these references will be dealt with in the order in which they appear in the New Testament; in so doing the writer is mindful of two facts: first, Martin has divided them into four types;<sup>6</sup> but secondly, he has agreed that his classification is not infallible.

i) John 1:1-18

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. He was in the beginning with God; all things were made through him, and without him was not anything made that was made. In him was life, and the life was the light of men. The light shines in the darkness, and the darkness has not overcome it.

There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. He came for testimony, to bear witness to the light, that all might believe through him. He was not the light, but came to bear witness to the light.

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. below pp. 199-203.

<sup>2</sup>cf. below p. 162.

<sup>3</sup>cf. below pp. 170-1, 173.

<sup>4</sup>cf. below pp. 195-9.

<sup>5</sup>cf. below pp. 428-9.

<sup>6</sup>Sacramental, meditative, confessional and Christological.

The true light that enlightens every man was coming into the world. He was in the world, and the world was made through him, yet the world knew him not. He came to his own home, and his own people received him not. But to all who received him, who believed in his name, he gave power to become children of God; who were born, not of blood nor of the will of the flesh nor of the will of man, but of God.

And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth; we have beheld his glory, glory as of the only Son from the Father. (John bore witness to him and cried, "This was he of whom I said, 'He who comes after me ranks before me, for he was before me.'") And from his fulness have we all received, grace upon grace. For the law was given through Moses; grace and truth came through Jesus Christ. No one has ever seen God; the only Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he has made him known.

Some commentators,<sup>1</sup> noting the poetical structure of this Prologue,<sup>2</sup> suggest that it is a hymn, possibly of Aramaic origin, in which the Christian doctrine of the Logos is set forth in language reminiscent of the Septuagint, Proverbs, the Wisdom of Solomon and Ecclesiasticus. It is impossible to say with certainty whether this passage was ever used as a hymn in Christian worship; but if it was not, at least it serves as an illustration of the kind of hymnody which emerged in the Apostolic age.<sup>3</sup>

ii) Acts 2:47

In this verse Luke indicates that the early Christians were "praising God and having favor with all the people". Almost certainly part of

---

<sup>1</sup>e.g. J. Rendel Harris, The Origin of the Prologue to St. John's Gospel; J.H. Bernard, John I (ICC), p.1; W.H. Howard, John (IB, VIII), p. 445; G.H.C. Macgregor, John (Loffatt), p. 3; C.F. Burney, The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel, pp. 28-43; R.H. Lightfoot, St. John's Gospel, ed. C.F. Evans, pp. 78-88.

<sup>2</sup>Apart from two prose parentheses at verses 6-8 and 15.

<sup>3</sup>G. Delling (Worship in the New Testament, trans. P. Scott, p. 90) notes the view of W.H. Raney (The Relation of the Fourth Gospel to the Christian Cultus, p. 12) that, in addition to John 1:1-18, John 10:1-18; 3:16-21, 31-36; 17:1-26; 15:1-27; 16:1-33; and 14:1-31 should be considered as prose hymns sung in public worship; this writer believes that Delling properly challenges Raney's contention.

this "praising" would be done through the singing of hymns; Luke has just mentioned acts of corporate worship (Acts 2:42,46), which also may be the setting for their praise. M.H. Shepherd, Jr., cites this verse as a reference to "song in the church's worship of NT times".<sup>1</sup>

iii) Acts 16:25

But about midnight Paul and Silas were praying and singing hymns to God.

Although in prison, Paul and Silas were singing praises to God. Although this passage does not have specifically a context of public worship, it does lead on into the Sacrament of Baptism; at any rate, it witnesses to the existence of Christian hymns.

iv) Romans 3:10-8

None is righteous, no, not one;  
 No one understands, no one seeks for God.  
 All have turned aside, together they have gone wrong;  
 no one does good, not even one.  
 Their throat is an open grave,  
 they use their tongues to deceive.  
 The venom of asps is under their lips.  
 Their mouth is full of curses and bitterness.  
 Their feet are swift to shed blood,  
 in their paths are ruin and misery,  
 and the way of peace they do not know.  
 There is no fear of God before their eyes.

Paul here strings together a collection of Old Testament texts, quoted somewhat inaccurately from Psalms 14:1-3 (=Psalm 53:1-3); 5:9; 140:3; 10:7; Isa. 59:7-8; and Psalm 36:1. E. Best notes that the poetic structure of this catena suggests three verses of a hymn, and states that Paul may be "making use of part of an early Christian hymn".<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>M.H. Shepherd, Jr., "Hymns", IDB, II, p. 668.

<sup>2</sup>E. Best, Romans(Cambridge), p. 37; C.K. Barrett, (Romans(Black), p. 69) however, notes that Paul may be quoting from an "already existing florilegium".

## v) Romans 6:1-11

What shall we say then? Are we to continue in sin that grace may abound? By no means! How can we who died to sin still live in it? Do you not know that all of us who have been baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? We were buried therefore with him by baptism into death, so that as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, we too might walk in newness of life.

For if we have been united with him in a death like his, we shall certainly be united with him in a resurrection like his. We know that our old self was crucified with him so that the sinful body might be destroyed, and we might no longer be enslaved to sin. For he who has died is freed from sin. But if we have died with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with him. For we know that Christ being raised from the dead will never die again; death no longer has dominion over him. The death he died he died to sin, once for all, but the life he lives he lives to God. So you also must consider yourselves dead to sin and alive to God in Christ Jesus.

Personally, the writer can see why Martin calls this passage a hymn "with hesitation";<sup>1</sup> certainly its subject matter - Baptism - is an occasion of public worship; but the writer finds in these verses no hint of hymnic praise; apart from Martin, very few commentators point to Romans 6:1-11 as a possible Christian song. A.M. Hunter notes the "rhythm and parallelism, even homoioteleuton"<sup>2</sup> of these words; but he rejects the suggestion of David Smith<sup>3</sup> that they are an early Christian hymn. Martin<sup>4</sup> cites the support of O. Michel,<sup>5</sup> who believes that Paul is making

---

<sup>1</sup>R.P. Martin, Carmen Christi, p. 19; cf. \_\_\_\_\_, "Aspects of Worship in the New Testament Church" (hereafter abbreviated to "Aspects . . ."), Vox Evangelica, II, 1963, p. 19, where he notes that the inclusion of Romans 6:1-11 as a sacramental hymn is "very debatable".

<sup>2</sup>A.M. Hunter, Paul and his Predecessors, Revised, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup>D. Smith, The Life and Letters of St. Paul, p. 411.

<sup>4</sup>R.P. Martin, "Aspects . . .", Vox Evangelica, II, 1963, p.30, n59.

<sup>5</sup>O. Michel, Römerbrief, p. 131.

use of a traditional baptismal hymn or liturgy, but the writer finds this view unconvincing.

vi) Romans 8:31-9

What then shall we say to this? If God is for us, who is against us? He who did not spare his own Son but gave him up for us all, will he not also give us all things with him? Who shall bring any charge against God's elect? It is God who justifies; who is to condemn? Is it Christ Jesus, who died, yes, who was raised from the dead, who is at the right hand of God, who indeed intercedes for us? Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? As it is written,

"For thy sake we are being killed all the day long;  
we are regarded as sheep to be slaughtered."

No, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him who loved us. For I am sure that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor anything else in all creation, will be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord.

Dodd calls these words "a meditation,<sup>1</sup> in the spirit of prophecy";<sup>2</sup>

Best goes further and comments that in their "language and rhythm these verses sound like a hymn";<sup>3</sup> Barclay seems to agree, observing that Paul continues "with a poet's fervour and a lover's rapture to sing<sup>4</sup> of how nothing can separate us from the love of God in our Risen Lord".<sup>5</sup>

It is impossible to determine whether this song was intended for use in

<sup>1</sup>cf. R.P. Martin Carmen Christi, p. 19, who classifies them as a "meditative" hymn; cf. \_\_\_\_\_ "Aspects . . .", Vox Evangelica, II, 1963, pp. 19,20 where he also terms Romans 8:31-9 one of the "hymn-like meditations."

<sup>2</sup>C.H. Dodd, Romans(Moffatt), p. 140.

<sup>3</sup>E. Best, Romans(Cambridge), p. 102.

<sup>4</sup>Underlining mine.

<sup>5</sup>W. Barclay, Romans(DSB), p. 121.

corporate worship, but its themes are the same as those contained in recognized New Testament hymns.

vii) Romans 9:33 (cf. I Peter 2:6,8)

Behold, I am laying in Zion a stone that will make men stumble,  
a rock that will make them fall;  
and he who believes in him will not be put to shame.

Paul here quotes from the LXX of Isaiah 28:16 and 8:14,15; Massey Shepherd, Jr., places this cento in the "tradition of psalmody, inspired by the religious poetry of the OT".<sup>1</sup> Instead of thinking of this passage as a song, the writer prefers to consider it part of a "common collection of O.T. texts which had proved valuable in the presentation of the Christian message",<sup>2</sup> and which, if used in public worship, would be spoken rather than sung.

viii) Romans 11:33-5

O the depths of the riches and wisdom and knowledge of God!  
How unsearchable are his judgments and how inscrutable his ways!  
"For who has known the mind of the Lord,  
Or who has been his counselor?"  
"Or who has given a gift to him that he might be repaid?"

Martin terms this passage one of the "Jewish-Christian fragments of hymnic praise"<sup>3</sup>. Many commentators<sup>4</sup> link these three verses with verse 36 - "For from him and through him and to him are all things. To him be glory for ever. Amen" - and call the whole section an

<sup>1</sup>M.H. Shepherd, Jr., "Hymns", IDB, II, p. 668.

<sup>2</sup>J. Knox, Romans(IB,IX), p. 553; cf. C.H. Dodd, Romans(Moffatt), p. 163, who cites the support of Rendel Harris, Testimonies, I, pp. 18-19, 26-32; C.K. Barrett, Romans(Black), p. 194; A.M. Hunter, Paul and his Predecessors, Revised, pp. 63-4.

<sup>3</sup>R.P. Martin, Worship in the Early Church, p. 46.

<sup>4</sup>T.W. Manson, Romans(New Peake) p. 949; A.E. Garvie, Romans(Century), pp. 254-5; W. Sanday and A.C. Headlam, Romans(ICC), pp. 359-40.

Ascription or a Doxology;<sup>1</sup> certainly the note of praise to the All-Wise and Almighty Lord is sounded throughout the four verses, and it is perhaps not legitimate to consider verses 33-5 as a separate hymn. The Ascription of verse 36 tends to give this entire passage a liturgical tone.

ix) Romans 15:9 (cf. Psalm 18:49)

As it is written,

"Therefore I will praise thee among the Gentiles, and sing to thy name".

Barclay cites this verse as evidence that "the early Church was a singing Church".<sup>2</sup> Although this verse does not represent an actual hymn, except perhaps insofar as Psalm 18:49 (from which it is virtually a quotation) was sung in worship, it does point to the singing of praises as one of the ways in which the Gentiles might "glorify God".

x) I Corinthians 13

If I speak in the tongues of men and of angels, but have not love, I am a noisy gong or a clanging cymbal. And if I have prophetic powers, and understand all mysteries and all knowledge, and if I have all faith, so as to remove mountains, but have not love, I am nothing. If I give away all I have, and if I deliver my body to be burned, but have not love, I gain nothing.

Love is patient and kind; love is not jealous or boastful; it is not arrogant or rude. Love does not insist on its own way; it is not irritable or resentful; it does not rejoice at wrong, but rejoices in the right. Love bears all things, believes all things, hopes all things, endures all things.

Love never ends; as for prophecy, it will pass away; as for tongues, they will cease; as for knowledge, it will pass

<sup>1</sup>cf. below pp. 213-6.

<sup>2</sup>W. Barclay, James(DSB), p. 150.

away. For our knowledge is imperfect; but when the perfect comes, the imperfect will pass away. When I was a child, I spoke like a child, I thought like a child, I reasoned like a child; when I became a man, I gave up childish ways. For now we see in a mirror dimly, but then face to face. Now I know in part; then I shall understand fully, even as I have been fully understood. So faith, hope, love abide, these three; but the greatest of these is love.

This chapter has often been described as a psalm or hymn of love but the writer does not believe that this terminology should be taken literally; it does have a rhythmical, though irregular, structure, but its mood is instructive as well as lyrical. Martin classifies I Corinthian 13 as a meditative hymn;<sup>1</sup> but he writes elsewhere that it would be rash to say that it, along with Ephesians 1:3-14 and Romans 8:31-9 (to which he gives the same description) "are to be identified as Christian hymns, used in Divine service, unless we are prepared to give . . . the name of hymn to any New Testament passages of poetic and lyrical structure".<sup>2</sup> The writer agrees that I Corinthians 13, in spite of its exalted style, language and message, is probably not a hymn intended to be sung in corporate worship.

xi) I Corinthians 14:15;26

I will sing with the spirit and I will sing with the mind also (15). When you come together, each one has a hymn (26).

It may well be, as Craig<sup>3</sup> suggests, that the word "sing" in I Corinthians 14:15 anticipates the "hymn" of verse 26; for this reason the writer has grouped these two passages together.

<sup>1</sup>R.P. Martin, Carmen Christi, p. 19;

<sup>2</sup>R.P. Martin, "Aspects . . .", Vox Evangelica, II, 1963, p. 20; Martin does note (ibid., p. 30, n64) that W.H. Raney (The Relation of the Fourth Gospel to the Christian Cultus, p. 18) has such a broad definition of a canonical hymn, but he agrees with G. Delling (op. cit., p. 89, n.3) who questions it.

<sup>3</sup>C.T. Craig, I Corinthians (IB, X), p. 165.

The fact that the KJV renders ψαλμὸν of verse 26 "psalm" leads some scholars<sup>1</sup> to take it as an Old Testament Psalm, but the majority<sup>2</sup> interpret it to mean a new, distinctively Christian, hymn.

In these two verses the indication appears to be that the singing is individual rather than congregational; but also, it must be noted that Paul does place these contributions of song - by each member of the congregation who felt so inspired - within a setting of corporate worship. Lamb, however, feels that "it is possible that the individual might act in this as leader in song, and that the others would join in or make responses upon occasion".<sup>3</sup>

xii) Ephesians 1:3-14

Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has blessed us in Christ with every spiritual blessing in the heavenly places, even as he chose us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and blameless before him. He destined us in love to be his sons through Jesus Christ, according to the purpose of his will, to the praise of his glorious grace which he freely bestowed on us in the Beloved. In him we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of our trespasses, according to the riches of his grace which he lavished upon us. For he has made known to us in all wisdom and insight the mystery of his will, according to his purpose which he set forth in Christ as a plan for the fulness of time, to unite all things in him, things in heaven and things on earth.

In him, according to the purpose of him who accomplishes all things according to the counsel of his will, we who first hoped in Christ have been destined and appointed to live for the praise of his glory. In him you also, who have heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation, and have believed in him, were sealed with the promised Holy Spirit,

---

<sup>1</sup>e.g. W.O.E. Oesterley, The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy, p. 148; J.A. Lamb, op. cit., p. 18.

<sup>2</sup>e.g. C.T. Craig, ibid., p. 208; J. Moffatt, I Corinthians (Moffatt), p. 226; C.K. Barrett, I Corinthians (Black), p. 327; F. Godet, Commentary on St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, II, trans. A. Cusin, p. 298.

<sup>3</sup>J.A. Lamb, ibid., p. 19; the fact that Lamb takes ψαλμὸν to mean an Old Testament Psalm does not invalidate his comment for this context.

which is the guarantee of our inheritance until we acquire possession of it, to the praise of his glory.

A number of commentators<sup>1</sup> believe that this section is a hymn. But George Johnston who terms it a "Jubilate or Doxology" remarks that perhaps it is a "prayer rather than a song"<sup>2</sup>; similarly, E.F. Scott notes "the impressive character of the language, which is that of a prayer or hymn rather than an epistle".<sup>3</sup>

Johnston<sup>4</sup> divides these verses into six strophes: 3-4; 5-6; 7-9a; 9b-10; 11-12; 13-14; but Innitzer<sup>5</sup> gives them only three: 3-6; 7-12; 13-14; and Schille<sup>6</sup> reduces the number to two: 5-8; 9-12, with an introit in verses 3 and 4. Whichever is the correct analysis, it is likely (in spite of Martin's comment about Ephesians 1:3-14 which the writer has already cited<sup>7</sup>) that this passage is a New Testament hymn. If Schille<sup>8</sup> is correct in giving the entire Ephesian letter a baptismal context, this hymnic portion of it may have been part of that corporate act of worship. In any event, Beare<sup>9</sup> and Scott<sup>10</sup> both observe that

<sup>1</sup>e.g. R.P. Martin, Carmen Christi, p. 19; \_\_\_\_\_, "Aspects . . .", Vox Evangelica, II, 1963, p. 20; H. Chadwick, Ephesians (New Peake), p. 98; G. Dellings, op. cit., p. 84, n.5.

<sup>2</sup>G. Johnston, Ephesians (New Century), p. 9; cf. below p. 184; J. Coutts ("Ephesians 1:3-14 and I Peter 1:3-12", NTS, III, 1957, pp. 115-27) maintains that these two passages are homilies based on a form of prayer.

<sup>3</sup>E.F. Scott, Ephesians (Moffatt), p. 150.

<sup>4</sup>G. Johnston, ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Noted by R.P. Martin, "Aspects . . .", Vox Evangelica, II, 1963, p. 30, n. 63.

<sup>6</sup>Noted by R.P. Martin, ibid., p. 30, n. 60.

<sup>7</sup>cf. above p. 98.

<sup>8</sup>Noted by R.P. Martin, "Aspects . . .", Vox Evangelica, II, 1963, p. 30, n. 63.

<sup>9</sup>F.W. Beare, Ephesians (IB, X), p. 613.

<sup>10</sup>E.F. Scott, ibid.

Paul begins this hymn with a solemn liturgical phrase which may reflect Jewish usage.

xiii) Ephesians 2:19-22

So then you are no longer strangers and sojourners, but you are fellow citizens with the saints and members of the household of God, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus himself being the chief cornerstone, in whom the whole structure is joined together and grows into a holy temple in the Lord; in whom you also are built into it for a dwelling place of God in the Spirit.

Although Martin places this passage under the heading of sacramental hymns, he included it with a certain amount of reluctance;<sup>1</sup> apart from Nauck<sup>2</sup> the writer has found no commentators who treat it as a hymn.

xiv) Ephesians 5:14

Awake, O sleeper, and arise from the dead,  
and Christ shall give you light.

Scholars<sup>3</sup> are almost unanimous in asserting that this verse is a fragment

<sup>1</sup>R.P. Martin (Aspects . . . ", Vox Evangelica, II, 1963, p. 19) uses the words "very debatable" in calling this passage a "hymn"; similarly in Carmen Christi, p. 19, he includes it "with hesitation".

<sup>2</sup>W. Nauck, "Ephesians 2:19-22: ein Tauflied?" Ev.Th. XIII, 1953, pp. 362-71; he gives an affirmative answer to his question (noted by R.P. Martin, "Aspects . . . ", Vox Evangelica, II, 1963, p. 30, n.60)

<sup>3</sup>e.g. R.P. Martin, Worship in the Early Church, p. 47; \_\_\_\_\_, Carmen Christi, p. 19; \_\_\_\_\_, "Aspects . . . ", Vox Evangelica, II, 1963, p. 19; A.B. Macdonald, Christian Worship in the Primitive Church, p. 117; E.E. Ryden, op. cit., p. 6; M. Patrick, op. cit., p. 19; C.S. Phillips, op. cit., p. 15; T.K. Abbott, Ephesians(ICC), p. 158, who cites the support of Barry, Ewald; Braune, and von Soden; M.H. Shepherd, Jr., "Hymns", IDB, II, p. 668, C.F.D. Moule, Colossians(New Peake), p. 994; \_\_\_\_\_, Worship in the New Testament, p. 69; H. Chadwick, Ephesians (New Peake), p. 984; E.F. Scott, Ephesians(Moffatt), p. 231; A.M. Hunter, Paul and his Predecessors, Revised, pp. 38-9; G.H.P. Thompson, Ephesians (New Cambridge), p. 80; J.S. McEwen, "Worship", TWBB, p. 289.

of an early Christian hymn, most probably associated with Baptism; given this liturgical setting, these words may well have been sung during the celebration of this Sacrament in the primitive Church.

xv) Ephesians 5:18b-9

. . . be filled with the Spirit, addressing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody to the Lord with all your heart.

This passage, which supports the practice of singing Psalms in Christian worship,<sup>1</sup> also witnesses to the existence of uniquely Christian praises - "hymns and spiritual songs".

xvi) Philippians 2:6-11

. . . [Christ Jesus] who, though he was in the form of God, did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being born in the likeness of men. And being found in human form he humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even death on a cross. Therefore God has highly exalted him and bestowed on him the name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, in heaven and on earth and under the earth, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.

Scholarship is equally as strong for this passage, as for Ephesians 5:14, in describing it as an early Christian hymn.<sup>2</sup> One unresolved

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. above p. 84.

<sup>2</sup>e.g. R.P. Martin, Worship in the Early Church, pp. 49-50; \_\_\_\_\_, "Aspects . . .", Vox Evangelica, II, 1963, p. 21; \_\_\_\_\_, Carmen Christi, p. 19; E.F. Scott, Philippians(IB, XI) p. 46; G. Johnston, Philippians(New Century), p. 40; G.R. Beasley-Murray, Philippians(New Peake) p. 986; K. Grayston, Philippians(Cambridge), p. 21; F.W. Beare, Philippians(Black), pp. 73-4, 78; J.H. Michael, Philippians(Moffatt), p. 83; A.B. Macdonald, op. cit., pp. 119-20, who cites in support E. Lohmeyer, Kyrios Jesus and H. Lietzmann, Messe und Herrenmahl, pp. 178 ff.

matter is the authorship of these verses; Martin<sup>1</sup> makes a thorough examination of the evidence both for and against attributing them to Paul, and concludes that there are sound arguments on both sides; if Paul did not compose this song himself, the other possibility is that he quoted or adapted an already existing one.

Many scholars<sup>2</sup> follow Lohmeyer<sup>3</sup> in dividing this hymn into two strophes (6-8 and 9-11) of three stanzas each, with all stanzas having three lines; this arrangement makes the words in verse 8 - "even death on a cross" - disrupt the rhythm; it may be that Paul

<sup>1</sup>R.P. Martin, Carmen Christi, pp. 42-62.

<sup>2</sup>e.g. G. Johnston, Philippians(New Century), p. 40; G.R. Beasley-Murray, Philippians(New Peake), p. 986; W.K.L. Clarke, New Testament Problems, pp. 143 f.; A.M. Hunter, Paul and his Predecessors, Revised, pp. 40 f., 123; \_\_\_\_\_, Galatians to Colossians(Layman's), pp. 93ff; J. Héring, Le Royaume de Dieu et sa venue, pp. 159 ff.; A.B. Macdonald, op. cit., p. 119; P. Benoit, Les épîtres de S. Paul, pp. 26 ff. O. Cullmann, The Earliest Christian Confessions, trans. J.K.S. Reid, p. 22; \_\_\_\_\_, The Christology of the New Testament, trans. S.C. Guthrie and C.A.M. Hall, pp. 174,175; F.W. Dillistone, Jesus Christ and his Cross, p. 103; P. Henry "Kénose", Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible, p. 9; E. Andrews, The Meaning of Christ for Paul, p. 156; F.W. Beare, Philippians(Black), pp. 73,74; \_\_\_\_\_, St. Paul and his Letters, p. 130; D.M. Stanley, Christ's Resurrection in Pauline Soteriology, p. 96; M.-E. Boismard, Quatre Hymnes baptismales, pp. 12,13; A.W. Wainwright, The Trinity in the New Testament, p. 87 (The writer has accepted the evidence of R.P. Martin, Carmen Christi, p. 30, n.1, for works cited in this footnote which he has been unable to consult first-hand).

<sup>3</sup>E. Lohmeyer, Kyrios Jesus.

(if these verses are taken as genuine) felt that this comment was necessary at this point, and thus adds it almost parenthetically; if he was using a pre-Pauline hymn, these words may well reflect Paul's attempt to editorialize.

Whether or not Philippians 2:6-11 originated with Paul, it may be stated with considerable certainty that it represents a Christological hymn which was found upon the lips of the early Christians during their corporate worship.

xvii) Colossians 1:15-20

He is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation; for in him all things were created, in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or authorities - all things were created through him and for him. He is before all things, and in him all things hold together. He is the head of the body, the church; he is the beginning, the first-born from the dead, that in everything he might be pre-eminent. For in him all the fulness of God was pleased to dwell, and through him to reconcile to himself all things, whether on earth or in heaven, making peace by the blood of his cross.

Martin notes that "as early as 1913 the German scholar, E. Norden, had arranged these verses into a hymnic form [of two stanzas: 15-18a; 18b-20] and detected certain liturgical traits".<sup>1</sup> Other scholars<sup>2</sup> also believe that this exalted Christological description may be a hymn; as such it probably helped to furnish the content of corporate

---

<sup>1</sup>R.P. Martin, Worship in the Early Church, p. 50; cf. \_\_\_\_\_, "An Early Christian Hymn (Col. 1:15-20)" EQ, XXXVI, 1964, pp. 195-205; E. Norden, Agnostos Theos.

<sup>2</sup>e.g. A.M. Hunter, Paul and his Predecessors, Revised, p. 125; G. Johnston, Colossians (Cambridge), p. 133.

worship in the primitive Church.

xviii) Colossians 3:16

Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly, as you teach and admonish one another in all wisdom, and as you sing psalms and hymns and spiritual songs with thankfulness in your hearts to God.

The only comment which needs to be made about this verse is that its mention of "hymns and spiritual songs", in addition to "psalms", points to a distinctively Christian hymnology.

xix I Timothy 1:15

The saying is sure and worthy of full acceptance, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.

This compact rhythmical statement is obviously a quotation; some scholars<sup>1</sup> suggest that the author is quoting from a statement of doctrine or a hymn or, (combining them), a hymn in which the Christian confession was embodied.<sup>2</sup> The Doxology which follows shortly (verse 17) adds further weight to the idea that this passage had a place in the public worship of the early Church.

The formula πιστός ὁ λόγος occurs also in I Timothy at 3:1 and in expanded form -καὶ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἁγίου- at 4:9; in each case the author is obviously citing existing material; but a lack of rhythm and the absence of a poetic and lyrical style in these quotations suggest that they are not hymns, but rather prosaic statements which had become, in a sense, proverbial.

---

<sup>1</sup>e.g. E.F. Scott I Timothy(Moffatt), p. 13; A.T. Hanson, I Timothy(Cambridge), p. 27; R.St.John Parry, The Pastoral Epistles, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup>As the writer has already suggested (cf. above p. 81 ), distinctions of this kind are more academic than actual so far as the early Christians are concerned.

## xx) I Timothy 3:16

He was manifested in the flesh,  
 vindicated in the Spirit,  
     seen by angels,  
 preached among the nations,  
 believed on in the world,  
     taken up in glory.

This passage illustrates again most clearly the difficulty of trying to distinguish between a credal confession and a hymn;<sup>1</sup> almost certainly the early Christians used it for both purposes. Scholars<sup>2</sup> are unanimous in endorsing this quotation as a "hymn in which men sang their creed";<sup>3</sup> the grammar, language and style all combine to give this verse an undeniably liturgical ring; beyond any doubt this fragment was sung by the primitive Christians in their corporate worship.

## xxi) II Timothy 2:11-3

The saying is sure:

    If we have died with him, we shall also live with him;  
     if we endure, we shall also reign with him;  
     if we deny him, he also will deny us;  
     if we are faithless, he remains faithful -  
 for he cannot deny himself.

The presence of the introductory formula  $\piιστὸς ὁ λόγος$  indicates that the author is making a citation; and the strong rhythmical character of

<sup>1</sup>cf. above p. 81.

<sup>2</sup>e.g. W. Lock, I Timothy (ICC), pp. 44,45,46; F.D. Gealy, I Timothy (IB, XI), p. 421; M.H. Shepherd, Jr., "Hymns", IDB, II, p. 668; C.K. Barrett, I Timothy (New Clarendon), pp. 64,66; E.F. Scott, I Timothy (Moffatt), p. 40; A.J.B. Higgins, I Timothy (New Peake), p. 1003; A.T. Hanson, I Timothy (Cambridge), p. 46; R. Falconer, The Pastoral Epistles, p. 23; R.St.John Parry, The Pastoral Epistles, p. 23; A.B. Macdonald, op. cit., pp. 117-8; R.P. Martin, Worship in the Early Church, pp. 48-9; \_\_\_\_\_, "Aspects . . .", Vox Evangelica, II, 1963, pp. 21-6 (in this article Martin cites particularly the support of E. Norden, Agnostos Theos); \_\_\_\_\_, Carmen Christi, p. 19

<sup>3</sup>W. Barclay, I Timothy (DSB), p. 103.

this quotation<sup>1</sup> makes it clear that it is a hymn; many commentators<sup>2</sup> agree that this passage is a song, or at least a fragment of one, from the early Church, and most<sup>3</sup> of them connect it with Baptism; this association for these words means that they would be sung in public worship. If II Timothy 2:11-3 is only part of a longer hymn, Polycarp seems to preserve more of it.<sup>4</sup> The fact that Martin<sup>5</sup> designates this hymn as "confessional" rather than "sacramental" demonstrates once more the artificiality of such distinctions.

xxii) Titus 3:4-7

But when the goodness and loving kindness of God our Savior appeared, he saved us, not because of deeds done by us in righteousness, but in virtue of his own mercy, by the washing of regeneration and renewal in the Holy Spirit, which he poured out upon us richly through Jesus Christ our Savior, so that we might be justified by his grace and become heirs in hope of eternal life.

---

<sup>1</sup>B.S. Easton (The Pastoral Epistles, p. 52) ends the quotation at 12a, while A.J.B. Higgins (op. cit., p. 1005) suggests that it may finish either at 12a or 13a.

<sup>2</sup>e.g. A.J.B. Higgins, ibid.; W. Barclay, II Timothy (DSB), p. 194; A.T. Hanson, II Timothy (Cambridge), pp. 84-5; W. Lock, II Timothy (ICC), pp. 95-6; F.D. Gealy, II Timothy (IB, XI), p. 484; E.F. Scott, II Timothy (Moffatt), p. 105; G.R. Beasley-Murray, Baptism in the New Testament, p. 208; R. St. John Parry, op. cit., p. 56; R.P. Martin, Carmen Christi, p. 19; \_\_\_\_\_, "Aspects . . .", Vox Evangelica, II, 1963, pp. 20-1.

<sup>3</sup>Of the scholars cited, only Martin, Barclay and Lock omit any specific mention of this passage as baptismal.

<sup>4</sup>cf. below p. 119.

<sup>5</sup>R.P. Martin, Carmen Christi, p. 19; \_\_\_\_\_, "Aspects . . .", Vox Evangelica, II, 1963, pp. 20-1.

The author adds to this passage the concluding formula - "The saying is sure" - in order to indicate the citation. The debate among scholars as to whether the quotation covers the entire section or only a portion of it continues,<sup>1</sup> and will probably never be solved with certainty.

It is generally agreed<sup>2</sup> that these verses are an extract from a baptismal liturgy, but whether they were a hymn or part of a sermon is debatable.<sup>3</sup> Their rhythm makes the former at least a possibility, and their sacramental context associates them with corporate worship.

<sup>1</sup>cf. e.g. F.D. Gealy, Titus(IB, XI), p. 546, who comments: "It remains a question, however, whether the quotation should be thought of as covering the entire section or only a portion of it: Lock accepts vss. 4-6; Moffatt, Meinertz, vss. 4-7; Spicq, vss. 5-7; Easton, Jeremias, vss. 5b-7. . . . Dibelius thinks the whole section may belong to the source. . . . Obviously the problem of the extent and exact wording of the source cannot be solved with complete certainty."

<sup>2</sup>e.g. R.P. Martin, Carmen Christi, p. 19; \_\_\_\_\_, "Aspects . . .", Vox Evangelica, II, 1963, p. 20; G.R. Beasley-Murray, Baptism in the New Testament, p. 209; F.D. Gealy, Titus(IB, XI), p. 546, cites Jeremias, Easton, and Spicq in support of such an association; A.T. Hanson, Titus (Cambridge), p. 120; J.N.D. Kelly, Titus(Black), p. 254, writes that these words are "from some hymn or liturgical piece connected with baptism"; A.J.B. Higgins, Titus(New Peake), p. 1007, more cautiously notes that this interpretation is possible.

<sup>3</sup>cf. e.g. J.N.D. Kelly's comment in the preceding footnote; according to F.D. Gealy (Titus(IB, XI), p. 546), Dibelius believes that the quotation was from an early Christian sermon.

## xxiii) Hebrews 1:3

He reflects the glory of God and bears the very stamp of his nature, upholding the universe by his word of power. When he had made purification for sins, he sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on high.

Martin designates Hebrews 1:3 a Christological hymn and writes: "By the threefold test of theological content, stylistic construction and unusual vocabulary we may confidently assess this verse to be a Christ-hymn".<sup>1</sup> F.F. Bruce believes that the words relating to Christ's agency in creation which immediately precede this verse - "through whom also he created the world" - reflect "the language of a primitive Christian hymn or confession of faith".<sup>2</sup> Although few scholars<sup>3</sup> comment on the hymnic quality of Hebrews 1:3, its highly sonorous tone cannot be overlooked; it is the kind of passage which would be very much at home upon the singing lips of the early Christians gathered for worship.

## xxiv James 1:17-8

Every good endowment and every perfect gift is from above, coming down from the Father of lights with whom there is no variation or shadow due to change. Of his own will he brought us forth by the word of truth that we should be a kind of first fruits of his creatures.

Easton observes that these verses "contain a saying that was originally independent".<sup>4</sup> The first part of verse 17 is in the Greek a hexameter

<sup>1</sup>R.P. Martin, Worship in the Early Church, p. 51; cf. \_\_\_\_\_, Aspects . . ., Vox Evangelica, II, 1963, p. 21; \_\_\_\_\_, Carmen Christi,

<sup>2</sup>F.F. Bruce, The Epistle to the Hebrews (The New London Commentary on the New Testament), p. 4.

<sup>3</sup>H. Montefiore (Hebrews(Black), p. 33) for example, suggests that possibly this "Epistle was originally not composed as a letter but as a homily".

<sup>4</sup>B.S. Easton James(1B, XII), p. 29; cf. W. Barclay, James (DSB), p. 17, who writes: "Either James had a rhythmic ear for a fine cadence, or else he is quoting from some work which we do not know".

line of poetry (which occurrence is not likely accidental), and this fact has led some scholars<sup>1</sup> to consider this cadence as part of a poem or an early Christian hymn. The impossibility of identifying the source from which James quoted, makes such designations conjectural; on the basis of style alone, it could qualify as a hymn, but it has no other characteristics which would place it uniquely in that category. The writer feels that it is best to accept the possibility that James 1:17a may reflect a Christian song, but to resolve the matter no further.

xxv) James 5:13

Is any [one among you] cheerful? Let him sing praise.

The KJV renders the second part of this verse "let him sing psalms"; this wording has led some commentators<sup>2</sup> to believe that James is referring to the singing of the Old Testament Psalms; many scholars, however, feel that such an interpretation imposes an undue restriction;<sup>3</sup> it is generally agreed that James means that if a Christian is experiencing some joy, it is right and proper that he should express his gratitude in singing hymns of praise.

There is no indication in this passage that it applies to public worship; but it must be remembered that the early Christians sang praises in private as well as in public devotion, and this verse may well be a reference to the former.

---

<sup>1</sup>e.g. E.H. Plumptre, James(CBSC), p. 56; R.J. Knowling, James (Westminster), p. 23.

<sup>2</sup>e.g. J.A. Lamb, op. cit., p. 20; J.Hempel, "Book of Psalms", IDB, III, p. 942.

<sup>3</sup>e.g. B.S. Easton, op. cit., p. 70; E.M. Sidebottom, James(New Century), p. 61; R.R. Williams, James(Cambridge), p. 138; R.J. Knowling, op. cit., p. 137; R.V.G. Tasker, James(Tyndale), p. 128; M.H. Shepherd, Jr. op. cit., p. 668.

xxvi) I Peter 1:3-12

Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ! By his great mercy we have been born anew to a living hope through the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, and to an inheritance which is imperishable, undefiled, and unfading, kept in heaven for you, who by God's power are guarded through faith for a salvation ready to be revealed in the last time. In this you rejoice, though now for a little while you may have to suffer various trials, so that the genuineness of your faith, more precious than gold which though perishable is tested by fire, may redound to praise and glory and honor at the revelation of Jesus Christ. Without having seen him you love him; though you do not now see him you believe in him and rejoice with unutterable and exalted joy. As the outcome of your faith you obtain the salvation of your souls.

The prophets who prophesied of the grace that was to be yours searched and inquired about this salvation; they inquired what person or time was indicated by the Spirit of Christ within them when predicting the sufferings of Christ and the subsequent glory. It was revealed to them that they were serving not themselves but you, in the things which have now been announced to you by those who preached the good news to you through the Holy Spirit sent from heaven, things into which angels long to look.

These verses have been called an "ascription of praise",<sup>1</sup> a "doxology",<sup>2</sup> and a "prayer-hymn".<sup>3</sup> The composition and arrangement of I Peter have been receiving considerable study; those<sup>4</sup> who interpret it liturgically (some even baptismally) find various songs in the book, which thus have a setting in public worship. The writer tends to believe that I Peter

<sup>1</sup>C.E.B. Cranfield, I Peter(New Peake), p. 1027.

<sup>2</sup>W. Barclay, I Peter(DSB), p. 202; J.W.C. Wand, I Peter(Westminster), p. 42; but Wand subsequently calls I Peter 1:3 ff. "a hymn on the Trinity" (ibid., p. 81).

<sup>3</sup>H. Preisker, Additions to the posthumous edition of H. Windisch's commentary, pp. 156 ff. (noted by C.E.B. Cranfield, ibid.); J. Coutts, op. cit., pp. 115-27, argues that some form of liturgical prayer lies behind these verses; cf. below p. 184.

<sup>4</sup>e.g. H. Preisker, ibid. (noted by C.E.B. Cranfield, ibid.); R.P. Martin, Worship in the Early Church, p. 52n; \_\_\_\_\_, Carmen Christi, p. 19; F.L. Cross, I Peter: A Paschal Liturgy; but cf. C.F.D. Moule, "The Nature and Purpose of I Peter", NTS, III, 1956-7, pp. 1-11 who severely criticizes Cross' thesis.

1:3-12 is not itself an actual hymn, but contains some phraseology which had, or came to have, a place in the hymnology of the Church.

xxvii) I Peter 1:18-21

You know that you were ransomed from the futile ways inherited from your fathers, not with perishable things such as silver or gold, but with the precious blood of Christ, like that of a lamb without blemish or spot. He was destined before the foundation of the world but was made manifest at the end of the times for your sake. Through him you have confidence in God who raised him from the dead and gave him glory, so that your faith and hope are in God.

Martin<sup>1</sup> designates this passage a Christological hymn and Wand calls it one "on Christ's redemptive work".<sup>2</sup> Personally, the writer believes the same about it as he does the previous selection; it probably reflects some hymnic terminology, without being itself a hymn; even some scholars<sup>3</sup> who interpret I Peter liturgically do not find these verses an illustration of Christian song.

xxviii) I Peter 2:1-10 (cf. Romans 9:32,33)

So put away all malice and all guile and insincerity and envy and all slander. Like newborn babes, long for the pure spiritual milk, that by it you may grow up to salvation; for you have tasted the kindness of the Lord.

Come to him, to that living stone, rejected by men but in God's sight chosen and precious; and like living stones be yourselves built into a spiritual house, to be a holy

<sup>1</sup>R.P. Martin, Worship in the Early Church, p. 52, n. \_\_\_\_\_, Carmen Christi, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup>J.W.C. Wand, I Peter (Westminster), p. 81

<sup>3</sup>e.g. C.E.B. Cranfield (I Peter (New Peake), p. 1026) cites the arrangement of I Peter by H. Preisker (ibid.) who terms 1:13-21 "instruction"; F.L. Cross (I Peter: A Paschal Liturgy, p. 38) calls I Peter 1:13-21 the Bishop's "Formal Charge to the Candidates"; E.G. Selwyn (The First Epistle of Peter, p. 52) calls I Peter 1:13-21 the "First Hortatory Section"; F.W. Beare (The First Epistle of Peter, p. 52) makes these verses part of "The Baptismal Discourse."

priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ. For it stands in scripture:

"Behold I am laying in Zion a stone, a cornerstone chosen and precious,  
and he who believes in him will not be put to shame.

To you therefore who believe, he is precious, but for those who do not believe,

"The very stone which the builders rejected has become the head of the corner,"

and

"A stone that will make men stumble, a rock that will make them fall";

for they stumble because they disobey the word, as they were destined to do.

But you are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's own people, that you may declare the wonderful deeds of him who called you out of darkness into his marvelous light. Once you were no people but now you are God's people; once you had not received mercy but now you have received mercy.

Some scholars find in this passage "a festal song in three strophes . . . contributed by an inspired member of the church";<sup>1</sup> others,<sup>2</sup> noting the canto of Old Testament texts in verses 6-8, suggest that Peter is quoting from some "Testimony Book". The writer favors this second interpretation, while admitting that some of these verses may reflect current hymnic content.

---

<sup>1</sup>H. Preisker, *ibid.* (noted by C.E.B. Cranfield, *ibid.*, p. 1026 and C.F.D. Moule, "The Nature and Purpose of I Peter", *NTS*, III, 1956-7, p. 3).

<sup>2</sup>cf. C.K. Barrett, *Romans (Black)*, p. 194; J.R. Harris, *Testimonies*, I, pp. 18, 26, 27, 31; *ibid.*, II, pp. 18, 85.

## xxix) I Peter 2:21-5

For to this you have been called, because Christ also suffered for you leaving you an example, that you should follow in his steps. He committed no sin; no guile was found on his lips. When he was reviled, he did not revile in return; when he suffered, he did not threaten; but he trusted to him who judges justly. He himself bore our sins in his body on the tree, that we might die to sin and live to righteousness. By his wounds you have been healed. For you were straying like sheep, but have now returned to the Shepherd and Guardian of your souls.

Some commentators<sup>1</sup> believe that these verses constitute a Christological hymn, but the present writer is not convinced. On the basis of theme, and possibly vocabulary, this passage qualifies; but its style and rhythm are not specifically suggestive of a song; if this selection had a place in public worship, the writer would designate it as part of the spoken sermon,<sup>2</sup> rather than something which was sung.

## xxx) I Peter 3:18-22

For Christ also died for sins once for all, the righteous for the unrighteous, that he might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh but made alive in the spirit; in which he went and preached to the spirits in prison, who formerly did not obey, when God's patience waited in the days of Noah, during the building of the ark, in which a few, that is, eight persons, were saved through water. Baptism, which corresponds to this, now saves you, not as a removal of dirt from the body but as an appeal to God for a clear conscience, through the resurrection of Jesus Christ, who has gone into heaven and is at the right hand of God, with angels, authorities, and powers subject to him.

---

<sup>1</sup>e.g. R.P. Martin, Carmen Christi, p. 19; \_\_\_\_\_, Worship in the Early Church, p. 52,n; H. Preisker, ibid. (noted by C.E.B. Cranfield, ibid., p. 1026), although Preisker ends the hymn at verse 24; J.W.C. Wand, op. cit., p. 81.

<sup>2</sup>cf. E.G. Selwyn (op. cit., p. 5), who calls I Peter 2:11-3:12 the "Second Hortatory Section"; F.W. Beare (The First Epistle of Peter, p. 52), who designates these verses as part of "the Baptismal Discourse".

There are those<sup>1</sup> who hold that this passage also is a Christological hymn. The writer believes that his comments about the preceding verses apply equally to these; he admits that such an interpretation is a possibility, but he finds I Peter 3:18-22 more sermonic than hymnic.

xxxi) Revelation 22:17

The Spirit and the Bride say, "Come". And let him who hears say, "Come". And let him who is thirsty come, let him who desires take the water of life without price.

Millar Patrick refers to these words as a "hymn of Gospel Invitation",<sup>2</sup> but the writer has found no other scholar who puts this verse in the category of song; it would seem that Patrick is using the term "hymn" loosely, and also inaccurately; the Book of Revelation is full of allusions to the early Christians' liturgical usages;<sup>3</sup> but the idea in this verse - "Come" - is more in the nature of a prayer than a song; however, the writer has included this passage for the sake of completeness.

This survey of the New Testament evidence for the existence of hymns is now complete; on the basis of his research the writer has no hesitation in affirming that there is ample Biblical warrant for the singing of them in worship today.

---

<sup>1</sup>e.g. R.P. Martin, Worship in the Early Church, p. 52, n; \_\_\_\_\_, Carmen Christi, p. 19; in the former work, Martin has this hymn include verse 22; in the latter book, he ends it at verse 21; H. Preisker (ibid., noted by C.F.D. Moule, "The Nature and Purpose of I Peter", NTS, III, 1956-7, p. 3) ambiguously designates I Peter 3:13-4:7a "A Revelation"; J.W.C. Wand (I Peter (Westminster), p. 99) writes: "The passage from this verse [18] to the end of the chapter [22] is in all probability a Christian hymn".

<sup>2</sup>M. Patrick, The Story of the Church's Song, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup>cf. O. Cullmann, Early Christian Worship, trans. A.S. Todd and J.B. Torrance, p.7.

The patristic writings also support the liturgical use of hymns. Some scholars<sup>1</sup> point to the rhythmic and poetical prose hymns for the Eucharist, found in the Didache 9:2,3,4; 10:2,4,5. However, the writer will consider these passages in his sections on Prayers<sup>2</sup> and the Lord's Supper;<sup>3</sup> at this point he will simply note again how the same words are suitable for more than one part in the services of worship. Concerning these hymnic portions of the Didache, Dom Leclercq comments: "Here, we have the rudiments of rhythmical prayer in the first century: and if these prayers are not hymns in the sense that the word has assumed in liturgical language, they are, we may say, the sources and models of Christian hymnography".<sup>4</sup>

Likewise, the following verse from the Epistle of Barnabas probably alludes to the practice of singing hymns in Christian worship: "You notice, then, children of joy, that the good Lord has revealed everything to us in advance, that we may know to whom a full measure of thanks and praise is due from us" (7:1).

A Letter from Pliny the Younger to the Emperor Trajan (written about A.D. 112) indicates that Christians were in the habit of meeting early in the morning on a stated day (Sunday<sup>5</sup>) and "singing alternately [secun invicem] a hymn [carmen] to Christ as to a God" (X.96). These

<sup>1</sup>e.g. C.S. Phillips, op. cit., pp. 16-7; C. Northcott, Hymns in Christian Worship, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup>cf. below p. 116.

<sup>3</sup>cf. below pp. 428-9.

<sup>4</sup>H. Leclercq, "Hymne", DAcL, VI, Part 2, col. 2837 (cited by C.S. Phillips, ibid., p. 17).

<sup>5</sup>cf. above p. 29.

words have probably provoked more debate among Christian scholars - particularly liturgical ones - than any others ever written by a pagan. Martin<sup>1</sup> summarizes fully the four main interpretations which have been given to Pliny's statement; carmen is taken to be: i) an Old Testament Psalm; ii) any set form of words, not necessarily a metrical composition; iii) supplicatio - an invocation which was either a hymn or a solemn prose formula; and iv) a translation of ὕμνος . Martin then observes: "On balance, the conclusion that carmen means a hymn addressed to Christ seems more likely".<sup>2</sup>

No matter which of these particular interpretations is accepted, it must be recognized that in this reference Pliny provides evidence that the Christians of the early second century sang in their corporate worship.

There are two hymnic references in the Epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians; chapter 19:2-3 contains the so-called "Song of the Star".<sup>3</sup>

Lohmeyer divides the passage into the following six strophes, terming them a "Christ-hymn";<sup>4</sup>

A star shone in heaven  
 Beyond all the stars,  
 And its light was unspeakable,  
 And its newness caused astonishment;

---

<sup>1</sup>R.P. Martin, Carmen Christi, pp. 3-7.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>3</sup>R.P. Martin, ibid., pp. 2,11,160,310.

<sup>4</sup>E. Lohmeyer, Kyrios Jesus, p. 64 (noted by R.P. Martin, ibid. p. 11, from which page the writer quotes this hymn); Martin also observes (ibid.) that Lohmeyer improves upon C.F. Burney's earlier attempt to arrange these verses into four strophes - The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel, pp. 161 ff.

And all the other stars,  
With the sun and the moon,  
Gathered into chorus round the star.

It far exceeded them all in its light;  
And there was perplexity:  
Whence came this new thing, so unlike them?

By this all magic was dissolved,  
And every bond of wickedness vanished away;  
Ignorance was removed.

The old kingdom was destroyed,  
For God was manifest as man  
For the newness of eternal life.

And a beginning was received  
Of that which had been prepared by God.  
Hence all things were disturbed,  
Because the abolition of death was planned.

Martin<sup>1</sup> admits that it is impossible to determine whether or not this composition was sung in corporate worship; but he suggests that its poetic and lyrical form, plus its isolation from its epistolary context may well indicate that it is a genuine specimen of early Christian hymnody.

In this same letter Ignatius enjoins congregational singing; after observing that "the praises of Jesus Christ are sung" (4:1), he adds the directive:

But you, the rank and file, should also form a choir, so that, joining the symphony by your concord, and by your unity taking your key note from God, you may with one voice through Jesus Christ sing a song to the Father. Thus He will both listen to you and by reason of your good life recognize in you the melodies of His Son" (4:2).

Likewise, in his Epistle to the Magnesians Ignatius writes: "I sing the praises of the Churches" (1:2). Similarly his letter to the Romans

<sup>1</sup>R.P. Martin, Carmen Christi, p. 12.

instructs: "You should form a choir of love and sing a song to the Father through Jesus Christ" (2:2).

The Church historian, Socrates, ascribes the origin of singing antiphonal hymns to Ignatius, who "saw a vision of angels hymning the Holy Trinity in alternate chants".<sup>1</sup> Whether or not this manner of singing is correctly traced to Ignatius, his writings certainly support the inclusion of hymns in corporate worship.

A passage in Polycarp's Second Epistle to the Philippians appears to be related to the hymnic "sure saying" of II Timothy 2:11-3.<sup>2</sup>

If we win His approval in the present world, we shall also win the world to come: He has promised us to raise us from the dead. If we behave as worthy citizens of His kingdom, we shall also share in His royalty - that is, provided we persevere in faith (5:2).

It has been suggested that Polycarp is giving "an independent reminiscence of the same hymn"<sup>3</sup> or "a little more of it".<sup>4</sup> If the verses in Timothy are a fragment of a hymn, this passage from Polycarp has an equal claim to be put in the same category.

The Odes of Solomon are believed by some scholars<sup>5</sup> to be Jewish Christian songs used in corporate worship in the first and second

<sup>1</sup>Socrates, E.H., VI.8 (noted by A.J. Maclean, "Hymns (Syriac Christian), ERE, VII, p. 12).

<sup>2</sup>cf. above pp. 106-7.

<sup>3</sup>W. Lock, II Timothy(ICC), p. 96.

<sup>4</sup>W. Barclay, II Timothy(DSB), p. 194.

<sup>5</sup>e.g. J. Rendel Harris, The Odes and Psalms of Solomon; J.H. Bernard, The Odes of Solomon, Texts and Studies, ed. J.A. Robinson, VIII. No. 3, 1912.

centuries A.D. The writer cannot enter into a discussion of the various theories held as to the origin and use of these Odes;<sup>1</sup> let him simply say that if the Odes of Solomon were associated in any way with early Christianity, they certainly have the beauty and dignity of poetic language which would make them appropriate liturgical hymns of praise.

In this context, mention must also be made of the Sibylline Oracles; this collection of fifteen books includes pagan, Jewish and Christian Sibyllines; although he cannot begin to discuss the many critical questions surrounding these Oracles,<sup>2</sup> the writer believes that some of them may well have been used in Christian public worship; the fact that Book VI is a hymn describing the ministry and death of Christ would point in that direction; this view may be supported further, by noting that the Sibylline Oracles are all written in Greek hexameter verse; whether or not they found such a place at an early date cannot be determined with any certainty, but the possibility must not be overlooked.

There are those<sup>3</sup> who point to the rhythmic and poetical prose sections of the Epistle to Diognetus (7,9,11,12) as specimens of second century Christian hymnody. Instead of quoting in their entirety these somewhat lengthy passages, the writer will cite one as an illust-

---

<sup>1</sup>For such details cf. e.g. J. Rendel Harris, ibid.; J.H. Bernard, ibid.

<sup>2</sup>cf. e.g. H.C.O. Lanchester, "Sibylline Oracles", ERE, XI, pp. 496-500; J. Knox, "Sibylline Oracles", IDB, IV, p. 343; "The Sibylline Oracles", ODCC, pp. 1252-3.

<sup>3</sup>C.S. Phillips, op. cit., pp. 17-8; C. Northcott, op. cit., p. 17.

ration, and observe that the others have equally exalted phraseology:

He [the Logos] is the Eternal One, [who] today is accounted a Son; by Him the Church is enriched, and grace, ever unfolding in the saints, is multiplied - the grace which grants understanding, reveals mysteries, announces seasons, glories in believers, gives freely to seekers - such as do not break their plighted troth or transgress the bounds fixed by the fathers (11:5).

To this grandly phrased selection the author adds the significant words:

"And then fear of the Lord becomes a theme of song, prophetic inspiration is recognized, the trustworthiness of the Gospels is firmly established, Apostolic tradition is observed, and the grace of the Church is exultant" (11:6).

Justin furnishes further support for the public singing of praises. In Apology I.13 he observes that Christians offer thanks to God by "hymns for our creation"; similarly his Dialogue with Trypho 74 quotes Psalm 96:1-3 - "Sing unto the Lord a new song; sing unto the Lord, all the earth: sing unto the Lord, and bless His name; show forth His salvation from day to day, His wonderful works among all people"; then Justin writes that God "bids the inhabitants of all the earth . . . sing and give praises to God the Father of all things and recognise that He is to be praised and feared".

Irenaeus also indicates that hymns are part of Christian worship. His Treatise Against Heresies asserts that all men - from the ancients to the universal church - "celebrate the praises of one God, the Maker of heaven and earth" (II.9.1). Subsequently in the same work, Irenaeus is anxious that "there shall be heard one harmonious melody in us, praising in hymns that God who created all things" (II.28.3). These passages suggest that these hymnic praises are done corporately.

Further evidence for the use of hymns comes from Clement of

Alexandria. In his Exhortation to the Heathen<sup>1</sup> he quotes Psalm 22:22 - "I will declare Thy name to my brethren; in the midst of the church will I praise Thee" - and continues: "Praise and declare to me Thy Father God; Thy utterances save; Thy hymn teaches that hitherto I have wandered in error, seeking God" (11). Clement goes on, in the next chapter, to write about "the daughters of God, the fair lambs, who celebrate the holy rites of the Word, raising a sober choral dance. The righteous are the chorus; the music is a hymn of the King of the universe" (12). The phraseology and context of these words point to a liturgical setting for this "hymn of the King of the universe". Also, Clement invites pagans to be initiated and "join the choir along with angels around the unbegotten and indestructible and the only true God, the Word of God, raising the hymn with us" (12).

In addition, several references to hymns occur in The Miscellanies. He notes that the Gnostic is always "lauding, hymning, blessing, [and] praising God" (VI.14); in support of his view that the Gnostic's whole life is a festival Clement states: "we cultivate our fields praising; we sail the sea, hymning" (VII.7); he mentions that part of the Gnostic's sacrifices include "praises . . . before meals . . . and hymns during meals and before bed" (ibid.); also, he observes that "an unworthy opinion of God preserves no piety . . . in hymns" (ibid.). Although these passages imply a somewhat private devotion, at least they witness to the existence of hymns.

---

<sup>1</sup> E.E. Ryden (op. cit., p. 10) observes that the morning hymn "Sunset to sunrise changes now" is derived from Clement's Exhortation to the Heathen.

However, Clement is very much aware of public singing; this fact is demonstrated by his Exhortation to the Heathen (from which the writer has already quoted) and The Instructor. In this latter work, Clement cites with approval Paul's exhortation to the Colossians (3:16) concerning the singing of "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs" (II.4). Towards the end of this same Treatise, Clement implies the liturgical use of hymns when he writes: "To noble purpose has the church sung" (III.12). Even more important are the two hymns with which The Instructor ends:

A Hymn to Christ the Saviour

Bridle of colts untamed,  
 Over our wills presiding;  
 Wing of unwandering birds,  
 Our flight securely guiding.  
 Rudder of youth unbending  
 Firm against adverse shock;  
 Shepherd, with wisdom tending  
 Lambs of the royal flock:  
 Thy simple children bring  
 In one, that they may sing  
 In solemn lays  
 Their hymns of praise  
 With guileless lips to Christ their King.

King of saints, almighty Word  
 Of the Father highest Lord;  
 Wisdom's head and chief;  
 Assuagement of all grief;  
 Lord of all time and space,  
 Jesus, Saviour of our race;  
 Shepherd, who dost us keep;  
 Husbandman, who tillest,  
 Bit to restrain us, Rudder  
 To guide us as Thou willest;  
 Of the all-holy flock celestial wing;  
 Fisher of men, whom Thou to life dost bring;  
 From evil sea of sin,  
 And from the billowy strife,  
 Gathering pure fishes in,  
 Caught with sweet bait of life:  
 Lead us, Shepherd of the sheep,  
 Reason-gifted, holy One;  
 King of youths, whom Thou dost keep,

So that they pollution shun:  
 Steps of Christ, celestial Way;  
 Word eternal, Age unending;  
 Life that never can decay;  
 Fount of mercy, virtue-sending;  
 Life august of those who raise  
 Unto God their hymn of praise,  
                                 Jesus Christ!

Nourished by the milk of heaven,  
 To our tender palates given;  
 Milk of wisdom from the breast  
 Of that bride of grace express;  
 By a dewy spirit filled  
 From fair Reason's breast distilled;  
 Let us sucklings join to raise  
 With pure lips our hymns of praise  
 As our grateful offering,  
 Clean and pure, to Christ our King.  
 Let us with hearts undefiled,  
 Celebrate the mighty Child.  
 We, Christ-born, the choir of peace;  
 We, the people of His love,  
 Let us sing, nor ever cease,  
 To the God of peace above.

#### To the Paedagogus

Teacher, to Thee a chaplet I present,  
 Woven of words culled from the spotless mead,  
 Where Thou dost feed Thy flocks; like to the bee,  
 That skilful worker, which from many a flower  
 Gathers its treasures, that she may convey  
 A luscious offering to the master's hand.  
 Though but the least, I am Thy servant still,  
 (Seemly is praise to Thee for Thy behests).  
 O King, great Giver of good gifts to men,  
 Lord of the good, Father, of all the Maker,  
 Who heaven and heaven's adornment, by Thy word  
 Divine fitly disposed, alone didst make;  
 Who broughtest forth the sunshine and the day;  
 Who didst appoint their courses to the stars,  
 And how the earth and sea their place should keep;  
 And when the seasons, in their circling course,  
 Winter and summer, spring and autumn, each  
 Should come, according to well-ordered plan;  
 Out of a confused heap who didst create  
 This ordered sphere, and from the shapeless mass  
 Of matter didst the universe adorn;-  
 Grant to me life, and be that life well spent,  
 Thy grace enjoying; let me act and speak

In all things as Thy Holy Scriptures teach;  
 Thee and Thy co-eternal Word, All-wise,  
 From Thee proceeding, ever may I praise;  
 Give me nor poverty nor wealth, but what is meet,  
 Father, in life, and then life's happy close (III.12).

It has been suggested that in "A Hymn To Christ The Saviour", Clement is merely quoting the work of an earlier poet, or that this hymn was appended by a later author.<sup>1</sup> This writer, however, finds no indication that Clement of Alexandria did not compose both of the hymnic works cited, and he accepts his authorship; he believes, therefore, that these two examples of praise from Clement may legitimately be taken as illustrations of late second century hymns suitable for use in corporate worship.

Tertullian also witnesses to the use of hymns in public worship; in his Apology, he refers to Pliny's description to Trajan of the Christian "meetings at early morning for singing hymns to Christ and God"<sup>2</sup> (2). Later in the same work, Tertullian indicates that during the Agape, after eating and drinking "each is asked to stand forth and sing, as he can, a hymn to God, either one from the holy Scriptures or one of his own composing" (39; cf. I Corin. 14:26). This second passage implies that the singing is individual rather than congregational, but it does have an explicit corporate setting. Tertullian's Treatise On Prayer mentions the "psalms and hymns" (28) amid which the spiritual victim - prayer - is escorted unto God's altar. Similarly in To His Wife he writes about the "psalms and hymns" (II.8) which echo between the two partners in marriage. Although these last two citations seem

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. E.E. Ryden, op. cit., p. 10.

<sup>2</sup>A footnote gives the variant "as God".

to apply to private worship, at least they show that Christians at that time sang hymns. An additional reference to singing in Christian corporate gatherings occurs in Tertullian's work Against Marcion; he states that "praise, and hymns" constitute part of "the offerings of the pure sacrifice" (III.22).

Evidence for early Christian hymnody comes also from Eusebius. He quotes from a lost anonymous attack against Artemon (a second century heretic) - a work sometimes ascribed to Hippolytus<sup>1</sup> - to the effect that "all the psalms or songs written from the beginning by faithful brethren . . . celebrate the Word of God, even Christ, and speak of Him as God".<sup>2</sup> Whether or not Hippolytus is the author of this document, it was probably written in Rome at the beginning of the third century A.D. Thus it witnesses to the continuing Christian practice of singing hymns. Furthermore, Eusebius quotes Dionysius of Alexandria (d. A.D. 265), who praises Nepos, and early third century schismatic Egyptian bishop, for "his abundant psalmody,"<sup>3</sup> by which many of the brethren have till this day been cheered".<sup>4</sup> Although neither of these passages from Eusebius indicates explicitly that these songs formed part of public worship, it is reasonable to assume that they would; at any rate, such an application cannot be excluded.

<sup>1</sup>cf. R.H. Connolly, "Eusebius H.E. V. 28", JTS, XLIX, 1948, pp. 73-9.

<sup>2</sup>Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, V.28.5.

<sup>3</sup>The writer includes this evidence here (under Hymns) rather than in the previous section on Psalms, because obviously it is not the Old Testament or canonical Psalms to which reference is being made; G.A. Williamson (Eusebius, The History of the Church, p. 307) translates the "psalmody" of this quotation as "hymnody".

<sup>4</sup>Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, VII.24.4.

In addition, Eusebius writes<sup>1</sup> about the heretic Bardesanes (b. A.D.155), concerning whose hymnic efforts and particularly those of his son, Harmonius, the Church historian, Sozomen, expounds. Bardesanes composed a book of 150 hymns, after the number of Psalms;<sup>2</sup> according to Sozomen, his son, Harmonius, schooled in Greek erudition "was the first to subdue his native language [Syriac] to metres and musical laws; the verses he delivered to the choirs, and even now the Syrians frequently sing, not the precise copies by Harmonius, but the same melodies".<sup>3</sup> Although the beliefs of Bardesanes and Harmonius (father and son) were unorthodox, they are the earliest known writers of Syriac hymns, of which the melodies at least found a place in Christian worship.

St. Basil refers to the "Hymn of Athenogenes" in his Treatise On The Spirit (29). Athenogenes suffered martyrdom during the reign of Septimus Severus (A.D.193-211), and Jackson<sup>4</sup> observes that various scholars identify his hymn - so alluded to by Basil - with the following two: Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις and φῶς ἱλαρόν. Whether or not these associations are valid, these different hymns did have an early Christian origin, and soon found their way into public worship.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid. IV.30..

<sup>2</sup>Noted by A.J. Maclean, "Hymns (Syriac Christian)", ERE, VII, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup>Sozomen, E.H. III.16; the translation is that given by A.J. Maclean (ibid.), but the writer has also consulted the Greek of the version edited by R. Hussey.

<sup>4</sup>B. Jackson, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, VIII, p. 46, n.3.

<sup>5</sup>e.g. C.S. Phillips (op. cit., p. 23) notes that by St. Basil's time φῶς ἱλαρόν had become part of the Vesper Office.

The writer will bring to a close this discussion of the patristic support for the existence and use of Christian hymns by giving the evidence of Codex Alexandrinus; although this manuscript was likely written in the second half of the fifth century,<sup>1</sup> in all probability it provides reliable information about much earlier Christian hymnody.

After noting that the Psalter in the LXX version was the first praise-book of Greek-speaking Christians, Baumstark<sup>2</sup> observes that it was supplemented at an early date by an appendix containing other Biblical passages; he then proceeds to cite the nine of them which are already brought together in Codex Alexandrinus:

- i) and ii) the Songs of Moses (Ex. 15:1-18; and Deut. 32:1-43);
- iii) that of Hannah (I Sam. 2:1-10); iv) Habakkuk (Hab. 3);
- v) Isaiah (Is. 26:1-19); vi) Jonah (Jon. 2:2-9); vii) and viii) the Three Holy Children (Dan. 3:1-30); and ix) Mary and Zechariah (Luke 1:46-55, 68-79).<sup>3</sup>

According to Baumstark these Biblical lyrics were recited by one person, while the congregation or, representing it, the choir, responded at the end of every verse with a short refrain, the hypopsalma, which he terms "the simplest form of Christian prose hymnody in the Greek language."<sup>4</sup> Be that as it may, the writer believes that the association of these passages of Scripture in Codex Alexandrinus

<sup>1</sup>C.R. Gregory, Canon and Text of the New Testament p. 341.

<sup>2</sup>A. Baumstark, "Hymns (Greek Christian)", ERE, VII, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup>The writer has slightly altered the verse numbering in order to conform with that of the RSV.

<sup>4</sup>A. Baumstark, ibid.

may well witness to their having been conjoined, probably for Christian worship, at a date considerably prior to that manuscript, possibly even in the second century; if this conjecture - and admittedly that is all that it is - be true, it provides additional early evidence for the liturgical use of hymns.

On the basis of his survey of the patristic literature, the writer would conclude that it furnishes ample warrants for the singing of hymns in corporate Christian worship; and thus the Church of Scotland is right in continuing this practice.

### C) Canticles

The third category of song for which the Book of Common Order makes provision is Canticles. The Church Hymnary, Revised Edition of the Church of Scotland has a section entitled "Ancient Hymns and Canticles".<sup>1</sup> Besides the Ten Commandments (Exodus 20); Jesus' Summary of the Law (Matt. 22; Mark 12, John 13); the Beatitudes (Matt. 5); the Lord's Prayer (Matt. 6:9-13); the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds; and the Aaronic Benediction (Numbers 6); this section has the Benedictus (Luke 1:68-79); the Magnificat (Luke 1:46-55); Nunc Dimittis (Luke 2:29-32); Gloria in Excelsis; Te Deum Laudamus; Benedicite, Omnia Opera (Daniel 3);<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>The Church Hymnary, Revised Edition, Hymns 714-28.

<sup>2</sup>E.E. Ryden (op. cit., p. 5) describes this work as "another canticle which had its origin in the Old Testament". It is supposed to have been the song of praise sung by Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego when thrown into the fiery furnace of King Nebuchadnezzar.

Let Us Now Praise (Ecclesiasticus 44); and Amers<sup>1</sup>. All of these passages are given a musical accompaniment for chanting.

The New Testament provides warrants for the singing of Canticles. Four passages in the opening two chapters of Luke - Luke 1:46-55 (Magnificat); Luke 1:68-79 (Benedictus); Luke 2:14 (Gloria in Excelsis); and Luke 2:29-32 (Nunc Dimittis) - have been called the "Messianic Psalms of the New Testament";<sup>2</sup> they are really Canticles which have gained a permanent place in the liturgies of Christendom.

Inasmuch as these are the only four Canticles which the writer finds in the Christian Scriptures, (apart from those discussed in other contexts<sup>3</sup>), he wishes now to quote them in full as being illustrative of the lyrical praise composed by the early Christians:

i) The Magnificat (Luke 1:46-55)

And Mary said:

My soul magnifies the Lord,  
and my spirit rejoices in God my Savior,  
for he has regarded the low estate of his handmaiden.  
For behold, henceforth all generations will call me blessed;  
for he who is mighty has done great things for me,  
and holy is his name.  
And his mercy is on those who fear him from generation to  
generation.  
He has shown strength with his arm,  
he has scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts,  
he has put down the mighty from their thrones,  
and exalted those of low degree;

<sup>1</sup>The writer has not quoted these passages because of their length and general familiarity; he would refer anyone wishing to know the exact wording to The Church Hymnary, Revised Edition, and the Bible; he will, however, presently cite the Lukan Canticles.

<sup>2</sup>e.g. C. Northcott, op. cit., p. 16, C.S. Phillips, op. cit., p. 13.

<sup>3</sup>cf. below pp. 160-2; 429; 433-4.

he has filled the hungry with good things,  
 and the rich he has sent empty away.  
 He has helped his servant Israel,  
 in remembrance of his mercy,  
 as he spoke to our fathers,  
 to Abraham and to his posterity for ever.

ii) The Benedictus (Luke 1:68-79)

Blessed be the Lord God of Israel,  
 for he has visited and redeemed his people,  
 and has raised up a horn of salvation for us  
 in the house of his servant David,  
 as he spoke by the mouth of his holy prophets from of old,  
 that we should be saved from our enemies,  
 and from the hand of all who hate us;  
 to perform the mercy promised to our fathers,  
 and to remember his holy covenant,  
 the oath which he swore to our father Abraham, to grant us  
 that we, being delivered from the hand of our enemies,  
 might serve him without fear,  
 in holiness and righteousness before him all the days of our life.  
 And you, child, will be called the prophet of the Most High;  
 for you will go before the Lord to prepare his ways,  
 to give knowledge of salvation to his people  
 in the forgiveness of their sins,  
 through the tender mercy of our God,  
 when the day shall dawn upon us from on high  
 to give light to those who sit in darkness and in the shadow  
 of death,  
 to guide our feet into the way of peace.

iii) Gloria in Excelsis<sup>1</sup> (Luke 2:14)

Glory to God in the highest,  
 And on earth peace among men with whom he is pleased!

---

<sup>1</sup>This title is more often given to the following longer passage which is an expansion of this angelic song: "Glory be to God on high, and in earth peace, good-will towards men. We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we worship Thee, we glorify Thee, We give thanks to Thee for Thy great glory. O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty. O Lord, the only begotten Son, Jesus Christ; O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, That takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father have mercy upon us. For Thou only art holy, Thou only art the Lord; Thou Only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father".

## iv) Nunc Dimittis (Luke 2:29-32)

Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace,  
 according to thy word;  
 for mine eyes have seen thy salvation  
 which thou hast prepared in the presence of all peoples,  
 a light for revelation to the Gentiles,  
 and for glory to thy people Israel.

Although there is no specific indication that these Canticles were used in public worship, their whole tone and style are those appropriate for the corporate expression of praise; the fact that they all became universally part of Christian worship testifies to their suitability for such usage; it may well be that Luke is both reflecting and helping to provide the content of current liturgical song, by including these lyrics in his Gospel. In this way he provides a Scriptural warrant for using such Canticles in worship today.

As far as patristic evidence for having Canticles in corporate praise is concerned, the writer would suggest that such would be the same as that for hymns<sup>1</sup> and Ascriptions;<sup>2</sup> fully appreciating the difficulty of trying to distinguish Canticles from these other two types of praise, he will simply state his conviction that the same patristic passages which he cites for the existence and liturgical presence of hymns and Ascriptions of praise, also support the similar use of Canticles.

The writer has now completed his examination of the New Testament and patristic evidence for the singing of Psalms, Hymns (including Paraphrases) and Canticles in public worship. From his research, he is convinced that Milligan is correct in asserting that there is Biblical warrant for such songs in the services of the Church of Scotland.

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. above pp. 116-29.

<sup>2</sup>cf. below pp. 215-6.

c) Scripture Readings

In all of its services the Book of Common Order enjoins the reading of Scripture;<sup>1</sup> usually the provision is for one Lesson from the Old Testament, and one or more from the New Testament - of which one is to be from the Gospels.<sup>2</sup>

The writer has already<sup>3</sup> discussed this matter of the public reading of Scripture in his treatment of the Lectionary, and he does not propose to quote again the passages cited in that section. Although there is no decisive evidence for any systematic and ordered Table of Lessons before the fourth century, the practice of reading Scripture in worship is well attested. On the basis of the following passages it may be asserted that there are ample Biblical and patristic warrants for including readings from both the Old and the New Testaments in corporate worship: I Thessalonians 5:27; Colossians 4:16; I Timothy 4:13; Ephesians 3:4; Revelation 1:3; Philemon 2; I Clement 13:1; 28:3; 43:1; 45:2; 47:1; 53:1; 62:3; II Clement 19:1; Didache 16:2; Epistle of Barnabas 21:1,6; Polycarp's First Epistle to the Philippians 13:2; Justin, Apology I.67; Dialogue with Trypho 28,85; the Epistle of Dionysius of Corinth to Soter (Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History IV.23.11); Irenaeus, Against Heresies IV.32.1; Clement of Alexandria, The Miscellanies VI.14; Tertullian, Apology 39; On Female Dress II.11; De Anima 9; Hippolytus, Apostolic Tradition 12,16,17,31.

As for the sequence in which the various lections are read,

<sup>1</sup> e.g. Book of Common Order, pp. 13,45,51,76.

<sup>2</sup> This proviso is not made for Evening and Children's Services.

<sup>3</sup> cf. above pp. 60-77.

Dix comments:

The jewish practice<sup>1</sup> was to read first from the Law of Moses as being the most revered of their scriptures, and then, after psalmody, one or more lessons from the Prophets or other books. The christians came to adopt an ascending instead of a descending order of importance in the reading of the lessons, which was also roughly the chronological order of their original writing. The christians read first one or more lessons from the Old Testament, then from the apostolic writings, and finally from the gospel which records our Lord's own sayings and doings.<sup>2</sup>

Dix cites as authority for this view Justin's Apology, I.67 which, he believes, indicates that the Christians had already adopted the "ascending" order of lessons. However, the present writer finds it difficult to reach the same conclusion; in this passage Justin simply observes that "the memoirs of the apostles [Gospels] or the writings of the prophets [probably all of the Old Testament] are read, as long as time permits". It would appear that Dix is reading into this comment his own preconceived interpretation. Far more likely, the early Christians had no universally accepted sequence for their Scripture readings; their worship was much more spontaneous and fluid than such a rigid pattern of lessons - Old Testament, apostolic writings, and Gospel - would allow.

Thus, it may be concluded that Milligan is right in claiming Biblical warrant for the practice of reading Scripture in public worship; as for the order in which the lections are to occur - Old before New Testament, and Gospel last - there is no clear Scriptural or patristic guidance. The writer believes that this sequence would come to be fixed only later, when lectionaries and set Liturgies began to emerge in the fourth century.

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. above pp. 16-19.

<sup>2</sup>G. Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy, p. 39.

d) Creed

The various Services in the Book of Common Order make provision for the use of the Creed. For the Morning, Evening and Children's Orders, the rubric reads: "After the New Testament Lesson, the Apostles' Creed may be said by the Minister and People (or children) together, all standing."<sup>1</sup> At infant Baptism those presenting the child,<sup>2</sup> and at adult Baptism<sup>3</sup> and Confirmation<sup>4</sup> the persons themselves, are asked if they receive the doctrine of the Christian faith as set forth in the words of the Apostles' Creed. At Holy Communion either the Nicene<sup>5</sup> or the Apostles' Creed<sup>6</sup> may be used.<sup>7</sup> Provision is also made for the Apostles' Creed to be used when a Church is dedicated<sup>8</sup> or the foundation stone of one laid.<sup>9</sup> Again it must be asked whether there are any Biblical and patristic warrants for the use of a Creed in Christian worship.

<sup>1</sup>Book of Common Order, pp. 13,45,52,77.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 90.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 96.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 101.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 125.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 135; the rubric reads simply: "the Creed may be said", without specifying which one.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 206-7.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 202.

The Jews had no formal Creed until the twelfth century<sup>1</sup> when Maimonides (A.D. 1130-1205) formulated the thirteen articles which are embodied in his Commentary on the Mishnah. However, Abrahams says that the Shema<sup>4</sup> was their foremost declaration of faith; with reference to the Shema<sup>4</sup>, with its opening enunciation of the unity and uniqueness of God (Deut. 6:4), he writes:

Now this passage, like the Decalogue, was part of the daily office of the Temple. The purpose of this recital is not stated in the sources, but it can hardly be that it was introduced merely as a scriptural lesson. It was not only an important text in itself, but was the most significant of the "confessional" passages of the Old Testament. . . .

Nor does the evidence end here. In the Synagogue liturgy the recital of the Shema is followed by the clearest declaration of faith known to the Hebrew prayer book. "Yea, it is true - this thy word. . . . It is true that the God of the Universe is our King." This passage, based (on the authority of Rab) on Ps. 92:3, is the nearest to a Creed that the Synagogue liturgy ever attained before the late Middle Ages.<sup>2</sup>

Abrahams<sup>3</sup> also notes that the 'Alenu Prayer was a kind of Creed.

Kohler gives the following literal translation of it from the original so far as it can be restored:

It is incumbent upon us to give praise to the Lord of the Universe, to glorify Him who formed creation, for He hath not made us to be like the nations of the lands, nor hath He made us like the families of the earth; He hath not set our portion with theirs, nor our lot with their multitude; . . . for they prostrate themselves before vanity and folly, and pray to a god who can not help. . . . But we bend the knee and prostrate ourselves and bow down before the King of the Kings of Kings, the Holy One,

---

<sup>1</sup>S. Schechter, Studies in Judaism, First Series, pp. 161-3; Schechter does, however, refer to certain earlier attempts to formulate a Creed: R. Saadiah Gaon (892-942) wrote Creeds and Opinions; R. Hannaneel of Kairawan (first half of the eleventh century) comments that four beliefs are essential: in God; in the prophets; in the future world where the just will be rewarded; and in the advent of the Redeemer. R. Judah Halleivi's Cusari (beginning of the twelfth century) suggests that belief in Israel's election is the cardinal tenet of faith; Abraham Ibn Daud (a contemporary of Maimonides) speaks of "rudiments" of faith in The High Belief.

<sup>2</sup>I. Abrahams, Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels, Second Series, pp. 18-9.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 19.

blessed be He! For it is He who stretched forth the heavens and laid the foundations of the earth, and the seat of His glory is in the heavens above, and His mighty dwelling-place (Shekinah) is in the loftiest heights. "He is our God, and there is none other." In truth, He is our King, there is none besides Him, as it is written in the Torah: "And thou shalt know this day and lay it to thine heart that the Lord is God in heaven above and upon the earth beneath: and there is none other."

Therefore do we wait for Thee, O Lord our God, soon to behold Thy mighty glory, when Thou wilt remove the abomination from the earth, and idols shall be exterminated; when the world shall be regenerated by the kingdom of the Almighty, and all the children of flesh invoke Thy name; when all the wicked of the earth shall be turned unto Thee. Then shall all the inhabitants of the world perceive and confess that unto Thee every knee must bend, and every tongue be sworn. Before Thee, O Lord our God, shall they kneel and fall down, and unto Thy glorious name give honor. So will they accept the yoke of Thy kingdom, and Thou shalt be King over them speedily forever and aye. For Thine is the kingdom, and to all eternity Thou wilt reign in glory, as it is written in Thy Torah: "The Lord shall reign forever and aye." And it is also said: "And the Lord shall be King over all the earth; on that day the Lord shall be One and His name be One."<sup>1</sup>

Concerning this 'Alenu prayer Abrahams writes:

The whole congregation prostrated itself while confessing faith in the one God, and proclaiming the hope of the universal acceptance of the Divine Sovereignty. Probably this passage was originally recited once annually, at the autumn New Year; later, it was introduced into the daily liturgy. Later again it formed the dying confession of martyrs.<sup>2</sup>

Abrahams observes further, that the response "Amen" to Doxologies in both Synagogue and Church was equivalent to a Confession of faith.<sup>3</sup>

Inasmuch as the Shema was considered equivalent to a Creed, and the first Jewish Christians were accustomed to recite it twice daily,

<sup>1</sup>K. Kohler, "Alenu", JE, I, p. 337.

<sup>2</sup>I. Abrahams, ibid., p. 19.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 19, n.2; Abrahams cites particularly T.B. Sabbath 119b; cf. below pp. 199-203.

it is possible to argue in this sense that there is Scriptural warrant for the use of a Creed in Christian worship.

However, additional evidence comes from the New Testament, of which certain passages are really credal statements; the writer believes that these confessions both reflected and helped to furnish the content of early Christian affirmations.

Cullmann<sup>1</sup> enumerates five occasions when credal formulae were used in the primitive Church:

1. Baptism and catechumenism;
2. Regular worship (liturgy and preaching);
3. Exorcism;
4. Persecution;
5. Polemic against heretics.

The first two of these are important for this study because they point to the use of confessions of faith at occasions of public worship.

The earliest Christian confessions were brief and Christological. Neufeld has made a valuable study of the passages in the New Testament which reflect a credal affirmation or homologia.<sup>2</sup> He observes that for Paul the most common primitive confession is "Jesus is Lord"; in his Epistles - which constitute the earliest literary compositions of the New Testament - Paul uses this formula three times: in I Corinthians 12:3

<sup>1</sup>O. Cullmann, The Earliest Christian Confessions, trans. J.K.S. Reid, pp. 18 ff; cf. V.H. Neufeld, The Earliest Christian Confessions, p. 61; J.H. Leith, ed., Creeeds of the Churches, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup>V.H. Neufeld, The Earliest Christian Confessions; Neufeld considers the meaning of ἑμολογία and its cognates and autonyms, and concludes that it refers to "the agreement or consensus in which the Christian community was united, that core of essential conviction and belief to which Christians subscribed and openly testified" (ibid., p. 20); it is in that sense that the writer uses the term in this study.

he makes the point that "no one can say 'Jesus is Lord' except by the Holy Spirit"; in Romans 10:9 one of the requirements for salvation is the confession with the lips that "Jesus is Lord"; the Christological hymn of Philippians 2:6-11 concludes with the thought that "at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, in heaven and on earth and under the earth and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ<sup>1</sup> is Lord, to the glory of God the Father".

Neufeld goes on to refer to two other types of formulae which appear in Paul's letters: one expresses belief in God<sup>2</sup> and in Jesus; I Corinthians 8:6 states that "there is one God, the Father, from whom are all things and for whom we exist, and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and through whom we exist"; in Ephesians<sup>3</sup> 4:5,6 the two expressions "one Lord" and "one God and Father of us all, who is above all and through all and in all" stand in close conjunction; similarly, I Timothy<sup>4</sup> 2:5 observes that "there is one God, and there is one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus".

A second group of Pauline bipartite formulaary statements contrast Jesus' position before and after the resurrection: in Romans 8:34 Paul asks "Is it Christ Jesus, who died, yes, who was raised from the dead, who is at the right hand of God, who indeed intercedes for us?"; in the Greek of this verse there is an obvious antithesis between the

<sup>1</sup>Some MSS (e.g. F,G,g,m) plus Origen, Eusebius, and Novation omit  $\chi\rho\iota\varsigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ ; cf. V.H. Neufeld, op. cit., p. 43, n.3.

<sup>2</sup>The formula  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$  occurs by itself in Paul's Epistles (e.g. Rom. 3:30; I Corin. 8:4; Gal. 3:20), and very probably reflects a Jewish influence.

<sup>3</sup>cf. above p. 63, n.2.

<sup>4</sup>cf. above p. 63, n.1.

participles ἀποθανών and ἐγερθείς; the same kind of contrast is evident in II Corinthians 13:4: "For he was crucified in weakness, but lives by the power of God"; furthermore, in I Thessalonians 4:14 Paul records the Christian belief that "Jesus died and rose again". In other Pauline passages the two aspects of the death and resurrection theme are made complementary rather than antithetical by the addition of qualifying phrases. Romans 4:24-5 refers to those "who believe in him that raised from the dead Jesus our Lord, who was put to death for our justification"; similarly, Romans 14:9 emphasizes Christ's lordship within the framework of death and life: "For to this end Christ died and lived again, that he might be Lord both of the dead and of the living"; in addition, the themes of death and resurrection are united in I Corinthians 15:3-5, where Paul reminds his readers "that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures, that he was buried, that he was raised on the third day in accordance with the scriptures, and that he appeared . . . ."

From this delineation of the verses where the double references to Jesus' death and to his resurrection occur, Neufeld proceeds to observe that there are numerous additional passages in Paul which mention these themes, but always separately. He notes that the formula *Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν ἐπὲρ τίνος* appears - with minor variations - in Romans 5:6,8; 14:15; I Corinthians 8:11; II Corinthians 5:15; and I Thessalonians 5:10 (cf. Galatians 2:21). Neufeld finds formulae referring to the resurrection in both the active and the passive voice; when God is set forth as the one who does the raising (ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν) the direct object is expressed in different ways - Jesus (Rom. 8:11, I Thess. 1:10; cf. Rom. 10:9); Lord (II Corin. 6:14); Christ (I Corin.

15:15, twice; Eph. 1:20; Col. 2:12); Jesus the Lord or Lord Jesus (Rom. 4:24; 10:9; II Corin. 4:14); and Christ Jesus or Jesus Christ (Rom. 8:11; Gal. 1:1); in all except one or two of the thirteen<sup>1</sup> places where the passive voice is used, the subject is  $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$  ( $\delta\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma\ \eta\ \gamma\epsilon\rho\theta\eta$ ). Neufeld concludes his discussion of these death and resurrection passages with the comment that they "may fairly be taken to reflect the existence of Christian confessions in which these antithetical concepts were expressed".<sup>2</sup> Neufeld continues his survey of contrasting formulaic ideas in Paul by referring to Ephesians 4:8-10, (cf. Phil. 2:6-11 and Rom. 10:6-13) where  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$  and  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\beta\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$  are juxtaposed in order to set forth Christ's descent to earth and subsequent ascension.

The final Pauline passage cited by Neufeld in this section is Romans 1:3-4; it is important not only for its antithesis but also for the characteristics of a primitive confession of faith which it exhibits:

περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ  
 τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ κατὰ σάρκα  
 τοῦ ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει κατὰ πνεῦμα  
 ἁγίουσύνης ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν  
 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν

The parallelism of the relative clauses points to the formulaic nature of the passage<sup>3</sup>, while the contrast between Jesus' humanity and his

---

<sup>1</sup>Rom. 4:25; 6:4,9; 7:4; 8:34; I Corin. 15:4,12,13,14,16,17,20; II Corin. 5:15.

<sup>2</sup>V.H. Neufeld, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup>Neufeld notes (*op. cit.*, p. 50, n.2) that C.H. Dodd (*Romans* (Koffatt), p. 5) and O. Michel (*Der Brief an die Römer*, p. 227) call this passage a "confession of faith"; C.K. Barrett (*Romans* (Black), p. 18) refers to it as a "brief (perhaps credal) formula" and R. Bultmann (*Theology of the New Testament*, I, trans. K. Grobel, p. 49) speaks of it as "a handed-down formula".

designation as the Son of God shows its antithetical nature; this latter is set forth in a series of three opposites:

ΤΟΥ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΥ — ΤΟΥ ΟΡΙΣΘΕΝΤΟΣ  
 ΕΚ ΣΠΕΡΜΑΤΟΣ ΔΑΥΙΔ — ΥΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΝ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΙ  
 ΚΑΤΑ ΣΑΡΚΑ — ΚΑΤΑ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΑΓΙΩΣΟΥΝΗΣ

Neufeld summarizes his views on the credal material in Paul's Epistles by observing that they "contain basically three forms or patterns which appear to be related to the primitive homologia: the simple formula κύριος Ἰησοῦς; the two-article formula which refers to Jesus as Lord and to God as Father; and an antithetical pattern, appearing in several forms, in which a contrast is drawn between the earthly career of Jesus and the new position granted him in the resurrection.<sup>1</sup>

Neufeld goes on to assert that the basic homologia in Paul's letters is the simple κύριος Ἰησοῦς by which confession Christians acknowledged two important facts: "(1) it is Jesus, the person who lived and died at a specific time in history, who (2) is the Lord of the Christian and of the church by virtue of his resurrection from the dead".<sup>2</sup> Neufeld relates these two ideas to the antithetical formulae found in Paul's Epistles, noting that they contrast the earthly human life of Jesus with his new position of authority granted by God in the resurrection; furthermore, he makes the point that even if these formulary statements cannot be equated with the primitive creed, they supplement and expound what is meant by the confession "Jesus is Lord".

---

<sup>1</sup>V.H. Neufeld, op. cit., p. 51.

<sup>2</sup>Op. cit., p. 67.

Neufeld does not think that the second type of formula which he finds in Paul - the bipartite one referring to God the Father and Jesus the Lord - is closely related to the primitive homologia;<sup>1</sup> he tends to agree with Cullmann that the confession of God arose from the Christological confession, and that the earliest bipartite formulae mentioned Jesus the Lord before God the Father (cf. e.g. Eph. 4:5,6) and that "faith in God is really a function of faith in Christ";<sup>2</sup> God is usually confessed as the one who raised Christ from the dead or as the Father of Christ.

On the basis of the evidence, summarized so succinctly by Neufeld, it is possible to conclude that the primitive Christian confession for Paul was "Jesus is Lord" and that from this affirmation subsequent formulations developed.

Neufeld proceeds to set forth the credal material in the Johannine literature, the Synoptic Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the rest of the New Testament; the writer will follow this format summarizing Neufeld's observations and conclusions.

On the basis of literary style and linguistic evidence, Neufeld finds the following confessions in John's Gospel and Epistles: the basic Johannine credal formula is Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός (e.g. John 1:20; 7:26,41; 9:22; I John 2:22; 5:1); an alternative or supplementary form is Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ (John 1:34,49; 10:36; I John 4:15; 5:5); in two passages both forms are combined: "Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God" (John 11:27; 20:31). Other Christological

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 67.

<sup>2</sup>O. Cullmann, op. cit., p. 39.

titles which are found in John's Gospel (e.g. "the Savior of the World", 4:42; cf. I John 4:14; "the Lamb of God", 1:29,36; "the Son of man", 5:27; cf. 3:13; 9:35-7; 12:34; "the prophet who is to come into the world", 6:14; cf. 7:40; "the Holy One of God", 6:69; "the King of the Jews", 18:33; cf. 1:49; 18:37,39; 19:3,19; "My Lord and my God", 20:28) are essentially variations of these basic confessions, incorporated in order to correct faulty or inadequate messianic ideas. To the basic homologia - "Jesus is the Christ" - there is added the definitive statement that Christ had come "in the flesh" (I John 4:2; II John 7; cf. John 1:14 "the Word became flesh"; and I John 5:6 "This is he who came by water and blood, Jesus Christ"); this clarification emphasizes the fact that the Christ, the Son of God, was the historical person, Jesus, who lived and suffered death.

Neufeld concludes his discussion of the Johannine literature by stating that its confessions of faith are "the beginnings of the creed as a positive statement of the church's basic faith".<sup>1</sup>

Neufeld<sup>2</sup> then turns to the Synoptic Gospels; he observes that in them Jesus is acknowledged as the Messiah (Mark 8:29; cf. Matt. 16:16, Luke 9:20; Luke 4:41; Mark 14:61; cf. Matt. 26:63, Luke 22:67; Luke 23:3; Matt. 27:17,22; Mark 15:32; Luke 23:35,39); the Son of God (Mark 1:11; cf. Matt. 3:17, Luke 3:22; Matt. 4:3,6; cf. Luke 4:3,9; Mark 9:7; cf. Matt. 17:5, Luke 9:35; Mark 3:11; Luke 4:41; Matt. 14:33); the Son of David (Mark 10:47,48; Matt. 20:30,31; Luke 18:38,39; Matt. 9:27; 15:22; Matt. 21:9,15, cf. Mark 11:10); and the King of the Jews

---

<sup>1</sup>Op. cit., p. 106.

<sup>2</sup>V.H. Neufeld, op. cit., pp. 108 ff.

(Mark 15:2; cf. Matt. 27:11, Luke 23:3; Mark 15:8,12,18,32; Matt. 27:29,42; Luke 23:2,37; Mark 15:23; cf. Matt. 27:37, Luke 23:38). Neufeld holds that these designations, rather than being forms of the homologia itself, are "ascriptions to Jesus of current ideas and beliefs which may reflect the beginnings of the homologia during the life of Jesus and/or its currency in the life of the church during the development of the gospel tradition."<sup>1</sup>

The clearest indication of a credal formula in the Synoptic Gospels is Peter's confession:  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \delta\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$  (Mark 8:29);<sup>2</sup> this statement represents the first<sup>3</sup> instance where a disciple openly acclaims Jesus' Messiahship; the term  $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$  as used by Peter, is devoid of later connotations which it gained after the resurrection, and suggests only the popular idea of a messianic king who was to deliver Israel; nevertheless, it does reflect the beginning of the Christian homologia.

This same basic truth emerges from Jesus' trial. When the high priest asks the question  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \delta\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma\ \epsilon\ \upsilon\acute{\iota}\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\gamma\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon$  (Mark 14:61; cf. Matt. 26:63, Luke 22:67,70), Jesus openly admits (Mark 14:62) or at least does not deny (Matt. 26:64; Luke 22:67,70) that he is. Pilate interrogates Jesus with words which are the political equivalent of the high priest's question:  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \epsilon\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \eta\omicron\upsilon\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$  (Mark 15:2; cf. Matt. 27:11, Luke 23:3); in a not unambiguous manner, Jesus implies an affirmative response.

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> The variations of this confession in Matthew 16:16 ( $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \delta\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma\ \epsilon\ \upsilon\acute{\iota}\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ ) and Luke 9:20 ( $\tau\omicron\nu\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ ) are probably expansions of the shorter Markan form.

<sup>3</sup> Unless the historicity of John 1:41 is accepted.

Neufeld accepts the confession of Peter and the questions of the high priest and Pilate as indicative of the early Christian homologia; therefore, he concludes that the basic confession of the Synoptic Gospels is Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ χριστός;<sup>1</sup> he examines the designation ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ - which the disciples use by itself only once in the Synoptics in relation to Jesus (Matt. 14:33) - but believes that it "has a secondary function so far as the homologia is concerned in that it expresses the confession of the Evangelists (especially Mark) or the early church".<sup>2</sup>

According to Neufeld, the most common Christological formula in the Acts of the Apostles is Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ χριστός;<sup>3</sup> he comes to this conclusion on the basis of Acts 5:42; 9:20-2; 17:2-3; and 18:5,28. In addition, he admits that the confession Κύριος Ἰησοῦς may lie behind Acts 11:20; 2:36; and 10:36; and that the "Son of Man" Christology may be reflected in Acts 10:42 and 17:31; furthermore, he finds evidence of a dual formula, in which the death and resurrection of Jesus (not unlike the Pauline forms<sup>4</sup>) are expressed at Acts 4:10; 2:22-4; 2:36; 3:15; 5:30-1; 10:39-40; 17:2-3; and 26:23, noting that "this double event proves Jesus to be the Christ".<sup>5</sup> The writer would add to Neufeld's evidence from Acts the Ethiopian eunuch's baptismal declar-

<sup>1</sup>V.H. Neufeld, op. cit., p. 115.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 117.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 118.

<sup>4</sup>cf. above pp. 139-42.

<sup>5</sup>V.H. Neufeld, op. cit., p. 123.

ation - I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God" (Acts 8:37)<sup>1</sup> - which Cullmann calls "one of the most ancient confessions of faith which we know".<sup>2</sup> Thus Neufeld concludes that the basic homologia in both the Synoptic Gospels and Acts is Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός which was expanded in content to include Jesus' suffering, death, and resurrection.<sup>3</sup>

Finally, Neufeld considers the remaining books of the New Testament where creed-like formulae occur: I and II Timothy, Titus; Hebrews and I Peter.<sup>4</sup> In the Pastoral Epistles, he draws attention to II Timothy 2:8, where he thinks that the name Ἰησοῦς Χριστός plus the dual thought of his Davidic origin and resurrection (reminiscent of Romans 1:3-4<sup>5</sup>) may well indicate that the formula Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός lies behind the passage; he agrees that I Timothy 2:5 and I Timothy 3:16 may contain credal material but feels that the evidence is too inadequate to be conclusive; in I Timothy 6:12-3 it is stated that Timothy "made the good confession in the presence of many witnesses" and goes on to refer to "Christ Jesus who in his testimony before Pontius Pilate made the good confession"; if Jesus' "good confession" is understood to mean "I am the Christ", then it may be argued that Timothy's was Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός. Neufeld holds that this

<sup>1</sup>Omitted by some MSS.

<sup>2</sup>O. Cullmann, The Earliest Christian Confessions, trans. J.K.S. Reid, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup>V.H. Neufeld, op. cit., pp. 125-6.

<sup>4</sup>V.H. Neufeld, op. cit., pp. 127 ff.; he omits any consideration of James, II Peter, Jude and Revelation because "they do not contain material relevant to the present study". (ibid. p. 127).

<sup>5</sup>cf. above p. 141; B.S. Easton (The Pastoral Epistles, p. 53) comments on the verse: "The Pastor has simply condensed Romans 1:1-4"; cf. V.H. Neufeld, ibid., p. 128, n.6.

formula may account for the fact that the most frequently used Christological title in the Pastorals -  $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$  - appears almost always in conjunction with  $\text{Ἰησοῦς}$  in the word order  $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma \text{Ἰησοῦς}$ .

In the Epistle to the Hebrews there are three references to the "confession" ( $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ) - Hebrews 3:1; 4:14 and 10:23; Neufeld holds that the term  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha$  in these passages probably refers to a fixed formula which is suggested by the second one (4:14); there the words "Jesus, the Son of God"<sup>1</sup> immediately precede "let us hold fast our confession".

Neufeld finds several statements of a formulary character in I Peter; he cites first of all the double formula of 3:18 where death is contrasted with life, and flesh with spirit; also he notes that primitive formulae seem to be expressed at 1:21; 2:21; 3:18 and 3:22; observing the author's preference for  $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$  - particularly in passages relating to his suffering - Neufeld states that if any homologia underlies I Peter it is "Jesus is the Christ".

On the basis of this survey of the credal material in the New Testament, Neufeld concludes that the basic pattern of the earliest homologia includes two elements: the naming of Jesus, and the ascription to him of an important title or concept -  $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$  or  $\nu\acute{\iota}\acute{o}\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ . Neufeld recognizes that historically and logically the question of Jesus' messiahship precedes that of his lordship or sonship; therefore he observes that the earliest form of the homologia was  $\text{Ἰησοῦς ἔστιν ὁ χριστός}$ . Neufeld acknowledges that in Paul's

---

<sup>1</sup>In Hebrews the designation "Son" is given to Jesus twelve times: Hebrews 1:2,5 (twice), 8:2;5; 3:6; 4:14; 5:5; 6:6; 7:3,28; 10:29.

Epistles - the earliest written documents of the New Testament - the most primitive confession appears to be "Jesus is Lord"; nevertheless he believes that the Gospels (especially Mark 8:29; 14:61 and 15:2) and Acts are historically accurate with regards to the times which they describe, rather than conforming to the later periods when they were written; and in them the basic confession reflected is "Jesus is the Christ".

This valuable study by Neufeld makes it clear that the primitive Christians were not unfamiliar with making Christological affirmations and on some occasions within the context of public worship. While some of the places where Neufeld finds evidence for a primitive Christian homologia may be questioned, on the whole, the writer finds his evidence reliable. As succinct expressions of Christian faith, shaped to a large extent by the circumstances which occasioned them, these formulary statements served as the basis for the developing Creeds of the Church; gradually the simple Christological confessions were expanded into more formal and complete statements of faith; Neufeld discerns the beginnings of this process in I Corinthians 15:3-5; 8:5-6; Romans 1:3-4; Philippians 2:5-11; I Peter 3:18-22; I Timothy 2:5 (cf. Acts 2:36; 4:10); 3:16; Ephesians 4:5; and II Corinthians 13:14.

It may be wise at this point to reiterate something said earlier<sup>1</sup> in connection with the singing of praises; it is impossible to divide liturgical passages of Scripture into strict categories; some credal formulae may also have been hymns, prayers, Scripture readings or sermons used in public worship. Macdonald makes the point that

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. above p. 81.

"it was out of elements which first took shape in Prayer or Hymn that the Credal confessions were eventually developed".<sup>1</sup>

There is also patristic evidence for the use of credal affirmations. Kelly<sup>2</sup> finds hints of an interrogatory Trinitarian creed - "Dostthou believe . . .?" in I Clement. Clement writes: "Or, do we not have one God and one Christ and one Spirit of grace, a Spirit that was poured out upon us? And is there not one calling in Christ?" (46:6); similarly, he subsequently comments:

For, as truly as God lives, as truly as the Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit live, and the faith and the hope of the elect, so truly will he who in a humble frame of mind, with eagerness to yield, and unregretfully carries out the commandments and precepts given by God, be enrolled and be in good standing among the number of those who are on the way to salvation through Jesus Christ" (58:2).

Kelly<sup>3</sup> also believes that the directions in the Didache for the administration of Baptism - in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit (7:1,3) - presuppose a three-fold interrogatory creed. Furthermore, the First Commandment of the Pastor of Hermas, which enjoins monotheism, has creed-like qualities: "First of all, believe that there is one God who created and finished all things, and made all things out of nothing. He alone is able to contain the whole, but Himself cannot be contained".

The writings of Ignatius incorporate formulary summaries of the Christian faith; in his letter to the Smyrnaeans he states:

<sup>1</sup>A.B. Macdonald, Christian Worship in the Primitive Church, p. 118-9; cf. E. Stauffer, New Testament Theology, trans. J. Marsh, p. 237; G. Delling, Worship in the New Testament, trans. P. Scott, p. 82; C.F.D. Moule, Worship in the New Testament, p. 59; O. Cullmann, The Earliest Christian Confessions, trans. J.K.S. Reid, pp. 22-3.

<sup>2</sup>J.N.D. Kelly, op. cit., pp. 66-7. <sup>3</sup>Ibid., p.66.

For I have observed that you are thoroughly trained in unshaken faith . . . and firmly believe in Our Lord: He is really of the line of David according to the flesh, and the Son of God by the will and power of God; was really born of a virgin, and baptized by John in order to comply with every ordinance. Under Pontius Pilate and the tetrarch Herod He was really nailed to the cross in the flesh for our sake - of whose fruit we are, in virtue of His most blessed Passion. And thus, through the Resurrection, He raised a banner for all times for His saints and faithful followers, whether among the Jews or the Gentiles, that they might be united in a single body, that is, His Church (1:1-2).

Basically the same Christological confessional summary is repeated in his Epistle to the Trallians (9:1-2); and abbreviated forms and variations of it occur in his letters to the Ephesians (7:2; 18:2; 20:2);<sup>1</sup> Magnesians (11); Romans (6:1); Philadelphians (8:2; 9:2); and Polycarp (3:2); a Trinitarian credal pattern may lie behind Magnesians 13, where Ignatius invites his readers to live "in the Son and the Father and the Spirit" (13:1), and to submit to the bishop "as the Apostles did to Christ and the Father and the Spirit" (13:2). Also a bipartite formula may be reflected in Magnesians 8:2 which indicates that "there is one God, who manifests Himself through Jesus Christ, His Son - who, being His Word, came forth out of silence into the world". According to Cullmann, Ignatius used credal material "already fixed in content"<sup>2</sup> but adapted it to his particular anti-Docetic purpose.

Polycarp's Second Epistle to the Philippians contains confessional language which is "compact in outline if plastic in verbal expression":<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. Ephesians 14:2 where Ignatius mentions "those who profess to belong to Christ", and goes on to indicate the inadequacy of a "mere profession of faith".

<sup>2</sup>O. Cullmann, The Earliest Christian Confessions, trans. J.K.S. Reid, p. 31.

<sup>3</sup>J.N.D. Kelly, op. cit., p. 70.

believe in Him who raised Our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, and gave Him glory and a throne at His right. To Him all things in heaven and on earth were subjected; Him every breathing creature worships; He is to come as the Judge of the living and the dead; His Blood God will avenge upon those that disobey Him (2:1; cf. I Peter 1:21; 3:22; 4:5).

In the same letter, Polycarp writes against "whoever does not acknowledge Jesus Christ to have come in human flesh . . . ; whoever does not admit the testimony of the Cross . . . ; and whoever wrests the Lord's Gospel to suit his own lusts and denies both resurrection and judgment" (7:1). Furthermore, the truth of the primitive confession κύριος χριστός very likely lies behind Polycarp's refusal to acknowledge Caesar's lordship (Martyrdom of Polycarp 8:2; 9:2,3).

The writings of Justin Martyr also contain passages which "can plausibly be taken to be quotations of semi-formal creeds".<sup>1</sup> The majority of these are Trinitarian (e.g. Apology I.6; 13; 65; 67; Dialogue with Trypho 61-2) of which the two most important relate to Baptism: "For, in the name of God, the Father and Lord of the universe, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit, they then receive the washing with water" (Apology I.61); shortly thereafter (in the same chapter) a similar formulary passage occurs; identical wording is used about God, Jesus Christ is described as the person "who was crucified under Pontius Pilate", and the Holy Ghost is termed the one "who through the prophets foretold all things about Jesus".

Besides Trinitarian confession, Justin's writings have some formulary statements which are only Christological; a good example of this latter type is the following passage:

---

<sup>1</sup>J.N.D. Kelly, op. cit., p. 71.

In these books, then, of the prophets we found Jesus our Christ foretold as coming, born of a virgin, growing up to man's estate, and healing every disease and every sickness, and raising the dead, and being hated, and unrecognized, and crucified, and dying, and rising again, and ascending into heaven, and being, and being called, the Son of God (Apology I.31; cf. ibid., 21; 42; 46; Dialogue with Trypho 63; 85; 126; 132).<sup>1</sup>

This evidence leads Kelly to conclude that Justin "knew and, on occasion, had recourse to a developed Christological kerygma which already enjoyed a measure of fixity and which was still quite independent of the Trinitarian confessions".<sup>2</sup>

The works of Irenaeus also contain suggestions of Creeds. Some of these are bipartite; in one such reference, Irenaeus states that the apostles "have all declared to us that there is one God, Creator of heaven and earth, announced by the law and the prophets; and one Christ, the Son of God" (Against Heresies III.1.2; cf. ibid. 4.2; 16.6; 17.1; 18.1-2,4). Other creedlike formulations in Irenaeus are Trinitarian of which the following is the most notable:

The Church, though dispersed throughout the whole world, even to the ends of the earth, has received from the apostles and their disciples this faith: [she believes] in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven, and earth, and the sea, and all things that are in them; and in one Christ Jesus, the Son of God, who became incarnate for our salvation; and in the Holy Spirit, who proclaimed through the prophets the dispensations of God, and the advents, and the birth from a virgin, and the passion, and the resurrection from the dead, and the ascension into heaven in the flesh of the beloved Christ Jesus, our Lord, and His [future] manifestation from heaven in the glory of the Father "to gather all things in one," and to raise up anew all flesh of the whole human race, in order that to Christ Jesus, our Lord, and God, and Saviour, and King, according to the will of the invisible Father, "every knee should bow, of things in heaven,

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. Justin, Apology II.2, where he mentions various martyrs who "confessed" that they were Christians.

<sup>2</sup>J.N.D. Kelly, op. cit., p. 75.

and things in earth, and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess" to Him, and that He should execute just judgment towards all; that He may send "spiritual wickednesses," and the angels who transgressed and became apostates, together with the ungodly, and unrighteous, and wicked, and profane among men, into everlasting fire; but may, in the exercise of His grace, confer immortality on the righteous, and holy, and those who have kept His commandments, and have persevered in His love, some from the beginning [of their Christian course], and others from [the date of] their repentance, and may surround them with everlasting glory. (Against Heresies I.10.1; cf. ibid. I.2.5-6; III.18.3; IV.33.7; Proof of the Apostolic Preaching 3; 6; 7; 100; Fragments from the Lost Writings of Irenaeus LII - LIV).

Although it is not a formal Creed, this somewhat lengthy excerpt shows how the essential beliefs of the Church were coming to be formalized in language later transferred into the official confessions of faith.

This passage from Irenaeus appears to reflect a stage when the terminology was becoming more and more standardized, and yet it had not yet been fixed.

The reference in Clement of Alexandria to "the rule of the Church" (The Miscellanies VII.7) may be an allusion to some creed-like formulation. In this same work Clement cites Christ's instruction to "confess" him before men (Luke 12:8, 11-2; Matt. 10:32) and proceeds to give Heracleon's interpretation of this injunction; the latter notes that "there is a confession by faith and conduct, and one with the voice" (IV.9). Crehan believes that the following passage which Clement quotes from the Preaching of Peter is a "completely orthodox Christ-creed, which though it is probably not from the 1st century, may well be from the early years of the 2nd":<sup>1</sup>

"But we, unrolling the books of the prophets which we possess, who name Jesus Christ, partly in parables, partly in enigmas, partly expressly and in so many words, find His coming and death,

---

<sup>1</sup>J. Crehan, Early Christian Baptism and the Creed, p. 58.

and cross, and all the rest of the tortures which the Jews inflicted on Him, and His resurrection and assumption to heaven previous to the capture of Jerusalem" (The Miscellanies VI.15).

Credal statements occur also in the Ethiopic version of the Apocryphal Epistle of the Apostles<sup>1</sup> and the writings of Tertullian. The former speaks about Christian belief "in the Father, the Lord Almighty, and in Jesus Christ our redeemer, in the Holy Ghost the comforter, in the holy church, and in the remission of sins". Kelly writes that the whole style and content of this passage suggest that "it is a more or less stereotyped form".<sup>2</sup>

The idea of making a profession of faith seems to lie behind Tertullian's indication that he "who confesses himself a Christian, beareth witness that he is Christ's; he who is Christ's must be in Christ. If he is in Christ, he certainly confesses in Christ when he confesses himself a Christian. For he cannot be this without being in Christ. Besides, by confessing in Christ he confesses Christ too" (Scorpiace 9). Furthermore, Tertullian hints at something like a Creed when he observes that the four Gospel writers "all start with the same principles of the faith, so far as relates to the one only God the Creator and His Christ, how that He was born of the Virgin, and came to fulfil the law and the prophets" (Against Marcion IV.2). Of particular importance for this study are Tertullian's references to the "rule" of faith which occur in the following places: On the Spectacles 4; Apology 47;

---

<sup>1</sup>This document was probably written between the middle and end of the second Christian century; cf. M.R. James, The Apocryphal New Testament, p. 485; J.N.D. Kelly, op. cit., p. 82; M.S. Enslin, "Epistle of the Apostles", IDB, I, pp. 172-3; "Testament of our Lord in Galilee", ODCC, p. 1335.

<sup>2</sup>J.N.D. Kelly, ibid.

On Prescription Against Heretics 13; 36-7; Adversus Praxean 2; 20; and On the Veiling of Virgins 1; in all except the first of these passages he claims that this "rule" has been handed down from the beginning of the Gospel. Although these "rules" are not identical, each has essentially the same content; therefore, for purposes of illustration, the writer will quote only one of them:

Now with regard to this rule of faith . . . it is, you must know, that which prescribes the belief that there is one only God, and that He is none other than the Creator of the world, who produced all things out of nothing through His own Word, first of all sent forth; that this Word is called His Son [and] under the name of God, was seen "in diverse manners" by the patriarchs, heard at all times in the prophets, at last brought down by the Spirit and Power of the Father into the Virgin Mary, was made flesh in her womb, and, being born of her, went forth as Jesus Christ; thenceforth He preached the new law and the new promise of the kingdom of heaven, worked miracles; having been crucified, He rose again the third day; [then] having ascended into the heavens, He sat at the right hand of the Father; sent instead of Himself the Power of the Holy Ghost to lead such as believe; will come with glory to take the saints to the enjoyment of everlasting life and of the heavenly promises, and to condemn the wicked to everlasting fire, after the resurrection of both these classes shall have happened, together with the restoration of their flesh (On Prescription Against Heretics, 13).

The similarities of content and language in Tertullian's "rules" of faith suggest that he may have been using some existing creed-like summary of the faith. And yet the fact that they are not strictly identical argues against the existence of any formal set Creed. The writer agrees with Kelly that the "most plausible solution would seem to be that, while Tertullian was not acquainted with any one official creed, he was drawing on formulae which had attained a fair measure of fixity".<sup>1</sup> These "rules" of faith represent an important stage in the development of the later Creeds; all of the essential tenets included

---

<sup>1</sup>J.N.D. Kelly, op. cit., p. 88.

in the subsequent formulations are found in these "rules", and in some cases with identical wording.

The writer will conclude<sup>1</sup> this discussion of the patristic credal evidence by referring to Hippolytus; his Apostolic Tradition has an interrogatory baptismal creed; the baptizand is asked the following three questions to which he responds in the affirmative:

Dost thou believe in God, the Father Almighty? . . .  
 Dost thou believe in Christ Jesus, the Son of God, who was born of the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and was dead and buried, and rose again the third day, alive from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and sat at the right hand of the Father, and will come to judge the quick and the dead? . . .  
 Dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost, and the holy church, and the resurrection of the flesh? (Apostolic Tradition, 21)

Similarly the one giving the eucharistic cup makes the following three statements to which the recipient replies "Amen" each time:

In God the Father Almighty; . . .  
 In the Lord Jesus Christ; . . .  
 [In the] Holy Ghost and the holy church (23).

Leith<sup>2</sup> believes that the baptismal questions from the Apostolic Tradition likely preserve an early form of the Apostles' Creed. Certainly the

<sup>1</sup>There are those who would include in this context the creed of the D er Balyzeh papyrus; this document, discovered in 1907, contains the following words: ". . . confesses the faith, saying I believe in God the Father almighty, and in His only-begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Spirit, and in the resurrection of the flesh, and the Holy Catholic Church" ( J.N.D. Kelly, op. cit., p. 89; cf. J.H. Leith, ed., op. cit., p. 19). A very early date - the end of the second century or early in the third - has been suggested for this creed (e.g. T. Schermann, "Der liturgische Papyrus von D er-Balyzeh", Texte und Untersuchungen, XXXVI, 1b, 1913, p. 39); but the writer agrees with J.N.D. Kelly (ibid.) who follows F.E. Brightmann ("Chronicle, Liturgica", JTS, XII, 1911, pp. 310-1) in dating it about the middle of the fourth century at the earliest; cf. R.H. Connolly's review of J.A. Jungmann's Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet, JTS, XXVIII, 1927, pp. 82-3.

<sup>2</sup>J.H. Leith, ed., op. cit., pp. 22-3.

wording suggests a formal fixed Creed and its similarity to what came to be known as the Apostles' Creed is very marked.

The idea of a profession of faith is found again in The Discourse on the Holy Theophany by Hippolytus; he indicates that the candidate for Baptism "makes the confession that Christ is God" (10). A credal note is sounded also by the presbyters who condemned Noetus at Smyrna; their words are preserved in Hippolytus' Against the Heresy of One Noetus:

We too know in truth one God; we know Christ; we know that the Son suffered even as He suffered, and died even as He died, and rose again on the third day, and is at the right hand of the Father, and cometh to judge the living and the dead (1).

This same document goes on to state:

The oeconomy of harmony is led back to one God; for God is One. It is the Father who commands, and the Son who obeys, and the Holy Spirit who give understanding (συνέτις οὐ ) : the Father who is above all, and the Son who is through all, and the Holy Spirit who is in all. And we cannot otherwise think of one God, but by believing in truth in Father and Son and Holy Spirit (14).

On the basis of this Biblical and patristic evidence, it is possible to conclude that brief formulary summaries of the faith were in existence by the end of the Apostolic age, which gradually became more fixed in content and wording. Although at the beginning of the third century A.D. there were still no official Creeds, definite trends in that direction were emerging; these confessions are set, at least sometimes, within the context of public worship.

Milligan has claimed that the use of a Creed in the services of the Church of Scotland has Scriptural warrant. His statement is true in principle but not in actuality. The idea of making a profession of faith in worship came into Christianity from Judaism. Although the

Christian Church did not have any distinctive official Creeds until the fourth century, the truths embodied in these later formulations were confessed in public worship through formulae contained in hymns, prayers, Scripture readings and sermons.

Thus it may be affirmed that there is very adequate Biblical and patristic warrant for making a confession of faith in corporate worship, and that the Christian Church (whose tradition is this regard the Church of Scotland follows) did not depart from Scripture in incorporating the official Creeds into its liturgies when the former appeared.

e) Prayers

Every service in the Book of Common Order has prayers,<sup>1</sup> and these are of different types: Adoration; Approach; Invocation; Confession; Supplication; Illumination; Thanksgiving; Intercession; Dedication, and the Lord's Prayer.<sup>2</sup> Because of Milligan's claim it must be asked whether there are any Biblical and patristic warrants for including these types of prayer in the worship of the Church of Scotland.

In approaching this subject the writer will follow the various categories of prayer noted above, which are often found as headings in the Book of Common Order; in each case he will cite the New Testament

<sup>1</sup>The writer does not attempt to give the many individual page references on which prayers occur; suffice it to say that they appear on every page of the Book of Common Order up to 86, and also from pages 234 to 308; in addition, numerous prayers are scattered throughout the rest of the volume.

<sup>2</sup>The writer deals with the "Amen" in the section on "Congregational Responses"; cf. below pp. 199-203.

and patristic evidence for the existence of such prayers,<sup>1</sup> attempting always to ascertain whether these examples were intended originally for use in public worship. The writer is fully aware that there are Old Testament passages which exemplify each type of prayer,<sup>2</sup> but he limits himself to the New Testament; he does so primarily to avoid unnecessary duplication, but also to confine himself to the uniquely Christian documents in this study of Christian worship.

A) Adoration,<sup>3</sup> Approach, or Invocation

The writer has grouped these three kinds together because the prayer after the "Call to Prayer" is given these various designations in the Book of Common Order. Although the emphasis is slightly different, the idea is the same for each: the worshippers bow before the Majesty of the Lord; his presence is everywhere, but an awareness of it is particularly requested during their public devotion.

The only prayers in the New Testament which might be placed in this category<sup>4</sup> are found in the book of Revelation; certain passages, which may equally be taken as songs are really prayers of Adoration which acknowledge the Lord's sovereignty; they read as follows:

<sup>1</sup>The writer includes only those references where a particular type of prayer is intended; those which speak simply of "(the) prayers" (e.g. Acts 2:42; Justin, Apology I.65,67) are not cited.

<sup>2</sup>cf. J.E. McFadyen, The Prayers of the Bible, pp. 239-300, who quotes and completely categorizes them.

<sup>3</sup>Prayers of this kind are very similar in tone and wording to Ascriptions; cf. below pp. 213-6.

<sup>4</sup>One possible exception might be the Maranatha prayer (I Corin. 16:22; Rev. 22:20) which the writer has elected to include under "Supplications"; cf. below p. 170.

Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God Almighty,  
who was and is and is to come! (Rev. 4:8).

Worthy art thou, our Lord and God,  
to receive glory and honor and power,  
for thou didst create all things,  
and by thy will they existed and were created. (Rev. 4:11).

Worthy art thou to take the scroll and to open its seals,  
for thou wast slain and by thy blood didst ransom men for God  
from every tribe and tongue and people and nation,  
and hast made them a kingdom and priests to our God,  
and they shall reign on earth (Rev. 5:9-10).

Worthy is the Lamb who was slain, to receive power and wealth  
and wisdom and might and honor and glory and blessing! (Rev. 5:12).

To him who sits upon the throne and to the Lamb be blessing and  
honor and glory and might for ever and ever! (Rev. 5:13).

Salvation belongs to our God who sits upon the throne, and to  
the Lamb! (Rev. 7:10).

Amen! Blessing and glory and wisdom and thanksgiving and honor  
and power and might be to our God for ever and ever!  
Amen (Rev. 7:12).

The kingdom of the world has become the kingdom of our Lord and of  
his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever (Rev. 11:15).

Great and wonderful are thy deeds,  
O Lord God the Almighty!  
Just and true are thy ways,  
O King of the ages!

Who shall not fear and glorify thy name, O Lord?  
For thou alone art holy.  
All nations shall come and worship thee,  
for thy judgments have been revealed. (Rev. 15:3-4).

Just art thou in these thy judgments,  
thou who art and wast, O Holy One.  
For men have shed the blood of saints and prophets,  
and thou hast given them blood to drink!  
It is their due! (Rev. 16:5-6).

Yea, Lord God the Almighty,  
true and just are thy judgments! (Rev. 16:7).

Hallelujah! Salvation and glory and power belong to our God,  
 for his judgments are true and just;  
 he has judged the great harlot who corrupted the earth with  
 her fornication,  
 and he has avenged on her the blood of his servants (Rev. 19:1-2).

Hallelujah! The smoke from her goes up for ever and ever  
 (Rev. 19:3).

Amen. Hallelujah! (Rev. 19:4).

Praise our God, all you his servants,  
 you who fear him, small and great (Rev. 19:5).

Hallelujah! For the Lord our God the Almighty reigns.  
 Let us rejoice and exult and give him the glory,  
 for the marriage of the Lamb has come,  
 and his Bride has made herself ready;  
 it was granted her to be clothed with fine linen, bright and  
 pure (Rev. 19:6-8).

The writer does not think that it is necessary to make a decision as to whether these sections are prayers or hymns;<sup>1</sup> the early Christians did not divide their liturgical material into distinct categories; the same words might be used for different purposes.

Although there is no specific indication, the writer believes that these prayers of Adoration cited from Revelation reflect the tone if not the actual content of those used in public worship at the time when that book was composed.

In the accounts of worship in the Fathers there is no specific

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. D. Coggan, The Prayers of the New Testament, p. 179, who writes: "Strung throughout the Book of Revelation is a series of songs. Perhaps they could be called prayers inasmuch as they are addressed to Deity, and therefore they should be mentioned in this book. . . . It might be more accurate to call them hymns of praise rather than prayers."

mention of prayers of Adoration, Approach or Invocation.<sup>1</sup> It is true that some of the patristic Ascriptions<sup>2</sup> have a strong resemblance to prayers of Adoration, but no provision is made for prayer to come immediately after the opening Call to Worship; thus, prayers of this category are not found in the liturgies until after the period covered by this study.

### B) Confession

The New Testament evidence for prayers of Confession is very slight. The Lord's Prayer has a petition for forgiveness (Matt. 6:12; Luke 11:4). According to Luke 23:34,<sup>3</sup> Jesus on the Cross asks his Father to forgive those putting him to death; Stephen makes a similar request (Acts 7:60). I Timothy 5:20 - "As for those who persist in sin, rebuke them in the presence of all, so that the rest may stand in fear" - may imply public penance.<sup>4</sup> James 5:16 urges: "Therefore confess your sins to one another". I John 1:9 notes: "If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just, and will forgive our sins and cleanse us from all unrighteousness".

None of these passages refers specifically to public prayers

---

<sup>1</sup>Except possibly Justin (Apology I.13) and Irenaeus (Proof of the Apostolic Preaching 97) who respectively connect Invocation with Thanksgiving and Petition. Again the Maranatha prayer (cf. Didache 10:6) could be considered as one, but the writer includes it under "Supplications"; cf. below p. 173; Invocations or the Epiclesis in connection with Baptism, Confirmation and the Lord's Supper are considered in these contexts; cf. below pp. 298-9; 345-6; 430-3.

<sup>2</sup>cf. below pp. 215-6.

<sup>3</sup>Omitted by some MSS.

<sup>4</sup>C.F.D. Moule, Worship in the New Testament, p. 35, mentions this possible interpretation.

of Confession. However, in view of the fact that the Selichoth<sup>1</sup> formed an important part of the Temple and Synagogue Liturgies, it may reasonably be argued that they point in that direction. The first Christians would be very familiar with this type of prayer from Jewish worship.

This interpretation is strengthened by the patristic evidence. I Clement has several references to confession; in 52:1-2 Clement states: "In need of nothing, brethren, stands the Master of the universe; nothing does He ask of anyone, except that confession should be offered Him", and proceeds to cite freely David's words from Psalm 69:30-2: "I will confess to the Lord . . .".<sup>2</sup> Subsequently Clement quotes the words of Moses to God who is going to destroy the Hebrews: "No, no, Lord! Forgive this people their sin, or else blot me also out of the book of the living" (53:4; cf. Exodus 32:31-2). Clement's longest prayer of Confession reads as follows:

O merciful and compassionate one, forgive us our iniquities and misdemeanors and transgressions and shortcomings! Do not consider every sin of Thy servants and servant maids; but cleanse us as only Thy truth can cleanse, and direct our steps to walk in holiness of heart and to do the things which are good and pleasing in Thy sight and in the sight of our rulers. Yes, Master, let Thy face beam upon us, that we may do good in peace and be sheltered under Thy mighty hand and delivered from every sin by Thy uplifted arm, and deliver us from such as hate us without cause. (60:1-3).

In all probability, this last reference, at least reflects current liturgical usage.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. F.L. Cohen and M. Seligsohn "Selihah", JE, XI, pp. 170-80; M. Schloessinger, "Kinah", JE, VII, pp. 498-500; W.O.E. Oesterley, The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy, pp. 76-9.

<sup>2</sup>This passage could also refer to the singing of praise.

<sup>3</sup>cf. e.g. O. Cullmann, Early Christian Worship, trans. A.S. Todd and J.B. Torrance, p. 13, who writes: "In the First Epistle of Clement, in chapters 59-61, we have the example of a liturgical congregational prayer as used about the year 96".

The Didache has the following two explicit indications of public prayers of Confession: "In church confess your sins, and do not come to your prayer with a guilty conscience" (4:14); "On the Lord's own day, assemble in common to break bread and offer thanks; but first confess your sins, so that your sacrifice may be pure" (14:1). This first Didache passage (4:14) is almost echoed in the Epistle of Barnabas: "Confess your sins. Do not come to prayer with a guilty conscience" (19:12). The Pastor of Hermas also mentions confession, although he gives no suggestion about whether it is to be done in public or in private; he writes that the rich man "offers very few confessions and intercessions to the Lord", but proceeds to indicate that "the poor man is rich in intercession and confession" (Similitudes 2).

Ignatius also implies prayers of Confession. He reminds the Philadelphians: "Now, the Lord forgives all if they change their mind and by this change of mind return to union with God and the council of the bishop" (8:1); in the same Epistle, Ignatius prays: "As for those who treated them [Philo from Cilicia and Rheus Agathopus] with disrespect, may they be redeemed by the grace of Jesus Christ!" (11:1). Although these passages do not indicate whether the μετάνοια which precedes forgiveness is corporate or individual, they do witness indirectly to the existence of prayers of Confession. The same is true of Polycarp's words: "If, accordingly, we pray the Lord to forgive us, we, too, are obliged to forgive" (Second Epistle to the Philippians 6:2).

Justin Martyr provides further evidence for prayers of this category. In his Dialogue with Trypho he writes concerning the Jews: "but we pray that even now all of you may repent and obtain mercy from

God, the compassionate and long-suffering Father of all" (108). This repentance could be either public or private, but the same cannot be said about that described in Justin's account of Baptism: "As many as persuaded and believe that what we teach and say is true, and undertake to be able to live accordingly, are instructed to pray and to entreat God with fasting, for the remission of their sins that are past, we praying and fasting with them" (Apology I.61). Here the confession is explicitly corporate.

Prayers of Confession are also implied by Irenaeus in various references in his works to God's mercy and forgiveness for those who turn to him and believe;<sup>1</sup> in this context, the following passage is particularly significant: "David, however, was struck with remorse . . . and exclaimed, 'I have sinned against the Lord;' and he sung a penitential psalm, waiting for the coming of the Lord, who washes and makes clean the man who had been fast bound with [the chain of] sin". (Against Heresies IV.27.1).

Similarly, Clement of Alexandria suggests prayers of Confession. In the Miscellanies he states: "For the violent that storm the kingdom"<sup>2</sup> are not so in disputatious speeches; but by continuance in a right life and unceasing prayers, are said 'to take it by force,'<sup>2</sup> wiping away the blots left by their previous sins" (V.3). Subsequently in the same work Clement writes that in their praying the Gnostics initially "will ask forgiveness of sins" (VI.12) and also indicates that they pray for "relief in those things in which we have sinned, and conversion to the acknowledgment of them" (VII.12). He goes on to say that the Gnostic

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. e.g. Against Heresies IV.26-9; 39-41; Fragments from the Lost Writings of Irenaeus VII;X;XXXIX; Proof of Apostolic Preaching 61;90;94-5.

<sup>2</sup>cf. Matt. 11:12.

forgives those who sin against him, adding the comment: "Wherefore also he righteously prays, saying, 'Forgive us; for we also forgive'" (VII. 13; cf. Matt. 6:12; Luke 11:4). These prayers may well be private, but Clement does make the point that the Gnostic "prays in the society of angels, as being already of angelic rank, and he is never out of their holy keeping; and though he pray alone, he has the choir of the saints standing with him (VII.12; cf. ibid. 7).

Evidence for prayers of Confession comes also from Tertullian. In his Treatise On Prayer he discusses each clause of the Lord's Prayer; concerning its sixth one (about forgiveness), Tertullian writes: "The Lord knew Himself to be the only guiltless One; and so He teaches that we beg 'to have our debts remitted us'. A petition for pardon is a full confession; because he who begs for pardon fully admits his guilt" (7); in a later chapter of the same Treatise, Tertullian suggests that Christians "taking our model from the Lord's passion, even in prayer we confess<sup>1</sup> to Christ" (14). In his work On Baptism Tertullian instructs:

They who are about to enter baptism ought to pray with repeated prayers, fasts, and bendings of the knee, and vigils, all the night through; and with the confession of all bygone sins, that they may express [the meaning] even of the baptism of John: 'They were baptized, saith [the Scripture], 'confessing their own sins.' To us it is matter for thankfulness if we do now publicly confess our iniquities or our turpitudes (20; cf. On the Spectacles 4; On the Soldier's Chaplet 3).

Tertullian's Treatise On Repentance deals extensively with the matter of repentance and pardon; its second half discusses these subjects specifically in relation to those who have lapsed after Baptism; many

---

<sup>1</sup>A footnote indicates that "confess" here may alternatively be rendered "give praise".

passages of Scripture are cited in order to demonstrate God's willingness to forgive, provided the person makes a sincere confession of sins. The references from Tertullian relating to Baptism point explicitly to public confession, and the others may as well, although there is no clear indication one way or the other.

Furthermore prayers of Confession are alluded to in the writings of Hippolytus in connection with Baptism. In the Apostolic Tradition candidates are exorcised before the day of Baptism (20), and just prior to that Sacrament are required to say: "I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy servants and all thy works" (21). Likewise The Discourse on the Holy Theophany notes that the baptizand "renounces the devil" (10).

The writer will conclude this survey of the patristic evidence for prayers of Confession by citing two fragments of the second century historian, Hegesippus, preserved by Eusebius. In his fifth Memoir Hegesippus writes about James the Just, the Lord's brother: "And alone he entered into the sanctuary, and was found on his knees asking forgiveness on behalf of the people, so that his knees became hard like a camel's, for he was continually bending the knee in worship to God, and asking forgiveness for the people".<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, immediately before his martyrdom James prays for those stoning him in words similar to those of Jesus and Stephen: "I beseech thee, O Lord God, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do".<sup>2</sup> The first passage from

---

<sup>1</sup>Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History II.23.6.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. 16.

Hegesippus mentions prayers of Confession which are made in a place of public worship, but solitarily; and the second petition for pardon occurs publicly but not in a context of worship. These passages are important, however, because they provide additional testimony for the existence of such prayers in the last quarter of the second Christian century.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, it may be concluded that there is some Biblical and ample patristic evidence for prayers of Confession; at least as early as the Didache these take place during corporate worship.

### C) Supplication or Petition and Prayer for Illumination

The writer will use the terms "supplication" and "petition" interchangeably, although only the former occurs in the services of the Book of Common Order; he includes the Prayer for Illumination in this category as a particular kind of petition. Also, it should be noted that some prayers of this grouping might equally be considered under Intercession.

There are various examples of supplication in the New Testament.<sup>2</sup> In Gethsemane Jesus prays: "My Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me; nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt"; and "My Father, if this cannot pass unless I drink it, thy will be done" (Matt. 26:39,42; cf. Mark 14:32,39; Luke 22:42). On the Cross, Jesus cries in Hebrew "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" (Matt.

---

<sup>1</sup>According to Eusebius (Ecclesiastical History IV.11.7 and 22.3) Hegesippus wrote his Memoirs in the time of Eleutherus c.A.D. 175-90.

<sup>2</sup>In this and subsequent sections the writer will cite these references in the sequence in which they appear in the New Testament rather than chronologically.

27:46; cf. Mark 15:34). In Jesus' parable, the tax collector says: "God be merciful to me a sinner" (Luke 18:13). John records Jesus' words: "Now is my soul troubled. And what shall I say, 'Father, save me from this hour? No, for this purpose I have come to this hour. Father, glorify thy name" (John 12:27-8). His high-priestly prayer (John 17:1-26) commences with similar words: "Father, the hour has come; glorify thy Son that the Son may glorify thee"; the writer will not quote this long prayer in its entirety; the tone with which it begins, continues throughout.

In the opening chapter of Acts the disciples pray: "Lord, who knowest the hearts of all men, show which one of these two [Joseph (Barsabbas, Justus) and Matthias] thou hast chosen to take the place in this ministry and apostleship from which Judas turned aside, to go to his own place" (Acts 1:24-5). In Acts 4:24-30 Peter and John pray: "Sovereign Lord, who didst make the heaven and the earth and the sea and everything in them . . . grant to thy servants to speak thy word with all boldness, while thou stretchest out thy hand to heal, and signs and wonders are performed through the name of thy holy servant Jesus". Just before he dies Stephen prays: "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit" (Acts 7:59).

Several petitions occur in Paul's Epistles. Romans 1:9-10 reads: "For God is my witness, whom I serve with my spirit in the gospel of his Son, that without ceasing I mention you always in my prayers, asking that somehow by God's will I may now at last succeed in coming to you". I Corinthians 16:22 makes the request: "Our Lord, come!" (cf. Revelation 22:20 "Come, Lord Jesus!"; both render the Greek

Maranatha). In I Thessalonians 3:10-13 Paul tells them that he, Silvanus, and Timothy are "praying earnestly night and day that we may see you face to face and supply what is lacking in your faith", and adds: "Now may our God and Father himself, and our Lord Jesus, direct our way to you; and may the Lord make you increase and abound in love to one another and to all men, as we do to you, so that he may establish your hearts unblamable in holiness before our God and Father, at the coming of our Lord Jesus with all his saints". I Timothy urges the praying of "supplications" (2:1). In Revelation 6:10 the souls of the martyrs cry: "O Sovereign Lord, holy and true, how long before thou wilt judge and avenge our blood on those who dwell upon the earth?"

Although none of these petitions is set specifically within a context of public worship, it is not unreasonable to assume that these prayers both reflect and helped to influence the wording of those used in early Christian worship. Stendahl, for example, writes that Matthew composed his Gospel "within the life of a church for whose needs he is catering; his Gospel . . . is a product of a community and for a community".<sup>1</sup> In this context the writer would apply this comment to the whole of the New Testament in relation to prayers of Supplication; those which appear in the New Testament grew up within the life of the Christian Church and helped to meet its needs.

Various prayers of this category occur in the patristic literature. I Clement 48:1 urges: "Let us, then, quickly blot out this blemish and fall on our knees before the Master, and with tears implore

---

<sup>1</sup>K. Stendahl, Matthew (New Peake), p. 769.

Him to have mercy on us and be reconciled to us and restore us to the venerable and holy practice of brotherly love". Subsequently Clement cites the example of Esther praying: "for by fasting and chastizing her body she implored the all-seeing Master, the God of the ages, and He, seeing her self-abasement, rescued the people for whose sake she had incurred danger" (55:6). I Clement 59:2-60:4 contains a lengthy petition.

But for our part we shall be innocent of this sin, and will offer earnest prayer and supplication that the Creator of the Universe may preserve undiminished the established number ... through His beloved Son Jesus Christ, through whom He has called us out of darkness into light, out of ignorance into the full knowledge of the splendor of His name, that we may hope in Thy name which gave existence to all creation. Open the eyes of our heart, that we may know Thee who alone art Highest among the highest and Holy, reposing among the holy, who humblest the pride of the haughty, destroyest the designs of the heathens, who raisest up the lowly and humblest the lofty, makest rich and makest poor slayest and bringest to life, who alone art the Benefactor of spirits and the God of all flesh. Thou gazest upon the deep, Thou beholdest the works of men, the Helper in danger, the Savior in despair, the Creator and Watcher of every spirit. Thou multipliest the nations upon the earth, and from among all Thou hast chosen those that love Thee through Jesus Christ, Thy beloved Son, through whom Thou hast instructed, sanctified, and honored us. We beg Thee, O Master, to be our Helper and Protector: deliver those of us who are in distress, raise up the fallen, show Thy face to those in need, heal the infirm, bring back the erring of Thy people, feed the hungry, ransom our prisoners, set the infirm upon their feet, comfort the fainthearted: let all the nations know that Thou art the only God, that Jesus Christ is Thy Son, that we are Thy people and the sheep of Thy pasture.

. . . Grant concord and peace to us as well as to all the inhabitants of the earth, just as Thou didst grant it to our fathers when they piously called upon Thee in faith and truth; grant us to be obedient to Thy almighty and glorious name, as well as to our princes and rulers on earth.

This last and longest supplication quoted from I Clement witnesses to public petition; and the others at least point to the existence of prayers of this type. The same comments might be made about the following words from the Didache 10:6 "If anyone is holy, let him advance;

if anyone is not, let him be converted. Marana tha". Ignatius makes the following petitionary requests: "May you [the Ephesians] ever be my joy, if indeed I deserve it!" (Ephesians 2:2); "May I be privileged through your prayer - in which I wish I may ever share - to wear them [chains = spiritual pearls] when I rise from the dead!" (ibid. 11:2); "Would that I might enjoy the latter's [Zotion] company!" (Magnesians 2); "May God grant that none of you may relinquish it [true doctrine]" (ibid. 11); "May you be my joy in all respects, if indeed I deserve it!" (ibid. 12); "May I rise in His [God's] presence" (Romans 2:2); "Oh, may the beasts prepared for me be my joy! . . . May nothing seen or unseen, fascinate me, so that I may happily make my way to Jesus Christ!" (ibid. 5:2-3); "May all things, then, be yours in abundance for you deserve it. You have brought relief to me in every respect, and may Jesus Christ do so to you!" (Smyrnaesans 9:2); "May it [Polycarp's face], please God, be a constant joy to me" (Polycarp 1:1); "May you be my joy always!" (ibid. 6:2). In addition, Ignatius explicitly mentions this kind of prayer when he writes: "at your meetings there must be one prayer, one supplication" (Magnesians 7:1).

Furthermore, Justin Martyr mentions prayers of supplication in a context which points clearly to a setting of corporate worship; he states that Christians, in their devotion to God "present before Him petitions for our existing again incorruption through faith in Him" (Apology I.13). Also Irenaeus writes concerning Jesus Christ: "wherever anyone shall call upon Him, invoking Him . . . He comes and stands close by, accomplishing the petitions of those who invoke Him with a pure heart" (Proof of the Apostolic Preaching 97).

Clement of Alexandria also refers to petition. He states that "the petition made in accordance with the will of God is granted" only to the "really holy and pious man . . . who is truly a Gnostic according to the rule of the church" (The Miscellanies VII.7). Clement adds the comment: "Nor is petition superfluous" (ibid.). Although the petition mentioned in these passages may be private, the reference to "the rule of the church" may imply that such praying is to be done in accordance with the regulations of that corporate group. The "Prayer to the Paedagogus" which Clement places at the end of The Instructors (III.12) combines Petition, Intercession, and Thanksgiving, and concludes with an Ascription; rather than dividing it up and quoting the relevant portions in each of these sections, the writer gives this prayer here in its entirety; it may serve as an illustration of the type of more comprehensive prayer which the Christians of that day incorporated into their corporate worship:

Be gracious, O Instructor, to us Thy children, Father, Charioteer of Israel, Son and Father, both in One, O Lord. Grant to us who obey Thy precepts, that we may perfect the likeness of the image, and with all our power know Him who is the good God and not a harsh judge. And do Thou Thyself cause that all of us who have our conversation in Thy peace, who have been translated into Thy commonwealth, having sailed tranquilly over the billows of sin, may be wafted in calm by Thy Holy Spirit, by the ineffable wisdom, by night and day to the perfect day; and giving thanks may praise, and praising thank the Alone Father and Son, Son and Father, the Son, Instructor and Teacher, with the Holy Spirit, all in One, in whom is all, for whom all is One, for whom is eternity, whose members we all are, whose glory the aeons are; for the All-good, All-lovely, All-wise, All-just One. To whom be glory both now and for ever. Amen.

Similarly Tertullian speaks about petitions. In his Apology he writes: "We meet together in an assembly and congregation, that, offering up prayer to God as with united force, we may wrestle with

God in our supplications" (39). His Treatise On Prayer begins by dealing with the Lord's Prayer; concerning its third clause - "Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven" - Tertullian comments: "We petition, then, that He supply us with the substance of His will, and the capacity to do it, that we may be saved both in the heavens and on earth; because the sum of His will is the salvation of them whom He has adopted" (4). Tertullian proceeds in the next chapter (5) to discuss the petition "Thy kingdom come", noting that it is the Christian's wish that God's "reign be hastened", and cites the prayer question of Revelation 6:10 which the writer has already<sup>1</sup> quoted as a supplication. Then Tertullian has a chapter (6) on the fifth clause - "Give us this day our daily bread"; he states that "after things heavenly", the Lord's Prayer gives "earthly necessities also room for a petition". In chapter 8 Tertullian considers the seventh petition - "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil", observing that the Lord added it "in order that we should supplicate not touching the remitting merely, but touching the entire averting, of acts of guilt". Although Tertullian gives no indication one way or the other, by his time the Lord's Prayer was probably used in public worship,<sup>2</sup> and thus these petitions would be part of the same.

Tertullian goes on in the same work to state that because "there are petitions which are made according to the circumstances of

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. above p. 171.

<sup>2</sup>cf. below pp. 195-9.

each individual" it is right to rear "an outer superstructure of petitions, yet with remembrance of [the Master's] precepts" (10).

The wording of this passage suggests private petition but it does point to the praying of petitions; also the quotation from his Apology shows that Tertullian is very much aware that prayers of this type belong in corporate worship. Furthermore, Hippolytus suggests public petition when he directs that at the ordination of the bishop all the people "shall keep silent, praying in their heart for the descent of the Spirit" (Apostolic Tradition 2).

This evidence from the Fathers makes it clear that Christians continued to use prayers of Supplication, sometimes in the context of gatherings for public worship. No specific prayers for Illumination are found because no provision for a prayer to come just before the sermon appears in the Liturgies until much later. However it may be concluded that there is ample Biblical and patristic warrant for including petitions in services of worship today.

#### D) Thanksgiving<sup>1</sup>

There are various prayers of Thanksgiving in the New Testament and indications of their existence. After upbraiding the cities Jesus prays: "I thank thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hidden these things from the wise and understanding and revealed them to babes; yea, Father, for such was thy gracious will" (Matt. 11:25-6; cf. Luke 10:21). The passages in the first two chapters of Luke which might be considered as prayers of Thanksgiving (Luke 1:46-55; 68-79;

---

<sup>1</sup>The Eucharistic Prayers of Thanksgiving are not included here, but will be subsequently considered in the writer's discussion of the Lord's Supper; cf. below pp. 427-35; 441-2.

2:14,29-32;) have been discussed as Canticles.<sup>1</sup> In Luke 18:11-2 the Pharisee prays: "God, I thank thee that I am not like other men, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even like this tax collector. I fast twice a week, I give tithes of all that I get". Just before Lazarus is raised to life Jesus says: "Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me. I knew that thou hearest me always, but I have said this on account of the people standing by, that they may believe that thou didst send me" (John 11:41-2).

At the beginning of several of his Epistles, Paul tells the recipients that he gives thanks for them; Romans 1:8 reads: "First, I thank my God through Jesus Christ for all of you, because your faith is proclaimed in all the world"; similar thanksgivings occur at I Corinthians 1:3-9; Philippians 1:3-5; Colossians 1:3-5; I Thessalonians 1:2-3; II Thessalonians 1:3; II Timothy<sup>2</sup> 1:3; and Philemon 4. In addition to these, Paul's letters contain the following expressions of praise: "But thanks be to God, who in Christ always leads us in triumph, and through us spreads the fragrance of the knowledge of him everywhere" (II Corin. 2:14); "But thanks be to God who puts the same earnest care for you into the heart of Titus" (II Corin. 8:16); "Thanks be to God for his inexpressible gift!" (II Corin. 9:15); he tells the Ephesians<sup>3</sup>: "I do not cease to give thanks for you" (1:16); and suggests that they should be "always and for everything giving thanks in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to God the Father" (5:20); Paul prays that the Colossians may be "giving thanks to the Father

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. above pp. 129-32.

<sup>2</sup>cf. above p. 63, n.1.

<sup>3</sup>cf. above p. 63, n.2.

(1:12), and instructs them: "Continue steadfast in prayer, being watchful in it with thanksgiving" (4:2); to the Thessalonians Paul writes: "And we also thank God constantly for this, that when you received the word of God which you heard from us, you accepted it not as the word of men but as what it really is, the word of God, which is at work in you believers" (I Thess. 2:13); "But we are bound to give thanks to God always for you, brethren beloved by the Lord, because God chose you from the beginning to be saved, through sanctification by the Spirit and belief in the truth" (II Thess. 2:13); I Timothy 1:12 reads: "I thank him who has given me strength for this, Christ Jesus our Lord, because he judged me faithful by appointing me to his service"; this same Epistle urges that "thanksgivings be made" (2:1).

In the book of Revelation, twenty-four elders pray:

We give thanks to thee, Lord God Almighty, who art and who wast,  
 that thou hast taken thy great power and begun to reign.  
 The nations raged, but thy wrath came, and the time for the  
 dead to be judged,  
 for rewarding thy servants, the prophets and saints,  
 and those who fear thy name, both small and great,  
 and for destroying the destroyers of the earth (11:17-8).

Although none of these New Testament prayers of Thanksgiving (except possibly Rev. 11:17-8) occurs explicitly within public worship, they do point to the existence of prayers of this nature. The writer believes that they very probably both reflect and help to provide the content of the early Church's liturgical prayers of this category.

Evidence for prayers of Thanksgiving comes also from the Fathers. I Clement instructs: "let the rich support the poor, and the poor render thanks to God for giving them the means of supplying their needs . . . . Since then, we owe all these blessings to Him, we are obliged to thank Him in every way" (38:2-4). Subsequently Clement

prays to the Lord: "To Thee, who alone art able to bestow these and even greater blessings upon us, we render thanks and praise through the High Priest and Ruler of our souls, Jesus Christ, through whom be to Thee the glory and majesty now and for all generations and forever and evermore. Amen" (61:3). The liturgical ring particularly of this last citation from I Clement points to a setting of corporate worship.

The only possible indication of Thanksgiving in the Didache which may not be connected with the Eucharist is the following: "But permit the prophets to give thanks as much as they desire" (10:7). Similarly, the Epistle of Barnabas tells his readers that "a full measure of thanks and praise is due" to the Lord (7).<sup>1</sup>

The Epistles of Ignatius contain indications of Thanksgiving. He tells the Ephesians: "I am writing to you with thanks to the Lord" (21:1). To the Trallians he admits: "I burst into thanks and praise, finding that you, as I learned, were patterning yourselves after God" (1:2). Ignatius writes to the Philadelphians "I thank my God that I have a good conscience as concerning you" (6:3). Also because the Philadelphians kindly received Philo of Cilicia and Rheus Agathopus Ignatius states "I, too, thank God on your behalf" (11:1). Concerning these same two individuals he writes to the Smyrnaeans: "For their part, they thank the Lord on your behalf, because you offered them every comfort" (10:1). These prayers of Praise mentioned by Ignatius may well have been private, but the possibility that they were public cannot be ruled out.

---

<sup>1</sup>This passage may refer to the singing as well as the praying of Thanksgivings.

The prayer which Polycarp gives at his martyrdom is one of Thanksgiving, Petition and Ascription of Praise; the writer quotes it in full because he believes that it may well contain phraseology which was used at that time in the worship of the Church:

O Lord God, O Almighty, Father of Thy beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ, through whom we have received the knowledge of you - God of angels and hosts of all creation - and of the whole race of saints who live under your eyes! I bless Thee, because Thou hast seen fit to bestow upon me this day and this hour, that I may share, among the number of the martyrs, the cup of Thy Anointed and rise to eternal life both in soul and in body, in virtue of the immortality of the Holy Spirit. May I be accepted among them in Thy sight today as a rich and pleasing sacrifice, such as Thou, the true God that cannot utter a falsehood, hast prearranged, revealed in advance, and now consummated. And therefore I praise Thee for everything; I bless Thee; I glorify Thee through the eternal and heavenly High Priest Jesus Christ, Thy beloved Son, through whom be glory to Thee together with Him and the Holy Spirit, both now and for the ages yet to come. Amen" (Martyrdom of Polycarp 14:1-2).

Furthermore, the Pastor of Hermas refers to prayers of Thanksgiving. His Second Similtude notes that the poor man is not only interceding for the rich man who helps him but also "giving thanks to God for him who bestows gifts upon him". Also, the first chapter of the Fifth Similtude begins: "While fasting and sitting on a certain mountain, and giving thanks to the Lord for all His dealings with me, I see the Shepherd sitting down beside me". This second passage has a particular liturgical connection; although the thanksgiving is being offered privately, it occurs during the fasting of a "station".

Justin Martyr furnishes additional evidence for prayers of Thanksgiving within the context of corporate worship. In his initial Apology Justin speaks of "the Maker of this universe . . . whom we praise to the utmost of our power by the exercise of prayer and thanksgiving for all things wherewith we are supplied" (I.13); he proceeds

to make the point that "we have been taught . . . with gratitude to Him to offer thanks by invocations and hymns for our creation" (ibid.)<sup>1</sup>. In addition his Dialogue with Trypho (74) observes that the Lord bids everyone to "give praises to God the Father of all things, and recognise that He is to be praised and feared" (74)<sup>1</sup>. Similarly Irenaeus writes: "Having thereby received salvation, we are constant in rendering thanks to God, our Savior through His great inscrutable and unsearchable wisdom" (Proof of the Apostolic Preaching 97).

Clement of Alexandria also discusses the offering of praise; in The Instructor he refers to disorderly frivolities and drunken feasts but goes on to state that the Spirit "distinguishing from such revelry the divine service" (II.4) offers praise; Clement then proceeds to quote from Psalm 150 in support of his views; later he cites Colossians 3:16-7, adding the comment: "This is our thankful revelry"<sup>1</sup> (ibid.). In the same chapter, Clement makes the point that it is fitting and suitable to bless and praise God before partaking of food or drink, and in conclusion, notes that "before partaking of sleep, it is a sacred duty to give thanks to God, having enjoyed His grace and love". This last thought is echoed later in this same work: "For after the repast, having given thanks to God for our participation in our enjoyments and for the [happy] passing of the day, our talk must be turned to sleep (II.9). Towards the end of The Instructor (III.12) and in The Miscellanies (V.10) Clement quotes with approval Colossians 4:2: "Continue steadfastly in prayer, being watchful in it with thanksgiving". Also he makes the following comment after his "Prayer to the Paedag-

---

<sup>1</sup>This passage may refer to the singing as well as the praying of Thanksgivings.

ogus"<sup>1</sup>: "We should offer to the Lord the reward of due thanksgiving - praise suitable to His fair instruction" (III.12).<sup>2</sup> Additional endorsement for prayers of Thanksgiving occurs in The Miscellanies. Clement mentions "giving thanks always for all things to God" (VI.14); subsequently he observes that the form of the Gnostic's prayer is "thanksgiving for the past, for the present, and for the future as already through faith present" (VII.12); in this same chapter, Clement notes that the Gnostic "is ever giving thanks to God". These excerpts from Clement of Alexandria point to the practice of offering prayers of Thanksgiving and some of these take place publicly.

In his Treatise On Prayer 2-3 Tertullian makes it clear that Christians are able to utter the first part of the Lord's Prayer - "Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name" - because of their thankfulness to God: "Plainly, it is universally becoming for God to be blessed in every place and time, on account of the memory of His benefits ever due from every man" (3). Thus E.G. Jay<sup>3</sup> includes these two chapters under the headings "Praise" and "Thanksgiving" in his discussion of Tertullian's teaching on prayer. Because the Lord's Prayer was probably being used in public worship at this time,<sup>4</sup> these clauses of it witness indirectly to prayers of Thanksgiving in corporate gatherings.

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. above p. 174.

<sup>2</sup>This passage may refer to the singing as well as the praying of Thanksgivings.

<sup>3</sup>E.G. Jay, Origen's Treatise on Prayer, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup>cf. below pp. 195-9.

The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus enjoins prayers of this category; most of them are associated with the Eucharist but the following references do not have such a connection: "The bishop shall give thanks [in all ordinations] as we have prescribed" (10); "If at the third hour thou art at home, pray then and give thanks to God . . . . And at the ninth hour let a great prayer and a great thanksgiving be made, such as made the souls of the righteous ones, blessing the Lord" (36). Although the thanksgivings of this last passage appear to be private, those of the first are explicitly public. Also, Hippolytus is very much aware that prayers of this type belong in corporate worship, and this fact will become clearer when the writer cites the Thanksgivings which Hippolytus suggests for the Eucharist.<sup>1</sup>

This survey of the Biblical and patristic evidence for prayers of Thanksgiving indicates that there is abundant warrant for including them in Orders of worship today.

#### E) Intercession

There are many prayers of Intercession or directions to offer them in the New Testament. Jesus tells the disciples: "Pray for those who persecute you" (Matt. 5:44; cf. Luke 6:28); and urges: "pray therefore the Lord of the harvest to send out laborers into his harvest" (Matt. 9:38). In Acts, Peter "knelt down and prayed" beside Tabitha in order to restore her to life (Acts 9:40); when Peter was in prison "earnest prayer for him was made to God by the church" (Acts 12:5).

Most of the Epistles begin with a greeting which is essentially

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. below pp. 429-30.

a brief prayer of Intercession. Romans 1:7 reads: "Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ"; this prayer is found in almost exactly the same wording at I Corinthians 1:3; II Corinthians 1:2; Galatians 1:3; Ephesians 1:2; Philippians 1:2; II Thessalonians 1:2; and Philemon 3; but to II Corinthians 1:2 are added the words: "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies and God of all comfort who comforts us in all our affliction, so that we may be able to comfort those who are in any affliction, with the comfort with which we ourselves are comforted by God (3-4); the Galatian passage continues the prayer into verses 4 and 5 "[Christ] who gave himself for our sins to deliver us from the present evil age, according to the will of our God and Father; to whom be the glory for ever and ever. Amen"; also, the Ephesian prayer has an additional verse: "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has blessed us in Christ with every spiritual blessing in the heavenly places" (3); the opening prayer in Colossians is the same as Romans 1:7 except that it ends with the word "Father" (Col. 1:2); and in I Thessalonians 1:1 it is further abbreviated to end with "peace"; in the Epistles to Timothy the greeting-prayer reads: "Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father and Christ Jesus our Lord" (I Tim. 1:2; II Tim. 1:2); Titus has the wording: "Grace and peace from God the Father and Christ Jesus our Savior" (Tit. 1:4). I Peter 1:2 prays: "May grace and peace be multiplied to you", and continues: "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ!" (3); II Peter 1:2 begins with the same words as I Peter but has the additional ones: "in the knowledge of God and of Jesus our Lord"; similarly Jude 2 requests:

"May mercy, peace, and love be multiplied to you"; although Revelation is not strictly an Epistle, the writer will include its initial prayer here for the sake of completeness; it reads: "Grace to you and peace from him who is and who was and who is to come, and from the seven spirits who are before his throne, and from Jesus Christ the faithful witness, the first-born of the dead, and the ruler of kings on earth" (1:4-5) and then John breaks into an Ascription.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to these beginnings, the Epistles of the New Testament furnish much other evidence for the existence of prayers of Intercession. Concerning the Israelites Paul writes: "Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer to God for them is that they may be saved" (Rom.10:1); in Romans 15:5-6 and 13 Paul makes the following requests: "May the God of steadfastness and encouragement grant you to live in such harmony with one another, in accord with Christ Jesus, that together you may with one voice glorify the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ"; "May the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, so that by the power of the Holy Spirit you may abound in hope". He instructs the Corinthians: "You also must help us by prayer, so that many will give thanks on our behalf for the blessing granted us in answer to many prayers" (II Corin. 1:11); later in the same Epistle he tells them that those who are to benefit from their generous contribution "long for you and pray for you, because of the surpassing grace of God in you" (9:14); again he tells them: "But we pray God that you may do no wrong - . . . . What we pray for is your improvement" (13:7-9). Almost immediately before the Benediction at the conclusion of Galatians comes the prayer:

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. below p. 214.

"Peace and mercy be upon the Israel of God" (6:16). The author of Ephesians indicates that he is "remembering you in my prayers, that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of Glory, may give you a spirit of wisdom and of revelation in the knowledge of him, having the eyes of your hearts enlightened, that you may know what is the hope to which he has called you, what are the riches of his glorious inheritance in the saints, and what is the immeasurable greatness of his power in us who believe" (1:16-9); the same epistle tells them: "I bow my knees before the Father, from whom every family in heaven and on earth is named, that according to the riches of his glory he may grant you to be strengthened with might through his Spirit in the inner man, and that Christ may dwell in your hearts through faith; that you, being rooted and grounded in love, may have power to comprehend with all the saints what is the breadth and length and height and depth, and to know the love of Christ which surpasses knowledge, that you may be filled with all the fulness of God" (3:14-9). Paul writes to the Philippians about the substance of his intercession for them: "And it is my prayer that your love may abound more and more, with knowledge and all discernment, so that you may approve what is excellent, and may be pure and blameless for the day of Christ, filled with the fruits of righteousness which come through Jesus Christ, to the glory and praise of God" (1:9-11). Similarly, he indicates to the Colossians: "we have not ceased to pray for you, asking that you may be filled with the knowledge of his will in all spiritual wisdom and understanding, to lead a life worthy of the Lord, fully pleasing to him, bearing fruit in every good work and increasing in the knowledge of God. May you be strengthened with all power,

according to his glorious might, for all endurance and patience with joy (1:9-11); subsequently he instructs the Colossians: "Continue steadfast in prayer . . . and pray for us also, that God may open to us a door for the word, to declare the mystery of Christ, on account of which I am in prison, that I may make it clear, as I ought to speak" (4:2-4); Paul further encourages the Colossians by mentioning that Epaphras is "always remembering you earnestly in his prayers, that you may stand mature and fully assured in all the will of God" (4:12). In I Thessalonians 3:11-3 Paul pleads: "Now may our God and Father himself, and our Lord Jesus, direct our way to you; and may the Lord make you increase and abound in love to one another and to all men, as we do to you, so that he may establish your hearts unblamable in holiness before our God and Father, at the coming of our Lord Jesus with all his saints"; later in the same Epistle he prays: "May the God of peace himself sanctify you wholly; and may your spirit and soul and body be kept sound and blameless at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ" (5:23); and then Paul requests: "Brethren, pray for us" (5:25); in his second Epistle to the Thessalonians Paul makes several requests for and from them: "To this end we always pray for you, that our God may make you worthy of his call, and may fulfil every good resolve and work of faith by his power, so that the name of our Lord Jesus may be glorified in you, and you in him, according to the grace of our God and the Lord Jesus Christ" (1:11-2); "Now may our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and God our Father, who loved us and gave us eternal comfort and good hope through grace, comfort your hearts and establish them in every good work and word" (2:16-7); "Finally, brethren, pray for us, that the word of the Lord may

speed on and triumph, as it did among you, and that we may be delivered from wicked and evil men" (3:1-2); "May the Lord direct your hearts to the love of God and to the steadfastness of Christ" (3:5); and "Now may the Lord of peace himself give you peace at all times in all ways. The Lord be with you all" (3:16). Timothy is exhorted as follows: "First of all, then, I urge that . . . intercessions . . . be made for all men, for kings and all who are in high positions, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, godly and respectful in every way" (I Tim: 2:1-2); and "I desire then that in every place the men should pray, lifting holy hands without anger or quarreling" (I Tim. 2:8). To Philemon Paul writes: "I pray that the sharing of your faith may promote the knowledge of all the good that is ours in Christ" (6); and "I am hoping through your prayers to be granted to you" (22). The Hebrews are reminded that the ascended Christ "always lives to make intercession for them" (Heb. 7:25); subsequently, they are exhorted: "Pray for us, for we are sure that we have a clear conscience, desiring to act honorably in all things. I urge you the more earnestly to do this in order that I may be restored to you the sooner" (13:18-9). James tells those to whom he writes: "Is any among you suffering? Let him pray. . . . Is any among you sick? Let him call for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him . . . ; and the prayer of faith will save the sick man . . . . Therefore . . . pray for one another, that you may be healed. The prayer of a righteous man has great power in its effects" (5:13-6); James then cites the example of Elijah who caused the rain to cease and to begin by his prayer.<sup>1</sup> In his letter to Gaius, John writes:

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. I Kings 17:1; 18:1.

"Beloved, I pray that all may go well with you and that you may be in health" (III John 2).

These are all the passages which the writer finds in the New Testament which provide evidence for the existence of prayers of Intercession; at least some of them were used in corporate worship; the Epistles were read publicly from an early date,<sup>1</sup> and thus the prayers in them would influence and help to provide the content of those used in Christian worship.

The patristic literature also supports very clearly the practice of intercessory prayer at liturgical gatherings. I Clement 56:1 begins: "Let us, too, therefore, pray for those who are guilty of some fault, that meekness and humility may be granted them"; Clement also prays for earthly rulers:

Grant to them, O Lord, health, peace, concord, and firmness, so that they may without hindrance exercise the supreme leadership Thou hast conferred on them. . . . Do Thou, O Lord, direct their counsels in accord with what is good and pleasing in Thy sight, so that they may piously exercise in peace and gentleness the authority Thou hast granted them, and thus experience Thy graciousness (61:1-2).

The following references in the Didache encourage intercession: "bless those who curse you, and pray for your enemies (1:13); "pray for others" (2:7). Actual examples of intercessory prayer occur in the Didache's prescriptions for the Eucharist, but they will be cited in that context.<sup>2</sup> The Epistles of Ignatius also enjoin, request and mention prayers of Intercession: "But pray unceasingly also for the rest of men, for they offer ground for hoping that they may be converted and win their way to God" (Ephesians 10:1); "Pray for the Church in Syria"

---

<sup>1</sup> cf. above pp. 61-4; 133.

<sup>2</sup> cf. below pp. 428-9.

(Ephesians 21:2); "Remember me in your prayers that I may happily make my way to God. Remember, too, the Church in Syria, of which I am an unworthy member. Yes, I do stand in need of your God-inspired prayer" (Magnesians 14); "But also pray for me, who stand in need of your charity before the mercy seat of God" (Trallians 12:3); "Remember in your prayers the Church in Syria" (Trallians 13:1); "Only beg for me strength within and without, that I may be a man not merely of words, but also of resolution" (Romans 3:2); "Pray for me that I may succeed" (Romans 8:3); "Remember in your prayers the Church in Syria" (Romans 9:1); "These are the things [the life, death, resurrection and message of Jesus Christ] which, thanks to your prayer, I want to be my justification" (Philadelphians 8:2); "May the Lord do so to you! [receive you kindly]" (Philadelphians 11:2); "Your prayer made its way to the Church at Antioch in Syria. . . . Would that this grace [God's] were given me in perfection, that through your prayer I may make my way to God!" (Smyrnaeans 11:1); "they [Syrians] have, thanks to your prayer, at last made port" (Smyrnaeans 11:3); "I pray that she [Tavia] may be firmly rooted in faith and love, both carnal and spiritual" (Smyrnaeans 13:2); "the Church at Antioch in Syria enjoys peace through your prayer" (Polycarp 7:1). At least some of these Ignatian passages indicate that the intercessions are public.

In his Second Epistle to the Philippians Polycarp prays:

May God and the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and the eternal High Priest Himself, the Son of God, Jesus Christ further your growth in faith and truth and in meekness that is perfect and without a vestige of resentment, as well as in patient endurance and long-suffering and perseverance and purity. May He also grant perfect fellowship with His saints to you, and along with you, to us, and indeed to all who are under heaven and destined to believe in Our Lord Jesus Christ

and His Father, who has raised Him from the dead. Pray for all the saints. Pray also for kings and magistrates and rulers, and for such as persecute and hate you, as well as for the enemies of the Cross (12:2-3).

This prayer of Intercession, with the instruction to offer the same, has a liturgical tone, and probably points to the presence of intercessory prayers in public worship.

The Pastor of Hermas mentions intercession. His Second Similitude notes that "the poor man is rich in intercession . . . and his intercession has great power with God"; thus, "the poor man, being helped by the rich, intercedes for him"; the latter "knows that the intercession of the poor man is acceptable and influential with God". Furthermore, the second chapter of the Fifth Similitude observes that when a slave received and shared food with his fellow-slaves they "began to pray for him, that he might find still greater favour with his master for having so treated them". These intercessions may have been private, although the second one suggests a group activity; at any rate they indicate that intercessory prayers were made.

Justin Martyr also refers to prayers of this category; he tells the civil rulers that the Christians "gladly serve you, acknowledging you as kings and rulers of men, and praying that with your kingly power you be found to possess also sound judgment" (Apology I.17); in his discussion of Baptism Justin writes that the "brethren are assembled, in order that we may offer hearty prayers in common for ourselves and for the baptized [illuminated] person, and for all others in every place" (ibid., 65); his Dialogue with Trypho, refers to Moses who "prayed to God" during battle with Amalek, and asks the question: "For who of you knows not that the prayer of one who accompanies it with lamentation

and tears, with the body prostrate, or with bended knees, propitiates God most of all?" (90); subsequently, in the same work, Justin tells the Jews: "we pray for you, that Christ may have mercy upon you. For he taught us to pray for our enemies" (96); he repeats the same idea later when he writes: "all of us pray for you, and for all men, as our Christ and Lord taught us to do, when He enjoined us to pray even for our enemies" (133). These passages from Justin indicate that intercession is an important element in public worship.

Irenaeus provides further evidence for intercession which may be public:

We do indeed pray that these men may not remain in the pit which they themselves have dug, but separate themselves from a Mother of this nature, and depart from Bythus, and stand away from the void, and relinquish the shadow; and that they, being converted to the church of God, may be lawfully begotten, and that Christ may be formed in them, and that they may know the Framer and Maker of this universe, the only true God and Lord of all. We pray for these things on their behalf, loving them better than they seem to love themselves (Against Heresies III.25.7).

Clement of Alexandria discusses the whole range of prayer - including intercessions - in The Miscellanies; he writes that prayer "for the conversion of our neighbours" (VII.7) is one of the functions of the Gnostic's prayer, who follows the example of Jesus; in this same chapter Clement refers several times simply to "prayer", but his delineation of the various kinds suggests that intercession is included in this term; according to him also prayers may be offered either privately or in public meetings.

Tertullian endorses the practice of intercessory prayer. In his Apology he cites the Biblical warrant of I Timothy 2:2(31) after writing: "For we offer prayer for the safety of our princes to the eternal,

the true, the living God, whose favour, beyond all others, they must themselves desire. . . . And, without ceasing, for all our emperors we offer prayer. We pray for life prolonged; for security to the empire; for protection to the imperial house; for brave armies, a faithful senate, a virtuous people, the world at rest, - whatever, as man or Caesar, an emperor would wish" (30). Later in this work Tertullian states: "We pray, too, for the emperors, for their ministers and for all in authority, for the welfare of the world, for the prevalence of peace, for the delay of the final consummation" (39). The intercession of this last passage is put explicitly within the context of Christian public worship by Tertullian, but its similarity in subject matter to the others would seem to indicate that he intends the same setting for them as well.

Various intercessions are preserved in the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus. At ordinations the bishop prays at length:

God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ . . . . Pour forth now that power, which is thine, of thy royal Spirit, which thou gavest to thy beloved Servant Jesus Christ, which he bestowed on his holy apostles, who established the church in every place, the church which thou hast sanctified unto unceasing glory and praise of thy name. Thou who knowest the hearts of all, grant to this thy servant, whom thou hast chosen to be bishop, [to feed thy holy flock] and to serve as thy high priest without blame, ministering night and day, to propitiate thy countenance without ceasing and to offer thee the gifts of thy holy church. And by the Spirit of high-priesthood to have authority to remit sins according to thy precept, to loose every bond according to the authority which thou gavest to thy apostles, and to please thee in meekness and purity of heart, offering to thee an odour of sweet savour. Through thy Servant Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom be to thee glory, might, honour, with [the] Holy Spirit in [the] holy church both now and always and world without end. Amen. (3)<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>This prayer is from the service of ordination for a bishop, but similar ones are given for the ordination of a presbyter (8) and a deacon (9).

Similarly at Baptisms the bishop prays:

O Lord God, who hast made them worthy to obtain remission of sins through the laver of regeneration of [the] Holy Spirit, send into them thy grace, that they may serve thee according to thy will; for thine is the glory, to the Father and the Son, with [the] Holy Spirit in the holy church, both now and world without end. Amen (22).

Furthermore, Hippolytus instructs: "Widows and virgins . . . shall pray for the church" (25). Easton comments on these words: "The widows and virgins were especially dedicated to the work of intercession".<sup>1</sup> Thus, Hippolytus makes intercessory prayer an important element in the life and worship of the Church.

This survey of the Biblical and patristic evidence for prayers of Intercession indicates that there is ample warrant for including them in liturgies today.

#### F) Dedication

Although there are various exhortations to dedicate oneself to God in the New Testament,<sup>2</sup> there are almost no prayers of this nature. Jesus' words on the Cross may be taken as a prayer of Dedication: "Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit!" (Luke 23:46).

The prayers of Dedication in the Book of Common Order are placed immediately after the receiving of the offerings and are intended as a dedication to God of these gifts which symbolize man's self-offering to the deity. Prayers of this kind, are virtually non-existent in the Biblical and patristic literature. Clement of Alexandria urges: "having learned that we are the most excellent of His possessions, let us commit

---

<sup>1</sup>B.S. Easton, The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus, p. 96.

<sup>2</sup>e.g. Romans 12:1 ff; Colossians 3:1 ff.

ourselves to God, loving the Lord God, and regarding this as our business all our life long" (Exhortation to the Heathen 12). But these words are exhortation rather than actual prayer - although the latter may be implied.

The only prayer in the Fathers which corresponds essentially to the prayers of Dedication in the Book of Common Order is found in the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus; he indicates that after the people have offered the first-fruits to the bishop, he shall pray:

We give thee thanks, O God, and we offer thee the first-fruits; which thou hast given us to enjoy, nourishing them through thy word, commanding the earth to bring forth her fruits for the gladness and the food of men and all beasts. For all these things wherewith thou hast blessed us, who for us adornest every creature with divers fruits. Through thy Servant Jesus Christ, our Lord, through whom be to thee glory, world without end. Amen (28).<sup>1</sup>

Although there is scant evidence for the existence of prayers of Dedication for use after the taking of the offering, it must be admitted that the Scriptures and Fathers endorse the idea of self-oblation to God which such gifts and dedications symbolize; thus, it may be concluded that with regard to prayers of Dedication Milligan's assertion is true in principle, although not, to any extent, in fact. Therefore, the writer holds that the Church acted correctly and reasonably in making specific provision in later liturgies for prayer of this nature to follow the reception of material gifts.

#### G) The Lord's Prayer

The prayer which Jesus taught his disciples is used very extensively in worship. Two versions of it appear in the New Testament:

---

<sup>1</sup>It will be observed that this prayer could also be included in the section on prayers of Thanksgiving.

Our Father who art in heaven,  
 Hallowed be thy name.  
 Thy kingdom come.  
 Thy will be done,  
     On earth as it is in heaven.  
 Give us this day our daily bread;  
 And forgive us our debts,  
     As we also have forgiven our debtors;  
 And lead us not into temptation,  
     But deliver us from evil.<sup>1</sup> (Matt. 6:9-13).

Father, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Give us each day our daily bread; and forgive us our sins, for we ourselves forgive everyone who is indebted to us; and lead us not into temptation (Luke 11:2-4).

Scholars differ in their views about when this Prayer came to be used in public worship. Macdonald<sup>1</sup> notes that the first explicit mention of its being incorporated into a liturgy comes from Cyril of Jerusalem (mid-fourth century), and suggests that very probably the Lord's Prayer was used privately during the first century. On the other hand, Chase,<sup>2</sup> Cullmann,<sup>3</sup> E.F. Scott,<sup>4</sup> Oesterley<sup>5</sup> and Delling<sup>6</sup> believe that it was included in the public worship of the Church from an early date. Chase argues that the various references to individual petitions

<sup>1</sup>A.B. Macdonald, Christian Worship in the Primitive Church, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup>F.H. Chase, "The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church", Texts and Studies, ed. J.A. Robinson, I, 3, 1891, pp. 12-3.

<sup>3</sup>O. Cullmann, Early Christian Worship, trans. A.S. Todd and J.B. Torrance, pp. 12-3.

<sup>4</sup>E.F. Scott, The Lord's Prayer, pp. 1, 23.

<sup>5</sup>W.C.E. Oesterley, The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy, pp. 97-8; 151.

<sup>6</sup>G. Delling, Worship in the New Testament, trans. P. Scott, pp. 115, 120-1.

of the Lord's Prayer (as distinct from the prayer as a whole) which he finds throughout the New Testament and the Fathers,<sup>1</sup> indicate that this Prayer was used in primitive Christian gatherings. Cullmann<sup>2</sup> cites the addition of the Doxology to the Lord's Prayer in the Didache (8:2) and the use of "Abba" in Galatians 4:6 and Romans 8:15 as support for his contention. E.F. Scott refers to the two different versions of the Prayer in Matthew and Luke, and writes that each of them "has recorded the prayer as it was familiar to him in the worship of his own church".<sup>3</sup> Oesterley points to the Doxology and holds that "the prayers" mentioned in Acts 2:42 include the Lord's Prayer;<sup>4</sup> for Delling it is the style of this prayer in both its form and contents which indicates that the early Christians used it as a congregational prayer.<sup>5</sup>

It must be admitted that the New Testament evidence on this point is not decisive. The writer tends to think that initially the disciples used this prayer privately, but that quite soon after the Day of Pentecost it came to be used publicly; the early Christians would know this prayer, and in spite of the spontaneous nature of their worship, some would probably pray in the familiar words.

Patristic support for the use of the Lord's Prayer in public

<sup>1</sup>F.H. Chase, ibid., pp. 14-126.

<sup>2</sup>O. Cullmann, ibid.

<sup>3</sup>E.F. Scott, ibid., p. 23.

<sup>4</sup>W.O.E. Oesterley, op. cit., pp. 97-8, 151.

<sup>5</sup>G. Delling, op. cit., pp. 115, 120-1.

worship is very scant. The Didache gives this prayer in the following form:

Our Father, who art in heaven; hallowed be Thy name, Thy Kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven; give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our debts as we also forgive our debtors; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil; for thine is the power and the glory for evermore (8:2).

Immediately after this prayer the Didache instructs: "Say this prayer three times a day" (8:3).

There is a difference of opinion about whether these words prescribe the public or the private recitation of this prayer. Jay,<sup>1</sup> Ratcliff<sup>2</sup> and Macdonald<sup>3</sup> think that the latter is intended, but Chase,<sup>4</sup> and Cullmann<sup>5</sup> and E.F. Scott<sup>6</sup> believe the opposite. It is impossible to be dogmatic, but the writer tends to agree that, by the time that the Didache was written, the Lord's Prayer was being used liturgically; in that document it is preceded by a section on Baptism with attendant fasting, and followed by one on the Eucharist; both of these Sacraments are public; the fact that the Lord's Prayer is placed within this context suggests to the writer that its repetition is also to be a corporate act.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup>E.G. Jay, op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>2</sup>E.C. Ratcliff, "The Choir Offices", Liturgy and Worship, ed. W.K.L. Clarke and C.Harris, p. 257.

<sup>3</sup>A.B. Macdonald, op. cit., p. 111.

<sup>4</sup>F.H. Chase, op. cit., pp. 12-3.

<sup>5</sup>O. Cullmann, op. cit., pp. 12-3.

<sup>6</sup>E.F. Scott, op. cit., p. 30.

<sup>7</sup>cf. E. Lohmeyer, The Lord's Prayer, trans. J. Bowden, p. 18.

In his Apostolic Tradition Hippolytus mentions the "white stone" (23) which is to be kept from people until after their Baptism. Easton<sup>1</sup> interprets these words as a reference to the Lord's Prayer which was first uttered - possibly from apostolic times - by Christians immediately after being baptized; if Easton is correct, then Hippolytus provides evidence for the use of the Lord's Prayer in public worship.

Apart from these two not unequivocal passages, the writer finds no other patristic support<sup>2</sup> for the liturgical use of the Lord's Prayer. Nonetheless it must be admitted that the Bible and the Fathers do admit of being interpreted so as to provide support for such usage. Thus it is possible to conclude that with respect to the Lord's Prayer Milligan's claim cannot be disproved.

The writer has now discussed the Scriptural and patristic evidence for the various categories of prayer used in the Book of Common Order: Adoration; Approach; Invocation; Confession; Supplication; Illumination; Thanksgiving; Intercession; Dedication; and the Lord's Prayer. While in some cases the New Testament and the Fathers do not provide strong warrants, it must be acknowledged that, on the whole, there is ample reason to agree with Milligan that the prayers of the Book of Common Order do have a sound Biblical basis.

#### f) Congregational Responses

The Services in the Book of Common Order make provision for congregational responses; the most common of these is the "Amen" at the

<sup>1</sup>B.S. Easton, The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus, pp. 95-6.

<sup>2</sup>Except possibly the indirect evidence of Tertullian who discusses this Prayer at length in his Treatise On Prayer (1-9), and calls it Christ's "Rule of Prayer" (10).

conclusion of the prayers,<sup>1</sup> but the following<sup>2</sup> also appear: "We praise Thee, O God"<sup>3</sup> (or "O Lord"<sup>4</sup>) and "Praise be to Thee, O God"<sup>5</sup> in connection with prayers of Thanksgiving; "We beseech Thee to hear us, O Lord"<sup>6</sup> during Intercessions and Supplications; "O Lord, deliver us"<sup>7</sup> and "Help us, O Lord"<sup>8</sup> as part of the prayers of Supplication; and "Forgive us, O Lord"<sup>9</sup> and "Lord, hear our prayer"<sup>10</sup> during Confessions and Supplications. It must be asked whether there are Biblical and patristic warrants for these litanies.

<sup>1</sup>The Book of Common Order, p. 11, n gives this directive: "It is recommended that the Congregation should join . . . in saying Amen at the end of each of the prayers".

<sup>2</sup>The occasions for congregational responses during the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper - Salutation, Sursum Corda, Invitation to Thanksgiving, and Benedictus qui venit - will be dealt with in the writer's discussion of that Order (cf. below pp. 424-6 ); the versicle and response with which one of the morning services begins - "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with you" and "And with thy spirit" (Book of Common Order, p. 43) - is so similar to the one in the Communion Order that the writer does not give it separate consideration here.

<sup>3</sup>Book of Common Order, pp. 19, 20, 78, 85, 86.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 82.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 57, 58.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid. pp. 39, 40, 71, 77, 78, 81, 82.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 75, 76.

The Christian use of the congregational "Amen" derives from Judaism. The Old Testament, Intertestamental, and Rabbinical evidence witnesses directly and indirectly to its presence in Jewish rituals, especially the Liturgy of the Synagogue.<sup>1</sup>

The word Amen occurs frequently in the New Testament<sup>2</sup> and the Fathers at the end of Prayers,<sup>3</sup> Ascriptions,<sup>4</sup> and Benedictions.<sup>5</sup> Of particular significance is the fact that Paul mentions it twice, specifically in connection with corporate worship. In I Corinthians 14:16 he asks his readers how an outsider can "say the 'Amen' to your thanksgiving". II Corinthians 1:20 mentions that Christians "utter the Amen through him [Jesus Christ], to the glory of God". Furthermore the exalted description of the heavenly worship in Revelation 5 indicates that the four living creatures respond "Amen" to the praise offered;

<sup>1</sup>H.W. Hogg, "'Amen". Notes on its Significance and Use in Biblical and Post-Biblical Times", JQR, IX, 1896, pp. 1-23, discusses fully the Jewish uses of "Amen" and demonstrates how these are paralleled by New Testament usage; cf. L. Ginzberg, "Amen", JE, I, pp. 491-2; E. Schürer, A History of the Jewish People, II ii, pp. 78,82; C.W. Dugmore, The Influence of the Synagogue upon the Divine Office, pp. 8, 109; W.O.E. Oesterley, The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy, pp. 70-1; 147-8; cf. above p. 19.

<sup>2</sup>The writer agrees with W.O.E. Oesterley (op. cit., p. 147, n.1) and G. Delling (Worship in the New Testament, trans. P. Scott, p. 72) who differentiate between the congregational "Amen" and the ἀμήν ἀμήν of the New Testament which occurs particularly in Jesus' recorded words.

<sup>3</sup>cf. above pp.159-99. Many of the actual prayers quoted there end with "Amen".

<sup>4</sup>cf. below pp. 213-6.

<sup>5</sup>cf. below pp. 226-31.

also the Maranatha prayer of Revelation 22:20 is preceded by "Amen".<sup>1</sup> These references to the liturgical use of "Amen" suggest that the Church very early incorporated this response into its worship.

The Fathers provide further support for such usage. Justin Martyr twice mentions this practice. Part of his account of the baptismal Eucharist reads: "And when he [the president] has concluded the prayers and thanksgivings, all the people present express their assent by saying Amen. This word Amen answers in the Hebrew language to γένοιτο [so be it]" (Apology I,65). In this same work, Justin's account of the Christians' weekly worship observes that "the president in like manner offers prayers and thanksgivings according to his ability, and the people assent, saying Amen" (I.67). Similarly, Irenaeus refers to the "Amen, which we pronounce in concert" (Against Heresies I.14.1). Hippolytus writes "And they shall all say: Amen" (Apostolic Tradition 26, Ethiopic) at the end of a prayer of Thanksgiving at the Agape.<sup>2</sup>

Justin, Irenaeus and Hippolytus are the only patristic writers who clearly indicate that the "Amen" is spoken corporately by members of the congregation. However, the writer believes that the argument from silence may well apply in this context. The Fathers probably do not draw attention to the fact that the "Amen" was a congregational response because its use in this way was well established; they could take it

<sup>1</sup>R.H. Charles (Revelation, I (ICC), pp. 19-20; cf. pp. 151-2) observes that the author of Revelation uses ἀμήν in the following four ways: a) at the close of one's own Doxology or prayer (1:6; 7:12); b) to adopt as one's own what has just been said (5:14; 7:12; 19:4; 22:20); c) to conclude a solemn affirmation (1:7); and d) as a designation of Christ (3:14).

<sup>2</sup>Hippolytus also has the worshippers say "Amen" four times during the reception of the Eucharistic elements (ibid 23; cf. Tertullian, On the Spectacles 25) but it is spoken individually rather than as a group.

for granted that their readers would be familiar with the custom. The cumulative testimony of the known Jewish practice, the New Testament evidence, and the explicit references of Justin, Irenaeus and Hippolytus favour such an interpretation. Therefore the writer would conclude that there are sufficient, although not abundant, Biblical and patristic warrants for having the members of the congregation respond "Amen" at the conclusion of prayers.

Evidence for the other congregational responses is much more wanting. Litanies were used in pre-Christian Jewish public worship.<sup>1</sup> but there are no prayers in the New Testament or the Fathers which can unhesitatingly be cast in this mould. There are those<sup>2</sup> who detect a dialogue pattern in I Corinthians 16:22, Revelation 22:17-21, and the Didache 10:6. In this same connection, Pliny's words in his Letter to Trajan - carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem (X.96) - are sometimes interpreted to mean the antiphonal recitation of some form of words.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, Maxwell<sup>4</sup> suggests that when Justin mentions

<sup>1</sup>e.g. the Kedushshah, the Third Benediction of the Shemoneh 'Esreh has congregational responses; cf. L.N. Dembitz, "Kedushshah" JE, VII, p. 463, who outlines its use; cf. R.P. Martin, Carmen Christi, p.4.

<sup>2</sup>e.g. J.A.T. Robinson, "Traces of a Liturgical Sequence in I Cor. 16:20-24, JTS, N.S., IV, 1953, pp. 38-41; O. Cullmann, Early Christian Worship, trans. A.S. Todd and J.B. Torrance, p. 20; H. Lietzmann, Mass and Lord's Supper, trans. D.H.G. Reeve, pp. 192-4; E. Lohmeyer (rev. G. Bornkamm), Die Offenbarung des Johannes (HNT), pp. 182 f.; G. Bornkamm, "Das Anathema in der urchristlichen Abendmahlsliturgie", Das Ende des Gesetzes, Paulusstudien, pp. 123-32 (noted by R.P. Martin, Carmen Christi, p. 6, n.4). cf. C.F.D. Moule ("A Reconsideration of the Context of Maranatha", NTS, VI, 1960, pp. 307-10; and Worship in the New Testament, pp. 43-4) who criticizes this arrangement of these passages.

<sup>3</sup>e.g. J.B. Lightfoot, ed. and trans., Ignatius and Polycarp, The Apostolic Fathers, I, ii, First Edition, p. 51; H.M. Gwatkin, Selections from Early Christian Writers, p. 29; J. Stevenson, ed. A. New Eusebius, p. 14; O. Cullmann, op. cit., p. 22; cf. R.P. Martin, op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>4</sup>W.D. Maxwell, An Outline of Christian Worship, pp. 12, 13.

the offerings of "hearty prayers in common" (Apology I.65) and indicates that "all rise together and pray" (ibid. I.67) he is implying a litany form. It must be admitted, however, that these views are very conjectural. Tertullian does refer to the psalms "in the closes of which the company respond" (On Prayer 27). But the writer agrees with Cullmann who takes these words to mean that "the Psalms were sung responsively"<sup>1</sup> rather than that the members of the congregation engaged in a spoken litany.

Certainly the writer would not say that it was wrong for the Christian Church to introduce congregational participation in the form of prayer-litanies; but he maintains that with respect to the congregational responses of the Book of Common Order - apart from the "Amen" - Milligan's claim cannot be substantiated; to assert that "without reservation of any kind" there is Scriptural warrant for these responses is going far beyond the demonstrable evidence.

#### g) Intimations

Most of the Services in the Book of Common Order have a place for "Intimations".<sup>2</sup> There are certainly no Scripture passages which provide a warrant for this practice. And yet it seems reasonable to assume that such would occur. When the early Christians gathered in secret during the periods of persecution, there would almost certainly be some announcement of when they would meet again; also, it is logical to argue that any information for the well-being of the members of the community would be passed on sometime during their worship. The same may be said about the corporate gatherings mentioned by the Fathers.

<sup>1</sup>O. Cullmann, op. cit., p. 22, n.2.

<sup>2</sup>Book of Common Order, pp. 16,48,54,115.

Although "Intimations" or "Announcements" are not mentioned in the Liturgies until much later,<sup>1</sup> it is not necessary to believe that this element entered only then. It is true that Milligan would find it difficult to cite any Scriptures as the Biblical basis for including "Intimations"; nevertheless, the present writer holds that in all probability the early Christians did make them during their worship, and that the Church of Scotland does not err or show disregard for Scripture in including them today.

#### h) Sermon

The various services in the Book of Common Order make provision for the preaching of a sermon.<sup>2</sup> The evidence for this practice must be examined in order to determine whether it has a sound Biblical and patristic basis.

The early Christians were familiar with preaching from the worship of the Synagogue; a sermon was an optional part of its Sabbath morning service.<sup>3</sup> The writer believes that Oesterley<sup>4</sup> rightly points to Nehemiah for the origin of the idea of a sermon: "And they read from the

<sup>1</sup>They are first mentioned in the Roman Catholic Mass of 1570; cf. W.D. Maxwell, An Outline of Christian Worship, pp. 69-70.

<sup>2</sup>Book of Common Order, pp. 16,48,54,79,116,137,211.

<sup>3</sup>cf. above pp. 19-20; C.W. Dugmore, The Influence of the Synagogue upon the Divine Office, p. 72; C.F.D. Moule, Worship in the New Testament, p. 45. G. Delling, Worship in the New Testament, trans. P. Scott, pp. 99-101 argues, on the basis of content, that Christian preaching did not grow out of the Synagogue's lecture-sermon; the writer agrees that the subject-matter would be different (perhaps sometimes overlapping), but the idea of expounding the Scriptures is common to both.

<sup>4</sup>W.O.E. Oesterley, The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy. p. 41.

book, from the law of God, clearly [or, with interpretation]; and they gave the sense, so that the people understood the reading" (8:8).

This exposition of Scripture led to preaching; from it Targums arose which are really "sermons in germ".<sup>1</sup> The Mishnah (Megillah 4:1-6) gives the various rules to be observed for the reading and exposition of Scripture on festivals, Sabbaths, and week-days. Luke 4:16 ff. records Jesus' visit to the Synagogue at Nazareth where he reads the lesson and proceeds to expound upon it.

There are various references to preaching in the New Testament. It is important, however, to distinguish between exposition within the Christian community and "missionary preaching" which was directed towards the conversion of outsiders.<sup>2</sup> Preaching in Churches today - ideally at least - is performed at gatherings of believers, and it is the warrants for this kind which must be examined. Furthermore, although the reading and preaching of the Word are separated for the purposes of discussion, it should be remembered that they are essentially two parts of one act - the proclamation of the Word.<sup>3</sup> In this connection, Moule<sup>4</sup> notes that sections of the present New Testament were not official Scriptures for the early Christians, but rather homilies or sermons.

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>cf. e.g. O. Cullmann, Early Christian Worship, trans. A.S. Todd and J.B. Torrance, pp. 28-9; A.B. Macdonald, Christian Worship in the Primitive Church, p. 86.

<sup>3</sup>cf. A.A. McArthur, The Christian Year and Lectionary Reform, p. 15; W.O.E. Oesterley, op. cit., p. 41.

<sup>4</sup>C.F.D. Moule, Worship in the New Testament, pp. 43, 45; cf. G. Wingren, The Living Word: A Theological Study of Preaching and the Church, trans. V.C. Pogue, pp. 38-9, 69.

In the Acts of the Apostles, apart from "missionary preaching" (e.g. Acts 9:20, 13:5, 14 ff., 44 ff.; 14:1,7,21,25; 17:1 ff., 10 ff., 22 ff.; 18:4; 19:8 ff.; 28:31), Paul preaches to the assembled Christians at Troas: "On the first day of the week, when we were gathered together to break bread, Paul talked with them intending to depart on the morrow; and he prolonged his speech until midnight" (Acts 20:7).

At the beginning of his Epistle to the Christians at Rome Paul writes: "I am eager to preach the gospel to you also who are in Rome" (Rom. 1:15). Similarly in I Corinthians Paul reminds his readers that it is his Christian responsibility to "preach the Gospel" (1:17). Also he tells them that when the Church assembles for worship "each one has a hymn, a lesson, a revelation, a tongue, or an interpretation (14:26). Craig observes that by "lesson" in this verse Paul has in mind "some exposition of Christian teaching, possibly an interpretation of the O.T."<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, the mention of a "revelation" and an "interpretation" of a tongue suggests the giving of inspired utterances for mutual enlightenment in the Christian life. C.S.C. Williams calls these contributions "preaching".<sup>2</sup>

Each of the Epistles to Timothy contains a reference to preaching. I Timothy 4:13 urges: "Till I come, attend to the public reading of scripture, to preaching, to teaching". On this passage Gealy comments:

<sup>1</sup>C.T. Graig, I Corinthians(IB, X), p. 208.

<sup>2</sup>C.S.C. Williams, I Corinthians(New Peake), p. 963; O. Cullmann, op. cit., p. 20 suggests that this "revelation . . . differs from teaching and preaching in that it is not based on a λόγος σοφίας (word of wisdom) and γνώσις (knowledge) (I Cor. 12:8), i.e. intelligible exposition of the word, but on an ἀποκάλυψις (unveiling), i.e. special inspiration"; he agrees, however, that "both are thought of as spiritual gifts, charismata".

As preacher he would interpret the scripture he had read, as Jesus did in Luke 4:16-30. Since the synagogue was both church and school, it was natural that preaching and teaching should continue side by side in the church. The preaching would be expository and hortatory, sometimes prophetic, sometimes consoling in style, like the speeches or sermons in Acts. Teaching would be not too dissimilar.<sup>1</sup>

II Timothy 4:2 reads "preach the word, be urgent in season and out of season, convince, rebuke, and exhort, be unfailing in patience and in teaching". Gealy notes the "liturgical ring" of the context in which this reference to preaching is placed, and states that the discharging of this responsibility is the minister's "essential function".<sup>2</sup>

There are other passages in the New Testament which imply or mention preaching, but none is given a setting specifically within the public worship of the Christian community. Most of them are either examples of preaching in a missionary situation or reminiscences about the same. The scarceness of references to preaching within Christian worship relates to the fact that there are few descriptions of the latter in the New Testament. However, the early Christians were familiar with the idea of a sermon from the Synagogue worship and also from the missionary preaching which led to their conversion. The New Testament passages which the writer has quoted suggest that preaching continued to be part of distinctively Christian assemblies.

This conclusion is confirmed by the patristic evidence which must now be considered. But before considering the references in the

---

<sup>1</sup>F.D. Gealy, I Timothy(IB, XI), p. 432; cf. N.J.D. White, I Timothy(EGT, IV), p. 126; W. Lock, I Timothy(ICC), p. 53; E.F. Scott, I Timothy(Moffatt), p. 52; R. St. John Parry, The Pastoral Epistles, p. 28; R. Falconer, The Pastoral Epistles, p. 144.

<sup>2</sup>F.D. Gealy, II Timothy(IB, XI), p. 508.

Fathers which mention such exposition, the writer would note again that the reading and preaching of the Word constitute essentially one act; therefore, the patristic passages already<sup>1</sup> cited (in the sections on the Lectionary and Scripture Readings) to show how the primitive Church used the Bible, also witness indirectly to Christian preaching. Furthermore, the extensive familiarity with the Scriptures, which the Fathers assume on the part of their readers, would come almost certainly from hearing them read and expounded in public worship.

The Didache 1-6 and the Epistle of Barnabas 18-20 mention the "Two Ways". J.M. Robinson believes that these passages are examples of the "continuing ethical exhortation" which follows upon the evangelistic preaching and catechetical instruction of the primitive Church. Also the Didache urges: "My child, day and night remember him who preaches God's word to you, and honor him as the Lord, for where His Lordship is spoken of there is the Lord. Seek daily contact with the saints to be refreshed by their discourses" (4:1-2). Likewise, preaching may be implied in the following two exhortations from the Pastor of Hermas: "Instruct each other therefore, and be at peace among yourselves" (Visions 3:9); "Enjoin all, who are able to act rightly, not to cease well-doing" (Similitudes 10:4).

Ignatius has several references to exposition: "Teaching is an excellent thing, provided the speaker practices what he teaches" (Ephesians 15:1) "It is preferable, surely, to listen to a circumcized man preaching Christianity than an uncircumcized man preaching Judaism.

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. above pp. 72-6; 133.

<sup>2</sup>J.M. Robinson, "Preaching", HDB, Second Edition, p. 791.

But if neither of them preaches Jesus Christ, they are to me tombstones and graves of the dead" (Philadelphians 6:1); "I extol Jesus Christ, the God who has granted you such wisdom" (Smrynaeans 1:1); "I exhort you, clothed as you are with the garment of grace, to speed on your course and exhort all others to attend to their salvation" (Polycarp 1:2); "Pay no attention to their wily strategems; and do more preaching on this subject" (ibid. 5:1). In addition, Kleist<sup>1</sup> finds an allusion to preaching in Magnesians 2 where Ignatius indicates that the presbyters enforce "the law of Jesus Christ".

The pseudonymous II Clement is itself really a homily or sermon, constituting "an exhortation to the end that ye may give heed to the things which are written [Ἱστοῖς γεγραμμένοις= the Scriptures " (Clement II, 19). F.X. Glimm suggests that this sermon-letter survived because "it was possibly the practice of the time for bishops to exchange homilies on subjects of general interest as letters of exhortation"<sup>2</sup>. He underlines its importance by observing that "it appears to be the oldest example of Christian preaching that we possess outside of Holy Scripture"<sup>3</sup>.

Justin Martyr witnesses to the presence of a sermon in public worship. In his initial Apology he writes that after "the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read . . . the president verbally instructs, and exhorts to the imitation of these good things" (I.67). Also his Dialogue with Trypho twice conjoins Scripture reading and preaching: "Then I said, 'Since I bring from the Scriptures and the facts themselves both the proofs and the inculcation [τὰς ἐπιλήξις] of

---

<sup>1</sup>J.A. Kleist, Ancient Christian Writers, I, p. 127, n.11.

<sup>2</sup>F.X. Glimm, The Apostolic Fathers, p. 62.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 63.

them do not delay or hesitate to put faith in me" (28); "For it is a ridiculous thing . . . that he who founds his discourse on the prophetic scriptures should leave them and abstain from constantly referring to the same scriptures, because it is thought he can bring forth something better than Scripture" (85).

Likewise Irenaeus refers to preaching as one of the vehicles through which the Church's universal and unchanging faith is passed on:

As I have already observed, the church, having received this preaching and this faith, although scattered throughout the whole world, yet, as if occupying but one house, carefully preserves it. She also believes these points [of doctrine] just as if she had but one soul, and one and the same heart, and she proclaims them, and teaches them, and hands them down, with perfect harmony, as if she possessed only one mouth (Against Heresies I.10.1).

In addition, it may be noted that Irenaeus' Proof of the Apostolic Preaching points indirectly to Christian sermons; this work "is the earliest document we have that professes to give an exposition of the basis on which the apostolic preaching rests".<sup>1</sup> Also, the Epistle of Dionysius to Soter mentions the Church's practice of "exhorting with blessed words, as a loving father his children".<sup>2</sup>

Clement of Alexandria furnishes further evidence for Christian instruction. He mentions the injunctions "which the Instructor, running over the divine Scriptures, sets before His children" (The Instructor III.12); in this same chapter, Clement mentions the need for "a Teacher of the exposition of those sacred words" and encourages his readers to "become listeners to the Word". In The Miscellanies he indicates that

<sup>1</sup>J.P. Smith, Ancient Christian Writers, XVI, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup>Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History IV.23.10.

"righteous hearing and divine reading" and "true investigation" (VI.14) are some of the ways in which Gnostics show their gratitude to God. The writer interprets these words as allusions to the reading and exposition of the Scriptures in public worship. The same may be said about Clement's subsequent references to "discourses" and "writings" (VII.7). Clement goes on to demonstrate that Scripture is the criterion by which true doctrine is determined; his chapter on this subject opens with the following statement: "But those who are ready to toil in the most excellent pursuits, will not desist from the search after truth, till they get the demonstration from the Scriptures themselves" (VII.16). No doubt this "demonstration" would come sometimes from the preaching of sermons.

Christian instruction in the nature of preaching may be implied in Tertullian's Treatise To His Wife; he writes that the two partners in Christian marriage are "mutually teaching, mutually exhorting" (II.8). However, in De Anima Tertullian explicitly indicates that "the preaching of sermons" forms part of "the sacred rites of the Lord's day in the church" (9).

Several references to preaching occur in the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus. Besides those which may also allude to Scripture reading (e.g. "hearers of the word", 16,17; "that he may attend and hear the Word of God, 31) the following may be noted: "But if any instruction in the word is held, let each give first place to that" (31). "Let the deacons and the presbyters assemble daily at the place which the bishop may appoint. . . . When all have met they shall instruct those who are in the church" (33). A somewhat lengthier indication of Christian exposition appears in chapter 35:

But if any instruction in God's word is held [that day], everyone ought to attend it willingly, recollecting that he will hear God speaking through the instructor . . . .

If a [specially gifted] teacher should come, let none of you delay to attend the place where the instruction is given, for grace will be given to the speaker to utter things profitable to all, and thou wilt hear new things, and thou wilt be profited by what the Holy Spirit will give thee through the instructor.

This survey of the Biblical and patristic evidence makes it clear that the sermon came into Christianity from Judaism; the first Christians, who were accustomed to hearing the Scriptures (originally the Old Testament) expounded, continued this practice in their corporate worship. Naturally the content changed so that the sermon came more and more to be based upon those documents which eventually formed the New Testament; indeed it may well be that some of these materials (e.g. Paul's Epistles) were initially used as "sermons" in the worship of the early Church.

The fact that the New Testament has few descriptions of actual liturgical gatherings means that preaching (apart from that which is "missionary") is not often mentioned. However, there are adequate indications that preaching within the context of Christian meetings did take place. Furthermore, the large number of patristic references to such exposition (both direct and indirect) shows that the sermon continued to be an integral element in Christian worship. Thus, the writer would conclude that Milligan is right in claiming that the preaching of a sermon (for which the services of the Book of Common Order make provision) has Scriptural warrant.

#### i) Ascriptions

Some of the Services in the Book of Common Order provide for

an Ascription of Praise to come immediately after the sermon.<sup>1</sup> Although none are given in the Orders themselves,<sup>2</sup> a number are set forth at the end of the Book of Common Order under the heading "Ascriptions of Glory"<sup>3</sup>:

Now unto Him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us; unto Him be glory in the Church by Christ Jesus, throughout all ages, world without end. Amen. (cf. Ephesians 3:20-1).

Now unto the God of all grace who hath called us unto His eternal glory by Christ Jesus, be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen. (cf. I Peter 5:10-1).

Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, be honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen. (cf. I Timothy 1:17).

Unto Him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in His own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and His Father, to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen. (cf. Revelation 1:5-6).

Now unto Him that is able to keep you from falling, and to present you faultless before the presence of His glory with exceeding joy: to the only wise God our Saviour, be glory and majesty, dominion and power, both now and ever. Amen. (cf. Jude 24-5).

Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power and might, be unto our God for ever and ever. Amen. (cf. Revelation 7:12).

And now to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, three Persons and one God, be ascribed by us, and by the whole Church, as is most due, the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

<sup>1</sup>Book of Common Order, pp. 16,48,54,116,137,211.

<sup>2</sup>Except in two of the Communion Orders (ibid., pp. 116; 137), and one for the Dedication of a Church (ibid., p. 211).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 309-10; the writer inserts, at the end of these Ascriptions, the Scriptural references of which they are essentially quotations (KJV).

Unto the Father, and unto the Son, and unto the Holy Spirit, be ascribed in the Church all honour and glory, might, majesty, dominion and blessing, now, henceforth, and for ever. Amen.

Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, be unto Him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb, for ever and ever. Amen. (cf. Revelation 5:13).

Now unto the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords, who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto; whom no man hath seen nor can see; to him be glory and power everlasting. Amen. (cf. I Timothy 6:15).

As the writer has indicated, most of these Ascriptions are virtually quotations from the Bible (KJV), and those which are not certainly reflect a strong Scriptural influence in their wording and style. Also it may be observed that there are other Ascriptions in the New Testament, and a large number in the patristic writings. These additional Ascriptions are similar in tone and content to those already given; therefore, instead of proceeding to quote them - which in his estimation would constitute unnecessary duplication - the writer simply points out that they occur in the following places<sup>1</sup> and that most of them conclude with "Amen": Romans 1:25; 9:5; 11:36; 16:25-7; II Corinthians 11:31; Galatians 1:5; Ephesians 1:3; Philippians 4:20; II Timothy 4:18; Hebrews 13:20-1;<sup>2</sup> I Peter 4:11; II Peter 3:18; I Clement 20:11-2; 32:4; 38:3-4; 43:6; 45:7-8; 50:7; 58:2; 61:3; 64; 65:2; II Clement 20; Didache 9:2,3; 10:2,4; Martyrdom of Polycarp 14:3; 20:2; 21; 22:3; Epilogue 5; Epistle to Diognetus 12:9; Irenaeus, Proof of the Apostolic Preaching 100; Clement of Alexandria, The Instructor I.6; III.12; Tertullian, On Prayer 29; Hippolytus, Apostolic Tradition

---

<sup>1</sup>The writer does not repeat here the references to the Ascriptions of Revelation; these passages are quoted as prayers of Adoration; cf. above pp. 161-2.

<sup>2</sup>This passage is used as a Benediction in the Book of Common Order (pp. 110, 176-7, 311), but it is really an Ascription.

3; 4; 6; 8; 9; 22; 26 (Ethiopic); 28; Against the Heresy of One Noetus 17; The Discourse on the Holy Theophany 10.

In addition to these passages where actual Ascriptions are found, the writer finds an allusion to this kind of exalted worship in Justin, who writes that the president's offering of "thanks" is preceded by "praise and glory to the Father of the universe" (Apology I.65). Furthermore, Tertullian states that "the ascription of glory" (Against Marcion III.22) is one part of Christian worship.

The writer believes that the Ascriptions which he has quoted and referred to both reflected and helped to furnish the content of early Christian worship. Almost certainly Christianity adopted the practice of making these Ascriptions from Jewish worship; the note of praise which they embody is very prevalent in the Liturgies of the Temple and Synagogue.<sup>1</sup> Understandably, however, the Church quickly incorporated into its Ascriptions suggests that they belong to corporate gatherings, and the frequency of their occurrence establishes the validity of such usage. Therefore, the writer would conclude that there are abundant warrants in the Scriptures and the Fathers for both the content and the inclusion in worship of the Ascriptions of Praise in the Book of Common Order.

#### j) Offerings

Most of the Services of worship in the Church of Scotland include an Offering.<sup>2</sup> In the light of Milligan's assertion that Biblical warrants exist for everything in the Book of Common Order the evidence for

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. e.g. G.H. Box, "Worship(Hebrew)", ERE, XII, pp. 791, 795; H.H. Rowley, Worship in Ancient Israel, pp. 104, 257-61.

<sup>2</sup>Book of Common Order, pp. 16, 54, 79, 116, 137, 194, 211.

this aspect must be examined, in order to determine whether this claim can be substantiated.

Certainly the first Christians, being Jewish, were familiar with the practice of making material offerings in their Temple worship. Schürer<sup>1</sup> has made a valuable study of the "emoluments" which the priests received from the people. Although quite limited in pre-exilic times, these subsequently increased very markedly. Schürer discusses in detail the following list of offerings which he believes pertained at the time of Christ; they are based upon Old Testament and Rabbinical instructions.

A) Of the victims the priests received both the sin-offerings and the trespass-offerings in their entirety, and most of the meat-offerings, plus any of the twelve cakes of shewbread taken away each week; these four classes of offerings were called "most holy", and could be consumed only within the Temple's inner court and exclusively by the priests. Of the thank-offerings they received the breast and the right shoulder of each, and also some small part (the skins at least) of the burnt-offerings.

B) But the great bulk of the priests' emoluments was derived from dues paid independently of the sacrifices altogether. One category of this type of offering related to the produce of the soil: the first-fruits (וְרֵאשִׁית) were taken from the "seven kinds", the principal products of the soil of Palestine according to Deuteronomy 8:8 - wheat, barley, vines, fig-trees, pomegranates, olives and honey; then came the terumah - (תְּרוּמָה) - the giving of the choicest of all the fruits

---

<sup>1</sup>E. Schürer, A History of the Jewish People, II, i, pp. 230-54.

of the ground and of the trees to the priests; although the amount to be given was not specifically regulated it was on the average, one-fiftieth of the whole yield. In addition to the  $\text{לַלְוִיִּם}$  and the  $\text{לַכֹּהֲנָיִם}$  there was the tithe; it was calculated on the basis of the following principle in the Mishnah: "Whatsoever is used for food and is kept watch over and grows from the soil is liable to Tithes" (Maaseroth 1:1); in practice this tithe went to the subordinate class - the Levites - who in turn paid to the priests a tithe of what they received. The last of the offerings from the products of the soil was the challah ( $\text{חֶלֶל}$ ), the offering from the kneaded dough; private individuals gave one twenty-fourth and public bakers one forty-eighth part of any dough prepared for making bread.

A second important category of this kind of offering was that derived from the rearing of cattle; these consisted of three different groups: the male first-born of the cattle had to be dedicated to God or converted into an allowance to be given to the priests, and the first male child had to be ransomed as soon as he was a month old by the payment of five shekels; secondly, of all the flesh that was slaughtered generally the priests received the shoulder, the two cheeks, and the stomach; furthermore, a portion of the proceeds of the sheep-shearing had to be given to the priests if a person owned more than one sheep.

C) In addition to these regular offerings, the priests also were the recipients of a considerable number of an irregular and extraordinary character. Besides what they derived from a large number of sacrifices offered on an almost endless variety of occasions, the priests received: the consecration vows or votive offerings; a special form of

consecration vow called the ban; and the indemnity which had to be paid if someone appropriated or otherwise unlawfully got possession of anything which it was impossible to restore to its rightful owner. While the ban and the indemnity belonged to the priests personally, it seems that as a rule the votive offerings were devoted to purposes connected with the Temple services generally.<sup>1</sup>

These priestly gifts (with the exception of those "most holy") were for the use not only of the priests themselves, but also of those connected with them - all the members of the priests' households.

All of the foregoing offerings (except possibly the votive offerings) were the personal emoluments of the priests. Distinct from these were those directly intended to defray the expenses connected with public worship. The most important of these was the half-shekel or drachma-tax; this tax was spent mainly to cover the expenses of the daily-burnt offering, and the innumerable sacrifices which had to be offered in the name of the people, as well as any other objects of a public character.

In addition to this tax, each family furnished some wood every year as fuel for the altar of burnt-offering. Except for the wood of the olive and the vine, every species was permissible.

Finally, freewill offerings and voluntary gifts were a great source of income for the Temple. In the Temple treasury thirteen trumpet-shaped boxes were erected, into which money might be placed for the various

---

<sup>1</sup>Josephus, on the other hand (Antiquities IV.4.4), affirms that these, too, formed part of the priests' emoluments.

religious services; six of these boxes were for freewill offerings or voluntary gifts without any specific designation as to their use.<sup>1</sup>

Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss these emoluments in any more detail, they do make it clear that there is warrant in the Old Testament Scriptures for making offerings, both in kind and in money, within the context of worship. In addition, J.R. Willis<sup>2</sup> draws attention to the fact that the Jews of the Dispersion organized collections from time to time in order to help their poor brethren in Jerusalem.

Similarly, the first Christians made voluntary efforts to ameliorate the condition of the poor and destitute (Acts 4:32; 6:1). Although this primitive "communism" failed, it does witness to the Christians' recognition of their obligation to assist others. Paul constantly exhorts his converts to show liberality towards the poor, especially those in Jerusalem for whom he organized a "collection"<sup>3</sup> from the Gentile Churches (Acts 11:29,30; Rom. 12:8; 15:25 ff.; I Corin. 16:1-2; II Corin. 8:1 ff.; Gal. 2:10; I Tim.<sup>4</sup> 3:8; 6:17-9). Other New Testament passages urge or imply the sharing of material goods (e.g. Heb. 13:16; I John 3:17).

<sup>1</sup>The Mishnah, however, (Shekalim 6:5-6) affirms that they were used to purchase Whole- or Guilt-offerings in the belief that in these the most benefit would accrue to God.

<sup>2</sup>J.R. Willis, "Collection", DAC, I, p. 223; cf. A. Robertson and A. Plummer, I Corinthians(ICC), p. 382.

<sup>3</sup>For a detailed treatment of this "collection" consult K.F. Nickle, The Collection: A Study in Paul's Strategy.

<sup>4</sup>cf. above p. 63, n.1.

It is true that none of these references, except possibly I Corinthians 16:1-2,<sup>1</sup> places the taking of an offering during public worship;<sup>2</sup> but they do enjoin a concern for those less fortunate which - partly at least - is the motivation for making contributions in Church today.

The Fathers also refer to Christian sharing, sometimes explicitly within the context of corporate gatherings: I Clement 38:2 urges: "let the rich support the poor, and the poor render thanks to God for giving them the means of supplying their needs". Clement also mentions "the sacrifices to be offered" (40:2) and Maxwell suggests that this reference "probably includes the offering of alms".<sup>3</sup> The pseudonymous II Clement associates such offering with forgiveness: "Almsgiving therefore is a good thing, even as repentance from sin. Fasting is better than prayer, but almsgiving than both. . . . For almsgiving lifteth off the burden of sin" (16).

The Didache implies the same thought but also widens the reason for sharing:

<sup>1</sup>Most commentators deny that this passage refers to a public Church offering, but the following admit that such an interpretation is possible: J. Moffatt, I Corinthians(Moffatt), pp. 270-2; C.T. Craig, I Corinthians(IB, X), p. 256; C.S.C. Williams I Corinthians(New Peake), p. 965; L. Morris, I Corinthians(Tyndale), p. 238.

<sup>2</sup>The writer is not unaware of the fact that at this early stage the elements for the Lord's Supper are brought by the people and constitute an offering in kind (cf. e.g. C.F.D. Moule, Worship in the New Testament, pp. 30-2; H.S. Coffin, The Public Worship of God, p. 121; J.A.T. Robinson, Liturgy Coming to Life); however, this aspect belongs more appropriately to the writer's discussion of that Sacrament; cf. below p. 420.

<sup>3</sup>W.D. Maxwell, An Outline Of Christian Worship, p. 9.

Do not be one who opens his hands to receive, but shuts them when it comes to giving. If you have means at your disposal, pay a ransom for your sins. Do not hesitate to give, and do not give in a grumbling mood. You will find out who is the great Rewarder. Do not turn away from the needy; rather, share everything with your brother, and do not say: "It is private property." If you are sharers in what is perishable, how much more so in the things that perish! (4:5-8).

Earlier this same work states: "Give to anyone that asks you, and demand no return; the Father wants His own bounties to be shared with all" (1:5). Subsequently, the Didache (13:1-3) recognizes that genuine prophets and teachers deserve material support but adds the comment: "But if you have no prophet, give them [first fruits] to the poor" (4). The Didache goes on to give the directive: "As regards your prayers and alms and your whole conduct, do exactly as you have it in the Gospel of Our Lord" (15:4).

These instructions about giving are virtually repeated in the Epistle of Barnabas:

Share everything with your neighbour, and do not say: "It is private property"; for if you are sharers in what is imperishable, how much more so in the things that perish! . . . Do not be one that opens his hands to receive, but shuts them when it comes to giving. . . . Do you work with your hands? Then pay a ransom for your sins. Do not hesitate to give, and do not give in a grumbling mood; you will find out who is your good Rewarder (19:8-11).

The idea of Christian sharing occurs also in the Pastor of Hermas. His Second Commandment exhorts: "Practise goodness; and from the rewards of your labours, which God gives you, give to all the needy in simplicity, not hesitating as to whom you are to give or not to give. Give to all, for God wishes His gifts to be shared amongst all". Likewise the Second Similtude observes that the rich and the poor support each other as the elm and the vine: "the rich man helps the poor in all things without hesitation; and the poor man, being helped by the rich,

intercedes for him"; this passage concludes with the comment: "Blessed are they who have riches, and who understand that they are from the Lord".

Ignatius alludes to almsgiving when he writes that the heretics "concern themselves with neither works of charity, nor widows, nor orphans, nor the distressed, nor those in prison or out of it, nor the hungry or thirsty" (Smyrnaeans 6:2); the same is true of his words to Polycarp: "Widows must not be neglected" (4:1). Similarly in his Second Epistle to the Philippians, Polycarp states that the presbyters must be "merciful toward all . . . not neglecting widow, orphan, or the poor" (6:1); later in this same letter Polycarp urges: "When able to do a work of charity, do not put it off; for almsgiving delivers from death" (10:2; cf. Tobit 4:10 f.; 12:9).

Most (if not all) of the patristic evidence cited so far gives no explicit indication that this sharing by Christians is to take place within public worship; in addition, one passage in Justin may fall into the same category: "we who valued above all things the acquisition of wealth and possessions, now bring what we have into a common stock and communicate to every one in need" (Apology I.14). However later in this work, Justin makes it clear that an offering, when the Christians meet together on Sunday, takes place: "And they who are well to do, and willing, give what each thinks fit; and what is collected is deposited with the president, who succours the orphans and widows, and those who, through sickness or any other cause, are in want, and those who are in bonds, and the strangers sojourning among us, and in a word takes care of all who are in need"(I.67).

Justin gives here the first indisputable reference (either in the Scriptures or the Fathers) to the taking of an offering during Christian

public worship. The writer believes that he is reflecting a practice which was gradually adopted. The primitive Jewish Christians were familiar with the idea of making material offerings in the worship of the Temple; the New Testament and the patristic literature indicate that Christians accepted the responsibility of sharing with others; it may well be that in time the weekly gatherings provided the most convenient opportunity for making this liberality real, and thus Justin mentions it in such a context.

The Epistle of Dionysius to Soter also refers to Christian generosity towards others:

For this has been your custom from the beginning: to do good in divers ways to all the brethren, and to send supplies to many churches in every city: now relieving the poverty of the needy, now making provision, by the supplies which ye have been in the habit of sending from the beginning, for brethren in the mines; and . . . by providing in abundance the help that is distributed for the use of the saints.<sup>1</sup>

Irenaeus quotes with approval Jesus' directions about "offering your gift at the altar" (Matt. 5:23-4) and comments: "We are bound, therefore, to offer to God the first-fruits of His creation" (Against Heresies IV.18.1); Irenaeus proceeds to suggest that Christians "who have received liberty set aside all their possessions for the Lord's purposes, bestowing joyfully and freely . . . as that poor widow acted who cast all her living into the treasury of God" (ibid. 18.2). Similarly Clement of Alexandria notes that the Gnostic "offers the first-fruits of food, and drink, and unguents to the Giver of all, acknowledging his thanks in the gift and in the use of them by the Word given to him

---

<sup>1</sup>Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, IV.23.10.

(The Miscellanies VII.7). In this same chapter, Clement replies "Assuredly" to the rhetorical question about the Gnostic: "Does he not also know the other kind of sacrifice which consists in the giving both of doctrines and of money to those who need?". In Irenaeus these references to sharing have an explicitly corporate context and the same may be intended for those from Clement of Alexandria.

Tertullian shows that the practice of making an offering at Christian gatherings continues:

On the monthly day, if he likes, each puts in a small donation; but only if it be his pleasure, and only if he be able; for there is no compulsion; all is voluntary. These gifts are, as it were, piety's deposit fund. For they are not taken thence and spent on feasts, and drinking-bouts, and eating-houses, but to support and bury poor people, to supply the wants of boys and girls destitute of means and parents, and of old persons confined now to the house; such, too, as have suffered shipwreck (Apology 39).

It appears that in Tertullian's time the Christians set something aside each Sunday (cf. I Corin. 16:1-2) and brought their gifts as a public offering once a month. Also Tertullian alludes to this custom in To His Wife; he observes that when both partners in marriage are Christian: "Alms [are given without [danger of ensuing] torment" (II.8).

In his Apostolic Tradition Hippolytus mentions "an offering" and "the act of offering" which take place at the Agape (26). Also he writes about the presumably public offering of the first-fruits: "As soon as first-fruits appear, all shall hasten to offer them to the bishop. And he shall offer them, shall give thanks and shall name him who offered them" (28).<sup>1</sup> On these words Easton comments: "In Hippolytus's day these

---

<sup>1</sup>In this same work, Hippolytus uses the term "the offering" for the Eucharistic elements (4,5,23) and mentions the one who "offers" them (5,6); however, the writer will consider these passages in his treatment of the Lord's Supper; cf. below pp. 420-1.

first-fruits constituted the chief source of support for the clergy".<sup>1</sup>  
 In addition it may be noted that a prayer is conjoined to this offering of the first-fruits in a manner very similar to the way in which the Book of Common Order makes provision for a prayer of Dedication.<sup>2</sup>

Thus it is possible to conclude that there are adequate Biblical and patristic warrants for the Offering which is a feature of most Services in the Church of Scotland. There are numerous Old Testament indications that material offerings belong in Jewish worship; although the New Testament is lacking in such explicit passages for the Christian Church, it does enjoin sharing; this characteristic, exemplified most clearly by Paul's "collection", shows that the same attitudes which prompt Offerings today were present then. The Fathers continue this idea of Christian generosity towards others, until Justin (followed by Irenaeus, Tertullian and Hippolytus) states that it takes the form of a contribution during corporate gatherings. In this matter of the Offering, therefore, the writer would agree that Milligan's claim is justified.

#### k) Benedictions

Every Service in the Book of Common Order concludes with a Benediction.<sup>3</sup>

The following two forms predominate:

The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of His Son Jesus Christ our Lord; and the blessing of God Almighty,

<sup>1</sup>B.S. Easton, The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup>cf. above pp. 194-5.

<sup>3</sup>Book of Common Order, pp. 17, 23, 29, 36, 42, 49, 55, 60, 65, 69, 74, 79, 83, 86, 94, 99, 104, 110, 123, 131, 143, 148, 153, 160, 164, 176, 179, 182, 187, 193, 196, 203, 212, 225, 232. The writer includes the references at the end of the Benedictions which are virtually Scriptural quotations.

the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, be amongst you, and remain with you always. Amen.

The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit, be with you all. Amen. (cf. II Corin. 13:14).

Although they occur much less frequently, four other Benedictions are scattered through the Book of Common Order:

Now the God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do His will, working in you that which is wellpleasing in His sight, through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.<sup>1</sup> (cf. Heb. 13:20).

Go in peace; and the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, rest upon you, and remain with you always. Amen.<sup>2</sup>

May grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit be with you all, now and evermore. Amen.<sup>3</sup>

The blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit be with you, now and evermore. Amen.<sup>4</sup>

Besides these Benedictions which are all attached to particular Orders, five additional ones are included at the end of the Book of Common Order under the heading "Benedictions":<sup>5</sup>

The very God of peace sanctify you wholly, and preserve you blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

The Lord bless you and keep you: the Lord make His face to shine upon you, and be gracious unto you: the Lord lift up His countenance upon you, and give you peace. Amen (cf. Num. 6:24-6).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 110,225; 311; cf. pp. 176-7 where this Benediction occurs without the opening "Now".

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 153.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 182.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 187.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 311-2.

<sup>6</sup>These words are generally referred to as the "Aaronic Benediction".

Unto God's gracious mercy and protection we commit you. And the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, be upon you and remain with you for ever. Amen.

Grace, mercy and peace from God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, be with you henceforth and for ever. Amen.

Go in peace; God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit bless, preserve, and keep you this day (night) and for evermore. Amen.

The Biblical and patristic evidence for including these Benedictions in worship today must now be considered. The first Christians were certainly not unfamiliar with Benedictions; these occur frequently in the Liturgies of the Temple and Synagogue. The daily service of prayer in the Temple Chamber of Hewn Stones concluded with three Benedictions (plus an additional one on the Sabbath);<sup>1</sup> thereafter the high priest and his associates took their stations at the steps of the porch and pronounced the Aaronic (or Priestly) Benediction as a single unit, although in the provinces it was pronounced as three Blessings.<sup>2</sup> The Synagogue service in New Testament times was closed with the Priestly Benediction, but if no priest was present, a layman may have given this Blessing in the form of a prayer.<sup>3</sup> Although Benedictions were used at other points in these Services,<sup>4</sup> the ones noted show that the early (Jewish) Christians were accustomed to concluding their Liturgies with Benedictions.

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. Tamid 5:1, which also indicates that these three daily Benedictions were "True and sure", "Abodah", and "the Priestly Blessing" (Num. 6:24-6).

<sup>2</sup>Tamid 7:2.

<sup>3</sup>cf. above p. 19.

<sup>4</sup>e.g. the Shemoneh 'Esreh - "Eighteen" Benedictions; cf. above pp. 10-5.

Most of the New Testament Epistles end with some form of Benediction; a few of these (Rom. 16:25-7; II Peter 3:18; Jude 24-5) are really Ascriptions and appear in that section.<sup>1</sup> A full "Trinitarian" Benediction occurs only at II Corinthians 13:14:

The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you all.

Other New Testament Benedictions are mostly and essentially variants (particularly of the first phrase) of this one - "the Grace" as it has come to be known. In Colossians 4:18 and I Timothy 6:21 the Benediction is simply: "Grace be with you"; Titus 3:15 adds the word "all" and Hebrews 13:25 expands this Blessing to read: "Grace be with all of you. Amen". Sometimes the one whose grace is solicited is made more explicit; Romans 16:24<sup>2</sup> requests: "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen"; this Benediction occurs also at the conclusion of the Thessalonian letters, except that in the first one it ends with the word "you" (I Thess. 5:28), and in the second the word "Amen" is lacking (II Thess. 3:18). A slightly altered form of this same Blessing occurs at I Corinthians 16:23 - "The grace of the Lord Jesus be with you" - where it is prefaced by the words "Our Lord, come!", and followed by "My love be with you all in Christ Jesus. Amen". Another variation of this Benediction occurs in Philippians 4:23 and Philemon 25: "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit"; at Galatians 6:18 to the rendering just cited are added the two words "brethren, Amen", and the definite article before "Lord is changed to "our". Similarly Revelation 22:21 reads: "The grace

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. above pp. 214-5.

<sup>2</sup>Omitted by the best MSS of Romans.

of the Lord Jesus be with all the saints. Amen". Ephesians closes with a slightly more elaborate Benediction: "Peace be to the brethren, and love with faith; from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ. Grace be with all who love our Lord Jesus Christ with love undying" (6:23-4); II Timothy 4:22 is more succinct: "The Lord be with your spirit. Grace be with you". Three other New Testament Benedictions are: "The God of peace be with you all. Amen" (Rom. 15:33); "Peace to all of you that are in Christ" (I Peter 5:14); and "Peace be to you" (III John 15).

Most of these Scriptural Benedictions are set forth as the conclusions to Epistles, rather than as parts of public worship; however, it must be remembered that the New Testament emerged from a worshipping ethos. The writer believes that these Blessings both reflected and helped to furnish current liturgical phraseology. Therefore, he finds in them a valid basis for including Benedictions in present day Services.

The Fathers also support this practice. Various Benedictions, similar in tone and wording to those already quoted, appear in their writings. Again, instead of quoting them the writer would simply observe that they occur at the following places: I Clement 65:2; Epistle of Barnabas 21:9; Ignatius, Ephesians 21:2; Philadelphians 11:2; Smyrnaeans 12:2; 12:2; Polycarp 8:3; Polycarp's Second Epistle to the Philippians 14; Martyrdom of Polycarp 22:2,3; Epilogue 5; Tertullian, On Prescription Against Heretics 44; On the Veiling of Virgins 17. In addition, it may be noted that Clement of Alexandria (The Miscellanies VI.14), Tertullian (Against Marcion III.22), and Hippolytus (Apostolic Tradition 6) mention "blessing" as constituting part of Christian worship; also, Tertullian refers to the "benediction" (On Baptism, 8; To His Wife II.8) in the context of liturgical gatherings.

On the basis of his research the writer would draw the conclusion that the Christian Church took over this element of Benedictions from the worship of the Temple and Synagogue, gradually making their wording specifically Christian. A comparison between the Benedictions of the Book of Common Order and those of the New Testament and the Fathers shows how Scriptural in form and content the extra-Biblical ones are. Therefore, the writer believes that the placing of Benedictions at the end of the Services of the Church of Scotland does have valid Biblical and patristic warrants.

The writer has now completed his survey of the evidence for the elements common to most Services in the Book of Common Order; it reveals the large extent to which the facts substantiate Milligan's assertion; the Scriptures and the Fathers furnish support for almost all of these aspects, although a few are endorsed only in principle rather than in actuality. Except for the sequence of the Scripture Readings (Old Testament, Epistle and Gospel), the Congregational Responses (apart from the Amen), and the Intimations, it may be affirmed that all of the features which appear in most of the Orders for the Church of Scotland can claim Biblical and patristic precedents. The writer wishes now to consider the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, which will be separated by his treatment of the rite of Confirmation.

## CHAPTER V

### SACRAMENTS AND ORDINANCES

#### a) BAPTISM

The Book of Common Order has Services for the two Sacraments - Baptism (both infant<sup>1</sup> and adult<sup>2</sup>) and Holy Communion<sup>3</sup> - and also Confirmation and Admission to the Lord's Supper.<sup>4</sup> In view of Milligan's claim, the evidence for these Orders must be examined; for the two Sacraments the writer wishes first to consider the Biblical and patristic basis for each, using as a framework the passages of Scripture in the Orders themselves which are cited as words of Institution and Warrants, along with the accompanying statements and suggestions of the Sacraments' purpose; he will then proceed to consider the evidence (if any) in the Scriptures and the Fathers for the different parts of each Service; the same approach will be followed in dealing with Confirmation.

The writer is fully aware of the many critical and theological problems connected with each of the Sacraments as well as with Confirmation; however, he cannot enter into a full discussion of them; to do so would require the writing of several additional theses; in this study he must confine himself to the indicated procedure.

---

<sup>1</sup>Book of Common Order, pp. 89-94.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 95-9.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 111-48; the Book of Common Order includes a Service of Preparation for the Lord's Supper (ibid., pp. 105-10) and also one of Thanksgiving for that Sacrament (ibid., pp. 149-53); however, these Orders contain no parts which are not common to the regular Services of worship, and therefore, the writer does not give them separate consideration.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 100-4.

The Sacrament of Baptism has recently been receiving considerable attention throughout Christendom.<sup>1</sup> It must be made clear at the outset that there has never been any serious questioning of whether or not the Bible endorsed Baptism; the main battleground has been the question of infant Baptism; the title of K. Aland's study - Did the Early Church Baptize Infants? - epitomizes the continuing theological controversy. This matter comes into the writer's discussion of the Church of Scotland's

---

<sup>1</sup>The writer would refer anyone desiring a fuller treatment of various aspects of Baptism to the following works and their bibliographies, plus any additional studies referred to in the footnotes: K. Aland, Did the Early Church Baptize Infants?, trans. G.R. Beasley-Murray; J. Baillie, Baptism and Conversion; D.M. Baillie, The Theology of the Sacraments; K. Barth, The Teaching of the Church Regarding Baptism, trans. E.A. Payne; Baptism in the New Testament: A Symposium, trans. D. Askew; G.R. Beasley-Murray, Baptism in the New Testament; F.H. Chase, The Lord's Command to Baptize", JTS, VI, 1905, pp. 481-521; N. Clark, An Approach to the Theology of the Sacraments; F.C. Conybeare, "The Eusebian Form of the Text Matt. 28:19", ZNW, II, 1901, pp. 275-88; \_\_\_\_\_, "Three Early Doctrinal Modifications of the Text of the Gospels", The Hibbert Journal, I, 1902, pp. 97-113; O. Cullmann, Baptism in the New Testament, trans. J.K.S. Reid; J.W. Dale, Christic and Patristic Baptism; W.F. Flemington, The New Testament Doctrine of Baptism; J. Jeremias, Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries, trans. D. Cairns; \_\_\_\_\_, The Origins of Infant Baptism; A Further Study in Reply to Kurt Aland, trans. D.M. Barton; J.C. Lambert, The Sacraments in the New Testament; K. Lake, "Baptism (Early Christian)", ERE, II, pp. 379-90; G.W.H. Lampe, The Seal of the Spirit; T.W. Manson, "Baptism in the Church" SJT, II, 1949, pp. 391-403; P.C. Marcel, The Biblical Doctrine of Infant Baptism, trans. P.E. Hughes; H.G. Marsh, The Origin and Significance of the New Testament Baptism; B.S. Moss, ed., Crisis for Baptism; The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism: A Study Document issued by The Special Commission on Baptism of the Church of Scotland; "The Doctrine of Baptism", Reports to the General Assembly, 1963, pp. 774-81; T. Thompson, The Offices of Baptism and Confirmation; W. Wall, The History of Infant Baptism, I-IV, ed. P. Cotton; H.J. Wotherspoon, Religious Values in the Sacraments.

"Order for the Administration of the Sacrament of Baptism to Infants".<sup>1</sup>

In that Order, after a baptismal hymn and Call to Worship the minister says:

Dearly beloved, - Attend to the words of the institution of the holy Sacrament of Baptism, as delivered by our Lord and Saviour to His disciples, after His resurrection and before His ascension to the right hand of God:

All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, <sup>2</sup>lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.

The Sacrament thus instituted is a sign and seal of our ingrafting into Christ; of forgiveness of sins by His Spirit; and of adoption, and resurrection unto everlasting life. By this Sacrament we are solemnly admitted into His Church, and are engaged to be the Lord's.

Though little children do not understand these things, yet is the promise also to them. They are heirs of the covenant of grace; and in holy Baptism God brings them into the family and household of faith, and makes them members of Christ, and citizens of the kingdom of heaven.

Consider also what is written in the Gospels:

They brought young children to Jesus that He should touch them: and His disciples rebuked those that brought them. But when Jesus saw it, He was much displeased, and said unto them, Suffer the little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God. And he took them up in His arms, put His hands upon them, and blessed them.<sup>3</sup>

The "Order for the Administration of the Sacrament of Baptism to Adults"<sup>4</sup> opens in a similar way with the minister giving a Call to Worship

<sup>1</sup>Book of Common Order, pp. 89-94

<sup>2</sup>Matt. 28:18b-20.

<sup>3</sup>Mark 10:13-6; cf. Matt. 19:13-5; Luke 18:15-7.

<sup>4</sup>Book of Common Order, pp. 95-9.

and then directing attention to the words of Institution which he reads from Matthew 28:18b-20. As an additional Scriptural warrant the Order continues:

Saint Peter also, on the day of Pentecost, called the people saying:

Repent, and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. For the promise is unto you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call.<sup>1</sup>

This call to repentance and faith in Jesus Christ, and to confession thereof in this Sacrament, is addressed to you. Be assured that as you truly profess your faith and are baptized into His name, this Sacrament shall be to you the sign and seal of the washing away of your sins, of your ingrafting into Christ, of your regeneration by the Holy Spirit, and of your engagement to be the Lord's.

It is clear, therefore, from the first part of these baptismal Services that the Church of Scotland looks to Matthew 28:18b-20 as providing the key Scriptural warrant for the Sacrament of Baptism; in addition, if the baptizands are adults Acts 2:38-9 is cited, whereas for infants Mark 10:13-6 is read;<sup>2</sup> the accompanying statements in the Orders suggest that infant and adult Baptism are both believed to signify basically the same things:

- A) ingrafting into Christ by adoption through which those baptized are made members of Christ and engaged to be his;
- B) forgiveness of sins by Christ's blood and regeneration by the Spirit;

---

<sup>1</sup>Acts 2:38-9.

<sup>2</sup>It is not without significance that these same passages of Scripture are retained in the revised Baptismal Order, which was officially approved in 1968 for experimental use; cf. Reports to the General Assembly 1968, pp. 180-6.

C) resurrection to everlasting life as citizens of the kingdom of heaven; and

D) admission into Christ's Church as part of the family and household of faith.

These ideas require further explication.

In seeking to determine the teaching of the Church of Scotland on Baptism the writer has been guided by the "authoritative interpretation of the Biblical and Reformed doctrine of Baptism" entitled "The Doctrine of Baptism";<sup>1</sup> this statement was prepared for and officially received by the General Assembly in 1963 (after being approved by a substantial majority of Presbyteries under the Barrier Act) and commended to "the earnest and prayerful consideration" of the Church; also, The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism: A Study Document issued by the Special Commission on Baptism of the Church of Scotland<sup>2</sup> is most informative; the writer recognizes that the views of this Document are not universally acknowledged (even in the denomination from which it sprang);<sup>3</sup> nevertheless, he accepts it as a semi-official<sup>4</sup> attempt to stimulate and guide the thinking of the Church of Scotland concerning its doctrine and practice of Baptism.

---

<sup>1</sup>Reports to the General Assembly, 1963, pp. 774-81

<sup>2</sup>Published in 1958.

<sup>3</sup>It represents a re-writing of the Interim Report of 1955 which sparked much comment and criticism; such did not cease with the production of the contents of The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism; even the final Report of the Commission ("The Doctrine of Baptism") was rejected by 19 out of 64 Presbyteries.

<sup>4</sup>It was prepared by the Special Commission on Baptism of the General Assembly, which had revised its initial Interim Report (1955) in the light of a great deal of comment and criticism both from the Presbyteries of the Church of Scotland and from scholars throughout the world.

The first matter which must be raised is whether Matthew 28:18b ff. provides a genuine Biblical warrant for Baptism. The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism<sup>1</sup> notes that in recent times two questions have been asked about these Matthaean verses: i) Did Jesus actually speak these words? ii) Should this passage be used as the warrant for Baptism? The answers to these two questions really merge inasmuch as an affirmative answer to the first would certainly imply the same for the second; however, for the purposes of this study, these questions will be treated separately.

i) Did Jesus actually speak Matthew 28:18b ff?

In approaching this question a distinction must be made between whether these words formed part of the original text of Matthew and whether they were actually uttered by Christ. A number of studies<sup>2</sup> draw attention to the fact that all extant manuscripts and versions<sup>3</sup> give the text in the traditional form with the command to baptize in the Triune Name; such unanimity leads many scholars<sup>4</sup> to affirm that Matthew 28:18b ff. is textually genuine. However, on the basis of evidence, primarily from Eusebius, the textual authenticity of this passage is questioned. K. Lake points out that in 21 out of 25 citations of this Matthaean Commission

---

<sup>1</sup>The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup>K. Lake, op. cit., pp. 380-1; W.F. Flemington, op. cit., p. 106; J.C. Lambert, op. cit., p. 38; F.H. Chase, op. cit., pp. 481-521; H.G. Marsh, op. cit., p. 116; after surveying a massive amount of evidence, G.R. Beasley-Murray (op. cit., p. 82) writes: "The great majority of critics and commentators have felt themselves unable to forsake the unbroken testimony of the texts and versions".

<sup>3</sup>K. Lake (ibid., p. 380) observes that "the best MSS of the African Old Latin and the Old Syriac versions are defective at this point".

<sup>4</sup>Of these cited in footnote 2 Lake is the only one who argues against the textual trustworthiness of Matthew 28:18b-20.

Eusebius gives it in an abbreviated form "either omitting everything between ἔθνη and διδάσκοντες or in the form παρευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι μου, διδάσκοντες, κ.λ.λ. the latter form being the more frequent".<sup>1</sup>

Lake adds that the four renderings of this passage in the traditional manner occur in Eusebius' later writings,<sup>2</sup> by which time the Scriptural quotations may have undergone assimilation; Lake questions whether Conybeare<sup>3</sup> is right in finding further evidence for a "Eusebius reading" in Justin (Dialogue with Trypho 39,53) and the Pastor of Hermas (Similitudes 9:17); but Lake does agree that Eusebius almost invariably used a text which lacked the baptismal reference, and that the latter probably did not know the longer form until the Council of Nicaea.<sup>4</sup> But Beasley-Murray observes that those who support this idea of a "Eusebius reading" are conspicuously scarce.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>K. Lake, ibid.

<sup>2</sup>It appears "once in the Syriac Theophany, IV.8 . . . , once in contra Marcellum, p. 30, once in the de Ecclesiastice Theologia, V, p. 174a, and once in the letter of Eusebius to the Church at Caesarea quoted by Socrates HE, I.8.38" (K.Lake, ibid.).

<sup>3</sup>F.C. Conybeare, "The Eusebian Form of the Text Matth. 28:19", ZNW, II, 1901, pp. 275-88; cf. \_\_\_\_\_, "Three Early Doctrinal Modifications of the Text of the Gospels", The Hibbert Journal, I, 1902, pp. 102-8; on the other hand M. -J. Lagrange calls adherence to Conybeare's whim "un vrai défi à la critique textuelle" (Évangile selon Saint Matthieu; pp. 544-5).

<sup>4</sup>cf. E. Klostermann (Matthäus(HNT), p. 357) who believes that if Eusebius and Justin support the existence of a shorter version of Matthew 28:19 the latter is undoubtedly to be preferred as original.

<sup>5</sup>G.R. Beasley-Murray op. cit., p. 81; he finds this view only in the following: W.C. Allen, Matthew(ICC), pp. 307-8; J. Wellhausen, Das Evangelium Matthaei, p. 182; K. Lake, op. cit., p. 380; \_\_\_\_\_ and F.J. Foakes Jackson, The Beginnings of Christianity, I, i, p. 336; E. Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Matthäus, pp. 421-2.

Similarly F.H. Chase<sup>1</sup> illustrates how Eusebius exercised such freedom in citing the Matthaean Commission that it is given in various forms in the same work and observes that Eusebius quotes Jesus' command in both longer and shorter forms even after Nicaea; furthermore, during this Council the manner in which Eusebius cites the traditional form of Matthew 28:18b ff. suggests that he had known it for a long time. The further view that Eusebius gives the text in a shorter form due to the disciplina arcani, (whereby Christian teaching on Baptism and the Trinity was safeguarded from vulgar profanation), is, in the writer's opinion, rightly challenged by Lake<sup>2</sup> and Lindblom.<sup>3</sup> The latter makes a thorough re-examination of the Eusebian citations and comes to the following two conclusions, succinctly summarized by Beasley-Murray:

first, that Eusebius draws on various passages in the New Testament when citing the missionary commission, combining with Mt. 28:19 items from Mt. 10:8, 24:14, Jn. 20:22, and that his "in my name" (ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι μου) is due to the example of Lk. 24:47 along with Mk. 16:17; secondly, the form of the writing is made to suit the purpose in view at the moment of writing; the full text is employed when Eusebius is concerned about some aspect of the teaching on baptism or the Trinity, the shorter is used when the interest is centred on the mission to the nations.<sup>4</sup>

The writer agrees with Beasley-Murray that Lindblom's contentions appear "more plausible than the alternative suggestions that have been made";<sup>5</sup> it must be admitted, however, that the evidence of Eusebius is too

---

<sup>1</sup>F.H. Chase, op. cit., pp. 481-521; although he worked independently of Chase, E. Riegenbach, Der Trinitarische Taufbefehl Matth. 28:19, Beiträge zur Forderung christlichen Theologie, VII, 1903) reaches essentially the same conclusions in this lengthy reply to Conybeare.

<sup>2</sup>K. Lake, op. cit., p. 380.

<sup>3</sup>J. Lindblom, Jesu Missions - och Dopbefallning, Tillika en Studie över det Kristna Dopets Ursprung, pp. 16-26 (noted by G.R. Beasley-Murray, op. cit., p. 82.

<sup>4</sup>G.R. Beasley-Murray, ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

uncertain to be conclusive; therefore, this writer, noting the unanimity of the manuscripts and versions, sides with those who accept Matthew 28:18b-20 as being textually authentic.

The question of whether or not this Matthaean passage accurately renders Jesus' own words still remains and cannot be answered conclusively. There are those who maintain that such is the case,<sup>1</sup> but the writer favours the conclusion of Flemington: "These verses cannot, without the gravest doubt, be regarded as the literal transcript of actual words uttered by Jesus".<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, Flemington goes on to point out that these Matthaean verses "do provide the clearest evidence from a date certainly not later than that of the composition of the Gospel, and possibly earlier, for the conviction that the practice of Christian baptism had the full authority of Jesus behind it".<sup>3</sup> This statement leads into the second question raised by the Church of Scotland's Study Document: ii) Should the concluding verses of Matthew be used as the warrant for Baptism? Beasley-Murray<sup>4</sup> surveys the whole field of evidence and makes a strong case for an affirmative answer to this question.

Against the frequently made point that no other Gospel passage contains a genuine command to baptize<sup>5</sup> he argues as follows: admittedly,

<sup>1</sup> e.g. W. Wall, The History of Infant Baptism, ed. H. Cotton, I, p. 22; W.F. Flemington, op. cit., pp. 105-6 rightly observes that "for many centuries the passage was accepted without dispute"; of course, present day "fundamentalists" or "literalists" would argue that Matthew records the ipsissima verba of Christ.

<sup>2</sup> W.F. Flemington, op. cit., p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 108-9

<sup>4</sup> G.R. Beasley-Murray, op. cit., pp. 77-92.

<sup>5</sup> Only the most conservative fundamentalist would argue that the ending of Mark in the textus receptus is part of the original work; therefore its Commission to baptize (Mark 16:16) may genuinely be discounted as being textually unsound.

neither Mark nor Q contain a commission to baptize,<sup>1</sup> but also Q lacks any account of Christ's passion and resurrection; such a striking omission makes the argument from silence about Baptism with respect to Q precarious; the same may be said about Mark whose Gospel concludes without any resurrection narratives by the announcement of the empty tomb.

The omission of the command to baptize in Luke 24:46 f. is attributed to that author's manner of making his version of the commission to evangelize the nations a fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy; Beasley-Murray compares the similarity in language about repentance for forgiveness of sins in Luke 24:47 with Luke 3:3 and Acts 2:38<sup>2</sup> where Baptism is explicitly mentioned and concludes that "by the language employed he [Luke] has indicated that the prophetic announcement should be fulfilled through the proclamation of the Gospel with baptism".<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, he sees in John 20:21 ff. where the declaration of mission (21) is followed by an authorization to forgive sins (23) a possible "allusion to the baptizing activity of the disciples".<sup>4</sup> In thus refuting the claim that the command to baptize is unique to Matthew, Beasley-

<sup>1</sup>W. Heitmüller (Taufe und Abendmahl im Urchristentum, p. 2) counts this omission an important factor in his case against the Matthaean text of the Commission (noted by G.R. Beasley-Murray, op. cit., pp. 78-9).

<sup>2</sup>These verses read respectively: "and he [John] went into all the region about the Jordan, preaching a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins" (Luke 3:3); the risen Christ said to them: "Thus it is written . . . that repentance and forgiveness of sins should be preached in his name to all nations" (Luke 24:46-7); and "And Peter said to them, 'Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of your sins'" (Acts 2:38).

<sup>3</sup>G.R. Beasley-Murray, ibid., p. 80.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.; cf. P. Gardner-Smith, Saint John and the Synoptic Gospels, p. 83; C.K. Barrett, The Gospel According to St. John, p. 475.

Murray rightly cites Denney's<sup>1</sup> observation: "In all its forms the commission has to do either with baptism (so in Matthew and Mark) or with the remission of sins (so in Luke and John). These are but two forms of the same thing, for in the world of New Testament ideas baptism and the remission of sins are inseparably associated".<sup>2</sup>

The authenticity of the Matthaean Command to baptize has also been challenged because of its Trinitarian formula; it is argued that Baptism in the Threefold Name is of a later origin.<sup>3</sup> But Beasley-Murray correctly stresses the important point that the entire Commission cannot be discounted simply because one aspect - the Trinitarian formula - may be called into question.<sup>4</sup> In other words, the point at issue is not whether Jesus instituted Baptism but whether he commanded it to be administered in the Threefold Name. The evidence of Acts and Paul is that early Christian Baptism was "in the name of Jesus Christ" (Acts 2:38; 10:48); "into the name of the Lord Jesus" (Acts 8:16; 19:5); "into Christ" (Gal. 3:27); or "into Christ Jesus" (Rom. 6:3). Beasley-Murray agrees with Michel that the Matthaean text represents a primitive tradition of the risen Christ's instruction to his disciples "the formulation of which has been stamped by the liturgical needs of the Church", and that the Christological formula was modified to a Trinitarian one

---

<sup>1</sup>A misprint in the text refers to "Denny's observation" (underlining mine).

<sup>2</sup>J. Denney, The Death of Christ; p. 73; cf. G.R. Beasley-Murray ibid.

<sup>3</sup>G.R. Beasley-Murray (ibid., p. 82) notes the observation of H. Evander (Det kristna dopet, p. 15) that there is not one example in the entire New Testament literature of a Baptism in the Triune Name; cf. A. Harnack, History of Dogma, trans. N. Buchanan, I, p. 79.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 82-3; cf. W.F. Flemington, op. cit., p. 108.

"in the interests of the liturgical tradition existing in the Evangelist's day".<sup>1</sup>

In this connection the Church of Scotland Study Document notes the uniqueness to Matthew of the Trinitarian baptismal formula, and then proceeds to draw attention to the following three points:

a) Christ's command to baptize would inevitably carry a reference back to His own Baptism in Jordan, when the Father was heard addressing Him as the Son, and the Spirit descended to seal Him as the Son sent by the Father. Baptism into Christ, or in His name, involves the coming of the Spirit from the Father in the name of the Son.

b) Where there is no specific mention of the Father and the Spirit, they may be implied by the context, as in Acts 2:32 ff.

c) Baptism into the name of the Lord Jesus (Acts 8:16) implies Baptism into the triune name. The New Testament evidence suggests that Baptism into the name of Christ, and Baptism into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are alternative ways of referring to the same thing. The earliest evidence outside the New Testament points in the same direction (cf. Didache etc.)<sup>2</sup>

On the basis of these arguments the objections to the Matthaean command to baptize in the Threefold Name lose their validity.

The authenticity of this Commission is also challenged because of the attitude of the early Church to the Gentile Mission; such resistance is believed to be irreconcilable with a command from Christ to preach the Gospel to all nations.<sup>3</sup> Inasmuch as this question does not bear directly upon the matter of Baptism, let the writer simply observe that what is involved here is the whole question of the relationship

<sup>1</sup>G.R. Beasley-Murray, *ibid.*, pp. 83-4; cf. O. Michel, "Der Abschluss des Mattäusevangeliums", *Evangelische Theologie*, 1950, X, pp. 16 ff.

<sup>2</sup>The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism, p. 21.

<sup>3</sup>cf. e.g. F.J.F. Jackson and K. Lake, The Beginnings of Christianity I, p. 328, n.2; A.H. McNeile, The Gospel According to St. Matthew, p. 435; J.H. Scholten Die Taufformel, pp. 4 f.

between the Jewish and Gentile elements in the primitive Church and that a period of time had to pass before the universal implications of Christ's life and mission were grasped.<sup>1</sup>

Therefore, in answer to the question about whether Matthew 28: 18b ff. should be used as the warrant for Baptism, the writer would reply in the affirmative; the passage is textually sound; and also it shows that well before the end of the first Christian century the disciples believed that they had a commission to baptize which could be traced back to Christ. If Christ did not in fact give such a command, the action of the early Christians in beginning to do so is hard to explain; it is much more difficult to accept the idea that there was a spontaneous revival of Johannine Baptism; or that the Jewish practice of proselyte Baptism was adopted for Christian converts; or that Christian Baptism developed through the influence of the baptismal rites in the Greek mysteries.<sup>2</sup> Stauffer puts the matter pointedly: "How this Christian practice of baptism originated is a puzzle that only begins to be solved if we come at last once more to conclude that the tradition of the Risen Lord giving a missionary charge is to be taken seriously".<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. G.R. Beasley-Murray, ibid., pp. 84-7.

<sup>2</sup>These concepts would exist alongside that of Christian Baptism but any claim that Christianity developed primarily from any or all of them must be rejected.

<sup>3</sup>E. Stauffer, New Testament Theology, trans. J. Marsh, p. 160; cf. F.M. Rendtorff, Die Taufe im Urchristentum, p. 37; J. Lindblom, op. cit., p. 60; A. Oepke "βάπτισμα [and cognates]", TWNT, I, p. 537; J.H. Crehan, Early Christian Baptism and the Creed, pp. 72 ff.; G.R. Beasley-Murray, op. cit., p. 88.

The Order for Adult Baptism also cites the warrant of Peter's words on the day of Pentecost :

Repent and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. For the promise is unto you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call.

This passage would seem to be most appropriate to read in connection with Baptism; it is textually sound and associates Baptism with the very beginnings of the Christian Church. However, the witness of these words to the primitive rite of Christian Baptism is challenged. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake make the following comment about the passage: "This sudden introduction of baptism seems quite inconsistent with what was stated: the disciples had received the Spirit without having been baptized for that purpose, and the words of Jesus in Acts 1:4<sup>1</sup> imply a baptism in Spirit as a substitute for baptism in water, not as a consequence of it"<sup>2</sup>. This reference to Baptism is regarded by Jackson and Lake as the work of a redactor who viewed Baptism as essential for admission into the Christian Church and thus inserted it into his source. In support of their views, they suggest that the double designation "Jesus Christ" may betray the work of an editor.

Flemington<sup>3</sup> strongly challenges the contentions of Jackson and Lake; he points out that the editor of Acts does not regard Baptism in the name of the Lord Jesus as sufficient to bring the gift of the Spirit; rather in Acts 19:6 and especially 8:15-7 it is stated that the

<sup>1</sup>Obviously a misprint for Acts 1:5.

<sup>2</sup>F.J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake, The Beginnings of Christianity, I, p. 340.

<sup>3</sup>W.F. Flemington, op. cit., pp. 43-5.

"laying on of hands" is also required. If the redactor were bringing his source into harmony with the baptismal practice of his own day, he would surely have made the process complete by inserting not only a reference to Baptism but also to the laying on of hands; the fact that the former occurs in Acts 2:38 without the latter may well argue for the primitiveness of this passage and against any editorial manipulation: "For such a redactor to omit the laying on of hands, while mentioning baptism, would have been to fail to play the very role that is being attributed to him".<sup>1</sup>

Jackson and Lake also stress the disharmony of Acts 2:38 with the context. Flemington suggests two possible explanations but favours the second; those immediately addressed were not Jews but Gentiles, and therefore, in order to receive the "promise" needed some rite to put them in the same position as Jews;<sup>2</sup> or more probably Peter and the other Apostles were consciously carrying on and adapting the practice of John the Baptist. As Flemington states: "there would seem to be no conclusive reason why the evidence of this passage should be set aside"<sup>3</sup>. Therefore there is no need to resort to the view of Jackson and Lake that Baptism was introduced to the Church by its Hellenistic part.<sup>4</sup>

J. Weiss also disputes the use of Acts 2:38 as evidence for primitive Christian Baptism, arguing that in such passages the author

<sup>1</sup>W.F. Flemington, *ibid.*, p. 44, n.1.

<sup>2</sup>cf. F.J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake, *ibid.*, V, p. 135.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>4</sup>F.J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake, *ibid.*, I, pp. 341-3.

"has followed a very natural inclination to date back the later institutions of the Church into its period of origin";<sup>1</sup> he comes to this conclusion primarily for two reasons: first of all because there is no evidence that the hundred and twenty, the Apostles and brethren of the Lord, and the women were ever baptized (Acts 1:14-5); and secondly because Apollos and the μαθηταί at Ephesus were counted as Christians, when they had not received Christian Baptism (Acts 18:24-19:7).

Again, Flemington<sup>2</sup> rightly challenges these views of Weiss.

Admittedly, the hundred and twenty, the Apostles and brethren of the Lord, and the women may not have received water-baptism into the name of Jesus Christ; but if Baptism is interpreted as a two-part experience - an immersion in water united with the reception of the Holy Spirit - there is no difficulty; for most early Christians these two parts of the baptismal experience coincided; but in the case of those cited by Weiss, Flemington suggests that they received Christian Baptism, as it were, in two stages; having probably undergone initially, the water-baptism of John, they received the Holy Spirit at Pentecost.

Weiss' second argument would be valid only if it could be demonstrated that the position of those at Ephesus was typical and normal. The whole tone of the narrative suggests rather the uniqueness of these disciples and how far they were the exception rather than the rule in early Christian baptismal experience.

---

<sup>1</sup>J. Weiss, The History of Primitive Christianity, I, ed. and trans. F.C. Grant, pp. 50-1.

<sup>2</sup>W.F. Flemington, op. cit., pp. 46-8.

The writer therefore agrees entirely with Flemington when he concludes that "in spite of the arguments which have contested its trustworthiness, the reference to baptism at the end of Peter's Pentecost sermon is thoroughly explicable and that we need have no hesitation in accepting it as historical".<sup>1</sup> Thus, the citing of this passage by the Church of Scotland in its Order for adult Baptism is most appropriate.

The second warrant given in the Order for infant Baptism - Mark 10:13 ff. - raises initially the direct question: Does this passage provide a valid basis for the Baptism of infants? But also it poses the indirect one: Is the practice of infant Baptism Scripturally sound?

In his study of infant Baptism<sup>2</sup> Jeremias discusses Mark 10:13 ff. (and parallels) thoroughly in the conviction that it provides strong support for the practice of baptising infants; in turn, these views are challenged by Kurt Aland;<sup>3</sup> he systematically refutes Jeremias' main contentions, not only about Mark 10:13 ff. but also on the whole subject of infant Baptism; Jeremias responds with The Origins of Infant Baptism: A Further Study in Reply to Kurt Aland, in which he makes a brief footnote reference<sup>4</sup> to Aland's misunderstandings of his (Jeremias') views on "The Blessing of the Children".

In considering Mark 10:13 ff. the writer wishes primarily to

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 48.

<sup>2</sup>J. Jeremias, Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries, trans. D. Cairns, pp. 48-55.

<sup>3</sup>K. Aland, Did the Early Church Baptize Infants?, trans. G.R. Beasley-Murray; on Mark 10:13 ff. cf. ibid., pp. 95-9.

<sup>4</sup>J. Jeremias, The Origins of Infant Baptism, A further study in reply to Kurt Aland, trans. D.M. Barton, p. 54, n.1.

summarize the discussion (if that is the correct term<sup>1</sup>) between Jeremias and Aland because it raises all the relevant issues; but he will not hesitate to cite other studies which illuminate the subject.

Jeremias begins by emphasizing that the Gospel narrative itself has nothing to do with Baptism, but is "pre-sacramental". Parents bring their children to Jesus "that he may touch them" (Mark 10:13). The meaning of this request is seen from Sopherim 18:5:

It was a beautiful custom in Jerusalem to make the little children, boys and girls, fast on the fast-day (i.e. on the day of Atonement) those who were a year old until daybreak, the twelve-year-olds till evening, and then to carry or lead them to the elders (i.e. the scribes) for them to bless them, strengthen (i.e. exhort) and pray for them, that they might one day attain a knowledge of the Torah and to good works.<sup>2</sup>

Jeremias goes on to observe that every incident in the Synoptic has a twofold historical place: the unique concrete situation in the life of Jesus, and the preaching and teaching of the primitive Church. He believes that the importance of this blessing of the children passage for the early Church is seen from its being placed between the discussion about divorce (Mark 10:1-12) and the story about the rich young ruler (10:17-31); these three sections provided a little catechism for the early Christians on marriage, children and possessions, with Mark 10:13-6 saying to the Church: "Hear how the Saviour calls the Children, how he promises them a share in the eschatological salvation. To lead children to him is the task and responsibility of Christian parents."<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>K. Aland, ("Author's Preface to the English Edition," ibid., p. 10) refers to the "conversation with Jeremias".

<sup>2</sup>J. Jeremias, Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries, trans. D. Cairns, p. 49, quoting from the Babylonian Talmud, Lemberg, 1861 .

<sup>3</sup>J. Jeremias, ibid., p. 50.

But then Jeremias adds the significant comment: "Not only was the general summons to lead the children to Jesus by precept and example inferred from it [Mark 10:13-6], but also the command to give them to him through baptism",<sup>1</sup> which claim Jeremias immediately proceeds to demonstrate.

He notes that the first extra-Biblical reference to the Baptism of children comes in Tertullian (On Baptism 18), who applies Christ's words "Forbid them not to come unto me"<sup>2</sup> to Baptism; also he draws attention to the fact that the Apostolic Constitutions (VI.15) appeal to this same instruction in order to support their claim that young children ( $\nu\eta\pi\iota\alpha$ ) should be baptized. But then he states that such an application is made considerably sooner than the end of the second century, and indicates that the following four observations about the text combine to suggest this conclusion.<sup>3</sup>

A) Jeremias' first and main point rests on his certain conclusion from the Gospel of John that the verse Mark 10:15 = Luke 18:17 was early interpreted as referring to Baptism; he demonstrates this view by means of a Synoptic diagram which the writer reproduces at the top of the following page:<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.; underlining mine.

<sup>2</sup>cf. Mark 10:14; Matt. 19:14; Luke 18:16 (KJV).

<sup>3</sup>J. Jeremias, ibid., pp. 50-5.

<sup>4</sup>cf. The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism, p. 50, which places Matt. 18:3, Mark 10:15, Luke 18:17, John 3:3 and John 3:5 in parallel columns and comments: "We need not suppose that all these are forms of a single saying used only on one particular occasion; but it is clear that they all state a condition of entrance into the Kingdom".

Matt. 18.3	Mark 10.15 = Luke 18.17	John 3.5*	Justin, Apol. 1 61.4	Const. Apost. VI 15.5
a. Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν	Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν	Ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω σοι,		
b. εἰ μὴ	ὅς ἂν μὴ	εἰ μὴ τις	ἂν μὴ	εἰ μὴ τις
c. στραφῆτε κ. γένησθε	δέξεται τὴν β.τ.θ.	γεννηθῆ  ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος (γεννηθῆ ἄνωθεν),	ἀναγεννηθῆτε,	βαπτισθῆ  ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος,
ὡς τὰ παιδιά	ὡς παιδίον,			
d. οὐ μὴ εἰσελθῆτε	οὐ μὴ εἰσελθῆ	οὐ δύναται εἰσελεῖν (ἰδεῖν)	οὐ μὴ εἰσελθῆτε	οὐ μὴ εἰσελθῆ
εἰς τὴν β.τ. οὐρ.	εἰς αὐτήν	εἰς (-) τὴν β.τ.θ.	εἰς τὴν β.τ. οὐρ.	εἰς τὴν β.τ. οὐρ.

\* The variants from v. 3 are bracketed.

Jeremias believes that the agreement in structure shows that all five formulations deal with the same saying:

(a) in all four Gospels the logion is introduced by "Truly" (ἀμὴν; John + ἀμὴν) "I say unto you" (λέγω ὑμῖν; John, "thee", σοι); (b) in all the formulations a negative condition is added ("unless", εἰ μὴ "whoever does not", ἐς εἰ μὴ); (c) this condition deals in all the formulations (except in the Apostolic Constitutions) with becoming a child or being born again; (d) lastly, the apodasis has the same threatening sound in all formulations, with its "not enter" (οὐ μὴ εἰσελεῖν εἰς; John 3:3: "see", ἰδεῖν) "the kingdom of God" (τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ) or "of heaven" (τῶν οὐρανῶν).<sup>1</sup>

Jeremias suggests that although the Gospels phrase differently the condition for admittance to the divine kingdom (likeness to a little child in the Synoptics and being born again<sup>2</sup> in John), all mean essen-

<sup>1</sup>J. Jeremias, ibid., pp. 51-2.

<sup>2</sup>The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism, p. 50, terms such "the extreme case of littleness".

tially the same thing: "a complete new beginning of life is the precondition of anyone's finding admission under the rule of God".<sup>1</sup> He then stresses the point that in John this new beginning is through Baptism - being born of water and the Spirit.

Jeremias then argues that (contrary to popular opinion) the passage from Justin (Apology I.61) is not a quotation from John 3:5<sup>2</sup> but rather a reproduction of Matthew 18:3, and is influenced by John 3:5 only in the one word  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\upsilon\upsilon\eta\theta\eta\tau\epsilon$ ; noting that "formulation IV" (as he calls it) recurs word for word (only enlarged by additions) in Clement of Alexandria (Exhortation to the Heathen 9) and the pseudonymous Recognitions of Clement (VI.9) and Homilies (XI.26),<sup>3</sup> Jeremias concludes that it had an independent circulation; furthermore, Jeremias suggests that although he was familiar with the Nicodemus story, Justin followed the wording of the oral tradition;<sup>4</sup> for Jeremias, this conclusion "adds significance to the fact that Justin and the Pseudo-Clementine writings also, like John 3, bring our verse into relation to baptism, and quote it in the context of a description of baptism intended

<sup>1</sup>J. Jeremias, ibid., p. 52.

<sup>2</sup>J. Jeremias (ibid.) does mention, however, that in the next sentence Justin alludes to John 3:4.

<sup>3</sup>J. Jeremias (ibid., p. 15) dates these pseudo-Clementine writings in the second half of the fourth century A.D. - "before 380".

<sup>4</sup>J. Jeremias, ibid., p. 52; cf. W. Bousset, Die Evangeliencitate Justins des Märtyrers in ihrem Wert für die Evangelienkritik, pp. 116-8; E. Molland, "La circoncision, le baptême, et l'autorité du décret apostolique (Actes XV, 28sq.) dans les milieux judéo-chrétiens des Pseudo-Clementines", ST, IX, 1955, p. 18, n.1; H. Koster, "Geschichte und Kultus im Johannesevangelium und bei Ignatius von Antiochien" ZTK, LIV, 1957, p. 63.

for non-Christians, and indeed, as an authority for the rite".<sup>1</sup> Lastly, Justin observes that the logion in the Apostolic Constitutions (VI.15), which is a free reproduction of John 3:5, shows Synoptic influences in the apodosis and explicitly mentions Baptism. Jeremias then reiterates the point which, in his estimation, this chain of evidence demonstrates: "We see then that, as early as the end of the first century AD, Mark 10:15 = Luke 18:17 was applied to baptism".<sup>2</sup>

B) Jeremias sees a second indication that the blessing of the children applied to Baptism in the word κωλύειν (Mark 10:14; Matt. 19:14; Luke 18:16). He appeals to Cullmann's thesis<sup>3</sup> that κωλύειν appears so regularly in a series of baptismal texts<sup>4</sup> as to suggest the use of a formula, with κωλύειν being a terminus technicus to indicate whether or not any hindrance prevented the candidate from being baptized. Thus Cullmann concludes: "As early as the first century, whenever someone who had come to faith was brought for Baptism, enquiry was made whether any hindrance existed, that is, whether the candidate had really fulfilled the conditions demanded".<sup>5</sup> With respect to Mark 10:13-6 and parallels, Cullmann admits that originally it did not refer to Baptism, but argues that "those who transmitted this story of the blessing of

<sup>1</sup>J. Jeremias, ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 53.

<sup>3</sup>O. Cullmann, Baptism in the New Testament, trans. J.K.S. Reid, pp. 71-80.

<sup>4</sup>Acts 8:36; 10:47; 11:17; Matt. 3:13-4; The Gospel of the Ebionites 30; Mark 10:13-6.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 75.

children wished to recall to the remembrance of Christians of their time an occurrence by which they might be led to a solution of the question of infant Baptism";<sup>1</sup> such an interpretation explains the presence of the baptismal terminus technicus in this passage.

Jeremias believes that Cullmann's thesis is strongly supported by two considerations: first, an analogous procedure was used by the Jews who tested the purity of the motives of anyone who wished to become a Jew;<sup>2</sup> and secondly, Cullmann limited his evidence essentially to the New Testament but the κωλύειν baptismal formula is found also in the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies<sup>3</sup> and even later in the Syriac version of the Irene legend.<sup>4</sup> Even Beasley-Murray<sup>5</sup> (who argues against infant Baptism) does not dismiss Cullmann's theory completely, because he thinks that

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 78; Cullmann states that in this conclusion he is agreeing with G. Wohlenberg (Das Evangelium des Markus, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, ed. T. Zahn, p. 272) and J. Jeremias, (Hat die älteste Christenheit die Kindertaufe geübt? and "Mc. 10:13-16 Parr. und die Übung der Kindertaufe in der Urkirche", ZNW, XL, 1941, pp. 243-5.

<sup>2</sup>e.g. Ger. 1:1 f.; b. Yeb. 47a (Bar.); cf. D. Daube, "A Baptismal Confession", The New Testament and Rabbinical Judaism, pp. 113-9 who discusses "The Test".

<sup>3</sup>Homilies XIII.5, 11; cf. E. Molland, op. cit., p. 22.

<sup>4</sup>cf. A.S. Lewis, ed. and trans., Select Narratives of Holy Women from the Syro-Antiochene or Sinai Palimpsest, Studia Sinaitica, X, p. 131.

<sup>5</sup>G.R. Beasley-Murray, op. cit., p. 324, n.4; he believes that the article by A.W. Argyle ("O. Cullmann's Theory Concerning κωλύειν ", ET, LXVII, 1955-6, p. 17) weakens Cullmann's argument considerably; but J. Jeremias, (ibid., p. 53, n.5) attributes these possible doubts about the correctness of Cullmann's thesis to the latter's narrow base with respect to sources.

these later occurrences of  $\kappa\omega\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\iota\nu$  in connection with Baptism may reflect earlier usage.

C) Jeremias also sees significance in the fact that Matthew and Mark close this pericope with Jesus' laying of his hands on the children. Because such action belongs to the ritual of Baptism, he agrees with Alan Richardson<sup>1</sup> that its mention would be a further reminder of Baptism.

D) Finally, Jeremias suggests that the wording of the Lukan version appears to give additional proof that the blessing of the children was used in a baptismal context; instead of  $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$  (Mark 10:13, Matt. 19:13), Luke uses  $\tau\grave{\alpha} \beta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\phi\eta$ . Jeremias explains this change by the Sitz im Leben of the passage: the early Church already practised child Baptism as infant Baptism, which habit motivated Luke to use the expression  $\tau\grave{\alpha} \beta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\phi\eta$ .

Thus Jeremias concludes that "the formulation of the passage Mark 10:13-16 and par. in several places contains indirect references to baptism";<sup>2</sup> this narrative of the blessing of the children was important for the early Church because it "took it as authority for the practice of infant baptism".<sup>3</sup>

This interpretation of Mark 10:13 ff. and parallels is strongly

<sup>1</sup>A. Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament, p. 361; cf. W.F. Flemington, op. cit., p. 44, n.1, who discusses the relationship between Baptism and the laying on of hands; in Hebrews 6:2 he finds confirmation for the view that "in the first century A.D. the laying on of hands was generally understood to be a concomitant of baptism".

<sup>2</sup>J. Jeremias, ibid., p. 54.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 55; Jeremias quotes (ibid., n.1) the words of J. Leipoldt: "The narrator must have been thinking of infant baptism" ("Die altchristliche Taufe religionsgeschichtlich betrachtet" WZU Leipzig, III, 1953-4, p. 67a, n.1).

challenged by Aland.<sup>1</sup> He questions the significance which Jeremias attaches to Justin's citing of the logion in the wording of the "oral tradition"; Aland believes that Justin had in mind the Nicodemus story of John 3:5, with which even Jeremias admits he was familiar; Aland also cites the textual support of Justin (Apology I.45<sup>2</sup>) and affirms that his comparison of the Greek texts (John 3:3-5, Apology I.61 and 45<sup>2</sup>) "appear to me to place beyond all dispute the conviction that Justin did indeed refer back to John's Gospel".<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore, Aland<sup>4</sup> challenges the view that John 3:5 directly refers back to Mark 10:15, emphasizing his conviction that "being born again of water and Spirit" is not the same as "becoming like a child" (Matt. 18:3) or "receiving the kingdom of God like a child" (Mark 10:15).

Aland also attacks Jeremias' stress on the external parallelism of the words: the introductory formula (ἀμήν) occurs too frequently elsewhere<sup>5</sup> to prove literary dependence; and a negative condition is not unique to these five formulations (cf. e.g. John 5:19). Thus he writes: "The 'agreement of structure' therefore by no means justifies the view that in the passages under discussion we are dealing with 'one and the same saying' which has been taken over from one text to another".<sup>6</sup> The

<sup>1</sup>K. Aland, op. cit., pp. 95-9.

<sup>2</sup>This reference must surely be a misprint for I.46 in which chapter Justin refers to Christ as the λογος.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 96-7, n.4.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 97-8.

<sup>5</sup>According to Aland (ibid., p. 98) Matthew has sayings of Jesus beginning with ἀμήν λέγω ὑμῖν (σοι) 31 times, Mark 14 times, and Luke 7 times; John has the formula with his characteristic doubling of the ἀμήν 25 times.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 98.

closing words of this quotation prompt the writer to cite from Jeremias' reply:

Aland has completely misunderstood me in his chapter 9, "The Blessing of the Children" (95-99), and has imputed to me the strangest opinions, as, for instance, that John 3:5 depends directly on Mark 10:15 (A95 f., 98), that Justin is dependent on Mark 10 (A96), etc. Aland is confusing associations in the history of the tradition with literary dependence. That Matt. 18:3 and the parallel passages Mark 10:15, Luke 18:17 on the one hand and John 3:5 on the other are associated in the history of tradition is incontestable and even Aland cannot deny it (A97 f.).<sup>1</sup>

Aland also argues against the claim that the presence of κωλύειν in this pericope provides an allusion to Baptism; he admits that Cullmann is right in showing that κωλύειν is a baptismal terminus technicus in connection with certain texts, but would limit this usage only to those where Baptism is expressly mentioned. Again he writes: "Perhaps at a later time, when a developed baptismal liturgy had come into being with a question concerning hindrances to baptism, an echo was perceived also in the κωλύειν of Mark 10:14; such a possibility should not be excluded, but I do not believe that it can be postulated from this early time".<sup>2</sup>

To this writer, Aland appears to be selective in his treatment; he accepts Cullmann's thesis until he comes to Mark 10:13 ff.; furthermore, he ignores completely Jeremias' suggestion of a probable connection between the Jewish practice of inquiring into a person's motives before allowing him to become a Jew and primitive Christian Baptism. The writer admits that there is no direct textual evidence for associating this passage with Baptism until Tertullian. Nevertheless, if Cullmann and Jeremias

---

<sup>1</sup>J. Jeremias, The Origins of Infant Baptism, trans. D.M. Barton, p. 54, n.1. (The A and page numbers in this quotation refer, of course to K. Aland's Did the Early Church Baptize Infants? trans. G.R. Beasley-Murray).

<sup>2</sup>K. Aland, ibid., p. 96.

are wrong on this point, the onus is surely on those who differ to show when this pericope came to be linked with infant Baptism. Its citation in Tertullian gives no indication that such usage and application was an innovation.

Aland apparently sees no need to comment on Jeremias' last two points - the laying on of hands, and Luke's use of *ἁβρίφη* - both of which, although not conclusive, do strengthen Jeremias' case. This writer would have expected a scholar of Aland's stature and integrity at least to mention these views.

Persuant to this treatment of the studies by Jeremias and Aland it seems appropriate to quote three comments: two from the Church of Scotland's The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism and one from "The Doctrine of Baptism" as received by the 1963 General Assembly; after noting that certain sayings of Jesus in the Gospels "have a special relevance to the place of children in Baptism",<sup>1</sup> the Study Document comments on Mark 10:14 and parallels:

What we can quite certainly say is that our Lord, who stated so clearly that the Kingdom of God belongs to little children, could not have refused to allow them to share in the sacrament of initiation into that Kingdom, which is Baptism.<sup>2</sup>

This same study discusses Mark 10:15 and parallels alongside John 3:3 and 5 and states:

If the condition of entrance into the Kingdom of God is at the same time being born of water and of the Spirit, and becoming like a little child, it is incredible that our Lord would have us refuse Baptism to those children whom even adult candidates for Baptism need to resemble in order to enter the Kingdom of

---

<sup>1</sup>The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 49.

God. It is "as little children" that all must be baptized, whatever their actual age.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly "The Doctrine of Baptism" reads:

In the teaching of Jesus the Kingdom of God, the sphere of divine blessing and forgiveness into which we are incorporated in Baptism, belongs in a special way to little children. When children were brought to Him, He did not refuse them. He received and blessed them. By His reception of them into the Kingdom, Jesus teaches us that unless we become like little children we shall not enter into His Kingdom. As a condition of entrance into the Kingdom of God we must be born from above of water and of the Spirit. Therefore, in obedience to His example and command, we suffer little children to come to Him and forbid them not. We receive them in His name, in reliance upon the promise that belongs to them as well as to us, and in expectation that He will bless them now as He did then. We bring our children to Him through Baptism in the divine Name, assured that He takes them in His arms and makes them His own.<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps, the question about whether Mark 10:13 ff. was used by the early Christians in connection with Baptism will never be satisfactorily resolved with unanimity; admittedly there is no indication that the children brought to Jesus were baptized; but, as The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism affirms, "the language used suggests that this incident was linked with Baptism in the mind of the early Church, and the story was probably then repeated, as it still commonly is with us, as part of the Baptism of infants".<sup>3</sup> In view of the early association of Mark 10:13 ff. (and parallels) with Baptism (even if not by Jesus himself), the writer would uphold the practice of the Church of Scotland in citing this warrant, until such time as someone demonstrates conclusively that to do so is contrary to Scripture.

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 50.

<sup>2</sup>Reports to the General Assembly, 1963, p. 777.

<sup>3</sup>The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism, p. 49.

However, the second question still remains: Is the practice of infant Baptism Scripturally sound? The lack of agreement on this larger question is equally as great as it is on the use of Mark 10:13 ff. as a warrant for the Baptism of infants. Jeremias rightly stresses "that a distinction must be made between the direct and indirect evidence for the baptism of children and that direct statements do not appear in the sources until Tertullian".<sup>1</sup> It is this "indirect evidence" (in addition to Mark 10:13 ff. and parallels) to which the writer now turns; a full treatment of this material would require a thorough examination of all aspects of it; but because the question of infant Baptism is to a certain extent only indirectly related to the main subject of this thesis, the writer will limit himself to giving a summary of the section entitled "The Place of Children in Christian Baptism" in The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism;<sup>2</sup> nevertheless, he will also indicate the extent to which he accepts its conclusions, and refer the reader (mainly by the use of footnotes) to other sources where more detailed discussions of the points under consideration may be found.

A) Preliminary Arguments

i) Jewish Practice

This portion of the Study Document refers to Baptism as the sign of the New Covenant, the replacement for circumcision which was the mark of the Old. Inasmuch as a child was normally circumcized eight days after birth, it is suggested that infants should be baptized.<sup>3</sup> In

---

<sup>1</sup>J. Jeremias, The Origins of Infant Baptism, trans. D.M. Barton, p.9.

<sup>2</sup>The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism, pp. 45-54.

<sup>3</sup>cf. P.C. Marcel, op. cit., who finds the sole basis for infant baptism in the idea of the Covenant, for which the signs of the Old and the New respectively are circumcision and Baptism; O. Cullmann, op. cit., pp. 56-69; on the other hand, cf. G.R. Beasley-Murray, op. cit., pp. 334-44, and K. Barth, op. cit., pp. 43-4, who challenge these ideas.

addition, the practice of Jewish proselyte Baptism,<sup>1</sup> in which little children were baptized along with their parents, is mentioned. Therefore this work argues: "If children were to be excluded from the corresponding Christian rite, there would assuredly be some statement to that effect, either in the New Testament or in other early Christian writings".<sup>2</sup>

ii) Baptism of Households

Attention is drawn to the Baptism of households in Acts 16:15,33 and I Corinthians 1:16;<sup>3</sup> while there is no proof that these households included children, it would be most unusual if none of them had small children; both positions are conjectural, but this writer finds it easier to accept the view that these households had children than that they did not.<sup>4</sup> Even Karl Barth<sup>5</sup> who argues strongly against infant Baptism, admits that these "household passages" constitute a "thread" in support of the practice.

<sup>1</sup>cf. J. Jeremias, Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries, trans. D. Cairns, pp. 24-40; T.F.Torrance, "Proselyte Baptism", NTS, I, 1954, pp. 150-4; \_\_\_\_\_, "The Origins of Baptism", SJT, XI, 1958, pp. 158-71; The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism, p. 13; but G.R. Beasley-Murray (op. cit., pp. 18-31) argues against accepting Jewish proselyte Baptism as an antecedent of Christian Baptism.

<sup>2</sup>The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism, p. 46.

<sup>3</sup>cf. Acts 11:14; 18:8; Ignatius, Smyrnaeans 13:1; Polycarp 8:2.

<sup>4</sup>For a discussion of both sides with respect to this so-called "oikos Formula" cf. J. Jeremias, Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries, trans. D. Cairns, pp. 19-24; \_\_\_\_\_, The Origins of Infant Baptism, trans. D.M. Barton, pp. 12-32; K. Aland, op. cit., pp. 87-94; G.R. Beasley-Murray, op. cit., pp. 312-20; and the literature which these studies cite.

<sup>5</sup>K. Barth, op. cit., pp. 44-5.

Furthermore, it is in keeping with Biblical usage to speak of households as including children (cf. e.g. Gen. 17:12 ff.; 23:27; Exodus 12:16 ff.; I Sam. 1:21 ff.; John 4:53).<sup>1</sup>

iii) Practice of the Early Church

Several passages in the Fathers<sup>2</sup> (before Tertullian's direct evidence) imply that infant Baptism was practised by the Church from the time of the Apostles. Justin Martyr speaks of Christian Baptism as the fulfilment of circumcision (Dialogue with Trypho 16-9; 23-4; 40-3; 92; 114; cf. Epistle of Barnabas 9:1-9). Also he writes: "And many, both men and women, who have been Christ's disciples from childhood, remain pure at the age of sixty or seventy years" (Apology I.15; cf. Martyrdom of Polycarp 9:3); this statement suggests that these people had been baptized in childhood between the years A.D. 70 and 90. In addition, Irenaeus says of Christ: "For He came to save all through means of Himself - all, I say, who through Him are born again to God - infants, and children, and boys, and youths, and old men" (Against Heresies II.22.4); this mention of infants in the same context as rebirth - a concept commonly associated with Baptism<sup>3</sup> - is surely significant.

---

<sup>1</sup>E. Stauffer ("Zur Kindertaufe in der Urkirche", Deutsches Pfarrerberblatt, XLIX, 1949, pp. 152-4; cf. \_\_\_\_\_, New Testament Theology, trans. J. Marsh pp. 161-2; 298, n. 540) examines the Old Testament material and concludes that from early times there was a biblical "Oikos formula" which "not only referred to the children in addition to the adults but had quite special reference to the children, and not least to any small children who might be present" (quoted from J. Jeremias, Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries, trans. D. Cairns, p.20; underlining Stauffer's.)

<sup>2</sup>The Study Document probably does not mention the reference in Clement of Alexandria to "the children drawn out of the water" (The Instructor III.11) because it is too obscure; as Jeremias comments: "it is indeed possible that he is thinking of child baptism" (Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries, trans. D. Cairns, p. 64) but J. Jeremias admits that this interpretation is very conjectural.

<sup>3</sup>cf. above pp. 251-2 ; below pp. 274-85.

The writer has already<sup>1</sup> noted Tertullian's citing of Jesus' words - "Forbid them not to come unto me" - in his plea for the postponement of Baptism (On Baptism 18). Although in this passage he appears to oppose infant Baptism, he is very probably attacking the existing practice; also, the following passages in Tertullian's works suggest or allow the interpretation that infant Baptism is the norm: On the Spectacles 4; On Repentance 6; On the Soldier's Chaplet 3; De Anima 39-40.<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, Hippolytus in his Apostolic Tradition explicitly describes the Baptism of very small children: "And first baptize the little ones; if they can speak for themselves, they shall do so; if not, their parents or other relatives shall speak for them. Then baptize the men, and last of all the women" (21). Jeremias aptly comments on this passage: "Thus what we see happening is in fact the accession of 'households' to the Christian fellowship".<sup>3</sup>

The writer is in agreement that these three "preliminary arguments" do, when taken together, "make a strong case for the practice of infant Baptism in the Early Church";<sup>4</sup> but also he agrees that "the strength of the case for infant baptism does not rest chiefly on these historical considerations";<sup>5</sup> rather "an apostolic warrant for infant

<sup>1</sup>cf. above p.250.

<sup>2</sup>cf. the discussion of these passages by Jeremias and Aland, particularly the former's second work, The Origins of Infant Baptism, trans. D.M. Barton, pp. 64-9.

<sup>3</sup>J. Jeremias, Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries, p. 75.

<sup>4</sup>The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism, p. 47.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

Baptism"<sup>1</sup> is based "on the sayings of Christ about children, on references to children in the Epistles, and most firmly upon its congruity with the apostolic doctrine."<sup>2</sup>

B) Children in the New Covenant

The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism opens this section by citing Peter's words on the day of Pentecost, which the Book of Common Order gives as the second warrant for Baptism in the adult service: "Repent, and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. For the promise is unto you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call" (Acts 2:38 f.)

Drawing particular attention to the words "and to your children", the Study Document suggests three strong grounds for interpreting "children" to mean actual children or at any rate descendants:<sup>3</sup>

a) Peter has in mind the "promise" and little children were included in those who received the promises of the Old Covenant (cf. e.g. Deut. 29:10-6);

b) the words "everyone whom the Lord our God calls to him" (to use the phrasing of the RSV) indicate that in Baptism God is calling to himself those whom he adds to the Church. To deny that God calls little children, even infants, to himself is a contradiction both of Scripture and experience (cf. e.g. Jer. 1:5; I Sam. 3; Luke 1:15; Gal. 1:15);

c) if the early Church expected an early Parousia (cf. e.g. I Thess. 4:15) the only descendants for whom Peter's words would be relevant

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 48.

would be those who were actually children on the day of Pentecost. Therefore, it is difficult to believe that children "were excluded from those added to the Church by Baptism".<sup>1</sup>

C) Children in the Gospels

Besides the consideration and comments on Jesus' sayings in Mark 10:14 and 15 (and parallels) which the writer has already cited,<sup>2</sup> the Study Document quotes Jesus' comment: "Whosoever shall receive one of such children in my name, receiveth me; and whosoever shall receive me, receiveth not me, but him that sent me" (Mark 9:37; Matt. 18:5; Luke 9:48; cf. also Matt. 10:40); it comments as follows on this "child in the midst" saying: "Our Lord, who bids His disciples receive little children in His name, cannot refuse to receive them Himself in the sacrament of Baptism".<sup>3</sup>

In addition, notation is made of Matthew 11:25; Mark 9:42 (cf. Matt. 18:6; Luke 17:2); Matt. 10:42 (cf. Mark 9:41), all of which passages use "children" or some similar expression probably to signify "disciples"; it is suggested that Jesus called his followers by such terms "just because they had to become as little children in order to begin life anew with Him as His disciples".<sup>4</sup> The Study Document concludes:

All these sayings are relevant to infant Baptism to the extent that they point to the reversal of ordinary standards which are characteristic of the Kingdom. From our human point of view, the wise and understanding, the great ones of the earth, the mature adults, are the most suitable candidates for Baptism; in Jesus' way of thinking the most suitable are the

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>cf. above pp. 258-9.

<sup>3</sup>The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism, p. 51.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 52.

babes, the little ones who trust in Him, the infants in whose way no one dare set a stumbling-block - those, in fact, who can most readily begin again.<sup>1</sup>

#### D) Children in the Epistles

The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism goes on to indicate that the comment just quoted concerning Gospel sayings about children applies even more strongly to references to children in the Epistles, (e.g. I John); however, it limits its comments to several passages where, in all probability, actual children are meant:

i) In Paul's exhortation to members of households to do their respective Christian duties (Eph. 5:21-6:9; Col. 3:18-4:1), children are accepted as an integral part alongside parents, husbands, wives, masters and slaves; therefore, it would seem strange if they were not baptized along with the rest of the household; it is noted that some scholars<sup>2</sup> interpret these exhortations, along with one in I Peter (2:11-4:11) primarily as baptismal charges.

ii) In I John 2:12-6 "little children" (παιδία) appear to be distinguished from "fathers", and "young men" and possibly even from "children" (τεκνία). John addresses the παιδία with the words: "I write unto you, little children, because your sins are forgiven you for His name's sake" 2:12(KJV); such words may well recall the fact that Baptism is "in the name" of Christ and that it brings forgiveness of sins; therefore, it would appear that the παιδία of this verse have been baptized.

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., cf. D.M. Baillie, op. cit., p. 80 ff.

<sup>2</sup>cf. e.g. W.F. Flemington, op. cit., pp. 64-6; 70; 99-101; G.R. Beasley-Murray, op. cit., pp. 200-4; 251-58; 289-90.

iii) In I Corinthians 7:14<sup>1</sup> Paul writes: "For the unbelieving husband is consecrated through his wife, and the unbelieving wife is consecrated through her husband. Otherwise, your children would be unclean, but as it is they are holy". A distinction is made in this verse between the unbelieving partner who is sanctified ( $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ ) through the believing spouse, but who apparently remains an unbeliever, and the children who are actually holy ( $\alpha\gamma\iota\alpha$ ). Therefore the Study Document argues: "Since the children are regarded as 'holy', it follows that they must either have been made 'holy' by Baptism, or else that they shared in the 'holiness' of their believing parent and did not need to be baptized. In the latter case they would be thought of as born into holiness, like the children of proselytes to Judaism, born after their parents' admission, who did not require proselyte Baptism".<sup>2</sup> However, in the absence of any indication that in the early Church infants born to Christian parents do not need to be baptized, it would seem that the primitive Christians thought that such children had the right to be baptized. Peter's words on the day of Pentecost are most relevant: "the promise is to you and to your children" (Acts 2:39). The Book of Common Order remarks concerning little children: "yet is the promise also to them. They are heirs of the covenant of grace".<sup>3</sup>

The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism concludes its treatment of the Baptism of children by the following statement with which the writer agrees in principle: "the practice of infant Baptism is altogether con-

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. the discussion of this verse by J. Jeremias, Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries, trans. D. Cairns, pp. 44-8; \_\_\_\_\_, The Origins of Infant Baptism, trans. D.M. Barton, pp. 36-8; K. Aland, op. cit., pp. 80-4; G.R. Beasley-Murray, op. cit., p. 192-9.

<sup>2</sup>The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism, pp. 53-4.

<sup>3</sup>Book of Common Order, p. 89.

gruous with the main trends of apostolic teaching on Baptism".<sup>1</sup> It is to this "apostolic teaching" to which the writer must now return; he will follow the framework already<sup>2</sup> indicated, but also pick up points made in The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism and "The Doctrine of Baptism".<sup>3</sup>

A) Baptism signifies ingrafting into Christ by adoption through which those baptized are made members of Christ and engaged to be his.

There are several passages in the New Testament which suggest that Baptism is the rite whereby people are incorporated into Christ. In Romans 6:3-4 Paul writes: "Do you not know that all of us who have been baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? We were buried therefore with him by baptism into death, so that as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, we too might walk in newness of life". These verses indicate that through Baptism the Christian participates in Christ's death and resurrection and thus is incorporated into Christ in order to "walk in newness of life". With Romans 6:3-4 may be compared Colossians 2:12: "you were buried with him in baptism, in which you were also raised with him through faith in the working of God, who raised him from the dead".

This same note of incorporation into Christ is found in Galatians 3:27: "For as many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ"; similarly it recurs in II Corinthians 1:21-2, where Baptism although not explicitly mentioned, is implied by the wording: "But it

<sup>1</sup>The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup>cf. above pp. 235-6.

<sup>3</sup>Of necessity this treatment will be brief; for a fuller discussion of the works mentioned above p. 233, n.l.

is God who establishes us with you in Christ, and has commissioned us; he has put his seal upon us and given us his Spirit in our hearts as a guarantee".

H.G. Marsh believes that this idea of "mystical union with Christ in baptism may be regarded as Paul's special contribution to the doctrine of this sacrament".<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, he links it up with the thought of adoption, observing that in later times "adoption", *υιοθεσία* becomes a synonym for Baptism; although Paul does not make this connection between Baptism and adoption explicitly clear, the following points may be noted.<sup>2</sup> The "putting on" of Christ through Baptism in Galatians 3:27 comes immediately after the words "for in Christ Jesus you are all sons of God, through faith". In Romans 8:14-6 Paul writes: "For all who are led by the Spirit of God are sons of God. For you did not receive the spirit of slavery to fall back into fear, but you have received the spirit of sonship. When we cry, 'Abba! Father!' it is the Spirit himself bearing witness with our spirit that we are children of God . . ."; according to this passage, adoption is an act of the Spirit whose activity Paul relates closely to Baptism (cf. e.g. I Corin. 6:11; 12:13; II Corin. 1:22; Eph.<sup>3</sup> 1:13; 4:4-6). In these references from Galatians (3:27) and Romans (8:14-6) adoption appears to be a status already experienced,<sup>4</sup> and presumably Baptism is to be regarded as the moment of its commencement.

---

<sup>1</sup>H.G. Marsh, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

<sup>2</sup>cf. A.J. Maclean, "Adoption", *DAC*, I, pp. 41-3.

<sup>3</sup>cf. above p. 63, n.2.

<sup>4</sup>But cf. Romans 8:23 and Ephesians 1:5 where it is relegated to the future.

These same ideas about baptismal ingrafting and incorporation into Christ and engagement to be his are found in the Fathers. I Clement seems to allude to Baptism when he refers to the Spirit of grace "poured out upon us" (46:6) and the "one calling in Christ" (ibid.). Clement immediately tries to dissuade those who "disjoint the members of Christ" (46:7). The strong moral tone of the "Two Ways" teaching (Didache 1-6; cf. Epistle of Barnabas 18-20) implies that baptizands are "engaged to be the Lord's"; the fact that candidates are to receive this instruction prior to Baptism ("after first explaining all these points, baptize . . ." Didache 7:1) points to the purity of life expected of them. Similarly the Pastor of Herms stresses the ethical side of Baptism in his Ninth Similtude; Christian virtues are represented as twelve virgins who are called "holy spirits" (9:13) and without them a person cannot enter the Kingdom of God; the idea that "the name" alone is sufficient (which this chapter in the Pastor of Herms contradicts) suggests very strongly a baptismal reference; Paul's thought of Romans 6:1 ff. that a person is incorporated into Christ through the dying and rising of Baptism appears in this same Similtude:

"They were obliged," he answered, "to ascend through water in order that they might be made alive; for, unless they laid aside the deadness of their life, they could not in any other way enter into the kingdom of God. Accordingly, those also who fell asleep received the seal of the Son of God. For," he continued, "before a man bears the name of the Son of God he is dead; but when he receives the seal he lays aside his deadness, and obtains life. The seal, then, is the water: they descend into the water dead, and they arise alive. . . ." (9:16)

This idea of baptismal ingrafting into Christ appears also in Ignatius; to the Magnesians he writes:

I am privileged to bear a name radiant with divine splendor, and so in the chains which I carry about on me, I sing the

praises of the Churches and pray for union in their midst, a union based on the flesh and spirit of Jesus Christ, our enduring life; a union based on faith and love - the greatest blessing; and, most especially, a union with Jesus and the Father (1:2).

He goes on to tell them that believers "bear the stamp of God the Father through Jesus Christ, whose life is not in us unless we are ready of our own accord to die in order to share in His Passion" (5:2). In a note on the last part of this quotation J.A. Kleist observes that the Greek has "to die into the Passion" and adds: "through baptism 'we died into His death', as St. Paul says in Rom. 6:4; that is, we were 'incorporated with Him'."<sup>1</sup> Also, Ignatius gives attention to the baptizand's commitment to Christ:

Toil together, wrestle together, run together, suffer together, rest together, rise together, since you are stewards in God's house, members of His household, and His servants. . . . Let your baptism be your armor (Polycarp 6:1-2).

Similarly the Epistle to Diognetus tells Christians not to "break their plighted troth" (11:5), which Kleist interprets to mean the maintaining of fidelity to their baptismal vows.<sup>2</sup>

Justin Martyr refers to Christian Baptism as "the manner in which we dedicated ourselves to God when we had been made new through Christ", and indicates that the candidates for Baptism are instructed and "undertake to be able to live accordingly" (Apology I.61); furthermore he writes that those baptized are to be "found good citizens and keepers of the commandments" (ibid., I.65). These passages show that a person ingrafted into Christ through Baptism is "engaged to be the Lord's". Similarly, Irenaeus states that the Holy Spirit comes upon people at

---

<sup>1</sup>J.A. Kleist, Ancient Christian Writers, I, p. 128, n.18.

<sup>2</sup>A. Kleist, Ancient Christian Writers, VI, p. 220, n.69.

Baptism "renewing them from their old habits into the newness of Christ" (Against Heresies III.17.1).

Tertullian also preserves the idea that a person is baptized into Christ's passion: "The Passover affords a more [than usually] solemn day for baptism; when, withal, the Lord's passion, in [the faith of] which we are baptized, was completed" (On Baptism 19). In his Treatise On the Resurrection of the Flesh 47, Tertullian develops the idea of dying and rising with Christ in Baptism.

Hippolytus maintains that Baptism is an incorporation into Christ through adoption: "Come then, be begotten again, O man into the adoption of God. . . . For he who comes down in faith to the laver of regeneration . . . and joins himself to Christ . . . puts off the bondage, and puts on the adoption" (The Discourse on the Holy Theophany 10)

The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism discusses this rite as participation in Christ's death and resurrection, and makes the following two comments: "The practical consequences of dying with Christ are drawn out in passages like Colossians 3:1 ff., where baptismal language is used, and Ephesians 4:17-32, in which we are told that we must mortify our members on earth and be renewed in the humanity of Christ".<sup>1</sup> "In Baptism the 'putting off of the flesh' which is dying with Christ, has its counterpart, not in putting on of the Spirit, but in the 'putting on of Christ,' which involves 'putting on the new man'."<sup>2</sup> This second quotation cites the support of Galatians 3:27 (cf. Ephesians 4:27 and

<sup>1</sup>The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 29.

Colossians 3:10). Similarly, in another context the Study Document states: "Baptism means union with Christ. It is Baptism into His death and resurrection, and ingrafting into Him through the power of the Holy Spirit by which we become members of His Body".<sup>1</sup>

These same ideas are reflected in "The Doctrine of Baptism": "It [Baptism] is God's work. He has set His love upon us and adopted us into His family. We are ingrafted into Christ and made members of His Body. We are therefore no longer our own, and are pledged to live a life of faith and love in Him".<sup>2</sup>

Thus it is seen that the Book of Common Order draws its concepts from the Scriptures and also the Fathers, when it suggests that Baptism signifies ingrafting into Christ by adoption through which baptizands are made members of Christ and engaged to be his.

B) According to the Book of Common Order Baptism also signifies forgiveness of sins by Christ's blood and regeneration by his Spirit.

The two ideas of forgiveness and regeneration are like the two sides of a single coin; they represent the same experience viewed from two different perspectives. Various passages in the New Testament link Baptism with forgiveness, sometimes in the sense of the washing away of sins with cleansing through Christ's blood. In Acts 2:38 Peter urges: "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ and you shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit". In Acts 22:16 Paul relates how Ananias spoke to him: "Rise and be baptized,

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>2</sup>Reports to the General Assembly, 1963, p. 777.

and wash away your sins, calling on his name". In I Corinthians 6:11 Paul marks the dividing line between the pre- and post-baptismal states by using the significant word ἀπελούσθητε: "But you were washed, you were sanctified, you were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God". The idea of forgiveness is found also in a baptismal context in Colossians 2:13: "And you, who were dead in trespasses and the uncircumcision of your flesh, God made alive together with him [Christ], having forgiven us all our trespasses". Ephesians makes a similar association: "In him we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of our trespasses, according to the riches of his grace which he lavished upon us" (1:7-8); likewise Ephesians 4:32 urges: "be kind to one another, tenderhearted, forgiving one another, as God in Christ forgave you". In Hebrews 10:22-3 the idea of washing with water and confession of faith may imply a baptismal reference: "let us draw near with a true heart in full assurance of faith, with our hearts sprinkled clean from an evil conscience and our bodies washed with pure water. Let us hold fast the confession of our hope without wavering for he who promised is faithful"; similarly Revelation 1:5 may well contain a reference to Baptism in its Ascription to Jesus Christ "who loves us and has freed us from our sins by his blood".

Perhaps the most important New Testament passage for this section of the writer's discussion is Titus 3:5-7 because it combines the ideas of washing and regeneration and renewal in the Holy Spirit:

he [God our Savior] saved us, not because of deeds done by us in righteousness, but in virtue of his own mercy, by the washing of regeneration and renewal in the Holy Spirit, which he poured out upon us richly through Jesus Christ our Savior, so that we might be justified by his grace and become heirs

in hope of eternal life.

This passage almost certainly links the idea of forgiveness of sins in Christ's blood through Baptism - washing - with that of the new birth through his Spirit. In the New Testament the connection between Baptism and regeneration is undeniable.

Although Paul does not use the word *παλιγγενεσία* (unless Titus is considered genuinely Pauline<sup>1</sup>) Marsh rightly observes that "everything the idea was held to include can be found in his teaching on baptism"<sup>2</sup>. The writer has already<sup>3</sup> noted the proposed association between Baptism and John 3:3-5 which mentions being "born anew" or "from above" and being "born of water and the Spirit". This same idea of regeneration is found in I Peter, which book is often interpreted as a baptismal treatise or sermon or even an entire baptismal liturgy.<sup>4</sup> The relevant verses read respectively: "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ! By his great mercy we have been born anew to a living hope through the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead" (1:3); "You have been born anew, not of perishable seed but of imperishable, through the living and abiding word of God" (1:23).

It is frequently assumed that this idea of regeneration came into Christianity through Hellenistic religion, particularly the language of mystery cults.<sup>5</sup> However, the Study Document examines both

<sup>1</sup> cf. above p. 63, n.1.

<sup>2</sup> H.G. Marsh, op. cit., p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> cf. above pp. 251-3.

<sup>4</sup> cf. above pp. 111-2.

<sup>5</sup> cf. e.g. H.A.A. Kennedy, St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions, esp. pp. 229-55; W. Bauer, Das Johannesevangelium (HNT), pp. 33-4; W.F. Howard, Christianity According to St. John, pp. 197-201; G. Wagner, Pauline Baptism and the Pagan Mysteries, trans. J.P. Smith.

the Jewish and Greek antecedents to show that "when the earliest Christian writers made use of terms connoting rebirth, they did not mean the same thing, as was usually meant by pagan writers".<sup>1</sup> Therefore it summarizes the Biblical teaching on baptismal regeneration as follows:

Baptism is also connected in the New Testament with the conception of a new birth, or a birth from above. This new birth is, on the one hand, something that happens to the world as a whole (cf. the new creation); on the other hand, it is something that happens to the individual - the beginning of a quite new kind of life. In both these senses of the word, the new birth takes its origin, according to the New Testament, in Christ; and it is impossible to isolate the one sense from the other.<sup>2</sup>

These ideas of baptismal cleansing and regeneration are also found in the Fathers. Kleist finds a reference to Baptism in the Didache's use of the expression "my child" (3:1,3,4,5,6; 4:1); according to him such is the "proper address for one reborn by baptism".<sup>3</sup> The Epistle of Barnabas appeals to the Old Testament (Jer. 2:12 f.; Isa. 16:1 f.; 33:16-8; Psalm 1:3-6; Ezek. 20:6) for a prefiguring of "the water and the Cross" (11:1); its author then quotes the words "And there was a river creeping along to the right, and out of it beautiful trees were rising; and whoever eats of them will live forever" (cf. Ezek. 47-1-12; John 6:51) and comments: "By this He means that we descend into the water, laden with sins and filth, and then emerge from it bearing fruit, with the fear (of God) in the heart and the hope of Jesus in the soul" (11:11). This same work responds as follows to the rhetorical question about how to build "the temple of the Lord . . . in splendor":

<sup>1</sup>The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>3</sup>J.A. Kleist, Ancient Christian Writers VI, p. 155, n.21.

"By receiving the forgiveness of sins and trusting in the Name, we were made new, being created all over again" (16:8). These references almost certainly refer to the washing away and the forgiveness of sins, plus the ensuing regeneration, which come through Baptism. Kleist calls the words "we were made new" in this second quotation from the Epistle of Barnabas "a terse description of the grace of baptism".<sup>1</sup> Similarly the passage in the Epistle to Diognetus which appears to enjoin adherence to the baptismal vows notes that the Logos is "ever born anew in the hearts of the saints" (11:4).

The same thoughts occur in the Pastor of Hermas. The Church is depicted as a tower "built upon the waters", and the reason for such a position is "because your life has been, and will be, saved through water" (Visions 3:3; cf. I Peter 3:18-21). In his Commandments this idea appears in the form of a dialogue:

And I said, "I heard, sir, some teachers maintain that there is no other repentance than that which takes place when we descended into the water and received remission of our former sins." He said to me, "That was sound doctrine which you heard; for that is really the case. For he who has received remission of his sins ought not to sin any more, but to live in purity" (4:3).

Also the Pastor of Hermas mentions those who "repented and were saved", observing that "repentance involves life to sinners" (Similtudes 8:6); subsequently in this same Similtude he records the exhortation: "Go and tell them [the explanations] to every one, that they may repent, and they may live unto God", because the Lord "desires those who are called by His Son to be saved" (8:11).

In his Apology Aristides of Athens writes: "And when a child is

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 181, n.171.

born they thank God;<sup>1</sup> and if it die in infancy, they thank him exceedingly, because it departed this life sinless" (15:11). Aristides goes on to state: "And if it happens that one of them (the pagans) is converted, he is ashamed before the Christians of the things that he has done, and thanks God, saying, 'In ignorance have I done them'. And he purifies his heart, and his sins are forgiven him" (17:4). Jeremias<sup>2</sup> believes that the words "thanks God" of this second passage are a reference to Baptism, and suggests that the underlined words in the first one - which render virtually the same original - are as well; if this proposal is correct then the child is "sinless" not because of childhood innocence but through the forgiveness given in Baptism. It must be admitted that this interpretation is very conjectural, but the possibility of its correctness cannot be ruled out.

Justin Martyr describes the procedure for Baptism as follows:

As many as are persuaded and believe that what we teach and say is true, and undertake to be able to live accordingly, are instructed to pray and to entreat God with fasting, for the remission of their sins that are past, we praying and fasting with them. Then they are brought by us where there is water, and are regenerated in the same manner in which we were ourselves regenerated. For, in the name of God, the Father and Lord of the universe, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit, they then receive the washing with water. For Christ also said, "Except ye be born again, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." (Apology I.61).

Justin proceeds to cite Isaiah 1:16-20 in support of this practice of baptismal cleansing, adding that this rite is performed in order that candidates "may obtain in the water the remission of sins formerly comm-

---

<sup>1</sup>Underlining in Jeremias; the translation is that which appears in J. Jeremias, Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries, trans. D. Cairns, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.; but cf. K. Aland (op. cit., pp. 55-8) who disputes Jeremias' contentions.

itted" for which "there is pronounced over him who chooses to be born again, and has repented of his sins, the name of God the Father and Lord of the universe; he who leads to the laver the person that is to be washed calling him by this name alone" (ibid.) Subsequently Justin indicates that baptizands are brought to the Christian assembly "after we have thus washed him who has been convinced and has assented to our teaching" (ibid. I.65). His Dialogue with Trypho also sets forth these ideas of baptismal cleansing and renewal: "we, who through the name of Jesus have believed as one man in God the Maker of all, have been stripped through the name of His first-begotten Son, of the filthy garments, i.e. of our sins" (116). In this same work, Noah is seen as a figure of Christ, who has regenerated believers: "I mean, that by water, faith, and word, those who are aforeprepared, and who repent of the sins which they have committed, shall escape from the impending judgment of God" (138). In this work Justin makes it clear that the Holy Spirit is the agent of this regeneration: "What need have I of that other baptism, who have been baptized with the Holy Ghost?" (29).

The Treatise of Theophilus to Autolytus points to the blessing of the creatures from the water on the fifth day of creation as a pre-figuring of Baptism: "Moreover, the things proceeding from the waters were blessed by God, that this also might be a sign of men's being destined to receive repentance and remission of sins, through the water and laver of regeneration, - as many as come to the truth, and are born again, and receive blessing from God" (II.16).

These twin ideas of forgiveness and regeneration occur also in Irenaeus. His discussion of theories relating to letters and syllables,

mentions "that regeneration which has been wrought out by Him [Christ]" through his death on the Cross (Against Heresies I.14.6); similarly, he states concerning Christ: "For He came to save all through means of Himself - all, I say, who through Him are born again to God - infants, and children, and boys, and youths, and old men" (ibid. II.22.4); the baptismal reference is more explicit when Irenaeus writes: "And again, giving to the disciples the power of regeneration into God, He [Christ] said to them, 'Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost'" (ibid. III.17.1). In his Proof of the Apostolic Preaching Irenaeus writes that faith "admonishes us to remember that we have received baptism for remission of sins in the name of God the Father, and in the name of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who became incarnate and died and was raised, and in the Holy Spirit of God; and that this baptism is . . . rebirth unto God" (3). Irenaeus goes on to speak of the "baptism of our rebirth" (7). Subsequently in the same work, he states that the apostles were sent by the Holy Spirit into the whole world "purifying their souls and their bodies through the baptism of water and their bodies through the baptism of water and the Holy Spirit" (41), and proceeds to refer to the "Holy Spirit, who is given by Him [the Lord] in Baptism" (42).

Clement of Alexandria refers to Baptism as "our regeneration" (The Instructor I.6), and writes the following words about being baptized: "This work is variously called grace, and illumination, and perfection, and washing: washing, by which we cleanse away our sins; grace, by which the penalties accruing to transgressions are remitted; and illumination, by which that holy light of salvation is beheld, that is,

by which we see God clearly (ibid.). He goes on to link this regeneration with the Holy Spirit: "thus also we who are baptized, having wiped off the sins which obscure the light of the Divine Spirit, have the eye of the spirit free, unimpeded, and full of light, by which alone we contemplate the Divine, the Holy Spirit flowing down to us from above (ibid.). This idea about baptismal cleansing recurs in The Miscellanies: "It ought to be known, then, that those who fall into sin after baptism are those who are subjected to discipline; for the deeds done before are remitted, and those done after are purged (IV.24).

Tertullian also reflects these same concepts. In his Treatise On the Spectacles he writes: "When entering the water, we make profession of the Christian faith in the words of its rule; we bear public testimony that we have renounced the devil, his pomp, and his angels" (4); he proceeds to refer to "our renunciatory testimony in the laver of baptism" (ibid.) His work On Patience links up that idea with repentance - a prerequisite for forgiveness and renewal: "Patience . . . waits for, . . . yearns for, . . . and persuades by her entreaties, repentance in all who are one day to enter salvation" (12). Similarly in On Repentance Tertullian argues that a candidate for Baptism should not postpone the repentance which precedes it, but rather manifest this *μετάνοια* by amendment of life: "Moreover, a presumptuous confidence in baptism introduces all kinds of vicious delay and tergiversation with regard to repentance" (6); Tertullian goes on in the same chapter to affirm that "the divine benefit - the putting away of sins, I mean - is in every way sure to such as are on the point of entering the [baptismal] water; but what we have to labor for is, that it may be granted us to attain

that blessing".

These ideas of cleansing and rebirth are very prominent in Tertullian's Treatise On Baptism. Its opening sentence reads: "Happy is the sacrament of our water, in that, by washing away the sins of our early blindness, we are set free, [and admitted] into eternal life!" (1). Subsequently in this work Tertullian observes that "in the water, under [the influence of] the angel, we are cleansed, and [thus] prepared for the Holy Spirit" (6) and proceeds to mention "the Holy Spirit, who is about to come upon us, by the washing away of sins which faith, sealed in [the name of] the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, obtains" (ibid.); in the next chapter he notes that in Baptism "we are freed from sins". Tertullian makes explicit the connection between this rite and Christ's passion when he writes about the Baptism of water and blood: "These two baptisms He sent out from the wound in His pierced side, in order that they who believed in His blood might be bathed with the water; they who had been bathed in the water might likewise drink the blood" (16). Also he makes the point that in Baptism "we do at the same time both make satisfaction for our former sins, by mortification of our flesh and spirit, and lay beforehand the foundation of defences against the temptations which will closely follow" (20). Similar thoughts lie behind the following statement in Tertullian's Treatise On the Soldier's

Chaplet:

When we are going to enter the water, but a little before, in the presence of the congregation and under the hand of the president, we solemnly profess that we disown the devil, and his pomp, and his angels. Hereupon we are thrice immersed, making a somewhat ampler pledge than the Lord has appointed in the Gospel. Then, we are taken up [as new-born children], we taste first of all a mixture of milk and honey (3).

Tertullian speaks about Baptism's "regeneration" in his work On the Resurrection of the Flesh (47) and in De Anima 39 he cites John 3:5 - a verse early associated with Baptism<sup>1</sup> - and proceeds to write about being "born again in Christ" and "regeneration" (40). Also in his Treatise Against Marcion he mentions the baptismal "water which the Creator made wherewith he washes his people" (I.14).

These ideas of baptismal forgiveness and regeneration occur also in the writings of Hippolytus. His Commentary on Daniel mentions the Holy Spirit with which Christ was anointed at his Baptism, and writes: "Whosoever, therefore, believed on the heavenly Priest, were cleansed by that same Priest and their sins were blotted out" (17). Furthermore, in The Discourse on the Holy Theophany Hippolytus states: "The Father of immortality sent the immortal Son and Word into the world, who came to man in order to wash him with water and the Spirit" (8). He proceeds to suggest that in Baptism "thou cleanest off the filthiness of impurity, and puttest off the burden of sin" and "castest off the armour of the devil"; then, he cites Isaiah 1:16-9 and asks: "Do you see, beloved, how the prophet spake beforehand of the purifying power of baptism?" (10). Similarly in his Apostolic Tradition each candidate for Baptism is required to say: "I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy servants and all thy works" (21); after Baptism the bishop prays: "O Lord God, who hast made them worthy to obtain remission of sins through the laver of regeneration of [the] Holy Spirit, send into them thy grace" (22).

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. above pp. 251-3.

These concepts are also found in "The Doctrine of Baptism":

Through His [Christ's] birth we have a new birth and are made members of the new humanity. Through His obedient life and death our sins are forgiven and we are clothed with a new righteousness. Through His resurrection and triumph over the powers of darkness we are freed from the dominion of evil. Through His ascension the Kingdom of Heaven is opened for us, and we wait for His coming again to fulfil in us the new creation.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, this official statement observes that Baptism "sets forth . . . what God has already done in Christ, and through His Spirit continues to do in and to the individual",<sup>2</sup> and then immediately quotes in full Titus 3:5-7.

Once again it may be observed how faithfully the Book of Common Order reflects Biblical and patristic language and ideas when it suggests that Baptism signifies forgiveness or washing away of sins by Christ's blood and regeneration by the Spirit.

C) According to the Book of Common Order Baptism also signifies the baptizands' resurrection to everlasting life as citizens of the kingdom of heaven.

Several New Testament passages suggest that everlasting or eternal life is an experience of the baptized. Titus 3:5-7 indicates that those saved "by the washing of regeneration and renewal in the Holy Spirit . . . become heirs in hope of eternal life". Almost certainly a baptismal context is implied when Timothy is urged: "take hold of the eternal life to which you were called when you made the good confession in the presence of many witnesses" (I Tim. 6:12). In John's account of

---

<sup>1</sup>Reports to the General Assembly, 1963, p. 776.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 776-7.

the encounter between Jesus and Nicodemus, (which may well have baptismal overtones,<sup>1</sup>) the Master brings together the ideas of rebirth, entry to the kingdom of God, and eternal life: "Truly, truly, I say to you, unless one is born anew [or from above] he cannot see the kingdom of God" (John 3:3); "Truly, truly, I say to you, unless one is born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God" (John 3:5); "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of man be lifted up, that whoever believes in him may have eternal life" (John 3:14-5). Jesus' words may extend also to the next verse: "For God so loved the world that he gave his only Son, that whoever believes in him should not perish but have eternal life" (John 3:16).<sup>2</sup>

The Fathers also give Baptism this eternal significance. The Epistle of Barnabas 11 considers the passages in the Scriptures which "hint in advance" at Baptism. It quotes the words "Whoever eats of them will live forever" (cf. Ezekiel 47:1-12) and interprets them to mean "Whoever hears these words and believes will live forever" (11:11). Similarly the Pastor of Hermas refers to Baptism as "that great and holy calling in which the Lord has called His people to everlasting life" (Commandments 4:3); the same author makes the point that baptizands do, by the seal of the water, "enter into the kingdom of God". (Similitudes 9:16); furthermore, an allusion to Baptism may be intended in his statement that "men cannot otherwise be found in the kingdom of God unless these [virgins representing holy spirits] have put their clothing upon

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. above pp. 251-3.

<sup>2</sup>In the RSV the quotation of Jesus ends at verse 15, but a footnote observes that some interpreters continue it through verse 21.

them" (Similtudes 9:13); this last passage appears to be stressing the need for a person to have the Christian virtues which come in Baptism in order to enter the divine kingdom. Ignatius also indicates the close connection between Baptism and everlasting life: "I offer my life's breath for the sake of the Cross, which is a stumbling block to the unbelievers, but to us is salvation and eternal life. . . . He [Christ] was born and was baptized, that by His Passion He might consecrate the water" (Ephesians 18:1-2).

The Holy Spirit is linked with Baptism from the very beginning of the Christian Church (e.g. Acts 2:38), and Irenaeus writes about the Paraclete as the "earnest"<sup>1</sup> of future inheritance. In Against Heresies he calls the Holy Spirit "the earnest of incorruption, the means of confirming our faith, and the ladder of ascent to God" (III.24.1); subsequently in the same work, Irenaeus repeats this idea:

But we do now receive a certain portion of His Spirit, tending towards perfection, and preparing us for incorruption, being little by little accustomed to receive and bear God . . . . This earnest, therefore, thus dwelling in us, renders us spiritual even now, and the mortal is swallowed up by immortality. . . . If therefore, at the present time, having the earnest, we do cry, 'Abba, Father,' what shall it be when, on rising again, we behold him face to face; when all the members shall burst out into a continuous hymn of triumph, glorifying Him who raised them from the dead, and gave the gift of eternal life? (V.8.1.)

Likewise, Irenaeus' Proof of the Apostolic Preaching refers to Baptism as "the seal of eternal life" (3).

Clement of Alexandria suggests that through Baptism "we are made immortal" (The Instructor I.6). Similarly Tertullian's very first sentence in his Treatise On Baptism indicates that by this Sacrament "we

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. II Corin. 1:22; 5:5; Eph. 1:13-4.

are set free, and [admitted into] eternal life". The same thought is set forth by Hippolytus in The Discourse on the Holy Theophany:

The Father of immortality sent the immortal Son and Word into the world, who came to man in order to wash him with water and the Spirit; and He, begetting us again to incorruption of soul and body, breathed into us the breath (spirit) of life, and endued us with an incorruptible panoply. . . . Wherefore I preach to this effect: Come, all ye kindreds of the nations, to the immortality of the baptism. . . . And how, saith one, shall we come? How? By water and the Holy Ghost, This is the water in conjunction with the Spirit, by which paradise is watered, by which the earth is enriched, by which plants grow, by which animals multiply, and (to sum up the whole in a single word) by which man is begotten again and endued with life" (8).

This link between Baptism and everlasting life in the kingdom of heaven is brought out very well by The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism:

Finally, since the whole course of Christ's obedience from His incarnation to His ascension is spoken of in the New Testament as having done nothing less than bring in the new age and the life of the world to come, it is inevitable that Baptism should be seen as the point of entry into this new age. Those who are baptized have "tasted the powers of the world to come" (Hebrews 6:5). Here the reference to the baptized is made clear by the word "enlightened" in the previous verse, for this was a common technical term for Baptism throughout the early Church.<sup>1</sup>

The astounding fact that broke upon the consciousness of the Church at Pentecost was that, although living in this present world and age, Christians were already within the new age. Thus the Church is the sphere in history where the two ages overlap - where the future Kingdom already invades the present. . . .

The sacraments are the ordinances which Christ has given us precisely to nourish this double life, in the old age and the new. . . . When the Kingdom of God reaches its consummation and all things are made new, there will be no need for sacraments. Meantime they are the means by which we are brought into that realm where the birth, death, and resurrection of Christ are contemporaneously operative as deeds which save,<sup>2</sup> and where His coming again in glory is steadfastly awaited.

<sup>1</sup>cf. e.g. Eph. 1:18; Justin, Apology I.61; Clement of Alexandria, The Instructor I.6.

<sup>2</sup>The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism, pp. 43-4.

Not at all unexpectedly, the same ideas occur in "The Doctrine of Baptism":

As the Baptism of Jesus included in itself all that was to follow, and was accomplished only in His death and resurrection, so our Baptism anticipates our entire life, death and resurrection.<sup>1</sup>

In addition, under the heading "Baptism - In Time for Eternity" it states:

Baptized into Christ we become heirs of all the promises of God. Thus Baptism embraces the whole of life.

. . . From being children of darkness we are made children of light; no longer aliens and strangers but citizens of the Kingdom of Heaven in which sin is forgiven and grace abounds.<sup>2</sup>

Thus it may be noted that the Book of Common Order is being true to the Scriptures and the Fathers when it indicates that Baptism is the sign and seal of resurrection unto everlasting life whereby baptizands are made citizens of the kingdom of heaven.

D) Fourthly, the Book of Common Order indicates that through Baptism a person is admitted into Christ's Church as part of the family and household of faith.

In the New Testament this Sacrament is the recognized mode of entry into the Christian community. Acts 2:41 reads: "So those who received his word were baptized, and there were added that day about three thousand souls"; the same association between Baptism and admission to the Christian Church is preserved in Acts 8:13,36,38; 9:17-9; 10:44-8; 11:13 ff.; 16:14-5, 32-4; 18:8; and 19:5-6.

Similarly Paul sees Baptism as the rite incorporating Christians into the Church, the body of Christ: "For just as the body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, though many, are one

<sup>1</sup> Reports to the General Assembly, 1963, p. 777.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 780.

body, so it is with Christ. For by one Spirit we were all baptized into one body - Jews or Greeks, slaves or free - and all were made to drink of one Spirit" (I Corin. 12:12-3; cf. Gal. 3:28; Eph.<sup>1</sup> 4:4-6). In Galatians 6:10, Paul mentions "those who are of the household of faith"; by this terminology he almost certainly means those who have received Baptism because it is the act by which they are received into the family of the Church. Also in the midst of a passage rich in Biblical baptismal terminology, the Ephesians are told: "you are fellow citizens with the saints and members of the household of God" (2:19); the author proceeds immediately to use language which can only refer to the Church; therefore, the writer of Ephesians is implying that those who belong to the Church through Baptism are "members of the household of faith".

This idea of entry into the family of Christ's Church by Baptism is found also in the Fathers. The Pastor of Hermas implies this association when he refers to the Church as a "tower" and indicates that baptizands are fitted like stones "into the building of the tower" (Similitudes 9:16). Ignatius calls those who are baptized "stewards in God's house, members of His household" (Polycarp 6:1). Justin mentions that it is "after<sup>2</sup> we have thus washed him" that the candidate is brought "to the place where those who are called brethren are assembled" (Apology I.65). Irenaeus speaks of Baptism as the rite by which people become "children . . . of the eternal and everlasting God" (Proof of the Apostolic Preaching 3). Clement of Alexandria writes: "Being baptized, we are

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. above p. 63, p.2.

<sup>2</sup>Underlining mine.

illuminated; illuminated, we become sons" (The Instructor I.6).

The fact that Baptism implies admission to the Church is implied in Tertullian's Treatise On Baptism; he observes that after this rite baptizands pray "for the first time in the house of your mother [i.e. the church]" (20). Similarly On the Soldier's Chantlet makes the point that following their Baptism candidates partake of "the sacrament of the Eucharist" (3); this privilege was limited to Church members.

Hippolytus suggests that for the candidate the most important aspect of Baptism is that "he returns a son of God and joint-heir with Christ" (The Discourse on the Holy Theophany 10). Furthermore his Apostolic Tradition indicates that immediately after Baptism each catechism is "brought into the church" (21); Hippolytus proceeds to point out that baptizands "shall join in prayer with the people" only after all the parts of the rite "are completed" (22).

These ideas are succinctly stated in two passages from The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism:

Baptism by water is in the New Testament the normal means by which all . . . are brought within the sphere of the One Baptism of Christ, i.e. into the Church . . . the Body of Christ.<sup>1</sup>

Because Christ took upon Himself our humanity, He has made it possible for us to share His humanity and be incorporated into His Body. Because Christ was made man, it is possible for us to become His members. Thus His incorporation into humanity at the incarnation is the ground of our incorporation into His body at Baptism. God sent His Son, born of a woman, that we might receive our adoption as sons of God. This adoption we receive at Baptism and confirm through our faith.<sup>2</sup>

This notion of "adoption" conveys the idea of becoming children of God within the family and household of faith. It may be noted that this

---

<sup>1</sup>The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 41.

last quotation links adoption with admission into the Church, the Body of Christ; the writer, on the other hand, associates it with ingrafting into Christ through which baptizands are made members of Christ.<sup>1</sup> The writer has deliberately cited this passage in order to illustrate how difficult it is to deal independently with any one aspect of the doctrine of Baptism; distinctions are made for the purposes of discussion, but it is really impossible (and for this there is Biblical warrant) to separate completely the various concepts associated with Baptism.

Furthermore, "The Doctrine of Baptism" endorses these views about Baptismal entry into the Church:

Because the baptized are united to Christ, and are members of His Body, what happened to Him as Head of the Body has happened to them also as members of the Body. In Baptism it is Christ Himself who acts, uniting the baptized to Himself, who once and for all united Himself to mankind in His incarnation.

. . . Through sharing in His Spirit we are made members of His Body and are admitted to the visible fellowship of His Church.

. . . He [God] has set His love upon us and adopted us into His family.<sup>2</sup>

In addition, this study has a major section entitled "Baptism and New Relationships"<sup>3</sup> of which the three subdivisions are headed respectively:

- (a) In Baptism God relates us to Himself as children to a Father;
- (b) In Baptism Christ relates us to Himself as members of His Body;
- (c) In Baptism the Holy Spirit brings us into the Communion of Saints.

The contents of these three parts include the ideas set forth in this fourth section of the writer's delineation of the significance of Baptism.

<sup>1</sup>cf. above pp. 269-74.

<sup>2</sup>Reports to the General Assembly, 1965, pp. 776, 777.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 777-9.

Once more it may be observed how closely the Book of Common Order adheres to Biblical and patristic thought when it affirms that through Baptism a person is admitted into Christ's Church as part of the family and household of faith.

This survey of the evidence shows that all of the four sections into which the baptismal ideas of the Book of Common Order may be grouped have a valid foundation in the Scriptures and the Fathers.

From this examination of the Biblical and patristic support for the verses and ideas given in the baptismal services, it is necessary now to turn to a consideration of the Orders themselves. Is Milligan right in claiming Scriptural warrant for their various parts?

The Orders for both infants and adults contain the following elements:<sup>1</sup>

- i) Call to Worship;
- ii) Warrant and Explanatory Statement;
- iii) Confession of faith;
- iv) Promise that the baptizand will live the Christian life;<sup>2</sup>
- v) Prayer that the baptism may be effective;
- vi) Baptism in the Triune Name and Blessing;<sup>3</sup>
- vii) Declaration of reception into the Christian Church;

---

<sup>1</sup>The Adult Order also makes provision for an optional exhortation just before the Benediction; the writer believes that its similarity to a sermon (cf. above pp. 205-13) precludes the necessity for separate consideration here.

<sup>2</sup>In the case of infants, it is the parents or sponsors who promise to bring the child up in a Christian way.

<sup>3</sup>In the Adult Order it is the Aaronic blessing, which, in the infant baptism, is given as an additional and optional one.

- viii) Prayer of Thanksgiving for the Sacrament, and of Intercession for all who have shared in the rite;
- ix) The Lord's Prayer;
- x) Benediction.

The Call to Worship and Benediction are common to all services in the Book of Common Order; therefore the writer will not give them any special consideration here; rather he would refer the reader to his previous discussion of the evidence for their validity as parts of public worship.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, the writer has already considered the place of the Lord's Prayer,<sup>2</sup> and a Creed or Confession of faith<sup>3</sup> in public Orders; no more need be said about the Lord's Prayer, except to note Easton's comment that it was "allowed to none but the baptized and was first uttered by Christians immediately after their baptism, a custom which in the light of Romans 8:15 and Galatians 4:6 may actually go back to apostolic times".<sup>4</sup>

Of the passages which the writer cited in support of having a Creed in public worship, the following would seem to apply specifically to a baptismal context or relate to that rite: Acts 2:22-4; 36-8; 8:37 (cf. 19:5); Romans 10:9; Ephesians 4:5-6; Hebrews 10:23; I Peter 3:18-22; I Clement 46:6; Didache 7:1-3; Ignatius, Smyrnaeans 1:1-2; Justin, Apology

<sup>1</sup>cf. above pp. 78-80; 226-31.

<sup>2</sup>cf. above pp. 195-9.

<sup>3</sup>cf. above pp. 135-59.

<sup>4</sup>B.S. Easton, The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus, p. 96; cf. Reports to the General Assembly, 1956, p. 616: "Baptism means our reception of the Spirit whereby we cry 'Abba, Father.' Hence it was at Baptism that candidates were taught to say the Lord's Prayer."

I.61; Irenaeus, Against Heresies I.10.1; III.17.1; Proof of the Apostolic Preaching 3,7; Tertullian, On the Spectacles 4; Hippolytus, Apostolic Tradition 21; The Discourse on the Holy Theophany 10. In addition the references in Tertullian to "pledging . . . of the attestation of faith" (On Baptism 6) and to the "pledge" (On the Soldier's Chaplet 3) appear to point to a baptismal confession of faith. Therefore the writer, who has already demonstrated that there are Biblical and patristic warrants for having a Creed in services of public worship, would simply observe here that this conclusion applies no less to those where the Sacrament of Baptism is administered.<sup>1</sup>

As far as actual orders of Baptism are concerned, the Biblical and patristic evidence is very sketchy; however, the writer will give what support may be gleaned from the sources for the remaining parts.

a) Warrant and Explanatory Statement

The Church of Scotland Orders use Matthew 28:18b-20 as the main Scriptural warrant for Baptism. Ignatius, in the longer version, cites Matthew 28:19 - with Christ's command to Baptize in the Triune Name - as the fulfilment of prophecy (Philadelphians 9). Also, Irenaeus gives the same words to show that Christ gave the disciples "the power of regeneration into God" (Against Heresies III.17.1). Similarly, Tertullian notes that Christ commands the disciples "to baptize into the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost" (Against Praxeas 26).

Justin (Apology I.61) and Hippolytus (The Discourse on the Holy Theophany 10) point to Isaiah 1:16 ff. as the basis for Baptism, and the

---

<sup>1</sup>For a fuller discussion of the Creed in connection with Baptism cf. J. Crehan, Early Christian Baptism and the Creed, and J.A. Robinson, "In the Name", JTS, VII, 1906, pp. 186-202.

former also quotes John 3:5 (or Matt. 18:3)<sup>1</sup>. Nevertheless, they do provide evidence for the citing of a Biblical warrant for this Sacrament; furthermore, the testimony of Ignatius, Irenaeus and Tertullian suggests that Matthew 28:19 was used by the primitive Church from an early date, as support for the practice of Baptism.

The Scriptures suggest that an explanatory statement accompanies the administering of Baptism. On the day of Pentecost Peter "testified with many other words and exhorted them" and the baptizands "received his word" (Acts 2:40,41). To these references may be compared Acts 8:12,35;10:42-8; 11:14-6; 16:14-5,32-3; 18:8; 19:5. All of these passages have Baptism follow upon some preaching or teaching; it is not unreasonable to believe that such instruction would include some explanation of the rite which the baptizands are about to undergo. Some scholars who interpret I Peter baptismally consider I Peter 1:13-21 to be instruction for the candidates.<sup>2</sup>

The idea of an explanatory statement is implied in the Fathers by the extensive teaching which precedes the Baptism (cf. e.g. Didache 1-6; Epistle of Barnabas 18-20; Justin, Apology I.61; Tertullian, On Baptism; Hippolytus Apostolic Tradition 17-20; in the last chapter of this reference, Hippolytus states that candidates should spend the entire night prior to Baptism "in vigil, listening to reading and instruction").

Thus it may be concluded that the Warrant and Explanatory State-

<sup>1</sup>cf. above pp. 251-3.

<sup>2</sup>cf. above pp. 111-2.

ment sections of the Church of Scotland's baptismal Orders have Biblical and patristic support.

b) Promise that the baptizand will live the Christian life.

In the case of adults, this promise is implied in their Confession of faith<sup>1</sup> and renunciation of evil<sup>2</sup> and their realization that through this Sacrament they are "engaged to be the Lord's"<sup>3</sup>.

On the other hand, infants need someone to make this promise on their behalf. In his Treatise On Baptism (18) Tertullian mentions sponsors who would perform this responsibility. Although in this passage he is arguing that the Baptism of little children should be delayed, Tertullian is almost certainly reflecting current practices when he asks the question: "For why is it necessary - if [baptism itself] is not so [indispensably] necessary - that the sponsors likewise should be thrust into danger; who both themselves, by reason of mortality, may fail to fulfil their promises, and may be disappointed by the development of an evil disposition [in the infant for whom they stood]?" Similarly, The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus prescribes: "And first baptize the little ones; if they can speak for themselves, they shall do so; if not, their parents or other relatives shall speak for them" (21).

Therefore, it may be asserted that this idea of the baptismal promise is supported, both directly and indirectly, by the Scriptures

<sup>1</sup>cf. above pp. 294-5.

<sup>2</sup>cf. above pp. 274-84.

<sup>3</sup>cf. above pp. 269-74.

and the Fathers.

c) Prayer that the Baptism may be effective

In this prayer the officiant asks God to "ratify in heaven that which by His [Christ's] appointment we do upon earth" and continues: "Sanctify this water to the spiritual use to which Thou hast ordained it".<sup>1</sup> A prayer somewhat of this nature is hinted at in Acts 8:14-7. Peter and John come to the Samaritans who had been baptized and "prayed for them that they might receive the Holy Spirit". This passage will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter (on Confirmation<sup>2</sup>), but it does allude to a prayer of the kind used at this point in the baptismal Orders; however, the fact that it comes after, rather than before, the Baptism, and the extended interval between the Sacrament and the offering of this prayer argue against its supplying a warrant for this element in the services of Baptism.

The Fathers supply considerably more evidence for this part of the Orders. The idea that Christ by his Baptism consecrated the baptismal water occurs in Ignatius (Ephesians 18:2); Clement of Alexandria (The Instructor I.6) "appears to presuppose a petition for the descent of the Logos into the font".<sup>3</sup> Similarly Tertullian writes about Christ "sanctifying the waters in His own baptism" (An Answer to the Jews 8); in his Treatise On Baptism Tertullian argues that all waters do "after invocation of God, attain the sacramental power of sanctification; for the Spirit immediately supervenes from the heavens, and rests over the

---

<sup>1</sup>Book of Common Order, pp. 91,97.

<sup>2</sup>cf. below pp. 313-17.

<sup>3</sup>B.S. Easton, The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus, p. 90.

waters, sanctifying them for Himself; and being thus sanctified, they imbibe at the same time the power of sanctifying" (4). Justin Martyr indicates that just prior to Baptism candidates "are instructed to pray and to entreat God with fasting, for the remission of their sins that are past, we praying and fasting with them" (Apology I.61). Likewise Tertullian states: "They who are about to enter baptism ought to pray with repeated prayers, fasts, and bendings of the knee, and vigils all the night through" (On Baptism 20). Also Hippolytus gives the directive: "At cockcrow prayer shall be made over the water" (Apostolic Tradition 21). Presumably the content of these prayers mentioned by Justin, Tertullian, and Hippolytus would correspond to that of those which immediately precede Baptism in the Book of Common Order.

These references indicate that there are valid precedents for having this prayer that the Baptism may be effectively offered just before that rite.

d) Baptism in the Triune Name and Blessing

The only Scriptural indication of Baptism in the Threefold Name is Christ's Commission at the end of Matthew's Gospel.<sup>1</sup> However; the Fathers are more explicit. According to the following passages Baptism is to be administered in the Triune Name: I Clement 46:6 (possibly); Didache 7:1,3; Ignatius, Philadelphians 9 (longer version); Justin, Apology I.61; Irenaeus, Against Heresies III.17.1; Proof of the Apostolic Preaching 3,7; Tertullian, On Baptism 6,13; Adversus Praxean 26; and Hippolytus, Apostolic Tradition 21.

---

<sup>1</sup>But cf. above pp. 242-3.

The practice of having a Blessing or Benediction accompany this rite is reflected in Mark 10:16 and Matthew 19:15 where Christ lays his hands upon the children in blessing.<sup>1</sup> Also the laying on of hands associated with Baptism in the New Testament (e.g. Acts 8:16-7; 9:17-8; 19:5-6; Heb. 6:2) points in the same direction. Similarly Tertullian writes that "when we have issued from the font, we are thoroughly anointed with a blessed unction" (On Baptism 7), and then "the hand is laid on us, invoking and inviting the Holy Spirit through [the words of] benediction" (ibid. 8). In his Apostolic Tradition Hippolytus makes provision for unction to follow Baptism with the bishop "laying his hands upon them" (22). He prays, and the account continues:

Then, pouring the oil of thanksgiving from his hand and putting it on his forehead, he shall say:

I anoint thee with holy oil in the Lord, the Father Almighty and Christ Jesus and [the] Holy Ghost.

And signing them on the forehead he shall say:

The Lord be with thee;

and he who is signed shall say:

And with thy spirit.

And so shall he do to each one (ibid.)

These references to the laying on of hands also relate to Confirmation,<sup>2</sup> but they at least witness to the existence of post-baptismal Blessing. On this practice, Easton comments: "In Hippolytus the blessing is still a thanksgiving and the oil is named accordingly".<sup>3</sup>

Again, it is seen that there are Biblical and patristic warrants for the Baptism in the Triune Name and Blessing which occur in the baptismal

<sup>1</sup>For the baptismal significance and association of these verses cf. above pp. 250-5.

<sup>2</sup>cf. below pp. 313ff.

<sup>3</sup>B.S. Easton, The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus, p. 91.

Orders of the Church of Scotland.

e) Declaration of reception into the Christian Church

No passage in the Scriptures and the Fathers mentions specifically this declaration in connection with the rite of Baptism; but it is certainly implied in the thought that Baptism signifies admission into Christ's Church - a concept which the writer has shown to be common both to the Bible and the patristic literature.<sup>1</sup>

f) Prayer of Thanksgiving for the Sacrament, and of Intercession for all who have shared in the rite.

The writer has already given<sup>2</sup> the Scriptural and patristic evidence for having Prayers of Thanksgiving and Intercession in public worship. However, Justin, Tertullian and Hippolytus make provision for prayer to come just after Baptism as does the Book of Common Order.

Justin writes:

But we, after we have thus washed him who has been convinced and has assented to our teaching, bring him to the place where those who are called brethren are assembled, in order that we may offer hearty prayers in common for ourselves and for the baptized [illuminated] person, and for all others in every place, that we may be counted worthy, now that we have learned the truth, by our works also to be found good citizens, and keepers of the commandments, so that we may be saved with an everlasting salvation (Apology, I.65).

Furthermore Tertullian urges:

Therefore, blessed [friends], whom the grace of God awaits, when you ascend from that most sacred font of your new birth, and spread your hands<sup>3</sup> for the first time in the house of your mother,<sup>4</sup> together with your brethren, ask from the

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. above pp. 269-74.

<sup>2</sup>cf. above pp. 176-94.

<sup>3</sup>i.e. in prayer.

<sup>4</sup>i.e. the church.

Lord, that His own specialties of grace [and] distributions of gifts may be supplied you (On Baptism 20).

The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus has the bishop pray immediately after the Baptism:

O Lord God, who hast made them worthy to obtain remission of sins through the laver of regeneration of [the] Holy Spirit, send into them thy grace, that they may serve thee according to thy will; for thine is the glory, to the Father and the Son, with [the] Holy Spirit in the holy church, both now and world without end. Amen (22).

It should be noted that this last prayer is associated with the blessing - being preceded by the bishop "laying his hand upon them" and followed by the unction - but it does, however, illustrate the use of a post-baptismal prayer similar to that found in the Book of Common Order.

Also the use of the "oil of thanksgiving" for the anointing preserves the idea of thanksgiving coming after the act of Baptism. Furthermore, following the unction, these words appear: "And immediately thereafter they shall join in prayer with all the people, but they shall not pray with the faithful until all these things are completed" (ibid.)

These passages indicate that the Church of Scotland is adhering to an ancient practice by having prayer follow closely upon the administering of the rite of Baptism.

Therefore the writer would conclude this discussion by agreeing with Milligan's claim; there is adequate Biblical and patristic evidence for Baptism, both infant and adult, and also sufficient though not abundant warrants for the various parts of the baptismal Orders.

"The Doctrine of Baptism" has a statement which points forward from Baptism to Confirmation:

In the teaching of the Apostles, children belong to the household

of faith, and are members of Christ in the corporate unity of the Christian family. They too participate in forgiveness and sanctification through the Spirit, by whose power they are enabled to grow up to call God their Father, and to confess Jesus Christ as their Saviour. Therefore when they come to years of understanding and responsibility they should desire to draw near to the Lord's Table. They are then admitted to full Communion on profession of their faith, with the prayer that the God of all Grace, who promised them His Spirit in Baptism, may establish them in His Covenant and confirm them by the same Spirit, that, being nourished through Communion in the Body and Blood of Christ at His Table, they may serve Him faithfully and joyfully in His Church, and be blameless in the Day of our Lord Jesus Christ.<sup>1</sup>

It is the Confirmation referred to in this quotation to which the writer directs his attention in the next chapter.

---

<sup>1</sup>Reports to the General Assembly, 1963, p. 777.

## CHAPTER VI

### SACRAMENTS AND ORDINANCES

#### b) CONFIRMATION<sup>1</sup>

The Book of Common Order has a Service entitled "Order for the Confirmation of Baptised Persons and For their Admission to the Lord's Supper".<sup>2</sup> It opens with the minister saying to the congregation:

Dearly beloved, - We are about to admit to the Confirmation of their Baptism, and to participation in the Lord's Supper, these persons about to be named. They have already been under special instruction in the teaching of the Church, and are now ready to profess publicly the faith into which they were baptized.

He then reads the names of the candidates and addresses them as follows:

Beloved in the Lord, - In the days of your infancy you were by holy Baptism ingrafted into the Lord Jesus Christ as members of His Church, and engaged to be His. God in His mercy has brought you to years of responsibility, and you have now come to acknowledge before God and His Church the covenant then made on your behalf, to profess your faith in the Lord Jesus, to consecrate yourselves to Him, and thereby to bind yourselves anew to His service.

---

<sup>1</sup>This term signifying admission to full Church membership was first used - in the Latin confirmatio - at the First Council of Orange, A.D. 441, Canon 2 (J.C. Lambert and G.W.H. Lampe, "Confirmation", HDB, Second Edition, p. 173; D.M. Baillie, The Theology of the Sacraments, p. 90, n.1), and again by Pope Leo I in A.D. 458 in a letter to Nicetas of Aquileia (D.M. Baillie, ibid.). On the other hand, T. Thompson (The Offices of Baptism and Confirmation, p. 223) suggests that this usage by Pope Leo I is the word's first occurrence in this sense. In any event it did not appear with this meaning until about the middle of the fifth century. The Panel on Doctrine of the Church of Scotland indicates that to describe the act of coming into communicant membership it "can find no better word than 'confirmation', the word traditionally used throughout Christendom and widely used today in Reformed Churches throughout the world" ("The Doctrine and Practice of Confirmation", Reports to the General Assembly, 1967, p. 234.

<sup>2</sup>Book of Common Order, pp. 100-4.

Our Lord Jesus Christ hath said, Whosoever shall confess Me before men, him will I confess also before My Father which is in heaven.<sup>1</sup>

I charge you, therefore, to make confession of your faith, and to answer with all sincerity, and as in the presence of God, the questions which I now put to you.

The minister then asks the candidates three questions: the first involves assenting to a Confession of faith, and the next two respectively ask them to follow Christ and to serve his Church. After the confirmands have responded in the affirmative to these questions the clergyman prays:

Almighty and ever-living God, strengthen these Thy servants, we beseech Thee, with the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, and daily increase in them Thy manifold gifts of grace: the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and the fear of the Lord; and keep them in Thy mercy unto life eternal; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then the minister, laying his hand on the head of each candidate or raising his hand in blessing over them, as they kneel, says:

The God of all grace who hath called you to His eternal glory, confirm you to the end, that you may be blameless in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Thereafter he requests that God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit may "bless, preserve, and keep" the candidates forever, and proceeds immediately to declare their admittance "to the fellowship of the Lord's Table".

Although no Scripture verses are given specifically as words of institution for this rite, the statement of Christ which is quoted is appropriate - "Whosoever shall confess Me before men, him will I

---

<sup>1</sup>Matt. 10:32; cf. Luke 12:8.

confess also before My Father which is in heaven" -; it involves a public acknowledgement of the Lord Jesus Christ, which is required also of candidates for Confirmation.

As with Baptism, so in Confirmation, the writer is aware of the many critical and theological questions involved; in this thesis, however, he must limit himself to the procedure already indicated.<sup>1</sup> Thus, he will now consider the purpose and meaning of the rite of Confirmation as it is suggested by the Book of Common Order.

It is clear from the part of this Order which the writer has cited that Confirmation signifies three things:

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. above p. 232. The writer would refer anyone who wishes to consider Confirmation in greater depth to the following works and their bibliographies, in addition to those already mentioned in this chapter, and any cited in the discussion on Baptism which have a reference also to Confirmation: F.H. Chase, Confirmation in the Apostolic Age; "Confirmation", ODCC, pp. 327-8; Confirmation or The Laying on of Hands, I,II; G. Dix, "Confirmation or the Laying on of Hands?", Theology, Occasional Papers, 5,1936; \_\_\_\_\_, The Theology of Confirmation in Relation to Baptism; G.W.H. Lampe, The Seal of the Spirit; H.J. Lawlor, "Confirmation", ERE, IV, pp. 1-8; T. J. Manson, "Entry into Membership of the Early Church", JTS, XLVIII, 1947, pp. 25-33; A.J. Mason, The Relation of Confirmation to Baptism; P.H. Menoud, "Confirmation", IDB, I, pp. 668-9; A.E.J. Rawlinson, Christian Initiation; D. Stone, "The Relation of Confirmation to Baptism", CQR, XLV,1898, pp. 257-82, reviewing F.W. Puller, What is the Distinctive Grace of Confirmation?; A.J. Mason, ibid.; and A.T. Wirgman, The Doctrine of Confirmation; L.S. Thornton, Confirmation Today; \_\_\_\_\_, Confirmation: Its Place in the Baptismal Mystery; M. Thurian, Consecration of the Layman: New Approaches to the Sacrament of Confirmation, trans. W.J. Kerrigan.

A) Completion of Baptism: the candidates are told: "you have now come to acknowledge before God and His Church the covenant then made on your behalf"; furthermore, the fact that they are "to profess your faith in the Lord Jesus" is a tacit reminder that their parents or sponsors made this profession for them at Baptism.

B) Strengthening of the candidates to live the Christian life by invoking the Holy Spirit upon them: the minister prays that God will "strengthen these thy servants . . . with the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, and daily increase in them Thy manifold gifts of grace".

C) Admission to the Lord's Supper: partaking at the Lord's Table is for those who have consecrated themselves to Christ and his service;<sup>1</sup> therefore, the wording of this Order is most appropriate; when the confirmands are told that they come "to consecrate yourselves to Him, and thereby to bind yourselves anew to His service", such phraseology indicates that this rite signifies admittance to the Lord's Supper. This fact is made explicit when the minister says to the candidates: "I . . . admit you to the fellowship of the Lord's Table".

These three points are brought out by the Panel on Doctrine in the part of its Report entitled "The Doctrine and Practice of Confirmation"<sup>2</sup> adopted by the General Assembly in 1967. Concerning the rite of Confirmation it states:

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. below pp. 417-20.

<sup>2</sup>This Report resulted from a remit from the 1963 General Assembly to the Panel, instructing it to examine this subject and to report to a subsequent General Assembly.

In this act three things are involved:

i) The Catechuman who was baptized in infancy accepts for himself the responsibilities involved in his own Baptism, and, acknowledging his debt to his Christian upbringing, makes his own the Confession of faith of the universal Church.

ii) He is strengthened as, by prayer and often with the laying on of hands, or the raising of them over him, the blessing of the Holy Spirit with all His gifts is invoked upon him.

iii) The part played by the Kirk Session, which has already resolved to admit the Catechumen to the Lord's Table, is expressed by the giving of the right hand of fellowship. This action signifies that they have judged the Catechumen worthy to partake, and as the representatives of the Congregation, they welcome him in its name into the Fellowship of the Table.<sup>1</sup>

It must be asked, however, whether Confirmation, so interpreted, has Biblical and patristic precedents. But before considering that question the writer wishes briefly to state his views concerning the relationship between Confirmation and Baptism. In the case of infants, he is convinced that an act of Confirmation or some such subsequent rite signifying the completion of Baptism and admission to the Lord's Supper, is essential;<sup>2</sup> such provision is made in the teaching<sup>3</sup> and worship<sup>4</sup> of the Church of Scotland and the writer will presently examine it more fully.<sup>5</sup> In the case of adults, the writer believes that Baptism and Confirmation coincide; in the New Testament all instances of Baptism are

<sup>1</sup>Reports to the General Assembly, 1967, p. 234.

<sup>2</sup>cf. W.F. Flemington, The New Testament Doctrine of Baptism, p. 145; D.M. Baillie, op. cit., p. 90.

<sup>3</sup>e.g. "The Doctrine and Practice of Confirmation", Reports to the General Assembly, 1967, pp. 233-5; "The Doctrine of Baptism", Reports to the General Assembly, 1963, p. 777; H.J. Wotherspoon Religious Values in the Sacraments, pp. 188; 216-7, whose work is called by D.M. Baillie (op. cit., p. 96), "the best book Scotland has produced on the sacraments for a long time.

<sup>4</sup>Book of Common Order, pp. 100-4.

<sup>5</sup>cf. below. pp. 313ff.

adult and children are involved only by implication; for adults, the act of Baptism marks their entry into the Church,<sup>1</sup> and there does not seem to have been for them regularly any second rite corresponding to Confirmation; there are those, however, who maintain that for adults as well, distinction and separation must be made between Baptism and Confirmation and the writer will subsequently consider this claim.<sup>2</sup>

K.D. Mackenzie summarizes the main views held on the relationship between Baptism and Confirmation, observing that they may be divided into two main groups:

I It may be believed that in Baptism not only is the soul forgiven, regenerated, and united to the Body of Christ by the action of the Holy Spirit, but also that it is actually and personally indwelt by the same Holy Spirit.

In this case Confirmation may be thought of -

(a) As the gift of a closer union between the Holy Spirit and the soul;<sup>3</sup>

(b) As the bestowal of growth and stability;<sup>4</sup>

(c) As an outpouring of further gifts of the Spirit, without the setting up of any new interior relationship between the Spirit and the human soul.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>cf. above pp. 289-93.

<sup>2</sup>cf. below pp. 313ff.

<sup>3</sup>This view is "commonly held in the Anglican Communion by the upholders of the sacramental doctrine of Confirmation: it was the view of the Tractarian Fathers; and it seems to be implied by the Eastern service-books" (K.D. Mackenzie, "The Relation of Confirmation to Baptism", Confirmation or the Laying on of Hands, I, pp. 285-6).

<sup>4</sup>Such is "the doctrine of St. Thomas and the Council of Trent" (K.D. Mackenzie, ibid., p. 286).

<sup>5</sup>This idea "was maintained by Dr. Theodore Wrigman [op. cit.]" (K.D. Mackenzie, ibid.).

II The other possible view of the effect of Baptism is that, while it bestows regeneration and forgiveness of sins, joins us to the Body of Christ, and gives a share of His Divine and Human Natures, all these gifts are to be thought of as actions of the Holy Spirit from without, His personal indwelling being reserved for the moment of Confirmation. The gifts of Baptism are preliminary; they may be compared to the making ready of a temple for consecration; but the actual reception of the Divine Inhabitant does not take place until Baptism is completed by Confirmation.<sup>1</sup>

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to enter into a full discussion of the points raised by this delineation of the two main streams of interpretation of the relationship between Baptism and Confirmation; the writer favours the first one, but admits that there may be some element of truth in the second view which interprets Confirmation as the completion of Baptism, particularly (if not uniquely) in the case of those baptised as infants.

The fact that for adults, Baptism and Confirmation coincide is suggested by the Book of Common Order; in both the Order for adult Baptism and that for Confirmation, basically the same three questions are asked.<sup>2</sup>

The first question is exactly the same in both services: "Do you receive the doctrine of the Christian faith, whereof we make con-

---

<sup>1</sup>K.D. Mackenzie, ibid., p. 285; this "other view" is upheld by: A.J. Mason, op. cit., F.W. Puller, op. cit., G. Dix, "Confirmation or the Laying on of hands", Theology, Occasional Papers, 5, 1936, \_\_\_\_\_, The Theology of Confirmation in Relation to Baptism; L.S. Thornton, Confirmation Today; \_\_\_\_\_, Confirmation, Its Place in the Baptismal Mystery; K.E. Kirk, Criticism of the Report of the Joint Committee of the Convocations on Confirmation, Oxford Diocesan Magazine, Nov. - Dec. 1944; according to H.J. Wotherspoon (op. cit., p. 200) this second interpretation is also that of: C. Gore (The Church and the Ministry, Revised (by C.H. Turner), pp. 236, n.2; 243); possibly A.C.A. Hall (Confirmation, p. 87); F.J. Hall (The Church and the Sacramental System, p. 304; and N.P. Williams ("The Origins of the Sacraments", Essays: Catholic and Critical, ed. E.G. Selwyn; e.g. p. 411).

<sup>2</sup>cf. Book of Common Order, pp. 96-7; 101-2.

fession" in the Apostles' Creed? Alternatively, in both Orders the candidates may be asked: "Do you confess your faith in God as your heavenly Father, in Jesus Christ as your Saviour and Lord, and in the Holy Spirit as your Sanctifier?"

Secondly, the question put respectively in each Service reads: "Do you repent of your sins with a humble and contrite heart, and put your trust in the mercy of God which is in Christ Jesus?" "Do you promise, in dependence on Divine Grace, to serve the Lord and to walk in His ways all the days of your life?" Admittedly, in Biblical fashion, the baptismal Order stresses repentance, but such *μετάνοια* in the Christian life is not limited to the one occasion of Baptism; furthermore, it may be observed that the theme of trust in God's grace and mercy is common to the question in both Services.

Thirdly, the candidates for adult Baptism are asked: "Do you promise to make diligent use of the means of grace, and to be a faithful member of the Church of God?" The corresponding question in the Confirmation Order is expanded a little more, but its meaning is essentially the same: "Do you promise to make diligent use of the means of grace, to share dutifully in the worship and service of the Church, and to give of your substance, as the Lord may prosper you, for the advancement of His kingdom throughout the world?" The wording of this third question in the Order for Adult Baptism - "a faithful member of the Church of God" - underlines very clearly the writer's view that for grown-ups Baptism and Confirmation are synchronized. Indeed, the Book of Common Order has the following note at the end of its Service for adult Baptism: "Persons baptized when adults should be informed that in the Service of

Confirmation of Baptised persons and Admission to the Lord's Supper there are expressions which do not apply to them".<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, the 1967 Report of the Panel on Doctrine to the General Assembly makes the point that, for adults, Confirmation "should be so incorporated into the service of Baptism to make of both one continuous act";<sup>2</sup> in addition, this Report states concerning those seeking adult Baptism and Confirmation: "It is desirable, wherever possible, that such adults should be baptized and confirmed publicly at the same service".<sup>3</sup>

Therefore, in the light of these considerations, the writer will continue this study, convinced that Confirmation in the Church of Scotland is normally for those baptized in infancy; such thinking obviously lies behind the wording of the Service in the Book of Common Order; the minister's opening words to the candidates ("Beloved in the Lord, - In the days of your infancy you were by holy Baptism ingrafted into the Lord Jesus Christ as members of His Church, and engaged to be His") are sufficient to substantiate this contention.

Thus, having made this distinction between those "confirmed" by adult Baptism and the Confirmation of those baptized as infants, the writer will return to consider the significance of Confirmation along the lines already<sup>4</sup> indicated, and then proceed to examine the Biblical and patristic warrants for the various parts of the "Order

---

<sup>1</sup>Book of Common Order, 99.

<sup>2</sup>Reports to the General Assembly, 1967, p. 235.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>cf. above p. 307.

for the Confirmation of Baptised Persons and for their Admission to the Lord's Supper".

A) Confirmation signifies the Completion of Baptism.

Those who argue that from the beginning Confirmation is administered as a separate rite completing Baptism find Biblical evidence in Acts 8:12-7; 19:1-7; Hebrews 6:2 and II Timothy 1:6,7.<sup>1</sup> The writer believes that these may legitimately be taken as providing a Biblical basis for Confirmation only if it can be shown that they reflect the normal procedure. The first passage in Acts mentions the Samaritans who heard Philip's preaching and were baptized; the verses which are taken to apply specifically to Confirmation read:

Now when the apostles at Jerusalem heard that Samaria had received the word of God, they sent to them Peter and John, who came down and prayed for them that they might receive the Holy Spirit; for it had not yet fallen on any of them, but they had only been baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus. Then they laid their hands on them and they received the Holy Spirit. (Acts 8:14-7).

G.W.H. Lampe<sup>2</sup> gives an excellent summary of the main interpretations and explanations of this passage. He notes that most ancient commentators and many modern writers<sup>3</sup> believe that Acts 8:14-7 indicates the following: that only an apostle could administer this rite which conferred the gift of the Holy Spirit; that the rite was the imposition

<sup>1</sup>There are other passages which are sometimes given, (e.g. A.J. Mason, op. cit., pp. 36-50 cites Acts 2:38,39; Acts 10:47; I Corin 10:1; 12:13; Gal. 4:4; Titus 3:4), but these are the main ones.

<sup>2</sup>G.W.H. Lampe, op.cit., pp. 66-72.

<sup>3</sup>e.g. A.J. Mason, op. cit., A.T. Wirgman, op. cit.; J.-B. Umberg Die Schriftlehre vom Sakrament der Firmung; J. Coppens, L'Imposition des Mains; and G.C. Richards, Baptism and Confirmation.

of hands with prayer; and that this Sacrament of Confirmation was practised in the apostolic Church as a regular part of the ceremony of initiation, or at least in the exceptional case of the Samaritans, as a distinct rite administered at some time after Baptism.

Lampe<sup>1</sup> rightly suggests that the obvious objection to this theory is the silence of Paul. Flemington concedes that such may be accidental,<sup>2</sup> but proceeds to make the following statement with which the writer entirely agrees:

But it is one thing to fail to refer to the laying on of hands, if it were an additional rite, practised in some quarters of the early Church. It is quite another thing to be utterly silent about it, if it were the rite with which the endowment of the Holy Spirit was pre-eminently and regularly associated. Had the laying on of hands formed the chief element in Christian initiation, it is hard to believe that St. Paul could have failed to mention it. The evidence of the New Testament as a whole seems to justify no more than the conclusion that in some parts of the Church from quite early times the gift of the Spirit came to be associated with the laying on of hands.<sup>3</sup>

Lampe<sup>4</sup> observes that many authors explain the apparent contradiction in Acts by taking the view that for Luke the laying on of hands for the reception of the Spirit was so regular and indispensable a complement to Baptism that he does not always mention it. But A.E.J. Rawlinson justly remarks that this theory is unconvincing.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>G.W.H. Lampe, ibid., p. 67.

<sup>2</sup>W.F. Flemington, op. cit., p. 149.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.; cf. A.E.J. Rawlinson, op. cit., p. 19.

<sup>4</sup>G.W.H. Lampe, ibid., pp. 67-8.

<sup>5</sup>A.E.J. Rawlinson, ibid., cf. G.W.H. Lampe, ibid., p. 68.

A variant of this view holds that the words βαπτισμα and ρουτιζειν in Christian usage signify the entire initiatory rite including the imposition of hands. But Lampe<sup>1</sup> observes that this theory has absolutely no New Testament support.

Leenhardt<sup>2</sup> suggests that the Church adapted the Old Testament ceremony of the laying on of hands as a sign of benediction and of the transmission of the Spirit for the purpose of the accomplishment of a particular task; it was thought desirable to bring this rite into association with the baptismal bestowal of the Holy Spirit; sometimes it was assumed that it constituted a separate rite for the gift of the Spirit; and that, if on certain occasions, such as at Samaria, the usual external manifestations did not appear this rite was performed in the hope that, to put it crudely, it would "work", where Baptism had failed to produce the intended result.

Cullmann<sup>3</sup> maintains that the laying on of hands was introduced as a symbol of the bestowal of the Spirit because the ceremony of water-dipping was inappropriate for that purpose. Thus, Christian initiation early was in danger of becoming two separate rites - Baptism signifying cleansing from sin; and the imposition of hands denoting the gift of the Spirit; Cullmann suggests that Acts 8:12-7, and 19:1-7 anticipate what was to happen later. On the other hand, Büchsel<sup>4</sup> believes that

<sup>1</sup>G.W.H. Lampe, ibid., p. 68.

<sup>2</sup>F.J. Leenhardt, Le Baptême Chrétien, pp. 38-9 (noted by G.W.H. Lampe, ibid., 68-9).

<sup>3</sup>O. Cullmann, "La Signification du Baptême dans le N.T.", Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie, XXX, 1942, pp. 121 ff. (noted by G.W.H. Lampe, ibid. p. 69.)

<sup>4</sup>F. Büchsel, Der Geist Gottes im N.T. p. 262 (noted by G.W.H. Lampe, ibid.)

the laying on of hands is a very early part of the initiation ceremony, but that it is relatively unimportant and not to be considered as a rite distinct from Baptism, for the conferring of the Spirit.

Behm<sup>1</sup> puts forward the ingenious notion of a two-source antecedent for the composition of Acts 8:1-25, one giving an account of Philip baptizing in Samaria, and the other relating a visit to the same area by Peter and John with manifestations of the Spirit and the rebuke of Simon Magus. According to this theory Acts 8:14 is the editorial link between the two sources.

Lampe puts forth an explanation of this incident which is much more plausible than any of these; he looks to the great importance which the conversion of the Samaritans possessed for the development and further expansion of the Church:

At this turning-point in the mission something else was required in addition to the ordinary Baptism of the converts. It had to be demonstrated to the Samaritans beyond any shadow of doubt that they had really become members of the Church, in fellowship with its original "pillars". . . .

Until the fact had been demonstrated that the leaders of the Church were in full accord with Philip, and that the Samaritan converts were really acknowledged and accepted by the heads of the original apostolic body, the gift of the Spirit-possessed community was withheld. An unprecedented situation demanded quite exceptional methods.

. . . The imposition of hands is then primarily a token of fellowship and solidarity; it is only secondarily an effective symbol of the gift of the Spirit; it becomes such a symbol solely in virtue of being a sign of incorporation into the Church of the Spirit.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>J. Behm, Die Handauflegung im Urchristentum, p. 24 ff. (noted by G.W.H. Lampe, ibid.)

<sup>2</sup>G.W.H. Lampe, ibid., pp. 69-70.

Lampe goes on to relate these Samaritan events to Pentecost:

The original nucleus of the Church received the Spirit in the most striking and dramatic way at Pentecost, and at every turning-point in the missionary enterprise something in the nature of a Pentecostal manifestation of the Spirit recurs. The key to the interpretation of these episodes seems to lie here. The preaching of the Gospel in Samaria represented a crucial moment in the advance of Christianity. Hence, after the Baptism of the first Samaritan converts, the leaders of the Church's mission come down from Jerusalem and, by the sign of fellowship and "contact" incorporate them into the apostolic (i.e. missionary) Church, with the result that there occurs a Samaritan "Pentecost", at least to the extent that visible signs are manifested of the outpouring of the Spirit. It may not be too much to assert that this event is meant to demonstrate that a new nucleus of the missionary Church has been established, and to suggest that Luke's readers are intended to infer that the Gospel proceeded to radiate outwards from this new centre of the Spirit's mission.<sup>1</sup>

This interpretation of Acts 8:12-7, which the writer finds most satisfactory, negates to a considerable extent the arguments of those who point to it as a major Biblical warrant for Confirmation as a rite separate from Baptism in the apostolic age.

Furthermore, it must not be overlooked that this account mentions only the Baptism of adults ("they were baptized, both men and women" Acts 8:12); therefore, even if this passage is accepted as a warrant for Confirmation, it does not supply a Scriptural basis for this rite as it is normally administered in the Church of Scotland - to those baptized as infants.

The second passage which is believed to provide a Biblical warrant for Confirmation is Acts 19:1-7. Paul comes to Ephesus and finds about twelve disciples who had been baptized into John's Baptism but had not received the Holy Spirit. Luke records that "they were baptized in the

---

<sup>1</sup>G.W.H. Lampe, *ibid.*, p. 72.

name of the Lord Jesus. And when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Spirit came upon them; and they spoke with tongues and prophesied. There were about twelve of them in all" (5-7).

The importance of these verses as reflecting a universal practice is weakened by the fact mentioned in the writer's discussion of Baptism<sup>1</sup> - the whole tone of this incident suggests the uniqueness of these Ephesian disciples; clearly they are the exception rather than the rule in early Christian experience.

Again Lampe finds a most plausible solution to the apparent contradiction - between this Ephesian procedure and the normal baptismal practice - in the fact that it represents another decisive moment in the Church's mission:

Next to Antioch, in fact in succession to Antioch, Ephesus is the centre of the Gentile mission, the headquarters where St. Paul makes his longest stay, and the centre from which missionary activity radiates into Asia Minor and St. Paul's emissaries visit his churches at Corinth and elsewhere. The planting of the Faith in this centre is clearly an event of immense importance, and it is natural that the first converts . . . should become a nucleus and focus of this new Church, the strategic centre of the Pauline preaching. They are accordingly given the token of their incorporation into the apostolic ministry represented by St. Paul himself, and the Spirit which guides and directs the Church's mission is manifested in them by the visible signs of "tongues" and prophecy. They are made sharers in the active "apostolicity" of the Church<sup>2</sup> as soon as they have been incorporated into Christ by Baptism.

Thus, the laying on of hands in Acts 19:1-7 is not a Confirmation of Baptism but rather a "sign of association in the apostolic or missionary task of the Church".<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>cf. above p. 247.

<sup>2</sup>G.W.H. Lampe, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

Once more the "rug is pulled" from beneath those who point to Acts for Biblical warrants for the rite of Confirmation; the experience of the Ephesian μαθηταί is exceptional rather than normal, but is appropriate for their particular role and significance in the early Christian outreach.

Also, the implication is that those who receive Baptism and the imposition of hands are adults; therefore, (as with Acts 8:12-7), even if Acts 19:1-7 is accepted as giving a valid warrant for a distinct ceremony of Confirmation, it would not apply to that rite as practised in the Church of Scotland, which normally administers it to those baptized in infancy.

In Hebrews 6:1,2 mention is made of six first principles of Christian doctrine and practice; two of these are "instruction about ablutions" (βαπτισμοί) and "the laying on of hands". Against those who make these two "articles" apply to Baptism and Confirmation, Lampe notes the possibility that this "laying on of hands" may refer to some kind of ordination; but he prefers the view that "what had been a special ceremony of the commissioning of new members for the missionary work of the apostolic Church, carrying with it, as its outward effect, a particular endowment of the Spirit for that work, had become, at any rate in certain circles, a common practice associated with the ordinary rite of Baptism".<sup>1</sup>

H.J. Wotherspoon<sup>2</sup> mentions his unsatisfied willingness to be

---

<sup>1</sup>G.W.H. Lampe, *ibid.*, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup>H.J. Wotherspoon, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-6.

persuaded that the laying on of hands in Hebrews 6:2 refers to a sequel to Baptism; according to him it may apply to ordination, or to the reconciliation of penitents, or, with more general reference "to Christian employment of the gesture in various benedictions and impartations".<sup>1</sup> Wotherspoon observes that Westcott<sup>2</sup> favours this more general interpretation rather than confining this imposition of hands to Confirmation; such limitation is usually inferred from an assumed association with Baptism in this same verse in Hebrews (6:2); but Wotherspoon draws attention to the fact that the plural  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$  is used rather than the singular; this difference is important and significant; the laying on of hands is not placed by the author of Hebrews in conjunction with Baptism but with instruction about ablutions (or baptisms); A.E.J. Rawlinson<sup>3</sup> may well be right in suggesting that  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$  here denotes many kinds of lustration - Jewish, Johannine, and pagan as well as the Christian Sacrament which might appear to the uninstructed to be very similar to the others - and thus  $\delta\iota\delta\alpha\chi\eta$  about them was necessary.

The obscure and ambiguous language of Hebrews makes it difficult for this writer to understand those who state with certainty that Hebrews 6:2 obviously refers to Baptism and Confirmation;<sup>4</sup> it would appear that they approach the Scriptures with preconceived ideas about its contents;

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 195.

<sup>2</sup>B.F. Westcott, The Epistle to the Hebrews, pp. 145-6.

<sup>3</sup>A.E.J. Rawlinson, op. cit., p. 20 n.; cf. G.W.H. Lampe, op. cit., p. 77; B.F. Westcott, ibid., p. 145; J. Moffatt, Hebrews (ICG), p. 75; W.F. Flemington, op. cit., p. 97.

<sup>4</sup>e.g. A.J. Mason, op. cit., pp. 28-34; W.K.L. Clarke, "Laying on of hands in the New Testament", Confirmation or the Laying on of Hands, I, p. 10; L.S. Thornton, Confirmation, Its Place in the Baptismal Mystery, pp. 168-71.

their conclusions are based more on eisegesis than exegesis. The writer admits that Hebrews 6:2 may contain some reference to Christian Baptism and also to another rite - the imposition of hands; but to link βαπτισμῶν διδασχῆ and ἐπιθέσεως χειρῶν exclusively with Baptism and Confirmation is to go beyond the evidence; this passage (Hebrews 6:2), which Mason takes as the clearest and most important locus classicus to support the primitive practice of the rite of Confirmation as the completion of Baptism is not really so unequivocal and clear-cut; in honesty it must be agreed that once again the Scriptural evidence is inconclusive. The very obscurity of its language admits of various interpretations - including the thought that it provides a Scriptural basis for the manner in which the Church of Scotland administers Confirmation - but all are conjectural rather than decisive.

II Timothy 1:6,7 is the fourth New Testament passage adduced to show that Confirmation was a rite separate from Baptism in New Testament times; the author exhorts Timothy as follows:

Hence I remind you to rekindle the gift of God that is within you through the laying on of my hands; for God did not give us a spirit of timidity but a spirit of power and love and self-control.

W.K. Lowther Clarke<sup>1</sup> finds the exposition of F.H. Chase<sup>2</sup> for this passage convincing; whereas I Timothy 4:14 ("the elders laid their hands upon you") points unmistakably to Ordination, these verses are believed

<sup>1</sup>W.K.L. Clarke, ibid.

<sup>2</sup>F.H. Chase, op. cit., pp. 35 ff.

to point equally clearly to Confirmation; Clarke also observes that I Timothy 5:22 ("Do not be hasty in the laying on of hands") probably refers to Ordination but does not rule out entirely the possibility that it suggests Confirmation.<sup>1</sup> Flemington<sup>2</sup> agrees that I Timothy 4:14 and 5:22 seem clearly to refer to Ordination, and also, citing Chase, admits that II Timothy 1:6 may point to a laying on of hands following Baptism. Likewise Thornton<sup>3</sup> notes that Chase interpreted "the laying of hands" in II Timothy 1:6 as Timothy's Confirmation, but observes a lack of precision as to what constituted the gift which it brought. On the other hand, Lampe<sup>4</sup> tends to link all of the references to the imposition of hands in the Pastoral Epistles to Ordination.

From these views it is clear that the same uncertainty surrounds the interpretation of II Timothy 1:6; the words "the laying on of my hands" may refer to Timothy's Confirmation subsequent to his Baptism, but this idea cannot be asserted with certainty. Furthermore, even if it could, there is no definite indication in the New Testament as to whether Timothy received Baptism as an adult or an infant; only the latter case would allow this passage to furnish a Biblical warrant for Confirmation as it is normally practised in the Church of Scotland.

It must be concluded, therefore, that the direct Scriptural evidence for administering Confirmation as a rite separate from Baptism,

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>2</sup>W.F. Flemington, op. cit., p. 149, n.3.

<sup>3</sup>L.S. Thornton, Confirmation, Its Place in the Baptismal Mystery, p. 76, n.1.

<sup>4</sup>G.W.H. Lampe, ibid., pp. 74-5.

and signifying the completion of that Sacrament, is inconclusive; furthermore, the fact that in the Church of Scotland Confirmands are normally those who have been baptized in infancy, makes it even more difficult to find Biblical support for the view that this ceremony is the Confirmation of Baptism. This is one place where Milligan's Scriptural warrant can be found only by resorting to the argumentum ex silentio and to conjecture.

Before leaving this discussion of the Biblical evidence for interpreting Confirmation as the completion of Baptism, the writer must mention the theory that Confirmation is the New Testament counterpart of Circumcision under the Old Covenant.<sup>1</sup>

Although this view might also be considered in the next section which deals with the strengthening of the Confirmands through the Holy Spirit, the writer inserts it here because sometimes Confirmation - equated thus with Circumcision - is believed to follow and be the culmination of Baptism; but if this equation between Circumcision and Confirmation is genuine it would seem to be more logical that Confirmation should precede Baptism.

---

<sup>1</sup>G.W.H. Lampe (op. cit., x,xii, pp. 82-91) discusses this idea indicating that it is held by the following: G. Dix, "Confirmation or the Laying on of Hands?", Theology, Occasional Papers, 5, 1936, pp. 1 ff.; F. Gavin, The Jewish Antecedents of the Christian Sacraments, pp. 26-7; A. Seeberg, Der Katechismus der Urchristenheit, pp. 232-3; A. von Stromberg, Studien zur Theorie und Praxis der Taufe, p. 158; L.S. Thornton, Confirmation Today, p. 9; T.W. Manson, op. cit., pp. 30-1; J. Coppens, L'Imposition des Mains; J.-B. Umberg, Die Schriftlehre vom Sakrament der Firmung.

The rite by which the Jewish proselyte was admitted consisted of: i) Circumcision preceded by instruction; ii) Baptism; and iii) the Offering of Sacrifice.<sup>1</sup> It is argued that the three parts of the Christian experience of Initiation - Anointing or Sealing with the Imposition of hands (Confirmation); Baptism; and First Communion - correspond to those of the Jewish ceremony; in this way Circumcision in the Old Covenant is equated with Confirmation in the New; both constitute the effective rite of admission to the respective Covenant.

The writer has already<sup>2</sup> shown that in the apostolic age, to use Lampe's words "it was Baptism which was believed to have been foreshadowed by the circumcision which it superseded".<sup>3</sup> The major difficulty about this proposed correspondence between the Jewish and Christian modes of Initiation is that there is no genuine Biblical evidence for a pre-baptismal Confirmation in apostolic times; the main passages given<sup>4</sup> suggest only that the Spirit was sometimes operative in a person's pre-baptismal experience; to use them as evidence for the view that Confirmation preceded Baptism in the primitive Church is to enter the realm of unwarranted assertion. Therefore the writer agrees with Lampe's conclusion "that the supposed analogy of circumcision does not help to establish that any rite signifying Spirit-baptism existed in New Testament times, other than the water-baptism of which Spirit-baptism was

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. G.W.H. Lampe, *ibid.*, pp. 82-3.

<sup>2</sup>cf. above p. 261.

<sup>3</sup>G.W.H. Lampe, *ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>4</sup>I. Corin. 10:1-2; 12:3; I Peter 1:2; Gal. 4:6; Rom. 8:15.

one aspect of the inward thing signified".<sup>1</sup>

It must be observed, therefore, that there is no direct Scriptural evidence for the view that Confirmation is the Completion or Confirmation of Baptism. But it is necessary to ask whether this idea is found in the Patristic literature.

The Didache and the writings of Justin Martyr give no hint that the rite of Baptism is accompanied or followed by the imposition of hands.<sup>2</sup> H.J. Lawlor, however, suggests that Justin's Apology I.65 resembles the general outline of the Canons of Hippolytus 135 ff. so closely that it may in fact be "a vague account of the confirmation".<sup>3</sup>

Irenaeus appears to be the first patristic author who mentions the laying on of hands as something distinct from Baptism. Of the passages, however, which Lawlor cites to show that Irenaeus implied that the imposition of hands followed Baptism,<sup>4</sup> only Against Heresies IV.38.2 is, in this writer's opinion, valid. Unfortunately it appears as a passing illustration which Irenaeus does not develop. In his exegesis of I Corinthians 3:3, he suggests that Paul's Corinthian converts were not spiritually strong enough to receive the  $\beta\rho\omega\mu\alpha$  of the Spirit, although the Apostle "had the power to give them strong meat - for those upon whom the apostles laid hands received the Holy Spirit, who is the food

<sup>1</sup>G.W.H. Lampe, ibid., p. 91.

<sup>2</sup>cf. A.E.J. Rawlinson, op. cit., p. 16, n.1; W.F. Flemington op. cit., p. 149, n.4.

<sup>3</sup>H.J. Lawlor, op. cit., p.2.

<sup>4</sup>H.J. Lawlor, ibid., gives Irenaeus, Against Heresies, III. 17.1,2; IV.38.1,2; Proof of the Apostolic Preaching, 3,41,42.

of life [eternal] -". Other references in Irenaeus link the reception of the Holy Spirit with Baptism which is of water and the Holy Spirit.<sup>1</sup>

The writer agrees therefore with Lampe that Against Heresies IV.38.2 is "the first clear instance of the impact of Acts 8:17 on the Patristic theology of Baptism"<sup>2</sup> and marks "the beginning of that confusion of thought . . . which has persisted down the centuries".<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore, there is no clear indication that the Corinthians had been baptized in infancy; indeed it would seem that the majority had received adult Baptism, although Paul's words - "I did baptize also the household of Stephanus" (I Corin. 1:16) - may imply that children who had been baptized as infants are included in those whom Paul addressed in I Corinthians 3:1 ff. Irenaeus does endorse the practice of infant Baptism<sup>4</sup> but, in any event, it is only indirectly and by implication that this passage in Irenaeus supports the way in which Confirmation is normally administered in the Church of Scotland.

In The Instructor I.12 Clement of Alexandria states that Christ Himself "formed man of the dust, and regenerated him by water; and made him grow by his Spirit; and trained him by His word to adoption and salvation, directing him by sacred precepts". But Lampe quite rightly observes that this statement "should not be taken"<sup>5</sup> to indicate that

<sup>1</sup>e.g. Proof of the Apostolic Preaching, 41,42, (cf. Against Heresies, V.II.2); cf. above pp. 280-1.

<sup>2</sup>G.W.H. Lampe, op. cit., p. 118.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 119.

<sup>4</sup>cf. above p. 263.

<sup>5</sup>As does e.g. A.J. Mason, op. cit., pp. 264-5.

Clement thinks of an incrementum Spiritus following regeneration (given through Baptism) in a time sequence".<sup>1</sup> In the same work, Clement suggests that the baptized convert does not yet possess the perfect gift (I.6) but in all probability he is alluding to the final state of perfection, foreshadowed in Baptism, rather than hinting at "any post-baptismal gift of the Spirit, or any consummation of Christian initiation by a rite of Confirmation".<sup>2</sup>

No doubt Clement would be familiar with some ceremony of Chrismation after Baptism, but his references to unction (The Instructor I.12; II.8; The Miscellanies IV.18; VII.7) seem to be metaphorical, and nowhere does he indicate that unction outwardly symbolizes the gift and seal of the Spirit.<sup>3</sup>

Mason attaches considerable importance to the two places in Clement's works which refer to the Laying on of Hands. In The Instructor III.11 he dissuades women from wearing false hair:

But additions of other people's hair are entirely to be rejected, and it is a most sacriligious thing for spurious hair to shade the head, covering the skull with dead locks. For on whom does the presbyter lay his hand? Whom does he bless? Not the woman decked out, but another's hair, and through them another head.

Mason admits that this imposition of hands by the presbyter (whom he interprets to be a Bishop) may refer to "that form of blessing which it was customary for devout Christians at Alexandria to seek every day",<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>G.W.H. Lampe, op. cit., p. 156.

<sup>2</sup>G.W.H. Lampe, ibid.

<sup>3</sup>G.W.H. Lampe, ibid., p. 157.

<sup>4</sup>A.J. Mason, op. cit., p. 268.

but believes that it most likely alludes to Confirmation. The obscure wording of this passage, plus the use of ὁ πρεσβύτερος lead this writer to agree with Lampe that in all probability Clement's reference is "to the reconciliation of a penitent, or perhaps to an ordinary act of blessing performed in the normal course of Church life".<sup>1</sup>

The second passage in Clement which mentions the laying on of hands appears in his Excerpta Theodoti 22. Theodotus headed the Eastern School of Valentinians (Gnostics) just after the middle of the second century.<sup>2</sup> According to him, those whom Paul speaks of as being baptized from the dead (I. Corin. 15:29) are really redeeming angels who take compassion upon men as they lie dead in the flesh:

In order that we also, having the Name, may not be kept back, or hindered by the "Boundary" or "Cross" from passing into the Pleroma. Wherefore also, in the Laying on of Hands, they say at the end, "Into the angelic redemption," that is, the redemption which the angels possess, - in order that the man who has obtained the redemption may be held to have been baptized in the same Name in which his angel also has been previously baptized. Now the angels were baptized at the beginning in the redemption of the name of him that came down in the dove upon Jesus, and redeemed him.<sup>3</sup>

Mason<sup>4</sup> believes that this Gnostic laying on of hands as part of the rite of Initiation was imitated from Confirmation, and that this passage provides the only piece of positive evidence that the imposition of hands following Baptism (Confirmation) was continuously practiced be-

<sup>1</sup>G.W.H. Lampe, ibid.

<sup>2</sup>cf. A.J. Mason, op. cit., p. 269.

<sup>3</sup>The translation of this passage is that which appears in A.J. Mason, ibid.

<sup>4</sup>A.J. Mason, ibid.

tween the end of the Scriptural witness and the time of Tertullian.

The writer would question this last conclusion; for one thing the source is heretical (Gnostic); secondly, as the writer has shown, the Biblical evidence for the laying on of hands is not so definite as Mason implies; and thirdly, it is a much sounder methodology to cite the Gnostics as additional support for what are known and established practices, rather than to rely upon them for proof of what are desired and even imagined customs. Also it should be remembered that Clement of Alexandria has only one reference (The Instructor III.11) which might, with considerable hesitation, be taken as a possible reference to the Baptism of children.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, even if it could be demonstrated conclusively that these passages in his writings refer to Confirmation as a separate rite completing Baptism, they would still not provide a warrant for this ceremony as it is normally administered in the Church of Scotland.

Tertullian is the first of the Fathers who gives undisputed evidence for the imposition of hands as a rite separate from Baptism and completing, as it were, that Sacrament; Wotherspoon rightly notes that the "history of Confirmation, as continuously traceable to the present, begins with Tertullian".<sup>2</sup>

In his Treatise On Baptism Tertullian describes what takes place after Baptism and Unction: "In the next place the hand is laid on us invoking and inviting the Holy Spirit through [the words of] benediction" (8). As warrant for this practice Tertullian cites a somewhat far-

<sup>1</sup>cf. above p. 263, n.2.

<sup>2</sup>H.J. Wotherspoon, op. cit., p. 189.

fetched typology of Genesis 48:14; but Lampe,<sup>1</sup> noting Tertullian's subsequent reference to the experience of the μαθηταί of Acts 19:1-7 (10) believes that this Ephesian incident may well have influenced his thinking.

Similarly in Tertullian's work On the Resurrection of the Flesh it is written:

The flesh indeed, is washed, in order that the soul may be cleansed; the flesh is anointed, that the soul may be consecrated; the flesh is signed [with the cross], that the soul too may be fortified; the flesh is shadowed with the imposition of hands, that the soul also may be illuminated by the Spirit; the flesh feeds on the body and blood of Christ, that the soul likewise may fatten on its [God](8).

The implication of this passage is clearly that the laying on of hands is a separate rite coming after Baptism, Unction and Signing, and brings the gift of the Holy Spirit.

On these two passages from Tertullian Lampe makes the following most intelligent comment:

It is of course conceivable that Tertullian is following ancient tradition (possibly reflected in Heb. 6:2) in ascribing the gift of the Spirit to the post-baptismal imposition of hands; but it is more probable that his theory either reflects the introduction into the African Church of a practice directly modelled upon the episodes recorded in Acts, or represents a reinterpretation, in the light of the supposed teaching of Acts on the gift of the Spirit, of an old custom whereby the bishop as the local head of the Christian community laid his hand in blessing on the head of the new member.<sup>2</sup>

There are those who see veiled references to the distinct rite of Confirmation in Tertullian's On the Soldier's Chaplet 3;<sup>3</sup> On Prescript-

<sup>1</sup>G.W.H. Lampe, op. cit., p. 161.      <sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>T. Thompson, op. cit., p. 17, n.5; 36.

ion Against Heretics 36;<sup>1</sup> and Against Marcion I.14.<sup>2</sup> The first of these passages describes Baptism and what follows:

Hereupon we are thrice immersed, making a somewhat ampler pledge than the Lord has appointed in the Gospel. Then, when we are taken up [as new-born children], we taste first of all a mixture of milk and honey . . . . We take also, in meetings before daybreak, and from the hand of none but the presidents, the sacrament of the Eucharist which the Lord both commanded to be eaten at meal-times, and enjoined to be taken by all [alike].

The relevant portion of On Prescription Against Heretics says concerning the Church's faith: "this she seals with the water [of baptism], arrays with the Holy Ghost, feeds with the eucharist, cheers with martyrdom, and against such a discipline thus [maintained] she admits no gainsayer" (36). Against Marcion affirms that Christ "has not disdained the water which the Creator made wherewith he washes his people; nor the oil with which he anoints them; nor that union of honey and milk wherewithal he gives them the nourishment of children; nor the bread by which he represents his own proper body" (I.14).

It is suggested that these three passages allude to the separate rites of Initiation - Baptism and Confirmation<sup>3</sup> followed by Communion. Such may be the case but this conclusion is derived more by implication than by what these references state explicitly.

Mason believes that Tertullian's views about Baptism and Confirmation are "remarkably clear";<sup>4</sup> if the passages which the writer has

<sup>1</sup>A.J. Mason, op. cit., p. 62.

<sup>2</sup>"Confirmation", ODCC, p. 527; T. Thompson, ibid.

<sup>3</sup>It will be observed that in Against Marcion I.14 Confirmation (if such is a valid interpretation) is preceded by Unction.

<sup>4</sup>A.J. Mason, op. cit., p. 63.

considered were all that he had written about these subjects this assessment would have a certain validity; sometimes, however, he suggests that the Holy Spirit comes through Baptism rather than the imposition of hands;<sup>1</sup> thus, Lampe is more accurate when he writes:

Tertullian's theory of the Holy Spirit in relation to Baptism can be defended only at the cost of his consistency; and we must hold his confused thought on Baptism and the laying on of hands responsible in no small measure for the difficulties and ambiguities which have continued from his days to our own to hamper the working out of a reasoned theology of the operation of the Holy Spirit in Baptism and Confirmation.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, the writer would conclude that Tertullian furnishes genuine evidence, albeit somewhat indirect and inconsistent, for the rite of Confirmation, distinguishable from Baptism, and understood as the completion of the latter.

The question of whether he also provides a warrant for the manner in which Confirmation is normally administered in the Church of Scotland hinges on whether or not he endorses infant Baptism. There is no indication either in On Baptism 6-8 or On the Resurrection of the Flesh 8 that infants are baptized and so subsequently receive Confirmation; indeed in the former Treatise Tertullian later urges that Baptism be delayed particularly in the case of little children (18). But as the writer has already<sup>3</sup> noted, there are certain indications that Tertullian does uphold the practice of infant Baptism. Therefore, with a certain amount of cogency sprinkled with conjecture, it may be argued that

<sup>1</sup>cf. above p. 283.

<sup>2</sup>G.W.H. Lampe, op. cit., p. 162.

<sup>3</sup>cf. above p. 264.

Tertullian furnishes support for the way in which the Church of Scotland normally observes Confirmation.

The same may be said for Hippolytus. Although his Apostolic Tradition can hardly be taken to reflect the apostolic practices, as Dix<sup>1</sup> seems anxious to maintain, it nevertheless does set forth the liturgical practices as they had evolved by the beginning of the third century.

The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus has five references to the laying on of hands in its account of the rites of Initiation. In the first place, the catechumens undergo a three-year course of preparation; after each period of instruction, they pray together in isolation from the baptized believers; at the conclusion of this prayer "their instructor lays his hands upon the catechumens . . . whether a cleric or a layman" (19). This imposition of hands is beyond any doubt some form of blessing rather than Confirmation inasmuch as it precedes Baptism and may be given by a person not fully ordained.

The second and third times that Hippolytus mentions this act relate to exorcism: "Then from the time that they [the baptizands] are separated from the other catechumens, hands shall be laid upon them daily in exorcism and, as the day of their baptism draws near, the bishop himself shall exorcise each of them that he may be personally assured of their purity" (20); this same chapter goes on to indicate that on the Saturday preceding the day of Baptism<sup>2</sup> "the bishop shall

---

<sup>1</sup>G. Dix, The Theology of Confirmation in Relation to Baptism, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup>Normally on Easter Sunday.

assemble them and command them to kneel in prayer. And, laying his hand upon them, he shall exorcise all evil spirits to flee away and never to return". Apart from the fact that these two passages indicate explicitly that the laying on of hands is connected with exorcism, their position prior to the Baptism rules out almost automatically their having any allusion to Confirmation. The next reference to the imposition of hands occurs during Hippolytus' description of the actual Baptism; the one who performs this rite does so "putting his hand on him [the candidate]" and "holding his hand placed on his head" (21).

The only passage in The Apostolic Tradition which relates directly to Confirmation comes immediately after those baptized are brought into the church:

Then the bishop, laying his hand upon them, shall pray, saying:

O Lord God, who hast made them worthy to obtain remission of sins through the laver of regeneration of [the] Holy Spirit, send into them thy grace, that they may serve thee according to thy will; for thine is the glory, to the Father and the Son, with [the] Holy Spirit in the holy church, both now and world without end. Amen (22).<sup>1</sup>

It is clear that this post-baptismal rite - which the writer will call Confirmation - is distinct from, (although following closely upon),

---

<sup>1</sup>The writer cannot enter into a treatment of the textual problem surrounding this prayer, so ably discussed by G.W.H. Lampe (op. cit., pp. 135-42); according to some texts (Testament of our Lord, Arabic, Ethiopic, Bohairic, Canons of Hippolytus) the gift of the Holy Spirit is reserved for Confirmation; but in the Latin or Verona text (obviously followed by B.S. Easton in the prayer as cited) the Holy Spirit comes in Baptism. Against G. Dix (The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St. Hippolytus of Rome, I. lii) who discounts the Latin text as being corrupt, Lampe maintains that the latter preserves the genuine reading.

Baptism. Thus, Hippolytus here supplies support for Confirmation understood as the completion of Baptism.

Furthermore, he endorses the Baptism of very small children; at the beginning of the Baptismal service Hippolytus instructs: "And first baptize the little ones; if they can speak for themselves, they shall do so; if not, their parents or other relatives shall speak for them" (21). Therefore, some of those who subsequently receive Confirmation through the imposition of the Bishop's hand, had been baptized in infancy; hence the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus 21,22 may be cited as providing a warrant for Confirmation as it is normally administered in the Church of Scotland.

It would appear, therefore, that the only valid evidence, down to the beginning of the third century A.D., for the understanding of Confirmation as the completion of Baptism and administered to those who had been baptized in infancy is patristic and late; Hippolytus, Tertullian, and possibly Irenaeus, are the only ones whose writings admit of such an interpretation.

To anyone who consequently charges that the Church of Scotland acts contrary to the provisions of Scripture, it may be replied that in the New Testament there are no examples (as distinct from teaching) of infant Baptism; and therefore the Scriptures could hardly be expected to mention instances of their Confirmation.

The major reason for the scantiness of early evidence about Confirmation is almost certainly the fact that for adults it coincides with Baptism as a single rite and only gradually do Baptism and Confirmation become two separate ceremonies with the latter completing the

former. It is not until the fourth century that Confirmation comes to be practised almost universally as a separate rite;<sup>1</sup> this process is undoubtedly bound up with the more widespread baptizing of infants. But from then on there is abundant support for the manner in which the Church of Scotland normally administers Baptism. An examination of this material would lead beyond the scope of this thesis; nevertheless, an understanding of the way in which Confirmation emerges helps to explain the apparent conflict between the Biblical and patristic evidence and the modern practice of the Church of Scotland.

The "Order for the Confirmation of Baptised Persons and for their Admission to the Lord's Supper" also reflects the following view:

B) Confirmation signifies the strengthening of the candidates by the invoking of the Holy Spirit upon them, frequently symbolized by the laying on of hands.

Most of the Biblical and patristic evidence which the writer discussed in the previous section, in order to ascertain support for the view that Confirmation is a separate ceremony completing Baptism, could also be marshalled under this heading; a good number of those references mention the laying on of hands and the gift of the Holy Spirit.

The writer has no intention of repeating this material already cited; rather let him simply state his conclusion: to the extent that these passages are valid witnesses to the rite of Confirmation administered to those baptized in infancy (which the writer has attempted to assess, but upon which question scholars are far from agreed) they

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. e.g. "Confirmation", ODCC, p. 327.

provide genuine warrants for this second significance which Confirmation has in the Church of Scotland.

Into the continuing debate as to whether the grace of the Holy Spirit which comes in Confirmation, is a new or only a fuller manifestation of the Paraclete the writer cannot enter, although, as he has previously<sup>1</sup> indicated, he favours the view that Confirmation brings a renewal of and strengthening by the Holy Spirit rather than his initial indwelling. The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church is probably close to the truth when it comments on this sharply debated matter: "The complexity of the evidence is such as to suggest that a final solution will not be reached by an appeal to history".<sup>2</sup>

It is perhaps not irrelevant to note here that Ignatius ascribes to Baptism that arming of the Christian for spiritual warfare which subsequently comes to be considered as part of the grace mediated by Confirmation:<sup>3</sup> "Let your baptism be your armor" (Polycarp, 6). It is not unlikely that Ignatius attributes this strengthening to Baptism because the Baptism of adults - for whom the writer believes Baptism and Confirmation coincide - was still very widespread.

Using the analogy of Ordination in which a person possessing "the full endowment of the indwelling presence of the Spirit . . . becomes conscious of a renewed understanding of the Spirit, and a fresh

<sup>1</sup>cf. above p. 310.

<sup>2</sup>"Confirmation", ODCC, p. 328.

<sup>3</sup>cf. G. v. H. Lampe, op. cit., p. 105.

awareness of His grace in relation to a particular activity",<sup>1</sup> Lampe writes:

This is, in itself, sufficient ground for the belief that a person baptized in infancy is "strengthened" with the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, in the post-Scriptural, but most necessary rite of Confirmation, that He will "daily increase in them . . . manifold gifts of grace", and that the confirmed Christian may "daily increase in" the "Holy Spirit more and more"; it even allows us to speak, if we will, of "a special gift of the Holy Spirit" in Confirmation, so long as we do not suppose that the gift then bestowed for the first time is the Christian's initial possession of the Spirit which is one aspect of his membership of Christ.<sup>2</sup>

Although there is little, if any, direct Biblical and patristic support for this second aspect of Confirmation as practised in the Church of Scotland, it seems fair to say that the idea of the Christian being strengthened by the Holy Spirit post-baptismally is far from being unscriptural and unpatristic; it remained for this thought to be more explicitly linked with the rite of Confirmation after the latter became more clearly a separate rite and consequently more universally widespread.

The third thing which the rite of Confirmation signifies in the Church of Scotland is:

c) Admission to the Lord's Supper

Because Confirmation is essentially a post-Biblical ceremony, it is not surprising that there is no direct Scriptural evidence for this rite signifying the candidates' reception to the fellowship of the Lord's Table. Indeed the writer would suggest that in the New Testament, Baptism, which symbolized a person's entry into the Christian Church,<sup>3</sup> marks the time when a convert begins to participate in the Eucharist.

<sup>1</sup>G.W.H. Lampe, op. cit., p. 92.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 92-3.

<sup>3</sup>cf. above p. 289-93.

It would appear that it is only when infant Baptism becomes widespread and the rite of Confirmation becomes a subsequent ceremony, that the latter comes to signify the catechumen's admission to the Lord's Supper.

A few indications of this gradual trend are found in the patristic literature at the beginning of the third century; before then Baptism would undoubtedly admit its recipient to the Eucharist. In his Treatise On the Resurrection of the Flesh, immediately after he mentions "the imposition of hands" Tertullian makes the point that "the flesh feeds on the body and blood of Christ, that the soul likewise may fatten on [its] God"; inasmuch as this laying on of hands is preceded by allusions to Baptism, Unction and Signing, it would seem to be quite reasonable to deduce that Tertullian is here cataloguing the various elements which had come to be associated with Christian Initiation; in addition this passage suggests that partaking of the elements in Holy Communion followed upon the act of Confirmation - "the imposition of hands". It is interesting to note, however, that Tertullian's other main reference to Confirmation - On Baptism (especially 6-8) - gives no such hint that this rite is followed by participation in the Lord's Supper, but mentions only the post-baptismal joining in prayer with the brethren in the Church (20). If the three passages in Tertullian - On the Soldier's Chaplet 3; On Prescription Against Heretics 36; Against Marcion I.14<sup>1</sup> - really are to be taken as giving the sequence of Initiation - Baptism, Confirmation, and Communion - they furnish support for this view that

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. above pp. 330-1.

Confirmation signifies admittance to the Lord's Table.

The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus 21-3 also indicates that Confirmation allows a candidate to partake at the Lord's Table. After Baptism and the subsequent Imposition of Hands by the Bishop, and Anointing and Signing, the recipient joins in prayer with the faithful concluded by the kiss of peace; immediately thereafter comes the Eucharist in which the new Confirmands share.

The fact that Tertullian and Hippolytus both subscribe to the practice of infant Baptism suggests quite clearly that in these passages they are giving a preview of the Initiation sequence which was to become the norm - Baptism (infant); Confirmation (adolescent), followed immediately by partaking of the Lord's Supper. It is this pattern which is adhered to in the Church of Scotland today, and which thus allows it to maintain that Confirmation signifies Admission to the Lord's Supper, as well as being the Completion of Baptism, and the rite wherein the candidates are inwardly strengthened through the outward imposition of hands and the invocation of the gifts of the Holy Spirit upon them.

The writer has attempted to set forth the Scriptural and patristic evidence, scant though it be, for this significance which Confirmation has in the Church of Scotland; and, where such is lacking to indicate the extent to which this Presbyterian Church is being true to Biblical principles and the Fathers by so interpreting this rite.

From this examination of the Biblical and patristic evidence for the significance of Confirmation according to the teaching of the Book of Common Order, the writer wishes to turn to a consideration of the Service itself. The "Order for the Confirmation of Baptised Persons and for their

Admission to the Lord's Supper" has the following elements:<sup>1</sup>

- i) Explanatory Statement;
- ii) Confession of faith;
- iii) Promise to follow Christ and Serve his Church;
- iv) Prayer for the candidates;
- v) Act of Confirmation and Blessing;<sup>2</sup>
- vi) Declaration of Admission to the Lord's Supper;
- vii) Prayers of Thanksgiving and Intercession;
- viii) The Lord's Prayer;
- ix) Praise selection;
- x) Benediction.

The point must be stressed that, in the primitive Church, the Sacrament of Baptism would almost certainly have included, in embryo at least, most (if not all) of these parts now found in the rite of Confirmation; this shift occurs after the latter becomes, for children baptized as infants, a separate and later ceremony. Inasmuch as there is only indirect evidence for infant Baptism until the beginning of the third century, it is impossible to find Biblical and early patristic examples of these various elements in services of Confirmation for those

---

<sup>1</sup>After the Lord's Prayer, or following the Benediction, there is an optional extending of the right hand of welcome by the Minister, together with representatives of the Kirk-Session; the writer does not discuss this act because it is optional; and also, even if performed, it may not form part of the actual Service; furthermore, it is only symbolic of the "Declaration of Admission to the Lord's Supper" which he does consider. In addition, just before the Praise Selection the Minister may address the newly-received communicants; but the writer believes that even if he does so, the similarity between his exhortation and a Sermon is strong enough to make a separate treatment of this element unnecessary here (cf. above pp.205-13 where the writer discusses the legitimate place which the Sermon has in public worship.)

<sup>2</sup>In addition to the one given, the Order makes optional provision for the Aaronic Benediction to come after the "Declaration of Admission to the Lord's Supper".

baptized in infancy. In the period under consideration, Hippolytus is the only Father who furnishes direct support for the post-baptismal Confirmation of infants, although Tertullian may also be summoned as an indirect witness.

But even if infants are included in the rite of Confirmation as described by Tertullian (On Baptism 6-8), it appears that the worship proceeds in an uninterrupted manner from Baptism to Confirmation. Also in Hippolytus (Apostolic Tradition 21-2) no indication is given that, for any infants who are baptized, there is a significant intervening time between their Baptism and Confirmation; it is difficult to see how his prescribed Confirmation including Unction could be administered to small children; there is no difficulty in having the bishop lay his hands upon them with prayer, or anointing them with oil and signing them on the forehead saying "The Lord be with thee"; however, if the small children cannot speak for themselves at Baptism, they certainly could not respond in the Confirmation "and with thy Spirit", and immediately thereafter "join in prayer with all the people". In view of the lengthy period of preparation for Baptism and Confirmation - 3 years - the writer is inclined to suspect that at that time in the case of those baptized in infancy the rite of Confirmation is delayed (as it is today) until they are better able to be aware of and understand what is taking place; although there is no documentary evidence to this effect, it does not seem to be an unreasonable conjecture.

Now, however, attention must be focused upon the warrants for the different elements in the Church of Scotland's Confirmation Order. The writer has already dealt with the legitimate place which the singing

of praises<sup>1</sup> and the Benediction<sup>2</sup> have in public worship and will not give them additional treatment here; also, he has discussed the place of a Confession of faith<sup>3</sup> and the Lord's Prayer<sup>4</sup> in services of worship. In view of the writer's belief that for adults, Baptism and Confirmation coincide, it may reasonably be argued that the evidence given for having a Creed in baptismal Orders<sup>5</sup> may also be taken as providing a warrant for having a Confession of faith in services of Confirmation, if the baptizands are adult; the lack of explicit and recorded instances of the Baptism of infants until the beginning of the third century makes it impossible to find Biblical and early patristic examples of a Creed being recited at Confirmation by those who had been baptized in infancy. The uninterrupted nature of the rites of Initiation - Baptism followed by Confirmation - in both Tertullian and Hippolytus means that even if infants are included, the Confession of faith for Baptism is not made again in the subsequent Confirmation.

The "white stone" mentioned by Hippolytus in his Apostolic Tradition (23) and which is to be kept from unbelievers "until they are baptized" may be an illusion to the Lord's Prayer;<sup>6</sup> Easton comments that this Prayer "was first uttered by Christians immediately after their

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. above pp. 80-132.

<sup>2</sup>cf. above pp. 226-31.

<sup>3</sup>cf. above pp. 135-59.

<sup>4</sup>cf. above pp. 195-9.

<sup>5</sup>cf. above pp. 294-5.

<sup>6</sup>cf. above p. 199.

Baptism".<sup>1</sup> But in the case of infants such repetition would be impossible and so for them Hippolytus is here furnishing indirect support for the post-baptismal repeating of the Lord's Prayer, for which utterance the Confirmation Order of the Church of Scotland also makes provision.

Evidence for the remaining parts of this service is very scanty but the writer will give what may be gleaned from the sources.

a) Explanatory Statement

Hippolytus instructs that there is to be a three-year period of instruction for catechumens (Apostolic Tradition 17); in addition they are to spend the entire night just prior to their Baptism "listening to reading and instruction" (ibid. 20). Such references imply that those who are to be baptized and thereafter confirmed have been taught the significance of these steps which they are about to take; the fact that the Confirmation follows so closely upon the Baptism implies that no further explanations are required just prior to this second rite.

b) Promise to follow Christ and Serve his Church

Such promises are found, either explicitly or implicitly, throughout Biblical and patristic literature in connection with Baptism.<sup>2</sup> Although there are indirect and direct references in Tertullian and Hippolytus to the subsequent rite of Confirmation - even for those baptized in infancy - the second ceremony comes immediately after the first; this close conjunction of the two acts, with these promises before the Baptism but not the Confirmation, suggests that it is considered

<sup>1</sup>B.S. Easton, The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus, p. 96.

<sup>2</sup>cf. above 269-84; 294-5; 297.

unnecessary and perhaps superfluous to have the candidates repeat the pledges (which they had just made for Baptism) prior to the laying on of hands. But when Confirmation becomes detached completely as a separate rite in which those baptized as infants appropriate for themselves the benefit of Baptism, and accept the responsibilities of full Church membership, this element in the Confirmation service is most necessary; the Church of Scotland does not err in having Confirmands themselves promise to follow Christ and serve his Church.

c) Prayer for the Candidate

In the Book of Common Order the minister prays that God will "strengthen" the candidates "with the Holy Spirit". In their descriptions of Confirmation neither Tertullian nor Hippolytus has such a prayer just before the act of Confirmation; however, the anointing for which both make provision at this point (On Baptism 7; Apostolic Tradition 21) may imply the same; Easton notes that one interpretation of this anointing is that "it may have been thought to convey the gift of the Spirit, as in I Samuel 16:13";<sup>1</sup> furthermore, as the writer shows in the next section (d), Tertullian and Hippolytus both include a prayer of this kind - (for the grace of the Holy Spirit to come upon the confirmands) - during the actual imposition of hands.

d) Act of Confirmation and Blessing

After mentioning the unction, Tertullian states quite simply: "In the next place the hand is laid on us, invoking and inviting the Holy Spirit through [the words of] benediction" (On Baptism, 8). Hippolytus goes into a little more detail:

---

<sup>1</sup>B.S. Easton, The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus, p. 90.

Then the bishop, laying his hand upon them, shall pray, saying:

O Lord God, who hast made them worthy to obtain remission of sins through the laver of regeneration of [the] Holy Spirit, send into them thy grace, that they may serve thee according to thy will; for thine is the glory, to the Father and the Son, and [the] Holy Spirit in the holy church, both now and world without end. Amen.

Then, pouring the oil of thanksgiving from his hand and putting it on his forehead, he shall say:

I anoint thee with holy oil in the Lord, the Father Almighty and Christ Jesus and [the] Holy Ghost.

And signing them on the forehead he shall say:

The Lord be with thee;

And he who is signed shall say:

And with thy Spirit.

And so shall he do to each one (Apostolic Tradition 22).

If this post-Confirmation anointing and signing are interpreted as a form of Blessing,<sup>1</sup> as it in one sense is, then both Tertullian and Hippolytus provide warrants for the two parts of this element in the Confirmation Order of the Church of Scotland - the act of Confirmation (with the minister raising his hands in blessing over the candidates or laying his hand on them) followed by a Blessing.

e) Declaration of Admission to the Lord's Supper

In the one passage where Tertullian explicitly describes the post-baptismal imposition of hands (On Baptism 8), he does not go on to mention that the confirmands are thus admitted to the Lord's Table; but this declaration is implied in his other indirect references to Confirmation which the writer has already<sup>2</sup> considered - On the Soldier's Chaplet 3;

<sup>1</sup>cf. B.S. Easton, ibid., p. 91 who refers to this "blessing" in Hippolytus.

<sup>2</sup>cf. above pp. 330-1.

On Prescription Against Heretics 36; On the Resurrection of the Flesh 8;  
and Against Marcion I.14.

Hippolytus indicates that those who are confirmed partake of the Lord's Supper almost at once. After their signing they join in prayer with the faithful concluded by the kiss of peace; his description continues:

And then the offering is immediately brought by the deacons to the bishop, and by thanksgiving he shall make the bread into an image of the body of Christ, and the cup of wine mixed with water according to the likeness of the blood, which is shed for all who believe in him (Apostolic Tradition 23).

Thus while neither Tertullian nor Hippolytus states that this declaration of admission to the Lord's Supper is actually given, their indirect and direct accounts of Confirmation suggest very clearly that this message is conveyed verbally or otherwise to the confirmands.

f) Prayers of Thanksgiving and Intercession

In the Confirmation Order, immediately after the declaration of admission to the Lord's Table,<sup>1</sup> the minister gives thanks to God for the candidates and the Church into which they have just been received into full communion; also, he asks that God will receive them as they dedicate themselves to him, and that he will defend them throughout their lives with his grace of which they partake particularly in the Lord's Supper.

The writer has already<sup>2</sup> considered the legitimate place which prayers of Thanksgiving and Intercession have in public worship; however,

<sup>1</sup>Or the optional Aaronic Benediction.

<sup>2</sup>cf. above pp. 176-94.

in relation to Confirmation it may be noted that both Tertullian and Hippolytus make provision for prayer to accompany and follow the imposition of hands. Tertullian instructs that when the candidates post-baptismally "spread your hands"<sup>1</sup> for the first time in the house of your mother,<sup>2</sup> together with your brethren, ask from the Father, ask from the Lord, that His own specialities of grace [and] distributions of gifts may be supplied you" (On Baptism, 20). Although this suggested content for prayer is really petitionary, the thought is very similar to that of the Intercession found in the Confirmation service in the Book of Common Order.

In the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus (22), accompanying the act of Confirmation, is the bishop's intercession that God will "send into them [the candidates] thy grace, that they may serve thee according to thy will"; also, the words used to describe the oil for the unction immediately following this prayer - "the oil of thanksgiving" - preserve the note of thanksgiving subsequent to the imposition of hands; furthermore, although its nature is not disclosed, Hippolytus indicates that those confirmed "join in prayer with all the people", immediately following their unction, signing and salutation.

Thus it may be observed that these passages support the current practice of the Church of Scotland in having prayers of Thanksgiving and Intercession following the imposition or raising of hands in Confirmation.

---

<sup>1</sup>i.e. in prayer.

<sup>2</sup>i.e. in Church.

The writer would draw this discussion of Confirmation to a close by admitting that there is not a great deal of Scriptural and patristic evidence for the significance and execution of Confirmation according to the Book of Common Order; the main reason for this lack of early warrants is bound up with the fact that it is not until the fourth century that the pattern of Church Initiation - the Baptism of infants, followed by their Confirmation after they have reached "years of responsibility" - which is presently almost universally observed in the Western Church, becomes widespread; the beginnings of the movement towards this format are observable (as the writer has shown) in Tertullian and Hippolytus.

Therefore, although this early evidence is sparse, the writer would nevertheless conclude that the emergence of these ideas and practices is inevitable and essential, and that the Church of Scotland is being true to sound Biblical and patristic principles in the "Order for the Confirmation of Baptised Persons and for their Admission to the Lord's Supper".

## CHAPTER VII

### SACRAMENTS AND ORDINANCES

#### C) THE LORD'S SUPPER

The Book of Common Order makes very adequate provision for the celebration of the Lord's Supper; it contains five separate Orders,<sup>1</sup> including three abbreviated ones which may be used for a second Service or Table, or when circumstances make it desirable to use a shortened form. In this chapter the writer will cite and consider in detail the "Order for the Celebration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion";<sup>2</sup> he does so, however, with the conviction that the other Communion Services in the Book of Common Order contain nothing important which this Order omits. The writer is fully aware of the many critical and theological problems in connection with the Lord's Supper into which he cannot enter in this discussion; rather, he must limit himself to the suggested procedure.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Book of Common Order, pp. 111-48

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 111-23.

<sup>3</sup>cf. above p. 232. The writer would refer anyone who wishes further enlightenment on this Sacrament to the general works of a comprehensive nature already cited in connection with Baptism and Confirmation, plus the following studies and their bibliographies, and any additional ones mentioned in the footnotes: A.V.G. Allen, Christian Institutions; A. Barclay, The Protestant Doctrine of the Lord's Supper; W. Barclay, The Lord's Supper; O. Cullmann and F.J. Leenhardt, Essays on the Lord's Supper, trans. J.G. Davies; J.G. Coold, First Communion: A Book of Preparation; Outline and Brief Explanation of the Order for the Celebration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion as set forth in the Book of Common Order; A.J.B. Higgins, The Lord's Supper in the New Testament; J. Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, Revised, trans. H. Perrin; H. Lietzmann, Mass and Lord's Supper, trans. D.H.G. Reeve; G.H.C. Macgregor, Eucharistic Origins; H. Martin, ed., The Holy Communion: A Symposium; O.C. Quick, The Christian Sacraments; D. Stone, History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, 2 vols.; J.H. Srawley and H. Watt, "Eucharist", ERE, V, pp. 540-70; M. Thurian, The Eucharistic Memorial, Part 2, The New Testament, trans. J.G. Davies; J.J. von Allmen. The Lord's Supper, trans. W.F. Fleet.

The Communion Order begins with the minister's words to the congregation: "Let us worship God", followed by a Psalm or Hymn; then comes a Call to Prayer and Prayers of Approach, Confession and Pardon, and Supplication; thereafter a Canticle, Psalm, or Hymn is sung, followed by the Old Testament and New Testament (Epistle and Gospel) Lessons, with a Psalm, (sung or read) coming between the readings; after the Gospel the Nicene Creed may be said, after which come Prayers of Intercession; then a Psalm or Hymn is sung and the Banns of Marriage proclaimed and Intimations made; next the Prayer for Illumination is offered and the Sermon preached, ending with an Ascription. As the Offerings are being taken, the minister goes to the Holy Table; he gives this invitation:

Beloved in the Lord, draw near to the Holy Table, and hear the gracious words of the Lord Jesus Christ:

Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take My yoke upon you, and learn of Me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls.<sup>1</sup>

I am the bread of life: he that cometh to Me shall never hunger: and he that believeth on Me shall never thirst. . . . Him that cometh to Me I will in no wise cast out.<sup>2</sup>

Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.<sup>3</sup>

Then shall be sung a suitable Praise Selection such as Psalm 24:7-10, Paraphrase 35, or Hymn 320; during which the elements are brought and placed on the Holy Table; thereafter the minister shall unveil the bread and wine and may offer these prayers:

<sup>1</sup>Matt. 11:28-9 (KJV).

<sup>2</sup>John 6:35,37 (KJV).

<sup>3</sup>Matt. 5:6 (KJV).

O God, who by the blood of Thy dear Son hast consecrated for us a new and living way into the holiest of all; grant unto us, we beseech Thee, the assurance of Thy mercy, and sanctify us by Thy heavenly grace; that we, approaching Thee with pure heart and cleansed conscience, may offer unto Thee a sacrifice in righteousness; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Almighty and most merciful Father, we offer unto Thee this bread and this cup; for all things come of Thee, and of Thine own do we give Thee. Blessed be Thy holy name for ever; through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with Thee and the Holy Spirit, be all glory, world without end. Amen.

The minister continues:

The Grace of the Lord Jesus Christ Be With You All.

Beloved in the Lord, attend to the words of the institution of the Holy Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ, as they are delivered by Saint Paul.

I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus, the same night in which He was betrayed, took bread: And when He had given thanks, He brake it, and said, Take, eat: this is My body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of Me. After the same manner also He took the cup, when He had supped, saying, This cup is the new testament in My blood: this do ye as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till He come.<sup>1</sup>

Therefore, that we may fulfil His institution in righteousness and joy, let us follow His blessed example in word and action: In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit:

As the Lord Jesus, the same night in which He was betrayed, took bread, I take these elements of bread and wine to be set apart from all common uses to this holy use and mystery; and as He gave thanks and blessed, let us draw nigh to God, and present unto Him our prayers and thanksgivings.

The Lord be with you;  
And with thy spirit.

Lift up your hearts;  
We lift them up unto the Lord.

Let us give thanks unto our Lord God;  
It is meet and right so to do.

It is verily meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times and in all places give thanks unto Thee, O Holy Lord,

---

<sup>1</sup>I Corinthians 11:23-6 (KJV).

Father Almighty, Everlasting God; who didst create the heavens and the earth and all that is therein; who didst make man in Thine own image and whose tender mercies are over all Thy works.<sup>1</sup>

Thee, mighty God, heavenly King, we magnify and praise. With angels and archangels and with all the company of heaven, we worship and adore Thy glorious name; evermore praising Thee, and saying:

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts,  
Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory:  
Glory be to Thee, O Lord Most High.

Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord:  
Hosanna in the highest.

Verily holy, verily blessed, art Thou, Almighty and Merciful God, who didst so love the world that Thou gavest Thine only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting life.

Not as we ought, but as we are able, do we bless Thee for His holy incarnation, for His perfect life on earth, for His precious sufferings and death upon the Cross, for His glorious resurrection and ascension, for His continual intercession and rule at Thy right hand, for the promise of His coming again, and for His gift of the Holy Spirit.

Wherefore, having in remembrance the work and passion of our Saviour Christ, and pleading His eternal sacrifice, we Thy servants do set forth this memorial, which He hath commanded us to make; and we most humbly beseech Thee to send down Thy Holy Spirit to sanctify both us and these Thine own gifts of bread and wine which we set before Thee, that the bread which we break may be the Communion of the body of Christ, and the cup of blessing which we bless the Communion of the blood of Christ; that we, receiving them, may by faith be made partakers of His body and blood, with all His benefits, to our spiritual nourishment and growth in grace, and to the glory of Thy most holy name.

And here we offer and present unto Thee ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice; and we beseech Thee mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, as, in fellowship with all the faithful in heaven and on earth, we pray Thee to fulfil in us, and in all men, the purpose of Thy redeeming love; through Jesus Christ our Lord, by whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, all honour and glory be unto Thee, O Father Almighty, world without end.  
Amen.

And now, as our Saviour Christ hath taught us, we humbly pray, saying:

Our Father . . .

Then the minister says:

According to the holy institution, example, and command of our Lord Jesus Christ, and for a memorial of Him, we do this: who, the same night in which He was betrayed, took bread

(here the Minister shall take the bread into his hands),

and when He had blessed, and given thanks, He brake it

(here he shall break the bread),

and said,

Take, Eat; This is My Body, Which is Broken for you: This Do in Remembrance of Me.

After the same manner also He took the Cup

(here he shall raise the cup),

saying:

This Cup is the New Covenant in My Blood: This Do Ye, As oft as Ye Drink it, in Remembrance of Me.

Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.

Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.

Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, grant us Thy peace.

Then the minister partakes of both elements after which they are distributed to all. As he gives the bread and the cup respectively he says:

Take ye, eat ye; this is the body of Christ which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of Him.

This cup is the new covenant in the blood of Christ, which is shed for many unto remission of sins: drink ye all of it.

After all have received, the elements are replaced on the Holy Table and covered; then the minister says:

The Peace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with you all.

The minister then leads the people in Prayers of Thanksgiving, followed

by a Praise Selection; the Benediction brings the service to a close, but the elements may be removed to the singing of Nunc dimittis (Hymn 716) or Paraphrase 38:8,10,11.

From this part of the Communion Order which the writer has cited, it may be gathered that, in the Church of Scotland, the Lord's Supper has a three-fold reference - Past, Present and Future:

A) Past: The reference to the past is brought out by Christ's words for each element "This do in remembrance of Me"; also, the Prayer of Consecration has an anamnesis,<sup>1</sup> followed by "Therefore, having in remembrance the work and passion of our Saviour Christ, and pleading His eternal sacrifice, we Thy servants do set forth this memorial, which He hath commanded us to make". Furthermore, the minister introduces the actual partaking by saying: "According to the holy institution, example, and command of our Lord Jesus Christ, and for a memorial of Him, we do this". The reference to the past occurs also in one of the alternate post-communion Thanksgivings where God is praised for his goodness "in permitting us to shew the death of our Redeemer"; this Prayer goes on to ask God "to enable us to live . . . unto Him who died for us and rose again", and makes the request "that the offering of Thy only begotten Son, made once for all upon the Cross, may be accepted on our behalf, in expiation for all our sins".

B) Present: The Lord's Supper's reference to the present is brought out by the pervading note of Thanksgiving for the present bene-

---

<sup>1</sup>This word which means literally memorial or remembrance, has become a technical liturgical word to signify the recalling to memory of Christ's life, death, resurrection, ascension, and the hope of his glorious return.

fits of Christ's past sacrifice. Furthermore, the sense of the present is conveyed by the Real Presence; this latter is suggested by having the elements symbolize Christ's Body and Blood; the minister prays that the bread and wine may be the Communion of the body and blood of Christ "that we, receiving them, may by faith be made partakers of His body and blood, with all His benefits, to our spiritual nourishment and growth in grace". The idea that the Lord's Supper provides food and drink for the souls of those who partake is brought out by the Prayer of Thanksgiving which follows the distribution of the elements: "Almighty and ever-living God, we most heartily thank Thee that in Thy great love Thou dost vouchsafe to feed us at Thy Table with this spiritual food". Similarly one of the alternative prayers thanks God that worshippers are permitted "to receive through His [Christ's] blessed Sacrament the Communion of His body and His blood".

Christ is truly present to the faith of the recipient, who enters into communion or fellowship with Him; the manner in which this presence is real constitutes a "mystery", and this word is given as one of the purposes for which the elements are set apart: "I take these elements of bread and wine to be set apart from all common uses to this holy use and mystery". Also one sentence in the opening prayer of the Communion Order begins: "Eternal God, our heavenly Father, who admittest Thy people into such wonderful communion that, partaking by a divine mystery of the body and blood of Thy dear Son, they should dwell in Him, and He in them . . .".

Besides this communion of the worshippers with Christ, there is also their fellowship with one another and with the whole Church militant and triumphant; the reference to the Church in heaven is as much future as it is present, but this aspect of the communion of believers with each

other is basic to the Lord's Supper. In the Intercessions the minister prays to God: "we Thy children, gathered at Thy Holy Table, remember before Thee all with whom we have part in the communion of Thy saints". In addition the Prayers of Thanksgiving and Consecration have the reminder that this worship is performed "in fellowship with all the faithful in heaven and on earth". The post-communion Thanksgiving, praises God for the assurance that those who partake "are very members incorporate in the mystical body of Thy Son, the blessed company of all faithful people"; it proceeds to suggest that this prayer is offered "rejoicing in the communion of saints".

C) Future: The Lord's Supper also looks forward into the future. This note is conveyed by Paul's comment with the Words of Institution: "For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till He come". In the Prayers of Thanksgiving and Consecration, the minister blesses God "for the promise of His [Christ's] coming again". At the remembrance of the faithful departed, the minister prays to God: "Bring us into communion with them here in Thy holy presence; and enable us so to follow them in all godly living, that hereafter we may with them behold Thy face in glory, and in the heavenly places be one with them for ever". In the previous section (B) the writer cited the passage in the Communion Order which reminds the worshippers that their devotion is "in fellowship with all the faithful in heaven" as well as "on earth". The Prayer which follows the partaking thanks God that through this Sacrament its recipients are part of "the blessed company of all faithful people, and are also heirs through hope of Thy everlasting kingdom", and requests "that we may continue in this holy

fellowship".

This future or eschatological reference in the Communion Order looks forward to Christ's return at which time his Kingdom, in which all the faithful share, will be established. But also it preserves the idea that the present fellowship between the members of the Church militant and the Church triumphant will continue throughout eternity.

This three-fold interpretation of the Lord's Supper - Past, Present, and Future - is brought out clearly by one of the alternate post-communion Prayers: "Heavenly Father, we give Thee thanks and praise that upon us, who are unworthy, Thou dost confer so rich a benefit as to bring us into the fellowship of Thy Son Jesus Christ: whom Thou didst deliver up unto death, and dost give for the nourishment of our souls unto life eternal". Also these three aspects of the Eucharist are suggested by the pamphlet of the Church of Scotland entitled Outline and Brief Explanation of the Order for the Celebration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion. This statement was produced "in accordance with an instruction of the General Assembly";<sup>1</sup> it was issued in 1947 with frequent and current reprintings by the Committee on Public Worship and Aids to Devotion. According to this publication, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper

was instituted by our Lord Himself, and therefore is the central and supreme act of Christian worship.

It comprises: Commemoration of the atoning death on the Cross of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who rose again on the third day; Thanksgiving for all His ineffable benefits; Communion with Him

---

<sup>1</sup>Outline and Brief Explanation of the Order for the Celebration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion, p. 2; cf. Reports to the General Assembly, 1944, pp. 438-9.

our risen, living, present Lord; and Fellowship with His people in this highest act of their Faith.<sup>1</sup>

Although the references to the Past and to the Present are explicitly clear in this statement, the Future one is there by implication; this fact may be made clearer by citing from another Church of Scotland publication: First Communion: A Book of Preparation<sup>2</sup> by J.G. Goold; he observes that the note of Communion in the Lord's Supper signifies three things:

1. Communion with the Lord Jesus Christ.
2. Communion of the members of the Church with one another.
3. A pledge of the perfected communion of heaven.<sup>3</sup>

Similarly, the "Alternative Order for the Celebration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion" in the Book of Common Order has the minister say:

Dearly beloved, it is meet that we remember that this Sacrament is a memorial of the sacrifice of Christ for the sins of men, a means of grace to those who believe in Him, and a bond and pledge of their union with Him, and with each other as members of His mystical body.<sup>4</sup>

These words seem almost to echo the Westminster Confession, which since 1647 has remained the subordinate standard of the Church of Scotland; its chapter Of the Lord's Supper states:

Our Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed instituted the sacrament of his body and blood, called the Lord's Supper, to be observed in his church unto the end of the world, for the perpetual remembrance of the sacrifice of himself in his death, the sealing all benefits thereof unto true believers, their spiritual nourishment and growth in him, their further engagement in and to all duties which they owe unto him, and to be

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>2</sup>Reprinted in 1968.

<sup>3</sup>J.G. Goold, First Communion: A Book of Preparation, pp. 16-9.

<sup>4</sup>Book of Common Order, p. 138.

a bond and pledge of their communion with him, and with each other, as members of his mystical body.<sup>1</sup>

The extent to which the Biblical and patristic evidence supports this three-fold understanding of the Lord's Supper in terms of past commemoration, present communion and future anticipation, must be examined. However, before considering that matter the writer wishes to discuss two questions relating to the Lord's Supper:

- i) What was the original meal?
- ii) Do the words of I Corinthians 11:23-6 provide a valid warrant? Are they legitimate Words of Institution?

- i) What was the original meal?

In his discussion of the Christian Year, the writer post-poned till this chapter his treatment of the relationship between the Passover Meal and the Last Supper.<sup>2</sup>

The Synoptic Gospels set forth the Lord's Supper as a Passover Meal; in spite of some ambiguity in wording<sup>3</sup> their evidence is, on the whole, clear. W. Barclay gives a succinct summary of the narrative of the Synoptic Gospels:

The disciples ask where Jesus intends the Passover preparations to be made. Two of them, named in Luke as Peter and John, are sent on ahead to make the preparations. Clearly, arrangements have been made. They are told that they will see a man carrying a jar of water, and that they are to follow him. To fetch water from the well was distinctively a woman's duty, and any man

<sup>1</sup> Of the Lord's Supper , XXIX, The Confession of Faith, p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> cf. above pp. 35, n.5; 40.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. In Luke 22:15 Jesus says: "I have earnestly desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer"; his meaning may be that his wish has been granted or that it is not to be fulfilled; either interpretation could be correctly taken from his words.

carrying a jar of water would stand out as a very unusual sight. This is certainly a prearranged signal and code. They are to follow this man. They are to say to the householder of the house into which he goes that the Teacher is asking for the guest room where he is to eat the Passover with his disciples. They will be shown a large upper room ready for them. This they do, and find everything exactly as Jesus had said. There they prepare the Passover, and then the next section of the narrative goes on to say that in the evening Jesus came with the Twelve, and the meal proceeds.<sup>1</sup>

Although the Synoptic writers agree that the Lord's Supper is a Passover, a problem arises by their references to the Feast of Unleavened Bread. Matthew begins his narrative: "Now on the first day of Unleavened Bread . . ." (Matt. 26:17); Mark has "And on the first day of Unleavened Bread when they sacrificed the passover lamb" (Mark 14:12); Luke 22:7 reads: "Then came the day of Unleavened Bread, on which the Passover lamb had to be sacrificed". According to the official Jewish regulations in Leviticus 23:5-6<sup>2</sup> and Numbers 28:16-7,<sup>3</sup> the Feast of Unleavened Bread, which lasts seven days, begins on the day after the Passover.

A further complication in this matter of dating is the fact that in New Testament times the Jewish day begins at 6 p.m. on the previous day. What is now called Friday begins for the Jew at 6 p.m. on Thursday.

In addition, it must be remembered that the Passover Lamb was killed at a ceremony beginning at noon of the day during the evening of which from 6 p.m. to midnight the Passover was kept. W. Barclay

<sup>1</sup>cf. Mark 14:12-7; Matt. 26:17-20; Luke 22:7-14; W. Barclay, The Lord's Supper, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup>This passage reads: "In the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month in the evening, is the Lord's Passover. And on the fifteenth day of the same month is the feast of unleavened bread to the Lord; seven days you shall eat unleavened bread".

<sup>3</sup>These verses state: "On the fourteenth day of the first month is the Lord's Passover. And on the fifteenth day of this month is a feast; seven days shall unleavened bread be eaten".

tabulates this information in the following sequence:

1. Thursday afternoon: the sacrificing of the lambs.
2. Thursday evening (for the Jew, Friday) between 6 p.m. and midnight: the Passover meal.
3. Friday morning: the Festival of Unleavened Bread begins and lasts for the next week.<sup>1</sup>

With respect to this time-table, the contradiction in the Synoptics is very evident; Mark writes that the passover lamb was sacrificed on the first day of Unleavened Bread, and Matthew and Luke mention respectively the first day and the day of Unleavened Bread; the problem is that the day when the passover lamb was sacrificed was not the first day of the Unleavened Bread; the lamb was sacrificed on the Thursday afternoon and the Festival of Unleavened Bread did not begin until the Friday morning following the Passover.

W. Barclay suggests two possible explanations of this difficulty:

There could be a simple mistranslation of an Aramaic phrase, and it could be that what it should mean is: "On the day before the Feast of Unleavened Bread, on which the Passover lamb had to be sacrificed." Even more likely, there is simply a looseness of dating. Part of the Passover ritual was that on the Thursday morning there was throughout every house a ceremonial search for leaven. By midday every particle of leaven had to be cleared out of the house, and by 6 p.m. on the evening of the day no leaven could be used for any purpose or for any food. . . . It would therefore be entirely natural to speak of the day when the leaven was totally banished from the house as the first day of Unleavened Bread, although technically that festival did not begin until the day after.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, in spite of some slight difficulties, the Synoptic narratives indicate that the Last Supper is a Passover meal. On the other hand, John's Gospel places the trial and crucifixion of Jesus before the Passover. The Jewish leaders will not enter Pilate's praetorium "so that

<sup>1</sup>W. Barclay, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup>W. Barclay, *op. cit.*, p. 19; the writer has already noted (cf. above p. 36) the view that by New Testament times the terms "Unleavened Bread" and "Passover" were used interchangeably, but Barclay's explanations appear more plausible.

they might not be defiled, but might eat twice suggests that the last events of Christ's earthly life take place on the day of Preparation for the Passover. When Pilate takes his judgment seat, it is written: "Now it was the day of Preparation for the Passover" (John 19:14); the Jews ask Pilate to hasten the death of those crucified by breaking their legs, because "it was the day of Preparation" (John 19:31).

It is seen, therefore, that John's Gospel has Jesus' trial and death precede the Passover, so that the Last Supper could not have been a Passover meal as it is in the Synoptics.

Some decision, as to whether the Synoptic Gospels or the Fourth Gospel is historically accurate, is necessary. But before marshalling the evidence for and against the view that the Last Supper is a Passover Feast, it must be noted that some scholars hold that no such choice between the Synoptics and John is required.

The most radical of these views is that the Last Supper is not an historical event;<sup>1</sup> it is argued that Christianity took over its common meal from the Greek Mystery cults, and fabricated this story to give it a suitable origin. The obvious objection to this theory is that the primitive Church observes the common meal from the very beginning.<sup>2</sup>

Another way of avoiding this choice is to suggest that both are right; such has been done in various ways:<sup>3</sup>

a) D. Chwolson<sup>4</sup> (followed by J. Klausner,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>cf. W. Heitmüller, Taufe und Abendmahl bei Paulus; J.H. Srawley, op. cit., p. 544; W. Barclay, op. cit., p. 25.

<sup>2</sup>cf. e.g. Acts 2:42.

<sup>3</sup>cf. the full discussion in J. Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, Revised, pp. 20-6, which the writer here summarizes.

<sup>4</sup>D. Chwolson, Das letzte Passamahl Christi und der Tag seines Todes.

<sup>5</sup>J. Klausner, Jesus of Nazareth, trans. H. Danby, pp. 326-8.

I. Zolli,<sup>1</sup> and essentially M.-J. Lagrange<sup>2</sup>) argues that in the year of Jesus' death the Passover occurs on a Sabbath, so that the lambs are slaughtered one day earlier i.e. at dusk Nisan 13/14; the Pharisees and their supporters - including Jesus and his disciples - celebrate the Passover feast immediately after the slaying of the lambs (Nisan 13/14), while the Sadducees observe it at the usual time (Nisan 14/15); according to this reasoning both the Synoptics and John are right; the former describe the Pharisaic celebration, while the latter in suggesting that the passover meal is still to come, is referring to the Sadducean one.

b) J. Lichtenstein,<sup>3</sup> H.L. Strack,<sup>4</sup> and P. Billerbeck<sup>5</sup> maintain that in the year of Jesus' crucifixion there is an unresolved dispute between the Pharisees and the Sadducees about the actual date for the beginning of the month of Nisan - with the former having it commence one day earlier than the latter; according to this theory, the two groups make an exceptional compromise by having two consecutive days for the passover slaughter and the passover meal; it is argued that the Pharisees along with Jesus and his disciples observe both the slaying and the meal one day before the Sadducees; thus, as in the previous view, it is possible to have the Synoptics record the Pharisaic ceremony, while John follows the Sadducean dating.

<sup>1</sup>I. Zolli, Il Nazareno, pp. 207-9.

<sup>2</sup>M.-J. Lagrange, L'Évangile de Jésus-Christ, pp. 495-7; the only alteration which he makes in this theory is to substitute the Galileans for the Sadducees.

<sup>3</sup>J. Lichtenstein, Commentary on St. Matthew (in Hebrew), p. 122 ff.; N.N., Aus J. Lichtenstein's hebraischem Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, Schriften des Institutum Judaicum zu Leipzig XLIII, 1895, pp. 24-9.

<sup>4</sup>H.L. Strack, P<sup>e</sup>sachim, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup>H.L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch, II, pp. 847-53.

c) J. Pickl<sup>1</sup> has a simpler solution; he believes that the great number of passover participants make it a practical impossibility for all of them to have their lambs slaughtered on Nisan 14 and then observe the Passover feast; therefore, he suggests that the custom arose of having the Galileans slaughter their lambs on Nisan 13 and the Judeans theirs on the following day; thus the two accounts in the Synoptics and John are explained.

d) A. Jaubert<sup>2</sup> attributes the discrepancy to the following of two calendars; she argues that the Synoptic writers assume that the Passover is dated according to the solar calendar mentioned in the book of Jubilees and the Qumran texts, whereas John follows the official lunar calendar which in that year places the Passover feast in the evening immediately after Jesus' crucifixion.

It must be agreed that all of these theories are ingenious, and represent serious attempts to come to grips with this perplexing problem; but also they are very conjectural and sounder and stronger evidence is required before any one of them can be reliably accepted. Therefore, the question still remains: "Was the Last Supper a Passover meal, as recorded in the Synoptics, or was it something else, as indicated by John's Gospel?"

J. Jeremias<sup>3</sup> gives a full treatment of the reasons for and

<sup>1</sup>J. Pickl, Messiaskönig Jesus, pp. 247-8.

<sup>2</sup>A. Jaubert, La Date de la Cène. Calendrier biblique et Liturgie chrétienne; cf. \_\_\_\_\_, "Jésus et le Calendrier de Qumrân," NTS, VII, 1960-1, pp. 1-30.

<sup>3</sup>J. Jeremias, op. cit., pp. 41-84; cf. W. Barclay, op. cit., pp. 26-30; V. Taylor, The Gospel according to St. Mark, pp. 664-7; A.J.B. Higgins, op. cit., pp. 13-21.

against accepting the Last Supper as a Passover feast, and the writer wishes now to summarize his evidence; Jeremias believes that the following points show that Jesus' final meal with his disciples was a Passover.

1. The Last Supper takes place in Jerusalem (Mark 14:13 and parallels; 14:26 and parallels; John 18:1). Although Jesus normally leaves Jerusalem to spend the night in Bethany or the Mount of Olives (Mark 11:11 and parallels; 11:19; 14:3 and parallels; Luke 21:37; 22:39), he remains in the overcrowded city for the Last Supper; Jeremias suggests that Jesus does so because "it was laid down<sup>1</sup> that the passover lamb, which belonged to the category of sacred things of the lower grade, must be eaten within the gates of Jerusalem".<sup>2</sup>

2. According to Mark 14:13-5 and parallels the room for the meal appears to have been made available to Jesus and the disciples without any ado; this fact may well be connected with the passover custom whereby rooms were made available in Jerusalem to pilgrims without financial reward because that city was considered a national possession.<sup>3</sup>

3. According to I Corinthians 11:23 and John 13:30 the Last Supper is held at night; Mark 14:17 and Matthew 26:20 indicate that the meal begins "when it was evening". Normally the main meal was eaten in the afternoon but the Passover had to be eaten between 6 p.m. and midnight;<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>cf. Zeb. 5:8; Siphre Num. 69 on 8:10; Num. R. 7:8 on 5:2; Pes. 7:9; Makk. 3:3; Kel. 1:8; Tos. Sanh. 3:4; Midr. Tann. to Deut. 14:23; 15:20.

<sup>2</sup>J. Jeremias, op. cit., p. 43.

<sup>3</sup>cf. b. Meg. 26a; Tos. M.Sh. 1:12 f.

<sup>4</sup>Zeb. 5:8; Exodus 12:8; Jub. 49:1,12; Tos. Pes. 1:34; j Pes. 5:31d: 27; Siphre Deut. 133 on 16:6; Mek. Ex. 12:6.

thus the time of the meal is in keeping with the Passover regulations.

4. Jesus celebrates the Last Supper with the Twelve (Mark 14:17; Matt. 26:20); because Jesus often ate with many (e.g. Mark 2:15; 6:32-44; 8:1-8; Matt. 14:13-21; 15:32-8; Luke 9:11-7; John 6:1-13), the limitation of his table companions on this occasion is striking. The Passover group had to consist of at least ten persons,<sup>1</sup> although the number could exceed the minimum; it may be no accident that the size of the Last Supper circle corresponds essentially to that of a Passover gathering.

5. Jesus and his disciples eat the meal reclining (Mark 14:18; Matt. 26:20, Luke 22:14; John 13:12,23,25). The normal posture for meals was sitting,<sup>2</sup> but at the Passover "it was a ritual duty to recline at table as a symbol of freedom also, as it is expressly stated, for 'the poorest man in Israel'".<sup>3</sup>

6. The Last Supper is eaten in a state of Levitical purity as prescribed in Numbers 19:19. According to John 13:10, Jesus states: "He who has bathed does not need to wash, except for his feet". For ordinary meals, Levitical purity was not required of the laity, but it was for partaking of the Passover feast.

7. Jesus breaks the bread during the course of the meal (Mark 14:18-22; Matt. 26: 21-6). Ordinary meals began with the breaking of the bread, but "the passover meal was the only family meal in the year at which the serving of a dish (Mark 14:20) preceded the breaking of bread (Mark 14:22)".<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Tos. Pes. 4:3 par. b. Pes. 64b (Bar.) and Midr. Lam on 1:1

<sup>2</sup>e.g. j. Ber. 7:11c:48; j. Ber. 8:11d:57 (cf. 50); b. Sanh. 38a; j. Ber. 7:11b:62 and 11c:42; Ber. 6:6; b. Ber. 41b.

<sup>3</sup>J. Jeremias, op. cit., p. 49; cf. Pes. 10:1; Tos. Pes. 10:1.

<sup>4</sup>J. Jeremias, ibid., p. 50.

8. Jesus and his disciples drink wine at the Last Supper (Mark 14:23,25, and parallels). Wine was consumed only on festive occasions, apart from its use in everyday life for medicinal purposes; but at the Passover feast it was the duty of everyone who participated to take at least four cups of wine, even if he had to be assisted by charity to buy them.<sup>1</sup>

9. The wine used at the Last Supper is almost certainly red; such a conclusion follows naturally from Jesus' comparison between the wine and his blood; according to rabbinical tradition<sup>2</sup> the use of red wine was obligatory for the Passover meal.

10. According to John 13:29 some of the disciples apparently believe that Jesus is commissioning Judas to make some last-minute purchases for the feast, when he tells him: "What you are going to do, do quickly" (John 13:27). Jeremias<sup>3</sup> argues that such haste in purchasing at night would be unnecessary if this incident occurred on the evening before Nisan 14, because the whole of the next day would provide ample opportunity for this purpose; but if this experience happened on the Passover evening this urgency would be quite normal; the next day, Nisan 15, was a high feast day and the day after was a Sabbath.

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. Pes. 10.1.

<sup>2</sup>Tos. Pes. 10.1; b. Pes. 108b; j. Pes. 10:37c:27 par., j. Shab. 8:11a:31; j. Shek. 3:47b:61.

<sup>3</sup>J. Jeremias, ibid., p. 53.

11. On the other hand, some of the disciples assume that Jesus had told Judas to "give something to the poor" (John 13:29). It was customary at the Passover time to do something for the poor; two ways of doing so were to help them to buy the wine<sup>1</sup> and to allow the needy to share the feast.<sup>2</sup> W. Barclay correctly observes that this remembrance of the poor is a hint that "even the narrative of the Fourth Gospel has behind it a tradition involving the Passover";<sup>3</sup> the same could be said of the previous point (10).

12. The Last Supper ends with the singing of a hymn (Mark 14:26; Matt. 26:30); this reference is almost certainly to the second part of the Hallel<sup>4</sup> (Psalms 115-8) and the Great Hallel<sup>5</sup> (Psalm 136),<sup>6</sup> which came at the end of the Passover ritual.

13. After the meal Jesus does not return to Bethany as he had done on the preceding nights (Mark 11:11-2; Matt. 21:17); rather he goes to the Mount of Olives (Mark 14:26 and parallels), into a garden (Mark 14:32 and parallels) which was situated on the east bank of the Kidron (John 18:1). Jeremias<sup>7</sup> finds the reason for this change in the fact that

---

<sup>1</sup>Pes. 10:1.

<sup>2</sup>Pes. 9:11.

<sup>3</sup>W. Barclay, op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>4</sup>Pes. 10:7.

<sup>5</sup>cf. Taan. 3:9.

<sup>6</sup>cf. above pp. 83.

<sup>7</sup>J. Jeremias, op. cit., p. 55.

it was obligatory the night of the Passover to be spent in Jerusalem;<sup>1</sup> this requirement became more of a practical possibility when the city district was enlarged to include Bethphage; Bethany, however, lay outside of what might be called "greater Jerusalem", whereas the Kidron valley and the western slope of the Mount of Olives, including Gethsemane, were within the permitted boundaries of the enlarged city.

14. During the Last Supper, Jesus speaks words of interpretation over the bread and the wine, linking them to his impending passion. The explanation of the special elements of the meal was a fixed part of the Passover feast.<sup>2</sup> For Jeremias<sup>3</sup> this final observation clinches his contention that the Last Supper is a Passover Meal. Certainly the cumulative effect of these various arguments points very strongly in that direction.

Nevertheless, this study would not be complete without noting the factors in the narratives which are used to argue that the Last Supper is not a Passover feast; the writer will again summarize the remarkably detailed treatment of Jeremias<sup>4</sup> for these objections.

1. Since J. Wellhausen's short study<sup>5</sup> in 1906, it has been argued

---

<sup>1</sup>Contemporary exegesis had derived this commandment from Deut. 16:7: "And you shall boil it and eat it at the place which the Lord your God will choose; and in the morning you shall turn and go to your tents".

<sup>2</sup>cf. e.g. Pes. 10:4-5.

<sup>3</sup>J. Jeremias, op. cit., p. 55.

<sup>4</sup>J. Jeremias, op. cit., pp. 62-84.

<sup>5</sup>J. Wellhausen, "Ἄρτον ἐκλάσεν Mc 14:22", ZNTW, VII, 1906, p. 182.

that the Last Supper could not have been a Passover meal because of the word used for the bread; the Synoptics call it ἄρτος (Mark 14:22 and parallels) which, it is contended, means ordinary bread, whereas only unleavened bread (ἄζυμα) could properly be used for the Passover. But this argument is incorrect; ἄρτος like the Hebrew אֲרִיִּז can mean both kinds of bread; for example, the LXX and the New Testament refer to the Shewbread or Bread of the Presence as ἄρτος and it was unleavened;<sup>1</sup> the Nazirite offering consisted of unleavened cakes and wafers which the LXX calls ἄρτος<sup>2</sup>; Philo actually uses the word ἄρτος in referring to the unleavened Passover bread.<sup>3</sup> Thus the use of the term ἄρτος does not exclude the possibility that the Last Supper is a Passover meal.

2. It has been pointed out that the daily<sup>4</sup> repetition of the meal in the early Church tells against it being a Passover feast, which was a yearly celebration. But Jeremias states: "The meals of the Early Church were not originally repetitions of the last meal which Jesus celebrated with his disciples, but of the daily table fellowship of the disciples with him".<sup>5</sup> The Jewish Christians, however, did observe a

---

<sup>1</sup>e.g. Exodus 25:30; Mark 2:26; Matt. 12:4; Luke 6:4; Heb. 9:2.

<sup>2</sup>Num. 6:15.

<sup>3</sup>Philo, De Specialibus Legibus II.158.

<sup>4</sup>cf. Acts 2:42.

<sup>5</sup>J. Jeremias, op. cit., p. 66; cf. E. Schwartz, "Osterbetrachtungen", ZNW, VII, 1906, p. 1; J. Wellhausen, Evangelium Marci, pp. 117 f.; H. Lietzmann, Mass and Lord's Supper, pp. 204 f.; A. Schlatter, Lukas, p. 455.

yearly repetition of the Last Supper at the Passover time.<sup>1</sup>

3. The fact that Mark 14:22-5 and parallels contain no explicit references to the Passover ritual - particularly to the paschal lamb and the bitter herbs - is cited as an indication that the Last Supper is not a Passover meal. But this silence is almost certainly because the Gospels record only "those moments which were constitutive for the celebration of the primitive Church".<sup>2</sup>

4. It is charged that the description of the Last Supper is inconsistent with the Passover ritual; this objection is made on three counts:

a) At the Passover, contrary to the normal procedure, the bread was broken first and then blessed; since the reverse sequence is implied in Mark 14:22 and parallels, many<sup>3</sup> conclude that this difference makes it impossible for the Last Supper to have been a Passover meal. But Jeremias<sup>4</sup> demonstrates that this contention is incorrect, based on a misunderstanding of a saying of Maimonides. The truth is that at the Passover, as at all other meals, the blessing preceded the breaking of bread.

b) A second discrepancy is seen in the fact that all those present at the Last Supper drink from one cup (Mark 14:23 and parallels), whereas, it is maintained, by the time of Jesus individual cups were used at the

<sup>1</sup> cf. Epiphanius, Panarion XXX.16.1.

<sup>2</sup> J. Jeremias, op. cit., p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. M. Haller, "Das Heilige Abendmahl und das Passamahl", Theologische Studien aus Württemberg, VIII, 1887, pp. 68 f.; F. Spitta, Zur Geschichte und Litteratur des Urchristentums, I, p. 238; K.G. Goetz, Die heutige Abendmahlsfrage in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung, p. 132.

<sup>4</sup> J. Jeremias, op. cit., pp. 68-9.

Passover. But this latter claim is by no means certain. Objections on hygienic grounds from the second Christian century onwards to having different people drink from one cup, argue in favour of the practice still being in existence.<sup>1</sup> In all probability the custom of sharing the common cup in the Passover meal was still permissible, or at least practised at the time of Jesus, although there is no conclusive evidence one way or the other. Therefore, the contention that the use of one cup makes the Last Supper not a Passover feast loses most of its force.

c) Similarly, the point is made that each participant in the Passover feast had his own dish but in the Last Supper all eat from the common dish (Mark 14:20). While there is some evidence from the Amoraic period that each person had an individual side-table, conclusive proof for this custom is forthcoming only from Babylonia in the fourth and fifth centuries.<sup>2</sup> But that such should have been the normal procedure in overcrowded Jerusalem, "cannot be proven and is altogether improbable".<sup>3</sup>

Hence it may be concluded that these objections concerning the details of the Last Supper remain unconvincing in terms of showing that it is not a Passover meal.

5. A fifth objection concerns Mark 14:2; the Sanhedrin sought to arrest Jesus by a ruse "for they said, 'Not during the feast, lest there be a tumult of the people'"; the words "not during the feast" render the

---

<sup>1</sup>Tos. Ber. 5.9; Derek eres R.8; cf. H.L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, op. cit., IV, p. 59; H.L. Strack, Pesachim p. 11.

<sup>2</sup>b. Pes. 115b; R. Shimi b. Ashi.

<sup>3</sup>J. Jeremias, op. cit., p. 71.

Greek  $\mu\lambda\grave{\iota}\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\eta\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\eta\eta$  and the conclusion is made<sup>1</sup> that the decision not to arrest Jesus "during the feast" contradicts the Synoptic chronology which has Jesus arrested during the night of the first day of the Passover feast (which began at sunset). But Jeremias<sup>2</sup> demonstrates that  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\eta\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\eta\eta$  need not necessarily be understood as a temporal reference, but could just as well, and with clearer meaning, be given a spacial interpretation - in the presence of the festal crowd. But if Mark 14:2 contains no time reference, then it provides no clues as to the chronology of the day of Jesus' death or the nature of the Last Supper.

6. Pesahim 8:6 is cited as favouring the Johannine chronology: "They may slaughter the Passover lamb . . . for one whom they have promised to bring out of prison". This regulation has been referred to the Passover amnesty (Mark 15.6 and parallels; John 18:39 ); and further it has been suggested that this release must have come in time for the prisoners to participate in the Passover feast.<sup>3</sup> This argument supports John's chronology, according to which the trial before Pilate occurs before the Passover evening. The weakness of this consideration is that it cannot be stated with certainty that Pesahim 8.6 refers to the Roman Passover amnesty; according to the Jerusalem Talmud<sup>4</sup> it would appear that

<sup>1</sup>e.g. J. Wellhausen, op. cit., p. 108; E. Schwartz, op. cit., p. 108; C.G. Montefiore, The Synoptic Gospels, I, p. 309; M. Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel p. 191; J. Finegan, Die Überlieferung des Leidens- und Aufstehungsgeschichte Jesu, BZNTi, XV, 1934, pp. 61-3; T. Preiss, Life in Christ, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup>J. Jeremias, op. cit., pp. 71-3.

<sup>3</sup>cf. e.g. J. Blinzler, The Trial of Jesus, Revised, trans. I. and F. McHugh, pp. 218-21; \_\_\_\_\_, "Qumran-Kalendar und Passionschronologie", ZNTW, XLIX, 1958, pp. 249 f.; E. Stauffer, "Neue Wege der Jesusforschung", Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe, VII, 1957-8, p. 464.

<sup>4</sup>j Pes. 8:36a:45-6.

Pesahim 8.6 covers instances where a prisoner, being held by the Jewish authorities, obtained a temporary release or parole only for the Passover evening, so that he might participate in that festival. It may well be, therefore, that Pesahim 8.6 has no relevance for the dating of the Passover events.

7. Occasionally I Corinthians 5:7b is given as an argument against the Passover nature of the Last Supper: "For Christ, our paschal lamb, has been sacrificed". The Passover lambs were slaughtered on the afternoon of Nisan 14. It is argued that Jesus, as the paschal lamb, is crucified at the same time as this slaughtering, and therefore before the time of the Passover meal. But Jeremias correctly observes: "The question arises, however, as to whether the paschal lamb comparison arose out of the actual time of the crucifixion or, as is much more likely, out of the sayings of Jesus at the Last Supper. If the latter is the case, then I Cor. 5:76 is evidence for the passover character of the Last Supper".<sup>1</sup>

8. Similarly, I Corinthians 15:20,23 (where Christ is designated ἀπαρχή - first fruits), is sometimes cited as support for the Johannine chronology. Since the first fruits were offered on Nisan 16, it is argued that this reference to the risen Christ as the first fruits, means that Easter Day is on Nisan 16, and consequently Good Friday on Nisan 14. But Jeremias<sup>2</sup> cites the evidence of Bauer<sup>3</sup> to the effect, that

---

<sup>1</sup>J. Jeremias, op. cit., p. 74.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>W. Bauer, Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des N.T. und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur, adapted into English by J.F. Arndt and F.W. Gingrich, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, p. 80.

here, as elsewhere when ἀπαρχή is used figuratively, it is essentially a synonym for πρῶτος (first); therefore no conclusions as to chronology can be drawn from I Corinthians 15:20, 23.

9. Another objection maintains that many of the things reported in Mark 14:17-15:47 could not possibly have taken place on Nisan 15, which, at least from dawn onwards, was the first day of Unleavened Bread and thus had the character of a feast day, and to a limited extent that of a Sabbath.<sup>1</sup> The following ten things are believed to be irreconcilable with Nisan 15:

- (1) Jesus' going to Gethsemane in the night of the passover;
- (2) the bearing of arms by the temple guards and some of the disciples in this night;
- (3) the meeting of the Sanhedrin and condemnation of Jesus during the night of the feast;
- (4) the tearing of the robe at the trial;
- (5) the participation by the Jews in the session of the Roman court on the morning of the feast day;
- (6) the coming in of Simon of Cyrene ἀναρχαῶν on the morning of Nisan 15;
- (7) the execution of Jesus on the high feast day;
- (8) the purchase of the shroud for the burial on the evening of the feast day;
- (9) the burial of Jesus with the accompanying removal of the body from the cross and the rolling of the stone;<sup>2</sup>
- (10) the preparation of spices and ointments.

Of these ten alleged inconsistencies, Jeremias<sup>3</sup> demonstrates that numbers 1,2,4,9 and 10, rest on sheer ignorance of the halakah and therefore may be immediately discounted; in addition, numbers 5 and 7 are concerned with matters over which the Roman governor had jurisdiction rather than the Jewish authorities, and therefore should not be taken with undue seriousness; the objection about Simon of Cyrene (6) is based on arbitrary assumptions; it would be valid only

<sup>1</sup>cf. e.g. Exodus 12:16; Leviticus 23:7; Numbers 28:18.

<sup>2</sup>J. Jeremias, op. cit., p. 75.

<sup>3</sup>J. Jeremias, op. cit., pp. 75-7.

if he was coming from work in the fields, but such is unlikely so early in the morning (Mark 15:25); however, Simon may not even have been a Jew, in which case the Jewish regulations for the feast day had no bearing upon his movements and activities. Thus only numbers 8 and 3 can claim any serious attention; the first of these relates to the purchase of a shroud by Joseph of Arimathea on the evening of what is now called Good Friday; such an act contradicts the rule which forbade buying and selling on the Sabbath; but Jeremias<sup>1</sup> shows how the necessities of life had led to the relaxation of this rule; besides foodstuffs, coffins and shrouds were placed in this same category,<sup>2</sup> and so this objection can quite legitimately be explained away. The final difficulty relates to the question of whether or not the sitting of the Sanhedrin and its condemnation of Jesus could legally have taken place on the night of the feast. Jeremias<sup>3</sup> stresses the often overlooked fact that if this objection is valid it weighs equally against both the Johannine and the Synoptic chronologies; also he questions whether or not the regulation forbidding legal hearings on a feast day<sup>4</sup> was in force at the time of Jesus. But even if it was, the Torah made provision<sup>5</sup> for the trial of a false prophet during the three pilgrimage feasts<sup>6</sup> so that all might hear and fear;

---

<sup>1</sup>J. Jeremias ibid., pp. 77-8.

<sup>2</sup>cf. e.g. Shab. 23:4; Tos. Shab. 17.13; b. Shab. 151a.

<sup>3</sup>J. Jeremias, op. cit., p. 78.

<sup>4</sup>Bes 5:2; Tos. Bes 4:4;

<sup>5</sup>Deut. 18:20; Deut 17:13; 21:21; 13:12.

<sup>6</sup>Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacle.

since Jesus was considered to be a false prophet,<sup>1</sup> his trial during the Passover was not illegal.

Thus it is seen that Mark 14:17-15:47 portrays nothing which could not have taken place on Nisan 15.

10. In the view of Jeremias,<sup>2</sup> the major objection to the Synoptic representation of the Last Supper as a Passover meal is the narrative of the Fourth Gospel; but he makes the following points in order to refute the Johannine chronology:

- a) John 13:1<sup>3</sup> is simply asserting that Jesus knows before the Passover that his death is imminent, rather than stressing John's chronology; the rendering of John 19:14<sup>4</sup> is not beyond dispute<sup>5</sup> and therefore must be used with reservation and caution as support for the Johannine chronology of the Passion.
- b) A trace of the Synoptic chronology appears in John 19:31; the "high

<sup>1</sup>Mark 14:65 and parallels; Mark 15:16-20 and parallels; Luke 23:11.

<sup>2</sup>J. Jeremias, op. cit., p. 79.

<sup>3</sup>This verse reads: "Now before the feast of the Passover, when Jesus knew that his hour had come to depart out of this world to the Father, having loved his own who were in the world, he loved them to the end".

<sup>4</sup>This passage begins: "Now it was the day of Preparation for the Passover; it was about the sixth hour".

<sup>5</sup>C.C. Torrey ("The Date of the Crucifixion According to the Fourth Gospel", JBL, L, 1931, pp. 232-7, 241; "In the Fourth Gospel the Last Supper Was the Paschal Meal", JQR, XLII, 1951-2, pp. 237-50), in disagreement with P. Billerbeck (H.L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, op. cit., II, p. 834-7), shows that the phrase παρασκευῆ τοῦ πάσχα may represent an Aramaic genitive, and therefore mean "Friday of Passover week"; cf. John 19:31 where παρασκευῆ must mean Friday in view of the forthcoming Sabbath.

Sabbath", which here is on the day after the crucifixion, may well be the day of the sheaf-offering (Lev. 23:11), which Pharisaic tradition placed on Nisan 16.<sup>1</sup>

c) John 18:28 is the only unambiguous Johannine indication that the Last Supper is held on the eve of the Passover; but also there are a number of traces in the Fourth Gospel which hint that it is a Passover meal: the betrayal scene (John 13:18-30, cf. Mark 14:18-21 and parallels) and the ensuing walk to Gethsemane (John 18:1 ff., cf. Mark 14:26 ff. and parallels) show that John is depicting the same meal as the Synoptics; furthermore, in John the Last Supper takes place in Jerusalem in spite of its being overcrowded by Passover pilgrims (John 11:55; 12:12, 18,20); it lasts into the night (John 13:30), and is celebrated by Jesus with the closest circle of his disciples (John 13:1 ff.); also, it is a ceremonial meal because those taking part recline at the table (John 13:23,25); besides, after the meal, Jesus, instead of returning to Bethany, goes to the garden on the other side of the Kidron valley; the writer has already<sup>2</sup> noted the fact that according to John 13:10 the meal is eaten in a state of Levitical purity; the supposition of some of the disciples that Judas is either to make last-minute purchases for the festival or to give something to the poor (John 13:29)<sup>3</sup> may indicate that the Johannine meal is a Passover.

d) John's dating of the Last Supper on the eve of the Passover in some ways emphasizes the connection between the Passion and the Passover:

<sup>1</sup>cf. H.L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, op. cit., II, p. 848.

<sup>2</sup>cf. above p. 367.

<sup>3</sup>cf. above pp. 368-9.

i) the Fourth Gospel sets forth Jesus as the lamb of God (John 1:29, 36);<sup>1</sup> in John's chronology Jesus is handed over to be crucified at precisely the same time that the paschal lambs are beginning to be slaughtered in the Temple. This motif occurs also in the anointing at Bethany; in the Synoptic Gospels it takes place two days before the Passover (Mark 14:1; Matt. 26:2), and is a symbolic preparation of his body for burial (Mark 14:8; Matt. 26:12); but in the Fourth Gospel it happens six days before that festival (John 12:1). It was the original custom to choose the Passover lamb six days ahead; it may well be that John so arranges his chronology that the anointing at Bethany is meant to symbolize the choosing of Jesus as the Passover lamb. Another suggestion that Jesus is the paschal lamb comes in John 19:31-6; in order to hasten the death of the victims, their legs are broken, but such action is not necessary for Jesus; it is believed that this restraint fulfils the saying: "Not a bone of him shall be broken". In actual fact, these words form part of the prescription for the treatment and preparation of the Passover lamb (Ex. 12:46; Num. 9:12; cf. Ps. 34:20). Thus, it is observed that the placing of the Last Supper on the eve of the Passover, allows John to show Jesus as the paschal lamb.

ii) Jeremias<sup>2</sup> also notes the early practice of the Quartodecimanians who fasted on the Passover night in conscious contrast to the Jewish festival; thus in Palestine and Asia Minor - the precise geographical location of John's Gospel and its tradition - there was a strong anti-passover attitude; this bias could well have led to a minimizing of the

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. Acts 8:32; I Corin. 5:7; I Peter 1:19; Heb. passim; Rev. passim.

<sup>2</sup>J. Jeremias, op. cit., p. 83.

Passover nature of the Last Supper, and account for John's chronology.

11) The final objection which Jeremias<sup>1</sup> considers is the assertion that the Quartodecimanians dated the crucifixion on Nisan 14, and therefore uphold the Johannine chronology. He points out that the discovery of the Epistula Apostolorum<sup>2</sup> which he dates A.D. 140-70, shows that the Quartodecimanians celebrated the Passover annually at the same time as the Jews (15) and therefore are in agreement with the Synoptic chronology.

The marshalling of the evidence for and against the equating of the Last Supper with the Passover feast is now complete. It is seen, as Jeremias concludes, that no objections "are sufficient to refute the synoptic report that the Last Supper was a passover meal".<sup>3</sup>

Those who deny that the Last Supper was a Passover feast have the onus placed upon them to state what it was; there are three main possibilities: i) Kiddush; ii) Chaburah meal; iii) Essene meal.<sup>4</sup> It is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss these three types of meal in detail, but the following observations must be made.

i) Kiddush<sup>5</sup>

The Kiddush was a blessing pronounced to mark the beginning of

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 83-4.

<sup>2</sup>cf. above p. 155.

<sup>3</sup>J. Jeremias, op. cit., p. 84.

<sup>4</sup>cf. the full discussion of these possibilities in J. Jeremias op. cit., pp. 26-36.

<sup>5</sup>This alternative is maintained by F. Spitta, Zur Geschichte und Litteratur des Urchristentums, I, p. 247; P. Drews, "Eucharistie", Real-encyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, V, p. 563; J. Foxley, "Lessons from the Mass", The Contemporary Review, LXXV, 1899, pp. 178-93; G.H. Box, "The Jewish Antecedents of the Eucharist", JTS, III, 1901-2, pp. 357-69; P. Batiffal, L'Eucharistie; \_\_\_\_\_, Études

each Sabbath or feast, followed by a meal. It is argued that there was a Kiddush for the Passover time, and that it was this meal which Jesus and his disciples observed, rather than the Passover which was not due until the next evening. But Jeremias<sup>1</sup> rightly points out that the Kiddush was never separated from the sacred day; it was never held twenty-four hours in advance of the day which it was to set apart; rather it came immediately before the Sabbath or feast day. Therefore, the Last Supper could not have been a Kiddush meal.

ii) Chaburah Meal<sup>2</sup>

A Chaburah was a small fellowship group which often met weekly for a meal on the afternoon prior to the beginning of the Jewish Sabbath,<sup>3</sup> there are those who believe that Jesus and the disciples constituted such a Chaburah, and that the Last Supper was their fellowship meal. But Jeremias points out that these meals were "duty meals, such as those

d'histoire et de theologie positive II. L'Eucharistie. La présence réelle et la transubstantiation, p. 136; R. Otto, "Vom Abendmahl Christi", Die Christliche Welt, XXXI, 1917, col. 246; W.O.E. Oesterley, The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy, pp. 167-79; G.H.C. Macgregor, Eucharistic Origins, pp. 37-9; H. Huber, Das Herrenmahl im Neuen Testament pp. 21,70; F. Gavin, The Jewish Antecedents of the Christian Sacraments, pp. 65-6; T.H.W. Maxfield, The Words of Institution, pp. 26 ff.; and M. Dibelius, Jesus, trans. D.M. Barton, p. 123.

<sup>1</sup>J. Jeremias, op. cit., pp. 26-9; cf. W. Barclay, op. cit., p. 31.

<sup>2</sup>This possibility is upheld by: H. Lietzmann, Mass and Lord's Supper, trans. D.H.G. Reeve, pp. 170 f., 185; K.G. Goetz, Der Ursprung des kirchlichen Abendmahls blosse Mahlgemeinschaft von Jesus und seinen Jüngern oder eine besondere Handlung und Worte von Jesus?, p. 27; R. Otto, Kingdom of God and Son of Man, trans. R.V. Filson and B.L. Woolf, pp. 278-80; and G. Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy, pp. 50-70.

<sup>3</sup>The "sanctification of the day" (Kedūshath ha-yôm) ritual interrupted the meal as the Sabbath was commencing; cf. W.O.E. Oesterley, op. cit., pp. 167-71.

connected with betrothals, weddings, circumcisions, funerals, in which participation was considered meritorious".<sup>1</sup> Thus, as Barclay states: "The chaburah meal does not really meet the circumstances of the Last Supper at all".<sup>2</sup>

iii) Essene Meal

K.G. Kuhn<sup>3</sup> believes that the cultic meal of the Essenes at Qumran influenced the Eucharist both in the form of the early Christian meals, and in the Gospel reports of the Last Supper, except for Luke. But Jeremias<sup>4</sup> demonstrates that the external differences as well as those of the whole procedure for the meal render a connection between the two most improbable; the same may be said about the accounts of the Last Supper; to establish the fact that they were influenced by the practices of the Essenes requires the reading into the texts of more than seems justified.

The only other possibility is that Jesus himself was following an Essene pattern in his celebration of the Last Supper; but this suggestion is far too conjectural to warrant very serious consideration.

It is seen, therefore, that these three possibilities or suggestions as to what the Last Supper was, if it was not a Passover feast,

<sup>1</sup>J. Jeremias, op. cit., p. 30.

<sup>2</sup>W. Barclay, op. cit., p. 32.

<sup>3</sup>K.G. Kuhn, "Über den ursprünglichen Sinn des Abendmahls und sein Verhältnis zu den Gemeinschaftsmahlen der Sektenschrift", Ev.Th., X 1950-1, pp. 508-27; cf. its revised version "The Lord's Supper and the Communal Meal at Qumran", K. Stendahl, ed., The Scrolls and the New Testament; cf. F.M. Cross, Jr., The Ancient Library of Qumrân and Modern Biblical Studies, pp. 177 f.

<sup>4</sup>J. Jeremias op. cit., pp. 31-6.

are really unacceptable. Thus, the only legitimate conclusion appears to be that the chronology of the Synoptic narratives is correct: the Last Supper was a Passover meal.

ii) Words of Institution

The writer must now consider the question as to whether I Corinthians 11:23-6 provides a valid warrant for the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Since the writer has already<sup>1</sup> cited the KJV of that passage, he gives here the rendering of the RSV:

For I received from the Lord what I also delivered to you, that the Lord Jesus on the night when he was betrayed took bread, and when he had given thanks, he broke it, and said, "This is my body which is for you. Do this in remembrance of me." In the same way also the cup, after supper, saying, "This cup is the new covenant in my blood. Do this, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me." For as often as you eat this bread and drink the cup, you proclaim the Lord's death until he comes.

The question of the source of Paul's knowledge of the Lord's Supper leads into a consideration of the legitimacy of the command to repeat it. Paul claims that he received his information about the Lord's Supper ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου. One interpretation of this statement is that he received his account of Jesus' institution of this rite by direct revelation.<sup>2</sup> But if such is the case, the preposition would more likely be παρά instead of ἀπό.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, in I Corinthians 15:3, Paul introduces

<sup>1</sup>cf. above p. 352.

<sup>2</sup>cf. A. Loisy, Les Évangiles Synoptiques II, p. 532, n.1; The Birth of the Christian Religion, trans. L.P. Jacks, pp. 244 ff.; F.J. Leenhardt, Le Sacrament de la Sainte Cène, p. 51, admits that this interpretation is a possibility; cf. Gal. 1:12.

<sup>3</sup>cf. Gal. 1:12 "παρὰ ἀνθρώπου"; A.J.B. Higgins, op. cit., p. 25.

his transmission of the Church's tradition or teaching about Christ's resurrection in similar words: "For I delivered to you as of first importance what I also received". It is doubtful, therefore, that Paul means that the Lord is the direct source of his account of the institution of the Lord's Supper.

On the other hand, Lietzmann<sup>1</sup> maintains that Paul received in a vision the special revelation of the true meaning of the Lord's Supper as a commemoration of Jesus' death; according to this view the core of this revelation consisted in the command "Do this in remembrance of me", which emphasizes the atoning death of Christ. It is argued, therefore, that Paul completely transformed the nature of the Lord's Supper from the daily repeated table fellowship with Jesus to the festival in commemoration of the dead.

Admittedly in the ancient world there was a custom of the holding of funeral banquets in memory of the dead by relatives and friends; certainly there is a surprising and impressive similarity between language of the ancient records of the institution of these commemorative feasts

---

<sup>1</sup>H. Lietzmann, An die Korinther I, p. 132; \_\_\_\_\_, Mass and Lord's Supper, trans. D.H.G. Reeve, pp. 182, 205-8; J. Jeremias (op. cit., p. 238) observes that Lietzmann is following H. Leclercq who calls the primitive Christian meal celebration "un véritable banquet funèbre", DACL I, col. 786; cf. A.B. Macdonald, Christian Worship in the Primitive Church, pp. 143-4; J. Weiss, Earliest Christianity, trans. F.C. Grant, II, p. 645, n.52; C. Clemen, Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung, p. 179; H. Windisch, Paulus und Christus, UNT, XXIV, 1934, p. 53; J. Finegan, op. cit., p. 66; A. Fridrichsen, "Église et Sacrament dans le Nouveau Testament", RFPhR, XVII, 1937, p. 353; P. Benoit, "Le récit de la Cène dans Lc. XXII: 15-20", RB, XLVIII, 1939, p. 386, n.2.

and Jesus' command to repeat the Lord's Supper.<sup>1</sup> But Jeremias<sup>2</sup> shows how the following three observations argue against such an association:

i) Although the  $\mu\nu\eta\mu\upsilon$ -motive is very widespread, the construction  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \lambda\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\nu\eta\sigma\iota\nu$  is completely absent; and the memorial meal is not explicitly mentioned in the Greek language inscriptions, but only in the Latin ones.

ii) Sometimes the date for this meal was determined by the general days for the commemoration of the dead, but the normal procedure was to hold them on the birthday of the person so remembered rather than on the anniversary of his death; this dating of these memorial celebrations further reduces the possibility that there is any connection and similarity between them and the Last Supper.

iii) The same is true of the increasing worldliness of these commemorative feasts; during the time of the Roman Empire, these occasions became more and more simply "pleasurable affairs"<sup>2</sup> for the enjoyment of the participants, with little or no thought of the dead person in memory of whom the celebration had been originally inaugurated.

<sup>1</sup>cf. Diogenes Laertius 10.16 in H. Usener, ed. Epicurea, pp. 165-8; B. Laum (Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike I, pp. 74-81) gives the evidence for the foundation of memorial ceremonies; and cites (ibid., II, p. 141, n. 203; p. 117, n. 126; p. 141, n. 200; p. 41, n. 38; p. 153, n. 211; p. 164, n.6; p. 180, n. 61; p. 181, n. 68; p. 184, n. 86; p. 195, n. 125; p. 88, n. 75; p. 97, n. 91; p. 135, n. 175; pp. 136-7, n. 178; p. 141, n. 203) texts which point to memorial celebrations, some of which explicitly mention a meal.

<sup>2</sup>J. Jeremias, ibid., p. 243, citing the evidence of B. Laum, op. cit., I, p. 251.

Thus it is most unlikely that Paul added the command "Do this in remembrance of me" in order to transform the Last Supper into simply a commemorative feast. A.J.B. Higgins<sup>1</sup> notes the many scholars<sup>2</sup> who reject the division of the Lord's Supper into the two types - primitive-Palestinian and Hellenistic-Pauline - which this association would necessitate; rather they maintain that Paul "regarded himself as handing on unaltered the Church tradition which ultimately goes back to the Lord".<sup>3</sup>

Higgins<sup>4</sup> notes the opposition of E. Lohmeyer<sup>5</sup> to the theory that the command "Do this in remembrance of me" constitutes a new, peculiarly Pauline, emphasis on the nature of the Lord's Supper; Lohmeyer points out that the language of the whole account is un-Pauline.<sup>6</sup> The solution of this difficulty may well lie in the view of W.D. Davies; he suggests

<sup>1</sup>A.J.B. Higgins, op. cit., p. 26.

<sup>2</sup>W.G. Kümmel, ed., Leitzmann's commentary An die Korinther I-II, with additional notes, p. 185; M. Goguel, L'Eucharistie des Origines à Justin Martyr, p. 161; J. Weiss, Der erste Korintherbrief, p. 283; A. Schweitzer, The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, trans. W. Montgomery, pp. 173, 266 f.; M. Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel trans. B.L. Woolf, pp. 205 f.; F.L. Cirlot, The Early Eucharist, pp. 143 f.; E. Gaugler, Das Abendmahl im Neuen Testament, p. 15; T. Preiss, "Le dernier repas de Jesus fut-il un repas pascal", Theologische Zeitschrift, IV, 1948, p. 87; R. Bultmann, Theologie des Neuen Testaments, I, pp. 148 f.; and J. Hering, La première épître de Saint Paul aux Corinthiens, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup>A.J.B. Higgins, ibid.

<sup>4</sup>A.J.B. Higgins, ibid., pp. 26-7.

<sup>5</sup>E. Lohmeyer, "Vom urchristlichen Abendmahl", Theologische Rundschau. Neue Folge, IX, 1937, pp. 183 f.

<sup>6</sup>e.g. The word ἀναμνήσις is not used elsewhere by Paul; the term "the Lord Jesus" in narrative is peculiar; the word σῶμα used here for "body" is elsewhere applied by Paul to the Church as the body of Christ.

that Paul acts as a Christian rabbi, handing on his own version of the tradition he has received. Thus, he writes that "we are not to understand from Paul's account of the Last Supper that he is quoting the ipsissima verba of Jesus, but we are to find there the precipitate of those words percolated through the mind of a Rabbi. . . . This approach to Paul's account makes it possible for us to understand why it is, as has often been pointed out, that the essential meaning of the Markan and Pauline accounts is the same while it is the formulation that differs".<sup>1</sup>

The question of whether or not the injunction - to repeat what was done at the Last Supper - goes back to Jesus himself may be approached by asking why Jesus would give this command.

One answer is expounded by Jeremias;<sup>2</sup> he believes that Jesus was asking the disciples to repeat this celebration "that God may remember me", and so bring in the Messianic triumph; hence he writes:

This means that the command to repeat the rite is not a summons to the disciples to preserve the memory of Jesus and be vigilant ("repeat the breaking of bread so that you may not forget me"), but it is an eschatologically oriented instruction: "Keep joining yourselves together as the redeemed community by the table rite, that in this way God may be daily implored to bring about the consummation in the parousia".<sup>3</sup>

Linguistically,<sup>4</sup> such an interpretation could be validated; but the major reason against accepting it is raised by a second answer as

<sup>1</sup>W.D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 249-50.

<sup>2</sup>J. Jeremias, op. cit., pp. 251-5.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 255.

<sup>4</sup>cf. e.g. Isaiah 62:6,7; Exodus 28:29; 30:16; Numbers 10:10; 31:54; 5:15,26; Leviticus 2:2,9; 5:12; 6:15; 24:7; cf. W. Barclay, op. cit., pp. 50-1.

to why Jesus would have commanded τούτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἑμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

The Last Supper was a Passover Meal, and the note of remembrance was central in that celebration. Exodus 12:14 ff. 13:3 ff., and Deuteronomy 16:3 ff. make it clear that the Passover was a memorial feast by which the memory of the deliverance from Egypt was to be kept fresh. Against this background of the Passover, it would seem to be much more reasonable to believe that Jesus (who knew human nature so well) gave instructions that this meal should be repeated so that the disciples would continue to remember him, rather than that God should remember him. As Barclay suggests:

It [the Last Supper] is his reorientation of an ancient memorial. The Passover Feast was always a feast which commemorated the saving action of God; and now this saving action is to be demonstrated in a new and unique way. And just as the ancient memory had to be kept sharp and vivid, so had the new memory.<sup>1</sup>

The writer believes that this association between the Passover and the Last Supper gives strong support for the idea that the command to repeat the Lord's Supper goes back to Jesus. Even W.D. Davies<sup>2</sup> who suggests that Paul may have added this injunction, admits that he is making explicit what was in the mind of Jesus. Similarly Higgins who attributes this command to repeat to Paul's tradition makes the point that it is impossible to know for certain whether Jesus actually spoke these words, but agrees that "the tradition that he did is certainly in harmony with his intention on that occasion."<sup>3</sup>

To this writer it is easier to believe that Jesus enjoined the

<sup>1</sup>W. Barclay, op. cit., p. 52.

<sup>2</sup>W. D. Davies, op. cit., pp. 251-2.

<sup>3</sup>A.J.B. Higgins, op. cit., p. 36.

repetition than that he did not, particularly in view of the fact that the Lord's Supper was observed by the Church from the very beginning.<sup>1</sup> It is true that this injunction is missing from Mark and Matthew, but Barclay<sup>2</sup> gives three possible reasons for this omission.

i) One line of the tradition may have considered it unnecessary to insert this command because the repetition of the meal was standard and continuous practice.

ii) This commandment was not so much part of the ritual of the Lord's Supper as it was instruction about it, and thus may have been excluded on the principle of Benoit's dictum: "On ne récite pas une rubrique, on l'exécute".<sup>3</sup>

iii) The Mark-Matthew tradition may represent a liturgical tradition in which only the words of institution as they affect Jesus are given, whereas the Paul-Luke tradition is narrative rather than liturgy. Jeremias makes the observation: "After all, Jesus said more at the Last Supper than the few words preserved in the liturgical formulae",<sup>4</sup> and Barclay suggests that this command to repeat the Lord's Supper represents this "additional material".<sup>5</sup>

The writer would agree that the double command to repeat in Paul (1 Corin. 11:24,25) probably represents the Apostle's embellishment of the tradition, in rabbinical fashion;<sup>6</sup> such a conclusion is in keeping

<sup>1</sup>cf. e.g. Acts 2:42.

<sup>2</sup>W. Barclay, op. cit., p. 52.

<sup>3</sup>P. Benoit, "Le récit de la Cène dans Le XXII:15-20", RB, XLVIII, 1939, p. 386.

<sup>4</sup>J. Jeremias, op. cit., p. 238.

<sup>5</sup>W. Barclay, op. cit., p. 52.

<sup>6</sup>cf. W.D. Davies, op. cit., p. 250, who terms Paul's formulation "a Rabbinization of the tradition"; A.J.B. Higgins, op. cit., p. 27.

with the fact that the form of the second injunction over the cup - "Do this, as often as<sup>1</sup> you drink it, in remembrance of me" - is somewhat echoed in Paul's remark which follows immediately - "For as often as<sup>1</sup> you eat this bread and drink the cup . . .". Attention is particularly drawn to the underlined words in these two statements.

Nevertheless, the writer still believes that the command to repeat the Lord's Supper goes back to Jesus himself and that Paul is simply repeating it, in somewhat amplified form; therefore, he would conclude that Paul's information about the Lord's Supper with respect to this injunction to repeat it in remembrance of Jesus is legitimately described as being ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου.

It must be asked whether the same can be said about Paul's words concerning the bread and the cup, as well as his concluding eschatological remark.

a) The Saying Over the Bread

Over the bread Paul quotes Jesus as saying: "This is my body which is for you". The Book of Common Order uses the KJV rendering which adds the word "broken"<sup>2</sup> after "is", but the oldest and best manuscripts have no such addition; other manuscripts insert different words at this point,<sup>3</sup> but it is unlikely that any of them is genuine.

By comparing the word about the bread in the Synoptics (Mark and Matthew both have simply "This is my body", while Luke's version is .

<sup>1</sup>Underlining mine.

<sup>2</sup> κλάωμενεν ("broken") is found in FG, many miniscules, some Old Latin manuscripts, Peshitta, and Harkleian Syriac; cf. A.J.B. Higgins, op. cit., p. 29, n.2.

<sup>3</sup>D has θρουπτόμενον ("crushed"); while the Vulgate, Coptic and Armenian have δίδόμενον ("given") as in Luke 22:19; some Old Latin manuscripts have tradidi ("which I have delivered"); cf. A.J.B. Higgins, ibid.; W. Barclay, op. cit., p. 41.

expanded to read: "This is my body which is given for you") and Paul, Barclay<sup>1</sup> suggests the most plausible conclusion - that there were three stages of development: i) the original saying was "This is my body"; ii) to this simple statement was added the explanatory phrase "which is for you"; this addition may either have originated with Paul or else stood in the tradition which he received; but in any event it represents an early and correct interpretation of Jesus' short affirmation; that the words "which is for you" are a subsequent and Greek addition is shown by the fact that they cannot be retranslated into Aramaic<sup>2</sup> which is the language which Jesus spoke; iii) the third stage of the process brought the further amplification of these explanatory words by the addition of participles in some authorities, both for the sake of clarity and also because the phrase "which is for you" is harsh even in Greek.

The writer would conclude, therefore, that when Jesus instituted the Lord's Supper, his words over the bread were simply "This is my body", but that the additional phrase "which is for you", which appears in I Corinthians 11:24, represents an early and legitimate explanation and clarification.

b) The Saying Over the Cup

According to I Corinthians 11:25, Jesus said concerning the cup "This cup is the new covenant<sup>3</sup> in my blood". The discrepancies between

<sup>1</sup>W. Barclay, ibid.

<sup>2</sup>J. Jeremias, op. cit., p. 167, G. Dalman, Jesus-Jeshua, pp. 144 ff; A.J.B. Higgins, op. cit., p. 29.

<sup>3</sup>The Greek word  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \kappa\omicron\iota\tau\eta$  is rendered "testament" in the KJV and therefore also in the citing of this passage in the Book of Common Order.

this version of the word about the cup and that of the Synoptics,<sup>1</sup> as well as linguistic difficulties, have led to the suggestion that "it is beyond our power to determine which is the more original form".<sup>2</sup>

Barclay<sup>3</sup> summarizes a proposed three-stage history of this saying whereby two forms have come together.

i) There is the form which lies behind the Markan and Matthaean versions, and which was originally simply "This is my blood", but to which the explanatory phrases "which is poured out for many" and "for the forgiveness of sins" were subsequently added as perfectly correct and helpful interpretations. ii) There is the form which originated with Paul or was in his tradition, in which the covenant idea was dominant, so that Jesus' death is the fulfilment of Jeremiah 31:31-4 and the inauguration of the new covenant. iii) Then, it is suggested, these two forms were combined, and to the originally simple "This is my blood", the phrase "of the covenant" is added.

But if the saying over the cup were formulated in this way, it would mean that the covenant idea does not go back to Jesus.<sup>4</sup> It must be

<sup>1</sup>Mark 14:24 has: "This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many"; Matthew 26:28 reads: "for this is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins"; Luke's cup saying is: "This cup which is poured out for you is the new covenant in my blood" (22:20).

<sup>2</sup>R.N. Flew, Jesus and His Church, p. 72.

<sup>3</sup>W. Barclay, op. cit., pp. 42-3.

<sup>4</sup>cf. e.g. A.J.B. Higgins (op. cit., p. 34) who writes: "We have, then, no evidence that at his last meal with his disciples Jesus spoke of a new covenant, or indeed that he spoke of a covenant at all"; cf. M. Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel, trans. B.L. Woolf, p. 209; but Higgins (ibid.) does admit that "the idea of a new covenant as foretold by Jeremiah may have been present in his [Jesus'] mind".

asked whether this conclusion is justified. A covenant is a relationship between two parties with mutual pledges of fidelity; in the Scriptures the covenant is the relationship between God and his people; in the Old Testament the basis of this covenant was the approach of God to Israel, and Israel's agreement to obey the Torah;<sup>1</sup> the sacrificial system was the means whereby any breach of this relationship could be atoned for and the person restored. The meaning of the phrase "in my blood" in Paul's formulation of the cup saying, is almost certainly "at the price of my blood".<sup>2</sup> Thus Barclay gives a most acceptable paraphrase of this Pauline version: "This cup stands for the relationship with God made possible at the price of my blood".<sup>3</sup>

Barclay<sup>4</sup> goes on to make the point that the Jewish attitude to blood makes it very improbable that Jesus would have said simply "This is my blood". The following passage from the Law indicates how essential some explanation would have been:

If any man of the house of Israel or of the strangers that sojourn among them eats any blood, I will set my face against that person who eats blood, and will cut him off from among his people. For the life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it for you upon the altar to make atonement for your souls; for it is the blood that makes atonement, by reason of the life. Therefore I have said to the people of Israel, No person among you shall eat blood, neither shall any stranger who sojourns among you eat blood (Lev. 17:10-12).

---

<sup>1</sup> e.g. Exodus 24:7.

<sup>2</sup> cf. W. Barclay, *op. cit.* pp. 45-6 who demonstrates how the Hebrew b<sup>e</sup> is translated by the Greek en in II Samuel 3:14; 24:24 with the meaning "at the price of".

<sup>3</sup> W. Barclay, *ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 46-7.

Inasmuch as some explanatory words would be necessary concerning the blood, it is only logical to believe that they would relate to the covenant. As Barclay writes:

Now, unless we deny altogether that Jesus had any idea what he was doing, he must have regarded his death as more than a mere human disaster. He lived, and he ultimately died, to bring men into a new relationship with God, that relationship whose key word is Father. To any Jew, that relationship would be thought of in covenant terms. There is therefore every reason to believe that Jesus did think of his death as a sacrificial act inaugurating a new covenant, and since it was not legally based, it was for all. So when Jesus bade his disciples drink of that cup, he was not asking them to drink his blood; he was asking them always to remember how his sacrificial death was the culmination of a life,<sup>1</sup> which did in fact change the relationship between man and God.

The writer would conclude, therefore, that Paul is quite right in suggesting that his saying over the cup - "This cup is the new covenant in my blood" - goes back to Jesus.<sup>2</sup>

c) The Eschatological Saying

Paul concludes his account of the institution of the Lord's Supper with the remark: "For as often as you eat this bread and drink the cup, you proclaim the Lord's death until he comes" (I Corin. 11:26).

These words are Paul's, but each of the Synoptic Gospels has a saying about the future, in connection with the Last Supper, which is

<sup>1</sup>W. Barclay, ibid., p. 47.

<sup>2</sup>Even W.D. Davies (op. cit., p. 251) who attributes this covenant reference to Paul, admits that this thought was in Jesus' mind, and that he may actually have expounded it at the Last Supper.

ascribed to Jesus.<sup>1</sup> Because Paul puts this eschatological reference in his own phraseology, it could only be rejected if it were textually unsound, but such is not the case. Although he is not reproducing the ipsissima verba of Jesus (nor does Paul claim that he is), the words "until he comes" preserve the future reference enshrined in Jesus' eucharistic statements. The authenticity and appropriateness of such a saying is indicated by the fact that the eschatological note is found throughout Jewish thought.<sup>2</sup> In the context of the Last Supper this saying about the future is important, because it affirms Jesus' consciousness of and confidence in his coming final victory.

Thus the writer would conclude that this eschatological statement in Paul reflects a genuine part of Jesus' message at the Last Supper. In addition he has shown that the Pauline version of the words over the bread and the cup, plus the injunction to repeat the meal are legitimately described as being ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου. In view of the fact also that I Corinthians 11:23-6 is textually sound<sup>3</sup> the writer would conclude

---

<sup>1</sup>Mark 14:25 reads: "Truly, I say to you, I shall not drink again of the fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God"; Matthew 26:29 has: "I tell you I shall not drink again of this fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom; Luke 22:15-6 has Jesus say: "I have earnestly desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer; for I tell you I shall not eat it until it is fulfilled in the kingdom of God."

<sup>2</sup>cf. W.O.E. Oesterley, The Doctrine of the Last Things, pp. 60-1; 122-4; 142-4; 187-9; W. Barclay, op. cit., pp. 53-4; Zeph. 1:7; Apocalypse of Baruch 29:3-8; Targum of Jonathan to Numbers 2:26 ff.; Baba Bathra 74a; Matt. 8:11; Luke 13:29; 14:15.

<sup>3</sup>The only textual variant is whether or not a word is to be inserted before the words "for you" in Jesus' phrase about his body "which is for you".

that it furnishes a legitimate Scriptural basis for the observance of the Lord's Supper today.

Having reached the conclusions that the Last Supper was a Pass-over meal, and that I Corinthians 11:23-6 provides a valid warrant for the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the writer wishes now to consider the Biblical and patristic evidence for the past, present, and future references of the Communion Order.

i) Past: Luke's account of the institution of the Last Supper has Jesus say "This is my body which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me" (Luke 22:19).<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Paul quotes Christ as saying after the bread and the cup respectively: "Do this in remembrance of me"; "Do this, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me" (I Corin. 11:24,25); he adds that this celebration is a way in which the worshippers "proclaim the Lord's death". These Scriptural passages reflect the reference to the past in the Lord's Supper.

This same emphasis is found in the Fathers. Writing to the Romans, Ignatius states "My Love<sup>2</sup> has been crucified" (7) just prior to

---

<sup>1</sup>The writer cannot enter into a full discussion of the question of whether the longer or shorter text of Luke is the legitimate one; let him simply state his conviction that he accepts the longer reading, particularly because of its strong manuscript attestation; as W. Barclay (op. cit., p. 39) notes, the longer text is supported by "one papyrus manuscript, fourteen uncial manuscripts, two families of manuscripts, nineteen minuscule manuscripts, the majority concensus opinion of both the Byzantine manuscripts and the lectionaries, five Old Latin manuscripts, the Vulgate, one version of the Syriac version, the Egyptian versions, and the Armenian and the Georgian versions"; cf. the complete discussion in J. Jeremias, op. cit., pp. 139-60.

<sup>2</sup>In his translation of this word, J.A. Kleist follows Origen; cf. Ancient Christian Writers I, p. 136, n.22.

mentioning explicitly the communion elements of Christ's Flesh and Blood. In his Epistle to the Smyrnaeans Ignatius points out that "the Eucharist is the Flesh of our Savior Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins, and which the Father in His loving-kindness raised from the dead" (7). Similarly Justin Martyr cites Jesus' words "This do ye in remembrance of me" (cf. Luke 22:19; I Corin. 11:24), in his account of the Eucharist (Apology I.66); Justin goes on to indicate that, following the Lord's Supper the worshippers "continually remind each other of these things (ibid. 67). In his Dialogue with Trypho Justin refers to "the Eucharist, the celebration of which our Lord Jesus Christ prescribed, in remembrance of the suffering which He endured on behalf of those who are purified in soul from all iniquity" (41). In the same work, (70) Justin expresses his conviction that Isaiah 53:13-9 alludes "to the bread which our Christ gave us to eat, in remembrance of His being made flesh for the sake of His believers, for whom also He suffered; and to the cup which He gave us to drink, in remembrance of His own blood, with giving of thanks" (70). Subsequently, in this Dialogue with Trypho (117), Justin writes about "the sacrifices . . . which Jesus the Christ enjoined us to offer, i.e. in the Eucharist of the bread and the cup"; and adds the comment: "For such alone Christians have undertaken to offer, and in the remembrance effected by their solid and liquid food, whereby the suffering of the Son of God which He endured is brought to mind".

Irenaeus describes Christ's words and actions at the Last Supper: "Again, giving directions to His disciples to offer to God the first-fruits of His own created things . . . He took that created thing, bread and gave thanks, and said, 'This is my body.' And the cup likewise, which

is part of that creation to which we belong, He confessed to be His blood, and taught the new oblation of the new covenant" (Against Heresies, IV. 17.5). Later, in the same work Irenaeus virtually repeats this same idea: "By His own blood He redeemed us . . . . He has acknowledged the cup (which is a part of the creation) as His own blood . . . and the bread (also a part of the creation) He has established as His own body" (V.2.2).

This reference to the past, in connection with the Lord's Supper, is found also in Clement of Alexandria. He writes about "the blood of His [Christ's] flesh, by which we are redeemed from corruption". Clement cites Paul's words: "Christ our passover was sacrificed for us"<sup>1</sup> and adds the comment " - a sacrifice hard to procure in truth, the Son of God consecrated for us" (The Miscellanies V.10).

Tertullian preserves the same note of remembrance. He refers to the partaking of the Lord's Supper as "the participation of the sacrifice" (On Prayer, 19). Furthermore, he gives the reminder that the Lord's Supper is celebrated because of Christ's command to do so: "We take also . . . the sacrament of the Eucharist, which the Lord both commanded to be eaten at meal-times, and enjoined to be taken by all [alike]" (On the Soldiers Chaplet, 3). Again, he speaks about the wine "which He [Christ] consecrated in memory of His blood" (De Anima 17); furthermore, Tertullian describes the Eucharist as "the offerings of the pure sacrifice" (Against Marcion III.22), which corresponds to the Lord's injunction in Malachi 1:11: "and in every place sacrifice shall be offered unto my name, and a

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. I Corinthians 5:7.

pure offering".

The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus has the bishop offer a prayer of Thanksgiving to God which recalls that Jesus Christ "taking bread and giving thanks to thee said: Take, eat: this is my body, which is broken for you. And likewise also the cup, saying: This is my blood, which is shed for you. As often as ye perform this, perform my memorial" (4); the bishop immediately continues: "Having in memory, therefore, his death and resurrection, we offer to thee the bread and the cup . . .". Hippolytus also refers in the same work to the eucharistic wine being "mixed with water according to the likeness of the blood, which is shed for all who believe in him"(23).

These passages indicate that the reference to the past in the Communion service in the Book of Common Order is both Biblical and patristic. The evidence must be examined in order to ascertain whether the same is true of the present reference.

ii) Present: This aspect of the Lord's Supper is brought out by the note of Thanksgiving which is found in all of the accounts of its institution. Matthew (26:27) and Mark (14:23) point out that Jesus distributed the cup "when he had given thanks"; Luke (22:17,19) has these words precede the breaking and distribution of the bread as well as the cup. Paul (I Corin. 11:24) has them only before the fraction, but his statement "In the same way also the cup" (I Corin 11.25) may imply that the giving of thanks preceded its circulation as well.

The fact that Christ makes the bread and wine symbolize his body

and blood - "This is<sup>1</sup> my body" (Mark 14:22, Matt. 26:26, Luke 22:19; I Corin. 11:24); "This is<sup>1</sup> my blood" (Mark 14:24; Matt. 26:28); "This cup is<sup>1</sup> the new covenant in my blood" (I Corin. 11:25; Luke 22:20) - means that the communion elements continue to represent his spiritual but real presence in this Sacrament. Because of Christ's past actions, worshippers are able to be spiritually nourished and to enter into communion with him in the present. Paul suggests this note of communion when he writes: "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a participation [or communion] in the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not a participation in the body of Christ? (I Corin. 10:16).

But this fellowship is not only with Christ; there is also the communion of the worshippers with one another. This aspect of the Lord's Supper is brought out by Paul's condemnation of those who partake "without discerning the body" (I Corin. 11:29). The word "Lord's" which precedes "body" in the KJV - "without discerning the Lord's body" - is lacking in the best manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> Therefore as W. Barclay writes: "The person condemned is not the person who does not discern that the elements he takes in his hands are the Lord's body. The person condemned is the person who does not discern that Christians are the Lord's body, and must be in unity before they dare approach the sacrament".<sup>3</sup> The fact that Paul speaks against those who fail properly to "discern the body" makes it clear that

<sup>1</sup>cf. W. Barclay, (op. cit., pp. 105-6) who demonstrates that "is" in Biblical language often means "represents" or "stands for", and that such is the meaning to be attached to this word in these references at the Last Supper.

<sup>2</sup>As W. Barclay (op. cit., p, 109) points out, it is lacking in "the Chester Beatty papyrus manuscript of the Pauline Epistles, the first hand of Codex Sinaiticus, Codex Alexandrinus, Codex Vaticanus, and the first hand of Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus".

<sup>3</sup>W. Barclay, ibid.

a sense of fellowship and harmony comes to those who participate in the Lord's Supper, and that if such is lacking, then their partaking has been "unworthy" (cf. I Corin. 11:27).

The Fathers also make it clear that the Lord's Supper has a present reference. The idea of thanksgiving in connection with this Sacrament abounds in their writings. The very name Eucharist is itself a tacit witness to this aspect; this word is used by: the Didache (9:1,5); Ignatius (Philadelphians 4; Smyrnaeans 7:1; 8:1); Justin (Apology I.66; Dialogue with Trypho 41); Irenaeus (Against Heresies IV.18.5; V.2.2,3; Fragments from the Lost Writings of Irenaeus XXXVII); Clement of Alexandria (The Instructor II.2; The Miscellanies I.19); Tertullian (On Prayer 19; On the Soldier's Chaplet 3; On Prescription Against Heretics 36; On Modesty 9); and Hippolytus (Apostolic Tradition 32).

In addition, there are many patristic passages which indicate that thanks is given in the celebration of this Sacrament. Clement of Rome refers to bishops who have "offered the sacrifices proper to the episcopate" (I Clement 44:4; cf. 36:1; 40:1-2). J.A. Kleist<sup>1</sup> and J.H. Srawley<sup>2</sup> suggest that these sacrifices included, among other things, the Eucharist; furthermore, in his liturgical prayer (ibid. 59:3-61:3) which may have been used at the Eucharist, Clement prays to the Lord: "To Thee, who alone art able to bestow these and even greater blessings upon us, we render thanks and praise through the High Priest and Ruler of our souls, Jesus Christ". The Didache expands the statement "Regarding the Eucharist" in

<sup>1</sup>J.A. Kleist, Ancient Christian Writers, I, pp. 112-3, n.129.

<sup>2</sup>J.H. Srawley, "Eucharist", ERE, V, p. 547.

the following way: "Give thanks as follows: First, concerning the cup: 'We give Thee thanks, Our Father . . .'. Next, concerning the broken bread: 'We give Thee thanks, Our Father . . .'" (9:1-3); it continues: "After you have taken your fill of food, give thanks as follows: 'We give Thee thanks, O Holy Father . . .'" (10:1-2). Similarly, its description of Sunday worship instructs: "assemble in common to break bread and offer thanks; but first confess your sins, so that your sacrifice may be pure" (14:1); this passage almost certainly alludes to the Eucharist,<sup>1</sup> and the conjoining of the idea of sacrifice with thanksgiving is reminiscent of the Biblical exhortation to "offer up a sacrifice of praise to God" (Hebrews 13:15); in the same manner, Ignatius urges the Ephesians: "Make an effort, then, to meet more frequently to celebrate God's Eucharist and to offer praise" (13:1); Justin observes that the celebrant "offers thanks at considerable length" (Apology I.65, cf. 67) and cites the fact that Jesus gave thanks before the distribution of the bread and the cup (ibid. I.66); also in his Dialogue with Trypho he states that the "giving of thanks" accompanies the Eucharist (70; 117, cf. 41). Irenaeus also notes that Jesus "gave thanks" at the Last Supper (Against Heresies IV.17.5), and that the "giving of thanks" is to be done at the Lord's Supper (ibid. IV.18.4); he goes on to refer to "the bread over which thanks have been given" (ibid.), and mentions that in offering the Eucharist to Christ, Christians are "rendering thanks for his gift" (ibid. IV.18.5). One of the Fragments From the Lost Writings of Irenaeus states: "For we make an oblation to God of the bread and the cup of blessing, giving Him thanks in that He has commanded the earth to bring forth these

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. J.A. Kleist, Ancient Christian Writers, VI, p. 163, n.87.

fruits for our nourishment" (XXXVII). Clement of Alexandria, in whose writings the Lord's Supper is still linked with the Agape and the family meal, cites from Romans 14:6<sup>1</sup> and comments: "So that the right food is thanksgiving. And he who gives thanks does not occupy his time in pleasures" (The Instructor II.1). This idea of thanksgiving is preserved also by Hippolytus, who in his Anostolic Tradition has the bishop offer a prayer of Thanksgiving which begins "We give thee thanks, O God", and which notes Jesus' "taking bread and giving thanks", and continues in prayer to God with the words "yielding thee thanks" (4); later in the same work, Hippolytus writes that "by thanksgiving" the elements are consecrated by the bishop (23); again, Hippolytus notes that the cup represents Christ's blood "whenthou hast given thanks in the name of the Lord" (32).

These passages make it clear that the note of thanksgiving - which conveys a present reference - pervades this Sacrament. The sense of the present is also portrayed by having the elements symbolize Christ's body and blood. Such an identification is made by the Fathers. In the Didache (9) the words "the Holy Vine of David" in the thanksgiving concerning the cup, and the adjective "broken" to describe the bread, may contain veiled references to the body and blood of Christ. Kleist notes the possibility that "the disciplina arcani forbade any specific reference to the mysterium"<sup>2</sup> in this context. Ignatius makes the conn-

---

<sup>1</sup>"He that eateth, eateth to the Lord,, and giveth God thanks; and he that eateth not to the Lord he eateth not, and giveth God thanks" (cf. KJV rendering).

<sup>2</sup>J.A. Kleist, Ancient Christian Writers, VI, p. 10.

action between Christ's body and blood and the elements most explicit. He writes that "unless a man is within the sanctuary, he has to go without the Bread of God" (Ephesians 5:2); later in the same letter, he mentions those who meet for common worship "to break the same Bread" (20:2); the context of this reference makes it clear that this Bread refers to Christ's body; he urges the Trallians "renew yourselves in faith, which is the flesh of the Lord, and in love, which is the Blood of Jesus Christ" (8:1); to the Romans he says: "Bread of God is what I desire; that is, the Flesh of Jesus Christ, who was of the seed of David; and for my drink I desire His Blood, that is, incorruptible love" (7:3); he refers to the "one Eucharist; for, one is the Flesh of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and one the cup to unite us with His blood" (Philadelphians 4); he exhorts the Smyrnaeans to "believe in the Blood of Christ (6:1), and goes on to mention those who wrongly refuse to "confess that the Eucharist is the flesh of our Savior Jesus Christ"(7:1).

Justin Martyr also connects the eucharistic elements with Christ's body and blood: "For not as common bread and common drink do we receive these; but in like manner as Jesus Christ our Saviour, having been made flesh by the word of God, had both flesh and blood for our salvation, so likewise have we been taught that the food which is blessed by the prayer of His word . . . is the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh" (Apology I.66); Justin proceeds to cite Jesus' words at the Last Supper "this is my body", "This is my blood" (ibid.). In his Dialogue with Trypho (70) Justin makes the point that the bread and the cup were to be, respectively, "in remembrance of His being made flesh for the sake of His believers" and "in remembrance of His own blood". H.B. Swete

refers to the "sacred and mysterious character"<sup>1</sup> which the elements possess in Justin. Similarly, Irenaeus notes that Christ said of the bread "'This is my body.' And the cup likewise, . . . He confessed to be His blood" (Against Heresies IV.17.5). Also he observes the necessity of calling Jesus Christ "the Son of the Creator of the world, that is, His Word" in order to say that the bread" is the body of their Lord, and the cup His blood" (ibid. IV.18.4). Irenaeus goes on to indicate that the flesh "is nourished with the body of the Lord and with His blood" (ibid. IV.18.5). Furthermore, Irenaeus cites the fact that Jesus "acknowledged the bread to be His body, . . . and affirmed the mixed cup to be His blood" (ibid. IV.33.2). Likewise he writes that in the Lord's Supper "the Eucharist of the blood and the body of Christ is made", and mentions "the Eucharist, which is the body and blood of Christ" (ibid. V.2.3). The Lost Fragment from Irenaeus' writings speaks about "the bread the body of Christ, and the cup the blood of Christ" (XXXVII). Clement of Alexandria attributes to Christ the words "Eat ye my flesh and drink my blood" (cf. John 6:53-4) and comments: "Such is the suitable food which the Lord ministers, and He offers His flesh and pours forth His blood" (The Instructor I.6). Also he cites Jesus' statement "the bread that I shall give for the life of the world is my flesh" (John 6:51), and goes on to refer to "the mystery of the bread" which is "figuratively termed wine" (ibid.). In addition, Clement suggests that in the Sacrament the worshippers "drink the blood of Jesus" (ibid. II.2). In The Miscellanies he refers to "the flesh and the blood of the Word" (V.10) and

---

<sup>1</sup>H.B. Swete, "Eucharistic Belief in the Second and Third Centuries" JTS, III, 1902, p. 170.

gives his interpretative paraphrase of Psalm 34:8 which he renders:  
 "Taste and see that the Lord is Christ".

Tertullian also has the bread and the wine symbolize Christ's body and blood. In his Treatise On Idolatry he refers to the bread as "the Lord's body" and "His body" (7). Similarly in On Prayer he writes: "Then, [we find], too, that His body is reckoned [to be] in bread: 'This is my body'"; in the same work he mentions the "reception of the Lord's Body" in the Eucharist; his description of the bread, secretly eaten by the wife before anything else as "that [bread] which it is said to be" (To His Wife II.5) implies that it is the bread from the Lord's Supper, and therefore represents Christ's body. Tertullian's Treatise On the Resurrection of the Flesh indicates that "the flesh feeds on the body and blood of Christ" (8). In An Answer to the Jews, he refers to Christ's "calling His body 'bread'" (10). In his work Against Marcion he mentions "the bread by which he [Christ] represents his own proper body" (I.14). Later in the same volume he considers prophecies of the death of Christ; to Jeremiah's words "Come, let us destroy the tree with the fruit [the bread] thereof" (11:19) Tertullian adds "that is, His body" (III.19); he proceeds to note that Christ "called His body bread; so that for the time to come, you may understand that He has given to His body the figure of bread, whose body the prophet of old figuratively turned into bread, the Lord Himself, designing to give by and by an interpretation of the mystery" (ibid.). Tertullian subsequently describes Christ's actions and words at the Last Supper: "Then, having taken the bread and given it to His disciples, He made it His own body, by saying, 'This is my body', that is the figure of my body. . . . He likewise, when mentioning the cup and making the [new] testament to be sealed 'in His blood' affirms

the reality of His body"(IV.40).

Hippolytus also links the eucharistic elements to Christ's body and blood; his Apostolic Tradition (4) has the bishop cite Jesus' words at the Last Supper in the following formulation: "This is my body, which is broken for you"; "This is my blood, which is shed for you"; also he writes that the bishop through thanksgiving "shall make the bread into an image of the body of Christ, and the cup of wine mixed with water according to the likeness of the blood, which is shed for all who believe in him" (ibid. 23); furthermore, he indicates that in the eucharist "the body of Christ is to be eaten by believers", and reminds them that the cup over which they have given thanks has been "accepted as the image of the blood of Christ" (ibid. 32).

These patristic references show how widespread was the symbolic identification between the body and blood of Christ and the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper; such representation suggests Christ's Real Presence in the Sacrament, and thus underlines its present reference.

The reference to the present is also conveyed by setting forth the present benefits of the Lord's Supper to the worshippers. The most frequently mentioned of these is spiritual nourishment. The Didache thanks the Lord because "to us Thou hast vouchsafed spiritual food and drink" in the Eucharist (10:3) Justin Martyr refers to the eucharistic elements "from which our blood and flesh by transmutation are nourished" (Apology, I.66); Irenaeus mentions "the flesh, which is nourished with the body of the Lord and with His blood" (Against Heresies, IV.18.5); also, Irenaeus observes that Christ "has acknowledged the cup . . . as His own body; from which He gives increase to our bodies" (ibid. V.2.2); Irenaeus goes on to speak of the eucharistic blood and body of Christ

"from which things the substance of our flesh is increased and supported", and of the flesh which "is nourished from the body and blood of the Lord, and is a member of Him", and which "is nourished by the cup which is His blood, and receives increase from the bread which is His body", and of "our bodies being nourished" by the Eucharist (ibid. V.2.3). The Lost Fragment from Irenaeus' writings calls the communion elements "fruits for our nourishment" (XXXVII). Clement of Alexandria refers to the eating and drinking of Christ's flesh and blood as a metaphorical description of the means by which the Church "is refreshed and grows" (The Instructor I.6); in the same chapter Clement writes that "the Word, Himself became spiritual nourishment to the good", and proceeds to quote Christ's command to eat his flesh and drink his blood (cf. John 6:53,54); also, Clement indicates that "those among men who are heavenly" have the flesh and blood of Christ "nourishing them" (ibid.); also, he indicates that "the mixture of wine and water, nourishes to faith" and that those who "by faith" partake of the Eucharist "are sanctified both in body and soul" (ibid. II.2); furthermore, Clement notes that "the flesh and blood of the Word" constitute "the comprehension of the divine power and essence" and mentions "those who partake of such food in a more spiritual manner" whereby "the soul nourishes itself" (The Miscellanies V.10); he adds the comment: "For the knowledge of the divine essence is the meat and drink of the divine Word" (ibid.).

This idea of spiritual nourishment in the Lord's Supper is found also in Tertullian. In his Treatise On Prescription Against Heretics, he observes that the Church "feeds with the eucharist" (36). In On the Resurrection of the Flesh he writes: "the flesh feeds on the body and blood of Christ, that the soul likewise may fatten on [its] God" (8). Similarly,

in On Modesty he suggests that in the Eucharist a person "feeds upon the 'fatness' of the Lord's body" (9). Hippolytus has this same thought; in his Apostolic Tradition he mentions "Christ's flesh which he gave, by which they who believe are nourished like babies" (23). In these ways, therefore, spiritual nourishment in the Lord's Supper, as a present benefit, is set forth by the Fathers.

Another present benefit of the Eucharist is communion and fellowship with Christ. In the context of common worship at which the Lord's Supper is celebrated, Ignatius twice refers to this aspect. He writes of those who are "as closely knit to him [the bishop] as the Church is to Jesus Christ, and as Jesus Christ is to the Father" so that "the symphony of unity is perfect" (Ephesians 5:1); subsequently in the same work he mentions those who meet for worship "in union with Jesus Christ" (20:2). In words reminiscent of I Corinthians 10:16 Irenaeus makes the point that if the flesh does not attain salvation "then neither did the Lord redeem us with His blood, nor is the cup of the Eucharist the communion of His blood, nor is the bread which we break the communion of His body" (Against Heresies V.2.2). The clear implication of this passage is that through partaking of the elements at the Lord's Supper the worshipper enters into communion with Christ. Irenaeus proceeds to refer to Christians as "His members" (ibid.), and to the one who has received the Eucharist as "a member of Him" (ibid. 3).

A third present benefit of the Lord's Supper is the unity and fellowship which Christians have with one another.<sup>1</sup> In his liturgical

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. J.H. Srawley, The Early History of the Liturgy, pp. 232-4.

prayer, Clement of Rome prays to the Lord: "Grant concord and peace to us as well as to all the inhabitants of the earth" (I Clement 60:4).

The Didache has the following words in its eucharistic prayers of Thanksgiving: "As this broken bread was scattered over the hills and then, when gathered, became one mass, so may Thy Church be gathered from the ends of the earth into Thy Kingdom" (9:3); "Remember, O Lord, Thy Church: deliver her from all evil, perfect her in Thy love, and from the four winds assemble her, the sanctified, in Thy kingdom which Thou hast prepared for her" (9:5). Similarly, the Epistles of Ignatius refer to this aspect of union and harmony in the Church in connection with the Lord's Supper. To the Ephesians he writes: "I count you happy who are as closely knit to him [the bishop] as the Church is to Jesus Christ, and as Jesus Christ is to the Father! As a result, the symphony of unity is perfect (5:1). In the same letter he recommends co-operation when he writes: "Peace is a precious thing" (13:2). Subsequently he mentions those who meet for common worship "to show obedience with undivided mind to the bishop and the presbytery, and to break the same Bread" (ibid. 20:2). Ignatius tells the Magnesians: "at your meetings there must be one prayer, one supplication, one mind, one hope in love, in joy that is flawless, that is Jesus Christ, who stands supreme. Come together, all of you, as to one temple and one altar, to one Jesus Christ - to Him who came forth from one Father and yet remained with, and returned to, one" (7: 1-2). Ignatius urges the Trallians to practice "kind forbearance" (8:1) and continues: "Let none of you bear a grudge against his neighbor" (8:2). The sense of Christian unity is brought out clearly by his words to the Philadelphians: "Take care, then, to partake of one Eucharist; for one is the Flesh of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and one the cup to unite

us with His Blood, and one altar, just as there is one bishop assisted by the presbytery and the deacons, my fellow servants" (4). Ignatius instructs the Smyrnaeans: "Let that celebration of the Eucharist be considered valid which is held under the bishop or anyone to whom he has committed it. Where the bishop appears, there let the people be, just as where Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church" (8:1-2).

This same sense of fellowship is suggested by having the eucharistic elements sent to those who are absent (Justin, Apology I.65,67; cf. Tertullian, On Prayer 19; To His Wife II.5; Hippolytus, Apostolic Tradition 24,32). A further indication of this corporate spirit is found in Hippolytus who has the presbyters closely associated with the bishop in the celebration of the Eucharist: "To him then the deacons shall bring the offering, and he, laying his hand upon it, with all the presbytery, shall say the thanksgiving" (Apostolic Tradition 4); this Prayer of Thanksgiving and Consecration includes the request to God for "thy holy church; that thou, gathering them into one, wouldest grant to all the saints who partake to be filled with [the] Holy Spirit". These references show how the Fathers preserve the Biblical idea of the unity and communion of the worshippers with each other in the Lord's Supper.

These three benefits - spiritual nourishment and fellowship with Christ and with one another - which are available to a person through the Eucharist help to convey the reference to the present in this Sacrament.

It may be concluded, therefore, that the Book of Common Order is being true to Biblical and patristic teaching by making this present reference so explicit in its Communion Order. But also the latter looks to the future. Is this aspect found in the Scriptures and the Fathers?

iii) Future: Each of the Synoptic Gospels preserve Jesus' saying about

the future at the Last Supper; in Mark 14:25 it reads: "Truly, I say to you, I shall not drink again of the fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God"; Matthew 26:29 records: "I tell you I shall not drink again of this fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom"; similarly Luke 22:15-6 has: "I have earnestly desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer; for I tell you I shall not eat it until it is fulfilled in the kingdom of God". This same eschatological note is sounded in I Corinthians 11:26, although in this reference the words are those of Paul and not of Jesus: "For as often as you eat this bread and drink the cup, you proclaim the Lord's death until he comes".

The patristic writers also point to the future in their literature about the Lord's Supper. In its prayers of thanksgiving for the Eucharist, the Didache thanks the Holy Father for the "immortality which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus, Thy Servant" (10:2), praises the Lord for "eternal life" (10:3), and closes with the eschatological "Marana tha" (10:6). Ignatius writes about those who meet in worship "to break the same Bread, which is the medicine of immortality, the antidote against death, and everlasting life in Jesus Christ" (Ephesians 20:2). Justin notes that in the baptismal Eucharist, just before the elements are brought to the president, there are prayers of intercession "so that we may be saved with an everlasting salvation" (Apology, I.65). Irenaeus writes that "our bodies, when they receive the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible, having the hope of the resurrection to eternity" (Against Heresies IV.18.5); furthermore, he points beyond this earth to the "altar . . . in heaven (for towards that place are our prayers and oblations directed)" (ibid. IV.18.6); Irenaeus gives another future ref-

erence in connection with the Eucharist when he writes against those who "affirm that the flesh is incapable of receiving the gift of God which is life eternal" (ibid. V.2.3). In the same section he writes that nourished by the Eucharist "our bodies . . . shall rise at their appointed time, the Word of God granting them resurrection to the glory of God, even the Father, who freely gives to this mortal immortality, and to this corruptible incorruption". One of the Fragments From the Lost Writings of Irenaeus refers to the request that those who partake of the Communion elements "may obtain . . . life eternal" (XXXVII). Similarly Clement of Alexandria writes that "those among men who are heavenly" have Christ's flesh and blood (or bread and wine) "nourishing them up to immortality" (The Instructor I.6). Subsequently, he virtually repeats the same idea: "And to drink the blood of Jesus, is to become partaker of the Lord's immortality" (ibid. II.2). A future reference may be implied in Hippolytus who has the bishop say at the distribution of the bread: "The heavenly bread in Christ Jesus" (Apostolic Tradition 23).

These passages indicate that the reference to the future is both Biblical and patristic; therefore the Book of Common Order rightly includes the eschatological note in its Communion Services.

The writer has now shown that the threefold reference - Past, Present, and Future - of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the Church of Scotland is found both in the Scriptures and the Fathers; he wishes now to consider the evidence for the various parts of the Communion Order.

The "Order for the Celebration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion"<sup>1</sup> has the following elements:<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Book of Common Order, pp. 111-23.      <sup>2</sup>cf. above pp. 350-5.

- i) Call to Worship;
- ii) Praise;
- iii) Call to Prayer;
- iv) Prayer of Approach, Confession and Pardon, and Supplication;
- v) Praise;
- vi) Old Testament Lesson;
- vii) Psalm (sung or said);
- viii) New Testament Lessons (Epistle and Gospel);
- ix) Creed;<sup>1</sup>
- x) Prayers of Intercession;
- xi) Praise;
- xii) Intimations, including Banns of Marriage;<sup>2</sup>
- xiii) Prayer for Illumination;
- xiv) Sermon;
- xv) Ascription;
- xvi) Offerings;
- xvii) Invitation;
- xviii) Praise;
- xix) The placing of the elements on the Holy Table and their unveiling;
- xx) Prayers of Supplication;<sup>2</sup>
- xxi) The Grace;
- xxii) Words of Institution (I. Corin. 11:23-6);

---

<sup>1</sup>The Creed is optional, and may also be inserted in the following Intercessory Prayer or after the bringing in of the elements.

<sup>2</sup>Optional.

- xxiii) Explanatory words;
- xxiv) Dialogue of the Salutation, Sursum Corda, and Invitation to Thanksgiving;
- xxv) Prayers of Thanksgiving<sup>1</sup> and Consecration, including the Sanctus, Benedictus qui venit, Anamnesis and Epiclesis;<sup>2</sup>
- xxvi) The Lord's Prayer;
- xxvii) Words over the Bread and the Cup at the Fraction and the Elevation;
- xxviii) Agnus Dei;
- xxix) Partaking of both elements;
- xxx) Pax;
- xxxi) Prayers of Thanksgiving;
- xxxii) Praise;
- xxxiii) Benediction.<sup>3</sup>

The writer has already<sup>4</sup> considered the legitimate place which items i-xvi, xviii, xx, xxvi, xxxii, and xxxiii have in public worship; therefore, he will not give them separate consideration here, but rather simply note that their content on this occasion is explicitly or implicitly governed by the fact that they form part of the Communion Order. With respect to the Creed (ix) the writer would point out that many of the passages cited<sup>5</sup> to establish its rightful conclusion in Services of

---

<sup>1</sup>The Proper Prefaces are a particular kind of a thanksgiving prayer, and thus are not treated separately.

<sup>2</sup>The word Epiclesis which means literally "invocation" has become a technical liturgical term to refer to the request that God will send his Holy Spirit upon the eucharistic elements and those who partake of them.

<sup>3</sup>After the Benediction the elements may be removed from the Church while a Praise selection such as Nunc dimittis or Paraphrase 38:8,10 and 11 is sung.

<sup>4</sup>cf. above pp. 78-231.

<sup>5</sup>cf. above pp. 138-59.

worship may well relate to the Lord's Supper; this Sacrament was celebrated daily or as often as the Christians in the primitive Church met for public worship. Thus, as the Creeds were developed, they would find their way into these regular observances. Inasmuch as the Eucharist came to follow closely upon Baptism,<sup>1</sup> it would seem logical to assume that the Creed which is used in the baptismal rite would not be repeated in the ensuing Lord's Supper; in such cases the Creed is associated with the Eucharist by virtue of its being linked with Baptism as one continuous Service; specifically the writer would note that in his Apostolic Tradition Hippolytus states that the person who gives the cup three times at the Lord's Supper says respectively: "In God the Father Almighty"; "In the Lord Jesus Christ"; and "In the Holy Ghost and the holy church"; the recipient responds "Amen" each time (23). These words suggest the basis of a Trinitarian Creed.<sup>2</sup>

The writer will now ascertain the extent to which the remaining parts of the Communion Order have Biblical and patristic warrant.

a) Invitation

The minister invites the people to "draw near to the Holy Table" by citing Christ's words from Matthew 11:28-9; John 6:35,37; and Matthew 5:6. The invitation to partake is preserved in Jesus' statements at the Last Supper; concerning the bread he said "Take, eat";<sup>3</sup> and for the cup

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. e.g. Tertullian, On the Resurrection of the Flesh 8; Hippolytus, Apostolic Tradition 21-3.

<sup>2</sup>cf. B.S. Easton (The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus, p. 95) who refers to this "little four-clause creed".

<sup>3</sup>Matt. 26:26 and I Corin. 11:24(KJV); Mark 14:22 has simply "Take".

"Drink of it, all of you"<sup>1</sup> or "Take this, and divide it among yourselves";<sup>2</sup> furthermore, such an invitation is implied in his injunction to repeat what was done on that occasion.<sup>3</sup>

Directly or indirectly, the Fathers suggest that an invitation to partake is given at the celebration of the Eucharist. The instruction of the Didache: "Let no one eat and drink of the Eucharist but those baptized in the name of the Lord" (9:5) implies that those who had been baptized would be invited to receive the elements; the same may be said about the statement: "assemble in common to break bread and offer thanks". Similarly, the following passages in Ignatius hint at an invitation to participate in the Lord's Supper: "Make an effort, then, to meet more frequently to celebrate God's Eucharist and to offer praise" (Ephesians 13:1); "renew yourselves in faith, which is the Flesh of the Lord, and in love, which is the Blood of Jesus Christ" (Trallians 8:1); and "Take care then, to partake of one Eucharist" (Philadelphians 4).

An invitation to partake is implied by Justin Martyr who notes that only baptized believers are permitted to receive the Eucharist: "no one is allowed to partake but the man who believes that the things which we teach are true, and who has been washed with the washing that is for the remission of sins, and unto regeneration, and who is so living as Christ has enjoined" (Apology I.66); in the same chapter Justin cites

---

<sup>1</sup>Matt. 26:27.

<sup>2</sup>Luke 22:17.

<sup>3</sup>Luke 22:19; I Corin. 11:24,25.

Christ's words at the Last Supper: "This do ye in remembrance of me"; likewise in his Dialogue with Trypho, he writes that Jesus "prescribed" (41), and "enjoined" (117) the celebration of the Eucharist, and refers to the "bread which our Christ gave us to eat, in remembrance of His being made flesh" and "the cup which He gave us to drink, in remembrance of His own blood" (70).

Similarly Irenaeus suggests an invitation to receive the Communion elements, when he mentions that Jesus at the Last Supper gave "directions to His disciples to offer to God the first-fruits of His own created things"; and that such an offering is made to God by the Church "throughout all the world" (Against Heresies IV.17.5). Also Clement of Alexandria notes that by Christ's words "Eat ye my flesh and drink my blood" (cf. John 6:53,54), Christians "are enjoined to cast off the old and carnal corruption . . . receiving in exchange another new regimen, that of Christ" (The Instructor I.6); in addition he urges the taking of the eucharistic bread and wine, by rendering Psalm 34:8 as: "Taste and see that the Lord is Christ" (The Miscellanies V.10). An invitation to partake of the Lord's Supper is implied by Tertullian who writes of "the sacrament of the Eucharist, which the Lord both commanded to be eaten at meal-times, and enjoined to be taken by all [alike]" (On the Soldier's Chaplet 3). This aspect of invitation is preserved in Hippolytus by having the bishop cite Jesus' words in his prayer of Thanksgiving: "Take, eat", and "perform my memorial" (Apostolic Tradition 4); subsequently, Hippolytus urges "But let each of the faithful be zealous . . . to receive the eucharist" (ibid., 32).

Thus it may be concluded that the Invitation to partake at the Lord's Table is both Biblical and patristic, although its occurrence in

the writings of the Fathers is more implicit than explicit. Perhaps Benoit's dictum - "on ne récite pas une rubrique, on l'exécute"<sup>1</sup> - may account for the fact that most of the patristic evidence, in this case, is indirect.

b) Placing and Unveiling of the Elements

This feature is completely absent from the New Testament accounts of the institution of the Lord's Supper. However, it was a Passover meal and preparations were made before the beginning of the feast.<sup>2</sup> And in the primitive Church, where this Sacrament was observed daily, the eucharistic elements were brought by the people as an offering in kind; this fact implies that some preparations preceded the bringing. Although there is no explicit Scriptural evidence that the elements were at some time put in the appropriate place, it does not seem to be an unreasonable assumption; and, of course, it would be performed much more informally than is the case today. In Justin and Hippolytus this aspect of the Communion Order is suggested. The former writes: "There is then brought to the president of the brethren bread and a cup of wine mixed with water; and he taking them . . ." (Apology I.65). In the same work Justin also states: "when our prayer is ended, bread and wine and water are brought, and the president in like manner offers prayers and thanksgivings"(I.67).

According to Hippolytus the elements are brought to the bishop or presbyter by the deacons: "To him then the deacons shall bring the offering, and he, laying his hand upon it, with all the presbytery, shall

---

<sup>1</sup>P. Benoit, op. cit., p. 386.

<sup>2</sup>cf. Matt. 26:17-9; Mark 14:12-6; Luke 22:8-13.

say as the thanksgiving . . . " (Apostolic Tradition 4); "And then the offering is immediately brought by the deacon to the bishop, and by thanksgiving . . . " (ibid. 23); "and whenever a deacon approaches a presbyter he shall hold out his robe, and the presbyter shall take the bread" (ibid. 24).

Thus it may be observed that in having the elements brought in and laid on the Holy Table and then unveiled, the Church of Scotland can appeal to the Fathers for support; but also this custom is in harmony with what is known of early Christian eucharistic practices.

c) The Grace

Before reading the words of institution, the minister says: "The Grace of the Lord Jesus Christ Be with You All". The writer has already<sup>1</sup> considered the use of these words (or similar variations of them) as a Benediction. But there is no Biblical or patristic evidence until after Hippolytus that this Grace formed part of the Communion liturgy, even the Benediction. The only place where grace is so mentioned in connection with the Eucharist is in the Didache "May Grace come, and this world pass away" (10:6) but as Kleist observes "Grace" or  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$  in this passage is "a name for Christ"<sup>2</sup>.

The writer would agree that the idea of invoking Christ's grace upon the worshippers, at this point in the Communion service, is appropriate. But to do so has no Scriptural or early patristic warrant; Milligan's contention, so far as this Grace is concerned, cannot be sub-

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. above pp. 226-31.

<sup>2</sup>J.A. Kleist, Ancient Christian Writers, VI, p. 161, n.66.

stantiated.

d) Words of Institution

The minister reads I Corinthians 11:23-6, urging the worshippers to "attend to the words of the institution of the Holy Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ".<sup>1</sup> The fact that Christ in the Upper Room speaks words over the bread and the cup indicating that they symbolize his body and blood, gives instructions to repeat the meal, and affirms his confidence in the final victory of his Kingdom, means that the recitation of these words in the Lord's Supper today is Scripturally sound.

The writer has already<sup>2</sup> noted the many passages in the patristic literature where a symbolic identification is made between the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper and Christ's body and blood. Of particular significance in this context is the fact that four of them actually cite Jesus' statements. In his description of Christian worship, Justin gives Christ's words: "This do ye in remembrance of me, this is my body" and "This is my blood" (Apology I.66). Similarly Irenaeus cites Jesus' words over the bread "This is my body", adding the comment "And the cup likewise" (Against Heresies, IV.17.5); Tertullian does almost exactly the same thing; he states that Christ said "This is my body" and "likewise, when mentioning the cup and making the [new] testament to be sealed 'in His blood' . . . " (Against Marcion IV.40); Hippolytus has the bishop include in his prayer of thanksgiving, Jesus' eucharistic sayings: "Take, eat; this is my body, which is broken for you" and "This is my blood, which is shed for you. As often as you perform this, perform my

---

<sup>1</sup>Book of Common Order, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup>cf. above pp. 404-8.

memorial" (Apostolic Tradition 4). These references show how the Christians continued to repeat Jesus' words at the Last Supper, when they celebrated the Eucharist.

It may be concluded therefore, that the reading of the words of institution in the Communion Order has Scriptural and patristic warrant.

e) Explanatory Words

After reading I Corinthians 11:23-6, the minister gives some words of explanation about the Sacrament and its elements. Besides the actual statements of Jesus, the New Testament accounts of the institution of the Lord's Supper contain a few explanatory comments about Jesus' actions. Furthermore, as Jeremias has aptly remarked: "Jesus said more at the Last Supper than the few words preserved in the liturgical formulae";<sup>1</sup> it is almost certain that Jesus gave to his disciples far more extensive interpretations of what he said and did in the Upper Room than have been preserved. These explanations provide a Scriptural basis for including the same in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper today.

There are a few allusions to this aspect of the Communion Order in the writings of the Fathers. It may be noted, however, that the Didache is a document which proposes to give such explanation, rather than refer to instances where it is done; the same might be said of the Epistles of Ignatius. Justin Martyr concludes his discussion of the Christians' weekly service of worship, (at which the Eucharist is celebrated), with the mention of "these things, which we have submitted to

---

<sup>1</sup>J. Jeremias, op. cit., p. 238.

you also for your consideration" (Apology, I.67); among other teachings, this reference very probably refers to Justin's explanation of Christ's words and actions at the Last Supper, and their repetition by the Church of his day. Similarly Irenaeus, besides the teaching on the Lord's Supper which is found in his writings, writes that in their celebration of the Eucharist, the worshippers are "announcing consistently the fellowship and union of the flesh and Spirit" (Against Heresies IV.18.5); this comment hints that some explanation accompanies their observance of this Sacrament. Hippolytus states explicitly that interpretation is to accompany the observance of the Lord's Supper: "The bishop shall explain the reason of all these things to those who partake" (Apostolic Tradition, 23).

Thus it is seen that the Church of Scotland has support in both the Scriptures and the patristic literature for including the explanatory words in its Communion Order.

f) Dialogue of the Salutation, Sursum Corda, and Invitation to Thanksgiving.

After the explanatory words, the minister introduces the Prayers of Thanksgiving and Consecration with three Versicles and Responses: the Salutation ("The Lord be with you"; "And with thy spirit"); the Sursum Corda ("Lift up your hearts"; "We lift them up unto the Lord"); and an invitation to Thanksgiving ("Let us give thanks unto our Lord God;" "It is meet and right so to do"). These formulations belong to the category of developed liturgical language, and therefore it is not surprising that they do not appear in the New Testament's accounts of early Christian worship; certainly the thoughts and ideas which they contain are Biblical,

but their wording and stereotyped form point to an age later than that of the worship of the primitive Church where the language and structure are not fixed but fluid.

The same may be said about the patristic literature. There are those who give these Versicles and Responses a very early origin; J.A. Jungmann believes that Pliny's reference to the carmen which Christians sing secum invicem (Letters X.96) carries with it the suggestion of the Sursum Corda and Sanctus.<sup>1</sup> Jungmann<sup>2</sup> and Dix<sup>3</sup> both refer to the Semitic character of the response "and with thy spirit", and indicate that this Salutation may have been taken over from Jewish usage. Dix<sup>4</sup> finds a possible echo of this "semitic parallelism" in II Timothy 4:22 - "The Lord be with your spirit. Grace be with you". The writer admits that the Church's use of these Versicles and Responses may date from the Apostolic age, but he finds this view unconvincing; it presupposes too detailed a liturgical sense on the part of the primitive Christians.

W.D. Maxwell writes that "Cyprian . . . is the first to mention the Sursum Corda"<sup>5</sup> (which for him also included the Invitation to Thanksgiving and its Response). Maxwell also indicates that there comes "at this time definite mention of the Salutation".<sup>6</sup> The writer, however,

<sup>1</sup>J.A. Jungmann, The Mass of the Roman Rite I, trans. F.A. Brunner, p. 18;

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>3</sup>G. Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy, p. 38.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>W.D. Maxwell, An Outline of Christian Worship, p. 15.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

believes that the evidence of the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus is earlier than Cyprian.<sup>1</sup> In his account of the celebration of the Eucharist Hippolytus has the bishop begin the thanksgiving by saying:

The Lord be with you.  
 And all shall say  
And with thy spirit.  
 Lift up your hearts.  
We lift them up unto the Lord.  
 Let us give thanks to the Lord.  
It is meet and right (Apostolic Tradition 4).<sup>2</sup>

Therefore the writer would conclude that, by having the Dialogue of the Salutation, Sursum Corda and Invitation to Thanksgiving in its Communion Order, the Church of Scotland is adhering to an ancient custom which dates at least from the beginning of the third century. It is untrue (in the writer's opinion) to claim, as Milligan does, that the words and use of these Versicles and Responses have Biblical warrant; but nevertheless, the writer agrees that their subsequent inclusion in worship (from the time of Hippolytus onwards) is not contrary to the Scriptures; rather it was a normal and proper consequence of liturgical development.

---

<sup>1</sup>The writer dates the Apostolic Tradition about A.D. 215, whereas Cyprian's works are mid-third century.

<sup>2</sup>The writer would note that this same Salutation ("The Lord be with you"; "And with thy spirit") occurs following the post-baptismal signing by the bishop in Hippolytus' Apostolic Tradition 22. It recurs in somewhat amplified form, along with the Invitation to Thanksgiving in his account of an evening service: "The Lord be with you all. And the people shall say: [And] with thy spirit. And the bishop shall say: Let us give thanks to the Lord. And the people shall say: It is meet and right: Majesty, exaltation and glory are due to Him" (Ethiopic version 26). The fact that this particular formulation is not part of a eucharistic liturgy is underlined by the comment which immediately follows: "But they shall not say 'Lift up your hearts', for that belongs to the oblation".

g) Prayers of Thanksgiving and Consecration, including the Sanctus, Benedictus qui venit, Anamnesis and Eiclesis

The writer has already considered the legitimate place which Prayers of Thanksgiving have in public worship,<sup>1</sup> as well as the strong emphasis on the giving of thanks at the Eucharist in the Bible and the Fathers.<sup>2</sup> Instead of repeating that evidence which establishes the Scriptural and patristic validity for this part of the Communion Order, he wishes here to quote in full those prayers of this category which have been preserved in the literature up to Hippolytus.

Before doing so, however, it is interesting to note that Thurian believes that the liturgy of the first-fruits (Deut. 26:1-11) is "a kind of memorial of thanksgiving which foreshadows the eucharistic prayer";<sup>3</sup> also M.H. Shepherd, Jr.,<sup>4</sup> notes the possibility that the giving of thanks over the elements is alluded to in I Corinthians 14:16: "Otherwise, if you bless [or give thanks to God] with the spirit, how can anyone in the position of an outsider say the 'Amen' to your thanksgiving when he does not know what you are saying?"

There are no actual eucharistic Prayers of Thanksgiving in the New Testament; the main reason for this lack is no doubt the fact that the Last Supper was a Passover meal, and therefore its Prayers of Thanksgiving would continue to be used by the early Christians in their cele-

<sup>1</sup>cf. above pp. 176-83.

<sup>2</sup>cf. above pp. 400-4.

<sup>3</sup>M. Thurian, op. cit., p. 41, n.1.

<sup>4</sup>M.H. Shepherd, Jr., "Eucharist", IDB, II, p. 179.

brations of the Eucharist. But the patristic writers give examples of such prayers. The Didache states:

Regarding the Eucharist. Give thanks as follows: First, concerning the cup:

We give Thee thanks, Our Father, for the Holy Vine of David Thy Servant, which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus, Thy Servant.

To Thee be the glory for evermore.

Next, concerning the broken bread:

We give Thee thanks, Our Father, for the life and knowledge which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus, Thy Servant.

To Thee be the glory for evermore.

As this broken bread was scattered over the hills and then, when gathered, became one mass, so may Thy Church be gathered from the ends of the earth into Thy Kingdom.

For Thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for evermore (9:1-4).

The next chapter of the Didache also has a Prayer of Thanksgiving but its introductory words - "After you have taken your fill of food, give thanks as follows" - may imply that it is a post-communion Thanksgiving, rather than one which precedes the partaking; in any event this prayer reads:

We give Thee thanks, O Holy Father, for Thy holy name which Thou hast enshrined in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus, Thy Servant.

To Thee be the glory for evermore.

Thou, Lord Almighty, hast created all things for the sake of Thy name and hast given food and drink for men to enjoy, that they may give thanks to Thee; but to us Thou hast vouchsafed spiritual food and drink and eternal life through [Jesus], Thy Servant. Above all, we give Thee thanks because Thou art mighty.

To Thee be the glory for evermore.

Remember, O Lord, Thy Church: deliver her from all evil, perfect her in Thy love, and from the four winds assemble her the sanctified, in Thy kingdom which Thou hast prepared for her.

For Thine is the power and the glory for evermore.

May Grace come, and this world pass away!

Hosanna to the God of David!

If anyone is holy, let him advance, if anyone is not, let him be converted. Hosanna tha! Amen. (10:1-6).

This prayer is of particular significance because it has the only allusion to the Benedictus qui venit in connection with the Eucharist, in the literature with which the writer is dealing. The Book of Common Order makes provision for the words "Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord: Hosanna in the highest"<sup>1</sup> to be included in the Prayer of Thanksgiving and Consecration; they are reminiscent of those shouted by the crowds at Jesus' Triumphal Entry.<sup>2</sup> The statement "Hosanna to the God of David!" in the Didache's prayer (10:6), seems to hint at this Benedictus qui venit.

A eucharistic Prayer of Thanksgiving is also given by Hippolytus; the bishop prays:

We give thee thanks, O God, through thy beloved Servant Jesus Christ, whom at the end of time thou didst send to us a Saviour and Redeemer and the Messenger of thy counsel. Who is thy Word, inseparable from thee; through whom thou didst make all things and in whom thou art well pleased. Whom thou didst send from heaven into the womb of the Virgin, and who, dwelling within her, was made flesh, and was manifested as thy Son, being born of [the] Holy Spirit and the Virgin. Who, fulfilling thy will, and winning for himself a holy people, spread out his hands when he came to suffer, that by his death he might set free them who believed on thee. Who, when he was betrayed to his willing death, that he might bring to nought death, and break the bonds of the devil, and tread hell under foot, and give light to the righteous, and set up a boundary post, and make manifest his resurrection, taking bread and giving thanks to thee said: Take, eat: this is my body, which is broken for you. And likewise also the cup, saying: This is my blood, which is shed for you. As often as ye perform this, perform my memorial.

---

<sup>1</sup>Book of Common Order, p. 119.

<sup>2</sup>cf. Matt. 21:9,15; Mark 11:9-10; Luke 19:38; John 12:13; Psalm 118-25-7.

Having in memory, therefore, his death and resurrection, we offer to thee the bread and the cup, yielding thee thanks, because thou hast counted us worthy to stand before thee and to minister to thee.

And we pray thee that thou wouldest send thy Holy Spirit upon the offerings of thy holy church; that thou, gathering them into one, wouldest grant to all thy saints who partake to be filled with [the] Holy Spirit, that their faith may be confirmed in truth, that we may praise and glorify thee. Through thy Servant Jesus Christ, through whom be to thee glory and honour, with [the] Holy Spirit in the holy church, both now and always and world without end. Amen (Apostolic Tradition 4).

This prayer is important because it contains both an Anamnesis and an Epiclesis as does the Communion Order of the Church of Scotland.<sup>1</sup> Certainly the note of remembrance in the Lord's Supper is not lacking in the New Testament and the Fathers, as the writer has made clear in discussing its reference to the Past;<sup>2</sup> nevertheless, Hippolytus is the first writer to show how this remembrance of Christ is actually included as an Anamnesis in the Prayer of Thanksgiving and Consecration.

In addition, this prayer has an Epiclesis, requesting God to send the Holy Spirit upon the elements so that those who partake may be filled with the Paraclete. Oesterley<sup>3</sup> traces the origin of the Epiclesis to the Jewish conception of the Shekhinah; if he is right, then it forms a

<sup>1</sup>Book of Common Order, p. 119. The minister thanks God for Jesus Christ: "for His holy incarnation, for His perfect life on earth, for His precious sufferings and death upon the Cross; for His glorious resurrection and ascension, for His continual intercession and rule at thy right hand, and for His gift of the Holy Spirit". Also he makes a request of God: "we most humbly beseech Thee to send down Thy Holy Spirit to sanctify both us and these Thine own gifts of bread and wine which we set before Thee".

<sup>2</sup>cf. above pp. 397-400; cf. also pp. 384-91.

<sup>3</sup>W.O.E. Oesterley, The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy, pp. 205-30.

part of Christian worship from the earliest times in the form of "a prayer for the sanctification of the worshippers, gathered together in the name of God, by means of the descent of the Divine Spirit upon them".<sup>1</sup> Be that as it may, a prayer for the coming of the Holy Spirit at celebrations of the Lord's Supper is found clearly in the Fathers; sometimes the reference is more specifically to the benefits for the recipients, but in other passages it is explicitly linked with the elements.

It is believed<sup>2</sup> that the Epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians implies an Epiclesis by calling the Communion bread "the medicine of immortality, the antidote against death, and everlasting life in Jesus Christ" (20:2); it would be no ordinary bread which could confer these benefits upon those who partake. Similarly in Justin the idea of an Epiclesis is suggested by his statement: "For not as common bread and common drink do we receive these; but in like manner as Jesus Christ our Saviour, having been made flesh by the word of God, had both flesh and blood for our salvation, so likewise have we been taught that the food which is blessed by the prayer of His word, and from which our blood and flesh by transmutation are nourished, is the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh" (Apology I.66).

On the basis of the suggested parallelism in this reference between the "operative power of the Logos in the Incarnation and in the Eucharist"<sup>3</sup> some liturgical scholars have suggested that the origin of

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 228-9; cf. e.g. Matt. 18:20; John 14:16-7; 26.

<sup>2</sup>cf. e.g. W.O.E. Oesterley, ibid., p. 217, who cites the support of R.M. Woolley, The Liturgy of the Primitive Church, p. 96, n.1.

<sup>3</sup>J.H. Srawley, The Early History of the Liturgy, p. 32.

the Epiclesis is to be found in those passages which speak of Christ's miraculous birth through the agency of the Holy Spirit.<sup>1</sup> It must be pointed out, however, that Justin's language in Apology I.66 is too uncertain to furnish a solid foundation for such an interpretation. Furthermore, in the same work, he suggests that the Epiclesis is a prayer on behalf of the worshippers rather than for the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the bread and wine; Justin writes that, after the president takes the elements, he "gives praise and glory to the Father of the universe, through the name of the Son and the Holy Ghost, and offers thanks at considerable length for our being counted worthy to receive these things at His hands" (I.65).

Irenaeus also refers to an Epiclesis by mentioning that the communion bread "when it receives the invocation of God, is no longer common bread, but the Eucharist" (Against Heresies IV.18.5). Subsequently he notes that the bread and wine become the Eucharist "which is the body and blood of Christ" after "having received the Word of God" (ibid. V.2.3). Similarly one of the Fragments of Irenaeus' Lost Writings preserves the idea of an Epiclesis: "And then, when we have perfected the oblation, we invoke the Holy Spirit, that He may exhibit this sacrifice, both the bread the body of Christ, and the cup the blood of Christ" (XXXVII). Clement of Alexandria quotes a fragment of Theodotus where the bread, the oil and the water, after they have been consecrated "by the power of the Name" are spoken of as "changed into spiritual potency" though they

---

<sup>1</sup>e.g. Matt. 1:18-20; Luke 1:35; cf. Justin, Apology I.33; W.C.E. Oesterley (op. cit., p. 218, n.1) notes that the evidence for this theory is found in Renaudot, Liturgiarum orientalium collectio, II, pp.512 ff.; and Salaville, Les fondements scripturaires de l'Épiclese in Échos d'Orient, pp. 5 ff.

retain their outward appearances (Excerpta Theodoti 82).<sup>1</sup> Likewise the suggestion of an Epiclesis may be intended in Tertullian's statement that Christ "made it [the bread] His own body, by saying 'This is my body,' that is the figure of my body" (Against Marcion IV.40).

But in spite of these references it is not until Hippolytus that an actual example of an Epiclesis in the liturgy of the Eucharist is preserved. In addition, Hippolytus alludes to an Epiclesis by writing about the bishop that "by thanksgiving he shall make the bread into an image of the body of Christ, and the cup of wine mixed with water according to the likeness of the blood" (Apostolic Tradition 23). Also an Epiclesis is implied in his reminder to the faithful: "The cup, when thou hast given thanks in the name of the Lord, thou hast accepted as the image of the blood of Christ" (ibid. 32).

The Prayers of Thanksgiving and Consecration in the Book of Common Order also include the Sanctus: "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts, Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory: Glory be to Thee, O Lord Most High". These words which echo Isaiah 6:3<sup>2</sup> and Revelation 4:8<sup>3</sup> appear in I Clement in the following form: "Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts; the whole creation is replete with His splendor" (34:6). This passage is introduced by the comment: "For the Scripture says". Maxwell notes this allusion to the Sanctus in I Clement and writes that it "was probably even then a customary part of the eucharist".<sup>4</sup> Similarly Kleist

<sup>1</sup>This evidence is given by J.H. Srawley ("Eucharist", ERE, V, p. 548) whose translation of this excerpt the writer has given.

<sup>2</sup>This verse records the words of the seraphim: "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory".

<sup>3</sup>This passage gives the song of the four living creatures: "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God Almighty, who was and is and is to come!".

<sup>4</sup>W.D. Maxwell, op. cit., p. 9.

notes that this verse in I Clement "is sometimes regarded as the earliest indication of the use of the Sanctus . . . in the liturgy of primitive Christianity".<sup>1</sup> The writer has already<sup>2</sup> noted the view of Jungmann that the Sanctus is implied in Pliny's reference to the singing of a carmen which is done secum invicem. Oesterley,<sup>3</sup> too, believes that such an identification is quite reasonable and possible. Oesterley<sup>4</sup> also finds an "obvious" suggestion of the Sanctus in Clement of Alexandria who writes that the Gnostic "is ever giving thanks to God, like the living creatures figuratively spoken of by Esaias" (The Miscellanies VII.12). Furthermore, Oesterley<sup>5</sup> believes that Tertullian's mentioning of the "Holy Thing" (On the Spectacles 25) is a reference to the Sanctus. A clear indication of the Sanctus appears in Tertullian's Treatise On Prayer which states that the heavenly angels "cease not to say, Holy, holy, holy" (3). It may well be, as Oesterley<sup>6</sup> suggests, that the Sanctus came into Christianity from the Kedûshah of Jewish worship (which includes Isaiah 6:3) which was very early attached to the third Benediction of the Shemôneh 'Esreh, and recited antiphonally in pre-Christian times. The fact that the first Jewish Christians were accustomed to saying the words of the Sanctus in the Synagogue no doubt helped to ensure its continuance in specifically Christian worship.

Thus, so far as the Prayers of Thanksgiving and Consecration

<sup>1</sup>J.A. Kleist, Ancient Christian Writers, I, p. 110, n.101.

<sup>2</sup>cf. above p. 425.

<sup>3</sup>W.O.E. Oesterley, op. cit., pp. 144-5.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 145-6.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 146.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 142-4.

(including the Sanctus, Benedictus qui venit, Anamnesis and Epiclesis) are concerned, the writer would conclude that there is adequate Scriptural and patristic support for this part of the Communion Order. The aspect of Thanksgiving pervades their writings about the Lord's Supper. Furthermore, it may be observed that the wording of the Sanctus is Biblical and its inclusion in public worship is suggested by Clement of Rome, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian and possibly Pliny. The phraseology of the Benedictus qui venit is also Biblical and the Didache appears to allude to its use in the Eucharist. The note of remembrance at this Sacrament is strongly sounded by the Scriptures and the Fathers, while Hippolytus gives a specific illustration of how an Anamnesis is worded. The idea of an Epiclesis may be intended in the Bible, but is definitely referred to in the patristic literature, and Hippolytus again gives an actual example of one in his liturgy of the Lord's Supper.

h) Words over the Bread and the Cup at the Fraction and the Elevation

As the minister takes the bread into his hands and breaks it, he repeats Christ's eucharistic words from I Corinthians 11:24: "Take, Eat; This is My Body, which is Broken for you: This Do in Remembrance of Me". This action of the Fraction corresponds to that of Jesus at the Last Supper (Matt. 26:26; Mark 14:22; Luke 22:19; I Corin. 11:24) and is mentioned directly or indirectly by the Fathers (cf. e.g. Didache 9:3,4; Ignatius, Ephesians 20:2; Hippolytus, Apostolic Tradition 23). It is observed, therefore, that the Fraction is both Biblical and patristic. In the Book of Common Order the words over the bread are said at both the Fraction and the distribution. It is important to realize that at the

Last Supper these two actions are so closely linked that it would be unnecessary for Jesus to speak these words. But in the Church of Scotland the intervening Agnus Dei makes the repetition appropriate. In this study the writer gives the evidence for these words being spoken as the bread is circulated rather than at the Fraction.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly the minister raises the cup saying: "This Cup is the New Covenant in My Blood: This Do ye, as often as ye Drink it, in Remembrance of Me". The elevation of the Cup may well be hinted at in the Synoptic Gospels which indicate that Jesus "took a cup" (Matt. 26:27; Mark 14:23; Luke 22:17). Similarly Justin writes that Jesus gave thanks after "having taken the cup" (Apology I.66), and Hippolytus indicates that "the presbyters - or if there are not enough presbyters, the deacons - shall hold the cups" (Apostolic Tradition 23). These references imply some kind of an elevation, although nothing nearly so elaborate as this aspect of the Lord's Supper was to become in the Christian Church.<sup>2</sup> Concerning the repetition of the words over the cup the writer would make the same comment as he did about the bread saying; the distribution of the cup at the Last Supper is so soon after Jesus takes it that his statement needs to be made only once. But the insertion of the Agnus Dei in the Communion Order makes it fitting to have the words over the cup given twice. Again, the writer cites the evidence for the repetition of these words at the distribution rather than the elevation of the cup.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. below p. 438.

<sup>2</sup>cf. T.W. Drury (Elevation in the Eucharist, its History and Rationale) who traces the elaboration of the Elevation ceremonial.

<sup>3</sup>cf. below pp. 438-9.

i) Agnus Dei

Just before the distribution of the elements, the Book of Common Order has the Agnus Dei: "Lamb of God that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Lamb of God that takest away the sins of the world, grant us Thy peace".

The wording of the Agnus Dei is certainly Biblical<sup>1</sup>, but its use in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper begins much later than the period which the writer is covering. Maxwell writes that the "Agnus Dei was not introduced until the late seventh century when Pope Sergius (687-701) ordered it to be sung during the celebrant's communion".<sup>2</sup> Because the Lord's Supper was instituted at a Passover meal - at which the Lamb is so important - the use of the Agnus Dei at this Sacrament is most appropriate. Nevertheless its inclusion in the Communion Order can hardly claim Biblical warrant.

j) Partaking of Both Elements

After the Agnus Dei the minister partakes in both kinds and then distributes the bread and the cup to all. This practice of the clergyman partaking first does not appear in the Scriptures or the Fathers. The first mention of any differentiation in the sequence of those who receive the elements comes in the Apostolic Constitutions<sup>3</sup> although the custom may

<sup>1</sup>cf. e.g. John 1:29,35.

<sup>2</sup>W.D. Maxwell, op. cit., p. 58.

<sup>3</sup>This document instructs: "And after that [the Benedictus qui venit], let the bishop partake, then the presbyters, and deacons, and sub-deacons, and the readers, and the singers, and the ascetics; and then of the women, the deaconesses, and the virgins, and the widows; then the children; and then all the people in order" (VIII.13).

well date from an earlier time.

As the minister gives the bread he says: "Take ye, eat ye; this is the body of Christ which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of Him". These words are quite straightforward and the making of this statement follows Jesus' example at the Last Supper (cf. Matt. 26:26; Mark 14:22; Luke 22:19; I Corin. 11:24; especially the KJV rendering). It is not until Hippolytus that there is any explicit mention by the Fathers of words actually being spoken at the distribution of the bread; but it is not unreasonable to assume that such would be recited. Hippolytus writes: "And when he [the bishop] breaks the bread and distributes the fragments he shall say: The heavenly bread in Jesus Christ" (Apostolic Tradition 23). It is quite probable that he is simply recording a practice which had been observed from the time that Christ instituted the Lord's Supper, although there is no documentary evidence to support this view.

When the minister delivers the cup he says: "This cup is the new covenant in the blood of Christ, which is shed for many unto remission of sins: drink ye all of it". This statement follows very closely the Matthaean and Marcan versions of the cup saying.<sup>1</sup> It is important to note in passing that the words "for many" are a Hebraism meaning "for

---

<sup>1</sup>Matt. 26:27-8 records that when he gives the cup Jesus says: "Drink ye all of it; For this is my blood of the new testament which is shed for many for the remission of sins" (KJV); Mark 14:24 reads: "And he said unto them, This is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many". (KJV).

all".<sup>1</sup> The practice of speaking words at the distribution of the cup goes back again to Jesus in the Upper Room (cf. Matt. 26:27-8; Mark 14:23-4; Luke 22:19; and I Corin. 11:25), and probably continued to be done; but once more there is no patristic evidence to that effect until the Apostolic Tradition. Hippolytus observes that the recipients partake three times with the one "who gives the cup saying" respectively: "In God the Father Almighty"; "In the Lord Jesus Christ"; and "[In the] Holy Ghost and the holy church" (23). Although these statements are a departure from what would be expected they do testify to the custom of speaking words when the cup is distributed.

The practice of having the worshippers partake of both the bread and the wine imitates that of the Last Supper (cf. Matt. 26:26-8; Mark 14:22-4; Luke 22:17-20; and I Corin. 11:23-5), but is also patristic. Specifically, Justin Martyr writes that the "deacons give to each of those present to partake of the bread and the wine mixed with water over which the thanksgiving was pronounced" (Apology I.65); subsequently he writes "and there is a participation of that over which thanks have been given"<sup>2</sup> (ibid. I. 67); likewise the statements from the Apostolic Tradition (23) which the writer has cited in this section also affirm that the Christians receive both of the eucharistic elements.

Therefore, it may be concluded that the Book of Common Order is adhering to sound Biblical and patristic practice in having all receive both the bread and the wine, at the distribution of which words are

<sup>1</sup>cf. J. Jeremias (op. cit., pp. 179-82) and W. Barclay (op. cit., pp. 43-5) who demonstrate this usage.

<sup>2</sup>Underlining mine; a footnote gives the following alternative rendering of these underlined words: "of the eucharistic elements".

spoken; but its provision for the minister to partake first belongs to a time later than that of the literature with which the writer is dealing.

k) Pax

After all have communicated, the minister says: "The Peace of the Lord Jesus Christ Be With You All". The technical term for this feature of the Service is the Pax; it represents a survival of the Biblical and patristic "Kiss of Peace". In Romans 16:16, I Corinthians 16:20, II Corinthians 13:12, and I Thessalonians 5:26, Paul urges the Christians to greet each other with a "holy kiss", and Peter does the same only his term is "the kiss of love" (I Peter 5:14). Maxwell suggests that this "Kiss of Peace" had probably come to form part of the celebration of the Lord's Supper by the end of the first century.<sup>1</sup>

The Kiss of Peace is also mentioned by the Fathers in connection with this Sacrament, although they usually have it precede rather than follow the partaking. Immediately before the elements are brought to the president, Justin states: "we salute one another with a kiss" (Apology I.65). In his Treatise On Prayer, Tertullian devotes an entire chapter (18) to the kiss of peace; he condemns the withholding of this kiss, and alludes to the Eucharist in his rhetorical question: "What kind of sacrifice is that from which men depart without peace?" (ibid.); this reference to peace before departure may imply that the Kiss is to come at the end of the service, but it is impossible to be certain. Hippolytus notes that when a person is "made bishop, all shall offer him

---

<sup>1</sup> W.D. Maxwell, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

the kiss of peace" (Apostolic Tradition 4), and proceeds at once to the bringing of the eucharistic elements to him by the deacons; similarly he later indicates that the new confirmands "give the kiss of peace. And then the offering [the bread and the wine] is immediately brought by the deacons to the bishop" (ibid. 22-3). By the time of the Apostolic Constitutions, the Kiss of Peace part of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper had become more elaborate with words and responses.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the Biblical and patristic passages which the writer has cited establish it as a valid part of early Christian worship; and therefore the Church of Scotland quite rightly includes the Pax - the verbal remains of the former Kiss of Peace - in its Communion Order.

#### 1) Prayers of Thanksgiving

The Pax is followed by Prayers of Thanksgiving for the privilege and benefits of partaking at the Lord's Table, and for the faithful departed. This note of post-communion Thanksgiving is preserved by the mention in Matthew and Mark that the Last Supper ended with the singing of a hymn (Matt. 26:30, Mark 14:26). Since this meal was the Passover, this reference is almost certainly to the Hallel (Psalm 115-8) and/or the Great Hallel (Psalm 136).<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, it may be noted that the Passover ritual ends with a prayer of praise to God.

---

<sup>1</sup>This document instructs: "And after this [the bishop's prayer] let the deacon say, Let us attend. And let the bishop salute the church, and say, The peace of God be with you all. And let the people answer, And with thy spirit; and let the deacon say to all, Salute ye one another with the holy kiss. And let the clergy salute the bishop, the men of the laity salute the men, the women the women" (VIII.11).

<sup>2</sup>cf. above, pp. 83-4.

The only patristic document of the period under consideration which hints at such Prayers of Thanksgiving is the Didache. As the writer mentioned above,<sup>1</sup> its words "After you have taken your fill of food, give thanks as follows" (10:1), which introduce a Prayer of Thanksgiving, may imply that the ensuing Prayer is a post-communion one.

In spite of the lack of definite documentary evidence for the inclusion of Thanksgiving Prayers after the partaking, the writer believes that they are appropriate at that point; the Synoptic references to the singing of a hymn suggest the expression of Thanks, and it would not be long before this praise would be formulated in spoken prayers; such would be a logical liturgical development, and the Didache 10:2-6 may preserve an early example.

Thus the writer would suggest that this element in the Communion Order is supported by the Scriptures and the Fathers in principle, even if not in explicit actuality.

This survey of the Biblical and patristic evidence for the various parts of the "Order for the Celebration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion" is now complete. The writer has shown that for almost all of them there is a clear warrant in the Scriptures and the Fathers; but even those which do not have this basis<sup>2</sup> are seen to be the result of normal and fitting development and growth in the liturgy,

---

<sup>1</sup>cf. above, p. 428.

<sup>2</sup>The Grace; the Versicles and Responses (Salutation, Sursum Corda, and Invitation to Thanksgiving) which introduce the Prayers of Thanksgiving and Consecration; the Agnus Dei; and the post-communion Prayers of Thanksgiving.

and therefore are rightly included in this Communion Order. So far as Milligan's claim is concerned, the writer would agree that it is valid for virtually all aspects of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the Church of Scotland.

## CHAPTER VIII

### CONCLUSION

The writer wishes to draw this study to a close by bringing together the conclusions which he has reached at each stage of his investigation. It has been demonstrated that the practice of worshipping on Sunday is both Biblical and patristic; but the same cannot be said about the developed Christian Year and its accompanying two-year Lectionary, as set forth in the Book of Common Order; the primitive Christian calendar was very simple, consisting of Sunday and the two annual festivals of Pascha and Pentecost; it was not until the fourth century that the Christian Year was elaborated, and thus a Lectionary, with appropriate lessons for particular occasions, chosen; certainly parts of the New Testament were read in early Christian worship; but it was only after the writings of the New Testament had been accepted as Scripture that a detailed Lectionary including them could be drawn up, and the sequence - Old Testament, Epistle and Gospel - worked out.

The Calls to Worship and Prayer are probably patterned upon Jewish worship, although conclusive evidence is lacking; the singing of Praises (Psalms, Paraphrases, Hymns and Canticles) and the reading from the Scriptures, have Jewish antecedents as well, but also are clearly mentioned in both the Bible and the Fathers. The use of a Creed has Scriptural and patristic support in principle, although not in actuality; the formal Creeds had not been stereotyped by the time of Hippolytus, and therefore, the saying of them cannot be found in the

literature with which the writer has been dealing; nevertheless the writer has cited examples which illustrate the process by which the later formulations were coming to be fixed, and also the occasions for their recitation.

The various kinds of Prayer which are found in the Book of Common Order - Adoration, Approach, Invocation, Confession, Supplication, Illumination, Thanksgiving, Intercession, Dedication, and the Lord's Prayer - find endorsement in the Scriptures and the Fathers, although some varieties are more strongly attested than others. Intimations were probably made in the early Church, but there is no Biblical or patristic evidence for them. The only Congregational Response which can claim such warrant is "Amen", although others do assist congregational participation, and are rightly included. The Sermon, Ascriptions, Offerings and Benediction elements in the services of the Book of Common Order all have counterparts in Jewish worship, but the writings of the Scriptures and the Fathers sanction their inclusion in Christian liturgies.

The writer has shown that the Sacrament of Baptism issues from a valid command of Christ; in addition, an examination of the Biblical and patristic evidence suggests that it is properly administered to infants as well as to adults, even though explicit documentary evidence for infant Baptism does not appear until Tertullian; furthermore, the various parts of the baptismal Orders are seen to have sufficient, if not always abundant, warrants in the literature under consideration.

The rite of Confirmation is not strongly attested in the Scriptures and the Fathers, due particularly to the widespread practice of adult Baptism in the early Church; however, the writer has indicated the

extent to which the Church of Scotland is being true to sound Biblical and patristic principles by making provision for the administration of this rite to those baptized in infancy, after they have reached "years of responsibility"; also, the evidence, sparse though it be, for the different elements of the Confirmation Order, has been given.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was instituted by Christ at a Passover meal, and in the Bible and the Fathers has a three-fold reference - Past, Present, and Future. The writer has demonstrated that almost all of the parts of the Order for this Sacrament have an explicit warrant in the Scriptures and patristic literature; furthermore, even those which do not, are seen to be implicit or appropriate and their inclusion represents logical liturgical development.

Finally, the writer wishes to consider two questions relating to the statement of Milligan which he has been examining.

a) First of all, is the "test", which Milligan suggests for determining the content of worship, a valid one? In other words, must there always be a Biblical warrant, or lack of it, for including or excluding anything from liturgies today?

The writer believes that the Holy Spirit whom Jesus said would guide "into all the truth" (John 16:13), rules out the slavish adherence to any external norms in liturgical practices. Worship should be consistent with the Scriptural evidence, and not manifestly contrary to it; any urge to include new forms and expressions of worship ought to heed the Johannine injunction: "test the spirits to see whether they are of God" (I John 4:1). Milligan's formula is valid as far as it goes, but it must not be allowed to impede and stifle any changes in modern worship

into which the Holy Spirit may desire to lead.

b) Secondly, did Milligan mean exactly what he wrote? In his book, Types of Modern Theology, H.R. Mackintosh, discussing Kierkegaard, makes the following comment: "It must not be overlooked that the arresting exaggerations in which Kierkegaard indulged so freely were put forward, often with a quite clear and conscious intention".<sup>1</sup> Mackintosh proceeds to refer to Kierkegaard's "didactic hyperbole"<sup>2</sup> which prevented his views from being ignored.

It must be asked whether there was something of that same kind of overstatement in Milligan's words. Was he consciously exaggerating in order to make his point? It is impossible to be certain, but the writer is inclined to think that such is the case. Milligan was an excellent liturgical scholar, and it is hard to believe that a person of his academic stature could make this sweeping statement, ("Without reservation of any kind . . . ."), in total ignorance of the fact that it is partially false. Without trying to make excuses for him, the writer would offer this possible explanation of Milligan's extravagant affirmation.

Milligan's claim of Biblical warrants for the entire contents of the Book of Common Order cannot be endorsed completely; nevertheless this thesis reveals the large extent to which his assertion is justified. But in addition, it must be remembered that the Church of Scotland shares many of its liturgical practices with all branches of the Christian Church. Therefore, the Scriptural and patristic evidence, which the writer has cited to support the worship of the Church of Scotland, is equally valid for the whole of Christendom.

---

<sup>1</sup>H.R. Mackintosh, Types of Modern Theology, p. 255

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abbott, T.K. Ephesians and Colossians(ICC). Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897.
- Abrahams, I. Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels. Second Series. Cambridge: University Press, 1924.
- Aland, K. Did the Early Church Baptize Infants? Trans. G.R. Beasley-Murray. LHD. London: SCM, 1963.
- Alford, H. The Greek Testament, IV. London: Rivingtons, 1861.
- Allen, A.V.G. Christian Institutions ITL. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898.
- Allen, W.C. Matthew(ICC). Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1907.
- Allo, E.-B. L'Apocalypse(EB). Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre, 1921.
- Ancient Christian Writers. Eds. J. Quasten and J.C. Plumpe. I The Epistles of St. Clement and St. Ignatius of Antioch. Trans. J.A. Kleist. II The Didache; The Epistle of Barnabas; The Epistles and The Martyrdom of St. Polycarp; The Fragments of Papias; The Epistle to Diognetus. Trans. J.A. Kleist. XVI St. Irenaeus: Proof of the Apostolic Preaching. Trans. J.P. Smith. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1946; 1948; 1952.
- Andrews, E. The Meaning of Christ for Paul. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1949.
- Andrews, J.N. History of the Sabbath and First Day of the Week. 2 vols. Washington : Review & Herald Publishing Association, 1876.
- Ante-Nicene Christian Library. Eds. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson. I, II, III, IV, V, VII, IX, XI, XII, XV, XVII, XVIII. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1867-70.
- Argyle, A.W. Matthew(Cambridge). Cambridge: University Press, 1963.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "O. Cullmann's Theory Concerning κωλύειν", ET, LXVII, 1955-6, 17.

- Arndt, W.F., and F.W. Gingrich, eds. and trans. A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, Revised (Adapted from W. Bauer's German Edition). Cambridge: University Press, 1957.
- Audet, J.P. "Didache", New Catholic Encyclopedia, IV, 859.
- Badcock, F.J. The History of the Creeds. London: S.P.C.K., 1938.
- Baillie, D.M. The Theology of the Sacraments. London: Faber and Faber, 1957.
- Baillie, J. Baptism and Conversion. London: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- Baptism in the New Testament: A Symposium. Trans. D. Askew. London: G. Chapman, 1964.
- Barclay, A. The Protestant Doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Glasgow: Jackson, Wylie & Co., 1927.
- Barclay, W. The First Three Gospels. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Lord's Supper. RBC 181. London: SCM, 1967.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Matthew I, II (DSB). Philadelphia: Westminster, 1959.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Mark(DSB). Philadelphia: Westminster, 1957.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Luke(DSB). Philadelphia: Westminster, 1957.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . John I, II (DSB). Philadelphia: Westminster, 1958.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Acts(DSB). Philadelphia: Westminster, 1957.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Romans(DSB). Philadelphia: Westminster, 1958.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Corinthians(DSB). Philadelphia: Westminster, 1957.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Galations and Ephesians(DSB). Philadelphia: Westminster, 1959.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Philippians, Colossians and Thessalonians(DSB). Philadelphia: Westminster, 1959.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Timothy, Titus and Philemon(DSB). Philadelphia: Westminster, 1961.

- \_\_\_\_\_ . Hebrews. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1958.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . James and Peter(DSB). Philadelphia: Westminster, 1961.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . John and Jude(DSB). Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Revelation I, II (DSB). Philadelphia: Westminster, 1961.
- Barrett, C.K. I Corinthians(Black). London: A. and C. Black, 1968.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Gospel According to St. John. London: S.P.C.K., 1955.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . John(New Peake), pp. 844-69. London: T. Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1962.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Pastoral Epistles(New Clarendon). Oxford: Clarendon, 1963.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Romans(Black). London: A. and C. Black, 1957.
- Barth, K. The Teaching of the Church Regarding Baptism. Trans. E.A. Payne. London: SCM, 1948.
- Batiffol, P. "L'Eucharistie dans le Nouveau Testament", Études d'Histoire et de Théologie Positive. Deuxième Série. Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre, 1905.
- Bauer, W. John(HNT). Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1925.
- Baumstark, A. "Hymns(Greek Christian)", ERE, VII, 5-12.
- Beare, F.W. Ephesians(IB, X), pp. 595-749. New York and Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1953.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The First Epistle of Peter, Revised. Oxford: Blackwell, 1958.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Philippians(Black). London: A. and C. Black, 1959.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . St. Paul and his Letters. London: A. and C. Black, 1962.
- Beasley-Murray, G.R. Baptism in the New Testament. London: Macmillan, 1962.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Philippians(New Peake), pp. 985-9. London: T. Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1962.

- Beckwith, I. The Apocalypse of John. London: Macmillan, 1919.
- Beet, J.A. A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1889.
- Benoit, P. "Le Récit de la Cène dans Lc. 22: 15-20", RB, XLVIII, 1939, 357-93.
- Bernard, J.H. John I, II (ICC). Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1928.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Odes of Solomon. Texts and Studies, VIII. Ed. J.A. Robinson. Cambridge: University Press, 1912.
- Best, E. Romans (Cambridge). Cambridge: University Press, 1967.
- Biblical Doctrine of Baptism, The: A Study Document issued by The Special Commission on Baptism of the Church of Scotland. Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1958.
- Blunt, A.W.F. "Feast of Pentecost", HDB. First Edition. p.698.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and D.R. Jones. "Feast of Pentecost", HDB. Second Edition. p.748.
- Blinzler, J. "Qumran-Kalender und Passionschronologie", ZNW, XLIX, 1958, 238-51.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Trial of Jesus. Revised. Trans. I and F. McHugh. Westminster, Maryland: Newman, 1959.
- Book of Common Order of the Church of Scotland, The. London: Oxford University Press, 1940. Reprinted with New Lectionary, 1952.
- Box, G.H. "The Jewish Antecedents of the Eucharist", JTS, III, 1902, 357-69.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Worship (Hebrew)", ERE, XII, 788-95.
- Bousset, W. Die Evangeliencitate Justins des Märtyrers in ihrem Wert für die Evangelienkritik. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1891.
- Branscomb, B.H. Mark (Moffatt). London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1937.
- Briggs, C.A., and E.G. Psalms I (ICC). Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1907.

- Brightman, F.E. "Chronicle, Liturgica", JTS, XII, 1911, 308-32.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Liturgies: Eastern and Western I. Oxford: Clarendon, 1896.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . "The Quartodeciman Question", JTS, XXV, 1924, 254-70.
- Bruce, F.F. Hebrews (New London Commentary on the New Testament). Ed. N.B. Stonehouse. London and Edinburgh: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, Ltd., 1964.
- Büchler, A. "The Reading of the Law and Prophets in a Triennial Cycle", JQR, O.S., V, 1892-3, 420-68; VI, 1893-4, 1-73.
- Bultmann, R. Theology of the New Testament, I. Trans. K. Grobel. London: SCM, 1952.
- Burney, C.F. The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel. Oxford: Clarendon: 1922.
- Cabrol, F. The Prayer of the Early Christians. Trans. E. Graf. London: Burns, Oates & Co., 1930.
- Caird, G.B. Revelation (Black). London: A. and C. Black, 1966.
- Carrington, P. "The Calendrical Hypothesis of the Origin of Mark", ET, LXVII, 1955-6, 100-3.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Meaning of the Revelation. London: S.P.C.K., 1931.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . "St. Mark and his Calendar", COR, CLIV, 1953, 211-8.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Primitive Christian Calendar : A Study in the Making of the Marcan Gospel. Cambridge: University Press, 1952.
- Casey, R.P. "St. Mark's Gospel", Theology, LV, 1952, 362-70.
- Chadwick, H. Ephesians (New Peake), pp. 980-4. London: T. Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1962.
- Charles, R.H. Revelation. I (ICC). Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1920.
- Chase, F.H. Confirmation in the Apostolic Age. London: Macmillan & Co., 1909.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . "The Lord's Command to Baptize", JTS, VI, 1905, 481-521.

- Cirlot, F.L. The Early Eucharist. London: S.P.C.K., 1939.
- Clark, N. An Approach to the Theology of the Sacraments. SBT 17.  
London: SCM, 1956.
- Clarke, W.K.L. New Testament Problems. London: S.P.C.K., 1929.
- Clemen, C. Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des Neuen Testaments.  
Giessen: A Töpelmann, 1924.
- Coffin, H.S. The Public Worship of God. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1946.
- Coggan, D. The Prayers of the New Testament. London: Hodder and Stoughton,  
1967.
- Cohen, F.L., and M. Seligsohn. "Selihah", JE, XI, 170-80.
- Confession of Faith, The. Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter, 1852.
- "Confirmation", ODCC, pp.327-8.
- Confirmation or the Laying on of Hands I, II. London: S.P.C.K., 1926,  
1927.
- Connolly, R.H. "Eusebius H.E. V.28", JTS, XLIX, 1948, 73-9.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Review" of J.A. Jungmann, Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen  
Gebet. JTS, XXVIII, 1927, 82-3.
- Conybeare, F.C. "The Eusebian Form of the Text Matth. 28:19", ZNW, II,  
1901, 275-88.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Three Early Doctrinal Modifications of the Text of the  
Gospels", The Hibbert Journal, I, 1902, 96-113.
- Cotton, P. From Sabbath to Sunday. Bethlehem, Pa.: Times Publishing Co.,  
1933.
- Coutts, J. "Ephesians 1 : 3-14 and I Peter 1 : 3-12", NTS, III, 1956-7,  
115-27.
- Craig, C.T. I Corinthians (IB,X), pp.1-262. New York and Nashville:  
Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1953.
- Cranfield, C.E.B. I Peter (New Peake), pp.1026-30. T. Nelson and Sons  
Ltd., 1962.

- Crehan, J. Early Christian Baptism and the Creed. The Bellarmine Series XIII. London: Burns Oates & Washbourne Ltd., 1950.
- Cross, F.L. The Early Christian Fathers. London: G. Duckworth & Co. Ltd., 1960.
- \_\_\_\_\_. I Peter : A Paschal Liturgy. London: A.R. Mowbray & Co.Ltd., 1934.
- Cross, F.M., Jr. The Ancient Library of Qumrân and Modern Biblical Studies (Haskell Lectures 1956-7). London: G. Duckworth & Co.Ltd., 1958.
- Gullmann, O. Baptism in the New Testament. Trans. J.K.S. Reid. SBT 1. London: SCM, 1950.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Christology of the New Testament. Trans. S.C. Guthrie and C.A.M. Hall. London: SCM, 1959.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Early Christian Worship. Trans. A.S. Todd and J.B. Torrance. SBT 10. London: SCM, 1953.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Earliest Christian Confessions. Trans. J.K.S. Reid. London: Lutterworth, 1949.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and F.J. Leenhardt. Essays on the Lord's Supper. Trans. J.G. Davies. ESM 1. London: Lutterworth, 1958.
- Dale, J.W. Christic and Patristic Baptism. Philadelphia: W. Rutter & Co., 1874.
- Dalman, G. "Gottesdienst, synagogaler", Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, VII, 7-19, Ed. A. Hauck. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1899.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Jesus-Jeshua. Trans. P.P. Levertoff. London: S.P.C.K., 1929.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Synagogue, II, The Service", The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, XI, 214-6. Ed. S.M. Jackson. New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1911.
- Danby, H., ed. and trans. The Mishnah. Oxford: University Press, 1933.
- Daube, D. The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism (Jordan Lectures). London: Athlone, 1956.

- Davies, W.D. "Contemporary Jewish Religion" (New Peake), pp. 705-11.  
London: T. Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1962.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Paul and Rabbinic Judaism. London: S.P.C.K., 1948.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . "Reflections on Archbishop Carrington's The Primitive Christian Calendar", The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology. Eds. W.D. Davies and D. Daube. Cambridge: University Press, 1956, pp. 124-52.
- Deissmann, A. Bible Studies. Trans. A. Grieve. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Light from the Ancient East, Revised. Trans. L.R.M. Strachan. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1927.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . "Lord's Day", Encyclopaedia Biblica, III, cols. 2813-6. Eds. T.K. Cheyne and J.S. Black. London: A and C. Black, 1902.
- Delling, G. Worship in the New Testament. Trans. P. Scott. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962.
- Dembitz, L.N. "Kedushshah", JE, VII, 463.
- Denney, J. The Death of Christ. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1902.
- Dibelius, M. From Tradition to Gospel, Revised. Trans. B.L. Woolf. London: I. Nicholson & Watson Ltd., 1934.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Jesus. Trans. D.M. Barton. London: SCM, 1963.
- "The Didache", ODCC, p. 397.
- Dillistone, F.W. Jesus Christ and His Cross. London: Lutterworth, 1953.
- Dix, G. "Confirmation or the Laying on of Hands?", Theology, Occasional Papers, 5. London: S.P.C.K., 1936.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Shape of the Liturgy. Westminster: Dacre, 1943.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Theology of Confirmation in Relation to Baptism. Westminster: Dacre, 1946.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St. Hippolytus of Rome I. London: S.P.C.K., 1937.

- "The Doctrine and Practice of Confirmation", Reports to the General Assembly, 1967, pp. 233-5.
- "The Doctrine of Baptism", Reports to the General Assembly, 1963, pp. 774-81.
- Dodd, C.H. The Apostolic Preaching and Its Development. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1936.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Romans (Moffatt). London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1932.
- Dowden, J. The Church Year and Kalendar. CHLS. Cambridge: University Press, 1910.
- Drews, P. "Eucharistie", Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, V, 560-72. Ed. A. Hauck. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1889.
- Duchesne, L. Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution, Revised. Trans. M.L. McLure. London: S.P.C.K., 1931.
- Dugmore, C.W. The Influence of the Synagogue upon The Divine Office. London: Faith Press, 1964 [1944] .
- \_\_\_\_\_ . "Lord's Day and Easter", Neotestamentica et Patristica. Supplements to Novum Testamentum, VI, 272-81. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1962.
- Dusterdieck, F. Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Revelation of John (Meyer, Bible Students Library). Trans. H.E. Jacobs. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1887.
- Easton, B.S. The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus. Cambridge: University Press, 1934.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . James (IB, XII), pp. 1-74. New York and Nashville: Abingdon, 1957.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Pastoral Epistles. London: SCM, 1948.
- Edersheim, A. The Temple: Its Ministry and Services. London: Religious Tract Society, 1874.
- Edwards, T.C. A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians. London: Hamilton, Adams & Co., 1885.

- Eichhorn, J.G. Commentarius in Apocalypsin Joannis I. Gottingae: J.C. Dieterich, 1791.
- Enslin, M.S. "Gospel of Peter", IDB, III, 766-7.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . "Testament of our Lord in Galilee", ODCG, p.1335.
- "The Epistle to Diognetus", ODCG, p.401.
- Falconer, R. The Pastoral Epistles. Oxford: Clarendon, 1937.
- Farrer, A. "A Liturgical Theory about St. Mark's Gospel", COR, CLIII, 1952, 501-8.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Revelation of St. John the Divine. Oxford: Clarendon, 1964.
- Filson, F.V. Matthew(Black). London: A. and C. Black, 1960.
- Findlay, G.G. I Corinthians(EGT, II), pp.727-953. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1900.
- Finegan, J. Die Überlieferung der Leidens- und Auferstehungsgeschichte Jesu, BZNW, XV, Giessen: Töpelmann, 1934.
- Finkelstein, L. "The Development of the Amidah", JQR, N.S., XVI, 1925-6, 1-43; 127-70.
- Fisher, F.L. Prayer in the New Testament. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964.
- Flemington, W.F. The New Testament Doctrine of Baptism. London: S.P.C.K., 1948.
- Flew, R.N. Jesus and His Church. London: Epworth, 1938.
- Foxley, J. "Lessons from the Mass", The Contemporary Review, LXXV, 1899, 178-93.
- Frankland, W.B. The Early Eucharist. London: C.J. Clay and Sons, 1902.
- Fridrichsen, A. "Église et Sacrement dans le Nouveau Testament", RHPPhR, XVII, 1937, 337-56.
- Friedländer, M. The Jewish Religion. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1891.

- Galloway, W.B. The Decalogue and the Lord's Day. London: C.J. Thyne, 1906.
- Gardner-Smith, P. "The Date of the Gospel of Peter", JTS, XXVII, 1926, 401-7.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Saint John and the Synoptic Gospels. Cambridge: University Press, 1938.
- Garvie, A.E. Romans(Century). Edinburgh: T.C. & E.C. Jack, 1903.
- Gavin, F. The Jewish Antecedents of the Christian Sacraments. London: S.P.C.K. 1928.
- Gealy, F.D. Timothy and Titus(1B, XI) pp. 341-551. New York and Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1955.
- Gilfillan, J. The Sabbath. Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1862.
- Ginzberg, L. "Amen", JE, I, 491-2.
- Glasson, T.F. Revelation(Cambridge). Cambridge: University Press, 1965.
- Glazebrook, H.G. "Sunday", ERE, XII, 103-11.
- Glimm, F.X. The Apostolic Fathers. The Fathers of the Church. Ed. L. Schopp. New York: Cima, 1947.
- Godet, F. Commentary on St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians I, II. Trans. A. Cusin. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1886, 1887.
- Goetz, K.G. Die heutige Abendmahlsfrage in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1907.
- Goguel, M. L'Eucharistie, des Origines à Justin Martyr. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1910.
- Goold, J.G. First Communion: A Book of Preparation. Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, Reprinted in 1968.
- Gore, C. (rev. C.H. Turner). The Church and the Ministry. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1919.
- Goudge, H.L. I Corinthians(Westminster). London: Methuen & Co., 1926.
- Gould, E.P. Mark(ICC). Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1896.

- Grant, F.C. Ancient Judaism and the New Testament. Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1960.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Mark (IB, VII), pp. 627-917. New York and Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1951.
- Gray, G.B. Sacrifice in the Old Testament. Oxford: Clarendon, 1925.
- Grayston, K. Philippians and Thessalonians (Cambridge). Cambridge: University Press, 1967.
- Gregory, C.R. Canon and Text of the New Testament. ITL. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1907.
- Guilding A. The Fourth Gospel and Jewish Worship. Oxford: Clarendon, 1960.
- Gunn, G.S. Singers of Israel. BG 10. London: Lutterworth, 1963.
- Guthrie, D. The Pastoral Epistles (Tyndale). London: Tyndale, 1957.
- Guthrie, H.H. Jr. Israel's Sacred Songs. New York: Seabury, 1966.
- Gwatkin, H.M. Selections from Early Christian Writers. London: Macmillan and Co., 1902.
- Hall, A.C.A. Confirmation. OLPT. London: Longmans and Co., 1899.
- Hall, F.J. The Church and the Sacramental System. DT 8. New York: Longmans and Co., 1920.
- Hammar, A., ed. Early Christian Prayers. Trans. W. Mitchell. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1961.
- Hanson, A.T. The Pastoral Letters (Cambridge). Cambridge: University Press, 1966.
- Harnack, A. Bible Reading in the Early Church. New Testament Studies, V. Trans. J.R. Wilkinson. CTL XXXVI. London: Williams and Norgate, 1912.
- \_\_\_\_\_. History of Dogma I. Trans. N. Buchanan. TTL. London: Williams and Norgate, 1894.
- Harris, J.R. The Odes and Psalms of Solomon. Cambridge: University Press, 1911.

- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Origin of the Prologue to St. John's Gospel. Cambridge: University Press, 1917.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Testimonies I, II. Cambridge: University Press, 1916, 1920.
- Hefele, C.J. A History of the Christian Councils. 5 vols. Eds. and trans. W.R. Clark and H.N. Oxenham. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1871-96.
- Heitmüller, W. Taufe und Abendmahl bei Paulus. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1903.
- Hempel, J. "Book of Psalms", IDB, III, 942-60.
- Héring J. The First Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians. Trans. A.W. Heathcote and P.J. Allcock. London: Epworth, 1962.
- Hessey, J.A. Sunday, its Origin, History and Present Obligation. London: J. Murray, 1861.
- Higgins, A.J.B. The Lord's Supper in the New Testament. SBT 6. London: SCM, 1952.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Pastoral Epistles (New Peake), pp.1001-19. London: T. Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1962.
- Hirsch, E.G. "Passover", JE, IX, 548-56.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . "Psalms", JE, X, 241-8.
- Hodge, C. An Exposition of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. London: J. Nisbet and Co., 1857.
- Hodgkins, W. Sunday: Christian and Social Significance. London: Independent Press, 1960.
- Hogg, H.W. "'Amen'. Notes on its Significance and Use in Biblical and Post-Biblical Times", JQR, IX, 1896, 1-23.
- Hort, F.J.A. The Arocalypse of St. John I-III. Ed. P.H.L. Brereton. London: Macmillan and Co., 1908.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Prolegomena to St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans and the Ephesians. London: Macmillan and Co., 1895.

- Howard, W.F. Christianity According to St. John. London: G. Duckworth & Co.Ltd., 1947.
- \_\_\_\_\_. John(IB, VIII), pp.435-811. New York and Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1952.
- Huidekoper, F. Judaism at Rome, Works of Frederic Huidekoper I. New York: D.G. Francis, 1887.
- Hunter, A.M. Paul and his Predecessors, Revised. London: SCM, 1961.
- Jackson, F.J. Foakes, and K. Lake, eds. The Beginnings of Christianity. 5 volumes. London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd. 1920-33.
- James, M.R. The Apocryphal New Testament. Oxford: Clarendon, 1924.
- Jaubert, A. La Date de la Cène. Calendrier biblique et Liturgie chrétienne. EB. Paris: J. Gabalda, 1957.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Jésus et le Calendrier de Qumrân", NTS, VII, 1960-1, 1-30.
- Jay, E. Origen's Treatise on Prayer. London: S.P.C.K., 1954.
- Jeremias, J. The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, Revised. Trans. N. Perrin. NFL. London: SCM, 1966.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries. Trans. D. Cairns. LHD. London: SCM, 1960.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Mc 10:13-16 Parr. und die Übung der Kindertaufe in der Urkirche", ZNW, XL, 1941, 243-5.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Origins of Infant Baptism: A Further Study in Reply to Kurt Aland. Trans. D.M. Barton. SHT 1. London: SCM, 1963.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "πᾶσι", TWNT, V, 895-903.
- Johnson, S.E. Mark(Black). London: A. and C. Black, 1960.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Matthew(IB, VII), pp.229-625. New York and Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1951.
- Johnston, G. Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians and Philemon(New Century). London: T. Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1967.

- Jungmann, J.A. The Early Liturgy. Trans. F.A. Brunner. London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1960.
- Kelly, J.N.D. Early Christian Creeds. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1950.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Pastoral Epistles(Black). London: A. and C. Black, 1963.
- Kennedy, A.R.S. "Synagogue", HDB. First Edition. pp.882-4.
- \_\_\_\_\_ , and S.S. Cohon. "Synagogue", HDB. Second Edition. pp.944-7.
- Kennedy, H.A.A., St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1913.
- Kepler, T.S. The Book of Revelation. New York: Oxford University Press, 1957.
- Kerr, H.T. Preaching in the Early Church. London and Edinburgh: Fleming H. Revell, 1942.
- Kidd, B.J. A History of the Church to A.D. 461, II. Oxford, Clarendon, 1922.
- Kiddle, M., and M.K. Ross. Revelation(Moffatt) London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1940.
- Kilpatrick, G.D. The Origins of the Gospel According to Saint Matthew. Oxford: Clarendon, 1946.
- Klausner, J. Jesus of Nazareth. Trans. H. Danby. London: Allen and Unwin, 1925.
- Klostermann, E. Matthäus(HNT). Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1909.
- Knowling, R.J. James(Westminster). London: Methuen and Co., 1910.
- Knox, J. "Letter to Diognetus", IDB, I, 401.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Philemon(IB, XI), pp.553-73. New York and Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1955.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Romans(IB, IX), pp.353-668. New York and Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1954.

- \_\_\_\_\_ . "Sibylline Oracles", IDB, IV, 343.
- Kohler, K. "Alenu", JE, I, 336-8.
- Koster, H. "Geschichte und Kultus im Johannesevangelium und bei Ignatius von Antiochien", ZTK, LIV, 1957, 56-69.
- Kuhn, K.G. "Über den ursprünglichen Sinn des Abendmahls und sein Verhältnis zu den Gemeinschaftsmahlen der Sektenschrift", Ev.Th. X, 1950-1, 508-27.
- Lagrange, M.-J. Évangile Selon Saint Matthieu. EB. Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre, 1923.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . L'Évangile de Jésus-Christ. Paris: J. Gabalda et fils, 1928.
- Lake, K. "Baptism(Early Christian)", ERE, II, 379-90.
- Lamb, J.A. The Psalms in Christian Worship. London: Faith Press, 1962.
- Lambert, J.C. The Sacraments in the New Testament (Kerr Lectures 1903). Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1903.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and G.W.H. Lampe. "Confirmation", HDB. Second Edition. pp. 172-3.
- Lampe, G.W.H. Acts (New Peake), pp.882-926. London: T. Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1962.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Seal of the Spirit. London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1951.
- Lanchester, H.C.O. "Sibylline Oracles", ERE, XII, 496-500.
- Lawlor, H.J. "Confirmation", EPE, IV, 1-8.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and J.E.L. Oulton, eds. and trans. Eusebius. The Ecclesiastical History and the Martyrs of Palestine. 2 vols. London: S.P.C.K. 1927.
- Leenhardt, F.J. Le Sacrement de la Sainte Cène. Neuchâtel et Paris: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1948.
- Leith, J.H., ed. Creeds of the Churches. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, Doubleday & Co., 1963.

- Leslie, E.A. The Psalms. New York and Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1949.
- Levison, N. The Jewish Background of Christianity. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1932.
- Levy, I. The Synagogue, Its History and Function. London: Valentine-Mitchell, 1963.
- Lewis, A.S., ed. and trans. Select Narratives of Holy Women. Studia Sinaitica X. London: C.J. Clay and Sons, 1900.
- Lietzmann, H. An die Korinther I-II (HNT), Revised (with Additional Notes by W.G. Kümmel). Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1949.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Mass and Lord's Supper. Trans. D.H.G. Reeve. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1954.
- Lightfoot, J.B. The Apostolic Fathers. Parts I and II. First and Second Editions. London: Macmillan and Co., 1869-90.
- \_\_\_\_\_. St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon. London: Macmillan and Co., 1876.
- Lightfoot, R.H. St. John's Gospel. Ed. C.F. Evans. Oxford: Clarendon, 1956.
- Lilje, H. The Last Book of the Bible: The Meaning of the Revelation of St. John. Trans. O. Wyon. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1957
- Lock, W. Ephesians (Westminster). London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1929.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Hymn", DB, II, 440-1.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Pastoral Epistles (ICC). Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1936.
- Lohmeyer, E. Kyrios Jesus. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1928.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Vom unchristlichen Abendmahl", Theologische Rundschau, Neue Folge, IX, 1937, 168-227.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Das Evangelium des Markus (Meyer). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957.

- \_\_\_\_\_ . (rev. W. Schmauch). Das Evangelium des Matthäus (Meyer).  
Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1956.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . (rev. G. Bornkamm). Die Offenbarung des Johannes (HNT).  
Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1953.
- Lohse, B. Das Passafest der Quartadecimaner, BFChTh, II, Gütersloh:  
C. Bertelsmann, 1953.
- Loisy, A. The Birth of the Christian Religion. Trans. L.P. Jacks.  
London: G. Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1948.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Les Évangiles Synoptiques II. Paris: Geffonds, 1908.
- Lumby, J.R. The History of the Creeds. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and  
Co., 1887.
- Macdonald, A.B. Christian Worship in the Primitive Church. Edinburgh:  
T. & T. Clark, 1934.
- Macgregor, G.H.C. Acts (IB, IX), pp. 1-352. New York and Nashville:  
Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1954.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Eucharistic Origins (Bruce Lectures 1928). London: J. Clarke  
and Co. Ltd., 1928.
- Maclean, A.J. "Adoption", IAQ, I, 41-3.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . "Calendar, The Christian", DCC, I, pp. 251-64.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . "Hymns (Syriac Christian)", ERE, VII, 12-5.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . "Introduction", The Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles. Trans.  
C. Bigg. London: S.P.C.K., 1922.
- Mackintosh, H.R. Types of Modern Theology. London: Nisbet and Co., 1937.
- Magnus, J.L. "Pentecost", JE, IX, 592-5.
- Maitland, S.R. An Enquiry into the 1260 Years. London: Rivingtons, 1826.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . A Second Enquiry. London: Rivingtons, 1829.
- Manson, T.W. "Baptism in the Church", SJT, II, 1949, 391-403.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "Entry into Membership of the Early Church", JTS, XLVIII, 1947, 25-33.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Review" of G.D. Kilpatrick's The Origin of the Gospel According to Saint Matthew. JTS, XLVIII, 1947, 217-9.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Romans (New Peake), pp. 940-53. London: T. Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1962.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "St. Paul in Ephesus: (4) The Corinthian Correspondence", BJRL, XXVI, 1941-2, 327-41.
- Marcel, P.C. The Biblical Doctrine of Infant Baptism. Trans. P.E. Hughes. London: J. Clarke and Co. Ltd., 1953.
- Margoliouth, G. "Hymns (Hebrew and Jewish)", ERE, VII, 42-6.
- Marmorstein, A. "The Oldest Form of the Eighteen Benedictions", JCR, N.S., XXXIV, 1943-4, 137-59.
- Marsh, H.G. The Origin and Significance of New Testament Baptism. Manchester: University Press, 1941.
- Martin, H., ed. The Holy Communion: A Symposium. London: SCM, 1947.
- Martin, R.P. "Aspects of Worship in the New Testament Church", Vox Evangelica, II. London: Epworth, 1963, 6-32.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Carmen Christi. SNTS M.S. IV. Cambridge: University Press, 1967.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "An Early Christian Hymn (Col. 1: 15-20)", EQ, XXXVI, 1964, 195-205.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Worship in the Early Church. Westwood, N.J.: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1964.
- Mason, A.J. The Relation of Confirmation to Baptism. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1891.
- Maxfield, T.H.W. The Words of Institution. Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, 1933.
- Maxwell, W.D. An Outline of Christian Worship. Oxford: University Press, 1936.

- McArthur, A.A. The Christian Year and Lectionary Reform. London: SCM, 1958.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Evolution of the Christian Year. London: SCM, 1953.
- McCasland, S.V. "The Origin of the Lord's Day", JBL, XLIX, 1930, 65-82.
- McEwen, J.S. "Worship", TWBB, pp. 287-9.
- McFadyen, J.E. The Prayers of the Bible. Toronto: Westminster, 1906.
- McLaughlin, J.F. Exodus(Abingdon), pp.249-77. New York: Abingdon, 1929.
- McNeille, A.H. The Gospel According to St. Matthew. London: Macmillan and Co.Ltd., 1915.
- Menoud, P.H. "Confirmation", IDB, I, 668-9.
- Meyer, H.A.W. (rev. O. Michel). Der Brief an die Römer(Meyer). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1955.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . (rev. W.P. Dickson). Critical and Exegetical Hand-book to the Corinthians(Meyer, Bible Students Library). Trans. D.D. Bannerman, New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1890.
- Michael, J.H. Philippians(Moffatt). London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1928.
- Milligan, O.B. "Preface, Book of Common Order. London: Oxford University Press, 1940; 1952.
- Milligan, W. The Decalogue and the Lord's Day. Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1866.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Revelation (The Expositor's Bible). London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1889.
- Moffatt, J. I Corinthians(Moffatt). London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1938.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . John(Moffatt). London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1928.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Revelation(EGT, V). pp.279-494. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1910.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . I Thessalonians(EGT, IV), pp.1-54. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1910.

- Molland, E. "La circoncision, le baptême, et l'autorité du décret apostolique (Actes XV 28 sq.) dans les milieux judéo-chrétiens des Pseudo-Clémentines", ST, IX, 1955, 1-39.
- Montefiore, C.G. The Synoptic Gospels. 3 vols. London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1909.
- Montefiore, H. Hebrews(Black). London: A. and C. Black, 1964.
- Moore, G.F. Judaism I-III. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1927-30.
- Morris, L. I Corinthians(Tyndale). London: Tyndale, 1958.
- Moss B., ed. Crisis for Baptism. London: SCM, 1965.
- Moule, C.F.D. Colossians and Philemon(Cambridge). Cambridge: University Press, 1957.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Colossians and Philemon(New Peake), pp. 990-5. London: T. Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1962.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Mark(Cambridge). Cambridge: University Press, 1965.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . "The Nature and Purpose of I Peter", NTS, III, 1956-7, 1-11.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . "A Reconsideration of the Context of Maranatha", NTS, VI, 1959-60, 307-10.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Worship in the New Testament. ESW 9. London: Lutterworth, 1961.
- Moule, H.G.C. Colossians and Philemon(CBSC). Cambridge: University Press, 1906.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Ephesians(CBSC). Cambridge: University Press, 1910.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Philippians(CBSC). Cambridge: University Press, 1918.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Romans(CBSC). Cambridge: University Press, 1908.
- Mowinckel, S. The Psalms in Israel's Worship I, II. Trans. D.P. Ap-Thomas. New York and Nashville: Abingdon, 1962.
- Murray, J.O.F. Jesus According to S. John. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1936.

- Neil, W. Thessalonians (Moffatt). London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1950.
- Neufeld, V.H. The Earliest Christian Confessions. NTS V. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1963.
- Nickle, K.F. The Collection: A Study in Paul's Strategy. SBT 48. London: SCM, 1966.
- Nieler, J.A. The Earliest Christian Library. Trans. P. Cummins. London: B. Herder Book Co., 1941.
- Norden, E. Agnostos Theos. Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1913.
- Northcott, C. Hymns in Christian Worship. ESW 13. London: Lutterworth, 1964.
- Oepke, A. "βᾶπτισμα [and cognates]". TWNT, I, 527-44.
- Oesterley, W.O.E. The Doctrine of the Last Things. London: J. Murray, 1908.
- \_\_\_\_\_. A Fresh Approach to the Psalms. London: Ivor Nicholson & Watson Ltd., 1937.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy. Oxford: Clarendon, 1925.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Psalms, I. London: S.P.C.K., 1939.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Psalms in the Jewish Church. London: Skeffington & Son, 1910.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and G.H. Box. The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue, Revised. London: I. Pitman and Sons, 1911.
- \_\_\_\_\_. A Short Survey of the Literature of Rabbinical and Mediaeval Judaism. London: S.P.C.K., 1920.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man, Revised. Trans. F.V. Filson and B. Lee-Woolf. London: Lutterworth, 1943.
- Outline and Brief Explanation of the Order for the Celebration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion as Set Forth in the Book of Common Order. Edinburgh: W. Blackwood & Sons, Ltd., 1965 [1947].

- Parry, R. St. John, The Pastoral Epistles. Cambridge: University Press, 1920.
- Paterson, J. The Praises of Israel: Studies Literary and Religious in the Psalms. New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1950.
- Patrick, M. The Story of the Church's Song. Edinburgh and Glasgow: The Scottish Church's Joint Committee on Youth, 1927.
- Peake, A.S. The Revelation of John (Hartley Lecture 19). London: J. Johnson, 1919.
- Phillips, C.S. Hymnody Past and Present. London: S.P.C.K., 1937.
- Pickl, J. The Messiah. Trans. A. Green. St. Louis and London: B. Herder Book Co., 1946.
- Plummer, A. Revelation (Pulpit). London: Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner and Co., 1890.
- Plumptre, E.H. James (CBSC). Cambridge: University Press, 1915.
- Porter, H.B. The Day of Light: The Biblical and Liturgical Meaning of Sunday. SMW 16. London: SCM, 1960.
- Porter, J.R. "The Pentateuch and the Triennial Lectionary Cycle: An Examination of a Recent Theory", Promise and Fulfilment. Ed. F.F. Bruce. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1963, pp.163-74.
- Preiss, T. Life in Christ. Trans. H. Knight. SBT 13. London: SCM, 1954.
- Preston, R.H., and A.T. Hanson. Revelation (Torch). London: SCM, 1949.
- The Psalms and Church Hymnary, Revised. London: Oxford University Press, 1929.
- Quick, O.C. The Christian Sacraments. LCT. London: Nisbet & Co.Ltd., 1927.
- Rabbinowitz, J. Mishnah Megillah. Oxford: University Press, 1931.
- Rabinowitz, L. "The Synagogue and its Worship", A Companion to the Bible. First Edition. Ed. T.W. Manson. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1939.

- Radford, L.B. Colossians and Philemon(Westminster). London: Methuen and Co., 1931.
- Raney, W.H. The Relation of the Fourth Gospel to the Christian Cultus. Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1933.
- Ratcliff, E.C. "The Choir Offices", Liturgy and Worship, pp.257-95. Ed. W.K.L. Clarke and C. Harris. London: S.P.C.K. 1932.
- Rawlinson, A.E.J. Christian Initiation. London: S.P.C.K., 1947.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . "Review" of G.D. Kilpatrick's The Origin of the Gospel According to Saint Matthew. QR, CXLIV, 1947, 91-3.
- Rendtorff, F.M. Die Taufe im Urchristentum. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1905.
- Richards, G.C. Baptism and Confirmation. London: S.P.C.K., 1942.
- Richardson, A. An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament. London: SCM, 1958.
- Riggenbach, E. Der Trinitarische Taufbefehl Matth. 28:19. BFChTh. Gütersloh: G. Bertelsmann, 1903.
- Rist, M. Revelation(1B, XII), pp.345-613. New York and Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1957.
- Robertson, A., and A. Plummer. I Corinthians(ICC). Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1911.
- Robinson, J.A. Barnabas, Hermas and the Didache. London: S.P.C.K., 1920.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . "In The Name", JTS, VII, 1906, 186-202.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. London: Macmillan & Co., 1903.
- Robinson, J.A.T. Liturgy Coming to Life. London: A.R. Mowbray and Co., 1960.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . "Traces of a Liturgical Sequence in I Cor. 16:20-24", JTS, N.S., IV, 1953, 38-41.
- Robinson, J.M. "Preaching", HDB. Second Edition. pp.789-91.

- Rordorf, W. Sunday. Trans. A.A.K. Graham, London: SCM, 1968.
- Rowley, H.H. Worship in Ancient Israel. London: S.P.C.K., 1967.
- Ryden, E.E. The Story of Christian Hymnody. Rock Island, Ill: Augustana Press, 1959.
- Rylaarsdam, J.C. "Feast of Weeks", IDB, IV, 327-3.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . "Passover and Feast of Unleavened Bread", IDB, III, 663-8.
- Russell, J.S. The Parousia: A Critical Inquiry into the New Testament Doctrine of our Lord's Second Coming. London: T.F. Unwin, 1878.
- Sanday, W., and A.C. Headlam. Romans(IGC). Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1896.
- Sanders, J.N., and B.A. Mastin. John(Black). London: A. and C. Black, 1968.
- Schaff, P. The Creeds of Christendom, Revised I. New York: Harper and Bros., 1881.
- Schechter, S. Studies in Judaism, First Series. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1945.
- Schlatter, A. Das Evangelium des Lukas. Stuttgart: Calwer, 1931.
- Schloessinger, M. "Kinah", JE, VII, 498-500.
- Schmermann, T. "Der liturgische Papyrus von Dér-Balyzeh", Texte und Untersuchungen, XXXVI, 1b. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1913.
- Scholten, J.H. Die Taufformel. Gotha: J. Goetsch, 1885.
- Schürer, E. A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ. Division 1, 2 vols. Trans. J. Macpherson. Division 2, 3 vols. Trans. S. Taylor and P. Christie. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1885-90.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . "Die siebentägige Woche im Gebrauche der christlichen Kirche der ersten Jahrhunderte", ZNW, VI, 1905, 1-66.
- Schwartz, E. "Osterbetrachtungen", ZNW, VII, 1906, 1-33.
- Schweitzer, A. The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle. Trans. W. Montgomery. London: A. and C. Black, 1931.

- Scott, C.A.A. Revelation(Century). Edinburgh: T.C. & E.C. Jack, 1901.
- Scott, E.F. Colossians, Philemon and Ephesians(Moffatt). London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1930.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Lord's Prayer. New York: G. Scribner's Sons, 1951.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Pastoral Epistles(Moffatt). London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1930.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Philippians(1B, XI), pp.1-129. New York and Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1955.
- Seeburg, A. Der Katechismus der Urchristenheit. Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1903.
- Selwyn, E.C. The Christian Prophets and the Prophetic Apocalypse. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1900.
- Selwyn, E.G. The First Epistle of St. Peter. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1946.
- Shepherd, M.H., Jr. "Didache", IDB, I, 841-3.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . "Epistles of Clement", IDB, I, 649.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . "Hymns", IDB, II, 667-3.
- "The Sibylline Oracles", ODCC, pp.1252-3.
- Sidebottom, E.M. James, Jude and 2 Peter(New Century). London: T. Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1967.
- Simcox, W.H. Revelation(CBSC). Cambridge: University Press, 1910.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . (rev. G.A. Simcox). Revelation(CGTSG). Cambridge: University Press, 1893.
- Simpson, E.K. The Pastoral Epistles. London: Tyndale, 1954.
- Simpson, R.L. The Interpretation of Prayer in the Early Church. LHD. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1965.
- Sinker, R. "Festival", DCA, I, 669-71.

- Smith, D. The Life and Letters of St. Paul. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1919.
- Smith, H. The Creeds: Their History, Nature and Use. London: Robert Scott, 1912.
- Snaith, N. Hymns of the Temple. London: SCM, 1951.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Review" of A. Guilding's The Fourth Gospel and Jewish Worship. JTS. N.S., XII, 1961, 322-4.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Triennial Cycle and the Psalter", ZAW, LI, 1933, 302-7.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Worship in the Old Testament", A Companion to the Bible. Second Edition. Ed. H.H. Rowley. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1963.
- Sonne, I. "Synagogue", IDB, IV, 476-91.
- Spitta, F. Zur Geschichte und Litteratur des Urchristentums I. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1893.
- Srawley, J.H. The Early History of the Liturgy. CHLS. Second Edition. Cambridge: University Press, 1947.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and H. Watt. "Eucharist", ERE, V, 540-70.
- Stainer, J. The Music of the Bible. London: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1879.
- Stanley, A.P. The Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians. London: J. Murray, 1865.
- Stanley, D.M. Christ's Resurrection in Pauline Soteriology. Analecta Biblica 13. Rome: Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1961.
- Stauffer, E. New Testament Theology. Trans. J. Marsh. London: SCM, 1955.
- Stendahl, K. Matthew (New Peake). pp.769-98. London: T. Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1962.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. The Scrolls and the New Testament. London: SCM, 1958.
- Stevenson, J., ed. A New Eusebius. London: S.P.C.K., 1957.
- Stone, D. A History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. 2 vols. London: Longmans and Co., 1909.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Relation of Confirmation to Baptism", CCR, XLV, 1897-8, 357-82, reviewing F.W. Puller, What is the Distinctive Grace of Baptism? London: Rivingtons, 1880; A.J. Mason The Relation of Confirmation to Baptism. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1891; and A.T. Wirgman, The Doctrine of Confirmation. London: Longmans & Co., 1897.
- Stott, W. "A Note on the Word ΚΟΥΙΑΚΗ in Rev. 1:10", NTS, XII, 1965-6, 70-5.
- Strack, J.L. Pesahim. Schriften des Institutum Judaicum in Berlin, XL. Berlin, 1911.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and P. Billerbeck. Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch I-IV. München: Beck, 1922-8.
- Strand, K.A. "Another Look at 'Lord's Day' in the Early Church", NTS, XIII, 1966-7, 174-81.
- Strobel, A. "Die Passa-Erwartung als urchristliches Problem in Lc17:20f", ZNW, XLIX, 1958, 157-96.
- Swete, H.B. The Apocalypse of St. John. London: Macmillan and Co., 1906.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Apostles' Creed in Relation to Primitive Christianity. Cambridge: University Press, 1908.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Eucharistic Belief in the Second and Third Centuries", JTS, III, 1902, 161-77.
- Tasker, R.V.G. James(Tyndale). London: Tyndale, 1956.
- Taylor, F.J. "Passover", TWBB, pp.163-4.
- Taylor, V. The Gospel According to St. Mark. London: Macmillan and Co., 1952.
- "Testament of our Lord in Galilee", ODCC, p.1335.
- Thackeray, H. St. John. The Septuagint and Jewish Worship(Schweich Lectures 1920). Oxford: University Press, 1921.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Story of Hannah and Other Lessons and Psalms for the Jewish New Year's Day", JTS, XVI, 1915, 177-204.
- Thieme, G. Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Mäander und das Neue Testament. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1905.

- Thompson, G.H.P. Ephesians, Colossians and Philemon(Cambridge). Cambridge: University Press, 1967.
- Thompson, T. The Offices of Baptism and Confirmation. CHLS. Cambridge: University Press, 1914.
- Thornton, L.S. Confirmation: Its Place in the Baptismal Mystery. Westminster: Dacre, 1954.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Confirmation Today. London: Dacre, 1946.
- Thurian, M. Consecration of the Layman: New Approaches to the Sacrament of Confirmation. Trans. W.J. Kerrigan. Dublin: Helicon, 1963.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Eucharistic Memorial. Part 2. The New Testament. Trans. J.G. Davies. ESW 8. London: Lutterworth, 1961.
- Todd, J.H. Discourses on the Prophecies Relating to Antichrist in the Apocalypse of St. John. Dublin: University Press, 1846.
- Torrance, T.F. "The Origins of Baptism", SJT, XI, 1958, 158-71.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . "Proselyte Baptism", NTS, I, 1954-5, 150-4.
- Torrey, C.G. "The Date of the Crucifixion According to the Fourth Gospel", JBL, L, 1931, 227-41.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . "In the Fourth Gospel the Last Supper was the Paschal Meal", JQR, N.S. XLIII, 1951-2, 237-50.
- Turner C.H. The History and Use of Creeds. London: S.P.C.K., 1910.
- van Goudoever, J. Biblical Calendars, Revised. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961.
- Vincent, M.R. Philippians and Philemon(ICC). Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897.
- Vokes, F.E. The Riddle of the Didache. London: S.P.C.K., 1938.
- von Allmen, J.J. The Lord's Supper. Trans. W.F. Fleet. ESW 19. London: Lutterworth, 1969.
- von Soden, H. The History of Early Christian Literature. Trans. J.R. Wilkinson. CTL XIII. London: Williams & Norgate, 1906.

- Wagner, G. Pauline Baptism and the Pagan Mysteries. Trans. J.P. Smith. Edinburgh and London: Oliver & Boyd, 1967.
- Wainwright, A.W. The Trinity in the New Testament. London: S.P.C.K., 1962.
- Wall, W. The History of Infant Baptism I-IV. Ed. H. Cotton. Oxford: University Press, 1835-6.
- Wand, J.W.C. Peter and Jude(Westminster). London: Methuen and Co., 1934.
- Weiss, J. Der erste Korintherbrief. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1910.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Earliest Christianity. 2 vols. Trans. F.C. Grant. New York: Harper, 1959.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The History of Primitive Christianity. 2 vols. Trans. F.C. Grant. London: Macmillan and Co., 1937.
- Wellhausen, J. "Ἄρτον ἐκλάσεν, Mc 14:22", ZNW, VII, 1906, p 182.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Das Evangelium Marci. Berlin: G. Reimer, 1903.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Das Evangelium Matthaei. Berlin: G. Reimer, 1904.
- Westcott, B.F. The Epistle to the Hebrews. London: Macmillan and Co., 1889.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . A General Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament. London: Macmillan and Co., 1855.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Gospel According to St. John. 2 vols. London: J. Murray, 1908.
- Westermann, C. The Praises of God in the Psalms. Trans. K.R. Crim. Richmond, Va.: John Knox, 1965.
- Wetstein, J.J. Novum Testamentum Graecum II. Amstelaedami: ex officina Donneriana, 1752.
- White, N.J.D. "Lord's Day", DB, III, 138-41.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . The Pastoral Epistles (EGT IV), pp.55-202. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1910.

- Wikenhauser, A. Die Offenbarung des Johannes. Regensburg: Gregorius-Verlag, 1949.
- Williams, G.S.C. I Corinthians(New Peake), pp.954-66. London: T. Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1962.
- Williams, N.P. "The Origins of the Sacraments", Essays Catholic and Critical, pp.367-423. Ed. E.G. Selwyn. London: S.P.C.K., 1926.
- Williams, R.P. John and James(Cambridge). Cambridge: University Press, 1965.
- Willis, J.R. "Collection", DAC, I, 223-5.
- Wilson, R. McL. Mark(New Peake), pp.799-819. London: T. Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1962.
- Wingren, G. The Living Word: A Theological Study of Preaching and the Church. Trans. V.C. Pogue. The Preacher's Library. London: SCM, 1960.
- Wohlenberg, G. Das Evangelium des Markus. Kommentar zum Neuen Testament. Ed. T. Zahn. Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1910.
- Woods, F.H. "Festivals and Fasts(Hebrew)", ERE, V, 863-7.
- Woolley, R.M. The Liturgy of the Primitive Church. Cambridge: University Press, 1910.
- Worden, T. The Psalms are Christian Prayer. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961.
- Wordsworth, J. The Ministry of Grace. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1901.
- Wotherspoon, H.J. Religious Values in the Sacraments (Groall Lectures 1926-27). Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1928.
- Yost, F.H. The Early Christian Sabbath. Mountain View, Calif: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1947.