# The Holy Spirit and the Church in Liturgy

# A "Western Perspective"

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Discussion of "The Holy Spirit and the Church in Liturgy" from Eastern and Western perspectives leads into the centre both of a century-old division and of recent ecumenical understanding's interacting with liturgical renewal. For a long time, the western churches stressed the efficacy of Christ's Words of Institution, whether perceived in accordance with scholastic theology as consecratory words uttered by a priest exercising his power, or as words of no less efficacious promise in the Reformation's reaction to this clerico-centric view of medieval theology. Eastern churches, notably Byzantine Orthodoxy, attributed the crucial role in the sacramental action to the Holy Spirit invoked in the epiclesis at the heart of the anaphora, the Eucharistic prayer.

One of the greatest achievements of twentieth-century liturgical and ecumenical renewal is to have widened these narrow perspectives, which since the late Middle Ages had become issues of confessional separation. A new

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For a recent assessment of the broader question, see the rich volume, T. Berger and B. D. Spinks, eds., The Spirit in Worship - Worship in the Spirit (Collegeville, 2009); of lasting importance is the thorough dissertation of J. MCKENNA, Eucharist and Holy Spirit: The Eucharistic Epiclesis in Twentieth Century Theology (1900–1966) (ACC 57; Great Wakering, 1975), an updated extract of which has recently been republished as The Eucharistic Epiclesis: A Detailed History from the Patristic to the Modern Era (Chicago, 2009), and the masterly synthesis of R. F. TAFT, "From Logos to Spirit: On the Early History of the Epiclesis," in: Gratias agamus. Studien zum eucharistischen Hochgebet (Pastoralliturgische Reihe in Verbindung mit der Zeitschrift "Gottesdienst"; eds. A. Heinz and H. Rennings; FS Balthasar Fischer; Freiburg, 1992), 489-502; further key bibliography is given by R. MESSNER, Einführung in die Liturgiewissenschaft (Paderborn, <sup>2</sup>2009 [cf. <sup>1</sup>2001]), 212f. On the ecumenical dimension, cf. most recently R. F. TAFT, "Problems in Anaphoral Theology: 'Words of Consecration' versus 'Consecratory Epiclesis'," SVTQ 57 (2013) 37-65, taking up his earlier article, "The Epiclesis Question in the Light of the Orthodox and the Catholic Lex Orandi Traditions," in: New Perpectives on Historical Theology. Essays in Memory of John Meyendorff (ed. B. Nassif; Grand Rapids, 1996), 210-237. References in the following can therefore limit themselves to the exemplary primary sources discussed. My thanks go to John Nicholson, Vienna, for the revision of the English text.

appreciation of the liturgical texts as sources of sacramental theology has drawn attention to the whole Eucharistic prayer as being constitutive of the Eucharistic action, thus resolving false alternatives of constricted theological focuses that were exclusive in both content and effect. The rediscovery of the Eucharistic prayer had a profound impact on the practice of all western churches, which in the last generation reformed their liturgical orders, and it may be noted that as a consequence of this insight, the call for the anaphora to be recited aloud can now also be heard in Orthodox circles.

Though the importance of these developments is well known and past controversies need not be reiterated, it is relevant to ask how key sources of the liturgical Tradition in the plurality of representative Rites articulate the truism that the operation of the Holy Spirit is fundamental to any action of the Church. This conviction is of course manifest in many sacramental prayers; hence, an investigation of the Holy Spirit and the Church in liturgy might consider various celebrations from Baptism to ordination and from the blessing of the waters at Epiphany to the rites of matrimony. For purely pragmatic reasons, this paper shall concentrate on the Eucharist in exemplary sources, asking first how the Spirit is addressed in the earliest available evidence from the period before the emergence of liturgical texts in the proper sense of the word (which from a liturgical perspective can thus be labelled "pre-historic"), then briefly reviewing the epicleseis of some developed rites, before discussing the problematic case of the Roman liturgy in the light of other evidence. Finally, the renewal of the Eucharistic prayer in western churches shall be evaluated in the light of historical and ecumenical research. Regarding the "Western perspective" that I am invited to articulate, the second half of the paper is the most relevant one.

## 1. "Pre-historic" Evidence

#### 1.1 Patristic Hints

Although the Eucharist is already called "spiritual food and drink" (πνευματική τροφή καὶ ποτός, cf. 1 Cor 10:4) in the earliest existing Eucharistic prayers, given in the Didache, clear evidence for a Spirit-epiclesis cannot be found in early patristic writing on the Eucharist. (By contrast,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Didache 10,3 (SC 248, 180 Rordorf and Tuilier).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The still oft-quoted notion that Cyril (or rather John II?) of Jerusalem, Myst. 5, 7 (SC 126, 154 Piédagnel), is the first witness to a Spirit-epiclesis has to be relativized on the one hand by the testimony of the *Acts of Thomas*, on the other hand by the appearance of the mid-fourth-century Barcelona/Montserrat papyrus reedited by M. ZHELTOV. Idem, "The Anaphora and the Thanksgiving Prayer from the Barcelona Papyrus: An Underestimated

Tertullian [d. ca. 220?] probably alludes to an invocation of the Spirit over the water of Baptism.<sup>4</sup>) Testimonies from the first three centuries either point to an invocation of the Logos rather than the Spirit<sup>5</sup> or use the term ἐπίκλησις indiscriminately for the whole prayer and not for a particular element at all.<sup>6</sup> Only Origen (d. after 250), who otherwise is likely to be counted among the witnesses of a Logos-epiclesis, once mentions the "Bread, over which the name of God and of Christ and the Holy Spirit was called upon (ἐπικέκληται)", thus perhaps referring to a Trinitarian epiclesis or at least a prayer invoking the Trinity, including the Spirit.<sup>7</sup>

# 1.2 Early Syrian Evidence

The earliest evidence therefore comes from the Acts of Thomas ([Eastern] Syria? 3<sup>rd</sup> c.?), which quote elaborate invocations over both the oil of initiation (which in this source is more important than the water) and the Eucharistic elements (which mostly are bread and water, and never include wine); in fact, some sacramental prayers of this source appear as a mere series of petitions, being totally epicletic (and not Eucharistic in the proper sense) in genre and content. Recent scholarship no longer regards the apocryphal writings as deviant minority traditions of disputed orthodoxy but takes them seriously as witnesses to the multifaceted liturgical life of the early Church in which they were written, transmitted, translated, and adapted.<sup>8</sup> Although the prayers are variegated in addressee, content, and literary form, it is likely that they were not only utilized a posteriori in later liturgical tradition (as is the case in a palimpsest sacramentary of 7th century Irish provenance that was later kept in Regensburg's Benedictine abbey of St. Emmeram<sup>9</sup>), but mirror liturgical practice, which at least cannot have been absurd at the time and place of origin.

Testimony to the Anaphoral History in the Fourth Century," VigChr 62 (2008), 467–504, esp. 484f: P.Monts.Roca inv. 155a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Tertullian, Bapt. 4 (CChr.SL 1, 279f Borleffs).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> TAFT, logos, 494f (n. 1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Irenaeus, *Haer.* 4, 18, 5 (SC 100bis, 610 Hemmerdinger, Doutreleau, and Mercier); cf. also 1, 13, 2 (SC 264, 191 Rousseau and Doutreleau).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Origen on 1 Corinthians. III, Jenkins, *JThS* 9 (1908), 500–514, Fragm 34 on 1 Cor 7:5 (502, 13f); cf. H. BUCHINGER, "Early Eucharist in Transition? A Fresh Look at Origen," in *Jewish and Christian Liturgy and Worship: New Insights into its History and Interaction* (Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series 15; eds. A. Gerhards and C. Leonhard; Leiden, 2007), 207–227, esp. 218f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Cf. H. BUCHINGER, "Liturgy and Early Christian Apocrypha," in *Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Apocrypha* (eds. C. Tuckett and A. Gregory; Oxford, 2015, forthcoming).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Das irische Palimpsestsakramentar im Clm 14429 der Staatsbibliothek München (TAB 53/54; eds. A. Dold and L. Eizenhöfer; Beuron, 1964), 44.

Remarkably, one epiclesis over the oil (in ch. 27) and one over the "bread of blessing" (in ch. 49 [46]f) correspond closely. Furthermore, literary-critical observations can be made as the section addressed to the Spirit interrupts a prayer that is also directed to Christ as an "invocation of his holy name" (ἐπικαλεῖσθαί σου τὸ ἄγιον ὄνομα) and that appeals immediately to him to "come and have communion with us (ἐλθὲ καὶ κοινώνησον ἡμῖν)":

### Syriac version

## significant variants of the Greek version

Jesus, who has deemed us worthy to draw near to your holy body and to partake of your life-giving blood ... we are bold and draw near and invoke your holy name ... we beg of you that you would come and communicate with us ...

Come, gift of the Exalted, come, perfect mercy, come, holy Spirit, come, revealer of the mysteries of the chosen among the prophets, come, proclaimer by his Apostles of the combats of our victorious Athlete, come, treasure of majesty, come, beloved of the mercy of the Most High, come, (you) silent (one),

Jesus, who has deemed us worthy to partake of (or: have communion in κοινωνήσαι) the Eucharist of your holy body and blood ...

[absent]

come, participant in all contests of the noble athlete [absent] [absent]

come, Giver of life in secret, and manifest in your deeds,

come, utterer of hidden things, and shewer of the

works of our God,

come, giver of joy and rest to all who cleave to you,

come, power of the Father and wisdom of the Son, for you are one in all,

for you are one in all, [originally directed to Christ?] come, and communicate with us in this Eucharist which we celebrate and in the offering which we offer, and in the commemoration which we make. 10

holy dove which gives birth to twin chicks come, hidden mother

... which we celebrate upon your name [sic] ...

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Syriac Text: Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles (ed. W. Wright; London, 1871), 1, بند f; Greek Text: AAAp 2/2, 165f Bonnet; English translation: A. F. J. KLIJN, The Acts of Thomas: Introduction, Text and Commentary (NT.S 108; 2<sup>nd</sup>, rev. ed.; Leiden, 2003), 123–125.

Brief remarks have to suffice in the present context:

1) Though diachronic hypotheses are by definition disputable, one may speculate that the invitation to Christ to "come" - as guest, not as host, let alone object of the meal, though the celebration is clearly identified as "the Eucharist of your body and blood" - was the most primitive notion of epicletic praying, which perhaps only in a second stage may also have been transferred to the Spirit, who is then likewise asked to "come". 11 What is clear anyway is that the present prayer consists of a series of quite direct petitions in the form of an anaphora (in the stylistic rather than the liturgical sense) of imperatives; only in a later stage will the Spirit be called upon the Eucharistic elements as such and ultimately be integrated into prayers that are directed to God the Father. An intermediary status may be reflected by the epiclesis of Acts of Thomas 133, which in its first part is startlingly directed to the bread, then (at least in the Syriac version) takes the form of a Trinitarian invocation, and in the end asks in the third person for the coming of the "power of blessing", which most likely has pneumatological implications and definitely foreshadows features of later epicleseis – namely, requests that the Spirit may come upon the Eucharist in view of effects upon the communicants:

Syriac

significant variants of the Greek version

Living bread ...

We name the name of the Father upon you; we name the name of the Son upon you; we name the name of the Spirit upon you, the exalted name that is hidden from all ...

In your name, Jesus, may the power of the blessing and the understanding come and abide upon this bread that all the souls which take of it may be renewed and their sins may be forgiven them.<sup>12</sup>

We call (upon?) you the name of the Mother, ruler of ineffable mystery and of hidden powers, we call upon you your name. (that of) Jesus.

May the power of blessing come (ἐλθάτω) and abide ...

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> The abundant bibliography of earlier scholarship is quoted in G. ROUWHORST, "Die Rolle des heiligen Geistes in der Eucharistie und der Taufe im frühsyrischen Christentum," in *Liturgie und Trinität* (QD 229; eds. B. Groen and B. Kranemann; Freiburg, 2008), 161–184, and R. MESSNER, "Grundlinien der Entwicklung des eucharistischen Gebets in der frühen Kirche," in *Prex Eucharistica. Volumen III: Studia. Pars prima: Ecclesia antiqua et occidentalis* (SpicFri 42; eds. A. Gerhards, H. Brakman, and M. Klöckener; Fribourg, 2005), 3–41. S. E. MYERS, *Spirit Epicleses in the Acts of Thomas* (WUNT II.281; Tübingen, 2010), is eclectic both in content and bibliography.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Wright 1, 3z; AAAp 2/2, 240 (the Greek text is difficult and potentially corrupt); KLIJN, *Acts*, 133 (n. 10).

2) Not least in light of the baptismal epiclesis in chapter 27, Pneumatology and Christology appear very fluid in the tradition represented by the *Acts of Thomas*, and to some extent even interchangeable. The extremely rich and colourful terminology for the Spirit is complex, and its attributes consist of biblical elements, esoteric allusions, and cosmological speculations; they also comprise female imagery, and not only in the Syriac version with its obvious Semitic linguistic background.

Regarding the Holy Spirit and the Church, it can be summarized that the earliest place where the connection between Spirit and Eucharist takes the literary form of an explicit epiclesis is Syria; the suspicion that the Spirit-epiclesis originated in this region is further corroborated by the testimony of the Didascalia Apostolorum (3<sup>rd</sup> c.?), according to which "the Eucharist is accepted and sanctified through the Holy Spirit".<sup>13</sup>

# 2. The Epiclesis in Developed Eastern Liturgies

The quest for doctrinal, disciplinary, and ritual conformity in the post-Constantinian period furthered tendencies not only towards codification and standardization of liturgical traditions, but also led to significant development: the rule of directing sacramental prayers to God the Father became almost universally accepted;<sup>14</sup> standard literary patterns coagulated in political and ecclesial centres, thus forming the core of the later "Rites" and characteristic types of anaphoral layouts; doctrinal formulations were integrated into liturgical texts in order to keep pace with conciliar clarifications and to firmly implant them along with the basics of Christian belief (such as the Christological creed as formulated in the anamnetic part of the Eucharistic prayer) in the regular worship of the immense masses of those who had joined the Church (probably not always for reasons of deep personal piety alone) in the era of the "imperial church", which at the same time was a period of intense theological disputes.<sup>15</sup> It has been argued that the evolution of a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Didasc. 26 (Syriac text: CSCO 407=CSCO.S 179, 256; English translation: CSCO 408=CSCO.S 180, 239 Vööbus).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Exceptions to that rule, however, are more frequent than earlier scholarship tended to assume; cf. B. D. SPINKS, "The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer: What Jungmann Omitted to Say," in *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer: Trinity, Christology, and Liturgical Theology* (ed. B. D. Spinks; Collegeville, 2008), 1–19. The most notable later exception is the Egyptian anaphora attributed to Gregory of Nazianzus: A. GERHARDS, *Die griechische Gregoriosanaphora. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Eucharistischen Hochgebets* (LQF 65; Münster, 1984); more curious is the Ethiopic Anaphora of St. Mary addressed to the Virgin.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Cf. R. F. TAFT, "Anton Baumstark's Comparative Liturgy Revisited," in Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years after Anton Baumstark (1872-1948). Acts of the International

consecratory Spirit-epiclesis was enhanced by the heyday of pneumatological developments in the later fourth century, <sup>16</sup> and creedal formulae can indeed be recognized in some prayer texts. As for Logos-epicleseis, they in turn vanish at that time; one of the surviving examples is the somewhat idiosyncratic anaphora of the Euchologion attributed to Sarapion of Thmuis (d. after 362). <sup>17</sup> Although the epicletic character of the Eucharistic prayer may not be reduced to the epiclesis in the terminological sense of the word, <sup>18</sup> the structural place and the content of the latter is the key to understanding the relation that various liturgies express between the Spirit and the Church.

## 2.1 East Syrian

The famous anaphora of the apostles Addai and Mari of the East Syrian tradition bears archaic traits: it is composed of several units, one part is directed to Christ, and – most famously – the historical text does not have an Institution Narrative.<sup>19</sup> It does contain, however, a developed Spirit-epiclesis, which gives a detailed account of the expected effects especially upon the congregation, but at the same time may be considered relatively primitive insofar as it asks for the Spirit to "come" (and not yet to be sent) and "rest":

May your Holy Spirit, Lord, come and rest on this offering of your servants, and bless and sanctify it, that it may be to us, Lord, for remission of debts, forgiveness of sins, and the great hope of resurrection from the dead, and new life in the kingdom of heaven, with all who have been pleasing in your sight.<sup>20</sup>

Congress. Rome, 25–29 September 1998 (OCA 265; eds. R. F. Taft and G. Winkler; Roma, 2001), 191–232; W. KINZIG, "Glaubensbekenntnis und Entwicklung des Kirchenjahres," in Liturgie und Ritual in der Alten Kirche. Patristische Beiträge zum Studium der gottesdienstlichen Quellen der Alten Kirche (Studien der Patristischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft 11; eds. W. Kinzig, U. Volp, and J. Schmidt; Leuven, 2011), 3–41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> TAFT, Logos, 496 (n. 1), with bibliography of earlier key literature in n. 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> TAFT, Logos, 495f (n. 1); M. E. JOHNSON, The Prayers of Sarapion of Thmuis: A Literary, Liturgical, and Theological Analysis (OCA 249; Roma, 1995), 48f; cf. also 54f, 233–253.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> MESSNER, Grundlinien, 34 (n. 11).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Most recently, cf. C. Giraudo (ed.), The Anaphoral Genesis of the Institution Narrative in Light of the Anaphora of Addai and Mari. Acts of the International Liturgy Congress Rome 25–26 October 2011 (OCA 295; Roma, 2013).

<sup>20</sup> W. F. MACOMBER, "The Oldest Known Text of the Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari," OCP 32 (1966), 335–371: 368f; English translation: R. C. D. JASPER and G. J. CUMING, Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed (Collegeville, 31987 [cf. 11975]), 43; on the notion and terminology of "come and rest" (or "be rested": "Lake Liturgical Texts: Some Comparative Approaches," in: Comparative Liturgy (n. 15), 377–406 [repr.: S. BROCK, Fire from Heaven. Studies in Syriac Theology and Liturgy (CStS 863; Aldershot, 2006, N° IX). The controversy triggered by E. C. RATCLIFF, "The Original Form of the Anaphora of

# 2.2 Egyptian (Alexandrian)

The Egyptian evidence is so heterogeneous that it cannot be reviewed exhaustively in the present context. It must suffice to say that papyri bear fragmentary – and therefore often disputed – witness to a flourishing tradition with diverse patterns of Eucharistic praying;<sup>21</sup> the anaphora of (Pseudo-) Sarapion's euchologion has already been mentioned. Later, "Antiochene"-type prayers also came to the region and developed significant variants.

A distinctive feature of certain Egyptian prayers – most notably the Liturgy of Saint Mark, the development of which can be traced from early fragments to the medieval Greek and Coptic manuscripts – is a double epiclesis. The first flows from the Sanctus with its adapted quotation from Isa 6:3, "Heaven and (sic) earth are full of your (sic) glory", and prays:

Full in truth are heaven and earth of your holy glory through (the appearing of) our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ: fill, O God, this sacrifice also with the blessing from you through (the descent) of your (all-) Holy Spirit.<sup>22</sup>

Whereas in the first epiclesis the variants between the earlier (sixth and eighth centuries) and later (from the tenth century on) testimonies are rather minor, the differences become particularly revealing in the second epiclesis, which complements the anamnesis and offering after the Institution Narrative and leads into the concluding doxology:

#### earlier text

# developed text

We pray and beseech you to send your Holy Spirit and your power on these [your?] [gifts] set before you, on this bread and this cup, ... and we pray and beseech you, for you are good and love man, send out from your holy height, from your prepared dwelling place, from your unbounded bosom, the Paraclete himself, the Holy Spirit (of truth), the Lord, the life-giver, who spoke through the Law and the prophets and the Apostles, who is present everywhere and fills everything, who on

Addai and Mari: A Suggestion," *JThS* 30 (1929), 23–32, about the epiclesis potentially being a secondary interpolation (29) cannot be followed here in detail.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> J. HAMMERSTAEDT, Griechische Anaphorenfragmente aus Ägypten und Nubien (PapyCol 28; Opladen, 1999); J. HENNER, Fragmenta Liturgica Coptica. Editionen und Kommentar liturgischer Texte der Koptischen Kirche des ersten Jahrtausends (STAC 5; Tübingen, 2000). The absence of an epiclesis need not necessarily be significant in mutilated texts such as the Papyrus Strasbourg gr. 254.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Greek Text: G. J. CUMING, *The Liturgy of St Mark Edited from the Manuscripts with a Commentary* (OCA 234; Roma, 1990), 39 (with commentary Ibid. 120–122); English translation: JASPER and CUMING, *Prayers*, 64 (n. 20). Omissions of certain witnesses are indicated cumulatively and not comprehensively.

#### earlier text

#### developed text

his own authority and not as a servant works sanctification on whom he wills, in your good pleasure; single in nature, multiple in operation, the fountain of divine endowments, consubstantial with you, sharing the throne of the kingdom with you and your only-begotten Son, our Lord and God and Saviour, Jesus Christ; (look) upon us and upon these loaves and these cups; send your Holy Spirit to sanctify and perfect them, (as almighty God),

and to make the bread the body and [the cup the blood of the] new [covenant] of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,

that [they may be to all of us who] receive for faith, for sobriety, [for healing, for joy, for sanctification,] for renewal of soul, body, [and spirit, for sharing in eternal life,] for self-control and of (sic) immor-

for ... [that] in this also as in all [may be glorified ...] ... your name<sup>23</sup>

tality

and make the bread the body and the cup the blood of the new covenant of our Lord and God and Saviour and King of all, Jesus Christ.

that they may become to all of us who partake of them for faith, for sobriety, for healing, (for temperance, for sanctification), for renewal of soul, body, and spirit, for fellowship in eternal life and immortality, for the glorifying of your (all-) holy name, for forgiveness of sins;

that in this as in everything may be glorified ... your name<sup>24</sup>

For the relation between Spirit, Liturgy, and Church, it is noteworthy that in spite of the first epiclesis, the second and more extensive epiclesis intrinsically combines the petition for the changing of the gifts and of those who receive them: the Spirit is to change the gifts not in view of themselves but for the benefit of those who receive them. The precise and detailed directions given to the Spirit with regard to the requested effects on both are typical of developed epicleseis, as is the appeal to God to "send" his Spirit; the enrichment with doctrinal formulae and biblical quotations are typical cases of Baumstark's "laws" of liturgical development.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> English translation: JASPER and CUMING, *Prayers*, 56 (n. 20), according to the John Rylands Parchment fragment gr. 465 (HAMMERSTAEDT, *Anaphorenfragmente*, 79–81 [n. 21]) and the sahidic British Museum Tablet 54 036 (H. QUECKE, "Ein saïdischer Zeuge der Markusliturgie (Brit. Mus. Nr. 54 036)," *OCP* 37 [1971], 40–54: 44).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Greek Text: CUMING, *Liturgy*, 46–48 (n. 22; commentary Ibid. 125–129); English translation: JASPER and CUMING, *Prayers*, 65f (n. 20). Variants and omissions abound in the various testimonies.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Cf. TAFT, Comparative Liturgy (n. 15).

It can only be mentioned that the characteristically Egyptian feature of a double epiclesis, one concentrating on the bread and cup between Sanctus and Institution Narrative, and the other between the latter and the doxology, explicating the Eucharistic communion, is attested as early as the 4<sup>th</sup> century in the Barcelona/Montserrat papyrus codex, which has only recently been edited in its entirety. The text, however, does not fit into the pedigree of the liturgy of Saint Mark and combines allegedly more recent developments, such as the request to "send" the Spirit or clear biblical allusions, with rather archaic elements.<sup>26</sup>

#### 2.3 West Syrian (Antiochene)

The large family of West-Syrian liturgies includes the church of Jerusalem with the venerable tradition of the liturgy of Saint James and the Byzantine rite with the liturgies traditionally attributed to Saint Basil and Saint John Chrysostom. The basic structure of these Eucharistic prayers is relatively uniform: The epiclesis grows organically out of the anamnesis and offering, which themselves follow, actualize, and implement the iteration command of the Institution Narrative. Common to all of them is, again, the intimate connection between the effects of the Spirit on the gifts and on the communicants, thus expressing the immediate impact of the Eucharistic action on the Church.

In the most prominent prayers of Byzantine Orthodoxy, the Spirit is told in an astonishingly precise manner what he is supposed to do. Especially the anaphora of Saint John Chrysostom is almost dogmatic in its terminology:

... we pray and beseech and entreat you, send down your Holy Spirit on us and on these gifts set forth; and make this bread the precious body of your Christ, changing it (μεταβαλών) by your Holy Spirit, Amen; and that which is in this cup the precious blood of your Christ, changing it by your Holy Spirit, Amen; so that they may become to those who partake for vigilance of soul, for fellowship with the Holy Spirit, for the fullness of the kingdom (of heaven), for boldness toward you, not for judgement or condemnation.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> ZHELTOV, Anaphora (n. 3).

<sup>27</sup> Greek text: A. Hänggi and I. Pahl (eds.), Prex Eucharistica. Volumen 1: Textus e variis liturgiis antiquioribus selecti (SpicFri 12; 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. eds. A. Gerhards and H. Brakmann; Freiburg/Schweiz, 1998 [cf. <sup>1</sup>1968]), 226; English translation: JASPER and CUMING, Prayers, 133 (n. 20). Differences from the closely related Syriac Anaphora of the 12 Apostles that may betray historical developments (especially the reference to the central action: "to change" instead of "to show forth": مرابعه والمنافق والم

Less technical is the formerly dominant liturgy of Saint Basil, quoted below in its allegedly most primitive Alexandrian version; bidding that the Spirit may "come" has been noted as a remnant of the oldest epicletic imagination.<sup>28</sup> Instead of "changing" the gifts, they shall be "shown forth" – an old and remarkable concept of sacramental efficiency that recurs also in other contexts such as the blessing of the baptismal font in the Byzantine liturgy.<sup>29</sup>

And we, sinners and unworthy and wretched, pray you, our God, in adoration that in the good pleasure of your goodness your Holy Spirit may come upon us and upon these gifts that have been set before you, and may sanctify them and show them forth as  $(\mathring{\alpha} v \alpha \delta \epsilon \widetilde{\iota} \xi \alpha \iota)$  holy of holies, and make us all worthy to partake of your holy things for sanctification of soul and body, that we may become one body and one spirit, and may have a portion with all the saints who have been pleasing to you from eternity.<sup>30</sup>

# 3. The Problematic Case of the Roman Liturgy

# 3.1 A Spirit-Oblivious Rite?

It is a commonplace to diagnose Roman theology and liturgy with amnesia of the Spirit or at least deficiencies in its Pneumatology. Of course, explicit Spirit-epicleseis do exist in sacramental prayers of the Roman rite, most prominently in the liturgy of Initiation – that is, in the blessing of the font and consecration of the chrism – but also in the ordination prayers. Even with respect to the Eucharist, pope Gelasius (d. 496?) casually asserts that "at the consecration of the divine mystery the heavenly Spirit shall come when he is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> In addition to the commentaries mentioned below (n. 30), cf., among many others, R. MESSNER, "Prex Eucharistica. Zur Frühgeschichte der Basilios-Anaphora: Beobachtungen und Hypothesen," in *Sursum Corda. Variationen zu einem liturgischen Motiv. Für Philipp Harnoncourt zum 60. Geburtstag* (eds. E. Renhart and A Schnider; Graz, 1991), 121–129, esp. 127; Idem, *Grundlinien* (n. 11); see above the *Acts of Thomas*, the Anaphora of Addai and Mari.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> L'Eucologio Barberini gr. 336 (BEL.S 80; eds. S. Parenti and E. Velkovska; Roma, <sup>2</sup>2000), 128; cf. E. PETERSON, "Die Bedeutung von ἀναδείκνυμι in den griechischen Liturgien," in: Festgabe für Adolf Deissmann zum 60. Geburtstag. 7. November 1926 (Tübingen, 1927), 320–326; TAFT, Epiclesis Question, 219–221 (n. 1); further references: Lampe, PGL 101. The earliest application of the term to the Eucharistic epiclesis is Basil of Caesarea, Spir. 27, 66 (SC 17bis, 481 Pruche).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Synoptic edition: A. BUDDE, *Die ägyptische Basilios-Anaphora. Text - Kommentar - Geschichte* (Jerusalemer Theologisches Forum 7; Münster, 2004), 160–165 (text); 378–430 (commentary); English translation adapted from JASPER and CUMING, *Prayers*, 133 (n. 20); cf. also G. WINKLER, *Die Basilius-Anaphora. Edition der beiden armenischen Redaktionen und der relevanten Fragmente. Übersetzung und Zusammenschau aller Versionen im Licht der orientalischen Überlieferungen* (Anaphorae Orientales 2 = Anaphorae Armeniacae 2; Roma, 2005), 775–830.

invoked" and that the priest is "the one who calls for his presence"31, which can hardly be understood otherwise than as referring to an explicit Spiritepiclesis. Nonetheless, it must be admitted that the absence of any reference to the Holy Spirit (apart from the concluding Trinitarian doxology) is one of the peculiarities of the Roman Canon, the only Eucharistic prayer of the Roman rite from its earliest Latin testimonies to the latest reforms of the post-Vatican era. Other features include the lack of thanksgiving (i.e., "Eucharistic") elements beyond the Preface and an excessive accumulation of offering and intercessory prayers that led to its radical curtailing and ultimate abolishment in the churches of the Reformation. The absence of an epiclesis is widely taken as a trait of primitivity (or, to put it more cautiously, at least as a consequence of the conservative character of the Roman liturgy), leading back into the time before the later-fourth-century developments in pneumatology; and the core of the text is indeed attested as early as the time of Ambrose of Milan (d. 397), who quotes a prayer which in his day may well already have been traditional.<sup>32</sup>

## 3.2 The Received Text of the Roman Canon

The extant liturgical books of the Roman rite date only from the early Middle Ages (as is also the case of other traditions such as the Byzantine liturgy), and its Eucharistic prayer (the "Roman Canon") has been preserved almost unchanged since the earliest existing testimonies, namely, the sacramentaries of the Carolingian era.<sup>33</sup> Since it seems to be constructed concentrically around a core with the Institution Narrative at its centre, the traditional understanding takes these Words as being the key to the text and in consequence understands the preceding section as leading towards that alleged climax. In fact, the received text beseeches God "to make this offering wholly blessed, approved, ratified, reasonable, and acceptable, that it may become to us the body and blood of your dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord". The petition asks in classical and biblical terminology for the acceptance of the Eucharistic offering, at the same time alluding to the Pauline theologoumenon of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Gelasius I. (492–496), ep. fragm. 7 (ed. Thiel 1, 486 = PL 59, 143 A): quomodo ad divini mysterii consecrationem coelestis Spiritus invocatus adveniet, si sacerdos, et qui eum adesse deprecatur, criminosis plenus actionibus reprobetur.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Ambrosius, Sacr. 4, 5f § 21f 27 (CSEL 73, 55–57 Faller).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Hänggi and Pahl, *Prex Eucharistica* 1, 424–438 (n. 27); English translation: JASPER and CUMING, *Prayers*, 163–166 (n. 20). Among the few later additions, the interpolation *vel pro quibus offerimus* in the *Memento* reflects a significant shift in Eucharistic theology and ecclesiology in the Carolingian era. Only in the twentieth century did a Pope dare to tamper with the text on the basis of his personal piety, when John XXIII inserted Joseph to the list of saints. Minor changes occurred in the post-Vatican reformulation of the Institution Narrative and the insertion of an anamnetic acclamation.

the oblatio ... rationabilis (cf. Rom 12:1: θυσία ζώσα ... λογική λατρεία), which with its metaphorical use of cultic categories is fundamental to every Christian theology of liturgy. Since the text aims at the crucial effect of the prayer, "that the oblation (of bread and wine) may become ... the body and blood of ... Jesus Christ", it has widely been taken as equivalent to the epicleseis of other rites, which ask for similar effects. The focus of this passage, which appears as a final clause (ut ... fiat), is on the change of the elements; the Eucharistic communion of the Church is specified in other parts, such as the intercessions before and after the core of the prayer, but also towards the end of this core where supplication is made that "all of us who have received the most holy body and blood of your Son by partaking at this altar may be filled with all heavenly blessing and grace". Even though one could discern implicit Pneumatology in the reference to "blessing" and "grace", all in all one must admit that the Spirit is not featured prominently in the Eucharistic prayer of the Roman rite. The Church, however, in its many dimensions is a paramount concern of the text, though addressed predominantly in her quality as subject of the offering in the first stanzas of the prayer. Yet it remains a riddle why the benefits of the blessing for the communicants and the prayer for the change of the gifts should appear to be separated.

# 3.3 A Double Epiclesis?

A certain analogy to this structural peculiarity of the Roman Canon can be seen in the Egyptian tradition of double epicleseis, both after the Sanctus and after the anamnesis. The possibility of a clearly consecratory epiclesis is meanwhile corroborated by several papyrological testimonies, including the famous Deir Balayzeh papyrus and the more recently discovered Barcelona/Montserrat anaphora.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, notwithstanding striking parallels in wording, recent scholarship no longer considers the relationship between the Roman and the Alexandrian liturgy to be as close as once was thought.

#### 3.4 The Core of the Roman Canon in the Light of Other Western Evidence

A remarkable alternative explanation has been proposed by Hans-Joachim Schulz and explicated by Reinhard Messner in the light of Western evidence that is closer to the Roman Canon than the ancient Egyptian texts.<sup>35</sup> A fresh

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> HAMMERSTAEDT, *Anaphorenfragmente*, 174–176 (n. 21); English translation: JASPER and CUMING, *Prayers*, 80f (n. 20); ZHELTOV, *Anaphora* (n. 3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> H.-J. SCHULZ, Ökumenische Glaubenseinheit aus eucharistischer Überlieferung (KKTS 39; Paderborn, 1976), 56–72; R. MESSNER, "Einige Probleme des eucharistischen Hochgebets," in: Bewahren und Erneuern. Studien zur Meβliturgie: Festschrift für Hans Bernhard Meyer SJ zum 70. Geburtstag (IThS 42; eds. R. Messner, E. Nagel, and R. Pacik; Innsbruck, 1995), 174–201.

look at the textual history of what has been understood as equivalent to the first, consecratory epiclesis shows that the petition for an effect upon the gifts is not the earliest identifiable understanding of this part. Consequently, the equivalent for an epiclesis is to be sought after the Institution Narrative, anamnesis, and offering – that is to say, exactly where the Antiochene tradition collocates it – and it can plausibly be found exactly there.

# 3.4.1 Quam oblationem: equivalent to an epiclesis?

It is not clear if Ambrose of Milan quotes an early version of the Roman Canon for which manuscript evidence comes only four centuries later, or if he testifies to a related tradition. In his text, however, the parallel section to the *Quam oblationem* is definitely not consecratory but merely a prayer for the acceptance of the offering, which is described in a relative or rather causal subordinate clause as the "figure of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ", whereas the received text of the Roman Canon appears to ask for their change into the latter in a final clause.<sup>36</sup> The notion is therefore clearly explicatory and not consecratory, stating an inherent quality of the Eucharistic gifts rather than an intended effect upon them.

An intermediate state is attested by the "Gaulish" recension of the Roman Canon which is attested by Irish and Ambrosian manuscripts: The syntactic structure is that of a relative clause (as, it may be noted, in a prayer from the old-Spanish "Mozarabic" tradition<sup>37</sup>) and therefore rather explicatory than final, but a final notion is introduced by the subjunctive (as in the received text of the Roman sacramentaries): "... which may become to us the body and blood ...". On the basis of this undisputable textual evidence, Reinhard Messner has developed the intriguing hypothesis that even the received text may be understood in an explanatory and not in a final sense, as *ut* may have both functions. The *ut*-clause would then state a quality of the gifts, and the intention of the whole passage would be to ask for the acceptance of the Church's offering and not primarily for its change.

Although the existing testimonies should not be pressed into a monolinear history, they insinuate that the scholastic hermeneutic of the Roman Canon in the version of its received text, interpreting the *Quam oblationem*-passage as consecratory in function and form, probably does not match the earliest sense of this prayer and that the equivalent of an epiclesis is to be sought elsewhere.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Cf. the synopsis given in appendix 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Cf. appendix 1; text: M. Férotin (ed.), Le Liber Ordinum en usage dans l'Église wisigothique et mozarabe d'Espagne du cinquième au onzième siècle (MELi 5; Paris, 1904), 321f, N° 17 = Idem (ed.), Le Liber mozarabicus sacramentorum et les manuscrits mozarabes (MELi 6; Paris, 1912), 641, N° 161 § 1440.

# 3.4.2 Supplices: equivalent to an epiclesis!

As in almost all developed Eucharistic prayers, the section following the Institution Narrative links up with the iteration command to "do this in my memory": "therefore, remembering ... we offer ..." leading into a petition ("... and pray"), which in virtually all other traditions is explicitly epicletic, asking for the Spirit to operate an effect both on the Eucharistic gifts and on those who partake of them. The effect upon the gifts is articulated as some kind of consecration (explicitly so in the liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom) or some other sort of change (in the terminology of the liturgy of Saint Basil, "to show forth as holy of holies"). The specifically Roman conception of this change would then be that the gifts may be "transferred by the hand of your angel to your altar on high", a somewhat cryptic notion and all the more so since the identity of that angel remains enigmatic (it is implausible to suppose an angel-Christology because parallel texts speak of angels in the plural). What would correspond to other epicleseis is that the requested change of the elements, which consequently are addressed as the body and blood of Christ, aims at an immediate effect upon the communicants: "that all of us who have received the most holy body and blood of your Son by partaking at this altar may be filled with all heavenly blessing and grace" - terminology which may have pneumatological implications. The Spirit, the Church, and the Eucharist would thus be intrinsically linked even in the Roman tradition.

The interpretation of this section as equivalent to an epiclesis upon both the gifts and the communicants is strongly corroborated by comparison with texts from non-Roman Western liturgical traditions, which show that the Roman Canon is not a unique, one-off phenomenon but part of a larger and multifaceted tradition. In fact, both the Mozarabic and the Gaulish tradition do have prayers that are clearly related to the passage following the Institution Narrative in the Roman Canon but are formulated as Spirit-epicleseis.<sup>38</sup>

Nonetheless, one does no injustice to the Roman tradition of Eucharistic praying by stating (and not only comparatively speaking) that it displays a pneumatological deficit, which has been remedied only in the post-Vatican liturgical reform.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Cf. appendix 1; text: Férotin (ed.), Liber mozarabicus sacramentorum, 262, N° 69 § 627 (n. 37); English translation: cf. JASPER and CUMING, Prayers, 158 (n. 20), and L. C. Mohlberg (ed.), Missale Gothicum (Vat. Reg. lat. 317) (RED.F 5; Roma, 1961), 120, N° 77 § 527.

# 4. Modern Renewal as an Ecumenical Achievement

#### 4.1 The Renewal of the Eucharistic Prayer in the West

The rediscovery of the Eucharistic prayer is one of the most significant elements of modern ecumenical and liturgical renewal, which has led to the reception of Eastern texts by Western churches, as well as to the composition of numerous new prayers in the last third of the twentieth century. The most important achievement of these reforms is certainly the restoration of a Spiritepiclesis (not only in all new Eucharistic prayers, it may be noted, but also in other sacramental prayers such as the nuptial blessing, etc.), a step which was also followed by Churches of the Reformation.<sup>39</sup> Since it can frankly be admitted that the inspiration came from the Christian East, the renewal of the epiclesis is of universal ecumenical importance.

Perhaps the most prominent example of this renewal is the Eucharistic prayer of the alleged "Apostolic Tradition". Its ascription to the Roman presbyter and – anachronistically speaking – first antipope Hippolytus even seemed to give the Antiochene-type anaphora a place in the early, Greekspeaking history of the Roman liturgy, an assumption now obsolete since the historical classification of the anonymous text has become doubtful. Nevertheless, the reception of its Eucharistic prayer by many non-Roman-Catholic churches has almost made it into an "anaphora oecumenica".

The extremely concise and beautiful text was updated through the insertion of certain elements that in the course of history have become standard in most Eucharistic prayers, notably the Sanctus and intercessions. Furthermore, the authorities behind the Roman reform obviously found it problematic to ask for the change of the gifts after the Institution Narrative which they considered consecratory in light of scholastic Eucharistic theology.<sup>42</sup> Therefore, they simply split the epiclesis, inserting the petition for the change of the gifts before the Institution Narrative, which was thus isolated from the thanksgiving of which it was part in the historical model. Only the prayer for the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> P. F. BRADSHAW, "The Rediscovery of the Holy Spirit in Modern Eucharistic Theology and Practice," in: Berger and Spinks, *Spirit in Worship* (n. 1), 79–96, with reference to earlier literature.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> See, among innumerable others, M. SMYTH, "L'anaphore de la prétendue 'Tradition apostolique' et la prière eucharistique romaine," *RevSR* 81 (2007), 95–118.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> See the contribution of M. E. JOHNSON, "Imagining Early Christian Liturgy: The traditio apostolica – A Case Study," in the 2014 Yale Liturgy Conference volume Liturgy's Imagined Pasts (Collegeville, forthcoming).

 $<sup>^{42}</sup>$  Cf. the General Institution of the Roman Missal 1969–1975 edition N° 55 / 2003 edition N° 79: "Institution Narrative and Consecration". Consecratory effect is, however, also associated with the Epiclesis.

communicants was left in the original place after the Institution Narrative, special anamnesis, and offering ("Remembering therefore ... we offer ...").<sup>43</sup>

Not only did many other churches follow the example of the Roman reform in this respect, but the split or double epiclesis also became a standard feature of all other Eucharistic prayers that were created for the renewed liturgical books of the Roman Catholic Church and for many sources beyond that.<sup>44</sup>

#### 4.2 Open Questions from a Roman Perspective

Apart from ecumenically problematic passages about the object of the Church's Eucharistic offering,<sup>45</sup> the most debated feature of the new Eucharistic prayers is exactly the place and shape of the epiclesis. Breaking up the epiclesis separates the filling of the gifts with the Spirit from filling those who partake of them with the same Spirit. This separation not only destroys the unity of Spirit, Church, and Liturgy in the central part of that liturgy, but it also divides the two aspects of the body of Christ which since 1 Cor 10:16f is the reference point of every Eucharistic theology: the inseparable unity of both the ecclesial and the Eucharistic body of Christ. Shaping the Eucharistic prayer in accordance with a scholastic understanding of the Words of Institution obfuscates this double reality of the body of Christ, to the detriment of the liturgical text's ecclesiology.

From the point of view of Spirit, Church, and Liturgy, the balance of recent liturgical renewal remains ambiguous: while the rediscovery of the epiclesis was a remarkable step forward, its splitting was a fatal decision. But since in the last two or three generations the Western churches have let themselves be inspired by the liturgical traditions of the East (and forgotten treasures of non-Roman Western rites) to restore the epiclesis in the Eucharistic prayer and have thus become alert to the constitutive action of the Spirit in the celebration that expresses and constitutes the Church as Christ's body, one can now also hope that they will likewise learn the ensuing lesson about the inseparable connection between the invocation of the Spirit over the Eucharistic elements and the filling of those who partake in them with the same

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Cf. the synopsis in appendix 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> For a survey of achievements and problems, see A. McGowan, "The Epiclesis in Eucharistic Praying Reconsidered: Early Evidence and Recent Western Reforms," in: A Living Tradition: On the Intersection of Liturgical History and Pastoral Practice. Essays in Honor of Maxwell E. Johnson (eds. D. A. Pitt, S. Alexopoulos, and C. McConnell; Collegeville, 2012), 230–255, and Eadem, Eucharistic Epiclesis, Ancient and Modern Speaking of the Spirit in Eucharistic Prayer (Collegeville, 2014).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> MESSNER, *Probleme*, 191-199 (n. 35); H.-C. SERAPHIM, "Messopfer und Eucharistie. Wege und Irrwege der Überlieferung," in: *Gottesdienst leben. 60 Jahre Lutherische Liturgische Konferenz in Bayern* (eds. C. Schmidt and T. Melzl; Nürnberg, 2011), 283-324.

Spirit.<sup>46</sup> Although the Roman Canon does not mention the Spirit at all, it has been shown that its early history stands as witness against the newly created prayers, the problematic structure of which is meanwhile taken by many as an irremovable rule of prayer.

# 5. Conclusion

Though the rediscovery of the Eucharistic prayer in its epicletic character is one of the great achievements of the ecumenical movement in the twentieth century, it is historically implausible that the intimate relationship between Church, Spirit, and Liturgy was expressed by Spirit-epicleseis in the earliest period. Such an epiclesis most likely originated in Syria as an invitation to the Spirit to "come", an invitation which originally may have been addressed to Christ himself as guest of the Eucharistic meal. Only in the wake of the pneumatological clarifications in the era of the Imperial Church does a standard form of epiclesis spread widely, beseeching God the Father to send the Spirit upon the Eucharistic gifts in order to operate a change not only in them, but ultimately in those who partake in them. Consecration is not a goal in itself, but aims at the communion, which fills the congregation with the Spirit. It has been argued that even the Roman Canon, the core of which may antedate the establishment of such an epiclesis, has an equivalent to this conjunct petition. It is therefore somewhat tragic that - notwithstanding early precedents for such a separation in the Egyptian tradition – the literary link between Spirit, Church, and Liturgy as expressed by the epicletic prayer upon both gifts and congregation jointly has been dissolved in the Roman tradition (and others following her example) by exactly the reform that introduced epicleseis into its Eucharistic prayers in order to articulate that constitutive link between Spirit, Church, and Liturgy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Though efforts of the 1970s to create an ecumenically accepted anaphora on the basis of the most beautiful and allegedly primitive Egyptian version of the liturgy of Saint Basil failed, the validity of these prayers is fully acknowledged by the Roman church, which decided, however, not to adopt their structure in the post-Vatican reform – unlike, for example, the Anglican Church; cf. L. L. MITCHELL, "The Alexandrian Anaphora of St. Basil of Caesarea: Ancient Source of 'A Common Eucharistic Prayer'," *AThR* 58 (1976), 194–206, and "Prayer F" modelled on the anaphora of St. Basil in *Common Worship: Services and Prayers for the Church of England* (London, 2000), 198–200.

# Appendix 1: The Core of the Roman Mass Canon and Some Early Parallels

DE SACRAMENTIS 5f.	MOZARABIC POST PRIDIE	GAULISH (= Irish- Ambrosian) RECENSION	CANON ROMANUS (Sacramentary Version)
	LIBER ORDINUM N° 17 / LIBER MOZAR- ABICUS SACRA- MENTORUM N° 1440		<dialogue> <thanksgiving></thanksgiving></dialogue>
	<totally different<br="">structure&gt;</totally>		<sanctus></sanctus>
Fac nobis	<cf. per="" quem="" te<br="">petimus que in primis offerimus&gt;</cf.>		<te igitur=""></te>
	<memorare></memorare>	<>	<memento; com-<br="">municantes; Hanc igitur&gt;</memento;>
hanc oblationem	quorum oblationem	Quam obla- tionem	Quam oblationem
		tu deus	tu deus
		in omnibus	in omnibus
		quaesumus	quaesumus
	benedictam	benedictam	benedictam
scriptam,		adscriptam	adscriptam
	ratam	ratam	ratam
rationabilem acceptabilem	rationabilemque	rationabilemque	rationabilem acceptabilemque
	facere digneris:	facere digneris (v. l.: dignare)	facere digneris
quod est figura	que est imago et similitudo	quae nobis	ut nobis
corporis et sanguinis	corporis et sanguinis	corpus et sanguis	corpus et sanguis
		fiat dilectissimi filii tui	fiat dilectissimi filii tui
domini nostri iesu	iesu christi	(domini) dei	domini dei nostri
christi,	1000 VIII IOU	nostri iesu christi.	iesu christi,
,	filii tui ac redemptoris nostri.		

DE SACRAMENTIS 5f.	MOZARABIC POST PRIDIE	GAULISH (= Irish- Ambrosian) RECENSION	CANON ROMANUS (Sacramentary Version)
qui pridie cum		<>	qui pridie quam
pateretur,		(the rest is mostly equal)	pateretur,
in sanctis manibus			
suis			
accepit panem,			accepit panem in sanctas et vene- rabiles manus suas
respexit ad caelum			elevatis oculis in caelum,
ad te, sancte pater			ad te deum patrem
omnipotens aeterne			suum omnipo-
deus,			tentem,
gratias agens bene-			tibi gratias agens
dixit,			benedixit,
fregit, fractumque			fregit,
apostolis et discipulis			dedit discipulis
suis tradidit dicens:			suis dicens:
accipite et edite ex			accipite et mandu-
hoc omnes;			cate ex hoc omnes;
hoc est enim corpus			hoc est enim
meum,			corpus meum.
quod pro multis			
confringetur.			0: 11: 1
Similter etiam cali-			Simili modo
cem, postquam cena- tum est,			posteaquam cena- tum est
tuni est,			tumest
pridie quam pa-			
teretur,			
accepit,			accipiens et hunc praeclarum cali-
			cem in sanctas et venerabiles manus
			suas,
respexit ad caelum,			
ad te, sancte pater			
omnipotens aeterne			
deus, gratias agens bene-			itam tibi aratios
dixit.			item tibi gratias agens benedixit,
unit,			agens benedialt,

DE SACRAMENTIS 5f.	MOZARABIC POST PRIDIE	GAULISH (= Irish- Ambrosian) RECENSION	CANON ROMANUS (Sacramentary Version)
apostolis et discipulis suis tradidit dicens: accipite et bibite ex hoc omnes;			dedit discipulis suis dicens accipite et bibite ex eo omnes;
Quotiescumque hoc feceritis, totiens commemorationem mei facietis, donec iterum adveniam.		Haec quotienscumque feceritis in mei memoriam faciatis <in some="" witnesses:=""> passionem meam praedicabitis, resurrectionem meam annuntiabitis, adventum meum</in>	hic est enim calix sanguinis mei novi et aeterni testamenti – mysterium fidei – qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissione peccatorum Haec quotienscumque feceritis in mei memoriam facietis.
		sperabitis, donec iterum veniam ad vos de caelis.	
	LIBER MOZARABI- CUS SACRAMENTORUM N° 627	MISSALE GOTH- ICUM post secreta N° 527	
Ergo memores	Hoc agentes apud te, pater sancte, nuntiamus	Memores	Unde et memores sumus nos tui servi, sed et plebs tua sancta
gloriosissimae eius passionis	<the advent,="" death,<="" td=""><td>gloriosissimi domini passionis</td><td>christi filii tui domini dei nostri tam beatae pas- sionis</td></the>	gloriosissimi domini passionis	christi filii tui domini dei nostri tam beatae pas- sionis
et ab inferis resurrec- tionis	resurrection,	et ab inferis resur- rectionis	necnon et ab inferis resurrec- tionis

DE SACRAMENTIS 5f.	MOZARABIC POST PRIDIE	GAULISH (= Irish- Ambrosian) RECENSION	CANON ROMANUS (Sacramentary Version)
et in caelum ascen- sionis	and coming again of Christ>		sed et in caelis gloriosae ascen- sionis
offerimus tibi	Hanc quoque oblationem	offerimus tibi, domine	offerimus praecla- rae maiestati tuae de tuis donis ac datis
hanc immaculatam hostiam,		hanc inmaculatam hostiam	hostiam puram
rationabilem hostiam		racionalem hostiam	hostiam sanctam
incruentam hostiam,		incruentam hostiam	hostiam inmacula- tam
hunc panem sanctum		hunc panem sanctum	panem sanctum
et calicem vitae aeternae	ut accepto habeas et benedicas supplices	et calicem salu- tarem	et calicem salutis perpetuae. Supra quae propi- tio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris, et accepta habere
see below <et petimus=""></et>	oramus, sicut habuisti accepto munera abel pueri tui iusti, et sacrificium patriarchae patris nostri abrahe, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus melchisdech.		sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui iusti abel, et sacrificium patriarchae nostri abrahae, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus melchisedech, sanctum sacrifici- um inmaculatam hostiam.
et petimus et precamur	Descendat hic queso invisibiliter benedictio tua, sicut quondam in patrum hostiis visibiliter descendebat.	obsecrantes,	Supplices te rogamus omnipotens deus

DE SACRAMENTIS 5f.	MOZARABIC POST PRIDIE	GAULISH (= Irish- Ambrosian) RECENSION	CANON ROMANUS (Sacramentary Version)
uti hanc oblationem suscipias	Ascendat odor suavi- tatis in conspectu divine maiestatis tue ex hoc sublimi altario tuo per manus angeli	ut infundere digneris spiritum tuum sanctum,	iube haec perferri per manus angeli tui
in sublime altare tuum per manus angelorum tuorum,	tui: et deferatur in ista solemnia spiritus tuus sanctus, qui tam adstantis quam offe-		in sublime altare tuum
	rentis populi et oblata pariter et vota sancti- ficet.		in conspectu divi- nae maiestatis tuae,
	Ut quicumque ex hoc corpore libaverimus, sumamus nobis medelam anime ad sananda cordium vulnera,	edentibus nobis	ut quotquot ex hac altaris participa- tione <sup>47</sup> sacrosanc- tum filii tui corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus
	ut vere hic sanguis sacer filii tui domini nostri, ita peccata nostra diluat potatus,	vitam aeternam regnumque perpe- tuum conlatura potantibus:	omni benedictione caelesti et gratia repleamur.
	sicut quondam nos redemit effusus.	per:	Per christum dominum nostrum.
sicut suscipere digna- tus es munera pueri tui iusti abel et sacrificium patriar- chae nostri abrahae et quod obtulit sum- mus sacerdos mel- chisedech.			s. o. <supra quae=""></supra>

 $<sup>^{47}</sup>$  In some witnesses of the gaulish (= irish-ambrosian) recension: ... ex hoc altari sanctificationis

# The Core of the Roman Mass Canon and Some Early Parallels

DE SACRAMENTIS 5f.	MOZARABIC POST PRIDIE	GAULISH (= Irish-Ambrosian) RECENSION	CANON ROMANUS (Sacramentary Version)
	LIBER ORDINUM N° 17 / LIBER MOZARABICUS SACRAMENTORUM N° 1440		<dialogue> <thanksgiving></thanksgiving></dialogue>
	<totally different<br="">structure&gt;</totally>		<sanctus></sanctus>
	<remember></remember>	<>	<> <remember></remember>
Make for us this offering	Vouchsafe, we beseech you, to make their offer- ing	Vouchsafe, we beseech you, o God, to make this offer- ing wholly	Vouchsafe, we beseech you, o God, to make this offer- ing wholly
approved,	blessed,	blessed, approved, ratified,	blessed, approved ratified,
reasonable, acceptable,	and reasonable	and reasonable	reasonable, and acceptable;
because it / which is the figure of the body and blood	which is the image and likeness of the body and blood	which may become to us the body and blood	that it may become to us the body and blood
of our Lord Jesus Christ;	of Jesus Christ	of your dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ (our Lord and) God.	of your dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord;
	your Son and our redeemer.		
who, the day be- fore he suffered		<> <the equal="" is="" mostly="" rest=""></the>	who, the day be- fore he suffered
took bread in his holy hands,			took bread in his holy and reverend hands,
looked up to heaven			lifted up his eyes to heaven
to you, holy Father, almighty, eternal God,			to you, his almighty God and Father,

DE SACRAMENTIS 5f.	MOZARABIC POST PRIDIE	GAULISH (= Irish-Ambrosian) RECENSION	CANON ROMANUS (Sacramentary Version)
gave thanks, blessed			gave thanks to you, blessed,
and broke it,			broke,
and handed it to his			and handed it to his
apostles and disci-			disciples,
ples,			
saying:			saying:
Take and eat from			Take and eat from
this, all of you,			this, all of you;
for this is my body,			for this is my body.
which will be bro-			
ken for many. Likewise also after			Likewise after
supper,			supper,
the day before he			supper,
suffered,			
he took the cup,			taking also this
•			glorious cup
looked up to heav-			in his holy and
en, to you, holy			reverend hands,
Father, almighty,			
eternal God,			
and gave thanks,			again he gave
blessed,			thanks to you,
			blessed,
and handed it to his			and handed it to his
apostles and disci-			disciples,
ples,			r · · · /
saying:			saying:
Take and drink			Take and drink
from this, all of			from it, all of you;
you,			
for this is my blood.			for this is the cup of
			my blood
			of the new and eternal covenant,
			the mystery of faith,
			which will be shed
			for you and for
			many for vor-
			giveness of sins.
			<del>-</del>

DE SACRAMENTIS 5f.	MOZARABIC POST PRIDIE	GAULISH (= Irish-Ambrosian) RECENSION	CANON ROMANUS (Sacramentary Version)
As often as you do this, so often you will make remem- brance of me until I come again		As often as you do this, you will do it for my remem- brance. <in es="" some="" witness-=""> you will pro- claim my passion, announce my resur- rection, hope for my coming, until I shall come again to you from heaven.</in>	As often as you do this, you will do it for my remembrance.
	LIBER MOZARABI- CUS	MISSALE GOTHI- CUM	
	SACRAMENTORUM N° 627	post secreta N° 527	
Therefore, re- membering	Doing this, we proclaim <the advent,<="" td=""><td>Remembering</td><td>Therefore also, Lord, we your servants, and also your holy people, have in remem- brance</td></the>	Remembering	Therefore also, Lord, we your servants, and also your holy people, have in remem- brance
his most glorious passion,	death,	the most glorious passion of the Lord,	the blessed passion of your Son Christ our Lord,
and resurrection from the dead,	resurrection,	and (his) resurrection from the dead,	likewise his resur- rection from the dead,
and ascension into heaven,	and coming again of Christ>		and also his glori- ous ascension into heaven;
we offer to you	This offering also,	we offer to you, Lord,	we offer to your excellent majesty from your gifts and bounty
this spotless victim, reasonable victim, bloodless victim, this holy bread		this spotless victim, reasonable victim, bloodless victim, this holy bread	a pure victim, a holy victim, an unspotted victim, the holy bread of eternal life
and cup of eternal life:		and the cup of salvation.	and the cup of everlasting salva- tion.

DE SACRAMENTIS 5f.	MOZARABIC POST PRIDIE	GAULISH (= Irish-Ambrosian) RECENSION	CANON ROMANUS (Sacramentary Version)
	we beseech and entreat you		Vouchsafe to look upon them with a favourable and kindly countenance
	to accept and bless,		and accept them
<see below=""></see>	as you accepted		as you vouchsafed to accept
	the gifts of your		the gifts of your
	righteous servant		righteous servant
	Abel,		Abel,
	and the sacrifice of the patriarch Abra- ham our father,		and the sacrifice of our patriarch Abra- ham,
	and that which your high-priest Mel- chizedek offered to you.		and that which your high-priest Mel- chizedek offered to you, a holy sacrifice, an unblemished victim
and we pray and beseech you	Let your blessing, I pray, descend here invisibly, as once it used to descend visibly on the vic- tims of the fathers.	imploring you	We humbly be- seech you, almighty God,
to receive this	Let a sweet-	that you would	to bid them be
offering	smelling savour	vouchsafe to pour	borne
	ascend to the sight of your divine	out your Holy Spirit,	by the hand of your angel
on your altar on	majesty by the hand	•	to your altar on
high by the hands of your	of your angel. And let your Holy Spirit be borne down upon		high,
angels,	those solemn things, to sanctify both the offerings and the prayers alike of the people who stand here and offer,		in the sight of your divine majesty,
	that all who taste of this body may	which shall confer unto us who eat and	that all of us who have received the

DE SACRAMENTIS 5f.	MOZARABIC POST PRIDIE	GAULISH (= Irish-Ambrosian) RECENSION	CANON ROMANUS (Sacramentary Version)
	receive healing for our souls so that really this holy blood of your Son our Lord may, as drunk, wash	drink  eternal life and everlasting kingdom	most holy body and blood of your Son by partaking at this altar* may be filled with all heavenly bless-
as you vouchsafed to receive	away our sins, as once, as shed, it redeemed us.	through (Christ our Lord)	ing and grace; through Christ our Lord. <see above=""></see>
the gifts of your righteous servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and that which the high-priest Melchizedek offered to you.			

# Appendix 2: The Eucharistic Prayer of the "Apostolic Tradition" and the Eucharistic Prayer II of the Roman Missal 1970<sup>48</sup>

Christum.

#### "Apostolic Tradition"

#### **Eucharistic Prayer II**

D(omi)n(u)s vobiscum.
Et cum sp(irit)u tuo.
Su<r>sum corda.
Habemus ad dom(inum).
Gratias agamus d(omi)no.
Dignum et iustum est.

Gratias tibi referimus d(eu)s, per dilectum puerum tuum Ie(su)m Chr(istu)m,

quem in ultimis temporibus misisti nobis salvatorem et redemptorem et angelum voluntatis tuae, qui est verbum tuum inseparabile[m], per quem omnia fecisti et beneplacitum tibi fuit, misisti de caelo in matricem virginis,

quiq(ue) in utero habitus incarnatus est et filius tibi ostensus est, ex sp(irit)u s(an)c(t)o et virgine natus, qui voluntatem tuam conplens et populum sanctum tibi adquirens extendis <-dit ?> manus cum pateretur, ut a passione liberaret eos qui in te crediderunt, qui cumque traderetur voluntariae passioni,

ut mortem solvat et vincula diabuli dirumpat, et infernum calcet et iustos inluminet, et terminum figat et resurrectionem manifestet. Dominus vobiscum..
Et cum spiritu tuo.
Sursum corda.
Habemus ad Dominum.
Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro.
Dignum et iustum est.
Vere dignum et iustum est, aequm et salutare, nos tibi, sancte Pater, semper et ubique gratias

verbum tuum per quod cuncta fecisti:

agere per filium dilectionis tuae Iesum

quem misisti nobis Salvatorem et Redemptorem, incarnatum de Spiritu Sancto et ex Virgine natum.

Qui voluntatem tuam adimplens et populum tibi sanctum acquirens, extendit manus cum pateretur,

(cf. below)

ut mortem solveret et resurrectionem manifestaret.

Et ideo cum Angelis et omnibus Sanctis gloriam tuam praedicamus, una voce dicentes: Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Didache. Zwölf-Apostel-Lehre / Traditio Apostolica. Apostolische Überlieferung (eds. G. Schöllgen and W. Geerlings; FC 1; Freiburg, 1991), 222–227. Missale Romanum ex decreto Sacrosancti Oecumenici Concilii Vaticani II instauratum auctoritate Pauli pp. VI promulgatum. Editio typica (Vatican, 1970), 456–460.

#### "Apostolic Tradition"

#### **Eucharistic Prayer II**

(cf. above)

accipiens panem gratias tibi agens dixit: Accipite, manducate, hoc est corpus meum quod pro vobis confringetur <itur?>,

similiter et calicem dicens: Hic est sanguis meus qui pro vobis effunditur. Quando hoc facitis, meam commemorationem facitis.

Memores igitur mortis et resurrectionis eius, offerimus tibi panem et calicem,

gratias tibi agentes quia nos dignos habuisti adstare coram te et tibi ministrare,

et petimus ut mittas sp(iritu)m tuum s(an)c(tu)m in oblationem sanctae ecclesiae: in unum congregans des omnibus qui percipiunt sanctis in repletionem sp(iritu)s s(an)c(t)i ad confirmationem fidei in veritate.

Hosanna in excelsis. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Hosanna in excelsis.

Vere Sanctus es, Domine, fons omnis sanctitatis.

Haec ergo dona, quaesumus, Spiritus tui rore sanctifica, ut nobis Corpus et sanguis fiant Domini nostri Iesu Christi.

Qui cum passioni voluntarie traderetur, accepit panem et gratias agens fregit, deditque discipulis suis, dicens: Accipite et manducate ex hoc ommnes: hoc est enim Corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur.

Simili modo, postquam cenatum est, accipiens et calicem, iterum gratias agens dedit discipulis suis, dicens: Accipite et bibite ex eo omnes: hic est enim calix Sanguinis mei novi et aeterni testamenti, qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Hoc facite in meam commemorationem.

Mysterium fidei: Mortem tuam annuntiamus, Domine, et tuam resurrectionem confitemur, donec venias.

Memores igitur mortis et resurrectionis eius, tibi, Domine, panem vitae et calicem salutis offerimus.

gratias agentes quia nos dignos habuisti astare coram te et tibi ministrare.

Et supplices deprecamur ut Corporis et Sanguinis Christi participes a Spiritu Sancto congregemur in unum.

Recordare, Domine, Ecclesiae tuae toto orbe diffusae, ut eam in caritate perficias una cum Papa nostro N. et Episcopo nostro N. et universo clero.

Memento etiam fratrum nostrorum, qui in spe resurrectionis dormierunt, omniumque in tua miseratione defunctorum, et eos in lumen vultus tui admitte.

Omnium nostrum, queasumus, miserere, ut cum beata Dei Genitrice Virgine Maria, beatis Apostolis et omnibus Sanctis, qui tibi a saeculo placuerunt, aeterne vitae mereamur esse con-

"Apostolic Tradition"	Eucharistic Prayer II	
ut te laudemus et glorificemus per puerum tuum le(su)m Chr(istu)m, per quem tibi gloria et honor patri et filio cum s(an)c(t)o sp(irit)u in sancta ecclesia tua et nunc et in saecula saecu- lorum.	sortes, et te laudemus et glorificemus per Filium tuum Iesum Christum. Per ipsum, et cum ipso, et in ipso, est tibi Deo Patri omnipotenti, in unitate Spiritus Sancti, omnis honor et gloria per omnia saecula saecu- lorum.	
Amen.	Amen.	

# The Eucharistic Prayer of the "Apostolic Tradition" and the Eucharistic Prayer II of the Roman Missal 1970<sup>49</sup>

#### "Apostolic Tradtion"

#### **Eucharistic Prayer II**

The Lord (be) with you.
And with your spirit.
Up (with your) hearts.
We have (them) to the Lord.
Let us give thanks to the Lord.
It is worthy and just.

We render thanks to you, God, through your beloved Child Jesus Christ, whom in the last times you sent to us as savior and redeemer and angel of your will,

who is your inseparable word, through whom you made all things and it was well pleasing to you, you sent from heaven into the virgin's womb, and who conceived in the womb was incarnate and manifested as your Son, born from the Holy Spirit and the virgin;

who fulfilling your will and gaining for you a holy people stretched out (his) hands when he was suffering, that he might release from suffering those who believed in you;

who when he was being handed over to voluntary suffering,

that he might destroy death and break the bonds of the devil, and tread down hell and illuminate the righteous, and fix a limit and manifest the resurrection, The Lord be with you.

And also with you.

Lift up your hearts.

We lift them up to the Lord.

Let us give thanks to the Lord our God.

It is right to give him thanks and praise.

Father, it is our duty and our salvation, always and everywhere

to give you thanks through your beloved Son, Jesus Christ.

He is the Word

through whom you made the universe, the Savior you sent to redeem us.

By the power of the Holy Spirit he took flesh and was born of the Virgin Mary.

For our sake he opened his arms on the cross; he put an end to death and revealed the resurrection. In this he fulfilled your will and won for you a holy people.

(cf. below)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> P. F. BRADSHAW, M. E. JOHNSON, and L. E. PHILLIPS, *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, 2002), 38–40. *The Sacramentary: The Roman Missal Revised by Decree of the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council and Published by Authority of Pope Paul VI.* English Translation Prepared by the International Committee on English in the Liturgy (Collegeville, 1985), 509–512.

#### "Apostolic Tradtion"

#### **Eucharistic Prayer II**

And so we join the angels and the saints in proclaiming your glory as we say:
Holy, holy, holy Lord, God of power and might, heaven and earth are full of your glory.
Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.

Lord, you are holy indeed, the fountain of all holiness.

Let your Spirit come upon these gifts to make them holy, so that they may become for us the body and blood of our Lord, Jesus Christ. Before he was given up to death, a death he freely accepted,

he took bread and gave you thanks. He broke the bread, gave it to his disciples, and said: Take this, all of you, and eat it: this is my body which will be given up for you.

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

Let us proclaim the mystery of faith: Christ has died, Christ is risen, Christ will come again.

In memory of his death and resurrection, we offer you Father, this life-giving bread, this saving cup.

We thank you for counting us worthy to stand in your presence and serve you.

May all of us who share in the body and blood of Christ be brought together in unity by the Holy Spirit.

(cf. above)

taking bread (and) giving thanks to you, he said: "Take, eat, this is my body that will be broken for you."

Likewise also the cup, saying: "This is my blood that is shed for you. When you do this, you do my remembrance."

Remembering therefore his death and resurrection, we offer to you the bread and cup,

giving thanks to you because you have held us worthy to stand before you and minister to you.

And we ask that you would send your Holy Spirit in the oblation of (your) holy church, (that) gathering (them) into one you will give to all who partake of the holy things (to partake) in the fullness of the Holy Spirit, for the strengthening of faith in truth,

Lord, remember your Church throughout the world; make us grow in love, together with N. our pope, N. our bishop, and all the clergy.

## "Apostolic Tradtion"

#### **Eucharistic Prayer II**

Remember our brothers and sisters who have

that we may praise and glorify you

through your Child Jesus Christ, through whom (be) glory and honor to you, Father and Son with the Holy Spirit, in your holy church, both now and to the ages of ages.

Amen.

gone to their rest in the hope of rising again; bring them and all the departed into the light of your presence.

Have mercy on us all; make us worthy to share eternal life with Mary, the virgin Mother of God, with the apostles, and with all the saints who have done your will throughout the ages. May we praise you in union with them, and

give you glory through your Son, Jesus Christ. Through him, with him, in him, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, all glory and honor is yours, almighty Father, for ever and ever.

Amen.