

III. Christianity

■ Greek and Latin Patristics ■ Medieval Latin Liturgy ■ Orthodox Liturgy ■ Roman Catholic Liturgy ■ Anglican Liturgy ■ Protestant Liturgies ■ Contemporary Global South

A. Greek and Latin Patristics

The terms “liturgy” and “rites” can either refer to various celebrations, such as Baptism, Eucharist (see “Lord’s Supper”), and other sacraments as well as liturgy in time, or to the specific shape of these rituals in a given region; in the latter sense, three phases of liturgical development can be discerned: the evolution of common patterns, the consolidation of local liturgies and liturgical families, and the further history of distinct rites. While basic forms of Christian liturgy first appear in irreducible diversity, characteristic structures of rituals and texts emerge in various regions in the centuries after Constantine; important cities as centers of gravity of liturgical standardization become hubs of regional influence and of exchange between established traditions. Since liturgical books are transmitted only from post-patristic times in most regions, and the liturgical legislation of late antique pseudapostolic church orders (*Didache*, *Traditio apostolica*, *Syriac Didaskalia*, *Apostolic Constitutions*, *Testamentum Domini* etc.) poses historical problems, the reconstruction of formative phases in Late Antiquity has to rely mostly on incidental hints in patristic literature and critical, especially comparative analysis of developed orders.

1. The Ante-Nicene Period. Although baptism, preceded by some kind of instruction, was constitutive for Christianity since New Testament times, the concrete shape and theology of Christian initiation differs significantly throughout Late Antiquity. Along with the baptismal Eucharist, Justin (*I Apol.* 65–67) describes a Sunday celebration, the Eucharistic meal of which is reduced to symbolic portions and preceded by a Liturgy of the Word consisting of reading, exhortation, and prayer (the ritual kiss is only attested in the baptismal context). This Mass-type Eucharist, featuring the basic structure common to all later rites, may, however, not be representative for the period, since other positive attestations are rare (in fact perhaps limited to indirect hints in Origen), and Eucharistic celebrations of the Symposium-type appear to prevail otherwise. The occurrence of a morning celebration is to be observed in 3rd-century Africa, and the morning salutation of clients receiving apophoreta on the morning of an evening symposium may provide a socially plausible nucleus for this development. The weekly fast-days Wednesday and Friday were liturgically productive, but regular weekday liturgies of the Word without Eucharist probably depended on the availability of a teacher (Origen *passim*; *Trad. ap.* 35; 41; unclear is Tertullian, *An.* 9.4). Evidence for patterns of Eucharistic praying is too scarce and

disparate in the first centuries to disclose representative local types; merely epicletic and exclusively Eucharistic prayers are attested along with more complex structures, and notwithstanding the attestation of respective efforts (Origen), it had not yet become common practice to address only the Father in such prayers.

2. The Post-Constantinian Age. The common establishment of a Mass-type Eucharist with a developed Liturgy of the Word is widely attested in the later 4th century CE (John Chrysostom, Augustine etc.). Mystagogies quote Eucharistic prayers that are in line with developed liturgies of medieval manuscripts (Ambrose cites a text clearly related to the core of the Roman Canon; the mystagogies attributed to Cyril or John of Jerusalem may attest to an early form of the Liturgy of James); from the same period come Egyptian witnesses not only of thriving diversity (P.Würz. 3; P.Monts.inv. 145–57 and later P.Copt.Lov 27; P.Dér Balizeh etc.; offering prayer attributed Sarapion), but also of what was to become the Liturgy of Mark (P.Strasb.gr. 254; later: P.Ryl. 465; P.Copt.Lov. 29; BM 54.036 etc.). Concerns of orthodoxy fostered standardization and the insertion of doctrinal and biblical elements; the biblical institution narrative and a formulaic anamnesis of salvation history may have been introduced into the Eucharistic prayer for catechetical reasons. Regularized catechumenal rituals for converts preparing for baptism are a sign of a flourishing catechetical system, but presumably also of its crisis. The innovative festal cycles that were developed around Easter and Christmas also contributed to securing basics of faith by annual celebration, and supraregional conventions of biblical readings emerge (e.g., from the Pentateuch and Proverbs during Lent; Acts, the Catholic Epistles and the Gospel of John after Easter). The assigning of certain texts to particular occasions and therefore the elaboration of Lectionaries is conditioned by and goes along with the development of the festal liturgies, which are first and often solely attested by festal homilies. Detailed liturgical documentation of this period is only available for late antique Jerusalem through Armenian and Georgian translations witnessing the evolution of the stational system and proper reading order between the 5th and 7th centuries; Syriac manuscripts illuminate the West-Syrian tradition.

3. Developed Rites. The consolidation of liturgical families followed the common cultural and political structures as well as doctrinal and hierarchical division lines after the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon (with later unions resulting in further complexity).

a. Eastern liturgies. In the East, Antioch and Alexandria were the most dominant centers.

1) Antiochene influence extended beyond the boundaries of the Empire (and ultimately as far as India); the non-Ephesian East-Syrian (= Syro-Meso-

potamian) Church of the East preserved archaic traits. Its anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari has no institutional narrative in the oldest manuscripts, and is structured in several strophes and oscillates in its address between God the Father and Christ; the epiclesis follows the intercessions. Further anaphoras are named after Theodore of Mopuestia and Nestorius.

The West-Syrian area comprised not only Antioch and its Syriac-speaking hinterland, but also Jerusalem with its peculiar tradition as well as Asia Minor and not least the new capital Constantinople. The major anaphoras of the Antiochene type – the liturgy attributed to James spreading from Jerusalem in the Antiochene realm along with those of Basil diffused in the whole Byzantine world, including Egypt, and of John Chrysostom, which became dominant in the Byzantine rite only under the influence medieval monasticism – have a common basic structure: the cosmic praise of the creator leads into the Sanctus, which is followed by a general anamnesis of salvation history, culminating in the institution narrative. The ensuing specific anamnesis is connected with a statement of offering and complemented by the epiclesis. The preceding intercessions explicate the Eucharistic communion, before a doxology concludes the prayer.

The non-Chalcedonian West-Syrian church developed a great number of mostly later anaphoras, while the Chalcedonian Maronite tradition appears also related to the Church of the East (anaphora of Peter III). The churches in the Caucasus were heavily influenced by Jerusalem, Antioch, Cappadocia and Byzantium, but in case of Armenia also from Persia; whereas the Georgian church was entirely byzantinized in the second millennium, the Armenian tradition remained independent both in non-Chalcedonian doctrine and in liturgy, with the anaphora that became most commonly used being attributed to Athanasius.

2) The Alexandrian branch of liturgical families comprises the non-Chalcedonian Coptic and Ethiopic churches as well as the “Melkite” tradition following the doctrine of the Byzantine empire and adopting its liturgy after the division of hierarchies. The innate liturgy attributed to Mark and to Cyril of Alexandria in its Coptic translation has a characteristic structure: the intercessions explicate the communion of those offering the Eucharistic gifts, not the one of those participating in them as in the Antiochene type; a first epiclesis flows from the Sanctus and bids to hallow the gifts, before a second epiclesis follows after the institution narrative and the special anamnesis. In addition, not only the liturgy attributed to Basil, but also the likewise Antiochene-type anaphora attributed to Gregory of Nazianzus) and addressed to Christ were used.

Witnesses of the Ethiopic liturgy with almost two dozens of anaphoras come only from post-pa-

tristic times and reveal influences not only from Alexandria, but also from Syria and Byzantium as well as from ancient church orders (*Apostolic Tradition*; *Testamentum Domini*); notable are two anaphoras addressed to Mary.

b. Western liturgies. Among the Western liturgies, the North African tradition became extinct before surviving liturgical manuscripts were codified. Non-Italian Western liturgies of Gaul and Spain differ from Eastern formularies in the great diversity of Eucharistic prayers consisting of variable components for almost all occasions; Rome and the closely related Ambrosian liturgy of Milan, in contrast, used only one Eucharistic prayer with an idiosyncratic structure: the constitutive importance of the community of those offering the gifts and a sacrifice of praise, explicated in a first series of intercessions, is related to the Alexandrian tradition; prayers for acceptance of the offering dominate the whole prayer. The absence of an explicit epiclesis and traits of a segmented structure seem archaic.

While the Roman tradition infiltrated Gaul already under Merovingian rule, the Hispanic tradition was codified in its entirety before its almost total abolition under pope Gregory VII. All extant Ambrosian Sacramentaries postdate the Carolingian Romanizing reform, although the church of Milan maintains her liturgical tradition until today; non-Roman elements of South-Italian tradition survive only in Romanized medieval manuscripts of the Beneventan area. With the exception of Milan, Roman tradition became the backbone of Latin liturgy in the course of the Middle Ages all over Western Europe, but in turn amalgamized especially with pre-Carolingian Gaulish elements in the Romano-Frankish synthesis and kept integrating and developing further strata throughout history and well into modern times. Distinctive of Roman chant is its biblicism; since manuscripts come only from the Carolingian era, the age of the repertoire is disputed. Most non-biblical proper texts supposedly derive from non-Roman traditions, of which only the Hispanic and Ambrosian corpora survive as such, whereas Gaulish and Beneventan pieces are transmitted in dominantly Romano-Frankish medieval manuscripts. Lectionaries of the various Western rites exist only from the post-patristic period.

Bibliography: ■ Bradshaw, P. F., *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy* (London 2002). ■ Bradshaw, P. F., *Eucharistic Origins* (ACC 80; London 2004). ■ Bradshaw, P. F./M. E. Johnson, *The Eucharistic Liturgies: Their Evolution and Interpretation* (Collegeville, Minn. 2012). ■ Buchinger, H., “Eucharistische Praxis und eucharistische Frömmigkeit bei Origenes,” *SE* 54 (2015) 5–78. ■ Gerhards, A./B. Kranemann (eds.), *Dynamik und Diversität des Gottesdienstes: Liturgiegeschichte in neuem Licht* (QD 289; Freiburg i. Br. 2018). ■ Heinz, A./H.-J. Feulner, “Liturgien. I. Einleitung. II. Patristische Zeit. III. Orientalische L. IV. Abendländische L.,” *LThK*³ 6 (1997) 972–84. ■ Kinzig, W. et al. (eds.), *Liturgie*

und Ritual in der Alten Kirche: Patristische Beiträge zum Studium der gottesdienstlichen Quellen der Alten Kirche (Studien der Patristischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft 11; Leuven 2011). ■ Leonhard, C./B. Eckhardt, "Mahl V. Kultmahl," *RAC* 23 (2010) 1012–1105. ■ Meßner, R., "Der Gottesdienst in der vornizänischen Kirche," in *Die Geschichte des Christentums: Religion - Politik - Kultur*, vol. I: *Die Zeit des Anfangs (bis 250)* (ed. L. Pietri; Freiburg i.Br. 2003) 340–441. ■ Miquel, G. R., *Introducción a las liturgias occidentales no romanas* (BELS 164; Rome 2013). ■ Salzmann, J. C., *Lehren und Ermahnen: Zur Geschichte des christlichen Wortgottesdienstes in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (WUNT.2 59; Tübingen 1994). ■ Spinks, B. D., *Do This in Remembrance of Me: The Eucharist from the Early Church to the Present Day* (SCM Studies in Worship and Liturgy; London 2013). ■ Taft, R. F., *Beyond East and West: Problems in Liturgical Understanding* (Rome 2001). ■ Taft, R. F./G. Winkler (eds.), *Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years after Anton Baumstark (1872–1948)* (OCA 265; Rome 2001).

Harald Buchinger