SUPPLEMENTS TO VIGILIAE CHRISTIANAE

Why We Sing

Music, Word, and Liturgy in Early Christianity

ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF ANDERS EKENBERG'S 75TH BIRTHDAY

Edited by

CARL JOHAN BERGLUND,
BARBARA CROSTINI,
JAMES A. KELHOFFER

BRILL

Why We Sing

Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae

TEXTS AND STUDIES OF EARLY CHRISTIAN LIFE AND LANGUAGE

VOLUME 177

The titles published in this series are listed at *brill.com/vcs*

Why We Sing

Music, Word, and Liturgy in Early Christianity

ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF ANDERS EKENBERG'S 75TH BIRTHDAY

Edited by

Carl Johan Berglund
Barbara Crostini
James A. Kelhoffer

TUTA SUB AEGIDE PALLAS · 1683 ·

BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Open Access for this publication was made possible by a generous donation from Segelbergska stiftelsen för liturgivetenskaplig forskning (Segelbergska Foundation for Research in Liturgical Studies).

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at https://catalog.loc.gov

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 0920-623X
ISBN 978-90-04-52203-9 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-52205-3 (e-book)

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

Contents

PART 4
Reverberations: *Reception and Rediscovery of Early Liturgical Traditions*

Figures

Abbreviations

In addition to those defined in the *SBL Handbook of Style, Second Edition* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014), the following abbreviations are used in this volume:

Ep.	Epistle/Epistula
Epit.	Epitome
IAH	Internationale Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Hymnologie
INTF	Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung
SOU	Statens offentliga utredningar
VCSup	Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae

Contributors

Carl Johan Berglund
Director of Studies at University College Stockholm, Sweden; Postdoctoral Fellow at Åbo Akademi University, Finland

Helena Bodin
Professor of Literature at Stockholm University, Sweden

Sven-Erik Brodd
Professor Emeritus of Ecclesiology at Uppsala University, Sweden

Barbara Crostini
Lecturer in Church History, Art History, and Cultural Studies at the Newman Institute, Uppsala, Sweden

Tord Fornberg
Retired Senior Lecturer in New Testament Studies at Uppsala University and the Newman Institute, Uppsala, Sweden

Ezra Gebremedhin
Retired Senior Lecturer in Ecclesiology at Uppsala University, Sweden

Daniel Gustafsson
PhD, Uppsala University, Sweden; director and chaplain, Sankt Ansgars stiftelse, Uppsala, Sweden

András Handl
Postdoctoral Marie Skłodowska-Curie Fellow at KU Leuven, Belgium

Fredrik Heiding, S.J.
Lecturer in Theology at the Newman Institute, Uppsala, Sweden

David Hellholm
Professor Emeritus of New Testament and Its Environment at the University of Oslo, Norway

Jonas Holmstrand
Senior Lecturer in New Testament Studies at Uppsala University, Sweden

Miriam L. Hjälm
Lecturer in Eastern Christian Studies at University College Stockholm, Sweden

Robin M. Jensen
Patrick O'Brien Professor of Theology at the University of Notre Dame, Indiana, USA

James A. Kelhoffer
Professor of New Testament Studies at Uppsala University, Sweden

Mattias Lundberg
Professor of Musicology at Uppsala University, Sweden

Birger Olsson
Professor Emeritus of New Testament Studies at Lund University, Sweden

Anders Piltz, O.P.
Professor of Latin at Lund University, Sweden

Petter Spjut
Doctoral Student in New Testament Studies at Uppsala University, Sweden

Håkan Ulfgard
Professor of Religious Studies, especially Biblical Studies, at Linköping University, Sweden

Tommy Wasserman
Professor of Biblical Studies at Ansgar University College, Norway

Marianne Wifstrand Schiebe
Retired Senior Lecturer in Latin at Uppsala University, Sweden

1

Introduction: Early Christian Liturgical Traditions

Sven-Erik Brodd and James A. Kelhoffer

Why We Sing: Music, Word, and Liturgy in Early Christianity offers new insights into an array of early Christian liturgical sources, as well as the methodological and historiographical bases for interpreting those sources. This introduction has three sections: (1) a discussion of recent trends and developments in liturgical studies, (2) an overview of each chapter, and (3) a synopsis of the life and work of Anders Ekenberg, to whom this collection of essays is dedicated.[1]

1 Liturgical Studies in Multidimensional Perspective

This collection of highly specialised studies looks at early liturgical developments from multiple angles and through the use of diverse source materials. Such an undertaking is neither planned nor written in a vacuum.[2] Since research on liturgical sources is conducted within specific milieux, and since the results in one way or another are open for reception in ecclesial life, it is pertinent to bring up some of the factors that interplay with the study of liturgical history.

1.1 *Tradition, Reform, and* (*Liturgical*) *Innovation*

These studies are, of course, produced in an era that is markedly different from the one(s) examined. In theological studies, some sort of normativity is oftentimes ascribed to the early church. Scholarship has thus tended to serve two main purposes: to provide a historically accurate understanding of late ancient theology and practices, and thereby to give impulse to contemporary theologi-

1 The majority of the papers in this volume were presented at an online colloquium in honour of professor Anders Ekenberg at the Newman Institute, Uppsala, October 21–22, 2021. For generous contributions to this colloquium we thank the Newman Institute and Segelbergska stiftelsen för liturgivetenskaplig forskning [The Segelberg foundation for scholarship on liturgy].

2 See, e.g., Paul Westermeyer, *Te Deum: The Church and Music* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998).

cal reflection and ecumenical dialogue. Attention to biblical interpretation has also been, and remains, a central focus in early Christian studies.[3] Moreover, the insights, that New Testament texts were used by worshipping communities,[4] and that those texts give information about liturgies and practices which preceded the texts, underscore the fact that the church existed prior to what later became the biblical canon.

In post-Christian Europe and, more recently, in post-Christian North America, the breakdown of the Constantinian church-state unity makes the study of the early church more relevant for many in search of alternative ecclesial models and interpretive paradigms. The new *habitus* of academic theology affects the work with liturgics in various respects, and the relationship between liturgical studies and other theological disciplines is not always clear. One factor in that lack of clarity is a diminishing importance of territorial or political-geographically defined parishes. Another is an increasing attention to the whole congregation, whose members participate in, and even contribute to, liturgical rites (e.g., the Eucharist). A third factor is a reassessment of outreach that recognises worship itself as an instrument of evangelisation. We tend to think of that recognition as a modern development, but once we look beyond the strictly liturgical sources, we find similar outlooks in ancient and medieval Christian literature.[5]

In modern times, a liturgy intended to work as an instrument of evangelisation is often made simple and more accessible to the unchurched, with music playing a central role.[6] In many evangelical, including Pentecostal, movements, modern popular genres of worship music predominate; the sanctuary becomes indistinguishable from a stage; and liturgical action seems, in the view of some,

3 Cf. Frances M. Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Peter W. Martens, *Origen and Scripture: The Contours of the Exegetical Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Katharina Bracht, *Hippolyts Schrift* In Danielem: *Kommunikative Strategien eines frühchristlichen Kommentars*, STAC 85 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014); Pieter B. Hartog, *Pesher and Hypomnema: A Comparison of Two Commentary Collections from the Hellenistic-Roman Period*, STDJ 121 (Leiden: Brill, 2017); Carl Johan Berglund, *Origen's References to Heracleon: A Quotation-Analytical Study of the Earliest Known Commentary on the Gospel of John*, WUNT 450 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020).

4 See the papers by Tommy Wasserman and David Hellholm in Part 1.

5 See Carl Johan Berglund's paper in Part 2 on liturgical rites in early Christian apostle stories, as well as Anders Ekenberg's treatment of the early medieval Carolingian authors (section 3.2 below).

6 John Drane, *The McDonaldization of the Church: Consumer Culture and the Church's Future* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 2000).

to be sidelined in favour of the musical performance. The rationale behind those developments can be traced to numerous Protestant traditions,[7] whose churches are regularly labelled as "nonliturgical." But the label merely reflects an inability to recognize unfamiliar (i.e., new and "non-Catholic") liturgical forms. After all, the very notion of a worshipping community entails some measure of predictability, which presupposes a common agreement about the liturgical forms. Even at a Billy Graham crusade, an "altar call" to come forward and be "saved" has a standard liturgical form reproduced in countless other evangelical services and revival meetings. Thus, for the study of both modern and pre-modern (including ancient) ecclesial models and sources, the binary paradigm of liturgical vs. non-liturgical needs to be abandoned.

In our day, an acute liturgical question is, What will happen after the coronavirus pandemic? There is a widespread opinion that web-based worship has, during the last two years, had success with fostering the participation of more people than had previously assembled to worship in church buildings. But some leaders (not least in North America) of churches that had extensively used social media before the pandemic have warned of possible negative effects if the Sunday assembly were to devolve into a solely virtual (i.e., online) community. The existence of a broadcast liturgy is not new; it developed during the twentieth century by means of radio and television; later on, web communities were also created.[8] Already in 1954, reacting to "airwave" church communities, the Lutheran theologian Edmund Schlink criticized traditions that did not, to his mind, grasp the implications of the understanding of the church as the body of Christ for liturgy and church order.[9] When theologians assess the post-pandemic situation, it will be necessary to distinguish which forms of remote

7 Sune Fahlgren, "Från blandad kör till lovsångsteam: Historiska och teologiska perspektiv på frikyrkliga sånggrupper" [From mixed choir to worship team: Historical and theological perspectives on song ensembles in the Swedish free churches], *Svenskt gudstjänstliv* 88 (2013): 23–76, and Drane, *McDonaldization of the Church*.

8 Sven-Erik Brodd, "Electronic Church and Web Community: Some Marginal Notes to an Ecclesiological Problem," in *Kirkko—Taide—Viestintä: Markku Heikkilän juhlakirja*, ed. Sari Dhima, Suomen Kirkkohistoriallisen Seuran Toimituksia 197 (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 2005), 243–256.

9 Edmund Schlink held that the criticized traditions were emblematic of ecclesiological "docetism." See Schlink, "Das wandernde Gottesvolk," *TLZ* 77 (1952): 577–589; Schlink, *Ökumenische Dogmatik* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985), 687. The concept is used also in other contexts—for example, by Kenneth C. Carveley, "Ecclesiological Docetism in Early and Medieval Dissent and Heresy in Eastern and Western Christianity" (PhD diss., University of Leeds, 1990).

worship were at hand before the pandemic; what developed during the pandemic; and what could profitably remain as a result of the pandemic.[10]

In the study of liturgy and liturgical theology, the congregational singing, other liturgical music, recitations from Scripture, and responsorial psalmody are understood to be distinct, but not separate, aspects of worship. However, in the modern period Christian music could at times be detached, even emancipated, from the framework of a Christian liturgy. An early example is the invention in 18th-century France of the *concert spirituel*. Even today, church buildings can be understood as suitable venues for such performances. Current technologies for transmitting both sermons and worship music, whether of a traditional or modern kind, facilitate personal devotion or delight in any number of private and public settings. The question about liturgical music and concert performances is even more complex if a concert fulfills at least several criteria for what would otherwise characterise a Christian worship service. For example, a concert might, in some way, be a gathering around the Word of God proclaimed through the music.[11]

The relative normativity of the Greek and Latin church fathers varies among Christian traditions. In the Augsburg Confession (1530), it is said that "the teaching among us does not diverge from the Scriptures, from the church catholic or from the Roman church as far as this teaching is known from the writings [i.e., of the church fathers]."[12] The text is connected with uses and abuses in the church, including uses and abuses of the liturgy. The appeal is not to Scripture alone (*sola scriptura*) but to Scripture *and* tradition; in the latter, the writings of the church fathers played an essential role. This assertion, reiterated a couple of times in the Augsburg Confession, is noteworthy because, in some sense, it was not even accurate in 1530; the Protestant Reformers were continuously introducing new liturgical and other practices. Nevertheless, the statement mirrors a theological truth—namely, the normativity of tradition and, certainly, of the church fathers (*norma normata*). It could be said that the

10 Stephanus J. Joubert, "Embracing an Embodied Theology in the Time of Corona: Mimetic Synchronisation with the Theological Rhythms and First Responder Stance of the Apostle Paul during the Time of Famine," *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 76.4 (2020): 264–271; Theresa Berger, "@ Worship Goes Viral: Catholic Liturgy Online in a COVID-19 World," in *Digital Ecclesiology: A Global Conversation*, ed. Heidi A. Campbell, Digital Religion Publications (College Station: Texas A & M University, 2020), 14–19.

11 Sven-Erik Brodd, "Ecclesiology and Church Music: Towards a Possible Relationship," *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church* 6 (2006): 126–143.

12 *Confessio Augustana* 21: *Doctrinae apud nos, in qua cerni potest nihil inesse, quod discrepet a scriptoribus vel ab ecclesia catholica, vel ab ecclesia romana, quatenus ex scriptoribus nobis nota est.*

predicament of how to adhere to both Scripture and tradition, as well as how to reform tradition in the light of Scripture, has continued ever since, at least in Western churches.

The way Eastern Orthodox theology views the normativity of the church fathers differs somewhat from that of Western traditions.[13] The Orthodox bishop and theologian Kallistos of Diokleia (Timothy Ware) holds that, since the teachings and practices of the church are in the Holy Spirit, and since the church dwells in the Spirit, the patristic age cannot have ended “in the 5th or 8th centuries.” There is, rather, an anamnetic (i.e., a commemorative) understanding of history to which the Holy Liturgy is a witness, an understanding which ushers a person or a community into a sphere in which time and space have broken down and become an eternal “now.”[14]

Also in the West, it is sometimes possible to identify a view of history that goes beyond the 19th-century Protestant teaching on salvation history,[15] which tends to limit the patristic age to a particular epoch of the past. Even in Western Christian traditions, then, texts from the early church can play an important normative role in liturgical reform.[16] This notion underlies the anamnesis in the Eucharistic liturgies of many Western Masses (e.g., Catholic, Anglican, and Lutheran) when the priest prays, for example, “Therefore with all the faithful throughout the ages and with the whole host of heaven, we praise your name ….”

1.2 *Paradigm Shifts and Liturgical Persuasions*

The aforementioned tensions among understandings of Scripture, of late ancient liturgical sources, and of living liturgical traditions, whether or not those tensions are acknowledged, may be illuminated by some changing theological paradigms that have affected how early liturgical traditions are viewed and adopted or rejected. Within Protestantism, there is (or, at least, has been) a minimalist approach to liturgy, undergirded by the conviction that the early church

13 Hilarion Alfeyev, “The Relevance of Patristic Heritage in Today’s World,” *Revista Catalana de Teología* 36.1 (2011): 21–32.

14 Kallistos Ware, *The Orthodox Church*, New edition, Penguin Religion and Mythology (London: Penguin, 1991), 212.

15 On that teaching, see Anders Gerdmar, *Roots of Theological Anti-Semitism: German Biblical Interpretation and the Jews, from Herder and Semler to Kittel and Bultmann*, Studies in Jewish History and Culture 20 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 213–223, 332–343.

16 Martin Wallraff, “Spätantike Liturgien und ihr normativer Wert in den Liturgiereformen des 20. Jahrhunderts,” in *Liturgie in kulturellen Kontexten: Messbuchreform als Thema der Liturgiewissenschaft*, ed. Benedikt Kranemann and Helmut Jan Sobeczko, Colloquia Theologica 11 (Trier: Deutsches Liturgisches Institut, 2010), 39–60.

had layered the liturgy over with aberrant complications. In the classic liberal theology of, for example, Adolf von Harnack (1851–1930) and G.J. Rudolph Sohm (1841–1917), the early church was associated with legalism, ritualism, and a distortion of Jesus's and Paul's simple teachings about grace and faith. That perception of a distorted early Christian theology went hand in hand with a wariness towards the liturgical rites which reflected that theology. This viewpoint had a tremendous impact on nineteenth-century Protestant churches and evangelical revivalist movements and, not least, on how people interpreted early Christian liturgy.

Traditionally adopted by many New Testament scholars, the concept of *Frühkatholizismus* ("early Catholicism") has also played a role in how early Christian liturgy has been perceived.[17] A prolegomenon for "early Catholicism" was the invention, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, of "Catholicism" and "Protestantism" as antithetical viewpoints with irreconcilable essential features (*Wesenseigenschaften*). With regard to the liturgy, what belonged to the *Wesen* of Catholicism could not be integrated into Protestantism, because the "catholizing tendencies" in the early church not only contradicted, but also threatened, Protestantism's very raison d'être.

Long after many exegetes had abandoned the concept of "early Catholicism," the notion nonetheless remained influential for how ancient (and modern) liturgical sources were understood within the 20th-century phenomenology of religion school. Although the cultic practice of the early church was presumed to be of less religious value, it nonetheless provided to historians of religion a basis for making comparisons with other religions. For example, the early Christian Eucharist (however understood) was the paradigmatic meal with which various other religious meals could be compared.[18] Scholarly interest in the *church* as an institution was thus overshadowed by the quest to understand *Christianity* as a religion among others.

A departure from that comparative interpretive school appeared in the work of the Uppsala historian of religion and biblical scholar Gillis Petersson (P:son) Wetter (1887–1926).[19] In his work on patristic theologies, Wetter attributed no

17 Norbert Nagler, *Frühkatholizismus: Zur Methodologie einer kritischen Debatte*, Regensburger Studien zur Theologie (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1994).

18 On the pitfalls of making such comparisons, see Jan N. Bremmer, "Notes on Arthur Darby Nock's Ideas of Ancient Religion and the Mysteries in His *Conversion*," in *Celebrating Arthur Darby Nock: Choice, Change, and Conversion*, ed. Robert Matthew Calhoun et al., WUNT 472 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021), 11–38, 14–23.

19 Anton Fridrichsen, "Gillis Wetter," *Arbeiten und Mitteilungen aus dem neutestamentlichen Seminar zu Uppsala* 5 (1937): 1–8.

importance to influences from Hellenistic or Jewish traditions on early Christian liturgies, but described liturgy from an ecclesiological perspective: the celebration of the Eucharistic mystery was a *collective* engagement among the sanctified, who encountered God under the guidance of the Spirit. A strength in this approach was a mitigation of the individualism that had characterised liturgical interpretation in many Western academic circles. Rather than psychological explanations of the individual's experiences, Wetter focused on the mystical experience of the congregation as a whole.[20] In contrast to most Protestant liberal theologians, Wetter held that the Spirit was not beholden to external (i.e., superficial) institutions such as liturgy, sacraments, and church offices. A comparison could be made with the work of Albert Schweitzer (1875–1965) on the apostle Paul's mysticism.[21] In the early twentieth century, Schweitzer was a lone wolf among German exegetes, since the latter usually preferred traditional Lutheran categories for theological exegesis rather than an overtly "Catholic" category like mysticism, for understanding the Reformation's putative archetypal theologian.

1.3 *The Contours of Liturgical Theology*

It is a daunting task to introduce liturgical theology in a few pages—partly due to the voluminous literature in the field, and partly because the subject is so diverse and is continually evolving. Generally speaking, liturgical theology endeavours to combine historical research and constructive theology. That combination can be grounded in both creation theology and ecclesiology, which affects how the liturgy's cultural context and music are understood. Perennially debated is the role of anthropology in relation to ecclesiology (and vice versa), and usually a distinction, but not a separation, is made between the two disciplines.[22] If, in earlier phases of liturgical studies, anthropology largely focused attention on the individual's psychological expe-

20 Gillis P:son Wetter, *Altchristliche Liturgien*, Vol. 1: *Das christliche Mysterium: Studie zur Geschichte des Abendmahles*, FRLANT n.s. 13; Vol. 2: *Das christliche Opfer: Neue Studien zur Geschichte des Abendmahles*, FRLANT n.s. 17 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1921–1922); Wetter, "La Danse rituelle dans l'Église ancienne," *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses* 8 (1922): 254–275.

21 Albert Schweitzer, *Die Mystik des Apostels Paulus* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1930); English translation: *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle*, trans. William Montgomery (London: Black, 1931).

22 Patrick S. Franklin, *Being Human, Being Church: The Significance of Theological Anthropology for Ecclesiology*, Paternoster Theological Monographs (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2016); Angelo Scola, *Chi è la Chiesa? Una chiave antropologica e sacramentale per l'ecclesiologia*, Biblioteca di teologia contemporanea 130 (Brescia: Queriniana, 2005).

riences, today a wide spectrum of insights from the social sciences and cultural studies is brought to bear on the field.[23]

Liturgical theology can imply the meaning and practice, as well as the study, of Christian worship. Although the concept is relatively recent, it is well anchored in the history of the church. Modern liturgical theology builds on diverse liturgical movements, such as the work of Russian theologians in exile, including those at the Institut de théologie orthodoxe Saint-Serge in Paris, as well as Alexander Schmemann (1921–1983), an émigré to the United States.[24] Theologies from those movements have been widely received, crossing both linguistic and confessional boundaries.

Liturgical studies is a multidisciplinary research field, and also a constructive theological undertaking, whose results are normative for other areas of theology. Further, the liturgy itself is viewed as a *primary source* for theology. Scholarship on the church fathers has contributed to liturgical theology, although the results have been variously implemented, depending on social and theological contexts. Yves Congar has called attention to what has become an influential principle—that different operative ecclesiologies lie behind different liturgical patterns.[25] It is the liturgical theologian's task to analyse inductively whether the ordering of the worship is based upon an explicit or an implicit ecclesiology. There is also a growing consensus that, in liturgical celebrations, theology is at hand *before* it has been expressed in confessional formulations. In other words, liturgy is not only applied theology (*theologia applicata*) but is also a catalyst for explicit elaboration of theology. The Word takes form in music, and music has the creative power to affect or influence the understanding of the Word, which can come to new theological expression in catechesis.

The use of late ancient Christian sources to illuminate liturgical theology is grounded in the conviction that liturgy was and always has been the basis for the life of the church. In that sense, liturgy is an expression of ecclesiology. The ultimate source for understanding the liturgy is the biblical account

---

23 Sven-Erik Brodd, "Liturgy Crossing Frontiers: Interplay and Confrontation of Ecclesiological Patterns in Liturgical Change during the Twentieth Century," in *The Meaning of Christian Liturgy*, ed. Oloph Bexell (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 24–53.

24 Michael Hjälm, "Liberation of the Ecclesia: The Unfinished Project of Liturgical Theology," (PhD diss., Uppsala University, 2011); Bruce T. Morrill, *Anamnesis as Dangerous Memory: Political and Liturgical Theology in Dialogue* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2000).

25 Yves M.-J. Congar, "L''Ecclesia' ou communauté chrétienne, sujet intégral de l'action liturgique," in *La liturgie après Vatican II: Bilans, études, prospective*, ed. Yves M.-J. Congar and Jean-Pierre Jossua, Unam sanctam 66 (Paris: Cerf, 1967), 242–282.

that spawned the liturgical celebration. Researchers, however, are restricted to using the textual and material witnesses available.[26] The tools for studying a liturgical celebration thus overlap significantly with the tools that scholars of late ancient Christianity use for studying texts and artefacts. Those include biblical interpretation, semiotics, reception history, musicology, dogmatics, historical theology, and ideological criticism.

In addition to the use of similar theories and methods, the fields of patristics and liturgical theology share parallel developments: the former was originally an academic discipline for the study of early Christian literature but came to include studies of ideas and, eventually, of early church life and practices.[27] Since practice is reflected in the church's liturgy, the history of liturgy became an integral part of patristics research. As a part of ecclesiology, the field of liturgical studies (both ancient and modern) shows a similar developmental pattern. Although initially focused on written sources (mainly liturgical books and formal rites of various kinds), liturgical studies came to be a study of practices.

Moreover, both fields have benefitted from the work of specialists in a variety of theological disciplines, including biblical studies, church history, practical theology, and dogmatics. At its best, this mix has resulted in the acknowledgement of shared interests and in multidisciplinary cooperation. General trends in liturgical studies have given rise to new questions and theoretical starting points for re-examining the sources. But stimulus has also run in the opposite direction; advances in patristics have refined the interpretation of later liturgical sources, developments, and reforms. The interaction of the two disciplines has facilitated a transmission of ancient Christian thought into later (including modern) theological literature. The analysis and (re)construction of liturgy from the past can also entail a struggle over meaning in the researcher's own time, as is evident in the volume at hand.

2 Overview of the Volume

Representing different areas of competence, from New Testament and late ancient Christianity to musicology and modern literature, twenty-one authors have come together for an interdisciplinary conversation about how liturgical

26 See David W. Fagerberg, *Theologia Prima: What Is Liturgical Theology?* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1992).

27 See section 3.4, on the emergence of patristics as an area of study at Uppsala University.

history can be approached. Historical method and the contextual use of evidence form a *basso continuo* in that conversation. At times, what is commonly gleaned from texts and material culture turns out to be less reliable for a reconstruction of liturgical practices. At other junctures, the posing of new questions fosters novel insights, which could enrich future analyses of other material. The contributions are organised thematically along the following lines: Part 1, New Testament literature (five papers); Part 2, other early Christian literature (seven papers); Part 3, sacred space and archaeology (three papers); and Part 4, reception history (five papers). Perhaps these studies, together, form a sort of liturgical chorus. To what extent their voices resound harmoniously or discordantly remains to be seen.

2.1 *Part 1*—Lyrics: *Liturgy and Language in the New Testament*

The five studies in Part 1 explore New Testament writings as (possible) sources for understanding early Christian liturgical traditions. *Tommy Wasserman* examines the impact of liturgical exclamations and formulae on New Testament manuscripts and recensions. The written text may be seen as liturgical, and imbued with extra significance, when it is read aloud in communities repeatedly and over a sustained period of time. Wasserman also acknowledges the possible reciprocal influence of, on the one hand, the texts' staged and repeated sacred recitation and, on the other hand, the production of new copies and versions of the texts. Against the background of oral performance and aural reception of the Scriptures, he addresses editorial challenges in dealing with vestiges of liturgical forms in variant readings such as the doxology in the Lord's Prayer; the addition of "Amen" in some manuscripts; invocations to the Lord Jesus Christ; and baptismal professions (e.g., by the Ethiopian eunuch in Acts 8). The interplay of textual criticism and liturgical history can shed light on the origin of variant readings, and those variants point not only to the New Testament's initial text (*Ausgangstext*) but also, indirectly, to early liturgical uses and interpretations of the text.

Continuing the discussion of liturgical formulae, *David Hellholm* disputes the notion that early Christian baptism was a silent ritual. Rather, the New Testament writings bear witness to two invocations that were utilized in connection with baptism—the christological formula ("baptism into the name of the Lord Jesus") and the triadic formula ("baptism in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit"). Apparently, both formulae were sometimes used side by side in early Christ-communities. Over time, the triadic formula took precedence, probably due to its fuller theological expression—and was eventually developed into, and adopted as, a standard trinitarian formula. As a pastoral proposal for today's liturgy, Hellholm urges that both the christological and the triadic formulae continue to be used, since they, together, reflect the New Testament's diverse liturgical expressions.

In the first of three papers on individual New Testament writings, *Daniel Gustafsson* shows how three speeches by Peter develop the narrative of Acts 2–4 and how they resonate within the overarching narrative of Luke-Acts. Notably, the depicted audiences of Peter's gospel proclamations would have been unaware of that overarching narrative but would nevertheless have heard the same basic message about Christ's death and resurrection that is also given in Luke's passion predictions and passion narrative. Although Gustafsson is not optimistic about the prospects for reconstructing sermons actually delivered by the apostle Peter, the sermons illustrate how the author of Acts proclaimed the good news to a later audience through character and narrative development.

In his study of Revelation, *Håkan Ulfgard* argues that three central features—the epistolary framework (1:4–8), the scene of heavenly worship (chapters 4–5), and the enigmatic millennial reign (20:4–6)—are illuminated by the passages' scriptural and cultic imagery, which originated in the book of Exodus. In the epistolary introduction, the identification of Jesus's followers with those who were led out of Egypt sets the stage for John's vision of the heavenly worship, where the eschatologically decisive victory of the Lamb is proclaimed. Shared by Jesus's faithful witnesses (μάρτυρες) beyond the limitations of space and time, this victory is celebrated through cultic scenery that recalls how the covenant people were liberated from Egypt in order to worship God in the wilderness before entering the promised land. In the narrative progression of John's visions of judgement and salvation, Exodus-related imagery thus becomes an interpretative key that helps clarify the eschatological perspective of John's message.

Rounding out the section on New Testament literature, *Birger Olsson* makes a distinctive contribution to the text, translation, and oral performance of First John. In his "colometrical" translation of the epistle, each line (κῶλον) forms a unit that can be uttered with one breath. In the process of composing such a rendition, it is pertinent to weigh both the suitable number of syllables for each line, as well as the inherent sense-units of the Greek text. Olsson holds that the Johannine prose, with its narrow vocabulary, recurring themes, and repetitive syntactical structure, is ideally suited to a colometrical translation and to an aural experience of the text today. As a medium of communication, the translation and its recitation can also shed light on First John as a form of proclamation in the early church.

2.2 *Part 2*—Leitmotifs*: Liturgical Themes in Other Early Christian Literature*

The second part of the volume takes up liturgical traditions from the second through the sixth centuries. In the first of two essays on the literary functions of liturgical practices, *James A. Kelhoffer* examines the rhetorical and musical context of Ignatius of Antioch's exhortations that believers form a "chorus" (χορός). Ignatius stipulates that Christ-believers are to take their cue from the bishop, who conducts the ensemble and indicates the correct notes and intervals to be utilised. The conflicting ancient principles of musical harmony and dissonance, as well as the imperative that a particular "mode" (χρῶμα) be adopted to the exclusion of others, attest to ongoing debates among ancient philosophers and musicians about which mode(s) and intervals ought to be employed. Those debates form an illuminating backdrop for insights into Ignatius's choral metaphor and the controversies in which he engages. The bishop envisions the resounding of a unified, harmonious chorus while he dutifully makes his way in silence towards his martyrdom in Rome.

Carl Johan Berglund takes a novel approach to liturgical material in the Apocryphal Acts of Andrew, John, Paul, Peter, and Thomas. Various combinations of several liturgical practices—anointing, baptism, the singing of psalms, and the Eucharist—are described in the storylines. Berglund finds that the practices of anointing and baptism confirm a character's conversion, that the celebration of the Eucharist strengthens the sense of Christian community, and that both the Eucharist and the singing of psalms support the apostles and their converts in the face of dangerous situations. Hearers of the narratives are thus implicitly encouraged to take part in those liturgical practices.

The next two essays demonstrate how the reframing of isagogic presuppositions can foster a re-examination of liturgical sources. *Jonas Holmstrand* calls into question the heretofore usual view that Didache 1–6 reflects only minor revisions to a pre-Christian source that is also presupposed in the Epistle of Barnabas 18–21. A thorough analysis of the structure of Didache 1–6 shows, rather, that those chapters form a coherent composition, without discernible seams or additions. In that composition, Holmstrand identifies the same ethical "cornerstones" as are found in the Gospel of Matthew, thus disputing the notion that similarities with Matthean traditions consist of just a few later additions to the purported source. Holmstrand's analysis may have implications for the interpretation of other parts of the Didache, where scholars have also observed traces of Matthean traditions. If these observations are correct, the Didache would seem to be more homogeneous than has usually been assumed, in which case the later parts, including the liturgical instructions in chapters 7–10, should be read and interpreted in close connection with chapters 1–6.

Questioning common conceptions about sources and chronology, *András Handl* considers when, and through whose influence, a "patripassianist" Christology arose in Rome at the turn of the third century. On the one hand, Tertullian (writing in North Africa) lamented that the confessor Praxeas had imported from Asia Minor to Rome the teaching on "crucifying the Father." On the other hand, the anonymous *Refutatio* (written in Rome), credits Epigonus, as Noëtus's ambassador, with disseminating that teaching decades after Praxeas had come to the imperial capital. The fact that the *Refutatio* both ignores Praxeas completely and post-dates the arrival of Epigonus in Rome is consistent with the anonymous author's personal vendetta against Callixtus I and with an interest in exonerating Victor of Rome. Whereas the *Refutatio*'s account appears to be less reliable, it seems that Tertullian's references to a confessor named Praxeas are plausible, since epigraphic evidence indicates that the name Praxeas was not necessarily a pseudonym but was, in fact, commonly used in this period. It is also noteworthy that, whereas the *Refutatio* repeatedly criticizes magical tricks in the liturgical practices of "the Gnostics," no such negative judgement is levelled against Callixtus's liturgical practices.

Based on the mistaken view that Lactantius (ca. 250–325 CE), in contrast to earlier Christian authors, took a positive view towards pagan poetry and towards poetry in general, many have concluded that he paved the way for, perhaps even fostered, the emergence of formal Latin Christian poetry in the fourth century (e.g., the hexametrical epic of Juvencus's *Evangelia*). *Marianne Wifstrand Schiebe's* close contextual examination of the oft-cited passages in the *Divinae institutiones* shows, on the contrary, that Lactantius's assertion of "the poet's duty" (*officium poetae*) was a novel apologetic device invented specifically to undermine the pagan cult. Whereas prior Christian authors had claimed that the pagan mythological narrative *implied* that the gods had once been human, Lactantius introduces the notion of *officium poetae* to argue that the myths actually *prove* that they were human. Further, when he speaks of *laus et hymnus* or of *cantus et carmina*, he neither exemplifies nor refers to "ornate poetry" (German: *Kunstdichtung*). Rather, his exhortations, that the faithful take delight in using their God-given ears to hear, and tongues to sing, songs of praise, actually amount to a *turning away* from the empty pleasure and seductive sweetness of intricate metrical patterns that were emblematic of traditional formal poetry.

Examining baptism in Pistis Sophia (third–fifth century CE; Coptic; Askew Codex), *Petter Spjut* clarifies what problem the rite seems to address. Despite the work's lack of an explicit discussion of an origin of evil, or a concept of original sin, a clear connection can be discerned between the introduction of baptism and the reconciling of God and humankind's fractured relationship, which strongly implies some prior transgression. The primordial fall in Genesis 1–3, the worshipping of foreign gods, and the influence of the rebellious archons are possible causes of humanity's sinful pollution, which, according to Pistis Sophia, is reversed through baptism.

Applying insights from the growing field of children's studies, and from the Jewish philosopher Martin Buber on the importance of play in a person's conception of God, *Fredrik Heiding, S.J.*, examines the liturgical theology of Dionysius the Areopagite (sixth century CE). Three central aspects of that theology resemble "childlike play"—mimicry through the earthly mirroring of heavenly activities; the use of symbols as playful props; and the alternating revelation-and-concealment of God's face as an epistemological game of hide-and-seek. Heiding's innovative approach invites others to (playfully) explore the performativity of liturgical rites and also to go beyond the conventional individualistic interpretation of Dionysian writings and, instead, to see them from a corporate point of view.

2.3 *Part 3*—Acoustics*: Liturgical Space in Early Christianity*

The next three contributions consider how the spaces within which early Christian liturgies took place reflected, interpreted, and even shaped worship traditions and textual representations. While the Christian ruins at Dura Europos (230s–240s CE) have been widely identified as a baptistery, *Barbara Crostini* shows that this identification was proposed on weak grounds, especially since there is no evidence for a water system to confirm that the canopied tub functioned as a font. Further, there has been a failure to take into account the otherworldly dimensions of the small room's series of frescoes. In the light of the frescoes' themes of bodily salvation and afterlife, Crostini proposes that the room served not as a baptistry but as a funerary space (i.e., a mausoleum). She also calls attention to striking similarities in the arched structure and frescoes in the room with the structure and frescoes in the nearby contemporary synagogue. The similarities demonstrate reliance on the same pool of craftsmen for the respective decorative programmes but also a common biblical outlook and shared underlying beliefs, as expressed through visual art.

Tord Fornberg analyses the presence, liturgical function, and theological significance of early Christian altars. He investigates three of the more common terms (βωμός, τράπεζα, and θυσιαστήριον) with regard to their use in biblical writings (including as translations of terms in the Hebrew Bible). The analysis shows the variety of traditions that the early church inherited from Scripture. Complementing these philological insights, Fornberg reviews complex archaeological evidence, asking whether, in particular instances, altars were raised platforms for particular kinds of sacred activities; were the centrepiece for communal meals (with or without Eucharistic connotations); and/or were built upon pre-Christian sites of animal sacrifice. In continuity with Jewish thinking, the first Christ-communities regarded Jesus's sacrifice as an active "memorial" (זכרון, *zikkarōn*). After the church's connection to its original Jewish milieu had been severed, however, the Eucharist came to be understood as a sacrament. Fornberg also discusses whether certain altars depict the Eucharist as an actual sacrifice carried out on earth, or as a symbolic sacrifice reflecting what took place, or continues to take place, in heaven.

Continuing the discussion of the altar as a sacred space, *Robin Jensen* challenges the prevailing viewpoint that, in Western churches during the fourth through the ninth centuries, the purpose of altar veils was to *conceal* from the congregation the peak moment the Eucharist was consecrated. A barrage of examples from ancient texts, from ancient frescoes and mosaics, and from scholarly examinations of those sources, demonstrates that conclusions about the veils' purpose to keep the sacerdotal offering secret are untenable. Central to the question at hand is the role of the four-pillared vault (*ciborium*), often featured in the extant representations, that supported curtains around the altar. The question, then, is how to interpret the presence of curtains. Are they, for example, a symbolic token (perhaps reminiscent of the Jerusalem temple veil) or a pictographic reality? The wealth of evidence that Jensen assembles will be indispensable for future research. Her re-evaluation of the evidence dovetails with discussions, in the wake of the Second Vatican Council, about the separation of clergy from the laity during the Roman Catholic Mass.

2.4 *Part 4*— **Reverberations***: Reception and Rediscovery of Early Christian Liturgy*

Essays in the volume's fourth and final section ask how musical and other liturgical traditions from early Christianity have been interpreted, utilised and adapted in later generations. *Miriam L. Hjälm* examines how, in the liturgical book known as the Prophetologion, readings from the Old Testament were endowed with novel meanings in new contexts. She elaborates on the selection of Old Testament passages in the Byzantine liturgy, addressing the user value attributed to certain biblical books over against others. She then discusses how the new liturgical context often capitalises on a potential that is implicit in the biblical texts themselves but is accentuated by hermeneutical strategies that will guide the new audience. Hjälm makes available, for the first time, a summary of the lectionary readings and melodies for the liturgical year, as prescribed in the earliest known Arabic Prophetologion (tenth or eleventh century CE; MS Sinai Arabic 588).

In a tour-de-force journey across Latin literature and hymnography, *Anders Piltz, O.P.*, proceeds from ancient hymns to their Renaissance high-style rewriting—for example, by Pope Urban VIII Barberini (1568–1644), himself an accomplished poet. Piltz examines the linguistic reformulation of ancient verses, which were perceived as lacking in refinement according to the Renaissance standard of *latinitas*, or good Latin, that took as its model the literature of classical antiquity. The adoption of that standard led to the alteration of the style and content of some cherished prayers. Behind the scenes of the ongoing process of, and debates about, the changes, Piltz finds sophisticated clerics, who sought to assemble, refine, and transmit collections of hymns deemed suitable for use in liturgical contexts. As a result of the modifications, however, some prayers became alien to even later sensitivities which, in contrast to the Renaissance period, took for granted that classical Latin and later Christian Latin could have divergent styles.

Mattias Lundberg begins with the observation that the early modern period (i.e., the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries) witnessed an emergent historical interest in the musical theory and practice of ancient times—in particular, in the music of ancient Egypt and Greece. Scholarly accounts of that interest are conspicuously lacking in descriptions of attempts to uncover music of the New Testament period. A common denominator among those involved in such attempts is the assertion that "all authors must remain silent" due to the lack of sources. In counterpoint to that stance, Lundberg scrutinizes the theories and arguments of those who, in spite of scant evidence, have attempted to reconstruct the liturgical music to which the New Testament writings purportedly bear witness.

The last two contributions to this Festschrift reflect the increasing interest in early Christian liturgy among modern Christian traditions—apparent not only in Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic liturgies, but also, for example, in Protestant hymnody and modern Nordic literature. *Ezra Gebremedhin* sheds new light on hymns by the historiographer, hymnographer, and theologian Aläqa Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam (1860–1924), whose writings include a history of the people of Ethiopia.[28] Gebremedhin shows how Tayyä's Lutheran theology and hymnal patterns are deeply rooted in the earliest known Ethiopian-Eritrean Orthodox hymns, which are traditionally attributed to the 6th-century musician and composer Saint Yared. In this study, several Gəʿəz hymns are

28 Aläqa Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam, *Yä'Ityop'yā həzb tārik: History of the People of Ethiopia*, trans. Grover Hudson and Tekeste Negash, Uppsala Multiethnic Papers 9 (Uppsala: Centre for Multiethnic Research [Centrum för multietnisk forskning], 1987).

presented, for the first time, with English translations: Tayyä's *Mälkə'a Iyäsus* [Hymn to Jesus] and *Mäzmurä Krəstos zä-Mäḫaləyä mäḫaləy* [Hymn to Christ on the Song of Songs], as well as comparable compositions on the Song of Songs from the 14th-century *Mäzmurä Dəngəl* [Hymn to the Virgin]. Just as Yared's music continues to resound in the Ethiopian Orthodox and Eritrean Orthodox liturgies, Tayyä's hymns are gaining attention in Protestant Ethiopian and Eritrean communities, including diaspora communities in Sweden.

In the volume's final contribution, *Helena Bodin* considers, within contemporary culture, the reception of Russian Orthodox funerary practices—primarily, the singing of the "alleluia" (Russian: аллилу́иа, a component of the liturgy) to mark the resurrection of the soul into new life in Christ. Bodin reviews examples from Russian literature during the Soviet era (Anna Akhmatova, Boris Pasternak) and from Nordic literature (Vera Alexandrova, Hagar Olsson), authors for whom the sensory expressions of Orthodox faith defined at once a tradition and a way of life through which reality is interpreted, and which culminates in the experience of death. Discussed, in addition, are the musical composer Krzysztof Penderecki's liturgical work on Christ's entombment and resurrection, as well as John Tavener's use of John of Damascus (ca. 676–749 CE) in music for an Orthodox burial service. These authors and composers illustrate how, in secular reinterpretations of the Orthodox hope of resurrection, the future was conceived as a brighter political or ideological place. They also show how Russian Orthodox words and melodies, when restored to a liturgical context, enriched even Western occasions, such as at the 1997 funeral of Diana, Princess of Wales.

3 *Cur cantatur*? The Life and Work of Anders Ekenberg

Professor emeritus Anders Ekenberg, to whom *Why We Sing* is dedicated, is a theologian and a musician—not just a theologian who plays an instrument or a musician who is knowledgeable in theology.[29] Throughout his professional life as a scholar, church musician, composer, arranger, translator, editor, ordained minister in the Church of Sweden,[30] and, later, Roman Catholic

29 Our thanks are due to Robert von Bahr, Oloph Bexell, Tord Fornberg, David Hellholm, and Richard Pleijel for feedback and suggestions on this part of the chapter.

30 As is customary in the Roman Catholic Church and in the Church of England, in the (Lutheran) Church of Sweden the term "priest" (*präst*) is used for a minister of Word and Sacrament. See, further, Svenska kyrkan, Biskopsmötet [The Church of Sweden's Bish-

priest, he has managed to combine academic theology, pastoral work, and sacred music to their mutual benefit.

3.1 *Initiatives of a Young Student and Cantor*

While Ekenberg attended gymnasium in Örebro, in central Sweden, he planned for a career as a church musician. During those teenage years, he became curious about congregational singing directly from Scripture—in particular, from the Psalms. In the (Lutheran) Church of Sweden at that time, singing the words of Scripture was rare, and it was not a feature in the church's hymnal. Inspiration came to him from friends who returned from visits to Paris in 1962 and 1963 and who brought back recordings from the French Roman Catholic practice of singing the Psalter. The budding church musician wondered if such aesthetically pleasing arrangements could find a home in the cultural, theological, and linguistic context of Sweden.

In 1964, Ekenberg arrived at Uppsala to study theology at Uppsala University. Alongside his studies, he was the cantor of St. Ansgar, a small student church within the Church of Sweden and near the university.[31] Since, at that time, the Ansgar congregation had no organ, the cantor's role as choir director, soloist, and arranger was especially important.[32] Experimenting with his fellow students, as well as a number of theology professors and their families, Ekenberg started composing arrangements of psalms with congregational refrains for singing during worship services.

The practice would soon spread to other parts of the country.[33] During the early 1960s in the Church of Sweden, singing from the Psalter was permitted only in introits to the Mass or during Communion. When reading from the Old Testament became a standard part of the Mass in 1976, the place for the responsorial psalm was between the readings of the Old Testament and the epistle. This had already been anticipated in the liturgy at St. Ansgar from

---

ops' Conference], *Bishop, Priest and Deacon in the Church of Sweden: A Letter from the Bishops concerning the Ministry of the Church*, rev. and trans. Tore Bergman (Uppsala: Bishops' Conference [Biskopsmötet], 1992), and Sven-Erik Brodd, "Approches de l'Église de Suède: Libérale et catholique, avec des influences luthériennes," *Istina* 62 (2017): 139–164.

31 In that role, Anders Ekenberg succeeded Ragnar Holte, who later became professor of theological ethics at Uppsala University.

32 In regard to Ekenberg's service at the St. Ansgar congregation, see Oloph Bexell, "Det svenska gudstjänstlivet under 1900-talet" [Swedish liturgical life during the 20th century], *Växjö stifts hembygdskalender* 100 (2009/2010): 75–77.

33 Anders Ekenberg, "Musik för 70-talets församling" [Music for the 1970s congregation], *Svenskt gudstjänstliv* 44–45 (1969–1970): 3–27.

1967 onwards. While still an undergraduate student, Ekenberg penned several articles on his liturgical experiments in Uppsala.[34] In 1971, a collection of his psalmodies (i.e., musical arrangements of psalms) appeared, which came to be used both in the Church of Sweden and in the Catholic Diocese of Stockholm.[35] He also published the first Swedish edition of songs from Taizé, the French ecumenical monastic community.[36]

3.2 *Postgraduate Studies in New Testament and Practical Theology*

Ekenberg completed a bachelor of theology in 1970 and was accepted that same year as a doctoral student in New Testament studies by Lars Hartman (1930–2019), professor at Uppsala University.[37] Hartman, much influenced by French Roman Catholic theologians and by the Second Vatican Council, was one of the priests serving in the St. Ansgar congregation, where Ekenberg remained the cantor. Ekenberg became a successful teacher of the New Testament, and in 1984 presented a licentiate thesis on the Gospel of John's first resurrection pericope.[38]

---

34 Anders Ekenberg, "Kommunionen och församlingssången" [Communion and congregational singing], *Tidskrift för kyrkliga förnyelsesträvanden* 22 (1965): 60–76; "Bedjen oavlåtligen" [Pray without ceasing], in *Bedjen oavlåtligen: Föredrag hållna vid Kyrklig förnyelses kyrkodagar i Uppsala den 1–4 september 1967*, ed. Eric Segelberg, Kyrklig förnyelses årsbok (Saltsjöbaden: Kyrkligt forum, 1968), 86–99; and Anders Ekenberg (with Örjan Lundqvist), "Den liturgiska försöksverksamheten" [The liturgical experiment], *Svensk pastoraltidskrift* 11 (1969): 313–316, 336–338.

35 Anders Ekenberg, "Psaltarsång i församlingens gudstjänst" [The singing of the Psalter in congregational worship], in *Sankt Ansgar: Meddelanden från Sankt Ansgars stiftelse* (Uppsala: Sankt Ansgars stiftelse, 2010), 1–5; online: https://issuu.com/martingarlov/docs/meddelanden2010. The Catholic Diocese of Stockholm encompasses all of Sweden.

36 Jacques Berthier, *Fjorton sånger från Taizé för röster och instrument* [Fourteen songs from Taizé for voices and instruments], trans. Anders Ekenberg (Slite: Wessmans musikförlag, 1983; French original, 1978). Curiously, in subsequent editions of songs from Taizé published by the Church of Sweden, Ekenberg's work as translator and editor of the first Swedish edition are not acknowledged.

37 See Oloph Bexell, *Teologiska fakulteten vid Uppsala universitet 1916–2000: Historiska studier* [The Faculty of Theology at Uppsala University 1916–2000: Historical studies], Skrifter rörande Uppsala universitet, C: Organisation och historia 120 (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2021), 214–217; Tord Fornberg, David Hellholm, James A. Kelhoffer, and Marianne Wifstrand Schiebe, "In Memoriam Lars Hartman (1930–2019)," *SEÅ* 85 (2020): 173–180; Tord Fornberg and David Hellholm, eds., *Texts and Contexts: Biblical Texts in Their Textual and Situational Contexts. Essays in Honor of Lars Hartman* (Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1995), 1019–1027.

38 Anders Ekenberg, "Två läsningar av Joh 20:1–29" [Two readings of John 20:1–29], (Unpublished licentiate thesis, Faculty of Theology, Uppsala University, 1984).

Just as John the Baptist is remembered as being "even more than a prophet" (περισσότερον προφήτου, Matt 11:9), Ekenberg is much more than a biblical scholar. While he was Lars Hartman's doctoral student but had temporarily interrupted his exegetical studies, he was also accepted, in 1979, as a doctoral student in practical theology. In that area, Alf Härdelin (1927–2014), a Roman Catholic theologian who concentrated on medieval theology and spirituality, supervised several doctoral theses on medieval liturgy and practice.[39] Härdelin built networks with researchers from other disciplines, and was convinced that the doctrine and practice of the medieval church must be understood from a multidisciplinary perspective.[40]

The approach was well-suited to Ekenberg's skills and interests. In 1987, he presented a doctoral thesis on the interplay of biblical interpretation and the functions of liturgical song according to 8th- through 9th-century Carolingian authors.[41] The examination of those sources profited from Ekenberg's capabilities as a biblical exegete: eighty pages are devoted to what the Carolingian commentaries say about the function of singing during the Mass. A central argument is that Amalarius of Metz's (ca. 750–ca. 825 CE) "spiritual" interpretation of the liturgy's various elements corresponds to the traditional patristic exegetical pattern of Scripture's four senses, or meanings (*sensus quadruplex*).[42] Amalarius's approach can be fruitfully compared to interpretations of Scripture, since the chants, as well as other elements of liturgy, share the very characteristics that gave rise to symbolic interpretations of Scripture.

A second key argument in the thesis is that the liturgy was chanted in order to allow the biblical texts to touch believers' hearts more deeply than could be done by words alone. Another reason for chanting, holds Ekenberg, was to express, and contribute to, the unity of mind and soul that is at the heart of the Eucharistic celebration. That purpose of facilitating believers' assimilation into

39 Alf Härdelin had written his doctoral thesis on *The Tractarian Understanding of the Eucharist*, Studia historico-ecclesiastica Upsaliensia 8 (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1965). He became docent and was senior lecturer for many years, and in 1990, he was awarded the title of professor by the Swedish government.

40 For a biographical sketch, see Oloph Bexell, "Alf Härdelin 23 februari 1927–4 augusti 2014," *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift* 115 (2015): 11–16.

41 Anders Ekenberg, *Cur cantatur? Die Funktionen des liturgischen Gesanges nach den Autoren der Karolingerzeit*, Bibliotheca theologiae practicae 41 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1987).

42 The *sensus quadruplex* has to do with Scripture's literal, allegorical, spiritual, and mystical "senses," or meanings. See, e.g., Alastair J. Minnis, "*Quadruplex Sensus, Multiplex Modus*: Scriptural Sense and Mode in Medieval Scholastic Exegesis," in *Interpretation and Allegory: Antiquity to the Modern Period*, ed. Jon Whitman, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 101 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 231–256.

the divine Word and mystery is his response to the question posed in the dissertation's title, *Cur cantatur?*— "Why is it sung?" Ekenberg's conclusion would seem to strike a chord with his lifelong labours as a liturgical composer and arranger (see sections 3.3, 3.7). One might even consider him a neo-Carolingian, who invites others—Roman Catholics, Lutherans, and even evangelicals—to enter into the mystery through singing the liturgy.[43] The dissertation remains a standard work in the field, not least for the wealth of sources gathered and discussed.

In subsequent articles, Ekenberg has examined how notation details in early medieval musical manuscripts complement what other sources reveal about how the scriptural texts were understood by the "composers"—namely, to a high degree in ways that corresponded to inherited patristic interpretations of the same texts.[44] Such correspondences in Gregorian chant are also touched upon in his textbook,[45] which was the first general book in Swedish on Gregorian chant since the 1930s, and which continues to be used as an introduction to chant for aspiring church musicians.

3.3 Ad experimentum*: The Swedish Church Union*

During the 1960s and 1970s, one forum for Ekenberg's contributions to the Church of Sweden's liturgical life was the multifaceted and, by then, influential "high church" enterprise of the Swedish Church Union.[46] While serving on the Union's liturgical committee, Ekenberg commended recent international developments and reforms in church life inspired by the Second Vatican Council. With his engagement, discussions about the role of the contemporary church were placed in a more direct relation to the life and liturgical practices of the early church. In 1968, the Church of Sweden established a liturgical commission to prepare new liturgies, which were officially adopted

43 See, further, section 3.9, on Ekenberg's book, *Det klingande sakramentet: Om musiken i gudstjänsten* [The sonorous sacrament: On music in worship] (Älvsjö: Verbum, 1984).

44 See Anders Ekenberg, "Ordet och tonerna: Några gregorianska stickprov" [The word and the tones: Some Gregorian samples], in *Bibeltolkning och bibelbruk i västerlandets kulturella historia*, ed. Tryggve Kronholm and Anders Piltz, Kungl. Vitterhets historie och antikvitets akademien, Konferenser 45 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1999), 55–67; "Bibeltexter i sjungen form" [Biblical texts in the form of songs], in *Ad fontes: Festskrift till Olof Andrén på 100-årsdagen*, ed. Carl Johan Berglund and Daniel Gustafsson (Skellefteå: Artos, 2015), 93–104.

45 Anders Ekenberg, *Den gregorianska sången: Teori, historia, praxis* [Gregorian chant: Theory, history, praxis], SKS musikböcker 13 (Stockholm: Gehrmans musikförlag), 1998, which will be discussed in section 3.8.

46 The Swedish name of the association was *arbetsgemenskapen Kyrklig Förnyelse*, which could be translated "working community for the renewal of the church" (see footnote 49).

for use in the mid-1980s. In the intervening years, new liturgical forms were provisionally tested in congregations and were subject to revision (*ad experimentum*).

When the commission published its results in several volumes, it acknowledged Ekenberg's recommendations and contributions. In his collection of fifteen eucharistic prayers, for example, the words of institution are said to be embedded in a fuller context "according to practice in the early church."[47] Further, the commission noted, Ekenberg's liturgical setting entitled *Svensk mässa* [Swedish Mass, 1971], introduced "new ideas in Sweden." Those ideas included the insight that "it is the structure, the pattern of actions, not the wordings, that is decisive for a proper Mass."[48] Notably, his *Svensk mässa* included guidelines for how the whole congregation should "live the liturgy together."[49] In collaboration with Christer Pahlmblad (a practical theologian at Lund University) Ekenberg edited a more elaborated missal (1977) that included both the recently adopted official liturgical texts and amendments of various kinds.[50]

3.4 *Academic Appointments and Milieux*

Immediately after his undergraduate studies, Ekenberg began a sixteen-year period (1970–1986) of teaching part-time at Uppsala University, mostly in New Testament studies. Having completed the doctorate in Practical Theology in

47 Åke Andrén, "Den liturgiska utvecklingen i Svenska kyrkan under senare decennier" [The liturgical development in the Church of Sweden in recent decades], in 1968 års kyrkohandbokskommitté [The 1968 liturgical commission], *Svenska kyrkans gudstjänst: Huvudgudstjänster och övriga gudstjänster* [Worship in the Church of Sweden: The Mass and other services] Bilaga 1: *Gudstjänst i dag: Liturgiska utvecklingslinjer* [Worship today: Liturgical trends and developments], SOU 1974:67 (Stockholm: Liber, 1974), 45–74, 59. The commission's reports and proposals over the years were published in SOU [Statens offentliga utredningar, The government's official reports], which is an official series of reports of committees appointed and convened by the government, usually written by experts in preparation for legislative decisions in Parliament.

48 Andrén, "Den liturgiska utvecklingen," 11. Ekenberg is also mentioned in other volumes presented by the Commission. One example is that he, at the time a member of the official Church of Sweden Liturgical Board, had presented a fully developed proposal for the liturgical year. See 1968 års kyrkohandbokskommitté [1968 liturgical commission], *Svenska kyrkans gudstjänst* [Worship in the Church of Sweden], Vol. 4: *Evangelieboken* [Lectionary readings], SOU 1979:12 (Stockholm: Liber, 1979), 11.

49 Dag Sandahl, *Förnyarna: Mer än en historia om arbetsgemenskapen Kyrklig Förnyelse* [The renewers: More than a history about the working community for the renewal of the church (Swedish Church Union)] (Skellefteå: Artos, 2010), 199–204.

50 Anders Ekenberg and Christer Pahlmblad, eds., *Missale: Mässa och långfredagsgudstjänst enligt 1976 års ordning. Förslag till ordning för påskvaka samt lektionarium för sön- och helgdagar* [Missal: Mass and Good Friday service according to the 1976 Order of Worship. Suggested order for Easter vigil and lectionary for Sundays and feast days] (Borensberg: Noteria, 1977).

1985, he was appointed university lecturer, a position he held for over two decades (1986–2007). The lectureship was in "religious studies" (*religionsvetenskap*)—a novel designation at the faculty that was meant to encompass his teaching responsibilities in both New Testament and Practical Theology. In 1992, he became "docent" (roughly equivalent to a British senior lecturer or a German *Privatdozent*) in Practical Theology, but a significant portion of his teaching remained in New Testament. He was also the departmental head (*prefekt*, 1999–2002) and, for two periods, chair (*ämnesföreträdare*) of New Testament Exegesis (1996–2000 and 2002–2003).

At the Uppsala theological faculty, patristics had never been a discipline of its own; until the 1960s, it had been looked upon with some suspicion as being too much of a "Catholic" undertaking.[51] Nevertheless, important research in patristics was conducted within the areas of New Testament, church history, practical theology, and systematic theology. As early as 1932, Olof Linton had written a doctoral thesis in New Testament on the early church's ecclesiology.[52] Three decades later, Per Beskow, working in church history and inspired by the Jesuit patristics scholar (and eventual cardinal) Jean Daniélou, presented a dissertation on early Christology with particular attention to understandings of Christ as king.[53] A further cross-disciplinary thesis was Lars Thunberg's New Testament dissertation on the theological anthropology of Maximus the Confessor (ca. 580–662 CE).[54] On the merits of that study, Thunberg became docent in both New Testament (1965) and dogmatics (1970), and was thereafter appointed researcher in patristics, which was still not a separate discipline of its own but an area of research. Several years later, in systematic theology Ezra Gebremedhin (see his contribution in Part 4) wrote on Cyril of Alexandria (ca. 376–444 CE).[55] When, in 1985, the faculty created a(nother) research position in patristics, it was awarded to Gebremedhin, who became senior lec-

51 See Bexell, *Teologiska fakulteten*, 225–230.

52 Olof Linton, *Das Problem der Urkirche in der neueren Forschung: Eine kritische Darstellung*, Uppsala universitets årsskrift, Teologi 2 (Uppsala: Lundequistska bokh[andeln], 1932). See, further, Per Beskow, "Patristikens århundrade" [The century of patristics], *Signum* 38.4 (2012): 14–18.

53 Per Beskow, *Rex gloriae: The Kingship of Christ in the Early Church* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1962). When Beskow applied to become docent, the faculty did not know where he fit on the disciplinary landscape. The solution was to acknowledge a novel research area dubbed "exegetical patristics."

54 Lars Thunberg, *Microcosm and Mediator: The Theological Anthropology of Maximus the Confessor*, Acta seminarii neotestamentici Upsaliensis 25 (Lund: Ohlsson, 1965).

55 Ezra Gebremedhin, *Life-Giving Blessing: An Inquiry into the Eucharistic Doctrine of Cyril of Alexandria*, Studia doctrinae Christianae Upsaliensia 17 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1977).

turer in systematic theology in 1990. It was also Gebremedhin who founded the faculty's first research seminar in patristics, which flourished until he retired in 2001.

In 2007, Anders Ekenberg left his university post and began teaching at the Newman Institute, which had been founded through the initiative of German Jesuits in 2001. In addition to teaching courses in biblical studies, patristics, and liturgics, he became director of studies (*studierektor*) and was instrumental in the college's successful application for accreditation by the Swedish Higher Education Authority (*Universitetskanslersämbetet*). As acknowledgement of all he brought to diverse theological disciplines (see sections 3.5–3.8), he was promoted to the rank of (full) professor in 2013. Since no single theological discipline could encompass his contributions, his professorship was in theology.

Thanks to Ekenberg, a seminar in patristics was re-established in 2009, with cooperation between the faculty of theology and the aforementioned Newman Institute, a Catholic university college in Uppsala for theology, philosophy, and cultural studies. To this day, the seminar consists of researchers, doctoral students, and students from various disciplines and institutions, including New Testament, patristics, classical languages and literature, and Byzantine studies. Now under the leadership of Barbara Crostini (an editor of this Festschrift; see her contribution in Part 3), the Newman Institute's seminar on Late Ancient and Byzantine Cultures retains a multidisciplinary approach with a broadened chronological scope.

Ordained for the Swedish Lutheran Church in 1970 in the Diocese of Strängnäs (to which his native Örebro belonged), Ekenberg eventually relinquished his duties as cantor of the St. Ansgar student congregation when he became, for a period of two calendar years (1977–1978), the congregation's pastor and a student chaplain. He was received into the Roman Catholic Church in 1979, and was finally ordained as a Catholic priest in 2017. During his retirement from academic duties, he ministered to Catholic parishes in Uppsala, and assumed duties as the acting vicar near his family's "second home" on the Swedish island of Gotland. Since 2018, he has served as president of the Liturgical Commission of the Catholic Diocese of Stockholm and, in that role, as the diocesan bishop's delegated representative for worship and liturgy.

3.5 *Biblical Studies*

Anders Ekenberg is a polymath. He has not only worked in diverse fields but has also brought a seldom-seen expertise to each of them. In service to both the academy and the church, he has worked on numerous projects "behind the scenes" as an editor and translator, making accessible a wealth of sources that previously had not been available in Swedish. In what follows, his contributions in biblical studies, patristics, musicology, and liturgical studies—in addition to those already mentioned above—will be surveyed.

Ekenberg was appointed in 1985 as an external advisor (*sakkunnig*) to the Swedish Bible Commission (*Bibelkommissionen*) and became a member of its board the following year. Established and financed by the national Parliament, the Commission had begun work in 1973 on a new translation of the entire Bible. The translation was eventually given the name "Bibel 2000," indicating the year of its publication, and was the first translation into Swedish since 1917.[56] His responsibilities on the Commission included work on the Psalter (1985–1999). The appointment was unusual for someone trained in New Testament and practical theology, but it was justified by his sensitivity to translating Hebrew poetry into Swedish poetic forms, his innovations in the use of Scripture in contemporary liturgy, and, not least, his highly esteemed musical arrangements of the Psalter.

The new Psalter translation aimed, in addition to being faithful to the Hebrew original, to produce a text that was suitable for reading aloud during worship but also easily sung in liturgical settings. The question of how to achieve those goals was a matter of considerable contention among those involved with the translation. In a recent monograph, Richard Pleijel traces those debates within the Bible Commission's Old Testament translation team.[57] He also calls attention to Ekenberg's contributions to the Psalter translation.[58] Pleijel's exposition is based on copious archival research, and includes the following citation from a letter that Harald Göransson and Anders Ekenberg sent in 1979 to the coordinator of the Old Testament translation team: "We believe that the imagery [in the Psalter] must not be replaced with abstract expressions, except in very exceptional cases. [The use of] abstractions instead of imagery causes the Psalter's distinctive characteristic to be lost."[59] In Göransson and Ekenberg's

56 The translation of the New Testament was completed in the 1970s and first appeared 1981.

57 Richard Pleijel, *Om Bibel 2000 och dess tillkomst: Konsensus och konflikt i översättningsprocessen inom Bibelkommissionens GT-enhet* [The making of Bibel 2000: Consensus and conflict in the translation process within the Old Testament team of the Bible Commission] (Skellefteå: Artos, 2018), whose suggestions have added to the above paragraph on the Psalter translation. The Bible Commission's various reports and drafts of translations were published in the Swedish government's official reports (SOU); cf. note 46, above.

58 Pleijel, *Om Bibel 2000*, e.g., 151, 210–212, 276; cf. 174.

59 Pleijel, *Om Bibel 2000*, 277 n. 691 (Kelhoffer's translation); Swedish original: "Vi anser att man inte skall ersätta bilderna med abstraktioner annat än i yttersta undantagsfall. Abstraktioner i st[ället] f[ör] bilder gör att Psaltarens särart går förlorad." On Ekenberg's collaboration with Harald Göransson, see section 3.7.

view, the poetic style and metaphorical imagery in the Hebrew Psalter must, to the extent possible, be retained in translation, so that musical arrangements can convey that imagery within a Swedish tonal idiom.

The Pontifical Biblical Commission's 1993 document, *The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church*, calls attention to the "fuller meaning" (*sensus plenior*) of Scripture. That meaning (or meanings) was not necessarily in the imagination of the Bible's human authors but could have come to the fore later in the life of the church. Ekenberg translated the Pontifical Biblical Commission's document, adding an introduction for his Swedish readership.[60] In a later essay, he holds that Roman Catholic biblical interpretation is "more than literal interpretation" and that it is not based on an inerrantist understanding of Scripture.[61] In a study of the Lord's Prayer in the Bible and the use of the Lord's Prayer in worship, he raises questions about the character of the biblical texts; principles for translation; the use of different translations in liturgical texts; and the relation between text and music.[62]

A significant resource that emerged from Ekenberg's longstanding experiences of teaching New Testament was the bilingual Greek-Swedish edition of the New Testament, published in 2011.[63] It places the then-latest edition of the United Bible Society's *Greek New Testament* on opposing pages with the

---

60 Anders Ekenberg, trans., *Att tolka Bibeln idag: Påvliga bibelkommissionens dokument om bibeltolkningen i kyrkan (1993). Översättning och inledning* [To interpret the Bible today: The Pontifical Biblical Commission's document on *The interpretation of the Bible in the church* (1993). Translation and introduction] (Stockholm: Katolska bokförlaget, 1995; 2nd revised edition, 2020). An English version of the Pontifical Biblical Commission's document, *The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church*, which was presented to Pope John Paul II on April 23, 1993, is available online: https://catholic-resources.org/ChurchDocs/PBC_Interp-FullText.htm.

61 Anders Ekenberg, "Mer än bokstavlig tolkning" [More than literal interpretation], in *Skrift och tradition: Katolska perspektiv på bibeltolkning och bibelbruk* [Scripture and tradition: Catholic perspectives on the interpretation and use of the Bible], ed. Tord Fornberg (Stockholm: Veritas, 2017), 61–100.

62 Anders Ekenberg, *Vår fader eller Fader vår: Herrens bön i Bibel och gudstjänst* [Our Father or Father Our: The Lord's Prayer in the Bible and worship], Svenska bibelsällskapets skriftserie 1 (Uppsala: Svenska bibelsällskapet, 2007). In regard to the book's title (*Vår fader … Fader vår*), in Swedish, as is also the case in German, it is possible to place the possessive pronoun (here: *vår*) either before or after the noun (*Fader*). The first alternative is in accordance with modern Swedish—*Vår fader* (*Our Father* or, in German, *unser Vater*). The latter alternative accords with traditional Swedish liturgical language—*Fader vår* (in German, *Vater unser*), for which there is no equivalent in modern English and which we have rendered *Father Our*.

63 Anders Ekenberg, ed., *Nya Testamentet på grekiska och svenska: The Greek New Testament, fjärde reviderade upplagan samt Bibel 2000* [The New Testament in Greek and Swedish: *The Greek New Testament*, 4th revised edition and Bibel 2000] (Örebro: Libris, 2011).

Bibel 2000 translation, thereby making the Greek text more accessible to students, (other) laypeople, and clergy. In the footnotes, Ekenberg summarizes the Swedish Bible Commission's key text-critical choices, which underlie the Bibel 2000 translation but which had not been readily accessible to the public. He also includes in the footnotes notations made by the leading New Testament scholar on the Bible Commission, Harald Riesenfeld (1913–2008).[64] Ekenberg's other contributions to biblical studies include articles on Bible translation, Jesus and the Gospels, and Paul in Christian interpretation.[65]

3.6 *Ancient Church Orders, Textual Reconstruction, Baptism, and Eucharist*

Ekenberg's competence in late ancient Christianity consistently came to the fore in a series of in-depth studies in that area. Among his many translations and commentaries on early Christian texts is his Swedish edition of the *Apostolic Tradition*, a text traditionally attributed to Hippolytus of Rome (ca. 200 CE; see András Handl's paper in Part 2).[66] In addition to insightful commentary

64 Riesenfeld had been professor of New Testament at Uppsala University and, in the years before his retirement, was a full-time researcher for the Bible Commission.

65 Anders Ekenberg, "En bedräglig Markusöversättning" [A deceptive translation of Mark's Gospel], Review of George M. Lamsa, *Från Jesu eget språk: Markusevangeliet från den gamla arameiska Peshittabibeln* [From Jesus's own language: The Gospel of Mark from the Old Aramaic Peshitta Bible] (Vällingby: Harriers, 1975), in *Svensk pastoraltidskrift* 17 (1975): 940–941; "Vad vet forskarna om Jesus?" [What do scholars know about Jesus?], Review of Gustaf Aulén, *Jesus i nutida historisk forskning* [Jesus in contemporary historical research] (Stockholm: Verbum, 1973), in *Svensk pastoraltidskrift* 16 (1975): 246–248; see the responses by G. Aulén, "Jesusforskarna: Deras metoder och deras resultat" [Scholars who study Jesus: Their methods and their results], *Svensk pastoraltidskrift* 16 (1975): 395–397, and by Anders Ekenberg, Final Response to Aulén (Untitled), *Svensk pastoraltidskrift* 16 (1975): 484–485. See, further, Anders Ekenberg, "Han kom till sitt eget" [He came unto his own], in *Jordens salt: Kyrklig förnyelses årsbok 1975*, ed. Peter Bexell and Tommy Hägg (Uppsala: Pro veritate, 1976), 21–38; "Bibelöversättning och liturgiskt bibelbruk: Några anteckningar" [Bible translation and liturgical use of the Bible: Some observations], *Svenskt gudstjänstliv* 56–57 (1981–1982): 11–21; "'Det var om honom han talade': Jes 53, Jes 6 och Joh 12" ["It was about him (that) he spoke": Isaiah 53, Isaiah 6 and John 12], *SEÅ* 59 (1994): 119–126; "'Utsätt oss inte för prövning'" ["Lead us not into temptation"], *SEÅ* 62 (1997): 111–122; "Judisk och kristen påsk: Ett gåtfullt samband" [Passover and Easter: An enigmatic relationship], *SEÅ* 63 (1998): 261–272; "The Fourth Gospel and the History of Jesus," *CV* 44 (2002): 182–191; and "2000 år med Paulus i kristen tradition" [2000 years with Paul in Christian tradition], in *2000 år med Paulus*, ed. Anders Ekenberg et al. (Uppsala: Bibelakademiförlaget, 2013), 137–158.

66 Anders Ekenberg, ed. and trans., *Hippolytos, Den apostoliska traditionen: Översatt och kommenterad* [Hippolytus, the *Apostolic Tradition*: Translated with commentary], Kristna klassiker (Uppsala: Katolska bokförlaget, 1994).

and lucid translation, he provides a new provisional "stemma" of manuscript variants. A later essay, "Initiation in the *Apostolic Tradition*," returns to the text-critical problems—especially in chapters 15–21 of the work.[67] His careful analysis of those chapters supports the conclusions that a 4th-century version of an initiation order can, with reasonable certainty, be reconstructed on the basis of the *Apostolic Tradition*, and that this order mirrored a third-century practice somewhere in the West.

In "The Eucharist in Early Church Orders," Ekenberg takes up the shape and meanings of the Eucharist in the *Didache*, *Apostolic Tradition*, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, and *Apostolic Constitutions*.[68] He calls attention to the evolution of liturgical forms and the interpretations of the Eucharist in those sources. "The most important change when it comes to the shape of the celebration," he writes, "is without any doubt the Eucharist's transformation from being a real meal into being [only a] stylised meal."[69] That essay appeared in a massive three-volume anthology—the fruit of an international collaboration, for which Ekenberg served on the organising committee.[70] One reviewer, Bryan Spinks, singled out Ekenberg's study as one of the anthology's more significant and helpful contributions.[71] Among other studies in this area is an article on the evidence for Jewish Christ-believers in ancient church orders and in (other) liturgical texts.[72] He has also examined later sources, including Germanus I of Constantinople (d. ca. 740 CE) and Saint Ansgar (the "apostle of the north," 801–865 CE), and has delved into the origins and development of the liturgical year.[73]

67 Anders Ekenberg, "Initiation in the Apostolic Tradition," in *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*, ed. David Hellholm et al., BZNW 176 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 2:1011–1050.

68 See Anders Ekenberg, "The Eucharist in Early Church Orders," in *The Eucharist—Its Origins and Contexts*, ed. David Hellholm and Dieter Sänger, WUNT 376 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 2:957–992.

69 Ekenberg, "Eucharist," 982.

70 The organising committee consisted of Anders Ekenberg, David Hellholm, Felix John, James A. Kelhoffer, Øyvind Norderval, Enno Edzard Popkes, Dieter Sänger, and Tor Vegge. The anthology stemmed from conferences held in 2011 and 2013, and appeared as David Hellholm and Dieter Sänger, eds., *The Eucharist—Its Origins and Contexts*, Volumes 1–3, WUNT 376 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017).

71 Bryan Spinks, Review of *The Eucharist—Its Origins and Contexts*, ed. D. Hellholm and D. Sänger, WUNT 376 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), in *JEH* 20.2 (2019): 323–324, 323.

72 Anders Ekenberg, "Evidence for Jewish Believers in 'Church Orders' and Liturgical Texts," in *Jewish Believers in Jesus: The Early Centuries*, ed. Oskar Skarsaune and Reidar Hvalvik (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2007), 640–658.

73 Anders Ekenberg, "Germanus oder Pseudo-Germanus? Pseudoproblem um eine Verfasserschaft," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 35.1–36.2 (1993–1994): 135–139; *Boken om*

3.7 *Hymnal Revisions*

Beginning in the mid-1960s, Ekenberg had written music for the Psalter (see section 3.3). An innovation for the Swedish context was the singing of psalms with the use of congregational refrains (see section 3.1). A collection of Ekenberg's arrangements appeared in 1971, the year after he completed his undergraduate studies. That collection, *Ge mig svar!* [Give me a response!], accentuates the importance of the role of the whole congregation in liturgical song.[74] The arrangements, according to Ekenberg, provided a simple and aesthetically pleasing way of singing directly from Scripture. Thus, during the late 1960s, the theology student and cantor at the St. Ansgar congregation led as a soloist but also orchestrated and conducted responsorial singing.

Ekenberg's influence came to bear when, in 1969, the Swedish government appointed a committee to draft a supplement to the Church of Sweden's hymnal.[75] Until the year 2000, the Church of Sweden was a "state" church; it was thus not unusual for the government to set in motion a modest revision of the church's hymnal. The mandate would later be expanded to encompass a revision of the entire hymnal, which was completed in 1985. When, in 1974, the committee members advocated the inclusion of psalms in the liturgy between readings from the Old Testament and the epistle, they cited Ekenberg's 1971 collection of psalmodies,[76] which had been used and appreciated at St. Ansgar. When

---

Ansgar, med kommentarer av Anders Ekenberg [The book about Ansgar, with commentary by Anders Ekenberg], ed. Carl Fredrik Hallencreutz and Tore Hållander, trans. by Eva Odelman, Samfundet Pro fide et christianismo 10 (Stockholm: Proprius, 1986); "Kyrkoårets framväxt: Aktuella perspektiv och frågor" [The evolution of the liturgical year: Currentperspectives and questions], *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift* 115 (2015): 23–33. See also Anders Ekenberg, Review of Per Ström, "*Paradisi recuperatio*: Den romersk-germanska kyrkoinvigningens form och innebörd, med en textutgåva till PRG XL baserad på nya handskriftsstudier" [*Paradisi recuperatio*: The form and significance of the Roman-Germanic rite of church dedication, with an edition of PRG XL based on new studies of manuscripts] (PhD diss., Uppsala University, 1997), in *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift* 98 (1998): 151–152.

74 Anders Ekenberg, *Ge mig svar! Psaltarpsalmer för högmässan och andra sånger för sångare/kör och församling* [Give me a response: Psalter psalms for Mass and other songs for singers/choir and congregation], Två parallella utgåvor i ringpärmar: Församlingsupplaga och Musikupplaga (Uppsala: Pro Veritate, 1971).

75 The government's decision about the Church of Sweden's hymnal was based on a request from the church's General Synod, and preceded the government's decision, in 1972, to establish a committee tasked with preparing a new translation of the Bible (see section 3.5). Both undertakings were accorded significant resources by the Swedish Parliament.

76 This collection of Ekenberg's psalmody arrangements, *Ge mig svar!* [Give me a response!], is discussed in the preceding paragraph.

a psalm was read aloud or sung, they urged, it should be done, "if possible, alternating between choir and congregation."[77]

The committee's expert in sacred music was the respected church musician and musicologist Harald Göransson (1917–2004),[78] on whose recommendation Ekenberg was, in 1976, appointed to the committee. For the better part of ten years, Göransson and Ekenberg made the selection of psalms and gathered musical settings of them for the new hymnal.[79] A source of inspiration was Joseph Gelineau's 1976 book on the future of the liturgy—in particular, regarding the chanting of psalms by a soloist or a choir, with congregational refrains, as a way to facilitate the congregation's active participation in worship.[80]

Ekenberg would later play a similar role for the Catholic Diocese of Stockholm. Already on the diocese's Liturgical Commission, he became a member of the committee tasked with preparing a new hymnal to replace the one that Swedish Roman Catholics had used since 1986.[81] In addition to working on the liturgical texts, Ekenberg is credited with sixty melodies and three arrangements.[82] For numerous other contributions to the hymnal, however, he is not mentioned by name. For example, he arranged dozens of melodies that are listed simply as "*gregoriansk bearb*[*etning*]" [Gregorian arrangement]—an area of music and liturgics to which we now turn.

---

77 See 1968 års kyrkohandbokskommitté [The 1968 liturgical commission], *Svenska kyrkans gudstjänst: Huvudgudstjänster och övriga gudstjänster*, Vol. 1: *Gudstjänstordning m.m.* [Order of worship etc.], SOU 1974:66 (Stockholm: Liber, 1974), 136.

78 See the discussion by Anders Dillmar, *Harald Göransson och psalmsångens förnyelse: Kyrkomusikens förändring i Sverige under 1900-talets andra hälft* [Harald Göransson and the renewal of the Psalter song: The transformation of sacred music in Sweden during the second half of the twentieth century] (Skellefteå: Artos, 2015).

79 See 1969 års psalmkommitté [1969 hymn committee], *Den svenska psalmboken: Slutbetänkande* [The Swedish hymnal: Final report], Vol. 2: *Historik, principer, motiveringar* [History, principles, explanations], SOU 1985:17 (Stockholm: Liber, 1985), 181–189, 192–193.

80 Joseph Gelineau, *Demain la liturgie: Essai sur l'évolution des assemblées chrétiennes*, Rites et symboles 5 (Paris: Cerf, 1976). Two years after the appearance of Gelineau's book, a Swedish edition appeared, for which Bengt Rur was the main translator, Anders Piltz wrote a substantial introduction, and Anders Ekenberg (who was surprised to be credited as a co-translator) revised Rur's translation in certain places. See Bengt Rur and Anders Ekenberg, trans., *Liturgi i morgon: Om den kristna gemenskapens inre växt* [Liturgy tomorrow: On the inner growth of the Christian assembly], by Joseph Gelineau, Introduction by Anders Piltz (Stockholm: Katolska bokförlaget, 1978).

81 Anders Ekenberg, "Den nya katolska gudstjänstboken" [The new Catholic hymnal], *Svenskt gudstjänstliv* 81 (2006): 67–83.

82 Sven Åke Selander, Review of *Cecilia: Katolsk gudstjänstbok*, 4th edition (Stockholm: Veritas, 2013), in *Svenskt gudstjänstliv* 88 (2013): 172–177.

3.8 *Gregorian Chant*

The form and function of a text used in a liturgical setting call for a certain sensitivity with regard to how the text is translated and interpreted, as well as a sensitivity to its associated musical form(s). When care is taken, the text and its earlier cultural context are translated into a contemporary living ecclesiological context. Appropriation and re-contextualisation have been part of liturgical adaptations through the centuries. An example dear to Ekenberg's heart is found in the use of Gregorian chant. It is possible to situate his research on chant in the same field as his doctoral thesis, *Cur cantatur?* (see section 3.2). In his view, Gregorian chant is, above all, an interpretation of Scripture and is intended to shape believers' understanding of the texts.

For several reasons, Ekenberg was, at the outset, quite sceptical towards the chant melodies being used in the Swedish liturgical forms of the 1950s and 1960s. In particular, he maintained that it was necessary for the *music* to fit the *text* that is sung. If, instead, the text were made to fit the original tune, the result could be clumsy and lacking in respect for the original. Complicating the task are numerous differences between Latin and the Germanic languages (including Swedish). Since the general "language melody," as well as the accentual patterns, of Swedish differ considerably from those of Latin,[83] setting Swedish texts to an exact replication of the Latin melodies might do justice to neither language. Ekenberg therefore opted not to slavishly reproduce Latin melodies but to "re-compose" them on the basis of the rich variety of melodic formulae of the Gregorian tradition, and then to further "re-compose" them in accordance with the requirements of the Swedish texts. His compositional procedure for setting Swedish texts to chant corresponds closely to that of Godehard Joppich's adaptations of Gregorian chant to German.[84]

83 In *Signum* (a Catholic theological journal on faith, culture, research, and society), Ekenberg voices another reason for caution about how, and in what context, Gregorian chant can be appropriated. His exposé, "Gregorianik och kyrkopolitik: Gregoriansk förnyelse och kyrklig centralism" [Gregorian music and ecclesial politics: Gregorian renewal and ecclesial centralism], *Signum* 45.4 (2019): 30–33, throws light on the revitalisation of Gregorian music during the nineteenth century, and points out its relation to the conservative nationalist and political ideals of "ultramontanist" Catholics. It is a desideratum, he holds, to consider not only the context of the Gregorian music itself but also the context within which the music is given new life.

84 See Godehard Joppich, "Vom Schriftwort zum Klangwort," *IAH Bulletin* 23 (1995): 89–123; Hrabanus Erbacher, "Das 'Münsterschwarzacher Modell,'" *IAH Bulletin* 23 (1995): 131–138; G. Joppich, *Antiphonale zum Stundengebet* (Freiburg: Herder, 1979), and Godehard Joppich et al., eds., *Preisungen: Psalmen mit Antwortrufen*, 3rd edition (Münsterschwarzach: Vier-Türme, 2005). In regard to Joppich's work on chant in Latin, see Joppich, "Die Bivirga auf der Endsilbe eines Wortes: Ein Beitrag zur Frage des Wort-Ton-Verhältnisses im gregori-

A sharp debate on Ekenberg's method emerged between him and another eminent expert in Gregorian chant, Ragnar Holte, who argued for the use of unaltered Gregorian melodies in Swedish.[85] Nevertheless, Holte acknowledged that Ekenberg had created a highly elaborate system of melodic variants that were well adapted to Swedish texts. The debate between the two brings into sharper focus the notation "Gregorian arrangement" in the Catholic hymnal (see section 3.7). The notation indicates that Ekenberg drew inspiration from Gregorian chant but, as deemed appropriate, adjusted the melodies to fit a modern Swedish melodic and linguistic expression.

3.9 *Messiaen and the Sonorous Sacrament*

An operative principle in Ekenberg's musical and exegetical efforts is that the quest for a theological meaning need not necessarily coincide with a source's "original" sense. Music plays a central role in the process, since music is not an addendum to, but contributes to the very substance of, theology. Music and singing are rooted in creativity, and therefore in creation theology. In the life of the church, music is also sacramental—a means of preparing believers to discern the spiritual reality disclosed in divine revelation. In the two frameworks of anthropology and ecclesiology, liturgical music conveys the Word of God, contributes to the formation of the Christian life, and becomes a means for praising God.

This sacramental role of singing is conveyed in the title of Ekenberg's 1984 book, *Det klingande sakramentet* [The sonorous sacrament].[86] By sonority, Ekenberg means that the sacrament resounds not only in a preacher's proclamation but also in the assembly's harmonious acclamation. Therefore, believers are not to passively observe what is heard; rather, they contribute to what

anischen Choral," in *Ut mens concordet voci*, ed. Johannes B. Göschl, FS Eugène Cardine (Sankt Ottilien: EOS-Verlag, 1980), 443–457; and recordings of Joppich's arrangements, including *Gregorianischer Choral* (Hamburg: Archiv Produktion, 1983); *Deus, deus meus: Gregorianischer Choral* (Zürich: Novalis, 1986); and *Gregorian Christmas* (Berlin: Deutsche Grammophon, 2008).

85 On this debate, see Ekenberg, "Den gregorianska sången" [Gregorian chant], in *Gregorianik*, Svenskt gudstjänstliv 70, Tro & tanke 1995:4, ed. Folke Bohlin et al. (Uppsala: Svenska kyrkans forskningsråd, 1995), 9–32, and Ragnar Holte, "Musiken till Den svenska tidegärden" [Music for the Swedish Daily Office], in ibid., 77–108. As mentioned in section 3.1, Ekenberg had succeeded Holte as the cantor in the St. Ansgar congregation.

86 Anders Ekenberg, *Det klingande sakramentet* [The sonorous sacrament]. On St. Augustine's understanding of music, see Ragnar Holte, "Klingande sakrament: Augustinska och aktuella teologiska perspektiv på musik" [Sonorous sacraments: Augustinian and contemporary theological perspectives on music], *Svenskt gudstjänstliv* 76 (2001): 11–26.

is proclaimed and thereby to what is experienced by all participants in the liturgy. The musicological epistemology underlying these principles is profound and merits further reflection.[87]

We have seen that Ekenberg has worked with music that spans over many centuries—from the biblical writings to contemporary liturgy. Prominent among his studies is the music of Olivier Messiaen (1908–1992), the renowned French organist who was also among the most influential 20th-century composers. Beyond the musical quality and the integrity of Messiaen's music, it is noteworthy that Messiaen refers to numerous Christian texts and traditions that inspired him and that often found their way into titles of his compositions. Ekenberg, himself an organist, wrote internationally acclaimed liner notes for seven compact disk recordings of all of Messiaen's organ works.[88] Printed in English, German, and French, the notes take up, for example, the French Catholic background of Messiaen's music; comment on two compositions on the mystery of the Eucharist (*Le banquet céleste* and *Livre du Saint-Sacrement*); and analyse the theology and Gregorian melodies underlying nine *Méditations sur le mystère de la Sainte Trinité*. When the seven CDs were sold as a set in 2009, Ekenberg's liner notes were combined into a single introduction comprising over sixty pages in each of the aforementioned languages.[89] In acknowledgement of this Festschrift, BIS Records has, for the first time, made these liner notes accessible to the general public.[90] In other lectures and writings, Ekenberg has returned to Messiaen, reflecting on, among other things, the Frenchman's music in relation to Gregorian chant.[91]

---

87 Such reflection could be facilitated by a translation into English, French, or German of Ekenberg's *Det klingande sakramentet*.

88 Olivier Messiaen, *Messiaen—The Complete Organ Music*, Volume 1 (BIS-409), Volume 2 (BIS-410), Volume 3 (BIS-441), Volume 4 (BIS-442), Volume 5 (BIS-464), Volumes 6–7 (BIS-491), Hans-Ola Ericsson, organist (Djursholm: BIS Records, 1988–1992).

89 Anders Ekenberg, "Messiaen's Organ Works," Liner notes for Olivier Messiaen, *Messiaen—The Complete Organ Music*, Volumes 1–7, Hans-Ola Ericsson, organist (Djursholm: BIS Records, 2009), pp. 12–74; German version: the "Die Orgelwerke Messiaens," pp. 77–145; French version: "Les œuvres pour orgue de Messiaen," pp. 149–214; online: https://www.eclassical.com/shop/17115/art57/4931657-69f8a6-BIS-1770-72_booklet.pdf.

90 For the link to the liner notes, see the preceding footnote. Thanks are due to Robert von Bahr, CEO of BIS Records, for making these available.

91 See, for example, Anders Ekenberg, "Teologiska tankar blir musik: Olivier Messiaen" [Theological thoughts become music: Olivier Messiaen], in *Årsbok 1990* (Uppsala: Kungl. Vetenskaps-societeten i Uppsala, 1990), 47–52, and Ekenberg, "En musik som rör vid alla ting: Olivier Messiaen, människans öppenhet och kyrkans urgamla sång" [A music that touches all things: Olivier Messiaen, human openness and the church's ancient song], *Kyrkomusikernas tidning* 74.9 (2008): 4–6.

3.10 *Liturgical Sources—A Resource for Ecumenism*

Studies of early Christian liturgy, and of its reception, have stimulated renewal of the church and interest in church unity, and have thereby given impetus to ecumenical dialogue. Ekenberg's numerous translations and editions of liturgical sources have been significant in this renaissance in Sweden.

In 1976, the Christian Council of Sweden (*Sveriges kristna råd*) spearheaded a work aimed at common formulations of the ecumenical creeds and other texts used in the liturgy. The Bible Commission's translation of the Lord's Prayer (see section 3.5), published in 1981, had been met with considerable objection and debate. In response to that debate, the Swedish Christian Council gave Ekenberg the task of presenting translations of the Lord's Prayer and of the church's ecumenical creeds, as well as motivating rationale for the translations given. This substantial body of texts has fostered a better theological literacy in the churches, which has, in turn, generated continued discussion of meaning, translation, and appropriation.[92]

The role of patristics in crossing ecclesial borders was exemplified when, recognising the need for a revised text among Swedish-speaking[93] Orthodox Christians in Finland, the Orthodox Church of Finland decided to translate into Swedish the Divine Liturgy of John Chrysostom (d. 407 CE). Orthodox believers in Sweden also contributed to the translation. Two Roman Catholic theologians—Anders Ekenberg and Piltz, O.P. (the latter, professor of Latin at Lund University; see his paper in Part 4)—were invited to take part in finalization of the texts, which were edited by the Orthodox priest and theologian Mikael Sundkvist.[94]

Another of Ekenberg's collaborative projects was with the Liturgical Committee of the Catholic Diocese of Stockholm (see section 3.7), instituted in the 1970s to implement the decisions on liturgical matters made during and after the Second Vatican Council and thus tasked with translating the order of the Mass, the Liturgy of the Hours, and the rites of the sacraments. Almost directly after his reception into the Catholic Church, Ekenberg took a position on the

92 Anders Ekenberg, ed. and trans., *Låt oss be och bekänna: Ekumenisk översättning av trosbekännelserna och Herrens bön med kommentar* [Let us pray and confess: An ecumenical translation of the creeds and the Lord's Prayer with commentary] (Örebro: Libris, 1996).

93 In Finland, Swedish is an officially recognised language in addition to the majority language, Finnish.

94 Ekenberg also participated in the finalization of the texts for the evening and morning prayers, the Liturgy of St. Basil, and the liturgy of the pre-sanctified gifts. See Mikael Sundkvist, "En 165-årig historia: Svenska översättningar av ortodoxa liturgiska texter" [A 165-year history: Swedish translations of Orthodox liturgical texts], *Ortodoksia* 57 (2017): 204–216.

committee and became editor-in-chief for the Swedish-language edition of the first missal that had been approved by Rome in 1969.[95] Ekenberg was responsible for the recitation melodies, and Piltz for the orations.[96] The importance of music in the post-Vatican II Mass can be seen in the instruction from the Congregation for Sacred Rites and Ceremonies, entitled *Musicam sacram* (1967), which Ekenberg translated and published with an introduction and suggestions for use in a Swedish context.[97]

A final example of liturgical sources as a resource for ecumenism is Ekenberg's work on editions of the Daily Office, or "Liturgy of the Hours" (Swedish: *Tidegärden*).[98] Towards the end of the twentieth century, several provisional Swedish editions of parts of the Office were in use. The Roman Catholic edition, published in 1990, contained the entire Office except for the readings, and was mainly the result of cooperation between Ekenberg and Piltz.[99] In a two-volume supplement to that edition (1993), Ekenberg provided music for parts of the Daily Office.[100] The Liturgy of the Hours also has a rather long

95 Katolska liturgiska nämnden [The Catholic liturgical committee], *Missale: Enligt påven Paulus VI:s apostoliska konstitution "Missale Romanum" av den 3 april 1969* [Missal: According to Pope Paul VI's apostolic constitution "Missale Romanum" of 3 April 1969] (Stockholm: Katolska liturgiska nämnden, Katolska biskopsämbetet, 1987).

96 See Anders Piltz, O.P., "Mässan i ny språkdräkt" [The Mass in new linguistic dress], *Signum* 36.5 (2010): 3–5, and Piltz, "Romersk liturgi i ny svensk dräkt" [Roman liturgy in new Swedish dress], *Signum* 39.1 (2013): 5–12.

97 Anders Ekenberg, ed. and trans., *Musiken i liturgin: Ritkongregationens instruktion* Musicam sacram *samt utdrag ur Allmän presentation av det romerska missalet. Inledning och förslag till tillämpning* [Music in the liturgy: The Congregation for Sacred Rites and Ceremonies's instruction *Musicam sacram* and excerpts from the *General presentation of the Roman missal*. Introduction and suggestions for use], Katolsk dokumentation 13 (Stockholm: Katolska bokförlaget, 1980).

98 In Swedish, *Tidegärden* (*tid* = "times"; *gärd* = "tribute") translates the medieval Latin *liturgia horarum* ("the Liturgy of the Hours"). Thus, the longer title, *Tidegärden: Kyrkans dagliga bön* [The Liturgy of the Hours: The church's daily prayer], is a sort of explanation of the medieval expression.

99 Katolska liturgiska nämnden [The Catholic liturgical committee], *Kyrkans dagliga bön: Tidegärden enligt påven Paulus VI:s apostoliska konstitution "Laudis canticum" av den 1 november 1970* [The church's daily prayer: The Divine Office according to Pope Paul VI's apostolic constitution "Laudis canticum" of 1 November 1970] (Stockholm: Katolska liturgiska nämnden, Katolska biskopsämbetet: 1990). Of course, all persons involved in the translations, editorial work, and music of this formidable undertaking made significant, and mostly anonymous, contributions.

100 Anders Ekenberg, *Melodier till kyrkans dagliga bön* [Melodies for the Liturgy of the Hours], Part 1: *Tidegärdens ständigt återkommande melodier samt kommentar och anvisningar* [The regularly recurring melodies of the Divine Office, with commentary and instructions], Part 2: *Psalterium vecka I–IV* [The Psalter for weeks I–IV] (Stockholm: Katolska litur-

tradition in the Church of Sweden.[101] In 1995, Ekenberg contributed a selection of music for an ecumenical edition of the Divine Office.[102] In 2021, a new, complete Swedish edition, encompassing 7,600 pages in four volumes, was published. Although Ekenberg's name is not listed on the title page, he laboured, behind the scenes, as the edition's main editor.[103] These editions of the Daily Office illustrate Ekenberg's ongoing work with text and tune—his exegetical acumen and musical sensitivity—that characterizes so many of his initiatives in service to the church and the academy.

The editors and authors of this Festschrift offer these papers in grateful tribute to Anders Ekenberg's work in biblical studies, patristics, musicology, and liturgical studies. To that end, the question posed in his doctoral thesis, *Cur cantatur?*, is taken up anew in the contributions to *Why We Sing*.

Bibliography

1968 års kyrkohandbokskommitté [The 1968 liturgical commission]. *Svenska kyrkans gudstjänst* [Worship in the Church of Sweden]. Volume 4: *Evangelieboken* [Lectionary readings]. SOU 1979:12. Stockholm: Liber, 1979.

1968 års kyrkohandbokskommitté [The 1968 liturgical commission]. *Svenska kyrkans gudstjänst: Huvudgundstjänster och övriga gudstjänster* [Worship in the Church of Sweden: The Mass and other services]. Volume 1: *Gudstjänstordning m.m.* [Order of worship etc.] SOU 1974:66. Stockholm: Liber, 1974.

giska nämnden, 1993); Ragnar Holte, Review of *Melodier till kyrkans dagliga bön*, Parts 1–2, in *Gregorianik*, Svenskt gudstjänstliv 70, Tro & tanke 1995:4, ed. Folke Bohlin et al. (Uppsala: Svenska kyrkans forskningsråd, 1995), 139–141.

101 See Anders Piltz, O.P., "Den signade dag: Tidegärden i historia och nutid" [The blessed day: The Divine Office in history and today], *Svenskt gudstjänstliv* 71 (1996): 98–129, 116–118, and Piltz, "Timmarnas liturgi—gåvan av tid" [The Liturgy of the Hours—the gift of time], *Signum* 48.8 (2021): 16–21.

102 Anders Ekenberg, ed., *Musik till tidegärden: Kyrkans dagliga bön. Lördagens och söndagens vesper, veckans completorier samt vesper och completorium för kyrkoåret* [Music for the Liturgy of the Hours: The church's daily prayer. Saturday and Sunday evening prayers, the evening prayers of the week, along with evening and night prayers for the liturgical year] (Lund: Arcus, 1995). The ecumenical edition of the Divine Office includes recommendations from church leaders, including Gunnar Weman (the archbishop of the Church of Sweden) and Hubertus Brandenburg (the then Roman Catholic bishop of Stockholm).

103 A collective editorial body, Katolska liturgiska nämnden [The Catholic liturgical committee], is listed for the edition of the Divine Office published as *Timmarnas liturgi* [The Liturgy of the Hours], Vols. 1–4 (Stockholm: Veritas, 2021).

1968 års kyrkohandbokskommitté [The 1968 liturgical commission]. *Svenska kyrkans gudstjänst: Huvudgundstjänster och övriga gudstjänster* [Worship in the Church of Sweden: The Mass and other services]. Bilaga 1: *Gudstjänst i dag: Liturgiska utvecklingslinjer* [Worship today: liturgical trends and developments]. SOU 1974:67. Stockholm: Liber, 1974.

1969 års psalmkommitté [1969 hymn committee]. *Den svenska psalmboken: Slutbetänkande* [The Swedish hymnal: Final report]. Volume 2: *Historik, principer, motiveringar* [History, principles, explanations]. SOU 1985:17. Stockholm: Liber, 1985.

Alfeyev, Hilarion. "The Relevance of Patristic Heritage in Today's World." *Revista Catalana de Teología* 36.1 (2011): 21–32.

Andrén, Åke. "Den liturgiska utvecklingen i Svenska kyrkan under senare decennier" [The liturgical development in the Church of Sweden in recent decades]. Pages 45–74 in *Svenska kyrkans gudstjänst: Huvudgudstjänster och övriga gudstjänster* [Worship in the Church of Sweden: The Mass and other services]. Bilaga 1: *Gudstjänst i dag: Liturgiska utvecklingslinjer* [Worship today: Liturgical trends and developments]. SOU 1974:67. Stockholm: Liber, 1974.

Aulén, Gustaf. *Jesus i nutida historisk forskning* [Jesus in contemporary historical research]. Stockholm: Verbum, 1973.

Aulén, Gustaf. "Jesusforskarna: Deras metoder och deras resultat" [Scholars who study Jesus: Their methods and their results]. *Svensk pastoraltidskrift* 16 (1975): 395–397.

Berger, Theresa. "@ Worship Goes Viral: Catholic Liturgy Online in a COVID-19 World." Pages 14–19 in *Digital Ecclesiology: A Global Conversation*. Edited by Heidi A. Campbell. Digital Religion Publications. College Station: Texas A & M University, 2020.

Berglund, Carl Johan. *Origen's References to Heracleon: A Quotation-Analytical Study of the Earliest Known Commentary on the Gospel of John*. WUNT 450. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020.

Berglund, Carl Johan and Daniel Gustafsson, eds. *Ad fontes: Festskrift till Olof Andrén på 100-årsdagen* [*Ad fontes*: Festschrift for Olof Andrén on his 100th birthday]. Skellefteå: Artos, 2015.

Beskow, Per. "Patristikens århundrade" [The century of patristics]. *Signum* 38.4 (2012): 14–18.

Beskow, Per. *Rex gloriae: The Kingship of Christ in the Early Church*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1962.

Bexell, Oloph. "Alf Härdelin 23 februari 1927–4 augusti 2014." *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift* 115 (2015): 11–16.

Bexell, Oloph. "Det svenska gudstjänstlivet under 1900-talet" [Swedish liturgical life during the 20th century]. *Växjö stifts hembygdskalender* 100 (2009/2010): 75–77.

Bexell, Oloph. *Teologiska fakulteten vid Uppsala universitet 1916–2000: Historiska studier* [The faculty of theology at Uppsala University 1916–2000: Historical studies]. Skrifter rörande Uppsala universitet, C: Organisation och historia 120. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2021.

Bohlin, Folke et al., eds. *Gregorianik*. Svenskt gudstjänstliv 70. Tro & tanke 1995:4. Uppsala: Svenska kyrkans forskningsråd, 1995.

Bracht, Katharina. *Hippolyts Schrift* In Danielem: *Kommunikative Strategien eines frühchristlichen Kommentars*. STAC 85. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014.

Bremmer, Jan N. "Notes on Arthur Darby Nock's Ideas of Ancient Religion and the Mysteries in His *Conversion*." Pages 11–38 in *Celebrating Arthur Darby Nock: Choice, Change, and Conversion*. Edited by Robert Matthew Calhoun, James A. Kelhoffer, and Clare K. Rothschild. WUNT 472. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021.

Brodd, Sven-Erik. "Approches de l'Église de Suède: Libérale et catholique, avec des influences luthériennes." *Istina* 62 (2017): 139–164.

Brodd, Sven-Erik. "Ecclesiology and Church Music: Towards a Possible Relationship." *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church* 6 (2006): 126–143.

Brodd, Sven-Erik. "Electronic Church and Web Community: Some Marginal Notes to an Ecclesiological Problem." Pages 243–256 in *Kirkko—Taide—Viestintä: Markku Heikkilän juhlakirja*. Edited by Sari Dhima. Suomen Kirkkohistoriallisen Seuran Toimituksia 197. Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 2005.

Brodd, Sven-Erik. "Liturgy Crossing Frontiers: Interplay and Confrontation of Ecclesiological Patterns in Liturgical Change during the Twentieth Century." Pages 24–53 in *The Meaning of Christian Liturgy*. Edited by Oloph Bexell. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012.

Carveley, Kenneth C. "Ecclesiological Docetism in Early and Medieval Dissent and Heresy in Eastern and Western Christianity." PhD diss., University of Leeds, 1990.

Congar, Yves M.-J. "L''Ecclesia' ou communauté chrétienne, sujet intégral de l'action liturgique." Pages 242–282 in *La liturgie après Vatican II: Bilans, études, prospective*. Edited by Yves M.-J. Congar and Jean-Pierre Jossua. Unam sanctam 66. Paris: Cerf, 1967.

Dillmar, Anders. *Harald Göransson och psalmsångens förnyelse: Kyrkomusikens förändring i Sverige under 1900-talets andra hälft* [Harald Göransson and the renewal of the Psalter song: The transformation of sacred music in Sweden during the second half of the twentieth century]. Skellefteå: Artos, 2015.

Drane, John. *The McDonaldization of the Church: Consumer Culture and the Church's Future*. London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 2000.

Ekenberg, Anders. "2000 år med Paulus i kristen tradition" [2000 years with Paul in Christian tradition]. Pages 137–158 in *2000 år med Paulus*. Edited by Anders Ekenberg, Jonas Holmstrand, and Mikael Winninge. Uppsala: Bibelakademiförlaget, 2013.

Ekenberg, Anders. "Bedjen oavlåtligen" [Pray without ceasing]. Pages 86–99 in *Bedjen oavlåtligen: Föredrag hållna vid Kyrklig förnyelses kyrkodagar i Uppsala den 1–4 september 1967*. Edited by Eric Segelberg. Kyrklig förnyelses årsbok. Saltsjöbaden: Kyrkligt forum, 1968.

Ekenberg, Anders. “En bedräglig Markusöversättning” [A deceptive translation of Mark’s Gospel]. Review of George M. Lamsa, *Från Jesu eget språk: Markusevangeliet från den gamla arameiska Peshittabibeln* [From Jesus’s own language: The Gospel of Mark from the Old Aramaic Peshitta Bible] (Vällingby: Harriers, 1975). In *Svensk pastoraltidskrift* 17 (1975): 940–941.

Ekenberg, Anders. “Bibelöversättning och liturgiskt bibelbruk: Några anteckningar” [Bible translation and liturgical use of the Bible: Some observations]. *Svenskt gudstjänstliv* 56–57 (1981–1982): 11–21.

Ekenberg, Anders. “Bibeltexter i sjungen form” [Biblical texts in the form of songs]. Pages 93–104 in *Ad fontes: Festskrift till Olof Andrén på 100-årsdagen*. Edited by Carl Johan Berglund and Daniel Gustafsson. Skellefteå: Artos, 2015.

Ekenberg, Anders. *Boken om Ansgar, med kommentarer av Anders Ekenberg* [The book about Ansgar, with commentary by Anders Ekenberg]. Edited by Carl Fredrik Hallencreutz and Tore Hållander. Translations by Eva Odelman. Samfundet Pro fide et christianismo 10. Stockholm: Proprius, 1986.

Ekenberg, Anders. *Cur cantatur? Die Funktionen des liturgischen Gesanges nach den Autoren der Karolingerzeit*. Bibliotheca theologiae practicae 41. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1987.

Ekenberg, Anders. “The Eucharist in Early Church Orders.” Pages 957–992 in vol. 2 of *The Eucharist—Its Origins and Contexts*. Edited by David Hellholm and Dieter Sänger. WUNT 376. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017.

Ekenberg, Anders. “Evidence for Jewish Believers in ‘Church Orders’ and Liturgical Texts.” Pages 640–658 in *Jewish Believers in Jesus: The Early Centuries*. Edited by Oskar Skarsaune and Reidar Hvalvik. Peabody: Hendrickson, 2007.

Ekenberg, Anders. “The Fourth Gospel and the History of Jesus.” *CV* 44 (2002): 182–191.

Ekenberg, Anders. “Germanus oder Pseudo-Germanus? Pseudoproblem um eine Verfasserschaft.” *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 35.1–36.2 (1993–1994): 135–139.

Ekenberg, Anders. “Gregorianik och kyrkopolitik: Gregoriansk förnyelse och kyrklig centralism” [Gregorian music and ecclesial politics: Gregorian renewal and ecclesial centralism]. *Signum* 45.4 (2019): 30–33.

Ekenberg, Anders. “Den gregorianska sången” [Gregorian chant]. Pages 9–32 in *Gregorianik*. Svenskt gudstjänstliv 70. Tro & tanke 1995:4. Edited by Folke Bohlin et al. Uppsala: Svenska kyrkans forskningsråd, 1995.

Ekenberg, Anders. *Den gregorianska sången: Teori, historia, praxis* [Gregorian chant: Theory, history, praxis]. SKS musikböcker 13. Stockholm: Gehrmans musikförlag, 1998.

Ekenberg, Anders. “Han kom till sitt eget” [He came unto his own]. Pages 21–38 in *Jordens salt: Kyrklig förnyelses årsbok 1975*. Edited by Peter Bexell and Tommy Hägg. Uppsala: Pro veritate, 1976.

Ekenberg, Anders. "Initiation in the Apostolic Tradition." Pages 1011–1050 in vol. 2 of *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*. Edited by David Hellholm et al. BZNW 176. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011.

Ekenberg, Anders. "Judisk och kristen påsk: Ett gåtfullt samband" [Passover and Easter: An enigmatic relationship]. *SEÅ* 63 (1998): 261–272.

Ekenberg, Anders. *Det klingande sakramentet: Om musiken i gudstjänsten* [The sonorous sacrament: On music in worship]. Älvsjö: Verbum, 1984.

Ekenberg, Anders. "Kommunionen och församlingssången" [Communion and congregational singing]. *Tidskrift för kyrkliga förnyelsesträvanden* 22 (1965): 60–76.

Ekenberg, Anders. "Kyrkoårets framväxt: Aktuella perspektiv och frågor" [The evolution of the liturgical year: Current perspectives and questions]. *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift* 115 (2015): 23–33.

Ekenberg, Anders. *Låt oss be och bekänna: Ekumenisk översättning av trosbekännelserna och Herrens bön med kommentar* [Let us pray and confess: An ecumenical translation of the creeds and the Lord's Prayer with commentary]. Örebro: Libris, 1996.

Ekenberg, Anders. *Melodier till kyrkans dagliga bön* [Melodies for the Liturgy of the Hours]. Part 1: *Tidegärdens ständigt återkommande melodier samt kommentar och anvisningar* [The regularly recurring melodies of the Divine Office, with commentary and instructions]. Part 2: *Psalterium vecka I–IV* [The Psalter for weeks I–IV]. Stockholm: Katolska liturgiska nämnden, 1993.

Ekenberg, Anders. "Mer än bokstavlig tolkning" [More than literal interpretation]. Pages 61–100 in *Skrift och tradition: Katolska perspektiv på bibeltolkning och bibelbruk* [Scripture and tradition: Catholic perspectives on the interpretation and use of the Bible]. Edited by Tord Fornberg. Stockholm: Veritas, 2017.

Ekenberg, Anders. "Messiaen's Organ Works." Pages 12–74 in the Liner notes to Olivier Messiaen, *Messiaen—The Complete Organ Music*. Volumes 1–7. Hans-Ola Ericsson, organist. Djursholm: BIS Records, 2009. German version: "Die Orgelwerke Messiaens," pages 77–145. French version: "Les œuvres pour orgue de Messiaen," pages 149–214. Online (with permission of BIS Records): https://www.eclassical.com/shop/17115/art57/4931657-69f8a6-BIS-1770-72_booklet.pdf.

Ekenberg, Anders. "Musik för 70-talets församling" [Music for the 1970s congregation]. *Svenskt gudstjänstliv* 44–45 (1969–1970): 3–27.

Ekenberg, Anders. "Musik och teologi under 1800-talet" [Music and theology during the 1800s]. Pages 42–48 in *The Interpretation of Romantic and Late-Romantic Music: Papers Read at the International Organ Symposium in Stockholm 3–12 September 1998*. Edited by Erik Kjellberg et al. Musikvetenskapliga serien 51. Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2002.

Ekenberg, Anders. "En musik som rör vid alla ting: Olivier Messiaen, människans öppenhet och kyrkans urgamla sång" [A music that touches all things: Olivier Messiaen, the human person's openness and the church's ancient song]. *Kyrkomusikernas tidning* 74.9 (2008): 4–6.

Ekenberg, Anders. "Den nya katolska gudstjänstboken" [The new Catholic hymnal]. *Svenskt gudstjänstliv* 81 (2006): 67–83.

Ekenberg, Anders. "Ord och ton i gregoriansk sång" [Word and tone in Gregorian song]. *Kyrkomusikernas tidning* 67.5 (2001): 14–15, in response to Gudrun Zethelius, Review of Anders Ekenberg, *Den gregorianska sången* (Stockholm: Gehrmans musikförlag, 1998), in *Kyrkomusikernas tidning* 66.9 (2000): 16–20. Rejoinder by G. Zethelius in *Kyrkomusikernas tidning* 67.11 (2001): 10–11.

Ekenberg, Anders. "Ordet och tonerna: Några gregorianska stickprov" [The word and the tones: Some Gregorian samples]. Pages 55–67 in *Bibeltolkning och bibelbruk i västerlandets kulturella historia*. Edited by Tryggve Kronholm and Anders Piltz. Kungl. Vitterhets historie och antikvitets akademien, konferenser 45. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1999.

Ekenberg, Anders. "Psaltarsång i församlingens gudstjänst" [The singing of the Psalter in congregational worship]. *Sankt Ansgar: Meddelanden från Sankt Ansgars stiftelse*. Uppsala: Sankt Ansgars stiftelse, 2010, 1–5; online: https://issuu.com/martingarlov/docs/meddelanden2010.

Ekenberg, Anders. Review of Per Ström, "*Paradisi recuperatio*: Den romersk-germanska kyrkoinvigningens form och innebörd, med en textutgåva till PRG XL baserad på nya handskriftsstudier" [*Paradisi recuperatio*: The form and significance of the Roman-Germanic Rite of Church Dedication, with an edition of PRG XL based on new studies of manuscripts] (PhD diss., Uppsala University, 1997). In *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift* 98 (1998): 151–152.

Ekenberg, Anders. "Teologiska tankar blir musik: Olivier Messiaen" [Theological thoughts become music: Olivier Messiaen]. Pages 47–52 in *Årsbok 1990*. Uppsala: Kungl. Vetenskaps-societeten i Uppsala, 1990.

Ekenberg, Anders. "Två läsningar av Joh 20:1–29" [Two readings of John 20:1–29]. Unpublished licentiate thesis, Faculty of Theology, Uppsala University, 1984.

Ekenberg, Anders. " 'Utsätt oss inte för prövning' " ["Lead us not into temptation"]. *SEÅ* 62 (1997): 111–122.

Ekenberg, Anders. "Vad vet forskarna om Jesus?" [What do scholars know about Jesus?]. Review of Gustaf Aulén, *Jesus i nutida historisk forskning* [Jesus in current historical research] (Stockholm: Verbum, 1973). In *Svensk pastoraltidskrift* 16 (1975): 246–248. Response by G. Aulén, "Jesusforskarna: Deras metoder och deras resultat" [Scholars who study Jesus: Their methods and their results]. *Svensk pastoraltidskrift* 16 (1975): 395–397. Anders Ekenberg, Final Response to Aulén (Untitled). *Svensk pastoraltidskrift* 16 (1975): 484–485.

Ekenberg, Anders. *Vår fader eller fader vår: Herrens bön i Bibel och gudstjänst* [Our Father or Father Our: The Lord's Prayer in the Bible and worship]. Svenska bibelsällskapets skriftserie 1. Uppsala: Svenska bibelsällskapet, 2007.

Ekenberg, Anders. "'Det var om honom han talade': Jes 53, Jes 6 och Joh 12" ["It was about him (that) he spoke": Isa 53, Isa 6 and John 12]. *SEÅ* 59 (1994): 119–126.

Ekenberg, Anders, with Örjan Lundqvist. "Den liturgiska försöksverksamheten" [The liturgical experiment]. *Svensk pastoraltidskrift* 11 (1969): 313–316, 336–338.

Ekenberg, Anders, ed. *Ge mig svar! Psaltarpsalmer för högmässan och andra sånger för sångare/kör och församling* [Give me a response! Psalter psalms for Mass and other songs for singers/choir and congregation]. Två parallella utgåvor i ringpärmar: Församlingsupplaga och Musikupplaga. Uppsala, 1971.

Ekenberg, Anders, ed. *Musik till tidegärden: Kyrkans dagliga bön. Lördagens och söndagens vesper, veckans completorier samt vesper och completorium för kyrkoåret* [Music for the Liturgy of the Hours: The church's daily prayer. Saturday and Sunday evening prayers, the evening prayers of the week, along with evening and night prayers for the liturgical year]. Lund: Arcus, 1995.

Ekenberg, Anders, ed. *Nya Testamentet på grekiska och svenska: The Greek New Testament, fjärde reviderade upplagan samt Bibel 2000* [The New Testament in Greek and Swedish: *The Greek New Testament*, 4th revised edition and Bibel 2000]. Örebro: Libris, 2011.

Ekenberg, Anders, ed. *Tidegärden: Kyrkans dagliga bön. Psaltaren och andra bibliska texter samt hymner och böner ur kyrkans tradition för samkristet bruk* [The Liturgy of the Hours: The church's daily prayer. The Psalter and other biblical texts with hymns and prayers from the church's tradition for ecumenical use]. Lund: Arcus, 1995.

Ekenberg, Anders and Christer Pahlmblad, eds. *Missale: Mässa och långfredagsgudstjänst enligt 1976 års ordning. Förslag till ordning för påskvaka samt lektionarium för sön- och helgdagar* [Missal: Mass and Good Friday service according to the 1976 Order of Worship. Suggested order for Easter vigil and lectionary for Sundays and feast days]. Borensberg: Noteria, 1977.

Ekenberg, Anders, Jonas Holmstrand, and Mikael Winninge, eds. *2000 år med Paulus* [2000 years with Paul]. Uppsala: Bibelakademiförlaget, 2013.

Ekenberg, Anders, trans. *Att tolka Bibeln idag: Påvliga bibelkommissionens dokument om bibeltolkningen i kyrkan* (*1993*). *Översättning och inledning* [To interpret the Bible today: The Pontifical Biblical Commission's document on *The interpretation of the Bible in the church* (1993). Translation and introduction]. Stockholm: Katolska bokförlaget, 1995; 2nd Revised Edition, 2020.

Ekenberg, Anders, trans. *Fjorton sånger från Taizé för röster och instrument* [Fourteen songs from Taizé for voices and instruments]. By Jacques Berthier. Slite: Wessmans musikförlag, 1983. French original: 1978.

Ekenberg, Anders, ed. and trans. *Hippolytos, Den apostoliska traditionen: Översatt och kommenterad* [Hippolytus, the *Apostolic Tradition*: Translated with commentary]. Kristna klassiker. Uppsala: Katolska bokförlaget, 1994.

Ekenberg, Anders, ed. and trans. *Musiken i liturgin: Ritkongregationens instruktion* Musicam sacram *samt utdrag ur Allmän presentation av det romerska missalet. Inledning och förslag till tillämpning* [Music in the liturgy: The Congregation for Sacred Rites and Ceremonies's instruction *Musicam sacram* and excerpts from the *General presentation of the Roman missal.* Introduction and suggestions for use]. Katolsk dokumentation 13. Stockholm: Katolska bokförlaget, 1980.

Erbacher, Hrabanus. "Das 'Münsterschwarzacher Modell.'" *IAH Bulletin* 23 (1995): 131–138.

Ericsson, Hans-Ola, Anders Ekenberg, and Markus Rupprecht. "Herantasten an das Unsagbare—Zur Orgelmusik Olivier Messiaens." Pages 69–215 in *Orgelschule zur historischen Aufführungspraxis*. Teil 3: *Die Moderne*. Edited by Jon Laukvik. Stuttgart: Carus-Verlag, 2014.

Fagerberg, David W. *Theologia Prima: What Is Liturgical Theology?* Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1992.

Fahlgren, Sune. "Från blandad kör till lovsångsteam: Historiska och teologiska perspektiv på frikyrkliga sånggrupper" [From mixed choir to worship team: Historical and theological perspectives on song ensembles in the Swedish free churches]. *Svenskt gudstjänstliv* 88 (2013): 23–76.

Fornberg, Tord, David Hellholm, James A. Kelhoffer, and Marianne Wifstrand Schiebe. "In Memoriam Lars Hartman (1930–2019)." *SEÅ* 85 (2020): 173–180.

Fornberg, Tord, ed. *Skrift och tradition: Katolska perspektiv på bibeltolkning och bibelbruk* [Scripture and tradition: Catholic perspectives on the interpretation and use of the Bible]. Stockholm: Veritas, 2017.

Fornberg, Tord and David Hellholm, eds. *Texts and Contexts: Biblical Texts in Their Textual and Situational Contexts. Essays in Honor of Lars Hartman*. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1995.

Franklin, Patrick S. *Being Human, Being Church: The Significance of Theological Anthropology for Ecclesiology*. Paternoster Theological Monographs. Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2016.

Gebremedhin, Ezra. *Life-Giving Blessing: An Inquiry into the Eucharistic Doctrine of Cyril of Alexandria*. Studia doctrinae Christianae Upsaliensia 17. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1977.

Gelineau, Joseph. *Demain la liturgie: Essai sur l'évolution des assemblées chrétiennes*. Rites et symboles 5. Paris: Cerf, 1976.

Gerdmar, Anders. *Roots of Theological Anti-Semitism: German Biblical Interpretation and the Jews, from Herder and Semler to Kittel and Bultmann*. Studies in Jewish History and Culture 20. Leiden: Brill, 2009.

Härdelin, Alf. *The Tractarian Understanding of the Eucharist*. Studia historico-ecclesiastica Upsaliensia 8. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1965.

Hartog, Pieter B. *Pesher and Hypomnema: A Comparison of Two Commentary Collections from the Hellenistic-Roman Period*. STDJ 121. Leiden: Brill, 2017.

Hellholm, David and Dieter Sänger, eds. *The Eucharist—Its Origins and Contexts*. Volumes 1–3. WUNT 376. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017.

Hjälm, Michael. "Liberation of the Ecclesia: The Unfinished Project of Liturgical Theology." PhD diss., Uppsala University, 2011.

Holte, Ragnar. "Klingande sakrament: Augustinska och aktuella teologiska perspektiv på musik" [Sonorous sacraments: Augustinian and contemporary theological perspectives on music]. *Svenskt gudstjänstliv* 76 (2001): 11–26.

Holte, Ragnar. "Musiken till Den svenska tidegärden" [Music for the Swedish Daily Office]. Pages 77–108 in *Gregorianik*. Svenskt gudstjänstliv 70. Tro & tanke 1995:4. Edited by Folke Bohlin et al. Uppsala: Svenska kyrkans forskningsråd, 1995.

Holte, Ragnar. Review of Anders Ekenberg, *Melodier till kyrkans dagliga bön* (Stockholm: Katolska liturgiska nämnden, 1993). Pages 139–141 in *Gregorianik*. Svenskt gudstjänstliv 70. Tro & tanke 1995:4. Edited by Folke Bohlin et al. Uppsala: Svenska kyrkans forskningsråd, 1995.

Joppich, Godehard. *Antiphonale zum Stundengebet*. Freiburg: Herder, 1979.

Joppich, Godehard. "Die Bivirga auf der Endsilbe eines Wortes: Ein Beitrag zur Frage des Wort-Ton-Verhältnisses im gregorianischen Choral." Pages 443–457 in *Ut mens concordet voci*. Edited by Johannes B. Göschl. Festschrift Eugène Cardine. Sankt Ottilien: EOS-Verlag, 1980.

Joppich, Godehard. "Vom Schriftwort zum Klangwort." *IAH Bulletin* 23 (1995): 89–123.

Joppich, Godehard, arr. *Deus, deus meus: Gregorianischer Choral*. Zürich: Novalis, 1986.

Joppich, Godehard, arr. *Gregorian Christmas*. Berlin: Deutsche Grammophon, 2008.

Joppich, Godehard, arr. *Gregorianischer Choral*. Hamburg: Archiv Produktion, 1983.

Joppich, Godehard et al., eds. *Preisungen: Psalmen mit Antwortrufen*. 3rd edition. Münsterschwarzach: Vier-Türme, 2005.

Joubert, Stephanus J. "Embracing an Embodied Theology in the Time of Corona: Mimetic Synchronisation with the Theological Rhythms and First Responder Stance of the Apostle Paul during the Time of Famine." *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 76.4 (2020): 264–271.

Katolska liturgiska nämnden [The Catholic liturgical committee]. *Kyrkans dagliga bön: Tidegärden enligt påven Paulus VI:s apostoliska konstitution "Laudis canticum" av den 1 november 1970* [The church's daily prayer: The Divine Office according to Pope Paul VI's apostolic constitution "Laudis canticum" of 1 November 1970]. Stockholm: Katolska liturgiska nämnden, Katolska biskopsämbetet: 1990.

Katolska liturgiska nämnden [The Catholic liturgical committee]. *Missale: Enligt påven Paulus VI:s apostoliska konstitution "Missale Romanum" av den 3 april 1969* [Missal: According to Pope Paul VI's apostolic constitution "Missale Romanum" of 3 April 1969]. Stockholm: Katolska liturgiska nämnden, Katolska biskopsämbetet, 1987.

Katolska liturgiska nämnden [The Catholic liturgical committee]. *Timmarnas liturgi* [The Liturgy of the Hours]. Vols. 1–4. Stockholm: Veritas, 2021.

Linton, Olof. *Das Problem der Urkirche in der neueren Forschung: Eine kritische Darstellung*. Uppsala universitets årsskrift, Teologi 2. Uppsala: Lundequistska bokh., 1932.

Martens, Peter W. *Origen and Scripture: The Contours of the Exegetical Life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Maryam, Aläqa Tayyä Gäbrä. *Yä'Ityop'yā həzb tārik: History of the People of Ethiopia*. Translated by Grover Hudson and Tekeste Negash. Uppsala Multiethnic Papers 9. Uppsala: Centre for Multiethnic Research (Centrum för multietnisk forskning), 1987.

Messiaen, Olivier. *Messiaen—The Complete Organ Music*. Volume 1 (BIS-409), Volume 2 (BIS-410), Volume 3 (BIS-441), Volume 4 (BIS-442), Volume 5 (BIS-464), Volumes 6–7 (BIS-491). Hans-Ola Ericsson, organist. Djursholm: BIS Records, 1988–1992. Released under the same title as a seven-CD set in 2009.

Minnis, Alastair J. "*Quadruplex Sensus, Multiplex Modus*: Scriptural Sense and Mode in Medieval Scholastic Exegesis." Pages 231–256 in *Interpretation and Allegory: Antiquity to the Modern Period*. Edited by Jon Whitman. Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 101. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

Morrill, Bruce T. *Anamnesis as Dangerous Memory: Political and Liturgical Theology in Dialogue*. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2000.

Nagler, Norbert. *Frühkatholizismus: Zur Methodologie einer kritischen Debatte*. Regensburger Studien zur Theologie. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1994.

Piltz, O.P., Anders. "Mässan i ny språkdräkt" [The Mass in new linguistic dress]. *Signum* 36.5 (2010): 3–5.

Piltz, O.P., Anders. "Romersk liturgi i ny svensk dräkt" [Roman liturgy in new Swedish dress]. *Signum* 39.1 (2013): 5–12.

Piltz, O.P., Anders. "Den signade dag: Tidegärden i historia och nutid" [The blessed day: The Divine Office in history and today]. *Svenskt gudstjänstliv* 71 (1996): 98–129.

Piltz, O.P., Anders. "Timmarnas liturgi—gåvan av tid" [The Liturgy of the Hours—the gift of time]. *Signum* 48.8 (2021): 16–21.

Pleijel, Richard. *Om Bibel 2000 och dess tillkomst: Konsensus och konflikt i översättningsprocessen inom Bibelkommissionens GT-enhet* [The making of Bibel 2000: Consensus and conflict in the translation process within the Old Testament team of the Bible Commission]. Skellefteå: Artos, 2018.

The Pontifical Biblical Commission. *The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church: Presented to Pope John Paul II April 23, 1993*. Online: https://catholic-resources.org/ChurchDocs/PBC_Interp-FullText.htm.

Rur, Bengt and Anders Ekenberg (trans.). *Liturgi i morgon: Om den kristna gemenskapens inre växt* [Liturgy tomorrow: On the inner growth of the Christian assembly]. By Joseph Gelineau. Introduction by Anders Piltz. Stockholm: Katolska bokförlaget, 1978. French original: *Demain la liturgie: Essai sur l'évolution des assemblées chrétiennes*. Rites et symboles 5. Paris: Cerf, 1976.

Sandahl, Dag. *Förnyarna: Mer än en historia om arbetsgemenskapen Kyrklig Förnyelse* [The Renewers: More than a history about the Working Community for the Renewal of the Church (Swedish Church Union)]. Skellefteå: Artos, 2010.

Schlink, Edmund. *Ökumenische Dogmatik*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985.

Schlink, Edmund. "Das wandernde Gottesvolk." *TLZ* 77 (1952): 577–589.

Schweitzer, Albert. *Die Mystik des Apostels Paulus*. Tübingen: Mohr, 1930. English translation: *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle*. Translated by William Montgomery. London: Black, 1931.

Scola, Angelo. *Chi è la Chiesa? Una chiave antropologica e sacramentale per l'ecclesiologia*. Biblioteca di teologia contemporanea 130. Brescia: Queriniana, 2005.

Selander, Sven Åke. Review of *Cecilia: Katolsk gudstjänstbok*, 4th edition (Stockholm: Veritas, 2013). In *Svenskt gudstjänstliv* 88 (2013): 172–177.

Spinks, Bryan. Review of *The Eucharist—Its Origins and Contexts* Edited by D. Hellholm and D. Sänger. WUNT 376. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017). In *JEH* 20.2 (2019): 323–324.

Sundkvist, Mikael. "En 165-årig historia: Svenska översättningar av ortodoxa liturgiska texter" [A 165-year history: Swedish translations of Orthodox liturgical texts]. *Ortodoksia* 57 (2017): 204–216.

Svenska kyrkan, Biskopsmötet [The Church of Sweden's Bishops' Conference]. *Bishop, Priest and Deacon in the Church of Sweden: A Letter from the Bishops concerning the Ministry of the Church*. Revised and translated by Tore Bergman. Uppsala: Bishops' Conference (Biskopsmötet), 1992.

Thunberg, Lars. *Microcosm and Mediator: The Theological Anthropology of Maximus the Confessor*. Acta seminarii neotestamentici Upsaliensis 25. Lund: Ohlsson, 1965.

Wallraff, Martin. "Spätantike Liturgien und ihr normativer Wert in den Liturgiereformen des 20. Jahrhunderts." Pages 39–60 in *Liturgie in kulturellen Kontexten: Messbuchreform als Thema der Liturgiewissenschaft*. Edited by Benedikt Kranemann and Helmut Jan Sobeczko. Colloquia Theologica 11. Trier: Deutsches Liturgisches Institut, 2010.

Ware, Kallistos. *The Orthodox Church*. New edition. Penguin Religion and Mythology. London: Penguin, 1991.

Westermeyer, Paul. *Te Deum: The Church and Music*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998.

Wetter, Gillis P:son. *Das christliche Mysterium*. Volume 1: *Studie zur Geschichte des Abendmahles*. FRLANT n.s. 13. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1921.

Wetter, Gillis P:son. *Das christliche Mysterium*. Volume 2: *Das christliche Opfer: Neue Studien zur Geschichte des Abendmahles*. FRLANT n.s. 17. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1922.

Wetter, Gillis P:son. "La Danse rituelle dans l'Église ancienne." *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses* 8 (1922): 254–275.

Young, Frances M. *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

PART 1

Lyrics:
Liturgy and Language in the New Testament

2

Liturgical Influences on the Text of the New Testament

Tommy Wasserman

1 Introduction: The Roots of Liturgical Reading in Early Christianity

In the earliest phase of Christian gatherings, the Old Testament Scriptures were read aloud in the community (1 Tim 4:13), in particular passages that emphasized fulfilled prophecy (cf. Luke 4:16–20; 24:25–27; Acts 8:26–40).[1] Several scholars have suggested that this public reading in early Christian meetings can be traced back to the Jewish practice of reading from the Scriptures in the Synagogue.[2] Beyond doubt, a regular reading from Torah on the Sabbath was already in place, and, very likely, passages from the Prophets were also read, as is implied by the glimpse Luke gives into Synagogue services in Nazareth (Luke

1 Here, I interpret all the three objects in the phrase πρόσεχε τῇ ἀναγνώσει, τῇ παρακλήσει, τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ in 1 Tim 4:13 as references to communal acts; the first to public reading (most likely from the Old Testament), the second and third to exhortation and teaching, respectively. Jan Heilmann, *Lesen in Antike und frühem Christentum: Kulturgeschichtliche, philologische sowie kognitionswissenschaftliche Perspektiven und deren Bedeutung für die neutestamentliche Exegese*, TANZ 66 (Tübingen: Francke, 2021), 392–394, suggests that ἀναγνώσις here more likely refers to individual reading ("individuell-direkte Lektüre").

2 See Anton Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden der Liturgie* (Freiburg: Herder, 1923), 15–17; Louis Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, 5th ed. (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1925), 48–49; Hans Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl* (Berlin: A. Marcus und E. Weber's Verlag, 1926), 211; Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London: Dacre Press, 1946), 36–37; Joseph A. Jungmann, Missarum Sollemnia: *A Genetic Explanation of the Roman Mass*, 2 vols., 3rd ed. (Vienna: Herder, 1952), 1:25–26; Charles Perrot, "The Reading of the Bible in the Ancient Synagogue," in *The Literature of the Jewish People in the Period of the Second Temple and the Talmud*, vol. 1: *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Martin-Jan Mulder, CRINT 2.1 (Assen: Van Gorgum, 1988), 137–159; Frances Young, "Christian Teaching," in *Cambridge History of Early Christian Literature*, ed. Frances Young, Lewis Ayres, and Andrew Louth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 91–104; Wayne Meeks, "Social and Ecclesial Life of the Earliest Christians," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 1, *Origins to Constantine*, ed. Frances M. Young and Margaret M. Mitchell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 144–174, here 167.

 | DOI:10.1163/9789004522053_002

4:16–20) and in Antioch (Acts 13:14–15).[3] At that time, however, there was not yet a fixed Jewish liturgy but rather a great variety of flexible practices at various places.[4]

Since the 1990s, however, several scholars have instead pointed to the connections between the liturgical meetings around the eucharistic meal in early Christianity and the ritual setting of symposia in Greco-Roman voluntary clubs and associations, gatherings which included a banquet and public reading.[5] However, in a recent study, Jan Heilmann argues, on the basis of relevant Greco-Roman sources referring to reading practices during meals, that "the *symposium* was not the primary social setting for reading longer literary text," but rather the convention was "to read only short portions of literary texts, serving as a stimulus for table talk."[6]

Besides, from a philological standpoint, early Christian festive meals show more continuity with Jewish meals traditions than with Greco-Roman ban-

---

3 For the reading of "Torah" in the synagogue during the first century CE, see Philo, *Prob.* 81–82; *Somn.* 2.127; *Hyp.* in Euseb., *Praep. ev.* 8.7.12–13; Josephus, *Ap.* 2.175 and *Ant.* 16.44; and Acts 15:21. The Theodotus inscription (Jerusalem, prior to 70 CE) confirms that Theodotos built the assembly hall (συναγωγή) "for the reading of the Law and for the teaching of the commandments," trans. John Kloppenborg, "Dating Theodotos (CIJ II 1404)," *JJS* 51 (2000): 243–280, here 244. Kloppenborg confirms the dating of the inscription prior to 70 CE. For further evidence, see Tibor Grüll, "Reading of the Torah in the First Century Synagogue–New Archaeological Proofs," in *Schöner Alfréd hetven éves: Essays in Honor of Alfred Schöner*, ed. Oláh János and Zima András (Budapest: Gabbiano Print, 2018): 139–152.

4 Gerard Rouwhorst, "The Liturgical Reading of the Bible in Early Eastern Christianity: The Protohistory of the Byzantine Lectionary," in A Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts in Their Liturgical Context: Challenges and Perspectives; Collected Papers Resulting from an Expert Meeting of the Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscript Programme Held at the PThU in Kampen, the Netherlands, on 6th–7th November 2009, ed. K. Spronk, G. Rouwhorst, and S. Royé (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 155–172, here 158; Paul F. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship* (London: SPCK, 2002).

5 Matthias Klinghardt, *Gemeinschaftsmahl und Mahlgemeinschaft: Soziologie und Liturgie frühchristlicher Mahlfeiern* (Tübingen: Francke, 1996); Dennis Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist: The Banquet in the Early Christian World* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003); Henk J. de Jonge, "The Early History of the Lord's Supper," in *Religious Identity and the Invention of Tradition*, ed. J.W. van Henten and A. Houtepen (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2001), 209–237; Henk J. de Jonge, *Zondag en sabbat: Over het ontstaan van de christelijke zondag* (Leiden: Universiteit Leiden, 2006); Henk J. de Jonge, *Avondmaal en symposium: Oorsprong en eerste ontwikkeling van de vroegchristelijke samenkomst* (Leiden: University of Leiden, 2007); Valeriy A. Alikin, *The Earliest History of the Christian Gathering: Origin, Development and Content of the Christian Gathering in the First to Third Centuries*, VCSup 102 (Leiden: Brill, 2010). For the practice of reading at the Greco-Roman banquet, see Alikin, *Christian Gathering*, 147–150.

6 Jan Heilmann, "Ancient Literary Culture and Meals in the Greco-Roman World: The Role of Reading during Ancient Symposia and Its Relevance for the New Testament," *JTS* 73.1 (2022): 104–125. I thank Jan Heilmann for this reference.

quets although these two categories certainly overlap.[7] Moreover, the continuity between Greek Jewish and Christian scribal and reading practices is still an underestimated factor in the discussion about the origin of early Christian liturgy, in spite of the fact that the regular reading of Scripture, first introduced in Judaism and then in Christianity, was a unique innovation without known counterpart in other traditions in antiquity.[8] Jews and Christians shared much of the same literature (LXX/Old Greek).[9] Thus, early Christian scribes

7 Jerker Blomqvist and Karin Blomqvist suggest that certain terms used for Greco-Roman banqueting and in non-Christian cult texts (e.g., δεῖπνον, δαίς, ἔρανος, συμπόσιον, etc.) are either absent from the New Testament and other early Christian literature or used sparingly, whereas Jewish religious language as reflected in Septuagintal Greek had a significant impact on the early Christian terminology, not least as reflected in the dominant term of the new ritual, εὐχαριστία with derivatives, and ποτήριον. See Jerker Blomqvist and Karin Blomqvist, "Eucharist Terminology in Early Christian Literature: Philological and Semantic Aspects," in *The Eucharist—Its Origins and Contexts: Sacred Meal, Communal Meal, Table Fellowship in Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*, ed. David Hellholm and Dieter Sänger, 3 vols., WUNT 376 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 1:389–421. In the same volume, Peter Altmann, "Sacred Meals and Feasts in the Old Testament/Hebrew Bible and Its Environment: A 'Treasure Chest' for Early Christian Practice and Reflection," 1:23–41, notes neglected backgrounds for the Lord's Supper and sacred meals in the Hebrew Bible as well as the wider ancient Near Eastern context for understanding early Christian practice. In the second volume, Anders Ekenberg, "The Eucharist in Early Church Orders," 2:957–992, analyzes the shape and meaning of the Eucharist in the Didache and concludes that the thanksgiving prayers "are Christian versions of traditional Jewish meal prayers: the *qiddush* over the wine, the *qiddush* over the bread, and the grace after the meals, *birkat ha-mazōn*" (p. 964); cf. Gerard Rouwhorst, "Didache 9–10: A Litmus Test for the Research on Early Christian Liturgy Eucharist," in *Matthew and the Didache: Two Documents from the Same Milieu?*, ed. Huub van de Sandt (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2005), 143–156, here 149–151; and Rouwhorst, "The Roots," 302.

8 For an introduction to the issues under debate concerning the relationship between Jewish and early Christian liturgical reading practices, see Gerard Rouwhorst, "The Reading of Scripture in Early Christian Liturgy," in *What Athens Has to Do with Jerusalem: Essays on Classical, Jewish, and Early Christian Art and Archaeology in Honor of Gideon Foerster*, ed. L.V. Rutgers (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 305–331. On the general continuity between the two traditions, see Chris Keith, *The Gospel as Manuscript: An Early History of the Jesus Tradition as Material Artifact* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 199–200 and esp. 201–232 (ch. 7).

9 On shared traditions and reading practices in terms of literatures (Greek Bible), and material aspects, see Robert A. Kraft, "The 'Textual Mechanics' of Early Jewish LXX/OG Papyri and Fragments," in *The Bible as Book: The Transmission of the Greek Text*, ed. Scott McKendrick and Orlaith A. O'Sullivan (London: Oak Knoll, 2003), 51–72; and Jonas Leipziger, "Ancient Jewish Greek Practices of Reading and Their Material Aspects," in *Material Aspects of Reading in Ancient and Medieval Cultures: Materiality, Presence and Performance*, ed. Anna Krauß et al., Materiale Textkulturen 26 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2020), 149–176. Leipziger presents fresh evidence that gives cause to question the codex-format and *nomina sacra* as distinct Christian identity markers.

must have used exemplars copied by Jewish scribes at various points so that some continuity is expected which also affects how these texts were read or chanted.[10] Some such features certainly affected the transmission of the New Testament manuscripts as well.[11]

The debate concerning the origin of the early Christian liturgy will likely continue. In my opinion, the attempt to trace one single "origin" for the Christian Eucharist and its accompanying liturgical practices is unnecessary. It is

---

10 Cf. Alan Mugridge, *Copying Early Christian Texts: A Study of Scribal Practice*, WUNT 362 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 80: "Indeed, the Christians may simply have been following a Jewish layout for Greek OT poetic texts, as in the Jewish psalm papyrus *531* [P.Oxy. 77.5101], which uses a dicolon for a new half-verse in the middle of the line." This same manuscript includes Psalm titles which are also very common in Christian papyri. These titles ultimately derive from the Hebrew textual tradition (Mugridge, *Copying Early Christian Texts*, 76). In regard to continuity in the way the Psalms were chanted in Jewish and Christian tradition, see David C. Mitchell, "Resinging the Temple Psalmody," *JSOT* 36 (2012): 355–378, esp. 371–376. The melody that Mitchell deciphers for Ps 114 based on the Masoretic cantillation marks (*teʿamim*) turns out to be very similar to both the *tonus peregrinus* of Gregorian chant and the way this psalm is sung in Jewish Ashkenazic and Sephardic traditions, which points to a common origin in Temple times.

11 In a forthcoming article (Tommy Wasserman, "Beyond Palaeography: Text, Paratext and Dating of Early Christian Papyri," in *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri at Ninety*: *Literature, Papyrology, Ethics*, ed. Garrick V. Allen et al., Manuscripta Biblica 10 [Berlin: de Gruyter, 2022]), I propose that the presence of textual division by means of *ekthesis* (letters projecting into the left margin) and *paragraphos* (a horizontal stroke above the outset characters) in some of the earliest New Testament manuscripts are features that Christian scribes inherited from Greek-speaking Jews at a very early stage, and therefore we must avoid the notion of an evolutionary development of these features in Christian manuscripts, and that their presence indicates a later date, e.g., in the fourth century (contra Brent Nongbri, *God's Library: The Archaeology of the Earliest Christian Manuscripts* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018], 267). These textual divisions likely reflect Jewish reading practice and possibly also liturgical usage. See Colin H. Roberts, *Manuscripts, Society and Belief*, Schweich lectures 18 (London: Oxford University Press, 1977); and Emanuel Tov, ed. (with the collaboration of R.A. Kraft and P.J. Parsons), *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hever* [*8HevXIIgr*], DJD 8 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 23–24. Jan Heilmann, however, does not think one can infer from these and other "reading aids" in the manuscripts that they were used for public reading and liturgy. See Jan Heilmann, "'Reading Aids' and Other Characteristic Features," in *Material Aspects of Reading in Ancient and Medieval Cultures: Materiality, Presence and Performance*, ed. Anna Krauß, Jonas Leipziger and Friederike Schücking–Jungblut, Materiale Textkulturen 26 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2020), 177–196. In my opinion, it is indeed problematic to draw hard lines between "private" and "public" categories of use on the basis of reading aids. On the other hand, as Mugridge, *Copying Early Christian Texts*, 71–72, points out, "the literary level of texts, and whether they were texts which would have been read in public, would almost certainly have influenced the way in which they were copied," so that some extant manuscripts were more likely used in public than others.

far more likely that the early Christ congregations appropriated and transformed not only Jewish but also Greco-Roman traditions in their communal practices.[12] Further, there may well have been regional varieties among the character and scope of those appropriations and transformations.

2 The Liturgical Reading of Texts in Early Christianity

At an early point, when the early Christians gathered, they began to read letters from the apostles. Some such letters were explicitly meant to be read to the whole community as they were received. Thus, Paul says to the Thessalonians: "I charge you before the Lord to have this letter read to all the brothers and sisters" (1 Thess 5:27 [NIV]; cf. Acts 15:31; Col 4:16; Rev 1:3; 22:18).[13] The let-

12 For a recent assessment of theories regarding the pre-Christian origins of the Eucharist, see Gerard Rouwhorst, "The Roots of the Early Christian Eucharist: Jewish Blessing or Hellenistic Symposia?" in *Jewish and Christian Liturgy and Worship: New Insights into Its History and Interpretation*, ed. Albert Gerhards and Clemens Leonhard, Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series 15 (Leiden: Brill, 2007): 295–308. Rouwhorst points out that the proponents of the traditional view have largely focused on *texts*—prayers, blessings, thanksgivings (sometimes based on uncritical and anachronistic analyses of Jewish liturgical sources), whereas adherents of the "symposium theory" have focused more on *social dimensions* of the Eucharist—social structures, internal hierarchies, and material aspects. Rouwhorst concludes that, on the one hand, "the two theories are not mutually exclusive, but rather complement each other, each focusing on important aspects of early Christian ritual meal traditions," but, on the other hand, "both theories have a limitation in common that is inherent in the concept of a search for origins. Given the fact that they are primarily concerned with the dependency … upon pre-Christian traditions, whether Jewish, Greek or Roman, it is easy to overlook specifically Christian dimensions" (p. 305). In a similar vein, Keith emphasizes "Christian liturgical dependence upon the synagogue" and, thus, strongly objects to the positions of William D. Schiell, Valeriy A. Alikin and Dan Nässelqvist, who have more or less emphasized the continuity of Christian reading with Greco-Roman public reading. See William D. Schiell, *Delivering from Memory: The Effect of Performance on the Early Christian Audience* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2011), 133, 201–202, 204; Alikin, *Christian Gathering*, 158; and Dan Nässelqvist, *Public Reading in Early Christianity: Lectors, Manuscripts, and Sound in the Oral Delivery of John 1–4*, NovTSup 163 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 100. At the same time, however, Keith rejects "the false choice between Jewish parallels and Greco-Roman parallels" (*Gospel*, 202).

13 Heilmann, *Lesen*, 430–435, draws a different conclusion mainly due to the fact that Paul must charge them to read the letter to all the brothers, and, thus, we cannot presuppose that this was a common practice (here he notes the shift to first-person singular and the use of the *hapax legomenon*, ἐνορκίζω, which gives strong emphasis to the command). Further, he is open to the possibility that the object, "all the brothers and sisters" (πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς), refers to a smaller circle than the congregation as a whole. In my opinion, the shift to the first-person singular in 1 Thess 5:27 has to do with the fact that Paul has reached

ters were copied and circulated to other congregations (Col 4:16; cf. Rom 1:7; Gal 1:2), were collected and were read repeatedly, with the result that they gradually became part of the liturgy.[14] Paul's letters, in particular, became authoritative at an early stage, at least in some circles, and were possibly read alongside the Old Testament Scriptures (2 Pet 3:15–16; 1 Clem. 47.1).[15]

Additionally, the early church transmitted words of Jesus from an early point in their liturgy. Significantly, Paul himself shows acquaintance with early Christian liturgical tradition as he refers to Jesus's Last Supper in 1 Cor 11:23–26.[16] He is likely referring to oral traditions about the historical Jesus here, as well as elsewhere in the letter.[17] At one point, in the Sermon on the Mount in Matthew, Jesus taught his disciples a specific prayer (Matt 6:9–13), which must be understood in the context of contemporary Jewish liturgy.[18] Evidently, this prayer,

---

the conclusion of the letter and takes the pen in his own hand to authenticate it (note the similar shift from plural in 2 Thess 3:14 to singular in 3:17; cf. Gal 6:11). The strong charge, "before the Lord," to have the letter read is likely related to the apostolic *parousia* and the specific situation of the addresses—when reading Paul's letter, the leadership is publicly authorized by the apostle, as if he were present, in a situation where they have to deal with unruly members in the community.

14 As Keith, *Gospel*, 174, points out, "ritualistic, liturgical reading events are the products of repetition over a sustained period wherein communities imbue these texts with extra significance."

15 Larry W. Hurtado, *Destroyer of the Gods* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2017), 113, suggests that the translocal circulation and public reading of Paul's letters in gathered worship led to their status as "scripture" early on "at least in some circles, probably before any of the other writings that came to form the New Testament." Cf. Keith, *Gospel*, 174–175. It was Theodor Zahn who first posited the early use of Paul's letters in worship service and their subsequent collection due to the convenience for liturgical reading. See Theodor Zahn, *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons*, 2 vols. (Erlangen: A. Deickert, 1888–1892), 1:264–265; Theodor Zahn, *Grundriß der Geschichte des Neutestamentichen Kanons: Eine Ergänzung zu der Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (Leipzig: Deichert, 1901), 36. Adolf von Harnack agreed on both these points, cf. Adolf von Harnack, *Die Briefsammlung des Apostels Paulus und die anderen vorkonstantinischen christlichen Briefsammlungen: sechs Vorlesungen aus der altkirchlichen Literaturgeschichte* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926), 9–11, 20. Heilmann, *Lesen*, 533–537, however, objects to the assumption that Paul's letters were gradually collected by recipients who exchanged letters and argues instead that the collection derives from copies in the possession of Paul and his co-workers ("Publikationsmodelle").

16 Cf. Matt 26:26–28; Mark 14:22–24; Luke 22:19–20. See however, Andrew McGowan, "'Is There a Liturgical Text in This Gospel?' The Institution Narratives and Their Early Interpretive Communities," *JBL* 118 (1999): 73–87, who argues that the "words of institution" from Jesus' Last Supper does not reflect an early liturgical practice, but rather derives from a different setting, such as catechesis.

17 1 Cor 7:10–11; 9:14; 15:3–7.

18 On this point, see Simon J. Kistemaker, "The Lord's Prayer in the First Century," *JETS* 21 (1978): 323–328.

known as "The Lord's Prayer," became used by early Christians in a ritual context already in the first century (Did. 8.2–3). As we will see, this usage later had impact on its textual transmission. As Larry Hurtado has pointed out, however, "[w]e have, perhaps, somewhat romantically regarded the earliest Christian circles as so given to oral tradition that their writings took a distant second place in their values. From the earliest observable years Christianity was a profoundly *textual* movement."[19]

Recently, Chris Keith has proposed that the "public reading of the Jesus tradition is explicitly acknowledged in the earliest stages of the tradition to which we have direct access."[20] Keith draws attention to Mark 13:14/Matt 24:15, where the authors address "the reader" (ὁ ἀναγινώσκων). Keith interprets the imperative, "Let the reader understand," not as a reference to an individual reader (which he admits is a possibility), but rather as a "nota bene" to the public reader and an indication of "textual self-consciousness" on the part of the evangelists.[21] In this context he points to Rev 1:3, which clearly distinguishes between "the reader and the listeners," ὁ ἀναγινώσκων καὶ οἱ ἀκούντες, of the words of the prophecy (i.e., the book of Revelation).[22]

---

19 Larry W. Hurtado, "The New Testament in the Second Century: Text, Collection and Canon," in *Transmission and Reception: New Testament Text-Critical and Exegetical Studies*, ed. Jeff W. Childers and David C. Parker (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2006), 3–27, here 25–26; cf. Harry Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 23: "The force of Christian dependence on Jewish scripture for the question of the literary culture of early Christianity is not much appreciated, and its implications have been neglected under the influence of form criticism's preoccupation with the oral tradition." Subsequently, Hurtado has further criticized those scholars who have argued that readers in early Christian circles performed texts orally from memory, rather than reading them from manuscripts, or even that some texts, like the Gospel of Mark, were composed in performance. See Larry W. Hurtado, "Oral Fixation and New Testament Studies? 'Orality', 'Performance' and Reading Texts in Early Christianity," *NTS* 60 (2014): 321–340. Cf. Chris Keith, *Gospel*, 167–171.

20 Keith, *Gospel*, 163.

21 Keith, *Gospel*, 98–99, 163, 176–181. Keith further reviews the debate about the interpretation of ὁ ἀναγινώσκων (pp. 177–180). Alikin, *Christian Gathering*, 179, for example, thinks the reference is to anyone who reads about the "desolating sacrilege" in Dan 11:31.

22 Keith, *Gospel*, 178. In my opinion, Keith's strongest argument lies in the fact that ὁ ἀναγινώσκων "was a widely recognized term for a public reader inside and outside the community of Jesus followers" (*The Gospel*, 179; cf. Rev 1:3; 2 Clem 19.1; and Justin, *1 Apol.* 67.3–4). The colophon after Melito's *Peri pascha* in P.Bodmer XIII (ca. 300 CE) seems to presuppose a scribe, a reader and an audience: (ε)ιρηνη τω γραψαντι και τω αναγινωσκοντι και τοις αγαπωσι τον κ̅ν̅ εν αφελοτητι καρδιας. For this and similar colophons in the larger codex, see Tommy Wasserman, "𝔓[72] and the Bodmer Miscellaneous Codex," *NTS* 51 (2005): 137–154, here 145. Cf. also the common lectionary incipit, ταῦτα λέγων ἐφώνει· ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκούειν ἀκουέτω, which has been incorporated into the text of some witnesses in Matt 25:29; Luke 12:21;

On the other hand, as Keith points out, "we must be careful not to assume that a text that was later read liturgically and regarded as authoritative was necessarily treated so at the origins of its circulation."[23] Nevertheless, we can assume with relative certainty that some Gospels were read publicly by readers in churches in the first century or soon thereafter, and that gradually these "Jesus books" assumed a similar position as the Law and the Prophets in the Jewish synagogue and were read liturgically.[24]

The first secure reference to the regular liturgical reading of the Gospels is found in the oft-cited passage in Justin Martyr's *First Apology*—the first reference to the so-called "Liturgy of the Word," which commences the celebration of the Eucharist:

> And on the day called Sunday there is an assembly of those who dwell in cities or the countryside, and the memoirs of the apostles (ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων) or (ἤ) the writings of the prophets (συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν) are read, for as long as there is time. Then, when the reader (τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος) has stopped, the president (ὁ προεστώς), in an address, makes admonition and invitation of the imitation of their good things. Then we all stand up together and send prayers. And, as we said before, when we have stopped praying, bread and wine and water are brought, and the president sends up prayers and thanksgiving in similar fashion, to the best of his ability, and the people give their assent, saying "Amen." And

---

13:9; 21:4. Heilmann, *Lesen*, 464–474, argues in favor of the weakly attested textual variant ἀκούων (2053 2062 it vg^{cl}; Apr Bea). According to Martin Karrer, the principal editor of the forthcoming *Novum Testamentum Graecum Editio Critica Maior* (ECM) of Revelation, this reading appears first in the Old Latin and very late in a few Greek minuscules. The Coherence-Based Genealogical Method further shows that it has weak coherence in contrast to the reading with the plural. Karrer concludes, "Die textgeschichtlichen Beobachtungen sprechen somit dafür, dass der Ausgangstext der Apk sich eine Lektüre (lautes Vorlesen und Hören) in gemeindlichen Gruppen wünscht. Neben diese gemeinschaftliche Lektüre dürfte aber früh auch die individuelle Lektüre getreten sein, durch deren Vollzug sich die Interpretation des Verses wandelt (gespiegelt bei Oecumenius)." I want to thank Martin Karrer for sharing his draft of the new ECM edition of Revelation with me.

23 Keith, *Gospel*, 181. In this connection, Keith rightly objects to Petr Pokorný, *From the Gospel to the Gospels: History, Theology and Impact of the Biblical Term* Euangelion, BZNW 195 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013), who not only claims that the Gospel of Mark was being read liturgically before Matthew and Luke composed their gospels (p. 161), but that Mark had intended his book to be read liturgically (p. 127). On the other hand, Keith thinks Alikin goes too far when he claims that Mark 13:14 cannot refer to liturgical reading (Alikin, *Christian Gathering*, 179).

24 I have borrowed the term "Jesus books" from Larry W. Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003), 259–347.

there is a distribution and a partaking of the eucharistized elements (τῶν εὐχαριστηθέντων, literally "the things for which thanks has been given") to each one, and is sent to those who are not present by means of the deacons.[25]

A little earlier, Justin explained that these "memoirs of the apostles" are also "called Gospels" (εὐαγγέλια; *1 Apol.* 66.3) and it is clear that he is referring to a designation which some Christ-believers used for written texts.[26] Apart from "the reader" (ὁ ἀναγινώσκων), Justin refers to "the president" (ὁ προεστώς) who also presides over the Eucharist in the gathering (cf. *1 Apol.* 65.3).[27] As is expected at this early phase, the freedom to choose a passage from the Gospels *or* the Prophets and the phrase, "for as long as there is time," suggests that there

25 Justin Martyr, *1 Apol.* 67.3–5. Greek text and English translation in Dennis Minns and Paul Parvis, eds., *Justin, Philosopher and Martyr: Apologies*, OECT (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). It is to be noted that Clemens Leonhard has questioned whether the activity described by Justin can actually be classified as "liturgical reading." See Clemens Leonhard, "No Liturgical Need for a Gospel in the Second Century," in *Das Neue Testament und sein Text in 2. Jarhundert*, ed. Jan Heilmann and Mattias Klinghardt, TANZ 61 (Tübingen: Francke, 2018), 89–106, here 97–102. It is important to note, however, that in the context, Justin discusses several liturgical practices, as Keith points out, "In *1 Apology*, Justin weaves a tapestry, revealing simultaneously the common threads between Christians, Jews, and pagans as well as the distinct cords of each culture. And it is precisely in this immediate context that Justin describes the public reading of the Gospels alongside baptism, the Eucharist, the holy kiss, and the post-prayer 'amen' as an early Christian liturgical practice" (Keith, *Gospel*, 184).

26 Radka Fialová, "'Scripture' and the 'Memoires of the Apostles.' Justin Martyr and His Bible," in *The Process of Authority: The Dynamics in Transmission and Reception of Canonical Texts*, ed. Jan Dušek and Jan Roskovec, Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies 27 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016), 165–178, here 171, further explains that in ten out of fifteen cases Justin refers to the fact that the ἀπομνημονεύματα are written down. For example, he uses the formula γέγραπται, "it is written," seven times. Fialová further notes that Justin included Moses, Jacob and David among the prophets, so his references to "the writings of the prophets" include historic and poetic books other than the Minor and Major Prophets (p. 167). James Kelhoffer makes the point that Justin qualified the title "Gospel," εὐαγγέλιον, where he used it—ἃ καλεῖται Εὐαγγέλια (*1 Apol.* 66.3) and ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Εὐαγγελίῳ (*Dial.* 10.2)— "as if it were the designation *by someone else*." See James A. Kelhoffer, *Conceptions of "Gospel" and Legitimacy in Early Christianity*, WUNT 324 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 43.

27 Given the explicitly liturgical context in Justin, Chris Keith, *Gospel*, 185, regards this "as the earliest reference to 'the reader' as a formal position in early Christianity" rather than the passage in Tertullian (contra Alikin, *Christian Gathering*, 178– 79, and Nässelqvist, *Public Reading*, 113, who both emphasize that the noun ὁ ἀναγνώστης rather than the participle is used to refer to the formal office of lector).

was no fixed set of lessons (as also the phrase, "to the best of his ability," suggests that prayer was informal and spontaneous).[28]

3 Liturgical Reading and Textual Transmission

In the light of the regular reading of texts as part of the early Christian liturgy, Larry Hurtado observes that this usage of the New Testament writings "is an important factor *in the textual transmission* of these texts."[29] He also suggests that liturgical usage in general is one factor that would have prompted minor stylistic changes to improve the clarity of the text: "The regular liturgical reading of the four canonical Gospels also helps to account for the abundance of harmonizing variants, especially frequent in Mark." The reason for this is that Mark was the least popular of the four Gospels; since Matthew was widely used, the reading of that Gospel impacted the transmission and use of Mark in liturgical and other settings, in contrast to Matthew, which was widely used in the early church, and evidently has a more stable text.[30]

On the other hand, Hurtado holds that the public reading of fixed lessons would have set limits to the extent of textual change that could be tolerated in a given circle.[31] His observation implies that in the public setting there was continuous control over the text beyond the stage of manuscript production. An analogy may be found in a later episode told by Augustine in a letter to Jerome

28 At the same time, the order guaranteed by the leadership of a president (προεστώς) working together with a designated reader (ὁ ἀναγινώσκων) contrasts with the potentially more chaotic situation described in 1 Corinthians 14 with spontaneous contributions of ecstatic and prophetic utterances which evidently caused concern for more order on the part of Paul. Heilmann, *Lesen*, 19–20, rightly points out that the liturgical reading of (fixed) New Testament lessons is attested no earlier than in the third century in the East Syriac church.

29 Hurtado, "New Testament in the Second Century," 13.

30 Hurtado, "New Testament in the Second Century," 13. Hurtado does not provide any specific examples of minor stylistic improvements or harmonizations. However, some examples, apart from those I discuss, are found in Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 2d ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994). See for example Matt 20:31; Luke 24:42; Rom 6:11; 7:25; 16:20; 16:24; 1 Thess 3:13; Heb 13:21; Rev 1:6. For a recent study of scribal harmonization that shows that Matthew was the most frequent source of harmonization in manuscripts in the third and fourth centuries, see Cambry G. Pardee, *Scribal Harmonization in the Synoptic Gospels*, NTTSD 60 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), esp. pp. 142, 189, 214, 279. Pardee's study confirms that the Gospel of Matthew was harmonized the least by scribes whereas Mark was altered the most. Further, his study suggests that Matthew was likely the source of at least "41 percent of the harmonizing variants and could be the source of up to 62 percent" of the variants in his study (p. 433).

31 Hurtado, "New Testament in the Second Century," 13.

(*Ep*. 71A, 3.5), when Jerome's new translation (the Vulgate) of Jonah was liturgically read to a congregation in the Libyan city of Oea (in present-day Tripoli). Apparently, a tumult broke out because of one single word in Jonah 4:6 that differed "from that which had long been familiar to the senses and memory of all the worshippers and had been read for so many generations in the church," so the bishop in charge was compelled to revert to the Old Latin rendering.[32]

My study (co-authored with Jennifer Knust) of the text of the biblical Odes —a collection of nine to fourteen songs drawn from biblical and apocryphal books—which were central to emerging Christian liturgical practices, confirms this impression.[33] The Odes appear to have been sung as supplements to the Psalter early on, perhaps from the late second or early third century and perhaps in imitation of a pre-Christian Jewish context. Josephus, for example, mentions the Song of Moses and the songs of David, presumably references to the first biblical Ode (the "Song of the Sea" in Deut 32:1–43) and the Psalter.[34] In a Christian context, Melito of Sardis's *Peri Pascha* (lines 630–635) presumes that the Song of Moses was sung at the Easter vigil,[35] the *Didascalia Apostolo-*

32 See Harry Gamble, "Literacy, Liturgy, and the Shaping of the New Testament Canon," in *The Earliest Gospels: The Origins and Transmission of the Earliest Christian Gospels: The Contribution of the Chester Beatty Gospel Codex P*^{45}, ed. C. Horton, JSNTSS 258 (London: T & T Clark, 2004), 27–49, here 37–38 (including English translation).

33 Jennifer Knust and Tommy Wasserman, "The Biblical Odes and the Text of the Christian Bible: A Reconsideration of the Impact of Liturgical Singing on the Transmission of the Gospel of Luke," *JBL* 133 (2014): 341–365.

34 Josephus, *Ant*. 2.346 (Μωυσῆς ᾠδὴν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐγκώμιόν τε καὶ τῆς εὐμενείας εὐχαριστίαν περιέχουσαν ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ συντίθησιν, "Moses composed an ode to God expressing praise and also thanks for his favour, in hexameter verse."); and 7.305 (Ἀπηλλαγμένος δ' ἤδη πολέμων ὁ Δαυίδης καὶ κινδύνων καὶ βαθείας ἀπολαύων τὸ λοιπὸν εἰρήνης ᾠδὰς εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ ὕμνους συνετάξατο μέτρου ποικίλου· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ τριμέτρους, τοὺς δὲ πενταμέτρους ἐποίησεν, "And David, having been set free by this time from military conflicts and dangers and enjoying a situation of deep peace, compiled songs and hymns to God of complex metre. For some he made trimeters, others pentametres.") On the place of the biblical odes in pre-Christian Jewish practice, see James W. Watts, *Psalms and Story: Inset Hymns in Hebrew Narrative*, JSOTSup 130 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992); James W. Watts, "Biblical Psalms Outside the Psalter," in *The Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception*, ed. Peter W. Flint and Patrick D. Miller, Jr., VTSup 99, Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature 4 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 288–309; and Steven Weitzman, *Song and Story in Biblical Narrative: The History of a Literary Convention in Ancient Israel* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1997). On Josephus's attempts to reconcile Jewish practices with Greek *comparanda*, including his discussion of Greek metric forms, see James Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 127–129, 140–142.

35 Melito, *Peri Pascha*, lines 630–635; Othmar Perler, ed., *Méliton de Sardes: Sur la Pâque et fragments*, SC 123 (Paris: Cerf, 1966).

rum comments on the Prayer of Manasseh (2 Chr 33:15–17) at great length,[36] and Hippolytus of Rome preached homilies both on the Song of the Three Boys (Dan 3:52–90 in the LXX) and on the Song of Moses.[37] Eusebius of Caesarea refers to "Psalms and Odes written by faithful brothers from the beginning" and describes a great throng assembled to sing the martyrs of Palestine to victory as they marched to their deaths.[38]

Our detailed comparative study of the Song of Mary (*Magnificat*) in the textual tradition of the Odes and the same text in its regular place (Luke 1:45–55) shows how the text remained remarkably fixed even as Odes traditions and collections remained unsettled.[39] Liturgical singing helped to stabilize the song text even as paratextual features remained variable. Indeed, the commitment to a stable text, if not to a particular arrangement of texts, extended even beyond Greek-speaking contexts. Over time, these songs became so well known, so integral to Christian worship, that singers continued to sing them in Greek, even when Greek was no longer fully understood.

In the following, I will focus on some apparent traces of liturgical influence on the text of the New Testament.

3.1 *The Liturgical ἀμήν*

A clear example of liturgical influence on the text is the so-called "liturgical ἀμήν," which has been appended to nearly every book in the New Testament by various combinations of textual witnesses, most often the Byzantine Majority Text.[40] The editors of NA[28] have accepted the concluding ἀμήν only in Gal 6:18 and Jude 25, where it has unequivocal manuscript support, and have included it in square brackets with the whole doxology in Rom 16:25–27 (because the

---

36 *Didascalia Apostolorum* VII.1.87–92 and 2.80–88.

37 Hippolytus, *Commentarium in Danielem* 2.30.7; Maurice Lefèvre, ed., *Hippolyte: Commentaire sur* Daniel, SC 14 (Paris: Cerf, 1947); *In canticum Mosis*; Hans Achelis, ed., *Hippolyts kleinere exegetische und homiletische Schriften*, GCS 1.2 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1897), 83–84.

38 Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.28.5 (SC 41): ψαλμοὶ δὲ ὅσοι καὶ ᾠδαὶ ἀδελφῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ πιστῶν γραφεῖσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν ὑμνοῦσιν θεολογοῦντες; *Hist. eccl.* 9.1.11 (SC 55): στίφη δ' οὖν πολυάνθρωπα κατὰ μέσας λεωφόρους καὶ ἀγορὰς ᾠδαῖς καὶ ψαλμοῖς τὸν θεὸν ἀνυμνοῦντα τὰ τῆς πορείας ἤνυεν. Greek text and translation in Gustav Bardy, ed., *Historia ecclesiastica*, SC 41, 55 (Paris: Cerf, 1952).

39 Knust and Wasserman, "Biblical Odes," 348–356. The fifth-century majuscule Codex Alexandrinus (London, British Library Royal MS 1.D.VIII; Rahlfs A; Greg.-Aland A 02) is the most ancient documentary witness to the Odes, and contains the hymns in their original context (LXX and NT) as well as in the Book of Odes.

40 Notably, Codex Vaticanus (B 03), where it is extant, concludes a book with ἀμήν only in Luke (apart from Gal 6:18 and Jude 25).

whole passage, rather than just the ἀμήν, is uncertain).[41] Eberhard Güting, however, has argued from intrinsic evidence that the word is secondary also in Gal 6:18, because no word of grace in Paul ends with ἀμήν.[42] This conclusion depends on how one evaluates the concluding ἀμήν elsewhere, because a word of grace does often end Paul's letters (2 Cor 13:13; Phil 4:23; 1 Thess 5:28; 2 Thess 3:18; Phlm 25; not in Rom 16:23; 1 Cor 16:23). Nonetheless, under all circumstances, the ἀμήν, if accepted as the original reading, would not conclude the benediction in Gal 6:18 but would, rather, follow after the vocative of direct address, ἀδελφοί, "brothers." More importantly, the ἀμήν here has overwhelming external support.[43]

Concurring with most other scholars, Güting accepts the ἀμήν in Jude 25, because there it also concludes a doxology.[44] He further argues that it should be accepted in 2 Pet 3:18 (where the external support is evenly balanced), because doxologies which are introduced with a relative pronoun invariably end with an ἀμήν elsewhere in the NT, and also because the author depends on Jude in the first place.[45] Against Güting, one might argue that later scribes could have harmonized to Jude and added an ἀμήν to the doxology. Nonetheless, my own survey of harmonizations between Jude and 2 Peter has shown that they are few in general, and altogether absent in $\mathfrak{P}^{72}$ and Codex B (03).[46] Furthermore, the only extant papyrus, $\mathfrak{P}^{72}$ (1–2 Peter and Jude), has a concluding ἀμήν in Jude and 2 Peter, but not have ἀμήν at the end of 1 Peter. In this case, I agree with Güting that the ἀμήν belongs in 2 Peter (contra NA[28] which prints the text of the Editio Critica Maior of 2 Peter).

41 Interestingly, the editors of the forthcoming Editio Critica Maior of Mark will include the ἀμήν at the end of the (secondary) Longer Ending of Mark (16:9–20), which stands in square brackets. The ἀμήν will thus be placed on a split guiding line (indicating that any of the two variants—inclusion or omission—may represent the initial text of the secondary ending). I want to thank Gregory S. Paulson of the INTF in Münster for this information.

42 Eberhard Güting, "Amen, Eulogie, Doxologie. Eine textkritische Untersuchung," in *Begegnungen zwischen Christentum und Judentum in Antike und Mittelalter: Festschrift für Heinz Schreckenberg*, ed. Dietrich-Alex Koch and Hermann Lichtenberger et al. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 133–162, here 153: "Kein Gnadenspruch endet mit einem Amen."

43 The word is absent only from one Greek manuscript (G 012).

44 Güting, "Amen, Eulogie, Doxologie," 157–158. Güting rightly points out that where ἀμήν conclude doxologies, they should be regarded as "responsorial amens" (*Antwort-Amen*) (p. 160). For an evaluation of the ἀμήν in Jude 25, see Tommy Wasserman, *The Epistle of Jude*, ConBNT 43 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2006), 338; cf. the concluding doxology in 4 Macc 20:15.

45 Güting, "Amen, Eulogie, Doxologie," 158–159. The ἀμήν was included within square brackets in NA[27] but has been removed in NA[28].

46 Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, 99–102.

In addition to Gal 6:18 and the doxologies in Rom 16:27 and Jude 25, Codex Vaticanus (B 03) includes the ἀμήν at the end of Luke rather unexpectedly. A closer look at this witness, however, shows that it lacks the punctuation at the end of the book. In all other extant books of the New Testament, there is either a dicolon (:) or a raised dot (˙) to mark the end of the book; often, there is also a *diplē*, (>) and *diplē obelismenē* (> –), as in Matthew, Mark and John.[47] In Vaticanus, the whole New Testament (apart from the substituted parts in Hebrews and Revelation) was copied by the same scribe (scribe B), and punctuation at the end of books, as well as other signs (*diplē*, *diplē obelismenē, coronides* and *paragraphos*), belong to the first production stage in the fourth century.[48] It is therefore at least possible that the end of Luke had the same punctuation as the other three Gospels, and that the punctuation was erased when an ἀμήν was added, possibly when the manuscript was retraced in medieval times because the original ink had faded. Significantly, the ἀμήν is missing also from 𝔓^{75}, the sister manuscript of Vaticanus, which has the same expected *dicolon* followed by a *diplē obelismenē* (:> –) to mark the end of Luke.[49] Nevertheless, the liturgical ἀμήν is secondary to Luke, regardless of whether it was copied by the original scribe of Codex Vaticanus or added later.

3.2 *The Doxology and Other Additions in the Lord's Prayer*

Another clear example is the doxology that concludes the Lord's Prayer in Matt 6:13 in the majority of manuscripts and other witnesses.[50] It is omitted by ancient witnesses like Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, Bezae and most Latin manuscripts which end after "the evil (one)" (τοῦ πονηροῦ), as well as by early patristic com-

---

47 Thus, there is a colon after Rom 16:27, Gal 6:18, and Jude 25 in Vaticanus. Images of the manuscript are available at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1209. It is to be noted, however, that Hand B copied a number of books in the Old Testament (LXX) that lack punctuation (Ezra, Joel, Epistle of Jeremiah and Daniel).

48 Pietro Versace, *I marginalia del* Codex Vaticanus, Studi e testi 528 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2018), 10–12.

49 For studies of the close relationship of the two manuscripts, see Calvin L. Porter, "A Textual Analysis of the Earliest Manuscripts of the Gospel of John" (PhD diss., Duke University, 1961); Calvin L. Porter, "Papyrus Bodmer XV (𝔓^{75}) and the Text of Codex Vaticanus," *JBL* 81 (1962): 363–376; Carlo M. Martini, *Il problema della recensionalità del codice B alla luce del papiro Bodmer XIV*, Analecta Biblica 26 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1966).

50 For fuller treatments, see Joël Delobel, "The Lord's Prayer in the Textual Tradition: A Critique of Recent Theories and Their View on Marcion's Role," in *The New Testament in Early Christianity*, ed. Jean-Marie Sevrin, BETL 86 (Leuven: Peeters, 1989), 293–309; David C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 49–74.

mentators like Tertullian, Origen and Cyprian.[51] Since the prayer was widely used in the early church, readers and users probably would have been expected to add a suitable doxology (including ἀμήν), which at some point (or at many separate instances) entered the text and continued to develop—the doxology is preserved in a number of different forms in the sources which may suggest that there was not a single addition with a stable text.[52]

Significantly, the earliest witness to the Matthean version of the Lord's Prayer that includes a doxology is the Didache (100–150 CE).[53] The oldest textual witness to this part of the Didache is from the eleventh century, so there is a possibility that the doxology crept in later as a harmonization to Matthew.[54] However, the textual form is unique as compared to the textual tradition of Matthew, ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, and occurs again in the doxologies of the meal prayers in Did. 10.5 and, with minor modification, in 9.4.[55] As James Dunn points out, the conclusion to the prayer

51 The absence of the doxology in most Old Latin witnesses may be due to the fact that it was not used in Western liturgies. Further, the Latin tradition may have been influenced by the Vulgate where it is missing—Jerome may have used a manuscript that omitted it (Delobel, "Lord's Prayer," 306). On the other hand, there is a "Western" variant in Acts 20:32—a doxology, αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας (τῶν αἰώνων). ἀμήν (383, 614, 1292, 2147, 2412, 2652, sy^{h**}), which may have been added as a conclusion to a lesson in the liturgy. Cf. Günther Zuntz, Opuscula Selecta: Classica, Hellenistica, Christiana (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972), 202, who comments on this addition: "Especially this 'Amen' is decisive: it concludes a lesson containing Paul's farewell to the Ephesians but omitting the personal passages at the end of his speech."

52 Cf. Adolf Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus*, 6th ed. (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1963), 217.

53 The general form of the Lord's Prayer in the Didache is very close to Matthew, and although it could have been familiar from liturgical usage, there is very good reason to think it depends on Matthew. Not only is it nearly identical in form, but the introduction echoes the warnings not to fast or pray (Did. 8.1–2) as the "hypocrites," ὑποκριταί (a typical Matthean word) as in Matt 6:5, 16. See James D.G. Dunn, *Christianity in the Making*, vol. 1: *Jesus Remembered* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003), 431. Dunn points to further connections to Matthean tradition in the Didache which "simply strengthen the case" of dependence (p. 432). On the other hand, Dunn thinks the words that introduce the prayer, ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ ("as the Lord commanded in his Gospel"), refers to oral tradition rather than a written gospel book (p. 431). Kelhoffer, however, has argued convincingly that εὐαγγέλιον does refer to a written source here, as well as at least in two out of three other passages where it is used (Did. 11.3–4; 15.4). See Kelhoffer, *Conceptions of "Gospel,"* 55–69; Kelhoffer thus sides with Clayton N. Jefford, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, VCSup 11 (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 143.

54 Parker, *Living Text*, 69.

55 Shorter forms of the doxology occur in Did. 9.2, 3; 10.2, 4. Kurt Niederwimmer is open to the possibility that the "original *Sitz im Leben*" of the doxologies in the Didache tradition "was in the meal prayers and that they were transferred from there to the Lord's Prayer [in

provides evidence of a "liturgical tendency to add an appropriate doxology" to this prayer "that was remembered as teaching."[56] The practice to end the prayer with a doxology as well as the command that follows—to speak the prayer three times a day (8.3)—again reflects continuity with the Jewish tradition.[57]

Because the Matthean form of the prayer was widely used in liturgy, it is not surprising that the version in Luke 11:2b–4 was less stable, since it became subject to frequent harmonization to Matthew, a harmonization which, in particular, is reflected in the long form of the Byzantine Majority text.[58] Harmonization to Matthew, however, is noticeable also in important majuscules like Codex Sinaiticus (א 01) and Codex Bezae (D 05). Therefore, it is all the more surprising that there are no traces whatsoever of a doxology in Luke. Joël Delobel suggests that the lack of a doxology is because "even the scribes associated it [the doxology] with the liturgical form of the Lord's Prayer, i.e., with Matthew's text only."[59] Again, we observe what is likely the double impact of liturgical usage—it prompts changes but also set limits to the changes.

Perhaps the most striking textual variant in Luke's version of the Lord's Prayer is the request for the Holy Spirit to come, ἐλθέτω τὸ πνεῦμα σου τὸ ἅγιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ καθαρισάτω ἡμᾶς ("May your holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us"), as is attested in minuscule 700 (and, with slight variation, in minuscule 162). As Metzger points out, Gregory of Nyssa (d. ca. 395) says explicitly that Luke attests to this reading, "instead of the petition concerning the coming of the kingdom," and Maximus the Confessor also attests to it in the seventh century.[60] The earliest trace of a reference to the Holy Spirit in the prayer in Luke is

Did. 8.2]." See Kurt Niederwimmer, *The Didache: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1998), 138. With regard to the Jewish roots of the meal prayers in the Didache, see Ekenberg, "The Eucharist," 964.

56 Dunn, *Jesus Remembered*, 431.

57 In fact, the three-part doxology in Matthew may have been modeled upon 1 Chr 29:11. For this and other parallels to the doxology in Judaism, see Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, 6 vols. (Munich: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandling, 1922–1961), 1:423–424; for the practice to pray three times a day in ancient Jewish tradition, see Strack and Billerbeck, *Kommentar* 2:696 (in reference to Acts 10:9). This practice was adopted in Christianity (Tertullian, *Jejun.* 10.3; Clement, *Strom.* 7.7, 40.3; Origen, *Or.* 12.1; Cyprian, *Dom. or.* 34).

58 Cf. Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 130–132. In this context, Metzger also notes, "it is remarkable that such a variety of early witnesses managed to resist what must have been an exceedingly strong temptation to assimilate the Lukan text to the much more familiar Matthean form" (p. 130).

59 Delobel, "The Lord's Prayer," 309.

60 Metzger, Textual Commentary, 130.

found in Tertullian (*Marc*. 4.26), who likely reflects what was in Marcion's text, although we cannot determine which form of the prayer either of them used with any certainty.[61] Nevertheless, we may conclude with Delobel and Metzger that the request for the Holy Spirit, which goes back at least to the fourth century, and probably much earlier, is a liturgical addition, probably in the context of baptism or the laying on of hands.[62]

3.3 *Liturgical Influence on "Western" Variants in Acts*

This section will take up several other minor textual additions which, in my opinion, likely originated from the use of a particular text in a liturgical setting (rather than in continuous reading) as suggested also by the context in which they occur. I will restrict myself to the pattern of additions or expansions involving Jesus's name in some "Western" variants of Acts,[63] focusing on six examples that are laid out in Table 2.1.[64]

61 Delobel, "The Lord's Prayer," 296–298; Dieter T. Roth, "The Text of the Lord's Prayer in Marcion's Gospel," *ZNW* 103 (2012): 47–63, here 54–59. Judith Lieu, "Marcion and the Synoptic Problem," in *New Studies in the Synoptic Problem: Oxford Conference, April 2008: Essays in Honour of Christopher M. Tuckett,* BETL 239 (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 731–751, here 738 n. 17, points out that NA27 (and now NA28), "wrongly gives the impression that it [the petition for the Holy Spirit] replaces the petition for the coming of God's kingdom as in MS 700 and Gregory of Nyssa" when in fact the petition for the kingdom was also present in Marcion's text (cf. Delobel, "The Lord's Prayer," 296; Roth, "The Text," 58). Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 131, speculates whether Codex Bezae (D 05) preserves "a remnant of the petition for the Spirit," i.e., the prepositional phrase in the variant, ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐλθέτω σου ἡ βασιλεία.

62 Delobel, "The Lord's Prayer," 294; Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 131 (with reference to Delobel). Metzger also draws attention here to the parallel in *Acts Thom*. 27, ἐλθὲ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα καὶ καθάρισον τοὺς νεφροὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν; cf. Nicolas Ayo, *The Lord's Prayer: A Survey Theological and Literary* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992), 42: "Most commentators believe this so-called Marcion interpolation is a liturgical gloss of the early church. In its use of the Our Father in baptism rites, the fusing of the coming gift of the Holy Spirit in the sacrament and the text of the Pater then solemnly recited by the catechumen would be readily understood."

63 I will mainly use the term "Western" variants instead of "Western text," because the mutual agreement of the attesting witnesses to these expansions and paraphrases is relatively poor elsewhere, i.e., when regarded as full texts. For this reason, the editors of the Editio Critica Maior of Acts also prefer to speak of a "'Western' cluster of variants." See Georg Gäbel, "'Western Text', 'D-Text Cluster,' 'Bezan Trajectory,' Or What Else?—A Preliminary Study," in *Novum Testamentum Graecum: Editio Critica Maior* III: *The Acts of the Apostles*; Part 3: *Studies*, ed. Holger Strutwolf et al. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2017), 83–136; and, in the same volume, Klaus Wachtel, "A Plea against the Text-Type Concept," 137–148; Gäbel's and Wachtel's studies were anticipated by Barbara Aland, "Enstehung, Charakter und Herkunft des sog. westlichen Textes untersucht an der Apostelgeschichte," *ETL* 62 (1986): 5–65 (cf. especially Gäbel, "Western Text," 93–94).

64 The focus on a specific strand of the textual transmission has methodological advantages: Ulrich B. Schmid has criticized Bart D. Ehrman for the method he uses to detect theolog-

TABLE 2.1 Additions and expansions involving Jesus's name in "Western" variants of Acts

Location	NA^{28}	Textual variant	Attestation
Acts 5:42	οὐκ ἐπαύοντο διδάσκοντες καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν	ουκ επαυοντο διδασκοντες και ευαγγελιζομενοι τον κυριον Ιησουν Χριστον	D/d 1875; gig h p sa sy^{p}
Acts 8:16	βεβαπτισμένοι … εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ	βεβαπτισμενοι … εις το ονομα του κυριου (ημων) Ιησου Χριστου	D/d 398 2374 2805; Did; mae
Acts 9:40	Ταβιθά, ἀνάστηθι	Ταβιθα, αναστηθι εν τω ονοματι του κυριου ημων Ιησου Χριστου	it vg^{mss} sy^{h**} sa mae sy^{h**} arm geo; (Cyp) Spec.
	Note: Codex Bezae (D/d) is lacunose.		
Acts 10:48	προσέταξεν δέ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ βαπτισθῆναι	τοτε προσεταξεν αυτους βαπτισθηναι εν τω ονοματι του κυριου Ιησου Χριστου	D/d; p sy^{p}
Acts 18:8	ἐβαπτίζοντο	εβαπτιζοντο πιστευοντες τω θεω δια του ονοματος του κυριου ημων Ιησου Χριστου	D/d; h (383 614 1292 1501 2147 2412 2652; sy^{h**})

ical tendency on the part of the scribes in his *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), not only because Ehrman portrays the scribes as authors, intentionally modifying reading x to reading y, but because "his search is not confined to one manuscript only …. Rather he harvests the entire textual tradition as available to him through modern critical apparatuses" ("Scribes and Variants—Sociology and Typology," in *Textual Variation: Theological and Social Tendencies?*, ed. H.A.G. Houghton and David C. Parker, Text and Studies 3rd, Series 5 [Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2008], 1–23, here 4–6 [citation at p. 5]). On the other hand, Schmid is more appreciative of Eldon J. Epp's, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts*, SNTSMS 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), because Epp "offers careful arguments for his case of theological/ideological intentionality" and, above all, because "[t]he focus is on one New Testament book in one manuscript … with one specific tendency, an anti-Judaic bias" ("Scribes and Variants," 3).

TABLE 2.1 Additions and expansions involving Jesus's name (*cont.*)

Location	NA[28]	Textual variant	Attestation
	Note: The minuscules and the Harklean Syriac (margin) attest to the addition δια του ονοματος του κυριου (ημων) ιησου χριστου.		
Acts 19:5	ἐβαπτίσθησαν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ	εβαπτισθησαν εις το ονομα (του) κυριου Ιησου Χριστου εις αφεσιν αμαρτιων	$\mathfrak{P}^{38vid}$ D/d 383 614 1127 1501 2147 2412 2652; sy^{h**}
	Note: The definite article του was omitted by D* but added by a corrector. A few other witnesses attest to the addition of the word Χριστου.		

In these "Western" variants in Acts, Jesus's title has been consistently expanded to "the Lord Jesus Christ."[65] These examples of modification occur in the context of teaching and preaching (5:42), healing (9:40), and baptism (8:16; 10:48; 18:8; 19:5).[66] Eldon J. Epp used the christological expansions in Bezae to support his thesis of an anti-Judaic tendency in the D-text.[67] It is important to note that these additions have a wider attestation than Codex Bezae—that is, they apparently belong to an earlier layer of that strand of transmission.[68]

Bart D. Ehrman, on the other hand, regards "the designation of Jesus as Lord and the concatenation of titles in his honor [that] pervade the manuscript tradition" in general as stemming from "theological disputes of the second century in which proto-orthodox Christians emphasized the unity of Jesus Christ in the face of separationist Christologies that claimed that each of Jesus' names and titles referred to distinct divine entities."[69] An alternative explanation for these particular "Western" expansions in Acts, however, is that they reflect the litur-

65 The full expression is universally attested in Acts 11:17 and 15:26.

66 In Acts 2:38, in the context of baptism, we find the full name τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ again in the "Western text" but the addition of τοῦ κυρίου has wider attestation by Byzantine witnesses.

67 Epp, *Theological Tendency*, 62–64.

68 For the particular point that Codex Bezae contains several "layers" of variant readings, see Michael W. Holmes, "Codex Bezae as a Recension of the Gospels," in *Codex Bezae: Studies from the Lunel Colloquium June 1994*, ed. David C. Parker and C.-B. Amphoux (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 123–160.

69 Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, 191.

gical usage of the text, as suggested also by the context in which they occur, in particular in the examples that involve healing and baptism "in/through the name of the/our Lord Jesus Christ."[70] It is telling that the additions in several passages (9:40; 18:8; 19:5) involve not only divine titles but also longer liturgical formulae.

Josep Rius-Camps and Jenny Read-Heimerdinger comes to the same conclusion as they comment on the passage in Acts 8:16, "D 05 always uses the full name and title of Jesus in a baptismal context."[71] Moreover, they point out, in regard to Acts 9:40, that "[t]he inclusion of a liturgical formula at a healing or act of a formal character is typical of the text of Codex Bezae."[72] It should be noted again that the latter characteristic is more widely attested: they belong to the "Western" variants (and, as seen in Table 2.1, the text of Bezae is actually lacunose in Acts 9:40).

The liturgical formula in the context of baptism occurs again in Acts 10:48. Commenting on the word order of the "Western" variant, Rius-Camps and Heimerdinger note that the placement of the verb βαπτισθῆναι after the pronoun αὐτούς keeps "the idea of baptism as the foremost concern."[73] It is also noteworthy that this verse concludes a lesson in the Old Syriac lectionary, a lesson which was read in the context of baptism and which concluded with ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.[74] There are other "Western" variants that may be the result of divisions into lessons and arise from the need for suitable incipits and conclusions to such lessons.[75]

70 Cf. Alban Dold, *Das älteste Liturgiebuch der lateinischen Kirche: Ein altgallikanisches Lektionar des 5./6. Jhs. aus dem Wolfenbütteler Palimpsest-Codex Weissenburgensis 76*, Texte und Arbeiten, pt 1: Beiträge zur Ergründung des älteren lateinischen christlichen Schrifttums und Gottesdienstes, vols. 26–28 (Beuron: Kunstverlag Beuron, 1935), xxxv: "Die Hinzufügung von 'Dominus' zum Jesusnamen begegnet in unseren Perikopen [in the lectionary] sehr häufig und hat als terminus technicus liturgicus zu gelten."

71 Josep Rius-Camps and Jenny Read-Heimerdinger, "The Variant Readings of the Western Text of the Acts of the Apostles (XIII) (Acts 8:1b–40)," *FilNeot* 15 (2002): 111–132, here 124.

72 Josep Rius-Camps and Jenny Read-Heimerdinger, "The Variant Readings of the Western Text of the Acts of the Apostles (XVI) (Acts 9:31–11:18)," *FilNeot* 17 (2004), 45–88, here 51.

73 Rius-Camps and Read-Heimerdinger, "Variant Readings (Acts 9:31–11:18)," 78.

74 F.C. Burkitt, "The Early Lectionary System," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 11 (1923): 1–39, here 37.

75 We have already mentioned the doxology in Acts 20:32 concluding with an ἀμήν. In his 1734 edition of the Greek New Testament, Johann A. Bengel suggested that the phrase ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις ("in those days") added by Codex Bezae at Acts 3:1 could best be explained on the basis of the practice of dividing passages for public reading. He mistakenly thought this phrase derived from a separate lectionary, claiming in his critical apparatus: "*nam lectionaria separata ipso Lectionum ecclesiasticarum usu longe recentiora sunt*" (*Novum Testamentum Graecum* [Tübingen: George Cottae, 1734]). Eberhard Nestle,

The addition in Acts 18:8, again in the context of baptism, seems to have developed in two stages. First, the prepositional phrase, διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ κυρίου (ἡμῶν) Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, was added to the verb ἐβαπτίζοντο; subsequently, the phrase, πιστεύοντες τῷ θεῷ was added.[76] As Metzger points out, the latter phrase is redundant in the context in light of the previous ἐπίστευον.[77] Both additions likely reflect liturgical influence.

In our last example, Acts 19:5, a number of "Western" witnesses ($\mathfrak{P}^{38vid}$ 383 614 1127 2147 2412 2652 sy^{h**}) add Χριστοῦ εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. As Ernst Haenchen aptly suggests, "$\mathfrak{P}^{38}$ and D have added the words 'Christ for the forgiveness of sins' and thus produced the baptismal formula of their time. We can see from this how the formulae became more and more liturgically developed."[78] The addition is of course older than both Bezae (c. 400 CE) and $\mathfrak{P}^{38}$ (250–350 CE) and likely reaches back to the second century.[79] Metzger points out that this addition is awkward in the context, "because these persons had previously received John's baptism for the remission of sins."[80] On the other hand, we see how the formula would appropriately fit a liturgical *Sitz-im-Leben*.

---

however, pointed out that since Codex Bezae predates the use of lectionaries as separate books, this reading rather may have crept in from "the margin of the codex from which D was copied" ("Little Contributions to the Greek Testament," *ExpTim* 6 [1903]: 190–192, here 190). Now we know that the textual variant has wider attestation (e.g., in mae). There is a similar example in Acts 2:1 which may be the result of lectionary influence. For further examples, see Tommy Wasserman and Jennifer Knust, "Codex Bezae as Repository," in *Studies on the Intersection of Text, Paratext, and Reception: A Festschrift in Honor of Charles E. Hill*, ed. Gregory R. Lanier and J. Nicholas Reid, TENTS 15 (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 142–174, here 145–146. See also Donald W. Riddle, "The Character of the Lectionary Text of Mark in the Week-Days of Matthew and Luke," in *Prolegomena to the Study of the Lectionary Text of the Gospels*, ed. Ernest C. Colwell and Donald W. Riddle, Studies in the Lectionary Text of the Greek New Testament 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 21–42, here 40.

76 For the development of the "Western text" and the origin of the earliest stratum in the second century, see Aland, "Enstehung," 64–65.

77 Cf. Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 411.

78 Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1971), 553 n. 6 (translated by Bernard Noble, Gerald Shinn and R. McL. Wilson from the 14th German ed. of *Die Apostelgeschichte* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965]). The German reads "$\mathfrak{P}^{38}$ und D haben noch die Worte 'Christus zur Vergebung der Sünden' hinzugefügt und damit die Taufformel ihrer Zeit hergestellt. Man sieht daran, wie die Formeln immer voller liturgisch ausgestaltet werden" (p. 489 n. 1).

79 I give the date of $\mathfrak{P}^{38}$ as suggested by Pasquale Orsini and Willy Clarysse, "Early New Testament Manuscripts and Their Dates: A Critique of Theological Paleography," *ETL* 88 (2012): 433–474, here 470.

80 Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 416.

3.4 *The Ethiopian Eunuch's Confession of Faith* (*Acts 8:37*)

A final example of liturgical influence on the text is the large addition in Acts 8:37, which has early and wide attestation, albeit mainly by witnesses that share many other "Western" variants (E; Ir; it vg^{cl} sy^{h**} mae).[81] The addition is a reply to the Ethiopian Eunuch's question, "Look, here is water! What is to prevent me from being baptized?" (NRSV). Philip's reply, which is omitted in all modern text-critical editions, was incorporated by Erasmus in the Textus Receptus: εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Φίλιππος· εἰ πιστεύεις ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας, ἔξεστιν. ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ εἶπεν πιστεύω τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν ("Philip replied: 'If you believe with all your heart, you may.' He replied and said, 'I believe Jesus Christ is the Son of God'"). Irenaeus referred to the account and cited the confession as early as the late-second century.[82]

Many scholars have inferred that this addition reflects an early ritual. For example, Oscar Cullmann calls it "the oldest baptismal ritual when it gives the liturgical answer, ἔξεστιν, to the question in verse 36 which itself … is liturgical in character."[83] Metzger states that this confession of faith "was doubtless used by the early church in baptismal ceremonies, and may have been written in the margin of a copy of Acts."[84] Further, Zuntz points out that this pericope "is found in virtually all of the older systems of lessons" and that "at Edessa it was especially set aside for reading at baptisms." For those reasons, Zuntz concludes, "one understands why the little dialogue between Philip and the catechumen is expanded into a 'baptismal creed.'"[85]

More recently, however, a number of other scholars have denied that this passage reflects an early liturgy.[86] For example, Friedrich W. Horn points out

---

81 The variant has support also from significant minuscules like 323 and 1739 as well as several Byzantine witnesses (but not the mainstream). On the other hand, it is omitted from the group of witnesses associated with minuscule 614 that share many other "Western" variants. Codex Bezae (D 05) is lacunose.

82 Irenaeus, *Haer*. 3.12.8 (Fr. Gr. 20 in SC 211:214): Τοῦτον εἶναι Ἰησοῦν καὶ πεπληρῶσθαι ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν γραφήν, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ εὐνοῦχος πεισθεὶς καὶ παραυτίκα ἀξιῶν βαπτισθῆναι ἔλεγε· "Πιστεύω τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι Ἰησοῦν." Greek text in Adelin Rousseau and Louis Doutreleau, eds., *Irénée de Lyon: Contre les hérésies*: *Livre III–2*, SC 211 (Paris: Cerf, 1974).

83 Oscar Cullmann, *Baptism in the New Testament*, Studies in Biblical Theology, First Series 1 (London: SCM Press, 1950), 71 (translation by J.K.S. Reid from the German original, *Die Tauflehre des Neuen Testaments* [Zürich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1948]); cf. F.F. Bruce, *Commentary on the Book of Acts*, NICNT (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1977), 190: "This addition certainly reflects primitive Christian practice. When a convert was formally admitted to Christian fellowship by baptism, he made a public confession of his new faith, probably in response to a definite question."

84 Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 315.

85 Zuntz, Opuscula Selecta, 203.

86 Gerhard Barth, *Die Taufe in frühchristlicher Zeit*, BThSt 4 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirch-

that the addition does not look like a proper baptismal formula (cf. Matt 28:19; Did. 7.1; Justin, *1 Apol.* 61; and Acts 2:38; 8:16; 10:48; 19:5)—such would not have been omitted from an early baptismal liturgy anyway—but rather the addition represents a paradigmatic and anti-heretical confession of faith that was suitable for insertion here:

> Sein [the confession's] Sitz im Leben scheint vielmehr das christologische Bekenntnis im Gegenüber zu einer als häretisch dargestellten Position zu sein …. Dennoch scheint mir der Befund dahingehend zu überzeugen, dass der Zusatz im sogenannten Westlichen Text (Apg 8,37) nicht ein Element nachträgt, welches in einer frühen Taufliturgie keinesfalls hätte fehlen dürfen. Vielmehr wird der konversionswillige Äthioper, dessen positive jüdische Ausrichtung benannt wird, zu einem Zeugen desjenigen Christusglaubens, der in Jesus Christus den Sohn Gottes bekennt.[87]

Horn further states that there is no evidence in early Christian literature connecting such a confession with baptism.[88] Nonetheless, the addition in 8:37 should be evaluated in the light of the other "Western" expansions above—especially those connected with baptism. They all likely go back to one main redactor who seems to have been influenced by the ritual practice of his time, a redactor who made various additions in these passages and consistently expanded the divine title to κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. Thus, in my opinion, Philip's reply and the Eunuch's confession in 8:37 reflect liturgical influence, regardless of whether the actual confession was used *verbatim* in liturgy or not.[89]

---

ener Verlag, 1981), 48 n. 93; Friedrich W. Horn, "Apg 8,37, der Westliche Text und die frühchristliche Tauftheologie," in *The Book of Acts as Church History: Text, Textual Traditions and Ancient Interpretations: Apostelgeschichte als Kirchengeschichte: Text, Texttraditionen und antike Auslegungen*, ed. Tobias Nicklas and Michael Tilly, BZNW 120 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 225–239, here 236–239; Jens Schröter, "Die Taufe in der Apostelgeschichte," in *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism and Early Christianity*, vol. 1: *Methodological Considerations*, ed. David Hellholm et al., BZNW 176 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 557–586, here 574–575.

87 Horn, "Apg 8,37," 239.

88 Horn, "Apg 8,37," 237.

89 The passage in John 9:38–39a may represent another early addition due to liturgical usage of the text in the context of baptism. The confession of the man born blind, the remark that he worshiped Jesus, and the reintroduction of Jesus as the speaker (ὁ δὲ ἔφη· πιστεύω, κύριε· καὶ προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς·) is missing from early and significant witnesses, 𝔓[75] א* W b (l) sa[ms] ly cw. Raymond Brown notes that "these verses contain some non-Johannine peculiarities" and suggests that they may represent "an addition stemming from the association of John ix with the baptismal liturgy and catechesis. Verse 38

4 Conclusion

This study has built on the growing scholarly consensus that, from the earliest observable time, Christianity was a textual movement. The reading of passages from the Old Testament scriptures in regular gatherings—in continuity with synagogue practice—along with letters from the apostles and Jesus traditions, which were gradually written down, was a hallmark of the new movement. I have argued that Christian scribes at various points must have used exemplars of the LXX/Old Greek copied by Greek-speaking Jews, and, thus, they inherited texts and, to some degree, paratextual features, although these were modified in subsequent textual transmission. Some such features certainly affected the transmission of the New Testament manuscripts too. In my opinion, the continuity between Greek Jewish and Christian scribal and reading practices is still an underestimated factor in the discussion about the origin of early Christian liturgy.

The reading of passages in Christian liturgy has had a double impact on the textual tradition of these texts. On the one hand, liturgical usage led to harmonizations between Gospels; to minor stylistic changes to improve the clarity of the text; or to other adaptations to the contemporary liturgical usage of the texts. On the other hand, the public reading or chanting of fixed lessons and hymns would have set limits to the extent of textual change that could be tolerated by the communities.

This article has examined a number of particular examples of possible liturgical influence on the texts. First, the "liturgical ἀμήν" that has been appended to most of the books in the NT that did not already conclude with an ἀμήν in a benediction or doxology; second, various additions to the Lord's Prayer in Matthew and Luke, in particular the doxology that concludes the Matthean version in most manuscripts, attested already in the Didache—an addition that reflects the fact that the prayer was used in Christian liturgy from a very early stage.

In the final section, I have treated a few specific examples of liturgical additions and expansions involving Jesus's name in the "Western" textual variants in passages of Acts where teaching, preaching, healing or baptism is mentioned. Those examples likely go back to a "Western" reviser who has consistently expanded Jesus's title to "the Lord Jesus Christ," and who occasionally added further elements that likely reflect liturgical influence.

---

describes a rather liturgical gesture." See Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John* (I–XII), AB 29 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966), 375.

Finally, I have discussed the larger "Western" addition in Acts 8:37 where the reviser has filled in a gap in the story about the Ethiopian Eunuch-Philip's reply to the rhetorical question followed by a christological confession. This addition may not represent what Cullmann has called "the oldest baptismal ritual," but it should nevertheless be evaluated in light of other "Western" liturgical expansions. In my opinion, the addition almost certainly reflects a liturgical influence, regardless of whether the actual confession was used *verbatim* in a baptismal ritual.

It cannot come as a surprise that the continuing liturgical usage of Scripture must have left some marks upon its text during the history of transmission. Nevertheless, much work remains to detect and discuss possible liturgical influence in individual passages in the New Testament and beyond. It is my hope that this article represents a step in the right direction.

Bibliography

Achelis, Hans, ed. *Hippolyts kleinere exegetische und homiletische Schriften*. GCS 1.2; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1897.

Aland, Barbara. "Enstehung, Charakter und Herkunft des sog. westlichen Textes untersucht an der Apostelgeschichte." *ETL* 62 (1986): 5–65.

Alikin, Valeriy A. *The Earliest History of the Christian Gathering: Origin, Development and Content of the Christian Gathering in the First to Third Centuries*. VCSup 102. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

Altmann, Peter. "Sacred Meals and Feasts in the Old Testament/Hebrew Bible and Its Environment: A 'Treasure Chest' for Early Christian Practice and Reflection." Pages 23–41 in volume 1 of *The Eucharist—Its Origins and Contexts: Sacred Meal, Communal Meal, Table Fellowship in Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*. Edited by David Hellholm and Dieter Sänger. WUNT 376. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017.

Ayo, Nicolas. *The Lord's Prayer: A Survey Theological and Literary*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992.

Barth, Gerhard. *Die Taufe in frühchristlicher Zeit*. BThST 4. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981.

Bardy, Gustav, ed. *Historia ecclesiastica: Livres V–VII*, SC 41. Paris: Cerf, 1952.

Bardy, Gustav, ed. *Historia ecclesiastica: Livres VIII–X*, SC 55. Paris: Cerf, 1952.

Baumstark, Anton. *Vom geschichtlichen Werden der Liturgie*. Freiburg: Herder, 1923.

Bengel, Johann A. *Novum Testamentum Graecum*. Tübingen: George Cottae, 1734.

Blomqvist, Jerker and Karin Blomqvist. "Eucharist Terminology in Early Christian Literature: Philological and Semantic Aspects." Pages 389–421 in volume 1 of *The*

Eucharist—Its Origins and Contexts: Sacred Meal, Communal Meal, Table Fellowship in Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity. Edited by David Hellholm and Dieter Sänger. WUNT 376. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017.

Bradshaw, Paul F. *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship*. London: SPCK, 2002.

Brown, Raymond E. *The Gospel according to John* (I–XII), AB 29. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966.

Bruce, F.F. *Commentary on the Book of Acts*. NICNT. London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1977.

Burkitt, F.C. "The Early Lectionary System." *Proceedings of the British Academy* 11 (1923): 1–39.

Cullmann, Oscar. *Baptism in the New Testament*. Studies in Biblical Theology, First Series 1. Translated by J.K.S. Reid. London: SCM Press, 1950.

Delobel, Joël. "The Lord's Prayer in the Textual Tradition: A Critique of Recent Theories and Their View on Marcion's Role." Pages 293–309 in *The New Testament in Early Christianity*. Edited by Jean-Marie Sevrin. BETL 86 Leuven: Peeters, 1989.

Dix, Gregory. *The Shape of the Liturgy*. London: Dacre Press, 1946.

Dold, Alban. *Das älteste Liturgiebuch der lateinischen Kirche: Ein altgallikanisches Lektionar des 5./6. Jhs. aus dem Wolfenbütteler Palimpsest-Codex Weissenburgensis 76*. Texte und Arbeiten, pt 1: Beiträge zur Ergründung des älteren lateinischen christlichen Schrifttums und Gottesdienstes, vols. 26–28. Beuron: Kunstverlag Beuron, 1935.

Duchesne, Louis. *Origines du culte chrétien*, 5th ed. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1925.

Dunn, James D.G. *Jesus Remembered*, vol. 1 of *Christianity in the Making*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003.

Ehrman, Bart D. *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament*. 2d ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Ekenberg, Anders. "The Eucharist in Early Church Orders." Pages 957–992 in volume 2 of *The Eucharist—Its Origins and Contexts: Sacred Meal, Communal Meal, Table Fellowship in Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*. Edited by David Hellholm and Dieter Sänger. WUNT 376. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017.

Epp, Eldon J. *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts*. SNTSMS 3 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966.

Fialová, Radka. " 'Scripture' and the 'Memoires of the Apostles': Justin Martyr and His Bible." Pages 165–178 in *The Process of Authority: The Dynamics in Transmission and Reception of Canonical Texts*. Edited by Jan Dušek and Jan Roskovec. Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies 27. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016.

Gäbel, Georg. " 'Western Text', 'D-Text Cluster,' 'Bezan Trajectory,' Or What Else?—A Preliminary Study." Pages 83–136 in vol. III; part 3 of *Novum Testamentum Graecum: Editio Critica Maior*. Edited by Holger Strutwolf et al. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2017.

Gamble, Harry Y. *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

Gamble, Harry Y. "Literacy, Liturgy, and the Shaping of the New Testament Canon." Pages 27–49 in *The Earliest Gospels: The Origins and Transmission of the Earliest Christian Gospels: The Contribution of the Chester Beatty Gospel Codex P^{45}*. Edited by C. Horton. JSNTSS 258. London: T & T Clark, 2004.

Grüll, Tibor. "Reading of the Torah in the First Century Synagogue–New Archaeological Proofs." Pages 139–152 in *Schöner Alfréd hetven éves: Essays in Honor of Alfred Schöner*. Edited by Oláh János and Zima András. Budapest: Gabbiano Print, 2018.

Güting, Eberhard. "Amen, Eulogie, Doxologie. Eine textkritische Untersuchung." Pages 133–162 in *Begegnungen zwischen Christentum und Judentum in Antike und Mittelalter: Festschrift für Heinz Schreckenberg*. Edited by Dietrich-Alex Koch, Hermann Lichtenberger et al. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993.

Haenchen, Ernst. *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary*. Translated by Bernard Noble, Gerald Shinn, and R. McL. Wilson. Oxford: Blackwell, 1971.

Harnack, Adolf von. *Die Briefsammlung des Apostels Paulus und die anderen vorkonstantinischen christlichen Briefsammlungen: sechs Vorlesungen aus der altkirchlichen Literaturgeschichte*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926.

Heilmann, Jan. "Ancient Literary Culture and Meals in the Greco-Roman World: The Role of Reading during Ancient Symposia and Its Relevance for the New Testament." *JTS* 73.1 (2022): 104–125.

Heilmann, Jan. *Lesen in Antike und frühem Christentum: Kulturgeschichtliche, philologische sowie kognitionswissenschaftliche Perspektiven und deren Bedeutung für die neutestamentliche Exegese*. TANZ 66. Tübingen: Francke, 2021.

Heilmann, Jan. "'Reading Aids' and Other Characteristic Features." Pages 177–196 in *Material Aspects of Reading in Ancient and Medieval Cultures: Materiality, Presence and Performance*. Edited by Anna Krauß, Jonas Leipziger and Friederike Schücking–Jungblut. Materiale Textkulturen 26. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2020.

Holmes, Michael W. "Codex Bezae as a Recension of the Gospels." Pages 123–160 in *Codex Bezae: Studies from the Lunel Colloquium June 1994*. Edited by David C. Parker and C.-B. Amphoux. Leiden: Brill, 1996.

Horn, Friedrich W. "Apg 8,37, der Westliche Text und die frühchristliche Tauftheologie." Pages 225–239 in *The Book of Acts as Church History: Text, Textual Traditions and Ancient Interpretations: Apostelgeschichte als Kirchengeschichte: Text, Texttraditionen und antike Auslegungen*. Edited by Tobias Nicklas and Michael Tilly. BZNW 120. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003.

Hurtado, Larry W. "The New Testament in the Second Century: Text, Collection and Canon." Pages 3–27 in *Transmission and Reception: New Testament Text-Critical and Exegetical Studies*. Edited by Jeff W. Childers and David C. Parker. Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2006.

Hurtado, Larry W. *Destroyer of the Gods*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2017.

Hurtado, Larry W. *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003.

Jefford, Clayton N. *The Sayings of Jesus in the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*. VCSup 11. Leiden: Brill, 1989.

Jonge, Henk J. de. "The Early History of the Lord's Supper." Pages 209–237 in *Religious Identity and the Invention of Tradition*. Edited by J.W. van Henten and A. Houtepen. Assen: Van Gorcum, 2001.

Jonge, Henk J. de. *Avondmaal en symposium: Oorsprong en eerste ontwikkeling van de vroegchristelijke samenkomst*. Leiden: University of Leiden, 2007.

Jonge, Henk J. de. *Zondag en sabbat: Over het ontstaan van de christelijke zondag*. Leiden: Universiteit Leiden, 2006.

Jungmann, Joseph A. Missarum Sollemnia: *A Genetic Explanation of the Roman Mass*. 2 vols. 3rd ed. Vienna: Herder, 1952.

Keith, Chris. *The Gospel as Manuscript: An Early History of the Jesus Tradition as Material Artifact*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020.

Kelhoffer, James A. *Conceptions of "Gospel" and Legitimacy in Early Christianity*. WUNT 324. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014.

Kistemaker, Simon J. "The Lord's Prayer in the First Century." *JETS* 21 (1978): 323–328.

Klinghardt, Matthias. *Gemeinschaftsmahl und Mahlgemeinschaft: Soziologie und Liturgie frühchristlicher Mahlfeiern*. TANZ 13. Tübingen: Francke, 1996.

Kloppenborg, John. "Dating Theodotos (CIJ II 1404)." *JJS* 51 (2000): 243–280.

Knust, Jennifer and Tommy Wasserman. "The Biblical Odes and the Text of the Christian Bible: A Reconsideration of the Impact of Liturgical Singing on the Transmission of the Gospel of Luke." *JBL* 133 (2014): 341–365.

Kraft, Robert A. "The 'Textual Mechanics' of Early Jewish LXX/OG Papyri and Fragments." Pages 51–72 in *The Bible as Book: The Transmission of the Greek Text*. Edited by Scott McKendrick and Orlaith A. O'Sullivan. London: Oak Knoll, 2003.

Kugel, James. *The Idea of Biblical Poetry*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981.

Hurtado, Larry W. "Oral Fixation and New Testament Studies? 'Orality', 'Performance' and Reading Texts in Early Christianity." *NTS* 60 (2014): 321–340.

Lefèvre, Maurice, ed. *Hippolyte: Commentaire sur Daniel*. SC 14; Paris: Cerf, 1947.

Leipziger, Jonas. "Ancient Jewish Greek Practices of Reading and Their Material Aspects." Pages 149–176 in *Material Aspects of Reading in Ancient and Medieval Cultures: Materiality, Presence and Performance*. Edited by Anna Krauß et al. Materiale Textkulturen 26. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2020.

Leonhard, Clemens. "No Liturgical Need for a Gospel in the Second Century." Pages 89–106 in *Das Neue Testament und sein Text in 2. Jahrhundert*. Edited by Jan Heilmann and Mattias Klinghardt. TANZ 61. Tübingen: Francke, 2018.

Lietzmann, Hans. *Messe und Herrenmahl*. Berlin: A. Marcus und E. Weber's Verlag, 1926.

Lieu, Judith. "Marcion and the Synoptic Problem." Pages 731–751 in *New Studies in the Synoptic Problem: Oxford Conference, April 2008: Essays in Honour of Christopher M. Tuckett*. BETL 239. Leuven: Peeters, 2011.

Martini, Carlo M. *Il problema della recensionalità del codice B alla luce del papiro Bodmer XIV*. Analecta Biblica 26. Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1966.

Meeks, Wayne. "Social and Ecclesial Life of the Earliest Christians." Pages 144–174 in *Origins to Constantine*, vol. 1 of *The Cambridge History of Christianity*. Edited by Frances M. Young and Margaret M. Mitchell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Metzger, Bruce M. *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*. 2d ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994.

Minns, Dennis, and Paul Parvis, eds. *Justin, Philosopher and Martyr: Apologies*, OECT. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Mitchell, David C. "Resinging the Temple Psalmody." *JSOT* 36 (2012): 355–378.

Mugridge, Alan. *Copying Early Christian Texts: A Study of Scribal Practice*. WUNT 362. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016.

Nässelqvist, Dan. *Public Reading in Early Christianity: Lectors, Manuscripts, and Sound in the Oral Delivery of John 1–4*, NovTSup 163. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

Nestle, Eberhard. "Little Contributions to the Greek Testament." *ExpTim* 6 (1903): 190–192.

Niederwimmer, Kurt. *The Didache: A Commentary*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1998.

Nongbri, Brent. *God's Library: The Archaeology of the Earliest Christian Manuscripts*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018.

Orsini, Pasquale, and Willy Clarysse. "Early New Testament Manuscripts and Their Dates: A Critique of Theological Paleography." *ETL* 88 (2012): 433–474.

Pardee, Cambry G. *Scribal Harmonization in the Synoptic Gospels*. NTTSD 60. Leiden: Brill, 2019.

Parker, David C. *The Living Text of the Gospels*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Perler, Othmar, ed. *Méliton de Sardes: Sur la Pâque et fragments*. SC 123. Paris: Cerf, 1966.

Perrot, Charles. "The Reading of the Bible in the Ancient Synagogue." Pages 137–159 in *The Literature of the Jewish People in the Period of the Second Temple and the Talmud*, vol. 1: *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*. Edited by Martin-Jan Mulder. CRINT 2.1. Assen: Van Gorgum, 1988.

Pokorný, Petr. *From the Gospel to the Gospels: History, Theology and Impact of the Biblical Term* Euangelion. BZNW 195. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013.

Porter, Calvin L. "A Textual Analysis of the Earliest Manuscripts of the Gospel of John." PhD diss. Duke University, 1961.

Porter, Calvin L. "Papyrus Bodmer XV ($\mathfrak{P}^{75}$) and the Text of Codex Vaticanus." *JBL* 81 (1962): 363–376.

Riddle, Donald W. “The Character of the Lectionary Text of Mark in the Week-Days of Matthew and Luke.” Pages 21–42 in *Prolegomena to the Study of the Lectionary Text of the Gospels*. Edited by Ernest C. Colwell and Donald W. Riddle. Studies in the Lectionary Text of the Greek New Testament 1. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Rius-Camps, Josep and Jenny Read-Heimerdinger. “The Variant Readings of the Western Text of the Acts of the Apostles (XIII) (Acts 8:1b–40).” *FilNeot* 15 (2002): 111–132.

Rius-Camps, Josep and Jenny Read-Heimerdinger. “The Variant Readings of the Western Text of the Acts of the Apostles (XVI) (Acts 9:31–11:18).” *FilNeot* 17 (2004), 45–88.

Roberts, Colin H. *Manuscripts, Society and Belief*. Schweich lectures 18. London: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Rousseau, Adelin and Louis Doutreleau, *Irénée de Lyon: Contre les hérésies*. SC 211. Paris: Cerf, 1974.

Roth, Dieter T. “The Text of the Lord’s Prayer in Marcion’s Gospel.” *ZNW* 103 (2012): 47–63.

Rouwhorst, Gerard. “Didache 9–10: A Litmus Test for the Research on Early Christian Liturgy Eucharist.” Pages 143–156 in *Matthew and the Didache: Two Documents from the Same Milieu?* Edited by Huub van de Sandt. Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2005.

Rouwhorst, Gerard. “The Liturgical Reading of the Bible in Early Eastern Christianity: The Protohistory of the Byzantine Lectionary.” Pages 155–172 in *A Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts in Their Liturgical Context: Challenges and Perspectives; Collected Papers Resulting from an Expert Meeting of the Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscript Programme Held at the PThU in Kampen, the Netherlands, on 6th–7th November 2009*. Edited by K. Spronk, G. Rouwhorst, and S. Royé. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013.

Rouwhorst, Gerard. “The Reading of Scripture in Early Christian Liturgy.” Pages 305–331 in *What Athens Has to Do with Jerusalem: Essays on Classical, Jewish, and Early Christian Art and Archaeology in Honor of Gideon Foerster*. Edited by L.V. Rutgers. Leuven: Peeters, 2002.

Rouwhorst, Gerard. “The Roots of the Early Christian Eucharist: Jewish Blessing or Hellenistic Symposia?” Pages 295–308 in *Jewish and Christian Liturgy and Worship: New Insights into Its History and Interpretation*. Edited by Albert Gerhards and Clemens Leonhard. Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series 15. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Schiell, William D. *Delivering from Memory: The Effect of Performance on the Early Christian Audience*. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2011.

Schlatter, Adolf. *Der Evangelist Matthäus*. 6th ed. Stuttgart: Calwer, 1963.

Schmid, Ulrich B. “Scribes and Variants—Sociology and Typology.” Pages 1–23 in *Textual Variation: Theological and Social Tendencies?* Edited by H.A.G. Houghton and David C. Parker. Text and Studies 3rd, Series 5. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2008.

Schröter, Jens. "Die Taufe in der Apostelgeschichte." Pages 557–586 in *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism and Early Christianity*. Edited by David Hellholm et al. BZNW 176. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011.

Smith, Dennis. *From Symposium to Eucharist: The Banquet in the Early Christian World*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003.

Strack, Hermann L. and Paul Billerbeck. *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*. 6 vols. Munich: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandling, 1922–1961.

Versace, Pietro. *I marginalia del* Codex Vaticanus. Studi e testi 528. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2018.

Wachtel, Klaus. "A Plea against the Text-Type Concept," Pages 137–148 in vol. III, part 3 of *Novum Testamentum Graecum: Editio Critica Maior*. Edited by Holger Strutwolf et al. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2017.

Wasserman, Tommy, and Jennifer Knust. "Codex Bezae as Repository." Pages 142–174 in *Studies on the Intersection of Text, Paratext, and Reception: A Festschrift in Honor of Charles E. Hill*. Edited by Gregory R. Lanier and J. Nicholas Reid. TENTS 15. Leiden: Brill, 2021.

Wasserman, Tommy. "Beyond Palaeography: Text, Paratext and Dating of Early Christian Papyri." In *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri at Ninety*: *Literature, Papyrology, Ethics*. Edited by Garrick V. Allen et al. Manuscripta Biblica 10. Berlin: de Gruyter, forthcoming in 2022.

Wasserman, Tommy. "$\mathfrak{P}^{72}$ and the Bodmer Miscellaneous Codex." *NTS* 51 (2005): 137–154.

Wasserman, Tommy. *The Epistle of Jude*. ConBNT 43. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2006.

Watts, James W. "Biblical Psalms Outside the Psalter." Pages 288–309 in *The Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception*. Edited by Peter W. Flint and Patrick D. Miller, Jr. VTSup 99. Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature 4. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

Watts, James W. *Psalms and Story: Inset Hymns in Hebrew Narrative*. JSOTSup 130. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992.

Weitzman, Steven. *Song and Story in Biblical Narrative: The History of a Literary Convention in Ancient Israel*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1997.

Young, Frances. "Christian Teaching." Pages 91–104 in *Cambridge History of Early Christian Literature*. Edited by Frances Young, Lewis Ayres, and Andrew Louth. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Zahn, Theodor. *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons*. 2 vols. Erlangen: A. Deickert, 1888–1892.

Zahn, Theodor. *Grundriß der Geschichte des Neutestamentichen Kanons: Eine Ergänzung zu der Einleitung in das Neue Testament*. Leipzig: Deichert, 1901.

Zuntz, Günther. *Opuscula Selecta: Classica, Hellenistica, Christiana*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972.

3

Zwei urchristliche Taufformeln

David Hellholm

Für ein Mitglied der Schwedischen Kirche, in der man das Verhältnis zwischen der Taufe und der Zugehörigkeit zur Kirche in einer von der übrigen Christenheit abweichenden Weise zu betrachten tendiert, mag es von Bedeutung sein, noch einmal die ältesten und damit irgendwie verpflichtenden Traditionen näher anzusehen.[1]

1 Die eingliedrige sogenannte „Namensformel"

Wie wir im folgenden feststellen können,[2] wurden in der Urkirche zwei verschiedene Taufformeln verwendet. Zuerst die Formel „auf den Namen des Herrn Jesus" (εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ), „im Namen Jesu Christi" (ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ), „wegen des Namens Jesu Christi" (ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ); sodann die *triadische* Formel „auf den Namen des Vaters und des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes" (εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος). Die älteste von ihnen finden wir in 1 Kor 1:13–15 (ca. April 54

1 Lars Hartman, *Auf den Namen des Herrn Jesus. Die Taufe in den neutestamentlichen Schriften*, SBS 148 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk), 1992, 7.

2 Mein verehrter Kollege und langjähriger Freund Anders Ekenberg hat zu zwei Sakramentsprojekten bedeutende Beiträge geliefert: Anders Ekenberg, „Initiation in the *Apostolic Tradition*" in *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism and Early Christianity*, hgg. von David Hellholm, Tor Vegge, Øyvind Norderval und Christer Hellholm, BZNW 176 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 2.1011–1050 und Anders Ekenberg, „The Eucharist in Early Church Orders" in *The Eucharist – Its Origins and Contexts: Sacred Meal, Communal Meal, Table Fellowship in Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*, hgg. von David Hellholm und Dieter Sänger, WUNT 376 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 2.957–992). Im letztgenannten Projekt hat er auch als Organisationsmitglied wesentlich zum Gelingen des Projekts beigetragen. Für Hilfe bei den Korrekturen des Manuskripts danke ich Prof. Michael Lattke herzlich; für einige inhaltliche Verbesserungsvorschläge danke ich Prof. Dietrich-Alex Koch ebenso herzlich.

in Ephesus) und wird öfters „*Namensformel*" genannt.[3] Dort heißt es in den rhetorischen Fragen des Paulus: „Seid ihr auf den Namen des Paulus getauft worden? (V. 1:13c). Die implizierte Antwort ist selbstverständlich: „Nein, auf den Namen Jesu Christi." Dass diese Antwort auf die rhetorische Frage richtig ist, wird teils durch die analoge und ebenso einleuchtende Antwort auf die Frage des Paulus: „Oder seid ihr auf den Namen des Paulus gekreuzigt worden?" (V. 13b) bestätigt: „Nein, Christus ist für euch/uns gekreuzigt worden,"[4] teils auch durch den traditionellen Tauftext in 1 Kor 6:11, den Paulus zitiert, wo es heißt: „ihr wart Ungerechte" (V. 9a + 11a) ..., „aber ihr habt euch abwaschen lassen, ja, ihr seid geheiligt worden, ja, ihr seid gerechtgesprochen worden *im Namen des Herrn Jesus Christus* und im Geist unseres Gottes";[5] weiter Gal 3:27 „Denn ihr alle, die ihr *auf Christus getauft seid*, habt Christus angezogen" (Mai 54 in Ephesus?); Röm 6:3 „Wir alle, die wir *in Christus Jesus getauft* wurden, wir wurden *in seinen Tod getauft*" (Frühjahr 55/56 in Korinth). Nach Durchgang der paulinischen Tauftexte kann Friedrich Avemarie Paulus' Taufverständnis mit folgenden Worten zusammenfassen: „... das ihnen [sc. den Taufaussagen] zugrundeliegende, soteriologische Verständnis des εἰς Χριστόν scheint für ihn solche Grundsätzlichkeit jedenfalls besessen zu haben. Mit anderen Worten, eine Taufe, die nicht auf Jesu Namen geschieht, kann nach paulinischer Auffassung nicht vermitteln, was die christliche Taufe vermitteln soll."[6] Siehe weiter mit Verwendung älterer Traditionen Apg 2:38, 8:16, 10:48,[7] 19:5, „Da ließen sie

3 David Hellholm, „Vorgeformte Tauftraditionen und deren Benutzung in den Paulusbriefen," in Hellholm et al, *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism*, 1.415–495, hier 417–422.

4 Gerhard Barth, *Die Taufe in frühchristlicher Zeit*, 2. Aufl. (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2002), 41–42; Wilhelm Bousset, „Der erste Brief an die Korinther," in *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, hgg. von Johannes Weiss (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1908), 2.72–161, hier 77; Johannes Weiss, *Der erste Korintherbrief*, KEK 5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970 [1910]), 18–19; Hans Conzelmann, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*, KEK 5, 2. Aufl. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 54; Hellholm, „Tauftraditionen," 422.

5 Hellholm, „Tauftraditionen," 430–435.

6 Friedrich Avemarie, *Die Tauferzählungen der Apostelgeschichte*, WUNT 139 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 433 Anm. 98: Unter Verweis auf 1 Kor 1:13 und 15 „liegt es nahe, dass auch das bei βαπτισθῆναι stehende εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν in Röm 6,3 und das analog gebrauchte εἰς Χριστόν in Gal 3,27 *abkürzende* Modifikationen derselben Formel darstellen" (Kursiv mein). Vgl. schon S. 26 Anm. 5: „Dabei lässt der in 1,13 im gleichen Atemzug ausgesprochene doppelte Hinweis auf Christus eher an eine christologische als an eine triadische Formel denken. In Röm 6,3 und Gal 3,27 liegt vermutlich eine *verkürzende* Anspielung vor"; ebenso Hellholm, „Tauftraditionen," 436–439 (Gal 3:27), 439–452 (Röm 6:3); Zu Gal 3:26–28 auch Hans Dieter Betz, „Geist, Freiheit und Gesetz," in *Paulinische Studien*, von Hans Dieter Betz (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 46–62; Hans Dieter Betz, *Der Galaterbrief* (München: Kaiser, 1988), 320–353.

7 Siehe Juliett Day, „The Catechetical Lectures of Cyril of Jerusalem. A Source for the Baptismal Liturgy of Mid-Fourth Century Jerusalem," in Hellholm et al, *Ablution, Initiation, and*

sich *auf den Namen des Herrn Jesus taufen*" (90–110 in Alexandria/Rom?).[8] Noch an der Jahrhundertwende 90/100 (also später als Matthäus) kennt Lukas in der Apg keine triadische Taufformel, wohl aber in verschiedenen Zusammenhängen die „Namensformel." Auch in Jak 2:7 (90–110 in Antiochia oder Rom?) spricht manches dafür, dass es sich um den Namen handelt, der bei der Taufe ausgesprochen wurde, auch wenn die Taufe nicht direkt erwähnt, wohl aber inbegriffen wird: „Unterdrücken euch nicht die Reichen, und schleppen nicht sie euch vor Gericht? Lästern nicht sie den *guten* (*καλόν*) *Namen*, der über euch ausgerufen wurde?" (οὐκ αὐτοὶ βλασφημοῦσιν τὸ καλὸν ὄνομα τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς;).[9] Dies ist auch der Fall im 1 Joh 2:12 (ca. 95 in Ephesus), wo es heißt: „Ich

---

Baptism, 2.1179–1204, hier 1188: „... befahl Petrus, sie im Namen Jesu Christi zu taufen" (Apg 10:48); Zitat aus Kyrillos von Jerusalem, *Catecheses ad illuminandos*, 3.4; vgl. 18.33: „Ihr werdet zunächst unterrichtet werden über die unmittelbar vor der Taufe stattfindenden Zeremonien, sodann über die Sündenreinigung, welche der Herr durch das Wort im Bade des Wassers wirkt, über den *Namen Christ*, den ihr zum Zeichen eurer priesterlichen Würde erhaltet, über das *Siegel*, das euch gegeben wird als Zeichen eurer Gemeinschaft mit dem Heiligen Geist" (Kursiv mein). Weiter, 10.16: „In seiner göttlichen Freigiebigkeit hat er uns allen seinen eigenen Namen geschenkt .... Jesus Christus ..., der Sohn Gottes, wollte, dass wir Christen heißen." Zur Diskussion vom Namen Χριστιανοί, siehe John Granger Cook, „*Chrestiani, Christiani*, Χριστιανοί: A Second Century Anachronism?", *VC* 74 (2020): 237–264, mit dem Ergebnis, dass die Benennungen *Chrestiani, Christiani*, Χριστιανοί keine Anachronismen aus dem 2. Jh. sind, sondern schon in den 60-ziger Jahren n. Chr. verbreitet waren.

8 Avemarie, *Tauferzählungen*, durchgehend *ad loc.*; Jens Schröter, „Die Taufe in der Apostelgeschichte," in Hellholm et al, *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism*, 1.557–586.

9 Wilhelm Bousset, *Kyrios Christos: Geschichte des Christusglaubens von den Anfängen des Christentums bis Irenaeus*, FRLANT 4, 5. Aufl. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965), 227: „Am Anfang des Christenlebens steht die Taufe. Sie ist noch immer ganz wesentlich eine Taufe ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου, wie im paulinischen Zeitalter .... Genauer heißt es, daß die Taufe erfolgt unter Anrufung des Namens des Herrn Jesus Christus: ‚Stehe auf und laß dich taufen und deine Sünden abwaschen, indem du seinen Namen anrufst' (Apg 22,16). Dementsprechend ist die von dem καλὸν ὄνομα τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς (Jak. 2,7). Die Joelstelle ‚καὶ ἔσται πᾶς ὃς ἐὰν ἐπικαλέσηται τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου' wird in der Apg. (wie schon bei Paulus) auf Christus und die Taufe gedeutet ([Joel] 2,21)"; Johannes Weiss, *Das Urchristentum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1917), 129: „Im Zusammenhang mit der Idee des himmlischen Herrn und der Zugehörigkeit zu Christus steht es, wenn bei der Taufe der Name Christi über den Täufling ausgerufen wurde (Jak. 2,7)"; Martin Dibelius und Heinrich Greeven, *Der Brief des Jakobus*, KEK 15, 11. Aufl. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964), 175: „Denn bei der Taufe wird der *Name Jesu* über dem Täufling genannt"; Rudolf Bultmann, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, 9. Aufl. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1984), 128: „Wenn Jak 2,7 ... von dem καλὸν ὄνομα als dem ἐπικληθὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς redet, so wird dieses ὄνομα kein anderes sein als das des κύριος ('Ι. Χρ.), wie es denn bei Herm *sim* VIII.6.4 heißt: τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἐπ' αὐτούς, und wie die Christen *sim* VIII 1,1 die ἐπικεκλημένοι τῷ (v. l. ἐν) ὀνόματι κυρίου bzw. *sim* IX 14,3 die ἐπικαλούμενοι genannt werden. Diese Formeln erweisen deutlich den kultischen Sinn des κύριος-Titels"; Wiard Popkes, *Der Brief des Jakobus*, THKNT 14 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2001), 170: „... dürfte

schreibe euch, Kinder: Euch sind die Sünden vergeben worden *durch seinen Namen*.“ [d.h. Jesu Christi Namen, 2:1] (ὅτι ἀφέωνται ὑμῖν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι διὰ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ [sc. Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ]).[10]

Dies bedeutet, dass die „Namensformel“ sehr früh bekannt und benutzt gewesen sein muss. Im paulinischen Wortfeld/Bedeutungfeld[11] genügt zuwei-

---

die Qualifizierung καλόν auf den Namen Christi hinweisen“; Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Letter of James*, AB 37A (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 226: „[T]he most obvious ‚name‘ invoked is that of ‚Jesus Christ our glorious Lord’ mentioned in 2:1 (compare *Herm. Sim*. 8,6,4: *to onoma kyriou to epiklêthen ep’ autous*).“ So auch Schröter, „Die Taufe in der Apostelgeschichte,“ 579 Anm. 91: „Der ‚gute Name‘ dürfte sich auf den Namen Jesu Christi, nicht Gottes, beziehen. Die Stelle wäre dann ein Beleg dafür, dass dieser Name beim Taufakt tatsächlich genannt wurde. Das ließe sich dann entsprechend auch auf die εἰς τὸ ὄνομα- bzw. die ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι-Formeln übertragen.“ Nach Ralph P. Martin, *James*, WBC 48 (Waco: Word, 1988), 66; Hubert Frankemölle, *Der Brief des Jakobus*, ÖTK 17.1–2 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 1994), 396–398 und Christoph Burchard, *Der Jakobusbrief*, HNT 15.1 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 102, bezieht sich jedoch der Name vermutlich auf Gott, was mir unwahrscheinlich scheint: In einem griechischen Papyrusfragment der äthiopischen Version der Petrusapokalypse (ca. 135 n. Chr.) findet sich ausdrücklich das Syntagma καλὸν βάπτισμα. Siehe Charles Wessely, „Les plus anciens monuments du christianisme: Écrits sur papyrus“ in *Patrologia orientalis* 18, hgg. von B. Graffin und F. Nau (Paris: Didot, 1924), 341–511, hier 482–483; C. Detlef und G. Müller, „Offenbarung des Petrus,“ in *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, Band 2: *Apostolisches, Apokalypsen und Verwandtes*, hgg. von Wilhelm Schneemelcher, 5. Aufl. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989), 575 Anm. 43; Everett Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology, and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 225. Lars Hartman, *„Into the Name of the Lord Jesus“: Baptism in the Early Church* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1997), 49 Anm. 52, verneint sogar einen Zusammenhang mit der Taufe; siehe aber Hartman in Anm. 24.

10 Siehe bes. Udo Schnelle, *Die Johannesbriefe*, THKNT 17 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2010), 95: „Ein Taufbezug legt sich aus zwei Gründen nahe: a) Die Taufe ist nach breiter frühchristlicher Überzeugung der Ort der Sündenvergebung (vgl. Mk 1:4; 1 Kor 6:11; Röm 3:25; Apg 2:38), wo b) der Name Jesu Christi über dem Täufling ausgesprochen wird (vgl. 1 Kor 1:13, 15; 6:11; Röm 6:3 f.; Apg 2:38; 8:16; 10:48; 19:5). In V. 13ab fordert der Akkusativ-Artikel τόν eine personale Ergänzung, die ‚Jesus Christus‘ sein dürfte“; Hans-Josef Klauck, *Der erste Johannesbrief*, EKK 23.1 (Zürich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1991), 133: „Die Verbindung von Sündenvergebung und Name Jesus ruft den Gedanken an die Taufe auf den Namen Jesu mit ihrer sündentilgenden Kraft wach (vgl. Apg 2,38; 10,43).“ Dass Jesus Christus gemeint ist (doch ohne Bezug auf die Taufe), hebt auch Rudolf Schnackenburg, *Die Johannesbriefe*, 2. Aufl., HThKNT 13.3 (Freiburg: Herder, 1963), 123–124 hervor; Raymond E. Brown, *The Epistles of John*, AB 30 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1982), 302–303 (mit Anknüpfung an die Taufe); Rudolf Bultmann, *Die drei Johannesbriefe*, KEK 14 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967), 37 Anm. 4: „Speziell an die Taufe … braucht damit nicht angespielt zu sein.“

11 Zur Wortfeldtheorie, siehe z.B. Horst Geckeler, *Strukturelle Semantik und Wortfeldtheorie* (München: Fink, 1971); John Lyons, *Semantics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 1.250–269, hier 269: „[F]urther theoretical and methodological points may be em-

len der *literarische* Kotext („*cotext*") nicht für sich, sondern muss erweitert werden durch den *situativen* Zusammenhang („*context*"): Das gleiche Syntagma kann also zwei verschiedene Bedeutungen haben:

(a) Wie Lars Hartman überzeugend gezeigt hat, ist die „Namensformel" ursprünglich in aramäischsprechenden Taufliturgien (*l*[e]*shem* hebr./*l*[e]*shum* aram.: „auf dem Namen" [„Befindlichkeit"] oder „auf den Namen" [„Richtung"]) gebraucht worden und zwar in der Bedeutung „mit Rücksicht auf" oder „im Hinblick auf";[12] sie ist aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach die am frühesten verwendete Taufformel überhaupt und vermutlich in der aramäischsprachigen Gemeinde in Jerusalem zu lokalisieren.[13]

(b) Diese Formel wurde dann sehr wahrscheinlich von christlich-hellenistischen Diasporajuden, die zur Jerusalemer Gemeinde gehörten (um Stephanus und die christlichen Hellenisten; Apg 6:1–6) ins Griechische übersetzt (εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ o.ä.).[14] Als diese Formel sodann in griechischsprechenden Gemeinden wie denjenigen in wirtschafts- und finanzstarken Städten wie Damaskus, Antiochia und bes. Korinth zur Verwendung kam, wurde sie mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit von dem veränderten *situativen Kontext* („*context*") her mit dem aus dem Bankwesen wohlbekannten Ausdruck, *εἰς τὸ ὄνομά τινος* („etwas einzahlen auf jeman-

---

phasized … the necessity of taking into account the context in which words occur." Siehe bes. Kurt Baldinger, *Semantic Theory: Towards a Modern Semantics*, hgg. von Roger Wright, Übers. William C. Brown (New York: St. Martin's, 1980), 14–24, esp. 15: „If a word [or sentence] can have several meanings … [h]ow does the listener work out which of these meanings is the one intended in each case? He works it out on the basis of the broader linguistic structure which we can call the *syntagmatic structure*." Dieser textliche Kontext muss in einzelnen Fällen aber erweitert werden durch den *situativen* Zusammenhang (Baldinger, *Semantic Theory*, 11–17), wie es der Fall zu sein scheint in Damaskus, Antiochia und Korinth gegenüber Jerusalem.

12 Wilhelm Heitmüller sowie Lars Hartman verwenden wechselweise beide Kasus je nach den Umständen.

13 Lars Hartman, „‚Into the Name of Jesus'. A Suggestion Concerning the Earliest Meaning of the Phrase" in *Approaching New Testament Texts and Contexts: Collected Essays II*, von Lars Hartman, hgg. von David Hellholm und Tord Fornberg, WUNT 311 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 145–154; Lars Hartman, „La formule baptismale dans les Actes des Apôtres. Quelques observations relatives au style de Luc" in Hartman, *Approaching*, 155–163; Lars Hartman, „Early Baptism – Early Christology" in Hartman, *Approaching*, 166–173; Lars Hartman, „Usages – Some Notes on the Baptismal Name-Formula" in Hartman, *Approaching*, 175–189; Lars Hartman, *Auf den Namen des Herrn Jesus*, 39–52; Lars Hartman, *'Into the Name of the Lord Jesus'*, 37–50.

14 Dietrich-Alex Koch, *Geschichte des Urchristentums: Ein Lehrbuch*, 2. Aufl. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 170–173, 195–197; 202–205 (über Damaskus): „[T]raditionelles überregionales Handelszentrum."

des Konto, d.h. Zueignung an die genannte Person“) verknüpft: Der Gläubige wurde auf diese Weise durch die Taufe des Herrn Jesu (Christi) Eigentum.[15] Im Anschluss an Wilhelm Heitmüller[16] indes mit neuem Material kann Michael Ernst überdies feststellen: „Die [griechisch-]sprachliche Formulierung ‚auf den Namen‘ (εἰς τὸ ὄνομα) kommt aus dem Bankwesen der Antike; der Ausdruck wird zur Übereignung von Geldsummen auf den Namen eines Kontoinhabers verwendet …. Selbst wenn der Vorstellungshintergrund des Paulus ein anderer wäre … so ist doch davon auszugehen, dass die *Briefempfänger* den Ausdruck in diesem erstgenannten banktechnischen Sinn verstanden und ihn dann erst als Metapher begriffen.“[17] Der *Briefabsender* Paulus als Diasporajude und „städtisch geprägter Handwerker“ aus Tarsos war natürlich mit dem Idiom εἰς τὸ ὄνομά τινος wohl bestens vertraut.[18] Die Taufe als „Identitätsmerkmal … geschah ‚auf den Namen Jesu‘, d.h. sie wurde von ihrer persönlichen Bindung an den Täufer abgelöst. An ihre Stelle trat die Bindung an Jesus. Der Getaufte wurde seinem Namen, d.h. seiner Macht und Hoheit

15 Hartman, „Usages,“ 400–401, weist mit Recht auf das linguistische Phänomen „[*D*]*iglossia*“ hin, zieht daraus aber nicht die notwendige Schlussfolgerung in Bezug auf den veränderten Situationskontext in Damaskus, Antiochia, Korinth und andere Handelsstädte. Zum „Wandel“ durch Veränderung des situativen Kontextes, siehe auch Hans Conzelmann, „Was glaubte die frühe Christenheit?“ in *Theologie als Schriftauslegung*, BEvT 65 (München: Kaiser, 1974), 106–119, hier 114: „Natürlich wandeln sich Formulierung und Inhalt, wenn das Bekenntnis an Heiden gerichtet wird.“

16 Wilhelm Heitmüller, *„Im Namen Jesu.“ Eine sprach- u. religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum Neuen Testament, speziell zur altchristlichen Taufe*, FRLANT 1.2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1903), 104 Anm. 5; 105; 106 Anm. 2.

17 Michael Ernst, „εἰς τὸ ὄνομα,“ in *1. Korinther*, hgg. von Peter Arzt-Grabner, Ruth Elisabeth Kritzer, Amphilochios Papathomas und Franz Winter, Papyrologische Kommentare zum Neuen Testament 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 70–72. Vgl. das Verhältnis zwischen dem aramäischen „Maranatha“ und dem hellenistischen κύριος; hierzu der Exkurs „Kyrios Jesus“ in Eduard Lohse, *Der Brief an die Römer*, KEK 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 296–297; Hellholm, „Tauftraditionen,“ 418: „Im Hinblick auf die unterschiedliche Kommunikationssituation sind beide Bedeutungen wohl eher komplimentär.“

18 In einem hochinstruktiven Artikel stellt Peter Arzt-Grabner außerdem fest, dass „… Paulus als städtisch geprägter Handwerker auch einige Begriffe und Formulierungen, die direkt dem antiken Geschäftsleben entnommen sind, [verwendet] …. Sprache und Bilder des Paulus sind immer wieder seiner alltäglichen Welt entnommen und in diese Welt eingebettet.“ Peter Arzt-Grabner, „Gott als verlässlicher Käufer: Einige papyrologische Anmerkungen und bibeltheologische Schlussfolgerungen zum Gottesbild der Paulusbriefe,“ *NTS* 57 (2011): 392–414, hier 393, 414. Hierzu auch Esther Kobel, *Paulus als interkultureller Vermittler: Eine Studie zur kulturellen Positionierung des Apostels der Völker*, SCCB 1 (Paderborn: Schönigh, 2019), bes. 133–152; vgl. Dinkler unten in Anm. 23.

unterstellt – unabhängig davon, was die Wendung εἰς τὸ ὄνομα einmal sprachlich bedeutet hat.“[19] Der *literarische*, griechischsprachige Kotext (‚*cotext*‘) der „Namensformel“ in den Paulusbriefen deutet auf ein Verständnis der Formel als Zueignung an Christus. In Bezug auf die Kotexte (‚*cotexte*‘) finden sich ähnliche Gedanken hinsichtlich der Zugehörigkeit zu Christus, die durch possesive Genetivformulierungen wie z.B. 1Kor 3:23; 15:23; Röm 8:9 oder durch „Zugehörigkeitsaussagen“ wie Röm 7:4 [Christus]; 6:10–11 [Gott] sichtbar werden.[20] Eine ähnliche Aussage findet sich im 2Kor 10:7 „Wenn einer für sich überzeugt ist, Christus zuzugehören (Χριστοῦ εἶναι), so möge er anderseits bei sich dies bedenken, dass wir ebenso wie er Christus angehören (Χριστοῦ [εἶναι]).“[21] Der Tauftext 2Kor 1:21–22 ist die endgültige Bestätigung dafür, dass Pauli Christus-Verkündigung – im Gegensatz zu den Gegnern in Korinth – zuverlässig ist: „Gott ist es, der uns mit euch auf Christus *festgemacht* (ὁ βεβαιῶν) und *gesalbt* (χρίσας) hat, der uns auch *versiegelt* (σφραγισάμενος[22]) und [uns] das *Angeld* (ἀρραβών) des Geistes in unsere Herzen gegeben hat.“[23]

19 Gerd Theissen, „Die urchristliche Taufe und die soziale Konstruktion des neuen Menschen,“ in *Transformations of the Inner Self in Ancient Religion*, hgg. von Jan Assmann und Gedaliahu Stroumsa, SHR 83 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 87–114, hier 102.

20 Weiss, *Das Urchristentum*, 129: „Insbesondere kann es keinem Zweifel unterliegen, daß in Antiochia und in den verwandten Gemeinden die Taufe ‚*auf den Namen Christi*‘ oder ‚*mit dem Namen Christi*‘ (1. Kor. 1,3; 6,11; Apg. 2,38; 8,16; 10,48; 19,5) eine bedeutend wichtigere Rolle spielte, als etwa in der Urgemeinde.“ Nicht allein eine wichtigere Rolle, sondern dazu auch noch die inhaltliche Bedeutungsveränderung (Apg 19:1–7). Die griechische Formel spielte eine bedeutungsvollere Rolle als die aramäische wegen der weiteren Ausbreitung des Christentums im Westen als im Osten. Die abgrenzende Bedeutung der aramäischen Formel in Bezug auf die Taufe des Johannes lies außerdem mit der Zeit allmählich nach.

21 Heitmüller, „*Im Namen Jesu*,“ 104 Anm. 5, 105, 106 Anm. 2. Für die „Namensformel“ als „Zugehörigkeitsformel“ in der Gemeinde in Korinth sprechen die kotextuellen possessiven Genetivformulierungen: „‚Ich gehöre zu Paulus,‘ ‚ich aber zu Apollos,‘ ‚ich aber zu Kephas,‘ ‚ich aber zu Christus‘“ (1:12), Hartman, „Is the Crucified Christ the Center of a New Testament Theology,“ In *Approaching*, 61: „… the consequence of baptism was that the Corinthians became Christ's property (see also 3:23)“. Vgl. Dieter Zeller, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*, KEK 5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 93 Anm. 54: „Vgl. [1Kor] 6,11. Paulus spricht sonst *verkürzt* von der Taufe ‚auf Christus (Jesus)‘ (Röm 6,3; Gal 3,27)“ (Kursiv mein).

22 Zu σφραγίς/σφραγίζειν siehe Walter Bauer, Kurt Aland und Barbara Aland, Hgg., *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, 6. Aufl. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1988), s.v. 1588–1589: „Name für die Taufe.“ Siehe bes. Karl Olav Sandnes, „Seal and Baptism in Early Christianity,“ in Hellholm et al, *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism*, 2.1440–1481. Siehe weiter im 2. Teil dieser Studie (vgl. unten Anm. 67).

23 Zu den Tempusvariationen siehe Erich Dinkler, „Die Taufterminologie in 2Kor 1,21f.,“ in *Signum Crucis: Aufsätze zum Neuen Testament und zur Christlichen Archäologie* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1967), 99–117, hier 102–103: „Das ὁ βεβαιῶν [Präsens] bezeichnet somit

> Der Empfang des *Siegels* bedeutet also, dass der Getaufte Christi Eigentum geworden ist.[24]

Die „Namensformel" *steht in Konkurrenz* mit der „triadischen" bis weit in das Urchristentum hinein, z.B. in Didache 9.5 (ca. 100–120 in Syrien);[25] Hermas, Vis. 3.7.3 (ca. 110 in Rom); Sim. 8.6.4; Sim. 9.12.4 (vor 138 ebenfalls in

---

eine unabgeschlossene Handlung Gottes mit Apostel und Gemeinde, die Aoriste der Verben χρίειν, σφραγίζειν und διδόναι hingegen abgeschlossene Handlungen." Zur Verwendung *juristischer Terminologie* im Zusammenhang mit der Taufe (σφραγίζειν 2 Kor 1:21 f.; Eph 1:13; 4:30; χειρόγραφον Kol 2:14; ἀρραβών 2 Kor 1:22; Eph 1:14; ἐπερώτημα 1 Pet 3:21; υἱοθεσία Röm 8:23; und κληρονομία Eph 1:14) siehe Dinkler, „Römer 6,1–14 und das Verhältnis von Taufe und Rechtfertigung bei Paulus," in *Battesimo e giustizia in Rom 6 e 8*, hgg. von Lorenzo De Lorenzi, SMBen 2 (Rom: Abbazia S. Paulo fuori le mura, 1974), 83–126, hier 117; Siehe dazu oben Anm. 15–17. David Hellholm, „Die argumentative Funktion von Römer 7.1–6," *NTS* 43 (1997): 385–411, hier 404–406 mit Hinweis auf Olof Linton, „Paulus och juridiken," *STK* 21 (1945): 173–192, hier 182.

24 Rudolf Bultmann, *Der zweite Brief an die Korinther*, KEK Sonderband (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976), 46: „Jedenfalls also bedeutet das σφραγισάμενος hier: der euch durch die Nennung des Namens Christi in der Taufe zum *Eigentum Christi* gemacht hat"; (Kursiv mein). Margaret E. Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Vol. 1. ICC. (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994), 155: „Metaphorically, the image of the seal is used in religious contexts, to indicate divine ownership and protection." Selbst Lars Hartman, „ὄνομα," in *Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, hgg. von Horst Balz und Gerhard Schneider (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1982), 2.1268–1277, hier 1272, kann im Anschluss an Jak 2,7 annehmen, dass die Taufe im Namen Jesu ein Eigentumsverhältnis besagt. Dort „findet sich auch atl. Terminologie: Der gute Name, der über die Christen ‚genannt ist' …, ist der Name Jesu, dessen Eigentumsvolk sie (*in der Taufe*) geworden sind (vgl. 2 Tim 2,19)" (Kursiv mein).

25 Andreas Lindemann und Henning Paulsen, *Die Apostolischen Väter* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 14–15; Michael W. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations*, 3. Aufl. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 334–369, hier 358–359; Georg Schöllgen, *Didache*, Fontes Christiani 1 (Freiburg: Herder, 1991), 13–94 Einl., 98–139 Übers.; Kurt Niederwimmer, *Die Didache*, Kommentar zu den Apostolischen Vätern 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 158–164; Hartman, *„Into the Name of the Lord Jesus,"* 172–177. Wenn Andreas Lindemann, „Zur frühchristlichen Taufpraxis. Die Taufe in der Didache, bei Justin und in der Didaskalia" in Hellholm et al, *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism*, 2.767–815, annimmt, dass die Formulierung in Did 9:5 die Taufe als Taufe εἰς ὄνομα κυρίου charakterisiert und zwar als Verkürzung der triadischen Formel in 7:1–3 und nicht als eine ältere Taufformel, u.a. mit dem Argument, dass hier κυρίου steht und nicht wie in Apg 8:16; 19:5 εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, oder wie im 1 Kor 6:11 ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (775 und 780 Anm. 77), so findet sich doch κύριος zusammen mit Ἰησοῦς in beiden Varianten der „Namensformeln." Ähnlich wie A. Lindemann auch Hartman, *„Into the Name of the Lord Jesus,"* 176: „Although baptism is performed with reference to the Trinity, it can also be *summarised* as one 'into the name of the Lord' (9.5), and so Jesus is still a central figure in the baptismal thinking." Hartman „Usages," 407: „[I]n 9:5 we hear the echo of a shorter formula ‚baptized into the name of the Lord.' We may assume that the longer formula is used at the baptismal rite, whereas the other can function as a short charac-

Rom);[26] so gegebenenfalls auch Justin Martyr, *1. Apologia* 61.12–13 (150–155 in Rom);[27] *Dialog mit Trypho*: Die Bedeutung des *Namens Jesu* ohne expliziten Hinweis auf die Taufe findet sich dort in 14.1; 29.1; 43.1–2; 88.1–4 (155–160 in Rom alt. Ephesus);[28]

Bischof Cyprian (ca. 200–258 in Karthago [Ketzertaufstreit 254–256]) hebt in seinem polemischen Referat (*Ep.* [73] 74.1–2) aus dem verlorenen Brief des römischen Bischof Stefanus I (254–257 in Rom) in Bezug auf die Wirkung der Taufe hervor, dass wenn die Häretiker unter Berufung auf die „*Macht im Namen Jesu* taufen, so dass wer irgendwo und irgendwie im Namen Jesu Christi getauft ist als erneuert und geheiligt gelten. Warum legt man dann dort nicht auch im Namen des gleichen Christus dem Getauften die Hand auf

terization of Christian baptism." Hier liegt offenbar eine *Verkürzung* vor, doch nicht von der triadischen Formel (contra Lindemann und Hartman), wohl aber von der „Namensformel." So auch zu Recht Avemarie, *Tauferzählungen*, 433.

26 Vemund Blomkvist, „The Teaching of Baptism in the Shepherd of Hermas," in Hellholm et al, *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism*, 2.849–870, hier 865: „In all three parts of the Shepherd, baptism is still administered in the name of Jesus and there is not any triadic baptismal formula." L. Hartman, „*Into the Name of the Lord Jesus*," 177–186. Zu Datierungen siehe David Hellholm, „Der Hirt des Hermas," in *Die Apostolischen Väter: Eine Einleitung*, hgg. von Wilhelm Pratscher, UTB 3272 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 226–253, hier 249–250.

27 Zu Justin und seiner *1. Apologia* und *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, siehe Stefan Heid, „Justinus Martyr I," *RAC* 19 (2001): 801–847. Heinrich Kraft, *Texte zur Geschichte der Taufe, besonders der Kindertaufe in der alten Kirche*, 2. Aufl., KlT 174 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1969), 4–6, bes. 5: „Es heißt aber dieses Bad [λουτρόν] Erleuchtung [φωτισμός], weil diejenigen, die das an sich erfahren, im Geiste erleuchtet werden. Aber auch *im Namen Jesu Christi*, des unter Pontius Pilatus *Gekreuzigten*, und im Namen des Heiligen Geistes, der durch die Propheten alles auf Jesus Bezügliche vorherverkündigt hat, wird der, welcher die Erleuchtung [φωτιζόμενος] empfängt, abgewaschen [λούεται]." Siehe Ferguson, *Baptism*, 237–244. Durch die Apposition τοῦ σταυρωθέντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου wird die *christologische* Signifikanz erheblich erhöht.

28 John N. D. Kelly, *Altchristliche Glaubensbekenntnisse: Geschichte und Theologie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), 77–80; Justin „liefert den frühesten direkten Beweis, den wir besitzen, für das Aufkommen relativ fixierter Bekenntnisfragen bei der Taufe; und er belegt das Weiterleben *eingliedriger rein christologischer Bekenntnisaussagen neben den trinitarischen Bekenntnissen*, die bei der Taufe und bei anderen Gelegenheiten benutzt wurden" (79; Kursiv mein). Wenn Kelly schreibt: „Der Trinitarianismus des Neuen Testaments drückt sich nur selten in Worten aus" (19), leitet dieses Faktum zu einem methodischen Fehlschluss, denn im NT existiert kein entwickelter „Trinitarismus," wohl aber triadische Formulierungen, die sich allmählich zu einem „trinitarischen Dogma" entwickelten. Kellys „Trinitarianismus" ist nichts anderes als eine anachronistische Eintragung in das NT aus viel späterer Zeit. So z.B. auch Bornkamm in Anm. 46, vor allem aber Bultmann, *Zweiter Korintherbrief*, 253–254: „Die altkirchliche Trinitätslehre ist unpaulinisch, da sie durch eine dem Paulus fremde Ontologie begründet ist."

zum Empfang des *Heiligen Geistes*?"[29] Die Handauflegung kommt bei Cyprian *nach* der Taufe vor: „Dies geschieht auch jetzt noch bei uns: diejenigen, die in der Kirche getauft werden, bringt man vor die Vorsteher (*praepositi*) der Kirche, und durch unser Gebet und unsere Handauflegung erlangen sie den *Heiligen Geist* und die *Vollendung* durch das *Siegel des Herrn*" (*signaculo domi-nico*).[30]

Der anonyme Verfasser von „*De rebaptismate*" Verse 1.6.7 (Mitte des 3. Jh. in Nordafrika) verwendet im Zusammenhang mit der Taufe durchgehend die „Namensformel" in seinem Traktat gegen Cyprian: „... Gemäß der ältesten Sitte und der kirchlichen Tradition sollte es genügen nach der Taufe, die sie zwar außerhalb der Kirche entgegengenommen haben, aber immer noch *im Namen unseres Herrn Jesu Christi* mit der *Handauflegung* des Bischofs, damit diese *den Heiligen Geist* empfangen" (1); „Die *Macht des Namens Jesu* erfleht über jede Person bei der Taufe ... [und] führt zum Erhalt des Heils" (6); „Es obliegt uns die Anflehung an *Jesu Christi Namen* ..." (7).[31]

Dass die Taufe *auf den Namen des Herrn Jesus* [*Christus*] bis weit in das Urchristentum hinein verwendet wurde, geht möglicherweise auch aus dem Presbyter und späteren Bischof von Antiochia, Johannes Chrysostomos (349–407) hervor, wenn er ohne Vorbehalt Apg 2:38 zitiert: „Petrus zu ihnen: ‚Tut Buße, und ein jeder von euch lasse sich taufen im Namen Jesu Christi zur Vergebung euerer Sünden, so werdet ihr die Gabe des *Heiligen Geistes* empfangen.'" So, obwohl er im Übrigen Nachdruck darauf legt, dass die Taufe laut der triadischen Formel geschieht (siehe unten).[32] Der mit Chrysostomos zeitgenössische Freund und Presbyter und spätere Bischof von Antiochia, Theodor

---

29 Cyprian, *Ep*. 73.1–2; Julius Baer, *Des heiligen Kirchenvaters Caecilius Cyprianus Briefe*, Bibliothek der Kirchenväter 1.60 (München: Kösel & Pustet, 1928), 337; Ferguson, *Baptism*, 383–385, hier 384–385 Anm. 21: Brief 18.1 „might suggest that some used the Name of Jesus Christ in contrast to the Trinitarian Formula." Siehe auch zu Anm. 35.

30 Cyprian, *Ep*. 73.9; Baer, *Cyprianus Briefe*, 343. Siehe Enno E. Popkes, „Die Tauftheologie Cyprians," in Hellholm et al, *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism*, 2.1051–1070, hier 1066 Anm. 41–42.

31 Anonymus, *Liber de rebaptismate*, in *Tertulliani De baptismo et Ps.-Cypriani De rebaptismati recentio nova. Digessit vertit adnotavit*, hgg. von Gerhard Rauschen, Florilegium patristicum 11 (Bonn: Hanstein, 1916), 42–73; Ferguson, *Baptism*, 385–388, hier 385–386: Anonymus was „probably a bishop who was one of Cyrian's opponents in North Africa." Kellys Formulierung (*Glaubensbekenntnisse*, 22), „Daß die Taufe häufig als ‚im Namen des Herrn Jesus' geschehend geschildert wird (vgl. z.B. *Apg*. 8,16; 19,5; *1Kor*. 6,11) *scheint* [!] zu beweisen, daß die Formel ‚Herr ist Jesus' ihren Platz im Taufritus hatte," ist in mehrfacher Weise irreführend und tendenziös (Kursiv mein).

32 Reiner Kaczynski, *Johannes Chrysostomus: Catecheses Baptismales*, Fontes Christiani 6, (Freiburg: Herder, 1992), 1.124–125 (siehe zu und in Anm. 63).

von Mopsuestia (ca. 350–428), schreibt mit Hinblick auf Röm 6:3 „… Der heilige Paulus hat gesagt: ‚wir alle, die wir *in Christus Jesus getauft* wurden, wir wurden in seinen Tod getauft. Wir wurden mit ihm durch die Taufe bezüglich des Todes begraben.‘" Dies ist eine *Kurzform* der „Namensformel," da Paulus keine triadische Taufformel kennt.[33] In 13:17 verwendet Theodor ein Gleichnis vom Hirten und seinem Schaf: das bezeichnet nach ihm die Zugehörigkeit zur Herde Christi und bezeichnet damit die Taufe als *Siegel*. An den übrigen Stellen vor allem im Taufkapitel der katechetischen Homilien, verwendet Theodor durchgehend die triadische Formel, wie wir unten (in Anm. 64) noch feststellen können.

In den neutestamentlichen Apokryphen wurde die „Namensformel" ebenfalls verwendet, so im „*Judas-Evangelium*" in *Codex Tchacos* (von ca. 250 in einer koptischen Übersetzung von einem griechischen Original, bezeugt schon von Irenäus, *Adversus Haereses*, 1.31.1 [ca. 180]).[34] In diesem apokryphen Text heißt es: „Judas aber sprach zu Jesus: ‚Was nun werden diejenigen tun, die *in deinem Namen getauft* worden sind?‘ Jesus sagte: ‚Wahrlich, ich sage [dir]: *Diese Taufe*, die (?) [… *in*] *meinem Namen* [… ca. 3 Zeilen zerstört …]‘" (55.21–56.1 [dt. Übers. G. Wurst]).[35] Bedauerlicherweise fehlen also die wahrscheinlich kritischen Textteile gegen die großkirchliche Taufauffassung. Klauck kann zudem feststellen: Diese Gruppen „entwerfen eine Gegenwelt zu dem, was in

33 Peter Bruns, *Theodor von Mopsuestia: Katechetische Homilien*, Fontes Christiani 17.1–2 (Freiburg: Herder, 1994–1995), Einl. 2.239–296; Übers. 2.299–456; bes. 363 (Hom 14.5): „Dieses *Siegel* nämlich, mit dem du jetzt gebrandmarkt wirst, ist Zeichen dafür, dass du nun als *Schaf Christi* gebrandmarkt bist als Soldat des Himmlischen Königs. Auch ein Schaf erhält nämlich sogleich mit dem Kauf durch Brandmarkung ein Zeichen, an dem sein *Eigentümer* erkannt werden kann" (356; Kursiv mein). Vgl. Bornkamm in Anm. 46 und Bultmann in Anm. 28.

34 Norbert Brox, *Irenäus von Lyon: Epideixis – Adversus Haereses 1*, Fontes Christiani 8.1 (Freiburg: Herder, 1993), 350–351: *Iudae evangelium illud vocantes* (nennen sie es das „Judas Evangelium").

35 Rudolphe Kasser und Gregor Wurst, Hgg., *The Gospel of Judas: Together with the Letter of Peter to Philip, James, and a Book of Allogenes from Codex Tchacos: Critical Edition* (Washington, D.C.: National Geographic, 2007), 177–252: Einl. (177–182), kopt. Text und engl. Übers. (184–235, bes. 228–229); franz. Übers. (237–252, 367); Gregor Wurst, „Das Judasevangelium" in *Antike christliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, Band 1: *Evangelien und Verwandtes*, Teilband 2, hgg. von Christoph Markschies, Jens Schröter und Andreas Heiser (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), Einl. 1220–1225, Übers. 1225–1234: 1233; Hans-Joseph Klauck, *Die apokryphe Bibel*, Tria Corda 4 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 11–38, hier 26: „Die Erwiderung Jesu, die möglicherweise eine erneute Kritik am großkirchlichen Ritus enthielt, ist leider einer Lücke von mehreren Zeilen im Text zum Opfer gefallen" (Kursiv mein). Selbst diese Frage des Judas bestätigt ja, dass Taufen „im Namen Jesu" vorkommen und beunruhigen.

der Großkirche als orthodox gilt" und „[i]hre orthodoxen Sakramente werden regelrecht verspottet, und ihr Gottesbild wird grundsätzlich in Frage gestellt" (38–41).[36]

In den Theklaakten als einem Teil der apokryphen Paulusakten (185–195 evtl. in Iconium oder Seleukia)[37] wird erzählt, wie Thekla von Paulus getauft werden wollte: „Gib mir nur das *Siegel in Christo* …" (δός μοι τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ *σφραγῖδα*), aber von ihm (25) gehindert wurde mit den Worten: „Thekla, habe Geduld, und du wirst ‚das Wasser empfangen' (λήψῃ τὸ ὕδωρ)."[38] In Antiochia wurde sie zum Tode durch Tierkampf verurteilt. Während sie in der Arena betete, entdeckte sie eine Wassersammlung und sagte: „Jetzt ist der Zeitpunkt gekommen mich zu waschen (λούσασθαι). Und sie stürzte sich selbst hinein mit den Worten: ‚*Im Namen Jesu Christi* taufe ich mich (ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ βαπτίζομαι) an (meinem) letzten Tage!' " (34).[39]

Noch ein Beispiel aus den Paulusakten finden wir in dem Bericht über „Paulus und den Löwen."[40] Bei einer Versammlung im Haus von Aquila und Priska in Ephesus berichtet Paulus, wie er kurz nach seiner Bekehrung im Gefolge von zwei Frauen nachts unterwegs nach Jericho war, begegnete ihm ein großer, schrecklicher Löwe, der sich zu Pauli Füßen warf. Auf Pauli Frage: „Was willst du?" antwortete er mit menschlicher Stimme: „Ich möchte getauft werden." Paulus stieg – nachdem er Gott gelobt hatte, der dem Tier Sprache verliehen hatte – zusammen mit dem Löwen in einen angrenzenden Fluss hinein und erzählt weiter:

> Ich nahm den Löwen bei seiner Mähne, und *im Namen Jesu Christi* tauchte ich ihn *dreimal* unter. Als er dem Wasser wieder entstieg, schüttelte er

36 Klauck, *Die apokryphe Bibel*, 13, 19; vgl. Wurst, „Das Judasevangelium," 1225: „In dem stark polemisierenden Abschnitt pp. 38–41 werden sie (die 11 Jünger Jesu) als Repräsentanten des jüdischen Tempelkultes bezeichnet, und ihre Nachfolger, also die Hierarchie der Großkirche, werden als moralisch höchst zweifelhafte Charaktere dargestellt."

37 Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 2.214. Der Verfasser ist ein früherer Presbyter aus Kleinasien; siehe Dietrich Schleyer, *Tertullian: De baptismo – De oratione*, Fontes Christiani 76 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 206, 280–281; Dietrich Schleyer, *Tertullian: De praescriptione haereticorum*, Fontes Christiani 42 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 316–319.

38 Griechischer Text: Ricardus Adelbertus Lipsius, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* (Darmstadt: WBG, 1959), 1.253; Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 2.226. Vgl. die Analyse von Carl Johan Berglund, der das Wort σφραγίς in seinem Beitrag zu diesem Band behandelt.

39 Griechischer Text: Lipsius, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, 1.260; Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 2.193–243, vgl. 222; Klauck, *Die apokryphe Bibel*, 108. Es handelt sich wegen des Begleitumstandes also um eine umstrittene Selbsttaufe!

40 Vgl. Berglunds Analyse dieser Episode in Abschnitt 2,4. in seinem Beitrag zu diesem Band.

> seine Mähne zurecht und sagte zu mir: „Gnade sei mit dir!" Und ich sagte ihm: „Desgleichen mit dir!" Als der Löwe nun zum Feld davon lief, voller Jubel …, begegnete ihm eine Löwin, und er wandte sein Gesicht nicht zu ihr hin, sondern lief davon ….[41]

Bemerkenswert an dieser Geschichte ist außerdem, dass wir hier (gegen Ende des 2. Jh.) im Zusammenhang mit der „Namensformel" gleichzeitig auf das dreimalige Untertauchen stoßen. Üblicherweise, wie wohl zuerst bei Tertullian, wird sonst das dreimalige Untertauchen in Verbindung mit der „triadischen Formel" gebraucht (Siehe unten Anm. 54).

Cyprian in seinem 73. Brief 16–18 *warnt* vor der Taufe *„im Namen Jesu Christi,"* wenn er schreibt:

> Niemand aber darf sich, um die christliche Wahrheit zu unterdrücken, auf den Namen Christi berufen und sagen: „Wer irgendwo und irgendwie im *Namen Jesu Christi getauft* ist, hat auch die Gnade der Taufe erlangt." Spricht und sagt doch Christus selbst: „Nicht jeder, der zu mir sagt: Herr, Herr! wird ins Himmelreich eingehen," und abermals mahnt er im voraus und lehrt, es solle sich niemand von falschen Propheten und von einem falschen Christus so ohne weiteres *in seinem Namen täuschen lassen*. … Wie können also gewisse Leute behaupten, ein Heide vermöge draußen außerhalb der Kirche Vergebung der Sünden erlangen, wenn er nur irgendwo und irgendwie *im Namen Jesu Christi* getauft sei, obwohl doch Christus selbst befiehlt, die Heiden auf die ganze Dreieinigkeit zu taufen? [Matt 28:19–20][42]

---

41 Paulusakten 9.9; Übers. Klauck, *Die apokryphe Bibel*, 111–112; Kursiv mein. Rodolphe Kasser, „Anfang des Aufenthaltes zu Ephesus (Nach einem bisher noch nicht edierten koptischen Papyrus)," in *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, Band II: *Apostolisches, Apokalypsen und Verwandtes*, 5. Aufl. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989), 241–243, hier 242. Jetzt hrsg. in Rudolphe Kasser und P. Philippe Luisier, „Le Papyrus Bodmer XLI en édition princeps: L'épisode d'Éphèse des *Acta Pauli* en copte et traduction," *Mus* 117 (2004): 281–384, hier 319–323; Klauck, *Die apokryphe Bibel*, 110–115, bes. 112: „Letzteres ist ein besonders exquisites Beispiel für den vor allem aus der syrischen Kirche bekannten Zusammenhang von Taufe und Eheverzicht." Zwei Frauen begleiten ja den zölibatären Paulus!

42 Cyprian, *Ep*. 73:16–18; Baer, *Cyprianus Briefe*. Beobachtet bereits von Adolf von Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, Band I: *Die Entwicklung des kirchlichen Dogmas*, 4. Aufl. (Tübingen: Mohr, 1909), 228. Zum Ketzertaufstreit siehe Popkes, „Die Tauftheologie Cyprians," 1059–1068.

Firmilian (Bischof von Caesarea in Kappadokien ab ca. 230 bis 268), in seinem auf griechisch verfassten Brief an seinen karthagischen Amtskollegen[43], unterstützt ausdrücklich Cyprians *Kritik* an der „Taufe in Jesu Namen," weil dadurch die *Mitwirkung des Geistes* ausgeschlossen wird; selbst die Invokation mittels der triadischen Taufformel „im Namen des Vaters, des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes" ist nicht genügend, wenn die Taufe außerhalb der protoorthodoxen Großkirche stattfindet.[44]

2 Die triadische Formel

Im Missionsauftrag Matt 28:18–19 (ca. 90 in Syrien) ist es der auferstandene Jesus, der seinen Jüngern den Auftrag zu taufen erteilt; das hatte der irdische Jesus nie getan.[45] „Mir ist alle Macht gegeben im Himmel und auf der Erde. Darum geht zu allen Völkern, und macht alle Menschen zu meinen Jüngern: *tauft sie auf den Namen des Vaters und des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes* ...." (βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος).[46] Hier stoßen wir auf die wohl älteste *triadische* Taufformel, die wir besitzen. Sie findet sich u. a. in der Didache 7.1–3 (ca. 100–120 in Syrien) wieder: „... tauft auf den Namen des Vaters und des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes *in fließendem*

---

43 In Herbst 256 und nur in lateinischer Übersetzung in Cyprians Brief 75.9 an den Mauretaner Jubanaius bewahrt.

44 Cyprian, *Ep.* 75.9; Baer, *Cyprianus Briefe*, 378–379. Ferguson, *Baptism*, 394–396; siehe ferner William Tabbernee, „Initiation/Baptism in the Montanist Movement," in Hellholm et al, *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism*, 2.917–945, hier 923: Firmilian „concludes that those who do not have the (true) Holy Spirit cannot possess the (true) Father or (true) Son (*Ep.* 75.7.3). Montanists, because they hold a wrong theology of the Holy Spirit, hold an erroneous theology of the Trinity. Even if they are baptized with the traditional trinitarian formula they are not baptized into the true Father, the true Son, let alone the true Holy Spirit. Consequently, their ‚baptism' is inauthentic."

45 Siehe z. B. Hartman, *Auf den Namen des Herrn Jesus*, 32–38, 136; so auch der Dogmenhistoriker Gerhard Ebeling, *Dogmatik des christlichen Glaubens*, Band 3: *Der Glaube an Gott der Vollender der Welt*, 2. Aufl. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1982), 316.

46 Siehe Kirsten Marie Hartvigsen, „Matthew 28:9–20 and Mark 16:9–20," in Hellholm et al, *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism*, 1.655–715; Günther Bornkamm, „Der Auferstandene und der Irdische: Mt 28,16–20," in *Zeit und Geschichte: Dankesgabe an Rudolf Bultmann zum 80. Geburtstag*, hgg. von Erich Dinkler (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1984), 171–191, hier 186 Anm. 59: „Die triadische [Tauf-]formel ist bekanntlich im NT singulär und weist in relativ späte Zeit; die älteren Taufformeln sind eingliedrig (1 Kor 1:13, 15; Apg 2:38; 8:16; 10:48; 19:5). Doch ist die triadische Formel nicht völlig unvorbereitet (1 Kor 12:4; 2 Kor 13:13; 2 Kor 1:21 f.) und für die Taufpraxis der von Matthäus repräsentierten Gemeinde anzunehmen. Sie wird durch Did. 7.1.3 und Justin, *1. Apol.* 61.3.11.13) bestätigt."

Wasser“ (βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος *ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι*)[47] und bei Justin Martyr, *1. Apologie*, 61.3 (ca. 153/154 in Rom);[48] Irenäus, *Adversus haereses* 3.17.1 (180–185 in Lyon);[49] Clemens Alexandrinus (ca. 150–215), *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, 66–86: 76.3; 77.2–3; 78.2; 80.3; 81.2; 83;[50]

47 Andreas Lindemann und Henning Paulsen, Hgg., *Die Apostolischen Väter: Griechisch-deutsche Parallelausgabe* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 1–21; Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 354–355; Niederwimmer, *Die Didache*, 158–164; Lindemann, „Zur frühchristlichen Taufpraxis,“ 774–777. Anders, Helmut Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung in den Apostolischen Vätern*, TU 65 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1957), 190–194, hier 191: „Did. habe auch die trinitarische [triadische] Taufformel aus der Praxis der Gemeinde übernommen …. So erscheint die Eintragung der trinitarischen [triadischen] Taufformel in Mt. 28,19 als die spätere Sanktionierung eines im 2. Jahrhundert zur Herrschaft gelangten Brauches.“ Dagegen mit guten Gründen Klaus Wengst, *Didache (Apostellehre), Barnabasbrief, Zweiter Klemensbrief, Schrift an Diognet*, Schriften des Uhrchristentums 2 (Darmstadt: WBG, 1984), 24–32, hier 30: „In der Gemeinde des Didachisten war wahrscheinlich das Matthäusevangelium als ‚das Evangelium‘ bzw. ‚das Evangelium unseres Herrn‘ bekannt, und es wurde von ihm für seine Schrift benutzt.“ Für die Affinität mit dem Matt siehe ferner Nancy Pardee, *The Genre and Development of the Didache*, WUNT 339 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 130–131, 147.

48 Ἔπειτα ἄγονται ὑφ’ ἡμῶν ἔνθα ὕδωρ ἐστί, καὶ πρότον ἀναγεννήσεως, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀνεγεννήθημεν, ἀναγεννῶνται· ἐπ’ ὀνόματος γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων καὶ δεσπότου θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου τὸ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τότε λουτρὸν ποιοῦνται. Vgl. Kraft, *Texte zur Geschichte der Taufe*, 3: „Dann werden sie [die Täuflinge] von uns an einen Ort geführt, wo Wasser ist, und werden neu geboren in einer Art von Wiedergeburt, die wir auch selbst an uns erfahren haben; denn im Namen Gottes, des Vaters und Herrn aller Dinge, und im Namen unseres Heilandes Jesus Christus und des Heiligen Geistes nehmen sie alsdann im Wasser ein Bad“; Ferguson, *Baptism*, 238; Lindemann, „Zur frühchristlichen Taufpraxis,“ 785–794: 788–789.

49 Irenäus von Lyon, *Adversus Haereses* III, Einl. und Übers. von Norbert Brox, Fontes Christiani 8.3 (Freiburg: Herder, 1995), 210–211: *Et iterum potestatem regenerationis in Deum dans discipulis dicebat eis: Euntes docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti* („Und auch als er seinen Jüngern die Vollmacht zur Wiedergeburt [der Menschen] in Gott verlieh, sagte er ihnen: ‚Geht und lehrt alle Völker, indem ihr sie tauft im Namen des Vaters und des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes‘“ [Matt 28:19]).

50 Ludwig Früchtel und Ursula Treu, Hgg., *Clemens Alexandrinus* Band 3: *Stromata: Buch VII und VIII*, GCS 17, 2. Aufl. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1970), 129–132. Einar Thomassen, *The Spiritual Seed: The Church of the „Valentinians“*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 60 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 333–341, hier 333: „Baptism takes place εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος (76:3; reference to Matt 28:19). It is possible that these words accompanied the ritual as an invocation. Through the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit one is ‚sealed‘ (80:3 [διὰ γὰρ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος σφραγισθείς]). The believer possesses ‘through Christ’ the inscription of the *Name of God and the Spirit* as an image (ἐπιγραφὴν μὲν ἔχει διὰ Χριστοῦ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ὡς εἰκόνα, 86:2).“ Hier wird Christus als *Vermittler* (διὰ Χριστοῦ) dargestellt. Thomassen macht darauf aufmerksam, dass es hier (86:2) um den „Namen Gottes“ geht, während es sich bei der Taufformel um die *triadische Formel* handelt und daraus die Folgerung zieht, dass *„Exc.* 86:2 makes an effort to *harmonise* these notions by describing Christ as the *provider* of the Name, and the Spirit as the *conferrer* of

Irenäus, *Epideixis* 7 (nach 190 in Lyon);[51] Hippolytos von Rom, *Contra Noëtum* 14.7–8a (vor 213 in Kartago);[52] Tertullian, *De baptismo* 6.1–3; 13.2 (ca. 200/206

the image. Just as God, Christ and the Spirit form a *triune* entity, so the Name is apparently considered to be *both one and three*" (Kursiv mein). Weiterhin bestätigt Thomassen (334), dass „the σφραγίς does not refer to an act independent of, or different from, the descent into and the ascent out of the baptismal water .... Going into and rising from the water is the *external* act, ‚sealing' the *inner* significance of the act." Bedeutungsvoll ist ebenfalls das Grundprinzip des Valentinianismus ausgedrückt in *Exc.* 78:2: „Nicht allein das Bad (λουτρόν) macht uns frei, sondern auch die Erkenntnis (γνῶσις): ‚Wer waren wir? Was sind wir geworden? Wo waren wir? Wohinein sind wir geworfen? Wohin eilen wir? Wovon sind wir befreit? Was ist Geburt? Was ist Wiedergeburt?'" (ἔστιν δὲ οὐ λουτρὸν μόνον τὸ ἐλευθεροῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ γνῶσις, τίνες ἦμεν, τὶ γεγόναμεν· ποῦ ἦμεν, ἢ ποῦ ἐνεβλήθημεν· ποῦ σπεύδομεν, πόθεν λυτρούμεθα· τὶ γέννησις, τὶ ἀναγέννησις.) Übers. Werner Foerster, „Valentinianismus V: Die Exzerpte aus Theodot und der Bericht des Epiphanius," in *Die Gnosis* Band 1: *Zeugnisse der Kirchenväter*, hgg. von Werner Foerster, Ernst Haenchen und Martin Krause, 2. Aufl. (Zürich: Artemis, 1979), 287–308, hier 297. Siehe ferner Thomassen, *Spiritual Seed*, 337; vgl. außerdem Hans Jonas, *Gnosis und Spätantiker Geist*, FRLANT 33, 3. Aufl. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964), 206 Anm. 2 und 261; zudem noch Geo Widengren, *Religionsphänomenologie*, de Gruyter Lehrbücher (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1969), 488–489, mit Hinweis auf die zoroastrische Katechese *Pandnāmak* § 3: „Wer bin ich? Wem gehöre ich? Woher bin ich gekommen? Wohin soll ich wieder gehen?" Ferner Einar Thomassen, „Baptism among the Valentinians," in Hellholm et al., *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism*, 2.895–915, hier 899–905, bes. 904: „It is clear that the idea of receiving the Name, and invocations of the Name, constituted an essential and distinctive element of Valentinian baptismal theology and practice. It represented, one might say, the Valentinian equivalent to the epiclesis of the spirit in proto-orthodox baptismal liturgies." Vgl. auch Hans-Friedrich Weiß, „Zur Frage der Definition der Religion ‚Gnosis,'" in *Frühes Christentum und Gnosis*: *Eine rezeptionsgeschichtliche Studie*, WUNT 225 (Tübingen, 2008), 508–521, hier 511–513.

51 Norbert Brox, *Irenäus von Lyon: Epideixis – Adversus Haereses I*, Fontes Christiani 8.1 (Freiburg: Herder, 1993). Text ins Deutsche aus dem Armenischen übersetzt von K. und E. Ter-Mekerttschian (1907), da das griechische Original verschollen ist. Eusebius kannte die Schrift (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.11), vgl. 37: „Und deswegen geht die Taufe unserer Wiedergeburt durch diese drei Punkte vor sich, indem Gott Vater uns zur Wiedergeburt begnadet *mittels* seines Sohnes *durch* den Heiligen Geist" (Kursiv mein).

52 Hermann-Josef Sieben, „Hippolytos: Contra Noëtum," in *Tertullian: Adversus Praxean*, Fontes Christiani 34 (Freiburg: Herder, 2001), 257–313, hier 296–299: Jesus sprach zu ihnen und sagte: πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, δεικνύων ὅτι πᾶς ὃς ἂν ἕν τι τούτων ἐλλίπῃ, τελείως θεὸν οὐκ ἐδόξασεν. διὰ γὰρ τῆς τριάδος ταύτης πατὴρ δοξάζεται. („Begebt euch auf den Weg, und macht alle Völker zu Jüngern, und tauft sie auf den Namen des Vaters und des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes' [Mt 28,19], und tat damit kund, daß jeder, der eines davon *ausläßt*, Gott nicht auf vollkommene Weise verherrlicht hat. Denn durch diese Dreiheit wird der Vater verherrlicht.") Die Formulierung „jeder, der eines davon *ausläßt*" (πᾶς ὃς ἂν ἕν τι ἐλλίπῃ) und dadurch „Gott nicht auf vollkommene Weise verherrlicht" (τελείως Θεὸν οὐκ ἐδόξασεν), dürfte *polemisch* gegen solche, die nur die Taufe „im Namen Jesu" praktisieren, gerichtet sein.

in Kartago),[53] Tertullian, *Adversus Praxean* 26.9 (213 in Kartago),[54] angedeutet auch in *De corona militis* 3: „Sodann werden wir *dreimal untergetaucht*, wobei wir etwas mehr geloben, als der Herr im Evangelium bestimmt hat" (211 in Kartago);[55] Ps-Klementinische *Homilien* 11.26.2; 27.1 (ca. 250 in

53 Schleyer, *Tertullian: De baptismo – De oratione*, 176–179, hier 177: Zum Verhältnis zwischen Taufe und Heiligem Geist: „Nicht, daß wir im Wasser den Heiligen Geist erlangen, sondern im Wasser mit dem Beistand des Engels (von Sünden) gereinigt, werden wir für den Heiligen Geist *vorbereitet* (*Non quod in aqua spiritum sanctum consequimur … spiritui sancto praeparamur*) … die Tilgung der Sünden, die der Glaube erlangt nach seiner *Besiegelung im Vater und dem Sohn und dem Heiligen Geist* (*abolitione delictorum, quam fides impetrat obsignata in patre et filio et spiritu sancto*)"; vgl. S. 197: „Jedoch, sobald der Glaubensinhalt sich ausgedehnt hatte für die Gläubigen, die nun an seine Geburt, sein Leiden und seine Auferstehung glaubten, wurde dem erweiterten verpflichtenden Glauben die *Besiegelung durch die Taufe* hinzugefügt … (*addita est ampliato sacramento obsignatio baptismi*)." Zu den Taufriten bei Tertullian siehe Øyvind Norderval, „Simplicity and Power: Tertullian's *De Baptismo*," in Hellholm et al., *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism*, 2.947–972, hier 956–966.

54 Sieben, *Tertullian: Adversus Praxean*, 95–255: bes. 233: „… und er (sc. Jesus) gibt ihnen schließlich den Auftrag, daß sie auf den Vater und den Sohn und den Heiligen Geist eintauchen (*tinguerent*) sollen [vgl. Mt 28,19] und *nicht auf einen einzigen* (*non in unum*). Denn *nicht nur einmal, sondern dreimal* werden wir eingetaucht zu jedem der drei Namen und auf jede der drei Personen." Die Formulierung „nicht auf einen einzigen (*non in unum. nam nec semel*)" dürfte *polemisch* gerichtet sein gegen „die Taufe allein im Namen Jesu." Tertullian ist wohl der erste, der *ausdrücklich* von einem dreimaligen *Untertauchen* im Anschluss an die triadische Tauformel (siehe weiter in Anm. 55) wie später die *Apostolische Tradition* sowie früher nur bedingt Did. 7.3 unter der Voraussetzung, daß nicht genügend Wasser zum Untertauchen vorhanden ist, gilt: ἔκχεον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τρὶς ὕδωρ εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς κτλ. („[G]ieße über den Kopf *dreimal* Wasser aus auf den Namen des Vater, des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geists"); darauf weist Hans-Friedrich Weiß, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, KEK 13 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 339 Anm. 48 hin. Siehe indes schon Hebr 6:2, wo der Pl. βαπτισμοί anscheinend ein mehrfaches Eintauchen anzeigt; Herbert Braun, *An die Hebräer*, HNT 14 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1984), 161: „Die βαπτισμοί werden also hier 6,2 als dreimaliges Untertauchen bei der Taufe zu verstehen sein." So auch Erich Grässer, *An die Hebräer* (*Hebr 1–6*), EKK 17.1 (Zürich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1990), 339–343, hier 342: „Es kann sich dann nur um einen uns nicht mehr näher bekannten *Initiationsritus* handeln, der möglicherweise aus wiederholtem Untertauchen und der Handauflegung bestand" (Kursiv mein).

55 Tertullian, *De corona militis* 3.2–3 (K. A. Heinrich Kellner, *Tertullian: Apologetische, Dogmatische und Monanistische Schriften*, Bibliothek der Kirchenväter 1.24 [Kempten: Kösel, 1915], 236): „Wenn wir ins Wasser treten, geben wir zu gleicher Zeit, aber auch schon einige Zeit vorher in der Kirche unter der Hand des Bischofs eine Erklärung ab, …. Sodann werden wir dreimal untergetaucht (*mergitamur*), wobei wir etwas mehr geloben, als der Herr im Evangelium bestimmt hat" (*amplius aliquid respondentes quam Dominus in evangelio determinavit*). Was geht über das vom Herrn Gebotene hinaus: Das dreimalige Untertauchen oder das dreimalige Bekenntnis? Hierzu Ferguson, *Baptism*, 341. In *De corona* wie in Tertullians Schrift *De spectaculis* 4 (CCLP 1.231) handelt es sich um ein interrogatives Bekenntnis: „Als wir in das Wasser stiegen und den christlichen Glauben als Antwort auf

Syrien).[56] In der *Apostolischen Tradition* (21; gilt für Kap. 15–21 frühes 2. Jh. in Rom?) bekennt der Täufling im Wasser *in interrogativer Weise* drei Mal vor jeder Untertauchung seinen/ihren Glauben an den Vater, Sohn und den Heiligen Geist.[57] Als *deklaratorisches* Taufbekenntnis vor der Taufe findet sich die triadische Formel bei Kyrillos von Jerusalem, *Procatechesis et Catecheses ad illuminandos* [*Procats.* bzw. *Cats.*] 16.4.19 (348/50 in Jerusalem);[58] wie in [Johan-

---

die durch dessen Gesetz vorgeschriebenen Worte (*in legis suae verba profitemur*) bekannten …," so sind diese Worte in Übereinstimmung mit der Aussage, die wir oben aus *Adversus Praxean* in Anm. 54 zitiert haben: „dreimal werden wir eingetaucht zu jedem der drei Namen." D.h. nach dem triadischen Bekenntnis; siehe dazu auch Kelly, *Glaubensbekenntnisse*, 50–51. Vgl. „Die Apostolische Tradition" zu und in Anm. 57.

56 Bernhard Rehm, Johannes Irmscher und Franz Paschke, Hgg., *Die Pseudoklementinen*, Band 1: *Homilien*, GCS 42, 3. Aufl. (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1969), 167. Jürgen Wehnert, *Pseudoklementinische Homilien: Einführung und Übersetzung*, Kommentare zur apokryphen Literatur 1.1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 176–177: „Wahrlich, ich sage euch, wenn ihr nicht durch lebendiges Wasser neu geboren werdet im Namen von Vater, Sohn und heiligem Geist, sollt ihr nicht in das Reich der Himmel eingehen (Ἀμὴν ὑμῖν λέγω, ἐὰν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῆτε ὕδατι ζῶντι, εἰς ὄνομα πατρός, υἱοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, Joh 3:5; Mt 28:19) …. Denn wenn du gerecht bist, fehlt dir zur Rettung nur getauft zu werden (δικαίῳ γὰρ ὄντι σοι μόνον ἔλειπε τὸ πρὸς σωτηρίαν βαπτισθῆναι)"; Jürgen Wehnert, „Taufvorstellungen in den Pseudoklementinen," in Hellholm et al., *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism*, 2.1071–1114, hier 1088–1089, bes. 1089: „Die Rettungstaufe tilgt also nicht eventuelle Sünden des Täuflings, sondern seine grundsätzlich sündhafte Existenz (im Hintergrund stehen wohl wiederum johanneische Denkfiguren; vgl. Joh 1,12 f.)."

57 Schwedische Übers. mit Anmerkungen in Anders Ekenberg, *Hippolytos: Den apostoliska traditionen*, Kristna klassiker (Uppsala: Katolska bokförlaget, 1994), 46–59, hier 53–59; siehe bes. die detaillierte Rekonstruktion und gründliche Darstellung in: Anders Ekenberg, „Initiation in the Apostolic Tradition," 1028–1030, 1034–1044; Wilhelm Geerlings, *Traditio Apostolica*, Fontes Christiani 1 (Freiburg: Herder, 1991), 245–271: *manum habens in caput eius inpositam baptizet semel* (Lat. Vers.); Kelly, *Glaubensbekenntnisse*, 51: „Und wenn derjenige, der getauft werden soll, zum Wasser hinabsteigt, soll derjenige, der tauft, ihm die Hand auflegen und dabei sagen: ‚Glaubst du an Gott den Vater, den Allmächtigen?' Und derjenige der getauft wird, soll sagen: ‚Ich glaube.' Darauf soll er ihn einmal taufen, nachdem er ihm die Hand aufs Haupt gelegt hat. Und danach soll er sagen: ‚Glaubst du an Jesus Christus, den Sohn Gottes?' … Und wenn er sagt: ‚Ich glaube,' so möge er ihn zum zweiten Male taufen. Und wieder möge er sagen: ‚Glaubst du an den Heiligen Geist?' … Und derjenige, der getauft wird, soll sagen: ‚Ich glaube.' Und so möge er ihn zum dritten Male taufen." Paul F. Bradshaw, Maxwell E. Johnson und L. Edward Phillips, *The Apostolic Tradition*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002), 112–135.

58 Philipp Haeuser, *Cyrill von Jerusalem: Procatechesis et Catecheses ad illuminandos*, Bibliothek der Kirchenväter 1.41 (München: Kösel & Pustet, 1922). Vgl. Juliette Day, „Catechetical Lectures," 1196: „That the candidates' souls are sealed by an invocation makes it highly unlikely that they were subject to the interrogation mentioned in MC 2 …. In MC 2 an immersion follows an assent to faith in each member of the Trinity spread over the three immersions; in *Cats* there is no mention of assigning one immersion to each person of

nes II von Jerusalem?], *Mystagogicae Catecheses* [*MC*] 2.4 (nach 382 in Jerusalem).[59] In *MC* handelt es sich um ein *interrogatives* Bekenntnis zum „Vater, Sohn und Geist." *Cats.* ist wahrscheinlich ein Beispiel aus einer Zeit, als die beiden Formeln noch etwa gleichzeitig als Alternative in Gebrauch waren, weil *Cats.* 16.4.19 ausdrücklich sagt, dass wir getauft werden auf Vater, Sohn und Heiligen Geist (19), während in 3.4 auf Apg 10:48 mit der „Namensformel" hingewiesen wird, wo es heißt: „Petrus … ordnete an, sie im *Namen Jesu Christi* zu taufen"; vgl. 18.33. Dass die Taufe *christo-zentrisch* ist, geht mit aller Deutlichkeit aus *Procats.* 15 hervor, wenn es zuerst heißt, dass nach der Segnung des Wassers dieses „Christus-bringend" wird und in direktem Anschluss hierzu, dass die Baptizanden durch Hinabsteigen ins Wasser den „Namen Christi erhalten"; (siehe auch *Cats.* 10:16 „In seiner göttlichen Freigiebigkeit hat er uns allen seinen eigenen Namen geschenkt …. Jesus Christus …, der Sohn Gottes, wollte, dass wir Christen heißen"). Das ganze Taufkapitel *Cats. 3* ist völlig *christo-zentrisch*!

Der kraftvolle Leiter der monastischen Föderation in Oberägypten, Shenoute von Atripe (ca. 350–465), schreibt in seiner Schrift, *I Am Amazed* (ca. 385):

> But as I have already said, in naming the Son, we invoke the Holy Trinity. Listen to the Lord exhorting his disciples: „Go and teach all the peoples, baptizing them into the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit" [Matt 28:19]. And the Apostle too: „It is into Christ that you have been baptized" [Gal 3:27]. And, also, in another place: „They were baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus Christ" [Acts 19:5]. Thus it is shown that *when we name Jesus, we name the Holy Trinity*, but yet the Father as father, and the Son as son and the Holy Spirit as holy spirit.[60]

---

the Trinity despite Cyril's frequent discussion of the Trinity and Unity of God. Nor do we know if the formula was recited as ‚I baptize you in the name of …,' or ‚N. is baptized in the name of …' (preferred by Chrysostom)." Dies deutet in Betreff *Cats.* mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit auf ein *deklaratorisches* Bekenntnis.

59 Umstritten ist, ob die *Mystagogischen Katechesen* von Kyrillos oder seinem Nachfolger als Bischof von Jerusalem, Johannes II, stammen (so u.a. Day). Georg Röwekamp, *Cyrill von Jerusalem: Mystagogicae Catecheses*, Fontes Christiani 7 (Freiburg: Herder, 1992), 7–115; Juliette Day, *The Baptismal Liturgy of Jerusalem: Fourth and Fifth Century Evidence from Palestine, Syria and Egypt* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Day „Catechetical Lectures," 1200–3. Ferguson, *Baptism*, 473–488, der immer noch an Kyrillos als Verfasser von MC festhält.

60 Shenoute von Atripe, *I Am Amazed* 818–819; Engl. Übers. H. Lundhaug; (Kursiv mein). Hans–Joachim Cristea, Hg., *Schenute von Atripe: Contra Origenistas: Edition des koptischen Textes mit annotierter Übersetzung und Indizes einschließlich einer Übersetzung des 16. Osterfestbriefs des Theophilus in der Fassung des Hieronymus*, STAC 60 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011). Hugo Lundhaug, „Baptism in the Monasteries of Upper Egypt," in Hellholm et al., *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism*, 2.1347–1380, here 1371: „Juxtaposing the baptismal

In dem gnostisch-valentinianischen *Tractatus Tripartitus* (NHC I.5.127–129 [Griechisches Original ca. 250; Koptische Übers. ca. 350 vermutlich im Orient])[61] findet sich zuerst ein *deklaratorisches* Bekenntnis im Namen des Vaters, des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes und anschließend die Taufe in deren Namen; ferner auch in dem gnostisch-valentinianischen *Philippusevangelium* (NHC II.3.67:19–22 [verlorenes griechisches Original nach Valentinus' Wirksamkeit 138–158; koptische Übers. Mitte des 2. Jh. im östlichen Syrien; Edessa?]);[62]

formula of Matt 28:19 with Gal 3:27 and Acts 19:5, Shenoute contends that when referring similarly to Jesus in Prayer the entire Trinity is meant .... As Everett Ferguson [Baptism, 457] points out, however, ‚The Trinitarian formula of Matthew 28:19 was so well established in usage that it could be the basis for theological argument about the Godhead.'" Lundhaug, „Baptism in the Monasteries of Upper Egypt," 1372, fährt fort: „Similarly by juxtaposing Jesus' reference to baptism into the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit in Matt 28:19 with the references in Gal 3:27 and Acts 19:5 to baptism simply into Jesus Christ, Shenoute tries to show that these are in fact equivalent statements, thus defending himself against those who argue that one should not pray to Jesus [Shenoute, *I am Amazed* 822–826] by arguing that in naming just Jesus, the entire consubstantial Trinity is invoked." Dieses Argument ist in der Tat ein Beleg für die späte Verwendung der „Namensformel," und bedeutet eine Umdeutung und geleichzeitig eine implizite Kritik an dieser Tauffomel in gewissen Kreisen der Großkirche.

61 Hans-Martin Schenke, „‚Tractatus Tripartitus' (NHC I,5)," in *Nag Hammadi Deutsch*, hgg. von Hans-Martin Schenke, Hans-Gebhart Bethge und Ursula Ulrike Kaiser, GCS 8, Koptisch-Gnostische Schriften 2 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001), 1.54–57, Einl.: „Unser Text wäre nach alledem also nur ein (langes) Exzerpt aus einem (noch längeren) Traktat eines uns unbekannten Valentinianers"; 57–93; Übers.: „Was die Taufe, die es *in Wirklichkeit* gibt, anbelangt, zu der alle herabsteigen und in der sie ihr (wahres) Sein werden, so gibt es *keine andere Taufe* außer jener allein, die die Erlösung ist, (das ist jene Taufe) auf Gott und den Sohn und den Heiligen Geist (und die vollzogen wird), nach dem das Bekenntnis auf Grund von Glauben an jene Namen erfolgt ist, diese (Namen), [die] ein einziger Name des Evangeliums sind." (89). Engl. Übers. von Einar Thomassen, „The Tripartite Tractate," in *The Nag Hammadi Scriptures: The International Edition*, hgg. von Marvin Meyer (New York: HarperOne, 2007), 62–101, hier 97–98: „As for the *true baptism*, into which the members of the All descend and where they come into being, *there is no other baptism except the one* – and that is the redemption – *which takes place in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit*, after confession of faith has been made in those names – [which] are the single name of the good tidings." Siehe auch Thomassen, *Spiritual Seed*, 46–58, 353–355; Einar Thomassen, „Baptism among the Valentinians," in Hellholm et al., *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism*, 2.895–915. Auch hier wird festgestellt, dass lediglich die Taufe mit der triadischen Formel die ‚wahre' Taufe sei; dies scheint eine *polemische* Stellungnahme gegen die Verwendung der „Namensformel" zu sein. Ein völllig anderes Verständnis von dem hiesigen Tauftext findet sich in Peter Nagel, *Der Tractatus Tripartitus aus Nag Hammadi Codex I (Codex Jung)*, STAC 1 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 80–81 mit Anm. 95a: Anstelle von ‚hinabsteigen' sollte man ‚hinaufsteigen' lesen: „Es handelt sich … um eine eschatologische Taufe im Zuge des Aufstiegs, nicht um das ‚Hinabsteigen' zur Taufe im Wasser ...."

62 Hans-Martin Schenke, „‚Das Evangelium nach Philippus' (NHC II,3)," in Schenke, Bethge

bei dem Bischof Johannes Chrysostomos, *Taufkatechesen*, *Band I*, 2/3.3 (388 in Antiochia/Syrien), *Band II*, 3.1; 3.2.26 (ca. 389 in Antiochia);[63] dem Patriarchen Theodor von Mopsuestia, *Katechetische Homilien* (*Kat. Hom.*) 12–13: *deklaratorisch-triadisches* Glaubensbekenntnis *vom Täufling* abgelegt *vor* der Taufe; 14: *deklaratorisch-triadische* Taufformel *vom Priester* gesprochen *bei* der Taufe (vor 392/393 in Antiochia).[64] Epiphanius (377 von Salamis/Constantia,

---

und Kaiser, *Nag Hammadi Deutsch*, 1.183–213: Einl. 184–191; Übers. 191–213: 201 (67:19–22); Madeleine Scopello und Marvin Meyer, „The Gospel of Philip," in Meyer, *Nag Hammadi Scriptures*, 161–186, hier 173; Thomassen, *Spiritual Seed*, 341–350, hier 346, 349: „Baptism: Undressing, descent into the water, dipping while invoking the threefold Name, ascent from the water."

63 Johannes Chrysostomus, *Catecheses Baptismales*, 1.236–237: „Deshalb sagt auch der Priester bei der Taufe nicht: ‚Ich taufe den und den,' sondern: ‚Der und der wird getauft im Namen des Vaters und des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes (οὐ λέγει· *Βαπτίζω τὸν δεῖνα*, ἀλλὰ *Βαπτίζεται ὁ δεῖνα εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος*)'. Dadurch macht er deutlich, daß nicht er selbst es ist, der tauft, sondern der Vater und der Sohn und der Heilige Geist, deren Namen auch angerufen werden." Ferner *Catecheses Baptismales*, 2.352–353: „Und damit du auch aus diesen Worten lernst, daß Wesen des Vaters, des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes *eines* ist, wird die Taufe auf folgende Weise gespendet. Der Priester spricht: ‚Der und der wird getauft im Namen des Vaters und des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes,' taucht dabei *dreimal den Kopf des Täuflings ins Wasser und läßt ihn wieder auftauchen* .... Denn nicht der Priester allein berührt den Kopf, sondern auch die *Rechte Christi* .... Der aber alles erfüllt, ist der Vater und der Sohn und der Heilige Geist, die *unteilbare Dreifaltigkeit*" (3/2.26; Kursiv mein). Die Taufe empfängt man nur einmal im Leben: „wir, die wir ein für allemal Christus angezogen haben." (*Catecheses Baptismales* 3/3.18, 3/6.23 (372–373, 452–453); zudem 3/4.23: „Denn die Würde, die uns aufgrund seiner Menschenfreundlichkeit ein für allemal geschenkt ist (ἅπαξ ἡμῖν δωρηθέν) – Die Sohnschaft, die Heiligung, die Gnade des Geistes –, wird uns niemals jemand wegnehmen können, wenn wir nicht leichtsinnig sind" (406–407). Siehe bes. Rudolf Brändle, „Johannes Chrysostomus: Die zehn Gaben (τιμαί oder δωρεαί) der Taufe," in Hellholm et al., *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism*, 2.1233–1252.

64 Peter Bruns, Hg., *Theodor von Mopsuestia: Katechetische Homilien*, Fontes Christiani 17.2 (Freiburg: Herder, 1995), 259–272, hier 265–266; Einl.: „Die Taufe selber wird durch *dreimaliges Untertauchen* gespendet, wobei der Priester die Formel spricht: ‚*N. wird getauft im Namen des Vaters und des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes*.' Theodor versteht die Passivform als *passivum divinum*, da der Priester nicht kraft eigener Person tauft (keine Ich-Formel!), sondern kraft verliehener Gnade. Die eigentlichen Handlungsträger der Taufe sind die *drei göttlichen Personen*, die durch den sichtbaren Priester tätig werden" (Kursiv mein). *Homilientext* [Hom] mit vorangestellten *Ritualen* [Rit] (dazu 259) 319–386: (12–13) [Rit] 319: „In diesen Tagen bekommst du den Auftrag, dich mit den Worten des *Glaubensbekenntnisses* zu befassen"; [Hom] 339 „... vielmehr standhaft zu bleiben bis zum Ende im Bekenntnis des Vaters und des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes." (14) [Rit] 359 „Der Priester steht da, führt seine Hand heran und legt sie auf dein Haupt und spricht: ‚N. wird getauft im Namen des Vaters und des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes.' ... Und während er spricht, taucht er dich im Wasser unter. Du tauchst also ein und hebst wieder dein Haupt. Der Pries-

Cypern), *Panarion, Vol. I:* I. 20.3.5–6; *Vol. II:* VI. 74.11.7.[65] Triadische Taufformeln finden sich regelmäßig in den neutestamentlichen Apokryphen (Ende des 1. Jh. und Anfang des 2. Jh. aus unterschiedlichen Regionen).[66]

3 Vorläufiges Resümee

Die „Namensformel" ist in der proto-orthodoxen Großkirche wie unter den Schismatikern und Häretikern gebraucht worden. Die „triadische Taufformel" wurde ebenfalls sowohl in der proto-orthodoxen Großkirche als auch unter den Schismatikern bzw. Häretikern verwendet.

Mit meinem nunmehr verstorbenen Lehrer Lars Hartman bevorzuge ich als theologische Anregung eine Kombination der beiden urchristlichen Taufformeln, der *christologischen* und der *triadisch/trinitarischen*, zu ihrem Recht kommen zu lassen: *„Ich taufe dich auf Christus im Namen des Vaters, des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes*."[67]

ter sagt nun: ‚und des Sohnes.' Und in derselben Art macht er Anstalten, dich mit seiner Hand unterzutauchen. Du erhebst wiederum dein Haupt. Der Priester sagt aufs neue: ‚Und des Heiligen Geistes.' In derselben Weise drückt er dich mit seiner Hand nach unten und taucht dich ein. Sobald du also von dort emporgestiegen bist, ziehst du ein ganz und gar glänzendes Gewand an ….'"; [Hom] 372–373 et passim: „Er [sc. der Priester] sagt also: ‚N. wird getauft im Namen des Vaters und des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes,' was mit der Überlieferung unseres Herrn übereinstimmt, der gesagt hat: ‚Geht hinaus, lehrt alle Völker, und tauft sie im Namen des Vaters und des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes' " (Matt 28:19).

65 Frank Williams, *Epiphanius of Salamis: Panarion: Book I*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 63, 2. Aufl. (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 57: „baptizing them in the name of Father, Son and Holy Spirit"; Frank Williams, *Epiphanius of Salamis: Panarion: Book II and III*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 79, 2. Aufl. (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 500: „The Trinity is the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, for scripture says, ‚Go baptize in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit' " (Matt 28:19).

66 Siehe die verdienstvolle Zusammenstellung triadischer Tauftexte in den neutestamentlichen Apokryphen in Hermut Löhr, „Kindertaufe im frühen Christentum: Beobachtungen an den neutestamentlichen Apokryphen," in Hellholm et al., *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism*, 2.1531–1552, hier 1540–1541, mit mehr als 20 verzeichneten Texten. In Anm. 110 auf Seite 1541 bemerkt Löhr: „Taufe im bzw. auf den Namen Christi finden sich dagegen in Passio Pauli 19 (ed. Lipsius, 44 [ca. 185–195 in Rom?]), den Acta Pauli et Theclae 34 (ed. Lipsius, 260 [185–195), Acta Petri et Andreae 21 (ed. Maximilianus Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* 2.1 (Darmstadt: WBG, 1959), 126 [180–190 in Kleinasien])." Zu den Textausgaben siehe oben Anm. 38 und 39.

67 Aus Raumgründen wird der zweite Teil meiner Studie separat publiziert.

Bibliographie

Quellen

Anonymus. *Liber de rebaptismate*. S. 42–73 in *Tertulliani De baptismo et Ps.-Cypriani De rebaptismati recentio nova. Digessit vertit adnotavit*. Hg. von Gerhard Rauschen. Florilegium patristicum 11. Bonn: Hanstein, 1916, 42–73.

Baer, Julius. *Des heiligen Kirchenvaters Caecilius Cyprianus Briefe*. Bibliothek der Kirchenväter 1.60. München: Kösel & Pustet, 1928.

Bonnet, Maximilianus. *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* 2.1. Darmstadt: WBG, 1959.

Brox, Norbert. *Irenäus von Lyon: Epideixis – Adversus Haereses I*. Griechisch – Lateinisch – Deutsch. Fontes Christiani 8.1. Freiburg: Herder, 1993.

Brox, Norbert. *Irenäus von Lyon: Epideixis – Adversus Haereses III*. Griechisch – Lateinisch – Deutsch. Fontes Christiani 8.3. Freiburg: Herder, 1995.

Bruns, Peter. *Theodor von Mopsuestia: Katechetische Homilien*. Fontes Christiani 17.1–2. Freiburg: Herder, 1994–1995.

Cristea, Hans-Joachim. *Schenute von Atripe: Contra Origenistas: Edition des koptischen Textes mit annotierter Übersetzung und Indizes einschließlich einer Übersetzung des 16. Osterfestbriefs des Theophilus in der Fassung des Hieronymus*. STAC 60. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011.

Ekenberg, Anders. *Hippolytos: Den apostoliska traditionen*. Kristna klassiker. Uppsala: Katolska bokförlaget, 1994.

Foerster, Werner. „Valentinianismus V: Die Exzerpte aus Theodot und der Bericht des Epiphanius." S. 287–308 in *Die Gnosis* Band 1: *Zeugnisse der Kirchenväter*. Hgg. von Werner Foerster, Ernst Haenchen und Martin Krause. 2. Aufl. Zürich: Artemis, 1979.

Früchtel, Ludwig, und Ursula Treu, Hgg. *Clemens Alexandrinus* Band 3: *Stromata: Buch VII und VIII, Excerpta ex Theodoto, Eclogae propheticae, Quis dives salvetur, Fragmente*. GCS 17. 2. Aufl. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1970.

Geerlings, Wilhelm, Hg. *Traditio Apostolica*. Fontes Christiani 1. Freiburg: Herder, 1991.

Haeuser, Philipp, Hg. *Cyrill von Jerusalem: Procatechesis et Catecheses ad illuminandos*. Bibliothek der Kirchenväter 1.41. München: Kösel & Pustet, 1922.

Kaczynski, Reiner. *Johannes Chrysostomus: Catecheses Baptismales*. Fontes Christiani 6.1–2. Freiburg: Herder, 1992.

Kasser, Rodolphe, und P. Philippe Luisier. „Le Papyrus Bodmer XLI en édition princeps. L'épisode d'Éphèse des *Acta Pauli* en copte et traduction." *Mus* 117 (2004): 281–384.

Kasser, Rudolphe, und Gregor Wurst, Hgg. *The Gospel of Judas: Together with the Letter of Peter to Philip, James, and a Book of Allogenes from Codex Tchacos: Critical Edition*. Washington, D.C.: National Geographic, 2007.

Kasser, Rodolphe. „Anfang des Aufenthaltes zu Ephesus (Nach einem bisher noch nicht edierten koptischen Papyrus)." S. 241–243 in *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, Band II: *Apostolisches, Apokalypsen und Verwandtes*, 5. Aufl. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989.

Kellner, K. A. Heinrich. *Tertullian: Apologetische, Dogmatische und Monanistische Schriften*. Bibliothek der Kirchenväter 1.24. Kempten: Kösel, 1915.

Lindemann, Andreas, und Henning Paulsen, Hgg. *Die Apostolischen Väter: Griechisch-deutsche Parallelausgabe*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992.

Lipsius, Ricardus Adelbertus. *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*. Darmstadt: WBG, 1959.

Meyer, Marvin, Hg. *The Nag Hammadi Scriptures: The International Edition*. New York: HarperOne, 2007.

Rehm, Bernhard, Johannes Irmscher und Franz Paschke, Hgg. *Die Pseudoklementinen*, Band 1: *Homilien*, GCS 42, 3. Aufl. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1969.

Röwekamp, Georg. *Cyrill von Jerusalem: Mystagogicae Catecheses*. Fontes Christiani 7. Freiburg: Herder, 1992.

Schenke, Hans-Martin. „‚Das Evangelium nach Philippus‘ (NHC II,3).“ S. 183–213 in Band 1 von *Nag Hammadi Deutsch*. Hgg. von Hans-Martin Schenke, Hans-Gebhart Bethge und Ursula Ulrike Kaiser. GCS 8. Koptisch-Gnostische Schriften 2. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001.

Schenke, Hans-Martin. „‚Tractatus Tripartitus‘ (NHC I,5).“ S. 54–93 in Band 1 von *Nag Hammadi Deutsch*. Hgg. von Hans-Martin Schenke, Hans-Gebhart Bethge und Ursula Ulrike Kaiser. GCS 8. Koptisch-Gnostische Schriften 2. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001.

Schleyer, Dietrich. *Tertullian: De baptismo – De oratione*. Fontes Christiani 76. Turnhout: Brepols, 2006.

Schleyer, Dietrich. *Tertullian: De praescriptione haereticorum*. Fontes Christiani 42. Turnhout: Brepols, 2002.

Schneemelcher, Wilhelm, Hg. *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, Band 2: *Apostolisches, Apokalypsen und Verwandtes*. 5. Aufl. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989.

Schöllgen, Georg. *Didache*. Fontes Christiani 1. Freiburg: Herder, 1991.

Scopello, Madeleine, und Marvin Meyer. „The Gospel of Philip.“ S. 161–186 in *The Nag Hammadi Scriptures: The International Edition*. Hg. von Marvin Meyer. New York: HarperOne, 2007

Sieben, Herrmann-Josef. „Hippolytus: Contra Noëtum.“ S. 258–313 in *Tertullian: Adversus Praxean*. Hg. von Herman-Josef Sieben. Fontes Christiani 34. Freiburg: Herder, 2001.

Sieben, Herrmann-Josef. *Tertullian: Adversus Praxean*. Fontes Christiani 34. Freiburg: Herder, 2001.

Thomassen, Einar. „The Tripartite Tractate.“ S. 62–101 in *The Nag Hammadi Scriptures: The International Edition*. Hg. von Marvin Meyer. New York: HarperOne, 2007.

Wehnert, Jürgen. *Pseudoklementinische Homilien: Einführung und Übersetzung*, Kommentare zur apokryphen Literatur 1.1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010.

Wengst, Klaus. *Didache (Apostellehre), Barnabasbrief, Zweiter Klemensbrief, Schrift an Diognet*. Schriften des Uhrchristentums 2. Darmstadt: WBG, 1984.

Williams, Frank. *Epiphanius of Salamis: Panarion: Book I*. Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 63. 2. Aufl. Leiden: Brill, 2009.

Williams, Frank. *Epiphanius of Salamis: Panarion: Book II and III*. Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 79. 2. Aufl. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

Wurst, Gregor. „Das Judasevangelium." S. 1220–1234 in *Antike christliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, Band I: *Evangelien und Verwandtes*, Teilband 2. Hgg. von Christoph Markschies, Jens Schröter und Andreas Heiser. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012.

Literatur

Arzt-Grabner, Peter. „Gott als verlässlicher Käufer: Einige papyrologische Anmerkungen und bibeltheologische Schlussfolgerungen zum Gottesbild der Paulusbriefe." *NTS* 57 (2011): 392–414.

Avemarie, Friedrich. *Die Tauferzählungen der Apostelgeschichte*. WUNT 139. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002.

Baldinger, Kurt. *Semantic Theory: Towards a Modern Semantics*. Hg. von Roger Wright. Übers. William C. Brown. New York: S. Martin's Press, 1980.

Betz, Hans Dieter. *Der Galaterbrief*. München: Kaiser, 1988.

Betz, Hans Dieter. „Geist, Freiheit und Gesetz." S. 46–62 in *Paulinische Studien*: *Gesammelte Aufsätze III*. Von Hans Dieter Betz. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994.

Blomkvist, Vemund. „The Teaching of Baptism in the Shepherd of Hermas." S. 849–870 in Band 2 von *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism and Early Christianity*. Hgg. von David Hellholm, Tor Vegge, Øyvind Norderval und Christer Hellholm. BZNW 176. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011.

Bornkamm, Günther. „Der Auferstandene und der Irdische: Mt 28,16–20." S. 171–191 in *Zeit und Geschichte: Dankesgabe an Rudolf Bultmann zum 80. Geburtstag*. Hg. von Erich Dinkler. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1984.

Bousset, Wilhelm. „Der erste Brief an die Korinther." S. 72–161 in Band 2 von *Die Schriften des Neuen Testament*. Hg. von Johannes Weiss. 2. Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1908.

Bousset, Wilhelm. *Kyrios Christos: Geschichte des Christusglaubens von den Anfängen des Christentums bis Irenaeus*. FRLANT 4. 5. Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965.

Bradshaw, Paul F., Maxwell E. Johnson und L. Edward Phillips. *The Apostolic Tradition*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002.

Braun, Herbert. *An die Hebräer*. HNT 14. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1984.

Bultmann, Rudolf. *Die drei Johannesbriefe*. KEK 14. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967.

Bultmann, Rudolf. *Der zweite Brief an die Korinther*. KEK Sonderband. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976.

Bultmann, Rudolf. *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*. 9. Aufl. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1984.

Burchard, Christoph. *Der Jakobusbrief*. HNT 15.1. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000.

Conzelmann, Hans. „Was glaubte die frühe Christenheit?" S. 106–119 in *Theologie als Schriftauslegung*. Von Hans Conzelmann. BEvT 65. München: Kaiser, 1974.

Conzelmann, Hans. *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*. KEK 5. 2. Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981.

Cook, John Granger. „*Chrestiani, Christiani*, Χριστιανοί: A Second Century Anachronism?" *VC* 74 (2020): 237–264.

Day, Juliette. *The Baptismal Liturgy of Jerusalem: Fourth and Fifth Century Evidence from Palestine, Syria and Egypt*. Aldershot: Aldershot, 2007.

Day, Juliette. „The Catechetical Lectures of Cyril of Jerusalem. A Source for the Baptismal Liturgy of Mid-Fourth Century Jerusalem." S. 1179–1204 in Band 2 von *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism and Early Christianity*. Hgg. von David Hellholm, Tor Vegge, Øyvind Norderval und Christer Hellholm. BZNW 176. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011.

Detlef, C., und G. Müller. „Offenbarung des Petrus." S. 562–578 in *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, Band 2: *Apostolisches, Apokalypsen und Verwandtes*. Hg. von Wilhelm Schneemelcher. 5. Aufl. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989.

Dibelius, Martin, und Heinrich Greeven. *Der Brief des Jakobus*. KEK 15. 11. Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964.

Dinkler, Erich. „Die Taufterminologie in 2 Kor 1,21 f." S. 99–117 in *Signum Crucis: Aufsätze zum Neuen Testament und zur Christlichen Archäologie*. Von Erich Dinkler. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1967.

Dinkler, Erich. „Römer 6,1–14 und das Verhältnis von Taufe und Rechtfertigung bei Paulus." S. 83–126 in *Battesimo e giustizia in Rom 6 e 8*. Hg. von Lorenzo De Lorenzi. SMBen 2. Rom: Abbazia S. Paolo fuori le mura, 1974.

Ebeling, Gerhard. *Dogmatik des christlichen Glaubens*, Band 3: *Der Glaube an Gott der Vollender der Welt*. 2. Aufl. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1982.

Ekenberg, Anders. „Initiation in the Apostolic Tradition." S. 1011–1050 in Band 2 von *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism and Early Christianity*. Hgg. von David Hellholm, Tor Vegge, Øyvind Norderval und Christer Hellholm. BZNW 176. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011.

Ekenberg, Anders. „The Eucharist in Early Church Orders." S. 957–992 in Band 2 von *The Eucharist – Its Origins and Contexts: Sacred Meal, Communal Meal, Table Fellowship in Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*. Hgg. von David Hellholm und Dieter Sänger. WUNT 376. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017.

Ernst, Michael. Art. „εἰς τὸ ὄνομα." S. 70–72 in *1. Korinther*. Hgg. von Peter Arzt-Grabner, Ruth Elisabeth Kritzer, Amphilochios Papathomas und Franz Winter. Papyrologische Kommentare zum Neuen Testament 2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006.

Ferguson, Everett. *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology, and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009.

Geckeler, Horst. *Strukturelle Semantik und Wortfeldtheorie*. München: Fink, 1971.

Grässer, Erich. *An die Hebräer (Hebr 1–6)*. EKKNT 17.1. Zürich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1990.

von Harnack, Adolf. *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, Band I: *Die Entwicklung des kirchlichen Dogmas*. 4. Aufl. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1909. Nachdruck, Darmstadt: WBG, 2015.

Hartman, Lars. *Auf den Namen des Herrn Jesus. Die Taufe in den neutestamentlichen Schriften*. SBS 148. Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1992.

Hartman, Lars. *„Into the Name of the Lord Jesus." Baptism in the Early Church*. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1997.

Hartman, Lars. „‚Into the Name of Jesus.' A Suggestion Concerning the Earliest Meaning of the Phrase." S. 145–154 in *Approaching New Testament Texts and Contexts: Collected Essays II*. Hgg. von David Hellholm und Tord Fornberg. WUNT 311. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013.

Hartman, Lars. „La formule baptismale dans les Actes des Apôtres. Quelques observations relatives au style de Luc." S. 155–163 in *Approaching New Testament Texts and Contexts: Collected Essays II*. WUNT 311. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013.

Hartman, Lars. „Early Baptism – Early Christology." S. 166–173 in *Approaching New Testament Texts and Contexts: Collected Essays II*. WUNT 311. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013.

Hartman, Lars. *Kolosserbrevet*. KNT 12. Uppsala: EFS-förlaget, 1985.

Hartman, Lars. „Usages – Some Notes on the Baptismal Name-Formula." S. 175–189 in *Approaching New Testament Texts and Contexts: Collected Essays II*. WUNT 311. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013.

Hartman, Lars. „ὄνομα." S. 1268–1277 in Band 2 von *Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*. Hgg. von Horst Balz und Gerhard Schneider. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1982.

Hartvigsen, Kirsten Marie. „Matthew 28:9–20 and Mark 16:9–20." S. 655–715 in Band 1 von *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism and Early Christianity*. Hgg. von David Hellholm, Tor Vegge, Øyvind Norderval und Christer Hellholm. BZNW 176. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011.

Heid, Stefan. „Justinus Martyr I." *RAC* 19 (2001): 801–847.

Heitmüller, Wilhelm. *„Im Namen Jesu." Eine sprach- u. religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum Neuen Testament speziell zur altchristlichen Taufe*. FRLANT 1.2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1903.

Hellholm, David. „Die argumentative Funktion von Römer 7.1–6." *NTS* 43 (1997): 385–411.

Hellholm, David. „Der Hirt des Hermas." S. 226–253 in *Die Apostolischen Väter: Eine Einleitung*. Hg. von Wilhelm Pratscher. UTB 3272. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009.

Hellholm, David. „Vorgeformte Tauftraditionen und deren Benutzung in den Paulusbriefen." S. 415–495 in Band 1 von *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism and Early Christianity*. Hgg. von David Hellholm, Tor Vegge, Øyvind Norderval und Christer Hellholm. BZNW 176. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011.

Kelly, John N. D. *Altchristliche Glaubensbekenntnisse: Geschichte und Theologie*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972.

Klauck, Hans-Josef. *Der erste Johannesbrief*. EKK 23.1. Zürich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1991.

Klauck, Hans-Josef. *Die apokryphe Bibel*. Tria Corda 4. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008.

Koch, Dietrich-Alex. *Geschichte des Urchristentums: Ein Lehrbuch*. 2. Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014.

Kraft, Heinrich. *Texte zur Geschichte der Taufe, besonders der Kindertaufe in der alten Kirche*, 2. Aufl., KlT 174. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1969.

Lindemann, Andreas. „Zur frühchristlichen Taufpraxis. Die Taufe in der Didache, bei Justin und in der Didaskalia." S. 767–815 in Band 2 von *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism and Early Christianity*. Hgg. von David Hellholm, Tor Vegge, Øyvind Norderval und Christer Hellholm. BZNW 176. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011.

Linton, Olof. „Paulus och Juridiken." *STK* 21 (1945): 173–192.

Löhr, Hermut. „Kindertaufe im frühen Christentum. Beobachtungen an den neutestamentlichen Apokryphen." S. 1531–1552 in Band 2 von *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism and Early Christianity*. Hgg. von David Hellholm, Tor Vegge, Øyvind Norderval und Christer Hellholm. BZNW 176. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011.

Lohse, Eduard. *Der Brief an die Römer*. KEK 4. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003.

Lundhaug, Hugo. „Baptism in the Monasteries of Upper Egypt." S. 1347–1380 in Band 2 von *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism and Early Christianity*. Hgg. von David Hellholm, Tor Vegge, Øyvind Norderval und Christer Hellholm. BZNW 176. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011.

Lyons, John. *Semantics*, Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.

Niederwimmer, Kurt. *Die Didache*. Kommentar zu den Apostolischen Vätern 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989.

Norderval, Øyvind. „Simplicity and Power: Tertullian's *De Baptismo*." S. 947–972 in Band 2 von *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism and Early Christianity*. Hgg. von David Hellholm, Tor Vegge, Øyvind Norderval und Christer Hellholm. BZNW 176. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011.

Popkes, Enno Edzard. „Die Tauftheologie Cyprians." S. 1051–1070 in Band 2 von *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism and Early Christianity*. Hgg. von David Hellholm, Tor Vegge, Øyvind Norderval und Christer Hellholm. BZNW 176. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011.

Popkes, Wiard. *Der Brief des Jakobus*. THKNT 14. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2001.

Sandnes, Karl Olav. „Seal and Baptism in Early Christianity." S. 1441–1481 in Band 2 von *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism and Early Christianity*. Hgg. von David Hellholm, Tor Vegge, Øyvind Norderval und Christer Hellholm. BZNW 176. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011.

Schnelle, Udo. *Die Johannesbriefe*. THKNT 17. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2010.

Schröter, Jens. „Die Taufe in der Apostelgeschichte." S. 557–586 in Band 1 von *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism and Early Christianity*. Hgg. von David Hellholm, Tor Vegge, Øyvind Norderval und Christer Hellholm. BZNW 176. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011.

Tabbernee, William. „Initiation/Baptism in the Montanist Movement." S. 917–945 in Band 2 von *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism and Early Christianity*. Hgg. von David Hellholm, Tor Vegge, Øyvind Norderval und Christer Hellholm. BZNW 176. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011.

Theissen, Gerd. „Die urchristliche Taufe und die soziale Konstruktion des neuen Menschen." S. 87–114 in *Transformations of the Inner Self in Ancient Religions*. Hgg. von Jan Assmann und Gedaliahu Stroumsa. SHR 83. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

Thomassen, Einar. *The Spiritual Seed: The Church of the „Valentinians."* Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 60. Leiden: Brill, 2006.

Thomassen, Einar. „Baptism among the Valentinians." S. 895–915 in Band 2 von *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism and Early Christianity*. Hgg. von David Hellholm, Tor Vegge, Øyvind Norderval und Christer Hellholm. BZNW 176. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011.

Thrall, Margaret E. *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*. Vol. I. ICC. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994.

Vegge, Tor. „Baptismal Phrases in the Deuteropauline Epistles." S. 497–556 in Band 1 von *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism and Early Christianity*. Hgg. von David Hellholm, Tor Vegge, Øyvind Norderval und Christer Hellholm. BZNW 176. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011.

Weiss, Johannes. *Der erste Korintherbrief*. KEK 5. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970 (1910).

Weiss, Johannes. *Das Urchristentum*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1917.

Widengren, Geo. *Religionsphänomenologie*. De Gruyter Lehrbücher. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1969.

Zeller, Dieter. *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*. KEK 5. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010.

4

"Beginning with Moses and All the Prophets": Proclamation and Narrative Progression in Three Speeches by Peter in Acts (Acts 2:14–40; 3:12–26; 4:8–12)

Daniel Gustafsson

In their search for remnants of early Christian preaching, scholars have often turned to the speeches in the Acts of the Apostles. In doing so, they have at times neglected how those speeches function within their narrative context. In three speeches by Peter (Acts 2:14–40; 3:12–26; 4:8–12), the proclamation of Jesus follows and expands a pattern established in the predictions and affirmations of the suffering of the Son of Man in Luke. In those speeches, the reader of Luke-Acts is presented for the first time with the evidence, promised in Luke, that Jesus's resurrection had taken place in accordance with the Scriptures. The speeches must therefore be understood as Luke's preaching to his reader, rather than as windows into the homiletic practice of early missionaries.

1 Introduction

The speeches in Acts have, in different ways, been understood as preaching. If we leave behind older appreciations of the speeches as more or less accurate reminiscences of the preaching delivered by the apostles at the reported events, we are still left with several interpretative possibilities. C.H. Dodd famously argued that although Luke had probably composed the speeches in Acts himself, he had done so by using sources.[1] Even if the content of the speeches did not match the reported events, he argued that they were probably representative of the preaching of the early apostolic age. A similar theory was argued by Martin Dibelius, who understood these speeches as mirrors of the common

1 C.H. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1936), 17–20.

style of preaching in Luke's own time.[2] Whether Dodd or Dibelius were right can hardly be answered. We simply do not know nearly enough about preaching in the first centuries of the Jesus movement and the early church.[3]

Dibelius and many other scholars conclude that we must primarily understand the speeches in Acts as Luke's preaching to his readers, and this is the point of departure of this essay. Through analysis of how Luke uses Scripture to proclaim Jesus in the speeches in Acts, I aim to show that the speeches cannot be isolated from the rest of the narrative in Luke-Acts. Although I will not address the historical question of what early Christian preaching was like, I hope to present insights into the literary function of the speeches that will aid anyone attempting that task.

The analysis will demonstrate that both the structure and the content of the christological proclamation in the speeches belong within a pattern of progressing clarity and increasing detail that begins in the Gospel of Luke. Since I will discuss a pattern that begins in Luke and continues in Acts, the investigation will touch on the problem of the degree of unity between Luke and Acts.[4] More specific questions concerning the narrative unity of Luke-Acts will not be pursued in this essay, although I will note some implications for that and other problems to the extent that these follow from my results. While I would argue that the proclamation of Jesus is *a* central aspect of the speeches, I hope the reader will bear in mind that this is only one of several literary functions that they carry.

The apostolic preaching in the speeches in Acts fulfils a prediction made by the risen Jesus at the end of Luke's Gospel: that forgiveness through repentance will be proclaimed in his name to all nations (Luke 24:47). That scene at the end of Luke does more than suggest that a ministry of preaching awaits the apostles—it also foreshadows the basic pattern of their proclamation. In Luke 24:44–49, Jesus appears to his disciples and reminds them that his suffering,

2 Martin Dibelius, *Die Reden der Apostelgeschichte und die antike Geschichtsschreibung*, SHAW 35 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1949), 33.

3 See James A: Kelhoffer, "If Second Clement Really Were a 'Sermon,' How Would We Know, and Why Would We Care?" in *Early Christian Communities between Ideal and Reality*, ed. Mark Grundeken and Joseph Verheyden, WUNT 342 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 83–108, here 93.

4 The degree of unity—including generic, narrative, and theological unity—between Luke's Gospel and Acts is a matter of debate. See Mikeal C. Parsons and Richard I. Pervo, *Rethinking the Unity of Luke and Acts* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), and I. Howard Marshall, "Acts and the 'Former Treatise,'" in *The Book of Acts in Its Ancient Literary Setting*, ed. Bruce W. Winter and Andrew D. Clarke, vol. 1 of *The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting,* ed. Bruce W. Winter (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 163–182.

death, and resurrection was foretold by the Scriptures and had to be fulfilled. A similar statement occurs during the journey from Emmaus when Jesus explains what is written about him in the Scriptures—beginning with Moses and all the prophets (24:27). The sayings in Luke 24:44–49 contain a pattern that was established at Jesus's first prediction of the suffering of the Son of Man (Luke 9:22) and that recurs several times in Luke-Acts. The basic structure of this pattern is (1) a summary of Jesus's suffering, death, and resurrection; (2) a reference that this series of events is determined by God or testified to in the Scriptures; (3) Jesus is not only mentioned by name, but also by a christological title.[5] This pattern includes a line of progression that provides increasing clarity, so that the speeches in Acts represent the final stage, at which God's plan concerning the death and resurrection of Jesus is presented in the greatest detail.

A decisive point in this progression occurs in Luke 24:45, where the risen Jesus opens the minds of his disciples so that they can understand the way in which the Scriptures testify to him. That transformation of the apostles' understanding forms the basis for their subsequent preaching. Prior to his death and resurrection, Jesus had anticipated what would take place with increasing detail, but the disciples have been unable to comprehend his teaching. This increasing measure of clarity becomes visible by the line of progression in Jesus's three predictions of the suffering of the Son of Man (9:22, 44; 18:31–33). In the first prediction, Jesus describes his suffering, death, and resurrection as necessary (9:22), while the third prediction describes the same events as the fulfilment of everything written by the prophets (18:31). Three affirmations that follow Jesus's resurrection correspond to his three predictions (24:6b–7, 25–27, 44–47) and show a similar line of progression. In the first scene, an angel reminds the disciples of Jesus's saying that his suffering, death, and resurrection was necessary. The second and third affirmations make explicit reference to the fulfilment of Scripture.

When the risen Jesus speaks of his suffering, death, and resurrection as foretold by Scripture, the reader is left without any guidance about which passages

5 Luke 9:22: δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πολλὰ παθεῖν καὶ ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ ἀρχιερέων καὶ γραμματέων καὶ ἀποκτανθῆναι καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγερθῆναι. Luke 9:44: ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μέλλει παραδίδοσθαι εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων. Luke 18:31b–33: ἰδοὺ ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ, καὶ τελεσθήσεται πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα διὰ τῶν προφητῶν τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· παραδοθήσεται γὰρ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν καὶ ἐμπαιχθήσεται καὶ ὑβρισθήσεται καὶ ἐμπτυσθήσεται καὶ μαστιγώσαντες ἀποκτενοῦσιν αὐτόν, καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ ἀναστήσεται. Luke 24:7: τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὅτι δεῖ παραδοθῆναι εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων ἁμαρτωλῶν καὶ σταυρωθῆναι καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστῆναι. Luke 24:26: οὐχὶ ταῦτα ἔδει παθεῖν τὸν χριστὸν καὶ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ; [cf. 24:19–24]. Luke 24:46: γέγραπται παθεῖν τὸν χριστὸν καὶ ἀναστῆναι ἐκ νεκρῶν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

in the Scriptures would be fulfilled. Some clues have certainly been provided earlier, for example when Jesus referred to Ps 110 in the debate about how the Messiah can be the Son of David, when David calls him Lord (Luke 20:41–44). That passage would probably be recalled by a reader who learns that the Messiah would enter into his glory (Luke 24:26). The scene of the mocking and suffering of Jesus at the cross makes repeated allusions to the Psalms. Those allusions would also be understood by the reader as passages of Scripture that testify to the suffering of the Messiah.[6] However, given Jesus's bold claims that the Scriptures will be fulfilled through his suffering, death, and resurrection, the reader's desire to know more of those passages is aroused. After all, Jesus describes the exploration of the Scriptures as a way to receive a deeper understanding of who he is. The fact that Jesus opens the meaning of the Scriptures to his apostles suggests that the apostles will in turn reveal the true interpretation of the Scriptures to the reader. This expectation is fulfilled in the book of Acts.

In the following, I will point out how Peter in three speeches in Acts expounds passages from Scripture that are interpreted as having been fulfilled in the suffering, death, and resurrection of Jesus. These speeches are: Peter's speech at Pentecost (2:14–40), Peter's speech in Solomon's Portico (3:12–26), and Peter's speech in front of the council (4:8–12).

2 Peter's Speech at Pentecost (Acts 2:14–40)

Peter's speech at Pentecost is the first major speech in Acts. It is also the first of the kerygmatic speeches, in which the meaning of Jesus's death and resurrection is publicly proclaimed for the first time.[7] The speech contains a number of longer and shorter quotations from Scripture. The first quotation, which is

6 The number of different echoes and allusions to Psalms in Luke's passion narrative should be considered together, since it is the sum of many echoes that make the resonance from the book of Psalms perceivable in Luke's narrative. One example is when the soldiers cast lots to divide Jesus's clothing in Luke 23:34, echoing Ps 22:18. Another example is the repeated challenge to Jesus to save himself in 23:35, 37, 39, echoing Ps 22:9 [21:9 LXX] (σωσάτω αὐτόν). See further Joshua W. Jipp, "Luke's Scriptural Suffering Messiah: A Search for Precedent, a Search for Identity," *CBQ* 72 (2010): 255–274.

7 Dibelius divided the speeches in Acts into two categories: speeches which parallel speeches in ancient historiography, and the missionary speeches of Peter and Paul (including the speech by Stephen). The latter he describes as kerygmatic speeches characterized by repetition and emphasis of certain themes, for which ancient historiography is only of limited value to their interpretation. See Dibelius, *Die Reden der Apostelgeschichte*, 46.

also the longest, occurs in 2:17–21 and is from Joel 2:28–32 (3:1–5 LXX).[8] Peter uses this passage from Joel to explain why the apostles act and speak in ecstasy following the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Peter's argument is that what they have experienced is nothing other than a fulfilment of this very prophecy that in the last days, the Lord would pour out his Spirit on all flesh. The first quotation establishes a pattern that moves backwards from fulfilment to prophecy. That pattern, by which passages from Scripture that match the event previously reported are identified, will continue throughout the speech. Richard Pervo points out that this pattern suggests that the speech was composed for Christian readers, since only they would find that line of argument persuasive.[9] Pervo's argument supports Dibelius's hypothesis referred to above, that the kerygmatic speeches in Acts emulate later Christian preaching rather than speeches that would have been historically appropriate at the time of the reported events.

Although the quotation from Joel is not part of the Scriptures that Luke has identified as having foretold the suffering, death, and resurrection of Jesus, there is nevertheless an interesting point in the use of this passage that pertains to how christological themes develop through the narrative. The last line of the quotation states that everyone who calls on the name of the Lord shall be saved (καὶ ἔσται πᾶς ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσηται τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου σωθήσεται, Acts 2:21). In the context of the quotation from Joel, "the Lord" would be best understood as referring to God. However, Jesus is also known as ὁ κύριος already in Luke 1:43, and from that point on, it is ambiguous whether ὁ κύριος refers to God or Jesus in several cases. This ambiguity creates an overlap in the identity of God and Jesus since they are both ὁ κύριος.[10] The reference to the name of the Lord in Acts 2:21 is part of a gradual shift of focus towards Jesus. Later, in Acts 4:12 Peter explicitly identifies Jesus as the only one by whose name we must be saved.[11] Since the steps in this progression within the narrative take place in different speeches, it is clear that the speeches themselves must be interpreted as elements within the larger narrative of Luke-Acts.

---

8 The quotation follows LXX but with a few changes that have invited speculation on whether Luke uses written sources here. See, e.g., Max Turner, *Power from on High: The Spirit in Israel's Restoration and Witness in Luke-Acts*, JPTSup 9 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 268–270.

9 Richard I. Pervo, *Acts: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2009), 75.

10 See C. Kavin Rowe, *Early Narrative Christology: The Lord in the Gospel of Luke*, BZNW 139 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006).

11 Acts 4:12: καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ ἡ σωτηρία, οὐδὲ γὰρ ὄνομά ἐστιν ἕτερον ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν τὸ δεδομένον ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐν ᾧ δεῖ σωθῆναι ἡμᾶς.

The part of Peter's speech that explicitly addresses the fate of Jesus begins with a summary of his suffering, death, and resurrection (2:22–24). The summary continues with a quotation of Ps 16:8–11 (Acts 2:25–28), which is followed by an explanation of how the quoted passage applies to Jesus's resurrection (2:29–32). After a discourse on the resurrection, Peter resumes the summary of Jesus's fate by adding information about his exaltation and his subsequent pouring out of the Spirit (2:33). That discourse leads over to a second quotation from Scripture, this time from Ps 110:1 (Acts 2:34–35). Peter finally concludes that God has made Jesus, whom the audience has crucified, both Lord and Messiah (Acts 2:36).

In the summary of his suffering, Peter reports that Jesus was attested by God through his deeds of power, wonders, and signs (δυνάμεσιν καὶ τέρασιν καὶ σημείοις, Acts 2:22). That phrase suggests that Luke leads the reader to think of Jesus as a prophet. In Luke 4:23–24, mighty deeds are associated with prophetic ministry, and the reader is thus expected to understand the performance of signs as the mark of a prophet. Another feature in the summary that also suggests that Jesus is presented as a prophet is the accusation that the Israelites have killed Jesus, although his death took place according to God's plan (2:22–23). In Luke, the blame for Jesus's death is often placed on the leaders of the people (Luke 9:22) or the gentiles (Luke 18:32). There are also passages that suggest that the people will be responsible for Jesus's death, and they appear especially when Jesus's death is interpreted as the death of a prophet (e.g., Luke 13:34).[12] When the reader learns that the people are responsible for the death of Jesus, there is thus good reason to assume that the reader is led to think of his death as the death of a prophet. It is important to note these suggestions that Peter's speech presents Jesus as a prophet since, as we shall see, many scholars understand the message of the speech to center around the titles "Messiah" and "Lord." Such readings risk focusing too much on explicit titles.

Peter's summary of the fate of Jesus ends with a reference to his resurrection (Acts 2:24). Peter then develops the topic of the resurrection by introducing the quotation from Ps 16 (15:8–11 LXX) with explicit reference to the psalmist David (Δαυὶδ γὰρ λέγει εἰς αὐτόν, Acts 2:25). That the resurrection is the point that Peter seeks to address by the quotation is affirmed in 2:31. The previous time that David is mentioned in Luke-Acts is in Luke 20:41, where Jesus quotes Ps 110 and asks how the Messiah can be called the Son of David when David calls him "Lord." In that passage, Jesus takes as his point of departure that David

12 Another passage that suggests that Jesus will be killed as a prophet appears in Luke 4, following the sermon in Nazareth. Jesus compares his own ministry to that of other known prophets (4:24–26), and the people attempt to kill him (4:28–29).

spoke of the Messiah in the book of Psalms. The same presupposition is made by Peter in his speech. The idea that David spoke prophetically about the Messiah is thus not only previously known by the reader of Peter's speech—it has been asserted by none other than Jesus himself. As mentioned above, a number of allusions to the Psalms occur in the passion narrative to portray Jesus during his suffering. Those psalms are attributed to David. According to Luke, the psalms of David are thus a part of Scripture that includes prophecies about Jesus's suffering, resurrection, and ascension. It is therefore not surprising that in Luke 24:44, Jesus mentions the book of Psalms as a specific part of Scripture in which it is written about him.[13]

Although the reader knows that the psalms of David speak prophetically of the Messiah, Peter offers an argument for such an interpretation: since David is dead and his tomb is nearby, he must have been speaking of someone else when stating that his soul would not be abandoned to Hades and that he would not experience corruption.[14] This statement about David's death narrows down the possible interpretations of the Psalm by ruling out the interpretation that it refers to protection from premature death rather than to resurrection.[15] Peter then takes one step further, and uses Nathan's promise to David that there would be a descendant on his throne (2 Sam 7) to identify the person to whom David refers as his descendant, namely the Messiah (2:30–31).

God's promise to David through Nathan is brought up earlier in Luke. At the annunciation, when Gabriel introduces Jesus for the first time in Luke's Gospel, he states that Jesus will be given the throne of his father David and rule over the house of Jacob forever (Luke 1:32b–33a). Although this information is not known to the audience of Peter's speech, the reader of Luke-Acts certainly knows that Jesus is indeed the true heir of David and the one in whom all the promises will see fulfilment. When Peter's speech calls attention to the resur-

---

13 It has sometimes been asked whether Luke 24:44, with the references to the law of Moses, the Prophets, and Psalms, is the earliest witness to a tripartite understanding of Scripture. If that were the case, "Psalms" would stand for the third part, often referred to as "the scriptures." However, parallels in 4QMMT and in the prologue to the Greek translation of Sirach suggest that the designation "Psalms" was not used as a metonym for a third part of Scripture. See Dietrich Rusam, *Das Alte Testament bei Lukas*, BZNW 112 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 260–262. The fact that "Psalms" in Luke 24:44 lacks the definite article also speaks against such suggestions. See Michael Wolter, *Das Lukasevangelium*, HNT 5 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 792. By implication, Luke stresses the christological importance of the book of Psalms.

14 Acts 2:27: ὅτι οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχήν μου εἰς ᾅδην οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὅσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν (Ps 15:10 LXX). Cf. Acts 2:31.

15 On other possible interpretations, see I. Howard Marshall, "Acts," in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, ed. G.K. Beale and D.A. Carson (Grand Rapids: Baker; Nottingham: Apollos, 2007), 513–-606, here 536–-539.

rection together with a reference to the Messiah as David's heir, the reader may conclude that the resurrection is the means by which the promise at the annunciation will be fulfilled: the risen Jesus will not experience corruption and will rule forever on the throne of David.

Following the quotation from Ps 16 and Peter's affirmation that the apostles are indeed witnesses to Jesus's resurrection (2:32), he turns his focus to Jesus's ascension and heavenly enthronement. A reference to the exaltation of Jesus at the right hand of God in 2:33 adds several possible echoes to the book of Psalms.[16] Peter then reconnects to the topic of his introduction: having received the promise of the Holy Spirit from the Father (τήν τε ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου, 2:33), the exalted Jesus has poured it out, just as the audience has witnessed. The reference to the promise of the Holy Spirit leads the reader to recollect the very end of Luke, where Jesus affirms that everything that has happened to him has been foretold in the Scriptures. Jesus then also speaks of the Spirit as the promise of the Father (ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πατρός μου ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, Luke 24:49). That common terminology of the Spirit as the promise ties the end of Luke and the beginning of Acts together.

The mention of Jesus's exaltation leads Peter to introduce another quotation from the Psalms. Again, Peter draws a contrast between David and Jesus. Just as the words about resurrection from Ps 16 could not be applied to David himself, because he died a mortal's death, nor can the words in Ps 110:1, since he did not ascend to heaven. The quotation from Ps 110:1 in Acts 2:34–35 is thus the second time that this verse is quoted at length in Luke-Acts. Following Luke 20:42–43, there is also a clear allusion in Luke 22:69 that will be repeated once more at the end of Stephen's speech in Acts (7:56). The frequent use of Ps 110:1 makes it evident that this verse plays an important role in Luke's Christology. In the two quotations (Luke 20:42–43; Acts 2:34–35), its primary function is to argue that the Messiah is also properly addressed as "Lord."

The conclusion of Peter's speech is that the whole people of Israel should know that God has made Jesus, whom they had crucified, both Messiah and Lord (2:36). Christopher Tuckett argues that "the explicit justification of the use of these two terms for Jesus" governs this whole speech.[17] Admittedly, Peter's argument leads to a defense for the use of these two titles for Jesus. At the

16 The phrase τῇ δεξιᾷ οὖν τοῦ θεοῦ ὑψωθείς (Acts 2:33) may be perceived as echoing several different passages in Psalms, and it is not meaningful to try to reduce those echoes to a single verse. Verses that contain similar expressions are Ps 15:11 LXX; 67:19 LXX, 117:16 LXX; 138:8–10 LXX. See further Marshall, "Acts," 540–541.

17 Christopher M. Tuckett, *Christology and the New Testament: Jesus and His Earliest Followers* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001), 140.

same time, we have seen that the presentation of Jesus in this speech includes the idea of him as a prophet. The point Luke attempts to make becomes clear when we observe that the two titles "Messiah" and "Lord" are coupled with the phrase "whom you crucified." The idea that a prophet would suffer was uncontroversial, but not that someone called "Messiah" and "Lord" would meet such an end. To make his case for Jesus, Luke offers exegesis that corresponds to his overall presentation of Jesus as rejected by the people but vindicated by God.

The analysis above has identified in Peter's first speech the summary of Jesus's fate as found earlier in the predictions and affirmations in Luke. It has also highlighted Peter's detailed exegesis of Scripture, aiming to explain Jesus's resurrection and ascension. It is striking that this use of Scripture matches Luke's sequential presentation of the resurrection and the ascension.[18] The exposition of Scripture in the speech thus matches the overall pattern of Luke's Christology, which moreover suggests that the speech must be understood within the narrative fabric of Luke-Acts. We have also found that the two titles, "Messiah" and "Lord," are associated to these two sequential events. However, since those titles are applied to Jesus already during his earthly ministry and even earlier (Luke 1:43; cf. 4:18), it would be wrong to understand that Jesus *has become* the Messiah at the resurrection or Lord at the ascension. The point is rather that only after his suffering, resurrection, and ascension is it clear to the reader what it means that Jesus is the Messiah and Lord—or even what it means that he is a prophet.

3 Peter's Speech in Solomon's Portico (Acts 3:12–26)

Peter gives his second major speech in Acts in the temple compound. The occasion is that a crowd gathers around him and John, because a lame man has been healed by Peter and then clings to the two apostles (3:1–11). Peter takes the astonishment of the crowd as his point of departure and claims that it is not through the apostles' own working that the man was healed—the healing was made in the name of Jesus. Peter offers a summary of the fate of Jesus, including the familiar elements discussed above (3:13–15). The theme of Jesus's suffering and resurrection is then developed by the use of Scripture, and the addressees are exhorted to become followers of Jesus and be saved, just as the formerly lame man was, or else they can remain in their rebellious state against God (3:17–26).

18 Pervo, *Acts*, 83.

The summary of Jesus's fate in this speech has a chiastic structure, in which two references to the resurrection or exaltation of Jesus frame two references to his rejection. It begins with the statement that God has glorified his servant (3:13a), whom the audience handed over and rejected before Pilate (3:13b).[19] The people are then told that they rejected the holy and righteous one (3:14), and killed the author of life, whom God raised (3:15). The summary is followed by the remark that "to this we are witnesses" (οὗ ἡμεῖς μάρτυρές ἐσμεν, 3:15). Peter's claim that the apostles are witnesses corresponds to Jesus's saying in Luke 24:48 (ὑμεῖς μάρτυρες τούτων) and again indicates how the first speeches in Acts build on Luke 24.

Peter proceeds and argues that the people have acted to kill Jesus out of ignorance (3:17), and thereby facilitated the fulfilment of the prophecies of the suffering Messiah (3:18). Since the people acted without knowing what they did, forgiveness is possible if they repent (3:19). This statement repeats Jesus's words on the cross, where he prays for forgiveness for those who torment him (Luke 23:34, alluding to Lev 5:17–18 LXX which regulates atonement for sins committed in ignorance).[20] Although Peter's address does not require knowledge about Jesus's prayer on the cross in order to be intelligible, it evokes and strengthens a theme already known to the reader. This theme is closely connected to the proclamation of the forgiveness of sins through repentance which, according to Luke 24:47, will follow from Jesus's suffering and resurrection.

The call to repentance in 3:19 belongs together with promises of times of refreshment and the subsequent coming of the appointed Messiah, Jesus, whom heaven must retain until the appointed time of universal restoration (3:20–21).[21] This sentence belongs to the most debated christological statements in Acts, and was famously identified by J.A.T. Robinson as "the most primitive Christology of all."[22] It is evident that some expressions in this line

19 The most common translation of παῖς is "servant," but Marion L. Soards points out that the meaning is ambiguous and that παῖς could also be translated either "child" or "son." See Soards, *The Passion According to Luke: The Special Material of Luke 22*, JSNTS 14 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987), 40–41. The reference to the παῖς as glorified (ἐδόξασεν τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν, 3:13) is a good example of how allusions to Scripture are imbedded in the speeches. The phrase echoes Isa 52:13 and evokes the theme of suffering and exaltation in the servant songs in Isaiah. See, e.g. Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary*, trans. R. McL. Wilson et al. (Philadephia: Westminster, 1971), 205.

20 The allusion consists of the verb ἀφίημι together with the phrase οὐκ οἶδα.

21 Acts 3:19–21: μετανοήσατε οὖν καὶ ἐπιστρέψατε εἰς τὸ ἐξαλειφθῆναι ὑμῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας, (20) ὅπως ἂν ἔλθωσιν καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἀποστείλῃ τὸν προκεχειρισμένον ὑμῖν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, (21) ὃν δεῖ οὐρανὸν μὲν δέξασθαι ἄχρι χρόνων ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων ὧν ἐλάλησεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων ἀπ' αἰῶνος αὐτοῦ προφητῶν.

22 J.A.T. Robinson, "The Most Primitive Christology of All?" *JTS* 7 (1956): 177–189.

diverge from Luke's usual terminology, although the idea that the Parousia will occur after a prolonged span of time conforms with Luke's eschatology. Pervo argues that the atypical expression of times of refreshment (καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως) instead of more practical references to baptism and the Holy Spirit underlines that the speech is directed to Luke's reader and not to the audience in the narrative.[23] Unlike the audience, the reader has the resources to supply that expression with meaning.

The time of universal restoration in 3:21 is said to be announced long ago through the mouths of God's holy prophets. That reference to the prophets is a bridge to the main quotation from Scripture in this speech, i.e. to a prophecy spoken by Moses about the future prophet, whom God will raise up (Acts 3:22–23). The quotation is an abridged version of Deut 18:15–19 LXX with an added line from Lev 23:29 LXX, which states that the one who does not listen to this prophet will be utterly rooted out from the people.

The prophet like Moses is known to Luke's reader from his Gospel, where the clearest allusion occurs at the transfiguration. To the heavenly proclamation of Jesus as "my Son," the voice adds "listen to him" (αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε, Luke 9:35). In that scene, the allusion to Deut 18:15 introduces the idea of Jesus as a leader of the people, a leader to whom the people should listen. When Peter quotes Deut 18:15–19, the reader is reminded of the earlier presentation of Jesus as the prophet like Moses, and how that theme was combined at the transfiguration with the idea of Jesus as the Son of God. The presentation of Jesus as a prophet also evokes the theme of persecution and innocent suffering—which is the fate of the prophets (Luke 11:49–50; 13:33).

However, the main point of the quotation from Deuteronomy is not that Jesus is a leader like Moses or persecuted like the other prophets, but that he is the prophet whom God has raised up, i.e. Jesus is the prophet whom God has raised up from the dead (προφήτην ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν ὡς ἐμέ, Acts 3:22; cf. Deut 18:15 LXX). Although the meaning of ἀνίστημι in its original context in Deut 18:15 is "cause to appear," the use of the verb in Acts leads the reader to think of the resurrection.[24] In Peter's first speech, ἀνίστημι is repeatedly used with reference to Jesus's resurrection (Acts 2:24, 32). The verb also occurs in the predictions and confirmations of Jesus's suffering and resurrection in Luke (18:33, 24:7, 46). A few verses later in the present speech, in Acts 3:26, Peter returns to the theme of resurrection when he states that "it was first of all for you that God raised his ser-

23 Pervo, *Acts*, 108.
24 BDAG, s.v. "ἀνίστημι," def. 4.

vant." In the same way as when Acts 2:31 underlines that the resurrection is the point of the quotation from Ps 16:8–11 in 2:25–28, the affirmation in 3:26 confirms that resurrection is the main motif in the quotation of Deut 18:15 in 3:22. Deuteronomy 18:15 thus belongs to the small number of passages that Luke seemingly identifies as having foretold Jesus's resurrection.[25] If the quotation in the speech at Pentecost links Jesus's resurrection to his Davidic messiahship, the use of Deut 18:15 links the resurrection to the motif of Jesus as a prophet.

The statement that Jesus was raised first of all "for you" is part of Peter's attempt to lead the audience to repentance and faith in Jesus. Peter stresses that they are descendants of the prophets and heirs to the covenant that God gave to their ancestors through Abraham (3:25). Peter thus states that, for the person who repents, it is a positive thing to belong to the people of Israel and to be a descendant of the prophets. That is what he, himself a descendent of the prophets, had done. However, for those who do not repent, it is not a positive thing, since Jesus has charged those who raise tombs over the prophets killed by their fathers with hypocrisy (Luke 11:47–48). Similarly, the covenant with Abraham is something positive for the one who now takes the opportunity to repent but earlier on, John the Baptist had rebuked those who referred to their lineage from Abraham without being repentant (Luke 3:8). The reference to the audience's status as descendants of the prophets and of Abraham thus highlights a theme from Luke with which the reader is familiar. Moreover, the stress on Israel as those who are called to be the first to repent corresponds to Jesus's instruction, in Luke 24:47, that forgiveness of sins through repentance should be proclaimed in his name to all peoples, *beginning from Jerusalem*. Thus, we have found another example of how one of the speeches in Acts exploits themes from Luke that are familiar to the reader, including statements by the risen Jesus in Luke 24.

4 Peter's Speech in Front of the Council (Acts 4:8–12)

The tumult that follows the healing of the lame man in Solomon's Portico leads to the arrest of Peter and John. Luke narrates that the leaders could not tolerate that the apostles taught about the resurrection from the dead with reference to Jesus (4:2). The next day, Peter and John are brought before the council and asked by what power, and in whose name, they had done "this"—apparently

25 I am grateful to professor Stig Norin for having drawn my attention to this circumstance.

referring to the healing of the lame man (ἐν ποίᾳ δυνάμει ἢ ἐν ποίῳ ὀνόματι ἐποιήσατε τοῦτο ὑμεῖς; 4:7). Filled with the Holy Spirit, Peter raises his voice and delivers a short speech (4:8–12).

The speech follows the same basic structure as the two previous ones. A summary of Jesus's fate (4:10) is connected to the occasion of the speech, a passage from Scripture is quoted and applied to Jesus (4:11), and a concluding statement rounds off the speech (4:12). This summary of Jesus's fate is short: Peter states that his audience crucified Jesus (ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐσταυρώσατε), and that God raised him from the dead (ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν, 4:10). The scriptural quotation that follows is technically a paraphrase of Ps 118:22 (117:22 LXX), describing the stone rejected by "you—the builders," which has become the cornerstone (Acts 4:11). If the quotations in the previous speeches focus on Jesus's resurrection, this one must be understood as a comment and expansion of the summary of Jesus's fate. Jesus being the rejected stone parallels how the leaders had him crucified, and his being found to be the cornerstone matches his resurrection. The implications of Jesus as the cornerstone are developed after the quotation.

The use of Ps 118:22 is impacted by the Lukan Jesus's previous use of the same verse when speaking to the same audience, more or less—an episode that Luke's reader may well remember. This earlier use appears in the conclusion of the parable about the vineyard (Luke 20:9–19). This parable functions as an allegory of salvation history, and Ps 118:22 points to the fate of the heir to the vineyard who is killed.[26] Since that heir in the allegory refers to Jesus, the function of the quotation is very similar in both contexts. A point of difference is that Luke 20:18 states that the cornerstone will also cause destruction to those who stumble on it (πᾶς ὁ πεσὼν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν λίθον συνθλασθήσεται· ἐφ' ὃν δ' ἂν πέσῃ, λικμήσει αὐτόν). That line corresponds to how the owner of the vineyard kills the tenants, and to the way in which judgement will befall those—especially the leaders of the people—who reject Jesus. Since the scribes and high priests realize that the parable was told against them in Luke 20:19, it is probably not by chance that the same quotation from Ps 118 is used in Acts when Peter addresses the council. Rather, these two scenes belong together, as the council is confronted with the same message before and after Jesus's death. In the second instance, the healing of the lame man supports the view that Jesus is indeed raised from the dead—he is the cornerstone. The reader, who ought to remember the saying that the cornerstone is also being a stumbling block, may infer that the council members, who show no willingness to repent, will eventually suffer punishment.

26 Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 643.

Peter's conclusion to the speech develops what it means that Jesus is the cornerstone by claiming that salvation is found in no one else, and that there is no other name under heaven given among mortals by which they must be saved (4:12). Peter thus associates Jesus's vindication—that he is found to be the cornerstone—with salvation for others. This is typical of Lukan soteriology, where Jesus's death and resurrection are repeatedly connected to salvation, but no precise atoning mechanisms are being spelled out.[27] We discussed Acts 4:12 above in conjunction with Peter's speech at Pentecost and the promise that everyone who calls on the name of the Lord shall be saved (Acts 2:21). The difference between the audiences implies that these two speeches are composed within a narrative progression that is specifically meant for Luke's reader.

5 Conclusion

The analysis of Peter's three speeches in Acts 2:14–40; 3:12–26; 4:8–12 has shown that they are integrated in Luke's narrative in a way that makes it impossible to view them only as approximations of early Christian preaching, regardless of whether we think of early apostolic proclamation or of the preaching in Luke's own time. Time and again, we have found examples of how the speeches are connected to other points in the narrative, not known to the internal audience in Luke's narrative, but only to the reader of Luke-Acts. From these conclusions, I find it apt to characterize the speeches analyzed as Luke's own preaching to his reader.

An important aspect of the integration of the speeches into the narrative is the way in which they build on the summaries of Jesus's fate in the three predictions of the suffering of the Son of Man as well as on the corresponding three affirmations of those predictions in Luke 24. The speeches contain the same type of summaries, and they develop especially the two affirmations made by the risen Jesus himself (Luke 24:25–27, 44–47). Jesus then speaks of the suffering and resurrection of the Messiah as foretold in the Scriptures and explains such passages to the apostles. In the speeches in Acts, those passages are, in turn, revealed to Luke's reader. The speeches cannot therefore be isolated from Luke's purpose with his writings.

27 A representative of this view is I. Howard Marshall, *Luke: Historian and Theologian* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1970), 173–175. For a short overview of Lukan soteriology and the death of Jesus, see Daniel Gustafsson, *Aspects of Coherency in Luke's Composite Christology*, WUNT II 567 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2022), 204–209.

If we understand the kerygmatic speeches in Acts as the final stage in the line of increasing clarity regarding the fate of the Messiah, the exegesis they offer demonstrates Luke's christological hermeneutics in studying the Scriptures. The examples they supply must also be understood as the central passages that Luke found to have foretold the role of Jesus in salvation history.

The parts of salvation history, on which these three speeches focus, are Jesus's resurrection and exaltation. Other scenes in Acts address his suffering and death (e.g. Acts 4:25–26; 8:32–33). Luke's use of Scripture corresponds to his overall presentation of Jesus's resurrection and ascension as distinct occurrences. The two events are supported by different passages from the Scriptures (Ps 16:8–11 in Acts 2:25–28 addresses the resurrection, and Ps 110:1 in Acts 2:34–35 the ascension). The use of Scripture also balances different motifs in Luke's Christology. This is especially clear regarding the resurrection: Ps 16:8–11 addresses Jesus's resurrection as the Davidic Messiah, and Deut 18:15 in Acts 3:22 presents Jesus as a risen prophet. The balance is important, since Luke does not only present Jesus as a Davidic Messiah, but also as a prophetic Messiah—especially in Luke 4:16–30.

A number of the quotations analyzed above are used more than once in Luke-Acts. Through repetition, they are presented as especially important testimonies about Jesus—for example Pss 110:1 and 118:22. In other cases, we find echoes rather than quotations of biblical passages that occur repeatedly and tie different parts of the narrative together. A good example is the reference to Nathan's oracle in Acts 2:30, which reminds the reader of the annunciation in Luke 1:32–33 with Gabriel's promise that Jesus would inherit the throne of his father David. When Peter explains Jesus's resurrection took place in accordance with David's prophecy about his heir in Ps 16, the resurrection also becomes the solution that explains how Gabriel's promise of Jesus's eternal rule can come true, in spite of the fact that Jesus was rejected in Jerusalem.

This function of the speeches has implications for how we understand the unity of Luke-Acts. The speeches could be described as the answer to a question raised in Luke—that of how the Scriptures have foretold the suffering and resurrection of the Messiah. Without each other, Luke and Acts could be characterized as a question without an answer, and as an answer without the right question. Since Luke hints at the answer and Acts at the question, the situation is certainly more complex. Nevertheless, the way in which the speeches develop the affirmations by the risen Jesus in Luke 24 should be carefully considered by scholars who assess the literary relationship between Luke and Acts.

Since characterization of these speeches as Luke's preaching to his reader is also a comment on earlier scholarship, a few reflections on methodology seem appropriate. The scholars who have found elements of apostolic preaching in the speeches of Acts have often done so by using a form-critical method. I have approached the same material with the assumption that Luke-Acts is a carefully—albeit not perfectly—composed narrative. For form criticism, such an assumption creates problems. Earlier, when Luke was considered to be a collector of christological traditions with little creativity of his own, scholars could feel rather confident about isolating "traditional material." Today, when we recognize that Luke has had his hand in whatever material he might have used, that procedure is hardly possible. Based on the observations made in this paper, the predictions of the sufferings of the Son of Man in Mark are arguably an important literary influence on the summaries of Jesus's fate—including the summaries in the speeches expanded by exposition of Scripture. To what extent Luke was also influenced by early Christian preaching is a further question that can hardly be answered from the data discussed here. It is, however, safe to say that the speeches contribute more to our understanding of Luke's theology and less to our understanding of early Christian preaching than previous generations of scholars have often assumed.

Bibliography

Danker, Frederick W., Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. 3rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

Dibelius, Martin. *Die Reden der Apostelgeschichte und die antike Geschichtsschreibung*. SHAW 35. Heidelberg: Winter, 1949.

Dodd, C.H. *The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1936.

Gustafsson, Daniel. *Aspects of Coherency in Luke's Composite Christology*. WUNT II 567. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2022.

Haenchen, Ernst. *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary*. Translated by R. McL. Wilson et al. Philadephia: Westminster, 1971.

Kelhoffer, James A. "If Second Clement Really Were a 'Sermon,' How Would We Know, and Why Would We Care?" Pages 83–108 in *Early Christian Communities between Ideal and Reality*. Edited by Mark Grundeken and Joseph Verheyden. WUNT 342. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015.

Marshall, I. Howard. *Luke: Historian and Theologian*. Exeter: Paternoster, 1970.

Marshall, I. Howard. "Acts." Pages 513–606 in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*. Edited by G.K. Beale and D.A. Carson. Grand Rapids: Baker; Nottingham: Apollos, 2007.

Pervo, Richard I. *Acts: A Commentary*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2009.

Rowe, C. Kavin. *Early Narrative Christology: The Lord in the Gospel of Luke*. BZNW 139. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006.

Rusam, Dietrich. *Das Alte Testament bei Lukas*. BZNW 112. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003.

Soards, Marion L. *The Passion According to Luke: The Special Material of Luke 22*. JSNTS 14. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987.

Tuckett, Christopher M. *Christology and the New Testament: Jesus and His Earliest Followers*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001.

Turner, Max. *Power from on High: The Spirit in Israel's Restoration and Witness in Luke-Acts*. JPTSup 9. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996.

Wolter, Michael. *Das Lukasevangelium*. HNT 5. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008.

5

Celebrating the Exodus: A Key to the Prophetic Message of the Apocalypse

Håkan Ulfgard

Since "Word," "Liturgy," and "Music" figure together in the title of this volume, which is dedicated to an esteemed colleague, whose expertise as a biblical and liturgical scholar and a composer of church music is highly appreciated, it is fitting to focus on a New Testament writing where all three of these concepts come together, namely the Revelation of John.[1] Its genre, style, and content contribute to making it a distinctive piece of early Christian literature as its author, "John," regards his text as a prophecy which conveys a revelation from the risen Jesus.[2] A particular feature is its prominent use of images and expressions with more or less clear allusions to Scripture: although formal quotations are absent, it is thoroughly imbued in scriptural language and imagery. Another significant characteristic is its recurrent use of cultic language and scenery—with singing in an important role as its visionary story unfolds (e.g., 5:9; 14:3; 15:3).

This paper will focus on John's fusion of scriptural and cultic imagery with a background in the Exodus story, as told in not only Scripture but also post-biblical Jewish tradition. For him, God's decisive saving act through Jesus means that the time has come when the prophecies of Scripture have begun to be fulfilled. There is a Christian Exodus to celebrate and the way John makes use of or alludes to Exodus imagery is in my opinion a key factor for understanding his own prophetic message. The characterization of Christian identity in his epistolary greeting (1:4–6) will therefore be central for my study, since its emphasis

1 For the benefit of the reader who may need to read up on Revelation, especially as concerns the perspectives held in this article, I would recommend the collection of essays by Richard Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy. Studies on the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1993), complemented by his *The Theology of the Book of Revelation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), and, among commentaries, Gregory K. Beale, *The Book of Revelation. A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Carlisle: Paternoster, 1999), complemented by his *John's Use of the Old Testament in Revelation* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998).

2 After claiming divine authority and acute relevance for his prophetic message in 1:1–3, the formal framework for John's writing is that of a letter—intended to be read out aloud; cf. 1:3 and 22:18—with salutations at the beginning and, very briefly, at the end (cf. 1:4–5 and 22:21).

DOI:10.1163/9789004522053_005

on the royal and priestly dignity and character of Christ's redeemed covenantal people establishes, already from the outset, an inter- and intratextual framework for further Exodus- and cult-related imagery.[3] It is an imagery which is used to depict Christian identity and eschatological existence in the ensuing visionary narrative, as shown by the explicitly Exodus-related identification of God's eschatological covenantal people, which concludes the introductory vision of the heavenly worship (5:9–10). As I will argue, the millennial reign with Christ in 20:4–6—a notorious *crux interpretum* among exegetes and theologians and the source of much speculation, pious as well as political—should also be understood within the same inter- and intratextual framework. Finally, then, I will end by pointing to yet another detail of the biblical Exodus story that may have contributed to the convergence of "word" and "liturgy" in John's writing.

1 The Central Role of Exodus Imagery in the Book of Revelation

A brief glance at clearly Exodus-related passages and imagery in the Book of Revelation shows how important this scriptural model is in John's conceptual world. Aside from the passages mentioned above, some of the most evident examples are the plagues of the trumpet and bowl series in chapters 8–9 and 16, which recall the plagues over Egypt in a scenery depicting God's wrath and judgements. Exodus-related imagery is also used in passages where the salvation accomplished by Jesus is announced or celebrated. As the impending day of judgement is announced at the breaking of the sixth seal (6:12–17), the anxious question about who can escape the wrath of God and the Lamb gets a reassuring answer in two parts.[4] First, in 7:1–8, the exact numbering of 12 × 12,000 =

---

3 See Alan S. Bandy, "The Layers of the Apocalypse: An Integrative Approach to Revelation's Macrostructure," *JSNT* 31 (2009): 469–499, for a useful methodological approach to the interpretation of Revelation, where an analysis of surface structure is combined with a study of inter- and intratextual references to scriptural themes and motifs.

4 The content of the scroll with the divine secrets cannot be fully revealed until the Lamb has opened the seventh and last seal (5:1–5), but glimpses of its eschatological scenery are presented successively in the seal series. Thus, the silence at the breaking of the seventh seal (8:1) is not just a narrative device in order to introduce the trumpet series with its visionary story. It could refer to post-biblical Jewish ideas about a return to the "primeval silence" before creation in connection with God's eschatological judgement, but there may also be an allusion to the notion in Wis 18 of a special silence as God punished the Egyptians at the Exodus (see especially 18:14); cf. Gregory K. Beale, *Revelation: A Commentary on the Greek Text*. NIGTC, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Carlisle: Paternoster 1999, 446–454.

144,000 out of the twelve tribes of Israel recalls the detailed numbering and lists of the Israelites in connection with the departure from Egypt and the desert wanderings (cf. e.g. Num 1–2) whereas the protective seal alludes to the saving effect of the blood of the Passover lambs (Exod 12), but within the wider intertext of the scriptural Exodus story also to the protective תו of Ezek 9:4.[5] The following scene in 7:9–17 gives an answer from another perspective and with an important difference in wording: In 7:4–8, John hears the exact number of those who will receive the saving sign, symbolically related to the people of Israel, but now he sees an innumerable multitude from all the peoples of the world.[6] The former are to be protected on earth in front of God's judgement, whereas the latter are described as coming out of the "great tribulation" (cf. 1:9).[7] John sees them praising God and the Lamb for salvation, joining the heavenly worship of all the celestial beings. Their whole existence is described as a liturgical action in a language reminiscent of the Exodus and of Exodus-related traditions in Scripture, as it refers to the washing of robes and to the provision of nourishment, protection, and consolation (cf. Exod 19:10, 14; Isa 25:4–8; 49:10; Jer 31:16; Ps 23).[8]

5 In the ancient Hebrew alphabet the letter ת had the shape of a cross, and as shown by the Jewish coins from the wars against the Romans, this alphabet was still known in the New Testament period—a circumstance that of course also opens for a christological interpretation. Another possible allusion is noted by Beale, *Revelation*, 410–412, who connects the seal with Aaron's high-priestly dress (Exod 28:11–21, 36–38): Its precious stones, inscribed with the names of the twelve tribes of Israel, and the gem carried on his forehead, are referred to as "seals." The seal would then also have the function of consecration as demonstrated in the vision of the faithful confessors performing priestly service before God (Rev 7:15). It would also provide a scriptural background for the precious stones in the depiction of the sanctity but still human character of the New Jerusalem (Rev 21:10–21). While the association of "seal" with baptism is found in Herm. Sim. 9.16, it is hard to see any indication of this here. The mark of the beast in chapter 13 is of course a counterpart to this protective sign, contrast and irony being typical features of Revelation—as the terminology used is also different (χάραγμα, "mark" in 13:16–17 *et passim*, but σφραγίς, "sign" in 7:3–8). Cf. also Pss. Sol. 15.6, 9, which in the context of God's salvation and judgement speaks about respectively a mark of salvation on the righteous and a mark of destruction on the forehead of the sinners.

6 Cf. Rev 5:10 and John's particular understanding of Exod 19:5 referred to above: The members of the covenantal people of God which has been established through the death of Jesus are coming from all the peoples of the world. Just to avoid a possible misconception, though: Both characterizations concern the "holy rest," i.e. the 144,000 are not the same as all Israelites, just as the innumerable multitude is not equal with the entire humanity (nor should the ethnic designation be taken literally; cf. Beale, *Revelation*, 416–423).

7 As with the "persecution" of 1:9, the tribulation predicted in Dan 12:1 provides a clear scriptural point of reference here.

8 See, further, Håkan Ulfgard, *Feast and Future: Revelation 7:9–17 and the Feast of Tabernacles*, ConBNT 22 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1989), 92–99.

Yet another example is the vision of the child-bearing woman of chapter 12, who flees into the desert, where she is protected from the dragon (12:6). In that episode, one can find references to the Moses story and to the Exodus, just as in the hymn which refers to those who have conquered over the accuser through the blood of the Lamb (12:11).[9] The 144,000 redeemed followers of the Lamb on Mount Zion in 14:1–5 are also part of the Exodus imagery, as there is an unambiguous reference to the 144,000 in 7:4–8: just as the people of Israel (i.e., the males) were instructed not to have (sexual) contact with women as a preparation for the covenantal act at Sinai (Exod 19:15), so these metaphorical Christ-believing virgins have not "defiled themselves with women."[10] Finally, a most explicit evidence of how John relates Christian identity and eschatological existence to the Exodus is the conquerors" song of Moses and the Lamb by the sea of glass in heaven (15:2–4) which recalls the miracle by the Red Sea in Exod 15.[11]

There is no lack of scholarly studies on these and other themes in Revelation that can be more or less clearly related to the Exodus traditions of Scripture.[12]

---

9 For Egypt/the Pharaoh as a dragon, cf. Ezek 29:3; 32:2; Isa 51:9–10; Ps 74:13–15; for the eagle wings in Rev 12:14, cf. Exod 19:4; Deut 32:11.

10 Within the context of Revelation, the names of the Lamb and of the Father that they carry on their foreheads connect this scene both with 2:17 and 3:12, as well as with 22:3–4.

11 In Jewish exegetical tradition, cf. the comment in Mekilta, tractate Beshallaḥ 5.15 on the crossing of the Red Sea: "The sea congealed on both sides and became a sort of glass crystal."

12 Among several contributions, see e.g. Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *Priester für Gott: Studien zum Herrschafts- und Priestermotiv in der Apokalypse* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1972); Jon Paulien, *Decoding Revelation's Trumpets: Literary Allusions and Interpretations of Revelation 8:7–12*, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series 11 (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1988); Young M. Song and Jan A. Du Rand, "The Story of the Red Sea as a Theological Framework of Interpretation," *Verbum et Ecclesia* 30.2 (2009), article #337; Benjamin G. Wold, "Revelation 16 and the Eschatological Use of Exodus Plagues"; in *Eschatologie—Eschatology: The Sixth Durham–Tübingen Research Symposium: Eschatology in Old Testament, Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity (Tübingen, September, 2009)*, ed. H.-J. Eckstein, C. Landmesser, and H. Lichtenberger, WUNT 272 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 249–266; Stephanie Schabow, *Gemacht zu einem Königreich und Priestern für Gott: Eine Auslegung der βασιλεία-/βασιλεύω-Aussagen in Offb 1,6; 5,10; 20,4.6 und 22,5*, WMANT 147 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2016), and HaYoung Son, *Praising God Beside the Sea: An Intertextual Study of Revelation 15 and Exodus 15* (Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2017). In Ulfgard, *Feast and Future*, the many Exodus-related motifs in Revelation are discussed as a background for my exegesis of 7:9–17; cf. especially pp. 35–41. The significance of the Exodus-pattern for understanding the eschatological perspective of the book in general is an important conclusion of my study (p. 150): "the Exodus pattern in the depiction of Christian existence … is the main key to the temporal perspective in Rev as a whole."

However, one looks almost in vain for a monograph with a comprehensive and synthetic perspective on the (re-)use of Exodus imagery in the book as a whole. This is all the more remarkable since several important studies have been published on the use of other parts of Scripture in Revelation.[13] One such example, though, is the unpublished doctoral dissertation from 1981 by Jay Smith Casey, "Exodus Typology in the Book of Revelation."[14] While his thematic approach provides a valuable tool for presenting a pattern in the story told in Revelation, it is also apparent that his study would have benefitted from a deeper exegetical and theologically less pre-disposed analysis of the passages he chooses to focus on. John's skillfully arranged composition requires an exegesis that combines both intratextual and intertextual aspects (not only as concerns Exodus traditions).[15] Such awareness of the various ways in which the author of Revelation makes use of Scripture in shaping his own prophetic message is found in the important studies by Gregory K. Beale[16]

---

13 Major studies on how Revelation relates to particular biblical books include e.g. Gregory K. Beale, *The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1984), Jean-Pierre Ruiz, *Ezekiel in the Apocalypse. Transformation of Prophetic Language in Revelation 16,17–19,10* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1989), and Jan Fekkes III, *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions in the Book of Revelation*. JSNTSup 93 (Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1994). Among recent studies, see Sung Kuk Kim, "Psalms in the Book of Revelation" (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 2013) and Garrick V. Allen, "Early Jewish Textual Culture and the New Testament: The Reuse of Zechariah 1–8 in the Book of Revelation" (PhD diss., University of St. Andrews, 2015).

14 Jay Smith Casey, "Exodus Typology in the Book of Revelation" (PhD diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1981). The term "Exodus typology" is preferred (p. ix) "because it extends beyond literary parallels to theological endorsements." After sketching the general background of Exodus-related traditions within Scripture and post-biblical writings, including the New Testament (a background which covers more than half of his book), Casey's analysis of Revelation follows a synthetic approach, so that the Exodus-related passages he discusses are fitted into a presumed general biblical scheme of redemption, judgement and inheritance, which he also sees reflected (with some overlap) in the structure of the book. Cf. pp. 135–215 for his discussion of Exodus-related scenes according to the scheme "redemption" (1:5–6, 5:9–10), "judgement" (8:6–11:19; 15:5–16:21), "inheritance" (7:1–17; 14:1–5; 15:1–5; 20:1–6; 21:1–8; 21:9–21; 21:22–22:5).

15 As remarked by David Mathewson, "Assessing Old Testament Allusions in the Book of Revelation," *EvQ* 75.4 (2003): 319: "the discussion surrounding the use of the OT in Revelation needs to move beyond classifying and substantiating allusions based on perceived authorial intention and interpretive confidence in identifying them, to focusing on the interpretive theological significance of a given allusion or echo in Revelation. What role does an OT allusion or echo play within the discourse of Revelation?"

16 Gregory K. Beale, *John's Use of the Old Testament in Revelation*, JSNTSup 166 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998). See especially pp. 60–128 where he discusses whether John's use

and Richard Bauckham,[17] and it remains a central issue also in current scholarship, as represented e.g. by Michael Sommer.[18]

Stephanie Schabow's study on the βασιλεία-/βασιλεύω-sayings in Revelation is a recent significant contribution to the scholarly discussion on John's use of Exodus traditions for characterizing Christian identity.[19] In her detailed exegesis of the relevant passages with their inter- and intratexts, special attention is given to the peculiarities of the textual tradition, notably differences between Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Alexandrinus with the hermeneutical and theological implications this entails. Her observation of the tension between a futuristic and a presentic understanding of the eschatology of Revelation, as reflected in the former's use of the future tense in depicting the reign of the faithful in key passages, contrasted with the latter's use of the present tense, adds an extra quality to her work. Though her close reading and ambition to follow the logic of John's visionary story sometimes makes her interpretation a little myopic, she certainly is right in pointing to the successive broadening of meaning of the book's imagery offered to the reader as its narrative progresses

---

of Scripture is contextual or noncontextual, i.e. taking account of the scriptural context or just making *ad hoc*-references in order to fit the story he presents (similar discussion in his commentary, *Revelation*, pp. 76–99). Beale is here especially carrying further the earlier study by Steven Moyise, *The Old Testament in the Book of Revelation*. JSNTSup 115 (Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1995).

17 Throughout Bauckham's revised collection of articles, *The Climax of Prophecy. Studies on the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1993), John's use of Scripture and post-biblical traditions is a major perspective. In its companion volume, *The Theology of the Book of Revelation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), Bauckham especially cites the Christian "eschatological exodus" as one of its major theological themes. The "new exodus" has already taken place as signalled through the redemptive function of the blood of the Lamb, while its futural dimension comes to expression towards the end of John's writing: "the new Passover Lamb has been slaughtered and he has ransomed a people for God. The goal of the new exodus is still to be attained, when Christ's people will reign with him as priests on earth (20:4–6; 22:3–5), attaining their theocratic independence in the promised land." (Pp. 70–72; quotation p. 72.)

18 Michael Sommer, "'… sie gelangten zum Leben'—Eine Untersuchung der Rezeption von Ez 37,1–14 in der Offenbarung des Johannes," *Sacra Scripta* 9/2 (2011): 150: "… das distinkte Ineinander von intratextueller Kohärenz und intertextuellen Relationen spaltet gegenwärtig die Auslegetradition der Offenbarung in zwei konträre Positionen, welche die literarische Eigenständigkeit des Textes, bzw. seine intertextuelle Abhängigkeit, je unterschiedlich bewerten. Ist eine Kenntnis der Intertexte für ein umfassendes Verständnis der Apokalypse notwendig, oder fungierten die rezipierten Texte lediglich als Motivspender für einen neuen Text, dessen Aussage unabhängig von der Kenntnis der verarbeiteten Intertexte verstanden werden kann? Hat das letzte Buch der Bibel seine Intertexte *verschlungen* oder *gelesen*?"

19 Schabow, *Gemacht zu einem Königreich* (cf. note 12 above).

and the latter scenes successively explain, nuance and expand the meaning of the former ones. Thus, its successive statements about the "reign of the faithful" invite the reader into a process of *Relektüre*, evoking associations that are successively amplified or modified throughout this text, "der von der Zukunft her auf das Vorläufige schaut."[20]

For my purpose, Schabow's attention to the development of meaning in John's story, while combining inter- and intratextual perspectives in her close reading of the text, has been especially helpful as it sheds light on a specific part of John's Exodus-related concepts. What I want to add here in relation to her observations, as well as to earlier scholarship, is to emphasize further the role of the Exodus traditions as an interpretative key through which his readers are encouraged to identify themselves as partaking in the eschatological New Exodus and as celebrating its salvific effects.

2 The Epistolary Framework and the Key Phrase in 1:9: The Eschatological Exodus and Christian Identity

The biblical allusions in the epistolary framework (1:4–8) provide an interpretive setting for how Christian identity is subsequently conveyed in John's visions, as the recipients are associated with the chosen and sanctified covenantal people of Israel in the Exodus story. The doxology to Jesus Christ which concludes the introductory greetings (1:4–6) signals how John wants the recipients to regard themselves and their situation in the light of who Jesus is and what he has done for them: "To him who loves us and freed us from our sins by his blood, and made us to be a kingdom, priests serving his God and Father, to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen."[21] The recipients are thereby associated with God's covenantal people in Exod 19:5–6: "If you obey my voice and keep my covenant, you shall be my treasured possession out of all the peoples. Indeed, the whole earth is mine, but you shall be for me a priestly kingdom and a holy nation."[22] John's claim to this Exodus-related self-understanding is founded in his christology, as shown by the formulaic pre-

20 Schabow, *Gemacht zu einem Königreich*, 227; cf. also her introduction, p. 14.

21 All biblical quotes are from the NRSV.

22 The much-debated expression καὶ ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς βασιλείαν, ἱερεῖς τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ will not be treated here, nor which textual tradition it might derive from or to which it might come closest. A thorough discussion on its function in the context of the introduction to John's writing is found in Schabow, *Gemacht zu einem Königreich*, 69–80; cf. 91–94.

sentation of Jesus. The Christian status as "a kingdom, priests" builds on the preceding statement about Jesus's having redeemed them and his continuing love for them (1:5–6). In view of the Exodus-related identification of the Christian covenant people, the statement about what Jesus has done clearly also refers to the saving effect of the blood of the Passover lamb,[23] but also with further scriptural associations, especially to the Suffering Servant of Isa 53 portrayed as a sacrificial lamb in his redemptive role.[24] The decisive event for the salvation of God's people has already occurred, as indicated by the aorist participle λύσαντι ("who … freed us"; its past temporal aspect determined by the ensuing aorist indicative ἐποίησεν, "who … made us," in v. 6), which in its connection with the "blood" of Jesus points to the saving effect of his death, while the continuing affectionate relation between him and those for whom he gave his life is expressed by the present participle ἀγαπῶντι ("who loves us").[25]

John's basic conviction that the time for eschatological salvation has begun also emerges clearly when his epistolary greeting is compared with the conditional promise in Exod 19:6. There, the people of Israel is told that they will enjoy covenantal status as "a priestly kingdom" *if* they hear and obey God's commandments. For John, the future tense of the scriptural promise—echoed also in Isa 61:6, with its promise to the redeemed of Israel that they shall be called "priests of the Lord"—is now changed into praising words about what has already been established as a fact. The divine revelation that he has received and now transmits in his prophecy goes beyond what is contained in Scripture. The programmatic phrases "what must soon take place" and "the time is near" in John's superscript (1:1, 3) therefore reveal a heightened eschatological expectation as compared to the prophetic and apocalyptic antecedents in Scripture.

This observation is especially important as concerns John's relation to the Book of Daniel, to whose concepts and imagery he is deeply indebted (cf.

23 With most scholars, I consider the variant λούσαντι less probable than λύσαντι, a reading which is supported by the related expression in 5:9.

24 Cf. e.g. Bauckham, *Theology*, 71, and Beale, *Revelation*, 351–352, 358–359. For an exhaustive excursus on Christ as the Lamb, see David E. Aune, *Revelation 1–5*, WBC 52:1 (Dallas: Word; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1997), 367–373. Other points of reference, although lacking the notion of redemption, are of course also the covenantal blood of Exod 24:4–8, and the blood that consecrates Israel's priests in Exod 29:21 (though these would rather fit Rev 7:14). The atoning effect of Jesus's "blood," i.e. his death, also brings to mind his double role as both priest and sacrifice in Heb 7:26–27; 9:11–28.

25 The possible allusion to God's covenantal love for his chosen people such as expressed in Jer 31:3 (38:3 LXX) and Isa 54:8—with their respective contexts—should not be overlooked as part of John's introductory greeting.

his allusion to Daniel's programmatic phrase "what will happen at the end of days," Dan 2:28).[26] In addition to the creative interpretations of Exodus and Isaiah, eschatological expectations in the book of Daniel are updated and endowed with new meanings. For my study, it is especially significant that the Exodus-related characterization of Jesus's saving work in John's epistolary address is complemented in 1:7 ("He is coming with the clouds") with a reference to the coming Son of Man and his eternal reign in Dan 7:13: "I saw one like a human being coming with the clouds of heaven." Daniel's vision of the coming Son of Man is directly followed by its effects for the chosen people: "But the holy ones of the Most High shall receive the kingdom and possess the kingdom forever—forever and ever" (Dan 7:18; cf. 7:22, 27). Accordingly, John's idea of Christian identity should also be related to what Daniel says about the eschatological reign of the coming heavenly Son of Man and his people.

The combination of these central scriptural concepts about past and future salvation in an application on the present situation has a key role for understanding John's whole message as an "inaugurated eschatology," to use the expression preferred by Beale.[27] A noteworthy fact—though not particularly noted by scholars—is that this merger of Danielic and Exodus-related concepts finds further confirmation in the statement following immediately after the epistolary introduction as John summarizes the situation he shares with his addressees in the three keywords of 1:9: "I, John, your brother who shares with you in Jesus the persecution (θλῖψις) and the kingdom (βασιλεία) and the patient endurance (ὑπομονή) …." What it means to be united with Jesus is here expressed in its ambiguity, showing the paradoxical, apparently contradictory nature of life as a Christian, such as John perceives it. Not only is the kingdom/kingship just referred to (1:5–6) a reality for the believers, but also persecution for being a follower of Jesus as part of the ultimate affliction foretold in Dan 12:1.[28] For the faithful believers, the way to handle the tension between these two extremes—the cognitive dissonance, to use modern

26 Cf. Beale, *John's Use*, 166–167, commenting on the verbal congruences between Rev 1:1 and Dan 2:28–29 and 45 (both LXX and Theodotion).

27 Beale, *Revelation*, 137–141, regards the allusions to Dan 2 as fundamental for John's "inaugurated eschatology," a term which he finds especially suitable for the particular eschatological perspective of Revelation—but which in reality expresses the same "already-and-not-yet" pattern of large parts of the New Testament. Cf. Beale, *John's Use*, 129.

28 Cf. Rev 2:9, 13 and 7:9–10. This must not mean, however, that Christians generally faced martyrdom as John wrote his text—Antipas in 2:13 is the only explicit example—although John certainly sees it as a threat to all faithful confessors.

terminology—is to remain united with Jesus in "patient endurance," in view of the eschatological urgency of John's prophecy about salvation and judgement (1:3; 22:10).[29]

Thus, the merger of Exodus traditions with Danielic prophetic-apocalyptic imagery at the outset of John's message sets the framework for his depiction of Christian identity and eschatological existence. We shall now see how his particular notion about the priestly βασιλεία of his addressees will be further developed, first in John's vision of the heavenly liturgy (5:10) and then towards the end of his visionary story in the millennium (20:4, 6), before it is consummated as an eternal reign in God's presence in his concluding vision of the paradisiac New Jerusalem (22:5).[30]

3 The Scene of Heavenly Worship: The Christian Eschatological Exodus Celebrated

Throughout Revelation, the use of Exodus-related terms to identify the redeemed people of God, together with an emphasis on Jesus's saving death, finds various ways of expression. A common feature is that these characterizations occur in liturgical settings and in hymnic passages.[31] The basis of these scenes is found in the depiction of the heavenly worship in chapters 4–5, where the slaughtered but victorious Lamb is praised by the whole celestial host (5:9–10): "You are worthy to take the scroll and to open its seals, for you were slaughtered and by your blood you ransomed for God saints from every tribe and language and people and nation; you have made them to be a kingdom and priests serving our God, and they will reign on earth."[32] The christological confession in the

29 In the context of Dan 12 it is interesting to note that Theodotion's version of Dan 12:12 uses the verb ὑπομένων about those who remain steadfast until the end of the preordained time (the Septuagint has ἐμμένων). Danielic passages that speak about a limited period of tribulation before God's final intervention are alluded to later in John's visionary story; cf. Rev 11:2, 9, 11; 12:6. and e.g. Dan 7:25; 12:7, 11–12.

30 That these passages can be understood to convey a socio-political message for our time, reflecting contemporary trends in theology and exegesis, is exemplified by Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, "Redemption as Liberation: Apoc. 1:5 f. and 5:9 f.," *CBQ* 36 (1974): 220–232.

31 7:9–17 (the great multitude); 11:15–19 (the loud voices and the 24 elders); 12:10–12 (a loud voice); 14:1–5 (the 144,000 "virgins" on Mount Zion); 15:2–8 (the conquerors by the sea of glass).

32 Note also the hymnic praise of the Lamb in 5:12 and 13. Especially remarkable is that the Lamb is praised on par with God ("the one seated on the throne") in the latter passage. The "worthy"-acclamations of 5:9–10 are further indications of his divine status as not

doxology of 1:5–6 is here elaborated: as the slaughtered but victorious Lamb, Christ is the only one who can open the sealed scroll so that God's mysteries can be revealed (cf. 5:12), and is also "worthy" to be praised on par with God (5:13).

Furthermore, the motif of Israel as God's redeemed covenantal people in 1:5–6 is developed into an expression that points to the universal scope of salvation through Jesus. The formulaic phrase "every tribe and language and people and nation"[33] in 5:9 has its scriptural background in the Book of Daniel, where especially Dan 7:14 speaks in similar terms about the universal dominion exercised by the coming Son of Man.[34] Its use here to denote universal salvation may also depend on an alternative understanding of the scriptural intertext in Exod 19:5. Instead of God selecting the people of Israel "out of all the peoples" (NRSV) for his covenant, the biblical phrase can also be understood as referring to a selection "from within" all the peoples.[35] This would then provide John with an argument from Scripture for speaking about those who have been ransomed by Christ and now enjoy the covenantal privileges as coming "from all the peoples"—salvation is no longer ethnically exclusive, as confirmed in the vision of the worshipping multitude in heaven in 7:9.

The formulation at the end of 5:10, "and they will reign on earth," gives rise to several questions. There is good evidence headed by respectively Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Alexandrinus for reading either the future tense (βασιλεύσουσιν) or the present tense (βασιλεύουσιν). The former reading is preferred in NA[28], and also agrees with the Textus Receptus, but it could be argued that the latter (unless the omission of the σ was unintentional) should be preferred as a *lectio difficilior*, since scribes would more likely think of a promised future reign than of a reign which was already realized. Another argument for the latter alternative is that the present tense βασιλεύουσιν is congruent with the idea of an already realized kingship as proclaimed in 1:5–6.[36] At any rate, it appears

only God's Messiah whose Exodus-like victory is to be celebrated, but also the object of devotion.

33 In varying order and sometimes only with three elements, the formula occurs seven times; cf. 7:9; 10:11; 11:9; 13:7; 14:6 and 17:15.

34 The phrase is more frequent in Dan 3, although the context is different. Bauckham, *Climax*, 326–337, devotes a whole section to this fourfold phrase, where he also remarks that the fourfold phrase could be seen as an allusion to the list of nations in Gen 10, in which the same terms occur and in the same order (Bauckham, *Climax*, 327–328).

35 As remarked by Bauckham, *Climax*, 327, John may have used the potential in the phrase מכל־העמים to be understood in two ways: not only as referring to Israel as one people out of all the peoples, but also to individuals coming from among all the peoples. (There is a similar potential in the LXX: ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν.)

36 See also Beale, *Revelation*, 362–364.

that Sinaiticus and Alexandrinus represent two tendencies in the reception of Revelation: the former with a futuristic view on the reign of the faithful, and the latter representing a presentic eschatology.[37] In any case, the phrase evokes questions about what kind of "reign" is meant as well as about its temporal setting: does it refer to an elevated status before God or an earthly kingship?[38] Does it refer to what redemption through the saving act of the Lamb/Jesus means for his followers already here and now, or to a future reward after God's judgements—or both? And how does it relate to the larger context of John's visionary story, not least the millennial reign of 20:4–6 and the conclusion to his visions in 22:5? Fundamentally, the questions concern how allusions to Scripture are used by John to formulate his prophetic message as he conveys his visionary revelations.

To my mind, the "reign" of those redeemed by Jesus/the Lamb in 5:10 is clarified by the Danielic allusions in 1:7 and 5:9 (cf. above, section 2). According to Dan 7:18, 21 and 27, the royal dominion ascribed to the eschatological Son of Man is to be shared by God's chosen and holy people. Therefore, the coming of Jesus as the Son of Man, heralded in Rev 1:7 and revealed to John in 1:13–20, means that his followers already now share in his reign. It is a sharing which results from the new Exodus accomplished by his salvific death and resurrection as the victorious Lamb, which has established them as God's royal and priestly covenantal people. They are therefore also included in John's visions of the heavenly liturgy celebrating the already accomplished deliverance and βασιλεία/ἐξουσία of God and the Lamb. The multitude in their white robes and with palm branches in their hands (7:9–17), the strong voice(s) in heaven (11:15–19; 12:10–12; 19:1–8), the 144,000 "virgins" (14:1–5), and the conquerors over the beast (15:2–4)—all these proclaim the ultimate victory shared also by the victors in John's messages to the seven churches.[39]

Thus, the Exodus-related identification of Christian confessors (μάρτυρες) in the epistolary introduction is confirmed as John is granted a vision of the heavenly worship, where the eschatologically decisive victory of Jesus/the Lamb is proclaimed in constant worship and devotion. Shared by his faithful confessors, this victory is then celebrated throughout the recurring liturgical scenes where

37 See Martin Karrer, "Der Text der Johannesoffenbarung," *Neotestamentica* 43/2 (2009): 391–394, who also notes the same difference in 20:6 and 22:5. In all instances, NA[28] prefers the future reading of Sinaiticus—and in the text-critical apparatus of 20:6 it does not even mention the present βασιλεύουσιν read by Alexandrinus. On balance, Karrer comments that Alexandrinus may give more recognition to the cultic and presentic eschatology of Revelation in key passages, and also be more open for the coexistence of opposites.

38 The absence of priestly service is notable.

39 Cf. 2:7, 11, 17, 26–28; 3:5, 12, 21.

allusions to the Exodus abound. But it is now time to discuss the implications of this Exodus-related imagery for the controversial and enigmatic millennial reign of 20:4–6, especially as concerns its temporal perspective.

4 The New Exodus and the Millennium

While there is universal agreement about the Exodus-related characterization of the participants in the millennium as "kings" and "priests," the question is if this may shed some light on the enigma of the millennium: Could John's use of Exodus traditions illuminate what this singular imagery communicates and how it fits into the message of the Book of Revelation as a whole?[40]

A first step towards an answer—an exegetical detour before coming back to the Exodus traditions—is to look at the surface structure, i.e. the larger context of Revelation into which the notion of the millennium is fitted.[41] In the visionary story told by John, the narrative structure of three interrelated series of seven seals, trumpets and bowls reaches a conclusion in chapter 16 with God's devastating global judgements over the world, especially "the great Babylon" and unrepentant humanity. The plagues announced in 15:1 are τὰ ἔσχατα, i.e. the "last" in the sense of constituting the final seven-fold series which reaches its end in 16:21. The strong voice from the throne of the heavenly temple as the seventh bowl is poured out makes this clear (16:17): "It is done!" But John's narrative drama is not over yet, for he has more to tell his audience about "what must happen" (cf. 1:1, 19 and 4:1).[42] What follows concerns the concrete manifestations of God's judgement over the anti-divine powers in chapters 17–20 (with the reference to "the great Babylon" in 16:19 as a link into chapters 17–18) and the visions of ultimate salvation in chapters 21–22. After the ending of the bowl series, there is a notable parallelism between 17:1–3 and 21:9–10,

40 It falls outside my scope (and ambition) to list important scholarly publications on this hotly debated topic; but just to mention one rather recent study, see Thomas Johann Bauer, *Das tausendjährige Messiasreich der Johannesoffenbarung: Eine literarkritische Studie zu Offb 19,11–21,8*, BZNW 148 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007).

41 For important observations on the structure of and textual relations within Revelation as a whole, but especially as concerns its final chapters, see Bauckham, *Climax*, 2–22, especially pp. 4–8 and 18–22.

42 Thus Beale, *John's Use*, 196: "Therefore, the bowls do not have to be understood as occurring as the last events of history but as the last of the formal sevenfold visions John saw, which are expanded by further visionary scenes in the following chapters." Cf. his whole section "The Significance of 'Last' in Revelation 15.1 and of the Exodus Plague Background," Beale, *John's Use*, 195–205 (see also Beale, *Revelation*, 786–788).

since both passages refer with exactly the same words to one of the angels with the seven bowls. This establishes a connection with the final visionary seven-series which is thematic, although antithetic. For what is announced in these two passages are the eschatological prospects of the great Babylon and the New Jerusalem, respectively. Both cities are portrayed as women, but of contrasting character and awaiting contrasting destinies: one a harlot, earthly and doomed for destruction, and the other the bride of the Lamb, coming down from heaven for eternal communion with God and the Lamb. But there is also a parallelism between the two passages 19:9b–10 and 22:6–9, which conclude the two sections depicting the fall of great Babylon/Rome and the establishment of the New Jerusalem. In both cases, John attempts to worship the intermediary angel, but he is rejected in almost similar words. This suggests that 17:1–19:10 (the end of the great Babylon) and 21:9–22:9 (the establishment of the New Jerusalem) are related to each other as two aspects of the outcome of God's final judgement.[43] It also fits well with the repeated proclamation "It is done," first in a destructive sense in 16:17, closely linked to the fall of the earthly and evil city Babylon, and then in a constructive sense in 21:6, pointing to the heavenly and perfect Jerusalem.[44] Hence, what John describes between 19:10 and 21:9 "must be understood as a single section describing the transition from one to the other," i.e. "between the fall of Babylon and the descent of the New Jerusalem."[45]

Seeing the millennium as part of this transition also means to locate it thematically within the sequence which narrates the final defeat and destruction of the anti-divine powers. As noted by Bauckham, this sequence corresponds in reverse order to the way in which these evil and destructive forces have been introduced into John's narrative, which results in a chiastic pattern as follows:[46]

---

43 Bauckham, *Climax*, 4: "These structural markers delimiting two parallel sections—17:1–19:10 and 21:9–22:9—are so clear that it is astonishing that so many attempts to discern the structure of Revelation have ignored them." Cf. Bauer, *Das tausendjährige Messiasreich*, 106–107.

44 Bauckham, *Climax*, 7.

45 Bauckham, *Climax*, 5, where he also argues that 22:6–9 is at the same time an overlap, since these verses also function as the beginning of the epilogue to the whole of Revelation. Furthermore, he points to the verbal parallelism between parts of 22:6–9 (those without parallels in 19:9b–10) and the prologue to Rev in 1:1–3, which thereby ties together the whole of John's prophecy that he has received through the angelic intermediary.

46 Bauckham, *Climax*, 20.

Death and Hades (6:8)	Babylon (chapter 18)
The dragon (chapter 12)	The beast and the false prophet (19:20)
The beast and the false prophet (chapter 13)	The dragon (20:1–10)
Babylon (chapter 17)	Death and Hades (20:14)

Bauckham also points to the sequence indicated in the hymnic proclamation of the 24 elders as the seventh trumpet is blown (11:15). The time has come "for judging the dead, for rewarding your servants …, and for destroying those who destroy the earth" (11:18). This process is then narrated in reverse order, beginning with the "destroyers" in chapter 16 together with 19:11–21 and 20:7–10, followed by the "servants" in the millennial reign with Christ in 20:4–6, and finally the judgement of the dead in 20:11–15.[47] The judicial authority implied in 20:4a would then fit in as part of the reward for God's servants according to the prophecy in Dan 7:22 and 27, thereby fulfilling the concluding promise to the conquerors in Rev 3:21.

In all, these observations suggest that the millennial reign with Christ in 20:4–6 should not be taken out of its context, so that it is given too much weight within Revelation as a whole, literally denoting a separate historical phase in the course of God's final dealings with his enemies and with mankind. The end of the dragon/Satan in 20:1–10 is but one of the successive depictions of God's ultimate dealing with his enemies on earth and in heaven. As the text stands, it is the temporary binding of the dragon/Satan and his loss of power that gives John the occasion to speak about a corresponding period of salvific existence for the faithful who have suffered from this power.[48] The millennial reign with Christ is not the primary focus of John's flow of thought, but it comes as a positive contrasting aspect in the successive thematic depictions of God's final judgements over his enemies (the judgement awarded in 20:4 is closely related to the reign with Christ).[49] While the satanic power is humil-

47 See Bauckham, *Climax*, 21, where he also concludes that "the judgment announced by the seventh trumpet actually extends to the end of chapter 20."

48 Satan's binding and imprisonment for a temporal period until his final defeat is clearly related to similar notions concerning the evil angels in 1 En. 10.4–6, 11–14; 2 Pet 2:4 and Jude 6. A scriptural background for the notion of a temporal confinement of God's enemies in heaven and on earth before the final judgement may be found in Isa 24:21–22; cf. Aune, *Revelation 17–22*, 1078.

49 Cf. Schabow, *Gemacht zu einem Königreich*, 187, on the influence from Dan 7:22 in the

iated through incapacitation and ultimately annihilated in the lake of fire, i.e. the second death, the faithful suffering confessors are assured of vindication by sharing the eschatological life and dominion of Christ, the exalted Son of Man, i.e. the first resurrection.

Bauckham's detailed analysis can fruitfully be complemented with the combined intra- and intertextual aspects on the millennium by Beale.[50] What stands out in Beale's analysis, however, is his argument that the events narrated in chapter 20 do not need to follow in chronological order after the judgement scenery described in chapters 17–19.[51] Within his concept of an "inaugurated eschatology" (cf. above, n. 27) he can also speak in terms of an "inaugurated" millennium:

> [*T*]*he millennium is inaugurated during the interadvent age by God's limitation of Satan's deceptive powers* (*vv. 1–4*) *and by deceased Christians being vindicated through reigning in heaven* (*vv. 4–6*)*, and it is concluded by a resurgence of Satan's deceptive assault against the Church* (*vv. 7–8*) *and the final judgment* (*vv. 9–15*)*.*[52]

But another understanding of chapters 19–20, and an alternative to Beale's relocation of its sequence of events is presented by Alastair Campbell, who has suggested that 19:11–21 is not a vision of the second coming of Christ but a celebration of the fall of Babylon and the manifestation of the victory of Christ and his followers as a contrasting analogy to Roman victory parades.[53] Therefore, "to discuss the millennium in terms of 'pre-, post-, or a-millennialism' may be

way judgement and reign is connected in Rev 20:4 (the same words are used as in the LXX text of Theodotion).

50 Beale, *John's Use*, 356–393: "The Bearing of the Old Testament on the Interpretation of the Millennium in Revelation 20.1–7." An even lengthier discussion is found in his commentary; cf. Beale, *Revelation*, 972–1021.

51 Beale, *John's Use*, 358: "20.1–6 refers to the course of the interadvent age and temporally precedes the narration of final judgement in chapters 17–19, while, on the other hand, 20.7–15 recapitulates the description of final judgment in 19.11–21." Almost the same words recur in Beale, *Revelation*, 972.

52 Beale, *John's Use*, 358 (italics his).

53 Cf. R. Alastair Campbell, "Triumph and Delay: The Interpretation of Revelation 19:11–20:11," *EvQ* 80.1 (2008): 3–12, referring to Aune, *Revelation 17–22*, 1050–1052, for the Roman background. In my opinion, the poetic retelling of the Exodus story in the Book of Wisdom may provide a clue to the identity of the rider on the white horse, named "the Word of God" (Rev 19:13), since it speaks about God's Logos appearing as the divine warrior who brings the ultimate plague over the Egyptians (Wis 18:15). The abundant Exodus imagery in Revelation could certainly point in this direction.

to miss the point: Pre-millennialism in particular loses its exegetical basis if the Parousia is not in fact portrayed in the second half of chapter 19."[54]
This has consequences for the understanding of the millennium, for:

> [I]t is connecting it with the Parousia that has clouded the discussion of the millennium .... But if chapter 19 is not intended as a description of the Parousia at all, but is rather a victory parade in which the fall of Babylon is celebrated, the millennium is set free to fulfil its true function, which is to warn the readers of an indefinite delay during which the nations are to be set free from deception and gathered into God's city. As they wait for this they are to know that those who live and die in the faith of Christ, of whom the martyrs are the most conspicuous but not necessarily the only exemplars, are safe in God's keeping, living and reigning with Christ, until the new creation comes. In reaching this conclusion we arrive at an interpretation of the millennium that is symbolic rather than literal, a-millennial rather than pre-millennial, but the term "a-millennial" is a misnomer. In understanding the millennium as a gracious delay we are not so much presenting an a-millennial view of the future as an "a-parousial" view of the millennium![55]

---

54 Campbell, "Triumph," 8. Cf. pp. 5–6: "the root of all these problems is the commentators' decision to divide chapter 19 in such a way that a major new section of Revelation is seen to begin at 19:11 with a description of the Second Coming and a battle that is no battle. There is no necessity to do so .... The desire to start a new section here stems from the belief that the Parousia is in view, but if the passage does not in fact describe the Parousia, then the relationship of that event to the Millennium ceases to be an issue. If it does not describe the Last Battle, then the continuing presence of the nations and the occurrence of another 'last battle' pose no problems. Accordingly, I wish to propose that the second half of chapter 19 be read as a continuation of the celebrations over the fall of Babylon that began in the first half, and that the reason that no battle is described is that the battle is already over. The key to this interpretation is to recognise that in vv. 11–16 John is describing a victory parade, drawing on the imagery of a Roman triumph."

55 Campbell, "Triumph," 11. His rethinking of the millennium in qualitative and spiritual rather than temporal and spatial categories is also expressed by Sommer, "'… sie gelangten zum Leben,'" 166: "die Offenbarung [ist] im Gegensatz zu frühjüdischen Vorstellungen aber gerade nicht daran interessiert, das Konzept eines geschichtlich zu denkenden messianischen Zwischenreiches zu entwickeln, das vor einer allgemeinen Totenauferstehung und einer universellen Gerichtshandlung Gottes als letzter Teil der Weltgeschichte stattfindet. Offb 20,4–6 hat vielmehr in Analogie zu den Interludien die ausschlaggebende Funktion, ein dualistisches Spannungsverhältnis zwischen standhaften Anhängern Gottes und Gottlosen zu schaffen. Es geht nicht um eine temporale Spekulation über den Verlauf der Geschichte und ihrem Ende, sondern vielmehr darum, die qualitative Differenz zwischen den Gottlosen und den Standhaften herauszustellen."

Turning to the question of Exodus-related language and imagery in 20:4–6, it is first of all important to note the dual character of the millennium, depending on whom it affects in the scenery of 20:1–10, since the vindication and reward of faithful Christian confessors in vv. 4–6 is sandwiched between the binding and final destruction of the dragon in vv. 1–3 and 7–10. The first of these passages introduces the millennium as a negative condition from the dragon's perspective. Bound and cast into the pit, his evil power is incapacitated temporarily.[56] Not until the preordained time (after the faithful have had their reward) will he be able to take up his deceiving activity among the nations in order to annihilate God's people and prepare for the eschatological battle, but this will instead lead to his final defeat and destruction (vv. 7–10). There is here a connection with 12:7–9, in which the dragon is cast down from heaven to earth (both texts also use the designations "Satan," "the devil," "the serpent"), where he in vain pursues the child-bearing woman who is divinely protected for a limited period (12:6 and 14; cf. the scriptural antecedents in Dan 12:7, 11–12)—and as was noted above, the setting there is clearly Exodus-related.[57] Both chapters speak of the dragon's power as limited during a salvific interim (12:12: "his time is short"—20:3: "a little while"). He cannot undo God's eschatological acts of salvation on behalf of the faithful "conquerors," as the hymn in 12:10–12 comments.[58] Within the visionary story, both chapters depict a temporary phase in God's judgements which is also related to a phase of his salvation and special protection of the faithful.

However, as distinct parts of John's literary composition, these chapters also show distinct eschatological emphases. In chapter 20, the end of Satan is elaborated and contrasted with the vindication of the faithful confessors, which takes the eschatological drama a step further than the Exodus deliverance celebrated in chapter 12, where Satan is left still alive—frustrated but not powerless (vv. 13, 18).[59] But the two-stage process of Satan's defeat in the narrative

56 Cf. the contrary use of "the key of the bottomless pit" in 9:1, but note also "the key of Death and of the Hades" held by Christ/the Son of Man in 1:18. For the New Testament notion about the downfall and binding of Satan (cf. Luke 10:18) as brought about through the ministry, death and resurrection of Christ, see Beale, *Revelation*, 984–989.

57 Egypt or its Pharaoh are referred to as s a serpent or a dragon in texts alluding to the Exodus (Ps 74:13–15; Isa 27:1; 51:9; Ezek 29:3; 32:2), and "the pit" is similarly linked to God's mighty act of salvation on behalf of his people at the crossing of the Red Sea (Ps 77:15–20; 106:9; Isa 44:27; 51:9–10).

58 Especially 12:11 points to the special quality of Christian existence: "But they have conquered him [i.e. Satan] by the blood of the Lamb and by the word of their testimony, for they did not cling to life even in the face of death."

59 Though similar in thought, the expressions in Rev 12:12 and 20:3 referred to above denote

composition of chapters 12 and 20 as well as in 20:1–3 and 7–10, may also be related to the Exodus traditions as they were understood and developed in post-biblical Judaism, according to a suggestion by Laurie Guy.[60] Formulating his problem with Rev 20 as the "puzzling story-line of a menacing Satan being released from a God-imposed imprisonment of one thousand years. Why would God let Satan out?," Guy finds a clue in the two deliverances of the biblical Exodus story: the first out of Egypt after the plagues, with its climax in the death of the first-born sons and the saving effect of the paschal lambs, and the second, with its climax in the annihilation of the Egyptian army and the ensuing celebration of victory after the crossing of the Red Sea.[61] In Revelation, the scenes of divine protection in 12:3–6 and 11–17 do not end with the final overthrow of the adversary, so that chapter 12 "concludes between the two exodus deliverances," awaiting the "celebration of victory on the far shore (15:2–4)."[62] It depicts a situation of grave danger and threat, but still a hopeful one, with the second Exodus deliverance pending. The lives of the faithful may be threatened, but the dragon/Satan has no longer the power to affect their salvation decisively. The situation shared by John and his audience is regarded as an analogy to that of the people of Israel after the first act of deliverance through the blood of the Passover lambs, but before the crossing of the Red Sea with the Egyptian forces closing in on them by the seashore.[63]

The problematic two-stage defeat of Satan—his temporary binding followed by his equally temporary release before his final defeat—is then resolved by pointing to a passage in the Exodus story as retold in the Book of Jubilees. In

distinct successive eschatological phases, according to Beale, *Revelation*, 993: "… the "short time" of 20:3 is the final stage of the "little time" … the two periods are not identical or synchronous, but there is a temporal overlap."

60 Cf. Laurie Guy, "Back to the Future: The Millennium and the Exodus in Revelation 20," *EvQ* 86.3 (2014): 227–238.

61 Guy, "Back to the Future," 236. Commonly, Satan's temporary confinement before his last attack on the faithful and his final defeat is generally explained as part of God's plan for ultimate judgement (cf. 1 En. 18.16; 21.6); cf. the parallels to the divinely ordained δεῖ (20:3) in 1:1; 4:1; 11:5; 17:10 and 22:6.

62 Guy, "Back to the Future," 232.

63 Guy, "Back to the Future," 236: "There are significant parallels between the circumstances of Israel prior to the final deliverance at the Sea of Reeds and those of the seven churches of John's day. Both are apparently trapped and in a hopeless situation. Revelation 20 follows the storyline of the exodus where there needed to be two deliverances to effect a total emancipation. In that story the situation between the first deliverance (following the ten plagues) and the deliverance at the Sea of Reeds, which seemed to be a situation of hopelessness, was in fact in hindsight a situation of hopefulness and soon-to-be triumph."

Jub. 48.9–19, Prince Mastema (the Satan figure of the Book of Jubilees) is first active in inciting the Egyptian oppressors in the final events leading up to the Exodus, and also in encouraging the Egyptian army to pursue the Israelites, but is then temporarily incapacitated; thus Jub. 48.15–18 (Charlesworth's translation, *OTP 2*):

> And on the fourteenth day, and on the fifteenth, and on the sixteenth and on the seventeenth, and on the eighteenth Prince Mastema was bound and shut up from (coming) after the children of Israel so that he might not accuse them. And on the nineteenth day we released them so that they might help the Egyptians and pursue after the children of Israel. And he hardened their hearts and strengthened them. And it was conceived of by the Lord our God that he might smite the Egyptians and throw them into the midst of the sea. And on the fourteenth day we bound him so that he might not accuse the children of Israel on the day when they were requesting vessels and clothing from the men of Egypt … so they might plunder the Egyptians in exchange for the servitude which they subjected them to by force.

Thus, "the exodus contributed to the narrative framework of a two-stage defeat of Satan in Revelation, with a 'binding' occurring at the first stage of the defeat, and a 'release' occurring prior to the final defeat."[64]

With regard to the positive aspect of the millennium in 20:4–6, it is clearly linked to the previous Exodus-related statements about Christian existence as the redeemed people of God, notably 1:5b–6 and 5:9–10.[65] But there are connections to other parts of Revelation as well: In 6:9–11, the martyr souls (cf. the souls of the beheaded witnesses in 20:4) under the altar in heaven call out for justice, and are told to wait patiently for the full number of the faithful confessors to be completed. The notion of an interim is further elaborated in chapter 7, in response to the anxious question about who can escape the

64 Guy, "Back to the Future," 237. Cf. Beale, *Revelation*, 989–990, who notes that this temporary binding in Jub. 48 is unique in post-biblical Jewish literature, whereas there are several instances of evil angels being bound and thrown into the abyss permanently, e.g. 1 En. 10.4–16; 18.11–19; 88.1–3; Jub. 5.6–14.

65 Also to 22:5, with its ultimate sharing of blessed paradisiac existence in the New Jerusalem and in the direct presence of God, described as both serving him and ruling (with him)—but since there will be no temple in the ideal new Jerusalem (21:22) it is understandable that John does not speak of a special priestly function in his vision of the new creation with its perfect union between God and humanity, as he does earlier in 1:6; 5:6 and 20:6.

wrath of God and the Lamb (6:17). A reassuring answer is provided first as John hears about the sealing of the 144,000 (7:4–8) and then as he sees the innumerable multitude sharing the blessings of heavenly existence (7:9–17)—all of this in Exodus-related language. What was announced at the breaking of the sixth seal is thus shown as confirmed in the vision of the millennium in chapter 20. There is a direct link between those who receive the protective seal and those who have a share in the first resurrection and participate in the millennial reign with Christ.[66]

The comment in 20:4b that the martyrs and confessors "came to life" (aorist ἔζησαν) belongs to the many allusions to Ezekiel 37–48 in the final chapters of Revelation.[67] It clearly recalls the revival of the dry bones in Ezek 37:10 and 13–14, which symbolizes the restoration of Israel, but it is now connected with the Exodus-related kingship alluded to previously in 1:5b–6 and 5:10 and explained further as also leading to a special relation between the faithful and the Christ: "They came to life and reigned with Christ a thousand years."[68] The following comment in 20:5a, about the rest of the dead and the completion of the millennium, is then somewhat awkward as it shifts focus to the rest of the dead and the end of the millennium, while the ending in v. 5b ("This is the first resurrection") forms a logical conclusion to v. 4.[69] This unique phrase, "the first resurrection," is then in v. 6 clearly associated with Israel's unique covenantal dignity as kings and priests unto God and Christ ("and Christ" added here as compared to 1:6, which puts him on par with God as John's vision approaches its climax): "they will be priests of God and of Christ, and they will reign[70] with

66 With Beale, *Revelation*, 1001, I regard 20:4 as speaking about two groups of confessors, whereas many scholars understand the text as referring only to actual martyrs, see e.g. Schabow, *Gemacht zu einem Königreich*, 188–189. To my mind, those executed for their faithful witness are mentioned first, and then the relative καὶ οἵτινες points to steadfast but non-martyred confessors; cf. Ulfgard, *Feast and Future*, 56 and 60–65.

67 Cf. Beale, *Revelation*, 1012: "resurrection of God's people (Rev. 20a; Ezek. 37:1–14), messianic kingdom (Rev. 20:4b–6; Ezek. 37:15–28), final battle against Gog and Magog (Rev. 20:7–10; Ezekiel 38–39), and final vision of the new temple and New Jerusalem (21:1–22:5; Ezekiel 40–48)."

68 See Sommer, "'… sie gelangten zum Leben,'" for a thorough analysis of John's use of Ezek 37:1–14, not only in the passage on the millennium in 20:4, but also structurally in the interludes 7:1–17 and 10:1–11:19.

69 Significantly, v. 5a is omitted in important parts of the textual tradition, notably Codex Sinaiticus, but attested in Codex Alexandrinus and the Latin textual tradition. Is this a case of *homoioteleuton*, as proposed by Aune, *Revelation 17–22*, 1073, or an addition for (theo)logical reasons (cf. above on 5:10)?

70 NA[28] has βασιλεύσουσιν here. It is noteworthy that the variant reading βασιλεύουσιν of Codex Alexandrinus is not even mentioned in Nestle-Aland's text-critical apparatus, as

him a thousand years." As remarked earlier, it is significant that the Isaianic promise to the redeemed of Israel that they shall be called "priests of the Lord" is fulfilled (Isa 61:6)—yet another way of comforting John's audience of their certain vindication.

The question remains whether the comfort of the "first resurrection" and the millennial reign is only meant for deceased confessors (martyred or non-martyred, rewarded in a future millennium or already after death according to an a-millennialist understanding) or if it refers to a spiritual regeneration that includes also living confessors, as the Augustinian interpretation of the millennium proposes? Most scholars end up rejecting the latter understanding, pointing to the many logical difficulties it would entail. (Is there a different meaning of ἔζησαν in v. 4 and 5? Is the final judgement in 20:12–15 only for non-believers?)[71] In spite of such objections, I think that the interpretive perspectives proposed by Campbell and Guy above should not be dismissed altogether, but instead be combined with the hermeneutic potential of Schabow's *Relektüre*. As the narrative logic of John's visionary scenery approaches the end of the satanic powers in heaven and on earth, the vindication of God's redeemed but suffering faithful, which has been repeatedly assured throughout the scenes of heavenly worship, reaches a penultimate level in the millennial reign with Christ. The next and concluding act in the eschatological drama will then be the contrast between final universal judgement—the end of the old world order comprising also the "second death"—and the new creation with the perfect communion between God and humanity in the paradisiac New Jerusalem.

In short, there should be room also for an understanding of the millennium that is a-millennialist, comprising both martyrs and ordinary confessors, and open for participation already here and now in the salvific interim inaugurated by Christ's victory over death. Certainly, this is something for his followers to constantly celebrate—just as the people of Israel in the great annual festivals constantly celebrates its Exodus liberation, covenant, and God's protective presence during the desert wandering.

---

pointed out by Karrer (cf. above, n. 37), "Der Text der Johannesoffenbarung," 393; see also Schabow, *Gemacht zu einem Königreich*, 192 n. 46.

71 Thus e.g. Beale, *Revelation*, 1012: "While the Augustinian view is possible, the overall analysis so far points to the probability that only deceased believers are in mind." Schabow considers it to be tempting and not *per se* impossible, but rejects it, one of the reasons being that it would not fit the story-line of chapter 20, which depicts a successive series of events. Cf. Schabow, *Gemacht zu einem Königreich*, 193–194.

5 Celebrating the New Exodus

Approaching the end of John's visions, it is therefore fitting to finish by pointing to yet another element within the scriptural Exodus traditions that may have contributed to John's depiction of Christian identity and existence—the fourth passage announced at the beginning. According to the biblical text, Moses is several times instructed by God to ask Pharaoh for the release of the Israelites so that they can worship God in the desert (Exod 4:23; 7:16; 8:1 *et passim*),[72] but his demand "Let my people go" is constantly rejected, with increasingly severe plagues over Egypt as a consequence. This worship by the liberated Israelites in the desert, after God's decisive act of salvation, is in John's visions enacted by the worshipping redeemed international multitude of Jesus-followers, established by him as a new covenant people of God whether on earth or in heaven, whether in the present or in the future—and in both cases the same verb (λατρεύω) is used. This creates a bond between the liturgical service which is to be rendered by the Israelites when they have been taken out of Egypt, and John's vision of the liturgical service of the redeemed multitude in Rev 7:15—as well as its perfection in the eternal service rendered to God in the New Jerusalem in 22:3. Actually, these are the only two instances where John uses this verb, a circumstance which also indicates a special relation between these two passages in his narrative: In both cases this is a celebration of the Exodus, first in the forward-looking glimpse of the seal series and then in the perfect new creation. The liturgical service of the redeemed in 7:15, which alludes to the worship due to be rendered by the liberated Israelites, reaches its ultimate perfection in John's concluding vision of the eternal service to God—without any temple—in the new Jerusalem of the new creation in 22:3.[73]

---

72 In Exod 5:1, this is referred to as a feast which is to be celebrated at God's command in the desert, after the Israelites have been taken out of Egypt (ἵνα μοι ἑορτάσωσιν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ). Cf. Ulfgard, *Feast and Future*, 40–41.

73 Schabow, *Gemacht zu einem Königreich*, 219–224, sees Israel's liberation from slavery in Egypt, as recalled in Deut 7:8, as an important scriptural intertext both here and for John's general understanding of himself and his fellow Christians as God's δοῦλοι (Schabow, *Gemacht zu einem Königreich*, 53–66), and relevant also for non-Jews living in a society based on slavery. In her understanding, John's visions culminate in the service to God of these δοῦλοι which is at the same time also their rule over the "kings of the earth" (21:24 and 22:5). In my mind, however, it seems more probable that John's concluding vision, in 22:3–5, of the perfect communion with God in the paradisiac setting of the new Jerusalem, in the new creation, appeals to his audience as the final realization of their elevated status, according to the introductory greeting in 1:5–6.

We have seen how allusions to and a reworking of Exodus traditions provide John with fundamental elements of his Christian self-understanding, and how they are combined with an eschatological perspective and a christology largely indebted to Danielic concepts and ideas. Together, this constitutes a hermeneutic framework for the explicitly Exodus-related identification of God's eschatological covenantal people in the epistolary greeting (1:5–6) and in the introductory scene of heavenly worship (5:9–10). Exodus-related imagery recurs in the narrative progression of John's visions in scenes of final judgement and salvation, and provides a perspective that functions as an interpretative key, which helps to clarify the eschatological perspective of his book as a whole—not least the much-debated millennium of chapter 20. In its context, and with its respective negative and positive aspects, it represents an eschatological and theological qualification rather than a temporal designation. The climax of John's prophecy in the concluding vision of perfect communion with God in the new creation (22:3–5) confirms the Christian identity that is ascribed to the faithful already in the epistolary greeting, celebrated in the first scene of heavenly worship, and enjoyed in the vindication of the faithful confessors in the millennium.

Convinced that the eschatological time for fulfilment is at hand, John regards Christian existence as the inaugurated realization of the scriptural prophecies and promises directed at God's people. The members of the communities he is addressing are especially called upon to identify their existence with Exodus-related acts of deliverance: As the heavenly visions, hymns and proclamations announce, they can celebrate the saving effect of the death and resurrection of Christ symbolized by the slaughtered but victorious Lamb, the safety of having crossing the Red Sea with their oppressors defeated and no longer with the power to overthrow their salvation. They can enjoy the covenantal dignity (and obligations) as "a priestly kingdom" conferred to them as it originally was to the people of Israel at Sinai, the divine protection and nourishment as a contrast to the affliction they experience in the present, and the promises of everlasting communion with God in his service. Though we may continue to discuss to which extent enjoyment of these blessings is meant for dead or living confessors, John certainly wants his audience to regard them as something for a Christian to live with and to die for.

Bibliography

Allen, Garrick V. "Early Jewish Textual Culture and the New Testament: The Reuse of Zechariah 1–8 in the Book of Revelation." PhD diss., University of St. Andrews, 2015.

Aune, David E. *Revelation 1–5, 6–16, 17–22*. WBC 52:1–3. Dallas: Word; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1997, 1997 and 1998.

Bandy, Alan S. "The Layers of the Apocalypse: An Integrative Approach to Revelation's Macrostructure." *JSNT* 31 (2009): 469–499.

Bauckham, Richard. *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies on the Book of Revelation*. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1993.

Bauckham, Richard. *The Theology of the Book of Revelation*. New Testament Theology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Bauer, Thomas Johann. *Das tausendjährige Messiasreich der Johannesoffenbarung: Eine literarkritische Studie zu Offb 19,11–21,8*. BZNW 148. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007.

Beale, Gregory K. *The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John*. Lanham: University Press of America, 1984.

Beale, Gregory K. *John's Use of the Old Testament in Revelation*. JSNTSup 166. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.

Beale, Gregory K. *The Book of Revelation: A Commentary on the Greek Text*. NIGTC, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Carlisle: Paternoster, 1999.

Campbell, R. Alastair. "Triumph and Delay: The Interpretation of Revelation 19:11–20:11." *EvQ* 80.1 (2008): 3–12.

Casey, Jay Smith. "Exodus Typology in the Book of Revelation." PhD diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1981.

Fekkes, Jan, III. *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions in the Book of Revelation*. JSNTSup 93. Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1994.

Guy, Laurie. "Back to the Future: The Millennium and the Exodus in Revelation 20." *EvQ* 86.3 (2014): 227–238.

Karrer, Martin. "Der Text der Johannesoffenbarung—Varianten und Theologie." *Neotestamentica* 43.2 (2009): 373–398.

Kim, Sung Kuk. "Psalms in the Book of Revelation." PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 2013.

Mathewson, David. "Assessing Old Testament Allusions in the Book of Revelation." *EvQ* 75.4 (2003): 311–325.

Mazzaferri, Frederick David. *The Genre of the Book of Revelation from a Source-Critical Perspective*. BZNW 54. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989.

Moyise, Steve. *The Old Testament in the Book of Revelation*. JSNTSup 115. Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1995.

Paulien, Jon. *Decoding Revelation's Trumpets: Literary Allusions and Interpretations of Revelation 8:7–12* Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series 11. Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1998.

Ruiz, Jean-Pierre. *Ezekiel in the Apocalypse: Transformation of Prophetic Language in Revelation 16,17–19,10*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1989.

Schabow, Stephanie. *Gemacht zu einem Königreich und Priestern für Gott: Eine Ausle-*

gung der βασιλεία-/βασιλεύω-Aussagen in Offb 1,6; 5,10; 20,4.6 und 22,5. WMANT 147. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2016.

Schüssler Fiorenza, Elisabeth. *Priester für Gott: Studien zum Herrschafts- und Priestermotiv in der Apokalypse*. Münster: Aschendorff, 1972.

Schüssler Fiorenza, Elisabeth. "Redemption as Liberation: Apoc. 1:5 f. and 5:9 f." *CBQ* 36 (1974): 220–232.

Sommer, Michael. "'… sie gelangten zum Leben'—Eine Untersuchung der Rezeption von Ez 37,1–14 in der Offenbarung des Johannes." *Sacra Scripta* 9.2 (2011): 149–172.

Son, HaYoung. *Praising God Beside the Sea: An Intertextual Study of Revelation 15 and Exodus 15*. Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2017.

Song, Young M., and Jan A. du Rand. "The Story of the Red Sea as a Theological Framework of Interpretation." *Verbum et Ecclesia* 30.2 (2009), article #337.

Ulfgard, Håkan. *Feast and Future: Revelation 7:9–17 and the Feast of Tabernacles*. ConBNT 22. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1989.

Wold, Benjamin G. "Revelation 16 and the Eschatological Use of Exodus Plagues." Pages 249–266 in *Eschatologie—Eschatology: The Sixth Durham-Tübingen Research Symposium: Eschatology in Old Testament, Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity (Tübingen, September, 2009)*. Edited by H.-J. Eckstein, C. Landmesser, and H. Lichtenberger. WUNT 272. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011.

6

"For an Intelligible Reading": A Colometrical Version of First John

Birger Olsson

As a musician, a preacher, a liturgist, a pastor, a theologian, a translator, and an author, Anders Ekenberg has worked extensively on texts in the Christian service.[1] The forms and functions of the Word in services have become something of his area of expertise. He and I worked for several decades together in the Swedish Bible Commission, especially on musical forms of the Psalter in the service and on several liturgical problems in the new official translation. An intelligible reading of the Bible has been our common goal.

1 Bible Readings in Services

One of the most characteristic features of Christian services is the reading aloud of texts from the Bible. During the Second Temple period, the Persian occupiers were the ones who first introduced public reading of holy texts in the province of Judah.[2] In the fifth century BCE, officials—both priests and

1 Many thanks to Dr. James Starr, who has corrected my English, and to Dr. Richard J. Erickson, who, together with me, is responsible for the translation of 1John in this paper.

2 Anders Runesson, *The Origins of the Synagogue: A Socio-Historical Study* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2001), with a summary on pp. 300–303; Anders Runesson, "Persian Imperial Politics, the Beginning of Public Torah Readings, and the Origins of the Synagogue," in *The Ancient Synagogue. From Its Origins Until 200 C.E.*, ed. Birger Olsson and Magnus Zetterholm, ConBNT 39 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2003), 63–89, and Birger Olsson, "The Origins of the Synagogue: An Evaluation," in *The Ancient Synagogue. From Its Origins until 200 C.E.*, ed. Birger Olsson and Magnus Zetterholm, ConBNT 39 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2003), 132–138. In his discussion of the origins of the synagogue (2020) Manfred Oeming argues for the early synagogue as the extension of the Jerusalem temple in "Der 'verlängerte Arm' des Jerusalemer Tempels: Ein Beitrag zur Discussion über die Ursprünge der Synagoge," in *Tempel, Lehrhaus, Synagoge. Orte jüdischen Lernens und Lebens: Festschrift für Wolfgang Kraus*, ed. Christian Eberhart, Martin Karrer, Siegfried Kreuzer and Martin Meister (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2020), 35–55.

 DOI:10.1163/9789004522053_006

Levites—were sent out from Jerusalem in order to teach the people. "They taught in Judah, having the book of the law with them; they went around through all the cities of Judah and taught among the people."[3]

Ezra's and Nehemiah's activities in Jerusalem were a part of this strategy. Ezra, a priest who was skilled in the law of Moses (Ezra 7:6, 10), brought the book of Moses, gathered the people in front of the Water Gate, and read it for "all who could hear with understanding," both men and women (Neh 8:1–8). Levites helped the people to understand the law. "So they read from the book, from the law of God, with interpretation. They gave the sense, so that the people understood the reading" (Neh 8:8). At the same time, the reading aloud of the sacred texts was connected to a ritual including fasting and confessions of sins (Neh 9:1–5).

During the following centuries, this custom developed to become the central part of the Jewish synagogue service. At Jesus' time reading of the Scripture and teaching of the Torah were the center of the Jewish synagogue life (Luke 4:1–16; Acts 13:14–15). Lee I. Levine says, "The centrality of the text in the synagogue's liturgical agenda was indeed revolutionary: the communal reading and study of sacred texts made the synagogue, from its inception, radically different from other Jewish religious frameworks of antiquity."[4]

Public readings of chosen parts of the Sacred Scripture became a distinctive feature also of the Christian service. Justin Martyr writes in the middle of the second century:

> And on the day called Sunday there is an assembly of those who dwell in cities or the countryside, and the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read, for as long as there is time. Then, when the reader has stopped, the president, in an address, makes admonition and invitation of the imitation of their good things.[5]

Reading aloud of short texts from the Bible in Christian services is an inheritance from the Jewish synagogue.

3 2 Chron 17:7–9. For the date of the pericope, see Runesson, "Persian Imperial Politics," 80, with references.

4 Lee I. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 2. See also his many references to Torah readings on p. 746.

5 Justin, *1 Apol.* 67.3–4, quoted from Denis Minns and Paul Parvis, *Justin, Philosopher and Martyr: Apologies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 259.

2 An Euthalian Tradition?

To read Bible texts aloud in services was no easy task. The early Greek manuscripts were written letter by letter without divisions between words, clauses and sentences. Every line consisted of letters without spaces, as many letters as there was space for. Those who had to read the Bible aloud, then, had first to divide the text into smaller units and then to choose suitable pauses for reading aloud, corresponding to our punctuation. The first punctuated manuscripts are from the ninth century.

In the fifth century, we find evidence for an edition of parts of the New Testament with many helps for readers, called the Euthalian apparatus. Nowadays we talk about the Euthalian traditions in some Greek manuscripts.[6] Euthalius is believed to have been a deacon in Alexandria. He divided the Greek text into sense-lines, so called *cola*. The text was written *per cola et commata*. M.G. Rosenius, in his introduction to the Bible from 1872, defines a sense-line in the following way: "as many words as without intermission are to be pronounced."[7]

Primarily, it was the reading aloud of the text that determined how the text should be segmented. According to Euthalius, the purpose was "an intelligible reading" (πρὸς εὔσημον ἀνάγνωσιν).[8] Euthalius says that his best friend, brother Athanasius, has ordered him "to read the Book of Acts and the Catholic Letters with a correct pronunciation, make some summaries, and divide the contents of both of them into smaller parts. And this I have done with zeal, without hesitation. Having organized the texts into verses according to my own design, aiming at a clear reading, I sent them both promptly to you."[9] Euthalius wrote also, according to a colophon to Codex H, "I copied and published this volume of the apostle Paul in lines on account of its value for writing and ease of comprehension for reading."[10] A colometrical arrangement is then found in

---

6 Vemund Blomkvist, *Euthalian Traditions: Text, Translation and Commentary* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 231, writes as a summary, "The work of Euthalius also included the division of the text into sense-units so that the text could be easily understood when read aloud. This aspect of the work is very difficult to describe today since the medieval manuscripts use punctuation. Euthalius, on the other hand, probably arranged the biblical texts in sense-lines (as in the 'Euthalian' Codex H)." Codex H (015) is from the sixth century.

7 Martin Gabriel Rosenius, *Inledningsvetenskapen till den Heliga Skrift* (Lund: Berling, 1872), 222. My translation of "så manga ord, som utan uppehåll borde uttalas."

8 Louis Charles Willard, *A Critical Study of the Euthalian Apparatus* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 137.

9 Blomkvist, *Euthalian Traditions*, 116.

10 Eric W. Scherbenske, *Canonizing Paul: Ancient Editorial Practice and the Corpus Paulinum* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 1.

several manuscripts.[11] Similar divisions are also found in the manuscripts of the poetic books of the Old Testament, as well as in some parts of the prophetic books. This way of writing Greek manuscripts is sometime described by the adverb στιχηδόν, which in some contexts can correspond to the word "colometrically."

In current scholarship, it is important to distinguish between colometry and stichometry.[12] These two forms of scribal activity are quite distinct and were employed for different purposes. Stichometry is a form of quantitative measurement of prose writing. Every line consists of sixteen syllables or thirty-six letters. By stichometry you could show the length of a book, provide a standard for payment of the scribe, or guard against interpolations.

The purpose of colometry was different: to permit an easier and more intelligible public reading of the text. According to Euthalius, it was an innovation. However, Origen had divided the Psalms "into clauses" (πρὸς κῶλον) and placed them one over against the other.[13] The cola in Euthalius' edition are quite short, some of them consisting only of a single word. The purpose has been described in several ways: to facilitate reading, to aid the process of reading, to get a more intelligible reading, or a more elegant way of reciting the biblical text, or somewhat similar to song.[14] Euthalius seemed to have no interest in stichometry proper.

3 A Colometrical Version of First John

In worship services today, the Jews often read their sacred texts in their source language, that is, in Hebrew. Muslims do so as well, that is, they read their texts in Arabic, but Christians read translations in different languages. Therefore, the Bible must be translated for reading aloud in Christian services. With this goal in mind, a good segmentation of the text and a clear typography can be of help.

---

11 Simon Crisp has done a comparative study of some of them in Simon Crisp, "Scribal Marks and Logical Paragraphs: Discourse Segmentation Criteria in Manuscripts of the Pauline Corpus," in *Current Trends in Scripture Translation: Definitions and Identity*, ed. P.A. Noss, UBS Bulletin 198/199 (Ann Arbor: United Bible Societies, 2005), 77–87.

12 D.C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and Its Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 73–75; Crisp, "Scribal Marks"; Willard, *Euthalian Apparatus*, 137–143.

13 Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.16.4, quoted from Willard, *Euthalian Apparatus*, 139.

14 *Ad quandam cantus similitudinem*, according to Zaccagni, who published the first edition of the Euthalian traditions in 1698. See Blomkvist, *Euthalian Traditions*, 13.

The First Letter of John belongs to those texts that are often read in Christian services.[15] Therefore, there are good reasons to make a colometrical version of this "letter." Such a translation is sometimes called poematic, that is, a poem-like or poetry-like translation. The right margin is uneven. In this paper I will use the term "colometrical."

A few scholars, especially in Jerusalem and in Rome, have used a poem-like typography in order to create a colometrical version. *La Sainte Bible* from 1958, often called *The Jerusalem Bible* (JerB), was a pioneer work in this respect.[16] It was translated into several languages, for example, into English in 1966.[17] In 1970 *The New American Bible* (NAB) was published,[18] followed by the edition of the New Testament in *Traduction Œcuménique de la Bible* (TOB) in 1972.[19] A few commentaries also use similar displays of the text, often combined with other markers that give information about properties of the original text.[20] Some later revisions of modern translations have also introduced a colometrical form to some parts of the letter, for example, *Gute Nachricht Bibel* 1997 to 1John 1:1–4 and the new Norwegian Bible 2011 to 1John 4:7–10.[21] Catholic scholars are often the ones who choose this form of the text. Perhaps they are more sensitive to reading texts aloud in services.

What follows is an example of a colometrical version of the First Letter of John.[22] The sparse punctation will remind you of poetic texts. The use of typog-

15 In the Revised Common Lectionary more than 60% of First John is used as liturgical readings.

16 *La Sainte Bible traduite en français sous la direction de L'École Biblique de Jérusalem* (Paris: Cerf, 1958). I am using an edition from 1961.

17 *The Jerusalem Bible* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1966). I am using an edition from 1974.

18 *The New American Bible: Translated from the Original Languages with Critical Use of All the Ancient Sources by Members of the Catholic Biblical Association of America* (New York: P.J. Kennedy & Sons, 1970).

19 *Traduction Œcuménique de la Bible: Nouveau Testament* (Paris: Cerf, 1972).

20 Edward Malatesta, *Interiority and Covenant: A Study of* εἶναι ἐν and μένειν ἐν in *In the First Letter of Saint John* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978); Raymond E. Brown, *The Epistles of John: Translated with Introduction, Notes, and Commentary* (New York: Doubleday, 1982); Birger Olsson, *Johannesbreven* (Stockholm: EFS-förlaget, 2008); Birger Olsson, *A Commentary on the Letters of John: An Intra-Jewish Approach*. Translated by Richard J. Erickson (Eugene: Pickwick, 2013); and Karen H. Jobes, *1, 2, & 3John* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2014).

21 *Gute Nachricht Bibel: Altes und Neues Testament* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1997) and *Den Hellige Skrift. Bibelen: Det Gamle og det Nye Testamentet* (Oslo: Bibelselskapet, 2011).

22 Richard J. Erickson and I have made this colometrical translation of 1John by revising the text displays in my commentary. Cf. Olsson, *Commentary*.

raphy replaces in some extant traditional punctation. The section headings, which are not read aloud, mark a pause in the reading process.[23]

The word of life became visible
1 [1]What was there from the beginning
what we have heard
what we have seen with our eyes
what we have looked at and touched with our hands
concerning the word of life—
[2]this life was revealed
and we have seen and bear witness
and we declare to you the eternal life
which was with the Father and was revealed to us—
[3]what we have seen and heard we declare also to you
so that you also may have fellowship with us.
Our own fellowship is with the Father and with his Son
Jesus, God's anointed.

[4]We write these things
that our joy may be complete.

Walk in the light, do not sin
[5]This is the message we have from him and proclaim to you:
God is light
and in him there is no darkness at all.

[6]If we say, "We have fellowship with him,"
and yet walk in the darkness
then we lie
and we do not do the truth.
[7]But if we walk in the light—
as he himself is in the light—
then we have fellowship with one another
and the blood of Jesus, his Son, cleanses us from all sin.

23 Some comments on this version are found at the end of the paper and can be read before you read the translation, but I recommend you to read the translation first and note what effect it has on your reading.

8 If we say, "We do not have sin,"
then we deceive ourselves
and the truth is not in us.
9 If we confess our sins
then he is faithful and just,
so that he forgives us our sins
and cleanses us from every wrongdoing.

10 If we say, "We have not sinned,"
then we make him a liar
and his word is not in us.
2 1 My little children
these things I am writing to you
in order that you may not sin.
But if anyone does sin
then we have an advocate with the Father
Jesus, God's anointed, the Righteous one.
2 He himself is an offering for our sins
and not only for ours but also for the sins of the whole world.

A new commandment: Love your brother
3 By this we know that we have come to know him
if we keep his commandments.

4 Whoever says, "I have come to know him,"
and yet does not keep his commandments
he is a liar
and the truth is not in him.
5 But whoever obeys his word
truly in him the love of God has reached perfection.
By this we know that we are in him.

6 Whoever says that he remains in him
he must himself walk
as He walked.
7 Dearly beloved
I am not writing a new commandment to you
but an old one that you have had from the beginning.
The old commandment is the word that you heard.
8 Yet I do write to you a new commandment
which is true in him and in you

because the darkness is passing away
and the true light is already shining.

9Whoever says that he is in the light
and yet hates his brother
he is still in the darkness.
10But whoever loves his brother
he remains in the light
and in him there is no cause for stumbling.
11But whoever hates his brother
he is in the darkness
and he walks in the darkness
and he does not know where he is going
because the darkness has blinded his eyes.

Do not love the world
12I write to you, little children
your sins have been forgiven on account of his name.
13I write to you, fathers
you know him who was there from the beginning.
I write to you, young people
you have overcome the Evil one.

14I write to you now, little children
you know the Father.
I write to you now, fathers
you know him who was there from the beginning.
I write to you now, young people
you are strong
and the word of God remains in you
and you have overcome the Evil one.

15Do not love the world
nor the things in the world.
If anyone loves the world
then the love of the Father is not in him
16for all that is in the world
the desire of the flesh
the desire of the eyes
the pride in riches

it comes not from the Father but from the world.
[17]And the world is passing away, and its desire
but the one who does the will of God remains for ever.

Many antichrists have appeared
[18]Dear children
it is the last hour.
You have heard that an antichrist is coming
and now many antichrists have appeared.
Therefore, we know that it is the last hour.

[19]They went out from us
but they were not of us
for if they had been of us
they would have remained with us.
But this happened so that they might be exposed:
none of them is of us.
[20]As for you, you have an anointing from the Holy one
and so you all have insight.
[21]I am not writing to you
that you do not know the truth
but that you do know it
and that no lie comes of the truth.

[22]Who, then, is the liar
except the one who denies that Jesus is God's anointed?
He is the antichrist
the one who denies the Father and the Son.
[23]Anyone who denies the Son does not have the Father.
Anyone who confesses the Son has the Father as well.
[24]As for you, let what you heard from the beginning remain in you.
If what you heard from the beginning remains in you
then you, too, will remain in the Son and in the Father.
[25]And this is the promise that he himself promised us:
the eternal life.

[26]I am writing this to you about those who are deceiving you.
[27]As for you, the anointing you received from him remains in you
and you have no need that anyone should teach you.
Indeed, as his anointing teaches you about all things—

and it is true, it is not a lie—
and as it has taught you
remain in it.

God's children
[28]And now, dear children
remain in him
so that when he appears we may have boldness
and not turn from him in shame at his appearing.
[29]If you know that he is righteous
then you know
that also everyone who does righteousness is born of him.

3 [1]See what love the Father has given us
that we are called God's children
and so we are.
For this reason the world does not know us
because it has not known him.
[2]Dearly beloved
now we are God's children
and it has not yet been revealed what we shall be.
We know that when it is revealed we will be like him
for we will see him as he is.
[3]Everyone who has this hope in him purifies himself
as He is pure.

[4]Everyone who commits sin also commits lawlessness
and sin is lawlessness.
[5]You know
that He was revealed in order to take away sins
and that sin is not found in him.
[6]Everyone who remains in him does not sin.
Everyone who sins has neither seen him
nor come to know him.

[7]Dear children
let no one deceive you.
The one who does righteousness is righteous
as He is righteous.
[8]The one who commits sin is of the devil

for the devil has sinned from the beginning.
For this the Son of God was revealed
in order that he might destroy the devil's works.

9 Everyone who is born of God does not commit sin
because his seed remains in him.
He cannot sin because he is born of God.
10 By this, God's children and the devil's children are revealed:
Anyone who does not do righteousness is not of God
as is anyone who does not love his brother.

We should love one another
11 This is the message you have heard from the beginning
that we should love one other.

12 Not like Cain
who was of the Evil one and murdered his brother.
And why did he murder him?
Because his works were evil
but his brother's were righteous.

13 Do not be amazed, brothers
if the world hates you.
14 We know that we have passed from death to life
because we love the brothers.
The one who does not love remains in death.
15 Everyone who hates his brother is a murderer
and you know that no murderer has eternal life abiding in himself.
16 By this we have learned to recognize love:
He laid down his life for us.
We, too, ought to lay down our lives for the brothers.
17 But if anyone who has worldly provisions
and sees his brother in need
and closes his heart against him
how can God's love remain in him?

18 Dear children
let us not love with words or speech but with action and truth.
19 By this we know that we are of the truth.
We shall assure our heart before him

[20]that, if our heart condemns us,
that God is greater than our heart
and he knows everything.
[21]Dearly beloved
if our heart does not condemn us
then we have confidence before God.
[22]Whatever we ask for we receive from him
because we keep his commandments
and do what is pleasing before him.

[23]And this is his commandment:
that we should believe in the name of his Son,
Jesus, God's anointed
and that we should love one another
just as he gave us a commandment.
[24]And the one who keeps his commandments remains in him
and he in him.
By this we know that he remains in us:
by the spirit that he gave us.

How to know the spirit of God

4 [1]Dearly beloved
do not believe every spirit
but test the spirits
whether they are from God
because many false prophets have gone out into the world.

[2]By this you know the spirit of God:
every spirit that confesses Jesus
as God's anointed come in the flesh is of God
[3]and every spirit that does not confess Jesus is not of God.
This is the spirit of the Antichrist
which you have heard is to come
and which is already in the world.

[4]*You* are of God, dear children
and you have overcome them
for he who is in you is greater than he who is in the world.
[5]*They* are of the world.

Therefore, they speak of the world
and the world listens to them.

6 *We* are of God.
The one who knows God listens to us.
The one who is not of God does not listen to us.
By this we know the spirit of truth and the spirit of deception.

God is love
7 Dearly beloved
let us love one another
because love is of God.
Everyone who loves has been born of God and knows God.
8 The one who does not love has not come to know God
because God is love.
9 By this the love of God has been revealed in us:
God has sent his unique son into the world
that we might live through him.
10 In this is love:
not that we have loved God
but that he loved us
and sent his son as an offering for our sins.

11 Dearly beloved
since in this way God loved us
so we ought to love one another.
12 No one has ever seen God.
If we love one another
then God remains in us
and his love has been made complete in us.
13 By this we know that we remain in him and he in us:
He has given us of his spirit.
14 *We* have seen and testify
that the Father has sent the Son as the savior of the world.
15 If anyone confesses that Jesus is the Son of God
then God remains in him and he in God
16 and we have known and believed in the love God has in us.
God is love.
The one who remains in love remains in God
and God remains in him.
17 In this way love has been made complete among us:

that we have confidence on the day of judgment
because just as He is
so are we also in this world.
[18]Fear does not exist in love
but complete love casts out fear
for fear has to do with punishment.
The one who fears has not been completed in love.

[19]*We* love
because he first loved us.
[20]If anyone says, "I love God"
and yet hates his brother
then he is a liar.
The one who does not love his brother whom he has seen
he cannot love God whom he has not seen.
[21]This commandment we have from him:
The one who loves God must love his brother also.

Jesus, God's anointed and God's son

5 [1]Everyone who believes that Jesus is God's anointed
    has been born of God.
Everyone who loves the One who gave birth
    loves the one born of him.
[2]By this we know that we love the children of God
when we love God and do his commandments.
[3]For this is love for God
that we keep his commandments.
And his commandments are not burdensome
[4]for whatever is born of God overcomes the world.
And this is the victory that has overcome the world:
our faith.
[5]Who, then, is the one who overcomes the world
except the one who believes that Jesus is the Son of God?

[6]This is the one who came through water and by the blood
Jesus, God's anointed
not by water only but by the water and by the blood.
And the Spirit is the one who testifies
for the Spirit is the truth.
[7]For there are three who testify:

[8]the Spirit, the water, and the blood
and these three are of one accord.

[9]If we accept testimony of human beings
then God's testimony is greater.
For this is God's testimony
that he has testified concerning his own Son.
[10]The one who believes in the Son of God has the testimony in himself.
The one who does not believe God have made him a liar
because he has not believed in the testimony
that God has testified concerning his Son.
[11]And this is his testimony:
God gave us the eternal life
and this life is in his Son.
[12]The one who has the Son has this life.
The one who does not have the Son of God does not have this life.

Jesus, the true God and eternal life
[13]These things I have written to you
in order that you may know that you have eternal life
you who believe in the name of the Son of God.

[14]This is the confidence that we have toward him
that if we ask for anything according to his will
then he hears us.
[15]If we know that he hears us in whatever we ask for
then we know that we have the requests we have asked him for.
[16]If anyone sees his brother committing a sin not worthy of death
then he shall ask and give him life
to those who commit a sin not worthy of death.
There is a sin worthy of death.
It is not regarding such a sin that I say one should ask.
[17]Every unrighteous act is sin
and there is sin that is not worthy of death.

[18]We know that everyone who has been born of God does not sin.
He who was born of God keeps him
and the Evil one cannot touch him.

[19]We know that we are of God
and that the entire world lies in the power of the Evil one.

[20]We know that the son of God has come
and he has given us understanding
so that we may know the True one.
We are in the True one, through his Son, Jesus, God’s anointed.
He is the true God and eternal life.

[21]Dear children
keep yourselves away from idols.

4 Remarks on the Colometrical Translation

The beginning of First John (1:1–3) is a long, complicated sentence in the Greek text. It begins with four relative clauses as objects to the main verb which appears in v. 3, “declare,” preceded by a new construction in v. 1e, “concerning the word of life,” a construction often used as a title of a book. V. 2 is a parenthesis, introduced by καί, “and.” V. 3 continues the construction of v.1 and concludes with a subordinate clause introduced by ἵνα, “so that, in order that,” and a definition clause, connected to what is said by both καί and δέ. In a colometrical version, using typography as an important means of translating, a rather literal rendering seems to function well. In a modern prose version, however, the text needs to be reconstructed in several ways, as in NEB 1970:

> It was there from the beginning; we have heard it; we have seen it with our own eyes; we looked upon it and felt it with our own hands; and it is of this we tell. Our theme is the word of life. This life was made visible; we have seen it and bear our testimony; we here declare to you the eternal life, which dwelt with the Father and was visible to us. What we have seen and heard we declare to you, so that you and we together may share in a common life, that life which we share with the Father and his Son Jesus Christ.[24]

A colometrical version of 1 John 1:1–3, read more as a poetic text, conveys in a better way the original Greek text in content and style than a traditional prose text.

24 *The New English Bible: The New Testament*, Second Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

The segmentation into sense-lines can sometimes be done in more than one way. We have one sense-line in v. 1d where JerB, TOB and Brown have two. The two verbs in v. 1d have a relative pronoun together, and they form a kind of ending to the first part of the sentence, as reflected in our rendering. The same problem of segmentation reappears in several passages, 1:2b, 2d, 3a, 5a, 5bc, 6cd, 8bc, 10bc; 2:4cd, and so on. And what to do with the many vocatives in the text, "my little children," "dear beloved," and so on? We have chosen to give the vocatives their own line when they begin a section, except in 2:12–14, where there are too many short lines.

Our choices can be discussed, but the effect of choosing a different alternative is often slim. As a rule, it is the content of the lines, the reading of the text and the context that determine the division into different sense-lines.[25] The use of traditional punctation in a colometrical version can also vary. We have chosen a very sparse punctation in order to strengthen the poetic form of the text. It effects the reading of the text.

The relations between sense-lines in First John are often rather ambiguous. The author frequently uses καί, ὅτι, or ἵνα, the most common conjunctions in the letter, but these words have several meanings. The word καί, like its Hebrew correspondence *w*^{e}, has been translated by "and," "but," "yes," "indeed," "for," and so on, or it has often been left untranslated. This use of καί contributes to the vagueness of the text. Many connective particles in the Greek text can be left without any direct correspondence in a colometrical translation. The relations between the lines are marked by the content of the lines. Such a version helps the reader to focus on the meaning of the text.

A prose text, then, seems to call for more logical markers than a colometrical one. In 1:2 the sign of parenthesis expresses an "and" in the original text. The omission of "and" in 1:3c puts an emphasis on "our," as in the Greek text, and in vv. 4 and 5 the marker of a new line, paragraph, or section is a good rendering of καί. V. 1:7d is an unexpected continuation of the thought, motivating the translation "and."

The word ὅτι can often be rendered by colon, or by "that," "for," or "since." It is not always easy to choose among the alternatives, 1:5b, 6a, 8a, 10a; 2:4a, 5c, 8c and 11e. Even here, the Greek word needs not be translated by a corresponding word in a colometrical translation, for example in 3:11. The listeners rely on the content of the lines and draw conclusions about their relations.

25 The style in different parts of a document can change, so the reasons for a colometrical translation may vary in strength. NAB 1970 has chosen prose for 5:14–21.

A more poetic translation sometimes makes it easier to accept uncommon expressions and ambiguous phrases, for example "the word of life," 1:1, "do the truth," 1:6, "cleanse us from every wrongdoing," 1:9, "make him a liar," 1:10, and "do the righteousness," 2:29. A version just between prose and poetry—a colometrical version—can accept some unidiomatic phrases. They make sense in their contexts.

It is difficult to translate χριστός in First John. The word has a divine flavor and comes near the meaning of God's son. "Jesus is the Christ" and "Jesus is the son of God" can be used interchangeably in 2:22; 4:15; 5:1, 5. In my commentary, I used the title "Messiah," but even this word can be understood as merely a name today, like Christ. We have generally rendered χριστός as "God's anointed," like "God's son."[26] On occasion, the text uses the demonstrative pronoun ἐκεῖνος to refer to Jesus. Those instances have been translated with a capitalized "He."

The most important effect of a colometrical version is, probably, in how we read the text. We read more slowly, being more active in our efforts to understand the text, and we fill up the different spaces between words, clauses and sentences.[27] We become less irritated by the many repetitions and ambiguities in the text, and more prepared to accept the style of the letter as it is reflected in a more literal translation.

5 Remarks on the Style of the Translation

There are, then, two reasons to make a colometrical translation of First John: to obtain a more intelligible reading and to better reflect the style of the letter. The style of First John diverges significantly from the other books of the New Testament, with exception of some parts of the Gospel of John.[28] How can one reflect this style in an English or Swedish translation? Modern translations have tried not only to communicate the *content* of the text but also to reflect the *style* of the different books of the Bible.[29] A colometrical version can be regarded as such an attempt.

---

26 Olsson, *Commentary*, 333–337.

27 Malatesta, *Interiority and Covenant*, 39: "We agree with those who see a contemplative manner of thought in the letter." The typographical arrangements function as *ritardandos*. One reads carefully, slowly, with due consideration.

28 I asked the two professors in Greek at Lund University, Jerker Blomqvist and Karin Blomqvist, if they knew of any stylistic parallel to First John in Greek literature. They said no, but referred to Jewish literature, originally written in Greek, such as the Wisdom of Solomon. Our translations of this book are often colometrical, at least for parts of the book.

29 Most modern translations, including *The New English Bible: New Testament* (1961), have tried to find correspondences to the stylistic qualities of different biblical books.

To find a correspondence to the style of a New Testament book is difficult, if not to say very difficult. It is not enough to give a literal rendering of the original text, since the source and target language systems are different. A few scholars have used a colometrical typography in order to create a stylistic correspondence.[30]

In his 1973 commentary, J.L. Houlden briefly summarizes the style of First John: "No early Christian writing is so repetitious, so monotonous in its grammatical constructions, so narrow in vocabulary."[31] To this we should add the different kinds of vagueness and ambiguity you find in this simple text. According to the translator's handbook on the letters of John, "John seems to have been intentionally ambiguous."[32] Most commentaries agree with what B.F. Westcott's assessment from 1883: "Generally it will be felt that the writing is thoroughly Hebraistic in tone."[33]

First John, then, has a very limited vocabulary, short clauses, parataxis instead of hypotaxis, very few conjunctions, mostly καί and ὅτι, seldom οὖν, γάρ, and δέ, certain recurring phrases such as "everyone who does," or "this is" (a definition clause), or "by this," referring backward, forward or both, followed by a that-clause. "Repetitions and parallelisms abound."[34] The same thing is said twice, 1:9, or first said in a positive and then in a negative way, 1:4, 6. There are antitheses, 1:6–10, the last word/thought in a clause links to the next clause, 2:5–6, a word/thought makes an *inclusio*, 1,2; 2:18, and so on.

The ambiguity of the text is found on several levels, in pronouns and conjunctions, mentioned above, in single words such as ἀρχή, 1:1; 2:13–14, or ἱλασμός, 2:2; 4:10, and in relations between clauses and sentences. There are references to the Old Testament, to Gen 3 (Cain); Exod 34:6–7; Isa 6:10; Jer 31:33–34; Ezek 36:25, but they are not very distinct.

---

30 See above, notes 14–19.

31 J.L. Houlden, *A Commentary on the Johannine Epistles* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1973), 22.

32 C. Haas, M. de Jonge and L.L. Swellengrebel, *A Translator's Handbook on the Letters of John* (London: United Bible Societies, 1972), 13.

33 B.F. Westcott, *The Epistles of St. John: The Greek Text with Notes* (London: Macmillan, 1883; repr. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1966), xl. See also Rudolf Schnackenburg, *Die Johannesbriefe* (Freiburg: Herder, 1963), 7: "Man *kann* an einen geborenen Juden mit Aramäisch als Muttersprache denken, der sich zwar das Koine-Griechisch fehlerfrei angeeignet hat, im übrigen aber semitisches Sprachgefühl bewahrt," and Hans-Joseph Klauck, *Der erste Johannesbrief* (Zürich: Benziger, 1991), 21: "Einen jüdischen Hintergrund werden wir ihm dennoch ohne weiteres zugestehen," and John Painter, *1, 2, and 3 John* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2002), 77.

34 Malatesta, *Interiority and Covenant*, 38.

J.L. Houlden was right in characterizing the style of First John as rather unique, which causes challenges in finding equivalent expressions in other languages. A colometrical version makes it possible to use more literal renderings, that together create a special style, which can be regarded as a reflection of the style of the original text. Thus, a colometrical version contributes to a more intelligible reading of First John.

Bibliography

Blomkvist, Vemund. *Euthalian Traditions: Text, Translation and Commentary*. TU 170. Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter, 2012.

Brown, R.E. *The Epistles of John: Translated with Introduction, Notes and Commentary*. AB 30. New York: Doubleday & Company, 1982.

Crisp, Simon. "Scribal Marks and Logical Paragraphs: Discourse Segmentation Criteria in Manuscripts of the Pauline Corpus." Pages 77–87 in *Current Trends in Scripture Translation: Definitions and Identity*. Edited by P.A. Noss. UBS Bullentin 198/199. Ann Arbor: United Bible Societies, 2005.

Den hellige Skrift. Bibelen. Det Gamle og det Nye Testament. Oslo: Bibelselskapet, 2011.

Gute Nachricht Bibel. Altes und Neues Testament. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1997.

Haas, C., M. de Jonge, and J.L. Swellengrebel. *A Translator's Handbook on the Letters of John*. Helps for Translators Series XIII. London: United Bible Societies, 1972.

Houlden, J.L. *A Commentary on the Johannine Epistles*. Black's New Testament Commentaries. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1973.

Jobes, Karen H. *1, 2, & 3 John*. Zondervan Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2014.

Klauck, Hans-Josef. *Der erste Johannesbrief*. EKKNT 13/1. Neukirchen Vluyn: Benziger Verlag, Neukirchener Verlag, 1991.

La Sainte Bible traduite en français sous la direction de L'École Biblique de Jérusalem. Paris: Cerf, 1958.

Levine, Lee I. *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.

Malatesta, Edward. *Interiority and Covenant: A Study of* εἶναι ἐν and μένειν ἐν in *the First Letter of Saint John*. Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978.

Minns, Dennis and Paul Parvis. *Justin, Philosopher and Martyr: Apologies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Oeming, Manfred. "Der 'verlängerte Arm' des Jerusalemer Tempels. Ein Beitrag zur Diskussion über die Ursprünge der Synagoge." Pages 35–55 in *Tempel, Lehrhaus, Synagoge. Orte jüdischen Lernens und Lebens*. Festschrift für Wolfgang Kraus. Edited by

Christian Eberhart, Martin Karrer, Siegfried Kreuzer and Martin Meister (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2020).

Olsson, Birger. “The Origins of the Synagogue: An Evaluation.” Pages 132–138 in *The Ancient Synagogue: From Its Origins Until 200 C. E. Papers Presented at an International Conference at Lund University, October 14–17, 2001*. Edited by Birger Olsson and Magnus Zetterholm. ConBNT 39. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2003.

Olsson, Birger. *Johannesbreven*. KNT 19. Stockholm: EFS-förlaget, 2008.

Olsson, Birger. *A Commentary on the Letters of John: An Intra-Jewish Approach*. Translated by Richard J. Erickson. Eugene: Pickwick, 2013.

Painter, John. *1, 2, and 3 John*. Sacra Pagina Series 18. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2002.

Parker, D.C. *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and Its Text*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Rosenius, Martin Gabriel. *Inledningsvetenskapen till den Heliga Skrift*. Lund: Berling, 1872.

Runesson, Anders. *The Origins of the Synagogue: A Socio-Historical Study*. ConBNT 37. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2001.

Runesson, Anders. “Persian Imperial Politics, the Beginning of Public Torah Readings, and the Origins of the Synagogue.” Pages 63–89 in *The Ancient Synagogue: From Its Origins Until 200 C.E. Papers Presented at an International Conference at Lund University, October 14–17, 2001*. Edited by Birger Olsson and Magnus Zetterholm. ConBNT 39. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2003.

Scherbenske, Eric W. *Canonizing Paul: Ancient Editorial Practice and the Corpus Paulinum*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Schnackenburg, Rudolf. *Die Johannesbriefe*. Zweite, neubearbeitete Auflage. HTKNT 8:3. Freiburg: Herder, 1963.

The Jerusalem Bible. London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1966.

The New American Bible: Translated from the Original Languages with Critical Use of All the Ancient Sources by Members of the Catholic Biblical Association of America. New York: P.J. Kenedy & Sons, 1970.

The New English Bible: The New Testament. Second Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

Traduction Œcumenique de la Bible: Nouveau Testament. Paris: Cerf, 1972.

Westcott, B.F. *The Epistles of St. John: The Greek Text with Notes*. London: Macmillan, 1883. Repr., Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1966.

Willard, Louis Charles. *A Critical Study of the Euthalian Apparatus*. ANTF 41. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009.

PART 2

Leitmotifs: *Liturgical Themes in Other Early Christian Literature*

7

Passing the Audition: Mode and Harmony in Ignatius of Antioch's Chorus (*Eph.* 4.2; *Rom.* 2.2)

James A. Kelhoffer

> Is it not for this reason … that education in music is all-powerful, because rhythm and harmony most of all plunge down into the inner soul and most vigorously take hold of it, bringing [with them] refinement?[1]

Ignatius of Antioch twice exhorts believers to form a chorus, taking their cue from the bishop, the conductor who indicates the correct notes and intervals to be utilised. This study examines ancient Greek principles of musical harmony and dissonance and the imperative that a particular "mode" (i.e., scale) be adopted to the exclusion of others. Debates among ancient philosophers and musicians about which mode(s) and intervals ought to be employed form an illuminating backdrop for the controversies in which Ignatius engages. The bishop envisions the resounding of a chorus as he dutifully makes his way in silence towards his martyrdom in Rome.

1 Introduction

In his *Letters to the Ephesians* and *the Romans*, Ignatius of Antioch urges believers to form a chorus of unanimity. Through a detailed linguistic analysis of two key passages (sections 2.1–9), this paper explores the import of his metaphor and its role in the two letters. I will offer a provisional translation of Ignatius, *Eph.* 4.2 and *Rom.* 2.2 before discussing ancient competing views about harmonic and dissonant intervals and, in the light of the discussion of ancient

1 Plato, *Resp.* 3.12 (401D), discussed in section 2.3 of this study.

Greek music theory, will consider the semantics and translation of Ignatius's key musical terms. It will be argued that knowledge about ancient theories of harmony and modes illuminates the congregants' supporting role within the "drama" of Ignatius's journey to Rome and in the struggle against false teachings, a struggle that will continue after the bishop's martyrdom.[2] If Christ-believers are to pass the audition and fulfil their role in this drama, they must not only come together but also blend their voices in accordance with divinely sanctioned guidelines.

1.1 *Text and Provisional Translation of Ign.* Eph. *4.2*

What follows is the Greek text of *Eph.* 4.2 and a provisional translation.[3] Nine key terms are highlighted, and in the translation the terms are given in their lexical forms.

> καὶ οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα δὲ [1] **χορὸς** γίνεσθε, ἵνα [2] **σύμφωνοι** ὄντες [3] ἐν **ὁμονοίᾳ**, [4] **χρῶμα** θεοῦ λαβόντες, [5a] ἐν **ἑνότητι** [6] **ᾄδητε**[4] [7] ἐν **φωνῇ** μιᾷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῷ πατρί, ἵνα ὑμῶν καὶ [8] **ἀκούσῃ** καὶ ἐπιγινώσκῃ,[5] δι' ὧν εὖ πράσσετε, [9] **μέλη** ὄντας τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. χρήσιμον οὖν ἐστιν ὑμᾶς [5b] ἐν ἀμώμῳ **ἑνότητι** εἶναι, ἵνα καὶ θεοῦ πάντοτε μετέχητε.
>
> Each and every one of you must form [1] a **χορός** in order that, by being [2] **σύμφωνοι** [3] in **ὁμόνοια**, and by comprehending[6] God's [4] **χρῶμα**, you may [5a] in **ἑνότης** [6] **ᾄδω** [7] with one **φωνή** through Jesus Christ to the Father in order that he, by means of what you are doing correctly because you are [9] **μέλη** of his Son, may both [8] **ἀκούω** and recognise you. Thus, it is advantageous for you to be [5b] in unblemished **ἑνότης**, in order that you may always have a share in God.

---

2 For an overview of the theatrical aspects of how Ignatius presents his journey towards Rome, see William R. Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch: A Commentary on the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch*, ed. Helmut Koester, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 11–12. The present study seeks to bring out the musical aspects of that thespian production.

3 All translations of Ignatius's letters are my own.

4 Rather than the subjunctive ᾄδητε, the middle recension [attested by manuscript G] has the indicative ᾄδετε. Subsequent to ἵνα, however, ᾄδητε would be expected. The variant reading in G could have stemmed from a desire to show, with the indicative mode, that the purpose signified by the ἵνα-clause will indeed be realised.

5 The middle recension [G] has the participle ἐπιγινώσκων, which does not make sense in this context.

6 BDAG, s.v. λαμβάνω, def. 8: "to enter into a close relationship, *receive, make one's own, apprehend/comprehend*." Cf. also def. 6 ("choose, select") and def. 7 ("receive").

The analysis in sections 3.1–3.9 will take up each of the nine key terms before completing the translation in section 3.10. One point of uncertainty may be mentioned here, namely whether οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα should be translated "each and every one *of you*" or "each and every one *of your men*." Even to Ignatius's audience, this may not have been clear. On the one hand, the reference to "men" (οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα) could envision a male chorus. As M.L. West points out, ancient Greek "[c]horuses were either male (men or boys) or female. There is some early evidence for mixed dancing, but not for men and women singing in unison."[7] On the other hand, Ignatius's other three uses of κατ' ἄνδρα seem to address both women and men: οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα ἀλλήλους ἀγαπᾶτε ἐν ἀμερίστῳ καρδίᾳ ("Love one another, each and every one *of you*, with an undivided heart," *Trall.* 13.2b); ἀσπάζομαι ... καὶ τοὺς κατ' ἄνδρα ("I greet ... each and every one *of you*," *Smyrn.* 12.2); and τοῖς κατ' ἄνδρα κατὰ ὁμοήθειαν θεοῦ λάλει ("Speak to *each and every person* in accordance with God's conviction," *Pol.* 1.3). The question thus becomes whether the background of an all-male chorus, or Ignatius's other uses of κατ' ἄνδρα, should carry more weight in the translation of *Eph.* 4.2. However tentatively, I take the latter option and translate in *Eph.* 4.2 "each and every one *of you*."[8]

1.2 *Text and Provisional Translation of Ign.* Rom. *2.2*

For *Rom.* 2.2, the same procedure—presenting the Greek text and a provisional translation with two musical terms highlighted—is followed:

> πλέον δέ[9] μοι μὴ παράσχησθε τοῦ σπονδισθῆναι θεῷ, ὡς ἔτι θυσιαστήριον ἕτοιμόν ἐστιν, ἵνα ἐν ἀγάπῃ [1] **χορὸς** γενόμενοι [2] **ᾄσητε** τῷ πατρὶ ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ,[10] ὅτι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Συρίας κατηξίωσεν ὁ θεὸς[11] εὑρεθῆναι εἰς δύσιν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς μεταπεμψάμενος. καλὸν τὸ δῦναι ἀπὸ κόσμου πρὸς θεόν, ἵνα εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνατείλω.
>
> Do not grant me anything more than to be poured out as a drink offering to God while[12] an altar is still prepared, in order that you, having formed [1] a **χορός** with love, may [2] **ᾄδω** in Jesus Christ to the Father, because

7 M.L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 40.

8 See, further, J.B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, vol. 2.2 (London: Macmillan, 1890; repr., Peabody: Hendrickson, 1989), 41, who holds that οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα refers to "'the individual members' of the Church."

9 Whereas some versions have the particle δέ (TL[SmAm]gM), others omit it (GHKSA).

10 Several versions read Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ (GHKTgM).

11 In several witnesses (GHKM), the word order is ὁ θεὸς κατηξίωσεν.

12 Or: "as long as" for ὡς ἔτι. Cf. ἕως ἔτι ἔχομεν, "as long as we still have," 2 Clem. 16.1.

> God has deemed the bishop of Syria worthy to be discovered towards the sunset, having summoned him from the sunrise. It is good to sink down from the world towards God, in order to rise up to him.

In the latter half of the verse, my translation endeavours to capture the parallelism between the downwards imagery (εἰς δύσιν … τὸ δῦναι) and the upwards imagery (ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς … ἀνατείλω), a parallelism which the original audience would have recognised. While the translations "West" and "East" (e.g., M.W. Holmes[13]) are suitable, Ignatius's subsequent connection of those terms with the verbs δύνω ("sink down") and ἀνατέλλω ("rise up") does not come to the fore. The word δύσις refers to the "setting of the sun or stars"[14] and, by extension, to where the sun sets in the West, where Ignatius is to face execution in Rome.[15] Likewise, ἀνατολή stands for the rising of celestial bodies[16] and, by extension, to where the sun rises in the East, where he was appointed bishop of Syria.[17]

2 Harmony and Dissonance in Ancient Greek Music

For the translation and interpretation of *Eph.* 4.2 and *Rom.* 2.2, it is relevant to consider how an ancient chorus[18] could achieve harmony, as well as the basis, or bases, on which music could be deemed dissonant.

In a comprehensive analysis of ancient Greek music, M.L. West studies singing and choirs; stringed, wind, and percussion instruments; rhythm, tempo, and melody; notation and pitch; and musical theory.[19] For the present study, West's chapter on modes and scales is particularly pertinent.[20] The discus-

13 Michael W. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 171.

14 LSJ, s.v. δύσις. See also Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 197, 202; Schoedel, *Ignatius*, 170–171.

15 BDAG, s.v. δύσις. I am grateful to Jonas Holmstrand for feedback on the translation of *Rom.* 2.2c–d.

16 LSJ, s.v. ἀνατολή, def. I.1; BDAG, s.v. ἀνατολή, def. 1.

17 LSJ, s.v. ἀνατολή, def. I.3; BDAG, s.v. ἀνατολή, def. 2.

18 On the translation of χορός as "chorus," rather than "choir," see section 3.1, below.

19 West, *Music*, 160. Other important studies include John G. Landels, *Music in Ancient Greece and Rome* (London: Routledge, 1999); Stefan Hagel and Christine Harrauer, eds., *Ancient Greek Music in Performance: Symposium Wien 29. Sept.–1. Okt. 2003*, Wiener Studien 30 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2005); Stefan Hagel, *Ancient Greek Music: A New Technical History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2009); and Charles H. Cosgrove, *An Ancient Christian Hymn with Musical Notation: Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 1786. Text and Commentary*, STAC 65 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011).

20 West, *Music*, 160–189.

sion to follow will engage his presentation of the consensus among the Greek sources about which chords were harmonious, as well as debates about which mode or modes (i.e., scales) should be used—possibly to the exclusion of other modes. Those disagreements also concerned how to tune the intervals within a particular mode. Later in the paper, it will be argued that not only the consensus about harmony but also unresolved disputes about what constituted aesthetically pleasing music illuminate Ignatius's vision for a harmonious chorus.

2.1 *Three Concordant Intervals*

In ancient Greek music, explains West, "the scales … provided a framework of discipline by limiting the infinity of possible notes and intervals to an ordered set …."[21] Further, "[t]he ancient writers attach[ed] great importance to the distinction between 'concordant' and 'discordant' intervals."[22] The former generated συμφωνία, and the latter, δυσφωνία. In regard to the former, only three intervals were regarded as concordant—the octave, the fifth, and the fourth.[23]

For the interval of an octave, or *diapasōn*, the ratio of the two pitches' frequencies is 1:2, which means that when any pitch (e.g., a *c*♮) is increased by 100%, the resultant pitch will be one octave above the original tone (i.e., another *c*♮).[24] This interval was commonly referred to as ἡ διὰ πασῶν χορδῶν συμφωνία ("the concord through [or: across] all the strings"), or διὰ πασῶν ("through all [the strings]").[25] Regardless of how many tones sounded within a scale, and regardless of how the intervals within the scale were tuned, the octave passed "through all" the tones, ascending (or descending) to the same note.[26]

---

21 West, *Music*, 160. The effect of this "framework" provided by scales would naturally apply to any musical system, whether ancient or modern—for example, in the "minor" or "major" key signatures of modern Western music.

22 West, *Music*, 160.

23 West, *Music*, 160, who observes here that the two notes of the interval could be "sounded either simultaneously or successively." See also Cosgrove, *Ancient Christian Hymn*, 85, 168.

24 Similarly, increasing the pitch of a tone by 400% will result in the same note two octaves above the original tone.

25 Although the number of strings on stringed instruments could vary (see West, *Music*, 48–80, esp. 62–64), the notion of passing through "all" the strings may suggest that the instrument's longest (i.e., lowest-sounding) string was tuned an octave beneath the instrument's shortest (i.e., highest-sounding) string.

26 In modern Western music, the seven modes include the Ionian mode (i.e., the modern "major" scale), the Aeolian mode (i.e., the modern "natural minor" scale), and the Locrian mode. In various ancient and modern cultures, not only the possible notes but also the combination of notes within each scale can vary significantly. That is to say, modes which

The interval of a fifth, or *diapente* (διὰ πέντε, "through five [strings]"), is the harmony achieved by playing "through," or "across," a total of five notes.[27] For this interval, the ratio between the pitches' frequencies is 2:3. That is to say, increasing the pitch of a *c*♮ by 50 percent will result in a *g*♮. The ancients observed that, analogous to the symmetry of the octave (e.g., from a *c*♮ to a *c*♮), beginning with a *c*♮ and increasing a tone by a total of twelve fifths will produce another *c*♮, seven octaves above the original tone.[28]

In the case of the fourth, or *diatessarōn* (διὰ τεσσάρων, "through four [strings]"),[29] the ratio is 3:4. Adding a third to the frequency of a *g*♮ will result in a *c*♮. Similar to what occurs with the symmetry of the octave and the fifth, the ancients understood that, if one begins with a *c*♮, increasing the tone by a total of twelve fourths will result in another *c*♮, five octaves above the original tone.[30]

In ancient Greek music, the symmetry between the fourth and the fifth was also deemed significant. To increase the interval by a fifth (e.g., from *c*♮ to *g*♮) and, subsequently, by a fourth (e.g., from a *g*♮ to a *c*♮) achieves a concordant octave above the original tone. Likewise, to increase the pitch by a fourth (e.g., from a *c*♮ to an *f*♮) and, subsequently, by a fifth (e.g., from an *f*♮ to a *c*♮) results in an octave.

Parenthetically, it may be noted that the common esteem for the interval of the fourth could shed light on the Greek name given to Tatian of Syria's conflated Gospel. His *Diatessaron* (ca. 172 CE) "played" on the strings of the four Gospels; together, they contributed to a concordant fullness in a way that

became standard in modern Western cultures are specific to Western cultures, and other pitches and different modes became standard in traditions of other cultures—such as in Gregorian and Byzantine liturgy, as well as in various Persian, Arabic, and African musical traditions.

27 Gk.: ἡ διὰ πέντε χορδῶν συμφωνία, "the concord through [or: across] five strings." See West, *Music*, 9–11, 160–161.

28 The "circle of fifths" can be achieved on the basis of any "root" tone. By increasing, a total of twelve times, the root tone by a fifth, one returns to the same tone seven octaves above the original tone. An example of this circle is: *c*♮ (1) *g*♮ (2) *d*♮ (3) *a*♮ (4) *e*♮ (5) *b*♮ (6) *f*♯/*g*♭ (7) *c*♯/*d*♭ (8) *g*♯/*a*♭ (9) *d*♯/*e*♭ (10) *a*♯/*b*♭ (11) *f*♮ (12) *c*♮. On the notation of tones as natural (♮), flat (♭), or sharp (♯), see, e.g., West, *Music*, 12.

29 Gk.: ἡ διὰ τεσσάρων χορδῶν συμφωνία, "the concord through [or: across] four strings." See West, *Music*, 9–11, 160–164.

30 As is the case with the "circle of fifths" (see footnote 28), the "circle of fourths" can be achieved on the basis of any "root" tone. By increasing, a total of twelve times, the root tone by a fourth, one returns to the same tone five octaves above the original tone. For example, *c*♮ (1) *f*♮ (2) *a*♯/*b*♭ (3) *d*♯/*e*♭ (4) *g*♯/*a*♭ (5) *c*♯/*d*♭ (6) *f*♯/*g*♭ (7) *b*♮ (8) *e*♮ (9) *a*♮ (10) *d*♮ (11) *g*♮ (12) *c*♮.

no "solo" voice could achieve. Within a particular mode or scale, whereas the sounding of two or three consecutive tones would have been discordant (see section 2.3, below), the four Gospels, together, made for a satisfying whole. Moreover, the chord resulting from the four separate tones would carry more weight than would each tone by itself. The resultant product of Tatian's ensemble was thus a Gospel *harmony*.[31]

2.2 *Ancient and Modern Conceptions of Harmony and Modality*

As noted in section 1.1, in ancient Greece, the mathematical symmetry of three intervals—the octave (1:2), the fifth (2:3), and the fourth (3:4)—underlay musical concordance, or συμφωνία. In consequence, all other intervals within an octave constituted discord, or δυσφωνία. That understanding of harmony represents a pronounced difference from modern Western music, in which a harmonious major key signature (i.e., the Ionian mode) or a discordant minor key signature (e.g., the Aeolian mode) is signaled by neither the fourth nor the fifth, but by the third note of the scale. Whereas a modern major key signature contains a major third (e.g., *c*♮ and *e*♮),[32] a minor key signature includes a minor third (e.g., *c*♮ and *e*♭).[33] Ancient Greek listeners, then, would not have recognised the distinction which many today would make between a concordant major third interval and a discordant minor third interval. Both would have been perceived as discordant, since neither is an octave, a fifth, or a fourth.[34]

2.3 *Clashing Opinions: Which Scale, and Which Intervals within a Scale, Should Be Adopted?*

West calls attention to the fact that, in Greek music theory, discordant intervals were "considered perfectly acceptable in melody if they arose between notes of a properly constituted scale."[35] Aesthetically pleasing music could thus contain

31 This notion of a concordant harmonised Gospel could correlate with the development that Tatian's work replaced the use of individual Gospels in many early Syriac Christian communities. On that development, see, e.g., William L. Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron: Its Creation, Dissemination, Significance, and History in Scholarship*, VCSup 25 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 41–45, on Theodoret of Cyrrhus (d. ca. 457 CE), *Haer. fab.* 120.

32 Likewise, a "major" key signature includes the interval of a *minor* sixth—for example, an *e*♮ played below a *c*♮.

33 Additionally, in Western music, a minor key signature includes the interval of a major sixth—for example, an *e*♭ played below a *c*♮.

34 By contrast, in modern Western music, any of the major or minor modes would be suitable for aesthetically pleasing music. Moreover, it is perfectly acceptable for a modern composer to change the mode within a piece—or even within a movement of a larger work, such as a symphony.

35 West, *Music*, 160.

both concordant and discordant intervals, as long as the concordant intervals provided the structure within which other intervals were used, and as long as only some, but not other, discordant intervals sounded within the selected mode.[36]

In choosing among the seemingly limitless intervals which could have been used between the octaves, fifths, and fourths, the question for musicians to take into account was which other intervals would be in play. It is well documented that ancient composers and musicians used distinct modes, such as the Lydian, Ionian, and Dorian modes.[37] Oftentimes, the sources are *descriptive* of how, at least in some circles, music was played. Frequently, however, the sources are also prescriptive, aspiring to shape how melodies *should* be played.

West and others have set out the diverse views of, and the sources referenced by, numerous ancient authors over several centuries—including Stesichorus (6th c. BCE),[38] Philolaus (5th c. BCE),[39] Pindar (5th c. BCE),[40] Aristoxenus (fl. 4th c. BCE),[41] Plato (d. 348/347 BCE),[42] Aristotle (d. 322 BCE),[43] Eratosthenes (3rd c. BCE),[44] Didymus the Musician (d. 1st c. CE),[45] Claudius Ptolemy (2nd c. CE),[46] and Aristides Quintilianus (3rd c. CE).[47] To that list of sources, could

36 The same principle applies generally to modern Western music: deviations from a major third (or a minor third) are welcome, if the melody is oriented to the recognisable intervals of a major (or a minor) third.

37 For a helpful overview of not only the ancient sources but also, from the standpoint of musicology, the particular intervals within each mode, see West, *Music*, 165–189, on the Aeolian, Dorian, Ionian, Lydian, Mixolydian, Phrygian, and Tense Lydian modes. See also Landels, *Music*, 86–109, esp. 98–105 and Cosgrove, *Ancient Christian Hymn*, 85–90.

38 On Stesichorus, see West, *Music*, 180.

39 On Philolaus, see West, *Music*, 167–168 and Stefan Hagel, "Twenty-Four in Auloi: Aristotle, *Met.* 1093b, the Harmony of the Spheres, and the Formation of the Perfect System," in Hagel and Harrauer, *Ancient Greek Music in Performance*, 51–91 at 76–78.

40 On Pindar, see West, *Music*, 164.

41 On Aristoxenus, see West, *Music*, 163–165, 167, 168–169, 171; Landels, *Music*, 86–95, 107–108; Hagel, "Twenty-Four," 80–81, 87; and Cosgrove, *Ancient Christian Hymn*, 84–85, 167.

42 On Plato, see West, *Music*, 179–183; Landels, *Music*, 100–102; and Hagel, "Twenty-Four," 75–77.

43 On Aristotle, see West, *Music*, 179–181 and Hagel, "Twenty-Four," e.g., 51–55, 77–78, 80, 85.

44 On Eratosthenes, see West, *Music*, 169–170.

45 On Didymus the Musician, see West, *Music*, 169–170.

46 On Claudius Ptolemy, see West, *Music*, 170–171; Hagel, *Ancient Greek Music: A New Technical History*, 56–61, 66–68; and Hagel, "Twenty-Four," 64–66.

47 On Aristides Quintilianus, see West, *Music*, 165–166, 174–175, 177–178 and Landels, *Music*, 103–106. Aristides probably composed his work *On Music* (περὶ μουσικῆς) during the third century CE, although a date in the fourth century is also possible. In that work, Aristides refers to numerous earlier sources, including Aristoxenus (see footnote 41) and Cicero (1st c. BCE).

be added, for example, Archytas of Mytilene (fl. 4th c. BCE),[48] Porphyry of Tyre (3rd c. CE),[49] and, especially, Pseudo-Plutarch (3rd or 4th c. CE?).[50]

For the present study, details on the particular pitches which could be utilised in each mode, as well as the tuning of intervals within a mode, are less important than the fact that opinions on what was acceptable varied markedly.[51] An example of strong musical conviction is found in Plato, who criticised the custom of many when, as West points out, he called for the exclusion of "the Mixolydian, Tense Lydian, Lydian, and Ionian" modes.[52] This exclusivity meant that "the only ones that remain[ed] available [were] the Dorian and the Phrygian" modes.[53]

The choice of mode, Plato explains in the *Republic*, is vital to the training of the soul: "Is it not for this reason … that education in music is all-powerful, because rhythm and harmony most of all plunge down into the inner soul and most vigorously take hold of it, bringing [with them] refinement?"[54] Plato commended the Dorian mode as a harmonic expression of "a brave man engaged in warfare," and the Phrygian mode as an expression of one who acts "mod-

48 On Archytas of Mytilene, see Hagel, "Twenty-Four," 79–80.

49 On Porphyry of Tyre, see Hagel, *Ancient Greek Music: A New Technical History*, 61–65.

50 On Pseudo-Plutarch, see Hagel, *Ancient Greek Music: A New Technical History*, 397–398, 436–437 and Hagel, "Twenty-Four," 71–74; cf. West, *Music*, 5–6.

51 In ancient Greek modes, as well as in many non-Western musical systems both past and present, certain (and, in some cases, numerous) pitches do not correspond to those of the twelve-tone equal temperament tuning system, which came to be standard in Western music around the eighteenth century. To indicate the exact pitch of tones that fall "above" or "below" the tones of the equally tempered scale, musicologists use an upwards or a downwards arrow (e.g., $e\uparrow$ or $g\downarrow$). When a source gives precise information, a number following the arrow (e.g., $e\uparrow^{40}$) indicates the extent to which a tone falls above or below its closest counterpart on the tempered scale. The designation $e\uparrow^{40}$, for example, indicates a tone which is 40% above an $e\natural$ and, correspondingly, 60% below the adjacent tone $f\natural$. See, further, West, *Music*, 163–172 and John Curtis Franklin, "Hearing Greek Microtones," in Hagel and Harrauer, *Ancient Greek Music in Performance*, 9–50.

52 West, *Music*, 183. See also West, *Music*, 249, 369–370 and Landels, *Music*, 106. Of related interest is the discussion in West, *Music*, 179–182, of the six "Damonian" scales that were used around the time of Plato. West, *Music*, 183–188, also touches upon other modes, such as the Aeolian and the Hypodorian, to which other sources bear witness.

53 West, *Music*, 183. In modern Western music, the Ionian mode is the diatonic scale of a major key signature. Plato's exclusion of this mode thus suggests that he would have disapproved of much contemporary classical music and, especially, of nearly all contemporary "pop" music, including rock'n'roll.

54 Plato, *Resp*. 3.12 (401D), translation mine, ἆρ' οὖν … τούτων ἕνεκα κυριωτάτη ἐν μουσικῇ τροφή, ὅτι μάλιστα καταδύεται εἰς τὸ ἐντὸς τῆς ψυχῆς ὅ τε ῥυθμὸς καὶ ἁρμονία, καὶ ἐρρωμενέστατα ἅπτεται αὐτῆς φέροντα τὴν εὐσχημοσύνην; See, further, West, *Music*, 248–249.

estly and moderately" in peaceful times.[55] By contrast, he disparaged "the Tense Lydian and similar modes" since they were soft, effeminate, and "useless even to women."[56]

In addition to Plato, the Pythagorean authors Philolaus, Eratosthenes, Didymus the Musician, and Claudius Ptolemy assigned different mathematical solutions for the correct tuning of the intervals within a particular mode. It is thus not possible to speak of "the" set of intervals which belonged to each mode.[57] The prospects for two or more musicians playing in tune would, rather, have been dependent upon an agreement about both the choice of mode and the tuning of intervals within that mode.

Besides how philosophers and others wanted musicians to sing and play, a different question lies outside the scope of this paper—namely, which modes and notes musicians actually chose.[58] No central authority in ancient Greek society could impose its musical taste upon others, although a patron's preferences could have held significant local sway. A consensus among musicians could also have resulted from trial and error, from one or more "lead" musicians' predilections, or from some combination of prescriptive and inductive sensibilities. West concludes that, during the course of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the various ancient modes "only partially" became absorbed into "a unified system of keys," and that the lack of a widely accepted consensus "left a conceptual and onomastic void."[59] Those matters were by no means resolved in antiquity, and have remained contentious in ecclesial contexts through the centuries.

It is thus plausible that ancient Greek musicians could, at times, have deviated from the adoption of one favoured mode to the exclusion of others, or from a sanctioned system of intonation within a mode. Moreover, some of the non-Hellenised (or non-Romanised) peoples of the ancient Mediterranean

55 Plato, *Resp.* 3.10 (399A–B). See also West, *Music*, 179–183 at 180.

56 Plato, *Resp.* 3.10 (398D–E). See also West, *Music*, 181–182.

57 See also Cosgrove, *Ancient Christian Hymn*, 83–88 at 84: "Several major schools are represented in ancient musicological literature: Pythagoreanism, Platonism, Aristotelianism, and Neoplatonism. Roman-era treatises often combine elements from more than one school, but the musicological tradition emanating from the fourth-century [BCE] theorist Aristoxenus became largely standard in later centuries."

58 With West, *Music*, 188–189. Moreover, Cosgrove, *Ancient Christian Hymn*, 150, calls attention to the paucity of the surviving evidence: "The number of scores we possess for ancient Greek music is just a tiny fraction of the ancient Greek scores produced in antiquity. Not only that, the number of scores produced in the ancient world was a small fraction of the Greek music that was composed and performed through the centuries."

59 West, *Music*, 189. West's conclusion about an "onomastic void" seems to rest upon a psychological reading of the sources, a reading which I regard as tenuous.

world probably used modes to which the surviving sources do not bear witness. Further complicating matters is the possibility, if not the likelihood, that "hybrid" modes emerged as a by-product of commerce, cultural exchange and, especially, forced migrations due to war and the slave trade.

2.4 *Summation: Harmony and Dissonance*

Several observations in the preceding discussion bear upon what Ignatius says about harmonious choruses: (1) In ancient Greek music, only three intervals were harmonious—the octave, the fifth, and the fourth. (2) All other intervals were dissonant,[60] although they were acceptable if played within the framework of the harmonic intervals. (3) Each mode (i.e., scale) prescribed the tones and intervals to be played, thereby excluding the vast majority of tones and intervals. (4) Diverse conventions concerning modes and dissonant intervals were in play. (5) A recurring refrain in the ancient sources is criticism of others' choices of mode or tuning of harmonics. Debates about those choices are attested in a variety of sources during the pre-classical, classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods, and were thus part and parcel of the cultural milieu of Ignatius and his audience. It is therefore legitimate to consider whether Ignatius's imagery draws on those debates and how the addressees may have interpreted Ignatius's imagery in the light of them.

The analysis to follow will take account of the aforementioned observations and will weigh their relevance for the interpretation of *Eph*. 4.2 and *Rom*. 2.2 along the following lines: (1) For Ignatius, doctrinal harmony naturally comes from God. (2) All theological assertions—for example, concerning the Eucharist or a bishop's authority—must be consonant with that harmony. (3) The authoritative role of a bishop to interpret, transmit, and guard God's revelation stood alongside the principles that prescribed a particular mode. (4) Ignatius was acutely aware of diverse theologies and leaders among the early Jesus movements, a diversity analogous to the plurality in ancient Greek musical theory and expression. (5) The bishop of Syria celebrated neither unauthorised improvisations nor diversity in theological viewpoints but strove, rather, to dampen or, ideally, to silence them.

60 As noted above, even the interval of a major third, which in modern Western music is characteristic of a harmonious major key signature, would thus have been viewed as dissonant.

3 Musical Philology

This section will discuss the terms highlighted in *Eph.* 4.2:

> καὶ οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα δὲ [1] **χορὸς** γίνεσθε, ἵνα [2] **σύμφωνοι** ὄντες [3] ἐν **ὁμονοίᾳ**, [4] **χρῶμα** θεοῦ λαβόντες, [5a] ἐν **ἑνότητι** [6] **ᾄδητε** [7] ἐν **φωνῇ** μιᾷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῷ πατρί, ἵνα ὑμῶν καὶ [8] **ἀκούσῃ** καὶ ἐπιγινώσκῃ, δι' ὧν εὖ πράσσετε, [9] **μέλη** ὄντας τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. χρήσιμον οὖν ἐστιν ὑμᾶς [5b] ἐν ἀμώμῳ **ἑνότητι** εἶναι, ἵνα καὶ θεοῦ πάντοτε μετέχητε.

I will consider the translations of the highlighted key terms by Kirsopp Lake, Edgar J. Goodspeed, Michael W. Holmes, and Bart D. Ehrman[61] and will add to these my own proposals:

	Lake	***Goodspeed***	***Holmes***	***Ehrman***	***Kelhoffer***
χορός	this choir	a choir	this chorus	the chorus	a chorus
σύμφωνος	harmoniously	harmonious	harmonious	symphonic	concordant
ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ	in concord	in concord	in unanimity	in your harmony	in unanimity
χρῶμα θεοῦ	the key of God	the keynote of God	pitch from God	God's pitch	God's key signature
ἑνότης	in unison … in unity	in unison … in unity	in unison … in unity	in unison … in unison	in unity … in unity
ᾄδω	sing	sing	sing	sing	sing praise
ἐν φωνῇ μιᾷ	with one voice	with one voice	with one voice	in one voice	with a unified acclamation
ἀκούω	hear	hear	hear	hear	listen to
μέλη	members	parts	members	members	melodists

The analysis of each term (sections 3.1–3.9) will be followed by a completed translation of *Eph.* 4.2 and *Rom.* 2.2 (section 3.10). Given the range of possi-

61 K. Lake, *The Apostolic Fathers*, vol. 1, LCL 24 (New York: Macmillan, 1912); E.G. Goodspeed, *The Apostolic Fathers: An American Translation* (New York: Harper, 1950); M.W. Holmes, *Apostolic Fathers*; B.D. Ehrman, *The Apostolic Fathers*, vol. 1, LCL 24 (Cambridge: Harvard University, 2003). At times, W.R. Schoedel's translation (*Ignatius*, 51) will also be taken up.

ble meanings of χορός, χρῶμα, ἑνότης, and μέλη, the lion's share of the discussion will be devoted to those terms.

3.1 *Χορός* (*"A Chorus"*)

To Ignatius's audience, it may not have been immediately apparent whether the χορός they were to "become" (or "form," γίνομαι) involved a singing choir, a group of dancers, or both. The term could encompass at least five meanings, several of which overlap partially or significantly. The most common of those are (1) a dance or dancing,[62] (2) a group of dancers,[63] (3) a place for dancing,[64] (4) a group of singers,[65] or even (5) a group which danced and sang.[66] Indeed, the singing could have been an outgrowth of a group's synchronous movements, or the movements an outgrowth of the singing. The English terms "choreography" and "choir" are similar to that movement-singing relationship, with the former referring to coordinated movement and the latter to coordinated singing. A motionless χορός, which is the norm for many contemporary concert choirs, may thus be an anachronistic notion for Ignatius in his second-century context.[67]

In *Eph.* 4.2, the several musical terms which occur after χορός (e.g., σύμφωνος, χρῶμα, ᾄδω) indicate that singing is a, or *the*, central component of the ensemble's activity.[68] However, dancing cannot be excluded, since Ignatius's reference to the hearers' deeds[69] may be more akin to dancing than to singing. Further, the bishop's journey towards Rome follows a divinely orchestrated choreography within which the χορός plays an accompanying role. Thus, an ancient audience may well have understood Ignatius's metaphor in terms of a χορός that both moved and sang. Given that χορός is potentially ambiguous, I translate

62 BDAG, s.v. χορός, def. 1; LSJ, s.v. χορός, def. I; J.P. Louw and Eugene A. Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains*, 2nd ed. (New York: United Bible Societies, 1988), §15.244; Johan Lust, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie, *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, 3rd ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2015), s.v. χορός, def. 1 (a "dance").

63 BDAG, s.v. χορός, def. 2; *Lexicon of the Septuagint*, s.v. χορός, def. 1 (a "band of dancers").

64 LSJ, s.v. χορός, def. III.

65 BDAG, s.v. χορός, def. 3; LSJ, s.v. χορός, def. II.2; *Lexicon of the Septuagint*, s.v. χορός, def. 1 ("choirs, bands").

66 LSJ, s.v. χορός, def. II.1. See also Schoedel, *Ignatius*, 52 (on *Eph.* 4.1), who holds that Ignatius's "imagery reflects the activity of choruses that sang and danced at public festivals in honor of the gods to the accompaniment of string music."

67 See *Lexicon of the Septuagint*, s.v. χορός, def. 1 ("those processing for" choirs or bands).

68 See also *Eph.* 4.1c, referring to when "Jesus Christ is sung" (Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ᾄδεται).

69 *Eph.* 4.2: δι' ὧν εὖ πράσσετε.

"chorus" (with Holmes and Ehrman), rather than "choir" (Lake, Goodspeed), since the former term has a somewhat broader semantic field.[70]

A final consideration is whether "chorus" should be preceded by "this" (Lake, Holmes), "the" (Ehrman), or "a" (Goodspeed). In the verse immediately before *Eph.* 4.2, the reference to "Jesus Christ being sung" (ᾄδω, 4.1) seems to suggest to Lake, Holmes, and Ehrman the prior existence of a chorus, which the Ephesian Christ-believers are to join.[71] I side, rather, with Goodspeed, inferring that the singing in other congregations exemplifies the kind of chorus the Ephesians should form. This inference finds support in *Rom.* 2.2, where Ignatius signals the purpose (ἵνα) that believers in Rome should assemble a chorus in order to sing.[72] Therefore, in *Eph.* 4.2 the translation "a chorus" is preferable to "the chorus" or "this chorus."

3.2 *Σύμφωνος* (*"Concordant"*)

The import of the predicate adjective σύμφωνος is clear in light of the principles of harmony in ancient Greek music (see section 2.1). Only the intervals of the octave, the fifth, and the fourth were deemed "concordant" or "harmonious." Within any conceivable mode, all other intervals were discordant. Thus, the options for how a harmonious chorus could resonate were expressly restricted. In English, both "harmonious" (Lake, Goodspeed, Holmes) and "concordant" work as translations of σύμφωνος.[73] Although "harmonious" is more common in contemporary English, I translate "concordant," retaining with the prefix "con-" an equivalent for the prefix σύν- in Greek—which reinforces the contrast of σύμφωνος ("concordant") with its antonym δύσφωνος ("*dis*cordant"; cf. δυσφωνία).

3.3 *Ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ* (*"In Unanimity"*)

At its heart, ὁμόνοια speaks of "agreement" or "unanimity."[74] Metaphorically, that "oneness of mind" could be described as "concord" (Lake, Goodspeed) or

70 For example, the chorus in a modern ballet complements the dancing of the soloist (e.g., the prima ballerina) and, in a musical, has an analogous function.

71 Similar to how Lake, Holmes, and Ehrman translate χορὸς γίνεσθε, the rendering of Schoedel, "remain joined in chorus" (*Ignatius*, 51), also implies that a choir has already been formed.

72 *Rom.* 2.2: ἵνα ἐν ἀγάπῃ χορὸς γενόμενοι ᾄσητε. See also Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 201 and the discussion in section 4.1.

73 Ehrman's translation "symphonic" is also suitable. Less so, however, is Lake's translation of σύμφωνοι ὄντες as "being *harmoniously*," which renders the predicate adjective σύμφωνοι as an adverb.

74 LSJ, s.v. ὁμόνοια, def. I.1, "oneness of mind, unanimity." In a wide-ranging and informative study, John-Paul Lotz, *Ignatius and Concord: The Background and Use of the Language of*

even "harmony" (Ehrman).[75] In this context, however, ὁμόνοια does not represent a harmonious reverberation of two or more tones. Rather, Ignatius stresses the need for a single viewpoint in regard to those tones on which a melody would be sung and those which tones would not be used. In *Eph.* 4.2, the conformity connoted by ὁμόνοια (cf. μόνος) would thus exclude individual improvisation. For these reasons, "unanimity" (Holmes) is a preferable translation. The immediately following words, χρῶμα θεοῦ, continue this line of thought, indicating that the unified outlook concerns something that God specifies to the congregation.

3.4 *Χρῶμα ϑεοῦ* (*"God's Key Signature"*)

The genitive θεοῦ indicates origin: the χρῶμα originates in God, not in a bishop. Given the context, Ignatius seems to speak not of a specific colour[76] but of musical expression. However, χρῶμα translated as "pitch" (Holmes, Ehrman), referring to a particular note, would be inexact.[77] Rather, what χρῶμα designates is the *mode*—that is, which intervals, to the exclusion of all others, can resonate within God's harmonious pattern.[78]

Viewed in this light, several aspects of the imagery become clear. Ignatius assumes that his audience understands that music could be expressed through different modes. Christ-believers, he insists, must stand together and follow the sanctioned pattern of tones—that is, the correct proto-orthodox beliefs. God's

---

Concord in the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch, Patristic Studies 8 (New York: Lang, 2007), examines the term ὁμόνοια in Ignatius and focuses, in particular, on the numismatic evidence and meanings of ὁμόνοια in the literature of the Second Sophistic. Lotz does not, however, consider the meaning of ὁμόνοια in a musical setting. See also Schoedel, *Ignatius*, 53.

75 BDAG, s.v. ὁμόνοια, "state of like-mindedness, *oneness of mind, unanimity, concord, harmony*."

76 Cf. LSJ, s.v. χρῶμα, def. II; BDAG, s.v. χρῶμα, def. 1.

77 For the translation of χρῶμα, the same lack of precision applies also to "keynote" (Goodspeed), which designates the first note of a scale but not which *type* of scale (i.e., mode) is to be played.

78 See section 2.3, above, on LSJ, s.v. χρῶμα, def. IV.3.a–b; BDAG, s.v. χρῶμα, def. 2. By contrast, Schoedel, *Ignatius*, 52 n. 10, unpersuasively dismisses out of hand such a "highly technical meaning in ancient musical theory" as "out of place here." The present study has shown (section 2.4), however, that knowledge of—and opinions about—differing modes was commonplace and can therefore be assumed for Ignatius's audience. Schoedel's translation of χρῶμα as "variation" (i.e., a variation on an initial musical theme) thus misses the nuance of modality in ancient Greek music. Cf. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 40–41, who refers to χρῶμα as "the scale" (i.e., that God will give), but who subsequently explains that χρῶμα "designated an interval between two full tones."

χρῶμα is obligatory today and will, the bishop hopes, continue to be followed after his death. To espouse other beliefs would be to sing out of tune. Christ-believing "heretics" would either mistakenly depart from the right mode or, perhaps worse, knowingly advocate for a different mode. In either case, those prospective performers would fail the audition to join Ignatius's chorus. At the beginning of *Eph.* 4.2, however, when Ignatius writes οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα ("each and every one of you" [or: "your men"][79]), it is clear that he wants everyone to pass the test. In *Eph.* 4.1, moreover, he refers to what the addressees are already doing (ὅπερ καὶ ποιεῖτε), an affirmation which gives rise to the possibly unanswerable question of why it was necessary, in 4.2, to specify what he enjoins them to do.

For several reasons, "key signature" is a viable solution for translating χρῶμα. Many today will understand the difference between music in the key of D♮ major (the Ionian mode) and music in the key of B♭ minor (the Aeolian mode). The note *b*♭ is not part of the D♮ major scale, and the note *d*♮ does not fit within the B♭ minor scale. "Key signature" thus conveys the force of Ignatius's imagery in a way that "pitch" does not. Another possible translation is Lake's rendering, "key"—which, as he clarifies in a footnote, is meant "in the musical sense of the word" and indicates the choice of key signature.[80]

A drawback to both Lake's translation and my own, however, is that a modern scale begins on a particular tone (e.g., a *d*♮), which is more specific than "mode"—a scale which could begin on *any* tone. For musicologists, "mode" has a discipline-specific definition indicating various standard combinations of notes within a scale (see section 2.3). To most laypeople, however, "mode" indicates something fashionable today that could well become unfashionable tomorrow, a characterisation quite out of keeping with Ignatius's illustration and doctrinal stance. Thus, to non-musicians the terms "mode" (i.e., fashion) or "modality" (i.e., technique) would likely carry his message farther afield than would "key signature."

3.5 *Ἑνότης … ἑνότης ("Unity … Unity")*

Related to most masculine and all neuter forms of the number "one" (e.g., ἕν, ἑνός), the noun ἑνότης can be translated "unity" (derived from *ūnus* in Latin), which is the translation I adopt in *Eph.* 4.2a, 4.2c, and 5.1b. In numerous contexts, this is what Ignatius means with ἑνότης when he urges that believers be in "unity."[81] In three of his letters, moreover, he speaks of that unity as analo-

79 See, above (section 1.1), on the translation of οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα.

80 Lake, *Apostolic Fathers*, 177 n. 3. An advantage of my translation is that, in this context, "key signature" needs no such clarification.

81 E.g., *Eph.* 14.1; *Phld.* 2.2; 3.2; 5.2.

gous to "the unity of God."[82] Those with a faulty understanding of God's unity would need to change their outlook (μετανοέω, *Phld.* 8.1), in order to effect, and maintain, unity within the congregation.[83]

Ignatius's other uses of ἑνότης invite the question as to whether "in unity" (ἐν ἑνότητι, *Eph.* 4.2a) would best capture the essence of a chorus that sings (or moves) together. Lake, Goodspeed, and Holmes make a questionable shift in translating ἑνότης as "unison" in *Eph.* 4.2a, but as "unity" in 4.2c and 5.1b.[84] Ehrman, however, renders ἑνότης as "unison" in all three instances.[85]

Several considerations speak against the translation "unison" in 4.2a, 4.2c, or 5.1b. In modern English, singing in "unison" means singing the same tone, which would negate the force of Ignatius's earlier imagery of the harmony resultant from two or more tones, whether synchronously or consecutively. If ἑνότης is to be translated differently in *Eph.* 4.2a, "accord" would be a more suitable option, since it points to the tones played in a musical chord. Furthermore, a call to sing "in unison" would address the ensemble's intonation—that is, singing on the right pitch, which is just one characteristic of a unified chorus. Other musical aspects could include tempo (i.e., speed), enunciation, phrasing, and dynamics (i.e., relative loudness or softness). Perhaps, then, the meaning of ἑνότης as "unity" is suitable also in *Eph.* 4.2a, since a chorus characterised by ἑνότης would agree on all of those (perhaps even additional) musical aspects—especially when faithfully following their conductor's lead. For these reasons, I side with William R. Schoedel in translating ἑνότης as "unity" in *Eph.* 4.2a, 4.2c, and 5.1b.[86]

The phrase ἐν ἀμώμῳ ἑνότητι (4.2a) describes a unity that is "unblemished"[87] or "without blame."[88] The adjective ἄμωμος could also be rendered as "unimpeachable" or, as I translate, "flawless," suggesting an impeccable musical performance. A congregation whose unity was perfect would, to Ignatius's satis-

82 *Phld.* 8.1: ἐὰν μετανοήσωσιν εἰς ἑνότητα θεοῦ. See also *Pol.* 8.3 (ἐν ἑνότητι θεοῦ); *Phld.* 9.1; *Smyrn.* 12.2.

83 On the translation of μετανοέω, see James A. Kelhoffer, "Do METANOEΩ and METANOIA in Second Clement Signify 'Repentance' or a Change in Mindset Tantamount to Conversion?", in *Celebrating Arthur Darby Nock: Choice, Change, and Conversion*, ed. Robert Matthew Calhoun et al., WUNT 472 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021), 177–210.

84 For example, Holmes translates, "sing in *unison* … be in perfect *unity*." On ἑνότης in *Eph.* 5.1, see section 4.2.

85 Cf. BDAG, s.v. ἑνότης, which indicates a single definition of "unity," but which, at Ign. *Eph.* 5.1b, suggests the translation "sound together in unison."

86 Schoedel, *Ignatius*, 51, 54.

87 BDAG, s.v. ἄμωμος, def. 1.

88 BDAG, s.v. ἄμωμος, def. 2b (of characteristics); cf. def. 2a (of persons).

faction, be characterised neither by heretical viewpoints nor by the influence of leaders who propagated aberrant views.

3.6 *Ἄᾳδω* (*"Sing Praise"*)

The English verb "adore" derives from *adōrō* in Latin, which is cognate with ᾄδω. The metaphor in *Eph.* 4.2a envisions a reciprocal relationship between God and the choral ensemble: the latter "receives" (λαμβάνω) God's "key signature" (χρῶμα) and, in turn, exalts God within the structure of that scale. The liturgical imagery suggests "sing praise" as an apt translation,[89] although it would be acceptable, given the context, to translate with "worship" (cf. *Eph.* 4.1c) or with "sing" (Lake, Goodspeed, Holmes, Ehrman).

3.7 *Ἐν φωνῇ μιᾷ* (*"With a Unified Acclamation"*)

In *Eph.* 4.2a, the usual translation of φωνή as "voice" (Lake, Goodspeed, Holmes, Ehrman) may be inadequate. Ignatius's choristers are harmonious (σύμφωνοι ὄντες) in their singing—that is, their "voice" is expressed through at least two distinct tones put forth in concordant intervals. Two complementary aspects of φωνή are relevant here. On the one hand, the φωνή is the product of the ensemble's sound, or its "consonance."[90] On the other hand, the φωνή is the chorus's message[91] or declaration.[92] Acts 19:34 portrays an analogous declaration: "There arose one 'voice'" (φωνὴ ἐγένετο μία), and the crowd exclaimed, "Great is Artemis of the Ephesians!" For both the Ephesian devotees of Artemis and the Ignatian vocalists, I suggest the dynamic equivalent translation "unified acclamation." Ignatius's chorus should produce only one (μία) sound, and sing praise (ᾄδω) to God in accordance with their understanding of God's revelation.[93] The prefix "uni-" in "unified" carries a meaning of oneness (cf. Latin *ūnus*), in keeping with the adjective μία.

3.8 *Ἀκούω* (*"Listen to"*)

In the phrase ἀκούσῃ καὶ ἐπιγινώσκῃ, the translation of ἀκούω as "hear" (Lake, Goodspeed, Holmes, Ehrman) is problematic, since Ignatius does not express

---

89 See also Cosgrove, *Ancient Christian Hymn*, 37–61, 67, 75, 141. Cf. section 4.3, on Ignatius's own prayerful singing (ᾄδω τὰς ἐκκλησίας, ἐν αἷς ἕνωσιν εὔχομαι, *Magn.* 1.2).

90 BDAG, s.v. φωνή, def. 1; LSJ, s.v. φωνή, def. I.3.

91 BDAG, s.v. φωνή, def. 2a; LSJ, s.v. φωνή, def. IV.b.

92 BDAG, s.v. φωνή, def. 2c.

93 Similarly, in Acts 19:34 it would be suitable to translate, "There arose a unified *acclamation*."

any contingency about whether God could "hear"[94] or "understand"[95] a discordant chorus. Rather, the question is whether God *will choose* to "listen to" (or, perhaps better, to "pay attention to") the singers.[96] Likewise, the verb ἐπιγινώσκω does not leave as an open question whether God will "know"[97] who is singing. Instead, what remains to be seen is whether God will "recognise"[98] a familiar melody in the chorus's repertoire. The quality and the familiarity of what is sung determine whether the vocalists will pass the audition, and whether the divine audience will remain for the whole performance. For these reasons, I translate ἀκούω and ἐπιγινώσκω, respectively, as "listen to" and "recognise."

3.9 *Μέλη* (*"Melodists"*)

The difficulty of translating μέλος (plural: μέλη) is the word's broad meanings of not only "parts" of a person's body but also of individual singers or even particular songs. The term's possible musical connotations may not be widely known among scholars of early Christian literature, perhaps in part because the BDAG lexicon calls attention only to the meanings of body parts[99] and, metaphorically, of believers as parts of Christ's body.[100] In Ign. *Eph.* 4.2, the translations "parts" (Goodspeed) and "members" (Lake, Holmes, Ehrman) seem to reflect an understanding of μέλη along these lines.[101]

The meaning of "parts" could be relevant for *Eph.* 4.2,[102] due to the possible direct or indirect influence of one or more Pauline letters or traditions.[103] Although the question of Pauline influence does not bear directly upon this

94 See BDAG, s.v. ἀκούω, def. 1; LSJ, s.v. ἀκούω, def. I.1 and I.2.

95 See BDAG, s.v. ἀκούω, def. 7; LSJ, s.v. ἀκούω, def. IV.

96 BDAG, s.v. ἀκούω, def. 5; LSJ, s.v. ἀκούω, def. I.3.

97 Cf. BDAG, s.v. ἐπιγινώσκω, def. 1.

98 BDAG, s.v. ἐπιγινώσκω, def. 3: "to connect present information or awareness with what was known before, *acknowledge acquaintance with, recognize, know again*."

99 BDAG, s.v. μέλος, def. 1. See also LSJ, s.v. μέλος, def. I.1; Louw & Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v. μέλος, § 8.9. In early Christian writings, see, e.g., Rom 6:13, 19; 7:5, 23; Col 3:5; Jas 3:5–6; 4:1; Ign. *Rom.* 5.3.

100 BDAG, s.v. μέλος, def. 2; LSJ, def. I.2. In Paul's letters, see Rom 12:4–5; 1 Cor 6:15; 12:12, 25–27; cf. Eph 5:30.

101 For contemporary English, however, I tend to resist the translation of μέλος as "member," given the possibly anachronistic notion of church membership among the nascent Christ groups—whether in Pauline circles or among those whom Ignatius addressed. The same caveat could also apply to participants in an ancient musical ensemble.

102 Ign. *Eph.* 4.2: μέλη ὄντας τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, "since you are parts of his [the Father's] Son."

103 See, e.g., Rudolf Bultmann, "Ignatius and Paul," in *Existence and Faith: Shorter Writings of Rudolf Bultmann* (New York: Meridian Books, 1960), 267–288; Heinrich Rathke, *Ignatius von Antiochien und die Paulusbriefe*, TU 99 (Berlin: Akademie, 1967); and Margaret W.

study, a few words about possible influence underscore the distinctiveness of μέλη in *Eph.* 4.2. Ignatius twice mentions the apostle Paul (*Eph.* 12.2; *Rom.* 4.3), albeit without a reference to the apostle's letters. Paul himself refers to believers as "parts" (μέλη) of Christ's "body" (σῶμα).[104] However, one way that Ign. *Eph.* 4.2 differs from Pauline terminology is the absence of a reference to Christ's σῶμα. Similarly, in *Trall.* 11.2 Ignatius refers to "you [as] his [Christ's] parts/members" (ὑμᾶς ὄντας μέλη αὐτοῦ) without mentioning Christ's σῶμα.

Thus, in *Eph.* 4.2 a meaning other than, or in addition to, "parts" for μέλη may be more fitting. The LSJ lexicon lists numerous passages in which μέλος designates the "melody of an instrument";[105] a "musical member," a "song," or "lyric poetry";[106] or the "music to which a song is set."[107] To Ignatius's audience, then, μέλη may have signified that, as "parts" of Christ, they sing out in Christ's chorus, which is why the Father will listen to (ἀκούω) them. In that case, one metaphor—believers as parts of Christ—would, in *Eph.* 4.2, convey the additional nuance that they are *musical* parts of Christ.

Considering the musical terms that precede μέλος in *Eph.* 4.2, how could the possible, perhaps likely,[108] melodic connotation of μέλος be conveyed? In English, one can refer to a "piece" of music that belongs to a composer's oeuvre or to a musical genre. Moreover, the English term "melody" stems from the Latin *melōdia*—a cognate with μελῳδία, which, in turn, is related to μέλος. After χορός ("chorus") and ᾄδω ("sing praise"), one possibility would be to render the plural μέλη as choir "members."[109] Another would be to translate μέλη as "vocalists"—signaling that the singers, both individually and collectively, are essential parts of Christ's ensemble. My translation "melodists" indicates that each participant carries the song's tune or melody. Although "melodist" is not a particularly common term in English, its meaning requires no clarification, and the prefix "mel-" conveys the musical associations of μέλος.

Mitchell, "In the Footsteps of Paul: Scriptural and Apostolic Authority in Ignatius of Antioch," *JECS* 14 (2006): 27–45.

104 Rom 12:4–5; 1 Cor 6:15; 12:12, 14. The association of "parts" (μέλη) with Christ's "body" (σῶμα) is also borne in one deutero-Pauline letter (Eph 5:30).

105 LSJ, s.v. μέλος, def. II.3.

106 LSJ, s.v. μέλος, def. II.1.

107 LSJ, s.v. μέλος, def. II.2.

108 With Schoedel, *Ignatius*, 53: "It is likely that the reference in this context to the Ephesians as 'members' (μέλη) of God's Son is to be explained as a play on words: they are also his 'melodies' (μέλη)." By contrast, Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 42, holds that μέλη refers solely to "members," and disputes the notion that the additional meaning of μέλη as "songs" is operative here.

109 See footnote 101. It may be anachronistic to describe participants in an ancient musical ensemble as "members."

3.10 *Translation of* Eph. *4.2 and* Rom. *2.2*

The preceding discussion of nine key terms in *Eph.* 4.2 has provided a rationale for the following translation:

> Each and every one of you must form [1] *a chorus* (χορός) in order that, by being [2] *concordant* (σύμφωνοι) [3] *in unanimity* (ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ), and by comprehending God's [4] *key signature* (χρῶμα), you may [5a] *in unity* (ἐν ἑνότητι) [6] *sing praise* (ᾄδω) [7] *with a unified acclamation* (ἐν φωνῇ μιᾷ) through Jesus Christ to the Father in order that he, by means of what you are doing correctly because you are his Son's [9] *melodists* (μέλη), may both [8] *listen to* (ἀκούω) and recognise you. Thus, it is advantageous for you to be [5b] *in flawless unity* (ἐν ἀμώμῳ ἑνότητι), in order that you may always have a share in God.

In *Rom.* 2.2, the musical terms χορός and ᾄδω seem to have the same meaning as in *Eph.* 4.2. On the basis of that similarity, I suggest the following translation:

> Do not grant me anything more than to be poured out as a drink offering to God while an altar is still prepared, in order that you, having formed [1] a *chorus* (χορός) with love, may [2] *sing praise* (ᾄδω) in Jesus Christ to the Father, because God has deemed the bishop of Syria worthy to be discovered towards the sunset, having summoned him from the sunrise. It is good to sink down from the world towards God, in order to rise up to him.

4 Persecution, Persuasion, and Silence: Ignatius's Rhetorical Strategies

Part 3 of this study analysed nine key terms in Ign. *Eph.* 4.2 and *Rom.* 2.2 and gave translations which convey the musical nuances in Ignatius's choral metaphors. In what follows, I will consider Ignatius's rhetorical strategies in *Ephesians* 4 and *Romans* 2 against the backdrop of the controversies he was addressing as he journeyed to Rome. Three themes shed light on those strategies: the complementary roles ascribed to the choruses; Ignatius's persecution as a source of legitimisation; and the role of silence interspersed with speech and music.

4.1 *Complementary Roles*

Despite use of the same musical terms, the different roles for the choruses in the *Letters to the Ephesians* and *Romans* are noteworthy. *Eph.* 4.2 sets conditions for the choral members' legitimacy as Christ-believers: they must sing in obedient harmony in order to retain God as their audience.[110] In *Rom.* 2.2, however, a chorus is assembled to demonstrate the congregation's acceptance of the fact that Ignatius will be martyred (μὴ παράσχησθε … ἵνα) and acceptance of God's decision concerning Ignatius's fate (ὅτι … κατηξίωσεν). As J.B. Lightfoot points out, "The Roman Christians are asked to form into a chorus and sing the sacrificial hymn around the altar" at which Ignatius will be offered to God.[111]

In one performance, the chorus occupies centre stage (*Eph.* 4.2), and in the other the chorus supports the bishop's exit from the stage (*Rom.* 2.2). These roles may be seen as complementary. According to *Rom.* 2.2, the ensemble assents to God's plan, and in *Eph.* 4.2 the melodists' harmonious singing shows that they, too, have found their role within that plan. It was noted, above (section 3.1), that an ancient χορός could have the task of dancing, singing, or both. Inasmuch as Ignatius presents his journey and execution as a tragedy, he follows a divinely orchestrated choreography en route to the Roman altar on which he will be sacrificed. He hopes that the chorus in Rome will enhance the unfolding of that drama, and that the Ephesian ensemble will faithfully maintain the authorised proto-orthodox refrain.

4.2 *Persecution and Persuasion*

Ignatius's letters show that he faced various challenges, including disagreements about the legitimacy of his authority and teaching;[112] the meaning of his exemplary suffering;[113] and the standing of those who follow the cue of the bishop rather than that of another leader.[114] The choruses in *Ephesians* 4 and *Romans* 2 are therefore not confined to a strictly "liturgical" role but enter a stage strewn with ecclesial fervour, strife, and controversies.

Argumentation about the value of a leader's suffering is attested in numerous early Christian writings.[115] The inherent questions in such argumenta-

110 Ign. *Eph.* 4.2: τῷ πατρί, ἵνα ὑμῶν καὶ ἀκούσῃ.

111 Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 201.

112 For example, *Magn.* 1.1–2; *Trall.* 4.1–2; 12.3; *Rom.* 9.2–3.

113 See, e.g., *Eph.* 11.2–12.2; 18.1; *Magn.* 14.1; *Trall.* 12.2–3; *Rom.* 4.1–2; 5.1–3; 6.3; *Phld.* 5.1; *Smyrn.* 4.2; and *Pol.* 6.1.

114 For example, *Eph.* 1.3; 2.2; 4.1; 5.3; *Magn.* 2.1–3.2; *Trall.* 2.2; 11.1; *Rom.* 9.1; *Phld.* 3.1–4.1; *Smyrn.* 8.1–9.1; *Pol.* 3.1.

115 For a survey of this theme in the New Testament, see James A. Kelhoffer, *Persecution, Persuasion and Power: Readiness to Withstand Hardship as a Corroboration of Legitimacy in the New Testament*, WUNT 270 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 42–351. In that volume (p. 26 n. 82), I mentioned the possibility of exploring the symbolic value of persecution in Ignatius's letters, a study which, as far as I am aware, remains a desideratum.

tion often reflect a context of disputed authority.[116] In Ignatius's case, some—perhaps many—Christ-believers may well not have been prepared to endow his suffering with a symbolic "capital" that would confirm his status as bishop. It thus comes as no surprise that he does not assume that harmonious choruses will be formed in Ephesus and Rome but, rather, *urges* that they be formed (see section 3.1). Those ensembles are meant to call public attention to his exemplary suffering and to muzzle any dissenting voices.

In *Eph.* 4.2–5.1, moreover, Ignatius emphasises that, just as the singers should resound "in flawless unity"[117] by taking their cue from God (4.2), an analogous accord must be achieved between the congregation and its bishop: "I congratulate you who are united with him …, so that all things may be concordant (σύμφωνα) [and] in unity (ἐν ἑνότητι)."[118] As Ignatius sees it, the roles ascribed to God and the bishop are inextricably intertwined: God selects the mode (χρῶμα, 4.2), and the bishop ensures that it is followed (5.1). Likewise, in *Rom.* 2.2, even after the martyr has exited the stage (initially, downwards from this life and, subsequently, upwards towards God), those who are loyal to the Syrian bishop will be expected to remain steadfast.[119] As a result, a congregation cannot choose between following either the divine composer or episcopal conductor.

4.3 *Speech and Silence*

In four of his letters, Ignatius refers to the silence of God, Jesus, and the bishops.[120] The terms for silence—ἡσυχία, σιγάω, σιγή, and σιωπάω—seem to have synonymous meanings.[121] In the *Letter to the Ephesians*, shortly after Ignatius

116 See Kelhoffer, *Persecution*, 9–24, on the uncertainty of converting one form of non-economic capital, such as the withstanding of persecution, either into another form of non-economic capital (e.g., prestige, legitimacy, or authority) or even into economic capital.

117 *Eph.* 4.2: ἐν ἀμώμῳ ἑνότητι.

118 *Eph.* 5.1: ἵνα πάντα ἐν ἑνότητι σύμφωνα ᾖ. In this letter, *Eph.* 4.2 and 5.1 are consecutive verses.

119 See, above (section 1.2), on the terms δύσις ("setting"), ἀνατολή ("rising"), δύνω ("descend"), and ἀνατέλλω ("ascend") in *Rom.* 2.2.

120 On this theme, see P.J. Ryan, "The Silence of God in Ignatius," *Prudentia* 20.2 (1988): 20–27 and Harry O. Maier, "The Politics of the Silent Bishop: Silence and Persuasion in Ignatius of Antioch," *JTS* 55 (2004): 503–519. Neither Ryan nor Maier discusses Ignatius's references to silence in relation to the making of music. Nevertheless, if Maier is correct that "Ignatius depicts the bishops as potently silent as part of a rhetorical strategy to persuade his audience that the institutional order and christological confession they represent bring about a harmonious social order" (519), that harmony would include choruses that sounded forth when the bishop wished that they do so. I am grateful to Rosemary Jermann (St. Louis) for suggestions on the theme of silence in Ignatius's letters.

121 On uses of ἡσυχία, see *Eph.* 15.2; 19.1; on σιγάω, *Eph.* 6.1; 15.1; *Phld.* 1.1; on σιγή, *Magn.* 8.2; and on σιωπάω, *Eph.* 3.2; 15.1; *Rom.* 2.1.

speaks of a harmonious chorus (4.2), he writes the following: "To the extent that someone notices that the bishop is silent (σιγάω), he [the bishop] should be respected all the more."[122] In that verse, the picture that emerges is not of a chorus that complements a bishop's solo performance but, rather, of a chorus that sings on behalf of its mute episcopal standard bearer. Possibly sensing the irony that, by writing letters, Ignatius himself had *not* been silent, he explains how love (ἀγάπη), and the intent to encourage (παρακαλέω), had moved him to break his silence.[123] Similarly, in another letter he refers metaphorically to his own singing (ᾄδω) to illustrate his praying for the congregations' unity (εὔχομαι).[124]

Later in *Ephesians*, a contrast is drawn between silence and speaking, with a positive role attributed to each: Christ is the teacher who not only "spoke" (λέγω) but also accomplished things while he was "silent" (σιγάω, 15.1).[125] In a counterpoint to that pattern, a believer who has received the "word" (λόγος) of Jesus can also "hear" (ἀκούω) Jesus's "silence" (ἡσυχία, 15.2). Additionally, Ignatius observes that three mysteries were brought about "through the silence (ἡσυχία) of God"—Mary's virginity, her giving birth to Jesus, and Jesus's

122 *Eph.* 6.1a: καὶ ὅσον βλέπει τις σιγῶντα ἐπίσκοπον, πλειόνως αὐτὸν φοβείσθω. See also *Phld.* 1.1: "I know that the bishop obtained a ministry (which is for the whole community) not by his own efforts nor through people or out of vanity but in the love of God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ. I am impressed by his forbearance; he accomplishes more through being silent (σιγάω) than others do by talking."

123 *Eph.* 3.2: "But because love (ἀγάπη) does not permit me to be silent (σιγάω) concerning you, I have, for this reason, endeavoured to encourage (παρακαλέω) you, so that you may run together in the mindset (γνώμη) of God. For Jesus Christ, our unwavering life, is the mindset of the Father—just as the bishops, who have been appointed throughout the world, are in Jesus Christ's mindset."

124 *Magn.* 1.2: καταξιωθεὶς γὰρ ὀνόματος θεοπρεπεστάτου, ἐν οἷς περιφέρω δεσμοῖς ᾄδω τὰς ἐκκλησίας, ἐν αἷς ἕνωσιν εὔχομαι σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

125 *Eph.* 15.1–2: "It is better to be silent (σιωπάω) and to exist (εἶναι) than not to exist while speaking. It is good to teach, if the one who is speaking does [what one says]. There is one Teacher, who spoke and it came to be. Even the things which he did while he was silent (σιγάω) are worthy of the Father. [2] The one who has truly acquired the word of Jesus is also able to listen to (ἀκούω) his silence (ἡσυχία), in order that he may be perfect, so that he may accomplish [deeds] through the things which he says, and be known through the things about which he is silent (σιγάω)." See also *Magn.* 8.2, on the revelation of Christ the Word through silence: "For the most divine prophets lived in accordance with Christ Jesus. For this reason, they were also persecuted, having been inspired by his grace, in order for those who are disobedient to be fully convinced that there is one God who made himself known through Jesus Christ his Son, who is his Word who came forward from silence (αὐτοῦ λόγος ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών), [and] who in every respect pleased the one who sent him."

death.[126] After believers in Ephesus had heard the letter in its entirety, they may have inferred that their harmonious chorus would make an entrance somewhere between the speaking and the silence of God or of the bishop.[127] It might even have occurred to the melodists that a pause in their music-making would have served a purpose similar to that of the occasional silence of God, Christ, and the bishops.[128]

The theme of silence also bears upon the other passage examined in this study. Immediately before Ignatius urges that the believers in Rome resound as a chorus (*Rom.* 2.2), he asks that they "be silent" (σιωπάω, 2.1)—that is, that they not protest his impending martyrdom.[129] Paradoxically, their silence will result in his being, or becoming, "a word (λόγος) of God."[130] During a performance, a well-rehearsed chorus knows when to make an entrance and when to allow others to come to the fore. Ignatius asks that, rather than speaking out, they "sing to the Father" (2.2), who has decided where the bishop of Syria will meet death. The imagery of the sunset (δύσις, 2.2) and the sunrise (ἀνατολή) could be viewed as analogous to that silence: the daybreak is observed rather than heard; and the choristers will sing of Ignatius's sinking down (δύνω) and subsequent ascending (ἀνατέλλω) towards God. *Romans* 2.1–2 thus offers another example of the interplay of speech and silence, which reflects the speaking and effective silence of the bishop (*Eph.* 6.1; cf. 3.2; 15.2), Christ (*Eph.* 15.1; *Magn.* 8.2), and God (*Eph.* 19.1).

126 *Eph.* 19.1: "Now the virginity of Mary and her giving birth were hidden from the ruler of this age, as was also the death of the Lord. [These were] three mysteries to be loudly proclaimed, yet which were accomplished through the silence of God (ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ θεοῦ)."

127 On calls for silence in the context of musical notations and instructions, as well as in the order of the cosmos, see Cosgrove, *Ancient Christian Hymn*, esp. 38–47 as well as 18–20, 76–77, 147–150.

128 My suggestion would complement the thesis of Maier, "Politics of the Silent," 506, who holds that "Ignatius' praise of silent bishops … represents an idiosyncratic treatment of a commonplace in ancient rhetorical art concerning the discipline of well-timed and temperate speech that accomplishes important tasks of promoting social harmony and civil good order." The need to cultivate "temperance in speech" (508–511 at 508) would also apply to a choir, which must not sing out of turn.

129 *Rom.* 2.1a–c: "For I do not want you to please people but to please God, just as you are pleasing [God]. For I will never again have such an opportunity to reach God; nor do you have, if you are silent (σιωπάω), a greater deed [for which] to be recognised. For if you are silent (σιωπάω) about me, [I will be] a word of God, but if you long for my flesh, then I will again be [only] a voice."

130 *Rom.* 2.1c: ἐὰν γὰρ σιωπήσητε ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ, ἐγὼ λόγος θεοῦ. Cf. *Magn.* 8.2, on Jesus Christ as God's "Word who came forward from silence" (αὐτοῦ λόγος ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών).

5 Coda: Harmonies Past and Present

This paper has discussed the implications of the fact that diverse perspectives flourished among ancient Greeks in regard to the accepted modes and intervals within which music was considered harmonious.[131] Ignatius's metaphor of a concordant chorus in *Eph*. 4.2 and *Rom*. 2.2 not only builds upon elements of those principles but, in the form of his authoritative letters, codifies and transmits them to subsequent generations.

Needless to say, a pluralistic understanding of musical expression was not on the bishop's horizon. Indeed, such pluralism would have seemed cacophonous to both Plato and Ignatius. Nowadays, to both eclectically minded musicians and ecumenically minded theologians, Ignatius's seemingly narrow orientation might sound like a foreign and archaic refrain. Perhaps, though, such a critique would say more about us today than about Ignatius in his context. Especially since the Second Vatican Council, numerous Roman Catholics and mainline Protestants have found in "liturgical renewal" meaningful ways to resonate with earlier expressions of sacred music and liturgy. The introduction to this volume calls attention to numerous ways that Anders Ekenberg has contributed to that renewal. Surely the bishop of Syria, who endeavoured to preserve, protect, and pass on the (sub)apostolic tradition, would have smiled upon such a development and upon the labours of those who have fostered it.

Bibliography

Bultmann, Rudolf. "Ignatius and Paul." Pages 267–288 in *Existence and Faith: Shorter Writings of Rudolf Bultmann*. New York: Meridian Books, 1960.

Cosgrove, Charles H. *An Ancient Christian Hymn with Musical Notation: Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 1786. Text and Commentary*. STAC 65. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011.

Ehrman, Bart D. *The Apostolic Fathers*. Vol. 1. LCL 24. Cambridge: Harvard University, 2003.

Franklin, John Curtis. "Hearing Greek Microtones." Pages 9–50 in *Ancient Greek Music in Performance*. Edited by Stefan Hagel and Christine Harrauer. Wiener Studien 30. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2005.

Goodspeed, Edgar G. *The Apostolic Fathers: An American Translation*. New York: Harper, 1950.

131 See sections 2.1–2.3 (with a summary in 2.4) and 3.10.

Hagel, Stefan. *Ancient Greek Music: A New Technical History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2009.

Hagel, Stefan. "Twenty-Four in Auloi: Aristotle, *Met.* 1093b, the Harmony of the Spheres, and the Formation of the Perfect System." Pages 51–91 in *Ancient Greek Music in Performance*. Edited by Stefan Hagel and Christine Harrauer. Wiener Studien 30. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2005.

Hagel, Stefan and Christine Harrauer, eds. *Ancient Greek Music in Performance: Symposium Wien 29. Sept.–1. Okt. 2003*. Wiener Studien 30. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2005.

Holmes, Michael W. *The Apostolic Fathers*. 3rd ed. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007.

Kelhoffer, James A. "Do METANOEΩ and METANOIA in Second Clement Signify 'Repentance' or a Change in Mindset Tantamount to Conversion?" Pages 177–210 in *Celebrating Arthur Darby Nock: Choice, Change, and Conversion*. Edited by Robert Matthew Calhoun, James A. Kelhoffer, and Clare K. Rothschild. WUNT 472. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021.

Kelhoffer, James A. *Persecution, Persuasion and Power: Readiness to Withstand Hardship as a Corroboration of Legitimacy in the New Testament*. WUNT 270. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010.

Lake, Kirsopp. *The Apostolic Fathers*. Vol. 1. LCL 24. New York: Macmillan, 1912.

Landels, John G. *Music in Ancient Greece and Rome*. London: Routledge, 1999.

Lightfoot, J.B. *The Apostolic Fathers*. Vol. 2, part 2. London: Macmillan, 1890. Repr., Peabody: Hendrickson, 1989.

Lotz, John-Paul. *Ignatius and Concord: The Background and Use of the Language of Concord in the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch*. Patristic Studies 8. New York: Lang, 2007.

Louw, J.P. and Eugene A. Nida. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains*. 2nd ed. New York: United Bible Societies, 1988.

Lust, Johan, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie. *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*. 3rd ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2015.

Maier, Harry O. "The Politics of the Silent Bishop: Silence and Persuasion in Ignatius of Antioch." *JTS* 55 (2004): 503–519.

Mitchell, Margaret W. "In the Footsteps of Paul: Scriptural and Apostolic Authority in Ignatius of Antioch." *JECS* 14 (2006): 27–45.

Petersen, William L. *Tatian's Diatessaron: Its Creation, Dissemination, Significance, and History in Scholarship*. VCSup 25. Leiden: Brill, 1994.

Rathke, Heinrich. *Ignatius von Antiochien und die Paulusbriefe*. TU 99. Berlin: Akademie, 1967.

Ryan, P.J. "The Silence of God in Ignatius." *Prudentia* 20.2 (1988): 20–27.

Schoedel, William R. *Ignatius of Antioch: A Commentary on the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch*. Edited by Helmut Koester. Hermeneia. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985.

West, M.L. *Ancient Greek Music*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1992.

8

Liturgies as Plot Devices in Apocryphal Acts

Carl Johan Berglund

This paper takes a novel approach to the liturgical material in the Apocryphal Acts of Andrew, John, Paul, Peter, and Thomas, by considering how the liturgical practices of anointing, baptism, Eucharist, and singing of psalms contribute to the plots of the narratives in which they are found. By this analysis, various combinations of anointing, baptism, and Eucharist are found to be used to confirm a character's conversion to a Christian faith, the Eucharist is used to strengthen the sense of community within a group of Christians, and both the Eucharist and singing of psalms are used to give a character encouragement in a dangerous situation. Thereby, the narratives depict conversion, community, and courage as reasons to participate in Christian liturgical practices.

1 Introduction

The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles are diverse collections of early Christian stories describing the adventures of the twelve apostles after the conclusion of the New Testament Gospels.[1] Earlier research on liturgical material within these stories has generally been focused on the rituals themselves—the wordings of prayers and the details of the actions described—as reflections of actual early Christian liturgies, leaving their narrative contexts virtually unexplored, as noted by Harald Buchinger:

> While the rituals narrated by apocryphal acts meanwhile have been exploited by liturgical historians, their narrative context still awaits exhaustive research.[2]

1 For an introduction to this literature, see Hans-Josef Klauck, *The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles: An Introduction* (Waco: Baylor, 2008).

2 Harald Buchinger, "Liturgy and Early Christian Apocrypha," in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Apocrypha*, ed. Andrew Gregory et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 361–377, here 373.

Buchinger describes how the majority view has shifted from presuming liturgical material in the Apocryphal Acts to represent "deviant, if not heretic minority traditions"[3] to viewing them as invaluable witnesses to otherwise invisible practices. He points especially to the Acts of Thomas as providing valuable data on early Syrian liturgies that did not completely conform to the Western mainstream.[4]

The shift described by Buchinger is exemplified by Gerard Rouwhorst, who meticulously goes through all Eucharist celebrations in the Acts of Thomas, comparing Greek and Syriac versions of the prayers offered, and arguing that their wordings reflect early Syriac practices rather than heterodox ones.[5] Although Rouwhorst is well aware that the narrative character of his material means that liturgical elements with no particular relevance to the plot may simply have been left out,[6] the actual narrative is relevant for his argument only once, when he argues that the sacrificial language of Acts Thom. 158 fits with the anticipation of Thomas's imminent martyrdom in Acts Thom. 159–168.[7]

Susan E. Myers is similarly focused on ritual language and liturgical-historical contexts in her full-length analysis of the prayers to the Spirit as "merciful mother" and "hidden mother" in Acts Thom. 27.5–10, 50.2–5. Like Rouwhorst, she takes a traditional-historical approach to these prayers, regarding them as established liturgical material secondarily incorporated into the third-century narrative.[8] She concludes that they "appeal to a feminine Spirit who reveals mysteries and enlightens her adherents"[9] and conform to the Greco-Roman practice of enumerating attributes of the divine entity whose presence one wants to encourage.[10]

---

3 Buchinger, "Liturgy," 361.

4 Buchinger, "Liturgy," 361–366; cf. Susan E. Myers, *Spirit Epicleses in the* Acts of Thomas, WUNT II 281 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 109–110. At the expense of liturgical material in other apocryphal acts, the Acts of Thomas tend to dominate this discourse.

5 Gerard Rouwhorst, "La célebration de l'eucharistie selon les Actes de Thomas," in *Omnes Circumadstantes: Contributions Towards a History of the Role of the People in the Liturgy*, ed. Charles Caspers and Marc Schneiders (Kampen: Kok, 1990), 51–77.

6 Rouwhorst, "La célebration," 75–76.

7 Rouwhorst, "La célebration," 69–70. More recently, Rouwhorst, "Hymns and Prayers in the Apocryphal Acts of Thomas," in *Literature or Liturgy? Early Christian Hymns and Prayers in Their Literary and Liturgical Context in Antiquity*, ed. Clemens Leonhard and Hermut Löhr, WUNT II 363 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 195–212, has studied three particular prayers in Acts Thom. 10, 27, 80, continuing his focus on the liturgical texts he takes to be independent units inserted more or less verbatim into the narrative (cf. pp. 200–201).

8 Myers, *Spirit Epicleses*, 4–5.

9 Myers, *Spirit Epicleses*, 224.

10 Myers, *Spirit Epicleses*, 223. Hans-Ulrich Weidemann, "Taufe und Taufeucharistie," in *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*, ed. David

1.1 *Theory*

In contrast to the focus on ritual language and historical developments in previous research, this study focuses on how the liturgies function as plot devices within the narratives in which they are found.

A plot device can be understood as any mechanism used by an author to move the plot forward.[11] It can be an object desired by the protagonist, a mechanism by which an obstacle is removed, or a phenomenon that occupies the attention of the audience during the completion of a process whose importance will only be revealed later. In biblical studies, a well-known example is Luke's way of organizing his material around journeys, which allows his protagonists Jesus and Paul not only to meet people, preach, and heal, but also to visibly progress toward their suffering (Luke 9:51–23:46; Acts 21:30–28:31).[12] This effect of the plot device may be called its plot contribution.

In a composite narrative, there may be more than one plot active at any given time. In addition to the main plot, which is typically active from the beginning to the end of the entire narrative, there may be episodic subplots that dominate a part of the narrative while pausing or simultaneously advancing the main plot, and subplots that run concurrently with the main plot for large parts of the narrative.[13] For instance, Mark A. Powell argues that the Gospel of Matthew has a main plot, defined by the conflict between God and Satan, and two concurrent subplots defined by Jesus's relations to his disciples and to the religious leaders.[14] A plot device must be analyzed in relation to the plot which it advances, whether it supports the main plot of the narrative or not.

Hellholm et al., BZNW 176 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010), 1483–1530, also has his focus on early developments of the Christian rites when he studies the practice of celebrating the Eucharist after baptism in Justin Martyr, Didache, Apocryphal Acts, and Pseudo-Clementines. An important point for Weidemann is that these *Taufeucharistien* differ from the regular celebration of the Eucharist (cf. p. 1492).

11 A plot is defined by M.H. Abrams and Geoffrey Harpham, *A Glossary of Literary Terms* (Boston: Wadsworth, 2011), 293, as an arrangement of the events and actions of a dramatic or narrative work toward achieving particular artistic and emotional effects. As discussed by Mark Allan Powell, "The Plot and Subplots of Matthew's Gospel," *NTS* 38.2 (1992): 187–204, plots can be analyzed based on concepts such as narrative flow, causality, or conflict.

12 Cf. William S. Kurz, *Reading Luke-Acts: Dynamics of Biblical Narrative* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993), 27–28.

13 Abrams and Harpham, *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, 295, define a subplot as a second story that is complete and interesting in its own way—a definition that clearly includes subplots that coexist with the main plot throughout the larger part of a narrative.

14 Powell, "The Plot and Subplots of Matthew's Gospel," 198–203.

Marie-Laure Ryan remarks that plot devices range on a continuum from cheap to brilliant, and claims that cheaper tricks—such as extraordinary coincidences, false news, and tell-tale letters—often arise from the discrepancy of needs between author and narrative characters. Our capacity to accept cheap tricks and plot holes not only varies with genre and taste, Ryan argues, but also depends on their location within the narrative arc: a preparatory coincidence is easily forgotten, while a *deus ex machina* ending lingers in the reader's mind.[15] As pointed out by Boris Thomashevsky, a plot device is an embarrassment only if the author unsuccessfully tries to conceal it.[16]

Karin Koehler argues that the Victorian author Thomas Hardy (1840–1928) uses trains, letters, and telegrams not merely as simple props to resolve his plots, but predominantly to express the experience of living in a changing society.[17] In *Desperate Remedies* (1871), two men—Owen and Springrove—are desperate to reach a third, Manston, who just left on a train. Owen goes to buy a ticket to the next train, which is due to leave in forty-five minutes, and sends Springrove to dispatch a telegram to intercept Manston at his destination. Having sent the telegram, Springrove spots a late train at the station, and manages to catch it, in order to reach Manston before Owen does. Koehler finds the three men's experiences of modern communications to shape an intricate plot, but also to express their ultimate lack of control in an increasingly accelerated and interconnected world.[18] Similarly, in *The Woodlanders* (1887) and *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* (1891), the heroines' ability to write and send letters is one of their few ways of resisting their male oppressors, but ultimately proves insufficient for the poor and marginalized in Victorian society.[19] Thereby, Koehler concludes, Hardy's use of contemporary advances in communication as plot devices becomes an integral part of his plea for social change.[20]

Like Luke's looming doom and Hardy's futile struggles, deeper narrative patterns may be detected in how the stories in the Apocryphal Acts use liturgies

15 Marie-Laure Ryan, "Cheap Plot Tricks, Plot Holes, and Narrative Design," *Narrative* 17.1 (2009): 56–75.

16 Boris Thomashevsky, "Story, Plot, and Motivation," in *Narrative Dynamics: Essays on Time, Plot, Closure, and Frames*, ed. Brian Richardson (Ohio State University Press, 2002), 164–178, here 176–177.

17 Karin Koehler, *Thomas Hardy and Victorian Communication: Letters, Telegrams and Postal Systems* (Cham: Springer, 2016), 23.

18 Koehler, *Thomas Hardy*, 133–142.

19 Koehler, *Thomas Hardy*, 164–184.

20 Koehler, *Thomas Hardy*, 219.

to advance their plots, and reveal what reasons the implied author found for participating in these practices.[21]

1.2 *Material*

This study considers every episode in the Acts of Andrew, Acts of John, Acts of Paul, Acts of Peter, and Acts of Thomas which depicts anointing, baptism, Eucharist, or singing of psalms.[22]

These stories are not preserved in a consistent manuscript tradition, but exhibit significant differences between available manuscripts, both in details and in the inclusion or exclusion of scenes and episodes.[23] While some manuscripts seem to be redacted with an eye toward ideological harmonization, others comprise different materials suggesting widely divergent theological views.[24] This study makes no attempt to bring harmony and consistency to this diverse collection of material, but regards each self-contained story within the tradition as a more-or-less independent narrative, with its own ideological and theological outlook. When traditions are extant in multiple languages, Greek versions are generally given preference.

---

21 Judith Perkins, "The Apocryphal *Acts of Peter*: A *Roman à Thèse*?," *Arethusa* 25.3 (1992): 445–457, argues that the Acts of Peter is an ideological novel, aimed at proving the superiority of Christianity with references to its ability to cure sickness and death. A more subtle approach toward presenting Christianity as beneficial for the believer may be found in the use of liturgies as plot devices.

22 These five collections are generally considered the "five major" Apocryphal Acts and constitute a reasonably large material for a limited study, as is done by e.g. Janet E. Spittler, *Animals in the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles: The Wild Kingdom of Early Christian Literature*, WUNT II 247 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008). A complete study would have at least thirty other such collections to consider, including the Acts of Philip, Acts of Thaddaeus, and Acts of Matthew in the City of the Priests.

23 For instance, the Acts of Andrew and Matthias are traditionally included in the Acts of Andrew, as summarized by Gregory of Tours, but are often considered independent of the original Acts of Andrew. See Dennis R. MacDonald, trans., *The Acts of Andrew*, Early Christian Apocrypha 1 (Farmington: Polebridge, 2005), 2–6. Cf. Christine M. Thomas, "The 'Prehistory' of the Acts of Peter," in *The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles: Harvard Divinity School Studies*, ed. François Bovon, Ann Graham Brock, and Christopher R. Matthews (Cambridge: Harvard CSWR, 1999), 39–62; Myers, *Spirit Epicleses*, 59; Glenn E. Snyder, *Acts of Paul: The Formation of a Pauline Corpus*, WUNT II 352 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 1–5; Julia A. Snyder, *Language and Identity in Ancient Narratives: The Relationship between Speech Patterns and Social Context in the Acts of the Apostles, Acts of John, and Acts of Philip*, WUNT II 370 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 91–97.

24 Rouwhorst, "Hymns and Prayers," 200, finds it clear that one or more editors have combined various rather heterogenous materials into the Acts of Thomas. Myers, *Spirit Epicleses*, 57–59, 67–70, 107, 222–223, describes the Acts of Thomas as a composite work characterized by extensive redaction, whereby the prayers, in which she is primarily interested, have been inserted into the narrative.

As historical fiction,[25] the Apocryphal Acts may contain some verifiable historical information,[26] which may or may not extend to the descriptions of early Christian liturgies. For instance, King Gundaphoros (Γουνδαφόρος)[27] is not only an important character in the Acts of Thomas, but also a historical ruler of northwestern India, King Gondophares (ca. 19–46 CE), who declared himself independent from the Parthian Empire, and whose portrait is available on contemporary coinage.[28] Buchinger points out the methodological difficulty of knowing whether a narrative reflects historical practice, or if, conversely, historical practice has taken inspiration from a narrative.[29] He remarks that liturgies in a narrative have no need to reflect actual practice, but cannot strike the intended reader as completely absurd.[30] Likewise, this study makes no assumption regarding the historical accuracy of the liturgies in the Apocryphal Acts, beyond the requirement that the intended reader would not find them to be completely implausible.

1.3 *Method*

For every scene in which a liturgy is narrated—where a character is anointed or baptized, bread is broken, a cup is shared, or a character is singing psalms—the plot or subplot of the surrounding story will be analyzed, and the contribution provided by the liturgy to the advancement of this plot identified. The plot

25 The pioneer in comparing the Apocryphal Acts to ancient novels is Ernst von Dobschütz, "Der Roman in der altchristlichen Literatur," *Deutsche Rundschau* 111 (1902): 87–106.

26 James McGrath, "History and Fiction in the Acts of Thomas: The State of the Question," *JSP* 17.4 (2008): 297–311, here 297–299, remarks that good historical fiction always comprises hard historical facts. Christine M. Thomas, *The* Acts of Peter, *Gospel Literature, and the Ancient Novel: Rewriting the Past* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 87–105, proposes that the Acts of Peter are positioned—together with the book of Esther and Joseph and Aseneth—at the approximate mid-point of a continuum between ancient novels and ancient historiography, sharing their fluid manuscript tradition with the former category and their references to an assumed historical reality with the latter. Karl Olav Sandnes, "Seal and Baptism in Early Christianity," in *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*, ed. David Hellholm et al., BZNW 176 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010), 1441–1481, here 1464, characterizes the Acts of Paul stating: "A minimal amount of historical facts have been developed and embellished to the extent that they tell more about Christian storytelling than about actual events."

27 The Syrian texts have "Gudnafar" or "Gundafar." Cf. Acts Thom. 2.2, 2.4, 17.1, 26.1.

28 McGrath, "History and Fiction," 299–302. Gondophares's rule of an originally Parthian province on the Indian sub-continent may explain why some sources connect Thomas to Parthia, while others link him to India. Gondophares reappears in later legends as the Caspar who visits Bethlehem together with Melchior and Balthazar.

29 Buchinger, "Liturgy," 371–373.

30 Buchinger, "Liturgy," 369–370.

contributions from different stories will be compared and grouped based on similarity. The application of this method to the material will not be described in detail, but the results will be presented organized around the three most frequently recurring plot contributions: (1) confirmation of conversion, (2) establishment of community, and (3) courage in danger.

2 Liturgies that Confirm a Conversion

The most common plot contribution of liturgies in the Apocryphal Acts is to confirm that a character has converted to Christianity—an occurrence that is both recurrent and central to many of the plots. The conversion scenes are often not limited to a single rite, but depict a whole chain of liturgical practices that complete the convert's transition from a Gentile to a Christian identity.

2.1 *Baptism and Eucharist in the Acts of Peter*

On a journey from Jerusalem to Rome, the apostle Peter successfully shares his faith with Theon, the captain of the ship on which he is traveling (Acts Pet. 5.13–24). On a calm day when everyone else on the ship is drunk and sleeping, Theon asks to be baptized with the sign of the Lord (*intingas in signo domini*). Peter complies, and also offers him the Eucharist:

> Peter climbed down a rope and baptized Theon in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. When he came out of the water he was overjoyed, and Peter was also cheerful since God had found Theon worthy of his name. Then, in the very spot where Theon had been baptized, a magnificently beautiful young man appeared, and said to them: "Peace to you." Peter and Theon continued up into the cabin, where Peter took bread and gave thanks to the Lord, who had found him suitable for his holy service, and granted him the vision of the young man who said "Peace to you." He said: "Best and only Holy One, who showed yourself to us, God, Jesus Christ. In your name he is now washed and sealed with your holy mark. Therefore, in your name I share your Eucharist with him, so that he may be perfected as your blameless servant forever".
>
> Acts Pet. 5.25–31[31]

31 Richard Adelbert Lipsius, ed., *Acta Petri, Acta Pauli, Acta Petri et Pauli, Acta Pauli et Theclae, Acta Thaddei*, Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha 1 (Leipzig: Mendelssohn, 1891), 50.29–51.10 (ET: mine): *Petrus per funem descendens, baptizauit Theonem in nomine patris et fili et spiritus sancti. ille autem subiuit ab aqua gaudens gaudio magno, item Petrus hilarior factus, quod dignum habuisset deus Theonem nomine suo. factum est autem ubi Theon baptiza-*

Within the story of Peter's confrontation with the magician Simon of Aricia (cf. Acts Pet. 4.1–2; Acts 8:9–10), the episode depicting Peter's sea journey from Caesarea to Puteoli (Acts Pet. 5.7–33) is dominated by the subplot of Peter encountering Theon, who is curious about Peter's God, eagerly listens to his preaching, asks to be baptized, and eventually joins Peter in his missionary work in Rome (cf. Acts Pet. 6.35–36). The conversion liturgy of baptism and Eucharist advances the plot from Theon's desire to convert in Acts Pet. 5.24 to Theon's newfound Christian identity in Acts Pet. 6.4. This plot contribution is underscored by Christ's sudden appearance, and by his greeting of Peter and Theon, which communicates his acceptance of their service. When Peter recounts the event, he specifies that Theon has been washed and sealed with Christ's holy mark. This account suggests that the baptism is the main element of the conversion process, and a prerequisite for the subsequent Eucharist.[32]

2.2 *Eucharist and Laying of Hands in the Acts of John*

In contrast, no baptism is mentioned when John converts a large crowd of Artemis-worshiping Ephesians. Turning up at their largest festival, John challenges them to ask their goddess to kill him on the spot—else, he might ask his God to kill them all (Acts John 37.1–39.1). The Ephesians shudder at this challenge, for they have seen John raise the dead to life (40.1). John prays that God instead shall show his mercy, and immediately half the Artemisian temple collapses and falls to the ground (42.1–2). Then, the Ephesians declare that there is no god but John's God (42.3, 44.2), accept conversion (42.4), tear down what is left of the temple (44.1) and urge John to receive them (44.8).[33] He responds by

tus est, in eodem loco apparuit iuuenis decore spendidus, dicens eis: Pax uobis. Et continuo ascenderunt Petrus et Theon et introierunt in lectina, et accepit panem Petrus et gratias egit domino, qui eum dignatus fuisset sancto ministerio suo, et quia uisus fuisset eis iuuenis dicens Pax uobis: Optimus et solus sanctus, tu enim nobis uisus es, deus Iesu Christe, in tuo nomine mox lotus et signatus est sancto tuo signo. sic itaque in tuo nomine eucharistiam tuam communico ei, ut sit consummatus seruus tuus sine repraehensione in perpetuo. (The *lotus* here is Lipsius's correction of the manuscript's nonsensical *locutus*.)

32 Weidemann, "Taufe und Taufeucharistie," 1500–1501, correctly identifies the Eucharist as the end point of the initiation ritual. That Peter and Theon celebrate this Eucharist among the two of them is natural, as they are the only two Christians on the ship. Wiedemann's presumption that any table fellowship between the Gentile captain and the Christian apostle would be out of the question before the baptism cannot be taken for granted, since Luke 7:1–10 and Acts 10 both do away with this taboo, which is most poignantly expressed in Jub. 22.16.

33 Snyder, *Language and Identity*, 106–109, argues that both the crowd's requests and John's response reflects an outlook where the conversion is not instantaneous, but a longer process not yet completed in 42.4.

inviting them to a private home (46.1) to what appears to be an ordinary worship service, since the next piece of the plot takes place "after the homily to the brothers and sisters, the prayer, and the Eucharist, and after the laying of hands upon everyone who attended" (Acts John 46.4).[34] No baptism is mentioned, so the Eucharist and laying of hands appears to be enough of a conversion liturgy to resolve the conflict and transform the Ephesians from members of the failed Artemisian cult to Christians.[35]

2.3 *Anointing, Baptism, and Eucharist in the Acts of Thomas*

A longer conversion liturgy is depicted in the Acts of Thomas, where new Christians are recurrently welcomed into the Christian community via a chain of liturgical practices including anointing with oil, baptism with water, and the Eucharist—collectively referred to as the σφραγίς ("seal"). Curiously enough, baptism is not consistently described as the central element of this liturgical chain, while descriptions frequently give prominence to the anointing.[36]

The clearest description of this liturgical chain is the conversion of the noblewoman Mygdonia in Acts Thom. 120–121. Mygdonia is eager to hear Thomas's proclamation of the new god (82), and when he finishes, she casts herself before his feet and begs him to give her the σφραγίς (87). Thomas does not immediately comply (88), and Mygdonia's desire for the σφραγίς drives the plot through a number of complications (89–117) before they meet again (118), and she can repeat her request (120.1). This time, she also sends her servant Narkia to bring the necessary supplies: some oil, a bread, and a cup of water (120.8–11). Narkia offers to bring wine rather than water for the Eucharist, but Mygdonia rejects the offer—apparently expressing the implied author's preference to celebrate the Eucharist with water even when wine is available.[37] With everything in place, Thomas performs the liturgy:

---

34 Eric Junod and Jean-Daniel Kaestli, eds., *Acta Iohannis*, Corpus Christianorum. Series Apocryphorum 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1983), 227.5–7 (ET: mine): μετὰ τὴν ὁμιλίαν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν καὶ μετὰ τὴν χειροθεσίαν τὴν ἐφ' ἑκάστου τῶν συνεδρευόντων ….

35 Snyder, *Language and Identity*, 108–109, 136–137, observes that the word ἀδελφοί and John's way of referring to God without a qualifying "my" confirms the converts' newly acquired Christian identity.

36 Rouwhorst, "La célebration," 74; Buchinger, "Liturgy," 365–366, both argue that the focus on anointing and the Eucharist is consistent with Syriac sources on early liturgies.

37 The Syriac version has Mygdonia ask for wine that has been mixed, presumably with water, and only reject an abundant amount of wine. Rouwhorst, "La célebration," 65–66, takes this as one of several changes in an effort to efface heterodox practices from the text, but it may also be an attempt at simple clarification.

> He took the oil and poured it on her head. […]. There was a source of water there, to which the apostle went and baptized Mygdonia in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. When she was baptized and clothed, he broke bread, took a cup of water, made her a sharer of the body of Christ and of the cup of the Son of God, and said: "You have received the seal. Go and get yourself eternal life!"
>
> Acts Thom. 121.2, 7–9[38]

Thomas's declaration that Mygdonia has received the σφραγίς ("seal") clarifies that the rite performed is a conversion liturgy, comprising an anointing of the head, a baptism in water, and the sharing of the Eucharist,[39] which achieves the transition from a Gentile to a Christian identity.[40]

The use of this conversion liturgy as a plot device desired by secondary characters recurs throughout the Acts of Thomas. After witnessing Mygdonia's conversion, her servant Narkia asks for, and receives, the same seal (121.11–12). Thomas's host Sifor also asks for him and his family to receive the seal (131.5).[41] They are subsequently anointed with oil on their heads (132.5), baptized in a basin (132.7), and given the bread of the Eucharist (133.1–6).[42] King Mizdai's son Vizian asks for the seal (150.1, 152.8),[43] and he and Mygdonia's sisters are anointed (157.14),[44] led into the water in the name of the Father, Son,

38 Max Bonnet, ed., *Acta Philippi et Acta Thomae, accedunt Acta Barnabae*, Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha 2:2 (Leipzig: Mendelssohn, 1903), 230.21–22, 231.6–13 (ET: mine): καὶ αὐτὸς ἄρας τὸ ἔλαιον κατέχεεν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτῆς […] ἦν δέ τις ἐκεῖ κρήνη ὕδατος, ἐφ' ἣν ἀνελθὼν ὁ ἀπόστολος τὴν Μυγδονίαν ἐβάπτισεν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. ὡς δὲ ἐβαπτίσθη καὶ ἐνεδύσατο, ἄρτον κλάσας καὶ λαβὼν ποτήριον ὕδατος κοινωνὸν ἐποίησεν αὐτὴν τῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σώματι καὶ ποτηρίου τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ εἶπεν· Ἐδέξω σου τὴν σφραγῖδα, κτίσαι σεαυτῇ ζωὴν αἰώνιον. The translation reflects Bonnet's proposed emendation ποτηρίῳ for the less logical ποτηρίου.

39 Sandnes, "Seal and Baptism," 1468, argues that the double mention of σφραγίς before (120.1) and after (121.9) the liturgy confirms that the term summarizes a three-step initiation with oil, water, and meal. Weidemann, "Taufe und Taufeucharistie," 1502, cf. 1506–1507, finds confirmation of the same in Acts Thom. 15.3–42, where Thomas is described as a wizard who enchants people with oil, water, and bread.

40 Rouwhorst, "La célebration," 64, remarks that Acts Thom. 120–121 constitutes a Christian initiation of Mygdonia.

41 Rouwhorst, "La célebration," 66, identifies Acts Thom. 131–133 as an initiation scene.

42 The Greek text mentions neither wine nor water as part of the Eucharist here, but a later Syriac version clarifies that wine is brought out together with the bread. Cf. Rouwhorst, "La célebration," 66–67.

43 Rouwhorst, "La célebration," 68, identifies this scene as a Christian initiation.

44 Thomas anoints the man himself and asks Mygdonia to anoint the women.

and Holy Spirit (157.16),[45] and given the eucharistic bread (158.12).[46] Even King Gundaphoros and his brother Gad eventually ask to serve the God of Thomas (24.6–7), and are both anointed (27.4) and given the Eucharist (27.14).[47]

Secondarily, the conversion liturgy is considered to give protection against evil spirits.[48] When Thomas liberates a woman who has been sexually abused by a demon for the past five years (Acts Thom. 42–48), she asks for the seal, in order to prevent the enemy from returning (49.3). The narrator states that Thomas laid his hands on her and many others, and "sealed" (ἐσφράγισεν) them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit (49.4), before inviting them to the eucharistic table (49.7).[49] Baptism is not explicitly mentioned, but by analogy to the cases described above, we may surmise that the verb σφραγίζω ("to seal") refers to a complete conversion liturgy.[50] Karl Olav Sandnes suggests that the term should be understood—in analogy with the physical markings used on cattle, slaves, and soldiers as signs of ownership and authority—as an umbrella term for a clear Christian identity, regardless of which particular liturgical practices are used to establish it. Such an identity would naturally imply the obligation to defend, obey, and serve Christ, as well as the expectation of his protection.[51]

45 Sandnes, "Seal and Baptism," 1473–1474, claims that this text makes baptism and anointing into one ritual act.

46 A cup (ποτήριον) with unspecified content is brought out (Acts Thom. 158.1) and associated with the blood of Christ (158.2), but only the bread is explicitly said to be distributed to the new converts (158.12). Rouwhorst, "La célebration," 68–70, notes that the Syriac version adds that the cup is mixed, i.e. contains wine mixed with water.

47 The extensive account of the anointing in Acts Thom. 27.4–11 gives the impression that the seal refers to the anointing only, after which the converts are declared to be sealed (27.11) and proceed to the Eucharist (27.14), but 25.4 refers both to the anointing with oil and the cleansing with a bath, so we may surmise that the royals received a baptism at some unspecified point in the liturgy. Rouwhorst, "La célebration," 56, identifies this scene as a Christian initiation, and argues that the Greek version of Acts Thom. misinterprets a Syriac *rushma* ("seal") that originally referred to a pre-baptismal anointing to simply mean "baptism." Sandnes, "Seal and Baptism," 1472–1473, argues that the curious specification that they had not yet received τὸ ἐπισφράγισμα τῆς σφραγῖδος ("the sealing of the seal") in Acts Thom. 27.3 can be taken to mean that the seal was not complete until all links of the liturgical chain of baptism, anointment, Eucharist, and the laying of hands are performed. But this narrow interpretation is contradicted by Acts Thom. 27.11, where the seal is complete even though the Eucharist has not yet been celebrated. More probable is that σφραγίς is sometimes used in the more limited sense of the anointing, and sometimes in the inclusive sense of complete initiation, as argued by Myers, *Spirit Epicleses*, 115.

48 Myers, *Spirit Epicleses*, 111.

49 Rouwhorst, "La célebration," 59, identifies Acts Thom. 49–50 as an initiation scene.

50 This is argued in Myers, *Spirit Epicleses*, 111–115, 140–141.

51 Sandnes, "Seal and Baptism," 1443–1446, 1474–1475.

2.4 *Baptism in the Acts of Paul*

The Acts of Paul also use a conversion liturgy called "seal" as a plot device worth striving for, but its descriptions focus entirely on water baptism. In a most memorable scene, a talking lion suddenly appears on the road to Jericho in Phoenicia and demands to be baptized:[52]

> Then a huge and famished lion came out of the valley of the field of bones. As for us, we were praying fervently; Lemma and Ammia fell before the beast in prayer. When I had finished praying, the beast was crouched at my feet. Filled with the spirit, I looked at it and said, "Lion, what do you want?" "I want to be baptized." I praised God who had given speech to the beast and safety to God's servants. That spot featured a large stream; I went down into it, the creature following. [...] Following this prayer I grabbed it by the mane and immersed it three times in the name of Jesus Christ. When he had come up out of the water he shook out his mane and said to me, "Grace be with you." "And also with you," I replied.
>
> Acts Paul 9.7–9[53]

This scene is dominated by the immediate threat of the beast, and its desire to be baptized functions as a surprising release of the tension. Paul prays for his life, grabs the lion by the mane and immerses it three times in the name of Jesus Christ (Acts Paul 9.9). In the larger story of Acts Paul 9.1–28, the converted lion is used as a Chekov's Gun—a plot device that is introduced early in the story, and later reappears to resolve the main plot in an interesting way: When Paul later on is thrown into the Ephesian arena, before a large, ferocious lion, the lion greets him with a human voice, and turns out to be the lion he previously baptized (9.22–24).[54] In order to effectively establish the lion's conversion and set up the Chekov's Gun, the narrative needs to depict the essential element(s) of a conversion liturgy, and for the intended audience of the story, this seems to be a water baptism in the name of Jesus Christ.

---

52 Cf. the analysis of this episode in David Hellholm's contribution to this volume.

53 P. Bodmer 41.4.4–19, 5.10–17; Rodolphe Kasser and Philippe Luisier, "Le Papyrus Bodmer XLI en édition princeps. L'épisode d'Éphèse des Acta Pauli en Copte et en traduction," *Mus* 117 (2004): 281–384, here 320.4–19, 322.10–17; ET: Richard I. Pervo, *The Acts of Paul: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (Eugene: Cascade, 2014), 22.

54 Spittler, *Animals*, 182–187, cf. 174–175, suggests that the story originated as a combination of the notion that Paul once escaped unharmed from a lion in the arena (cf. 1 Cor 15:32; 2 Tim 4:17) and the story of Androcles, which also features an unlikely friendship between the protagonist and a lion, both of which are subsequently captured and expected to fight each other in the arena.

The seal is also desired by other characters within the Acts of Paul. Hermocrates, who suffers from edema, is both healed and sealed by Paul, but this angers his son Hermippus, who was counting on the inheritance (5.1–6). When Paul breaks out of prison the night before his planned execution in the arena, in order to baptize a woman named Artemilla (9.16–21), he not only lays his hand upon her and descends into the water, but also offers her bread and water (9.21), which demonstrates that the author could envision a longer conversion liturgy, when circumstances so allowed.[55] At the eventual beheading of Paul, a prefect and a centurion are convinced by his words and courage, and wonder how they will be able to live when Paul is dead. Paul sends them to Luke and Titus, who seal them (14.1–7).

The character most eager to convert is the young woman Thecla. When she asks to be given the σφραγίς ("seal"), Paul responds by promising her τὸ ὕδωρ ("the water"; 3.25). When Thecla later claims to have received τὸ λουτρόν ("the bath") by throwing herself into a pit of water in the name of Christ, Paul does not offer any additional liturgy, but sends her off to teach Christ's message in Iconium (4.15–16, cf. 4.9). Sandnes argues that the Thecla story identifies seal and baptism, but also incorporates a protective element of the Christian seal: The baptism serves to protect from sexual temptations, which is why Paul wants the young and attractive Thecla to postpone her baptism until an age when she can be expected to keep her chastity. When she turns up baptized, she is also dressed like a man, thereby demonstrating that she has overcome her sexuality, and no longer is in danger of defiling the seal.[56]

2.5 *Evangelization Liturgies*

The consistent use of the σφραγίς ("seal") as a plot device that is desired by all insightful characters strongly projects Christian conversion as something worth pursuing, thereby contributing to the evangelizing aim of many of the stories within the Apocryphal Acts. In the Acts of John and the Acts of Thomas, this aim is accentuated by two scenes where preaching and singing are used to present the Christian tradition to outsiders, giving them the choice of proceeding toward a commitment to Christ.

When John learns that there are many old women in Ephesus who are paralyzed, deaf, arthritic, or otherwise ill, he decides to make a show (θέα) out of the healings in order to convert (ἐπιστρέφω) some of the curious onlook-

55 Snyder, *Acts of Paul*, 73–74, observes that the liturgy consists of baptism and a "post-baptismal sacrament consisting of bread and water."

56 Sandnes, "Seal and Baptism," 1463–1466.

ers (30.7). The women are gathered in the theater (30.6, 32.1), a large crowd turns up (31.3), and John treats them all to a revival sermon where he promises healings, condemns sin, warns of eternal punishments, and calls everyone to convert (33–36). The end of this story is not extant, but may have comprised a liturgy confirming the conversion of the crowd.[57]

When Thomas attends the public festivities surrounding the marriage of King Gundaphoros's daughter (Acts Thom. 4.1–7), he notices a Hebrew girl playing the flute. Recognizing their common interest in music, he sings her a song in Hebrew, describing the eternal wedding banquet of the heavenly kingdom (6.3–7.10). This gets her attention, and when he also accurately predicts the demise of one of the other servants at the banquet (6.1–2, 8.9–9.4), she declares him to be either a god or an emissary of God (9.3). Since they are the only two at the festival who understand Hebrew, this evangelization liturgy is narrowly focused on its intended audience, but it is effective—and the girl eventually relays the message to those around her.

3 Liturgies that Establish a Community

Some liturgies are less tailored to the situation, but rather presented as regularly occurring in the Christian community, and contribute to build a sense of fellowship, companionship, and solidarity between the local Christians. This is particularly pronounced in the two eucharistic scenes where one of the would-be communicants is denied participation, and where the Eucharist is used as a plot device to inform the reader that some kinds of misbehavior would lead to exclusion from the community.

3.1 *The Eucharist Establishes the Community*

In several scenes, the Eucharist is depicted as an integrated element of the life of Christian communities, a regular activity that creates a sense of community. This function is especially important when the protagonist has just joined the community or is about to leave.

When Paul arrives at Iconium in Lycaonia, on his journey from Antioch in Pisidia (cf. Acts 13:14, 50–51), the community gathers in the house of Onesiphoros (cf. 2 Tim 1:16–18, 4:19) to celebrate:

57 A similar show may be intended when Paul rents a storehouse (ὅρριον) outside Rome to teach the word of truth there (Acts Paul 14.1).

> When Paul entered Onesiphoros's house, there was great joy. Knees were bent, bread was broken, and God's word about self-control and resurrection was preached by Paul, who said ....
>
> Acts Paul 3.5[58]

This short account refers to several different liturgical practices: the bending of knees (κλίσις γονάτων), seemingly for praying, the breaking of bread (κλάσις ἄρτου), apparently for the Eucharist, and the preaching of God's word by Paul. These liturgies contribute to establishing the good accord between Paul and the Iconian Christians, in anticipation of the introduction of Thecla in Acts Paul 3.7.

When Paul sets out to leave Corinth for Rome, the Corinthian Christians are grieved by the prospect of never seeing him again, since his activities in Rome might lead to his martyrdom. When they celebrate the Eucharist, the Spirit assures them that Paul will convert many in Rome, and the meal turns into a joyous feast (Acts Paul 12.2–5). An almost identical scene is depicted in the Acts of Peter, where Paul is called to leave Rome for Spain (Acts Pet. 1.5–6). The Roman Christians worry that he will be martyred in Spain, so that they will never see him again (1.7–8), but a heavenly voice asserts that Paul will be martyred in Rome, before their very eyes (1.14–16). Reassured, they bring Paul bread and water to celebrate the Eucharist (2.1).[59] Similarly, when John decides that it is time to leave earth for heaven, he does not depart until the following Sunday, to first speak to the assembly and share the Eucharist with them (Acts John 106.1–110.2). After the liturgy, John asks two disciples to dig a grave, lies down in it, and gives up his spirit (Acts John 110.3, 111.2–7, 115.1–2). All three of these worship services serve to accentuate the tight bond between a Christian community and the departing protagonist, thereby deepening the intended reader's sense of loss. Thereby, the plot also establishes the Eucharist as contributing to a strong sense of community among Christians.

3.2 *Exclusion from the Eucharist*

The Eucharist's narrative function of establishing community is further pronounced by two scenes where one of the prospective communicants is rejected because of grave unconfessed sin. At Paul's farewell service in Rome (Acts Pet.

58 Lipsius, *Acta Petri*, 238.9–12 (ET: mine): Καὶ εἰσελθόντος Παύλου εἰς τὸν Ὀνησιφόρου οἶκον ἐγένετο χαρὰ μεγάλη, καὶ κλίσις γονάτων καὶ κλάσις ἄρτου καὶ λόγος θεοῦ περὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ ἀναστάσεως, λέγοντος τοῦ Παύλου ....

59 Since no wine is mentioned, while Acts Pet. 2.2, 2.4 state that the meal is a Eucharist, the intended reader apparently had no difficulty celebrating with bread and water.

2.1), a woman named Rufina approaches him to receive the Eucharist—but Paul rejects her, saying:

> Rufina, you are not coming to God's altar as someone who is worthy. You have got up not from your husband's side, but from that of an adulterer (*moechi*)—yet you try to receive God's Eucharist!
>
> Acts Pet. 2.3–4[60]

Paul's wording clarifies that while it is perfectly acceptable to participate in the Eucharist while having an active sex life with one's husband, receiving it while cheating on him is not. Such behavior, if revealed, implies exclusion from the Christian community—and Paul's prophetic insight reveals the offense.

At another Eucharist, celebrated by the apostle Thomas (Acts Thom. 50.7–9), an approaching young man is rejected by the sacrament itself. When he takes the bread in his hand and tries to put it into his mouth, both his hands wither and shrivel, so that he is unable to reach his mouth (51.2). When questioned by the apostle, he readily confesses that he has killed his girlfriend, because she wouldn't give up her work as a prostitute (51.4–12).[61] Although "adultery is more serious in the eyes of God than the other sins" (58.6),[62] murder is no better. Luckily, Thomas is able to restore the boy's hands, bring the girl back to life, and advise them both to refrain from further misdemeanor (52.3–54.5, 58.1–9).

Both these episodes are built on the use of the Eucharist as a desired plot device that can be denied those who do not fulfill the requirements, and establish that grave sin—adultery and murder—lead to exclusion from the Christian community established by the Eucharist.

3.3 *The Eucharist Is Life, Its Rejection Is Death*

The crucial contrast between the life-giving community of the Eucharist and the death of exclusion is further developed in the last scene of the morbid

---

60 Lipsius, *Acta Petri*, 46.16–18 (ET: mine): *Rufina, non tamquam digna accedes ad altarium dei. surgens a latere non mariti sed moechi, et dei eucharistiam temptas accipere*.

61 That she is a prostitute can be inferred from the statements that she lived in an inn (51.8), that she was unwilling to live a chaste life (51.11–12), and that the boyfriend was unwilling to watch her commit adultery with other people (51.13). Cf. Harold W. Attridge, trans., *The Acts of Thomas*, Early Christian Apocrypha 3 (Salem: Polebridge, 2010), 54, note to 51.8.

62 Bonnet, *Acta Philippi et Acta Thomae*, 175.9–10: ἡ γὰρ μοιχεία παρὰ τῷ θεῷ πάνυ χαλεπόν ἐστιν παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα κακά.

love story between Drusiana and Kallimachos (Acts John 63–86). Drusiana and her husband Andronikos have decided to refrain from sex to emulate John in Christian discipleship (63.2). Kallimachos lusts after Drusiana and will stop at nothing in pursuit of her body (63.1). To escape from his desires, Drusiana lies down and dies (64.3–8), but Kallimachos bribes Andronikos's chief servant, Fortunatus, and gets into the tomb to rape her dead body (70.1–2). When only a single cloth remains of Drusiana's decency, a venomous snake turns up, kills Fortunatus, and immobilizes Kallimachos (71.1–3).[63] When John liberates Kallimachos and revives Drusiana, who raises Fortunatus (75, 80.1–83.1), Kallimachos is remorseful and converts (76.12–15),[64] but Fortunatus spitefully declares that he had rather stayed dead than encountered John and Drusiana again, and dashes out from the tomb (83.2–4). In the final scene, Fortunatus dies in a ditch from his untreated snake wound (86.2–5), while John and the other believers happily celebrate the Eucharist in the emptied tomb (85.1–86.1).

This story plays with the distinction between life and death. Due to John's unusual ease in raising the deceased,[65] the line between death and life is made permeable, and the knowledgeable reader anticipates that none of the deceased will stay dead. This playfulness makes Fortunatus's second death all the more final.[66] The true distinction between life and death has nothing to do with being physically alive, and everything to do with being a Christian.[67] This contrast is highlighted when the believers share the bread of life in a tomb, while the one who fled the tomb dies outside. The partakers of the Eucharist are alive, even if they already lie in the tomb, while those rejecting Christ are, one might say, already dead.

63 Spittler, *Animals*, 110–116, recognizes that the ambiguous portrayal of the snake, who punishes the wrong-doers but receives no recognition from John, is in line with a widespread understanding of snakes as punishers of the wicked, and suggest that the snake's aversion to seeing Drusiana naked is informed by a tradition that snakes shun all naked people attested in *Physiologus* 11.

64 Snyder, *Language and Identity*, 115–116, remarks that John's reference to "our God" in Acts John 78.2 might imply that Kallimachos's conversion process is quicker than those of the Ephesians.

65 Cf. Acts John 23.1–5 (Kleopatra), 24.7–8 (Lykomedes), 47.4 (the high priest of Artemis), and 52.1–3 (the father of a young man).

66 Cf. Acts John 86.5 with 84.16, where Satan and all who share his orientation are explicitly excluded from Christian practices, including (84.13) baptism and the Eucharist.

67 Buchinger, "Liturgy," 366–367, takes the juxtaposition of resurrection and Eucharist as a narrativization of "the widespread understanding of the Eucharist as a sacrament of immortality or imperishability."

4 Liturgies that Give Courage in Dangerous Situations

In two episodes, the liturgies give the apostles strength and courage in times of danger and suffering, thereby serving as plot vouchers—plot devices that let the characters overcome obstacles to their objectives.

4.1 *The Eucharist Gives Courage*

After the joyful celebration following the conversions of King Gundaphoros and his brother Gad (Acts Thom. 25–27), the Acts of Thomas take a dark turn. Thomas warns his converts that gluttony, greed, and sexual immorality will always threaten to drive them back into the darkness (28.1–13), a mysterious prophecy proclaims that they still have a debt to pay to the devil (29.1–2), and, in a dream, Christ commissions Thomas to walk two miles out of the city to face the enemy (29.5–6). Before confronting primordial evil, Thomas takes the opportunity to teach his followers where to seek strength and courage:

> Waking up from sleep, Thomas said to the brothers and sisters who were with him: "Children, brothers, and sisters, the Lord wants to accomplish something through me today. Let us, therefore, pray and beg him that nothing ever comes between us and him, but that everything, now and always, turns out for us in accordance with his will and desire." Having said this, he laid his hands on them and blessed them. He broke the bread of the Eucharist, gave it to them, and said: "May this Eucharist bring compassion and mercy, not judgment and retribution." They responded: "Amen!"
>
> Acts Thom. 29.7–11[68]

Thomas identifies the true danger of the situation not as the tangible evil force that he is about to meet—what could it do beyond killing him?—but as the temptations to violence, hate, and retribution that unavoidably reside within him and his followers. Before going out to face the enemy, he therefore makes all effort to equip himself and the Christians around him with the strength and

68 Bonnet, *Acta Philippi et Acta Thomae*, 146.10–20 (ET: mine): Ἀναστὰς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου ἔλεγεν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς τοῖς οὖσιν μετ' αὐτοῦ· Τέκνα καὶ ἀδελφοί, ὁ κύριος βούλεταί τί ποτε σήμερον δι' ἐμοῦ διαπράξασθαι· ἀλλ' εὐξώμεθα καὶ δεηθῶμεν αὐτοῦ ἵνα μηδέν τί ποτε ἐμπόδιον γένηται ἡμῖν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ ὡς πάντοτε καὶ νῦν κατὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ βούλημα καὶ θέλημα γένηται δι' ἡμῶν. Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐλόγησεν αὐτούς· καὶ κλάσας ἄρτον τῆς εὐχαριστίας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς εἰπών· Ἔσται ὑμῖν αὕτη ἡ εὐχαριστία εἰς εὐσπλαγχνίαν καὶ ἔλεος, καὶ μὴ εἰς κρίσιν καὶ ἀμοιβήν. Καὶ αὐτοὶ εἶπον Ἀμήν.

courage necessary to withstand such temptations, especially in the event of his own demise. The plot vouchers at his disposal for this task are liturgical practices: prayer, blessing, laying of hands, and most importantly the Eucharist.[69] Strengthened by the liturgy,[70] Thomas confronts the serpent of Eden and prevails (Acts Thom. 30–33).[71]

4.2 *Singing Gives Courage*

When Matthias, the new apostle commissioned in Acts 1:23–26, enters the city of the cannibals (ἀνθρωποφάγοι)[72] who immediately seize him, cut out his eyes, give him a mind-deranging drug, throw him into prison, give him grass to eat, and mark the date in order to give him thirty days to fatten up before they slaughter and eat him (Acts Andr. Mth. 2.1–2, 3.9, cf. 1.3–5).[73] Matthias prays to Christ, who immediately restores his sight, but otherwise leaves him in peril for weeks before sending Andrew to release him (2.4–3.5, cf. 4.1–2).

How is Matthias to endure in this difficult situation? Before leaving Matthias to describe Andrew's adventures on his journey, the narrator remarks:

> Then Matthias sat down in the prison and sang psalms.
> Acts Andr. Mth. 3.6[74]

After many adventures, including an encounter with Christ in disguise, a miraculous transportation, the striking down of seven guards with silent prayer, and an opening the prison door with a simple sign of the cross

---

69 Rouwhorst, "La célebration," 71, notes that the Eucharist is intended to give strength to overcome Satan and death.

70 A full-fledged plot voucher is an object given to the character well in advance, whose importance is only revealed when it matches the obstacle. Here, one might imagine that Christian liturgical practices are part of the default inventory, so to speak, of a Christian character.

71 The serpent claims himself (Acts Thom. 32.6–13) to have enticed Eve (Gen 3:1–5), inflamed Cain (Gen 4:8), made the angels lust for women (Gen 6:1–4), hardened Pharaoh's heart (Exod 7–11), and incited Judas (Matt 26:14–16). Spittler, *Animals*, 193–199, suggests that the plot of this story is inspired by other tales of giant Indian snakes.

72 Latin versions specify the location as the city of the Myrmidons, who—according to Ovid—were created by Zeus out of ants in order to replace the plague-stricken human population of Aegina, and who—according to Homer—fought under Achilles at Troy.

73 Spittler, *Animals*, 89–91, remarks that the story is reminiscent of Homer, *Od.* 10, where Odysseus's companions are turned into swine, but while the swine keep their minds, these prisoners keep their human bodies but lose their minds.

74 Constantin von Tischendorf, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* (Leipzig: Mendelssohn, 1851), 134.20–21 (ET: mine): Τότε οὖν ὁ Ματθείας ἐκαθέσθη ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ καὶ ἦν ψάλλων.

(Acts Andr. Mth. 4.1–19.3), Andrew is finally united with Matthias, and the narrator describes the encounter:

> When he entered with his disciples, he found Matthias sitting there, singing psalms.
>
> Acts Andr. Mth. 19.4[75]

Apparently, Matthias has overcome his perilous situation by continually singing psalms for fifteen chapters of storytelling, over a narrative duration of twenty-seven days.[76] This use of a plot voucher becomes a strong statement of the utility of Christian liturgy in fending off despair in difficult times: If singing psalms can keep Matthias's spirits up when he is all alone in prison for a month, surely a group of believers can use liturgy to survive in less dire circumstances.[77]

Although few in number, these two uses of Christian liturgical practices as plot vouchers serve to convey the message that prayer, singing, and the Eucharist can provide a believer with the strength and courage necessary to endure and prevail in difficult situations.

5 Conclusion

This study has demonstrated how stories in the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles use anointing, baptism, the Eucharist, and singing of psalms to advance their plots—but also how these uses convey a message about why someone might take part in such liturgical practices.

In the Acts of Andrew, John, Paul, Peter, and Thomas, liturgies are used to advance the plot in three recurrent ways: Primarily, a character's conver-

75 Tischendorf, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, 149.14–16 (ET: mine): καὶ εἰσελθὼν μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ εὗρε Ματθείαν καθήμενον καὶ ψάλλοντα ….

76 Since Andrew wakes up early two mornings in a row (Acts Andr. Mth. 5.1; 17.1) between his drafting in 4.1–8 and his arrival in the city of the cannibals in 19.1, the correct number should be twenty-nine, but Andrew states explicitly in 19.6 that three days still remain of Matthias's respite. Either the sleeping Andrew was transported two days back in time to wake up at his destination on the same day as he was drafted, or the narrator fails to update his narrative clock in 19.6.

77 The scene is obviously inspired by Paul's and Silas's singing of praises (προσευχόμενοι ὕμνουν τὸν θεόν) in Acts 16:25, but exceeds this situation. While Paul and Silas are together and surrounded by other prisoners who listen, Matthias is all alone, and his prison mates are drugged and in no position to understand songs of praise (cf. Acts Andr. Mth. 20.1–2). A more straightforward adaptation of Acts 16:25 is given in Acts Thom. 107–113, where Thomas is in king Mizdai's prison, and recites a long psalm to his fellow prisoners.

sion to a Christian faith is confirmed by the use of anointing, baptism, or the Eucharist—sometimes in isolation, but in most cases in a chain of liturgical practices that combine to securely replace the convert's Gentile identity with a Christian one. Secondly, a sense of community within a group of Christians is established by the Eucharist, especially when the protagonist has just arrived or is about to leave the group. This use is further emphasized by the two cases where unconfessed adultery and murder lead to exclusion from eucharistic participation, and by the sharp contrast between the life-giving Eucharistic community and the death outside of Acts John 85–86. Thirdly, liturgical practices such as the Eucharist and singing provide characters in perilous situations with the courage and strength needed to overcome their challenges. With such uses of liturgies as plot devices, these ancient narratives convey the message that a believer might participate in liturgical practices in order to become a confirmed member of a group of Christians, to strengthen the sense of community within this group, and to receive courage and strength to endure in perilous circumstances.

While an author of historical fiction enjoys a great deal of freedom in designing the details of a liturgy described in a fictional narrative—which is why it is difficult to estimate the historical accuracy of the prayers in the Apocryphal Acts—the characters' motivations for engaging in liturgical practices could not appear too implausible to the intended reader. There is, therefore, a good chance that conversion confirmation, community building, and personal courage were perceived as tangible benefits of liturgical participation by historical early Christian believers.

Bibliography

Abrams, M.H., and Geoffrey Harpham. *A Glossary of Literary Terms*. Boston: Wadsworth, 2011.

Attridge, Harold W., trans. *The Acts of Thomas*. Early Christian Apocrypha 3. Salem: Polebridge, 2010.

Bonnet, Max, ed. *Acta Philippi et Acta Thomae, accedunt Acta Barnabae*. Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha 2:2. Leipzig: Mendelssohn, 1903.

Buchinger, Harald. "Liturgy and Early Christian Apocrypha." Pages 361–377 in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Apocrypha*. Edited by Andrew Gregory, Tobias Nicklas, Christopher M. Tuckett, and Joseph Verheyden. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Dobschütz, Ernst von. "Der Roman in der altchristlichen Literatur." *Deutsche Rundschau* 111 (1902): 87–106.

Junod, Eric, and Jean-Daniel Kaestli, eds. *Acta Iohannis*. Corpus Christianorum. Series Apocryphorum 1. Turnhout: Brepols, 1983.

Kasser, Rodolphe, and Philippe Luisier. "Le Papyrus Bodmer XLI en édition princeps. L'épisode d'Èphèse des Acta Pauli en Copte et en traduction." *Mus* 117 (2004): 281–384.

Klauck, Hans-Josef. *The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles: An Introduction*. Waco: Baylor, 2008.

Koehler, Karin. *Thomas Hardy and Victorian Communication: Letters, Telegrams and Postal Systems*. Cham: Springer, 2016.

Kurz, William S. *Reading Luke-Acts: Dynamics of Biblical Narrative*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993.

Lipsius, Richard Adelbert, ed. *Acta Petri, Acta Pauli, Acta Petri et Pauli, Acta Pauli et Theclae, Acta Thaddei*. Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha 1. Leipzig: Mendelssohn, 1891.

MacDonald, Dennis R., trans. *The Acts of Andrew*. Early Christian Apocrypha 1. Farmington: Polebridge, 2005.

McGrath, James. "History and Fiction in the Acts of Thomas: The State of the Question." *JSP* 17.4 (2008): 297–311.

Myers, Susan E. *Spirit Epicleses in the* Acts of Thomas. WUNT II 281. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010.

Perkins, Judith. "The Apocryphal *Acts of Peter*: A *Roman à Thèse*?" *Arethusa* 25.3 (1992): 445–457.

Pervo, Richard I. *The Acts of Paul: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. Eugene: Cascade, 2014.

Powell, Mark Allan. "The Plot and Subplots of Matthew's Gospel." *NTS* 38.2 (1992): 187–204.

Rouwhorst, Gerard. "Hymns and Prayers in the Apocryphal Acts of Thomas." Pages 195–212 in *Literature or Liturgy? Early Christian Hymns and Prayers in Their Literary and Liturgical Context in Antiquity*. Edited by Clemens Leonhard and Hermut Löhr. WUNT II 363. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014.

Rouwhorst, Gerard. "La célebration de l'eucharistie selon les Actes de Thomas." Pages 51–77 in *Omnes Circumadstantes: Contributions Towards a History of the Role of the People in the Liturgy*. Edited by Charles Caspers and Marc Schneiders. Kampen: Kok, 1990.

Ryan, Marie-Laure. "Cheap Plot Tricks, Plot Holes, and Narrative Design." *Narrative* 17.1 (2009): 56–75.

Sandnes, Karl Olav. "Seal and Baptism in Early Christianity." Pages 1441–1481 in *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*. Edited by David Hellholm, Tor Vegge, Øyvind Norderval, and Christer Hellholm. BZNW 176. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010.

Snyder, Glenn E. *Acts of Paul: The Formation of a Pauline Corpus*. WUNT II 352. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013.

Snyder, Julia A. *Language and Identity in Ancient Narratives: The Relationship between Speech Patterns and Social Context in the Acts of the Apostles, Acts of John, and Acts of Philip*. WUNT II 370. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014.

Spittler, Janet E. *Animals in the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles: The Wild Kingdom of Early Christian Literature*. WUNT II 247. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008.

Thomas, Christine M. *The* Acts of Peter, *Gospel Literature, and the Ancient Novel: Rewriting the Past*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Thomas, Christine M. "The 'Prehistory' of the Acts of Peter." Pages 39–62 in *The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles: Harvard Divinity School Studies*. Edited by François Bovon, Ann Graham Brock, and Christopher R. Matthews. Cambridge: Harvard CSWR, 1999.

Thomashevsky, Boris. "Story, Plot, and Motivation." Pages 164–178 in *Narrative Dynamics: Essays on Time, Plot, Closure, and Frames*. Edited by Brian Richardson. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2002.

Tischendorf, Constantin von. *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*. Leipzig: Mendelssohn, 1851.

Weidemann, Hans-Ulrich. "Taufe und Taufeucharistie." Pages 1483–1530 in *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*. Edited by David Hellholm, Tor Vegge, Øyvind Norderval, and Christer Hellholm. BZNW 176. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010.

9

Didache 1–6, a Coherent Composition in the Same Tradition as the Gospel of Matthew

Jonas Holmstrand

In 1873 the archbishop Philotheos Bryennios discovered in an eleventh-century manuscript a text with the title "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" and the subtitle "Teaching of the Lord to the Nations through the Twelve Apostles" (nowadays known as the "Didache"). Since it was published in 1883, this text has been the subject of great interest among scholars.[1] That is true not least of the section about the "two ways" in its first six chapters.[2] The debate on this introductory section has often focused on tradition-historical and redaction-critical issues: How does it relate to other early Christian texts with similar teaching, such as the Letter of Barnabas 18–21, the Latin *Doctrina apostolorum*,[3] and later "church orders," such as the *Apostolic Church Order*, the *Apostolic Constitutions* and the *Epitome of the Canons of the Holy Apostles*? And how does it relate to the teaching about the "two ways" in the Jewish Community Rule (1QS) III, 13–IV, 26?

As for the relationship between Did. 1–6 and Barn. 18–21, the dominant view among scholars since the 1920s has been that the reason there are many similarities between the two texts is that they go back to a common source.[4] This

1 For comprehensive surveys of previous research, see Jonathan A. Draper, "The Didache in Modern Research: An Overview," in *The Didache in Modern Research*, ed. Jonathan Draper, AGJU 37 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 1–42, and Shawn J. Wilhite, "Thirty-Five Years Later: A Summary of Didache Scholarship Since 1983," *CBR* 17.3 (2019): 266–305. See also, for example, Marcello Del Verme, *Didache and Judaism: Jewish Roots of an Ancient Christian-Jewish Work* (New York: T & T Clark, 2004), 5–111.

2 It is undisputed that the teaching about the "two ways" in the first six chapters of the Didache forms a unit. What is not entirely clear, and therefore debated, is where, more precisely, that unit ends. The debate mainly concerns whether 6.3 belongs to it or starts a new section.

3 This term has been used for various texts. For the text referred to here, see Joseph Schlecht, *Doctrina XII apostolorum: Die Apostellehre in der Liturgie der katolischen Kirche* (Freiburg in Breisgau: Herder, 1901). A translation of it is available, for example, in Clayton N. Jefford, *Didache: The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, Early Christian Apocrypha 5 (Salem: Polebridge Press, 2013).

4 Draper, "Didache in Modern Research," 10. For more recent work, see e.g. John S. Kloppenborg, "The Transformation of Moral Exhortation in *Didache* 1–5," in *The Didache in Context: Essays*

view is based on the observation that there are differences as well as similarities between them. Clearly, they have a lot of material in common. Sometimes they even have exactly the same wording. But there are also significant differences between the texts. They often reproduce the common material in a completely different order, and each of them contains material that does not appear in the other text. From these observations most scholars draw the conclusion that there was a common source which both texts have used, but in different ways. The source, they assume, contained at least the material that the two texts have in common. It was then expanded, especially in the Didache. There are different opinions as to exactly how much was added and when the additions took place. Most scholars agree that 1.3b–2.1 at least is an addition, because there is no equivalent to it in Barn. 18–21, nor in the *Doctrina apostolorum*, the *Apostolic Church Order*, the *Apostolic Constitutions* or the *Epitome of the Canons of the Holy Apostles*.[5] Many also consider Did. 6.2–3 to be an addition, as there is no counterpart to those verses in either Barn. 18–21 or the *Doctrina apostolorum*.[6] Some scholars also regard other passages as additions, e.g. Did. 1.2b, d–e, 3.1–7 and 5.2b.[7]

Scholars have not only discussed how much of the material was included in the source, but also what the character of that source was. A common view is that, at least in its oldest form, it was a pre-Christian Jewish text.[8] The reason why scholars have drawn that conclusion is that they do not find anything specifically "Christian" in the material assumed to have been included in the

---

on Its Text, History and Transmission, ed. Clayton N. Jefford, NovTSup 77 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 92; Kurt Niederwimmer, *The Didache: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998), 42–45; Alan J.P. Garrow, *The Gospel of Matthew's Dependence on the Didache* (London: T & T Clark, 2004), 92; Jonathan A. Draper, "The Apostolic Fathers: The Didache," *ExpTim* 117.5 (2006): 178; Nancy Pardee, *The Genre and Development of the Didache: A Text-Linguistic Analysis*, WUNT II 339 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 184.

5 E.g. Bentley Layton, "The Sources, Date and Transmission of *Didache* 1.3b–2.1," *HTR* 61 (1968): 343–383, here 381; Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 94; Huub van de Sandt and David Flusser, *The Didache: Its Jewish Sources and Its Place in Early Judaism and Christianity*, CRINT 3.5 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2002), 40–41; Kari Syreeni, "The Sermon on the Mount and the Two Ways Teaching of the Didache," in *Matthew and the Didache: Two Documents from the Same Jewish-Christian Milieu?*, ed. Huub van de Sandt (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2005), 90.

6 E.g. Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 152–153; van de Sandt and Flusser, *Didache*, 119–120; and Syreeni, "Sermon on the Mount," 90.

7 Garrow, *Matthew's Dependence on the Didache*, 90–92. Syreeni, "Sermon on the Mount," 91, also regards 3.1–6 as an addition.

8 E.g. Kloppenborg, "Transformation of Moral Exhortation," 108; Jonathan A. Draper, "The Jesus Tradition in the Didache," in *The Didache in Modern Research*, ed. Jonathan Draper, AGJU 37 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 74–77; Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 30–54; and Del Verme, *Didache and Judaism*, 113.

source, while teaching about the "two ways" also occurs in Jewish traditions (Community Rule III, 13 – IV, 26, but also elsewhere).[9] Some also refer to the fact that the Golden Rule appears in its negative form in Did. 1.2, a form that we do not find in the New Testament, but do come across in Jewish texts.[10] In Did. 1–6, they argue, the Jewish original was then "Christianised" by being expanded with material of the same kind as also appears in Matthew's Sermon on the Mount and Luke's Sermon on the Plain. Additions of such material have mainly been found in Did. 1.3b–6, but some scholars also find traces of such traditions in 1.2, 3.7 and 5.2.[11]

These views are largely based on comparative studies between Did. 1–6 and other ancient texts, but other types of analyses can also be important for tradition-historical assessments.[12] In this article, I will offer such an analysis. I begin by presenting a synchronic analysis of how the text in Did. 1–6, as it is available today, is structured and hangs together.[13] The analysis consists of a close reading, in which I pay special attention to features that are important for how a reader or listener perceives the structure of the text.[14] Such

---

9 For examples, see Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 59–63.

10 The negative form of the Golden Rule appears in Acts 15:29 in certain manuscripts, but that reading is probably not original. In Jewish tradition the negative form appears, for example, in Tob 4:15 and the Letter of Aristeas 207. The positive form appears, for instance, in Matt 7:12 and Luke 6:31.

11 E.g. Christopher M. Tuckett, "Synoptic Tradition in the Didache," in *The Didache in Modern Research*, ed. Jonathan Draper, AGJU 37 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 107–108.

12 I agree with Aaron Milavec, *The Didache: Faith, Hope, and Life of the Earliest Christian Communities, 50–70 C.E.* (New York: Newman, 2003), xv–xvii, that there is a risk of going wrong if you study Didache too one-sidedly from a source- and redaction-critical perspective.

13 The analysis is based on the Greek text in Andreas Lindemann and Henning Paulsen, eds., *Die Apostolischen Väter: Griechisch-deutsche Parallelausgabe* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), which is identical to the one in Karl Bihlmeyer's edition from 1924, which was a revised version of Franz Xaver Funk's text edition. The text in Bihlmeyer's edition follows relatively closely the wording in the manuscript found by Bryennios.

14 Pardee also makes a synchronic analysis of the structure of this text in her book *The Genre and Development of the Didache* from 2012, but her analysis differs in several respects from mine. First, it has another purpose, namely to determine the genre and origin of the Didache in its entirety. It therefore has a broader focus and does not go into detail in the same way as my analysis. Second, she uses a different analytical model to mine. Hers is taken from David Hellholm, *Das Visionbuch des Hermas als Apokalypse: Formgeschichtliche und texttheoretische Studien zu einer literarischen Gattung*, vol. 1: *Methodologische Vorüberlegungen und makrostrukturelle Textanalyse*, ConBNT 13 (Lund: Gleerup, 1980). I have used the model that I developed in my dissertation *Markers and Meaning in Paul: An Analysis of 1 Thessalonians, Philippians and Galatians*, ConBNT 28 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1997). That model is better suited to my purpose, since it focuses in a different way on the interplay between transition markers and

features include indications of theme, the use of conjunctions and particles, addresses, emphases, shifts in form and content, indications of a summary or conclusion, and recurrences of important themes and formulations.[15] The results of this analysis are summarised in a tabular overview of the arrangement of the text. I then reflect on the tradition-historical implications of the analysis.

My analysis will demonstrate that there is reason to modify common understandings of the tradition history of the text in two respects. The first concerns the assumption that Did. 1–6 consists of an already elaborated text that has been taken over and prolonged with discernible additions. In the analysis, Did. 1–6 emerges, rather, as a carefully thought-out, well-structured and coherent composition, in which the different parts of the text, including 1.3b–6, clearly correspond to each other.[16] The second point concerns the assumption that the text only bears traces of synoptic traditions in the discernible additions. Here the analysis shows that there are traces of the same traditions as we find in Matthew throughout Did. 1–6.[17] The ethical teaching in Did. 1–6 has exactly the same "cornerstones" as its counterpart in Matthew, and shows other striking similarities to it as well.

1 An Analysis of How the Text in Did. 1–6 Is Structured

The manuscript has two headings: "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" (διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων) and "The Teaching of the Lord to the Nations through the Twelve Apostles" (διδαχὴ κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν). The text then begins in 1.1 with two statements that serve to indicate the theme of the entire section that Did. 1–6 constitutes: "There are two ways, one of life and one of death, and there is a great difference between the two ways" (ὁδοὶ δύο … διαφορὰ δὲ πολλή …).

lines of thought. Although we use different models, our analyses result in similar arrangements of the text.

15 For a theoretical reflection on these types of linguistic phenomena and their text-structuring functions, see Holmstrand, *Markers and Meaning*, 15–34.

16 My question of a coherent composition is limited to Did. 1–6. I do not take any position on whether other parts of the Didache were also included in that composition.

17 I presently confine myself to observing that there are traces of the same traditions in Matthew and in Did. 1–6, which indicates that the two texts are interdependent in some way. I do not want to define more precisely what that interdependence looks like, whether one text is directly dependent on the other or whether they go back to a common source or common traditions.

This is followed in 1.2a by a statement that clarifies that what first follows is a description of the way of life: "So the way of life is this" (ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστιν αὕτη). The conclusive particle οὖν relates the new statement to the one in 1.1 and suggests that what follows develops it. The particle μέν indicates that it is the first aspect of the statement that is now developed, namely "the way of life" (ἡ … ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς), and thus clarifies that we can later also expect a development of the other aspect, "the way of death" (cf. ἡ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου ὁδός ἐστιν αὕτη in 5.1). The theme-indicating function of the statement is evident from the cataphoric αὕτη.

The description of "the way of life" begins in 1.2b with two general commandments that summarise its meaning. They are coordinated by the adversative particle δέ, indicating that there is something of a contrast between them. The first commandment is positive and consists of a variant of the double commandment of love: "First, you shall love God who has made you; second, your neighbour as yourself." The second commandment is negative and consists of the "Golden Rule" in its negative form: "Whatever you do not want to happen to you, do not do it yourself to another." In this way, the author summarises the meaning of "the way of life" by giving both a general positive instruction on how to behave and a general negative one on how not to.

In 1.3a comes a new statement with a theme-indicating function: "The teaching of these words is this" (τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ διδαχή ἐστιν αὕτη). The expression "these words" (τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων) probably refers to the two previous general commandments summarising the meaning of the way of life, and "this" (αὕτη) refers to what will be said in the following. The statement in 1.3a thus makes it clear that what now follows is an expansion on the two previous commandments. That something partly new is beginning in 1.3a is also marked by the adversative particle δέ.

The expansion begins with a group of four exhortations in 1.3b–h, which are related to each other in both form and content. They are all formulated in the second person plural present imperative, they are coordinated by καί or δέ, and they call for love of one's enemies. The first three of them follow each other directly and imply a certain intensification in terms of both the subject's action and the hostility of the object: "Bless those who curse you and [καί] pray for your enemies, and [δέ] fast for those who persecute you." The three exhortations are followed by an explanatory comment (γάρ) in the form of two rhetorical questions: "For what thanks [should you have], if you love those who love you? Do not even the nations do the same?" This group of exhortations is then rounded off with one that summarises the previous ones, and with a statement of the consequence of obeying them: "But you, love those who hate you, and you will have no enemy."[18] The exhortation begins with an emphatic indication of the subject (ὑμεῖς δέ), which contrasts "you" with "the nations" (τὰ ἔθνη). The very fact that the four exhortations are positive means that they primarily connect with the first of the two general commandments in 1.2, that is, the double love commandment. That the concluding and summarising exhortation is precisely an exhortation to love makes that connection even clearer.

In 1.4, the construction made up of similar exhortations is interrupted and something partly new begins. This is marked by formal changes. The next exhortation is added asyndetically and not with a connective particle, and it has the verb in the second person singular instead of the second person plural. But it is also marked by changes in terms of content. The previous exhortations called for love for one's enemies, but this one reads: "Reject the desires of the flesh and the body."

The new exhortation is followed by a new group of four that are related to each other in terms of both form and content. They all begin with similar conditional clauses (ἐάν + τις + verb in the aorist subjunctive), they follow each other asyndetically and they have the verb in the second person singular imperative. All the exhortations are about not resisting ill-treatment, but overcoming evil with good. Here, too, we can observe a certain intensification in both the ill-treatment and the response to it: "If someone strikes you on the right cheek, turn to him the other also … If someone compels you to go one mile, go with him two. If someone takes your cloak, give him also your tunic. If someone takes from you what is yours, do not demand it back." From these exhortations it becomes clear which "desires of the flesh and the body" the initial exhortation in 1.4 is referring to, namely the desires not to be struck, to avoid a strenuous walk, to avoid freezing and not to lose belongings. Thus, it also becomes clear that the exhortations in 1.4 are related to those calling for love of enemies in 1.3, although the angle of approach is slightly different.

Like the exhortations in 1.3, those in 1.4 have also been provided with an explanation (γάρ) and an indication of consequence (καί + the future indicative). Here, though, the indication of consequence, "and you will be perfect,"

18 The future indicative "you will have" (ἕξετε) can also be interpreted as an exhortation or a command. But when the form, as here, is coordinated with an imperative (φιλεῖτε) by means of a καί, it is more natural, I think, to interpret it as a statement of consequence. The same type of construction recurs in later sentences: "… turn to him the other also, and you will be perfect" (στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην καὶ ἔσῃ τέλειος). In that case, too, it seems more natural to interpret the future indicative as a statement of consequence, which makes it even more likely that ἕξετε is also to be interpreted in that way. In practice, however, the difference in meaning is not great.

comes straight after the first exhortation, and the explanation, "for neither are you able" (οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι), only after the last one.

With 1.5, the construction made up of repeated conditional sentences of the same kind is interrupted. Now there is instead a general exhortation that is linked to the two previous ones in terms of content (cf. δός and μὴ ἀπαίτει) but raises them to a more general level: "Give [δίδου] to everyone who asks you, and do not demand it back [μὴ ἀπαίτει]." This indicates that a conclusion is approaching, an impression that is reinforced by the fact that the exhortation is first supported (γάρ) by a reference to the Father's wish "that to each one should be given from his own gifts," and then followed up by a blessing for the one who gives according to "the commandment" and a cry of woe to the one who takes. As in the two groups of exhortations in 1.3 and 1.4, we have here both an explanation and a kind of indication of consequence.

Since almost all the exhortations in 1.3–5 have been positive, and have concerned love and generosity even towards those who are hostile, they primarily relate to the first of the two general commandments in 1.2, that is, the double commandment of love. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the person who gives according to "the commandment" is someone who gives according to the double love commandment—especially since this commandment appears to have been regarded as the central one, summarising the whole law, in the Jesus movement of the first century CE.[19] In that case, we have a reference here to the very point of departure for the expansion on the double commandment from 1.3, which may indicate that the expansion is about to be concluded.[20]

---

19 Matt 22:34–37 states this explicitly. We can also note that virtually all the sayings of Jesus mentioned in Did. 1.3–6 are found in direct connection with comments on the commandment of love in Matt 5:43–48. Cf. Gal 6:2, John 13:34–35, 1 John 2:7–11, 3:11, 23, 4:21. Cf. also Rom 12:9–21, Eph 5:1, 1 Pet 3:8–9. Anthony Giambrone, "'According to the Commandment' (Did. 1.5): Lexical Reflections on Almsgiving as 'The Commandment,'" *NTS* 60 (2014): 448–465, is of the opinion that the reference to "the commandment" in Did. 1.5 should be understood against the background that during the time of the Second Temple the word ἐντολή had begun to be used in Jewish tradition with reference to the commandment to give alms. What can speak for such an understanding of the expression is that there are also references to "the commandment" in Did. 13.5, 7 in connection with a discussion about taking the first fruit (ἀπαρχή) and giving it to the prophets or to the poor. But sharing what you have with others can also be seen as a practical application of the love commandment. We should observe, in addition, that the giving in Did. 1.5 is not about giving the first fruit (ἀπαρχή) but about giving to anyone who asks you for anything. We can also note that the exhortations to give here are in parallel to the exhortations to turn the other cheek, go another mile and so on.

20 Milavec, *Didache*, 102–103, assumes that the exhortations in 1.3–6 concern our attitude to "outsiders," in contrast to those in 3.7–4.14, which concern our attitude to "insiders." How-

Before the conclusion is completed, however, we find what seems to be an afterthought: "But also concerning this it has been said: Your alms may give sweat to your hands, until you have understood to whom you should give."[21]

In 2.1, there is a clear new start. It is marked by the adversative particle δέ and a new indication of theme: "The second commandment of the teaching" (δευτέρα δὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς διδαχῆς).[22] In contrast to the indications of theme in 1.2 and 1.3, this one does not consist of a clause, but a phrase that functions as a kind of heading. If the exhortations in 1.3–6 were primarily linked to the double love commandment and the term "the commandment" in 1.5 referred to it, we can suspect that the formulation "the second commandment of the teaching" in 2.1 refers to the second of the two general commandments in 1.2, that is, the Golden Rule in its negative form. In that case, what begins now is an expansion of that commandment. This suspicion is confirmed by the fact that almost all of the following instructions are negative. The transition to negative instructions was prepared for to some extent by the addition of an exhortation not to demand back to the exhortation to give in both 1.4 and 1.5. With the exception of this addition, all the exhortations in 1.3–6 were positive, but from 2.1 onwards, the focus is instead on negative instructions.[23]

---

ever, I find it unlikely that the exhortations in 1.3–6 specifically refer to our attitude to "outsiders," for three reasons: (1) If the section 1.3–6 had had such a focus, it would probably have been made clearer at the beginning and/or end of the section. (2) According to 1.3, this is an expansion on the general commandments in 1.2, which obviously apply to all people. (3) Matt 5:43–48 also comments on the love commandment in terms of love of enemies, in order to emphasise its universality.

21 There is a lot that is uncertain here. It is unclear how the quote actually reads, where it comes from and how it should be interpreted in this context.

22 The construction δευτέρα … ἐντολή is formally indefinite, but in headings the definite article is often omitted. Cf., e.g., the headings διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων and διδαχὴ κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν at the beginning of the Didache.

23 Niederwimmer (*Didache*, 45) thinks that the author of Did. 1–6 has added the expression "the second commandment of the teaching" in 2.1 to mark the transition from the section with material added from the Gospels in 1.3b–6 ("*Sectio evangelica*") to the text of the Jewish original on which his text is based. "The second commandment of the teaching" then refers to the subsequent Jewish material, which means that the preceding material from the Gospels stands out as "the first commandment of the teaching." However, since both the preceding and the subsequent material consist of several commandments, it seems strange that the author should use the word "commandment" in the singular to describe them. The choice of form becomes much more comprehensible, I think, if one assumes that the two commandments in 1.2 are meant to summarise the whole teaching and that 1.3b–6 then expands on the first commandment and 2.1–7 on the second. That the author, from 1.3b, is expanding on the two commandments in 1.2 is also said explicitly in 1.3a: "The teaching of these words is this."

After the theme-indicating expression "the second commandment of the teaching" comes a set of short, negative, asyndetically joined commandments of the same kind as we find in the Decalogue (Exod 20:1–17, Deut 5:1–21). As in the Decalogue, the commandments have the verb in the second person singular future indicative, which distinguishes them from the exhortations in 1.3–6, where the verb is in the imperative. In this set, we find all the commandments in the Decalogue that are negative and focused on fellow human beings, but they come in a different order here and have been supplemented with other, similar ones, which have to some extent been inserted between those of the Decalogue.[24] The first fourteen commandments deal with specific actions. What has determined their order is not entirely clear, but the progression may be from more tangible to less tangible actions (physical abuse, physical manipulation, abuse in words and thoughts). The first commandment is "you shall not commit murder" (2.2a). Then there are three commandments against sexual sins: "You shall not commit adultery, you shall not corrupt a child, and you shall not commit fornication" (2.2b–d). Then comes one against theft (2.2e), followed by four against forbidden manipulation: "you shall not practise magic, you shall not make potions, you shall not kill a child by abortion nor kill it when born" (2.2f–k). The last two of these commandments are coordinated by οὐδέ and therefore appear as a double commandment. The last five commandments against specific actions concern thoughts and statements: "you shall not covet what belongs to your neighbour, you shall not swear falsely, you shall not bear false witness, you shall not speak evil, and you shall not bear a grudge" (2.2l–3).

The fourteen commandments against different kinds of "doing" are followed in 2.4–6 by three against different ways of "being" (οὐκ ἔσῃ … οὐκ ἔσται … οὐκ ἔσῃ …). This can be seen as a sharpening of the commandments. The first of these, which is directed against being double-minded and double-tongued, has been provided with an explanation, which breaks the previous pattern and is suggestive of a minor new start (2.4). The next commandment is that a person's speech shall not be false or empty but completed in action (2.5). The last commandment says that you shall not be a coveter, nor a robber, nor a hypocrite, nor malicious, nor arrogant (2.6).

In 2.6b, the series of commandments expressed with the verb "to be" ends. Instead, five more generally worded ones follow: "You shall not conceive an evil plan against your neighbour, you shall not hate any human being, but some you shall reprove, and for others you shall pray, and others you shall love more

24 In Exod 20:13–17 and Deut 5:17–21, the commandments οὐ φονεύσεις and οὐ κλέψεις come in a different order, but otherwise the order of the commandments is the same in those two texts. The order in Did. 2.2–7, however, differs in several respects from that order.

than your own life." There are several indications that these commandments conclude the expansion on "the second commandment of the teaching" that began in 2.1 and thus the whole section from 1.3 with expansions on the two general commandments in 1.2. The general character of the commandments alone gives an impression of this being a summary and conclusion. In addition, they are clearly related in terms of content to the two general commandments summarising the way of life in 1.2, not least to the first of them, the double love commandment (cf. οὐ … κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου, οὐ μισήσεις … ἀλλά … ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχήν σου). The fact that the negative commandments are now supplemented with positive ones also indicates a connection with 1.2, where the way of life was described by both a positive and a negative commandment (cf. the conclusion in 1.5–6, where we also found both a positive and a negative commandment). Furthermore, we can note that the wording "some you shall reprove, and for others you shall pray, and others you shall love more than your own life" is reminiscent of the beginning of the expansion on the double love commandment in 1.3 ("Bless those who curse you, and pray for your enemies, and fast for those who persecute you"). With the conclusion in 2.6b–7, the author has expanded on both the double love commandment (1.3–6) and the Golden Rule in its negative form (2.1–7).

In 3.1, there is a clear new start in the text. It is marked by asyndeton, the address "my child" (τέκνον μου), and a change from commandments in the future indicative to exhortations in the present imperative. Both the address and the change to the present imperative imply that from 3.1, the text assumes a more personal focus than before. This impression is reinforced by the fact that the exhortations focus on how to be (γίνου, ἴσθι) rather than what to do (οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, etc.), that is, on the person rather than the action. At the same time, we can observe that the exhortations that follow are clearly linked to the commandments in 2.1–7 and that they, to a greater extent than the previous commandments, have been provided with explanations of various kinds. All this means that the section beginning in 3.1 is more of a personal comment on the previous description of the way of life, and of a sharpening of the commandments in 2.1–7 in the sense that the focus now is on attitudes rather than actions.[25]

25 Jean-Paul Audet, *La Didachè: Instructions des apôtres*, Études Bibliques (Paris: Gabalda, 1958), 283, assumes that 3.1–6 and 3.7–4.14 are later additions in the original, additions that relate to 2.2–7 in such a way that 2.2–7 contains "instruction for the Gentiles," 3.1–6 "instruction of the wise" and 3.7–4.14 "instruction for the poor." Niederwimmer (*Didache*) argues that only 3.1–6 can be shown to be an addition (88–89 n. 3). According to him, 3.1–6 is related to the Jewish wisdom tradition and presents the teaching within the framework

The first exhortation is of a general character and reads: "Flee from everything evil and everything similar to it." It refers back to the commandments in 2.1–7, which have just told us what not to do, and adds that we should consistently avoid all such things and anything that is in line with them. It thus gives an instruction on how we should interpret and relate to the previous commandments. Then, in 3.2–6, there are five exhortations provided with comments, which develop and illustrate this. All of them have the same basic structure. They begin (with the exception of the first one) with the address τέκνον μου, "my child," followed by the imperative μὴ γίνου, "do not become," and a predicative adjective or noun. Then there is a comment, introduced by γάρ or ἐπειδή, explaining what that which the exhortation forbids will lead to (ὁδηγεῖ). After the comment, the initial imperative (μὴ γίνου) is provided with another two or three predicative nouns, adjectives or participles (μηδέ … μηδέ …), before the construction is rounded off with a γάρ-clause that clarifies what will be engendered of all the things mentioned (ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἁπάντων … γεννᾶται).

In terms of content, the five exhortations follow the presentation in 2.1–7, and relate in turn to various commandments there. The first one (3.2), "do not become one who is inclined to anger," relates to the commandment "you shall not commit murder" (cf. πρὸς τὸν φόνον … φόνοι γεννῶνται in 3.2). The second (3.3), "do not become one who is lustful," relates to the commandments "you shall not commit adultery" and "you shall not commit fornication" (cf. πρὸς τὴν πορνείαν … μοιχεῖαι γεννῶνται in 3.3). The third exhortation (3.4), "do not become an observer of omens," appears to be related to the commandment "you shall not practise magic" (cf. εἰς τὴν εἰδωλολατρίαν … εἰδωλολατρία γεννᾶται in 3.4, combined with the fact that εἰδωλολατρίαι and μαγεῖαι, "magic arts," appear together in 5.1). The fourth exhortation (3.5), "do not become a liar," relates to the commandment "you shall not steal" (cf. εἰς τὴν κλοπήν and κλοπαὶ γεννῶνται in 3.5), but is probably also related to the commandments "you shall not covet what belongs to your neighbour," "you shall not swear falsely," and "you shall not bear false witness." The fifth exhortation (3.6), "do not become a grumbler," appears to be related to the commandments "you shall not speak evil" and "you shall not bear a grudge" (cf. εἰς τὴν βλασφημίαν … βλασφημίαι γεννῶνται in 3.6).

---

of a teacher–student relationship (96). In 3.7–10 the form is different. It is related to the Jewish *anawim* piety which we find, for example, in the Hebrew Bible (100). In my opinion, these two commentators focus so strongly on tradition-historical and redaction-critical issues that they fail to see and do justice to all the links there actually are between the different sections of the present text.

In 3.7, the construction is somewhat altered. Instead of an exhortation beginning with "my child, do not become …" (τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου …), we find a couple of positive exhortations joined to what precedes by the adversative particle δέ.[26] But there are also certain structural similarities between these exhortations and those in the preceding verses. They consist, for example, of the imperative "be" (ἴσθι) and an adjective, an ἐπεί-clause, and the imperative "become" (γίνου) followed by several predicative adjectives and participles (καί … καί …). The exhortations are general in character ("Be gentle, since the gentle shall inherit the earth. Become patient and merciful and innocent and quiet and good, always trembling at the words that you have heard"), and they correspond fairly well to the initial exhortations in 3.1–2 ("Flee from everything evil … Do not become one who is inclined to anger …"). This indicates that a closing is at hand. Before the closing is completed, however, there is a negative double exhortation in 3.9, which corresponds to the previous positive ones: "you shall not exalt yourself, nor give arrogance to your soul." There also follows a double exhortation, "your soul shall not cling to haughty people but you shall associate with the righteous and humble." In 3.10, finally, there is a call for trust: "Receive the things that happen to you as good, knowing that nothing happens apart from God." The concluding exhortations in 3.9–10 have the verb in the future indicative instead of the present imperative.

After the conclusion in 3.7–10, there is a minor new start in 4.1. It is marked by the address "my child" (τέκνον μου) and exhortations with a partly different focus from those in the previous section (3.1–10). If the latter focused on the importance of consistently avoiding everything that is evil, the exhortations from 4.1 focus rather on how the commandments are to be realised among the Christ-believers. The first three exhortations, in 4.1–2, are about our attitude to "the one who speaks God's word" and to "the holy ones": "You shall remember night and day the one who speaks God's word to you, and you shall honour that person as the Lord. For whence the Lordship is spoken of, there the Lord is. And you shall daily seek out the presence of the holy ones, so that you may find rest in their words."

26 Audet (*Didachè*, 283) is right that there is new start in 3.7, but I agree with Niederwimmer (*Didache*, 88–89 n. 3, 100 n. 1) that he puts it at too high a level, as he has 3.7 start a section that does not end until 4.14. Niederwimmer argues that 3.7 starts a section that ends in 3.10 and is at the same level as 3.1–6 and 4.1–14 (as does Pardee, *Genre and Development of the Didache*, 87). I think that there is good reason to put the new start at an even lower level. In my view, rather than starting a new section at the same level as 3.1–6, 3.7 begins the conclusion of the section that started in 3.1.

There is a new start in 4.1, then, but it is not a very prominent one. The address "my child" (τέκνον μου) was also characteristic of the previous section (see 3.1, 3–6), and the exhortations in 4.1–2 are fairly closely linked in terms of content to the ones at the end of the previous section (cf. "become … always trembling at the words that you have heard" in 3.8 and "you shall associate with the righteous and humble" in 3.9). Like the exhortations in 3.9–10, those in 4.1 are also expressed in the future indicative.

The exhortations in 4.1–2 were coordinated by δέ. The next one, in 4.3, is joined asyndetically. It is the first exhortation in a group of five in 4.3–4. They are about not causing division, but bringing those who contend to peace and judging righteously,[27] not respecting persons when reproving for transgressions and not being undecided whether to do so or not. These exhortations are thematically related to the ones about loving enemies and not resisting ill-treatment in the first part of the expansion on the double love commandment in 1.3–4.

In 4.5, the pattern of exhortations in the future indicative is broken for one in the present imperative (μὴ γίνου). It begins a group of seven exhortations that revolve around not taking, but giving to those in need, and sharing everything with one's brother or sister (4.5–8). These exhortations are thematically related to the latter part of the expansion on the double love commandment in 1.4–6.

In 4.9 there is, then, an exhortation not to withhold your hand from your son or daughter, but to teach them the fear of God from their youth. This is followed, in 4.10–11, by two exhortations concerning the relationship between masters and slaves. The first urges masters not to command their Christ-believing slaves in their bitterness, the second calls on slaves to be obedient to their masters as to a type of God.

In 4.12–14a, five exhortations in the second person singular follow, which are general in character and give the impression of forming a conclusion. The first one reads "you shall hate all hypocrisy and all that does not please the Lord" (4.12). It is related in particular to the first part of the comment with a personal focus that began in 3.1, the part that emphasised the importance of consistently avoiding every evil (3.1–10). This indicates that the comment that began in 3.1 is now approaching its conclusion. The next two exhortations are: "You shall never abandon the commandments of the Lord, but keep what you have received, neither adding nor taking away anything" (4.13). They are related in particular to the second part of the personal comment, the part that deals with

27 The translation "you shall not cause division" is based on the reading οὐ ποιήσεις σχίσμα, which presupposes an emendation to the manuscript, which reads οὐ ποθήσεις σχίσμα, "you shall not have desire for division."

the realisation of the commandments among the Christ-believers (chapter 4). So, too, are the last two exhortations: “In the congregation you shall confess your transgressions, and you shall not approach your prayer with an evil conscience” (4.14a–b).

The concluding exhortations in 4.12–14b are followed, in 4.14c, by a thematic statement that refers back to what has previously been said: “This is the way of life.” That this statement refers backwards is evident from the anaphoric αὕτη. The thematic statement makes clear that the exhortations in 4.12–14b conclude not only the section about realising the commandments among Christ-believers in 4.1–14b, and the comment with a personal focus in 3.1–4.14b, but the whole description of the way of life that began in 1.2. This was also indicated by the thematic links to 1.3–6 earlier in this section (in 4.1–8).

The conclusion in 4.12–14 is followed by a fresh start in 5.1, marked by the adversative particle δέ and a thematic statement referring to what follows in the text: “But the way of death is this.” That this statement refers forwards is clear from the cataphoric αὕτη. The formulation ἡ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου ὁδός ἐστιν αὕτη corresponds to the wording ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστιν αὕτη in 1.2 and confirms that the description of the way of life has now ended and is to be followed by a description of the way of death.

Like ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστιν αὕτη in 1.2, the thematic statement ἡ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου ὁδός ἐστιν αὕτη in 5.1 is followed by a formulation that begins with πρῶτον: “First of all, it is evil and full of curses.” Then, 5.1 has an enumeration of all kinds of evil deeds and states, which very closely follows the presentations in 2.1–6 and 3.1–9. From φόνοι to ψευδομαρτυρίαι, the enumeration follows the presentations in 2.1–3 and 3.2–6 almost point by point. In the rest of the enumeration, the correspondence is somewhat freer, but ten out of thirteen terms still have direct equivalents in chapters 2 and 3.

With 5.2, the enumeration of abstract verbal nouns describing different evil deeds and states is replaced by an enumeration of noun, adjective and participle phrases that describe people who act in an evil way. The change can be compared to the one seen in 2.4, where the previous commandments that had referred to different kinds of “doing” were replaced by commandments referring to different ways of “being.”

It is not entirely clear what has determined the organisation of the new enumeration. After the first six noun and participle phrases, the enumeration is interrupted by a relative clause that reads: “from whom modesty and patience are far.” The noun and participle phrases that precede the relative clause describe people who persecute the good, hate the truth, love lies, do not know the reward of righteousness, do not cleave to the good nor to righteous judgement, and do not watch out for good but for evil. All these descriptions correspond well to common notions in the Jewish and Christian traditions of how evil and godless people in positions of power behave.

After the relative clause come another twelve noun, adjective and participle phrases describing the behaviour of people who do what is evil. These, too, correspond to traditional notions of evil and godless people. The first two participle phrases ("loving vain things, pursuing recompense") differ from those preceding the relative clause in that they suggest the motive behind the evil behaviour. The following nine noun or participle phrases have in common that they all (with one exception) indicate personal objects of the actions that are described or implied (the poor, the oppressed, the creator, children, God's creation, the person in need, the afflicted, the wealthy and the poor). There is something of a parallel here to the description of the way of life in 1.2–4.14, which also ended with a description of how you should behave or not behave towards different people around you (4.1–14b). The enumeration in 5.2 ends with an adjective which summarily describes those who pursue the way of death as "altogether sinful." The whole description of that way is then concluded by a wish expressed by a verb in the optative: "Children, may you be kept safe from all these things" (ῥυσθείητε, τέκνα, ἀπὸ τούτων ἁπάντων). Expressing a desired consequence in this way in itself indicates a conclusion, an impression that is reinforced by the anaphoric and summarising phrase "all these things" (τούτων ἁπάντων).

That the description of the way of death was concluded with 5.2 is confirmed by the fact that there is a minor new start in 6.1. This is marked by the shift in mood (from the optative to the imperative) and number (from the second person plural to the second person singular), but also by the fact that the exhortation in 6.1 is on a different level from the presentation in 5.1–2: "See that no one leads you astray from this way of the teaching." That it is on a different level is clear from the fact that "this way of the teaching" (ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς διδαχῆς) cannot refer to "the way of death," but must refer to the presentation from 1.1 in its entirety (compare the heading διδαχὴ κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν before 1.1). This gives the exhortation a summary character, which indicates that the entire presentation from 1.1 is now about to be concluded. The exhortation is supported by several explanatory comments. The first one is given in a subordinate clause: "since that one teaches you apart from God." Then comes another explanatory comment in 6.1, linked to the preceding exhortation by the explanatory conjunction γάρ: "For if you are able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, you will be perfect. But if you are not able, do what you are able." In this comment, there are three formulations that are reminiscent of the introduction to the entire presentation from 1.1. The first one is the expression "the yoke of the Lord" (τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ κυρίου), which is reminiscent of the introductory heading "the teaching of the Lord ..." (διδαχὴ κυρίου ...). The other two are the wordings "if you are able ... But if you are not able ... what you are able" (εἰ μὲν ... δύνασαι ... εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι, ὃ δύνῃ ...) and "you will be perfect" (τέλειος ἔσῃ), both of which have equivalents in 1.4. These reminders reinforce the impression that the entire presentation from 1.1 is now about to be concluded.

There may be another addition before the conclusion is completed. In that case, it is the following formulation in 6.3: "And concerning food (περὶ δὲ τῆς βρωσέως), bear what you are able. But keep strictly away from what is sacrificed to idols. For it is the worship of dead gods." However, there are two reasons to question whether this formulation really belongs to the conclusion of the text that began in 1.1. The first concerns its content. So far, the text has not been about food regulations at all. It would be strange if this theme suddenly appeared without warning in the text's very last formulation. The second reason is formal. In the continuation of the Didache, new subjects are introduced several times precisely by the expression περὶ δέ ... (7.1, 9.1, 11.3; cf. also 9.2, 3). The question is, therefore, whether the formulation in 6.3 does not have a more independent role in the Didache, constituting, so to speak, a separate subject, even if the author treats it very briefly.[28] But there are also indications that the formulation could nevertheless belong to the conclusion of the teaching about the "two ways." First, the wording is in some respects closely related to that in the previous verse ("bear what you are able"). Secondly, it is somewhat short to constitute a separate subject. Thirdly, 7.1 has an anaphoric "all these things," probably referring to the teaching about the "two ways." Neither of the two alternative interpretations is unproblematic. With some hesitation, I choose the second of them and interpret the comment on food regulations in 6.3 as belonging to the conclusion of the teaching about the "two ways."[29]

The results of my analysis of how the text in Did. 1–6 is structured can be summarised in the following overview:

---

28 Thus, for example, Milavec, *Didache*, 234–235. Jefford, *Didache*, 2, argues that 6.3 belongs to a section that begins in 6.3 and ends in chapter 10, and that deals with "how the Christian is to conduct the daily affairs of a ritually appropriate life." But the question is whether the short exhortation to bear what one is able in terms of food is really comparable to the following fairly detailed instructions on how to baptise, fast, pray and celebrate the Eucharist. Another problem is the reference to "all these things" in 7.1, which refers rather to chapters 1–6 than to 6.3.

29 Others who interpret the comment on food regulations in 6.3 as belonging to the conclusion of the teaching about the "two ways" include Syreeni, "Sermon on the Mount," 88, and Niederwimmer, *Didache*, 123–124.

I. 1.1 Introductory statements about the two ways and the difference between them

II. 1.2–5.2 Description of the two ways

- 1. 1.2–4.14 Description of the way of life
  - A. 1.2 A summary description of the way of life
    - a. 1.2a Statement that what follows is a description of the way of life
    - b. 1.2b The "double love commandment" (positive aspect)
    - c. 1.2c The "Golden Rule" in its negative form (negative aspect)
  - B. 1.3–2.7 A fuller description of the way of life
    - a. 1.3–6 A fuller description of the positive aspect
      - α. 1.3a Statement that what follows is an expansion on the previous summary
      - β. 1.3b–h Exhortations to "love one's enemies"
      - γ. 1.4 Exhortations not to resist ill-treatment but to overcome evil with good
      - δ. 1.5–6 Exhortations to generosity
    - b. 2.1–7 A fuller description of the negative aspect
      - α. 2.1 Statement that what follows is an expansion on the second commandment
      - β. 2.2–3 Fourteen negative commandments against different kinds of "doing" (with reference to the Decalogue)
        - α^1. 2.2a A commandment against murder
        - β^1. 2.2b–d Three commandments against sexual sins
        - γ^1. 2.2e A commandment against theft
        - δ^1. 2.2f–k Four commandments against forbidden manipulation
        - ε^1. 2.2l–2.3 Five commandments against evil thoughts and deceitful speech
      - γ. 2.4–6a Three commandments against different ways of "being"
      - δ. 2.6b–7 Commandments about not hating anyone but loving one's neighbour
  - C. 3.1–4.14b Personal comments on the way of life as presented in chs 1–2
    - a. 3.1–10 Exhortations emphasising the importance of consistently avoiding everything evil

- α. 3.1 An introductory general exhortation to flee from everything evil and everything like it
- β. 3.2 Comments related to the commandment “you shall not commit murder” (cf. 2.2)
- γ. 3.3 Comments related to the commandments “you shall not commit adultery,” “you shall not commit fornication” (cf. 2.2)
- δ. 3.4 Comments related to the commandment “you shall not practise magic” (cf. 2.2)
- ε. 3.5 Comments related to the commandments “you shall not steal,” “you shall not covet what belongs to your neighbour,” “you shall not swear falsely,” and “you shall not bear false witness” (cf. 2.2–3)
- ζ. 3.6 Comments related to the commandments “you shall not speak evil” and “you shall not bear a grudge” (cf. 2.3)
- η. 3.7–10 Concluding exhortations
  - α1. 3.7–8 Positive exhortations to be gentle and good
  - β1. 3.9a–b Negative exhortations not to exalt oneself and not to be arrogant
  - γ1. 3.9c–d Exhortation not to associate with haughty people but with the humble
  - δ1. 3.10 Concluding exhortation to trust God

b. 4.1–14b Realisation of the commandments in the congregation

- α. 4.1–2 Heed the one who speaks the word of God
- β. 4.3–4 Do not cause division and judge righteously
- γ. 4.5–8 Give to those in need and share everything with your brothers and sisters
- δ. 4.9 Take care of your children and teach them the fear of God
- ε. 4.10–11 Masters shall not be angry with their slaves, and slaves shall be obedient to their masters
- ζ. 4.12–14 Concluding exhortations
  - α1. 4.12 Hate all hypocrisy and all that does not please the Lord
  - β1. 4.13 Heed the commandments of the Lord
  - γ1. 4.14a–b Confess your transgressions in the congregation

D. 4.14c Concluding statement that what has been taught is the way of life

2. 5.1–2 Description of the way of death

A. 5.1a Statement that what follows is a description of the way of death

B. 5.1b Enumeration of evil actions

C. 5.2c Enumeration of evil people and what they are like

D. 5.2d A concluding wish: "May you be kept safe from all these things"

III. 6.1–2(3) Concluding exhortations about how to relate to "the teaching"

1. 6.1 A general final exhortation: Do not be led away from this way of the teaching

2. 6.2–3 Explanatory additions

A. 6.2 Do as much as you are able

B. 6.3 Concerning food, do what you are able, but keep away from what is sacrificed to idols

2 Tradition-Historical Implications of the Analysis

As I mentioned in the introduction, my analysis demonstrates that there is reason to modify the common view of the tradition history of the text in two respects. First, the text appears to be more uniform and coherent than is commonly assumed, and secondly, Did. 1–6 in its entirety, not just 1.3b–6, bears traces of the same traditions as we find in Matthew. In the following, I shall discuss these two points in turn.

1. From the analysis above, the text in Did. 1–6 emerges as a carefully thought-out, well-structured and coherent composition, the different parts of which correspond to each other. As we saw, the text begins with a brief statement that there are two completely different ways, the way of life and the way of death (1.1). These two ways are then described. First comes a detailed description of the way of life (1.2–4.14), then a brief description of the way of death (5.1–2). The text concludes with a few exhortations about how to relate to the teaching presented (6.1–3). This overall structure is clearly marked on the text surface:

1.1 Ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσί, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου …
1.2 Ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστιν αὕτη …
4.14 Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς.
5.1 Ἡ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου ὁδός ἐστιν αὕτη· …
5.2 Ῥυσθείητε, τέκνα, ἀπὸ τούτων ἁπάντων.
6.1 Ὅρα μή τις σε πλανήσῃ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς διδαχῆς …

The detailed description of the way of life in 1.2–4.14 begins with a short summary in the form of the double commandment of love and the Golden Rule in its negative form in 1.2. The text thus gives both a positive instruction on how to behave, and a negative one on how not to behave. Thereafter, the author gives a fuller description of the way of love by expanding first on the positive commandment (1.3–6) and then on the negative one (2.1–7). After the expansion comes a personal comment on the teaching given so far, addressing two things. First, it emphasises the importance of being consistent in one's behaviour (3.1–10). Second, it gives instructions on how the commandments are to be realised in the congregation (4.1–14b). This structure is also clearly marked on the text surface:

1.2 Ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστιν αὕτη …
1.3 Τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ διδαχή ἐστιν αὕτη· …
2.1 Δευτέρα δὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς διδαχῆς …
3.1 Τέκνον μου …
4.1 Τέκνον μου …
4.14 Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς.

In addition, the expansion in 1.3–2.7 concludes, in 2.6b–7, with some general exhortations, which clearly relate to both the double love commandment and the Golden Rule in its negative form, that is, the two summary commandments that are the starting points for the expansion. The personal comment in 3.1–4.14b likewise concludes with some general exhortations in 4.12–14b, which capture both the matters addressed by the comment.

The expansion on the double commandment of love in 1.3–6 also constitutes an integral part of the whole. In 2.7, the expansion on the Golden Rule in its negative form is concluded with a formulation ("some you shall reprove, and for others you shall pray, and others you shall love more than your own life") which is related to the beginning of the expansion on the double love commandment in 1.3b–h ("bless those who curse you and [καί] pray for your enemies … love those who hate you"). In addition, we can note that 1.3–6 emphasises that you must love your enemies (1.3), not resist ill-treatment (1.4), and be generous (1.5–6). Correspondingly, the personal comment emphasises that it is necessary not to cause division but to bring those who contend to peace (4.3–4), and also to be generous and share everything with your brothers and sisters (4.5–8). Moreover, we may observe that in the description of the way of death in 5.1–2, those who persecute the good ones are highlighted, people who also play an important part at the beginning of the expansion on the double love commandment (see 1.3–4). Finally, it may be noted that the concluding exhortations in 6.1–3 have two formulations (Εἰ μὲν … δύνασαι … εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι, ὃ δύνῃ … and τέλειος ἔσῃ) that are reminiscent of the text in 1.3–6, in particular 1.4.

Did. 1–6 thus emerges as a carefully thought-out, well-structured and coherent composition, in which the different parts of the text correspond to each other. The section 1.3–6 is an integral part of this whole. In light of this, we have reason to modify the common understanding of Did. 1–6 as a composite text, created by an older text being taken over and expanded with discernible additions. Did. 1–6 is, of course, based on traditional material, but it is unlikely that most of it comes from an older text that is more or less identical to what remains when the supposed additions are removed. Did. 1–6 is too coherent an entity for that to be likely. There are also several formulations that relate to 1.3b–6 later in Did. 1–6. Such a result can hardly be achieved by a few additions to an already existing text. If Did. 1–6 is based on the material in a single pre-existing source, that material must have undergone a thorough reworking to form such a coherent unit as is now at hand.

2. The above analysis also gives us reason to assume that the whole of Did. 1–6, not just 1.3–6, bears traces of the same traditions as those we find in Matthew. As noted above, the description of the way of life in 1.2–4.14 begins with a summary in the form of the double love commandment and the Golden Rule in its negative form in 1.2. When the author then expands on the double love commandment in 1.3–6, he uses material that we also find in Matthew's Sermon on the Mount and Luke's Sermon on the Plain. When he expands on the Golden Rule in 2.1–7, he uses material from the Decalogue (cf. Exod 20:1–17, Deut 5:1–21). The description of the way of death in 5.1–2 begins with an enumeration of evil actions and states that is closely related to the expansion in 2.1–7.

The ethical teaching in Matthew has exactly the same basic structure. Twice, the Matthean Jesus gives explicit summaries of "the law and the prophets." The first time, he does so by referring to the Golden Rule (7:12), the second by referring to the double love commandment (22:37–40). On another occasion, when asked what good deeds we must do to have eternal life, he answers by enumerating five commandments from the Decalogue, together with the commandment "you shall love your neighbour as yourself" (19:19). At the beginning of the Sermon on the Mount (5:21–48), he explicitly comments on several of these commandments. In direct connection with his comments on the commandment to love one's neighbour (5:38–48), we find the very same material that is used in the expansion on the double love commandment in Did. 1.3–6. Finally, we can note that in Matt 15:19 there is an enumeration of what defiles a human being. This enumeration corresponds to that of the commandments of the law in 19:19 in much the same way as the enumeration of evil actions and states in Did. 5.1 corresponds to the enumeration of the commandments in 2.1–7.

All the cornerstones of the ethical teaching in Did. 1–6 thus have direct equivalents in Matthew, which is not true of any of the other Gospels.[30] The fact that the Golden Rule is reproduced in its negative form in Did, 1.2, and in its positive form in Matt 7:12, makes little difference in substance. The reason the negative form is used in Did. 1.2 is probably that the author wanted to organise the ethical teaching first in positive instructions about how to behave, and then in negative ones about how not to behave. But the fact remains: In both texts, the double love commandment and the Golden Rule are used as summaries of the ethical teaching provided.

We can also see several striking similarities between Did. 1–6 and Matthew on the level of details. When the author expands on the Golden Rule in its negative form in Did 2.1–7, he reproduces only those commandments from the Decalogue that are both negative and focused on fellow human beings. In Matt 19:19, which is a general summary of "the law and the prophets," the author also adds the Decalogue's only positive commandment with a focus on fellow human beings (τίμα τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα), but instead omits the commandments not to covet anything that belongs to your neighbour. What is interesting here is that the four commandments which Did. 2.2–3 and Matt 19:19 have in common are reproduced in exactly the same order in the two texts (οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις), although that order deviates from what is found in both Exod 20:13–16 (οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις) and Deut 5:17–20 (οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις).[31] Basically the same order is also found in the comments on the commandments of the law in Matt 5:21–48 and in the enumeration of what defiles a human being in 15:19, and likewise in the description of the way of death in Did. 5.1 and in the personal comments on the previous teaching in Did. 3.1–10.[32]

30 Some of these cornerstones also have equivalents in Mark and in Luke, but in neither of those Gospels are there direct equivalents to all the cornerstones found in Matthew. Mark, for example, lacks counterparts to Matt 7:2 and the material in Matt 5:21–48, and Luke lacks an equivalent to Matt 15:19. We can also note that neither Mark nor Luke explicitly presents the double commandment of love and/or the Golden Rule as summaries of the law and the prophets in the same way as Matthew does. Details of the text in Did. 1–6 are sometimes closer to the wording in Luke than in Matthew, but if we look at the whole, the text clearly bears more similarities to Matthew than to Luke or Mark.

31 Mark 10:19 has the same order as Matt 19:19, but differs in that the commandments are formulated in the aorist subjunctive instead of the future indicative. Luke 18:20 differs in both order (like Deut 5:17–20) and verb form (like Mark 10:19). The Letter of Barnabas differs in that it includes only one of the four commandments (18.4, οὐ μοιχεύσεις).

32 B.C. Butler, "The 'Two Ways' in the Didache," *JTS* 12 (1961), 30, also notes the similarities between Did. 5.1 and Matt 15:19 in terms of the order of the vices. So too does Christopher

Regarding Did. 3.1–10, we can also note that the way of reasoning is of the same kind as in Matt 5:21–48. Compare, for example, μὴ γίνου ὀργίλος· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ὀργὴ πρὸς τὸν φόνον in Did. 3.2 with ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, οὐ φονεύσεις … ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ὀργιζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσει in Matt 5:21–22. Note also that the conclusion of Did. 3.1–10 begins in 3.7 with a wording (ἴσθι δὲ πραΰς, ἐπεὶ οἱ πραεῖς κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν) that is reminiscent of one of the beatitudes at the beginning of the Sermon on the Mount, namely Matt 5:5 (μακάριοι οἱ πραεῖς, ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσιν τὴν γῆν). Finally, we can note the following formulation in connection with the concluding exhortations in Did. 6.1–3: "For if you are able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, you will be perfect." The reference to bearing "the yoke of the Lord" (τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ κυρίου) is reminiscent of the saying of Jesus in Matt 11:29–30: "Take my yoke (τὸ ζυγόν μου) upon you, and learn from me; for I am gentle (πραΰς) and humble in heart, and you will find rest for your souls. For my yoke (ὁ … ζυγός μου) is easy, and my burden is light." This saying is only found in Matthew. Likewise, the formulation about being perfect (τέλειος ἔσῃ) is reminiscent of the sayings of Jesus in Matt 5:48 (ἔσεσθε … τέλειοι) and 19:21 (εἰ θέλεις τέλειοις εἶναι …). These sayings, too, occur only in Matthew.

If we examine the texts in detail, we will find more similarities between Did. 1–6 and the Gospel of Matthew,[33] but I shall stop here. My ambition is only to show that the ethical teaching in Did. 1–6 has exactly the same cornerstones as that in Matthew, that the two texts also have many other striking similarities, and that this is true of the texts in their entirety, not just certain parts. This contradicts the common notion that Did. 1–6 is a pre-Christian text, barely

M. Tuckett, "Synoptic Tradition in the Didache," in *The Didache in Modern Research*, ed. Jonathan Draper, AGJU 37 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 107.

33 If we look at the details, we will certainly also find differences from the formulations in Matthew. We can note, for example, that Did. 1.3 and Luke 6:32 read ποία χάρις, rather than τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε as in Matt 5:46 (for a comparative overview, see Kloppenborg, "Transformation of Moral Exhortation," 122). Text editions also generally assume that Did. 1.3 read φιλῆτε τοὺς φιλοῦντας ὑμᾶς, compared with ἀγαπήσητε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς in Matt 5:46 and ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς in Luke 6:32 (Bryennios's manuscript, however, reads the same as Luke 6:32). Differences at this level, however, are difficult to assess. We cannot know for sure what the text in either Didache or Matthew exactly was in its oldest form. Different elements of tradition may also have existed in different forms even within the same tradition. In addition, we must take into account that the authors may have chosen and adjusted traditional elements so that they would better fit into the new context, or simply better suit their personal taste. We should therefore avoid drawing too far-reaching conclusions from individual differences at this level.

Christianised by additions of specific Christian material in 1.3b–2.1 and perhaps a couple of other passages. It indicates, rather, that Did. 1–6 in its entirety was formulated within the same tradition as the Gospel of Matthew.

References

Audet, Jean-Paul. *La Didachè: Instructions des apôtres*. Études Bibliques. Paris: Gabalda, 1958.

Butler, B. Christopher. "The 'Two Ways' in the Didache," *JTS* 12 (1961): 27–38.

Del Verme, Marcello. *Didache and Judaism: Jewish Roots of an Ancient Christian-Jewish Work*. New York: T & T Clark, 2004.

Draper, Jonathan A. "The Apostolic Fathers: The Didache," *ExpTim* 117.5 (2006): 177–181.

Draper, Jonathan A. "The Didache in Modern Research: An Overview." Pages 1–42 in *The Didache in Modern Research*. Edited by Jonathan Draper. AGJU 37. Leiden: Brill, 1996.

Draper, Jonathan A. "The Jesus Tradition in the Didache." Pages 72–91 in *The Didache in Modern Research*. Edited by Jonathan Draper. AGJU 37. Leiden: Brill, 1996.

Garrow, Alan J.P. *The Gospel of Matthew's Dependence on the Didache*. JSNTSup 254. London: T & T Clark, 2004.

Giambrone, Anthony, "'According to the Commandment' (Did. 1.5): Lexical Reflections on Almsgiving as 'The Commandment'," *NTS* 60 (2014): 448–465.

Hellholm, David. *Das Visionbuch des Hermas als Apokalypse: Formgeschichtliche und texttheoretische Studien zu einer literarischen Gattung*, vol. 1: *Methodologische Vorüberlegungen und makrostrukturelle Textanalyse*. ConBNT 13. Lund: Gleerup, 1980.

Holmstrand, Jonas. *Markers and Meaning in Paul: An Analysis of 1 Thessalonians, Philippians and Galatians*. ConBNT 28. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1997.

Jefford, Clayton N. *Didache: The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, Early Christian Apocrypha 5. Salem: Polebridge, 2013.

Kloppenborg, John S. "The Transformation of Moral Exhortation in *Didache* 1–5." Pages 88–109 in *The Didache in Context: Essays on Its Text, History and Transmission*. Edited by Clayton N. Jefford. NovTSup 77. Leiden: Brill, 1995.

Layton, Bentley. "The Sources, Date and Transmission of *Didache* 1.3b–2.1," *HTR* 61 (1968): 343–383.

Lindemann, Andreas, and Henning Paulsen, eds. *Die Apostolischen Väter: Griechisch-deutsche Parallelausgabe*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992.

Milavec, Aaron. *The Didache: Faith, Hope, and Life of the Earliest Christian Communities, 50–70 C.E.* New York: Newman, 2003.

Niederwimmer, Kurt. *The Didache: A Commentary*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998.

Pardee, Nancy. *The Genre and Development of the Didache: A Text-Linguistic Analysis*. WUNT II 339. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012.

Sandt, Huub van de, and David Flusser. *The Didache: Its Jewish Sources and Its Place in Early Judaism and Christianity*. CRINT 3.5. Assen: Van Gorcum, 2002.

Schlecht, Joseph. *Doctrina XII apostolorum: Die Apostellehre in der Liturgie der katolischen Kirche*. Freiburg in Breisgau: Herder, 1901.

Syreeni, Kari. "The Sermon on the Mount and the Two Ways Teaching of the Didache." Pages 87–103 in *Matthew and the Didache: Two Documents from the Same Jewish-Christian Milieu?* Edited by Huub van de Sandt. Assen: Van Gorcum, 2005.

Tuckett, Christopher M. "Synoptic Tradition in the Didache." Pages 92–128 in *The Didache in Modern Research*. Edited by Jonathan Draper. AGJU 37. Leiden: Brill, 1996.

Wilhite, Shawn J. "Thirty-Five Years Later: A Summary of Didache Scholarship Since 1983," *CBR* 17.3 (2019): 266–305.

10

Praxeas und die Ausbreitung des „Monarchianismus“ in Rom zwischen Migration, innerchristlichen Konflikten und der Entstehung der „Orthodoxie“

András Handl

1 Einführung

Praxeas gehört zweifellos zu denjenigen Größen des frühen Christentums, die ohne eine literarische Auseinandersetzung wohl kaum über eine Randnotiz dogmengeschichtlicher Abhandlungen hinausgekommen wären. Trotz des energischen Auftretens des in Karthago lebenden Tertullianus († ca. 220) erfährt man wenig über die Person. In der Einleitung zu *Adversus Praxean* beschreibt Tertullianus das Vorleben des Praxeas und skizziert dabei auch den Verbreitungsweg einer christologischen Strömung, die man heute pauschal mit „Monarchianismus“ bezeichnet. Eine bedeutende Rolle als Zwischenstation auf dem Weg von Kleinasien nach Karthago spielt die Kosmopolis Rom. Dort ist Praxeas nicht nur mit der Entwicklung und/oder Verbreitung seiner für viele unerträglichen bzw. unmöglichen theologischen Position des gekreuzigten und gestorbenen Gottvaters beschäftigt, sondern prägt auch die Entwicklung der stadtrömischen Kirche nachhaltig.

Die Welt der stadtrömischen Christen ist auch für Anders Ekenberg keine unbekannte Größe. Durch sein unermüdliches Interesse an der Entwicklung und Geschichte der Liturgie, das sich durch seine wissenschaftliche Karriere wie ein roter Faden zieht, stieß er auf die sog. *Traditio apostolica* (Apostolische Tradition). Ihm kommt das Verdienst zu, diese frühchristliche „Kirchenordnung“ in schwedischer Übersetzung vorgelegt zu haben.[1] Dabei machte er diesen über die Fachkreise hinaus kaum bekannten Text nicht nur der interessierten breiteren Öffentlichkeit zugänglich, sondern erleichterte durch seine ausführliche Kommentierung auch den Einstieg in dieses Werk. Nach der traditio-

1 Anders Ekenberg (Hg.), *Hippolytos, Den apostoliska traditionen*, Kristna klassiker (Uppsala: Katolska bokförlaget, 1994).

doi:10.1163/9789004522053_010

nellen, jedoch nicht unumstrittenen Auffassung wird der Märtyrer, Presbyter, Gegenbischof und manchmal sogar „Gegenpapst" Hippolytos Romanos († 235) mit diesem Text in Verbindung gebracht.[2] Er galt für eine lange Zeit sowohl als Autor dieser „Kirchenordnung" als auch als Verfasser eines ansehnlichen Korpus von Werken.[3] Als einer der letzten Vertreter der Logos-Christologie auf römischem Boden betätigte er sich auch als Häresiograph. In der berühmt-berüchtigten *Refutatio omnium haeresium* oder *Φιλοσοφούμενα ἤ κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων ἔλεγχος* (ab jetzt *Refutatio*), deren traditionelle Zuschreibung an Hippolytos nicht zu Unrecht in den vergangenen Dekaden zunehmend infrage gestellt wurde,[4] stempelt er den damaligen Bischof von Rom, Calixtus I.

2 Die traditionelle Auffassung geht auf die Editionen von Eduard Schwartz, Adolf Michaelis, und Theobald Ziegler, *Über die pseudo-apostolischen Kirchenordnungen*, Schriften der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Straßburg 6 (Strasbourg: Truebner, 1910); Bernard Botte (Hg.), *La tradition apostolique: D'après les anciennes versions*, SC 11 (Paris: Cerf, 1946) zurück und wurde verteidigt von Alistair Stewart-Sykes, *On The Apostolic Tradition*, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press „Popular Patristics" Series (Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001), 11–50; Alistair Stewart-Sykes, „*Traditio Apostolica*: The Liturgy of Third-Century Rome and the Hippolytean School or *Quomodo historia liturgica conscribenda sit*," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 48 (2004): 233–248. In den vergangenen Dekaden wurde diese traditionelle Auffassung zunehmend infrage gestellt. Siehe etwa Christoph Markschies, „Wer schrieb die sogenannte ‚*Traditio Apostolica*'?", in *Tauffragen und Bekenntnis: Studien zur sogenannten „Traditio Apostolica", zu den „Interrogationes de fide" und zum „Römischen Glaubensbekenntnis,"* hgg. von Wolfram Kinzig, Christoph Markschies und Markus Vinzent, Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 74 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999), 1–74; Andrea Nicolotti, „Che cos'è la *Traditio apostolica* di Ippolito? In margine ad una recente pubblicazione," *Rivista di Storia del Cristianesimo* 2 (2005): 219–237; Manlio Simonetti, „Roma cristiana tra vescovi e presbiteri," in *Origine delle catacombe romane*, hgg. von Vincenzo Fiocchi Nicolai und Jean Guyon, Sussidi allo studio delle antichità cristiane 18 (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2006), 37–40; Reinhard Meßner, „Die angebliche *Traditio Apostolica*: Eine neue Textpräsentation," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 58/59 (2016): besonders 1–6; Paul Bradshaw, „Conclusions Shaping Evidence: An Examination of the Scholarship Surrounding the Supposed Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus," in *Sanctifying Texts, Transforming Rituals*, hgg. von Paul van Geest, Marcel Poorthuis, und Els Rose, Brill's Studies in Catholic Theology 5 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 13–30.

3 Clemens Scholten, „Hippolytos II (von Rom)," *RAC* 15: 492–551 bietet einen ausgezeichneten Überblick zur traditionellen Ein-Autor-Hypothese.

4 Vgl. z.B. Manlio Simonetti, „Per un profilo dell'autore dell'Elenchos," *Vetera Christianorum* 46 (2009): 157–173; Clemens Scholten, „Autor, Anliegen und Publikum der *Refutatio*," in *Des évêques, des écoles et des hérétiques: Actes du colloque international sur la ‚Réfutation de toutes les hérésies,' Genève, 13–14 juin 2008*, hgg. von Gabriella Aragione und Enrico Norelli (Prahins: Zèbre, 2011), 135–166; Emanuele Castelli, „L'Elenchos, ovvero una ‚biblioteca' contro le eresie," in *Confutazione di tutte le eresie*, hgg. von Aldo Magris, Letteratura cristiana antica 25 (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2012), 21–56; András Handl, *Calixtus I., der Bischof von Rom und der Konflikt um seine Person in der* Refutatio omnium haeresium, Vigiliae Christianae Supplements

(ca. 217–222) als Gründer und Vorsteher der „calixtischen" Häresie ab. Anhand einer detailliert dargelegten Lehrsukzessionskette (*successio haereticorum*),[5] die er bis nach Smyrna und auf Noëtos zurückgeführt, stellt er einen gewissen Epigonos als Pionier und Wegbereiter „monarchianischer" Lehren in Rom dar und verbindet diesen mit Calixtus.[6]

Die Tatsache allerdings, dass er dabei weder den Namen Praxeas erwähnt noch auf dessen monarchianischen Lehren patripassionalischer Prägung[7] Bezug nimmt, sorgte in der Vergangenheit für Irritation. Denn sowohl Tertullianus als auch die *Refutatio* legen jeweils einen eigenen, dafür aber von Grund auf differierenden „Bericht" zur Ausbreitung des Monarchianismus in Rom vor. Diese Diskrepanz bzw. die daraus resultierende „Vertrauensfrage" quält seit Richard Adalbert Lipsius (1830–1892)[8] Generationen von Gelehrten. Wem sollte man Vertrauen schenken? Dem in Rom lebenden Autor der *Refutatio*, der alles andere als unparteiisch ist? Oder Tertullianus, der möglicherweise Defizite aufweist, wenn es um die stadtrömischen Angelegenheiten im Detail geht?

Im Laufe der Zeit wurden zwei Lösungsansätze entwickelt. Der eine versucht das Schweigen der *Refutatio* zu brechen und der andere geht von einem Pseudonym aus und identifiziert Praxeas mit bekannten Persönlichkeiten aus der stadtrömischen Kirchengeschichte. Dieser Beitrag folgt dem ersten Weg und versucht, anhand neuer Beobachtungen zur Agenda und Komposition der *Refutatio* das *silentium* zu erklären. Dabei wird die Verbreitung des sog. Monarchianismus in Rom im Spannungsfeld von Migration, innerchristlichem

(Leiden: Brill, forthcoming). Diese Monografie, die auf meiner in Basel verteidigten Dissertation aufbaut, evaluiert den Konflikt zwischen dem anonymen Autor und Calixtus aufs Neue. Dabei wird zunächst die calixtische Biografie analysiert und die Arbeitsmethode des Autors herausgearbeitet, indem einzelne Elemente der Biografie auf Plausibilitäten geprüft werden. Darauf folgt eine systematische Auswertung jedes persönlichen, dogmatischen und ethisch-moralischen Vorwurfs, der in der *Refutatio* überliefert wurde. Anschließend wird die calixtische Sündenvergebungspraxis beleuchtet, da diese zum Kern des Konflikts stilisiert wurde. Die Monografie schließt mit einer kritischen Rekonstruktion der Ereignisse ab.

5 Zu diesem Konzept siehe Klaus Koschorke, *Hippolyts Ketzerbekämpfung und Polemik gegen die Gnostiker: Eine tendenzkritische Untersuchung seiner* „Refutatio omnium haeresium," Göttinger Orientforschungen 6, Hellenistica 4 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975), 56–58.

6 *Refutatio* 9.7–12 (GCS Hippolytus III, 240.16–251.7 Wendland).

7 Zur näheren Charakterisierung praxeanischer Lehren siehe Giuseppe Scarpat (Hg.), *Tertullianus, Contro Prassea*, Biblioteca Loescheriana (Torino: Loescher, 1959), XVII–XXXIX; Gabino Uríbarri Bilbao, *Monarquía y Trinidad: El concepto teológico „Monarchia" en la controversia „Monarquiana"*, Publicaciones de la Universidad Pontificia Comillas, Serie 1.62 (Madrid: UPCO, 1996), 141–227; Ronald E. Heine, „The Christology of Callistus," *JTS* 49 (1998): 59–60, 65; Hermann Josef Sieben (Hg.), *Tertullianus, Adversus Praxean*, Fontes Christiani 34 (Freiburg: Herder, 2001), 27–52.

8 Richard Adelbert Lipsius, „Ueber Tertullian's Schrift wider Praxeas," *JDT* 13 (1868): 701–724.

Konflikt sowie der Entstehung einer „Orthodoxie“ und Kirchenhierarchie neu interpretiert. Zum Schluss werden die Ergebnisse auf dem Horizont des Leitthemas dieser Festschrift reflektiert und die Quellen auf ihre liturgiegeschichtliche Relevanz hin befragt.

2 *Adversus Praxean* und *Adversus omnes haereses*

Paradoxerweise beginnt die Erschließung der stadtrömischen Ereignisse in der nordafrikanischen Provinzhauptstadt Karthago. Der dort tätige Schriftsteller, Apologet und Theologe Tertullianus bietet nämlich in seinem Traktat *Adversus Praxean* einige Details zum Leben des Praxeas. In der *narratio* erfährt man unter anderem, dass es sich um einen kleinasiatischen Einwanderer handelt, der als Erster (*primus*) den modalistischen Monarchianismus patripassianistischer Prägung nach Rom brachte.[9] Ebenso wird mitgeteilt, dass Praxeas als Bekenner stets bemüht war, seine für Christus erduldeten Leiden in den Vordergrund zu stellen.[10] Dieses Verhalten, also das „Sonnen“ in den Strahlen des eigenen Martyriums, kommt bei Tertullianus nicht sonderlich gut an. Die Qualifizierung dieses Martyriums als „kurze Unbequemlichkeiten eines Gefängnisaufenthaltes“[11] folgt zwar den Regeln antiker Rhetorik, geht jedoch auch darüber hinaus. Tertullianus ist nämlich gleichzeitig darum bemüht, die spirituelle Dimension der gegnerischen Autorität zu unterminieren.[12] Leider lässt er dabei nicht durchblicken, ob Praxeas sein Martyrium bereits in seiner kleinasiatischen Heimat oder erst in Rom erlitt. Mit der Entscheidung, nach Rom zu kommen,[13] scheint Praxeas richtiggelegen zu haben. Offenbar etabliert er sich in der

9 Tertullianus, *Prax.* 1.4 (CCSL 2, 1159.20–21 Kroymann/Evans): *Nam iste primus ex Asia hoc genus perversitatis intulit Romanae humo*. Soweit nicht anders vermerkt, stammen die Übersetzungen von mir.

10 Tertullianus, *Prax.* 1.4 (CCSL 2, 1159.22–23 Kroymann/Evans): *insuper de iactatione martyrii inflatus.*

11 Tertullianus, *Prax.* 1.4 (CCSL 2, 1159.23 Kroymann/Evans): *ob solum et simplex et breve carceris taedium.*

12 Das verdeutlicht auch die daran anschließende Bemerkung, dass selbst ein vollzogenes Blutzeugnis angesichts seiner Haltung, Taten und Lehren unnütz gewesen wäre. Einen in seinen strukturellen Elementen ähnlichen, wenngleich stärker ausgefeilten und gezielteren Angriff auf die spirituelle Autorität von Märtyrern nimmt Tertullianus in seinem letzten erhaltenen Werk *De pudicitia* vor. Tertullianus, *Pud.* 22.1–11 (CCSL 2, 1328.1–1329.52 Dekkers).

13 Praxeas folgt den typischen Mustern von Migrationsbewegungen christlicher Intellektueller um die Jahrhundertwende. Siehe dazu András Handl, „All Roads Lead to Conflict? Christian Migration to Rome circa 200,“ *JAC* 63 (2020), forthcoming.

Reichshauptstadt zügig mit beachtlichem Erfolg. Nach den Aussagen des Nordafrikaners steht Praxeas in engem Kontakt zum Ortsbischof und übt bald einen erheblichen Einfluss auf ihn aus. Es gelingt ihm, die Anerkennung der sogenannten Neuen Prophetie (oder besser bekannt als des Montanismus) durch die römische Kirche wirksam zu torpedieren und die versöhnenden Töne, die u.a. auch in Friedensbriefen (*libelli pacis*) zum Ausdruck gebracht werden, zum Verstummen zu bringen.[14] Tertullianus, der bereits dieser charismatisch-prophetischen Bewegung aus Phrygien tief verpflichtet ist, rechnet ihm diese Tat naturgemäß nicht sonderlich hoch an. Sein Resümee zum Romaufenthalt seines Gegners fällt dementsprechend vernichtend aus: „So besorgte Praxeas in Rom zwei Geschäfte des Teufels: Er warf die Prophetie hinaus und brachte die Häresie herein, vertrieb den Paraklet und kreuzigte den Vater."[15]

Die hier beschriebene praxeanische Einflussnahme ist durchaus bemerkenswert. Nach Tertullianus „zwingt" (*cogere*) Praxeas den Bischof dazu, in die Fußstapfen seiner Vorgänger zu treten und gegen die Neuen Propheten vorzugehen. Auch wenn das Ausmaß der rhetorischen Übertreibung an dieser Stelle offenbleiben muss, hat diese Notiz drei wichtige Implikationen. Erstens weist sie darauf hin, dass es dem Neuankömmling(!) Praxeas gelingt, die episkopale Aufmerksamkeit auf sich zu ziehen und, was noch wichtiger ist, bischöfliches Vertrauen zu gewinnen. Zweitens gelingt es Praxeas jedenfalls, einen erheblichen Einfluss auf den Bischof auszuüben, selbst wenn es sich bei dem Wort „erzwingen" um eine rhetorische Amplifikation handeln würde. Und drittens macht das Ereignis der Einflussnahme es wahrscheinlich, dass Praxeas nicht erst an dessen Vorabend nach Rom kam, sondern bereits seit einiger Zeit dort verweilt hatte bzw. tätig gewesen war.[16]

Obwohl Tertullianus über das Vorleben seines Kontrahenten einigermaßen gut informiert zu sein scheint – das zeigen etwa die Details zur Einflussnahme –

14 Tertullianus, *Prax*. 1.5 (CCSL 2, 1159.26–32 Kroymann/Evans): *Nam idem tunc episcopum romanum, agnoscentem iam prophetias montani, priscae, maximillae, et ex ea agnitione pacem ecclesiis asiae et phrygiae inferentem, falsa de ipsis prophetis et ecclesiis eorum adseuerando et praecessorum eius auctoritates defendendo coegit et litteras pacis reuocare iam emissas et a proposito recipiendorum charismatum concessare*.

15 Tertullianus, *Prax*. 1.5 (CCSL 2, 1159.32–1160.34 Kroymann/Evans): *Ita duo negotia diaboli praxeas romae procurauit: prophetiam expulit et haeresin intulit, paracletum fugauit et patrem crucifixit*. Die Übersetzung ist entnommen aus H.J. Sieben, *Adversus Praxean*, 101.

16 Das sieht die ältere Forschung allerdings anders. Adolf von Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, Bd. I: *Die Entstehung des kirchlichen Dogmas* 2. Aufl. (Tübingen: Mohr, 1888), 1:656 argumentiert z.B., dass ein kurzer Romaufenthalt vor Victors Amtszeit das Schweigen der *Refutatio* erklären würde, weil bis dahin „die persönlichen Erinnerungen Hippolyt's nicht zurückreichten".

bleiben andere wichtige Einzelheiten des Intermezzos in Rom im Unklaren. So gibt der Karthager z. B. den Namen des amtierenden römischen Bischofs nicht preis. Dass die stadtrömischen *pontifices* – sofern sie überhaupt eine Erwähnung finden – stets in die Anonymität gedrängt werden, hat beim Nordafrikaner eine gewisse Tradition.[17] Zwar lassen sich die Hintergründe und Motive dieser Geheimniskrämerei kaum erhellen,[18] ihre Folgen für die Rekonstruktion einer tragfähigen Chronologie des praxeanischen Wirkens ist jedoch verheerend.

Dabei herrscht fast noch ein Konsens, wenn es um das Abfassungsdatum des Traktats geht. Mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit wurde es erst nach 207/208, also nach Tertullianus sukzessiver Zuwendung zur Neuen Prophetie verfasst. Jedenfalls macht er selbst im Werk keinen Hehl aus seinem eigenen Gesinnungswandel: „Uns selbst trennte später die Anerkennung des Parakleten und seine Verteidigung von den Psychikern."[19] Dieser Vermerk verdeutlicht auch, dass der Diskurs, der weite Teile des Traktats einnimmt, bereits die zweite Phase eines wohl länger andauernden Konflikts darstellt. Die literarischen Spuren deuten darauf hin, dass eine erste Auseinandersetzung mit Praxeas bereits (kurz?) nach seiner Übersiedlung von Rom nach Nordafrika auf afrikanischem Boden stattfindet.[20] Die damalige apologetische Unternehmung war von Erfolg gekrönt, denn der *doctor* widerruft seine Lehren schriftlich. Die zweite Phase bricht erst nach der tertullianischen Zuwendung zur Neuen Prophetie an.[21] Deshalb halten die meisten Gelehrten den Zeitraum zwischen 210 und 213 für die Anfertigung der Schrift für am wahrscheinlichsten.[22] Wann allerdings diese

17 Unerwähnt bleibt etwa der Name des Bischofskandidaten, der gegen Valentinus in Rom auftritt und gegen den der Bekenner das Rennen macht. Tertullianus, *Val.* 4.1 (CCSL 2, 754.27 Kroymann). Noch größere Probleme beschert der in die Anonymität gedrängte Bischof in *De pudicitia*. Vgl. Tertullianus, *Pud.* 1.6 (CCSL 2, 1281.26–1282.27 Dekkers).

18 Fest steht, dass Tertullianus nicht sonderlich viel Interesse für die kirchlichen Ämter übrighat und die Rolle des Bischofs primär mit administrativen Aufgaben verbunden sieht. Vgl. David Rankin, *Tertullian and the Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 143–161.

19 Tertullianus, *Prax.* 1.7 (CCSL 2, 1160.40–41 Kroymann/Evans): *Et nos quidem postea agnitio paracleti atque defensio disiunxit a psychicis.* Übersetzung bei Sieben, *Adversus Praxean*, 101.

20 Tertullianus, *Prax.* 1.6 (CCSL 2, 1160.31–40 Kroymann/Evans). Sieben, *Adversus Praxean*, 28–30 weist zu Recht darauf hin, dass aus dem Traktat nicht mit gewünschter Eindeutigkeit hervorgeht, ob der dort erwähnte Gegner der ersten Phase, der *doctor*, mit Praxeas identisch sei, auch wenn dieses noch das wahrscheinlichste Szenario darstellt. Es ist ebenfalls fraglich, ob dieser *doctor* mit dem Gegner Tertullianus in der zweiten Hälfte des Traktats gleichzusetzen ist. Vgl. unten, 269.

21 Tertullianus, *Prax.* 1.6–7 (CCSL 2, 1160.34–47 Kroymann/Evans).

22 Vgl. Ernest Evans (Hg.), *Adversus Praxean Liber: The Text Edited, with an Introduction,*

erste Phase des Konflikts stattfindet, der wohl schon vor 207/8 beendet sein muss, nun, diesbezüglich scheiden sich die Geister.

Die frankophone sowie die italienischsprachige Forschung neigt dazu, die erste Periode relativ spät und das gesamte Wirken von Praxeas in Rom in die Amtszeit von Bischof Zephyrinus (ca. 199–217) zu datieren.[23] Er wäre folglich auch der Bischof, der die Friedensbriefe widerruft sowie sich dem patripassianistisch geprägten Monarchianismus öffnet. Die englisch- und deutschsprachige Forschung neigt hingegen eher dazu, die Ereignisse etwa ein Jahrzehnt früher anzusetzen.[24] Damit wird die erste, nordafrikanische Phase des Kon-

---

Translation, and Commentary, (London: S.P.C.K., 1948), 18; Scarpat, *Contro Prassea*, XCLIII–CLIII; Hermann Tränkle, „§ 474. Q. Septimius Florens Tertullianus," in *Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike*, Bd. 4: *Die Literatur des Umbruchs: Von der römischen zur christlichen Literatur, 117 bis 284 n. Chr.*, hgg. von Klaus Sallmann, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 8.4 (München: Beck, 1997), 438–511, hier 477 mit weiteren Angaben zu älterer Literatur; Manlio Simonetti (Hg.), *Ippolito, Contro Noeto*, Biblioteca patristica 35 (Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane, 2000), 68–70; Sieben, *Adversus Praxean*, 27, Anm. 33; Christel Butterweck, „Tertullian, Quintus Septimius Florens (gest. nach 220)," *TRE* 33:93–107. Timothy D. Barnes, *Tertullian: A Historical and Literary Study* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), 47. 55 spricht sich für 210–211 aus, was durchaus noch ins Bild passen würde.

23 Die frankophone sowie die italienischsprachige Forschung spricht sich überwiegend für Zephyrinus aus: Pierre de Labriolle, *La crise montaniste*, Bibliothèque de la Fondation Thiers 31 (Paris: Leroux, 1913), 267–275; Joseph Moingt, *Théologie Trinitaire de Tertullien*, Bd. 1: *Histoire, Doctrine, Méthodes*, Théologie 68 (Paris: Aubier, 1966), 93; Manlio Simonetti, „Una nuova proposta su Ippolito," *Aug* 36 (1996): 28–33; Emanuela Prinzivalli, „Zefirino, santo," *Enciclopedia dei Papi* 1:236; Francesco Scorza Barcellona, „Vittore I, santo," *Enciclopedia dei Papi* 1:231; Simonetti, *Contro Noeto*, 68–70; Michel-Yves Perrin, „Rom und das westliche Abendland bis zur Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts," in *Die Geschichte des Christentums*, hgg. von Jean-Marie Mayeur, Luce Pietri, und Norbert Brox (Freiburg: Herder, 2003), 1.684–685. Heine, „Christology," 59 schließt sich dieser Meinung an.

24 Besonders in der deutschsprachigen Forschung, aber auch zunehmend im angelsächsischen Raum erfährt diese Zuweisung zunehmend Zuspruch: Gerhard Esser, *Wer war Praxeas?*, Programm zur Feier des Gedächtnisses des Stifters der Universität Königs Friedrich Wilhelm III. (Bonn: Carl Georgi Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1910), 24–28; George La Piana, „The Roman Church at the End of the Second Century," *HTR* 18 (1925): 244–254; Evans, *Adversus Praxean* 185; Peter Lampe, *Die stadtrömischen Christen in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten: Untersuchungen zur Sozialgeschichte*, WUNT II 18, 2. Aufl. (Tübingen: Mohr, 1989), 294; Tränkle, „Tertullianus," 475–478; Reinhard M. Hübner, „Melito von Sardes und Noët von Smyrna," in *Der Paradox Eine: Antignostischer Monarchianismus im zweiten Jahrhundert*, hgg. von Reinhard M. Hübner, Vigiliae Christianae Supplements 50 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 1–32, hier 30; Reinhard M. Hübner, „Εἷς θεὸς Ἰησοῦς Χριστός: Zum christlichen Gottesglauben im zweiten Jahrhundert – ein Versuch." in *Der Paradox Eine: Antignostischer Monarchianismus im zweiten Jahrhundert*, hgg. von Reinhard M. Hübner, Vigiliae Christianae Supplements 50 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 207–238, hier 235; Simon Gerber, „Calixt von Rom und der monarchianische Streit," *ZAC* 5 (2001): 213–239, hier 215–217, besonders Anm. 18; Sieben, *Tertullianus*, 99, Anm. 11; David E. Wilhite, *Tertullian the African:*

flikts der Zeit kurz nach der Jahrhundertwende, dem Anfang der Amtszeit von Zephyrinus, zugeordnet. Daraus würde aber resultieren, dass das Auftreten des Praxeas zu Lebzeiten Victors bzw. bereits seines Vorgängers[25] in Rom erfolgt sein müsste. Drei Argumente sprechen meines Erachtens eher für eine Frühdatierung. Dabei handelt es sich um eine Notiz aus der *Adversus omnes haereses*, um die Chronologie zur Ausbreitung der Neuen Prophetie im Westen sowie um die Vertrauenswürdigkeit der *Refutatio* in Hinblick auf stadtrömischen Ereignissen.

Die erste, jedoch nicht unproblematische Datierungshilfe bietet eine weitere Häresiologie, oder präziser, ein Katalog von Häresien, die *Adversus omnes haereses*. Diese Schrift wurde lange Zeit Tertullianus zugeschrieben, vermutlich weil sie in der *editio princeps* aus dem Jahr 1545 als Anhang zu Tertullianus' *De praescriptione haereticorum* abgedruckt wurde.[26] Obwohl J. P. Migne diese Attribution bedenkenlos übernahm,[27] handelt es sich dabei um ein anonym überliefertes und fragmentarisches Werk, dessen Spuren bis nach Rom am Anfang des 3. Jahrhunderts zurückverfolgt werden können.[28] Sein besonderer Wert ergibt sich in unserem Kontext daraus, dass es neben *Adversus Praxeas* das einzige zeitgenössische und dazu noch unabhängige Zeugnis ist, das

An Anthropological Reading of Tertullian's Context and Identities, Millennium-Studien 14 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 175, Anm. 140; Markus Vinzent, „Viktor I, Bischof von Rom," TRE 35:94; Einar Thomassen, „Orthodoxy and Heresy in Second-Century Rome," HTR 97 (2004): 241–256, hier 244; William Tabbernee, *Fake Prophecy and Polluted Sacraments: Ecclesiastical and Imperial Reactions to Montanism*, Vigiliae Christianae Supplements 84 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 36–40.

25 Vgl. Ignaz Döllinger, *Hippolytus und Kallistus: oder die römische Kirche in der ersten Hälfte des dritten Jahrhunderts; mit Rücksicht auf die Schriften und Abhandlungen der HH. Bunsen, Wordsworth, Baur und Gieseler* (Regensburg: Manz, 1853), 198; Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, 1:741; Christine Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 58–60.

26 *Opera Q. Septimii Florentis Tertulliani Carthaginensis: inter Latinos Ecclesiæ scriptores primi*, hgg. von Beatus Rhenanus (Paris: I. Roigny, 1545).

27 Migne's *Patrologia Latina* folgt der 1545 Edition und ordnet *Adversus omnes haereses* als Abschnitte 46–53 dem *De praescriptione haereticorum* zu. Vgl. Migne PL 2:61–74.

28 Mir scheint sowohl eine wie auch immer geartete Verbindung nach Rom als auch ein Entstehungsdatum zu Anfang des 3. Jahrhunderts plausibel zu sein. Ob man dabei allerdings wirklich mit Hippolytos' verlorenen Syntagma oder zumindest mit einem Exzerpt oder einer Übersetzung zu rechnen hat, ist nicht nur wegen der Unsicherheiten um die Person Hippolytos problematisch. Vgl. Sebastian Moll, „Three against Tertullian: The Second Tradition about Marcion's Life," JTS 59 (2008): 169–180, hier 172–174; T. Scott Manor, *Epiphanius'* Alogi *and the Johannine Controversy: A Reassessment of Early Ecclesial Opposition to the Johannine Corpus*, Vigiliae Christianae Supplements 135 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 133–142. Eine kritische Neuevaluation dieser Schrift wäre wünschenswert.

den Namen Praxeas überhaupt kennt bzw. nennt. Dort wird ihm die Gründung (*introducere*) einer Häresie nachgesagt, weil er lehrte, „dass Jesus Christus Gott der allmächtige Vater ist, der gekreuzigt wurde, gelitten hat und gestorben ist."[29] Man erfährt auch, dass Praxeas bei seiner Unternehmung nicht auf sich allein gestellt war. Ein gewisser „Victorinus sorgte dafür, [seine Häresie] zu stärken".[30] Nachdem die zeitgenössischen Quellen keinen Victorinus kennen, wird er gerne mit Bischof Victor von Rom identifiziert. Eine solche Lösung ist schon deshalb nicht von der Hand zu weisen, weil auch Tertullianus an einem ähnlichen Strang zieht, wenn er Praxeas in der Nähe des römischen Bischofs verortet und ihm sogar eine gelungene Einflussnahme attestiert.[31] Ein reziprokes Verhältnis, also die episkopale Unterstützung für die Verbreitung von modalistisch-monarchianischen Lehren wäre darüber hinaus im Rahmen des Denkbaren, weil eine Reihe von römischen Bischöfen, darunter auch Victor, nachweislich solche Lehren favorisierten bzw. selbst propagierten.[32] Dazu kommt noch, dass weder Tertullianus noch andere Zeugen darüber berichten, dass Praxeas Rom aufgrund von Unstimmigkeiten oder gar wegen eines Streits verlassen hätte bzw. zum Verlassen der Stadt „motiviert" worden wäre. Auch die morphologische Ähnlichkeit beider Namen könnte in diese Richtung weisen.[33] Folglich wäre es durchaus denkbar, dass der Autor der *Adversus omnes haereses* Victorinus schreibt, aber Victor meint. Auch wenn man an dieser Stelle keine endgültige Gewissheit erlangen kann, lässt sich festhalten, dass sowohl die morphologische Ähnlichkeit als auch der beschriebene Sachverhalt nicht gegen, sondern tendenziell eher für eine Identifikation spricht.

Das zweite – und meines Erachtens gewichtigste – Argument gegen eine Spätdatierung des praxeanischen Wirkens hängt mit einer unmittelbaren Im-

29 Pseudo-Tertullianus, *Haer.* 8.4 (CCSL 2, 1410.2–4 Kroymann): *Hic deum patrem omnipotentem Iesum Christum esse dicit, hunc crucifixum passumque contendit et mortuum.*

30 Pseudo-Tertullianus, *Haer.* 8.4 (CCSL 2, 1410.1–2 Kroymann): *Sed post hos omnes etiam Praxeas quidam haeresim introduxit, quam Victorinus corroborare curauit.*

31 Siehe oben, Anm. 13.

32 So bereits Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, 1:654, 456–457. Siehe auch Reinhard M. Hübner, „Melito von Sardes," 28–31; Scorza Barcellona, „Vittore"; Prinzivalli, „Zefirino, santo"; Emanuela Prinzivalli, „Callisto I, santo," *Enciclopedia dei Papi* 1:237–246; Markus Vinzent, „From Zephyrinus to Damasus: What Did Roman Bishops Believe?", *StPatr* 63 (2013): 273–286, hier 274–277.

33 Vermutet wurde, dass die Unterschiede auf einen Schreibfehler oder eine Schreibkorrektur zurückgehen oder aus der Zusammensetzung der Namen beider aufeinanderfolgender Bischöfe resultieren: *Victor* und *Zephyrinus*. Evans, *Adversus Praxean*, 185. Eine interessante Alternative bietet Joseph Langen, *Geschichte der römischen Kirche*, Bd. 1: *Bis zum Pontifikate Leos I.*, (Bonn: Cohen, 1881): 196, Anm. 1.

plikation zusammen: Akzeptiert man eine solche Lesart, so muss man auch davon ausgehen, dass das tertullianische Traktat erst nach 217, also nach dem Tod des Zephyrinus verfasst wurde. Der Vermerk *tunc episcopum Romanum*[34], also der „damalige Bischof von Rom“, impliziert nämlich, dass der amtierende Bischof der Abfassungszeit nicht mit dem Bischof der Friedensbriefe identisch sein kann. Da aber das Traktat mit Sicherheit nach der Zuwendung des Tertullianus zur Neuen Prophetie um 207/208 verfasst wurde, kann das nur bedeuten, dass Zephyrinus die Friedensbriefe an den Neuen Propheten ausgehändigt habe und *Adversus Praxean* erst während des calixtischen Episkopats (ca. 217–222) abgefasst worden sein musste. Es ist jedoch kaum wahrscheinlich, dass der römische Klerus 40 (!) Jahre nach der Entstehung der Bewegung in Phrygien immer noch des Hinweises eines kleinasiatischen Migranten aus der Heimatregion der Neuen Propheten bedarf, um auf ihren problematischen Charakter aufmerksam zu machen. Mehr noch: Der römische Klerus muss erst durch den *Außenstehenden* dazu angespornt werden, gegen sie vorzugehen. Auch wenn man in Rom wohl kaum mit zeitnahen Reaktionen wie in der phrygischen Heimat der Bewegung rechnen darf, deutet einiges darauf hin, dass sich bereits Eleutherus von Rom (ca. 175–189) mit den Neuen Propheten auseinandersetzte.[35] Auch die „Schaukelpolitik“, die der „damalige Bischof von Rom“ an den Tag legt, sowie sein Einknicken angesichts des von Praxeas aufgebauten Drucks fügen sich nahtlos in das charakteristische Verhalten Victors ein.[36]

Bezieht man diese Ergebnisse auf *Adversus omnes haereses*, das nach der geltenden Auffassung bereits unter Zephyrinus verfasst wurde bzw. die Zustände während seiner Amtszeit reflektiert,[37] so lässt sich die gerade herausgearbeitete Beobachtung noch verschärfen. Der Häresiekatalog listet nämlich nicht nur Praxeas auf, sondern auch den stadtrömischen Ableger der Neuen Propheten. Sie werden im Unterschied zum Bekenner aus Kleinasien (wenig überraschend) nicht der Etablierung einer *neuen* Häresie beschuldigt. Ferner weist der anonyme Autor auf die fehlende Uniformität der „kataphrygianischen“

34 Tertullianus, *Prax.* 1.5 (CCSL 2, 1159.26 Kroymann/Evans).

35 Vgl. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.3.4 (GCS Eusebius II/1, 432.15–26 Schwartz). Die Entwicklung und Ausbreitung der Neuen Prophetie im Römischen Reich sowie den sich dagegen zunehmend formierenden Widerstand zeichnete Tabbernee, *Fake Prophecy*, 28–40; 68–79 eindrucksvoll nach. Siehe ferner Christoph Markschies, „Montanismus,“ *RAC* 24:1197–1220 sowie zu den Synoden gegen die „Montanisten“ Enrico Norelli, „Presenza e persistenza dei ruoli carismatici: il caso delle assemblee sul montanismo nel II secolo,“ *Ricerche storico bibliche* 25 (2013): 165–195.

36 András Handl, „Viktor I. (189?–199?) von Rom und die Entstehung des ‚monarchischen‘ Episkopats in Rom,“ *SE* 55 (2016): 7–56.

37 Vgl. oben, Anm. 28 und Tabbernee, *Fake Prophecy*, 78–79.

Lehren hin und zählt gleich zwei nebeneinander existierende Strömungen. Ein Mann namens Proclus führt demnach den „orthodoxen" oder als „Kataprokeaner" bezeichneten Zweig an, während Aeschines den „Kataeschinetern" vorsteht. Diese letztere Strömung kombiniert allem Anschein nach die Lehren der Neuen Propheten mit monarchianischen Spekulationen.[38] Unabhängig von der Besonderheit dieser theologischen Entwicklung handelt es sich dabei um ein stadtrömisches Spezifikum.[39] Akzeptiert man die Spätdatierung praxeanischen Wirkens in Rom, so muss man eine ganze Reihe von Ereignissen in der zephyrinischen Amtszeit verorten: die Ankunft „monarchianischer" Lehren durch Praxeas und Epigonos; die Etablierung von „monarchianischen" „Schulen" oder Schülerzirkeln zumindest durch einen der beiden Protagonisten; den Anschluss an den Bischof und den Gewinn seines Vertrauens; die erfolgreiche Einflussnahme auf den Bischof bezüglich der Friedensbriefe; Aeschines' Begegnung mit diesen modalistischen Lehren; die Kombination von Lehren der Neuen Prophetie und des Modalismus; die publikumswirksame Verbreitung solcher Lehren; das Auseinanderbrechen der stadtrömischen Neuen Propheten in zwei Gruppen aufgrund der Lehrunterschiede; das Erreichen der häresiographischen Wahrnehmungsschwelle; die Abfassung der *Adversus omnes haereses* bzw. ihre literarische Vorlage. Dass sich all diese Ereignisse in dichter Abfolge während des Episkopats des Zephyrinus ereignen, ist an sich denkbar, sonderlich wahrscheinlich scheint es mir indessen nicht.

3 Die *Refutatio*

Von der Ausbreitung des Monarchianismus in Rom ergibt sich ein gänzlich anderes Bild, wenn man die *Refutatio* konsultiert. Demnach ist der Diakon

---

38 Siehe Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.3.4 (GCS Eusebius II/1, 364.21 Schwartz) für Proclus und Pseudo-Tertullianus, *Haer.* 7.2 (CCSL 2, 1409.13–24 Kroymann) für Aeschines.

39 Tabbernee, *Fake Prophecy*, 119 vermerkt, dass „[a]ny connection between Montanism and Monarchianism was purely incidental". Die einzige Ausnahme findet sich in Rom, wo die Neuen Propheten tatsächlich in zwei Fraktionen auftraten. Der Verfasser der *Refutatio* referiert – freilich ohne Namen zu nennen – auch über die monarchianische Gruppe: Τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν τῇ τῶν Νοητιανῶν αἱρέσει συντιθέμενοι, τὸν πατέρα αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν λέγουσι, καὶ τοῦτον ὑπὸ γένεσιν καὶ πάθος καὶ θάνατον ἐληλυθέναι. „Einige von ihnen schließen sich der Irrlehre der Noëtianer an und sagen, der Vater selbst sei der Sohn und habe das Gezeugtwerden, Leiden und Sterben über sich ergehen lassen." *Refutatio* 8.19.3 (GCS Hippolytus III, 238.18–20 Wendland); Übersetzung: Konrad Preysing (Hg.), *Des heiligen Hippolytus von Rom: Widerlegung aller Häresien* (*Philosophumena*), Bibliothek der Kirchenväter 1.40 (München: Kösel & Pustet, 1922), 238. Zur „orthodoxen" Gruppe unter der Leitung von Proclus siehe Tabbernee, *Fake Prophecy*, 68–70.

(oder Diener?) Epigonos derjenige, der die „gottlosen Lehren" des Noëtos-Heraklitos-Duos von Smyrna nach Rom transportiert und dort „ausstreut".[40] Ferner ordnet die *Refutatio* auch Kleomenes, den Schüler des Epigonos in die Reihe der Sukzessoren ein. Diesem kommt das Verdienst zu, den stadtrömischen Ableger der Noëtianer in der pluralistischen Landschaft der städtischen Christentümer fest etabliert zu haben.[41] Im Unterschied zu Tertullianus sorgt der Autor für eine „genaue", wenngleich kaum schmeichelhafte Datierung der Ereignisse: Epigonos kam nach Rom als „Zephyrinus meinte die Kirche zu verwalten; ein dummer und unverschämt habgieriger Mann".[42]

Zwar entwirft die *Refutatio* ein recht komplexes Szenario zur Ausbreitung des Monarchianismus in Rom, darin kommt Praxeas allerdings nicht einmal ansatzweise vor. Weder Tertullianus, noch eine andere Quelle kennt oder nennt Epigonos oder Kleomenes, geschweige denn die beschworene Noëtus – Epigonos – Kleomenes – Calixtus-Achse. Wem sollte man also vertrauen? Der *Refutatio*, die zwar alles andere als unparteiisch ist, dafür aber die lokalen Ereignisse aus erster Hand kennt? Oder dem Nordafrikaner, der sich auf dünnem Eis bewegt, wenn er von den stadtrömischen Angelegenheiten berichtet? Dazu kommt noch, dass beide Autoren mit apologetisch-häresiographischen Absichten zur Feder greifen und deshalb kaum abgeneigt sind, manche Tatsachen auf dem Altar eines überzeugenden Arguments zu opfern.[43]

Obwohl beide Narrative auf den ersten Blick vertrauenswürdig erscheinen, erweist sich die Darstellung der *Refutatio* beim näheren Hinsehen als tendenziös, und das nicht nur gegenüber sämtlichen beteiligten Protagonisten. Hinsichtlich Calixtus bedarf diese apodiktische Behauptung keiner weiteren Diskussion, denn die abgrundtiefe Abneigung des Autors gegenüber Calixtus

---

40 *Refutatio* 9.7.1 (GCS Hippolytus III, 240.16–19 Wendland): Γεγένηταί τις ὀνόματι Νοητός, τῷ γένει Σμυρναῖος· οὗτος εἰσηγήσατο αἵρεσιν ἐκ τῶν Ἡρακλείτου δογμάτων. οὗ διάκονος καὶ μαθητὴς γίνεται Ἐπίγονός τις τοὔνομα, ὃς τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπιδημήσας ἐπέσπειρε τὴν ἄθεον γνώμην.

41 *Refutatio* 9.7.1 (GCS Hippolytus III, 240,19–20 Wendland): ᾧ μαθητεύσας Κλεομένης, καὶ βίῳ καὶ τρόπῳ ἀλλότριος τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐκράτυνε τὸ δόγμα ….

42 *Refutatio* 9.7.1 (GCS Hippolytus III, 240.20–22 Wendland): κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ Ζεφυρίνου διέπειν νομίζοντος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου καὶ αἰσχροκερδοῦς.

43 Zur Verwendung der Rhetorik bei Tertullianus siehe exemplarisch Robert Dick Sider, *Ancient Rhetoric and the Art of Tertullian*, Oxford Theological Monographs (London: Oxford University Press, 1971); Geoffrey D. Dunn, „Rhetorical Structure in Tertullian's *Ad Scapulam*," *VC* 56 (2002): 47–55; Geoffrey D. Dunn, „Rhetoric and Tertullian's *De Virginibus Velandis*," *VC* 59 (2005): 1–30; Geoffrey D. Dunn, *Tertullian's Aduersus Iudaeos: A Rhetorical Analysis*, Patristic Monograph Series 19 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2008); Geoffrey D. Dunn, „Rhetoric and Tertullian: A Response," *StPatr* 65 (2013): 349–358.

kann man nicht übersehen. Zu einem geringeren Ausmaß gilt das auch für seinen Vorgänger Zephyrinus.[44] Der Grundtenor in Bezug auf Bischof Victor klingt jedoch grundlegend anders. Obwohl er es kaum über eine Randnotiz hinausschafft, gehört er zum Kreis der Auserwählten. Er wird neben Jesus und Paulus sowie neben dem häresiographischen Vorbild Irenäus als „selig" (μακάριος) bezeichnet.[45] Dazu kommt noch, dass er als einziger Protagonist der gesamten(!) *Refutatio expressis verbis* ἐπίσκοπος (Bischof) genannt wird.[46] Weder seine Vorgänger noch seine Nachfolger werden als Träger des höchsten kirchlichen Amtes mit einem offiziellen Amtstitel ausgewiesen.[47] Vergleicht man seine Darstellung mit der der verhassten Gegner Calixtus und Zephyrinus, so wirkt er wie ein Leuchtturm im Meer häretischer Finsternis.[48]

Die strahlende Lichtgestalt Victors wäre jedoch – zumindest aus der Perspektive eines devoten Logos-Christologen – ernsthaft getrübt, wenn es sich herausstellen würde, dass sich der durch angeblich[49] heraklitische Spekulationen verunreinigte „Monarchianismus" bereits während seiner Amtszeit – und noch schlimmer, durch *seine* Unterstützung – in Rom ausgebreitet hätte. Doch die Sorge um den Heiligenschein Victors dürfte noch das geringste Problem darstellen. Würde nämlich der Autor gestehen, dass der verehrte Vorzeigebischof als Einfallstor des „Monarchianismus" in Rom fungiert bzw. selbst modalistische Glaubenssätze verbreitet hätte,[50] müsste er gegen eine relativ lange, dreigliedrige bischöfliche Sukzessionskette (Victor – Zephyrinus – Calixtus) vorgehen. Diese Ideen als eine von Calixtus erfundene „neue Häresie" zu charakterisieren, wäre nicht nur kühn, sondern auch leicht durchschaubar und folglich kaum Erfolg versprechend. Dazu käme noch ein weiteres Problem: Auf-

44 Für die Charakterisierung Zephyrinus' in der *Refutatio* siehe eingehender Handl, *Calixtus, der Bischof*.

45 *Refutatio* 5.9.21 für Jesus; *Refutatio* 8.20.3 für Paulus; *Refutatio* 6.42.1 für Irenäus; sowie *Refutatio* 9.12.10 für Victor. (GCS Hippolytus III, 102.13; 239.11; 173.12; 247.29 Wendland).

46 *Refutatio* 9.12.10 (GCS Hippolytus III, 247.29 Wendland).

47 So wird etwa Zephyrinus zum Kirchenverwalter (Ζεφυρίνου … νομίζοντος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν) degradiert oder Calixtus als derjenige, der dem Bischofsthron nachjagte, karikiert (Κάλλιστος … θηρώμενος τὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς θρόνον). *Refutatio* 9.7.1; 9.11.1 (GCS Hippolytus III, 240.21–22; 245.12–14 Wendland).

48 Die *Refutatio* bezieht sich auf Victor nur am Rande, dafür aber wird er immer als ein positiver Charakter dargestellt. Siehe dazu eingehender Handl, *Calixtus, der Bischof*.

49 Vgl. Jaap Mansfeld, *Heresiography in Context: Hippolytus' Elenchos as a Source for Greek Philosophy*, PhA 56 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 231–242; Hermann Josef Vogt, „Noet von Smyrna und Heraklit: Bemerkungen zur Darstellung ihrer Lehren durch Hippolyt," *ZAC* 6 (2002): 59–80.

50 Siehe oben, Anm. 31.

grund der dreigliedrigen bischöflichen Überlieferungskette käme eine solche Bekämpfung einem „theologischen Himmelfahrtskommando" gleich: Einen gewählten und legitimen Bischof und Träger der apostolischen Lehrsukzession der Häresie zu bezichtigen, kann noch unter bestimmten Umständen zum Erfolg führen.[51] Aber gegen drei in Sukzession stehende Bischöfe zugleich vorzugehen, ist schlicht aussichtslos. Ferner wäre es eine Leistung ersten Ranges zu erklären, warum ausgerechnet der Verfasser der *Refutatio* der Erste sein soll, dem die bereits über 30 Jahre andauernde „Korrumpierung" der Glaubenslehre überhaupt auffällt. Der hierdurch erweckte Eindruck spräche eher gegen das Aufbegehren des Autors als gegen die Bischöfe. Mit der Propagierung der Heraklitos – Noëtos – Epigonos – Kleomenes – Calixtus-Achse hingegen schafft sich der Autor auf einen Schlag all diese Probleme vom Hals.

Die hier aufgestellte These, dass die von der *Refutatio* präsentierte Verbreitung des Monarchianismus in Rom stark manipulativ ist, lässt sich durch einige weitere Beobachtungen untermauern. Dafür spricht erstens die Rolle, die der Autor Zephyrinus zuteilt. Er wird als eine unfähige, ungebildete und habgierige Marionette des Calixtus dargestellt, die nicht einmal die intellektuelle Kapazität oder die theologische Kompetenz besitzt, eine Häresie zu erfinden. Die durch ihn verkündete „älteste, uns im Wortlaut bekannte dogmatische Erklärung eines römischen Bischofs"[52] stammt nach der *Refutatio* ja nicht von Zephyrinus selbst, vielmehr ist er den Manipulationen seines engsten Vertrauten Calixtus schutzlos ausgeliefert.[53] Mit diesem Kunstgriff eliminiert der Autor ein weiteres Kettenglied in der Sukzession und entgeht zugleich elegant dem Problem, dass der Monarchianismus schon seit Generationen von Bischöfen als „offizielle" Lehre propagiert wurde.[54] Zweitens erweist sich die ausge-

51 Wenn man ihm, wie dies z. B. der Autor tut, gleich zu Beginn jegliche Autorität abspricht bzw. diese ins Gegenteil verkehrt. So wird Calixtus nicht als Bischof ausgewiesen, sondern nur einer, der dem Bischofsthron nachjagte. Ähnlich transformiert er das calixtische Blutzeugnis geschickt zu einem Narrativ über List, Betrug und Augenwischerei und den Bekenner-Bischof zu einem eiskalten Hochstapler-Opportunisten. Eine ähnliche Strategie verfolgt auch Tertullianus in *De pudicitia* und in Ansätzen auch in *Adversus Praxean*. Vgl. oben Anm. 11.

52 Vgl. mit dem Titel des Aufsatzes von Adolf von Harnack, „Die älteste uns im Wortlaut bekannte dogmatische Erklärung eines römischen Bischofs (Zephyrin bei Hippolyt, Refut. IX 11.)," *SPAW.PH* (1923): 51–57.

53 *Refutatio* 9.11.3 (GCS Hippolytus III, 246.1–4 Wendland).

54 Diese Herangehensweise hätte bei Victor nicht funktioniert. Während seiner Amtszeit wechselte Calixtus entweder als Sklave Geld an der *piscina publica*, leistete Zwangsarbeit in den Sardinischen Bergwerken oder weilte in Antium nach einer „Verbannung" durch Victor. Vgl. András Handl, „From Slave to Bishop: Callixtus' Early Ecclesial Career and Mechanisms of Clerical Promotion," *ZAC* 25 (2021), 53–73.

dehnte Sukzessionskette zwischen Noëtos und Calixtus selbst dann als eine geschickte Konstruktion, wenn nichts gegen ihre Historizität spricht. Durch die minutiöse Aufzählung von Vertretern wird die längere Präsenz des Monarchianismus in Rom festgehalten, gleichzeitig aber Victor entlastet. Außerdem wird eine Liste vorgelegt, die wohl damals wie heute kaum zu verifizieren ist. Bereits zum Zeitpunkt der Publikation der *Refutatio* nach 222 lag die Wirkungszeit von Epigonos bzw. von Kleomenes ca. 20 bis 30 Jahre zurück.[55] Der zeitliche Abstand arbeitete also für den Autor. Sollten die beiden genannten Protagonisten bereits verstorben gewesen sein, dann wäre die Kette nicht nur gegen Einwände gesichert, sondern auch mit Namen verbunden, die zwar für einige noch bekannt geklungen haben dürften, mit denen aber insgesamt wenig Konkretes verbunden werden konnte.

Setzt man die Einzelteile zusammen, ergeben sich aus der Konstruktion einer alternativen *successio haereticorum* folgende Vorteile für den Autor. Erstens kann er auf diese Weise den langen Präsenz des Monarchianismus in Rom zugeben, dennoch gleichzeitig Victor entlasten. Zweitens muss der Autor dadurch nicht gegen eine längere, seit Victor bestehende und mittlerweile fest etablierte bischöfliche Tradition vorgehen. Das Motiv der calixtischen Manipulation erlaubt eine Spätdatierung des Phänomens in die Zeit des Zephyrinus. Lediglich ein Glied muss unterschlagen werden, nämlich Victor. Drittens lässt sich dadurch sein Idealbischof im Handumdrehen von jeglichen monarchianischen „Vorwürfen“ befreien. Viertens macht es die lange Kette ohne bischöfliche Protagonisten überhaupt erst möglich, Calixtus als Schulgründer darzustellen. Und zum Schluss entzieht der Autor seine Angaben durch die ausgedehnte Kette geschickt jeglicher Nachprüfbarkeit. Hiermit wird also eine Erzählung geschaffen, die einerseits auf dem Boden historischer Gegebenheiten steht, andererseits aber durch die Einfügung neuer Elemente bzw. durch eine Rekontextualisierung mancher Ereignisse und Personen geschickt uminterpretiert wird. Diese Arbeitsweise entspricht weitgehend der Methode, die der Autor bei der (Re-)Konstruktion der calixtischen Biographie durchweg verwendet.[56]

Daraus folgt, dass der tertullianischen Überlieferung gegenüber der *Refutatio* eindeutig der Vorrang zu geben ist. Das trifft auch auf die Etablierung einer Chronologie zu. Doch nicht allein die Reaktionen auf die Neue Prophetie, die

55 Die *Refutatio* wurde mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit nach dem Tod des Calixtus, also nach 222 oder 223 verfasst. Vgl. András Handl, „Bishop Callistus I. of Rome (217?–222): A Martyr or a Confessor?“, *ZAC* 18 (2014): 390–419, hier 401–402 mit Literatur.

56 Zur „biographischen Methode“ des Autors siehe Handl, *Calixtus, der Bischof*.

indirekten Hinweise bei Tertullianus und bei *Adversus omnes haereses* sprechen dafür, dass Victor der in die Anonymität gedrängte Bischof aus *Adversus Praxeas* war und dass sich der Modalismus bereits während seiner Amtszeit in Rom ausbreitete. Auch die Angaben der *Refutatio* deuten in diese Richtung. Dort wird zwar die Ankunft von Epigonos in der Zeit des Episkopats des Zephyrinus angesetzt, eine Beobachtung weist jedoch darauf hin, dass diese Angabe mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit frisiert wurde. Dazu muss man diesen Bericht rückwärts lesen. Als Ausgangspunkt dient die dem Kleomenes attestierte publikumswirksame Verbreitung der noëtischen Lehren. Diese geschieht wohl unter Zephyrinus und sogar mit episkopaler Unterstützung. Kleomenes, der Schüler des Epigonos,[57] repräsentiert also die stadtrömische Schule der „Monarchianer“ bereits in zweiter Generation. Der Wechsel auf die Leitungsebene könnte durchaus ein Hinweis dafür sein, dass modalistische Lehren eigentlich schon länger in Rom präsent sind, als dies vom Autor zugegeben wird.

Die genaue zeitliche Verortung der Ereignisse spielt insgesamt keine große Rolle, wenn man die durch Praxeas bezeugte Nähe zum Bischof sowie seinen beachtlichen Einfluss auf das Verfahren gegen die Neuen Propheten bedenkt. So ist es nämlich mehr als wahrscheinlich, dass der Autor ihn entweder persönlich oder zumindest vom Hörensagen kannte.[58] Das Schweigen der *Refutatio* zu Praxeas sowie seine Tilgung aus der Sukzessionskette der Häretiker weist darauf hin, dass er im Werk absichtlich ignoriert wurde. Seine Erwähnung hätte sowohl die sorgfältig bereinigte Chronologie als auch die Positionierung der „calixtischen Häresie“ als Neuentwicklung zunichtegemacht. Die von der *Refutatio* präsentierte Chronologie zur Verbreitung modalistischer Lehren unter Zephyrinus und vor allem durch die Unterstützung von bzw. Implementierung durch Calixtus ist stark tendenziös und eignet sich daher nur bedingt für eine Rekonstruktion der Ereignisse.

Die hier vorgestellte These erklärt nicht nur das Schweigen der *Refutatio*, sondern auch die verbliebenen Diskrepanzen zwischen der Erzählung der *Refutatio* sowie den Zeugnissen der übrigen Quellen. Im Hinblick auf Tertullianus' *silentium* zur Noëtos – Epigonos – Kleomenes-Achse lässt sich anführen, dass sich diese wohl außerhalb des Interessenradius des Karthagers befand. Er geht gegen Praxeas vor allem vor, weil sich dieser auf nordafrikanischem Boden absetzt und dort seinen modalistischen Ansichten Gehör zu verschaf-

---

57 *Refutatio* 9.7.1–2 (GCS Hippolytus III, 240.16–26 Wendland).

58 Diese Beobachtung träfe erst recht dann zu, wenn man die praxeanische Wirkung in den Zeitraum während des Episkopats des Zephyrinus verorten würde.

fen versucht. Das Epigonos-Kleomenes-Duo übt in Karthago hingegen keine (erkennbare) Wirkung aus, die Tertullianus hätte auf den Plan rufen können. Die Beobachtung, dass Praxeas in *Adversus omnium haeresium* sehr wohl, in der *Refutatio* aber nicht erwähnt wird, bereitet auch kein ernsthaftes Kopfzerbrechen. Ob man den Autor von *Adversus omnium haeresium* bzw. deren literarischer Vorlage und den der *Refutatio* als identisch betrachtet oder nicht, hat keinen Einfluss auf die Tatsache, dass erst die Ereignisse der calixtischen Amtszeit zur „Calixtus-Krise" führen. Erst diese Krise macht das literarische Vorgehen gegen den Bekenner-Bischof sowie die Entlastung Victors in der *Refutatio* notwendig. Hält man an der identischen Autorenschaft fest, so spiegelt *Adversus omnium haeresium* die Auffassung und Haltung des Autors *vor der Krise* wider (da sie ja schon während der Amtszeit von Zephyrinus abgefasst wurde), während die *Refutatio* dessen Einstellung *danach* festhält. Lehnt man diese Identifikation ab, so erweist sich diese Frage sowieso als irrelevant.

4 Die Pseudonym-Hypothese

Zwar hat die gerade vorgestellte Einschätzung der *Refutatio* zur Ausbreitung des „Monarchianismus" in Rom erhebliche Implikationen für die Pseudonym-Hypothese – es entfällt in diesem Fall die Notwendigkeit der folgenden Überlegungen – dennoch erweist es sich als ertragreich, die Pseudonym-Hypothese auf ihre Plausibilität hin zu befragen.

Die These, dass Praxeas als ein Spottname – auf Deutsch etwa mit „Wichtigtuer" wiederzugeben – oder Pseudonym anzusehen sei, ist nicht nur alt,[59] sondern stellt auch den populärsten Lösungsansatz des eingangs formulierten Quellendilemmas dar. Drei Kandidaten wurden als mögliche Identifikationsfi-

59 Begründet hat Hermann Hagemann, *Die Römische Kirche und ihr Einfluss auf Disciplin und Dogma in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten: Nach den Quellen auf's Neue untersucht* (Freiburg: Herder, 1864), 234–237 diese Hypothese; seitdem wurde sie von einer ganzen Reihe namhafter Gelehrter – des Öfteren nur im Detail voneinander abweichend – vertreten: Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, 1:656; Evans, *Adversus Praxean*, 184–185; Barnes, *Tertullian*, 278–279; Geoffrey D. Dunn, *Tertullian*, The Early Church Fathers (London: Routledge, 2004), 24–25 hält sie für möglich. Geoffrey D. Dunn, „Roman and North African Christianity," in *The Routledge Companion to Early Christian Thought*, hgg. von D. Jeffrey Bingham, Routledge Companions (London: Routledge, 2010), 155, Anm. 19; Allen Brent, „Tertullian on the Role of the Bishop," in *Tertullian and Paul*, hgg. von Todd D. Still, Pauline and Patristic Scholars in Debate 1 (New York, NY: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2013), 181–183 und siehe Anm. 60, 61 und 62.

guren ins Spiel gebracht: Calixtus,[60] Epigonos[61] sowie Irenäus.[62] Besonders die Identifikation mit Calixtus erlebte in den vergangenen Dekaden ein regelrechtes Revival. Während Allen Brent vor allem aufgrund vermeintlicher biographischer Parallelen für eine Identifikation argumentiert,[63] sieht Ronald E. Heine es aufgrund theologischer Übereinstimmungen als erwiesen an, dass Tertullianus den Namen Praxeas benutzt, um gegen Calixtus bzw. seine Lehren vorzugehen.[64]

Was die von Brent angenommene, primär auf Herkunft und Bekennersein beruhende Identifikation betrifft, ist anzumerken, dass Praxeas nach Tertullianus als Erster partipassionalistische Lehren aus Asien nach Rom brachte.[65] Die *Refutatio* liefert keine Indizien zur Herkunft des Calixtus, er wird jedoch von Anfang an als Sklave des Christen Carpophorus bezeichnet.[66] Man kann zwar nicht ausschließen, dass Calixtus als „Importware“ nach Rom kam; seine Unfreiheit spricht jedenfalls eindeutig gegen eine aktive und vor allem freie Lehrtätigkeit. Dieser Diskrepanz scheint sich auch Brent bewusst zu sein: „Per-

60 Lipsius, „Ueber Tertullian’s Schrift wider Praxeas“; Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, 1:656; Emil Kroymann (Hg.), *Adversus Praxean*, Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften als Grundlage für Seminarübungen 2.8 (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1907), VIII–IX; Allen Brent, *Hippolytus and the Roman Church in the Third Century: Communities in Tension before the Emergence of a Monarch-Bishop*, Vigiliae Christianae Supplements 31 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 526–527; Heine, „Christology,“ 58–60; Brent, „Tertullian on the Role of the Bishop,“ 181–183; Andrew McGowan, „Tertullian and the ‚Heretical‘ Origins of the ‚Orthodox‘ Trinity,“ *JECS* 14 (2006): 441.

61 Esser, *Wer war Praxeas*, 27; Moingt, *Théologie Trinitaire de Tertullien*, 90–91; Michael Decker, „Die Monarchianer: Frühchristliche Theologie im Spannungsfeld zwischen Rom und Kleinasien“ (Dissertation, Hamburg, 1987), 179–180.

62 Stuart George Hall, „Praxeas and Irenaeus,“ *StPatr* 14 (1976): 145–147.

63 Brent, *Hippolytus*, 525–529.

64 Heine, „Christology,“ 58–60. Diese Idee scheint auch nicht ganz neu zu sein, jedenfalls kennt bzw. nennt Heine die Studie von Lipsius, „Ueber Tertullian’s Schrift wider Praxeas,“ 724 nicht: „In Zephyrin und Kallistus ist der längstverschollene Praxeas wieder aufgelebt, und ihre in der katholischen Kirche herrschende, aber von dem Montanisten Tertullian als ketzerisch angefochtene Lehre ist es, welche die Schrift contra Praxean bestreitet“. Ähnlich auch Langen, *Geschichte*, 193–200 und Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, 1:656 folgen Lipsius, auch wenn der Letztgenannter wesentlich vorsichtiger ist: Tertullianus „spielt augenscheinlich auch auf die römischen Monarchianer, d.h. auf Zephyrinus und die von ihm Protegirten (sic!) an. In dieser Beobachtung beruht die Wahrheit der Hypothese, Praxeas sei nur ein Name für einen bekannten römischen Monarchianer.“

65 Tertullianus, *Prax.* 1.4 (CCSL 2, 1159.20 Kroymann/Evans): *Nam iste primus ex Asia* … Vgl. auch mit Scarpat, *Contro Prassea*, 29; Prinzivalli, „Callisto I,“ 1:243.

66 Siehe die Rekonstruktion des calixtischen Werdegangs sowie die Chronologie seines Lebens bei Handl, *Calixtus, der Bischof*.

haps at all events this detail need not be stressed".[67] Aber nicht nur die Herkunft spricht gegen eine Identifikation des Praxeas mit Calixtus. Gravierende Unterschiede ergeben sich auch bei der Betrachtung ihres unvollendeten Blutzeugnisses. Lediglich „einen kurzen und unbequemen Gefängnisaufenthalt"[68] erlitt Praxeas nach der Darstellung des Tertullianus. Dass der Nordafrikaner hier nicht zwischen *martyr* und *confessor* unterscheidet, soll nicht weiter stören, denn das tun ebenfalls weder die *Refutatio* noch andere zeitgenössische Quellen.[69]

Bedeutend ist hingegen, dass, während der Karthager *expressis verbis* über einen Gefängnisaufenthalt (*carcer*) referiert,[70] sich die *Refutatio* auf eine Verurteilung zur Zwangsarbeit εἰς μέταλλον (in den Bergwerken) in Sardinien bezieht.[71] Bereits die angeblich „ähnlichen", aber in Wirklichkeit eklatant unterschiedlichen biographischen Eckpunkte zwingen dazu, eine Identifikation mit Calixtus *ad acta* zu legen.[72] Das ist aber noch nicht alles. Calixtus wurde z.B. nicht zum Widerruf seiner Lehren gezwungen, Praxeas aber sehr wohl.[73] Ferner spricht die innere Logik der *Refutatio* gegen eine solche Interpretation. Wäre nämlich Calixtus tatsächlich identisch mit Praxeas und hätte dieser die „gottlose Häresie" als Erster von Asien nach Rom gebracht, so stellt sich die Frage, wieso der Verfasser diese durchaus delikate Information nicht sofort für seine Zwecke ausschlachtete. Das Argument, welches er sonst umständlich über die Sukzessionskette Heraklitos – Noëtos – Epigonos – Kleomenes – Calixtus etabliert, wäre ihm direkt auf dem Silbertablett serviert worden. Die

67 Trotz vorsichtiger Formulierung in Brent, *Hippolytus*, 526, referiert er ein paar Jahre später die Praxeas-Calixtus Identifikation als eine Tatsache. Vgl. Brent, „Tertullian on the Role of the Bishop," 180.

68 Tertullianus, *Prax.* 1.4 (CCSL 2, 1159.20–21 Kroymann/Evans): *insuper de iactatione martyrii inflatus ob solum et simplex et breue carceris taedium.*

69 Handl, „Martyr or a Confessor," 400–401, insbesondere Anm. 35 und siehe auch James A. Kelhoffer, „The Search for Confessors at the Council of Nicaea," *JECS* 19, no. 4 (2011): 589–599. Ich danke James Kelhoffer für diesen Hinweis.

70 Tertullianus spricht nicht über *ad metalla*, obwohl er den Unterschied auch semantisch sehr wohl kennt. Siehe Tertullianus, *Pud.* 22.2 (CCSL 2, 1328.8–9 Dekkers) und die Ausführungen zur Terminologie von Wiebke Bähnk, *Von der Notwendigkeit des Leidens: die Theologie des Martyriums bei Tertullian*, Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 78 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 110–124.

71 *Refutatio* 9.12.9 (GCS Hippolytus III, 247.23–27 Wendland): τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων ὑποβολὴν τοῦτο νομισάντων, ὡς ζητοῦντος τοῦ Καρποφόρου ταύτῃ τῇ προφάσει ἐξελέσθαι αὐτόν, μᾶλλον ἐπιφθόνως κατεβόων τοῦ ἐπάρχου. ὁ δὲ κινηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν, μαστιγώσας αὐτὸν ἔδωκεν εἰς μέταλλον Σαρδονίας.

72 So bereits Scarpat, *Contro Prassea*, 28–36; Gabino Uríbarri Bilbao, „Tres notas sobre el *Contra Noetum* Hipolitano," *EstEcl* 72 (1997): 309–339, hier, 329.

73 Esser, *Wer war Praxeas*, 25–27.

genannten Aspekte machen eine Identifikation beider Bekenner noch weniger wahrscheinlich, als diese angesichts der biographischen Diskrepanzen ohnehin schon ist.

Der Vorschlag von Heine, nach dem Tertullianus in *Adversus Praxeas* nicht nur die lokalen „Monarchianer“ bekämpft, sondern gleich auch gegen Bischof Calixtus „austeilt“, entfaltet aufgrund kaum übersehbarer theologischer Ähnlichkeiten eine hohe Überzeugungskraft.[74] Bei dieser Annahme handelt es sich jedoch nicht um Ergebnisse einer Untersuchung, sondern um drei – zum Teil – apodiktischische Vorentscheidungen. Die erste darunter bezieht sich auf die Chronologie und geht davon aus, dass die erste Phase des Streits unter Zephyrinus und die zweite unter Calixtus stattfand.[75] Die zweite postuliert, dass die patripassionalistischen Lehren der ersten Phase und die anti-patripassionalistischen Lehren der zweiten Phase von zwei unterschiedlichen Personen bzw. Personenkreisen entwickelt bzw. vertreten wurden. Und schließlich folgert Heine aufgrund der Ähnlichkeiten zwischen den Lehren von Calixtus und des „modalistischen Praxeas“ der zweiten Phase, „that Tertullian uses Praxeas’ name as a cover to attack the views of Callistus“.[76] Was die Chronologie des Streitablaufs betrifft, ist eine Spätdatierung – wie schon oben dargelegt – nicht gerade unproblematisch.[77] Bezüglich des zweiten Punktes könnte die ohne Zweifel vorliegende Disparität der Lehren tatsächlich auf zwei sich unterscheidende Personen(kreise) hindeuten. Eine solche Lesart ist möglich, aber nicht zwingend.[78]

Im Hinblick auf die Ähnlichkeiten zwischen den Lehren der calixtischen und praxeanischen zweiten Phase lässt sich einerseits festhalten, dass diese Ähnlichkeiten kaum zu leugnen sind, andererseits ist es jedoch fraglich, ob sie ausreichen, um hier eine (zweifelsfreie) Bezugnahme sicherzustellen. Da die in der *Refutatio* dargelegten calixtischen Lehren in sich nicht schlüssig

---

74 Heine, „Christology,“ 59: „Tertullian combats it under the guise of the teachings of Praxeas, but the views he attacks are those of Callistus which are having the effect of reviving modalism in Carthage.“ Langen, *Geschichte*, 183–214 trieb den Vergleich bereits auf die Spitze (und darüber hinaus) als er konstatierte, dass „die in der Person des Praxeas von Tertullian bekämpfte Lehre … völlig identisch mit der von Kallistus weiter ausgebildeten, beziehungsweise modificirten Lehre des Noetus“ ist.

75 Hierzu merkt Heine, „Christology,“ 59, lapidar an: „I follow those who accept Zephyrinus as the Bishop when Praxeas visited Rome.“ Er zeigt zwar klares Problembewusstsein, legt aber hier keine Begründung für seine Entscheidung vor.

76 Heine, „Christology,“ 59.

77 Vgl. oben, 258–260.

78 An dieser Stelle kommt man über mehr oder weniger plausible Vermutungen wohl kaum hinaus.

sind und kein kohärentes System ergeben,[79] liegen folglich nicht nur signifikante Ähnlichkeiten, sondern auch eklatante Unterschiede vor, wie etwa der calixtische Rückgriff auf den Logos-Begriff oder die Annahme, dass die Einheit Gottes auch in der Fleischwerdung gewahrt bleibt und dass „der Fleischgewordene der eine Gott genannt werden kann".[80] Zudem geht es Heine darum, die calixtischen Lehren so weit wie möglich zu rekonstruieren. Die Passagen aus *Adversus Praxean* dienen streckenweise als „Lückenfüller" bzw. als Quelle für die kritische Evaluierung des in der *Refutatio* Gesagten. Diese, an sich legitime methodische Vorentscheidung limitiert erheblich den Aussagewert der Studie hinsichtlich einer vermuteten oder realen calixtischen Ausrichtung. Eine solche Ausrichtung ist zwar an sich denkbar, sie ist jedoch weder zwingend, noch kann sie angesichts der chronologischen Einwände als erwiesen gelten.

Die anderen beiden Identifikationsversuche mit Epigonos und Irenäus wirken nicht wesentlich überzeugender. Die besondere Stärke der Epigonos-Hypothese besteht darin, dass es genauso schwierig ist, diese zu widerlegen wie sie nachzuweisen. Das Minimale, was man zu Epigonos aus der *Refutatio* weiß, reicht beim besten Willen nicht aus, belastbare Anhaltspunkte für eine Identifikation zu finden.[81] Gegen die Vermutung, dass Irenäus hinter dem Pseudonym verborgen ist, sprechen drei Beobachtungen. Erstens, dass der Lyoner Bischof weder von Tertullianus noch vom Autor der *Refutatio* als Modalist oder als Monarchianer wahrgenommen wurde, obwohl beide sein Werk eingehend kannten und extensiv nutzten.[82] Zweitens, diente Irenäus beiden Schriftstellern als häresiologisches Vorbild und wurde als solches auch wertgeschätzt.[83] Und drittens weist nichts darauf hin, dass der Lyoner jemals in Karthago gewesen wäre.

Ferner soll sich jede Hypothese, die die Diskrepanzen der Quellen durch die Annahme eines Pseudonyms zu lösen versucht, die Frage nach Tertullianus'

79 Dies hat bereits Döllinger, *Hippolytus und Kallistus*, 232–236 scharfsinnig gezeigt.

80 Gerber, „Calixt von Rom," 230, 235–236.

81 So etwa schon Sieben, *Adversus Praxean*, 32–33.

82 Die terullianische Hochschätzung dürfte daher rühren, dass sein Traktat *Adversus Valentinianos* an weiten Teilen auf Irenäus' *Adversus Haereses* beruht bzw. sich als eine paraphrasierende Übertragung dessen erweist. Vgl. Mark Timothy Riley, „Q.S. Fl. Tertulliani Adversus Valentinianos: Text, Translation, and Commentary" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1971), insbesondere 121–173. Ähnliches gilt auch für die *Refutatio*. Vgl. z.B. Miroslav Marcovich (Hg.), *Hippolytus: Refutatio omnium haeresium*, PTS 25 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1986), 32–41.

83 Während der Autor Irenäus „seligspricht" (vgl. oben Anm. 44), nennt Tertullianus ihn in einem anderen Werk einen der *principales magistri*. Tertullianus, *Val.* 5.1 (CCSL 2, 756.1–15 Kroymann).

Motivation für den Gebrauch des Pseudonyms gefallen lassen. Der in forensischer Rhetorik bestens ausgebildete Nordafrikaner setzt rhetorische Figuren nicht nach Belieben ein. Vielmehr tut er das, wenn er darin einen handfesten Vorteil für seine Sache bzw. für sein Argument sieht. Die Frage nach der Motivation wird gerne übersehen, da sie den Finger auf den wunden Punkt legt. Es erscheint mir jedenfalls als unwahrscheinlich, dass die tertullianische Zurückhaltung in der Furcht vor Repressalien durch verunglimpfte Autoritäten begründet wäre. Das literarische Schaffen Tertullianus' zeigt eindrücklich, dass er keinerlei Skrupel hat, wenn es um die Verteidigung der (oder seiner) Wahrheit geht: Ob es sich dabei um die imaginären Adressaten des *Apologeticum*,[84] um den karthagischen Lokalbischof oder möglicherweise den Bischof von Rom[85] handelt, spielt für den Nordafrikaner keine Rolle. Dazu kommt noch, dass die wie auch immer gearteten Repressalien aus Rom (oder aus Karthago) sowieso nicht zu erwarten waren.[86] Wenn man also das Eingangsdilemma durch die Annahme eines Pseudonyms zu lösen versucht, genügt es nicht, nach einer mehr oder weniger geeigneten Identifikationsfigur Ausschau zu halten. Auch die Darlegung der tertullianischen Motivation dafür bedarf einer näheren Erörterung. Bis dahin darf man aber jeder Hypothese, die suggeriert, Tertullianus habe „Praxeas“ geschrieben, aber jemand anderen gemeint, mit einer gehörigen Portion Skepsis begegnen.

Die Frage, ob beim Namen Praxeas tatsächlich mit einem Pseudonym bzw. einem Stellvertreter gerechnet werden muss, weist über die Kandidatensuche hinaus und berührt den Ausgangspunkt der Hypothesenbildung. Als erster Schritt in Richtung Pseudonym wird gern darauf hingewiesen, dass Praxeas „a very unusual name“[87] sei, und dass dieser als ein Spott- oder Spitzname interpretiert werden kann. Unabhängig von der Frage, ob die angenommene oder tatsächliche Außergewöhnlichkeit grundsätzlich eher für oder gegen die Historizität spricht, wurde bis jetzt nicht viel Zeit und Papier für eine ono-

84 Tobias Georges, *Tertullian:* Apologeticum, Kommentar zu frühchristlichen Apologeten 11 (Freiburg: Herder, 2011), 44–46.

85 Tertullianus, *Pud.* 1.6 (CCSL 2, 1281.26–1282.27 Dekkers).

86 Neuere Forschungen zur Genese des römischen Episkopats legen nahe, dass selbst noch Calixtus – an dieser Hinsicht unterscheidet er sich kaum von seinen Vorgängern – primär damit beschäftigt ist, seine eigene Autorität auf stadtrömischem Boden zu sichern; zu überregionalen Ansprüche fehlt in dieser Zeit noch jegliche Spur. Bereits Brent, *Hippolytus*, 453–457; abweichend im Ergebnis, aber mit der späten Etablierung einverstanden ist Handl, „Viktor I. von Rom“. Zum Osterfeststreit unter Victor, der gern als erster Versuch der Durchsetzung von Primatsansprüchen gewertet wird, siehe insbesondere idem. 25–42.

87 So etwa hier Brent, *Hippolytus*, 525.

mastische (namenkundliche) Betrachtung verschwendet. Auf diese Lakune soll hier nun kurz eingegangen werden.

Gleich eingangs lässt sich festhalten, dass die Hauptform Πραξίας in den schriftlichen Quellen in der Tat nicht sonderlich oft vorkommt. Dennoch lassen sich 46 Belege aus Ägypten und 105 Belege aus Griechenland bzw. der östlichen Ägäis zwischen dem 6. vor- und 3. nachchristlichen Jahrhundert finden.[88] Die Namensform Πραξέας kommt hingegen ausgesprochen selten vor. Sie wird nur sechsmal in Ägypten und neunmal im nordöstlichen Mittelmeerraum bezeugt.[89] Umso bedeutender ist ein Grabaltar, der in der phrygischen Eumeneia (heute Işıklı/Türkei) gefunden wurde. Ein gewisser A. Aurelios Zotikos, ein Ratsherr aus Eumeneia, errichtete ihn für sich selbst und seine Familie.[90] Die elaborierte Inschrift verrät u. a. auch, dass Zotikos „Sohn des Praxeas" und dazu noch möglicherweise ein Christ gewesen sei. Die Formulierung πρὸς τὸν θεόν in der letzten Zeile deutet jedenfalls in Richtung Monotheismus. Der Altar samt Inschrift wird ins 3. nachchristliche Jahrhundert datiert, was wiederum einen erheblichen Spielraum für die Bestimmung der Lebzeiten des Vaters übrig lässt. Man wird nicht besonders falsch liegen, wenn man Πραξίας aus Eumeneia chronologisch zwischen der zweiten Hälfte des 2. und der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jahrhundert einordnet. Die Signifikanz dieser Inschrift liegt auf der Hand. Sie verdeutlicht erstens, dass ein Mann namens Πραξίας einst existierte; zweitens, dass dieser durchaus ein Zeitgenosse des tertullianischen Praxeas hätte sein können; drittens, dass er möglicherweise Christ war; und schließlich, dass er aus einer Region stammte, die mit der tertullianischen Herkunftsangabe *Asia minor* korrespondiert. „Beweisen" kann diese Inschrift natürlich nicht viel. Der Nachweis, dass der Name Praxeas allen Eigentümlichkeiten zum Trotz im Alltag genutzt wurde, und dazu noch in dersel-

88 Siehe etwa das Vorkommen des Namens auf Papyri in der Trismegistos-Datenbank: https://www.trismegistos.org/ref/ref_list.php?namvar_id=3938 (abgerufen 22.11.2020) und das *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* für den Ägäis-Raum: http://clas-lgpn2.classics.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/lgpn_search.cgi?namenoaccents=Πραξιας (abgerufen 22.11.2020).

89 Vgl. https://www.trismegistos.org/ref/ref_list.php?namvar_id=36624 (abgerufen 22.11.2020) sowie http://clas-lgpn2.classics.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/lgpn_search.cgi?namenoaccents=Πραξεας (abgerufen 22.11.2020).

90 ICG 1029. Cilliers Breytenbach et al., „Inscription ICG 1029," Inscriptiones Christianae Graecae (Edition Topoi, 2015), http://repository.edition-topoi.org/collection/ICG/object/1029. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ζωτι̣κὸς Πραξίου Εὐμενεὺς / βουλευτὴς κατεσκεύ- / ασεν τὸ ἡρῷον ἑαυτῷ / καὶ τεῖ γυναικί μου Γλυ- / κωνίδι καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις / μου Αὐρ(ηλίῳ) Ζωτικῷ τῷ υἱῷ / μου καὶ Διονυσίῳ καὶ / Ἀμμίᾳ τῇ θυγατρί μου [[καὶ]] / καὶ Μερτίνῃ τειθεῖδι· ἑτέρῳ / οὐδενὶ ἔξεστι τεθῆναι·/ εἰ δέ τις ἐπιτηδεύσει ἕτε- / ρόν τινα θεῖναι, θήσει ἰς τὸ / ἱερώτατον ταμεῖον (δην.) ͵βφʹ, τὸ δὲ / πάντων μεῖζον, {ε} ἔσται αὐτῷ / πρὸς τὸν θεόν.

ben geographischen Region, ist jedoch an sich bedeutend genug. Sie schließt zwar nicht aus, dass Tertullianus Praxeas als Spottnamen nutzt, macht allerdings entsprechende Überlegungen weder durchschlagskräftiger, noch erhöht sie den Druck zu einer entsprechenden Annahme. Es dürfte eher das Gegenteil zutreffen.

Fügt man die einzelnen Befunde der Pseudonymfrage zu einem Gesamtbild zusammen, so ergibt sich daraus ein homogenes Ganzes. Wenn es um die Identifizierung des Praxeas mit Calixtus geht, so sprechen die Quellen eine eindeutige Sprache. Die biographischen Ungereimtheiten sind so gravierend, dass diese These getrost *ad acta* gelegt werden darf. Ähnlich verhält es sich auch mit der Vermutung, Tertullianus habe die Lehren des Bischofs unter dem Deckmantel des Praxeas angegriffen. Unabhängig von der eher apodiktisch vorgebrachten Hypothese stellt sich hier vor allem die Frage nach der Motivation des in forensischer Rhetorik versierten Karthagers. Die Überlegung, Tertullianus wollte möglichen (institutionellen) Repressalien aus dem Weg gehen, erweist sich angesichts neuerer Forschungen zur Entwicklung des stadtrömischen Bischofsamtes als wenig überzeugend.[91] Dazu kommt noch, dass die Annahme eines Pseudonyms alles andere als zwingend ist. Der Name ist nämlich in einer zeitgenössischen Quelle aus der kleinasiatischen Heimat des Praxeas nachweisbar. Kurzum, eine Identifikation des Praxeas mit einem bekannten Protagonisten der stadtrömischen Kirche ist so überzeugend wie zwingend.

5 Schlussbrettachtung

Die eingangs gestellte Frage, ob man der polemischen *Refutatio* oder dem möglicherweise defizitäres Wissen präsentierenden Tertullianus vertrauen sollte, wenn es um die Ankunft und Entfaltung modalistischer Lehren am Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts in Rom geht, lässt sich mit wünschenswerter Eindeutigkeit beantworten. Trotz geographischer, temporärer Distanz und geballter Polemik ist dem Nordafrikaner der Vorzug zu geben. Die *Refutatio* verfolgt in diesem Zusammenhang eine klare Agenda. Die Argumentation dient hier seinem primären Ziel, seinem verhassten Kontrahenten Bischof Calixtus als einen Betrüger, Scharlatan und Häretiker zu diffamieren. Um diesem Ziel näher zu kommen, geht der Autor der *Refutatio* mit gewohnter Behutsamkeit vor. Er ordnet seinen Bischof-Gegner in eine Sukzessionskette von Häretikern ein

91 Siehe oben, Anm. 85.

und beschuldigt ihn, eine modalistisch geprägte monarchianische Christologie adaptiert, mit anderen Lehren kombiniert und in einer eigens dafür gegründeten Schule nach dem Vorbild der Philosophenschulen verbreitet zu haben. Eine signifikante Herausforderung dieser Herangehensweise besteht allerdings darin, dass die modalistischen Ideen nicht erst mit dem Episkopat Calixtus' in Rom salonfähig wurden. Fragmentarische Hinweise sowie der Bericht des Tertullianus über die Ankunft und Wirkung des Patripassionalisten Praxeas in Rom deuten darauf hin, dass Generationen von römischen Bischöfen spätestens seit Victor (ca. 189–199) entsprechende christologische Ansichten propagierten. Die Bemühung des Autors, Victor im bestmöglichen Licht darzustellen, vereinfacht diese Aufgabe nicht. Um dennoch den Spagat zwischen seinem literarischen Ziel und der Wirklichkeit zu schaffen, bleibt dem Autor nichts anderes übrig, als manche Fakten unberücksichtigt zu lassen bzw. diese neu zu interpretieren.

Das „prominenteste" Opfer dieser Uminterpretationskampagne ist der kleinasiatische Bekenner Praxeas. Obwohl ihn der Autor der *Refutatio* zumindest vom Hörensagen kennen muss, weil er allem Anschein nach schon während des Episkopats Victors, also am Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts in Rom tätig ist und sogar Einfluss auf den Bischof ausübt, wird er schlichtweg ignoriert. Mit diesem Griff gelingt es dem Autor, die Ankunft von modalistischen Glaubenssätzen in Rom von Victor zu entkoppeln. Als ein weiterer Schritt wird eine Alternativroute für die Ausbreitung geboten und der Diakon (oder Diener?) Epigonos ins Rampenlicht gestellt. Nach der *Refutatio* ist er es, der die angeblich durch die heraklitische Philosophie verunreinigten noëtianischen Glaubensformeln nach Rom transportiert. Dass Epigonos schon während Victors Episkopat nach Rom kam, ist alles andere als unwahrscheinlich, doch die *Refutatio* verbindet dies gezielt mit der Amtszeit des Bischofs Zephyrinus (ca. 199–217). In dieselbe Richtung weist auch die Erwähnung von Kleomenes. Diesen stellt der Autor als den Vorsteher der Gruppe in zweiter Generation vor. Als Nachfolger von Kleomenes wird ihm episkopale Unterstützung durch Zephyrinus nachgesagt. Die Entwicklung und Werbung für diese Alternativroute in der *Refutatio* bietet dem Autor die einmalige Chance, die Ausbreitung modalistischer Lehren eine Bischofsgeneration später, also statt unter Victor erst unter Zephyrinus anzusetzen. Damit kommt er seinem Ziel einen Schritt näher, Calixtus als Sektengründer darzustellen. Als nächster Schritt wird der Nachfolger von Victor, der ebenfalls modalistisch lehrende Zephyrinus aus der bischöflichen Sukzession eliminiert. Dabei wird dieser als eine unfähige, dilettantische und korrupte Marionette des Calixtus dargestellt, der alles nachplappert, was sein engster Vertrauter ihm in den Mund legt. Erst nach dem Tod des Zephyrinus tritt Calixtus aus dessen Schatten hervor und übersteigt ihn gleich seinem Vorgänger in jeglicher Hinsicht. Er greift nicht nur die Lehren des bereits solide etablierten Kleomenes auf, sondern „gründet“ auch die Sekte der „Calixtianer“.[92]

Das Schweigen zu Praxeas ist also in dreifacher Hinsicht unentbehrlich für den Autor der *Refutatio*. Erstens wird damit die frühe Ankunft des Monarchianismus in Rom eliminiert. Zweitens wird die Weste Victors rein gehalten, insofern er nicht als Einfallstor der „gottlosen Lehre“ Verantwortung tragen muss. Und zum Schluss muss der Autor nicht gegen Lehrsätze vorgehen, die bereits durch drei Generationen von Bischöfen vertreten werden und daher bereits als „apostolische Tradition“ qualifiziert sind.

Es spricht also nichts dagegen anzunehmen, dass Praxeas und Epigonos während der Amtszeit Victors oder sogar noch etwas früher mehr oder weniger gleichzeitig nach Rom kamen. Obwohl die beiden relativ ähnliche Glaubenssätze bezüglich des Vater-Sohn-Verhältnisses propagieren, schlagen sie dennoch unterschiedliche Wege ein. Epigonos widmet sich primär der Lehrtätigkeit und gründet einen Ableger der Noëtianer in Rom. Unter der Leitung seines Schülers Kleomenes erfährt die Schule nicht nur kräftigen Aufwind, sondern scheint bereits fest inmitten der stadtrömischen Christentümer etabliert zu sein. Sie steht offenbar in engem intellektuellem Austausch mit anderen Christentümern, darunter auch mit der Bischofskirche um Zephyrinus. Die Interaktion ist offenbar bilateral. Der Bischof integriert Teile der noëtianischen Glaubenssätze in seine eigene Lehre und unterstützt die Tätigkeit von Kleomenes.[93] Im Unterschied dazu betätigt sich Praxeas auf der kirchenpolitischen Bühne, als er Bischof Victor zu einem Schlag gegen den Lokalableger der Neuen Propheten drängt. Vermutlich gelang es ihm auch mindestens teilweise, Victor für seine aus Kleinasien importierten monarchianischen Lehren patripassionalistischer Prägung zu gewinnen. Jedenfalls zeigt sich bereits Victor modalistischen Spekulationen zugeneigt. Wenn Praxeas jemals darauf bedacht war, eine Schule auf römischem Boden zu gründen, scheiterte er wohl. Weder Tertullianus noch andere Quellen wie etwa die *Refutatio* oder Pseudo-Tertullianus' *Adversus omnes haereses* wissen von einer praxeanischen Schule in Rom bzw. von einer entsprechenden Unternehmung. Wahrscheinlicher scheint es mir, dass Praxeas seine Wirkung innerhalb der Bischofskirche entfaltete. Seine Nähe zu Victor hätte dies nicht nur erlaubt, sondern auch begünstigt. Für eine solche Interpretation spräche auch Tertullianus' Traktat gegen Praxeas. Dieser impliziert eine Schulgründung weder in Rom noch in Karthago; dafür legt er aber nahe, dass Praxeas seiner Lehr-

92 *Refutatio* 9.12.26 (GCS Hippolytus III, 251.1–7 Wendland).
93 *Refutatio* 9.7.2 (GCS Hippolytus III, 240.19–26 Wendland).

tätigkeit innerhalb der „Physikergemeinde", also inmitten des karthagischen Gemeindechristentums nachging.

Der hier vorgelegte Lösungsansatz bietet mehrere Vorteile. Der bedeutendste darunter ist, dass das *silentium* des Autors zur Wirkung des Praxeas in Rom nicht durch externe Faktoren, sondern alleine aus einer literarischen Auslegung der *Refutatio* heraus erklärt werden kann und folgt der internen Logik des Calixtusreferats. Er verfolgt dabei allerdings nicht nur die üblichen Ziele, wie etwa die Verleumdungskampagne gegen Calixtus oder die Verschonung Victors, sondern für ihn stellt die Darlegung der Ausbreitung des modalistischen Monarchianismus in Rom einen unentbehrlichen Baustein dar, um diese Ziele zu verwirklichen. Ein weiterer Vorteil dieses Lösungsansatzes besteht darin, dass er weder zusätzlicher Hilfskonstrukte wie etwa einer Früh- oder Spätdatierung der Ereignisse in Rom oder in Karthago bedarf, noch man die Vertrauenswürdigkeit der Quellen Tertullianus' infrage stellen muss; auch muss man dem Autor der *Refutatio* keinerlei Gedächtnislücken bescheinigen. Nicht zuletzt kommt sie ohne die Annahme eines Pseudonyms aus. Diese bleibt zwar eine mögliche, jedoch angesichts der aufgezeigten Schwächen und Probleme nicht gerade wahrscheinliche Option zur Klärung des Sachverhalts.

Reflektiert man die Ergebnisse auf dem Horizont des Leitthemas dieser Festschrift, so fällt einem vor allem auf, wie wenig die Quellen über Gottestdienstpraxis, Eucharistie, Taufe, Katechumenat usw. selbst dann verraten, wenn man sie „gegen den Strich" liest. Es gibt dennoch einige wenige Beobachtungen, die in diesem Zusammenhang von Bedeutung sind und auf zwei entgegenwirkende Kräfte hinweisen. Zum einen ist es auffällig, dass der Autor, der sonst sehr gern die mit magischen Elementen angereicherte Gottesdienstpraxis der „Gnostiker" in der *Refutatio* weitschweifig darlegt,[94] diesbezüglich weder Calixtus aufs Korn nimmt, noch entsprechende Vorwürfe gegen „seine Schule" vorbringt. Diese Beobachtung könnte einen Hinweis darauf liefern, dass es einen Trend zur Vereinheitlichung der liturgischen Praxis innerhalb der Bischofskirche gegeben habe und dass der Autor trotz seiner Distanzierung zur Bischofskirche deren liturgische Ausprägungen teilte.

Zum anderen deuten eine Reihe von vereinzelten Indizien auf eine unglaubliche Vielfalt an liturgischen Formen hin, die in Rom für Jahrzehnte, wenn nicht für Jahrhunderte friedlich nebeneinander koexistierten, aber manchmal mit aller Wucht aufeinanderprallten. Ein gutes Beispiel für Letzteres ist etwa die „Liturgiereform" Victors, den Ostertermin zumindest innerhalb der in Rom

94 Vgl. James A. Kelhoffer, „‚Hippolytus' and Magic: An Examination of Elenchos IV 28–42 and Related Passages in Light of the *Papyri Graecae Magicae*," *ZAC* 11, no. 3 (2008): 517–548.

aktiven Christentümer zu vereinheitlichen. Bemerkenswert ist es dabei, dass ein alternativer Ostertermin, also eine abweichende liturgische Praxis für den Autor der *Refutatio* reichte, ihre Befürworter als Häretiker zu etikettieren. Auf bunte Diversität in der Kultpraxis deuten etwa gerade erwähnte Ausführungen der *Refutatio* zu unterschiedlichen magischen Tricks der „Gnostiker“ hin, die zwar traditionell scharf von einer „(Proto-)Orthodoxie“ getrennt betrachtet werden, aber sich selbst oft als Christen definierten und mit „(proto-)orthodoxen“ Gemeinden in eng(erer) Verbindung standen. In dieselbe Richtung dürften die Ankunft und Wirkung von Praxeas und insbesondere von Epigonus in Rom hindeuten. Sie brachten nämlich nicht nur die Idee eines „gekreuzigten Gottes“ nach Rom mit, sondern auch ihre eigenen liturgischen Traditionen.

Bibliographie

Bähnk, Wiebke. *Von der Notwendigkeit des Leidens: Die Theologie des Martyriums bei Tertullian*. Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 78. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001.

Barnes, Timothy D. *Tertullian: A Historical and Literary Study*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1971.

Botte, Bernard (Hg.). *La tradition apostolique: D'après les anciennes versions*. SC 11. Paris: Cerf, 1946.

Bradshaw, Paul. „Conclusions Shaping Evidence: An Examination of the Scholarship Surrounding the Supposed Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus.“ S. 13–30 in *Sanctifying Texts, Transforming Rituals*. Hgg. von Paul van Geest, Marcel Poorthuis und Els Rose. Brill's Studies in Catholic Theology 5. Leiden: Brill, 2017.

Brent, Allen. *Hippolytus and the Roman Church in the Third Century: Communities in Tension before the Emergence of a Monarch-Bishop*. Vigiliae Christianae Supplements 31. Leiden: Brill, 1995.

Brent, Allen. „Tertullian on the Role of the Bishop.“ S. 165–185 in *Tertullian and Paul*. Hg. von Todd D. Still. Pauline and Patristic Scholars in Debate 1. New York: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2013.

Breytenbach, Cilliers, et al. „Inscription ICG 1029.“ Inscriptiones Christianae Graecae. Edition Topoi, 2015, online: http://repository.edition-topoi.org/collection/icg/object/1029.

Butterweck, Christel. „Tertullian, Quintus Septimius Florens (gest. nach 220).“ *TRE* 33:93–107.

Castelli, Emanuele. „L'Elenchos, ovvero una ‘biblioteca’ contro le eresie.“ S. 21–56 in *Confutazione di tutte le eresie*. Hg. von Aldo Magris. Letteratura cristiana antica nuova serie 25. Brescia: Morcelliana, 2012.

Decker, Michael. „Die Monarchianer: Frühchristliche Theologie im Spannungsfeld zwischen Rom und Kleinasien." Diss., Hamburg, 1987.

Döllinger, Ignaz. *Hippolytus und Kallistus: Oder die römische Kirche in der ersten Hälfte des dritten Jahrhunderts; mit Rücksicht auf die Schriften und Abhandlungen der HH. Bunsen, Wordsworth, Baur und Gieseler*. Regensburg: Manz, 1853.

Dunn, Geoffrey D. „Rhetoric and Tertullian: A Response." *StPatr* 65 (2013): 349–358.

Dunn, Geoffrey D. „Rhetoric and Tertullian's *De Virginibus Velandis*." *VC* 59 (2005): 1–30.

Dunn, Geoffrey D. „Rhetorical Structure in Tertullian's *Ad Scapulam*." *VC* 56 (2002): 47–55.

Dunn, Geoffrey D. „Roman and North African Christianity." S. 154–171 in *The Routledge Companion to Early Christian Thought*. Hg. von D. Jeffrey Bingham. Routledge Companions. London: Routledge, 2010.

Dunn, Geoffrey D. *Tertullian*. The Early Church Fathers. London: Routledge, 2004.

Dunn, Geoffrey D. *Tertullian's Aduersus Iudaeos: A Rhetorical Analysis*. Patristic Monograph Series 19. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2008.

Ekenberg, Anders (Hg.). *Hippolytos, Den apostoliska traditionen*. Kristna klassiker. Uppsala: Katolska bokförlaget, 1994.

Esser, Gerhard. *Wer war Praxeas?* Programm zur Feier des Gedächtnisses des Stifters der Universität Königs Friedrich Wilhelm III. Bonn: Carl Georgi Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1910.

Evans, Ernest (Hg.). *Tertullianus, Adversus Praxean Liber: The Text Edited, with an Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*. London: S.P.C.K., 1948

Eusebius von Caesarea. *Die Kirchengeschichte*. Hg. von Eduard Schwartz. 3 Bde. GCS 9. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903–1909.

Georges, Tobias. *Tertullian:* Apologeticum. Kommentar zu frühchristlichen Apologeten 11. Freiburg: Herder, 2011.

Gerber, Simon. „Calixt von Rom und der monarchianische Streit." *ZAC* 5 (2001): 213–339.

Hagemann, Hermann. *Die Römische Kirche und ihr Einfluss auf Disciplin und Dogma in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten: Nach den Quellen auf's Neue untersucht*. Freiburg: Herder, 1864.

Hall, Stuart George. „Praxeas and Irenaeus." *StPatr* 14 (1976): 145–147.

Handl, András. „Bishop Callistus I. of Rome (217?–222): A Martyr or a Confessor?" *ZAC* 18 (2014): 390–419.

Handl, András. *Calixtus I, der Bischof von Rom und der Konflikt um seine Person in der Refutatio omnium haeresium*. Vigiliae Christianae Supplements. Leiden: Brill, forthcoming.

Handl, András. „From Slave to Bishop: Callixtus' Early Ecclesial Career and Mechanisms of Clerical Promotion." *ZAC* 25 (2021): 53–73.

Handl, András. „All Roads Lead to Conflict? Christian Migration to Rome circa 200." *JAC* 63 (2020), forthcoming.

Handl, András. „Viktor I. (189?–199?) von Rom und die Entstehung des ‚monarchischen‘ Episkopats in Rom.“ *SE* 55 (2016): 7–56.

Harnack, Adolf von. „Die älteste uns im Wortlaut bekannte dogmatische Erklärung eines römischen Bischofs (Zephyrin bei Hippolyt, Refut. IX 11.).“ *SPAW.PH* (1923): 51–57.

Harnack, Adolf von. *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*. Bd. 1: *Die Entstehung des kirchlichen Dogmas*. 2. Aufl. Tübingen: Mohr, 1888.

Heine, Ronald E. „The Christology of Callistus.“ *JTS* 49 (1998): 56–91.

Hübner, Reinhard M. „Melito von Sardes und Noët von Smyrna.“ S. 1–37 in *Der Paradox Eine: Antignostischer Monarchianismus im zweiten Jahrhundert*. Hg. von Reinhard M. Hübner. Vigiliae Christianae Supplements 50. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

Hübner, Reinhard M. „Εἷς θεὸς Ἰησοῦς Χριστός: Zum christlichen Gottesglauben im zweiten Jahrhundert – ein Versuch.“ S. 207–238 in *Der Paradox Eine: Antignostischer Monarchianismus im zweiten Jahrhundert*. Hg. von Reinhard M. Hübner. Vigiliae Christianae Supplements 50. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

Kelhoffer, James A. „‚Hippolytus,‘ Magic and ‚Heretical‘ Miracle Workers: An Examination of *Elenchos* IV. 28–42 and Related Passages in Light of the Greek Magical Papyri.“ *ZAC* 11 (2007–2008): 517–548.

Kelhoffer, James A. „The Search for Confessors at the Council of Nicaea.“ *JECS* 19 (2011): 589–599.

Koschorke, Klaus. *Hippolyts Ketzerbekämpfung und Polemik gegen die Gnostiker: Eine tendenzkritische Untersuchung seiner* „Refutatio omnium haeresium“. Göttinger Orientforschungen 6, Hellenistica 4. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975.

Kroymann, Emil (Hg.). *Adversus Praxean*. Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften als Grundlage für Seminarübungen 2.8. Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck), 1907.

La Piana, George. „The Roman Church at the End of the Second Century: The Episcopate of Victor, the Latinization of the Roman Church, the Easter Controversy, Consolidation of Power and Doctrinal Development, the Catacomb of Callistus.“ *HTR* 18 (1925): 201–277.

Labriolle, Pierre de. *La crise montaniste*. Bibliothèque de la Fondation Thiers 31. Paris: Leroux, 1913.

Lampe, Peter. *Die stadtrömischen Christen in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten: Untersuchungen zur Sozialgeschichte*. WUNT II 18. 2. Aufl. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989.

Langen, Joseph. *Geschichte der römischen Kirche*. Bonn: Cohen, 1881.

Lipsius, Richard Adelbert. „Ueber Tertullian's Schrift wider Praxeas.“ *JDT* 13 (1868): 701–724.

Manor, T. Scott. *Epiphanius'* Alogi *and the Johannine Controversy: A Reassessment of Early Ecclesial Opposition to the Johannine Corpus*. Vigiliae Christianae Supplements 135. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

Mansfeld, Jaap. *Heresiography in Context: Hippolytus' Elenchos as a Source for Greek Philosophy*. PhA 56. Leiden: Brill, 1992.

Marcovich, Miroslav, (Hg.). *Hippolytus: Refutatio omnium haeresium*. PTS 25. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1986.

Markschies, Christoph. „Montanismus." *RAC* 24:1197–1220.

Markschies, Christoph. „Wer schrieb die sogenannte '*Traditio Apostolica*'?" S. 1–74 in *Tauffragen und Bekenntnis: Studien zur sogenannten* „Traditio Apostolica"*, zu den* „Interrogationes de fide" *und zum „Römischen Glaubensbekenntnis"*. Hgg. von Wolfram Kinzig, Christoph Markschies, und Markus Vinzent. Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 74. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999.

McGowan, Andrew. „Tertullian and the ‚Heretical' Origins of the ‚Orthodox' Trinity." *JECS* 14 (2006): 437–457.

Meßner, Reinhard. „Die angebliche *Traditio Apostolica*: Eine neue Textpräsentation." *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 58/59 (2016): 1–58.

Moingt, Joseph. *Théologie Trinitaire de Tertullien*. Bd. 1: *Histoire, Doctrine, Méthodes*. Théologie 68. Paris: Aubier, 1966.

Moll, Sebastian. „Three against Tertullian: The Second Tradition about Marcion's Life." *JTS* 59 (2008): 169–180.

Nicolotti, Andrea. „Che cos'è la *Traditio apostolica* di Ippolito? In margine ad una recente pubblicazione." *Rivista di Storia del Cristianesimo* 2 (2005): 219–237.

Norelli, Enrico. „Presenza e persistenza dei ruoli carismatici: Il caso delle assemblee sul montanismo nel II secolo." *Ricerche storico bibliche* 25 (2013): 165–195.

Perrin, Michel-Yves. „Rom und das westliche Abendland bis zur Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts." S. 666–716 in Band 1 von *Die Geschichte des Christentums*. Hgg. von Jean-Marie Mayeur, Luce Pietri, und Norbert Brox. Freiburg: Herder, 2003.

Preysing, Konrad (Hg.). *Des heiligen Hippolytus von Rom: Widerlegung aller Häresien* (*Philosophumena*). Bibliothek der Kirchenväter 1.40. München: Kösel & Pustet, 1922.

Prinzivalli, Emanuela. „Callisto I, santo." S. 237–246 in Band 1 von *Enciclopedia dei Papi*. Hgg. von Sara Esposito und Giulia Barone. Rom: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2000.

Prinzivalli, Emanuela. „Zefirino, santo." S. 234–236 in Band 1 von *Enciclopedia dei Papi*. Hgg. von Sara Esposito und Giulia Barone. Rom: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2000.

Ps-Tertullianus. „Adversus omnes haereses." S. 1399–1410 in *Tertulliani opera: Opera montanistica*. Hg. von Eligius Dekkers. CCSL 2. Turnhout: Brepols, 1954.

Rankin, David. *Tertullian and the Church*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Refutatio omnium haeresium. Hg. von Paul Wendland. GCS 26.3. Leipzig: Heinrichs, 1916.

Rhenanus, Beatus (Hg.). *Opera Q. Septimii Florentis Tertulliani Carthaginensis: Inter Latinos Ecclesiæ scriptores primi*. Paris: I. Roigny, 1545.

Riley, Mark Timothy. „Q.S. Fl. Tertulliani Adversus Valentinianos: Text, Translation, and Commentary.“ PhD diss., Stanford University, 1971.

Scarpat, Giuseppe (Hg.). *Tertullianus, Contro Prassea*. Biblioteca Loescheriana. Torino: Loescher, 1959.

Scholten, Clemens. „Autor, Anliegen und Publikum der *Refutatio*.“ S. 135–166 in *Des évêques, des écoles et des hérétiques: Actes du colloque international sur la ‚Réfutation de toutes les hérésies', Genève, 13–14 juin 2008*. Hgg. von Gabriella Aragione und Enrico Norelli. Prahins: Zèbre, 2011.

Scholten, Clemens. „Hippolytos II (von Rom).“ *RAC* 15:492–551.

Schwartz, Eduard, Adolf Michaelis, und Theobald Ziegler (Hgg.). *Über die pseudoapostolischen Kirchenordnungen*. Schriften der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Straßburg 6. Strasbourg: Truebner, 1910.

Scorza Barcellona, Francesco. „Vittore I, santo.“ S. 233–237 in Band 1 von *Enciclopedia dei Papi*, edited by Sara Esposito and Giulia Barone. Rom: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2000.

Sider, Robert Dick. *Ancient Rhetoric and the Art of Tertullian*. Oxford Theological Monographs. London: Oxford University Press, 1971.

Sieben, Hermann Josef (Hg.). *Tertullian, Adversus Praxean*. Fontes Christiani 34. Freiburg: Herder, 2001.

Simonetti, Manlio (Hg.). *Ippolito, Contro Noeto*. Biblioteca patristica 35. Bologna: Edizione Dehoniane Bologna, 2000.

Simonetti, Manlio (Hg.). „Per un profilo dell'autore dell'Elenchos.“ *Vetera Christianorum* 46 (2009): 157–173.

Simonetti, Manlio (Hg.). „Roma cristiana tra vescovi e presbiteri.“ S. 29–40 in *Origine delle catacombe romane*. Hgg. von Vincenzo Fiocchi Nicolai und Jean Guyon. Sussidi allo studio delle antichità cristiane 18. Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2006.

Simonetti, Manlio (Hg.). „Una nuova proposta su Ippolito.“ *Aug* 36 (1996): 13–46.

Stewart-Sykes, Alistair (Hg.). *On the Apostolic Tradition*. St. Vladimir's Seminary Press „Popular Patristics“ Series. Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001.

Stewart-Sykes, Alistair (Hg.). „*Traditio Apostolica*: The Liturgy of Third-Century Rome and the Hippolytean School or *Quomodo historia liturgica conscribenda sit*.“ *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 48 (2004): 233–248.

Tabbernee, William. *Fake Prophecy and Polluted Sacraments: Ecclesiastical and Imperial Reactions to Montanism*. Vigiliae Christianae Supplements 84. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Tertullianus. „Adversus Praxeas.“ S. 1157–1206 in *Tertulliani opera: Opera montanistica*. Hg. von Eligius Dekkers. CCSL 2. Turnhout: Brepols, 1954.

Tertullianus. „Adversus Valentinianos.“ S. 751–778 in *Tertulliani opera: Opera montanistica*. Hg. von Eligius Dekkers. CCSL 2. Turnhout: Brepols, 1954.

Tertullianus. „De pudicitia.“ S. 1279–1330 in *Tertulliani opera: Opera montanistica*. Hg. von Eligius Dekkers. CCSL 2. Turnhout: Brepols, 1954.

Thomassen, Einar. „Orthodoxy and Heresy in Second-Century Rome.“ *HTR* 97 (2004): 241–256.

Tränkle, Hermann. “§ 474. Q. Septimius Florens Tertullianus.“ S. 438–511 in *Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike*. Bd. 4: *Die Literatur des Umbruchs: Von der römischen zur christlichen Literatur, 117 bis 284 n. Chr*. Hg. von Klaus Sallmann. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 8.4. München: Beck, 1997.

Trevett, Christine. *Montanism: Gender, Authority and the New Prophecy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Uríbarri Bilbao, Gabino. *Monarquía y Trinidad: El concepto teológico „Monarchia“ en la controversia „Monarquiana“*. Publicaciones de la Universidad Pontificia Comillas 1.62. Madrid: UPCO, 1996.

Uríbarri Bilbao, Gabino. „Tres notas sobre el *Contra Noetum* Hipolitano.“ *EstEcl* 72 (1997): 309–339.

Vinzent, Markus. „From Zephyrinus to Damasus: What Did Roman Bishops Believe?“ *StPatr* 63 (2013): 273–286.

Vinzent, Markus. „Viktor I, Bischof von Rom.“ *TRE* 35:93–97.

Vogt, Hermann Josef. „Noet von Smyrna und Heraklit: Bemerkungen zur Darstellung ihrer Lehren durch Hippolyt.“ *ZAC* 6 (2002): 59–80.

Wilhite, David E. *Tertullian the African: An Anthropological Reading of Tertullian's Context and Identities*. Millennium-Studien 14. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007.

11

Der Stellenwert der Dichtung und das Lob Gottes bei Laktanz

Marianne Wifstrand Schiebe

1 Die wahre Gottesverehrung[1]

„Die Gabe ist ein unschuldiges Gemüt, das Opfer Lobgesang." Diese Worte äußert Laktanz (um 250–325 n. Chr.) im 6. Buch seiner *Divinae institutiones* von den Gaben und vom Opfer an den wahren Gott, im Gegensatz zu Gaben und Opfern an die paganen Götter.[2] Etwas weiter vorne im selben Kapitel heißt es: „Der wichtigste Ritus der Gottesverehrung ist Lobgesang, vom Munde eines gerechten Menschen an Gott gerichtet."[3] Aber damit dieser Lobgesang Gott angenehm sei, soll er gewisse Bedingungen erfüllen; v. a. muss er mit Demut, Furcht und allergrößter Ergebenheit verbunden sein.

Thema des sechsten Buchs ist die wahre Gottesverehrung (*De uero cultu*). Diese setzt eine strikt christliche Verhaltensweise voraus, die im selben Buch ausführlich und mit strengen Warnungen und Forderungen dargelegt wird. U. a.

1 Mit Freude und Dankbarkeit denke ich an viele anregende Diskussionen im Patristikerseminar des Newmaninstituts unter der Leitung von Anders Ekenberg zurück. Ganz besonders erinnere ich mich an die Sitzung am 14.4.2010, wo ein Artikel von mir, in dem Laktanz eine zentrale Rolle spielte, zur Diskussion vorlag. So sei hier unserem Jubilar ein Beitrag zu Laktanz gewidmet, und zwar zu einem Thema das auch damals kurz gestreift wurde, s. Marianne Wifstrand Schiebe, „*Virgilius de uno deo aperte loquitur*. Eklogendeutung und Laktanzanlehnung bei Hugo de Folieto (12. Jahrh.)," in *Von Homer bis Landino: Beiträge zur Antike und Spätantike sowie zu deren Rezeptions- und Wirkungsgeschichte. Festgabe für Antonie Wlosok zum 80. Geburtstag*, hgg. von Beate Regina Suchla (Berlin: Pro Business, 2011), 435–464, hier 439, Anm. 6.

2 Laktanz, *Inst*. 6.25.7: *donum est integritas animi, sacrificium laus et hymnus*. Ich betrachte die Phrase *laus et hymnus* als Hendiadyoin, im Anschluss an die später von Augustin gegebene Definition (*Enarrationes in Psalmos* 148.17 CSEL 95.5 p. 267): *Hymnus scitis quid est? Cantus est cum laude Dei* … (Vgl. auch *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 71.20 CCL 39 p. 986.) S. Jutta Günther, *Musik als Argument spätantiker Kirchenväter: Untersuchungen zu Laktanz, Euseb, Chrysostomos und Augustin* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2019), 61, und vgl. ebenda 23.

3 Laktanz, *Inst*. 6.25.12: *Summus igitur colendi dei ritus est ex ore iusti hominis ad deum directa laudatio, quae tamen ipsa ut deo sit accepta, et humilitate et timore et deuotione maxima opus est*.

DOI:10.1163/9789004522053_011

liefert Laktanz eine kraftvolle Predigt gegen den falschen Gebrauch der fünf Sinne (Kap. 6.20–23). Alle sinnlichen Lüste sind lasterhaft und gefährlich und müssen unterdrückt werden. Die Sinne seien nicht zu solchem Zweck da – sie sollen „zu ihrem eigentlichen Zweck zurückgerufen werden."[4] Nach eindringlicher Verurteilung der *uoluptas oculorum* wendet sich Laktanz in Kapitel 21 der Lust der Ohren zu, die „durch die süße Lieblichkeit von Stimmen und Klängen empfangen wird."[5] Diese ist genau so lasterhaft wie die falsche sinnliche Lust der Augen. Instrumentale Musik ohne Worte wird zwar als weniger gefährlich bezeichnet, da sich der Eindruck davon verflüchtigt, aber „das wohlkomponierte Gedicht und die mit lieblichem Klang laufende Rede fesseln den Geist und treiben ihn wohin sie wollen."[6] Leute, die so etwas gewohnt sind, lassen sich weniger leicht bekehren, da sie die einfache Sprache der biblischen Schriften verachten, heißt es in 6.21.5. Gott hätte selbstverständlich, wenn er es gewollt hätte, anders sprechen können, aber er hat beschlossen, dass die Schriften ohne Schminke sein sollten (*carere fuco*), damit alle verstehen können, was er zu allen sprach (6.21.6). Wer sich um die Wahrheit bemüht, soll die feindlichen und schädlichen Lüste fallen lassen, die die Seele unterwerfen (6.21.7). „Den Ohren soll nur angenehm sein, was die Seele nährt und dich besser macht;" das Gehör soll nicht dazu degradiert werden, den Lastern zu dienen, wo es uns doch dazu gegeben worden ist, die Lehre Gottes zu verstehen (6.21.8). Laktanz fährt fort:

4 Laktanz, *Inst.* 6.20.1: *ad rationem suam reuocari.*

5 Laktanz, *Inst.* 6.21.1: *Aurium uoluptas ex uocum et cantuum suauitate percipitur* …. Die Verbindung von *uoces* und *cantus* deutet darauf, dass unter *uoces* hier vokale Äußerungen zu verstehen sind, unter *cantus* instrumentale Klänge (wie in Laktanz, *Inst.* 7.13.9) oder vielleicht von Instrumenten begleiteter Gesang oder Rezitation. An der entsprechenden Stelle der *Epitome*, der Kurzfassung der *Institutiones*, c. 57, bezieht sich *cantus* offenbar auf instrumentale Klänge allein. S. auch unten Anm. 7. Zur *Epitome* s. z.B. Wlosok, „C. Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius" (§ 570), in *Restauration und Erneuerung: Die lateinische Literatur von 284 bis 374 n. Chr.*, hgg. von Reinhart Herzog, Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike 5 (München: Beck, 1989), 375–404, hier 391–392, oder die Praefatio zur Ausgabe der *Epitome*, *L. Caeli Firmiani Lactanti Epitome Diuinarum institutionum*, hgg. von Eberhard Heck und Antonie Wlosok (Stuttgart & Leipzig: Teubner, 1994). Laktanz hat die *Epitome* selbst verfasst und auch gewisse Aktualisierungen und Verbesserungen im Verhältnis zur Vollfassung der *Institutiones* eingeführt, wie es scheint im Gedanken an eine geplante Revidierung der Vollfassung, von der die Überlieferung Spuren aufweist, die aber offensichtlich nie durchgeführt wurde.

6 Laktanz, *Inst.* 6.21.4: *Carmen compositum et oratio cum suauitate decurrens capit mentes et quo uoluerit impellit. Carmen* hat, wie *cantus*, ein breites Bedeutungsfeld (*Thesaurus linguae Latinae* 3 Sp. 463–474), etwas was sich auch bei Laktanz widerspiegelt. Am häufigsten begegnet das Wort in den *Institutiones* als Bezeichnung für Orakelsprüche (*carmina Sibyllina* u.

> Wenn also Lust (*uoluptas*) heißt, Klänge und Gedichte (*cantus et carmina*) zu hören, dann soll es ein Reiz sein, Gottes Lob zu singen und zu hören. Denn das ist die wahre Lust, welche Begleiterin und Verbündete der Tugend ist; diese ist nicht hinfällig und kurz … sie ist beständig und bereitet unaufhörlich Freude. Wer die Grenzen dieser Lust überschreitet und nichts anderes in der Lust sucht als die Lust selbst, der geht mit dem Tod um, denn genau so wie in der Tugend ewiges Leben liegt, so liegt Tod in der Lust.[7]

Wir ziehen den Schluss, dass *cantus* und *carmina* – worunter wir Gesänge und Gedichte, die von anderen vorgeführt oder rezitiert werden, verstehen müssen, da es allein um *audire* geht – mit der verderblichen Lust als Selbstzweck verknüpft und den *dei laudes* gegenübergestellt werden, die sich ihrem Wesen nach davon unterscheiden und zudem nicht allein für das Ohr sind, sondern vom Christen selber aktiv gesungen werden. Vielleicht sollen wir an liturgischen Gebrauch der Psalmen denken, obwohl nichts derartiges sonst von Laktanz erwähnt wird.[8]

---

dgl.). Er verwendet das Wort aber auch für jegliche Art von Dichtung (Laktanz, *Inst.* 3.18.15 *ex Homeri carminibus*; 2.4.3 *Flaccus … satirici carminis scriptor*). Unter *carmen compositum* („wohlkomponiertes Gedicht"), verstehe ich Dichtung mit oder ohne Musikbegleitung, und so soll die Übersetzung „Gedicht" hier und in *Inst.* 6.21.9 verstanden werden. Vgl. die entsprechende Stelle, Laktanz, *Epit.* 57.5: *numerosisque carminibus*, und s. auch unten Anm. 7. In Kap. 6.20 heißt es von öffentlich vorgeführten Komödien: „Je beredsamer diejenigen sind, die jene vorgespielten Schandtaten erfunden haben, um so mehr überzeugen sie gerade aufgrund der Eleganz der Satzperioden, und um so leichter bleiben die rhythmisch abgerundeten und schmuckvollen Verse im Gedächtnis der Zuhörer hängen." (Laktanz, *Inst.* 6.21.27: … *quo magis sunt eloquentes qui flagitia illa finxerunt, eo magis sententiarum elegantia persuadent et facilius inhaerent audientium memoriae uersus numerosi et ornati.*) Es wird hier deutlich, dass Laktanz die schöne Form v. a. deswegen ablehnt, weil dadurch die bedrohlichen Inhalte, die durch die paganen öffentlichen Veranstaltungen vermittelt werden, besonders effektiv eingeprägt werden.

7 Laktanz, *Inst.* 6.21.9–11: *Itaque si uoluptas est audire cantus et carmina, dei laudes canere et audire iucundum sit.* (10) *Haec est uoluptas uera, quae comes est et socia uirtutis; haec non est caduca et breuis … sed perpetua et sine ulla intermissione delectans.* (11) *cuius terminos si quis excesserit, nihilque aliud ex uoluptate petierit nisi ipsam uoluptatem, hic mortem meditatur, quia sicut uita perpetua in uirtute est, ita mors in uoluptate.* Es ist nicht leicht, exakt zu wissen, wie die Phrase *cantus et carmina* zu verstehen ist. Die beiden Begriffe sind u. U. praktisch synonym. Die Möglichkeit besteht, dass sie ein Hendiadyoin bilden, zur Abdeckung aller Arten von musikalischer und dichterischer Kunst.

8 Vgl. Günther, *Musik als Argument*, 61.

2 Eine Neuorientierung der Dichtung?

Im Hinblick auf diesen Kontext, nicht zuletzt auf die kraftvolle Verurteilung des *carmen compositum* – die eine noch stärkere Parallele im fünften Buch hat[9] – überrascht es nicht wenig, dass gerade der Satz 6.21.9 („Wenn also Lust heißt, Klänge und Gedichte zu hören …") von der Forschung mehrfach dahingehend gedeutet worden ist, dass Laktanz hier die Möglichkeit einer christlichen Kunstdichtung vorsehe oder jedenfalls impliziere. Eine solche Deutung wurde erstmals von Pieter Van der Nat erwogen, allerdings mit einigen Vorbehalten, u.a. auch den unmittelbaren Kontext betreffend.[10] Dennoch folgert er gerade aus der Stellungnahme, dass die wahre Lust darin bestehe, das Lob Gottes zu singen und zu hören, dass bei Laktanz, im Gegensatz zu Tertullian, der restlos negativ sei (Tertullian, *Spect.* 29.2), „ein Ringen, die Schönheit der Dichtung annehmbar zu machen," festzustellen sei.[11] Allerdings relativiert er umgehend seine Deutung: Laktanz spiele auf Psalm 49.14 an (wie auch in *Inst.* 6.25.7); die *dei laudes* könnten sich auf biblische cantica und die Psalmen Davids beziehen; das sei sogar das Wahrscheinlichste. Er schließt seinen Beitrag damit, die Frage nach einer solchen Absicht des Laktanz offenzulassen, wobei er zugleich meint, dass Laktanz jedenfalls die Voraussetzungen für die christliche Kunstdichtung der konstantinischen Zeit (d.h. die *Evangelia* des Iuvencus und den *Cento* der Proba) mitgeschaffen habe, und so sei er ein Wegbereiter christlicher lateinischer Dichtung (225).

Die These wurde bald von anderen aufgegriffen und hat sich dabei, wie es so häufig in der Wissenschaft geschieht, erheblich verschärft. In der Form, wie

9 Laktanz, *Inst.* 5.1.10, unten Anm. 51 angeführt. Dass schöner Rhythmus für das geistige Gleichgewicht gefährlich sein könne, ist kein ausschließlich christliches Urteil. Der Rhetor Titus Castricius (2. Jahrh. n. Chr.) soll seinen Freund Aulus Gellius davor gewarnt haben, dass „unsere Ohren, wenn sie vom Takt einer harmonisch geschlossenen Rede bezaubert werden, auch unseren Geist mit leerer Lust erfüllen." (Gellius, *Noct. Att.* 11.13.5: … *ut aures nostrae cadentis apte orationis modis eblanditae animum quoque nobis uoluptate inani perfunderent.*) Zu beachten ist, dass nach Laktanz auch philosophische Darstellung *suauis* sein kann, wie u.a. in 5.1.10 hervorgeht; wenn auch in 6.21 formale Dichtung und rhythmisierte Rede, wie es scheint, als besonders gefährlich hervorgehoben werden, gilt die Warnung auch jeder angenehm verlockenden Darstellung, sei es durch den rhetorischen Schmuck – den die Gegner in den biblischen Schriften vermissen – sei es durch einschmeichelnden Inhalt.

10 Pieter Van der Nat, „Zu den Voraussetzungen der christlichen lateinischen Literatur: Die Zeugnisse von Minucius Felix und Laktanz," in *Christianisme et formes littéraires de l'Antiquité tardive en Occident*, hgg. von Manfred Fuhrmann, Entretiens 23 (Genf: Fondation Hardt, 1977), 191–225, hier 221–225.

11 Van der Nat, „Voraussetzungen," 224.

sie bei Jochen Walter begegnet, besagt sie, dass Laktanz beabsichtigt habe, der Gedanke an eine Neuorientierung der Dichtung auf das Lob Gottes hin solle in *Inst.* 6.21.9–12 mitschwingen.[12] Selbst weist er hier auf Antonie Wlosok hin, die in mehreren Beiträgen die Auffassung vertreten hat, dass Laktanz in 6.21.4–10 den genannten Gattungen (Dichtung, Gesang, Redekunst) trotz der Betonung der damit verbundenen Gefahren eine neue, positive Funktion habe zuweisen wollen. Die Aussagen in 6.21.9 und 6.25.7 hat sie als eine „neue Zweckbestimmung der Dichtung, des schönen Gesangs" charakterisiert. Diese seien nunmehr im Dienste Gottes und zu seinem Lob zu gebrauchen.[13] Die Aussagen im 6. Buch verbindet sie, wie schon Van der Nat, mit einer unten eingehend zu besprechenden Stelle im ersten Buch, und sieht darin erste Ansätze zu einer christlichen Poetologie und Ästhetik. Damit sei der Weg für eine christliche Dichtkunst gebahnt.[14]

Der Verweis bei Van der Nat auf Iuvencus und Proba lässt vermuten, dass eine formale Kunstdichtung mit literarischen Ansprüchen gemeint ist und nicht für den liturgischen Gebrauch vorgesehene Gesänge. Aber der Wortlaut in 6.21.9 impliziert doch wohl eher letzteres. Die Begriffe *laus* und *hymnus* sind im biblischen und christlichen Wortschatz gut verankert: *laus* setzt sich offensichtlich früh als Wiedergabe von LXX ὕμνος durch.[15] Sollen wir uns eine eigenständige lateinische Dichtung nach Art der Psalmen vorstellen? Falls ja, sollte diese die formale Gestalt eines *carmen compositum* annehmen? Lässt der Text so weite unausgesprochene Assoziationen zu? Es wird doch wohl eher impliziert, dass der Lobgesang Gottes *cantus et carmina* ersetzen soll, ohne dass auf besondere formale Eigenschaften dieser *laudes* angespielt wird. Dagegen wird die Lust, *uoluptas*, umdefiniert, indem diese auf eine andere Art von Gesang übertragen wird, doch wohl eine schlichte und tugendhafte, die nicht wie die

12 Jochen Walter, *Pagane Texte und Wertvorstellungen bei Lactanz* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 110.

13 Antonie Wlosok, „Zwei Beispiele frühchristlicher ‚Vergilrezeption,'" in *Res humanae – res divinae*: *Kleine Schriften*, von Antonie Wlosok, hgg. von Eberhard Heck und Ernst August Schmidt (Heidelberg: Winter, 1990), 437–459, hier 454; Antonie Wlosok, „Zur lateinischen Apologetik der constantinischen Zeit (Arnobius, Lactantius, Firmicus Maternus)," in Wlosok, *Res humanae*, 217–232, hier 222; Antonie Wlosok, „C. Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius" (§ 570), in *Restauration und Erneuerung: Die lateinische Literatur von 284 bis 374 n. Chr.*, hgg. von Reinhart Herzog, Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike 5 (München: Beck, 1989), 375–404, hier 381, u. a. Vgl. Van der Nat, „Voraussetzungen," 217–221.

14 Ähnlich Jacques Fontaine, *Naissance de la poésie dans l'Occident chrétien* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1981), 56.

15 *Laus et hymnus* miteinander verbunden etwa bei Tertullian, *Marc.* 3.22.6 (CCSL 1, 540.1). S. Klaus Thraede, „Hymnus," *RAC* 16 (1994): 915–946, hier bes. 920–921. Vgl. auch oben Anm. 2.

Lieder der Dichter ist (vgl. 5.1.10: *mera … uenena tegentia*), sondern mit Demut, Furcht und Ergebenheit einhergeht (vgl. 6.25.12).

Nun ist die hier beschriebene Deutung von *Inst.* 6.21.9, wie schon hervorging, nicht aus einer Analyse des unmittelbaren Kontexts entstanden. Und in der Tat erscheint es doch wohl schwer, aus 6.21.4–10 eine positive Stellungnahme überhaupt herauszulesen. Vielmehr gründet sich die These auf eine davon unabhängige Voraussetzung, nämlich die, dass Laktanz, anders als seine Glaubensgenossen, Dichtung im Allgemeinen positiv eingeschätzt habe und sich auch für eine Umwertung der Tätigkeit der Dichter eingesetzt habe. Diese Auffassung geht von einer bestimmten Stelle im ersten Buch der *Institutiones* aus, an der Laktanz im Kontext seiner Bemühungen, dem paganen mythologischen Narrativ einen seinen apologetischen Zwecken angepassten Sinn zu geben, nun versucht, pagane Kritiker des Götternarrativs davon zu überzeugen, dass sie die Bedingungen und die Arbeitsweise der Dichter, die von den Taten und Abenteuern der Götter erzählen, nicht korrekt verstünden. Die Stelle, die wir unten eingehender unter die Lupe nehmen wollen, lautet wie folgt:

> Sie kennen die Beschränkung nicht, wie weit sich die dichterische Freiheit im Erfinden erstrecken darf, wo es doch die Pflicht des Dichters ist, das was sich tatsächlich ereignet hat, nicht ohne einen gewissen Reiz mit Hilfe von uneindeutigen Verbildlichungen umzugestalten und dadurch zu bewirken, dass es ganz anders erscheine.[16]

Aus diesem Satz ist gefolgert worden, dass Laktanz die paganen Dichter habe in Schutz nehmen wollen, sei es gegen christliche Geringschätzung von Dichtung überhaupt, sei es gegen pagane philosophische Kritik, indem er sich gegen die häufige Vorstellung von den Dichtern als lügenhaft und fabulierfreudig wende; stattdessen habe er sich dafür einsetzen wollen, dass das Fabulieren die besondere Darstellungsweise der Dichtung sei, mit der sie durchaus Wahrheit zu vermitteln pflege, freilich in einer verhüllenden Weise. Eine solche verhüllende und verdunkelnde, d.h. allegorisierende Darstellungsart sei demgemäß für Laktanz in Wirklichkeit die eigentliche Aufgabe von Dichtung überhaupt, das *officium poetae*, wie er sie nennt.[17]

---

16 Laktanz, *Inst.* 1.11.24: *Nesciunt enim qui sit poeticae licentiae modus, quousque progredi fingendo liceat, cum officium poetae in eo sit, ut ea quae uere gesta sunt in alias species obliquis figurationibus cum decore aliquo conuersa traducat*.

17 Besonders deutlich bei Wlosok, „Zwei Beispiele," 454; vgl. Wlosok, „Zur lateinischen Apologetik," 222; Wlosok, „C. Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius," 380. Vgl. Fontaine, *Naissance*, 55–56.

Mitbestimmend für die Vorstellung, dass Laktanz mit seiner Aufgabenbestimmung der Dichtung im ersten Buch auf einen annehmbaren Weg zu einer christlichen Kunstdichtung habe weisen wollen, war die – heute praktisch allgemein akzeptierte – Meinung, dass Laktanz der Dichter des bis zu seiner Zeit einzigen Beispiels einer lateinischen christlichen Kunstdichtung sei, des elegischen Gedichts *De aue Phoenice*, das zwar nirgends ausdrücklich auf christliche Lehre Bezug nimmt, aber gemeinhin als verhüllte Verkündigung der Unsterblichkeit der Seele und der Auferstehung Christi gilt.[18] Damit schien wohl die Billigung der Darstellung christlicher Inhalte in allegorischer und zudem noch vollendeter metrischer Form für Laktanz gewährleistet zu sein.[19] Ferner mag zumindest anfänglich zur vermeintlichen Bekräftigung der These beigetragen haben, dass die Formel zum *officium poetae* (ohne die übergeordnete Konstruktion *nesciunt … liceat*) von Rostagni in die Sammlung der Fragmente von Suetons *De poetis* aufgenommen worden war.[20]

Schon hier – ohne dass wir noch die einschlägige Äußerung im ersten Buch eingehender betrachtet haben – melden sich Fragen und Zweifel. Erstens soll das Gedicht über den Vogel Phoenix in der Zeit der Verfolgung entstanden sein. Das bedeutet, dass ein besonderer Anlass zur Verhüllung der Botschaft und zur einwandfreien paganen Form vorgelegen haben mag, so dass daraus nicht unbedingt generelle Schlüsse gezogen werden können. Und zweitens fragt sich, wie die Aufforderung zu *dei laudes* in 6.21.9, *laus et hymnus* in 6.25.7 und *laudatio* in 6.25.12 sich zum Postulat der verhüllenden Darstellungsweise in 1.11.24 verhält. Zumal die Betonung der Demut und der Furcht, die nach 6.25.12 für die Gottesgefälligkeit der *laudatio* notwendig seien, lässt an eine einfache, unum-

18 Zwei Handschriften sowie auch Gregorius von Tours, *De cursu stellarum* 12, nennen Laktanz als Dichter des Gedichts. Mindestens seit dem Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts ist diese Auffassung dominierend, wenn auch nicht alleinherrschend gewesen. Zur älteren Diskussion s. z. B. Mauriz Schuster, „Zur Echtheitsfrage und Abfassungszeit von Laktantius' Dichtung *De aue Phoenice*," *Wiener Studien* 54 (1936): 118–128. Zur Deutung und zum Anliegen, s. Antonie Wlosok, „Die Anfänge christlicher Poesie lateinischer Sprache: Laktanzens Gedicht über den Vogel Phoenix," in Wlosok, *Res humanae*, 250–278.

19 Die Enstehung dieses Gedichts wird in die Zeit etwa um 304–306 angesetzt (wobei vorausgesetzt wird, dass es von Laktanz stammt). S. zuletzt Stefan Freund, *Laktanz*, *Divinae Institutiones Buch 7*: *De vita beata* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 10–11.

20 S. Wlosok, „Zwei Beispiele," 455, Anm. 39 Ende, und vgl. Wlosok, „C. Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius," 380, Anm. 6. In der Form, wie der Text bei Augusto Rostagni, *Suetonio* De poetis *e biografi minori: Restituzione e commento* (Torino: Chiantore, 1944), 13–14, wiedergegeben wird, stammt er aus Isidorus, *Origines* 8.7.10, der hier Laktanz ohne Namensnennung zitiert. Es kann kein Zweifel darüber bestehen, dass die Stelle zu Unrecht Sueton zugeschrieben worden ist. Ich beabsichtige, in einer späteren Arbeit auf dieses Thema zurückzukommen.

wundene Sprechweise denken; die Wortwahl als solche lässt in keiner Weise an eine allegorisierende Ausdrucksweise denken. Aber – drittens – schwerer noch wiegt der besondere Kontext in Buch 1, der in mehrfacher Hinsicht einem so weiten Verständnis von 1.11.24 widerspricht. Hier bemüht sich Laktanz um ein bestimmtes, für seine apologetischen Zwecke entscheidendes Verständnis des mythologischen Götternarrativs. Es geht um den Beweis, dass ein besonderer Inhalt vermittelt werde, und diesem Zweck dient das Postulat der besonderen, verhüllenden Darstellungsweise der Dichter. Zum dichterischen Vorgehen gehöre, dass die Verhüllung „nicht ohne einen gewissen Reiz" geschehe;[21] der Aspekt des schönen Gesangs ist jedoch nicht das zentrale Anliegen, und später, in 1.15.13, erwähnt Laktanz, dass die Gesänge der Dichter „auf die Lust abgestimmt seien", eine Phrase, die eher negative Konnotationen vermittelt.[22] Zudem finden wir in den Büchern 2 und 7 Reflexe derselben Terminologie einer verhüllenden und verdunkelnden Darstellungsweise, die mit einem negativen Urteil von Seiten des Laktanz verbunden sind. Es ist deshalb wichtig, seine Reflexionen zur Verfahrensweise der Dichter eingehend auf dem Hintergrund ihres eigentlichen Kontexts zu studieren.

3 Das *officium poetae* und sein Kontext

Die Stelle 1.11.24 gehört in den Rahmen der Bemühungen des Laktanz, zu beweisen, dass die paganen Götter insgesamt einstige Menschen gewesen seien. Er stellt sie als frühe Könige und Helden dar, die sich durch Wohltaten und nützliche Erfindungen bei ihren Untertanen beliebt gemacht hätten. Nach ihrem Tod hätte man begonnen, sie als Götter zu verehren, da man wünschte, die Erinnerung an sie wach zu erhalten (1.8.8).[23] Später erfahren wir noch, wie man begonnen hätte, zur Erinnerung und zum Trost Standbilder der Verstorbenen zu errichten. Nach und nach hätte sich die Sitte immer mehr verbreitet, sie als

---

21 Vgl. Laktanz, *Inst.* 1.11.36: Die Dichter wollten „mit Hilfe von bunten Metaphern (*figuris uersicoloribus*) ihren Gedichten (*carminibus*) eine gewisse Anmut und Witzigkeit verleihen." Das Beispiel von *figura* im Vorangehenden betrifft den Umstand, dass *Olympus* zweideutig sei – das Wort bezeichne einmal einen Berg, zum anderen aber auch den Himmel. Wenn die Dichter den Wohnsitz des Jupiter *Olympus* nennen, hätten sie ersteres gemeint.

22 Laktanz, *Inst.* 1.15.13: *compositis ad uoluptatem carminibus* … („mit ihren auf die Lust abgestimmten Gedichten …"). Dass hier keine positive Wertung vorliegt, wird durch den unmittelbaren Kontext unterstrichen, s. unten Anm. 38.

23 Freilich lassen die Lebensläufe von Jupiter, Hercules u. a., die Laktanz im selben Buch von seinem Standpunkt aus präsentiert, solche Gefühle der Dankbarkeit und des Vermissens von Seiten der Untertanen eher nicht erwarten.

Götter zu verehren. Auch ihren Nachfolgern seien dieselben Ehren erwiesen worden, sei es, dass man sie tatsächlich für Götter gehalten habe, sei es dass man ihnen habe schmeicheln wollen (1.15.1–3, 7–12). Die Überzeugung, dass die paganen Götter einstige Menschen seien, teilt Laktanz mit vielen früheren und späteren christlichen Autoren, so z. B. den lateinisch-sprachigen Vorgängern Tertullian, Minucius Felix und Arnobius.[24] Wie seine Vorgänger weist er, um diese Grundthese zu unterbauen, auf „historische Quellen" hin – v. a. auf den Roman des Euhemeros, den er in der lateinischen Fassung des Ennius ausgiebig zitiert.[25] Aber anders als seine Vorgänger setzt er sich außerdem dafür ein, dass die Richtigkeit der These auch noch mit Hilfe des mythologischen Narrativs, das von den Abenteuern und Taten der Götter erzählt, erwiesen werden könne. Die Dichter hätten aus bestimmten Gründen ihre mächtigen Auftraggeber, oder deren Vorfahren, als Götter dargestellt.[26] Im Narrativ hätten sie ihr Leben und ihre Taten besungen, und für den, der mit der besonderen Arbeits-

24 Auf Minucius bezieht sich Laktanz ausdrücklich in seiner Diskussion in Laktanz, *Inst.* 1.11.55. Laktanz hat für seine Auseinandersetzung mit der paganen Religion eine Menge Ideen von Minucius übernommen und weiter ausgebaut. Dass der pagane Kult aus der Verehrung von Menschen enstanden sei, bedeutet nicht, dass die Götter harmlos seien. Im Gegenteil – für die frühchristlichen Autoren stellen sie eine reelle Gefahr dar. Das liegt daran, dass man meinte, Dämonen hätten sich der Namen und der Bilder der verstorbenen Herrscher bemächtigt. Wie man sich diesen Vorgang dachte, geht aus Laktanz, *Inst.* 2.16.3 oder 4.27.17 hervor.

25 Das erste Buch der *Institutiones* ist unsere Hauptquelle zur Fassung des Ennius. Neueste Fragmentsammlung in *Fragmentary Republican Latin*, Vol II: *Ennius, Dramatic Fragments, Minor Works*, hgg. von Sander M. Goldberg und Gesine Manuwald, LCL 537 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018), 238–259. S. auch die Testimonien 51–52, 54, 56–58, 62, 64–67, 69–70 und 75 in der Teubnerausgabe der Fragmente des Euhemeros, Marek Winiarczyk, *Euhemerus Messenius, Reliquiae* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1991). Der Eifer der christlichen Autoren, mit Hilfe des euhemeristischen Modells zu „beweisen", dass ihre paganen Gegner selber nicht an ihre Götter geglaubt hätten, hat zweifellos dazu beigetragen, dass die Bedeutung des Euhemeros auch in der Wissenschaft meist kräftig überschätzt wird. S. dazu Marianne Wifstrand Schiebe, „Why it should be obvious that Euhemerus did not write his *Sacred History* to bolster ruler cult," in *ΛΑΒΡΥΣ. Studies Presented to Pontus Hellström*, hgg. von Lars Karlsson, Susanne Carlsson, und Jesper Blid Kullberg, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Boreas 35 (Uppsala: Uppsala Universität, 2014), 342–350, hier 348–349, sowie Marianne Wifstrand Schiebe, *Das anthropomorphe Gottesbild: Berechtigung und Ursprung aus der Sicht antiker Denker*, Potsdamer altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 69 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2020), Kap. 6.4. Laktanz selbst übertreibt die Bedeutung des Modells gewaltig.

26 Laktanz impliziert, dass die Dichter im Auftrag der zu feiernden Könige (oder deren Nachkommen) gearbeitet hätten. Diese Implikation wird mutmaßlich dazu beigetragen haben, seine Theorie plausibler zu machen – Entsprechendes ist in der spätantiken Welt gewiss nichts Ausgefallenes oder Anstößiges gewesen.

methode der Dichter vertraut sei, sei der eigentliche Status der Protagonisten trotz der verhüllenden Darstellungsweise deutlich zu erkennen; man müsse nur alle Übertreibungen und phantastischen Elemente abziehen. Wer aber nicht damit vertraut sei, gehe natürlich fehl.

Dies ist der Rahmen, in dem Laktanz die These von der Aufgabe der Dichter formuliert. Obwohl er seine Aussagen über die Dichter und ihre Tätigkeit zeitlos formuliert, geht es ihm hier nicht um die klassische lateinische Dichtung – und so demonstriert er diese Äußerungen auch nicht mit ausdrücklichen Zitaten – sondern es handelt sich um die Entstehung der mythologischen Traditionen. Damit richtet er sich an die pagane gebildete Elite, die ja anerkanntermaßen seine primäre Zielgruppe ist, nicht an christliche Empfänger, die meist keine ausführliche Argumentation nötig hatten, um die paganen Götter für ursprüngliche Menschen zu halten.[27] Er nutzt damit die zweischneidigen Gefühle paganer Gebildeter dem mythologischen Narrativ gegenüber. Diese betrafen weniger den Umstand, dass die Götter in Menschengestalt und mit menschlichen Familienbanden dargestellt wurden. Zwar lehnte die gebildete pagane Elite ein solches Gottesbild jahrhundertelang grundsätzlich ab, aber man war nicht der Meinung, dass die Vorstellung von den Dichtern stammte.[28] Die Reaktionen galten dem Umstand, dass den Göttern Abenteuer und Taten zugeschrieben werden, die unter den Menschen als die schlimmsten Verbrechen gelten, wie Vatermord, Inzest, Vergewaltigung, Betrug u. a. m.[29] Das Unbehagen zeitigte zwei Verhaltensweisen: Nach der einen bestand das Götternarrativ ganz und gar aus nichtswürdigen und gottesfeindlichen Erfindungen und Lügen, *figmenta* und *mendacia* (Laktanz, *Inst.* 1.11.30; 1.11.36; 1.12.3; vgl. 1.9.8; 1.11.22, 24). Dies ist der Standpunkt, den Laktanz mit seiner ‚Dichtungstheorie' in besonderer Weise konfrontiert. Die Vertreter dieser Sichtweise wählen den bequemen Weg, alle Elemente, die als problematisch empfunden werden, sei es, dass sie gegen die Moral verstoßen, sei es dass sie die Grenzen des Möglichen nicht beachten, auf die dichterische Phantasie abzuschieben.[30] Wenn

27 Vgl. oben, m. Anm. 24. Die *Divinae institutiones* richten sich v. a. an die gebildete pagane Elite. S. dazu Wlosok, „C. Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius," 386, und Eberhard Heck, „Defendere – instituere: Zum Selbstverständnis des Apologeten Lactanz," in *L'Apologétique chrétienne gréco-latine à l'époque prénicienne*, hgg. von Antonie Wlosok und François Paschoud, Entretiens 51 (Genf: Fondation Hardt, 2005), 205–240, hier 206–207; vgl. die zusätzlichen Bemerkungen von Freund, *Laktanz. Divinae institutiones Buch* 7, 11 Anm. 43.

28 S. dazu Wifstrand Schiebe, *Das anthropomorphe Gottesbild*, bes. 20, m. Anm. 23.

29 Scharfe Kritik schon bei Xenophanes, bes. Fr. B.11 und B.12 in Diels und Kranz, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 1:132.

30 Vgl. wie Tertullian die Reaktionen der Gegner beschreibt, wenn die skandalösen Göttergeschichten von christlicher Seite kritisiert werden (Tertullian, *Nat.* 2.7.9): „Sobald wir

aber die Götter in Wirklichkeit historische Gestalten sind, dann handelt es sich eben nicht um reine Lüge, und die unwahrscheinlichen und übernatürlichen Elemente müssen anders erklärt werden. Zu diesem Zweck führt Laktanz die These vom *officium poetae* ein. Der Zweck besteht also gerade darin, den Anspruch zu unterstützen, dass hinter dem Narrativ sich grundsätzlich historische Ereignisse verstecken und dass auch die dort vorkommenden phantastischen Elemente auf historische Wirklichkeit zurückgeführt werden können.[31] Der Vorwurf des *nescire*, mit dem der betreffende Satz eingeleitet wird, bezieht sich auf die Befürworter dieser ersten Verhaltensweise:

> Sie kennen die Beschränkung nicht, wie weit sich die dichterische Freiheit im Erfinden erstrecken darf, wo es doch die Pflicht des Dichters ist, das was sich tatsächlich ereignet hat, nicht ohne einen gewissen Reiz mit Hilfe von uneindeutigen Verbildlichungen umzugestalten und dadurch zu bewirken, dass es ganz anders erscheine.[32]

Der anderen Verhaltensweise zufolge handelte es sich nur äußerlich um *figmenta* und *mendacia*; auf einer tieferen Ebene werde dagegen Wahres vermittelt. Das Götternarrativ galt also hier als Träger kodierter Inhalte, genauer, es sei als versteckte philosophische Lehre zu verstehen, wobei die anthropomorphen Götter in der Regel die göttlichen Prinzipien und Kräfte des Kosmos repräsentieren, und ihre menschlichen Eigenschaften und ihre Taten und Abenteuer als verhüllte Berichte über die damit verbundenen Prozesse verstanden werden (s. *Inst.* 1.12.3–10; 1.11.16; 1.17.1–5). Auch diese Betrachtungsweise wird durch das Modell des Laktanz hinfällig. Es handelt sich also um gegenseitig sich ausschließende Alternativen. Wenn die Götter in Wirklichkeit historische Gestal-

---

Kritik an den abscheulichen oder schändlichen oder grausamen Taten der Götter äußern, weist ihr auf die dichterische Freiheit hin und verteidigt all dieses als Märchenstoff," (*Nam quotiens misera uel turpia uel atrocia deorum exprobramus allegatione poeticae licentiae ut fabulosa defenditis*).

31 Einfach ausgedrückt kann man die Haltung der paganen Gebildeten dem mythologischen Narrativ gegenüber so beschreiben, dass die phantastischen Elemente der Heldensage normalerweise rationalisiert wurden, d.h. womöglich auf Wirkliches zurückgeführt wurden – ein im Grunde logisches Verfahren, da die beteiligten Helden eben anerkanntermaßen historische Gestalten waren – während alles Übernatürliche, das mit den Göttern zu tun hatte, entweder ganz abgewiesen wurde oder durch Allegorese umgedeutet wurde. Laktanz bezieht zu diesen Verhaltensalternativen Stellung und macht den Anspruch, sie durch sein Modell zu ersetzen. S. dazu hier unten Anm. 33.

32 Laktanz, *Inst.* 1.11.24: *Nesciunt enim qui sit poeticae licentiae modus, quousque progredi fingendo liceat, cum officium poetae in eo sit, ut ea quae uere gesta sunt in alias species obliquis figurationibus cum decore aliquo conuersa traducat.*

ten sind, stehen sie eben nicht für die Prinzipien und Kräfte des Kosmos.[33] Aber die Vertreter dieser Auffassung suchen immerhin im Narrativ einen wahren Inhalt und machen geltend, dass die *figmenta* Sinn und Berechtigung hätten. Laktanz rechnet ihnen zugute, klar gesehen zu haben, dass das, was die Dichter über Jupiter erzählen, unmöglich von einem Gott gelten könne; er schreibt ihnen, gewiss etwas zu wohlwollend, die Einsicht zu, dass es sich hier um einen Menschen handele.[34] Die grundlegende philosophische Kritik am anthropomorphen Gottesbild als solchem wird selbstverständlich von Laktanz als zutreffend anerkannt. So hätten die Stoiker mit Recht dagegen reagiert, dass es männliche und weibliche Götter geben könne. Dafür hätten sie es verfehlt, den korrekten Schluss daraus zu ziehen, und hätten die Götter stattdessen auf die Elemente und andere kosmische Prinzipien bezogen.[35] Der richtige Schluss wäre natürlich der, dass sie tatsächlich Männer und Frauen im normalen Sinne seien (vgl. bes. 1.16.4–17). Der Ausgangspunkt des Narrativs sei *ea quae uere gesta sunt*, das was sich tatsächlich ereignet hat.

Die Historizität von Helden wie Theseus, Perseus, Herakles oder auch Agamemnon, Odysseus, Aeneas usw. wurde von niemandem angezweifelt. Aber Laktanz beansprucht Historizität auch für die Olympier (d.h. die nie gebore-

33 Die philosophische Allegorese des Götternarrativs wird keineswegs allein aus dem Grund von Laktanz abgewiesen, „weil mit ihrer Hilfe demselben Mythos mehrere einander widersprechende Bedeutungen zuerkannt werden können", so Van der Nat, „Voraussetzungen," 218. Der entscheidende Grund ist der, dass diese Alternative automatisch entfällt, wenn das Modell des Laktanz akzeptiert wird. Auch der Einwand von Walter, *Pagane Texte*, 107, ist verfehlt. Walter meint, dass Laktanz darin inkonsequent sei, dass er die pagane philosophische Exegese restlos verwirft, aber allegorische Auslegung von Bibeltexten anerkennt. Laktanz aber meint, bewiesen zu haben, dass der Stoff, dem die philosophische Allegorese gelte, a priori anders zu behandeln sei; die philosophische Allegorese käme aus diesem Grund gar nicht in Frage. Zu den Bibeltexten und ihrer Deutung besteht also für ihn hier keine Parallelität.

34 Laktanz, *Inst.* 1.11.38: *Uiderunt ex parte quod erat uerum, eum scilicet de quo poetae loquantur* (= *Iouem*) *hominem fuisse* („Sie haben die Wahrheit teilweise entdeckt, nämlich dass derjenige, von denen die Dichter sprechen, ein Mensch gewesen sei"). Aber in dieser richtigen Einsicht hätte man fälschlich zwei *Ioues* angenommen, einen der Naturphilosophie (*unum naturalem*) und einen anderen, märchenhaften (*alterum fabulosum*), und nun den Namen des zweiten auf den ersten – der für sie göttlich sei – übertragen. Eine Vorstellung, die exakt der hier von Laktanz beschriebenen entspricht, kenne ich nicht.

35 Laktanz, *Inst.* 1.17.1: *Ob has rationes Stoici aliouersus deos interpretantur, et quia non peruident quid sit in uero, conantur eos cum rerum naturalium ratione coniungere* („Aus diesen Gründen [näml. den im vorangehenden Kapitel besprochenen, zuletzt der Geschlechtsdifferenzierung] deuten die Stoiker die Götter in anderem Sinne, und da sie nicht durchschauen, was tatsächlich wahr ist, versuchen sie die Götter mit dem System der Naturphilosophie in Verbindung zu bringen"). Es folgt ein Zitat aus Cicero, *Nat. d.* 2.70 (der Stoiker Lucilius Balbus spricht).

nen, unsterblichen Götter) und für die mit ihnen und ihren Taten verbundenen übernatürlichen und übermenschlichen phantastischen Züge. Alle Protagonisten des mythologischen Narrativs seien Menschen gewesen. M. a. W. macht er geltend, dass das Götternarrativ und die Heldensage auf einer Stufe stünden und in derselben Weise beurteilt werden sollten.[36] Um diesen erweiterten Anspruch glaubhaft zu machen, behauptet er, dass die Dichter, die *mit diesem Stoff* arbeiten, eo ipso pflichtgemäß die Wirklichkeit verdecken und verdunkeln. Mit diesem Postulat will er erklären, weshalb das Götternarrativ äußerlich nicht verrät, dass es auf wirkliche Geschehnisse zurückgeht, sondern geradezu einer solchen Deutung zuwiderläuft. Wenn die Dichter mit diesem Stoff grundsätzlich so verfahren, dann bedeutet dies, dass das mythologische Götternarrativ *immer* geschichtliche Wirklichkeit widerspiegelt. Ohne diesen Punkt ist sein Anspruch, das Götternarrativ könne beweisen, dass die paganen Götter Menschen gewesen seien, hinfällig.

Laktanz äußert sich demgemäß in *Inst*. 1.11.24 nicht über Dichtung im Allgemeinen. Er lässt den Kontext deutlich genug den Rahmen für die Reichweite seiner Formel des *officium poetae* setzen: sie betrifft das mythologische Narrativ – *mysteria poetarum* nennt Laktanz diesen Bereich in 1.12.1 – von dem er postuliert, dass es grundsätzlich frühe menschliche Geschichte darstelle. Sein zweites Postulat – dass die Dichter verpflichtet seien, die von ihnen geschilderten, tatsächlich eingetroffenen Ereignisse mit gewissen verhüllenden Stilmitteln umzuformen, so dass sie nicht mehr realistisch erscheinen, verbindet er mit dem ersten Postulat in einer Weise, die ihnen einen Schein der Selbstverständlichkeit verleiht. Durch die Art der Formulierung entsteht der Eindruck, als handele es sich um einen allgemein anerkannten Grundsatz, wobei zugleich diejenigen, die das mythologische Narrativ als reine Erfindung abtun, der Unkenntnis dieses Grundsatzes bezichtigt werden. Dies alles ist Mittel des Bestrebens, die Historizität des Narrativs und damit den menschlichen Ursprung der paganen Götter zu beweisen.

Zur Einkleidung und Verhüllung der Handlung – wir würden sagen, zur Fiktionalisierung – gebrauchen die Dichter verschiedene *figurae*/*figurationes* oder *colores*. Ein von Laktanz ausdrücklich analysiertes Beispiel zeigt uns, wie er sich diese Vorgehensweise konkret vorstellt:

> Als Jupiter Danae vergewaltigen wollte, hat er ihr Goldmünzen in reichlicher Menge in den Schoß geschüttet – das war der Lohn für die Hurerei. Aber die Dichter, die von ihm gesprochen haben als wäre er ein Gott,

---

36 S. oben Anm. 31. Zu den Distinktionen s. Wifstrand Schiebe, *Das anthropomorphe Gottesbild*, 318.

> haben sich ausgedacht (*finxerunt*), dass er in der Form eines goldenen Regens sich zu ihr herabgesenkt habe, um seine vermeintliche Hoheit nicht zu untergraben, dabei dieselbe Art von *figura* benutzend wie wenn man sagt „ganze Regen von Eisen", um eine große Menge von Speeren und Pfeilen zu beschreiben.[37]

In äußerst geschickter Weise nutzt Laktanz eine seinen Empfängern vertraute Metapher, um die Entstehung eines bekannten Mythos zu erklären. Schon dieses eine Beispiel warnt uns davor, Laktanz eine zu positive Haltung den Dichtern gegenüber zuzuschreiben. Es geht hervor, dass die Menschen, die von den Dichtern besungen worden seien, schon damals als Götter verehrt worden seien. Die Dichter seien nicht die Urheber der Vergöttlichung. Selbst wissen sie, dass sie nicht von Göttern sprechen. Aber sie hätten den Prozess mitgemacht und angefeuert, nicht nur weil sie sie loben und feiern wollten (1.5.3; 1.11.17), sondern auch, weil sie ihren Auftraggebern schmeicheln wollten (1.15.13),[38] oder, wie hier, eine Schandtat verschönern oder überdecken wollten. In 1.21.29 wird eine skandalöse Geschichte erwähnt, die die Dichter erfunden hätten, aber dies hätten sie getan, um eine noch größere Schandtat zu überdecken. Sie hätten es nicht gewagt, entgegen dem allgemeinen Gebrauch und der Überzeugung der Vielen auf der Wahrheit hinsichtlich ihrer Protagonisten zu bestehen, *metuebant enim malum* („sie fürchteten nämlich Repressalien").[39] Dies alles macht nicht den Eindruck positiver Wertung.[40]

---

37 Laktanz, *Inst.* 1.11.18: *Danaen violaturus aureos nummos largiter in sinum eius infudit, haec stupri merces fuit. at poetae, qui quasi de deo loquebantur, ne auctoritatem creditae maiestatis infringerent, finxerunt ipsum in aureo imbre delapsum eadem figura qua „imbres ferreos"* (cf. Vergil, *Aen.* 12.284) *dicunt, cum multitudinem telorum sagittarumque describunt.*

38 Hier findet sich die Stelle, auf die ich oben Anm. 22 kurz hingewiesen habe: „Sie haben sie mit ihren auf die Lust abgestimmten Gedichten in den Himmel erhoben, wie die Leute es tun, die mit lügenhaften Lobreden sogar schlechten Königen den Hof machen." (Laktanz, *Inst.* 1.15.13: … *compositis ad uoluptatem carminibus in caelum eos sustulerunt sicut faciunt qui apud reges etiam malos panegyricis mendacibus adulantur*.)

39 Laktanz, *Inst.* 1.19.5; vgl. 1.11.31, sowie das gerade angeführte Beispiel 1.11.18. Insofern ist es auch nicht korrekt, eher irreführend, zu sagen, wie Peter Gemeinhardt es tut, in Peter Gemeinhardt, *Das lateinische Christentum und die antike pagane Bildung* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 413, dass Laktanz die Dichter als Kritiker des heidnischen Pantheons in Anspruch nehme. Dagegen zitiert Laktanz einige pagane Autoren, die den paganen *Kult* kritisieren, darunter die Dichter Lucilius (Laktanz, *Inst.* 1.22.13; 4.3.12), Lucretius (2.3.10–11 u. a.) und Persius (2.2.18; 2.4.10–14; 6.2.11).

40 Van der Nat, „Voraussetzungen," 220, scheint eigenartigerweise zu meinen, dass Laktanz, indem er diese Beweggründe der Dichter zeichnet, diese habe entschuldigen wollen.

4 Reichweite des *officium poetae*

Eine Aussage darüber, dass die Dichter verpflichtet seien, ihren Stoff zu manipulieren, findet sich nur in 1.11.24. Ist dies ein Zufall? Ein Blick auf andere Stellen, wo dieselbe Terminologie wie im Kontext des *officium poetae* nachklingt, mag zunächst verwirren, aber bei genauerem Zusehen werden wir vielleicht einer Antwort auf die eben gestellte Frage nähergebracht.

Eine solche Stelle finden wir im zweiten Buch, Kap. 10. Demnach seien im mythologischen Narrativ vereinzelte Brocken einer wesentlich älteren Tradition zu finden, die also nicht den Erfahrungen der Dichter aus der Zeit der ersten oder zweiten Generation der falschen Götter entstammen. Diese Fetzen einer älteren Tradition gehen ebenso auf tatsächlich Geschehenes zurück wie das Narrativ von den vergöttlichten Königen und Helden, aber es handelt sich um viel ältere Ereignisse. Nach langem Zirkulieren seien diese Brocken, von vielen Verballhornungen und sekundären Zusätzen entstellt, von den Dichtern aufgenommen, weiter manipuliert und dem mythologischen Narrativ einverleibt worden (Laktanz, *Inst.* 2.10.6). Ihr Ursprung sei das Alte Testament, eine Quelle zu der weder die vielen anonymen Weitervermittler noch die Dichter des mythologischen Narrativs Zugang gehabt hätten. Ein wesentlicher Unterschied im Verhältnis zum primären Stoff der Dichter – dem Leben und den Taten der „Götter" – besteht also darin, dass sie den Ursprung und den wahren Inhalt dieser Bruchstücke biblischer Frühgeschichte nicht gekannt und nicht verstanden haben (*ignorarent* in 2.10.11). Die zwei Themen, die analysiert werden, die Erschaffung des ersten Menschen und die große Flut, sind von den Dichtern in falscher Weise miteinander verbunden worden. Erstere ist dem Prometheus (einem Menschen!) zugeschrieben worden, unsinnigerweise, denn selbstverständlich ist der Mensch ein Werk Gottes. Die Dichter hätten hier Prometheus hereingebracht und in übersteigerter und verdunkelnder Weise darauf angespielt, dass dieser die erste *Abbildung eines Menschen* geschaffen habe. Immerhin sei so viel korrekt, dass der Mensch aus Lehm geschaffen worden sei. Was die große Flut betrifft, aus dem allein der gerechte Noah (der, wie wir in 2.13.4 erfahren, um viele Generationen früher als Uranos und Saturn gelebt habe) sich habe retten können, hätten sie eine korrekte Vorstellung davon gehabt, dass einst die ganze Erde überflutet worden sei, aber sie hätten fälschlich Deucalion, den Sohn des Prometheus, eingesetzt.[41]

41 Laktanz, *Inst.* 2.10.11: „Aber auch dieses haben sie natürlich verdorben, genau wie den vorigen Fall (d.h. die Erschaffung des Menschen), da sie weder wussten, wann die Überschwemmung auf der Erde sich ereignet habe, noch wer aufgrund seiner Gerechtigkeit es verdient hatte, gerettet zu werden, als sonst das ganze Menschengeschlecht zugrun-

Laktanz nimmt in diesem Zusammenhang ausdrücklich auf seine Diskussion in Buch 1 Bezug und verwendet auch teilweise dieselbe Terminologie:

> Weil ich gesagt hatte, dass die Dichter nicht durch und durch zu lügen pflegen, sondern dass sie in Figuren einhüllen und verdunkeln was sie sagen, so will ich hier nicht sagen, dass sie gelogen haben, sondern dass Prometheus der erste von allen gewesen ist, der ein Bildnis eines Menschen aus weichem, fettem Lehm hergestellt hat, und dass die Kunst, Statuen und Bildnisse zu formen, durch ihn zuerst entstanden ist. Prometheus lebte ja zur Zeit Jupiters, damals, als man anfing, Tempel zu konstruieren und der neue Kult der Götter aufkam.[42]

Dass in der Vorstellung des Laktanz die Dichter selbst Zusätze eingefügt und Kombinationen vorgenommen haben, ist selbstverständlich, aber es ist ebenso deutlich, dass sie die – aus der Sicht des Laktanz – richtige Fassung nicht gekannt haben (s. 2.10.6). Interessanterweise erfahren wir nur von der *Gewohnheit* der Dichter, den Stoff zu behandeln, nichts von einer diesbezüglichen *Pflicht*. Das Verfahren wird eindeutig verurteilt: sie hätten die Wahrheit verdorben (*corruperunt* in 2.10.11; vgl. *corrupte* in 2.10.5). Und obwohl Laktanz betont, dass er nicht sagen will, dass die Dichter gelogen hätten, bemerkt er anschließend: *Sic ueritas fucata mendacio est* („So wurde die Wahrheit durch Lüge übertüncht").[43] Keine Rede davon, dass die Dichter verpflichtet seien, figürlich zu sprechen und dadurch den Stoff zu verdunkeln, ganz im Gegenteil, sie werden dadurch zu Fälschern biblischer Wahrheit.

Viele Schriften des Alten Testaments bedienen sich figürlicher Sprache. Das ist in den Augen des Laktanz berechtigt und sinnvoll. Dunkle Aussagen der Psalterpsalmen oder der Propheten bedürfen der Deutung (4.13.9; 4.14.7–14; 4.13.20). Das Gesetz spricht in *figurae* (4.17.14; 4.17.21), oder „durch Umschreibung", *per ambagem*, 4.17.21, wie dies auch pagane Dichter tun (*per ambages*, 5.5.2). *Figurae* kommen vor, die auf die Geburt und das Leben Jesu (*Inst.*

deging" (*Sed uidelicet hoc quoque sic corruperunt, ut illud superius, cum ignorarent et quo tempore cataclysmus sit factus in terra et quis ob iustitiam meruerit genere humano pereunte seruari*).

42 Laktanz, *Inst.* 2.10.12: *uerum quia poetas dixeram non omnino mentiri solere, sed figuris inuoluere et obscurare quae dicant, non dico esse mentitos, sed primum omnium Promethea simulacrum hominis formasse de molli ac pingui luto ab eoque primo natam esse artem statuas et simulacra fingendi, siquidem Iouis temporibus fuit, quibus primum templa constitui et noui deorum cultus esse coeperunt.*

43 Laktanz, *Inst.* 2.10.13. Vgl. wie in *Inst.* 6.21.6 betont wird, dass Gott gewünscht habe, sein Wort solle *sine fuco* sein.

4.26.40) oder auf die Endzeit verweisen (7.15.4). Aber der Gebrauch solcher Mittel setzt offensichtlich volle Kontrolle über den Stoff voraus. Anders als im ersten Buch der *Institutiones* haben die Dichter im zweiten Buch keine Kontrolle über ihren Stoff, d.h. sie wissen nichts Exaktes über die Ereignisse, die den von ihnen aufgefangenen Geschichten zugrunde liegen. Das könnte so gedeutet werden, dass sie nicht sinnvoll erfinden (*fingere*) können, weil sie den Startpunkt nicht kennen. Sie bringen Epochen durcheinander und verwechseln Gestalten. Damit überschreiten sie die Grenzen der *poetica licentia*. Die Dichter des mythologischen Narrativs kennen dagegen ihren Ausgangsstoff und brauchen über die Identität der Protagonisten nicht im Zweifel zu sein. Auch wenn sie nicht immer aus ehrenhaften Gründen ihren Stoff in Fiktion verwandeln,[44] haben sie immerhin gewusst, wie weit sie darin gehen konnten.

Ähnlich wie im zweiten Buch verhält es sich mit einigen Dichterzitaten im siebten Buch. Hier handelt es sich allerdings nicht um Ereignisse aus einer fernen Urzeit, sondern um die Prophezeiungen der Propheten über das Ende der Zeiten, die Wiederkunft Christi und die Auferstehung der Toten. Der Stoff ist also nicht vergangene Geschichte, nicht *ea quae uere gesta sunt* („das was sich tatsächlich ereignet hat"; wenn Laktanz auch, wie wir sehen werden, meint, dass die Dichter dies teilweise geglaubt hätten). Brocken der wahren prophetischen Tradition hätten sich erhalten und späte Zeiten erreicht, wenn auch durch den Prozess der Überlieferung verballhornt. Vergil habe schließlich solche Überreste in seine Dichtung aufgenommen, dabei auch eigene Missverständnisse oder vermeintliche Verbesserungen hereingebracht, die Grundverhältnisse hätte er aber korrekt wiedergegeben. „Obwohl sie (die Dichter) die Geheimnisse der Wahrheit teilweise verdorben haben, stellt sich jedoch die Hauptsache als solche (d.h. die Auferstehung der Toten, mit Zitaten aus *Aeneis* 6.748–751 und 719–721 belegt) als umso wahrer dar, als sie hier teilweise mit den Propheten übereinstimmen."[45] Dennoch hätten sie das Thema wie ein erfundenes Märchen wiedergegeben, „weil sie das Geheimnis des göttlichen Heilplans nicht kannten".[46] Dass einiges korrekt verstanden worden sei, ist selbstverständlich positiv. Verderbnis liege trotzdem vor, und zwar auch hier aus Unkenntnis.

Die Endzeitvisionen der Propheten hätten die Dichter teilweise auf den Kopf gestellt, indem sie die paradiesischen Zustände, die für das tausendjährige Reich nach der zweiten Ankunft Christi vorausgesagt worden seien, fälsch-

44 S. dazu oben, m. Anm. 38–39.

45 Laktanz, *Inst.* 7.22.4: *Quamuis igitur ueritatis arcana parte corruperint, tamen ipsa res eo uerior inuenitur quod cum prophetis in parte consentiunt.*

46 Laktanz, *Inst.* 7.22.2: *quia mysterium diuini sacramenti nesciebant.*

lich in die längstvergangene, „goldene" Zeit des Saturn verlegt hätten (7.24.9).[47] Grund dieses Fehlers (*error*), sei der, dass sie die Gewohnheit der Propheten, Künftiges als schon eingetroffen zu schildern, nicht gekannt hätten. Unkenntnis ist die Quelle der Verderbnisse: „Durch die dichterische Freiheit haben sie also verdorben, was sie aufgefangen hatten."[48] Sie haben m.a.W. die Grenzen der *poetica licentia* überschritten. Sie ist zu Eigenmächigkeit und Willkür geworden. Es scheint, als gelte das *officium poetae* nur, wenn die Dichter in voller Kontrolle ihres Stoffs erfinden (*fingere*) können, während hier, wo die ursprüngliche Wahrheit den Dichtern unbekannt ist, das Ergebnis de facto zur Lüge wird, obwohl die Dichter nicht bewusst lügen.

Auf diesem Hintergrund verstärkt sich der Verdacht, dass das Konzept vom *officium poetae* aus pragmatischen Gründen geschaffen worden ist, d.h. um dem mythologischen Narrativ den Status von regelrechter Geschichte zu geben, und somit spezifisch für den Kontext des ersten Buchs, so dass daraus keine Schlüsse hinsichtlich der Einstellung des Laktanz zu Dichtung im Allgemeinen und zu ihrer Aufgabe gezogen werden können. Wir sind nicht berechtigt, diesen Begriff und seine Definition als Zeichen dafür zu deuten, dass Laktanz damit eine christliche Dichtung allegorischer oder anderer Art hätte legitimieren wollen. Laktanz ist nicht darauf aus, seine eigene etwaige Wertschätzung der Dichtung zur Schau zu tragen – er verwendet die pagane Dichtung, um die paganen Gegner dazu zu zwingen, einzusehen, dass auch heidnische Schriften die eigentliche göttliche Wahrheit beglaubigen, bzw. die pagane Religion falsifizieren können. Er folgt damit seinem ausdrücklich formulierten Prinzip, zu versuchen, die Gegenseite mit Hilfe von Testimonien aus ihrer eigenen Tradition zu überzeugen (5.4.6; 7.25.1; vgl. 1.5.1–2). Ein Teil dieser Strategie besteht darin, auch das mythologische Narrativ für solche Argumentation nutzbar zu machen, indem es zu einem wesentlichen Element seiner Evidenz wird, mit der er beweisen will, dass die paganen Götter einstige Menschen gewesen seien. Es kostet einige Mühe, ein Modell zu finden, das über die Position der Vorgänger hinausgeht, nach denen die vielen Untaten und Schwächen der Götter, von denen die Mythologie erzählt, deutlich darauf hindeuten, dass

47 Die Forschung pflegt Laktanz fälschlich eines Widerspruchs hinsichtlich der zeitlichen Einordnung der goldenen Zeit im Buch 5 einerseits und im Buch 7 andererseits zu beschuldigen. Das Missverständnis rührt daher, dass moderne Forscher sich in der Regel nicht darüber im Klaren sind, was der Begriff „goldene Zeit" im Altertum beinhaltete, wie ich schon auf der ersten Seite meiner Dissertation erläutert habe, Wifstrand Schiebe, *Das ideale Dasein bei Tibull und die Goldzeitkonzeption Vergils*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Studia Latina 13 (Uppsala: Uppsala Universität: 1981). Ich hoffe, in Zukunft spezifisch auf das Thema bei Laktanz zurückzukommen.

48 Laktanz, *Inst.* 7.22.6: *corruperunt igitur poetica licentia quod acceperant.*

sie nur Menschen gewesen seien, und nun geltend zu machen, dass das mythologische Narrativ diesen Umstand sogar *verbürge*. Zu diesem Zweck wird das Konzept des *officium poetae* eingeführt. Als apologetisches Instrument hat es hier seinen Platz. Es kann kein Zufall sein, dass es außerhalb dieses Rahmens nicht erwähnt wird. So betrachtet ist es auch wenig verwunderlich, dass die Stilmittel, die in Buch 1 den Dichtern auferlegt werden, an anderen Stellen als unzulässig bezeichnet werden.

Wo die Dichter unter den Resten biblischer Tradition, die sich, in welcher Form auch immer, erhalten haben, noch den einen oder anderen Brocken korrekt wiedergeben, ist dies selbstverständlich positiv und wertvoll. Aber es sagt nichts über die Fähigkeit der Dichter aus. Es zeugt von der Kraft der Wahrheit, trotz allen Manipulationen lange Zeiten hindurch erhalten zu bleiben. Als positiv gelten selbstverständlich auch die angeblichen Zeugnisse dafür, dass pagane Dichter – und hier handelt es sich um ausdrücklich angeführte Dichterzitate (meist aus Vergil oder Ovid) – trotz allem eine Ahnung von der christlichen Wahrheit gehabt hätten. Laktanz macht geltend, dass die betreffenden Dichter sich dessen bewusst gewesen seien, dass es nur *einen* Gott gebe, dass dieser die Welt geschaffen habe und auch fürsorglich darüber walte (1.5.1–1.6.5; vgl. 2.1.6). Aber auch in solchen Fällen handelt es sich nicht um bewusste Verkündigung der einzigen Wahrheit durch die Dichter; vielmehr dränge sich von sich aus eine Ahnung davon durch die Natur und die menschliche Vernunft auf (*natura et ratione ducente* 1.5.6; *cogente natura* 2.1.8; vgl. *Epitome* 4.3), und dies gilt dementsprechend nicht für die Dichtung allein – Entsprechendes lasse sich auch bei den Philosophen feststellen. Zudem erfahren wir hier nichts von verdeckter, dunkler und indirekter Ausdrucksweise, nichts von *figurae* und *colores*. Ganz im Gegenteil wird hervorgehoben, dass die betreffenden Dichter in ausdrücklicher, unverhüllter Weise vom *einen*, wahren Gott sprechen.[49]

5 Das christliche Lebensideal und die pagane Kultur

Das rege Interesse der Forschung für das Verhältnis zur klassischen Bildung in den Schriften des Laktanz und die damit zusammenhängende Debatte dar-

49 Vgl. Laktanz, *Inst.* 1.5.12 *declarauit* (Vergilius); 1.5.13 *fatetur* (Ovidius); 2.8.64 *idem etiam poetae fatentur …*; Laktanz, *Epitome* 6.1 *haec igitur tot et tanta testimonia liquido perdocent unum esse regimen in mundo …* Zu den Philosophen, s. Laktanz, *Inst.* 1.5.23 *aperte defendit* (Platon); 1.5.24 *confitetur*; 4.4.6 *fatetur* (Cicero); 7.3.4 *fatentur* (Stoiker). Vgl. 1.5.26 *quam saepe summum deum merita laude prosequitur* (Seneca); s. auch 2.1.6 *cum uero ipsos deorum cultores saepe uideamus deum summum et confiteri et praedicare*.

über, wie weit er eine Harmonisierung oder eine Synthese christlicher Lehre und klassischer Kultur erstrebt habe,[50] haben, wie mir scheint, die Strenge seines christlichen Lebensideals und die Schärfe seiner davon abhängigen, alles andere als harmonisierenden Auseinandersetzungen mit dem paganen Leben, einschließlich dessen Manifestationen in Musik und Dichtung, in den Hintergrund treten lassen. In der historischen Lage zur Zeit der Entstehung der *Institutiones*, der Zeit der Verfolgung, stellen Dichtung, Rhetorik und schöner Gesang in den Augen des Laktanz eine Bedrohung dar, da sie eng mit der paganen Lebensweise und gar der paganen Religion verknüpft sind. Einzig der Rhetorik erkennt er eine Rolle im Projekt der Christianisierung der Umwelt zu. Insofern kann man durchaus von einer neuen Zweckbestimmung gerade der Redekunst sprechen, einer Redekunst, die, genau wie die Zitate aus Dichtern und Philosophen, auf die Förderung des Anliegens zielt, und nicht in der Liebe zur schönen Form als solcher begründet ist. Gleich im ersten Kapitel des ersten Buchs stellt er seine eigenen rhetorischen Fähigkeiten in den Dienst der Verkündigung. Zwar verurteilt er seine frühere Tätigkeit als Rhetor als wertlos, hält aber seine Erfahrung dennoch für sinnvoll, da er diese dazu verwenden kann, mit mehr Klarheit und Eleganz (*claritate et nitore*) die göttliche Wahrheit zu vermitteln (1.1.10; vgl. 3.1.1–8, wo er allerdings in bescheidenerer Weise von seiner eigenen Fähigkeit spricht). Wir erfahren an anderer Stelle (5.1.21–2.1), dass er mit seinen Vorgängern nicht zufrieden ist. Leider habe es so weit an geeigneten und geschickten Lehrern gefehlt – solchen, die mit Kraft und Schärfe die vulgären Fehlvorstellungen vom Christentum hätten widerlegen können und welche die volle Sache der Wahrheit wohlformuliert und mit reicher Argumentation (*ornate copioseque*) hätten verteidigen können (5.2.1). So gilt es, selbst in den Kampf zu treten und der antichristlichen Polemik endlich den gebührenden Widerstand zu leisten, und bestenfalls auch weitere gebildete und beredte Heiden für die Sache zu gewinnen (5.4.8). Andererseits ist die christliche Funktionalisierung der schönen Rede auch ein Mittel, diejenigen, die die christliche Lehre schon angenommen haben, aber noch nicht fest im Glauben stehen, zu beeinflussen. Das seien nämlich besonders Leute, die eine gewisse literarische Bildung besitzen. Diese würden, scheint es, leicht durch wiederholten Kontakt mit paganen Kulturäußerungen vom rechten Glauben weggelockt (5.1.9). Die Verkündigung soll eine Form annehmen, durch die sie diese wankenden Geister im Glauben bestärken kann, aber auch diejenigen zu erreichen vermag, die an den heiligen Schriften Anstoß nehmen und sie verwerfen, „weil sie ohne Schminke sind," *quia fuco carent* (5.1.18). Es handelt sich somit um dieselben

50 S. dazu Walter, *Pagane Wertvorstellungen*, 13–16; 21–27; 115–123; 237–238.

homines litterati, deren Vorliebe für die Lust der Ohren bzw. Abneigung gegen den einfachen Stil der Schrift in 6.21.4–5 beanstandet werden (vgl. 6.21.6 *carere fuco*). Der Kontext in 5.1.10 zeigt zur Genüge, dass die schöne Redekunst als solche dadurch nicht betroffen ist.[51]

In der *Epitome*, die erst entstanden ist, nachdem die Kirche erlaubt wurde, verschärft Laktanz seine Verurteilung der Musik und warnt auch vor Dichtung und Rhetorik, denn für den Christen bestehe die Gefahr, durch ihre verführerische Macht zum Abfall vom wahren Glauben gelockt zu werden.[52] Vielleicht hat die Absage an diese Formen der paganen Kultur, mit denen er aufgewachsen ist und die ihm zweifellos in der Zeit vor seiner Bekehrung viel bedeutet haben, Selbstüberwindung gekostet. Es geht an vielen Stellen hervor, dass er die klassischen Dichter und Redner persönlich hoch geschätzt und bewundert hat. Vielleicht hätte er letztendlich eine christliche Kunstdichtung wie die des Iuvencus (Stoff: *ea qua uere gesta sunt*!) begrüßt, falls er sie noch kennengelernt hätte. Aber das ist nichts, was sich aus dem Text herauslesen lässt. Ausdrücklich bekundet er in 6.21.9, dass Lobgesänge an den wahren Gott die einzig zulässigen *cantus* und *carmina* seien. Über die konkrete Form dieser Lobgesänge wird nichts Ausdrückliches gesagt. Impliziert wird jedoch, dass sie anders sein sollten als die verführerischen Klänge und metrisch vollendeten Gedichte, vor denen er kurz vorher so kraftvoll Abstand genommen hat.

Bibliographie

Diels, Hermann, und Walter Kranz. *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*. Unveränderter Nachdruck der 6. Auflage 1951. Zürich: Weidmann, 2004.

Heck, Eberhard, und Antonie Wlosok. *L. Caeli Firmiani Lactanti Epitome divinarum institutionum*. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1994.

51 Laktanz, *Inst.* 5.1.10: „Denn auch darin sind die Philosophen, die Redner und die Dichter gefährlich, dass sie unaufmerksame Gemüter leicht durch die Lieblichkeit ihrer Rede und ihrer mit süßer Rhythmisierung laufenden Gedichte verstricken können" (*Nam et in hoc philosophi et oratores et poetae perniciosi sunt, quod incautos animos facile irretire possunt suauitate sermonis et carminum dulci modulatione currentium*).

52 Laktanz, *Epit.* 57.6: „Wer vom Gehör hingerissen wird – um nicht von den Klängen zu sprechen, die häufig die innersten Gefühle derart betören, dass sie sogar den Geisteszustand durch Wahnsinn verwirren – wird mit Sicherheit durch kunstvoll gegliederte Reden und rhythmische Lieder oder spitzfindige Auslegungen leicht zum unfrommen Kult hinübergelockt" (*Qui autem rapitur auditu – ut taceam de cantibus, qui sensus intimos ita saepe deleniunt, ut etiam status mentis furore perturbent – compositis certe orationibus numerosisque carminibus aut argutis disputationibus ad impios cultus facile traducitur*).

Heck, Eberhard. „Defendere – instituere: Zum Selbstverständnis des Apologeten Lactanz,“ S. 205–240 in *L'Apologétique chrétienne gréco-latine à l'époque prénicienne*. Hgg. von Antonie Wlosok und François Paschoud, Entretiens 51. Genf: Fondation Hardt, 2005.

Fontaine, Jacques. *Naissance de la poésie dans l'Occident chrétien*. Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1981.

Freund, Stefan. *Laktanz, Divinae Institutiones Buch 7: De vita beata*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009.

Gemeinhardt, Peter. *Das lateinische Christentum und die antike pagane Bildung*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007.

Goldberg, Sander M., und Gesine Manuwald. *Fragmentary Republican Latin*. Vol II: *Ennius. Dramatic Fragments, Minor Works*. LCL 537. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018.

Günther, Jutta. *Musik als Argument spätantiker Kirchenväter: Untersuchungen zu Laktanz, Euseb, Chrysostomos und Augustin*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2019.

Rostagni, Augusto. *Suetonio* De poetis *e biografi minori: Restituzione e commento*. Torino: Chiantore, 1944.

Schuster, Mauriz. „Zur Echtheitsfrage und Abfassungszeit von Laktantius' Dichtung *De aue Phoenice*.“ *Wiener Studien* 54 (1936): 118–128.

Thraede, Klaus. „Hymnus.“ *RAC* 16 (1994): 915–946.

Van der Nat, Pieter. „Zu den Voraussetzungen der christlichen lateinischen Literatur: Die Zeugnisse von Minucius Felix und Laktanz.“ S. 191–225 in *Christianisme et formes littéraires de l'Antiquité tardive en Occident*. Hgg. von Manfred Fuhrmann. Entretiens 23. Genf: Fondation Hardt, 1977.

Walter, Jochen. *Pagane Texte und Wertvorstellungen bei Lactanz*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006.

Wifstrand Schiebe, Marianne. *Das anthropomorphe Gottesbild*: *Berechtigung und Ursprung aus der Sicht antiker Denker*. Potsdamer altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 69. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2020.

Wifstrand Schiebe, Marianne. *Das ideale Dasein bei Tibull und die Goldzeitkonzeption Vergils*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Studia Latina 13. Uppsala: Uppsala Universität, 1981.

Wifstrand Schiebe, Marianne. „*Virgilius de uno deo aperte loquitur*. Eklogendeutung und Laktanzanlehnung bei Hugo de Folieto (12. Jahrh.).“ S. 435–464 in *Von Homer bis Landino: Beiträge zur Antike und Spätantike sowie zu deren Rezeptions- und Wirkungsgeschichte. Festgabe für Antonie Wlosok zum 80. Geburtstag*. Hgg. von Beate Regina Suchla. Berlin: Pro Business, 2011.

Wifstrand Schiebe, Marianne. „Why It Should Be Obvious That Euhemerus Did Not Write His *Sacred History* to Bolster Ruler Cult. A Critical Assessment and an Alternative Theory“ S. 342–350 in *ΛΑΒΡΥΣ. Studies presented to Pontus Hellström*. Hgg. von

Lars Karlsson, Susanne Carlsson, und Jesper Blid Kullberg. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Boreas 35. Uppsala: Uppsala Universität, 2014.

Winiarczyk, Marek. *Euhemerus Messenius, Reliquiae*. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1991.

Wlosok, Antonie. „C. Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius“ (§ 570). S. 375–404 in *Restauration und Erneuerung: Die lateinische Literatur von 284 bis 374 n. Chr*. Hgg. von Reinhart Herzog. Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike 5. München: Beck, 1989.

Wlosok, Antonie. „Die Anfänge christlicher Poesie lateinischer Sprache: Laktanzens Gedicht über den Vogel Phoenix.“ S. 250–278 in *Res humanae – res divinae*: *Kleine Schriften*. Von Antonie Wlosok. Hgg. von Eberhard Heck und Ernst August Schmidt. Heidelberg: Winter, 1990.

Wlosok, Antonie. „Zwei Beispiele frühchristlicher ‚Vergilrezeption.‘“ S. 437–459 in *Res humanae – res divinae*: *Kleine Schriften*. Von Antonie Wlosok. Hgg. von Eberhard Heck und Ernst August Schmidt. Heidelberg: Winter, 1990.

Wlosok, Antonie. „Zur lateinischen Apologetik der constantinischen Zeit (Arnobius, Lactantius, Firmicus Maternus).“ S. 217–232 in *Res humanae – res divinae*: *Kleine Schriften*. Von Antonie Wlosok. Hgg. von Eberhard Heck und Ernst August Schmidt. Heidelberg: Winter, 1990.

Wlosok, Antonie. *Res humanae – res divinae: Kleine Schriften*. Hgg. von Eberhard Heck und Ernst August Schmidt. Heidelberg: Winter, 1990.

12

Baptism and the Problem of Sin in Pistis Sophia

Petter Spjut

1 Introduction

Despite its initial promise to answer all questions posed by the disciples, Pistis Sophia (PS) surprisingly often leaves its readers in the dark. As noted in previous scholarship, PS does not provide a cosmogony or an anthropogony that accounts for the origin of existence or the emergence of evil.[1] Although the text strongly implies a prior transgression that needs to be atoned for through baptism, the cause for the separation between God and humanity is never explicitly discussed.

The purpose of this article is two-fold. First, I aim to analyze how the notion of baptism, sin and transgression relates to the overarching narrative in PS. Second, through analyzing PS's notion of baptism against the backdrop of other conceptions of baptism in ancient Christian literature, I hope to contribute to the scholarly debate on the theological context in which PS was written. In her recent monograph *The* Books of Jeu *and the* Pistis Sophia *as Handbooks to Eternity: Exploring the Gnostic Mysteries of the Ineffable*—the only major publication on PS since 1967—Erin Evans argues that PS's theology is clearly distinct from other Christian literature and that its many references to the Gospels and the Old Testament have been added with the sole purpose of attracting proselytes from other traditions. Evans's perspective provides quite a departure from earlier studies, such as Adolph von Harnack's *Über das gnostische Buch Pistis Sophia* and Alv Kragerud's *Die Hymnen der Pistis Sophia*,[2] which both stress PS's proximity to other Christian and Jewish traditions. As the the-

1 Köstlin was the first scholar to observe *Pistis Sophia*'s lack of a cosmogony, anthropogony and a narration of the fall. K.R. Köstlin, "Das gnostische System des Buches Pistis Sophia," *Theologische Jahrbücher* 13 (1854): 1–104, 137–196, here 141. See also Erin Evans, *The* Books of Jeu *and the* Pistis Sophia *as Handbooks to Eternity: Exploring the Gnostic Mysteries of the Ineffable*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 89 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 241. For a discussion of the lack of a cosmogony and anthropogony in the Books of Jeu, a collection of texts that displays clear affinities with the worldview in PS, see Evans, *Handbooks to Eternity*, 93.

2 Adolf von Harnack, *Über das gnostische Buch Pistis-Sophia*, TUGAL 7.2 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1891); Alv Kragerud, *Die Hymnen der Pistis Sophia* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1967).

DOI:10.1163/9789004522053_012

ological context has bearings for one's interpretation and understanding of baptism in PS, I will return to this debate later in the article.

Before delving into the analysis of the relevant passages, I provide a brief introduction to the work and its content. I then proceed to discuss the introduction of baptism in 1.61 and the notion of atonement, presenting three possible explanations for the prior transgression implied in the passage. The subsequent section investigates transgression and baptism in the Wisdom narrative (PS 1.30–2.82), which, I suggest, functions as a typology for the human soul. Finally, I analyze the notion of sinful contamination and baptismal purity in the anthropological accounts, before I return to the initial questions: how PS relates the notion of transgression and baptism to its anthropology and cosmology, and how its baptismal account could help us contextualize the books of PS.

2 Pistis Sophia: A General Background to the Work and Its Content

PS is a collection of four texts containing dialogues between the risen Christ and his disciples.[3] These texts are only extant in a single manuscript, the Askew Codex, named after Anthony Askew who purchased the codex in 1772.[4] It was not until many years later, in 1851, that the work was made publicly available, when M.G. Schwartze and J.H. Petermann published the Coptic text together with a Latin translation.[5]

In the original binding, the manuscript consisted of 178 leaves of parchment, which have been organized into four books by scribes.[6] The text layout is in

3 As several scholars have noted, *Pistis Sophia* is a modern title. When Carl Gottfried, the first scholar to work with the manuscript, introduced the text to his readers, he presented it as Pistis Sophia. The title is based on the heading of the second book in the collection ("The Second Book of the Pistis Sophia"), which is a later scribal addition. As Zlatko Pleše notes, its ancient designation was probably "The books of the Savior," since the title "A part of the books of the Savior" (ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲭⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ) appears at the end of both the second and third book. To avoid confusion, the present article will use the conventional title Pistis Sophia when referring to the collection. Carl Schmidt, *Pistis Sophia: Neu herausgegeben mit Einleitung nebst griechischem und koptischem Wort- und Nameregister* (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske, 1925), xi; Carl Schmidt and Violet MacDermot, eds., *Pistis Sophia*, Nag Hammadi Studies, v. 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1978), xi–xiii; Zlatko Pleše, "Pistis Sophia," in Roger S. Bagnall et al. eds., *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History* (Malden: Wiley–Blackwell, 2013), 5338–5339.

4 Schmidt and MacDermot, *Pistis Sophia*, XI.

5 M.G. Schwartze and J.H. Petermann, *Pistis Sophia: Opus gnosticum Valentino adiudicatum e codice manuscripto coptico Londinensi* (Berlin, 1851).

6 Schmidt and MacDermot, *Pistis Sophia*, xiii–xiv.

two columns, written on both sides of the leaves.[7] Apart from a lacuna of 4 leaves—8 manuscript pages—towards the middle of the fourth book (4.143, pages 336–345), the manuscript is well preserved and in good condition. The text is the work of at least two scribes.[8] There is no consensus concerning the date of the Askew Codex: scholarly estimates range from the fourth to the seventh century.[9]

A date for the original composition of the books is equally difficult to determine. A majority of scholars have argued that the books of PS were composed during the late third century, mainly due to its sacramental character and emphasis on repentance.[10] I concur with these scholars that an earlier date of composition is highly unlikely, as parts of the work are dependent on the Apocryphon of John and thus must be later.[11] Considering the uncertain dating of the manuscript, it is equally probable that the texts were composed during the fourth and/or fifth century.

As PS begins, the risen Christ has already spent eleven years instructing his disciples about the divine mysteries (1.1–2). Despite extensive instruction, the disciples have still not received Jesus's most secret teachings. As Jesus and his disciples are sitting upon the Mount of Olives, a giant ray of light sweeps down and enfolds Jesus (1.2). Blinded by the great light, the disciples feel the earth shake and hear the song of angelic choirs, as Jesus ascends to heaven leaving them confused and afraid (1.3). The next day, when a cascade of even brighter lights illuminates the sky, the disciples are certain that the end of the world has come. Surprised, they discover that Jesus has returned. He appears before them, announcing the time has come for his final revelation. Alluding to John 16:25 and Mark 4:10–11, Jesus tells them that his earlier teachings had been restricted to parables (1.6). Now, however, the time has come for the full dis-

7 Schmidt and MacDermot, *Pistis Sophia*, xiii.

8 Schmidt and MacDermot, *Pistis Sophia*, xiii. Schmidt entertains the possibility that a third hand, writing in a style similar to the second scribe, might be involved. Schmidt, *Pistis Sophia*, xvii.

9 Schmidt, *Pistis Sophia*, xvii–xix. Hugo Lundhaug has recently observed similarities in style between Bala'izah frag. 7, discovered in the monastery of Apa Apollon, and the second hand that copied the Askew Codex. Since the monastery was active during the seventh to eighth century, Lundhaug argues that the Askew Codex should be dated later than the fourth century. Hugo Lundhaug, "The Dishna Papers and the Nag Hammadi Codices: The Remains of a Single Monastic Library?", in *The Nag Hammadi Codices and Late Antique Egypt*, ed. Hugo Lundhaug and Lance Jenott, STAC 110 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 368.

10 Schmidt, *Pistis Sophia*, xxxii–xxxvi.

11 See the section "Earlier Research on the Wisdom Narrative" below for a discussion on the relation between PS and the Apocryphon of John.

closure. Henceforth, Jesus will speak openly (ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲣⲏⲥⲓⲁ), imparting the deeper meaning of the Gospel sayings.

The introduction in 1.1–6 sets the stage for the first three books in the collection.[12] In the subsequent dialogues, Jesus discloses secrets of the heavenly realms and answers questions posed by the disciples. Using the distinction between parable and plain speech, Jesus and his disciples revisit famous sayings from the canonical Gospels, distinguishing between a more literal level of meaning and the spiritual interpretation of a certain passage.[13]

References to baptism (ⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓⲥⲙⲁ) are scattered throughout the four books. Here I will primarily focus on three interrelated topics and the following passages: 1.61, which describes Jesus's introduction of baptism into the world; 1.30–60 and 2.64–82, which treat the transgressions and restoration of the character Faith Wisdom;[14] 2.100, 3.111–116 and 3.131–132, which discuss the soteriological implications of baptism and relate it to the general anthropology presented in the text.

3 Baptism and the Need for Atonement (PS 1.61)

Baptism is first introduced when Mary, the mother of Jesus, sets out to interpret a section from Psalm 85:10–11: "Mercy and truth have met, righteousness and peace have kissed." According to Mary (PS 1.61), "mercy" (ⲛⲁ) refers to the spirit that, through the power of the first mystery, grants forgiveness for the sins of the world. "Truth" (ⲙⲉ) is the power that allows Jesus to take corporeal form; it was entrusted to Mary by Barbelo, a divine entity from the Sethian literary corpus.[15] "Righteousness" (ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ), Mary explains, is the spirit of Jesus, which has brought the mysteries from heaven to humanity. "Peace" (ϯⲣⲏⲛⲏ) refers to the gift of baptism, a power that enables Jesus's material body to baptize. Through baptism, humanity is made at peace with Jesus's spirit and with the emanations of light. Jesus commends Mary as she concludes her exposition and confirms the validity of her interpretation.

In Mary's exegesis of Psalm 85, the two spirits, "mercy" and "peace," take on similar functions. Both grant the gift of forgiveness, providing the cleans-

12 The fourth book contains a new introduction and differs significantly from the first three books in terms of themes and exegetical interest.

13 For a thematic disposition of the contents of the four books, see Schmidt and MacDermot, *Pistis Sophia*, xiv–xviii.

14 ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ ⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ in the Coptic text.

15 For a definition of Sethianism, see the section "Earlier Research on the Wisdom Narrative," below.

ing from sins and transgressions necessary to attain salvation. A difference, however, is that the spirit "mercy" seems to work on a broader scale, suggesting that humanity shares a collective guilt that must be absolved. The spirit "peace," however, enables the physical manifestation of Jesus to baptize during his time on earth, implying a greater emphasis on individual absolution. Later in the text, Jesus passes on the mystery of absolving sins to his disciples, facilitating baptism even after his final ascension (3.102).[16] A particular point that occurs towards the end of Mary's exposition is the need for atonement: baptism does not only provide the means for the soul to ascend to the heavenly realms and enter the Kingdom of Light; it also repairs the fractured relation between humanity and the divine, restoring peace between humankind, on the one hand, and the emanations of light and the soul of Jesus, on the other hand.

While the notion of a collective guilt and the need for atonement implies some prior transgression, PS does not provide an explanation for when or how such an event would have unfolded. Similarly, PS only offers sparse details on a potential origin of evil.[17] The fourth book describes a heavenly rebellion, orchestrated by Sabaoth the Adamas, the antagonist in PS's cast. Sabaoth and his rulers rebelled and started to have intercourse with each other, begetting more rulers, archangels, angels, ministers and decans (4.136). Jeu, one of the highest deities in PS's pantheon,[18] intervened and bound them in a region referred to as the "middle."[19] The event culminates in the creation of fate and causes a division between evil rulers that practice "the mystery of intercourse" and good rulers that adhere to "the mystery of light."

It is plausible that PS's notion of rebellious rulers is modelled on Enochian literature.[20] In the first book, we find three references to "transgressing angels" —characters that seem to be interchangeable with the rulers in 4.136. The angels teach humanity forbidden mysteries related to astrological magic and

16 The presentation of the speech in 3.102—which serves to prepare the disciples for missionary activities after Jesus's departure—recalls the Great commission in Matt 28:16–20. Although 3.102 never uses the term ⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓⲥⲙⲁ, it is likely that the mysteries that absolve sins refer to the baptismal rite. For the notion of "mystery" as the baptismal rite, see note 65.

17 Evans argues that neither PS, nor The Books of Jeu provides an etiology for evil: "The Jeuians have no myth of the origin of evil. […] There is no fall from on high, and man is not created out of ignorance or jealousy; things exist according to the natural order." Evans, *Handbooks to Eternity*, 254–255.

18 1.1, 10, 30; 4.136, 137, 143 refer to "the invisible God" or "the great invisible one," who takes the top position in the heavenly hierarchy.

19 1.25 elaborates on Jeu's binding of the archons of fate in the region of the middle but does not mention the rebellion.

20 Also Gen 6:1–4 and Rev 12:7–10.

worship of the rulers of fate (1.15, 1.18, 1.20).[21] The passages display strong similarities to 1 Enoch 8.3, whose fallen angels descend to teach humanity about astrology: astrological signs, stargazing and the course of the moon.[22] Furthermore, Enoch himself even makes appearances in 2.100 and 3.134, where he is presented as the author of the Books of Jeu.[23] Given the importance of the Books of Jeu in PS, it is reasonable to assume that Enoch is held in particularly high esteem.

While the account in 4.136 is brief and does not explicitly link the events to the emergence of evil, it is the closest we get to an etiology for sin and wickedness in PS. It is possible that "the sins of the world" referenced in 1.61 simply refers to the transgressions amassed through the negative influence of fate. As we shall see in the section below, the anthropological accounts in PS intricately link the human inclination towards sin to the influence of fate.[24]

The prior transgression implied in 1.61 could also refer to the illicit use of magic and idolatry, since these are the only sins that are explicitly linked to human behavior in the distant past (1.15, 1.18, 1.20). Interestingly, 4.136 identifies the rulers of fate with the gods of the Greek pantheon in 4.136. In this section, Jesus informs his disciples that Sabaoth and his villainous minions came to be known as Cronos, Ares, Hermes, Aphrodite and Zeus in "the whole world of humankind."[25] This particular information implies that the plot of the transgressing angels came to be highly successful, deceiving humanity into believing that the rulers of fate were gods worthy of worship. Through the worship of idols, humanity grew distant from the one true God. We find a similar perspective in the Hebrew Bible, which presents idolatry as the ultimate transgression, often using adultery as an analogy to describe the contractual breach

21 Cf. Christian H. Bull, "Women, Angels, and Dangerous Knowledge: The Myth of the Watchers in the Apocryphon of John and Its Monastic Manuscript-Context," in *Women and Knowledge in Early Christianity*, ed. Ulla Tervahauta et al., Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 144 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 75–107.

22 E. Isaac, trans., "1 Enoch," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, 5th ed. (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2016), 1.16.

23 PS 1.100 accounts for his meeting with the celestial Jesus by the tree of life and the tree of knowledge. PS 3.136 describes how Jesus made Enoch write the Books of Jeu in paradise and how Jesus later intervened and hid the books under the rock of Ararad, placing a friendly archon in the proximity to make sure that they were safe.

24 For a discussion of salvation from the destructive influence of fate in *Pistis Sophia*, see Nicola Denzey Lewis, *Cosmology and Fate in Gnosticism and Graeco-Roman Antiquity: Under Pitiless Skies*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 81 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 134–136.

25 See also 4.146, where Persephone carries out the punishment of murderers.

between humanity and God.[26] While PS's discussion of idolatry is fairly brief, it also harshly condemns the practice.

It is also possible that the prior transgression implied in 1.61 could refer to the fall described in Gen 1–3, although it is not specified in the text. PS's relation to other Christian traditions has been debated in previous scholarship. Already in 1891, Adolph von Harnack emphasized PS's indebtedness to "catholic" Christianity, presenting its theological system as an "older brother" of Catholicism.[27] Harnack remarks on PS's "submissive stance" towards the Old Testament,[28] heavy reliance on the canonical Gospels[29] and emphasis on prayers for repentance (*Bussgebete*).[30] G.R.S. Mead, on the other hand, argues for a pre-Christian origin of PS, suggesting that the original Greek text was put together by Valentinus during the second century, who drew upon material from various sources of "Hebrew, Christian, Egyptian, Chaldean and Ethiopic" origin.[31] When work was translated from Greek to Coptic, Mead suggests, the overly pious translator "added some things and subtracted others on the score of orthodoxy," including extensive quotations from the Psalms.[32] Thus, Mead's evaluation of the work and its relation to its surrounding theological environment stands in opposition to Harnack's view that PS provided, in many respects, a theological bridge between earlier Gnosticism and later "catholic" developments.

In her assessment of PS's sources and underlying theology, Evans is closer to Mead than to Harnack. Unlike Mead, Evans suggests that PS and the Books of Jeu were composed during the third to fourth centuries by a group that she refers to as "Jeuians."[33] Judging from the lack of references to the New Testament in the Books of Jeu, Evans argues that the Jeuian theological system was originally non-Christian and that Jesus was only incorporated at a later stage, when he had become culturally significant.[34] Even in the books of PS, Evans contends, the lengthy quotations from the Psalms and the Gospels were

26 Catherine E. Winiarski, "Adultery, Idolatry and the Subject of Monotheism," *Religion & Literature* 38 (2006): 41–63. For a discussion of idolatry as the ultimate sin in early Christian literature, see Guy Stroumsa, "Tertullian on Idolatry and the Limits of Tolerance," in *Tolerance and Intolerance in Early Judaism and Christianity*, ed. Graham Stanton and Guy G. Stroumsa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 176–178.

27 Harnack, *Pistis-Sophia*, 114.

28 Harnack, *Pistis-Sophia*, 97.

29 Harnack, *Pistis-Sophia*, 27–28.

30 Harnack, *Pistis-Sophia*, 60.

31 G.R.S. Mead, *Pistis Sophia: A Gnostic Gospel* (London: Aberdeen University Press, 1896), xxxiii.

32 Mead, *Pistis Sophia*, xxxiv.

33 Evans, *Handbooks to Eternity*, 260.

34 Evans, *Handbooks to Eternity*, 32.

primarily included to facilitate recruitment of Christian outsiders.[35] Furthermore, Evans suggests that the scriptural references in the Jeuian corpus did not come from the New Testament at all, but from heterodox sources quoting the passages referenced in PS.[36] Since PS only contains one explicit reference to Genesis—a brief mention of the flood—Evans concludes that the Jeuians might have obtained this detail from a secondary source.[37]

There are several problems with Evans's evaluation of PS and its use of scriptural material. First, Evans's hypothesis fails to explain the abundance of scriptural references throughout the four books and how well they are integrated into the cosmological accounts and ethical exhortations. Furthermore, there are also several examples where PS uses scripture to elucidate scripture. We find one such case in the beginning of the first book, where Jesus elaborates on the relation between John the Baptist and Elijah (1.7–8). If, as Evans suggests, the authors and compilers of PS merely used scripture to attract proselytes and legitimate the Jeuian cosmology, it is difficult to see why such an exposition on John the Baptist should have been included.

Second, Evans fails to account for the attitude towards Scripture in PS. As Kragerud shows, the Old Testament is frequently referenced in PS and consistently treated as an authoritative text.[38] Throughout the course of the four books, PS refers to Moses twice, quoting passages from Exodus (1.43; 3.131–132). The second occurrence is a particularly interesting example, as it pits a passage from Exodus against the Gospels. In this section, Mary and Salome go to great lengths to explain and harmonize the discrepancy between Jesus's command to reject one's parents (Matt 10:37/Luke 14:26) and the Mosaic command to honor them (Exod 21:17). As Kragerud remarks in his analysis, one would expect a Jesus-centric work such as PS to invalidate the old covenant and the law, siding with the Gospels.[39] Instead, PS opts for an allegorical reading, interpreting the parents in Ex 21:17 as referring to Jesus and the parents in the Gospels as referring to the rulers, thereby reconciling the two passages. PS's stance towards the

35 "To entice new members, using well-known Scriptural passages, Gospel references, and citing disciples with name-recognition as building blocks for their own message had become vital for the group's survival." Evans, *Handbooks to Eternity*, 232.

36 "…[There] is little to indicate the group was attempting to address conflicts with catholic Christian ideas with which the Jeuians clearly would have taken issue, it seems quite possible that the Jeuian authors' access to New Testament texts came from heterodox sources." Evans, *Handbooks to Eternity*, 176.

37 Evans, *Handbooks to Eternity* 171.

38 For a discussion of PS's use of the law, the prophets and the scriptures, see Kragerud, *Die Hymnen der Pistis Sophia*, 96–101.

39 Kragerud, *Die Hymnen der Pistis Sophia*, 97.

Old Testament, Kragerud notes, is reminiscent of that of rabbinic literature, where the Mosaic law possesses an irrefutable authority—albeit still being always open to interpretation.[40]

In the discussion of PS's familiarity with biblical traditions and its proximity to other Christian systems of belief, I tend to support Köstlin, Harnack, and Kragerud against Mead and Evans. The authoritative status of the Old Testament, the frequency of biblical references and the tendency to use scripture to elucidate scripture makes it likely that the authors and compilers of PS were acquainted with Gen 1–3. Although PS never refers to the events in the garden of Eden, it is not unlikely that such a well-known foundation story was implied in a work that held the Old Testament in such high regard. After all, PS neither refutes the creation narrative in Genesis nor provides a rivalling account of the creation.

The story of a heavenly rebellion in PS 4.136 could easily coexist with the story of the original sin in Gen 1–3. The notion of a primal fall, as in Gen 1–3, would account for the prior transgression implied in 1.61, as well as humanity's need for atonement. The rebellion of the rulers of fate serves as an etiology for the emergence of evil in the world, and explains how the destructive powers of fate came to influence human thoughts and actions. The introduction of idolatry through the elaborate scheme of the transgressing angels explains how humanity continued to be in the dark, oblivious of the true God.

An additional argument for an implied human transgression in 1.61 is the placement of Mary's exegesis in the middle of a lengthy account on Faith Wisdom's fall and redemption.[41] That a narrative segment is interrupted by a seemingly unrelated topic is not uncommon in PS. As Evans remarks, the story of Faith Wisdom's fall contains "a number of sidetrack discussions."[42] Kragerud identifies the interpretation of Psalm 85:10–11 in 1.61 as such a sidetrack discussion, referring to the passage as "a digression with an unparalleled structure and theme."[43] On this point, I respectfully disagree with Kragerud. While the

40 Kragerud, *Die Hymnen der Pistis Sophia*, 97. For a similar assessment of PS's reverence of the Mosaic law, see Köstlin, "Das gnostische System des Buches Pistis Sophia," 142–143; Harnack, *Pistis-Sophia*, 32–33. For a discussion of rabbinic interpretative techniques and PS's biblical exegesis, see Jean Carmignac, "Le genre littéraire du 'pesher' dans la Pistis Sophia," *Revue du Qumrân* 4 (1964): 497–522.

41 See below.

42 Evans, *Handbooks to Eternity*, 233.

43 On the use of Psalm 85:10–11 in PS 1.60–61, Kragerud writes: "Die Verse werden nicht, wie sonst üblich, als Vorbild für einen Sophiahymnus verwendet, und ihre Deutung bildet

interpretation in 1.61 does shift the focus from Faith Wisdom's redemption to the salvation of humanity, the departure is not nearly as sharp as Kragerud takes it to be. In the preceding chapters, we learn how the fallen Faith Wisdom asks to be baptized and to receive forgiveness for her sins (ⲚⲞⲂⲈ), a request that Jesus grants (1.57–60). In 1.60, Mary Magdalene interprets Jesus's intervention together with Psalm 85:10–11, which is the same passage that Mary, the mother of Jesus, interprets as referring to the introduction of baptism into the world in 1.61. Rather than being a "sidetrack discussion," then, the exegesis in 1.61 expands on the preceding narrative, linking the redemption of Faith Wisdom to the salvation history of humanity.

Given that the fate of the unfortunate Faith Wisdom is closely intertwined with PS's soteriology, it is necessary to analyze more closely this Wisdom narrative (1.31–2.82).

4 Faith Wisdom's Fall and Redemption (1.30–2.82)

PS 1.30–2.82 tells the tale of Faith Wisdom's fall and redemption.[44] In the narrative, she is one of the twenty-four emanations of the great invisible God (1.30). Like her fellow emanations, she resides in the thirteenth aeon, where she is tasked with performing the mysteries (ⲘⲨⲤⲦⲎⲢⲒⲞⲚ)—a continuous ritual that must be upheld. When Faith Wisdom gets a glimpse of the Treasury of Light, she begins to long for it, neglecting her duties. Her actions attract the attention of the powerful Authades, a ruler that resides in the same realm. To punish her, he creates a decoy that mimics the light of the height and sends it downwards (1.31). Lured by the light, Faith Wisdom descends to the twelfth aeon. There she encounters Authades's material emanations, who steal her powers and surround her with matter. Stripped of her light, Faith Wisdom is confined to the twelfth aeon, continuously tormented by the rulers.

PS 1.32–58 reports Faith Wisdom's thirteen repentances (ⲙ̄ⲘⲈⲦⲀⲚⲞⲒ̈Ⲁ): a series of lamentations, prayers of repentance and songs of praise to the great invisible God, which the disciples interpret in light of the Old Testament Psalms and the Odes of Solomon.[45] In 1.59, Jesus intervenes and baptizes Faith Wis-

einen Exkurs mit einzigartiger Struktur und Thematik." Kragerud, *Die Hymnen der Pistis Sophia*, 16.

44 For a more in depth description of the fall of Wisdom, see the excellent summary in Evans, *Handbooks to Eternity*, 235–237.

45 For a comprehensive list of the Psalms used in the Wisdom narrative, see Kragerud, *Die Hymnen der Pistis Sophia*, 15–16.

dom. The subsequent chapters account for her triumph over the rulers and her hymns of praise to the Savior. PS 2.75–2.82 describes her restoration and return to the thirteenth aeon.

4.1 *Earlier Research on the Wisdom Narrative*

The scriptural exegesis in the Wisdom narrative has been the subject of scholarly debate. In earlier research, the common consensus was that the lengthy quotations from the Psalms add little to the narrative.[46] Kragerud provides a radical departure from this earlier perspective, arguing that the myth presented in the Wisdom narrative is the result of a creative exegesis of Psalms.[47] Comparing PS's narrative to the Wisdom myth in the Apocryphon of John (NHC II 1). Kragerud argues that both accounts draw inspiration from a shared mythological framework.[48] Both texts share a common structure: they both account for the transgression, fall and redemption of Wisdom. The details and outcome of the story, however, differ significantly. Kragerud ascribes these differences to their exegetical source material and interpretive techniques: while Ap. John structures the narrative around the events in Genesis, PS turns to the Psalms for inspiration.

In her monograph, Evans provides an extensive discussion of the Wisdom narrative and its influences. Evans's main contribution is her meticulous assessment of Sethian influences in PS. Sethianism is a label commonly applied to a subset of texts, including Ap. John, often grouped together under the broader umbrella term "Gnosticism."[49] As the label implies, Seth, the son of Adam, plays a major part in this group of texts, as a progenitor of a people capable of attain-

46 One good example of this tendency is Mead's hypothesis that the quotations from the Psalms were merely the result of a pious redactor's later additions to the text. Mead, *Pistis Sophia*, XXXIII. For a more comprehensive discussion of such perspectives, see Kragerud's outline of earlier research on PS's interpretation of the Psalms. Kragerud, *Die Hymnen der Pistis Sophia*, 143.

47 Kragerud, *Die Hymnen der Pistis Sophia*, 213.

48 Kragerud, *Die Hymnen der Pistis Sophia*, 215.

49 Since the publication of Williams's groundbreaking critique of the term, the appropriateness of the term "Gnosticism" has been called into question. For a discussion on the shortcomings of the label, see Michael A. Williams, *Rethinking "Gnosticism": An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); Karen L. King, *What Is Gnosticism?* (Cambridge: Belknap, 2003). Several scholars, including David Brakke, Birger Pearson and Jörgen Magnusson, have argued for the continued usefulness of the category, albeit in a slightly modified version. Birger A. Pearson, *Ancient Gnosticism: Traditions and Literature* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007); David Brakke, *The Gnostics: Myth, Ritual, and Diversity in Early Christianity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010). Jörgen Magnusson, "The Clear-Sightedness That Blinded: Methodological and Theoretical Reflections on the Battlefield of Gnosticism," *ARAM Periodical* 33 (2021): 15–31.

ing salvific knowledge.[50] Birger Pearson argues that the Sethian texts feature "a basic myth in four parts, consisting of theogony, cosmogony, anthropogony, and soteriology."[51] The Sethian myth, as Pearson describes it, revolves around a "radical re-interpretation" of Genesis.[52]

In contrast to Kragerud, Evans holds that the Psalms were included merely to provide "scriptural justification" for the fall of Wisdom.[53] Evans suggests that PS draws on material from earlier Sethian traditions, primarily Ap. John, and identifies parallels not only in the structure of the myth, as Kragerud also does, but also in terms of a common vocabulary and recurring characters.[54] Rather than merely reproducing an existing myth, Evans argues, the story of Faith Wisdom's fall entails a "subversion" of the Sethian narrative.[55] In PS's fashioning of the myth, Wisdom becomes a passive character.[56] Unlike in Ap. John, she does not create anything—she is merely tricked and forced into submission by the rulers. While Ap. John's Wisdom character redeems herself through her work and struggle against the forces of evil, PS's counterpart can only be saved through divine intervention. These emendations to the Sethian narrative, Evans claims, not only rob Wisdom of her agency, but also make the whole story devoid of meaning:

> … originally it served to explain the advent of evil, the creation of the world, the origin of man, and salvation history, all of which are completely lacking from the Pistis Sophia. Instead, evil already exists, Pistis Sophia creates nothing, and there is no discussion of man's origin or how mankind is associated with the divine.[57]

The sole purpose of the wisdom narrative in PS, Evans argues, is to refute a Sethian worldview: to demonstrate that Wisdom, their protagonist, lacks power and soteriological significance.[58]

---

50 Pearson, *Ancient Gnosticism*, 119.

51 Birger A. Pearson, "Baptism in Sethian Gnostic Texts," in *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*, ed. David Hellholm et al., BZNW 176 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010), 122.

52 Pearson, "Baptism in Sethian Gnostic Texts," 122.

53 Evans, *Handbooks to Eternity*, 233.

54 For a thorough discussion of Sethian motifs in PS, see Evans, *Handbooks to Eternity*, 124–127, 150–151, 173–176, 241–245.

55 Evans, *Handbooks to Eternity*, 237.

56 Evans, *Handbooks to Eternity*, 240–241.

57 Evans, *Handbooks to Eternity*, 241.

58 Evans, *Handbooks to Eternity* 245, 256. See also Williams's article on the Wisdom narrative,

Kragerud and Evans could not be further apart in their analyses of the Wisdom narrative in PS. As we have seen, Kragerud argues that the narrative in 1.30–2.82 is the result of a creative exegesis of the Psalms, while Evans views the quotations from the Psalms as a later addition and suggests that PS intentionally adapts and subverts the Sethian myth. Admittedly, both scholars have brought something to the table. Kragerud has persuasively argued that the narrative is structured around material from the Psalms, which would in itself account for several of the differences between the Wisdom myth in PS and the Sethian works. Evans, on the other hand, has made a convincing case for a direct dependence on the Wisdom myth in Ap. John—a text whose influence Kragerud's analysis ultimately underestimates.

I am less inclined to agree with Evans's assessment of the function of the narrative. The Wisdom narrative encompasses approximately a third of the whole Askew Codex. If such a lengthy account was included solely for refuting the Sethians, why are these polemics never stated explicitly? In its interaction with Sethian traditions, PS modifies a familiar narrative and ontologically demotes some of its characters—but it never openly denounces any Sethian groups or texts. Considering the differences in cosmology, anthropology and soteriology, we have no reason to expect PS's Wisdom narrative to mirror its counterpart in Ap. John. We know that the authors and compilers of PS engaged with a number of sources and traditions.[59] If we, in line with the scholarly consensus, approach PS as a collection of texts later than those of Ap. John, composed in a different historical setting, it is reasonable to assume that its authors and compilers wrestled with other theological problems and—presumably—adapted these earlier traditions to better fit their own contexts and agendas.

As Evans rightly observes, PS's Faith Wisdom is remarkably passive and needs the intervention of a higher power to attain salvation. Clearly, she is not the heroine here that she is in Sethian mythology—and neither should we expect her to be. Rather, the fate of the fallen Wisdom seems to mirror the human condition. Already in 1854, Köstlin, one of the first scholars to work on PS, suggests that the fate of Wisdom serves as a typology for the human plight and that her repentance and restoration mirror the soul's quest for salvation.[60]

which follows Evans's argumentation closely. Michael A. Williams, "'Wisdom, Our Innocent Sister': Reflections on a Mytheme," in *Women and Knowledge in Early Christianity*, ed. Ulla Tervahauta et al., Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 144 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 253–290, here 287–288.

59 Throughout her monograph, Evans traces influences from Egyptian mythology, Sethian, Manichean and Christian strands of thought. Evans, *Handbooks to Eternity*, 105–127, 149–151, 167–177.

60 Köstlin, "Das gnostische System des Buches Pistis Sophia," 6.

Kragerud argues for a similar typology, suggesting that the speaker in the hymns of penance represents humanity.[61]

Köstlin's hypothesis allows us to approach the Wisdom narrative not simply as a story about a distant celestial entity, but as a typological account of the human condition. Such a reading not only makes the narrative more cohesive, but also has implications for the general view of baptism in PS. In the section below, I analyze the baptismal accounts in the Wisdom narrative, discussing how they relate to the anthropology and soteriology presented in the remainder of the codex.

Before I proceed, I wish to note where my analysis differs from those of Köstlin and Kragerud. As Köstlin is mainly concerned with the overall worldview of the text—its cosmological layout, ontology and Christology—his discussion of the Wisdom myth is brief, and does not elaborate on the relation between Faith Wisdom and humanity. Likewise, Kragerud's investigation is limited to the Wisdom narrative (1.30–2.82) and does not discuss its relation to the other portions of the books. Furthermore, Kragerud, who focuses primarily on the exegetical techniques and rendering of the OT Psalms in PS, does not discuss baptism.[62] The analysis in the subsequent section builds and expands on Köstlin's initial observations, but with a greater emphasis on baptism.

4.2 *Baptism in the Wisdom Narrative*

Evans's assertion that the Wisdom narrative lacks a purpose is partly based on the assumption that it does not contain a salvation history.[63] To demonstrate that this assumption is flawed, we will take a closer look at three of the thirteen repentance scenes in PS 1.30–2.82, which, I contend, not only describe a grand salvific plan that is gradually unfolding, but also link the sufferings of Faith Wisdom to the human condition.

The first repentance scene starts with an account of the fall of Faith Wisdom and the sufferings she endures in chaos (1.32). The greater portion of the repentance focuses solely on her own situation, but towards the end of the account, there is a sudden shift in focus, as Faith Wisdom turns to address the whole creation and deliver a message of hope: "Rejoice, all material beings (ⲛ̄ϩⲩⲗⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ)" (1.32). Light—which seems to be the highest deity—has heard their plea and will intervene to save and purify all material beings. Faith Wisdom's

61 Kragerud, *Die Hymnen der Pistis Sophia*, 239.

62 See, for instance, Kragerud's discussion of Psalm 51, which is used to support the longest baptismal account in the Wisdom narrative. Kragerud, *Die Hymnen der Pistis Sophia*, 176–177.

63 Evans, *Handbooks to Eternity*, 241.

exhortation culminates with a vision of a future where God has saved all souls from matter and prepared a city of light in which they can dwell.

The fourth repentance scene also links the predicament of Faith Wisdom to humanity, describing how the Lord sees the repentance of "those in the places below" (1.39). Releasing the soul from its bondage, he puts "his name in the soul and his mystery in the power" (1.39). The curious division between soul and power is an integral part of PS's anthropology, a topic to which we will return in the next subsection. Like 1.32, the fourth repentance never explicitly identifies the salvific act as baptism. The word choice, however, strongly invokes the baptismal formula in 1 Cor 6:11 and Acts 19:5, where proselytes are baptized "in the name of the Lord."[64] Likewise, the word μυστήριον is commonly used to designate the baptismal rite in early Christianity.[65]

The first repentance of Faith Wisdom has a close parallel in 2.100, which occurs towards the end of the second book. In this account, Jesus explains to his disciples that every human is of the same basic substance as the celestial beings: the rulers, the angels and the great invisible ones. All of these beings share the same plight: they must dispose of impure elements and become pure light in order to enter the Kingdom of Light, which is the aim of their whole existence. In 2.100, the emanations of light, the collective of entities to which Faith Wisdom belongs, have already been purified and returned to the Kingdom of Light, implying that the events described in 1.32 belong to the distant past.

While there are differences between the two accounts, both in terms of form (hymn vs. instruction) and content, their visions of a salvific plan that slowly unfolds throughout history are strikingly similar. Furthermore, the whole narrative of Faith Wisdom can be viewed as an enactment of this plan. After a series of twelve repentances, where Faith Wisdom laments her condition, begs for forgiveness and envisions a future restoration, the thirteenth and last repentance culminates with a plea for assistance. "Give me baptism, forgive my sins and purify me from my transgression" (1.57).[66] Jesus intervenes and saves her through his light-power, which becomes a crown of light that destroys "all of the evil matter" (ⲛ̄ϩⲩⲗⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ) inside her and purifies her (1.59). In addition

64 See, for instance, 1 Cor 6:11; Acts 19:5. See also Lars Hartman, *"Into the Name of the Lord Jesus": Baptism in the Early Church*, Studies of the New Testament and Its World (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1997), 37–50.

65 Everett Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology, and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 13. See also Geoffrey W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), 892–893.

66 ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ̈ ⲙ̄ⲡⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓⲥⲙⲁ ⲛⲅ̄ⲕⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲃⲉ · ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲅ̄ⲧ̄ⲃⲃⲟⲓ̈ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁⲥⲓⲥ.

to cleansing her from sin, the baptismal act provides a protection from demonic influence, rendering her immune from the rulers' attacks. The notion of baptism as a protective power has an interesting parallel in 3.116, a passage which we will examine in the next section. The narrative starting in 2.64 accounts for the triumph and restoration of Faith Wisdom. Her cleansing is a recurring theme in the songs of praise that follow in 2.68–76.[67]

In her analysis, Evans states that the notion of Wisdom's sin is "awkwardly inserted" and does not fit well into the narrative.[68] If we read the account in light of Ap. John, the stress on sin and transgression may indeed appear misplaced. In comparison to Ap. John, where Wisdom's act of defiance is deliberate, the character in PS is merely tricked into descending downwards—yet, she receives a harsher punishment than her counterpart in Ap. John. To better understand Wisdom's transgressions in PS, I suggest that we turn to the Exegesis on the Soul (NHC II 6) and the Authoritative Teaching (NHC VI 3) as comparative texts. In these narratives, a female character represents the human soul. Her crime, which is harshly condemned in both texts, resembles that of Faith Wisdom. Straying downwards, away from God, the personified soul gets tangled in matter, mingling with hostile forces that represent the sensory passions. In both texts, she realizes her mistake and repents. In the Exegesis on the Soul, the Father hears her pleas and intervenes to give her a baptism that washes away the filth of sin.[69] Afterwards, the soul goes through a series of penances, before she is allowed to return.

I suggest that the Wisdom narrative in PS follows a similar logic: Faith Wisdom, who represents the human soul, is enticed by the powers of darkness into descending, moving away from God and the heavenly light. Once she has left the heavenly realms, she is surrounded by matter and unable to return. First after a series of penances, Jesus answers her prayers and baptizes her, restoring her original purity and guarding her from future advances.

If we read the Wisdom narrative as a typological depiction of the soul's journey back to God, it is reasonable to assume that Wisdom's descent into chaos represents the primordial fall of humanity. The notion of purity and contamination stands at the heart of the story of Faith Wisdom, who is defiled and con-

67 See for instance 2.68, where Faith Wisdom gives thanks to Jesus for having cleansed her from evil matter, and 2.70, where she describes her present state as "purified light" (ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲉϥⲥⲟⲧ̄ϥ), a state referred to as the ultimate condition in 2.100.

68 Evans, *Handbooks to Eternity*, 233.

69 For a discussion of the imagery of purity and contamination, see Hugo Lundhaug, *Images of Rebirth: Cognitive Poetics and Transformational Soteriology in the* Gospel of Philip *and the* Exegesis on the Soul, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 73 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 93–99.

taminated by the corrupting force of matter. Through baptism, which marks a turning point in the story, Faith Wisdom regains her purity and is rendered immune from contamination. As we will see in the next section, PS's description of the human condition follows a similar structure.

5 Purity and Contamination in *Pistis Sophia*'s Anthropological Accounts

The anthropology in PS presupposes a cyclic mode of existence, where the soul of the departed return to a new body (3.111–112, 131–132). While inclination for sin is inherent in the human condition, every soul is born entirely pure. During its life in the body, most souls accumulate pollution through sinful behavior and thoughts. Worldly cares, relations, food and drink result in a surplus of matter, which, in turn, leads to further contamination (2.100). In order to be saved, it is necessary to refrain from worldly activities and to take part in the mysteries of purification. If someone dies unbaptized—or has been baptized but fails to live accordingly—that person must undergo a painful process of purification—torture at the hands of horrifying rulers—for the soul to be cleansed from sin. The extent of the punishments varies depending on the soul's transgressions. A particularly sinful soul receives a harsher punishment, as the purification process takes more time.[70]

The procedure is complete when the soul is free from sin and desire. The soul is then made to drink from a "cup of forgetfulness,"[71] mixed with "the seed of evil" (песперма ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ), a concoction that fills it with desires and renders it oblivious of all previous experience (3.131). The mixture of oblivion and desire becomes a Counterfeit Spirit (ⲁⲛⲧⲓⲙⲓⲙⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ), a personification of the human inclination towards sin.

In PS's anthropological system, the self also consists of a third component—the divine power (ϭⲟⲙ), which enters the soul when the rulers breathe into it (3.131). These three components are then moulded into a human foetus. The power, which exerts a positive influence on the souls, draws it towards the "light of the height"—the celestial realm from which it has originated (3.111). The Counterfeit Spirit, however, draws it towards temptations, pleasures and sinful behavior, causing the soul to "desire everything of the world." When a person succumbs to sin, the hostile spirit records the deeds and engraves the transgressions into the soul (3.115).

70 PS 3.102–103, 3.126–130, 4.144–148.

71 PS 3.131 also refers to this cup as "water of forgetfulness" (ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲃⲱϣⲉ).

As we see in these accounts, PS presents sin as an almost physical force, whose close association with matter allows it to cling to the soul, prevent it from reaching the higher heavenly spheres and force it to endure the painful process of purification, before it is eventually placed in another body. The only way to break from the destructive influence of the Counterfeit Spirit and obliterate the accumulated sins etched on the soul is through baptism. The mystery of baptism, Jesus tells his disciples, functions like a great fire, which consumes the sins engraved onto one's soul. As it enters the body, it functions as a bulwark against negative influences, separating the soul and the divine power from the body, the Counterfeit Spirit and fate. When Jesus has finished his account, Mary turns to him and offers to interpret his words in light of the Gospels. Mary quotes from the Gospel of Luke:

> I came to bring fire to the earth, and how I wish it were already kindled! I have a baptism with which to be baptized, and what stress I am under until it is completed! Do you think that I have come to bring peace to the earth? No, I tell you, but rather division! From now on five in one household will be divided, three against two and two against three.
>
> Luke 12:49–52 NRSV

The clause "I came to bring fire to the earth," Mary explains, refers to Jesus's introduction of baptism. As the fire purifies the soul, devouring the accumulated sins, the devotee can start afresh from a clean slate. The exclamation, "I have a baptism with which to be baptized, and what stress I am under until it is completed!", refers to the ongoing process of salvation. Jesus will not be able to stay until all souls are cleansed. The words about division in Luke 12:51–52, Mary clarifies, refer to the transformation that occurs as a result of baptism. The household in 12:52 symbolizes the individual and the "two against three" refers to the soul and the power standing united against the body, fate (ⲙⲟⲓⲣⲁ) and the antagonistic Counterfeit Spirit.

The transformative power of baptism is also described in patristic writings. In his *Oration on Holy Baptism*, Gregory of Nazianzus (ca. 329–390 CE) addresses Christians who have chosen to delay their baptism, presumably because they believe that they would profit from the cleansing of sins at a later point in life.[72] If baptism provides a one-time only opportunity to wipe the slate clean and start anew, freshly absolved of previous misdeeds, would it then not be more beneficial to wait? Their reasoning, Gregory replies, is mis-

72 Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oration* 40.9, 12 (NPNF[2] 7:362–363).

guided. Postponing their baptism, such Christians not only jeopardize their salvation—they also deny themselves the prospect of a more pious life that follows in the wake of baptism. Prior to baptism, Gregory tells us, the soul is constantly at risk of demonic advances.[73] Like in PS, the postbaptismal state provides a shield against such attacks, rendering the demonic influences futile.

Likewise, the notion of sin as a contaminating force that clings to the soul and prevents it from ascending has parallels in ancient Christian literature. We have briefly discussed the parallels between PS's Wisdom narrative, the Exegesis on the Soul, and the Authoritative Teaching—texts that use the imagery of filth and contamination to describe the impact of sin and sensory stimuli on the soul. An additional example comes from a letter by Theodore of Tabennese (ca. 314–368 CE), which describes how the soul must "awaken from the slumber of negligence, to be cleansed from the filth of indifference and the sluggishness of worldly thoughts."[74] In *An Ascetical Discourse*, Basil the Great (ca. 330–379 CE) stresses that "the chief concern for the Christian ought to be the stripping himself of the varied and diverse movements of the passions toward evil whereby the soul is defiled."[75]

We find similar metaphors in the works of Gregory of Nyssa (ca. 335–395 CE). In *On the Soul and the Resurrection*, he compares the effect of sin to a vile stench that lingers even after one has removed oneself from the source of the disgusting odor, and to mud plastered on a rope, which can only be removed through forcible scraping (6–7).[76] In order for the soul to become truly godlike, it must be cleansed entirely from sin—either through human effort in life or agonising purification in the heavens. Like PS, the extent of the painful purification process is dependent on the amount of sin that the individual has amassed during his or her life.

We find an even closer parallel to PS's anthropology in the interpretations of Luke 12:49–52 by Origen of Alexandria (ca. 185–254 CE) and Ambrose of Milan (ca. 340–397 CE). As Joseph Lienhardt remarks, Ambrose's *Commentary on Luke* follows Origen's commentary closely. "Some parts," Lienhardt comments, "are so close to Origen's that they can be used to clarify doubtful readings in the

73 Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oration* 40.10 (NPNF^{2} 7:362–363).

74 Theodorus of Tabennese, *Ep.* 1.26. ET: Armand Veilleux, trans., *Pachomian Koinonia: Instructions, Letters and Other Writings of Saint Pachomius and His Disciples*, vol. 3, Cistercian Studies Series 47 (Michigan: Cistercian, 1982), 109.

75 Basil of Caesarea, *An Ascetical Discourse*. ET: Monica M. Wagner, trans. *Ascetical Work*, FC 9 (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1950), 217.

76 Gregory of Nyssa, *On the Soul and the Resurrection* 6–7. ET: Catharine P. Roth, trans. *On the Soul and the Resurrection*, Popular Patristics Series (Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2002), 76–84.

text of Origen."[77] Luke 12:49–52 is such a case. Although Ambrose's version is longer, as it expands and elaborates on Origen's commentary, he is consistently faithful to his source. For the sake of brevity, I focus solely on Ambrose's account.

Ambrose understands the house in Luke 12:52 as referring to the individual, "for each is the house of either God or the Devil."[78] For a long time, there was no division at all: the soul and the body mingled freely with shameful and sin-inducing passions. When Christ sent his fire to earth, the body and the spirit, which had forgotten their divine nature, began to separate themselves from corrupting passions, just like parents are divided against sons.[79] As a result of baptism, the soul and the body came to be united as two against three.

Admittedly, Ambrose's lengthy exposition on Luke 12:49–52 is more technical than the brief exegesis we encounter in PS 3.116. Ambrose entertains different possible interpretations, distinguishing between a more literal level of meaning and a deeper, symbolic reading of the passage, deeming both valid and not mutually exclusive.[80] PS, on the other hand, presents the allegorical reading of Luke 12:49–52 as the only acceptable interpretation, rendering a more literal understanding of the passage obsolete. Furthermore, the two texts differ in what roles and identities they assign to the inhabitants of the household. Making the body an ally of the soul, Ambrose's account differs significantly from PS's interpretation, which presents the body as one of the three adversaries, together with the Counterfeit Spirit and fate.

Despite these differences, there are several topical parallels between the two texts. Like PS, Ambrose depicts the introduction of baptism as a turning point in salvation history. Where sinful passions and divine elements had previously intermingled, baptism resulted in a division, separating the sinful inclinations from the good constituents of the self. Furthermore, Ambrose and PS both interpret the household as referring to the individual, making the conflict a struggle between inner impulses, rather than a dispute between actual people.

The parallels between PS and the Cappadocians—Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzus—help us situate PS's anthropology and notion of sin in a broader theological context. The similarities between Origen/Ambrose

77 Joseph T. Lienhard, trans. *Origen: Homilies on Luke; Fragments on Luke*, FC 94 (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2009), xxxiv.

78 Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 7.138. ET: Theodosia Tomkinson, trans. *Exposition of the Holy Gospel According to Saint Luke* (Etna: Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 1998), 292.

79 Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 7.145. ET: Tomkinson, *Exposition*, 296.

80 Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 7.137–138.

and PS's interpretation of Luke 12:49–52 are even more striking. It is not impossible that the author of PS 3.116 independently came up with his allegorical reading of Luke 12:49–52, unaware of Origen's and Ambrose's earlier interpretations of the passage. The parallels, then, would be explained by a shared tendency towards introspective interpretations, a related anthropological framework and similar view of the transformative power of baptism. We should not, however, rule out the possibility that the author(s) of PS *did* know Origen's works, or even Ambrose's. As Harnack has shown, PS's habit of referring to Jesus as "the mystery" has a close parallel in the works of Origen.[81] If we assume, in continuity with earlier research, that PS was composed in Egypt, which was an Origenist hotspot from the fourth century onwards, it is entirely plausible that the authors of PS were aware of Origen and his legacy—particularly if we assign the collection of texts a slightly later date of composition.[82]

6 Summary and Conclusion

The lack of a protology in PS continues to baffle scholars. Despite the absence of an explicit account of the origin of sin, Mary's speech in 1.61—which describes the introduction of baptism to humanity—stresses the fractured relation between God and humankind, strongly implying a prior transgression. It has been argued that the Wisdom narrative functions as a typology for the human soul and that the account of her fall, baptism and restoration represents the soul's journey back to God. This observation is further strengthened by Faith Wisdom's speech in 1.32 and 1.39, where she links her own individual fate to the salvation of all beings, presenting a salvation history that encompasses the whole existence. Furthermore, the introduction of baptism to humanity appears in close proximity to the baptismal account in the Wisdom narrative, sandwiched between her baptism (1.57–60) and the narration of her triumph over the destructive powers of matter (2.64–67.). In earlier research, the departure from the Wisdom narrative in 1.61–2.63 has been viewed as a "sidetrack" that adds little to the narrative. Despite the shift in focus from Wisdom to the fate of humanity, the two sections are held together by their common emphasis on baptism and soteriology, further linking the Wisdom narrative to the salvation history of humanity.

81 Harnack, *Pistis-Sophia*, 99.

82 David Brakke, "The Egyptian Afterlife of Origenism: Conflicts over Embodiment in Coptic Sermons," *OCP* 66 (2000): 277–293; Hugo Lundhaug, "Origenism in Fifth-Century Upper Egypt: Shenoute of Atripe and the Nag Hammadi Codices," *StPatr* 64 (2013): 217–228.

The imagery of sin as a polluting force is present both in the Wisdom narrative and in PS's anthropological accounts. The soul, which is originally pure, has been encased in matter, and is therefore susceptible to negative influences. When someone acts on a sinful inclination, has indecent thoughts or overconsumes food, sin is engraved on this person's soul. Baptism not only cleanses the soul from accumulated sin but also increases the distance between the soul and the destructive power at work, allowing the baptized individual to live a renewed life, with an increased chance to remain free from sin. I have presented three possible explanations for the need for atonement in 1.61. PS's account on the rebellious archons and the origin of fate (4.136) serves as an aetiology for evil but does not explain why humanity as a whole would be in need of forgiveness. It is possible that the prior transgression implied in 1.61 refers to the sins amassed as a result of the archons' negative influence on humanity. Influenced by Enochian tradition, PS also describes how "transgressing angels" descended to earth and taught humanity to worship the archons of fate (1.15, 18, 20). In a later passage (4.136), we learn that the archons of fate are identified with the gods of the Greek pantheon: Cronos, Ares, Hermes, Aphrodite and Zeus. Due to idolatry's status as the transgressive sin *par excellence* in the Hebrew Bible, it is possible that the transgression in 1.61 could refer to the worship of foreign gods. A third possibility is that the transgression implied in 1.61 refers the primordial fall in Gen 1–3.

It should be noted that none of these explanations are mutually exclusive. As suggested in previous scholarship, the Wisdom narrative in PS 1.30–2.82 appears to be a symbolic retelling of the soul's fall from grace—possibly an allegorization of the primordial fall in Gen 1–3. The subsequent episodes, the rebellion of the archons and the forbidden knowledge taught by the transgressing angels, account for the introduction of evil into the world and explain humanity's inability to pursue a godly life before the intervention of Christ.

The context of the work is extraordinarily complex. As Evans has demonstrated, PS is likely dependent on the Apocryphon of John, whose Wisdom narrative it has adapted and remodeled. The purpose of the emendations, I argue, is not to polemize against the Sethians, as Evans suggests, but to make sense of mythic history in a theological environment where the Sethian narratives continued to be read and interpreted, but had lost part of their appeal, due to their strong ontological dualism and demonization of the creator God.

Throughout the investigation, I have noted a proximity between PS and the fourth-century Origenists. The space constraints of this article do not allow for a full investigation of possible Origenist influences in PS, a topic which, I believe, merits further examination in future research.

Bibliography

Ambrose. *Exposition of the Holy Gospel According to Saint Luke*. Translated by Theodosia Tomkinson. Etna: Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 1998.

Basil of Caesarea. *Ascetical Works*. Translated by Monica M. Wagner. FC 9. Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1950.

Brakke, David. "The Egyptian Afterlife of Origenism: Conflicts over Embodiment in Coptic Sermons." *OCP* 66 (2000): 277–293.

Brakke, David. *The Gnostics: Myth, Ritual, and Diversity in Early Christianity*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010.

Bull, Christian H. "Women, Angels, and Dangerous Knowledge: The Myth of the Watchers in the Apocryphon of John and Its Monastic Manuscript-Context." Pages 75–107 in *Women and Knowledge in Early Christianity*, edited by Ulla Tervahauta, Ivan Miroshnikov, Outi Lehtipuu, and Ismo Dunderberg, 75–107. Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 144. Leiden: Brill, 2017.

Carmignac, Jean. "Le genre littéraire du 'pesher' dans la Pistis Sophia." *Revue du Qumrân* 4 (1964): 497–522.

Evans, Erin. *The* Books of Jeu *and the* Pistis Sophia *as Handbooks to Eternity: Exploring the Gnostic Mysteries of the Ineffable*. Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 89. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

Ferguson, Everett. *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology, and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009.

Gregory of Nyssa, *On the Soul and the Resurrection*. Translated by Catharine P. Roth. Popular Patristics Series. Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2002.

Harnack, Adolf von. *Über das gnostische Buch Pistis-Sophia*. TUGAL 7.2. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1891.

Hartman, Lars. *"Into the Name of the Lord Jesus": Baptism in the Early Church*. Studies of the New Testament and Its World. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1997.

Isaac, E., trans. "1 Enoch." Pages 5–90 in vol. 1 of *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 5th ed. Edited by James H. Charlesworth. Peabody: Hendrickson, 2016.

King, Karen L. *What Is Gnosticism?* Cambridge: Belknap, 2003.

Köstlin, K.R. "Das gnostische System des Buches Pistis Sophia." *Theologische Jahrbücher* 13 (1854): 1–104, 137–196.

Kragerud, Alv. *Die Hymnen der Pistis Sophia*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1967.

Lampe, Geoffrey W.H. *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1961.

Lewis, Nicola Denzey. *Cosmology and Fate in Gnosticism and Graeco-Roman Antiquity: Under Pitiless Skies*. Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 81. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

Lienhard, Joseph T., trans. *Origen*: *Homilies on Luke; Fragments on Luke*. FC 94. Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2009.

Lundhaug, Hugo. *Images of Rebirth: Cognitive Poetics and Transformational Soteriology in the* Gospel of Philip *and the* Exegesis on the Soul. Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 73. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

Lundhaug, Hugo. "Origenism in Fifth-Century Upper Egypt: Shenoute of Atripe and the Nag Hammadi Codices." *StPatr* 64 (2013): 217–228.

Lundhaug, Hugo. "The Dishna Papers and the Nag Hammadi Codices: The Remains of a Single Monastic Library?" Pages 329–386 in *The Nag Hammadi Codices and Late Antique Egypt*. Edited by Hugo Lundhaug and Lance Jenott. Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 110. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018.

Magnusson, Jörgen. "The Clear-Sightedness That Blinded: Methodological and Theoretical Reflections on the Battlefield of Gnosticism." *ARAM Periodical* 33 (2021): 15–31.

Mead, G.R.S. *Pistis Sophia: A Gnostic Gospel*. London: Aberdeen University Press, 1896.

Pearson, Birger A. *Ancient Gnosticism: Traditions and Literature*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007.

Pearson, Birger A. "Baptism in Sethian Gnostic Texts." Pages 119–144 in *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*. Edited by David Hellholm, Tor Vegge, Øyvind Norderval, and Christer Hellholm. BZNW 176. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010.

Pleše, Zlatko. "Pistis Sophia." Pages 5338–5339 in *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*. Edited by Roger S. Bagnall, Kai Brodersen, and Graige B. Champion. Malden: Wiley–Blackwell, 2013.

Schaff, Philip, ed. *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*. Second series. 14 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1952–1957.

Schmidt, Carl. *Pistis Sophia: Neu herausgegeben mit Einleitung nebst griechischem und koptischem Wort- und Nameregister*. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske, 1925.

Schmidt, Carl, and Violet MacDermot, eds. *Pistis Sophia*. Nag Hammadi Studies 9. Leiden: Brill, 1978.

Schwartze, M.G. and J.H. Petermann, *Pistis Sophia: Opus gnosticum Valentino adiudicatum e codice manuscripto coptico Londinensi*. Berlin, 1851.

Stroumsa. "Tertullian on Idolatry and the Limits of Tolerance." Pages 173–184 in *Tolerance and Intolerance in Early Judaism and Christianity*. Edited by Graham Stanton and Guy G. Stroumsa. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Veilleux, Armand, trans. *Pachomian Koinonia: Instructions, Letters and Other Writings of Saint Pachomius and His Disciples*. 3 vols. Cistercian Studies Series 47. Michigan: Cistercian, 1982.

Williams, Michael A. *Rethinking "Gnosticism": An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Williams, Michael A. "'Wisdom, Our Innocent Sister': Reflections on a Mytheme." Pages 253–290 in *Women and Knowledge in Early Christianity*. Edited by Ulla Tervahauta, Ivan Miroshnikov, Outi Lehtipuu, and Ismo Dunderberg. Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 144. Leiden: Brill, 2017.

Winiarski, Catherine E. “Adultery, Idolatry and the Subject of Monotheism.” *Religion & Literature* 38 (2006): 41–63.

13

Childlike Play in the Liturgical Writings of Dionysios the Areopagite

Fredrik Heiding, S.J.

It is widely acknowledged that the early Christian theologian Dionysios the Areopagite has been essential for the development of Christian mysticism.[1] His mystical theology has so far mostly been read from an individual perspective, although it is actually not just an individual undertaking. By contrast, the corporate dimension of his writings is seldom taken into account. Consequently, liturgical themes do not belong to the most studied topics of the Dionysian corpus. As a matter of fact, in a fairly recent publication, Christian liturgy as described by Dionysios is not addressed in any of the fourteen chapters,[2] and journal articles on this theme are also few and far between. Andrew Louth, emeritus professor of patristic and Byzantine studies, makes a similar observation. He identifies some possible reasons for the reluctance of working on Dionysios's liturgical theology. Apart from the difficult and abstract style, Louth argues that scholars and practitioners have been uncomfortable with a perceived hierarchical framework which allegedly juxtaposes clergy and laity. Moreover, they claim, Dionysios is guilty of turning the rituals to mere "spectacle." Louth offers a solution to the problem by suggesting that the category of love as well as particular hermeneutics of symbols pave the way for a better understanding of Dionysian liturgical theology.[3]

This essay offers a slightly different solution to the problem outlined by Louth. I will claim that Dionysios's liturgical theology needs to be understood

1 Vladimir Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co, 1991), 23–43; Bernard McGinn, *The Growth of Mysticism: Gregory the Great through the 12th Century* (New York: Crossroad, 1994), 80–118, 363–418. Sarah Coakley speaks about a "recent upsurge of interest" in Dionysios the Areopagite in connection with an "apophatic rage" during the twentieth century. See Sarah Coakley, "Introduction," in *Re-Thinking Dionysius the Areopagite*, ed. Sarah Coakley and Charles M. Stang (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 1.

2 Sarah Coakley and Charles M. Stang, eds., *Re-Thinking Dionysius the Areopagite* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).

3 Andrew Louth, "Individual and Liturgical Piety in Dionysius the Areopagite," in *Jewish Roots of Eastern Christian Mysticism: Studies in Honor of Alexander Golitzin*, ed. Andrei A. Orlov (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 308–324.

from the point of view of play, an approach that to my knowledge has not been offered before in any significant way. More specifically, "play" is spelt out in terms of mimetic performance and of the playfulness of symbolic objects and movements, particularly cast from a child's perspective. I will argue that Dionysios himself partly shows this understanding, but particularly by accentuating this perspective through a constructive interpretation we can better comprehend his writings. My point is that there has been a deficit in interpretation of Dionysian writings and that the approach of "play" and childlike behavior offers in that regard a suitable remedy.

The essay will treat this topic by making three claims. First, when Dionysios describes the action in the liturgy with words like "enactment" and "performance," he indicates an element of drama, that is to say liturgy as a theatrical play. This act can, in turn, be associated with mimicry, as when children, actors or in this case adult believers imitate someone. When Dionysios asserts that the ecclesiastical hierarchy "imitates" its celestial equivalent, this parallel could thus be compared to mimetic play among children as they imitate parents and other grown-ups. Second, liturgical symbols are a playful way of using cataphatic language for an apophatic reality, which is beyond verbal concepts and material expressions. Third, when Dionysios says that God is transcendent and hidden, this could be interpreted as God playing hide-and-seek with humanity. Admittedly, these three claims operate with three rather different notions of "play."

1 Definitions of Play, Playfulness and Mimicry

Let us now present some characteristics of "play" and attempt to define the meaning of the word, and thereby elucidate the central role of worship as one form of play in a culture. The Dutch historian Johan Huizinga coined the concept *homo ludens* (the playing human being) and his book from 1938, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture*, has been very influential. There he gives several definitions of "play" that elaborate on key characteristics of the concept. Almost every word in the following definition has a special meaning, as emphasized by the italics:

> [P]lay is a *voluntary activity* or occupation executed within certain *fixed limits of time and place* according to *rules* freely accepted but absolutely binding, having its *aim in itself* and accompanied by a *feeling of tension, joy* and the consciousness that it is *"different" from "ordinary life."* Thus defined, the concept seemed capable of embracing everything we call

> "play" in animals, children and grown-ups: games of strength and skill, inventing games, guessing games, games of chance, exhibitions and performance of all kinds. We ventured to call the category "play" *one of the most fundamental in life*.[4]

By way of summary, the characteristics of play according to Huizinga are the following: that it is voluntary, demarcated in space and time, follows rules, is done for its own sake, can be tense and delightful and is experienced as different from daily life. Moreover, for him it is a basic category, one of the most fundamental in life. We are not dealing with an added extra, a possible bonus. In fact, his thesis is that culture, civilization, arises and develops in and as play. Even though he does not use the term playfulness—an attitude that could be present at all times in any activity—he claims that a whole culture is built on and expresses itself through play. He calls it a "play-element" present in various domains of a culture.[5] Some thinkers have connected play with liturgical worship. Among them is the German philosopher Josef Pieper, who has a similar approach as Huizinga's. He asserts that leisure is a basic element for culture. In his book *Leisure: The Basis of Culture*, Pieper holds that festive celebrations in general and cultic worship in particular are the prime examples of leisure.[6] Thus, when applying a playful approach to Dionysian liturgical theology this project can be seen as part of an endeavour to emphasize the cultural relevance of worship.

There is an interesting difference between an external and internal observer here, which the English Benedictine monk, the Venerable Bede (d. 735), pointed out. He noticed, quite rightly, that some features in liturgy appear playful particularly to the external observer of the sacrament of Baptism: "[T]o the eyes of the beholder the person appears to come out of the baptismal font the same as he went in, and all that is done seems no more than a piece of play."[7] As we shall see, Dionysios also considers the perspective of a non-Christian uninitiated observer.

Relevant to this project is also the thought of the twentieth-century theologian Romano Guardini, who adds a theological perspective on children

4 Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (Kettering: Angelico, 2016 [1938]), 28.

5 Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, 46, 173.

6 Josef Pieper, *Muße und Kult* (München: Kösel, 1948), 77–91; Josef Pieper, *Leisure: The Basis of Culture* (San Francisco: Ignatius, 2009 [1952]), 65–74.

7 Bede, *Homiliae*, 2.12 (PL 94, 198d), quoted by Hugo Rahner, *Man at Play* (Providence: Cluny, 2019), 69. Hugo Rahner, *Der spielende Mensch* (Einsiedeln—Freiburg: Johannes Verlag, 2008 [1948]), 49–50.

playing as related to liturgy. Guardini was one of the first authors who extensively understood liturgy as play. He presents this idea in the chapter "Liturgie als Spiel" (The Playfulness of the Liturgy) in one of his early writings from 1918, *Vom Geist der Liturgie* (On the Spirit of the Liturgy). Liturgy produces an atmosphere, a universe (German: *eine weite Welt*) for every participant to move around in, or "wander about […] at will," as Guardini puts it. He takes a child's perspective:

> The practice of the liturgy means that by the help of grace, under the guidance of the Church, we grow into living works of art before God, with no other aim or purpose than that of living and existing in his sight; it means fulfilling God's word and "becoming as little children"; it means foregoing maturity with all its purposefulness and confining oneself to play, as David when he danced before the Ark.[8]

Worship, for Guardini, can be a dynamic reality in which people can be authentic, true to themselves and be part of a movement. In his view, liturgy is playful when human beings imitate the free movements of angelic beings who in their turn follow the power of the spirit. The human person can thus develop in so far as he or she affirms a free, flexible attitude mentally as well as in physical movement. In an attempt to come closer to *how* this notion of "imitation" works, we may draw on the teaching of the French sociologist Roger Caillois (1913–1978). He explains "mimicry" as follows:

> One is thus confronted with a diverse series of manifestations, the common element of which is that the subject makes believe or makes others believe that he is someone other than himself. […] Mimicry and travesty are therefore complementary acts in this kind of play. For children, the aim is to imitate adults. This explains the success of the toy weapons and miniatures which copy the tools, engines, arms and machines used by adults. The little girl plays her mother's role as cook, laundress, and ironer. The boy makes believe he is a soldier, musketeer, policeman, pirate, cowboy, Martian, etc. An airplane is made by waving his arms and making the noise of a motor. However, acts of mimicry tend to cross the border between childhood and adulthood. They cover to the same degree any distraction, mask, or travesty, in which one participates, and which stresses

8 Guardini, "Liturgie als Spiel," in Romano Guardini, *Vom Geist der Liturgie* (Mainz: Matthias Grünewald, 1991), 57–67, here 61–62, 66–67; ET: Joseph Ratzinger and Romano Guardini, *The Spirit of the Liturgy*, Commemorative Edition (San Francisco: Ignatius, 2018), 331, 337.

> the very fact that the play is masked or otherwise disguised, and such consequences as ensue. Lastly it is clear that theatrical presentations and dramatic interpretations rightly belong to this category.[9]

It is, thus, typical of children to imitate the world of grown-ups, and their mimicry may help us to understand how adults in liturgy attempt to imitate angelic beings, something which will be expounded on below. To sum up, play is foundational, and can be applied to many fields, including the Arts. Theatre, for instance, can be understood as play, as we shall see. It is, finally, crucial to underline that play and playfulness are neither unserious nor unimportant. As I have argued elsewhere, playfulness and creativity go beyond dichotomies such as serious and unserious, important and unimportant, work and recreation, every-day life and solemn feast.[10] Dionysios is undoubtedly inspired by Platonic and Neoplatonic thought. Both Plato and Plotinos have a notion of godly play, which Dionysios might have been familiar with, although it is difficult to prove influence. Plato speaks of human beings as "puppets of the gods" and Plotinos understands creation as a result of Divine reason acting in "a living pastime."[11]

2 Mimetic Play—the Earthly Church Imitates the Heavenly

Dionysios uses the concept of "imitation" on some occasions, frequently within the idea of a resemblance between the earthly and the heavenly church. The earthly church, which Dionysios calls the "ecclesiastical hierarchy," is an image of the heavenly church, the "celestial hierarchy" in Dionysios's language. The former attempts to imitate the latter. But how shall human beings imitate angelic beings? God enables human beings to do so by giving immaterial beings material shape and thereby making the metaphysical reality accessible to the earthly church. Angels do not actually have bodies, but are presented as such for our sake, as stated in the first chapter of *The Celestial Hierarchy* (*CH*):

9 Roger Caillois, *Man, Play and Games*, trans. Meyer Barash (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001 [1958]), 19, 21.

10 Fredrik Heiding, S.J., *Lek för Guds skull: Lekfullhetens kreativitet, dygder och laster* (Skellefteå: Artos, 2020), 69–91.

11 Plato, *Laws* 1, 644d–e; 7,803c–804c; Plotinus, *Enneads* 3, 2, 15. Cf. Kenneth Moore, "Plato's Puppets of the Gods: Representing the Magical, the Mystical and the Metaphysical," *Arion* 22 (2014): 37–72.

> All this accounts for the fact that the sacred institution and source of perfection established our most pious hierarchy. He [the Father] modeled it on the hierarchies of heaven, and clothed these immaterial hierarchies in numerous material figures and forms so that, in a way appropriate to our nature, we might be uplifted from these most venerable images to interpretations and assimilations which are simple and inexpressible. For it is quite impossible that we humans should, in any immaterial way, rise up to imitate and contemplate (μίμησις τε καὶ θεωρία) the heavenly hierarchies without the aid of those material means capable of guiding us as our nature requires.[12]

God has revealed immaterial hierarchies with their angelic beings (such as *seraphim* and *cherubim*) and given them material shape. Thanks to God's intervention adapting to human circumstances, human beings have some knowledge of this immaterial hierarchy. This step of providing "material means" is an absolute necessity for humans—any imitation and contemplation would have been impossible without it. It is through the angels that human beings connect with God. This theme continues throughout *CH*; angelic beings are mediators in the sense that by imitating them, human beings indirectly imitate God. The imitation is facilitated thanks to God's grace:

> This arrangement is copied by our own hierarchy which tries to imitate angelic beauty as far as possible, to be shaped by it, as in images, and to be uplifted to the transcendent source of all order and of all hierarchy.[13]

Humans are meant to be shaped by the angelic beauty that they attempt to imitate.[14] This in turn helps humans to come closer to Jesus, as stated in *The Eccle-*

12 Dionysios, *The Celestial Hierarchy* 1.3, 121C. ET: Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*, trans. Colm Luibheid, The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist, 1987), 146. The English translation used here refers to our thinker as "Pseudo-Dionysius." On the question of his identity and the issue of pseudepigraphy, see Charles M. Stang, "Dionysius, Paul and the Significance of the Pseudonym," in *Re-Thinking Dionysius the Areopagite*, ed. Sarah Coakley and Charles M. Stang (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 11–26. I have also offered a summary of this issue, in Swedish, in Dionysios Areopagita, *Paradoxernas Gud: Verk i urval*, trans. Tord Fornberg with introduction and commentary by Fredrik Heiding, S.J. (Skellefteå: Artos, 2017), 12–19.

13 Dionysios, *The Celestial Hierarchy* 8.2, 241C–241D; ET: Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*, 169.

14 "By grace and a God-given power, it [every order in the hierarchical rank] does things which belong naturally and supernaturally to God, things performed by him transcen-

siastical Hierarchy (*EH*).[15] But how does this work? Human beings can have an idea of angelic beings if these reveal themselves, or else humans need to use their imagination and envision how angelic beings are. Then there is a shift in the writings. Dionysios now says that humans imitate God more directly:

> Now I think I have already said enough about the fact that the aim of every hierarchy is always to imitate God so as to take on his form, that the task of every hierarchy is to receive and to pass on undiluted purification, the divine light, and the understanding which brings perfection.[16]

This statement responds to the notion of the human person being created in the image of God (Gen 1:27). To sum up, I have suggested that liturgy is enacted by imitation and imitation in its turn has child-like elements. It is true that Dionysios only asserts *that* there is an imitation and does not speak to *how* it is carried out. But the idea that a human congregation consciously relates to a heavenly assembly is found in other contexts, which enable similar conclusions further to clarify Dionysios's perspective. For instance, in the Qumran community which celebrates rites according to a calendar dependent on angels.[17]

3 Comparing Sacred Enactment with Theatre Play

As we saw in the definitions above, the term "play" is foundational in a culture (Huizinga) and can cover cultic worship (Pieper) as well as liturgy (Guardini).

---

dently and revealed in the hierarchy for the permitted imitation of God-living minds." Dionysios, *The Celestial Hierarchy* 3.3, 168A–B; ET: Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*, 155.

15 "Approaching therefore the holy activity of the sacred office we come closer to those beings who are superior to us. We imitate as much as we can their abiding, unwavering, and sacred constancy, and we thereby come to look up to the blessed and ultimately divine ray of Jesus himself." Dionysios, *The Ecclesiastial Hierarchy* 1.1, 372B; ET: Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*, 196.

16 Dionysios, *The Celestial Hierarchy* 7.2, 208A; ET: Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*, 162. There are further dimensions in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, as Andrew Louth summarizes: "He [Dionysios/Denys] then suggests a way of looking at our hierarchy as midway between the celestial hierarchy and the hierarchy of the Old Testament, which he calls the 'hierarchy of the Law.' […] Denys's analogy here does not work at all well. […] But nonetheless the point still holds, that our hierarchy partakes of both the material order and the spiritual order." Andrew Louth, *Denys the Areopagite* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1989), 52–53.

17 See Qumran documents 4Q320–330.

Let us now, therefore, broaden the topic of mimicry and look at how Dionysios describes sacred rituals. His terminology suggests an association with theatrical performance so that it is possible to compare sacred rituals with theatre play and point out similarities and differences. In *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, Dionysios describes Baptism, the Eucharist and other rituals that gradually in the history of the church were recognized as sacramental practices. To the eyes of the uninitiated, Baptism seems like a spectacle (θέα). For this reason, Dionysios is careful to select his audience or rather his assembly: "So, therefore, let us behold the divine symbols which have to do with the divine birth and let no one who is uninitiated approach this spectacle."[18] Similarly for the rite of anointing (confirmation): "Actually they have the sacred obligation to hide this spectacle from the common people and to separate it from them, as hierarchic law commands them."[19]

Various interpretations are possible as regards the sense in which Dionysios uses the word θέα. The most general meaning of the word spectacle is "something to watch," "an arranged display," but also "show" and "drama." The Greek word itself points at theatre, perhaps role-play. Dionysios seems concerned that the uninitiated observer could misunderstand the "spectacle" somehow and miss the point that the sacraments are symbolic expressions of a deep, holy and mysterious reality. One hypothesis is therefore that the sacred rites are so similar to a theatre drama that the outside observer is likely to confuse the two forms of performance. Dionysios's actual opinion about theatre is beyond the scope of this discussion.

Baptism is also described as "sacred enactment" (πρόοδος): "What, then, is the starting point for the sacred enactment of the most revered commandments?"[20] Moreover, the Eucharist (σύναξις, "gathering") is presented as a performance (ἱερουργέω): "The hierarch speaks in praise of the sacred works of God, sets about the performance of the most divine acts, and lifts into view the things praised through the sacredly displayed symbols."[21] The same is true for clerical consecration (sacrament of holy orders, "hierarchical consecration" in Dionysios's language):

18 Dionysios, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 2.1, 392B; ET: Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*, 201.

19 Dionysios, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 4.3.2, 476B; ET: Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*, 226.

20 Dionysios, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 2.1, 392A; ET: Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*, 200.

21 Dionysios, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 3.1, 425D; ET: Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*, 211. At the beginning of this quotation the logic must be that the hierarch

> At his consecration the hierarch kneels on both knees in front of the altar. On his head he carries God's revealed word, together with the hand of the hierarch who is consecrating him. This latter performs the rite of consecration with most sacred invocations.[22]

When Dionysios speaks about moments of "sacred enactment" in the rite of Baptism, and "performance" in relation to the Eucharist as well as in connection with clerical consecration, an association can be made with theatre and plays. How far, then, can liturgy be compared to theatre? The dynamics and scope of this connection have been fruitfully pursued in recent studies on performance theory.[23] In one of these works Richard McCall poses a well-crafted question:

> Is it the presence of costumes or impersonation or scripts or stage directions or an audience that separates a "play" from a "liturgy"? Or is it something else that "frames" the action and tells us in one case, "This is play" and in another, "This is a liturgy"?[24]

A distinction can be made between actions during Mass or Baptism in the church itself and events before or after a sacramental celebration, both of which are relevant for McCall. Throughout the history of the Church, dramatic representations have been arranged outside order of the Mass, such as Nativity plays for Christmas time and the *Via crucis* ("Way of the Cross") during Lent and in Holy Week. The first ever living Christmas crib was established in 1223 in the town of Greccio, Italy, by Saint Francis of Assisi. By taking into the church real animals of the Nativity scene, the ox and the ass, Saint Francis vividly illustrated the scene. These representations are at once both prayerful, playful and powerful, but they are not meant to have a solemn, sacramental character. Sometimes, however, this distinction between role-plays inside or outside sacramental celebration is blurred, as in the case with what is the first recorded dramatic representation in the Latin rite of the Western church from the ninth century. McCall highlights that the *Quem quaeritis* ("Whom

(similar to a bishop) looks back on his own consecration and is thus the subject, or agent, throughout this passage.

22 Dionysios, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 5.2, 509B; ET: Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*, 239.

23 Richard Schechner, *Performance Studies: An Introduction* (London & New York: Routledge, 2013 [2002]).

24 Richard McCall, *Do This: Liturgy as Performance* (Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame Press, 2007), 3.

do you seek?"), a segment of the Easter liturgy, consisting in an exchange of questions and answers between the angels and the women at Christ's tomb was presumably uttered with different voices, perhaps consisting in alternating voices between choir and assembly.[25] This *Quem quaeritis* was part of the opening of the Mass (Latin: *introitus*) as well as antiphons in the Divine Office or Liturgy of the Hours.[26] The connection between performance and worship was also present in Eastern Christianity in an era and geographical region close to that of Dionysios. He is presumed to have lived in the beginning of the sixth century in Syria, probably the Western part of Syria. In her ground-breaking research on women's liturgical choirs in the Syriac tradition, Susan Ashbrook Harvey has discovered elements of performative drama already as from the fourth century. These women choirs sang the biblical woman's voice in the form of dialogue within Mass in public civic worship.[27] This position gave them the central task to convey Christian doctrine.[28] It is true that women are absent in Dionysios's writings, but the kind of performance that took place in the region around Edessa and Serug (Eastern part of Syria) could have had parallel attributes in the tradition Dionysios conveys. Ashbrook Harvey summarizes the arrangement of this theatrical play which apparently contained comic elements:

> The dialogue [between Biblical characters] always revolved around a conflict or disagreement that required resolution; the alternating male and female choirs added an element of performative drama, as the competing figures argued their respective positions. Perhaps again distinctive to Syriac tradition is the almost invariable casting of biblical woman as the hero in these exchanges, while the male figure argues in feeble opposition the power of faith. (Comedy as well as drama played a role in these dialogues!)[29]

25 McCall, *Do This*, 4: "Whom do you seek in the sepulcher, followers of Christ? Jesus of Nazareth who was crucified, O heavenly ones. He is not here, he has arisen as he foretold. Go, announce that he has risen from the sepulcher" (*Quem quaeritis in sepulchro, Christicolae? Iesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o caelicolae. Non est hic, surrexit sicut praedixerat. Ite, nuntiate quia surrexit de sepulchro*).

26 McCall, *Do This*, 9–10.

27 Susan Ashbrook Harvey, "Performance as Exegesis: Women's Liturgical Choirs in Syriac Tradition," in *Inquiries into Eastern Christian Worship*, ed. Bert Groen, Steven Hawkes-Teeples and Stefanos Alexopoulos (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 47–66.

28 Ashbrook Harvey, "Performance as Exegesis," 50–60.

29 Ashbrook Harvey, "Performance as Exegesis," 55.

Are there other similarities and differences between a theatre play and a Baptism ceremony or a Eucharist? If there are similarities, in which direction does the influence go? Some academics argue that theatre has been inspired by church services. Of course, there were tragedies and comedies already in Greek and Roman Antiquity, but the theatre of the late Middle Ages that developed, let us say with Shakespeare, was possibly borrowing models from church liturgy.[30] There are several dimensions in which both similarities and differences can be observed. In both cases, there is special clothing for different roles, events take place in a dedicated space, be it a sanctuary or a stage, and liturgical texts—Scripture readings, sacraments, and prayerbooks—play the same part as the screenplays, allowing only limited interpretation or changes in wording.[31] Finally, the assembly in a church is to some extent similar to the audience in a theatre, even though the church assembly is a prayerful congregation understood as the body of Christ, something which is not the case with a theatre audience. This is not to say that the audience of a sport, a music concert or a theatre play is passive, on the contrary its participation is certainly important for the event.

By using the terminology of "spectacle," "enactment," and "performance," Dionysios indicates that he to some extent understands liturgy as theatre play. The fact that these rituals with their symbolic language should not be displayed carelessly to the uninitiated could be interpreted in such a way that he wants to safeguard the idea of the presence of Jesus Christ in the sacraments, a presence which is not obvious in any ordinary theatre play. Whether there is space in Dionysios's liturgical theology for "playfulness," that is to say an attitude of spontaneity, improvisation, light-heartedness, etc. is not certain, but cannot be excluded. I suggest that it could, for instance, depend on how the concept of "imitation" in sacred enactment, the performance, is understood.

In general, it can be said that the intention, the framework and the purpose is decisive for identifying differences between liturgical worship and theatre. Richard McCall ascertains that liturgical worship is a drama in its own kind, it is performance *sui generis*:

> It is clear, once again, that this process does not imply a representation or imitation (mimesis) of the narrative. Rather, it implies the performance of an action that accomplishes in the present the end for which the narrative is remembered and of which the narrative is the shape and meaning.

30 McCall, *Do This*, 4.
31 McCall, *Do This*, 86.

> The unity and completeness of this anamnestic plot, then, would be not the imitation of the whole biblical narrative but the making present and accomplishing of what is proclaimed in the biblical narrative.[32]

In order to protect a distinction between theatre and worship, McCall reserves a particular word for the latter: enactment. Enactment is also, as we have seen, the word used in English translations of the writings of Dionysios the Areopagite. Enactment and making present seem to be synonyms and I think that this is a helpful vocabulary choice. I would here make a distinction between clearly visible enactments and less visible or invisible enactments that require allegorical interpretation. The distribution of bread and wine during Holy Communion would be a clearly visible enactment and likewise the washing of the feet, when the priest washes the feet of parishioners on Maundy Thursday in Holy Week. There are less visible or invisible enactments that require allegorical interpretation, one of which is, for instance, the performance of the offertory. This is the part during the Eucharist in which the bread and wine are brought forth from lay people in the congregation to the presiding priest in the sanctuary. This is a truly reciprocal moment, since it is not only a sign of Jesus Christ being sacrificed under the species of bread and wine, but also that the assembly gives. The members of the congregation, including the priest, offer themselves. The early-church theologian Theodore of Mopsuestia interpreted the offertory in *Mystagogical Catecheses* from 392. Theodore interpreted the procession with bread and wine allegorically and instructed the faithful saying: "And when the offering that is about to be presented is brought out in the sacred vessels, the patens and chalices, you must think that Christ the Lord is coming out, led to his passion."[33] In this case, the enactment of Jesus's suffering and the gathered assembly offering themselves is not immediately obvious but can be noticed thanks to symbolic, allegorical interpretation.

4 Innovative Symbols That Seem Playful to the External Observer

It can be stated that God plays hide-and-seek with humanity—as we shall see in more detail in the following section—and that the human search for God is facilitated through material adaptations of an angelic and transcendent reality. Similarly, human beings may more easily find God through symbols, in the

---

32 McCall, *Do This*, 87.

33 Hugh Wybrew, *The Orthodox Liturgy: The Development of the Eucharistic Liturgy in the Byzantine Rite* (London: SPCK, 2013), 53.

awareness that these do meaningfully communicate something for all their limitations. Symbols play an important role in Dionysios's theology. His teaching on symbols is laid out in *Letter* 9, but it also surfaces in other parts of his writings.[34] He uses the word in a broad sense, as the concept covers not only material symbols as well as symbolic actions in the liturgy, but also images of various sorts in the Bible. In *Letter* 9 Dionysios writes:

> [The] passionate element of the soul, as befits its nature, honors and rises up toward the most divine of realities by way of the carefully combined elements of the representations. The symbolic veils are akin [to that part of the soul], as seen by the example of those who, having been taught the things of God in a way which is clear and unveiled, go on then to picture in themselves some image guiding them to a conception of the theological teaching which they have listened to.[35]

God has thus adapted to humanity by clothing himself in words and liturgical symbols from the created world. In the rite of Baptism, Dionysios describes several symbols. Purification is symbolized through the candidate being stripped of his or her clothing before entering the water.[36] The triple immersion and emersion is meant to imitate the death and resurrection of Jesus, more particularly the three days Jesus was in the tomb.[37] Becoming united with Jesus Christ finds its symbolic expression in that the bodies of the candidates are anointed with oil. There are also several symbols employed in the Eucharist, the rite of gathering, *synaxis*, one of which is that the hierarch (bishop) when incensing moves from the divine altar and goes around the entire sacred place and finally returns to the divine altar.[38] Dionysios interprets this liturgical action in terms of an imitation of God's movement of procession and return.[39]

Symbolic gestures are one of several ways in which liturgical worship may be perceived as playful. Andrew Louth holds that various kinds of images,

34 Dionysios, *Letter* 10, *On the Divine Names* 1.4, 7, *The Celestial Hierarchy* 2, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 1, 3.

35 Dionysios, *Letter* 9.1, 1108A–B; ET: Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*, 284.

36 Dionysios, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 2.2.7, 396C–D; ET: Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*, 203.

37 Dionysios, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 2.3.7, 404B–C; ET: Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*, 208.

38 Dionysios, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 3.2, 425B–C; ET: Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*, 210.

39 Dionysios, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 3.2, 428BD–429B; ET: Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*, 212–213.

such as icons and other symbols, are creative because they attempt to communicate the divine mystery while realizing the limitations of human language:

> It is as if the recognition of the place of images enables us to recognize, too, the fundamental place of apophaticism—denial of concepts—in our understanding of God, for images are playful and partial; they engage us, they do not give us ideas over which we have some kind of rational control.[40]

These symbols can be either material objects or gestures as in body language that can be perceived as innovative. Interestingly, Dionysios takes a child's perspective as he argues in defense of infant Baptism and reception of Communion. He discusses this at the very end of his treatise *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* as he imagines objections from "the impious," who might dismiss sacraments for infants, who are unable to grasp the meaning of the rites intellectually. The policy that infants are admitted to the sacraments "will earn the ridicule (γέλως) of the impious," Dionysios anticipates, and the practice that parents and sponsors speak on behalf of the child, as they renounce evil and make holy promises, will only be a "further cause for laughter" (γέλοιος).[41]

Dionysios's main argument against these skeptics, and in favor of sacraments for infants, is that since not even adults can fully comprehend God in a rational way, infants ought to be welcomed to receive the sacraments of initiation even though they do not understand the meaning of Baptism and the Eucharist rationally. Accordingly, Dionysios puts his trust in a process of development and maturity in children: "Children raised up in accordance with holy precepts will acquire the habits of holiness. They will avoid all the errors and all the temptations of an unholy life."[42]

It is true that it does not necessarily follow from this fictitious dialogue that Dionysios in general conceives of liturgy as play. But his argument indirectly suggests that he adopts a playful attitude to the sacraments, and at the very least regards these sacred rites as suited for children, who in their turn are icons, symbols, of playfulness. All this is highly relevant for adults as well, because in biblical language adults can be children of God, as promised, for instance, in

---

40 Andrew Louth, *Introducing Eastern Orthodox Liturgy* (London: SPCK, 2013), 114.

41 Dionysios, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 7.3.11, 565D–568A; ET: Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*, 258.

42 Dionysios, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 7.3.11, 568B; ET: Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*, 258.

John 1:12. Jesus also proclaims that for adults to enter the Kingdom of God they need to be like children (Luke 18:15–17)—not childish but childlike. Liturgical worship is a place where this can find expression. With a grown-up child's attitude, liturgy can be play for God's sake.

Something similar may occur when Christians participate as guests in rites and liturgies other than those they are familiar with: The unexpected elements seem creative, innovative, perhaps even playful, when you experience them for the first time. In some Eastern Orthodox traditions, fans in the shape of metal pieces on top of long sticks are used in the Eucharist. Deacons twist the fans back and forth so that air blows through the raised metal arrangement, generating a small sound. For an uninitiated observer, this can be perceived as an innovative way of illustrating presence of the Holy Spirit, blowing like the wind over the gifts of bread and wine and over the whole assembly. A closer examination, however, would reveal that the fans symbolize angelic beings, the *seraphim*, connecting the heavenly and the earthly church. Germanos, who was patriarch of Constantinople 715–730, explains:

> By means of the procession of the deacons and the representation of the fans, which are in the likeness of the seraphim, the Cherubic Hymn signifies the entrance of all the saints and righteous ahead of the cherubic powers and the angelic hosts, who run invisibly in advance of the great king, Christ, who is proceeding to the mystical sacrifice, borne aloft by material hands.[43]

There are, of course, also symbols in the Orthodox tradition symbolizing the presence of the Holy Spirit. During the profession of the Creed a deacon or another minister waves a small cloth near the altar, and a small fan is used during the consecration of the bread and wine turning them into the body and blood of Christ.

Dionysios fears that the uninitiated would misunderstand the sacred rites, and states that for "the man in the street" symbolic language about God and sacred rites will only appear as something "quite extraordinary" and "of outstanding absurdity (ἀτοπία)."[44] Again, Dionysios defends a proper approach:

---

43 St. Germanus of Constantinople, *On the Divine Liturgy* 37, cf. 41; ET: St. Germanus of Constantinople, *On the Divine Liturgy*, trans. Paul Meyendorff, Popular Patristics Series (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1984), 87, cf. 95. See also Wybrew, *The Orthodox Liturgy*, 127.

44 Dionysios, *Letter* 9, 1104B; ET: Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*, 280–281.

> There are too those other sacred pictures boldly used to represent God, so that what is hidden may be brought out into the open and multiplied, what is unique and undivided may be divided up, and multiple shapes and forms be given to what has neither shape nor form. All this is to enable the one capable of seeing the beauty hidden within these images to find that they are truly mysterious, appropriate to God, and filled with a great theological light.
>
> But let us not suppose that the outward face of these contrived symbols exists for its own sake. Rather, it is the protective garb of the understanding of what is ineffable and invisible to the common multitude. This is so in order that the most sacred things are not easily handled by the profane but are revealed instead to the real lovers of holiness. Only these latter know how to *pack away the workings of childish imagination regarding the sacred symbols*. They alone have the simplicity of mind and the receptive, contemplative power to cross over to the simple, marvelous, transcendent truth of the symbols.[45]

Dionysios, thus, asserts that "real lovers of holiness" as opposed to "childish imagination" understand the deeper meaning of sacred symbols. In a way Dionysios thereby confirms that the symbols can be treated from children's perspective.

In conclusion, liturgical symbols can be interpreted as playful in that there is an awareness of both their possibilities (from a cataphatic point of view) and limitations (from an apophatic point of view): symbols express that which is incomprehensible. Thus, from a human point of view symbolic language attempts to reach the transcendent and hidden mystery of God. Now, let us view this communication from God's standpoint: God hides and reveals himself.

5 God Plays Hide-and-Seek

A key feature in the Dionysian image of God is that God is hidden (κρύφιος). We see this in Dionysios's book *On the Divine Names* in expressions such as: "This is why we must not dare to resort to words or conceptions concerning

45 Dionysios, *Letter* 9, 1105C; ET: Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*, 282. (The italics are mine.)

that hidden divinity which transcends being, apart from what the sacred scriptures have divinely revealed."[46] Similarly, "[We] must not dare to apply words or conceptions to this hidden transcendent God,"[47] and "With our minds made prudent and holy, we offer worship to that which lies hidden beyond thought and beyond being."[48] Further, "Generously and as far as may be, it [the source of perfection] gives out a share of what is hidden."[49] Elsewhere, Dionysios also communicates the idea that God is veiled in *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*: "Let your respect for the things of the hidden God be shown in knowledge that comes from the intellect and is unseen."[50] Remarkably, Dionysios is of the conviction that God remains hidden despite the incarnation, a view which he conveys in *Letter* 3:

> As for the love of Christ for humanity, the Word of God, I believe, uses this term to hint that the transcendent has put aside its own hiddenness and has revealed itself to us by becoming a human being. But he is hidden even after this revelation, or, if I may speak in a more divine fashion, is hidden even amid the revelation.[51]

In Christian mystical tradition, in which Dionysios plays a key part, there is a dialectic movement between what can and cannot be said about God.[52] The starting-point and dominant message throughout is that God is incomprehensible, beyond human knowledge and understanding. And yet at the same time there are a number of images, symbols and stories about God that are recognized as communicating something meaningful about God. For instance, Psalm 23 states that God is a shepherd, and in John 10, Jesus talks about himself as the good shepherd. In some sense God is, thus, a shepherd, but since God is not actually a shepherd and in fact not a creature at all, there also is a negation in place safeguarding the transcendent nature of God.

Dionysios's use of this dialectic approach is most clearly visible in his best-known work, *The Mystical Theology*. In this short treatise, there is an oscillating movement between what cannot and can be said about God—occasionally

46 Dionysios, *On the Divine Names* 1.1, 588A; ET: Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*, 49.
47 Dionysios, *On the Divine Names* 1.2, 588C; ET: Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*, 50.
48 Dionysios, *On the Divine Names* 1.3, 589B; ET: Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*, 50.
49 Dionysios, *On the Divine Names* 1.3, 589C; ET: Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*, 51.
50 Dionysios, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 1.1, 372A; ET: Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*, 195.
51 Dionysios, *Letters* 3, 1069B; ET: Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*, 264.
52 Negative or apophatic (ἀπόφασις) theology deals with that which cannot be said, whereas positive or cataphatic (κατάφασις) theology is a label for that which can be said about God.

finding a third way, that goes beyond apophatic and cataphatic theology, which is mystical theology. At the end of *The Mystical Theology*, there is a surrender, a handing oneself over in praise. Through symbols used in liturgical worship, both veiled and unveiled praise of God is expressed.

Dionysios opens his reflection with Moses's encounter with God on Mount Sinai. When Moses receives the ten commandments on Mount Sinai, a dense cloud, thick darkness and smoke surrounds the mountain (Exod 19:9–16; 20:21). Early theologians used this scene to illustrate how God reveals himself—at least aurally—and hides at the same time. In light and darkness, God is knowable, yet incomprehensible. In *The Life of Moses*, Gregory of Nyssa (330–395) interprets Moses's encounter with God in the burning bush (Exod 3) as an example of how God shows himself as light, whereas God shows himself in thick darkness on Mount Sinai (Exod 19–20). God is the transcendent light which radiates towards and into creation, while this light at the same time remains hidden in darkness. From a human point of view, light and darkness corresponds to knowing and not knowing God. The transfiguration of Jesus (Luke 9:28–36) is another case in point. There too, a cloud appears from which there is a clear message, yet the disciples do not seem to fully grasp who Jesus is.

Now, one may wonder whether God is once and for all either unveiled (revealed, shown) or still veiled (hidden). This question presupposes an unhelpful static, binary structure of either/or; God is either revealed or hidden. Instead, it is possible to envisage the divine as paradoxically unveiled and veiled more or less simultaneously.[53] Another solution is to put the dialectic relationship between unveiling and veiling into a dynamic framework, something which characterizes Dionysios's theology in general. In an on-going process, God rests in his transcendental existence, goes out in procession (outpouring) and then returns to his origin. The movement also means that God in an alternating fashion shows and hides himself. Much of this may sound like speculative abstractions. But on reflection, it is probably a common experience. We do not always experience God everywhere all the time, but on the other hand it would be sad if God never revealed himself to us. Some experience of God is within reach, while God sometimes is or appears to be absent.

Then there is a narrative in which God is completely hidden: in the book of Esther in the Old Testament. Interestingly, in the ten chapters of the book of

53 Ståle Johannes Kristiansen, "Avdekning og tilsløring: Dionysius Areopagitens symboltenkning og Jean-Luc Marions ettermoderne kunstfilosofi" (PhD diss., Universitetet i Bergen, 2014), 88–96.

Esther, God is not mentioned one single time. A possible interpretation of this silence is that God hides himself. The reader of the book of Esther is meant to draw the conclusion that God accomplishes salvation for the people of Israel in an invisible way through the key characters Esther and Mordecai. In Jewish tradition the story is remembered in the feast of Purim. There is also a view that the book of Esther was written when the Purim feast already existed.[54] The feast consists among other things of masquerading, songs and comic dramatizations.

Now, if we take a play-perspective from a child's point of view on this dialectic between veiling and unveiling (hiding and revealing, apophatic and cataphatic), we may suggest that God plays hide-and-seek. This way of thinking is common in Jewish circles. The Jewish philosopher Martin Buber (1878–1965) collected a series of stories from Hasidic Judaism in his book *Tales of the Hasidim*. In one of them, rabbi Baruch's grandson Jechiel plays hide-and-seek with his friends. But, having waited for a long while in his hiding place, he becomes disappointed, because it turns out that his friends never actually made an attempt to find him. As the boy Jechiel explains to his grandfather, rabbi Baruch, what has happened, tears flow from Baruch's eyes and in sadness he says: "This is what God tells us—I am hiding but no one is looking for me."[55] The message of the story is, therefore, that God is hiding and hoping that human beings will search for him, but, sadly, they do not.

If this metaphor were true, why would God engage in such a game? A possible explanation is that the human person is meant to look beyond the immediately perceptible reality of the world (creation) and seek the Creator behind it. Another possibility is that, by playing hide-and-seek, God helps human beings to maintain reverence, respect and a sense of wonder for mystery. Playing hide-and-seek does not mean that God is teasing people who are suffering in a painful situation. It means, by contrast, that God is withdrawn so that people may eagerly search for an explanation of how they are saved. It encourages people to eagerly search, spiritually, for God. Does God then give a clue as to where he is hiding? Dionysios would answer that liturgical symbols have the double function of secrecy and accommodation. The mystery is kept secret for the profane whereas the initiated are equipped to interpret the signs.[56]

54 Daniel F. Polish, "Aspects of Esther: A Phenomenological Exploration of *Megillah* of Esther and the Origins of Purim," *JSOT* 85 (1999): 85–106.

55 Martin Buber, *Tales of Hasidim*, trans. Olga Marx (New York: Schocken, 2005 [1947]), 114.

56 Dionysios, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 1.5, 377A; ET: Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*, 199.

6 Summary

A playful approach to the liturgical dimensions in Dionysios's writings has never been offered before, and this omission is significant. In fact, liturgical worship in general is seldom part of Dionysian studies. This paper presents three aspects of Christian worship described by Dionysios as centered around play.

First, I suggest that the relationship between the earthly and the heavenly church in terms of the former imitating the latter is compared to children's mimicry of adults. Dionysios himself frequently uses the word "imitate" and, thus, mimetic performance is a fruitful concept for comprehending his liturgical writings better. Liturgical ceremonies, and even the earthly church as such, are a vivid image of the celestial church.

Following this approach, I add a second layer of thinking. While the outside observer might see the use of liturgical symbols as mere play, they can also be seen as creative ways of connecting the earthly church with the heavenly. The use of liturgical fans as a symbol for the angelic beings, *seraphim*, is one such example. In this second part of the essay, symbolic language acts as a playful way of expressing what is beyond human words and concepts. Andrew Louth helpfully suggests a dialectic relationship between cataphatic and apophatic theology as a kind of playful experiment using symbols in the awareness that the reality these symbols point toward is ineffable.

Third, a dialectic movement between God's hiddenness and revelation has been newly compared with playing hide-and-seek. It seems possible to read Dionysios's dialectic approach of God being both hidden and revealed through the perspective of playing hide-and-seek. The advantage in this perspective lies in pointing out how the playful attitude with which human beings search for God can differ from seeking God without this attitude. Stressing the collective framework in which adults are performing together redresses the individualistic emphasis identified by Andrew Louth as a shortcoming from which Dionysios's mystical theology has been interpreted.

Bibliography

Ashbrook Harvey, Susan, "Performance as Exegesis: Women's Liturgical Choirs in Syriac Tradition." Pages 47–64 in *Inquiries into Eastern Christian Worship: Selected Papers of the Second International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgy, Rome 17–21 September 2008*. Edited by Bert Groen, Steven Hawkes-Teeples and Stefanos Alexopoulos. Leuven: Peeters, 2012.

Caillois, Roger. *Man, Play and Games*. Translated by Meyer Barash. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001.

Coakley, Sarah and Charles M. Stang, eds. *Re-Thinking Dionysius the Areopagite*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.

Dionysios Areopagita. *Paradoxernas Gud: Verk i urval*. Translated by Tord Fornberg with introduction and commentary by Fredrik Heiding, S.J. Skellefteå: Artos, 2017.

Guardini, Romano. "Liturgie als Spiel." Pages 57–67 in *Vom Geist der Liturgie*, Mainz: Matthias Grünewald, 1991 [1918]. (ET: "The Playfulness of the Liturgy." Pages 325–337 in Joseph Ratzinger and Romano Guardini, *The Spirit of the Liturgy*. Commemorative Edition. San Francisco: Ignatius, 2018.)

Heiding, Fredrik. *Lek för Guds skull: Lekfullhetens kreativitet, dygder och laster*. Skellefteå: Artos, 2020.

Kristiansen, Ståle Johannes. "Avdekning og tilsløring: Dionysius Areopagitens symboltenkning og Jean-Luc Marions ettermoderne kunstfilosofi." PhD diss., Universitetet i Bergen, 2014.

Louth, Andrew. *Denys the Areopagite*. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1989.

Louth, Andrew. "Individual and Liturgical Piety in Dionysius the Areopagite." Pages 308–324 in *Jewish Roots of Eastern Christian Mysticism: Studies in Honor of Alexander Golitzin*. Edited by Andrei A. Orlov. Leiden: Brill, 2020.

Louth, Andrew. *Introducing Eastern Orthodox Liturgy*. London: SPCK, 2013.

McCall, Richard. *Do This: Liturgy as Performance*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2017.

Moore, Kenneth. "Plato's Puppets of the Gods: Representing the Magical, the Mystical and the Metaphysical." *Arion* 22 (2014): 37–72.

Pseudo-Dionysius. *The Complete Works*. Translated by Colm Luibheid, with foreword, notes and translation collaboration by Paul Rorem. The Classics of Western Spirituality. Mahwah: Paulist, 1987.

Rahner, Hugo. *Der spielende Mensch*. Einsiedeln—Freiburg: Johannes Verlag, 2008. ET: Hugo Rahner, *Man at Play*. Translated by Brian Battershaw and Edward Quinn. Providence: Cluny, 2019.

Schechner, Richard. *Performance Studies. An Introduction*. London & New York: Routledge, 2013.

Wybrew, Hugh. *The Orthodox Liturgy: The Development of the Eucharistic Liturgy in the Byzantine Rite*. London: SPCK, 2013.

PART 3

Acoustics:
Liturgical Space in Early Christianity

14

The Dura "Baptistery"—a Funerary Space?

Barbara Crostini

This paper[1] challenges the scholarly consensus about the purpose of Room 6 in the Christian building (M8) at Dura,[2] namely, that it served as a baptistery. The baptistery hypothesis was first put forward in the official report of the finds by Carl Kraeling,[3] and recently bolstered with new arguments by Michael Peppard.[4] The alternative opinion that this space served as a *martyrion* was advanced by Jean Lassus,[5] rejected by Kraeling,[6] and then largely abandoned. Reviewing the evidence against more recent scholarship and finds revives the hypothesis of this room as a funerary space.

Several interconnected issues affected the widespread outcome by which this room has come to be considered a baptistery, all of which, when reconsidered, offer weaker arguments than at first promised. For this reason, within the limits of an article-length discussion, it is worthwhile re-opening the debate about the room's function. From the structure of the presumed baptismal font to the changes in the room's arrangement and decoration, many elements point to this room's becoming, in its refurbishment of the 240s, not a public space of

1 One of my very first encounters with the evidence from Dura was in a discussion organized by Anders Ekenberg at the Patristics Seminar at the Newman Institute. I gladly offer to him my reflections on that discussion after many years of study. My thanks to all those who have suggested improvements to this paper.

2 The name Dura, meaning "fortress," is preferred when emphasizing the local Syrian context, while Europos points to the Macedonian origins of this town purportedly founded by Seleucos I Nikator at the death of Alexander the Great. The hyphenated version is a modern construct.

3 Carl H. Kraeling, *The Christian Building*, vol. 8.2 of *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Final Report* (Los Angeles: University of California, 1967), esp. 145–151.

4 Michael Peppard, *The World's Oldest Church: Bible, Art and Ritual at Dura-Europos, Syria* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), *passim.*

5 Jean Lassus, *Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie*: *Essai sur la genèse, la forme et l'usage*, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 42 (Paris: Geuthner, 1947), 5–19. After Kraeling's death, Lassus published a review-article of his book: Jean Lassus, "La maison des chrétiens de Dura-Europos," *RAr* 7 (1969): 129–140. At p. 133, Lassus summarizes Kraeling's points about the baptistery referring to himself as "certains qui voulaient y voir … une cuve à reliques." Lassus summarizes the main points of Kraeling's treatment of the Christian house without expressing assent to his views, but also without articulating his own viewpoint any further.

6 Kraeling, *Christian Building*, 146.

 | DOI:10.1163/9789004522053_014

Christian initiation, but rather a revered locus for a "special dead". The primary eschatological focus of the pictorial programme articulates beliefs in salvation that cohere with emerging funerary practices at the beginning of the third century; these included importance of the body as relic ultimately deriving from pre-Christian beliefs.[7]

Restoring the funerary valence to this space does not simply offer a new interpretation of Christian activity at Dura, but more importantly opens the way for a more fruitful comparison between Room 6 and the nearby synagogue. Abandoning the convenient labels of "Christian" and "Jewish" for these spaces might at first dismay, but the semantic shift, now widely advocated in scholarship,[8] should ultimately reflect a less constrained understanding of the Durene community, whose imprint has been singularly preserved for us free from later cultural layering.

Methodologically, the particular challenge in the interpretation of Dura is the lack of suitable comparanda. While its iconic value has been exploited by a range of related disciplines within and beyond early Christian studies, its uniqueness vis-à-vis the panorama of increasingly available evidence remains a primary consideration.[9] There is a tension between Dura's claim to being the "first" example for most things its finds represent—the first house church, the first baptistery, the first painted synagogue—and its representative role for those same items. Both exceptionality and representativeness are difficult to evaluate, not least in the interpretation of the baptistery, for which designation much later parallels have been evoked. Yet, despite the geographical remoteness of this Roman military outpost, clear echoes of its art in Byzan-

---

7 Lucrezia Spera, "*Depositus in Cristo*. Valenze soteriche nella ridefinizione cristiana del mondo funerario," in *Pagani e cristiani alla ricerca della salvezza* (*secoli* I–III)*: XXXIV Incontro di studiosi dell'antichità cristiana, Roma, 5–7 maggio 2005*, Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum 96 (Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 2006), 765–777, here 765–766 with further references.

8 See at least Adam H. Becker and Annette Yoshiko Reed, eds. *The Ways that Never Parted*, Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 95 (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007); Daniel Boyarin, "Rethinking Jewish Christianity: an Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category (to Which Is Appended a Correction of My *Border Lines*)," *JQR* 99.1 (2009): 7–36, and, for a more theoretical, pioneering art-historical perspective, Eric C. Smith, *Jewish Glass and Christian Stone: A Materialist Mapping of the "Parting of the Ways"* (London: Routledge, 2018).

9 Lee Levine, *Visual Judaism in Late Antiquity: Historical Contexts of Jewish Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 97–118, referring primarily to the art of the synagogue; Charles B. McClendon, "The Articulation of Sacred Space in the Synagogue and Christian Building at Dura Europos," in *Dura Europos: Crossroads of Antiquity*, ed. Lisa R. Brody and Gail L. Hoffmann (Chesnutt Hill: McMullen Museum of Art, 2011), 155–167, available at https://archive.org/details/duraeuroposcross00brod.

tine iconography should alert us to the fact that Dura was plugged into a much broader network.[10] Although the mechanisms of such connections are not transparent, these very real and surprising continuities point out that, for all its uniqueness, Dura can hardly be considered an isolated phenomenon reflecting purely marginal or regional practices, however local and distinctive its flavour. By re-establishing the funerary purpose of Room 6, such broader contemporary relations fruitfully emerge, placing this site in direct dialogue with contemporary evidence from painted catacombs. In this way, this frescoed room becomes a little less enigmatic, or puzzlingly unique.

1 Revisiting the Baptistery Hypothesis

Sometimes in the 240s CE, Room 6 was converted into a more intimate space by the lowering of its ceiling from ca. five meters to just over three, which was then painted as a starry vault. The choice of "a night sky, with white stars against a blue background" created an "atmosphere … more concentrated and loaded with symbolism," as perceptively noted by Runesson and Cirafesi.[11] It is well known that this decoration was first and foremost adopted in funerary spaces, a tradition starting with Mycenean tombs.[12] A similar impression is achieved by the mosaics of the mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna, built two centuries later (Fig. 1).

The refurbishment coincided with a programme of repainting that included the frescoes of the synagogue and other spaces at Dura, such as the Mithraeum. Although no extant written sources explain the reason for such activity, a local event that unleashed resources to make the place more desirable for visitors to the city may be surmised as background.

10 Herbert L. Kessler, "Through the Temple Veil: the Holy Image in Judaism and Christianity," *Kairós* 32/33 (1990): 53–77. The legitimacy of such comparisons underpins the methodology of Kurt Weitzmann and Herbert L. Kessler, *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 28 (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1990), which remains the most approachable book discussing the Dura synagogue paintings.

11 Anders Runesson and Wally V. Cirafesi, "Art and Architecture at Capernaum, Kefar 'Othnay, and Dura-Europos," in *From Celsus to the Catacombs: Visual, Liturgical, and Non-Christian Receptions of Jesus in the Second and Third Centuries CE*, ed. Chris Keith, vol. 3 of *The Reception of Jesus in the First Three Centuries*, ed. Chris Keith, Helen K. Bond, Christine Jacobi and Jens Schröter (London: T & T Clark, 2019), 151–200, here 189 n. 167.

12 André Grabar, *Iconographie*, vol. 2 of *Martyrium. Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique* (Paris: Collège de France, 1946), 110 n. 1.

FIGURE 14.1 The lunette of the Good Shepherd in a vaulted sky, Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna (ca. 450 CE)
GILBERTO TORTORA. PUBLISHED WITH PERMISSION

It is unlikely that the decorated small space of Room 6 was being adapted for Christian baptism. It is well known that the practice of Syrian communities around this time was ordinarily to perform baptisms in running water whenever available, on the model of Christ's baptism in the Jordan River (Matt 3:13; Mark 1:9). Stemming most likely from this milieu, the Didache indicates baptism in secluded spaces and pools only as alternatives to rivers under special circumstances.[13] Kraeling does not consider why baptismal ceremonies should no longer be possible in the Euphrates River that runs along the Dura settlement, causing the sudden need for a dedicated liturgical space. Surprisingly,

13 Did. 7.1–3. Cf. Andrew B. McGowan, *Ancient Christian Worship: Early Church Practice in Social, Historical and Theological Perspective* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2014), 146–147, 152–153; Theodor Klauser, "Taufet in lebendigem Wasser! Zum religions- und kulturgeschichtlichen Verständnis von Didache 7:1–3," in *Gesammelte Arbeiten zur Liturgiegeschichten, Kristengeschichte und christlichen Archäologie*, by Theodor Kauser, ed. Ernst Dassmann (Münster: Aschendorff, 1977), 177–183, cited by Olof Brandt, "Understanding the Structures of Early Christian Baptisteries," in *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. David Hellholm, Tor Vegge, Øyvind Norderval, and Christer Hellholm, BZNW 176 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 1587–1609, here 1589. For a broader discussion with further references to the vast scholarship on this text, see the contribution by Jonas Holmstrand in this volume.

Kraeling dismisses necessity of a practical kind, such as the potential inaccessibility of the river, among possible reasons for building this baptistery in that location. Without finding contradiction, Kraeling actually offers support for baptismal river practice by mentioning examples of Mesopotamian Christians known as "the bathers" from the custom of performing ritual ablutions in rivers.[14] These communities were attested across the Euphrates region, including at Mesene, the birthplace of Mani (216–277 CE), just south of Dura. There is no reason to think that the Durene community acted any differently from its neighbours in the region.[15]

Kraeling considered another kind of difficulty with the baptistery hypothesis. Echoing Lassus's doubts, he asks

> why a Christian community of relatively such small size and with only a relatively modest house at its disposal should have given over one whole room entirely to the celebration of the comparatively infrequent rite of baptism and have decorated it so lavishly judging by local standards?[16]

Kraeling's question stems from the recognized practice of celebrating baptisms only once a year, likely during the Easter liturgy. Kraeling wonders not only how a whole room could be reserved for a once-a-year only celebration, but also why an expensive and coherent decorative programme should have been designed and commissioned in order to express a catechetical message about this initiation rite, when it likely remained out of sight for most people most of the time. These avowed discrepancies should have cast serious doubts on his baptismal hypothesis for this space, but they have been overlooked in subsequent literature. Finally, the characteristics of this space were in marked contrast with the ritual processions connected to Easter baptisms that involved the whole community in what were large-scale, crowded performances.[17] These were more

14 Kraeling, *Christian Building*, 118.

15 On the Mandean customs, see Anders Hultgård, "The Mandean Water Ritual in Late Antiquity," in *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. David Hellholm, Tor Vegge, Øyvind Norderval, and Christer Hellholm, BZNW 176 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 69–100. The river scene of Moses rescued from the Nile in the synagogue may be inspired by such local practices.

16 Kraeling, *Christian Building*, 146.

17 Kraeling, *Christian Building*, 192, refers to Epiphany and Easter processions as an explanation for the Procession of Virgins image; cf. Dieter Korol with Jannike Rieckesmann, "Neues zu den alt- und neutestamentlichen Darstellungen im Baptisterium von Dura-Europos," in *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism and Early*

likely staged along the straight road (*decumanus*) connecting the Palmyra gate to the *porta aquaria*, from which access to the riverbank could be gained.[18] In order to accommodate the liturgical requirements, later examples of monumental canopied baptismal fonts, easily accessible from all sides, were placed next to the basilica proper.[19]

All considered, the baptistery hypothesis for Room 6 encounters great problems regarding known practices for both its specific temporal and spatial coordinates. Kraeling was not unaware of these issues, which he mentioned without flagging them up as major obstacles for his conclusion. As Olof Brandt suggests, baptisteries were not created because of a functional need (ordinary bathhouses, and perhaps *mikvot*, could serve the same function), but as "propaganda architecture." For this reason, their appearance is late and their architectural characteristics are not uniform.[20] None of these circumstances applies to the secluded Room 6 in the Dura building.

2 The Waterless Font

At the current state of research, the vaulted canopy to the West end of Room 6 in building M8 is considered the cover for a baptismal font below it. It is mainly because of this fixture that the space is considered a baptistery (Fig. 2).

The slightly irregular rectangular container placed below the columned canopy against the (short) West wall was identified by Kraeling as a baptismal font. His report, however, clearly states that the tub had "no aperture for the release of water."[21] Elsewhere in baptismal structures, such channeling is brought to light by the excavations; alternatively, remains of other elaborate

Christianity, ed. David Hellholm, Tor Vegge, Øyvind Norderval, and Christer Hellholm, BZNW 176 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 1611–1662, here 1654 n. 191.

18 Cristina Maria Acqua, "Imperial Representation at Dura-Europos," in Ted Kaizer, ed., *Religion, Society and Culture at Dura-Europos*, Yale Classical Studies 38 (Cambridge: CUP, 2016), 144–164, at 163 and pl. XLII, suggests a route passing via the military base and connecting the two main doors.

19 See the examples in Jean Patout Burns and Robin M. Jensen, *Christianity in Roman Africa: The Development of its Practices and Beliefs* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2014), 106–110; and the interesting theoretical discussion by Brandt, "Understanding the Structures of Early Christian Baptisteries." See also below.

20 Brandt, "Understanding the Structures of Early Christian Baptisteries," 1588, 1597.

21 Kraeling, *Christian Building*, 26; Korol with Rieckesmann, "Neues," 1611, note this "abflusslosen Becken" (basin without drainage) and speak of a "so genannten Baptisterium" (so-called baptistery) without, however, proposing a different destination for the space.

FIGURE 14.2 The canopy. Date of Photography: 1932. Christian Baptistery niche, excavation photo, Christian Building
YALE UNIVERSITY ART GALLERY, DURA-EUROPOS COLLECTION. PUBLISHED WITH PERMISSION

contraptions for the filling and emptying of the water can be found.[22] Probably for this reason, though never explicitly so, Kraeling hesitates between considering this font as a place for baptism by immersion or by aspersion.

Kraeling recognizes that the positioning of the columns and the absence of steps inside or outside the tub make the movements of the baptismal candidate awkward. He describes a baptism by immersion in which "the basin was to be entered, the procedure used being to mount the outer step, sit on the ledge, swing the feet over the ledge and step down in."[23] A few pages later, however, Kraeling suggests a different procedure, stating that "it is clear that when baptism in running water was no longer practicable the earliest recourse was

22 Jelena Bogdanović, *The Framing of Sacred Space: The Canopy and the Byzantine Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 67, for a discussion of how the presence of drainage systems and hydraulic machines has conditioned debate on identification of sites as baptisteries (some being a combination of tomb and baptistery).

23 Kraeling, *Christian Building*, 145.

FIGURE 14.3 The basin below the canopy built of ashlar bricks. Date of Photography: 1934–1935. Christian Baptistery, front wall of font, Christian Building
YALE UNIVERSITY ART GALLERY, YALE UNIVERSITY ART GALLERY, DURA-EUROPOS COLLECTION. PUBLISHED WITH PERMISSION

to a shallow tub and baptism by aspersion."[24] Presumably, Kraeling is pointing to baptism by aspersion as the procedure suitable for this tub, which was indeed both shallow and narrow. Nevertheless, its being set against the wall and framed by columns made both dipping into it, or being aspersed with water from it, extremely awkward. Moreover, neither the source nor the discharge of the necessary water can be deduced from the surroundings.

The measurements of the basin, built of ashlar bricks 30×35 cm, could instead easily accommodate a large sarcophagus, being 1.63 m long by 0.95 m wide (Fig. 3).[25] In arguing against the canopy as defining a sepulchral monument, Kraeling discusses two points concerning the material aspect of the structure, and then two points of principle concerning the cult of martyrs. First, Kraeling considers that the opening, which he describes as "trapezoidal," "cannot be said to have set in place a rectangular reliquary or coffin."[26] However, the slightly irregular shape could equally well indicate an *ad hoc* adjustment of the

24 Kraeling, *Christian Building*, 148.
25 Kraeling, *Christian Building*, 26.
26 Kraeling, *Christian Building*, 145; from the plan, the opening appears like a slightly

structure to the specific object it was designed to receive, since otherwise there is no reason why it should not have been squared. Secondly, Kraeling points out that the ledge of the basin could not have easily accommodated a flat surface as constituted of a single marble slab for an altar because of the position of the columns on it. This second obstacle to the hypothesis of a tomb is also not determinant. Either the surface, if it existed, could have been inset with respect to the hole so as not to rest on the ledge, or it may not have existed as such at all, the container/sarcophagus itself providing the upper lid (of wood, stone, or ceramic). Moreover, given the scarcity of marble finds at Dura, such cover may not have been a single slab. It could have been made, if necessary, of more adjustable materials, such as wooden panels or moldable plaster board. Thus, neither of Kraeling's material objections to the presence of a container for a body (of whatever precise shape and kind) seem unassailable.

Kraeling recognizes that having a baldachin or canopy is unusual for a basin that is, moreover, atypically placed at the end of the room rather than its centre.[27] Although the position of baptismal fonts with respect to church plans, when placed inside them, can vary, fonts are usually free-standing and often close to the sanctuary at the East end. Canopied baptisteries, usually massive structures with steps, can occur at different places within or outside a church building. Despite such variety, there are no examples where the font is constructed against the West wall of a relatively small space.[28]

While Jelena Bogdanović has no doubt that the Dura canopy should mark a baptistery, she can only offer examples of two-pillared canopies adjacent to the wall from (later) funerary contexts as comparanda to support this conclusion.[29] Her recent valuable work on the significance attached to sacred space that the canopy denotes stresses that this architectural feature strongly marked Christ's death, burial and resurrection.[30] The case of the Basilica I in

---

squinting rectangle: see plan VIII (Christian Building, Baptistery, Plan and Sectional Elevations).

27 Kraeling, *Christian Building*, 147–150.

28 Bogdanović, *Framing of Sacred Space*, 63–66; Brandt, "Understanding the Structures of Early Christian Baptisteries," 1588.

29 Bogdanović, *Framing of Sacred Space*, 88–89.

30 Bogdanović, *Framing of Sacred Space*, 51 and 88 ("the earliest surviving canopy-like installation in the eastern Mediterranean"), 62, 144–146, and Jelena Bogdanović, "Controversies Intertwined: Architecture as Icon Examined Through the Lenses of the Byzantine Iconoclastic Debates," in *Transforming Sacred Spaces: New Approaches to Byzantine Ecclesiastical Architecture from the Transitional Period*, ed. Sabine Feist, Spätantikes—Frühes Christentum—Byzanz 48 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2020), 199–216. Cf. Mark Johnson, review of *The Framing of Sacred Space: The Canopy and the Byzantine Church*, by Jelena Bogdanović, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2020.11.26.

FIGURE 14.4 Mosaic of canopy next to a burial, Church of the Theotokos at Wadi ʿAyn al-Kanisah, Mount Nebo. Described in CSLA. E02563 (Paweł Nowakowski, http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk/)
PHOTO BY M. PICCIRILLO AND E. ALLIATA. PUBLISHED WITH PERMISSION OF THE STUDIUM BIBLICUM FRANCISCANUM. ALL FURTHER REPRODUCTION IS FORBIDDEN.

Haïdra (Ammaedara) can be cited as exhibiting a "counter-apse" at the West end harbouring a *martyrion*. The apsidal structure bears two lengthy inscriptions on mosaic with martyrs' names and the vestige of a stone balaustrade.[31] Another striking association between a ground burial and a floor mosaic of a pillared conch-like structure adjacent to it occurs at the monastic Church of the Theotokos at Wadi ʿAyn al-Kanisah, Mount Nebo (Fig. 4).[32] In Egyptian monastic contexts, the two-pillared canopy inscribed with the shell-like conch frames the images of the monastic saints and founders, as in the colourful examples from the Red Monastery.[33]

31 Annemarie Yasin, *Saints and Church Spaces in the Late Antique Mediterranean: Architecture, Cult and Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 221–223.

32 Davide Bianchi, "Le sepolture nei contesti ecclesiastici transgiordani: Alcuni casi per unindagine preliminare," *Mitteilungen zur christlichen Archäologie* 24 (2018): 37–56, here 47 and Fig. 13. See also examples of mosaic canopies in the contribution by Robin M. Jensen in this volume.

33 Elizabeth Bolman, ed., *The Red Monastery Church: Beauty and Asceticism in Upper Egypt*

While these examples firmly associate the presence of canopies with the veneration of the remains of holy men and women, they also prepare the way for an understanding of the initiation ritual of baptism as partaking in a similar notion of death and resurrection. The reception of the initiate into the community included not only his/her affiliation to the present assembly, but more significantly the association with a heavenly community of saints. Thus, Bogdanović's study of the canopy brings out the intimate relation between baptismal and martyrial spaces by pointing to examples of overlap between the location of martyrs' tombs and that of baptismal structures.[34]

While these interlocking valences complicate the process of discerning funerary from baptismal spaces, the ambiguity is resolved by looking at practical and material considerations. Water-works and the accessibility of the space are primary considerations from an archaeological point of view. As shown, neither criteria are fulfilled by the canopied space in Room 6. For these reasons, its primary referent remains that of a sepulchre, or sacred burial space.

3 The *Martyrion* Hypothesis

The two reasons of a different order for which Kraeling maintained that there could not be a *martyrion* at Dura must now be examined. Kraeling pointed out that there is no evidence for the occurrence of Christian martyrdoms in the Roman portion of Mesopotamia before Maximian (250–310 CE), and that the room does not exhibit traces of cultic veneration in the form of inscriptions. Both objections can be countered.

It is notoriously difficult to pinpoint the evolution and extent of persecutions, and developments in Persia remain particularly obscure and neglected.[35] Second-century Syrian martyrs are not, however, unknown.[36] Kraeling himself

(Cairo: American Research Center, 2016). Visible in 3D at https://www.copticsolidarity.org/2018/01/22/taking-a-3d-virtual-tour-of-a-colorful-ancient-egyptian-monastery/.

34 Bogdanović, *Framing of Sacred Space*, 63; Susan T. Stevens, "Excavations of an Early Christian Pilgrimage Complex at Bit Ftouha (Carthage)," *DOP* 54 (2000): 271–274. See also Vladimir Baranov, "Constructing the Underground Community: The Letters of Theodore the Studite and the Letter of Emperors Michael II and Theophilos to Louis the Pious," *Scrinium* 6 (2010): 230–259, here 241–242, who narrates a miracle of Demetrios where a canopy substitutes for relics in the inauguration of a church space.

35 Rodney Stark, *The Triumph of Christianity* (New York: HarperCollins, 2011), 180–181.

36 See for example the martyr Sharbel at https://syriaca.org/person/1454; Jean-Maurice Fiey, *Saints syriaques*, ed. Lawrence I. Conrad (Princeton: Darwin, 2004), no. 390, 168. My thanks to Christian Sahner for guidance on these matters.

recalls that the fifth-century narrative of the Acts of the martyrs of Khark (or Kirkuk), a city in Northern Iraq, talks about "shepherds and leaders of the West fleeing eastward as the result of a persecution under Hadrian (135 CE)."[37] Evidence for Christian persecutions in the early third century concentrates around North Africa, especially Carthage.[38] The mid-third century persecution of Valerian may well have shifted eastwards at a time relevant for this discussion, since its thrust was only cut short by the emperor's capture and death by the Persians near Edessa in 260 CE.[39]

Nevertheless, without discarding the possibility of a specific martyr-producing occasion, it is sufficient for our purposes to establish that a memorial to a saintly person could have been erected even though s/he was not a martyr *stricto sensu*. The honoured person could have been the founder of the community, for example, or its charismatic leader. In fact, the process by which martyrdom narratives were created for the apostles is a good example of the elision between the highest consideration for a preacher and the accepted exalted status of the martyr—i.e., witness—for the faith.[40] While it is not irrelevant to determine the reason for honouring this "special dead", the existence of this figure need not issue from a specific history of strife and religious persecution.

Kraeling's final point against the *martyrion* hypothesis is that no graffiti found in the room "hail the memory of the saint or invoke his [or her] aid."[41] Kraeling was generally disinclined to attribute much weight to the evidence from graffiti, but in this case he used the absence of inscriptions of this kind to argue against the presence of a saintly burial. Nevertheless, one should not dismiss this argument *ex silentio*, given that recent scholarship has upended the attitude to this type of evidence, foregrounding it as a particularly genuine source for the attestation of religious activity.[42]

---

37 Kraeling, *Christian Building*, 106.

38 Most notably, the women Perpetua and Felicitas with their companions, and, contemporary with our events, the martyrdom of Cyprian: Éric Rebillard, ed., *Greek and Latin Narratives about the Ancient Martyrs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 295–350 and 197–250 respectively.

39 William H.C. Frend, "Persecutions: Genesis and Legacy," in *Origins to Constantine*, ed. Margaret M. Mitchell and Frances M. Young, vol. 1 of *The Cambridge History of Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 503–523, here 516.

40 Sean McDowell, *The Fate of the Apostles: Examining the Martyrdom Accounts of the Closest Followers of Jesus* (Abingdon: Ashgate, 2015), succeeds in showing how flimsy the evidence for the historicity of their martyrdoms is, despite his best intentions.

41 Kraeling, *Christian Building*, 145.

42 Karen B. Stern, "Inscription as Religious Competition in Third-Century Syria," in *Religious Competition in the Third Century CE: Jews, Christians, and the Greco-Roman World*, ed.

It is possible that a more formal inscription on stone or within a *tabula ansata* on the wall marked the spot and revealed the identity of the person buried, but there are no traces or extant remains of it. As for more informal inscriptions, the short time between the possible burial—coinciding with the changeover of the room with the addition of the canopy and paintings ca. 240 CE—and the obliteration of Dura by the Sasanians in 256 CE might account for the dearth of spontaneous prayers written on the walls. But, while the scarcity of graffiti in Room 6 is coherent with the situation in the rest of the building, which exhibits fewer graffiti than anywhere else in Dura,[43] Kraeling overlooked the commemorative potential of those few inscriptions present.

Kraeling himself had in fact noted that the four graffiti in Room 6 "are contained within or aligned with elements of the decoration and were thus executed after the room had been painted."[44] Among them, an invocation graffito is found, of the kind expected in the context of a memorialization. It is described as follows by Karen Stern: "The deeply engraved graffito, found to the left of the niche, acclaims Christ and reads, according to local orthography, 'May you remember (Μνήσκετε) Siseos the humble one.'"[45] This inscription is positioned next to the niche on the south wall, between the doorways, as Lucinda Dirven clarifies.[46] Graffiti are spontaneous inscriptions usually written to memorialize their authors, who mark their presence at a place.[47] Although we do not know whether Siseos was the person who scratched this graffito, peering in from the doorway, or the person for whom it was scratched into the wall, both these interpretative options are predicated on a belief in a dialogue between named Siseos and the numinous presence in the room.

Another category of graffiti around this space, the *abecedaria* or alphabetical inscriptions, could well contribute to a scenario where worshipers expressed

Jordan D. Rosenblum, Lily C. Vuong and Nathaniel P. DesRosiers (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 141–151, here 142–143.

43 This phenomenon may perhaps be explained by the less public nature of this space, if it was reserved for a select portion of the community (*ekklēsia*).

44 Kraeling, *Christian Building*, 28.

45 Stern, "Inscription," 149.

46 Lucinda Dirven, "Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained: The Meaning of Adam and Eve in the Baptistery of Dura-Europos," *Eastern Christian Art* 5 (2008): 43–57, here 49, n. 30, with reference to Othmar Perler, "Zu den Inschriften des Baptisterium von Dura-Europos," in *Epektasis: Mélanges patristiques offerts au cardinal Jean Daniélou* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1972), 175–185.

47 Heikki Solin, "Introduzione allo studio dei graffiti parietali," in *Unexpected Voices: The Graffiti in the Cryptoporticus of the Horti Sallustiani*, ed. Olof Brandt (Stockholm: Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae, 2008), 99–124.

their involvement with the memory of a dead holy person.[48] In examining the magical alphabets inscribed on the walls around Dura, Kraeling notes that the number of such alphabetical formulae (ΑΒΓΔ*) was larger in the Christian building than anywhere else. One such graffito was indeed placed on the door to Room 6: Kraeling discusses its likely apotropaic function given to it primarily by the liminal position.[49] These inscriptions can now be compared with research on alphabetic writings from tombs in Palestine. Not only has the availability of comparative materials from burial sites increased, but the epistemological framework for their understanding and evaluation in terms of ancient religious practices has also changed considerably since Kraeling's time. The placement of alphabetic inscriptions in and around graves, often looking towards the entrance to the cove, suggests a similarly apotropaic function with a specific aim: that of guarding a tomb from potential desecration.[50] It is thus possible that the graffiti of Room 6 are telling a story that still needs more careful interpretation, and that would cohere with a funerary context for the space, rather than undermine it.

Evidence for the baptistery is weak. Of Kraeling's objections to the alternative hypothesis of a *martyrion*, none appears conclusive. Recognizing their cumulative inadequacy clears the ground for looking at Room 6 with new eyes.

4 Pauline Baptismal "Death Mysticism" Is Not Available at Dura

The most explicit statement indicating the function of Room 6 is expected to come from its frescoes. In re-examining this evidence, it seems clear that the overwhelming general thrust of all the paintings is funerary. Their overarching theme is salvation, and there are several pointed references to the afterlife. The frescoes all evidently express a message of resurrection: *in primis*, the Good Shepherd of Psalm 23 refreshes the dead in the eternal pastures of the elect. Here the painter is exploiting "the most familiar of all themes" that "exists in almost every kind of medium" and "appears more than 120 times in catacomb paintings alone, often in the center of the dome of a small private family

48 Kraeling, *Christian Building*, 125–126; Stern, "Inscription," 149.

49 Kraeling, *Christian Building*, 125.

50 Alice J. Bij de Vaate, "Alphabet-Inscriptions from Jewish Graves," in *Studies in Early Jewish Epigraphy*, ed. Jan W. van Henten and Pieter W. van der Horst (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 148–161, here 159. Bij de Vaate mentions such an inscription from elsewhere at Dura at 152. Many thanks to Arjen Bakker for help with this reference.

burial chamber."[51] Then, the Gospel miracles of the Healing of the Paralytic and Peter's walking on the waters foreshadow the soul's salvation from sin and death through faith in Christ.[52] The Samaritan's (or Rebecca's) well promise the final refreshment of 'living water', as the very token of eternal life.[53] Adam and Eve mark the beginning of salvation history, since through their fall the plan of God for humanity's rescue began. A whole panel on the East wall is dedicated to the scene of David beheading Goliath. This episode, which will return in Byzantine Psalter manuscripts, stands as a symbol of the defeat of evil, as a giant,[54] apparently unsurmountable force, such as that of a whole Empire against a tiny community.[55] On the opposite wall, a procession of Virgins in white ceremonial robes has been the topic of much speculation, to which we will return in more detail below.

Most scholars connect the eschatological themes of the paintings with a baptismal theology in which the rite of initiation is understood as partaking of Christ's death. This concept is articulated most clearly in Paul's Letter to the Romans, chapters 5 and 6. Through typology between Adam and Christ, Paul

51 Peppard, *World's Oldest Church*, 99, quoting Kraeling and Jensen respectively.

52 These identifications with specific Gospel scenes are considered practically certain, although in each case the identity of Jesus is not explicit. Cf. generic scenes of boats in funerary art as quoted by Spera, "Depositus," 774, esp. figs. 9 (Pretestatus cemetery) and 10 (via Portuense catacomb).

53 Peppard, *World's Oldest Church*, 174–179, argues for a third possibility, namely the identification with the well in the apocryphal accounts of the Annunciation scene. In all cases, the symbolism of the well associated to a woman's role is the focus of significance. On later understandings of these women, see Anni Maria Laato, "Eve, Rebecca, and Mary as Prophetical Images of the Church," in *Take Another Scroll and Write: Studies in the Interpretive Afterlife of Prophets and Prophecy in Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, ed. Pekka Lindqvist and Sven Grebenstein, Studies in the Reception History of the Bible 6 (Turku: Åbo Akademi University; Winona Lake: Eisenbraums, 2016), 233–254.

54 The colossus of Nabuchadnezzar was said to have been constructed in the "valley of Dura in the region of Babylon" (Daniel 3:1): André LaCoque, *The Book of Daniel* (London: SPCK, 1979), 68, excludes Dura-Europos categorically but without explanation, while other commentaries are non-committal as to the exact location of this valley; see for example, John J. Collins and Adela Yarbro Collins, *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 182, who regard this "Dura … as a place name that adds local color to the story." An early Syriac commentary however specifies that the plain of Dura was "a place that was suitable for the multitude of people that would gather for the feast that [the king] held for the image": Phil J. Botha, "The Interpretation of Daniel 3 in the Syriac Commentary Ascribed to Ephrem the Syrian," *Acta Patristica et Byzantina* 16 (2005): 29–53, here 32, 38. Further megaliths such as the bull colossi of Assurnasirpal are known from the area as symbolic of imperial power; see Eckhart Frahm, ed., *A Companion to Assyria* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2017), 169.

55 On this scene see also Korol with Rieckesmann, "Neues," 1612–1657.

explains that Christ has undone sin through his sacrifice on the cross. He then moves to indicating that the individual's death to sin is celebrated in a special way at baptism: "Don't you know that all of us who were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? We were therefore buried with him through baptism into death in order that, just as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, we too may live a new life" (Rom 6:3–4). Thus, Jelena Bogdanović for example states that

> in keeping with the Christian understanding that baptism marks one's death in Adam and rebirth in Christ, the entire installation [of the Dura baptistery] takes the recognizable shape of an *arcosolium*, an arched recess resembling a rock-cut tomb and extensively reused for entombments of both Christians and non-Christians throughout the Mediterranean in late antiquity.[56]

Unfortunately, this clear-cut exegetical avenue in which the paintings can be explained as exploiting a theological bridge between death and baptism is not available at Dura, as Kraeling and Peppard are at pains to demonstrate. While, in the fourth century, the interchangeability of spaces for commemoration of the dead and for Christian initiation could be underpinned by this kind of theological speculation, such connections were not actual for the community at Dura, where application of Pauline exegesis cannot be attested. Most evidently, Christ's death is nowhere depicted, and even Christ's presence in some of the subjects where he is said to feature is not absolutely certain.[57]

While Kraeling and Peppard briefly contemplate the possibility of linking the obvious funerary motifs with the baptismal significance required by their interpretation of the room's purpose via reference to Paul in Rom 6:3–4, both reject it.[58] The main reason for this rejection is that Syrian early Christian interpretation of baptism does not use the Pauline coupling of baptism and death in Christ.[59] Peppard further clarifies that this omission of a "death mys-

56 Bogdanović, *Framing of Sacred Space*, 145.

57 Korol with Rieckesmann, "Neues," 1627–1643, thoroughly discuss issues of identification of the two figures in the Walking on the Water scene, while giving the scene's identification as certain.

58 Peppard, *World's Oldest Church*, 55, 120–121; Kraeling, *Christian Building*, 114–116, 178, 193–194.

59 In this respect, Peppard (who introduced the expression "death mysticism") can count on more precise studies by leading liturgical specialists, such as Gabriele Winkler: Peppard,

ticism" is widespread in the early church, with the sole exception of Origen, who cites Rom 6 in connection with baptism. He comments: "As to why death mysticism fell down a rabbit hole in the second and third centuries, only to be recovered in the late fourth century, we can only conjecture."[60] While ascertaining the absence of the necessary exegetical link on the basis of the wider theological context is an acceptable move, forcing a baptismal interpretation despite this absence on the basis of later Syrian baptismal theology is more controversial, because this second step involves an active rejection of the eschatological dimension that is so clearly present in the frescoes. Rather, since the funerary valence of the paintings is undeniable, and the Pauline transition not readily available, it is more appropriate to give up the baptismal context than to insist on it, when, as we have seen, it is not directly supported by the surrounding evidence.

5 Death-Denial and the Baptismal Straightjacket

Since the natural exegetical avenue offered by Paul's exegesis was rightly deemed unavailable, Kraeling had to offer an alternative explanation that would fit these images into his baptismal hypothesis. It is worth quoting at length the following didactic interpretation given as the summation of his arguments:

> In the scene of the Woman at the Well the candidate [for baptism] is being taught to understand that as the Samaritan woman who went out to draw water from Jacob's well received the gift of "living water," so he does in connection with the water of baptism receive the "speaking and living water" of the divine revelation. In the scene of David and Goliath the candidate is being taught that as David was by virtue of his unction at the hands of Samuel enabled to overcome the might of Goliath, so he through the holy oil of baptism receives the divine power that guards him from and makes him superior to all evil Satanic powers. In the same way, in the scenes of the Women at the Tomb [of Christ] the candidate is being taught that as the Women who went to Christ's Tomb to perform the pious act of anointing his body received from the three angelic visitors the assurance and the

World's Oldest Church, 120 n. 31. Kraeling, *Christian Building*, 114–116, actually doubts they had Paul's letters available at all.

60 Peppard, *World's Oldest Church*, 121.

> announcement of Christ's Victory over Death, so he in and with the rite of baptism receives assurance of and has the experience of his own triumph over Death and participation in eternal life.[61]

Each of these interpretations sounds rather forced (or, conversely, banal), and is open to doubt. It is not clear, for example, why David cutting off Goliath's head should point to his unction, if not in a very roundabout way.[62] As for the other images depicted in the room, Kraeling declares that neither the Paralytic nor Peter walking on water are ever referenced in baptismal preaching,[63] yet insists that both can be interpreted as pointing to watery contexts, namely, the pool at Bethesda and the Sea of Galilee.

Since Kraeling cannot reconcile death with baptism, he pushes for a divorce between the two motifs, for example asserting that "the association of a basin and a canopy ... is thoroughly intelligible apart from the structure called a *martyrium*; ... the construction leads ... away from the idea that the font is the tomb and that in baptism the neophyte dies and rises with Christ."[64] This kind of affirmation, denying not only the symbolic import but even the obvious sarcophagus-like shape of this font,[65] leads Kraeling to a tortuous path of exegesis through which he suppresses the images' allusions to death-and-salvation motifs and joins them instead to what he considers more suitable ideas about Christian initiation for that time and place.

While Kraeling concludes that the overall message "points to the meaning of the rite of baptism and of its elements, water and oil, as the subject of that theme," he at the same time admits that "the register does not show [...] how the benefits received are communicated" to the candidate.[66] This openly self-critical passage reveals a significant gap between Kraeling's baptismal interpretation of the imagery that deliberately shuns its eschatological dimension and

61 Kraeling, *Christian Building*, 196–197, a summation of the interpretation of the baptistery's iconographical programme.

62 Peppard, *World's Oldest Church*, pl. 3. Peppard develops the theology of anointing of David, 61–64, and discusses Korol's interpretation of the image at 70–74; see also Korol with Rieckesmann, "Neues," 1647–1649. Korol mentions Tertullian, *De baptismo* XIX, 1 (SC 35, 93–94) at 1650 n. 173 as another witness to a connection between Christ's death and baptism that does not pass via Paul.

63 Kraeling, *Christian Building*, 183.

64 Kraeling, *Christian Building*, 150. This statement stands in marked contrast with Bogdanović's analysis quoted above.

65 Again, a fact that Grabar innocently proclaims: "la forme d'un sarcophage donnée à la cuve baptismale du baptistère de Doura," *Martyrium*, 262.

66 Kraeling, *Christian Building*, 197. Lassus, "Maison," 138, considers this passage as a "dernier paragraphe ... plus obscur."

the expectations of baptismal instruction and ritual. Kraeling acknowledges that a straightforward connection is “something we miss, particularly in connection with the scenes of the Women at the Tomb, where it is so easy for us to take our cue from Paul and say ‘by mystical participation in the death and resurrection of Christ.’ ”[67] The allure of “death mysticism” as the most reasonable and comprehensible avenue for the understanding of the painting’s salvation theme is there for everyone to see. While unquestioningly accepting the baptistery function for the room, André Grabar recapitulates the frescoes as follows:

> Scènes de “saluts” parmi les fresques conservées de ce baptistère (début IIIe): David et Goliath, Guérison du paralytique, le Christ et s. Pierre marchant sur les eaux, la Samaritaine au puits. Tous ces paradigmes de saluts, dans le passé, annoncent le salut futur que répresente le Bon Pasteur conduisant son troupeau. Comme de juste, cette dernière image occupe la conque de l’abside, tandis que les “saluts” historiques figurent sur les murs latéraux.[68]

Grabar’s logic sees no difficulty with the choice and arrangement of these subjects as paradigms of salvation. Later, Grabar spells out even more clearly the equivalence between the dead person in a *martyrion* and the neophyte in this baptistery, calling it a qualitative change in the subject seeking salvation: “il n’y avait de changé que la qualité de l’aspirant au salut. Au lieu du défunt qui demandait la vie éternelle, c’était le néophyte qui voulait s’en assurer à l’avance par la grâce du baptême.”[69]

If Kraeling and Peppard are correct in pointing out that “death mysticism” is not an exegetical path available at this point in time and place, they pay a high price in looking for alternative explanations, opening their arguments to different accusations of anachronism.[70] The obvious pointers to eschatology and death can only be packaged into a baptismal framework by jettisoning the core theme of salvation that is, without doubt, the main concern of the paintings, taken both individually and collectively.

67 Kraeling, *Christian Building*, 197.

68 Grabar, *Martyrium*, 10 n. 2.

69 Grabar, *Martyrium*, 250.

70 See the methodological critique by Dirven, “Paradise Lost,” 53 n. 70, with reference to Annabelle Wharton, *Refiguring the Postclassical City: Dura Europos, Jerash, Jerusalem and Ravenna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 55. Dirven’s discussion of the Adam and Eve image also shows that the tension between an Eastern and a Western theology is largely caused by the baptismal framework into which the pictorial programme was squeezed.

6 The Sarcophagus in the Procession of Virgins

Peppard's reading of the baptistery programme is motivated, like Kraeling's, by an attempt to demonstrate how these images harmonize with Eastern Christian theology regarding baptism. His strategy, then, is similar to Kraeling's: both need to flee as far as possible from funerary referents. While Kraeling finds the explanation for the depiction of white-veiled women in an apocryphal-inspired allusion to the women at the tomb of Christ, Peppard supports a different reading of this image. However, Peppard's alternative explanation of the scene brings him to deny that the large white object towards which the procession of women on the North wall is moving is a sarcophagus at all (Fig. 5).

Peppard may well be right in pointing out that this representation was not that of the tomb of Christ, given the enlarged number of women beyond the canonical three and the absence of either angel, guards, or Christ himself.[71] Christ's tomb should not only be open, to signal the resurrection experience of the Myrrhophores, but it should anyway be rock-cut[72] or appear as a differently shaped aedicule, as shown in the early representations of the Rabbula Gospels[73] or the Maskell ivories.[74] Peppard's own ingenious interpretation of the iconography as the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins (Matt 25:1–12),[75] however, compels him to deny that the "proverbial elephant in the room," as he calls it, is a sarcophagus.[76] In consequence, he designates this object as simply a temple structure or a tent-shaped bridal chamber.

The problem, again, is that Peppard is bound by the baptistery hypothesis to draw an initiation meaning out of the parable of the Virgins, and thus overlooks, or willingly neglects, its primary eschatological referent. Because of

71 Elements that did not deter Kraeling, *Christian Building*, 191–193, nor Grabar, who also spends some time arguing for this interpretation: *Martyrium*, 261–263.

72 Jodi Magness, *Stone and Dung, Oil and Spit: Jewish Daily Life in the Time of Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011) 163–172.

73 Full reproduction of the manuscript online at the Teca Digitale Laurenziana, plut.01.56, fol. 13r. Doubts cast on the original dating of the miniatures by Massimo Bernabò, ed., *Il Tetraevangelo di Rabbula: Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 1.56: L'illustrazione del Nuovo Testamento nella Siria del VI secolo* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2008), suggest handling this evidence with care.

74 On these ivories, see Felicity Harley-McGowan, "The Maskell Passion Ivories and Greco-Roman Art: Notes on the Iconography of Crucifixion," in *Envisioning Christ on the Cross: Ireland and the Early Medieval West*, ed. Juliet Mullins, Jenifer Ní Ghrádaigh and Richard Hawtree (Dublin: Four Courts, 2013), 13–33.

75 This interpretation has been endorsed by Runesson and Cirafesi, "Art and Architecture," 190 n. 171.

76 Peppard, *World's Oldest Church*, 146.

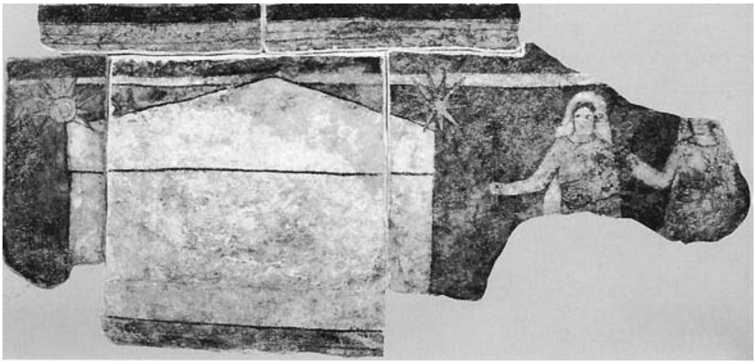


FIGURE 14.5 The painting of a sarcophagus at one end of the Procession of Virgins
WIKIMEDIA COMMONS. PUBLIC DOMAIN

this, he needs to interpret the image as a literal representation of the scene of the Virgins, largely going against his own more subtle appreciation of the relational value of artistic representation to the experience of the faithful believer. While providing an apt reference to examples represented on sarcophagi that exhibit comparable processions, and, even more significantly, citing Wilpert's extraordinary comment about a sepulchral use of the parable illustration at the catacomb of Mar Musa, in which "the deceased person in the room should be regarded 'as one of the Wise Virgins,'"[77] Peppard cannot allow himself to contemplate an analogous meaning for the present situation. Since the sarcophagus element was a pivot of Kraeling's argument against the parable of the Virgins, Peppard feels it is necessary to eliminate its presence as a tomb in order to bolster his argument.[78]

After citing the "imagined bridal chamber" from the Gospel of Philip in support of his interpretation, Peppard forgets that what we have here could well be a "ritualized imagining of a heavenly covenantal partner and a hoped-for heavenly wedding party" as suggested by that Gospel.[79] Peppard's most cogent visual parallel is an illustration from the Rossano Gospels, where the miniature displays, on the side of the Wise Virgins with the bridegroom, a tree-filled garden in the background, whose paradisiacal connotation Peppard correctly points out. There is therefore no urgent need to eliminate a reference to a deceased which comfortably belongs in this eschatological context.

77 Peppard, *World's Oldest Church*, 142–143 and n. 135, citing Joseph Wilpert, *Die gottgeweihten Jungfrauen in den ersten Jahrhunderten der Kirche* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1892), 69.

78 Peppard, *World's Oldest Church*, 146 n. 149.

79 Peppard, *World's Oldest Church*, 138.

Even though the gabled shape of the stately and impressive coffin, taller than human-size, imitates a temple's pediment, Peppard's divorcing it from the primary referent to a sarcophagus is nevertheless deeply unpersuasive.[80] It is significant that the temple structure is found in Jewish ossuaries from the first century,[81] and becomes a typical fashion for reliquaries in Syria and Byzantium.[82] This shape precisely confirms the destination of the object as the container for a dead body (whether Christ's or not) and the procession around it as that of a ritual funerary cortège. The simpler solution is that of leaving the "elephant in the room" in its primary function: that of a sarcophagus designating a place of burial. To this end, Korol's parallel of a tomb pediment from Jerusalem is illuminating.[83]

The contribution by Korol to the study of this fresco adds conclusive evidence in favour of its funerary referent. Korol identifies the small jars held by the women with pottery found in the nearby necropolis, although he hesitates about whether their contents were unguents or incense.[84] More importantly, Korol publishes an image of the pediment of the Tomb of Grapes in Jerusalem where one of the side *akroteria* matches the star-shape of the Dura fresco.[85] While the identity of the entombed individual remains unknown, there is no doubt that this object is not an elephant, but a sarcophagus.

7 Additional Eschatological Scenes

Another fragment, that of a half-open door to the right of the procession of women (Fig. 6), has been described by Peppard as part of the Virgins' scene.[86] Korol points out that the women are not walking towards the door, but away from it.[87] In the Rossano Gospels miniature cited by Peppard, the closed door bars the way into Paradise for the Foolish Virgins. But the door in the fresco is

80 Peppard, *World's Oldest Church*, 147–148.

81 Levi Y. Rahmani, *A Catalogue of Jewish Ossuaries in the Collections of the State of Israel* (Jerusalem: The Israel Antiquities Authority, 1994), e.g. pl. 2, no. 13, pl. 4 nos. 25–26, pl. 10 no. 60, etc.

82 Georges Kazan, "Arks of Constantinople, the New Jerusalem: the Origins of the Byzantine Sarcophagus Reliquary," *Byzantion* 85 (2015): 77–125, esp. 84–85.

83 Korol with Rieckesmann, "Neues," 1655–1656 and fig. 66,2.

84 Korol with Rieckesmann, "Neues," 1654 and figs. 67,2–3.

85 Korol with Rieckesmann, "Neues," 1655–1656 and fig. 66,2. In a forthcoming paper, I will advance a theory on the identification of this sarcophagus.

86 Peppard, *World's Oldest Church*, 115 and fig. 4.3; Kraeling, *Christian Building*, Pl. XLIII.

87 Korol with Rieckesmann, "Neues," 1652 and fig. 65.3 (in colour).

FIGURE 14.6 Detail of the half-open door. Baptistery, north wall, women at the tomb, Christian Building
YALE UNIVERSITY ART GALLERY, DURA-EUROPOS COLLECTION. PUBLISHED WITH PERMISSION

not closed, but ajar.[88] The funerary valence of precisely this half-open door is well attested: it signalled the entrance to the underworld in Roman funerary contexts that were continued in early Christian iconography.[89]

Peppard cites the *Procatechesis* by Cyril of Jerusalem in which candidates carry the "torches of a wedding procession" and the "door" has been "left open" for them to enter the "wedding feast" of their initiation.[90] While this quotation demonstrates the interconnectedness of these themes through the parable of the Virgins, it does not show that this particular procession is a baptismal one. While the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins is surely the closest evangelical and iconographical parallel that can be evoked for the fresco procession in Room 6, it does not necessarily explain this painting. What certainly needs to be accounted for is the uncanny similarity of the Gospel's parable and iconography to the scene depicted at Dura.

88 Compare the representation of the door enclosing Thekla in an ivory casket in the British Museum (ca. 430 CE): https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1856-0623-8.

89 Spera, "Depositus," 773–774 and figs. 5–6 (Via Compagni and Porto). I have not been able to consult Britt Haarløv, *The Half-Open Door: A Common Symbolic Motif within Roman Sepulchral Sculpture* (Odense: Odense University Press, 1977), cited by Spera at n. 39.

90 Peppard, *World's Oldest Church*, 147 n. 161.

Peppard's book does not mention the "Garden Scene" fragment included in Kraeling's report.[91] Although Korol notes that this fragment is "leider nur extrem schlecht dokumentierte und heute völlig zerstörte,"[92] its lamentable state does not justify complete neglect of this piece of evidence in a monograph entirely devoted to this building. According to Kraeling, this fresco fragment depicted a wooded landscape, probably alluding to a paradisiacal setting. The garden is a nearly universal paradigm for hope in a future abode of happiness and peace.[93]

Indeed, too many pointers indicate that the presence of the dead is necessary in order to make sense of this fresco cycle. In order to fit the interpretation of these images, commonly found in funerary contexts as the multiple parallels with catacombs suggest, but that Kraeling and Peppard read within the setting of a baptistery, both scholars have to twist the meaning of the stories and abstract them from their primary eschatological and salvific message. Yet even the application of the parable of the Virgins and its (possible) illustration cannot be fully understood without an eschatological referent in mind.

Moreover, not unlike what Goodenough had done when examining the synagogue paintings,[94] they not only need to stretch the meaning of every panel but also fashion a form of esoteric Syrian Christianity within whose peculiar system of beliefs (particularly eclectic for Kraeling, bordering on the "gnostic" for Peppard)[95] these meanings come to fruition. What is out of sync with the message of the paintings is only the presence of a baptismal font, particularly when abstracted from any death-and-resurrection discourse. As we have seen, the font is fortunately not necessarily there to stay.

The fourth-century baptistery of San Giovanni in Fonte at Naples was evoked by Kraeling in support of the baptismal dedication of Room 6 because of a

---

91 Kraeling, *Christian Building*, 210 and pl. XXXIX, 1.

92 Korol with Rieckesmann, "Neues," 1645, express doubt as to the paradisiacal interpretation but offer no better alternative.

93 See Spera, "*Depositus*," 775, figs. 12–14. For diachronic Byzantine developments of this theme, see Helena Bodin and Ragnar Hedlund, eds, *Byzantine Gardens and Beyond* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2013), s. v. "Eden" and "Paradise" in the index.

94 On Erwin R. Goodenough's pioneering and monumental work, see the review by Elias J. Bickerman, "Symbolism in the Dura Synagogue: A Review Article," *HTR* 58.1 (1965): 127–151.

95 On the implications of Peppard's theological argument, see Matthew R. Crawford, review of *The World's Oldest Church: Bible, Art and Ritual at Dura-Europos, Syria*, by Michael Peppard, *TS* 78.1 (2017): 231–232, and Peppard's own cautious suggestions in Michael Peppard, "Valentinians on the Euphrates?", in *From Gnostics to Monastics: Studies in Coptic and Early Christianity in Honor of Bentley Layton*, ed. David Brakke, Stephen J. Davis, and Stephen Emmel, OLA 263 (Leuven: Peeters, 2017), 117–141.

striking number of parallel iconographies.[96] Lassus was surprised at this interest in a later Western monument, which to his mind contradicted Kraeling's painstaking efforts to fix the meaning of the room within an Eastern Syrian spirituality. If the perfect parallel was at hand, why was it necessary to research Mesopotamian sources to interpret Dura?[97] Korol argues that the similarities between these buildings should not be exaggerated. His argument is that too many parts of the programme of paintings are missing from both to push the identity of these spaces through many unknowns.[98]

8 Honoring the "Special Dead"

The interest in reviving the burial hypothesis for Room 6 is not limited to the interpretation of one room, but radiates outwards to the perception of other cultic buildings in its surroundings. A strong visual link leads from the canopied niche in the corner room of building M8 to the centerpiece of the synagogue space: the paired columns (Fig. 7). As Kraeling notes, the design of irregular green and black lines applied to the columns to create the impression of a marble structure is exactly like that used on the columns flanking the Torah niche.[99] Following Kraeling, Dirven too notes that "[b]oth the intrados of the Torah shrine and the canopy of the font were embellished with the imitation of fruit garlands that are very similar in execution, design and style to those in the paintings of the baptistery."[100] The detailed similarity in this pointed use of faux-marbled paired columns, an element not otherwise featuring in abundance in the architectural design at Dura, signals a correspondence that calls for some recognition in any interpretation.[101]

96 Kraeling, *Christian Building*, 222–224.

97 Lassus, "Maison," 140: "ne peut-on se demander s'il était nécessaire de chercher tant de nuances dans des textes mésopotamiens?"

98 Korol with Rieckesmann, "Neues," 1660–1661.

99 Kraeling, *Christian Building*, 44 n. 3, with reference to Carl H. Kraeling, *The Synagogue*, vol. 8.1 of *The Excavations at Dura-Europos conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters: Final Report*, ed. A.R. Bellinger, F.E. Brown, A. Perkins and C.B. Welles (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956), pl. LI. The phenomenon of faux-marbling, that may have a practical explanation at Dura, also leads to a broader network of significances that I explore in a forthcoming paper. See examples from Roman times to the Renaissance in Fabio Barry, *Painting in Stone. Architecture and the Poetics of Marble from Antiquity to the Enlightenment* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2020).

100 Dirven, "Paradise Lost," 50 n. 46; Kraeling, *Christian Building*, 45, pl. XLIV.

101 A number of other parallels have been highlighted between the two sacred spaces: see McClendon, "The Articulation of Sacred Space."

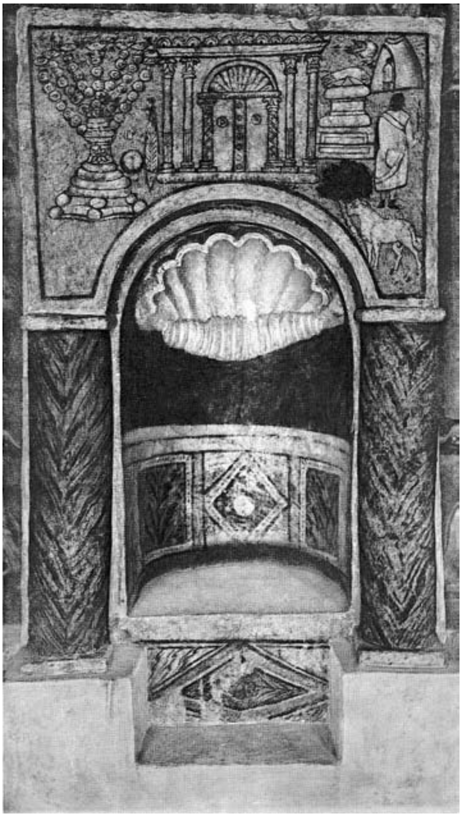


FIGURE 14.7
Faux-marble columns frame the canopy of the Torah niche, Dura synagogue
YALE UNIVERSITY ART GALLERY, DURA-EUROPOS COLLECTION. PUBLISHED WITH PERMISSION

Another significant parallelism between these structures is their orientation towards Jerusalem, both being placed against the West wall looking geographically in the direction of that city, while symbolically alluding to the eternal, heavenly Jerusalem. The remarkably parallel column-framed structures or *aediculae* point to a similar purpose across both establishments,[102] and call for a deeper understanding of the meaning with which these sacred spaces are endowed.

A bone find at the synagogue speaks of this community's honouring a "special dead". Jodi Magness reviews the evidence for "a deposit of human bones buried under the threshold of the main doorway to the synagogue" and argues that, unlike what is normally presupposed for Jewish attitudes towards the dead, these bones would not have conveyed ritual impurity by their presence.[103] Magness considers this deposit as representing "the remains of some-

102 Kraeling, *Christian Building*, 148, 158 and 198, draws this parallel.
103 Jodi Magness, "The Foundation Deposit from the Dura Europos Synagogue Reconsidered,"

one who the congregation hoped would intercede with God on their behalf, perhaps a priestly leader."[104] She goes on to postulate that the function of these finger bones may not just have been apotropaic, as their liminal positioning suggests,[105] but be more closely analogous to "the Christian cult of the relics of saints" and have been placed there as a foundation deposit.[106] Magness asks, "Could it be that the buried bones belonged to a priest, who in this capacity acted as an intercessor for the congregation?"[107]

Both the find and the remarks by Magness are especially resonant when one considers Room 6 as a shrine to a revered figure. Although the synagogue's foundation bones need not be part of the bodily remains of the same individual, their presence confirms that the eschatological orientation of both spaces cohered with respect to their attitude to its "special dead," sharing a strong belief in bodily resurrection as depicted in the revived bones of the Ezekiel panel.[108] While the synagogue's finger-bones may have been cherished as the memory of some earlier prophetic figure, Room 6 was adapted to perpetuate the memory of a recently departed honored member of the community, perhaps its leader.

9 Following the Stars

Kraeling was particularly fascinated with the interpretation of the star designs that are found both in the sky of the canopy and over the depiction of the large sarcophagus ending the Procession of the Virgins. According to him, the star-studded sky painted in the canopy is executed with a special realism, designed to impress on the neophyte the presence of a cosmic setting.[109] Kraeling remarked that the ceiling also contained a moon, extant in the form of a

---

in Bonna D. Westcoat and Robert G. Ousterhout, eds., *Architecture of the Sacred* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 231–244. I owe this reference to Prof. Andreas Merkt, with thanks for a fruitful discussion during my short fellowship at the Project "Beyond Canon," University of Regensburg, in February 2020.

104 Magness, "Foundation Deposit," 233.

105 It may be peculiar that these bones are not interred within an ossuary casket, although the latter's vogue seems to have been temporally restricted to the first century and geographically limited to Palestine, according to Jodi Magness, *Stone and Dung*, 151–155.

106 Magness, "Foundation Deposit," 236.

107 Magness, "Foundation Deposit," 236.

108 Kraeling, *Synagogue*, 178–202; Rachel Wischnitzer, "The Conception of the Resurrection in the Ezekiel Panel of the Dura Synagogue," *JBL* 60 (1941): 43–55.

109 Kraeling, *Christian Building*, 149.

fragment of a well-designed arc in black and white clear lines, with a curvature of 30 cm in diameter.[110]

But the stars that in Room 6 designate an otherworldly cosmos with their luminous presence also lead us to the sensitive Torah niche area of the synagogue: to the left of the arch, a prominent but mysterious standing figure is represented, whose only attributes are a sun and moon, with an array of seven stars in between (Wing Panel III: Fig. 8). Kraeling's report on the synagogue refers to a specific way of drawing the moon in this panel, which finds correspondences in Western funerary art.[111] The eight-rayed stars are alike in design to those of the canopy in Room 6.[112] The presence of the luminaries has been used to associate this standing figure with different biblical passages and patriarchs,[113] demonstrating in this way that the background to such astral sensitivity need not be alien to the community's Scriptural formation.

Below the man's feet is a strange curvature drawn to perfection. Kraeling dismisses it as a shadow, and notes that these shadows, of which there are other examples in a few of the synagogue panels, signal a transition towards greater realism in the manner of depiction.[114] In their analysis of this figure, however, Weitzmann and Kessler observe that the shadow cannot be considered naturalistic, because it presupposes a source of light "that should be located at the lower left" of the figure.[115] The geometrical precision of this arc, as if compass-drawn, could suggest a different relation to the above-represented luminaries, like the shadow in a sundial. In describing the fragment from the canopy of Room 6, Kraeling had made a comparison with the moon in Wing Panel III of the Dura Synagogue, a point that he does not repeat, however, when dealing with the image in the synagogue itself.[116] In both cases, the precisely drawn curves could refer to instruments for studying the placing of the luminaries in the skies, perhaps signaling the astronomical/astrological abilities of the person depicted, not unlike the magi in the Gospels.

---

110 Kraeling, *Christian Building*, 44. It is regrettable that no image of the fragment from Room 6 was published.

111 Kraeling, *Synagogue*, 236 n. 942, cf. 237 n. 945.

112 Kraeling, *Synagogue*, 236 n. 943, with reference to Charles B. Welles, Robert O. Fink, and James F. Gilliam, *The Parchments and Papyri*, vol. 5.1 of *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Final Report* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), 255.

113 Kraeling, *Synagogue*, 237: Moses, Jacob and Abraham, the latter favoured by Kraeling himself. See also Weitzman and Kessler, *Frescoes*, 127–130, who propose Isaiah.

114 Kraeling, *Synagogue*, 235 and 370.

115 Weitzmann and Kessler, *Frescoes*, 127–128.

116 Kraeling, *Christian Building*, 44 n. 2; 236 fig. 61.

FIGURE 14.8
Standing figure to the left of the Torah niche (Wing Panel III), Dura synagogue
WIKIMEDIA COMMONS. PUBLIC DOMAIN

It is worth remembering that the identification of these full-figure portraits around the Torah niche in the synagogue is far from certain. That the circle of possible referents should stop at Hebrew prophets comes not only with the identification of this space as a synagogue, but also with the further assumptions of a certain type of "Jewishness" that this space continuously disrupts, beginning from its figural decoration. In neither buildings are these boundaries of "Jewish" and "Christian," if applicable at all, perfectly water-tight. Although we unfortunately know too little about the people who animated the fervour of cultic activity at this time at Dura, despite some prosopographical information from inscriptions and aside from the marked military presence in the town, the impression is quite strong that a less rigid division between rival faith communities existed than is sometimes assumed.[117] The same forceful

117 The cosmopolitan feel of the town is highlighted in Robin M. Jensen, "The Dura Europos Synagogue, Early-Christian Art, and Religious Life in Dura Europos," in *Jews, Christians, and Polytheists in the Ancient Synagogue, Cultural Interaction during the Greco-Roman Period*, ed. Steven Fine (London: Routledge, 1999), 174–189; Michael Sommer, "Acculturation, Hybridity, Créolité: Mapping Cultural Diversity in Dura-Europos," in *Religion, Society and Culture at Dura-Europos*, ed. Ted Kaizer, Yale Classical Studies 38 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 57–67. For a competitive account, see Tessa Rajak, "The Dura Europos Synagogue: Images of a Competitive Community," in Lisa R. Brody and Gail

message of resurrection that we expect from a Christian context is in fact also clearly expressed by the paintings of the synagogue, most notably in the panel of Ezekiel in the Valley of the Dry bones,[118] and the episode of the Resurrection of the widow's son by the prophet Elijah.[119] In assessing what kind of "Judaism" might have inhabited the Dura synagogue, Joseph Gutmann commented that "it offered eternal life through personal salvation of the soul and bodily resurrection."[120]

10 Conclusion: the Dura Baptistery as Funerary Space

Despite its universal acclaim, the identification of Room 6 of building M8 with a Christian baptistery does not rest on solid grounds. In this paper, I have argued for a radical reassessment of the evidence for Room 6, which does not, in my opinion, confirm the baptistery hypothesis favoured by Kraeling and almost unanimously supported in subsequent scholarship. In particular, I have argued that the canopy over the presumed font should more appropriately be considered a funerary marker. Its shape, its symbolism, and its plausible comparanda clearly suggest this function. The refurbishment of this room, which also coincided with the renovation of the paintings in the synagogue, suggests some direct connection with an event, sometimes in the 230s CE, in consequence to which such alterations were necessary and funding for them became available. This episode could have plausibly been the death of a significant community leader, perhaps the community's founder. The simultaneous boost to Dura's cultic spaces with elaborate exegetical visual programmes for didactic and liturgical purposes attests to some special fer-

---

L. Hoffman, eds, *Dura-Europos: Crossroads of Antiquity* (Chestnut Hill: McMullen Museum of Art, 2011), 131–144, and Tessa Rajak, "The Synagogue Paintings in Dura-Europos: Triumphalism and Competition," in *The Image and its Prohibition in Jewish Antiquity*, ed. Sarah J. Pearce, Journal of Jewish Studies Supplement Series 2 (Oxford: Journal of Jewish Studies, 2013), 89–109.

118 Kraeling, *Synagogue*, 178–202; Weitzmann and Kessler, *Frescoes*, 132–139.

119 Kraeling, *Synagogue*, 143–146; Weitzmann and Kessler, *Frescoes*, 106–107. I have some forthcoming studies about this panel, the first of which is entitled "Performing the Bible at Dura: A Panel of Elijah and the Widow of Sarepta as *tableau vivant*," in *Performance in Late Antiquity and Byzantium*, ed. Niki Tsironi (Center for Hellenic Studies, Princeton: in press).

120 Joseph Gutmann, "Programmatic Painting in the Dura Synagogue," in *The Dura-Europos Synagogue: A Re-evaluation (1932–1972)*, ed. Joseph Gutmann, RelArts 1 (Missoula: American Academy of Religion, 1973), 137–154.

ment that calls for appreciating interactions among Durene citizens rather than emphasizing divisions according to anachronistically established faith boundaries.

Above all, I have exposed the incoherence in considering the paintings of this room to support a baptismal theology that dispenses with "death mysticism," whose application is here inappropriate in terms of location and time. Either one calls this (Pauline) theology into play, or one is obliged to deny the explicit eschatological references in each of these scenes in order to hold on to the required baptismal framework. As noted, such theological contextualization within a discourse of salvation as articulated in funerary spaces rather than in a baptismal context is inevitable when the eschatological connotations of the paintings are properly acknowledged, because it is impossible to ignore in them an emphasis on death that outweighs other signs of baptismal initiation. Neglecting the first and forcing the iconographies' meaning into the latter scheme is only done at great risk to exegetical integrity. While later parallels from baptismal contexts highlight the close relation of funerary *martyria* to baptismal installations predicated on Pauline theology, their example cannot with any plausibility be retrojected onto Dura.

Restoring the funerary connotations to the creation of the space in Room 6 relieves the interpreter from the need to force these paintings into a baptismal theology which, without recourse to death, distorts their primary and most important referent: paradise and the salvation of resurrection. Thus, while Robin M. Jensen celebrated "the frescoes of Dura's Christian building [as being] among the very few examples of non-sepulchral Christian art from that period to have been discovered,"[121] their peculiarity seems rather to be that these are sepulchral frescoes not found in underground catacombs. What is unusual at Dura is to find a sepulchral place that is not a hypogeum. This arrangement may have had a technical reason: even the Mithraeum, a little way down the same street, was atypically built as a surface room.[122] While the necropolis beyond the walls was dug into the stone of the plateau and consisted of around 950 hypogeal chamber tombs,[123] underground structures within the walls were only placed in a fortified position under a tower. This placement suggests that underground space inside Dura was reserved for a different function, perhaps

121 Jensen, "The Dura Europos Synagogue," 175–176.

122 As Tommaso Gnoli, "The Mithraeum of Dura-Europos: New Perspectives," in *Religion, Society and Culture at Dura-Europos*, ed. Ted Kaizer, Yale Classical Studies 38 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 126–143, here 128–129, notes: "the specific structure of the soil at the site of Dura … would not allow the digging of a spelaeum."

123 Jennifer Baird, *Dura-Europos* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), 92.

storage of treasure or other reserves. Roman soldiers strenuously defended this space in the final attack on the city and were trapped in it as easy prey to the enemy.[124]

Thus, surface placing need not exclude sepulchral function. Moreover, the objection that the shrine was positioned within the city walls, an area usually forbidden for burials, may be answered in a twofold manner. Exceptions to such general laws were often made for the "special dead," such as Emperors and holy persons. Sanctity or special honors placed these bodies in a different category from the ordinary corpse.[125] More cogently still, besides some victims from the final attack on Dura whose corpses remained strewn or were hastily covered, a few other burials at pavement level were actually recorded within the walls of Dura.[126] In light of this evidence, burial within Room 6 becomes a real possibility.

Reverence towards relics has roots in the Hebrew Bible, and should not be exclusively thought of as a late, specifically Christian, cultic development.[127] The emphasis on resurrection and the celebration of cultic leaders through reverence of bodily parts was shared between the proposed function of Room 6 and the activities at the synagogue, as witnessed by the subject of its frescoes, the arrangement and structure of the central niche, and the discovery of a foundation deposit. Reading one space against the other because of preconceived labelling of a "Christian" versus a "Jewish" space precludes hearing the echoes that both the images and the architectures are crying out to us to pick up. A bipartite template is inadequate.

The iconic power that Dura has commanded in scholarship raises strong feelings and expectations in religious communities, whether Jewish or Christian, so that its remains have themselves been invested with an air of sacrality that dissuades critical discussion. Beholding the most ancient Christian bap-

124 Simon James, "Stratagems, Combat, and 'Chemical Warfare' in the Siege Mines of Dura-Europos," *AJA* 115.1 (2011), 69–101.

125 While the Theodosian Code continued to detail prohibitions concerning burial of human remains within the city of Constantinople and even banned the transport of martyrs' relics, these practices were widespread: Jonathan P. Stanfill, "The Body of Christ's Barbarian Limb: John Chrysostom's Processions and the Embodied Performance of Nicene Christianity," in *Revisioning John Chrysostom: New Approaches, New Perspectives*, ed. Chris L. de Welt and Wendy Mayer (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 670–697, here 679 n. 38.

126 Baird, *Dura-Europos*, 96, crucially enumerates four cases (the remains in the House of Lysias, D1, and in D5, and two burials in ceramic sarcophagi beneath the city walls).

127 In particular, the thaumaturgic, life-giving function of holy bones is represented by 2 Kings 13:20–21: see John Wortley, "The Origins of Christian Veneration of Body-Parts," *RHR* 1 (2006): 5–28, here 10–11 n. 12.

tistery in a converted house church conveys an excitement that is not easily given up. Yet the early date of Dura's community and the exceptional nature of the finds compel us to assess the evidence for what it is, and, while surprising strands of resilience are often found in religious manifestations, whether mainstream or niche, there is no guarantee that the story these ruins are telling can fit precisely into our religious models. The creation of the sacred commemorative precinct of Room 6, and its calling out to the synagogue's structures only a few blocks away, may be telling us something that our neat labels of "Jewish" and "Christian" fail to capture.

Breaking away from an obligatory baptistery hypothesis seems an essential first step in order to bring current perspectives in scholarship to bear in illuminating the fantastically well-preserved evidence from Dura. In considering this room a funerary space, the way stands open not only for more cogent comparisons with early art from catacombs, but also for exciting possibilities of dialogue with new research in late ancient funerary customs.[128] Other current discourses on the mutual relation between *ekklēsia* and synagogue and their respective definition, as well as on the relation between church and army organization can also benefit from incorporation in the further study of the Durene evidence.[129] The vehemence with which Dura was annihilated by the Sasanian Persian attack in 256 CE may well suggest that something especially threatening was flourishing just there.

Bibliography

Acqua, Cristina Maria. "Imperial Representation at Dura-Europos." Pages 144–164 in *Religion, Society and Culture at Dura-Europos*. Edited by Ted Kaizer. Yale Classical Studies 38. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Baird, Jennifer. *Dura-Europos*. London: Bloomsbury, 2018.

Baranov, Vladimir. "Constructing the Underground Community: The Letters of Theodore the Studite and the Letter of Emperors Michael II and Theophilos to Louis the Pious." *Scrinium* 6 (2010): 230–259.

128 In particular, Egyptian paintings such as those at Bagawat: Mahmoud Zibawi, *L'oasi egiziana di Bagawat. Le pitture paleocristiane* (Milan: Jaca Book, 2004). See also Lidewijde De Jong, *The Archeology of Death in Roman Syria: Burial, Commemoration and Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

129 See the pertinent observations in Runesson and Cirafesi, "Art and Architecture," and the literature cited there.

Barry, Fabio. *Painting in Stone. Architecture and the Poetics of Marble from Antiquity to the Enlightenment*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2020.

Becker, Adam H., and Annette Yoshiko Reed, eds. *The Ways that Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 95. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007.

Bernabò, Massimo, ed. *Il Tetravangelo di Rabbula: Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 1.56: L'illustrazione del Nuovo Testamento nella Siria del VI secolo*. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2008.

Bianchi, Davide. "Le sepolture nei contesti ecclesiastici transgiordani: Alcuni casi per un'indagine preliminare." *Mitteilungen zur christlichen Archäologie* 24 (2018): 37–56.

Bickerman, Elias J. "Symbolism in the Dura Synagogue: A Review Article." *HTR* 58.1 (1965): 127–151.

Bij de Vaate, Alice J. "Alphabet-Inscriptions from Jewish Graves." Pages 148–161 in *Studies in Early Jewish Epigraphy*. Edited by Jan W. van Henten and Pieter W. van der Horst. Leiden: Brill, 1994.

Bodin, Helena, and Ragnar Hedlund, eds. *Byzantine Gardens and Beyond*. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2013.

Bogdanović, Jelena. *The Framing of Sacred Space: The Canopy and the Byzantine Church*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Bogdanović, Jelena. "Controversies Intertwined: Architecture as Icon Examined Through the Lenses of the Byzantine Iconoclastic Debates." Pages 199–216 in *Transforming Sacred Spaces: New Approaches to Byzantine Ecclesiastical Architecture from the Transitional Period*. Edited by Sabine Feist. Spätantikes—Frühes Christentum—Byzanz 48. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2020.

Bolman, Elizabeth, ed. *The Red Monastery Church: Beauty and Asceticism in Upper Egypt*. Cairo: American Research Center, 2016.

Botha, Phil J. "The Interpretation of Daniel 3 in the Syriac Commentary Ascribed to Ephrem the Syrian." *Acta Patristica et Byzantina* 16 (2005): 29–53.

Boyarin, Daniel. "Rethinking Jewish Christianity: An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category (to Which Is Appended a Correction of My *Border Lines*)." *JQR* 99.1 (2009): 7–36.

Brandt, Olof. "Understanding the Structures of Early Christian Baptisteries." Pages 1587–1609 in *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism and Early Christianity*. Edited by David Hellholm, Tor Vegge, Øyvind Norderval, and Christer Hellholm. BZNW 176. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011.

Collins, John J., and Adela Yarbro Collins, *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993.

Crawford, Matthew R. Review of *The World's Oldest Church: Bible, Art and Ritual at Dura-Europos, Syria*, by Michael Peppard. *TS* 78.1 (2017): 231–232.

De Jong, Lidewijde. *The Archeology of Death in Roman Syria: Burial, Commemoration and Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

Dirven, Lucinda. "Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained: The Meaning of Adam and Eve in the Baptistery of Dura-Europos." *Eastern Christian Art* 5 (2008): 43–57.

Fiey, Jean-Maurice. *Saints syriaques*. Edited by Lawrence I. Conrad. Princeton: Darwin, 2004.

Frahm, Eckhart, ed. *A Companion to Assyria*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2017.

Frend, William H.C. "Persecutions: Genesis and Legacy." Pages 503–523 in *Origins to Constantine*. Edited by Margaret M. Mitchell and Frances M. Young. Vol. 1 of *The Cambridge History of Christianity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Gnoli, Tommaso. "The Mithraeum of Dura-Europos: New Perspectives." Pages 126–143 in *Religion, Society and Culture at Dura-Europos*. Edited by Ted Kaizer. Yale Classical Studies 38. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Grabar, André. *Iconographie*. Vol. 2 of *Martyrium: Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique*. Paris: Collège de France, 1946.

Gutmann, Joseph. "Programmatic Painting in the Dura Synagogue." Pages 137–154 in *The Dura-Europos Synagogue: A Re-evaluation (1932–1972)*. Edited by Joseph Gutmann. RelArts 1. Missoula: American Academy of Religion, 1973.

Harley-McGowan, Felicity. "The Maskell Passion Ivories and Greco-Roman Art: Notes on the Iconography of Crucifixion." Pages 13–33 in *Envisioning Christ on the Cross: Ireland and the Early Medieval West*. Edited by Juliet Mullins, Jenifer Ní Ghrádaigh and Richard Hawtree. Dublin: Four Courts, 2013.

Haarløv, Britt. *The Half-Open Door: A Common Symbolic Motif within Roman Sepulchral Sculpture*. Odense: Odense University Press, 1977.

Hultgård, Anders. "The Mandean Water Ritual in Late Antiquity." Pages 69–100 in *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism and Early Christianity*. Edited by David Hellholm, Tor Vegge, Øyvind Norderval, and Christer Hellholm. BZNW 176. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011.

James, Simon. "Stratagems, Combat, and 'Chemical Warfare' in the Siege Mines of Dura-Europos." *AJA* 115.1 (2011), 69–101.

Jensen, Robin M. "The Dura Europos Synagogue, Early-Christian Art, and Religious Life in Dura Europos." Pages 174–189 in *Jews, Christians, and Polytheists in the Ancient Synagogue, Cultural Interaction during the Greco-Roman Period*. Edited by Steven Fine. London: Routledge, 1999.

Johnson, Mark. Review of *The Framing of Sacred Space: The Canopy and the Byzantine Church* by Jelena Bogdanović. *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2020.11.26.

Kazan, Georges. "Arks of Constantinople, the New Jerusalem: the Origins of the Byzantine Sarcophagus Reliquary." *Byzantion* 85 (2015): 77–125.

Kessler, Herbert L. "Through the Temple Veil: the Holy Image in Judaism and Christianity." *Kairós* 32/33 (1990): 53–77.

Klauser, Theodor. "Taufet in lebendigem Wasser! Zum religions- und kulturgeschichtlichen Verständnis von Didache 7:1–3." Pages 177–183 in *Gesammelte Arbeiten zur*

Liturgiegeschichten, Kristengeschichte und christlichen Archäologie, by Theodor Klauser. Edited by Ernst Dassmann. Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum Ergänzungsbände 3. Münster: Aschendorff, 1977.

Korol, Dieter, with Jannike Rieckesmann, "Neues zu den alt- und neutestamentlichen Darstellungen im Baptisterium von Dura-Europos." Pages 1611–1662 in *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism and Early Christianity*. Edited by David Hellholm, Tor Vegge, Øyvind Norderval, and Christer Hellholm. BZNW 176. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011.

Kraeling, Carl H. *The Synagogue*. Vol. 8.1 of *The Excavations at Dura-Europos conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters: Final Report*. Edited by A.R. Bellinger, F.E. Brown, A. Perkins and C.B. Welles. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956.

Kraeling, Carl H. *The Christian Building*. Vol. 8.2 of *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Final Report*. Los Angeles: University of California, 1967.

Laato, Anni Maria. "Eve, Rebecca, and Mary as Prophetical Images of the Church." Pages 233–254 in *Take Another Scroll and Write: Studies in the Interpretive Afterlife of Prophets and Prophecy in Judaism, Christianity and Islam*. Edited by Pekka Lindqvist and Sven Grebenstein. Studies in the Reception History of the Bible 6. Turku: Åbo Akademi University; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2016.

LaCoque, André. *The Book of Daniel*. London: SPCK, 1979.

Lassus, Jean. *Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie*: *Essai sur la genèse, la forme et l'usage*. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 42. Paris: Geuthner, 1947.

Lassus, Jean. "La maison des chrétiens de Dura-Europos." *RAr* 7 (1969): 129–140.

Levine, Lee. *Visual Judaism in Late Antiquity: Historical Contexts of Jewish Art*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012.

Magness, Jodi. *Stone and Dung, Oil and Spit: Jewish Daily Life in the Time of Jesus*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011.

Magness, Jodi. "The Foundation Deposit from the Dura Europos Synagogue Reconsidered." Pages 231–244 in *Architecture of the Sacred*. Edited by Bonna D. Westcoat and Robert G. Ousterhout. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

McGowan, Andrew B. *Ancient Christian Worship: Early Church Practice in Social, Historical and Theological Perspective*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2014.

McClendon, Charles B. "The Articulation of Sacred Space in the Synagogue and Christian Building at Dura Europos." Pages 155–167 in *Dura Europos: Crossroads of Antiquity*. Edited by Lisa R. Brody and Gail L. Hoffmann. Chesnutt Hill: McMullen Museum of Art, 2011. Available at https://archive.org/details/duraeuroposcross00brod.

McDowell, Sean. *The Fate of the Apostles: Examining the Martyrdom Accounts of the Closest Followers of Jesus*. Abingdon: Ashgate, 2015.

Patout Burns, Jean, and Robin M. Jensen. *Christianity in Roman Africa: the Development of its Practices and Beliefs*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2014.

Peppard, Michael. *The World’s Oldest Church: Bible, Art and Ritual at Dura-Europos, Syria*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016.

Peppard, Michael. “Valentinians on the Euphrates?” Pages 117–141 in *From Gnostics to Monastics: Studies in Coptic and Early Christianity in Honor of Bentley Layton*. Edited by David Brakke, Stephen J. Davis, and Stephen Emmel. OLA 263. Leuven: Peeters, 2017.

Perler, Othmar. “Zu den Inschriften des Baptisterium von Dura-Europos.” Pages 175–185 in *Epektasis: Mélanges patristiques offerts au cardinal Jean Daniélou*. Edited by Jacques Fontaine and Charles Kannengiesser. Paris: Beauchesne, 1972.

Rahmani, Levi Y. *A Catalogue of Jewish Ossuaries in the Collections of the State of Israel*. Jerusalem: The Israel Antiquities Authority, 1994.

Rajak, Tessa. “The Dura Europos Synagogue: Images of a Competitive Community.” Pages 131–144 in *Dura Europos: Crossroads of Antiquity*. Edited by Lisa R. Brody and Gail L. Hoffmann. Chesnutt Hill: McMullen Museum of Art, 2011. Available at https://archive.org/details/duraeuroposcross00brod.

Rajak, Tessa. “The Synagogue Paintings in Dura-Europos: Triumphalism and Competition.” Pages 89–109 in *The Image and its Prohibition in Jewish Antiquity*. Edited by Sarah J. Pearce. Journal of Jewish Studies Supplement Series 2. Oxford: Journal of Jewish Studies, 2013.

Rebillard, Éric, ed. *Greek and Latin Narratives about the Ancient Martyrs*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Runesson, Anders, and Wally V. Cirafesi. “Art and Architecture at Capernaum, Kefar ʿOthnay, and Dura-Europos.” Pages 151–200 in *From Celsus to the Catacombs: Visual, Liturgical, and Non-Christian Receptions of Jesus in the Second and Third Centuries CE*. Edited by Chris Keith. Vol. 3 of *The Reception of Jesus in the First Three Centuries*. Edited by Chris Keith, Helen K. Bond, Christine Jacobi and Jens Schröter. 3 vols. London: T & T Clark, 2019.

Smith, Eric C. *Jewish Glass and Christian Stone: A Materialist Mapping of the “Parting of the Ways.”* London: Routledge, 2018.

Solin, Heikki. “Introduzione allo studio dei graffiti parietali.” Pages 99–124 in *Unexpected Voices: The Graffiti in the Cryptoporticus of the Horti Sallustiani*. Edited by Olof Brandt. Stockholm: Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae, 2008.

Sommer, Michael. “Acculturation, Hybridity, Créolité: Mapping Cultural Diversity in Dura-Europos.” Pages 57–67 in *Religion, Society and Culture at Dura-Europos*. Edited by Ted Kaizer. Yale Classical Studies 38. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Spera, Lucrezia. “*Depositus in Cristo*. Valenze soteriche nella ridefinizione cristiana del mondo funerario.” Pages 765–777 in *Pagani e cristiani alla ricerca della salvezza (secoli I–III), XXXIV Incontro di studiosi dell’antichità cristiana, Roma, 5–7 maggio 2005*. Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum 96. Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 2006.

Stanfill, Jonathan P. "The Body of Christ's Barbarian Limb: John Chrysostom's Processions and the Embodied Performance of Nicene Christianity." Pages 670–697 in *Revisioning John Chrysostom: New Approaches, New Perspectives*. Edited by Chris L. de Welt and Wendy Mayer. Leiden: Brill, 2019.

Stark, Rodney. *The Triumph of Christianity*. New York: HarperCollins, 2011.

Stern, Karen B. "Inscription as Religious Competition in Third-Century Syria." Pages 141–151 in *Religious Competition in the Third Century CE: Jews, Christians, and the Greco-Roman World*. Edited by Jordan D. Rosenblum, Lily C. Vuong and Nathaniel P. DesRosiers. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014.

Stevens, Susan T. "Excavations of an Early Christian Pilgrimage Complex at Bit Ftouha (Carthage)," *DOP* 54 (2000): 271–274.

Weitzmann, Kurt, and Herbert L. Kessler. *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art*. Dumbarton Oaks Studies 28. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1990.

Welles, Charles B., Robert O. Fink, and James F. Gilliam. *The Parchments and Papyri*. Vol. 5.1 of *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Final Report*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959.

Wharton, Annabelle. *Refiguring the Postclassical City: Dura Europos, Jerash, Jerusalem and Ravenna*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Wilpert, Joseph. *Die gottgeweihten Jungfrauen in den ersten Jahrhunderten der Kirche*. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1892.

Wischnitzer, Rachel. "The Conception of the Resurrection in the Ezekiel Panel of the Dura Synagogue." *JBL* 60 (1941): 43–55.

Wortley, John. "The Origins of Christian Veneration of Body-Parts." *RHR* 1 (2006): 5–28.

Yasin, Annemarie. *Saints and Church Spaces in the Late Antique Mediterranean: Architecture, Cult and Community*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Zibawi, Mahmoud. *L'oasi egiziana di Bagawat. Le pitture paleocristiane*. Milan: Jaca Book, 2004.

15

What Is a Christian Altar? Is It a βωμός, a τράπεζα or a θυσιαστήριον?

Tord Fornberg

Early Christian authors used several different words to refer to altars.[1] One such author, Dionysios the Areopagite in the early sixth century, used the word θυσιαστήριον consistently for the altar in the chapter about the Eucharist in his book *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*. But he changed to the word τράπεζα in his chapter about baptism. Is this a coincidence or not? It is also worth noticing that the floor in the relatively recently discovered and very early church building in Megiddo (from the third or fourth century)[2] has a mosaic where the word τράπεζα is used for what can reasonably be deduced to be an expensive altar table. Since the table was evidently of such a high quality that the donor, a lady with the name Akeptous, wanted everyone to read her name on the church floor, something more spectacular than a simple wooden table or a stone base would necessarily be implied.[3]

1 Greek Words

There are many words that are used for altars, but most of them seem to have more specific meanings, which are often difficult to establish. We will first dis-

1 See Johann Peter Kirsch and Theodor Klauser, "Altar," *Realenzyklopädie für Antike und Christentum* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1950), 1:310–354, for in-depth documentation on altars in the early church and the surrounding world.

2 Yotam Tepper and Leah Di Segni, *A Christian Prayer Hall of the Third Century CE at Kefar ʿOthnay* (*Legio*) (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2006), 36. See also a most important recent paper for a detailed discussion: Anders Runesson and Wally V. Cirafesi, "Art and Architecture at Capernaum, Kefar ʿOthnay, and Dura-Europos," in *From Celsus to the Catacombs: Visual, Liturgical, and Non-Christian Receptions of Jesus in the Second and Third Centuries CE*, ed. Chris Keith, vol. 3 of *The Reception of Jesus in the First Three Centuries*, ed. Chris Keith, Helen K. Bond, Christine Jacobi and Jens Schröter (London: T & T Clark, 2019), 151–200.

3 Cf. James Hope Moulton and George Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1930), 639–640, § 3, on the term τράπεζα μάρμαρα in a Christian papyrus.

DOI:10.1163/9789004522053_015

cuss these terms quite briefly; most of them can be ruled out as possible terms for altars generally, and only three terms will remain for an in-depth discussion.

1. ἁγίασμα (from ἅγιος, 'holy') has a fairly wide range of meanings and is used about holy places and objects, such as the altar in a church in Caesarea.[4]
2. αριηλ is a difficult word and can be considered as a technical term, possibly with the meaning "altar hearth," thus Ezek 43:15 in the Septuagint and the Vulgate.[5] The Masoretic text, however, reads *har'el* ("God's mountain"), maybe supported by Isa 29:1–2, 7, where the term seems to function as a geographical name.
3. βῆμα in the meaning of "elevated surface" was used about the platform from which worship is led in the synagogues and about the base of an altar or the place of the altar (the altar area of a church) in Byzantine Greek. It may have a background in the Hebrew word *bamah*.[6]
4. βόθρος is used about an excavated hole in the ground, where sacrifices could be placed or poured.
5. ἑστία with the basic meaning of "hearth" indicates the altar where the sacrificed food is prepared to be eaten by gods or humans.
6. ἐσχάρα is used about holes and low hearths for sacrifices to earth gods and similar divinities, often leading down to a βόθρος below. In the Septuagint the word ἐσχάρα is used 13 times about various details on altars, e.g., Sir 50:12: ἐσχάρα βωμοῦ ("the altar hearth"), referring to the altar in the temple of Jerusalem.
7. θυμέλη with the meaning "fire place" or "place of sacrifice" is associated with theatrical scenes and the like, and can hardly be used about altars generally.
8. θυμιατήριον (from the word θυμίαμα, "incense") has the meaning "altar of incense"/ "censer" and is used three times in the Septuagint (2 Chr 26:19; Ezra 8:11 and 4 Macc 7:11), in the New Testament only in Heb 9:4, but compare Luke 1:11 τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τοῦ θυμιάματος ("the altar of incense").
9. ἱλαστήριον (from the same root as ἱλασμός, "means/place of atonement") is used for the plate covering the ark of the covenant in the tabernacle

4 Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 7.15.4.

5 See also the Mesha stone from the mid-ninth century BCE, line 12, which may be translated "the altar hearth of David." It may also be understood as a personal name "Arel (or Oriel) its chieftain" or a geographical name, thus Isa 15:9 LXX, where it seems to indicate a district like Moab or Adama.

6 Helmer Ringgren, *Israelitische Religion*, Die Religionen der Menschheit 26 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1963), 142, 161.

or in the temple of Jerusalem.[7] More generally, it seems to indicate the place where the sins of humanity are atoned for, thus Gen 6:15 where Symmachus uses the word about Noah's ark. It occurs twice in the New Testament, in Rom 3:25 and Heb 9:5. In the Coptic church the word ἱλαστήριον is used to denote the altar.

These words are either too specific or too closely connected to various non-Christian cult practices to be used about Christian altars. This is also true of several other words, such as δαίς, συμπόσιον and ἔρανος, which are used about pagan meals but never about Christian ones.[8]

The rest of this article will focus on three remaining terms that are all often used in Christian texts, but have different associations: βωμός, τράπεζα and θυσιαστήριον. Two of these words, βωμός and τράπεζα, have their origins in the Greek classical world.

2 The Word βωμός

The word βωμός is frequently used in Greek literature, especially about the large altar in the courtyard (ἱερόν) in front of the temple building itself (ναός). It is used 44 times in the Septuagint, normally about pagan altars erected upon a raised platform (*bēma*?) of some kind; see, e.g., Exod 34:13; Deut 7:5; 12:3; Hos 10:8; Amos 7:9;[9] Jer 7:31 and 2 Macc 10:2 (in v. 3 the word θυσιαστήριον is used for the Jewish altar that was erected by the Maccabees after they had torn down the βωμός of the Seleucid overlords).[10] But the choice of terminology is not absolutely consistent. Thus the Septuagint of Num 3:10 has the word βωμός for an Israelite altar in a sentence that has no correspondence in the Masoretic text, as 2 Macc 2:19 has for the altar that the Maccabees inaugurated in the temple,

---

7 See, e.g., Robert Jewett, *Romans*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 284, with documentation.

8 Jerker Blomqvist and Karin Blomqvist, "Eucharist Terminology in Early Christian Literature," in *The Eucharist—Its Origins and Contexts*, ed. David Hellholm and Dieter Sänger WUNT 376 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 1:389–421, here 1:413–414.

9 These *bamot* were legitimate sacrificial high places before but not after the reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah. In the time of the LXX they were associated to idolatry.

10 The word βωμός is used 8 times in Num 23 about Balaam's altar, as well as 8 times in Josh 22 about the altar at Jordan, thus altars that are neither fully Israelite nor fully pagan. On Josh 22, see Anders Runesson, Donald D. Binder, and Birger Olsson, *The Ancient Synagogue from its Origins to 200 C.E.* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 290–294, with an important quotation from John Kloppenborg: "an altar built for a reason other than sacrificial rituals would be a contradiction in terms."

2 Macc 13:8 (about the altar that was desecrated by Menelaos) and Sir 50:12 (influenced by the word ἐσχάρα?), 14. It may not be a coincidence that the author of 2 Maccabees was a Hellenistic Jew who used Greek-influenced vocabulary in his summary of a book by one Jason of Cyrene, and that the book of Sirach shows a Sadducean piety heavily influenced by Hellenistic ideology. Neither Philo nor Josephus are consistent in their use of language.

In the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers, the word βωμός occurs only twice, in Acts 17:23 about the altar "to an unknown God" in Athens,[11] and in 1 Clem. 25.4 about the altar of the Sun God in Heliopolis and its importance for the Phoenix bird. The total absence of this word in contexts where early Christian literature refers to Christian altars is certainly no coincidence.

The Christians did not burn offerings on a temple courtyard,[12] and as a consequence the term βωμός ("altar") could not be used when they spoke about their own worship. In Christian as well as Jewish texts, the term was only used of pagan worship, outside of the church and the synagogue. As a consequence, the word βωμός became coloured by paganism in contrast to the basically neutral meaning that it had originally, and thus it could not be used in texts about Christian worship.

This is confirmed by the fact that pagan authors polemized against Christians by arguing that they lack an altar (βωμός). Thus, Origen of Alexandria (ca. 185–254 CE) responded to Celsus that "we avoid setting up altars and images and temples, which he [Celsus] thinks is a sure token of an obscure and secret society"[13] and Minucius Felix (d. ca. 250 CE) paraphrased: "Why do they have no altars, no temples, no publicly-known images? Why do they never speak in the open, why do they always assemble in stealth?"[14]

We may summarize by saying that the word βωμός is used only exceptionally about the altar in the temple in Jerusalem but never about altars or tables in the early church. The term is used for pagan altars in the Septuagint as well as in the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers. In a few cases we find it used about altars that can be said to be on the borderline between what is Israelite and what is Gentile.

11 See further, Ben Witherington III, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 521–523.

12 There was probably no βωμός in the post-Exilic temple in Elephantine; no animals were allowed to be sacrificed there.

13 Origen, *Cels*. 8.17.

14 Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 10.2. See also Arnobius the Elder, *Adversus nationes* 6.1 and Athenagoras, *Legatio* 13.1: "They consider piety according to the sacrifices (θυσία) and accuse us of not honouring the gods of the city [...] The creator of this universe does not need blood or fat or fragrance from flowers or incense ...."

3 The Word τράπεζα

The word τράπεζα occurs 15 times in the New Testament,[15] but the two instances of it in 1 Cor 10:21 are the only ones that are of any relevance for us: "You cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of demons. You cannot partake of the table of the Lord and the table of demons."[16] Of the other 13 occurrences, at most Luke 22:21 and Acts 16:34 in particular may be mentioned: the table at Jesus's last meal and the one in the home of the Philippian jailer are called τράπεζα. But what else could they be called?

The same word is used in the Septuagint for the altar of incense in the interior of the temple in Jerusalem, but sometimes, as in Ezek 44:16, also for the sacrificial altar (*shulchan*) in the eschatological ideal temple. A passage in Malachi is important for us here, since the apostle Paul uses it in 1 Cor 10:21, quoted above, with reference to the Eucharistic meal:

> You say: 'How have we despised your name?' By offering polluted food on my altar (θυσιαστήριον) […]. By thinking that the Lord's table (τράπεζα) may be despised. […] Oh, that someone among you would shut the temple doors, so that you would not kindle fire on my altar (θυσιαστήριον) in vain! […] But you profane it when you say that the Lord's table (τράπεζα) is polluted, and the food for it may be despised. […]
>
> Mal 1:6–12[17]

Malachi distinguishes between the altar for burnt sacrifices (θυσιαστήριον) on the temple precincts (τὸ ἱερόν) where people brought their sacrificial animals, the altar of incense or of other gifts to God (τράπεζα) inside the temple building (ὁ ναός) and the various tables in the courtyard where they could eat their parts of the sacrificed animals.

This Malachi text remained important for the early church. It is quoted in Did. 14.3, where we read: "For this is the sacrifice mentioned by the Lord: 'In every place and time, bring me a pure sacrifice (θυσία). For I am a great king, says the Lord, and my name is considered marvellous among the Gentiles,'" a

---

15 See Blomqvist and Blomqvist, "Eucharistic Terminology," for the use of this word in early Christian literature.

16 Dieter Zeller, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*, KEK 5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 342, with material from the field of comparative religion, and Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, AYB 32 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 394.

17 See Tord Fornberg, "Malachi 1:11 in Jewish and Christian Tradition," in Tord Fornberg, *Jewish-Christian Dialogue and Biblical Exegesis*, Studia Missionalia Upsaliensia 47 (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1988), 47–74.

quotation from Mal 1:11–14.[18] The context in Didache is important: The passage is introduced with the words that "[o]n the Lord's own day, when you gather together, break bread and give thanks (εὐχαριστέω) after you have confessed your unlawful deeds, that your sacrifice (θυσία) may be pure" (Did. 14.1), which gives the whole passage a Eucharistic meaning.

Alluding to Malachi 1, the author of Didache gives us the earliest known summary of a Christian worship service: coming together, confession of sins, a communal meal and thanksgiving. The focus is on something called "sacrifice" (θυσία), what is unspecified, but perhaps the Malachi-text that is hidden behind the Didache gives the answer: "For from the rising of the sun to its setting my name is great among the nations, and in every place incense (θυμίαμα) is offered to my name, and a pure offering (θυσία); for my name is great among the nations." The word "incense" is not to be understood literally. Incense was not used in Christian worship (except at funerals) until the early fourth century,[19] when it was introduced from the Imperial ceremonial as a symbolic expression for the prayers of the righteous ones, a symbolism that we read about as early as in the description of the heavenly liturgy in Rev 5:8.[20]

The apostle Paul applied Malachi 1 to the communal meals in Corinth, which are compared to the meals in the temple precincts of Jerusalem at tables (1Cor 10:21) but not to those at the altar of burnt sacrifices. Paul uses the word τράπεζα several times about these tables, and at the same time he talks about the Eucharistic sacrifice (θυσία). It is easy to see a connection between their meals (κυριακὸν δεῖπνον) consisting of bread and wine and what later on became the Eucharistic meal of the church, mentioned in the next chapter, 1Cor 11:17–34.

The term κυριακὸν δεῖπνον does not reveal anything about the character and meaning of this meal, except for its connection to the Lord (ὁ κύριος). A glance at Gospel texts where Jesus shares a meal with his disciples complicates the picture even further. Often we do not read about bread and wine, but about bread and fish, e.g., in Matt 14:13–21 par. (also on the mosaic from the fifth century in Tabgha, the location of the miraculous feeding, identified

18 See Kurt Niederwimmer, *The Didache*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998), 198.

19 See Hannah Lents, "Swinging Censers: the Late Antique Christian Transition to Incense Use in the Fourth to Sixth Centuries C.E." (Master's Thesis; Brandeis University, 2016).

20 Craig R. Koester, *Revelation*, AYB 38A (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 379 and 433. See also Ps 141:2: "My prayer is constantly before you as a sacrifice of incense (θυμίαμα)." Egeria, *Itinerarium* 24.10 (late fourth century AD) mentions that incense was used in the cave of the Anastasis.

in the fourth century) and Matt 15:32–39 par.; see also Luke 24:13–35 and Acts 27:35 (with bread) and John 21:1–11 (with bread and fish). It is not self-evident that the combination of bread and wine dominated the communal meals of the first Christians. Among Jewish Christians, and among the Christians behind the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, even a Eucharist consisting of bread and water was well established.[21] It was only when meals intended to satisfy the participants' physical hunger—later known as *agape* meals—parted ways with a liturgically more stylized meal, consisting of only a little bread and wine, that focus was laid upon the latter, which was liturgically formalized as a Eucharistic meal.

Among the many ancient paintings and mosaics depicting meals, there is nothing similar to an altar.[22] Instead, we see a number of persons—often seven, as in John 21:1—seated at a round or C-shaped table, often with three legs. Christian examples date back to third-century catacombs in Rome, and later became numerous.[23] The great number of such pictures demonstrates that these communal meals were important in the life of the local churches. Bread seems to be served in all instances, often together with fish,[24] and it is difficult to find any liturgical elements in what is depicted. The piece of

21 See Acts Pet. 2.1 in *Actus Vercellenses* 1.2; Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher, *Apostolisches, Apokalypsen und Verwandtes*. Vol. 2 of *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*: *in deutscher Übersetzung*, third ed. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1964), 191 and Andrew B. McGowan, "Feast as Fast," in Hellholm and Sänger, *Eucharist* 2:829–843, here 2:833–835. See also Acts Thom. 121.7–9: "he broke bread, took the cup of water," evidently identified with "the cup of the Son of God" (Hennecke and Schneemelcher, *Apostolisches, Apokalypsen und Verwandtes* 356). The sources are summarized in Franz Lakner, "Aquarier," *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, third ed. (Freiburg: Herder, 2009), 1:896. Cf. also the contribution by Carl Johan Berglund in the present volume.

22 See Stefan Heid, "The Early Christian Altar—Lessons for Today," in Alcuin Reid, ed., *The Sacred Liturgy* (San Francisco: Ignatius, 2014), 94, for different shapes of altars. Many of these pictures probably show funerary meal scenes, thus Robin M. Jensen, "Dining with the Dead: From the *Mensa* to the Altar in Christian Late Antiquity," in *Commemorating the Dead: Texts and Artifacts in Context*, ed. Laurie Brink and Deborah Green (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 107–143.

23 See, for instance, the pictures in Ulrich Kuder, "Die Eucharistie in Bildwerken vom frühen 3. bis zum 7. Jahrhundert," in Hellholm and Sänger, *Eucharist*, 3:1911–1997, here pages 1922 (ivory diptych, Milan, late fifth century), 1924 (mosaic, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, around 500), 1956 (the Priscilla-catacomb, Rome, third to fourth centuries), 1959, 1960, 1962 and 1964 (the Callixtus-catacomb, Rome, third to fourth centuries); for the Callixtus-catacomb see also Antonio Baruffa, *The Catacombs of St. Callixtus* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2000), 67, 80–81, 139, 143 and 148.

24 Also in the famous tomb of Vincentius in Rome; Martin P. Nilsson, *Die hellenistische und römische Zeit*, vol. 1 of *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, third ed., Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 5.2.2 (Munich: Beck, 1974), 2:661–663.

furniture at which the participants are seated cannot reasonably be called an altar, but rather a table.

These depictions fit well with the frequently-expressed hypothesis that the Christians of the first generations came together in the homes of rich members for their worship,[25] and used the furniture at hand in these homes. Such a situation is silently taken for granted in texts like Acts 2:46, 1 Cor 16:19 and 2 John 7–11,[26] as well as in Pliny, *Epistula* 10.96.7, and it remained the norm during the first two or three centuries. There did not exist any Christian churches or other designated buildings for worship during these generations of constant insecurity vis-à-vis the Roman overlords.[27]

In cases when a room may have been reserved for the use of worship, there was certainly only a table that could be moved easily, and it may have functioned as an altar when the need for this developed. One example is the above-mentioned church in Megiddo from the third or fourth century, where a mosaic gives the name of the lady (ΑΚΕΠΤΟΥΣ Η ΦΙΛΟΘΕΟΣ) who had paid for the table (τράπεζα) which evidently was brought in for the services. This table probably consisted of a mobile tabletop to be placed on top of the two large stones that make up a fundament that is still there. The Megiddo mosaic reveals that such a "table" need not be a simple piece of furniture. In this case it was evidently a beautifully made object, but still light enough to be carried and placed on top of the stone fundament.[28] The better-known church in Dura-Europos had nothing that can be called an altar—as far as we know.

The Acts of Thomas provide us with another example of portable tables used in Christian worship, probably in third-century Edessa:

> The apostle asked his servant (διάκονος) to put a table (τράπεζα) there. And they brought a bench there which they found. He laid a linen cloth on it and then the bread of blessing (ἄρτος τῆς εὐλογίας). And the apostle went

25 See Acts 12:12–17; 16:32–34; 17:5–9; 18:7–10, etc.

26 Raymond E. Brown, *The Epistles of John*, AB 30 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1982), 676 and Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles*, AB 31 (New York: Doubleday, 1998), 270–273, 628. Heid, "Altar," 92, denies that there existed any house churches.

27 This does not in any way mean that the meetings of the Christians were secret.

28 Cf. the Aramaic mosaic text, from the fourth or fifth century, that has been found under the present-day Franciscan church in Kafr Kanna: "Blessed be the memory of Yoseh, son of Tanhum, son of Butah and his sons who have made the table. May it be a blessing for both of them. Amen." See Massimo Luca, "Kafr Kanna (The Franciscan church)," in David A. Fiensy and James Riley Strange, *Galilee in the Late Second Temple and Mishnaic Periods* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2015), 2:158–166, here 2:162.

> up there and spoke: "Jesus who has deemed us worthy to participate in the Eucharist of your holy body and blood …"
>
> Acts Thom. 49.5–7[29]

A meal consisting of bread and fish can, of course, also have a Eucharistic meaning. We are reminded of this by the Epitaph of bishop Aberkios from the late second century, where we read: "faith was everywhere my guide and everywhere she laid before me food, fish from a fountain the very great, the pure, which a holy virgin seized, and she gave this to friends, having a goodly wine, giving it mixed with water, with bread."[30] Such a meal certainly had a Eucharistic character, but without a direct connection to Jesus's last meal with his disciples on the evening of Maundy Thursday, and therefore also without a direct connection with Jesus's suffering and death. There is every reason to believe that this meal took place at a beautifully laid table (τράπεζα), but not an altar (θυσιαστήριον or βωμός).[31] We may compare it with the table used in the Jewish Passover meal.

A comparison with Jewish synagogue buildings is important. Neither literary nor archaeological sources reveal anything about tables, still less about altars;[32] the sacrificial cult was centralized in the temple in Jerusalem (which no longer existed). By far, the most important piece of furniture in synagogues is the ark (κιβωτός) for the Torah scrolls. The scrolls in the ark represent the concrete presence of God among his people, comparable in a way to the presence of God in the bread and wine on the Eucharistic table (altar) in the church.[33]

29 Hennecke and Schneemelcher, *Apostolisches, Apokalypsen und Verwandtes*, 329; Blomqvist and Blomqvist "Eucharist Terminology," 413.

30 Ulrich Kuder, "Die Eucharistie in Bildwerken vom frühen 3. bis zum 7. Jahrhundert. Beispiele und Probleme," in Hellholm and Sänger, *The Eucharist*, 2:1297–1374, here 2:1315–1320.

31 Remains of a wooden table, said to have been used by the apostle Peter, are kept in the Lateran basilica and in Santa Pudenziana in Rome. Later the term τράπεζα (Latin: *mensa*) was used for the altar-top, cf. Arnold Angenendt, "Mission und Opfer," in *Credo: Christianisierung Europas im Mittelalter*, ed. Christoph Stiegemann et al. (Petersberg: Imhof, 2013), 1:67–74, with an example from the fifth-century abbey church Saint-Victor in Marseille.

32 The magnificent synagogue in Sardis may possibly be an exception, with its marble table opposite the apse and Josephus' words that they "offer ancestral prayers and sacrifices (θυσία)" (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.260), Runesson et al., *Synagogue* 143–145. For the possible use of tables in synagogues, see also the documentation in Fiensy and Strange, *Galilee*, 2:162 on Kafr Kanna, 314 on Magdala and 406 on Nabratein.

33 Cf. Sir 24:23, according to which God is incarnated in the Torah, and John 1:14, according to which God is incarnated in Jesus.

4 The Word θυσιαστήριον

The third word of importance for our understanding of the character and significance of the Christian liturgical meal is the word θυσιαστήριον, "altar" from the root θυ-, "sacrifice."[34] It is used particularly frequently in the Septuagint, almost always as a translation of the Hebrew word *mizbeach*, and especially for the large altar for burnt sacrifices in the temple courtyard, but also for the altars built by the Patriarchs.[35] The term seems to be a neologism of diaspora Judaism, as exhibited by the Septuagint, and is not used outside of Judaism and Christianity.

The word θυσιαστήριον occurs 23 times in the New Testament, often—as expected—in reference to the altar of the temple of Jerusalem. The term is never used about a "Christian" altar in the New Testament, but as many as eight times in the Apocalypse about a heavenly altar—a usage that certainly contributed to eventually making it the standard term for the altar in a Christian church. The passage in Rev 6:9 states that the souls of the martyrs rest under the altar, which implies that their deaths are sacrifices that atone for of sins.[36]

We find examples of this usage as early as the first decades of the second century. In the seven letters of Ignatius of Antioch, the word θυσιαστήριον is used six times (as it is in the rest of the Apostolic Fathers, e.g. 1 Clem. 41.2) in a distinctly Christian sense: *Eph.* 5.2: "Anyone who is not inside the sanctuary lacks the bread of God"; *Magn.* 7.2: "You should all run together, as into one temple (ναός) of God, as upon one altar, upon one Jesus Christ"; *Trall.* 7.2 (*bis*): "one who is inside the sanctuary is pure but the one outside the sanctuary is not pure"; *Rom.* 2.2: "But grant me nothing more than to be poured out as a libation to God when there is still an altar at hand," and finally the most important case: *Phld.* 4: "And so be eager to celebrate just one eucharist. For there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ and one cup that brings the unity of his blood, and one altar, as there is one bishop …."

Ignatius was active merely two generations after Paul, in the very beginning of the postapostolic era. There is little to indicate that he wrote about real altars in the concrete sense that were used by the Christians in their worship, but the vocabulary was already there. He wrote about a Eucharistic meal with

34 Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oration* 5.29, states that the term θυσιαστήριον is derived from the fact that it is the place for "the bloodless sacrifice" (ἡ ἀναίμακτος θυσία), G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), 660.

35 The Hebrew word is translated with βωμός 23 times, normally about a pagan altar.

36 Koester, *Revelation*, 398. According to 4 Macc 6:29 and 17:22 martyrs' deaths effect atonement.

bread—identified with the body of Christ in *Smyrn.* 7.1—and wine—the blood of Christ—that is consumed in a sacred room, called a θυσιαστήριον. It is only a small step from the possibly metaphorical use of the word θυσιαστήριον to a literal one, i.e. indicating a specific liturgical piece of furniture, as is the case in the Septuagint.

The verb θύω was used already in the 50s by Paul, when he wrote that "our paschal lamb, Christ, has been sacrificed" (1 Cor 5:7), a wording that brings to mind Jesus's last meal (cf. Mark 14:12 and Luke 22:7). Even if this meal was not a regular Passover meal, it coincided in time with the Jewish Passover, and must be understood in light of this. The earliest known version of the so-called words of institution, namely 1 Cor 11:23–26, has the wording εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν twice (once in Luke 22:19) which is connected to the Jewish Passover liturgy, as we find it in the Passover Haggadah, with its words about *zikkaron*: The Jewish family that has come together does not only celebrate and "remember" what took place long ago, but these events are brought from the past into the present day, and the participants themselves become a part of these sacred events: "In every generation a person is duty-bound to regard himself as if he personally has gone forth from Egypt, since it is said, *And you shall tell your son in that day saying, It is because of that which the Lord did for me when I came forth out of Egypt*" (Exod 13:8).[37]

This concept of Jesus's death as a sacrifice presupposes the world of ideas that comes to the fore in Mark 10:45, with its parallel in Matt 20:28: "For the Son of Man came not to be served but to serve, and to give his life a ransom (λύτρον) for many,"[38] a saying that probably dates back to the historical Jesus, who may have viewed his approaching death as a sacrifice, in the light of the sacrificial cult in the temple of Jerusalem.[39] When the Church's liturgical meal, the κυριακὸν δεῖπνον, became imbued with the idea of ἀνάμνησις/*zikkaron*, Jesus's death was no longer looked upon as something that had happened to take place one fateful Friday in the past, but as a salvation event, present for those participating in the liturgy. The sacrifice became localized to the Eucharistic service at the table or altar in the church.

This theological conviction paved the way for a new liturgical terminology. The table where the Eucharistic meal was celebrated was no longer just a

37 m. Pesaḥ 10:5. See David Instone-Brewer, *Feasts and Sabbaths: Passover and Atonement*, vol. 2A of *Traditions of the Rabbis from the Era of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011), 172–191, on m. Pesaḥ 10. This perspective is emphasized in the Haggadah itself: "For it was not only our fathers whom the Holy One (blessed be He) redeemed, but we were also redeemed with them."

38 Joel Marcus, *Mark 8–16*, AYB 27A (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 746–757, and Adela Yarbro Collins, *Mark*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 495–504.

39 Oral communication from Harald Riesenfeld.

table (τράπεζα) but an altar (θυσιαστήριον). The words that are created from the root θυ- make up a cluster with the concept of sacrifice as the connecting link.[40] For this reason it is hardly a coincidence that the altar on which Abraham intended to sacrifice his son Isaac is called a θυσιαστήριον and not a βωμός in Jas 2:21 (also in Barn. 7.3, from Gen 22:9 LXX), since Isaac was often described as a sacrifice on behalf of his people in early Jewish texts, and as a type pointing forward to Christ in Christian texts. According to Jewish tradition, the altar on Mount Moriah was located on the same spot as the altar of burnt sacrifices (or the Holy of Holies) much later, on the temple courtyard in Jerusalem (2 Chron 3:1). The sacrifices performed there received their fulfilment in Jesus's sacrificial death on the cross (e.g., Heb 8–9). The term θυσιαστήριον then became used for the place[41] in the churches where this sacrifice was made a present reality in the liturgical meal,[42] not with bread and fish to satisfy physical hunger, but with bread identified with the body of Jesus and wine identified with the blood of Jesus, according to the words of institution in Matt 26:26–28; Mark 14:22–24; Luke 22:19–20 and 1 Cor 11:23–26.

We are, however, astonishingly ignorant of the early development of the Eucharistic meal.[43] The final result is that it was split up into two different meals, one so-called *agape*-meal which could consist of bread and fish, or something else, and one liturgical Eucharistic meal with bread and wine. Meals mentioned in the New Testament later tended to be considered Eucharistic meals, albeit unhistorically. One example will suffice: It was only with Augustine and John Chrysostom (ca. 400 CE) that Jesus's meal with the two disciples in Emmaus (Luke 24:13–35) was understood as a Eucharistic meal.[44] The Christian liturgy became more and more centred around this Eucharist that makes Jesus's self-sacrifice on Golgotha present among the Christians at the liturgical celebration. It was only logical that the "table" where this takes place became the "altar" of the new covenant.

Here we notice a terminological change that coincided with the developing theology of the Eucharistic sacrifice. What could be called an altar in a metaphorical sense in some of Ignatios of Antioch's letters had become an

40 The word θυσία is used in a metaphoric sense in Rom 12:1 and Heb 13:15.

41 It was used both about the altar itself and about the altar area in the church building.

42 Cf. the Eucharistic prayers in Did. 9–10.

43 It is dangerous to argue *e silentio*, but it may not be a coincidence that no Eucharist is mentioned in Heb 6:1–2, which otherwise is a list of central elements in the Christian faith.

44 See François Bovon, *Luke* 3, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 376–381 for the history of interpretation.

altar in the literal sense. This phenomenon may be designated proto-Orthodoxy or proto-Catholicism.[45]

The development from portable tables to fixed altars can be shown archaeologically,[46] but it is impossible to know whether a preserved piece of furniture was called a τράπεζα, a θυσιαστήριον, or even something else. In addition, these two terms are not necessarily mutually exclusive. The flat top surface of an altar (θυσιαστήριον; in Latin: *altare*) could be called a "table" (τράπεζα; in Latin: *mensa*). The Syrian text *Didascalia apostolorum* (late third century) mentions three pieces of furniture as self-evidently present in a church, namely the altar, the bishop's chair and the ambo.[47]

5 Other Terms that Mirror the Development toward Proto-Catholicism

There are many other terminological changes that are the result of a successive development from apostolic times to what might be called the proto-Catholic or proto-Orthodox church. One such example will be given here.

While the Pauline epistles—including the Pastorals—speak of ἐπίσκοποι and πρεσβύτεροι, "visitators" and "elders," later authors used the term ἱερεῖς (singular ἱερεύς), "priests."[48] This "new" title had been in wide-spread use both in Judaism (Hebrew: *kohen*) and in the Greco-Roman world (ἱερεύς, Latin: *sacerdos*) for centuries. When the word ἱερεύς was introduced for those in charge of Christian worship,[49] it reflected the conviction that their celebrations of the Eucharist made Jesus's self-sacrifice present on the altar.

The fact that similar wordings appear in the Old Testament about the Israelite people as a whole (Exod 19:6; Isa 61:6) paved the way for the belief that all Christians in some sense are priests, as expressed in 1 Pet 2:5 and Rev 20:6. But texts like these do not talk about official or professional cult servants; instead the word "priest" is used in a metaphorical sense. In the letter to the

45 If it is possible to use such terms without pejorative connotations, we might even speak of emerging Catholicism or *Frühkatholizismus*.

46 See, e.g., Yael Israeli and David Mevorah, *Cradle of Christianity* (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 2000), 54–58 and 74–75.

47 *Did. apost.* 15. Cf. Alfred Stuiber, "Altar II: Alte Kirche," in Gerhard Müller et al., eds., *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1978), 2:308–318, here 2:309.

48 For the concept of "priest" see Gisbert Greshake, *Priester sein in dieser Zeit: Theologie—pastorale Praxis—Spiritualität* (Freiburg: Echter, 2010).

49 See Paul F. Bradshaw, Maxwell E. Johnson, and L. Edward Phillips, *The Apostolic Tradition*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002), 65 and 71 and the Index in Heinrich Kraft, *Kirchenväterlexikon und Register*, vol. 5 of *Texte der Kirchenväter*: *Eine Auswahl nach Themen geordnet* (Munich: Kösel, 1966), 635–636 for the emergence of this terminology.

Hebrews the word ἱερεύς ("priest") occurs as often as 14 times and the word ἀρχιερεύς ("high priest") 18 times in an exposition of how Jesus serves as the perfect priest according to the order of Melchizedek. When the Christian cultic servant was called ἱερεύς ("priest"), the conviction was expressed that the priest makes Jesus's sacrificial death a present reality for the believers.

We may point to an even earlier change in vocabulary which reveals how early Christians look upon those who served the church in an official capacity. We read in Did. 15.1: "And so, elect for yourselves bishops (ἐπίσκοποι) and deacons (διάκονοι) who are worthy of the Lord [...]. For these also conduct the ministry of the prophets (προφήτης) and teachers (διδάσκαλος) among you." It is possible to write a history of Christian cult servants structured around these two changes in vocabulary, from the "charismatic" beginning followed by local hierarchies all the way to priests in a sense that is taken over from the priestly hierarchy in the temple of Jerusalem but serve Jesus's high priestly service—and further on to the Catholic and Orthodox hierarchical structures of today.

6 Conclusion

We can conclude that there are good reasons to believe that it was no coincidence that Dionysios the Areopagite used two terms for the altar, θυσιαστήριον when dealing with the Eucharist and τράπεζα when he turned to Baptism. The change in vocabulary used for the table/altar reflects the development in Eucharistic theology: On a table a meal is shared, and on an altar Jesus is sacrificed and made present among the believers. Anyone who is trusted by the believers can serve at a table, only an ordained priest can serve at the altar.

Bibliography

Angenendt, Arnold. "Mission und Opfer." Pages 67–74 in vol. 1 of *Credo: Christianisierung Europas im Mittelalter*. Edited by Christoph Stiegemann, Martin Kroker, and Wolfgang Walter. Petersberg: Imhof, 2013.

Baruffa, Antonio. *The Catacombs of St. Callixtus*. Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2000.

Blomqvist, Jerker, and Karin Blomqvist. "Eucharist Terminology in Early Christian Literature." Pages 389–421 in vol. 1 of *The Eucharist—Its Origins and Contexts*. Edited by David Hellholm and Dieter Sänger. WUNT 376. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017.

Bovon, François. *Luke* 3. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012.

Brown, Raymond E. *The Epistles of John*. AB 30. Garden City: Doubleday, 1982.

Bradshaw, Paul F., Maxwell E. Johnson, and L. Edward Phillips. *The Apostolic Tradition*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002.

Fitzmyer, Joseph A. *The Acts of the Apostles*. AB 31. New York: Doubleday, 1998.

Fitzmyer, Joseph A. *First Corinthians*. AYB 32. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.

Fornberg, Tord. "Malachi 1:11 in Jewish and Christian Tradition." Pages 47–74 in Tord Fornberg, *Jewish-Christian Dialogue and Biblical Exegesis*. Studia Missionalia Upsaliensia 47. Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1988.

Greshake, Gisbert. *Priester sein in dieser Zeit: Theologie—pastorale Praxis—Spiritualität*. Freiburg: Echter, 2010.

Heid, Stefan. "The Early Christian Altar-Lessons for Today." Pages 87–114 in *The Sacred Liturgy*. Edited by Alcuin Reid. San Francisco: Ignatius, 2014.

Hennecke, Edgar, and Wilhelm Schneemelcher. *Apostolisches, Apokalypsen und Verwandtes*. Vol. 2 of *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*: in deutscher Übersetzung, 3rd ed. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1964.

Instone-Brewer, David. *Feasts and Sabbaths: Passover and atonement*. Vol. 2A of *Traditions of the Rabbis from the Era of the New Testament*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011.

Israeli, Yael, and David Mevorah. *Cradle of Christianity*. Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 2000.

Jensen, Robin M. "Dining with the Dead: From the *Mensa* to the Altar in Christian Late Antiquity." Pages 107–143 in *Commemorating the Dead: Texts and Artifacts in Context*. Edited by Laurie Brink and Deborah Green. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008.

Jewett, Robert. *Romans*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007.

Kirsch, Johann Peter, and Theodor Klauser. "Altar." Cols. 310–354 in vol. 1 of *Realenzyklopädie für Antike und Christentum* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1950).

Koester, Craig R. *Revelation*. AYB 38A. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014.

Kraft, Heinrich. *Kirchenväterlexikon und Register*. Vol. 5 of *Texte der Kirchenväter*: *Eine Auswahl nach Themen geordnet*. Munich: Kösel, 1966.

Kuder, Ulrich. "Die Eucharistie in Bildwerken vom frühen 3. bis zum 7. Jahrhundert." Pages 2:1297–1374 and 3:1911–1997 in *The Eucharist—Its Origins and Contexts*. Edited by David Hellholm and Dieter Sänger. WUNT 376. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017.

Lents, Hannah, "Swinging Censers: The Late Antique Christian Transition to Incense Use in the Fourth to the Sixth Centuries C.E." (Master's Thesis; Brandeis University, 2016).

Lakner, Franz. "Aquarier." Col. 896 in vol. 1 of *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 3rd ed. Freiburg: Herder, 2009.

Lampe, G.W.H. *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1961.

Luca, Massimo. "Kafr Kanna (The Franciscan church)." Pages 158–166 in vol. 2 of *Galilee in the Late Second Temple and Mishnaic Periods*. Edited by David A. Fiensy and James Riley Strange. Minneapolis: Fortress 2015.

Marcus, Joel. *Mark 8–16*. AYB 27A. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.

McGowan, Andrew. "Feast as Fast." Pages 829–843 in vol. 2 of *The Eucharist—Its Origins and Contexts*. Edited by David Hellholm and Dieter Sänger. WUNT 376. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017.

Moulton, James Hope, and George Milligan. *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1930.

Niederwimmer, Kurt. *The Didache*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998.

Nilsson, Martin P. *Die hellenistische und römische Zeit*. Vol. 2 of *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, 3rd ed. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 5.2.2. Munich: Beck, 1974.

Ringgren, Helmer. *Israelitische Religion*. Die Religionen der Menschheit 26. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1963.

Runesson, Anders, Donald D. Binder and Birger Olsson. *The Ancient Synagogue from its Origins to 200 C.E.* Leiden: Brill, 2010.

Runesson, Anders, and Wally V. Cirafesi. "Art and Architecture at Capernaum, Kefar ʿOthnay, and Dura-Europos." Pages 151–200 in *From Celsus to the Catacombs: Visual, Liturgical, and Non-Christian Receptions of Jesus in the Second and Third Centuries CE*. Edited by Christ Keith. Vol. 3 of *The Reception of Jesus in the First Three Centuries*. Edited by Chris Keith, Helen K. Bond, Christine Jacobi and Jens Schröter. 3 vols. London: T & T Clark, 2019.

Stuiber, Alfred. "Altar II. Alte Kirche." Pages 308–318 in vol. 2 of *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1978.

Tepper, Yotam, and Leah Di Segni. *A Christian Prayer Hall of the Third Century CE at Kefar ʿOthnay (Legio)*. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2006.

Witherington III, Ben, *The Acts of the Apostles*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998.

Yarbro Collins, Adela. *Mark*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007.

Zeller, Dieter. *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*. KEK 5. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010.

16

Altar Veils: Concealing or Displaying the Holy in Early Church Architecture

Robin M. Jensen

In the decades following the reform of the Roman Catholic liturgy mandated by Vatican II, controversy over those changes, which required more active participation of the laity, has prompted some critics to argue that certain church spaces—especially the altar area—were, from the earliest time, restricted from the approach and even from the sight of the ordinary faithful. One of these critics, Monsignor Klaus Gamber, wrote a series of articles and books that generally disparaged the new liturgy but also focused on certain key aspects of its transformed physical setting. Among the changes of church design that raised his ire were the redirection of the altar so that the celebrant would face the congregation (*versus populum*) and the removal of barriers that impeded the laity's physical access to the sanctuary. Gamber expressed his conviction that the laity should not be able to see the action of the Eucharistic ritual while it was taking place on the altar; he also buttressed his contention by claiming ancient precedents for installing both railings and curtains that would conceal the sacred mysteries from the view of the congregation. For example, in his 1993 book, *Reform of the Liturgy: Its Problems and Background*, Gamber asserts:

> The strict separation of the sanctuary and the nave of the church came into use when the faithful began to attend church in large numbers, that is, at the latest, shortly before the year A.D. 300. Altar railings were set up and curtains hung, one attached to the altar canopy, the other at the pergola of the choir screen. … The reason for this grew out of the belief that the mystery occurring on the altar had to be shielded from the eyes of men.[1]

Problematically, the only evidence Gamber offers for this assertion is a drawing of a sixth-century sanctuary arrangement from Bulgaria. Nevertheless, despite

1 Klaus Gamber, *The Reform of the Roman Liturgy: Its Problems and Background* (San Juan Capistrano: Una Voce, 1993), 126.

DOI:10.1163/9789004522053_016

his omission of direct textual or archeological evidence for altar canopies and curtains dated to the early fourth century, Gambers's contention has been influential not only on other critics of modernist church design but perhaps also on at least one scholar of early Christianity. In his 2009 monograph, *The Second Church*, Ramsay MacMullen remarked on the centralized altars in many North African basilicas. MacMullen asserted that this placement had the practical result of restricting lay spectators to the aisles where at best they would be mere observers rather than participants in the liturgy. He added that during the Eucharistic liturgy taking place at the altar, the laity would be even less involved, because, in his words, the altar platform lay "behind a low protective marble screen," and was covered with "perhaps six-foot high curtains" that would have been "closed when the officiants and their actions needed to be hidden."[2]

MacMullen's only cited reference for his theory of these six-foot altar veils is Stephen Gsell's late nineteenth-century archeological study of a martyrial basilica dedicated to Sta. Salsa in Tipasa, Algeria. However, in this work, Gsell says nothing about altar curtains. He simply infers that drapery rods might have been inserted into holes drilled into the pillars of the colonnades that separated the nave from the side aisles. Since neither rods nor curtains have survived, the function of these holes is uncertain, and might actually have accommodated structural ties. Although Gsell does find evidence for chancel barriers, these would have been low balustrades that distinguished the altar area from the rest of the nave and were probably no more than a few feet high.[3] It is thus unlikely that they were furnished with short curtains or that such hypothetical curtains could have served any concealing function.

To be fair, other, earlier, architectural historians sometimes presumed that early churches were equipped with chancel curtains that could be drawn to conceal the sacred mysteries at the altar. In his 1967 book, *Liturgy and Architecture*, Père Louis Bouyer also maintains that pre-Constantinian churches had centralized altars. Those altars, holds Bouyer, were raised on steps, covered by ciboria that supported hanging lamps and hanging curtains that "enhanced

2 Ramsay MacMullen, *The Second Church: Popular Christianity A.D. 200–400* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2009), 53.

3 Stephen Gsell, *Recherches archéologiques en Algérie* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1893), 14. Note: MacMullen may have been influenced by Klaus Gamber, as he also cites Gamber's earlier work, Klaus Gamber, *Liturgie und Kirchenbau: Studien zur Geschichte der Messfeier und des Gotteshauses in der Frühzeit* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1976), 16. In this place, however, Gamber only refers to the fact that altars in early African basilicas were placed well into the central aisle or nave.

[their] sacrality" and were the "equivalent of the former [Jerusalem Temple] veil."[4] Yet, like Gamber, Bouyer cites no physical or literary evidence for this assertion.

1 The Jerusalem Temple as a Prototype for the Christian Altar

Such assumptions persisted, despite the lack of any textual or material evidence that, from the beginning, the laity was kept from physical or visual access to Christian altars. As in Bouyer's assertion, one likely reason for this belief are the presumed parallels between, on the one hand, the design of a Christian church and, on the other hand, the desert Tabernacle in the Book of Exodus and the Holy of Holies in the Jerusalem Temple. According to texts from the Hebrew Scriptures, elaborately woven curtains covered the tabernacle and the ark to separate, protect, and screen the Holy of Holies from the rest of the sanctuary area (cf. Exod 26:33–34; 40:3, 21; Lev 2:4, 11–15). Additionally, Solomon had set up a curtain in the Temple to cover the Holy of Holies (2 Chr 3:14). The Temple's veil has a prominence also in the story of Christ's crucifixion, as all three of the Synoptic Gospels report that it was torn in two at the moment of Jesus's death (Matt 27:51; Mark 15:38; Luke 23:45). Notably, those who see the Temple curtain in the Passion narrative as a prototype of later Christian altar veils overlook the possibility that the evangelists might have meant the torn Temple curtain to signify that Jesus's sacrifice supplanted the Temple ritual (cf. Mark 14:58). As Augustine of Hippo writes, the Temple veil was torn in order to signal that "in Christ it was done away with."[5]

Some centuries after the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 CE, the Temple veil appears to have found a place in Jewish pictorial art. A number of fourth- to sixth-century synagogues have pavement mosaics that depict a curtain (*parochet*) hanging near or covering doors belonging to a Torah ark, to the (lost) Temple, or to both the ark and the Temple (Fig. 16.1). Those depictions often featured ritual objects associated with the Temple, like incense shovels, shofar, and the two large seven-branched candlesticks (*menoroth*). The association of these implements with the curtained gates might have made an iconographic link between the former site of Jewish sacrificial worship and the synagogue as a subsequent place for recitation of prayers and study

4 Louis Bouyer, *Liturgy and Architecture* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967), 46.

5 Augustine, *Ep.* 140.26.

FIGURE 16.1 Hammath synagogue, pavement mosaic, fourth century. Near Tiberias, Israel
ROBIN M. JENSEN

of scripture. Perhaps the images of Temple furnishings in these synagogue mosaics also expressed the people's hope for the Temple's eventual reconstruction.[6]

Scriptural references to the Jerusalem Temple curtain led theologians, liturgists, and architectural historians to regard them as prototypes for sanctuary veils in early Christian churches. With little to no supporting evidence, it was presumed that such ancient restrictions of access to especially sacred spaces would have been maintained in early Christian worship. For example, after summarizing a range of biblical texts on the veiling of the Holy of Holies,

6 On this see an excellent article by Renate Rosenthal-Heginbottom, "The Curtain (Parochet) in Jewish and Samaritan Synagogues," in *Clothing the House: Furnishing Textiles of the 1st Millennium AD from Egypt and Neighboring Countries: Proceedings of the 5th Conference of the Research Group "Textiles from the Nile Valley," Antwerp, 6–7 October, 2007*, ed. Antoine De Moor and Cäcilia Fluck (Tielt: Lannoo, 2009), 155–169.

Michael R. Carey, O.P. contends that the Tabernacle and Temple veils were carried directly into early Christian architecture from earliest times:

> Even during the years when Christians were bitterly persecuted, and when their places of worship were rough adaptations of other sorts of buildings, they were attentive to the use of veiling to demarcate sacred space. … When Christians were finally able to build public churches, they continued to use veiling to separate the more holy places from the less so.[7]

Although Carey contrasts the place of the altar in the church with the altar in the Jerusalem temple, he continues, "Christians believed, from the beginning it seems, that there was the Real Presence of God on the altar, and that this should be veiled."[8] In support of his contention, Carey maintains that the original altar in Rome's Lateran Basilica was surmounted by a ciborium (a fixed canopy supported by pillars) that would have been hung with curtains that could be completely closed from the Preface Dialogue until after the priest received communion, which meant that the words of the Eucharistic prayer would have been spoken through the veil. However, as discussed below, little to no documentary or physical evidence demonstrates that the Lateran Basilica was equipped with an altar veil before the early Middle Ages.

About the same time as the Lateran was built, another cathedral church was constructed in Tyre (ca. 315). Its dedication was celebrated by Eusebius of Caesarea as Metropolitan Bishop of Palestine. In his *Ecclesiastical History*, written sometime after the event, Eusebius makes a direct comparison between this church and Solomon's Temple. He refers to the local bishop, Paulinus of Tyre, as a new Zerubbabel (the restorer of the Temple upon the return of the Israelites from captivity in Ezra 3–4) and declares that the glory of this new Temple should far surpass that of the old one.[9] Yet, when Eusebius describes both inner and outer courts, he refers to the altar as the Holy of Holies and says that it was surrounded by marvelously carved wooden barriers. Although the chancel barriers he describes surely would have inhibited physical access to the altar area, Eusebius never refers to any veils or curtains that would have obstructed its visibility. On the contrary, he seems to emphasize that it was important for those outside to have a full view of what was taking place within.

7 Michael Carey, O.P., "Veiling the Mysteries: Liturgical Spirituality and Church Architecture," *Sacred Architecture Journal* 3.1 (2000): 23–27.

8 Carey, "Veiling the Mysteries."

9 Eusebius of Caesarea, *Hist. eccl.* 10.4.36–44, esp. 38.

No other surviving, pre-seventh century text makes a connection between the Temple and the Christian church, much less between the curtain of the Jewish Holy of Holies and a veil surrounding the Christian altar. Despite this lack of evidence, the Byzantine art historian Alexei Lidov argues for its importance, while taking a more nuanced approach than Carey's. Lidov maintains that the veil of the Jerusalem Temple, as a powerful spatial icon, influenced the art, architecture, and even the culture of Byzantium more broadly.[10] Lidov does not assert the widespread existence of "real curtains" other than those likely found in some fourth-century Syrian churches.[11] Rather, he regards the Temple veil as primarily symbolic, describing it as an "image paradigm," or a mental construct, which might or might not have any particular existence as an actual device in early Christian architecture.

2 The Evidence for Altar Veils and Canopies in Early Christian Churches

In contrast to Lidov's discussion, other historians who have examined the date, function, and geographic locus of veils or curtains in early Christian churches mostly concur that the evidence is slim to non-existent for the greater part of the Christian world prior to the sixth century. For example, Thomas Mathews's work, *The Early Churches of Constantinople*, directly critiques scholarship that anachronistically and mistakenly evokes a stereotype of the "mystery-character of the Byzantine liturgy." He attributes this stereotype to the erroneous supposition that the canopy over the altar had curtains on all four sides to conceal the altar or that the colonnaded templon or sanctuary barrier (iconostasis) was curtained along its full length and the altar shrouded on all four sides to prevent the faithful from observing the "better part of the liturgy."[12]

Mathews acknowledges that some of this error is prompted by historians who regard any mention of curtains in the church as references only to altar veils or other screening devices, thereby confusing one kind of curtain with

10 Alexei Lidov, "The Temple Veil as a Spatial Icon: Revealing an Image-Paradigm of Medieval Iconography and Hierotopy," *IKON* 7 (2014): 97–108. See also, Jelena Bogdanović, "The Proclamation of the New Covenant: The Pre-Iconoclastic Altar Ciboria in Rome and Constantinople," *Athanor* 20 (2002): 7–29, where the author argues for an "associative link" between the Temple ark and tabernacle and the Christian altar and altar ciborium.

11 See the discussion of these churches below.

12 Thomas Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971), 163.

FIGURE 16.2 A domed ciborium with lamps, altar, and vessels. Mosaic in the south lunette of the church of the monastery of Mar Gabriel, Karmin, sixth century (512 CE)
DANIEL C. WAUGH. USED WITH PERMISSION

another. Moreover, against this mistaken assumption, Mathews cites documents that indicate that in Constantinople, at least, the faithful were permitted in the nave and not restricted to side aisles or galleries. This means that curtains segregating such areas would have been, in his words, "pointless."[13] Mathews also argues that other instances of curtains were probably only elaborate hangings or were associated with the Emperor's vesting; thus, those curtains had "nothing to do with the concealment of the liturgy or separation of the nave from the aisles or galleries."[14] An examination of the literary evidence leads Matthews to conclude that, prior to the ninth century, almost nothing suggests the existence of altar curtains or veils in Constantinopolitan churches.[15]

Mathews also considers iconographic evidence, in particular Byzantine miniatures have sometimes been cited as supporting the hypothesis of ciborium veils. For example, he points to a leaf from the sixth-century Vienna Genesis portraying Melchizedek's sacrifice in which a short (hardly concealing) curtain hangs from an altar canopy or the tenth-century Menologian of Basil II,

13 Mathews, *The Early Churches*, 165.
14 Mathews, *The Early Churches*, 163–165.
15 Mathews, *The Early Churches*, 166–167.

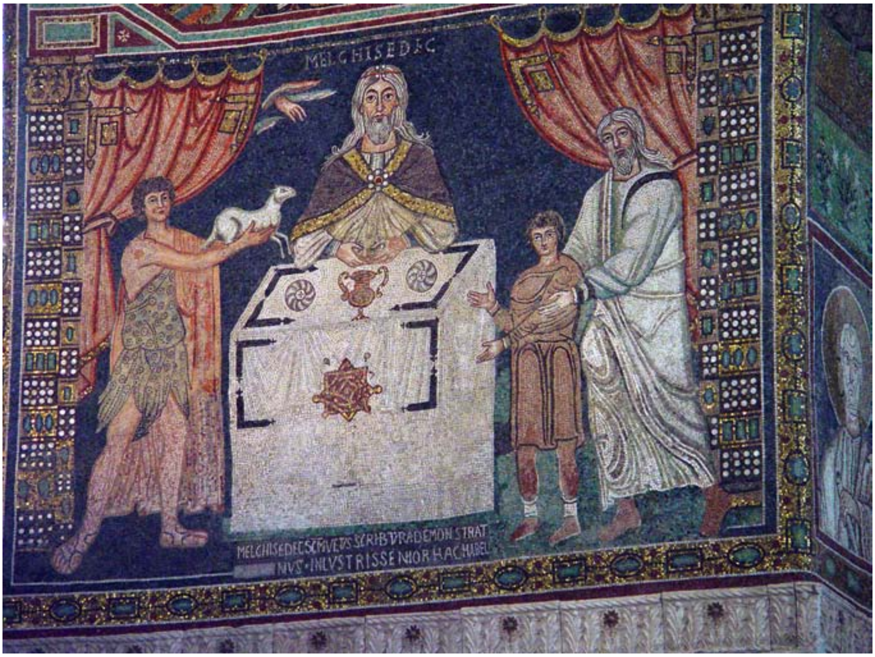


FIGURE 16.3 Chiesa di Sant'Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna, mosaic panel, seventh century
ROBIN M. JENSEN

with a comparable composition.[16] Examples of curtainless canopies over altars include the depiction of the Communion of the Apostles on the sixth-century Riha paten, now in the Dumbarton Oaks Museum and the sixth-century mosaic of a canopied altar set with eucharistic elements, at the Monastery of Mar Gabriel in the area of Tur Abdin, Turkey (Fig. 16.2).

One can find similar examples from the West. Among western examples are a seventh-century sanctuary mosaic in Sant'Apollinare in Classe illustrating the sacrifices of Abel and Melchizedek, which depicts curtains hanging near an altar; in this instance, however, the curtain is clearly drawn aside to allow viewers to witness the event (Fig. 16.3). Elsewhere draperies appear as framing devices, almost like stage sets whose curtains are drawn to reveal the figure of a holy person and, as such, serve to invite the viewer's veneration, as shown on a panel illustrating Christ's preaching in the synagogue found on a panel the late fourth-century Brescia ivory casket or the image of an unidentified martyr in the small late fourth-century oratory beneath Rome's Basilica of Saints Gio-

16 Mathews, *The Early Churches*, 165.

FIGURE 16.4 Fourth-century fresco, from oratory beneath the Chiesa di Ss. Giovanni e Paolo, Rome
ROBIN M. JENSEN

vanni and Paolo (Fig. 16.4). Although these details suggest some kind of sacred place, they do not depict altars and were perhaps simply common iconographic motifs.

Robert Taft concurs with Mathews's conclusions and maintains that artistic remains as well as documentary sources indicate ciborium curtains appeared in Constantinople only from the ninth century onwards. Taft also holds that, even after they came into use (i.e., prior to the eleventh century), they were not meant to conceal the Eucharistic ritual from the laity. On the contrary, he argues that they were drawn open in order to reveal the altar and the consecratory act to the congregation.[17]

Similarly, Daniel Findikyan contends that, during at least the first millennium, Constantinopolitan churches were almost certainly lacking sanctuary

17 Robert Taft, S.J., "The Decline of Communion in Byzantium and the Distancing of the Congregation from the Liturgical Action: Cause, Effect, or Neither?" in *Thresholds of the Sacred: Architectural, Liturgical, and Theological Perspectives on Religious Screens, East and West*, ed. Sharon E.J. Gerstel (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 27–53, here 47–49.

or chancel curtains.[18] Findikyan adds that no evidence supports the inference that, whether architecturally or even symbolically, the Jerusalem Temple curtain was consciously transported into the Christian liturgy. Like Mathews, Findikyan criticizes unfounded suppositions that the Byzantine iconostasis was an adaptation of the altar curtain. He then denies that this specifically eastern structure had any direct influence on early western liturgical practices or church furnishings.[19]

Undoubtedly, therefore, the question of "where" is as important as "when," in regard to the existence or function of veils near altars. As noted above, altar veils were not in use in Constantinople before the ninth century. However, they were evidently used in Syria as well as other regions in the East as early as the fourth century. For example, reference to a sanctuary veil occurs in a letter from Bishop Macarius of Jerusalem to the Armenians, now usually dated to 335 CE:

> And how shall the table of the sacrament be positioned and (what about) the partitions also? The table of expiation is behind the veil, where the Holy Spirit descends; and the font is next to it in the same compartment, and out of honor, set up on the right hand. And the clergy in their several ranks shall worship (there), and the congregation outside the veil, and the catechumens at the door, listening. Lest these partitions be effaced by encroachments, let each remain in his own station, irreproachable.[20]

Macarius's letter, which seems to have been a response to a set of questions posed by the patriarch of Armenia regarding certain aspects of the baptismal and Eucharistic rites of the Armenian churches, indicates that not only should the altar be surrounded by a veil, but that the baptismal font should as well. Thus, here is some evidence for curtains around fonts. The letter also indicates a separation of clergy from the faithful and the faithful from the unbaptized (catechumens). These details in Macarius's letter parallel a brief mention of

18 Daniel Findikyan, "Hanging by a Thread: The Closed Curtain During Great Lent in the Armenian Church," *Ejmiacin* 12 (2016): 18–53. Most of Findikyan's essay focuses on practices of the Armenian church, ancient and modern.

19 Findikyan, "Hanging by a Thread," 23–25.

20 Macarius of Jerusalem, *Letter to the Armenians*, ed. Angelo Mai, *Scriptorum veterum: Nova collectio* (Rome, 1827), 2.270–272. ET: Abraham Terian, *Macarius of Jerusalem: Letter to the Armenians, AD 335*, Avant 4 (Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2008), 90–91. Terian makes a convincing case for the date (335 CE) and authentic authorship of Macarius.

FIGURE 16.5 Mosaic showing a church, eastern Mediterranean (Syria?), fifth century, now in the Louvre Museum, Paris
ROBIN M. JENSEN

altar and baptistery curtains in the fourth- or fifth-century church order, the *Testamentum Domini*, which may have originated in Syria and instructs: “Let the altar have a veil of pure linen; similarly let the house of baptism be under a veil; [and] let the place of the presbyters be under a veil.”[21]

In addition to these two witnesses, there is a reference in Eusebius of Caesarea’s *Life of Constantine* that mentions the Empress Helena giving embroidered curtains to the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem.[22] Similarly, the late fourth-century pilgrim Egeria confirmed the existence of curtains in Jerusalem and Bethlehem churches, at least to the extent that she mentions seeing marvelous woven hangings made from silk and patterned with gold stripes.[23] Yet, neither Eusebius nor Egeria specifically says that these curtains surrounded or concealed the altars in these places. In fact, they might have covered entrances or windows, been suspended between columns in the arcades, or simply served as decorative wall hangings. These kinds of draperies appear in a variety of artworks, from East to West, as at Ravenna’s San Vitale, showing the Empress

21 *Testamentum Domini* 1.19. ET: Grant Sperry-White, *The Testamentum Domini: A Text for Students* (Bramcote: Grove, 1991), 47.

22 Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* 3.43.2

23 Egeria, *Itinerarium Egeriae* 25.8.

FIGURE 16.6 Sixth-century ivory pyx, with scenes of the women coming to Christ's tomb, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art
OPEN ACCESS

Theodora and her entourage approaching a curtained door; the depiction of a baptistery on the end of a Roman sarcophagus now in the Vatican's Museo Pio Cristiano; or the depiction of a fifth-century eastern (possibly Syrian) church now in the Louvre (Fig. 16.5). Yet a sixth-century ivory pyx, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, appears to depict the censer-carrying women coming to Christ's empty tomb, represented by an altar revealed by opened curtains (Fig. 16.6). No curtains are shown, however, in the depiction of Christ's empty tomb among the panels in the early sixty-century mosaic program at Ravenna's Sant'Apollinare Nuovo.

Thus, although at least two ancient documentary sources mention curtains around altars as well as around baptismal fonts, they do not explain how they were actually used or functioned in the liturgy and whether they were opened or closed at certain points during the ritual. Because many fonts attest to the existence of standing columns, it is possible that these structures were, in fact, covered by either textile or masonry canopies—possibly even before church altars were covered. Such a covering might have been a way to protect the modesty of neophytes undergoing baptismal immersion (or affusion) while nude.[24] Because most baptismal fonts were constructed within small chambers or free-standing structures that could be closed to the public, the ritual would not have been visible to any unbaptized members of the community.

2.1 *Opened or Closed Curtains*

Fortunately, reliable information on the function of these sanctuary curtains comes from another fourth-century source and supports Taft's argument about the function of curtains or veils in much later Byzantine churches.[25] Writing from Antioch, the then-presbyter John Chrysostom tells his congregants that when they hear the words "Let us pray together," they will see the altar curtains (τὰ ἀμφίθυρα) drawn up and, at that moment, they should imagine the heavens being opened and angels descending.[26] While this text clearly refers to altar curtains, it emphatically states that the curtains are to be opened during the climax of the Eucharistic prayer, so that laity can witness both the ritual and the offerings.[27] Although the curtains must have been closed at some points of the liturgy (in order that they be opened at another), the holiest moments definitely were not to be concealed from the people.

Chrysostom's urging his flock to be visibly attentive to the action taking place on the altar is supported by a remark he makes in a homily on 1 Corinthians:

> If you don't believe, look at this table, recall for whom it is set, and why. Consider who is coming forth here. Tremble even before that happens. For, just as when one sees only the king's throne, the heart rises up from expectation of the king's arrival. So, before that thrilling moment, before you see the veils (τα παραπετάσματα) drawn aside and the choir of angels marching forth, prepare yourself to ascend to the very heavens.[28]

---

24 See Robin M. Jensen, *Living Water: Images, Symbols, and Settings of Early Christian Baptism* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 158–168.

25 Taft, "Decline of Communion," 49, where he argues that prior to the eleventh century veils only appeared in monastic churches. Vasileios Marinis similarly argues that firm evidence for veils concealing the laity's view of the Divine Liturgy date to the Middle Byzantine period and that such veils were originally a monastic custom. See Vasileios Marinis, *Architecture and Ritual in the Churches of Constantinople: Ninth to Fifteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 48.

26 John Chrysostom, *Hom. Eph.* 3.5.

27 On the dramatic qualities of this liturgical practice, cf. the contribution by Fredrik Heiding to this volume.

28 John Chrysostom, *Hom. 1 Cor.* 36.8 (PG 61.313; ET: mine). Cf. Taft, "Decline of Communion," 42.

This prompting of John's is echoed in some homilies of Theodore of Mopsuestia, who similarly instructed the newly baptized to gaze with awe upon the sacrifice as it was being offered. He insists that the deacons make the sacrament manifest to all those present so they would realize its sacred character, because the body that is presented to them should be handled, seen, and regarded with reverential respect:

> We began to speak to you of the spiritual food of which you partake when you receive the holy communion .... We further taught you the service which is performed in it, and reached the sentence: "Look at the sacrifice" which the deacon utters loudly according to the Church ritual .... After the deacon has said: "Look at the sacrifice," and while, according to his announcement, all look at what is taking place, the priest begins the Anaphora.[29]

Theodore then compares the sight of the sacred offerings on the altar to Isaiah's vision of God, which was so awesome that the people would be compelled to bow their heads both before and after reciting the *Sanctus*.

As Taft points out, although John Chrysostom describes altar curtains in the two aforementioned homilies, scholars have found nothing similar in his works which date to the time when he was bishop of Constantinople. That silence in regard to the liturgy is telling, since Chrysostom apparently "talked about everything" else.[30] Thus, while altar veils were probably unknown in Constantinopolitan churches prior to the ninth century, it is likely that they were used in fourth-century Jerusalem, Armenia, Antioch, and many, if not most, Syrian churches.

Altar veils may also have been used in other places in the East, including Cappadocia and Egypt. The evidence for their use in Cappadocia comes from a single line of an oration of Gregory of Nazianzus, which mentions that his friend and fellow bishop, Basil of Caesarea, once conversed with the Emperor Valens "within the veil"—presumably, within the veil of the sanctuary.[31] Elizabeth Bollman discusses some possible Egyptian examples in an essay that concentrates mainly on chancel screens but also considers the evidence for

29 Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Homily on the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist* 6; ET: Alphonse Mingana, *Commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Lord's Prayer and on the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist*, Woodbrook Studies 6, (Cambridge: Heffer, 1933).

30 Taft, "Decline of Communion," 44.

31 Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 43.44. Cf. Taft, "Decline of Communion," 44.

sanctuary curtains, including Byzantine-era painted depictions on niches and walls inside and adjacent to sanctuaries that might depict only "conceptual," or "illusory," rather than actual, curtains.[32] Bollman acknowledges that, while little material evidence for actual altar veils survives (possibly because of the fragility of the medium), one passage in Athanasius of Alexandria's mid-fourth century account of Arian looters refers to the destruction of some liturgical furnishings, including the veils (βῆλα).[33] She also notes that an inventory from the church of Apa Psaius at Ibion includes curtains or hangings to cover both doors and altars.[34]

3 Evidence for Altar Veils and Ciboria in Early Western Churches

While some late-fourth century, eastern Christian altars seem to have been supplied with curtains that could be drawn open to reveal the actions of the Eucharistic liturgy, similar evidence is notably lacking for western churches. Almost no textual sources or archeological remains support the existence of altar curtains prior to the Carolingian era.[35] Paulinus of Nola refers to white or patterned linen curtains covering the doors of his basilica in Nola (Italy), but only mentions lamps hanging over the altar.[36]

For example, the earliest surviving descriptions of Rome's Lateran Basilica, constructed by Constantine around the year 312, come from the *Liber Pontificalis*, a sixth-century compilation of papal biographies. According to the chapter on Pope Sylvester (314–335), Constantine made a number of generous donations to the basilica and, especially, endowed the altar area.[37] Among those endowments, the so-called *fastigium* ("pediment") has been the subject of much scholarly discussion. Sible de Blaauw believes this solid silver structure most likely comprised a series of columns, which were punctuated by openings and surmounted by an architrave that held statues of Christ and the apostles.

32 Elizabeth Bollman, "Veiling Sanctity in Christian Egypt: Visual and Spatial Solutions," in *Thresholds of the Sacred: Architectural, Art Historical, Liturgical, and Theological Perspectives on Religious Screens, East and West*, ed. Sharon E.J. Gerstel (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 73–104.

33 Athanasius, *H. Ar.* 56. Cf. Bollman, "Veiling Sanctity," 90.

34 Bollman, "Veiling Sanctity," 88. Cf. Arthur S. Hunt and Campbell C. Edgar, eds., *Select Papyri*, LCL 266 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932), 1.432–435, no. 192.

35 Gamber, *Reform of the Liturgy*, 127, cites only a reference to an altar veil in the Drogo Sacramentary, dated to the mid-ninth century.

36 Paulinus of Nola, *Carmina* 14.98; 18.30, 32.

37 *Liber Pontificalis* 34.

In de Blaauw's reconstruction, this was essentially an articulated framework that separated the sanctuary (presbytery) from the nave and that ran across the width of the apse opening.[38] In fact, the most recent theories suggest that the *fastigium* was influenced by monumental arcades along urban streets or imperial arches. Because the *fastigium* was lost, probably looted sometime in the fifth century by Goths or Vandals, its design remains unknown. Yet, nothing suggests that it functioned as a canopy directly over the altar, which probably stood immediately behind it, at the opening of the sanctuary area, more or less where it still stands today.[39] The *Liber Pontificalis* omits any mention of a curtain, and makes no reference to the Jerusalem Temple. It thus stands to reason that Constantine's *fastigium* was a partition that set the sanctuary apart from the nave; nonetheless, it would have included openings among the columns and statues, openings which would allow viewers in the nave a rather unobstructed view of any ritual taking place in the sanctuary.

In addition to the *fastigium*, the *Liber Pontificalis* lists Constantine's donations as also including a shining vessel of purest gold (*farum cantharum ex auro purissimo*) ornamented by eighty dolphins, along with seven ten-foot tall brass candelabra adorned with medallions of the prophets, both placed before the altar.[40] Considering those objects' size and value, it is highly unlikely that they would have been hidden behind a curtain. Moreover, the fact that they were to be lit with pure nard oil meant that covering them would have been a fire hazard.

As noted above, Carey contends that the Lateran Basilica was veiled and asserts that an altar canopy would have provided the necessary structure from which to hang curtains. However, no canopy (ciborium) is mentioned in the documents, and none of the archeological investigations indicates that one existed at the Lateran prior to the early Middle Ages. In fact, indisputable indications for altar canopies anywhere in the West, prior to the eighth century, is almost completely lacking. According to Jelena Bogdanović's recent, thorough study of ecclesiastical canopies, pre-fifth-century archeological evidence for such structures even in Byzantium is quite rare.[41]

---

38 Sible de Blaauw, "Imperial Connotations in Roman Church Interiors. The Significance and Effect of the Lateran Fastigium," *Acta ad archeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 15 (2001): 137–146; Lisa A. Hughes, "Illusive Idols and the Constantinian Aesthetic: A Note on the Lateran Fastigium," *Latomus* 70.2 (2011): 478–492.

39 Hugo Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches of Rome from the Fourth to the Seventh Century: The Dawn of Christian Architecture in the West* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 26.

40 *Liber Pontificalis* 34.10–11.

41 Jelena Bogdanović, *The Framing of Sacred Space: The Canopy and the Byzantine Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 328–347 (Table 5). Note, at Table 3, Bogdanović

Some evidence for canopies does exist for fifth-century Rome, but these seem primarily associated with the tombs of saints.[42] For example, a panel from the fifth-century Pola Casket, that art historians believe to depict pilgrims at the site of St. Peter's Basilica at the Vatican, shows a spiral-columned ciborium sheltering the traditional site of the apostle's tomb.[43] Draperies attached to the entablature appear at the sides, but not in the central niche. Intersecting arched ribs crown the structure and support a hanging candelabra in the shape of a crown. Two pilgrims appear to be offering prayers at the tomb—a box-type structure surmounted by a cross—that was likely the *mensa* or the type of altar linked to a martyr's remains. This was probably a repository for offerings at the celebration of the saint's feast and therefore distinguished from the Eucharistic altar.[44] In any case, the fact that two devotees (one apparently female) are depicted as standing on either side of this structure implies that it was not off limits to laypersons.

Even if a canopy was set over the Lateran's altar as early as the fourth century, nothing confirms—or even suggests—that curtains would have been suspended from it. The Lateran's main altar most likely was placed immediately behind the central arch of the *fastigium*; at the western end of the raised walkway (*solea*); and just behind the intersection of the sanctuary with the nave, which is more or less where it stands today. Remains for other early western churches are sometimes difficult to discern, but physical evidence suggests that many western altars were situated quite close to the chord of apse and nave, or even well into the nave itself. Hugo Brandenburg, for example, believes the first altar of St. Peter's Basilica was moveable and, like the probable position of the Lateran's altar, was placed in front of Peter's shrine, perhaps right at the opening of the triumphal arch.[45]

---

lists various uses of terms that could refer to ecclesiastical curtains as well as ciboria (tetravelon, parapetasma, katapetasma, or pepla) and notes the earlier references to actual altar veils (rather than to scriptural references to the Temple veil) are those noted above from John Chrysostom. She does not, however, include *amphithyra*, which is the term that John Chrysostom uses in his *Homily on Ephesians* 3.5, noted above.

42 Possibly a parallel with the Holy Sepulcher shrine over the tomb of Christ, discussed above. On this subject see Molly Teasdale Smith, "The Development of the Altar Canopy in Rome," *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 50 (1974): 379–414.

43 Jas Elsner, "Concealment and Revelation: The Pola Casket and the Visuality of Early Christian Relics," in *Conditions of Visibility*, ed. Richard Neer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 74–110.

44 On the function of a *mensa* in a martyrium, see Richard Krautheimer, "Mensa—Coemeterium—Martyrium," in Richard Krautheimer, *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York: New York University Press, 1969), 33–37.

45 Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches*, 64. Cf. also Tord Fornberg's contribution to this volume.

FIGURE 16.7 Tomb mosaic showing the interior of a church, from Tabarka (Tunisia), late fourth century
ROBIN M. JENSEN

Altars of many early North African basilicas were placed even more toward the center of the main nave.[46] An illustration of this centralized placement is evident on a funerary mosaic found in a fourth-century Christian basilica from Tabarka, Tunisia (Fig. 16.7). Originally set over the tomb of a woman named Valentia, who is described as "in peace" (*Ecclesia Mater/Valentia in Pacae*), the mosaic depicts a church building, perhaps one whose construction was funded by Valentia herself. The legend also refers to the church as "mother" (*Ecclesia Mater*), an expression common in African as well as Roman practice.[47]

The mosaic depicts the interior of the church in a schematic drawing that shows the interior as well as details of the tiled roof. One of the most interesting features of the image is the freestanding altar, which appears to be located on the level of the main floor and about a third of the way into the center of the nave. This placement conforms to archeological evidence for other North African basilicas of the fourth and fifth centuries. It is covered by what might be a marble *fenestella* (shielding a saint's relic) or an embroidered linen cloth and

46 On this see J. Patout Burns and Robin M. Jensen, *Christianity in Roman Africa: The Development of Its Practices and Beliefs* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2014), 139–162; and Robin M. Jensen, "Recovering Ancient Ecclesiology: The Place of the Altar and the Orientation of Prayer in the Early Latin Church," *Worship* 89 (2015): 99–124.

47 Discussed in Robin M. Jensen, "Mater Ecclesia and Fons Aeterna: The Church and Her Womb in Ancient Christianity," in *A Feminist Companion to Patristic Literature*, ed. Amy-Jill Levine (Cleveland: Bloomsbury Academic, 2008), 137–155.

set with three lit candles. No barrier or chancel screen appears to set it apart; nor does the mosaic show any evidence of a ciborium or concealing altar curtain.

Another piece of early evidence for the arrangement and furnishings of African altars is a small pavement mosaic found in western Algeria among the now-lost ruins of a late fifth-century basilica at the ancient site of Castellum Tingitanum in Mauretania Caesariensis. Around a third of the way down the central nave, the mosaic's central panel (now lost) depicted a rectangular table set upon two columns within a field filled with vines, fruit, and birds. Most scholars presume that the panel demarcated the altar area, with the actual altar placed directly on the image of the table (and perhaps looking much like it).[48] There is no indication that the altar was veiled or curtained, even if it might have been surmounted by some kind of wood or stone canopy.

The altar in Augustine's basilica in Hippo Regius also appears to have been situated more or less in the center of the main nave. Although it could have been set on a raised platform and surrounded by a chancel screen, excerpts from some of his sermons indicate that the people were not restricted from the altar area during the Eucharistic liturgy, a fact that would have made veiling very awkward if not impossible. For example, in a New Year's Day sermon on the Letter to the Hebrews (ca. 404 CE), Augustine observed that in the Israelite ritual, only the high priest could enter the Holy of Holies. In fulfillment of this prototype, Christ as High Priest alone entered the heavenly sanctuary, while the people—including the clergy—waited outside. Augustine also describes his own church as comprising the bishop and people who are gathered around the earthly altar. Through that gathering, they become an image of the body of Christ, anticipating the time when they, as members of Christ's body, will join Christ, the head, in the heavenly sanctuary. For the time being, however, the bishop and people are, together, outside. Thus, while Augustine distinguished the priesthood of the whole church from the priesthood of the clergy on the basis of the latter's office, he apparently did not envision that differentiation as either spatial or physical. Rather, he encouraged his flock to gather around him during the ritual, a gathering that would have been impossible if the altar was veiled.[49] In several other sermons, moreover, Augustine invites the congregation to look at the offerings on the table. In one sermon, addressed to the newly baptized on Easter, he instructs: "You ought to know what you have received,

48 See Robin M. Jensen, "Reconsidering the Ancient Algerian Basilica of Chlef and its Mosaics," *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 27 (2014), 99–117.

49 Augustine, *Serm*. 198 augm. (Dolb. 26.53–54, 57). See also *Parm*. 2.7.12–8.16, esp. 2.8.14; *C. litt. Petil.* 2.241; *Enarrat. Ps*. 64.6, 109.18, 130.4, 132; and *Serm*. 351.7.

what you are about to receive, what you ought to receive every day. That bread, which you see on the altar, sanctified by God's word, is Christ's body. That cup, or rather what the cup contains, sanctified by God's word, is Christ's blood."[50]

Eventually, altar curtains did appear in western churches. The earliest documentary evidence from the West mentioning altar curtains comes from the *Liber Pontificalis*, in the lives of Pope Sergius (687–701) and John VI (701–705). Pope Sergius is said to have provided four white and four scarlet colored veils (*tetravela*) to surround the altar of St. Peter's, and to have added a canopy to the Basilica of Saints Cosmas and Damian, where there may previously have been none.[51] John VI donated white veils to St. Paul's basilica, which were to be hung between the columns of the altar on the right and left.[52] The texts give no indication of the ritual or liturgical function of these veils, however.[53]

Notably, both Popes had eastern connections, at a time when Rome had a significant population of Christians from Greece and Syria, who were refugees from Persian advances into Byzantine territory.[54] Pope Sergius was born into a Syrian family from Antioch who had settled in Sicily and Pope John was a native of Dalmatia. Although the extent of the so-called "orientalization" of the Roman papacy is debated by historians, the eastern roots of the two Popes may very well correlate with the inclusion of altar canopies and veils, as they would have quite naturally drawn upon the practices of their ecclesial origins, bringing a typically eastern practice to the West.[55]

While no mention of drawing curtains around the altar to conceal the Eucharistic liturgy occurs in the various *Ordines Romani* (dated from the eighth

50 Augustine, *Serm.* 227.1 (SC 116, 235.10–12; ET: mine). See also Augustine, *Serm.* 229.1 and 272.1.

51 *Liber Pontificalis* 86.11.

52 *Liber Pontificalis* 87.3.

53 Canon 13 from the Gallican Council of Narbonne (586) refers to sub-deacons and doorkeepers raising curtains in front of doors in front of senior clergy (*senioribus vela ad ostia sublevent*) but these are not necessarily altar curtains. Findikyan, "Hanging by a Thread," 27, cf. Philippe Labbe and Gabriel Cossart, *Sacrosancta concilia ad regiam editionem* 5 (Paris, 1671), 1030.

54 For more on the migration see Panagiotis Theodoropoulos, "The Migration of Syrian and Palestinian Populations in the 7th Century: Movement of Individuals and Groups in the Mediterranean," in *Migration Histories of the Medieval Afroeurasian Transition Zone: Aspects of Mobility between Africa, Asia, and Europe, 300–1500 C.E.*, eds, Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, Lucian Reinfandt, and Yannis Stouraitis, Studies in Global Migration History 39/13 (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 261–287.

55 On the debate, see Andrew Ekonomou, *Byzantine Rome and the Greek Popes: Eastern Influences on Rome and the Papacy from Gregory the Great to Zacharias, AD 590–752* (Lanham: Lexington, 2007), esp. 248–249.

century onward), the distinction of the altar area from the nave was gradually being emphasized.[56] By the high Middle Ages, screens around altars evidently became taller and more able to spatially segregate layfolk from clerics and members of religious orders. Yet, even in these churches, as Jacqueline Jung argues, "the most seemingly impenetrable partitions accommodated—even perhaps amplified—laypeople's desire to see the altar."[57] She further maintains that it was a regular practice to open doors of screens at the elevation of the Host so that the congregation could participate in the Eucharist visually, if not physically. They received with their eyes, if not with their mouths.

4 Conclusion

Despite the anachronistic assertions of some contemporary liturgists, altar veils intended to conceal the sacred mysteries from the eyes of the laity were rarely (if at all) used in early Christian practice. Material and textual evidence from the East indicates that altars in Syria, Egypt, or Cappadocia have been equipped with canopies and curtains as early as the fourth century, but even in those places they were used not to conceal the sacred mysteries from the eyes of the laity, but rather to enhance the dramatic consecratory climax of the Eucharistic liturgy. Just as John Chrysostom had urged the members of his Antioch congregation to look and see at that moment and to imagine angels descending, the faithful in all regions of the church, from East to West, and from the earliest centuries, were similarly encouraged to be physically present and visually engaged with the ceremonies being celebrated at the altar. In certain times or places, veils may have been drawn to conceal the sacred elements, as in the Armenian Church during Lent,[58] or the Lenten practice of veiling saints' statues and crucifixes in western churches until fairly recent times, but such practices are clearly intended to make a stark contrast between the ordinarily opened curtain and the exceptional visual fasting of the eyes during the penitential season.

56 Texts in Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du Haut Moyen-Âge* 2, SSL 23 (Leuven, 1948).

57 Jacqueline E. Jung, "Seeing through the Screens: The Gothic Choir Enclosure as Frame," in *Thresholds of the Sacred: Architectural, Liturgical, and Theological Perspectives on Religious Screens, East and West*, ed. Sharon E.J. Gerstel (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 185–214, here 189.

58 Findikyan, "Hanging by a Thread."

Bibliography

Andrieu, Michel. *Les Ordines Romani du Haut Moyen-Âge* 2. SSL 23. Leuven, 1948.

Bogdanović, Jelena. "The Proclamation of the New Covenant: The Pre-Iconoclastic Altar Ciboria in Rome and Constantinople," *Athanor* 20 (2002): 7–29.

Bogdanović, Jelena. *The Framing of Sacred Space: The Canopy and the Byzantine Church*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Bollman, Elisabeth. "Veiling Sanctity in Christian Egypt: Visual and Spatial Solutions." Pages 73–104 in *Thresholds of the Sacred: Architectural, Art Historical, Liturgical, and Theological Perspectives on Religious Screens, East and West*. Edited by Sharon E.J. Gerstel. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006.

Bouyer, Louis. *Liturgy and Architecture*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967.

Brandenburg, Hugo. *Ancient Churches of Rome from the Fourth to the Seventh Century: The Dawn of Christian Architecture in the West*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2005.

Burns, J. Patout, and Robin M. Jensen. *Christianity in Roman Africa: The Development of Its Practices and Beliefs*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2014.

Carey, Michael, O.P. "Veiling the Mysteries: Liturgical Spirituality and Church Architecture," *Sacred Architecture Journal* 3.1 (2000): 23–27.

De Blaauw, Sible. "Imperial Connotations in Roman Church Interiors. The Significance and Effect of the Lateran Fastigium." *Acta ad archeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 15 (2001): 137–146.

Elsner, Jas. "Concealment and Revelation: The Pola Casket and the Visuality of Early Christian Relics." Pages 74–110 in *Conditions of Visibility*. Edited by Richard Neer. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.

Ekonomou, Andrew. *Byzantine Rome and the Greek Popes: Eastern Influences on Rome and the Papacy from Gregory the Great to Zacharias, AD 590–752*. Lanham: Lexicon, 2007.

Findikyan, Daniel. "Hanging by a Thread: The Closed Curtain During Great Lent in the Armenian Church." *Ejmiacin* 12 (2016): 18–53.

Gamber, Klaus. *Liturgie und Kirchenbau: Studien zur Geschichte der Messfeier und des Gotteshauses in der Frühzeit*. Regensburg: Pustet, 1976.

Gamber, Klaus. *The Reform of the Roman Liturgy: Its Problems and Background*. San Juan Capistrano: Una Voce, 1993.

Gsell, Stephen. *Recherches archéologiques en Algérie*. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1893.

Hughes, Lisa A. "Illusive Idols and the Constantinian Aesthetic: A Note on the Lateran Fastigium." *Latomus* 70.2 (2011): 478–492.

Hunt, Arthur S., and Campbell C. Edgar, eds. *Select Papyri*. LCL 266. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932.

Jensen, Robin M. "Mater Ecclesia and Fons Aeterna: The Church and Her Womb in

Ancient Christianity." Pages 137–155 in *A Feminist Companion to Patristic Literature*. Edited by Amy-Jill Levine. Cleveland: Bloomsbury Academic, 2008.

Jensen, Robin M. *Living Water: Images, Symbols, and Settings of Early Christian Baptism*. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

Jensen, Robin M. "Reconsidering the Ancient Algerian Basilica of Chlef and its Mosaics," *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 27 (2014): 99–117.

Jensen, Robin M. "Recovering Ancient Ecclesiology: The Place of the Altar and the Orientation of Prayer in the Early Latin Church," *Worship* 89 (2015): 99–124.

Jung, Jacqueline E. "Seeing through the Screens: The Gothic Choir Enclosure as Frame." Pages 185–214 in *Thresholds of the Sacred: Architectural, Liturgical, and Theological Perspectives on Religious Screens, East and West*. Edited by Sharon E.J. Gerstel. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006.

Krautheimer, Richard. "Mensa—Coemeterium—Martyrium." Pages 33–37 in Richard Krautheimer, *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art*. New York: New York University Press, 1969.

Labbe, Philippe, and Gabriel Cossart, *Sacrosancta concilia ad regiam editionem* 5. Paris, 1671.

Lidov, Alexei. "The Temple Veil as a Spatial Icon: Revealing an Image-Paradigm of Medieval Iconography and Hierotopy," *IKON* 7 (2014): 97–108.

MacMullen, Ramsay. *The Second Church: Popular Christianity A.D. 200–400*. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2009.

Mai, Angelo. *Scriptorum veterum: Nova collectio*. Rome, 1827.

Mathews, Thomas. *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971.

Marinis, Vasileios. *Architecture and Ritual in the Churches of Constantinople: Ninth to Fifteenth Centuries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Mingana, Alphonse. *Commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Lord's Prayer and on the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist*, Woodbrook Studies 6. Cambridge: Heffer, 1933.

Rosenthal-Heginbottom, Renate. 2009. "The Curtain (Parochet) in Jewish and Samaritan Synagogues." Pages 155–169 in *Clothing the House: Furnishing Textiles of the 1st Millennium AD from Egypt and Neighboring Countries: Proceedings of the 5th Conference of the Research Group "Textiles from the Nile Valley," Antwerp, 6–7 October, 2007*. Edited by Antoine De Moor and Cäcilia Fluck. Tielt: Lanno, 2009.

Smith, Molly Teasdale. "The Development of the Altar Canopy in Rome," *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 50 (1974): 379–414.

Sperry-White, Grant. *The Testamentum Domini: A Text for Students*. Bramcote: Grove, 1991.

Taft, Robert, S.J. "The Decline of Communion in Byzantium and the Distancing of the Congregation from the Liturgical Action: Cause, Effect, or Neither?" Pages 27–53 in *Thresholds of the Sacred: Architectural, Liturgical, and Theological Perspectives on Religious Screens, East and West*. Edited by Sharon E.J. Gerstel. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006.

Terian, Abraham. *Macarius of Jerusalem: Letter to the Armenians, AD 335*. Avant 4. Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2008.

Theodoropoulos, Panagiotis. "The Migration of Syrian and Palestinian Populations in the 7th Century: Movement of Individuals and Groups in the Mediterranean," Pages 261–287 in *Migration Histories of the Medieval Afroeurasian Transition Zone: Aspects of Mobility between Africa, Asia, and Europe, 300–1500 C.E.* Edited by Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, Lucian Reinfandt, and Yannis Stouraitis. Studies in Global Migration History 39/13. Leiden: Brill, 2020.

PART 4

Reverberations:
Reception and Rediscovery of Early Christian Liturgical Traditions

17

Transposed and Thriving: Bible Reception in the Prophetologion: With the Addition of an Early Arabic Witness (Sinai Arabic 588) in the Appendix

Miriam L. Hjälm

1 Introduction

An intriguing feature of the early Church is its endeavor to merge worlds.[1] From his location within this world, Jesus exclaims: "My kingdom is not of this world … [but] from another place" (John 18:36 NIV). And this merger of heavenly and earthly realities was not the only one envisioned by the early Church. Through direct citations and thematic parallels, the gospel authors bring the narrative about Jesus into the worlds of the prophets and the message of the prophets into the world of Jesus. This double movement is exemplified in John 8:56–57, where Jesus not only fulfills the prophecies of the Scriptures, but where the prophets are described as participating in the event itself: "Your father Abraham rejoiced at the thought of seeing my day; he saw it and was glad" (John 8:56–57 NIV). Contemporary Jews in contrast are described as trapped in time, a constituent of this world. They answer rhetorically: "You are not yet fifty years old, and You have seen Abraham?" Indeed, Christ was timeless and in him the words of the prophets were brought into another reality.

These mergers of worlds were enabled by texts through their transposition into new contexts. It continued to fascinate and trigger the search for parallels, an approach commonly labeled (or reduced to) a "Christocentric reading" of Old Testament texts. Despite the importance of the Jewish Scriptures for these and other purposes, the Old Testament was seemingly never awarded a particularly prominent position in the Byzantine liturgy, but was read mainly on Vespers before major feasts and during Lent. The historical whereabouts of

1 I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Professor Sysse Engberg for all her comments, corrections, and explanations relating to the Prophetologion in the current paper. I also wish to thank the editors of the present volume, Dr. Grant White, Archimandrite Jean Mansour, Sally Adel, and the participants at the Patristic and Biblical seminars in Uppsala for their comments on the draft version of this paper. The present article was composed with support from the Swedish Research Council (2017–01630).

Old Testament readings in the Eucharistic liturgy is obscure and contested. The main question of this paper is not why or whether they disappeared, but rather why some texts were selected and thereby allowed to thrive in the Byzantine liturgy whereas others were disregarded. Texts are complicated in the sense that they are more than the intentions of their authors yet subjugated to the anticipations and prejudices of their readers. At the same time, they can enable a meeting with "the Other" that challenges the reader to reevaluate their prejudices or give the ones they have a deeper meaning. In addition, it seems that some texts were more apt for reception and survival in new contexts than others.[2]

Throughout history, liturgical texts have had the advantage of reaching and thereby effecting a wide audience. Despite the increased interest in liturgical biblical texts as a key to understanding early and Byzantine Christianity, they are still understudied compared to continuous renditions of biblical texts. This is unfortunate since the laity, including women and children, mostly encountered the Bible in liturgical contexts. That is, the form in which the Bible was most often used, is also the form most often neglected in scholarship.[3]

The present paper focuses on the Old Testament renderings included in the liturgical book known as the Prophetologion. After a brief historical overview, I first discuss the selection of continuous readings in this book and then elaborate on interpretative aspects of the selected texts. The overarching question addresses the fact that some biblical passages were selected against others, as stated above, and research on the Prophetologion will be scrutinized

2 For how discussions on texts are applied in biblical studies, see for instance, Michael A. Satlow, "Reading without History," in *Reading Other Peoples' Texts: Social Identity and the Reception of Authoritative Traditions*, ed. Ken Brown, Alison L. Joseph, and Brennan Breed (London: T & T Clark, 2020), 50–67, here 50–55; Ken Brown and Brennan Breed, "Social Identity and Scriptural Interpretation: An Introduction," in *Reading Other Peoples' Texts: Social Identity and the Reception of Authoritative Traditions*, ed. Ken Brown, Alison L. Joseph, and Brennan Breed (London: T & T Clark, 2020), 1–32, here 14–17. For an intriguing discussion on how to understand the survival of texts, see Brennan Breed, "What Can a Text Do? Reception History as an Ethology of the Biblical Text," in *Reception History and Biblical Studies: Theory and Practice*, ed. Emma England and William John Lyon (London: T & T Clark, 2015), 95–110. See also the discussion below.

3 On the participation of the laity in liturgy, see Robert Taft, *Through Their Own Eyes: Liturgy as the Byzantines Saw It* (Berkeley: InterOrthodox Press, 2006). Taft focuses on early sources and notes that there is a certain decline in laity's participation in liturgy when the liturgy is confined within the walls of the church building. In any event, it is reasonable to assume that texts used in liturgy, even those on vigils, continued to affect people to a considerable extent. For other means in which biblical texts were transmitted, see the discussion below. For a discussion on the general use of the Bible in the Early Church, see Paul F. Bradshaw, "The Use of the Bible in Liturgy: Some Historical Perspectives," *Studia Liturgica* 22 (1992): 35–52.

with an eye to potential answers. As such, my analysis deals with the complex dialectical interaction between tradition, hermeneutics, and the nature of texts. Finally, I offer a basic description of a hitherto largely un-studied Arabic Prophetologion (Ms Sinai Arabic 588) in the appendix. Though this is not the place for a thorough investigation of this almost completely unexplored copy, I add it here to make parts of the rich and important Arabic heritage available to a broader public. By doing so, I hope to add to our knowledge of the development of the Prophetologion in general as well as to the liturgical life of Arabic-speaking Christians, who adhered to the Byzantine rite under Islamic rule.

2 Prophetologion

A Prophetologion is a collection of mostly Old Testament readings cantillated during Byzantine feast days, i.e., those relating to Nativity, Epiphany, Lent, and Pentecost (cf. the Triodion and the Pentecostarion), as well as a number of other feasts, where major events and saints are commemorated (cf. the Menaion).

The Prophetologion seems to originate from Constantinople. It is unclear both why the Prophetologion developed and why it was later absorbed into other liturgical books, though in both cases, practicality likely played its part.[4] The most debated aspect of the Prophetologion is its connection to the presumed Old Testament readings in the divine liturgy of the Early Church. As Christianity was born in a Jewish context, it is assumed that early Christians continued to read from the Jewish Scriptures following a pre-rabbinic praxis hinted at, for instance, in Luke 4:16–21, where Jesus reads from the scroll of Isaiah. In the first centuries, the reading of the prophets was seemingly an integral part of the divine liturgy, as the often-cited passage from Justin Martyr (d. 165 CE) indicates:

4 The origin of the Prophetologion has been discussed by Carsten Høeg and Günther Zuntz, and further discussed by Sysse G. Engberg, who mentions performance of the lessons and the wish to create uniformity as possible reasons for its appearance. In short, few churches and monasteries owned all biblical texts and even if they did it was impractical to search for the relevant passages in continuous renditions and thus practical to collect such passages into a separate book. In addition, the Prophetologion contains, besides the Old Testament lections, *troparia* and *prokeimena* sung in connections to the readings, and it seems reasonable to assume that they were performed by the same person(s). Sysse G. Engberg, "The Greek Old Testament Lectionary as a Liturgical Book," *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Age Grec et Latin* 54 (1987): 39–48.

> 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 … then … bread and wine and water are brought.[5]

From this and similar statements, scholars have assumed that there was a widespread practice in the Early Church of reading one lection from the Prophets, one from the Epistles, and one from Gospels ("the triple-lection theory"), which disappeared somewhere between the fifth and the eighth centuries. According to Robert Taft, the Prophetologion emerged around the seventh and eighth centuries "after the Old Testament lection had been eliminated from the Constantinopolitan Eucharist in the 7th C."[6] In an article published in 2006, Sysse Gudrun Engberg points out what she perceives as a paradox in Taft's statement: why would an Old Testament liturgical book develop right after the practice of reading the Old Testament had been dissolved? Were the Old Testament Eucharistic readings transferred to the feast days, she asks, or were they just abolished and supplanted by a new selection of readings? Or, were there always two systems in use, one of which later disappeared? To Engberg, the uncertain relation between these two liturgical practices puts in doubt the assumption that there originally was a Eucharistic Old Testament reading in the Constantinopolitan rite. She notes, "[t]he triple-lection theory is mainly based on the assumption that a universal common Urform of the eucharist liturgy later diversified."[7] The opposite, she claims, is nevertheless more likely: "the diversity of the early, local rites, known from the comments of Church

5 Justin Martyr, *1 Apol.* 67 (ET: *ANF* 1:185).

6 Robert Taft, "Prophetologion," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols., ed. Alexandr Kazhdan et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 3.1737.

7 Sysse G. Engberg, "The Prophetologion and the Triple-Lection Theory: The Genesis of a Liturgical Book," *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* Terza, serie 3 (2006): 67–92, here 70; Sysse G. Engberg, "The Needle and the Haystack: Searching for Evidence of the Eucharistic Old Testament Lection in the Constantinopolitan Rite," *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* Terza, serie 13 (2016): 47–60, esp. 47. As a point of comparison, one could mention that it took a while before readings are structured around a calendar in the rabbinic tradition and that in Jewish worship the practice of feast readings precedes that of weekday readings. See Michael Graves, "The Public Reading of Scripture in Early Judaism," *JETS* 50.3 (2007): 467–487, here 472–473. Eventually, the practice of reading through the Torah on an annual basis prevailed—yet until the twelfth century, a three-years cycle was still used at some places. See Graves, "Public Reading," 473–474. Due to the development of a cantillation system, the general decline of the knowledge of Hebrew, and the length of the readings, only professionals could read Scriptures in the rabbinic tradition, see Graves, "Public Reading," 476.

fathers and Byzantine historians, underwent an increasing standardization."[8] Thus, Engberg does not question the presence of Old Testament readings during the Eucharistic liturgy as such, only that such practice was the one used in Constantinople.[9]

The question of Eucharistic readings of the Old Testament does not shed direct light on the provenance of the practice of reading from the Jewish Scriptures at certain vigils, although such practice was or became standardized in the eighth century, when prophetologia begin to appear. It seems reasonable to assume that the Lenten readings had ancient roots expanding "a primitive Paschal vigil" and that this practice in turn affected the structure of other feast days.[10] Engberg, who together with her predecessors Carsten Høeg and Günther Zuntz edited the Greek Prophetologion,[11] notes that the biblical passages selected in prophetologia are highly uniform and that the selection of feasts is relatively stable, observations confirmed by the contents of the early Arabic prophetologion manuscript described below. In sharp contrast, the chronological arrangements of the texts vary greatly, she states.[12]

---

8 Engberg, "Triple-Lection Theory," 71.

9 Engberg, "Triple-Lection Theory," 71; cf. Engberg, "The Needle and the Haystack," 53–54. Taft responded to Engberg's argument in an article published in 2011, where he denounced any adherence to the idea of an Urtext and at the same time provided new proofs of liturgical notations in Old Testament texts. See Robert F. Taft, "Were There Once Old Testament Readings in the Byzantine Divine Liturgy? Apropos of an Article by Sysse Gudrun Engberg," *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* Terza, serie 8 (2011): 271–311. Engberg responded in the article from 2016 by noting that such notations only confirmed what she labels the *prophetologion repertory*, i.e., Old Testament readings used in prophetologia (here on the eves of Epiphany and Easter) and that they add nothing to the question on Eucharistic use, which Taft also admits. In addition, it is hard to tell when such notations were added to the margins of extant bible manuscripts, see Engberg, "The Needle and the Haystack," 52–53.

10 James Miller, "The Prophetologion: The Old Testament of Byzantine Christianity?", in *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, ed. Paul Magdalino and Robert Nelson (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection Trustees for Harvard University, 2010), 55–76, here 71–72.

11 Carsten Høeg, Günther Zuntz, and Sysse G. Engberg, eds. *Prophetologium*, vol. 1 of *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae: Lectionaria*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1939–1981).

12 Engberg, "The Greek Old Testament," 42–43. At date, more than 200 Greek manuscripts dated from the ninth to the seventeenth centuries have been discovered. The bulk is dated between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries (see Engberg, "The Greek Old Testament," 41). Similarly, Arabic prophetologia appear from the tenth/eleventh to seventeenth centuries. Finally, it is of interest to note that the manuscripts containing prophetologia exhibit the same ekphonic cantillation system as New Testament lectionaries and seem therefore to have been chanted in the same way. See Engberg, "The Greek Old Testament," 44–46.

As pointed out by James Miller, knowledge of the Old Testament was not reduced to texts.[13] The narratives circulated orally, and people encountered biblical material on icons, in homilies, in hymns, in theological and apologetic tracts, through rewritings of biblical material, etc. Yet, as written texts, only parts of the Old Testament material were conveyed to the public during liturgy. Were these passages consciously selected on thematic grounds or even out of a primary exegetical principle? Or does the selection of this material reflect a "canon within the canon" which had already narrowed down the corpus? While these alternatives are surely interrelated and no firm answer can be provided, it may be valuable to take a look at other communities' use of Scripture for parallels.

3 Not All Equal

In connection to Lent, passages from a few selected books are read more or less continuously so that the narrative structure of the biblical text is conveyed "in its own right" (as opposed to topical criteria, which governs most of the selection). With some exceptions, Isaiah, Genesis, and Proverbs are read in continuous form until the Holy Week begins. The readings are then exchanged for Ezekiel, Exodus, and Job, which are read on Monday to Wednesday (thus, only a few chapters from these books are read). In addition to continuous readings, one could mention that Jonah is read in its entirety on Saturday of Great and Holy Week, and longer passages from Daniel sporadically appear on various feast days. Psalms are read on a daily basis throughout the year in monasteries (cf. Psalters) and in the Prophetologion passages from Psalms are inserted before readings during Lent (*prokeimena*).

It is interesting to note that there are clear parallels between the books listed above and books often referenced in the New Testament, i.e., Psalms, Isaiah, Genesis, Exodus, and Proverbs. In contrast, Job, Daniel, Jonah, and Ezekiel are not quoted or alluded to often in the New Testament. Yet, according to Sidnie Crawford, the list of books which appear to have been regarded as authoritative in the Qumran material and thereby indicative of a long life as sacred texts, includes exactly these books: the Pentateuch, the Prophets, the Psalms,

13 Miller, "The Prophetologion," 72–76. The most thorough attempt to present the use of the Old Testament in the Eastern Orthodox Church from different perspectives is to my knowledge Eugen J. Pentiuc, *The Old Testament in Eastern Christian Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Proverbs, Job and Daniel.[14] Miller notes that books used in the Prophetologion indeed reflect those commonly used in Patristic times as well.[15] This observation is strengthened by "post-Patristic" traditions: among Arabic speaking communities (i.e., Christians representing the Patriarchates of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and the Church of the East), the Gospels, the Epistles, and the Psalms are reproduced much more often than any other biblical book. Whereas several biblical books are found only scarcely or not at all in Arabic until the sixteenth century, the Pentateuch, the Prophets, Job, Proverbs, and Daniel are well represented in pre-modern times.[16]

The parallels listed above are interesting from the point of user value of specific biblical books, a topic to which we will return below, but it also raises questions about Jewish-Christian interactions. Michael Graves notes that "[m]ost of what we find in the early rabbinic tradition would fit best in comparison with the development of Christian worship in the patristic period, from the second to the fifth centuries."[17] Indeed, Daniel Stöckl Ben Ezra has shown that the "Fast of the Seventh Month" celebrated by Christians in Rome "developed both in contact with and competition to the contemporary Jewish holiday of Yom Kippur" (facilitated by passages such as Rom 14:5–6; Acts 27:9).[18] As Stöckl Ben Ezra points out, Jewish-Christian interactions likely took place in connection to festivals.[19] In many cases, however, dependence (in either direction) is difficult to pin down. Since both Jews and Christians used biblical readings in liturgy, one may also assume that they encountered similar dilemmas and therefore came up with similar solutions. Below, a few parallels are highlighted.

In his article "The Public Reading of Scripture in Early Judaism," Graves describes the role of Scripture in Jewish liturgy. One text collection—the Torah—is given prominence (spatially and ritually) and additional readings are arranged around this center. The prophets are read only selectively to close the Torah reading (*haftarah*). Most of the *haftaroth* are selected to correspond

14 Sidney White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans: 2008), 9.

15 Miller, "The Prophetologion," 72–73.

16 Miriam L. Hjälm, "1.1.10 The Arabic Canon," in *The Textual History of the Bible*, vol. 2A, ed. Frank Feder and Matthias Henze (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 280–298.

17 Graves, "Public Reading," 486.

18 Daniel Stöckl Ben Ezra, "Whose Fast Is It? The Ember Day of September and Yom Kippur," in *The Ways That Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Adam H. Becker and Annette Yoshiko Reed, TSAJ 95 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 259–282, here 279.

19 Stöckl Ben Ezra, "Whose Fast Is It?" 261.

to their Torah portion in one way or the other.[20] In the Babylonian rite, the focus is on thematic parallels (the *haftarah* could thereby be taken from any biblical book) whereas in the Palestinian rite, the selection is governed by "a messianic peroration, which summed up the reading of Torah with an eschatological hope" and therefore mainly selected from Isaiah chapters 40–66 and minor prophets.[21] In the Prophetologion, we find a somewhat similar structure. The Christ-event itself (cf. the role of the Torah) is often presupposed in the liturgical feast and passages from Old Testament texts are selected to confirm major points in the relevant episode in Christ's life but on other occasions, biblical passages are typically selected thematically. Just as in the Palestinian tradition, and in the New Testament, chapters 40–66 are the most frequently referenced parts of Isaiah in topical selections of the Prophetologion.

It is interesting to note that "homiletic midrashim," which appear to have originated from liturgical readings, contain what Graves calls "mini-lessons" in which typically a passage from the *Ktuvim*, i.e., the Writings (the *pticha*), is connected to the relevant Torah passage. The Torah sermon then ends with a reading from the Prophets (the *chatima*), likewise connected to the Torah passage. Thus, the midrashim weave together the three parts of the Bible to foster a holistic view of Scripture.[22] The continuous readings in the Prophetologion reflect a similar structure: readings (divided over two services) include readings from the Prophets, the Pentateuch, and the Writings. It seems reasonable to assume that the selection of a book from each of the three collections reflects the same principle as that in rabbinic Judaism, namely that "the Scripture speaks with one voice." As noted by Eugen Pentiuc, this tripartite structure may also be Christologically motivated (cf. Luke 24:44, where Jesus is described as the fulfillment of the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms),[23] probably likewise to promote a holistic understanding of Scripture.

Just as Jonah is given a prominent position in the Prophetologion, the book is read during Yom Kippur in the Jewish liturgy. Psalms are read in connection to all Jewish services, and as noted above, in *prokeimena* introducing readings in the Byzantine liturgy.[24]

---

20 Graves, "Public Reading," 474.
21 Graves, "Public Reading," 475.
22 Cf. Graves, "Public Reading," 483–484.
23 Pentiuc, *Old Testament*, 226.
24 Cf. *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*, s.v. "Biblical Literature in Liturgy," https://www.britannica.com/topic/biblical-literature/Biblical-literature-in-liturgy.

Finally, Graves points out that as a means of turning scriptural readings into a liturgical event, Jewish prayers were inserted both before and after scriptural readings.[25] *Troparia* and *prokeimena* may have served a similar purpose.

Next to the parallels discussed above are a couple of notable differences. Most strikingly, "the five scrolls" (Esther, Ruth, Song of Songs, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes) are on thematic grounds selected for Jewish holidays. This is notable, since these are among the few books *not* read in the Byzantine liturgy. These books are normally regarded as late biblical books, and some of the books' final inclusion in the canon may seem puzzling given their seemingly unorthodox content. In contrast, the ones selected for readings in the Prophetologion were most likely authoritative (i.e., often reproduced) already in pre-Christian times. There are exceptions, such as the additions to Daniel and Baruch, yet it is likely that they were thought of as natural parts of Daniel and Jeremiah by those who selected them. Some of the five scrolls are known for their relative disinterest in typical theological discourse and two of them have female protagonists. In terms of reception and effect of a work on its audience, the choice of incorporating these books into the Jewish liturgy and the choice not to prioritize them in Christian liturgy are noteworthy. In addition to these books, many historical and deuterocanonical books, as well as some of the minor prophets, are completely excluded from the Prophetologion. According to Pentiuc, the lack of historical books may be explained in terms of perspective: "Whereas the Latin liturgy is predominantly retrospective … the Eastern Orthodox worship is preeminently prospective, gazing at the eschatological fulfillment."[26] Yet this observation only explains some of the material excluded by the Prophetologion. As Old Testament types of Christ can assumedly be drawn from any biblical book (see below), this interpretative principle does not entirely explain the selection, either. Therefore, it seems to me that the selection of passages used in liturgy reflects a more or less conscious praxis of using "a canon within the canon."

To conclude, the selection of books for continuous readings in the Prophetologion may, just as in the rabbinic tradition, be partly governed by an impetus to reinforce a holistic view of Scripture. Continuous readings are extracted from books whose theological agenda was seldom questioned and, related to that, these books had long enjoyed status as authoritative scripture. Instead of claiming an ancient origin for liturgical readings in general (except for Pascha), it may be more reasonable to assume that such books reflect a "canon within the

25 Graves, "Public Reading," 484.
26 Pentiuc, *Old Testament*, 226.

canon," which itself can claim old age (such a canon may for sure have had blurry borders, like any canon). Thus, whereas Byzantine and Rabbinic liturgies reflect a rather similar structure wherein the biblical readings are placed, the Byzantine selection appears to be more conservative than the Rabbinic selection. It seems therefore that whereas Jews progressively incorporated a variety of books from the Writings (i.e., the *Ktuvim*) into their liturgy, Christians made place for the New Testament renderings in their services at the expense of the former.

To complement the contextual analysis, it should be mentioned that the selection of texts may also be connected to the nature or "quality" of these compositions. One may approach the selection of texts by simply asking if some texts are "better" than others. A "classic text" is typically perceived as timeless in the sense that new generations of readers identify as the addressees of the text.[27] From such a perspective, Isaiah chapters 40–66, for instance, have a high degree of "classic work potential" (or is a classic) and one may, perhaps, question whether all biblical texts in fact can be defined as classic texts. A somewhat different suggestion is offered by Brennan Breed, who more closely connects the potential of a text to the structures of the context in which it is being selected or disregarded. He encourages biblical scholars to approach the reception of biblical texts like ethologists approach the study of animals through their acts, capacity, diversity, and ability to evolve (as opposed to presumed essence).[28] Breed's suggestion may be helpful to understand, for instance, why some texts thrive in the Jewish liturgy but not in the Prophetologion.

It is conductive to keep the discussions of the nature or quality of texts and their relation to context in mind when we move into the last section of this paper. The "canon within the canon" principle is not only applicable to continuous readings but to all readings in the Prophetologion. The last—and most slippery—question that remains to be discussed is what governs the final selection of passages from this pre-selected narrow canon.

27 For a discussion of the Gadamerian idea of a classic in connection to biblical texts, see for instance, Masiiwa Ragies Gunda, "Reception History of the Bible: Prospects of a New Frontier in African Biblical Studies," in *Reception History and Biblical Studies: Theory and Practice*, ed. Emma England and William John Lyon (London: T & T Clark, 2015), 125–138.

28 Breed, "What Can a Text Do?," esp. 100.

4 Transposed

It is well known that texts used in the Prophetologion are often intended to be understood typologically.[29] As noted by Alexandru Mihaila, non-continuous readings are often selected in the Prophetologion according to what he labels a prefigurative principle and that a "system of cross-references" is created between the various texts.[30] The creation of cross-references does not only apply to typology, and is more complex than what may be construed from a quick look. In her analysis of biblical passages used in connection to commemorations of Constantinople in the Prophetologion, Victoria Casamiquela Gerhold notes that the process of "decontextualization and recontextualization" requires several agents: the liturgical author[31] [i.e., "implied author"], who selects and recontextualizes the passages and the liturgical receiver or attender [i.e., the "implied reader"], "who decoded the message by interpreting that recontextualization."[32] In addition, the nature of the biblical text to be decoded plays its part. She notes:

> The referents—understood as the person (*personal referent*), object (*substantive referent*), situation (*situational referent*) or context (*contextual referent*) to which a linguistic expression refers—play in fact a major role in articulating the Old Testament within a certain liturgical context … we can label as *implicit* all those referents that are semantically provided by the Old Testament passage itself … we can label as *liturgical* all those ref-

29 Klaas Spronk, "The Prophetologion and the Book of Judges," *Journal of the Orthodox Center for the Advancement of Biblical Studies* 6.1 (2013): 9–15. An extensive account, or interpretation, of biblical passages used for various feast days, is provided by Pentiuc, *Old Testament*, 227–262; and by Georges Barrois, *Scripture Readings in Orthodox Worship* (New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1977).

30 Alexandru Mihaila, "Some Exegetical Aspects of the Old Testament Lections in the Orthodox Church," in *Receptarea Sfintei Scripturi: Înţre filologie, hermeneuţică şi ţraducţologie*, ed. Eugen Munteanu, Iosif Camara, Sabina-Nicoleta Rotenştein (Iaşi: Editura Universitatii Alexandru Ioan Cuza, 2014), 303–312, here 306–307. Exceptions to this rule are biblical passages commemorating biblical figures, such as Elijah and Paul, which reflect essential parts of their life or works.

31 It is likely that biblical readings read in connection to feasts developed over time. Thus, the term "author" does not refer to a specific person but to the fact that the texts were arranged and presented to the reader by a third party. Below, "authors" in plural will be used.

32 Victoria Casamiquela Gerhold, "The Old Testament in the Byzantine Liturgy: Some Remarks on the Liturgical Celebrations Devoted to Constantinople," *Temas medievales* 23 (2015): 21–62, here 22–23.

> erents that are semantically provided by the liturgical calendar … we can label as *historical* all those referents that are semantically defined by the liturgical attender.[33]

The act of recontextualization becomes successful if the liturgical authors create new, meaningful references between the biblical text and the liturgical and historical settings, which the receivers grasp and thereby complete.[34] For example, texts used for the commemoration of the foundation of Constantinople are selected from descriptions of "the New Jerusalem" in Isaiah (Isa 54:9–15; 61:10–62:5; 65:18–24). The prophecy of a "New Jerusalem" is not fulfilled in Old Testament times. A successful identification of the "New Jerusalem" outside of the Old Testament corpus must fulfill basic requirements predicated of the un-identified referent in the biblical texts such as "extreme wealth," "special place before God," and "joyful circumstances." Since these passages are read on the day when the foundation of Constantinople is commemorated, the liturgical attender will identify the hitherto unidentified referent of Isaiah's "New Jerusalem" with Constantinople. As a result, what was an apocalyptic New Jerusalem in Isaiah has become a historical reality in the city of Constantinople.[35]

An effect of this recontextualization is that the worshipers are provided with the opportunity to read themselves into sacred history.[36] Following Casamiquela Gerhold, this platform was partly set up by the liturgical authors, and the final hermeneutical act was made by the liturgical attenders, but it is initially the text itself that enables interpretation and decides the form of the exegesis that is used to make the text relevant in new contexts. Consequently, one may assume that if the referent in the prophecy had already been fulfilled (i.e., had the source text been semantically closed), the liturgical authors would have been forced to use another technique to recontextualize the event, such as typology. Alternatively, they would have simply selected other texts.

In the reception of the approximately same passages in Revelation, the apocalyptic theme of the "New Jerusalem" is retained: "I did not see a temple in the city, because the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are its temple" (Rev 21:22 NIV).[37] One is tempted to point out the apparent contradiction between these two Christian interpretations of Isa 54, yet diversity is intrinsically part

33 Casamiquela Gerhold, "The Old Testament," 24.
34 Cf. Casamiquela Gerhold, "The Old Testament," 27.
35 Casamiquela Gerhold, "The Old Testament," 33–38.
36 Cf. Pentiuc, *Old Testament*, 262.
37 Steve Moyise, *The Old Testament in the New: An Introduction*, 2nd ed., T & T Clark Approaches to Biblical Studies (London: T & T Clark, 2015), 195–196.

of reception in the sense that the possibility of multiple interpretations and applications often is the reason a text is considered in new contexts to begin with.

Only the imagination of the interpreting subject puts limits on just how far an interpretation can go. Yet, in the Prophetologion, which has the luxury of choosing freely among biblical texts—or at least among those belonging to the "canon within the canon"—there seems to be a certain preference for texts with many undefined referents, which give the text an "open structure." Similar to prophetic books, poetic literature often exhibits an open structure (esp. psalms) but also what is perceived as general wisdom. Georges Barrois notes correctly that the selection of Proverbs in continuous renderings seems to have been made on rather arbitrary grounds, but those parts of Proverbs that relate to "wisdom" enjoy a special status here and elsewhere, due to their association with the *Logos*.[38] Thus, Proverbs' devotion to moral behavior and to the abstract principles governing the universe, here depicted as "wisdom," seem to have guaranteed Proverbs its place in the Byzantine liturgy, which corresponds well with the general interest in wisdom literature in the Greek world.

What remains to be discussed are narrated events, in whatever genre they appear. Whereas biblical narratives do not contain as many open referents, the narrative events themselves—the dilemmas, the themes and the characters' relation to them—often evoke identification. Casamiquela Gerhold points out that historical narratives may be used as thematic parallels and thus be perceived as timeless: if they happened once, they can happen again. For the commemoration of the siege of Constantinople (5 June), for instance, the siege of Jerusalem from Isa 36 is selected, and through analogy the reader draws a parallel between the destiny of Constantinople and the destiny of the biblical Jerusalem. Thereby the biblical and the liturgical events are merged by the liturgical attender.[39] In other biblical texts selected for the event, the object of speech, "you," referring to Israel in the historical context, is extended to the contemporary audience in the liturgical context (cf. Casamiquela Gerhold's term "double projection of referent-addresser").[40] Such a historical replication offers the liturgical attender hope (as God saved before, he will save again) and

38 Barrios, *Scripture*, 55–59.

39 Casamiquela Gerhold, "The Old Testament," 40, 44–45.

40 Casamiquela Gerhold, "The Old Testament," 42. In their survey of the reception of Deuteronomy, Brown and Breed similarly observe that: "Precisely by addressing an imagined community as 'you,' the text remains structurally open to reading outside its initial context(s) of composition, which did not end with the formation of an ancient Israelite body politic." See Brown and Breed, "Social Identity," 25.

instructions for behavior (trust in God), but it also implies that the people of Constantinople need to repent from a sinful behavior—or else they will meet the destiny of the exiled people of Jerusalem. Thus, the recontexualization of these historical events aims at changing the behavior of the audience.[41] In a similar vein, George Barrois notes that the readings selected for Theophany "[i]n addition to the recurring theme 'waters,' foreshadowing the baptism of regeneration, they imply a radical, 'existential' change in the destiny of a people or of an individual, involving an agonizing decision to be taken, an issue of life or death."[42]

The effect of the recontexualization here is not only providing the liturgical attender with the sense of participation in sacred history, but also gives the audience the impression that she/he participates in forming such a history—something that assumedly creates meaning, but also responsibility on the part of the audience. Thus, in this setting, the biblical text, in cooperation with its interpreters, lets human beings know that they ought to be responsible and that their behavior is meaningful.

The readings from Genesis furthermore reflect classical Christian Bible theology: according to Barrois, the selection of Genesis passages is in principle guided by the theme of divine election until salvation. He notes that there are those foreign to this process that are omitted in the Prophetologion: Lot and his descendants, Moab and Ammon, Ishmael and the Arabs, Esau, the offspring of the concubines, and many of the digressive stories that do not add to the master narrative of the covenant.[43]

Finally, Casamiquela Gerhold correctly points out that passages selected for various commemorations of Constantinople are made meaningful through different strategies than those implied by typology.[44] As a principle, typology blends narrative events from "different worlds" and places the ultimate fulfillment of an Old Testament type in Christ and his church. It often relies on closed semantic structures and already fulfilled events. For example, the binding of Isaac was a completed event, and could therefore prefigure the crucifixion of Christ. As in the examples above, the parallels between Old Testament readings and the Christ-event are provided by the liturgical authors through

41 Casamiquela Gerhold, "The Old Testament," 39–40, 46–49.

42 Barrois, *Scripture*, 159.

43 Barrois, *Scripture*, 54–55. He also notes here that the novel of Joseph and his brethren is omitted and suggests that this is connected to the "inability of the final redactor of Genesis to fuse his various sources into a satisfactory unit." If this is correct, this "editorial error" deprived the text of an afterlife in the Byzantine liturgy.

44 Casamiquela Gerhold, "The Old Testament," 59–60. Most importantly, the siege of Jerusalem is introduced as a warning example of what *could* happen, not what *will* happen.

their insertions into specific feast days and thereby recognized by the liturgical attenders.[45] For the feast of Annunciation, when Mary receives the good news from the angel Gabriel (cf. Luke 1:26–35), the first reading is taken from Moses and the burning bush (Exod 3:1b–8c).[46] The typological relation between the two events is well known: the mystery that "though the bush was on fire, it did not burn up" (Exod 3:2 NIV) prefigures the mystery of how a human being, Mary, can carry God within her and still endure. In Exodus, God appeared since he had "seen the misery of my people in Egypt" and came down "to rescue them from the hand of the Egyptians and to bring them … [into] a land flowing with milk and honey" (Exod 3:7, 8 NIV) just like Jesus Christ came down to save humankind from their affliction, and bring them into the heavenly kingdom.

The recipient in typological exegesis is "passive," to use Casamiquela Gerhold's terminology, in the sense that typology does not evoke instant moral change. The aim of typology is, rather, to introduce the audience into the mystery of God, enact Christian doctrines, and show how God acts in history. Yet, transposed into this new constellation, the text also enables the idea that God still saves, still inhabits human beings, and ultimately enables a connection between the two, so that the liturgical attender is encouraged to participate in the work of salvation.

5 Concluding Remarks

Biblical texts that were selected for the Byzantine liturgy conform to a diffuse, yet distinguishable canon, created, transmitted, reused and thereby reinforced in tradition. It appears, thus, that the liturgical authors of the Prophetologion in some respect already worked from within a preselected corpus of Old Testament books. As opposed to the Jewish liturgy, where the many divergent voices of the Second Temple books were heard, the structures of the Byzantine liturgy appear to have preferred texts from the oldest authorized Old Testament books. Within this canon, texts with certain characteristics thrived in new contexts, whereas others did not—which led to a second selection taking place. As often noted, such texts include biblical passages known for their typological relations with the Christ. Although often building on thematic parallels, typology is perhaps the most unnatural exegesis, as it seems to be primarily

45 The act of recognition may play a pedagogical function: instead of being *told* you *understand*.

46 In the Arabic Prophetologion, these readings occur on the 24th of Adar [March] (fols. 56^r–57^r).

reliant on the meta-narrative of the interpreter, rather than enabled by the text. In principle, typology can therefore be drawn from any text. Yet, typological exegesis was not drawn from any text in the Prophetologion, but mostly from texts typically reflecting a "canon within the canon." However, the selection of Old Testament texts for the Byzantine liturgy cannot be explained merely by a Christocentric reading of the Bible. The selection includes fulfillment, or partial fulfillment, of prophecies, as well as general wisdom literature, where people read themselves into the texts by identifying as the addressees of the texts.

Biblical passages were inserted into the Prophetologion in order to explain Christian doctrines, but also to involve the audience and make their existence meaningful by confirming the idea that they were part of something larger than themselves.[47] To enable involvement, the liturgical authors tend to select biblical passages introduced by direct speech ("you") rather than passages with indirect speech ("them").[48] In general, structurally open texts and texts in which people can identify with situations or use as moral guides enjoy a rich afterlife in Byzantine liturgy. The passages from Isaiah used in the Prophetologion make it clear that the Byzantine people were expected to draw such identifications from the people of Israel: what is primarily excluded from continuous (and other) readings are passages relating to other nations—cf. Isa 15–24, 30–31, etc. As such, the Prophetologion reflects the use of Isaiah in the New Testament and in the Palestinian rabbinic rite. Clearly, these passages were able to prosper in many contexts, and are, like psalms, influential agents.

"Typologically-friendly," "morally extortive," and "structurally open texts" do not explain all readings in the Prophetologion, which—as Pentiuc notes—are more "untamed" than Patristic exegesis,[49] and much work remains, especially to understand the selection of continuous renderings against other texts. Yet, we will end this section in the way we began and conclude that, in cooperation with many of these texts, the liturgical authors and attenders continued the work—initiated in the New Testament—of merging disparate realms. The demarcations of spaces, times, and even human ontology were consciously blurred in what—one may assume—was ultimately a struggle to make sense of, control, and improve human existence. And these are some of the things sacred texts can enable when transposed and allowed to thrive in new environments.

47 Cf. Taft, *Through Their Own Eyes*, 134–136.
48 Cf. Casamiquela Gerhold, "The Old Testament," 60.
49 Pentiuc, *Old Testament*, 261.

Appendix: An Arabic Prophetologion in Sinai Arabic 588

It is only during the last decades that interest in the Prophetologion has gained grounds among scholars. Though Greek and Slavic manuscripts have attracted substantial interest, the heritage of Byzantine Christians, who, after the Islamic conquests, found themselves on the wrong side of the border, has not yet received much attention. This heritage is partly transmitted in Arabic. According to Joseph [Youhanna] Nessim Youssef, there are thirteen prophetologia in Sinai: Sinai Arabic 11–12; 14–18; 588; 594–596; 602; 682.[50] I have been able to access Sinai Arabic 588, Sinai Arabic 11 (dated 1116 CE), Sinai Arabic 595 (1290 CE), Sinai Arabic 594 (thirteenth century), Sinai Arabic 596 (thirteenth century), Arabic Sinai 18 (1350 CE), Sinai Arabic 12 (fourteenth century), Sinai Arabic 15 (fourteenth century), Sinai Arabic 14 (seventeenth century), and Sinai Arabic 602 (seventeenth century). I have not been able to access Sinai Arabic 16, 17, or 682.

The earliest Prophetologion, Sinai Arabic 588, is dated by cataloguers to the tenth or eleventh centuries. As such, it belongs to the early representations of the work. The manuscript is a triple palimpsest with layers in Syriac, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, and Arabic. A basic codicological description and the identification of texts have been provided by Grigory Kessel, André Binggeli, and Christa Müller-Kessler within the Sinai Palimpsests project.[51] Nessim Youssef implied that the Arabic sub-layer represents an older Prophetologion.[52]

Structure

Sinai Arabic 588 is incomplete at its beginning and at its end. Some folios appear to be lost within the text and the folios are partly bound together incorrectly. My suggestion for a reconstruction of the folio numbers is: fols. 18–27; fols. 1–17; fols. 28–39; fols. 41–49; fol. 40; fols. 50–67; [fols. 68–69]. The last two folios of the codex are placed upside down. The texts in these folios display partial overlap with other parts of the codex, and do not seem to belong to the original composition. Perhaps the one who bound the manuscript together knew that these folios contain the same text (a prophetologion) copied by the same hand yet that these folios belonged to another copy of the same

50 Joseph Nessim Youssef, "Prophetologion: An Arabic Manuscript in the Library of the Monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai, no. 588: A Survey and Critical Study," *Cahiers d'Alexandrie* (1967): 3–10. For additional manuscripts, see Georg Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944), 1.187–188.

51 "Sinai Palimpsests Project," https://sinai.library.ucla.edu.

52 Nessim Youssef, "Prophetologion," 6–7.

work. Such overlap seemingly appears within the text as well—Exod 33 on fol. 64 is partly repeated on fol. 65.

The copy at hand begins with the weekday readings for Pascha, followed by those for the Nativity of Christ, Theophany and the Blessing of Water, and only hereafter are the readings before Palm Sunday and Saturday of the Holy Week provided. After this, readings for great feasts from March until September are offered. Readings from October to November seem to be lost. It appears, thus, that the copyist began with the Triodion cycle, and then added a Menologion cycle (i.e., feasts with fixed dates), starting with Christmas. It is noteworthy that the Saturday readings for Pascha are placed in the Menologion cycle between February and March and readings for Pentecost between May and June. Mid-pentecost is missing, which is often the case in Greek manuscripts as well.[53]

Dates in the fixed cycle are often provided for the evening (Sabbath) before the feast, i.e., Saturday as opposed to Sunday. For instance, the feast of Annunciation occurs 25 March, and in the Arabic manuscript it is stated: “In the 24th of the month Adar, on the day after which the feast of the Annunciation follows [يتلوه] ….”

There seem to be a few scribal mistakes in the manuscript. For instance, on Sabbath/Sunday before Pentecost, the manuscript states that the Fourth Council (Chalcedon 451 CE) is to celebrated, but in a cross-reference to this event when the Fourth Council is normally commemorated (16th of Tamuz [July]; cf. fol. 64^{r}), the previous council is, correctly, referred to as the council of Nicaea 325 CE (i.e., the First Council). The biblical readings generally follow the Greek readings closely.

The structure of the Prophetologion is as follows:

0. [first folios missing]
1. Lenten Triodion, weekdays (fols. 18^{r}–27^{v}; 1^{r}–17^{v}; fols. 28^{r}–33^{v})
2. Nativity of Christ (fols. 33^{v}–36^{v})
3. Theophany and the Blessing of Water (fols. 36^{v}–39^{v}; 41^{r}–43^{v})
4. The Presentation of Christ (fol. 43^{v})
5. Palm Sunday (fols. 43^{v}–44^{v})
6. Saturday of Great and Holy Week (fols. 44^{v}–49^{v}; 40^{r-v}; 50^{r}–56^{r})
7. 24th [i.e., 25th] Adar [March]. Annunciation (fols. 56^{r}–57^{r})
8. 11th of Ayyār [May]. Foundation of Constantinople (fol. 57^{r-v})

53 My sincere gratitude to Sysse G. Engberg for helping me analyze the order of the feasts. The readings below are located with the help of the index of lections in Høeg, Zuntz, and Engberg, eds., *Prophetologium*. For comparision with the Arabic text, I have used the English translation by Lancelot C.L. Brenton, “The Greek Old Testament (Septuagint),” https://www.ellopos.net/elpenor/greek-texts/septuagint/.

9. Ascension of Christ (fols. 57^{v}–58^{v})
10. Sunday before Pentecost: Fourth [corr. First] Council (fols. 58^{v}–59^{v})
11. Pentecost (fols. 59^{v}–60^{v})
12. Monday after Pentecost and 17th Adar [March]. Great Earthquake (fols. 60^{v}–62^{r})
13. Sunday of All Saints (fols. 62^{r}–63^{r})
14. 27th [i.e., 28th] Haziran [June]. Feast of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul (fols. 63^{r}–64^{r})
15. 16th Tamuz [July]. Fourth Council (fol. 64^{r})
16. 5th [6th] of Ab [August]. Transfiguration of Our Lord (fols. 64^{r}–65^{v})
17. 14th [15th] of this month [August]. Dormition of Theotokos (fols. 65^{v}–66^{v})
18. 1st of Aylul [September]. New Year and Symeon the Stylite (fols. 66^{v}–67^{r})
19. 8th of this month [September]. Nativity of the Theotokos (fol. 67^{r})
20. 14th of this month [September]. Exaltation of the Cross (fol. 67^{r})
21. On the 25th of this month [September]. Earthquake of Constantinople (fol. 67^{r-v})

The rest is missing; the two last folios seem to belong to another copy of the same text. They include readings for Ascension, the Fourth [First?] Council, and the Feast of Peter and Paul.

In the Lenten Triodion, hymns/troparia are provided [Ar. *tarnīma*] as are prokimena [Ar. translit.]. The latter are a few, typically two, verses from a psalm incorporated into the text to introduce a longer reading, and sometimes also to close a reading. The Psalm numbers are written in Greek numerals or in Arabic letters and rendered in continuous order—with some psalms omitted—up to Thursday of Great and Holy Week. Thereafter the psalms seem to be selected thematically.

A typical Lenten entry is structured as follows (fols. 18^{r}–19^{v}):

(a) Troparion/hymn (*tarnīma*) for Thursday in the fourth [lit. middle] week of the fast for the morning prayer (بالغداه) in the 2nd tone.
(b) Text.
(c) Prokeimenon in the 4th tone from Psalm 73 (12, 1).
(d) Reading from the prophecy of Isaiah (28:14–22).
(e) Prokeimenon in the 4th tone from Psalm 74 (9, 1).
(f) Prokeimenon for the Evening Prayer from Psalm 75 (12, 29).
(g) Reading from Genesis (10:32–11:9).
(h) Prokeimenon in the 8th tone from Psalm 76 (2–3).
(i) Reading from Proverbs (13:19–14:6).

In order to introduce the readings more fluently, minor text units such as "these words said the Lord" may be added before or after a reading. For similar reasons, minor text units may also be omitted within a passage. If a biblical reading has once been offered, it is not repeated, save by the first few words of the passage, followed by a cross-reference to where the full rendition may be found in the codex. The Song of Moses and the Hymn of the Three Young Men are simply mentioned and neither rendered in the codex nor followed by cross-references. The information given in the manuscript is not always consistent—sometimes information regarding the tone or service is omitted.

Description According to Reconstructed Folios[54]

Only the first verse and last verse of the biblical renderings below have been checked. For the sake of brevity, the troparion, which introduces a reading set in the manuscript (cf. above) is excluded in the account below, as are the reading numeration ("the first reading is from" etc.). Information provided within square brackets represents my own identifications of biblical chapters and/or verses. For instance, in the passage "Prokeimenon, 4th tone from Psalm 73 [12, 1]," the identification of verses [12, 1] are my own while the rest of the information is provided in the manuscript.

Wednesday of the Fourth Week of Great Lent, fols. 18ʳ

[Proverbs 13:4b–9].

Thursday of the Fourth Week of Great Lent, fols. 18ʳ–19ᵛ

Prokeimenon, 4th tone from Psalm 73 [12, 1]. Isaiah [28:14–22]. Prokeimenon, 4th tone from Psalm 74 [9, 1]. Prokeimenon for the Evening Prayer from Psalm 75 [12, 2]. Genesis [10:32–11:9]. Prokeimenon, 8th tone from Psalm 76 [2–3]. Proverbs [13:19–14:6].

Friday of the Fourth Week of Great Lent, fols. 19ᵛ–21ʳ

Prokeimenon, 6th tone from Psalm 77 [38?, 1]. Isaiah [29:13–23]. Prokeimenon, 6th tone from Psalm 78 [9; 1]. Prokeimenon for the Evening Prayer, 4th tone from Psalm 79 [2–3]. Genesis [12:1–7]. Prokeimenon from Psalm 84 [actually 80:2–3]. Proverbs [14:15–26].

Monday of the Fifth Week of Great Lent, fols. 21ʳ–22ᵛ

Prokeimenon, 4th tone from Psalm 83 [4, 2]. Isaiah [37:33–38:6]. Prokeimenon, 4th tone from Psalm 74 [actually 84:8, 2]. Prokeimenon for the Evening Prayer,

54 Fols. 18–27; fols. 1–17; fols. 28–39; fols. 41–49; fol. 40; fols. 50–67. Fols. 68–69 did not originally belong to this manuscript.

4th tone from Psalm 85 [11, 1]. Genesis [13:11b–18]. Prokeimenon, 4th tone [from Psalm] 86 [2, 1]. Proverbs [14:27–15:4].

Tuesday of the Fifth Week of Great Lent, fols. 22ᵛ–24ᵛ

Prokeimenon, 6th tone from Psalm 87 [16, 2?]. Isaiah [40:1–2; 9–31a]. Prokeimenon, 6th tone from Psalm 88 [16–17]. Prokeimenon for the Evening Prayer, 4th tone from Psalm 89 [1–2]. Genesis [15:1–15]. Prokeimenon, 8th tone from Psalm 90 [1–2]. Proverbs [15:7–19].

Wednesday of the Fifth Week of Great Lent, fols. 25ʳ–26ᵛ

Prokeimenon, 4th tone from Psalm 91 [2–3]. Isaiah [41:4b–14]. Prokeimenon, 6th tone from Psalm 92 [1]. Prokeimenon for the Evening Prayer from Psalm 93 [1–2]. Genesis [17:1–9]. Prokeimenon from Psalm 94 [actually a repetition of 93:1–2; added under the line from 95:1]. Proverbs [15:20–16:9 + verses 8–9 according to the Masoretic Text/Peshitta].

Thursday of the Fifth Week of Great Lent, fols. 26ᵛ–27ᵛ; fols. 1ʳ⁻ᵛ

Prokeimenon, 6th tone from Psalm 96 [1–2]. Isaiah [42:5–16]. Prokeimenon, 6th tone from Psalm 97 [1]. Prokeimenon for the Evening Prayer, 6th tone from Psalm 98 [5, 1]. Genesis [18:20–31a—cont. on fols. 1ʳ⁻ᵛ: 18:31b–33]. Prokeimenon, 6th tone from Psalm 99 [1–2]. Proverbs [16:17b–33].

Friday of the Fifth Week of Great Lent, fols. 1ᵛ–3ᵛ

Troparion for … in the 5th tone for the morning prayer on Saturday night, the Akathist [الاقاسطن] [HYMN]. Prokeimenon, 6th tone from Psalm 100 [1–2]. Isaiah [45:11–17]. Prokeimenon, 4th tone from Psalm 101 [2–3]. Prokeimenon for the Evening Prayer, 4th tone from Psalm 102 [8, 1]. Genesis [22:1–18]. Prokeimenon, 4th tone [from Psalm] 103 [24, 1]. Proverbs [17:17b–18:5].

Monday of the Sixth Week of Great Lent, fols. 3ᵛ–6ʳ

Prokeimenon, 8th tone from Psalm 104 [3, 1]. Isaiah [48:17–49:4]. Prokimenon, 6th tone from Psalm 105 [48, 1]. Prokeimenon for the Evening Prayer, 4th tone from Psalm 106 [1–2]. Genesis [27:1–41a]. Prokimenon in barys (7th tone) [الثقيل lit. "the hard tone"] from Psalm 107 [6, 2]. Proverbs [19:16–25].

Tuesday of the Sixth Week of Great Lent, fols. 6ʳ–8ʳ

Prokimenon, 4th tone from Psalm 108 [26, 1–2]. Isaiah [49:6b–10a]. Prokeimenon, 4th tone from Psalm 109 [4, 1]. Prokeimenon for the Evening Prayer, 4th tone from Psalm 110 [10, 1–2]. Genesis [31:3–16]. Prokeimenon, 4th tone from Psalm 111 [4–5, 1]. Proverbs [21:3–21].

Wednesday of the Sixth Week of Great Lent, fols. 8ʳ–10ᵛ

Prokeimenon, 4th tone from Psalm 112 [1–2]. Isaiah [58:1–11a]. Prokeimenon, 6th tone from Psalm 113 [23, 24]. Prokeimenon for the Evening Prayer, 4th tone from Psalm 114 [9]. Genesis [43:25b–31, 45:1–16]. Prokeimenon, 4th tone from Psalm 115 [5/9, 1?]. Proverbs [21:23–22:4].

Thursday of the Sixth Week of Great Lent, fols. 10ᵛ–11ᵛ

Prokeimenon, 4th tone from Psalm 117 [20, 1]. Isaiah [65:8–10a; missing fol.].[55] [Proverbs 23:22b–24:5].

Friday of the Sixth Week of Great Lent, fols. 11ᵛ–14ᵛ

Prokeimenon, 4th tone from Psalm 121 [9, 1]. Isaiah [66:10–24]. Prokeimenon, 6th tone from Psalm 122 [3, 1]. Prokeimenon for the Evening Prayer, 6th tone from Psalm 123 [8, 1–2]. Genesis [49:33–50:26]. Prokeimenon, 4th tone from Psalm 124 [1]. Proverbs [31:8–31].

Monday of Great and Holy Week fols. 14ᵛ–17ʳ

In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, One God .... Prokeimenon, 4th tone from Psalm 125 [1–2]. Ezekiel [1:1–20]. Prokeimenon, 4th tone from Psalm 126 [1]. Prokeimenon, 6th tone for the Evening Prayer from Psalm 127 [5, 1]. Exodus [1:1–20]. Prokeimenon, 6th tone from Psalm 128 [8, 1]. Job [1:1–12].

Tuesday of Great and Holy Week, fols. 17ʳ⁻ᵛ

Prokeimenon, 4th tone from Psalm 129 [7, 1]. Ezekiel [1:21–28a]. Prokeimenon, 4th tone from Psalm 130 [3, 1]. Prokeimenon, 6th tone from Psalm 131 [8, 1–2]. Exodus [2:5–10]. Prokimenon, 4th tone from Psalm 132.

[missing][56]

Wednesday of Great and Holy Week, fol. 28ʳ

[missing until Job 2:6–10].

Thursday of Great and Holy Week, fols. 28ʳ–30ᵛ

Prokeimenon, 1st tone from Psalm 82 [19, 2]. Jeremiah [11:18–12:5a; 9b–11a; 14–15]. Prokeimenon, 8th tone [Psalm 75:12, 2]. Prokeimenon for the Evening

55 Missing: Isaiah 65:10–16a; Genesis 46:1–7; beginning of Proverbs 23:15–22a.

56 Missing: prokeimenon from Psalm 132; Job 1:13–22 on Tuesday and Wednesday of Great and Holy Week, i.e., Ezekiel [2:3–3:3]; Exodus [2:11–22, 18:4] [Job 2:1–15].

Prayer, 1st tone [Psalm 139:1–3]. Exodus [19:10–19]. Job [38:1b–21, 42:1–5]. Prokeimenon in barys (7th tone) [Psalm 58:2–3?]. Isaiah [50:4–11].

Friday of Great and Holy Week, fols. 30ᵛ–33ᵛ

Prokeimenon, 4th tone [Psalm 69:2–3]. Zechariah [11:6–14, 12:10d, 13:6–7, 14:6–10a, 20a, 21b]. Prokeimenon from Psalm 11 [8, 2], 5th tone. Prokeimenon for the Evening Prayer [Psalm 34?]. Exodus [33:11–23]. Prokeimenon, 4th tone from Psalm 31 [?]. Job [42:12–17 incl. the Syriac additions 17b–c]. Prokeimenon from Psalm 21 [19, 2]. Isaiah [52:13–54:1].

Fol. 33r “Arrangement” [نظام ترتيب] for the 6th hour of Great/Good Friday [!][+قامت على شهود ظلمه]. Isaiah [3:10–16a].

Nativity, fols. 33ᵛ–36ᵛ

Genesis [1:1–13]. Numbers [24:2b–3a, 5–9, 17c–18]. Micah [4:6–7, 5:1–3]. Isaiah [11:1–10]. Jeremiah [Baruch 3:35–4:4]. Daniel [2:31–36, 44b–45]. Isaiah [9:6–7]. Isaiah [7:10–16a, 8:1–4, 8c–10].

Theophany and the Great Blessing of Waters, fols. 36ᵛ–39ᵛ; 41ʳ–43ᵛ

Genesis [few words provided, then cross-reference to Nativity, i.e., Gen 1:1–13]. From the same [sic!] book also [Exodus 14:15–17, 21–23, 27b–29a]. Exodus [It is mentioned that this reading is read also at the Feast of the Holy Cross and then the text of 15:22–16:1a is provided. Towards the end of v. 26 it is stated that “this is different from what is read during the Exaltation of the Cross,” seemingly referring to the clause “for I am the Lord who heals you” and perhaps what comes after it]. Joshua [3:7–8, 15–17]. 4 Kingdoms [2:6–14; * fol. 38v, which comes in the middle of this passage, is blank but no text is missing]. 4 Kingdoms [5:9–14]. Isaiah [1:16–20]. Genesis [on fol. 39v: Gen. 32:1b–2a; on fol. 41r: Gen. 32:2–10b]. Exodus [a few words, then cross-reference to Great Tuesday, i.e., Exod 2:5–10]. Judges [6:36–40]. 3 Kingdoms [18:30–39, condensed]. 4 Kingdoms [2:19–22]. Then the Patriarch return from the palace [البلاط < البلاد] and the three troparia, the three doxologies and the prokeimena are done. If the day is a fasting day, and there should be celebrated a divine liturgy, a passage from the Epistles should be read. But if the next day of the feast is a Saturday or Sunday, it should be read before the Epistles a reading from Isaiah the Prophet [Isa 49:8, 13–15]. And when the Patriarch blesses the water and the pool, he reads these readings on [على الافتن? الاقتن?]. Isaiah [35:1–10]. Isaiah [55:1–13]. Isaiah [12:3–6].

The Presentation of Christ to the Temple, fol. 43ᵛ

For the feast when our Lord was received, a day before the feast, the three readings are from Genesis, the Prophet Ezekiel, and from the Proverbs. Their scripts [i.e., these passages] are presented on the 15th of Ab ....[57]

Palm Sunday, fols. 43ᵛ–44ᵛ

Genesis [49:1–2; 8–12]. Zephaniah [3:14–19]. Zechariah [9:9–15a].

Saturday of Great and Holy Week, fols. 44ᵛ–49ᵛ; 40ʳ⁻ᵛ; 50ʳ–56ʳ

Prokeimenon for Saturday, for the morning prayer, 4th tone [Psalm 43:27, 2]. Ezekiel [37:1–14]. Prokeimenon for Great Saturday for the Evening Prayer, 8th tone [Psalm 33:3?]. Genesis [here only 1:1 is provided]. Isaiah [60:1–16]. Exodus [12:1a, 2–11]. Jonah [1:1–4:11]. Joshua [5:10–15]. Exodus [13:20–15:1].[58] And the singer [al-*mutarannim*] will say/recite the Song [of Moses] in the 5th tone [i.e., Exod 15:1–19; only Exod 15:1b is provided], and he says after every three verses [فصول] of the hymn: "we give glory to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit" and repeats the verses again. Zephaniah [3:8–15]. 3 Kingdoms [17:8–24]. Isaiah [61:10–62:5]. Genesis [a few words provided, then cross-reference to Friday of the Fifth Week of Lent, i.e., Genesis 22:1–18]. Isaiah [61:1–10a]. [4] Kingdoms [4:8–37]. Isaiah [63:11b–64:5a]. Jeremiah [38:31–34]. Daniel [3:1–27]. The singer says/recites in this passage [الفصل]: "praise the Lord and exult him and elevate him forever" and after every three verses [فصول], he says/recites this passage [الفصل] till the end of the hymn. Then he says/recites: "glory is to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit" and adds an additional passage.

Annunciation, fols. 56ʳ–57ʳ

In the 24th of the month Adar, on the day which is followed by the feast of the Annunciation. Exodus [3:1b–8c]. Proverbs [8:23–30]. Genesis [18:1–10a].

Foundation of Constantinople, fols. 57ʳ⁻ᵛ

In the 11th of Ayyār [May], and that is the day which is followed by the Foundation of the City of Constantinople. Isaiah [54:9–15]. Isaiah [cross-reference to 9th reading on Great Saturday, i.e., Isaiah 61:10–62:5]. Isaiah [65:18b–24].

---

57 On 15 August, Dormition, Genesis [28:10–17]; Ezekiel [43:27–44:4]; Proverbs [9:1–11] are read (cf. note 59).

58 The folios are misplaced: 49v contains Exod 13:20–14:9a; 40ʳ⁻ᵛ contains Exod 14:9b–28a; 50r contains Exod 14:28–15:1a.

Ascension of Christ, fols. 57ᵛ–58ᵛ

Isaiah [2:2 then cross-reference to Tuesday of the First Week of Lent, i.e., to 2:3a]. Isaiah [62:10–63:3a, 7–9]. Zechariah [14:1a, 4a, 8–11].

The Sunday before Pentecost: The Fourth Council [Probably a Mistake for Nicaea, See Cross-Reference on fol. 64ʳ], fols. 58ᵛ–59ᵛ

For the Saturday which is followed by the feast of (one of) the holy fathers before Pentecost. These readings are read in remembrance of the holy fathers, who convened at the fourth [sic] council. Genesis [14:14–20a]. Deuteronomy [1:8–11, 15–17a]. Deuteronomy [10:14–21].

Sunday of Pentecost, fols. 59ᵛ–60ᵛ

For the Saturday of holy Pentecost. Numbers [11:16–17, 24b–29]. Joel [2:23–3:5a]. Ezekiel [36:24–28].

Monday after Pentecost and Commemoration of the Earthquake of Constantinople, fols. 60ᵛ–62ʳ

For Sunday/first day of Pentecost, in the holy day at the evening, add these three readings and [also] on 17th Adar [March] called the big earthquake, there are three readings. Isaiah [63:15–64:9]. Isaiah [actually Baruch 4:21–29]. Daniel [9:15–19].

Sunday of All Saints, fols. 62ʳ–63ʳ

For the Saturday in which (one of) all saints are commemorated, there is a reading in the evening from Isaiah [43:9–14a]. The second reading is [also] read at the beginning of Aylul [September], for Saint Symeon, from Wisdom [3:1–9]. A third reading is [also] read at the beginning of the calendar from Wisdom [5:15–6:3a].

Commemoration of Peter and Paul, fols. 63ʳ–64ʳ

In 27th [!] of Haziran [June], the day which is followed by the feast of the holy apostles Peter and Paul. Peter [1 Pet 1:3–9]. Peter [1 Pet 1:13–19]. Peter [1 Pet 2:11–24b].

Commemoration of the Fourth Council (Chalcedon), fols. 64ʳ

In the 16th of Tamuz [July], the holy fathers, who convened at the fourth council. Search for the readings on the Saturday which is followed by [the feast of] (one of) the holy fathers, who convened in Nicaea and you find them.

Transfiguration, fols. 64ʳ–65ᵛ

In the 5th of Ab [August], which is followed by the feast of the transfiguration of our Lord [تجلي ربنا]. Exodus [24:12–18]. Exodus [33:11–13, 17–23, 34:4b–6, 8. Last part of fol. 64ᵛ is left empty and the beginning of fol. 65 repeats much of the previous passage, i.e., Exod 33:17b–23, 34:4b–6, 8]. 3 Kingdoms [19:3–4a, 5–9a, 11–13a, 15a, 16c].

Dormition, fols. 65ᵛ–66ᵛ

On the 14th of this month [August] on the day which is followed by the dormition of the holy mother of God, one should know that the readings are the same as those read for the feast of her birth, the presentation of Christ in the temple, and at the feast of her annunciation. In case this day [i.e., Annunciation] falls in the fast then [the reading is taken from] the introduction of the holy Theotokos into the temple. The second reading is also read on her annunciation and on her birth,[59] and on the presentation of Christ in the temple from Genesis [28:10–17]. Ezekiel [43:27–44:4]. Proverbs [9:1–11; only first words provided, then cross-reference to the third day of the third week of the fast.]

New Year and St. Symeon the Stylite, fols. 66ᵛ–67ʳ

And in the 1st of Aylul, [it is the feast of] Saint Simon Stylite and the beginning of the year [التاريخ], there are three readings from Wisdom: [3:1–9; first words are provided, then cross-reference to the 2nd reading of All Saints]. Wisdom [4:7–15]. Wisdom [5:15–6:3a; first words provided, then cross-reference to the 3rd reading of All Saints].

Nativity of the Theotokos, fol. 67ʳ

In the 8th of this month [i.e., September] is the Nativity of Our Lady the Theotokos. Search for the three readings to read at her Dormition.

Exaltation of the Cross, fol. 67ʳ

In the 14th of this month [i.e., September], which is followed by this, i.e., the feast of exaltation of the holy cross. Exodus [15:22–16:1a; first words provided, then cross-reference to the 3rd reading from the Blessing of Water, cf. Theophany]. Proverbs [3:11–18; only first words provided, then cross-reference to

59 I.e., the Nativity, the Annunciation (there are two systems here), and the Dormition of Mary have the same readings here and in some manuscripts, the Presentation and the Introduction exhibit the same readings as well. My sincere gratitude to Professor Engberg for explaining this more uncommon system to me.

Thursday on the first week of the fast]. Isaiah [60:11–16; only first words provided, then cross-reference to the 2nd (corr. 3rd) reading on Great Saturday].

The Earthquake of Constantinople, fol. 67$^{r–v}$

On the 25th of this month [i.e., September] is the remembering of the Earthquake. Jeremiah [1:1–5a, 8]. Jeremiah [1:11–17]. Jeremiah [2:1–5a; rest is missing, i.e., to 12].

Folios 68–69

The last two folios contain part of a prophetologion. The first folio contains Isa 63:1b–9 and "the 3rd reading from" Zechariah [14:1a; 4; 8–11], i.e., Ascension, as well as the rubric for the Sunday before Pentecost: The Fourth [sic!] Council and the 1st reading from Genesis [14:14–17; rest is missing, i.e., to 20a]. The last folio contains the end of Wisdom [6:1b–3a] and readings for the Feast of Peter and Paul on the 29th of Haziran [June]. 1 Peter [1:3–9]. 1 Peter [1:13–19]. 1 Peter [2:11–18a; rest missing].

Bibliography

Barrois, Georges. *Scripture Readings in Orthodox Worship*. New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1977.

Bradshaw, Paul F. "The Use of the Bible in Liturgy: Some Historical Perspectives." *Studia Liturgica* 22 (1992): 35–52.

Breed, Brennan. "What Can a Text Do? Reception History as an Ethology of the Biblical Text." Pages 95–110 in *Reception History and Biblical Studies: Theory and Practice*. Edited by Emma England and William John Lyon. LHBOTS 611. London: T & T Clark, 2015.

Brenton, Lancelot C.L. "The Greek Old Testament (Septuagint)." https://www.ellopos.net/ elpenor/greek-texts/septuagint/.

Brown, Ken, and Brennan Breed. "Social Identity and Scriptural Interpretation: An Introduction." Pages 1–32 in *Reading Other Peoples' Texts: Social Identity and the Reception of Authoritative Traditions*. Edited by Ken Brown, Alison L. Joseph, and Brennan Breed. London: T & T Clark, 2020.

Casamiquela Gerhold, Victoria. "The Old Testament in the Byzantine liturgy: Some Remarks on the Liturgical Celebrations Devoted to Constantinople." *Temas medievales* 23 (2015): 21–62.

Crawford, Sidney White. *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans: 2008.

Encyclopaedia Britannica Online, s.v. "Biblical Literature in Liturgy," https://www.britannica.com/topic/biblical-literature/Biblical-literature-in-liturgy.

Engberg, Sysse G. "The Greek Old Testament Lectionary as a Liturgical Book." *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Age Grec et Latin* 54 (1987): 39–48.

Engberg, Sysse G. "The Needle and the Haystack: Searching for Evidence of the Eucharistic Old Testament Lection in the Constantinopolitan Rite." *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* Terza, serie 13 (2016): 47–60.

Engberg, Sysse G. "The Prophetologion and the Triple-Lection Theory: The Genesis of a Liturgical Book." *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* Terza, serie 3 (2006): 67–92.

Graf, Georg. *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1944.

Graves, Michael. "The Public Reading of Scripture in Early Judaism." *JETS* 50.3 (2007): 467–487.

Gunda, Masiiwa R. "Reception History of the Bible: Prospects of a New Frontier in African Biblical Studies." Pages 125–138 in *Reception History and Biblical Studies: Theory and Practice*. Edited by Emma England and William John Lyon. LHBOTS 611. London: T & T Clark, 2015.

Hjälm, Miriam L. "1.1.10 The Arabic Canon." Pages 280–298 in vol. 2A of *The Textual History of the Bible*. Edited by Frank Feder and Matthias Henze. Leiden: Brill, 2020.

Høeg, Carsten, Günther Zuntz, and Sysse G. Engberg, eds. *Prophetologium*. Vol. 1 of *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae: Lectionaria*. 2 vols. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1939–1981.

Mihaila, Alexandru. "Some Exegetical Aspects of the Old Testament Lections in the Orthodox Church." Pages 303–312 in *Receptarea Sfintei Scripturi: Între filologie, hermeneuţică şi traducţologie*. Edited by Eugen Munteanu, Iosif Camara, Sabina-Nicoleta Rotenştein. Editura Universitatii: Alexandru Ioan Cuza, Iaşi, 2014.

Miller, James. "The Prophetologion: The Old Testament of Byzantine Christianity?" Pages 55–76 in *The Old Testament in Byzantium*. Edited by Paul Magdalino and Robert Nelson. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection Trustees for Harvard University, 2010.

Moyise, Steve. *The Old Testament in the New: An Introduction*. Second ed. T & T Clark Approaches to Biblical Studies. London: T & T Clark, 2015.

Pentiuc, Eugen J. *The Old Testament in Eastern Christian Tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Satlow, Michael A. "Reading without History." Pages 50–67 in *Reading Other Peoples' Texts: Social Identity and the Reception of Authoritative Traditions*. Edited by Ken Brown, Alison L. Joseph, and Brennan Breed. Scriptural Traces, LHBOTS. London: T & T Clark, 2020.

Spronk, Klaas. "The Prophetologion and the Book of Judges." *Journal of the Orthodox Center for the Advancement of Biblical Studies* 6.1 (2013): 9–15.

Stöckl Ben Ezra, Daniel. "Whose Fast Is It? The Ember Day of September and Yom Kippur." Pages 259–282 in *The Ways That Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late*

Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Edited by Adam H. Becker and Annette Yoshiko Reed. TSAJ 95. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003.

Taft, Robert F. "Prophetologion." Page 1737 in vol. 3 of *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols. Edited by Alexander Kazhdan et al. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Taft, Robert F. *Through Their Own Eyes: Liturgy as the Byzantines Saw It*. Berkeley: InterOrthodox Press, 2006.

Taft, Robert F. "Were There Once Old Testament Readings in the Byzantine Divine Liturgy? Apropos of an Article by Sysse Gudrun Engberg." *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* Terza, serie 8 (2011): 271–311.

The Ante-Nicene Fathers. Edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. 1885–1887. 10 vols. Repr., Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994.

Youssef, Joseph Nessim. "Prophetologion: An Arabic Manuscript in the Library of the Monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai, no. 588: A Survey and Critical Study." *Cahiers d'Alexandrie* (1967): 3–10.

18

Accessit latinitas, recessit pietas: Pope Urban VIII Barberini and the Vicissitudes of Latin Hymnography

Anders Piltz, O.P.

Christian spirituality may be defined as a history of crises and conflicts, that ignite creativity and inspire new enthusiasm and new songs along the paths of history—but also provoke protest, revolt and reform. This paper will try to describe, and perhaps explain, a remarkable intervention undertaken by Urban VIII Barberini (pope 1623–1644) in the spiritual and literary patrimony of the Catholic Church.

Liturgy, poetry and song belong together, from times immemorial. Singing in unison is the privileged means of manifesting unity of sentiments, when words, meanings, rhythm and melody bring about a fusion of voices, as if all singers were one and the same.[1] The Greeks had their ὕμνοι, the Romans their *carmina*, the most grandiose being the one composed by Horace for the *ludi saeculares* in 17 BCE.

The Hebrews found their most profound lyrics in the Psalms and other canticles in the Scriptures.[2] Christian hymnography found its origin in biblical hymns, in the Psalter, the Song of Moses, the Magnificat, and many other odes and canticles. Parts of the Pauline letters and the Apocalypse assume hymnic character.

The Church Fathers took it for granted that singing adds greater force and intelligibility to the words and facilitates attention and meditation on their meaning. The genre of improvised chants in a scriptural style was called ψαλμοὶ ἰδιωτικοί ("private psalms"). The most famous remaining are the Odes of Solomon, Φῶς ἱλαρόν, *Gloria in excelsis*, and *Te Deum*.[3] *Te decet laus, te decet*

1 Aimé-Georges Martimort, ed., *L'Église en prière: Introduction à la Liturgie* (Paris: Desclée, 1961), 122–130.

2 Anselmo Lentini, *Te decet hymnus. L'innario della "Liturgia Horarum"* (Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1984), xiv.

3 B. Chapelle, "Le texte du 'Gloria in excelsis,'" in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 44 (1949), 439–457; Anton Baumstark, "'Te Deum' und eine Gruppe griechischer Abendhymnen," in *Oriens Christianus*, 34 (1937), 1–26.

 | DOI:10.1163/9789004522053_018

hymnus, te decet gloria, is the old doxology intended for the vigils and cited by Saint Benedict in his *Rule* (11.10), a translation of a Greek original, Σοὶ πρέπει αἶνος.[4] In the *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, there is an ample collection of Greek hymns from the first Christian centuries.

1 The Hymns in the Service of Orthodoxy

Hymns were equally favoured among those whom the Great Church branded as heretics, such as the followers of Marcion, Valentinus, Bardaisan, Arius, and others, a fact which led to growing suspicion among the orthodox against non-biblical poetry. There are reasons to believe that the introduction and the flourishing of *hymni* (in the more technical sense of short texts and melodies in strict metrical format and with a limited number of stanzas) was due to an endeavour to reduce the attraction of heretical movements and to increase the popularity of the Nicene faith. In the Greek-speaking Church of the East, masters like Methodios of Olympus, Saint Gregory of Nazianzus, and Synesius adopted the classical metres in their sacred poetry.[5]

The same goes for the Western church. Hymns for night, morning and evening services, and for the main seasons of the liturgical year, were all inspired by the christological debates and the themes developed there. Hymns were introduced as expressions of the cult of Christ, God, and man, in accordance with the teachings of the great Councils in the fourth and fifth centuries[6]—in a deliberate attempt to control heresy and advance orthodox teachings.

In Latin Christendom, one man, himself a representative of late Antique educational, rhetorical and literary ideals, has more than anyone else been instrumental in the immense production of hymns that was to follow during more than a millennium of Latin hymnology: Saint Ambrose, bishop of Milan (d. 397). He had the genius to see in the iambic dimeter the measure for his

4 The oldest Greek text in *Const. ap.* 7.48.3; Marcel Metzger, ed., *Les Constitutions apostoliques*, SC 336 (Paris: Cerf, 1987), 3.114. Cf. Philippe Bernard, "L'hymnodie et la psalmodie dans le culte chrétien des six premiers siècles," in *Présence et rôle de la Bible dans la liturgie*, ed. Martin Klöckener, Bruno Bürki, Arnaud Join-Lambert, and Mireille Fornerod (Fribourg: Academic Press, 2006), 137–163, here 147–148.

5 Henri Leclercq, "Hymnes," DACL 6.2:2826–2828. There is a similar catalogue (although without the texts) in Faustino Arevalo, *Hymnodia Hispanica ad cantus, latinitatis, metrique leges revocata* (Rome: Typographia Salomoniana, 1726), 21–50.

6 Johann Auer, "Christuskult im Kirchenlied," in *Jesus Christus—Gottes und Mariä "Sohn,"* vol. 4.1 of *Kleine katholische Dogmatik* (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1986), 419.

purpose to combat the Arians with their own weapons.[7] Horace, in his *Epodes* (1–10), had used the same metre.[8] Ambrose adopted it to his specific purposes in a standardized form, iambic dimeter acatalectic, which consisted of four complete iambs in each line, and four lines in each stanza.[9] Elisions and hiatuses were avoided; the strictly syllabic form and the many assonances made singing easy.[10] Ambrose was well aware of his success as a poet-preacher: "Some claim that I seduce the people with my hymns. And I do not deny it. It is a most potent form of singing. What could be more efficacious than a confession of the Trinity, celebrated daily by the whole congregation, singing in unison?"[11] This metre would for over thousand years become the most cherished, the (quantitative or rhythmic) "Ambrosian" stanza.

Prudentius (d. ca. 410) used the same versification in some of his hymns, although not intended for liturgical purposes, even if some of his poems were later abridged and adapted to liturgical use. Sedulius (first half of the fifth century) has left an abecedarian piece, parted in two, still used in the Christmas season, *A solis ortus cardine* and *Hostis Herodes impie*, on the mystery of incarnation. Venantius Fortunatus (ca. 600) was a greater poet and a more skilled theologian, whose tribute to the Holy Cross has been assumed into the liturgy (*Vexilla Regis prodeunt*, and *Pange, lingua, gloriosi prœlium certaminis*). Even Gregory the Great (pope 590–604) was known as a poet, even if it is impossible to confirm any attribution to him. The Carolingian Renaissance, with names like Alcuin of York, Paul the Deacon, Paulinus of Aquileia, Theodulf, and Rabanus Maurus, favoured an intense production of poetry, mostly in classical metres.[12]

Up to ca. 700, hymns, as a rule, remained strictly metrical, according to classical standards (quantities, elisions, set metrical patterns, avoidance of hiatuses, etc.).[13] But with the beginning of the Middle Ages, an increasing number of

7 Frederic J.E. Raby, *The Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1974), xi.

8 Dag Norberg, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine médiévale*, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis: Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 5 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1958), 69.

9 Daniel Sheerin, "Hymns," in *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, ed. Frank A.C. Mantello and Arthur G. Rigg (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1996), 597–606, here 600.

10 Josef Szövérffy, *Die Annalen der lateinischen Hymnendichtung*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1964), 1.64.

11 Ambrose of Milan, *Aux.* 43: *Hymnorum quoque meorum carminibus deceptum populum ferunt, plane nec hoc abnuo. Grande carmen istud est, quo nihil potentius. Quid enim potentius quam confessio trinitatis, quae cottidie totius populi ore celebratur?*

12 Lentini, *Te decet hymnus*, xvi.

13 There were exceptions, like *iŭge, mănavit, trĭduum* and *ecclĕsia* as early as in Sedulius (first

clerics knew Latin only from school, and the quantities (long or short) of the syllables were no longer perceived by the ear. A transition took place from strict classical norms towards a versification that imitated the structure (the number of syllables, caesuras, accents) of classical prosody, but took neither quantity into consideration, nor the rules of elision or other normative elements of ancient poetry.[14] The decisive element in liturgical hymns is the singing. Little by little, poets marked the pulse instead with expiratory accents. From now on, attention was paid only to accent, number, assonance and/or rhyme, and to the easiness of expression. The words should, ideally, accompany the singer with accents pleasant to the ear and without hindrances such as elisions.[15]

2 The Emergence of a Standard Repertoire

The "Ambrosian" hymns were soon adopted by the church in Milan, and successively introduced in Gaul, Ireland, and Spain. They were also accepted by Saint Benedict for use in the Daily Office,[16] and so they served as a model for innumerable hymns that were to follow, of varying poetical and spiritual quality. The foremost preoccupation was orthodoxy in content and worthiness in form. The Roman Church, in fact, was the last one to accept them. Even though they were sung since long in the monastic communities of Rome, they were not admitted in Saint Peter's basilica until the eleventh century.

The traditional hymn treasure for weekdays and feasts was subsequently adopted officially in the *Breviarium Curiae*, the abridged form of the Divine Office approved by Innocent III (pope 1198–1216), and it was then taken over immediately by the Franciscan order, something that started the diffusion of all the hymns up to that period used in the papal court.[17] From this period onwards, the whole Divine Office, the praying of which was (and is) a daily obligation of all priests and religious, was collected in one book, known as the

half of fifth century). These were but some instances of a general development in Late Antiquity; cf. Norberg, *Introduction*, 7.

14 Norberg, *Introduction*, 87–94; Lentini, *Te decet hymnus*, xix.

15 Lentini, *Te decet hymnus*, xx.

16 The term *ambrosianum*, "Ambrosian hymn" (whether by Ambrose or not), occurs four times in St. Benedict's *Rule* (9.4, 12.4, 13.11, and 17.8). These hymns were obviously well known, and the *Rule* establishes that there be one of them in every Hour of the Daily Office. See Timothy Fry, ed., *The Rule of St. Benedict: In Latin and English with Notes* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1981), 401.

17 Suitbert Bäumer and Réginald Biron, *Histoire du Bréviaire. Traduction française mise au courant*, 2 vols. (Rome: Herder, 1967), 2.68–124.

Breviary. All parts of the Office, hitherto distributed in several books (psalter, lectionary, antiphonary, hymnary, collectary, etc.), were now collected and diffused in this form in the Catholic West.[18] The number of rhythmical (and often rhymed) hymns had, in the late Middle Ages, become unfathomable, and the whole of medieval poetry in different languages was pervaded by the same prolific productivity, in countless new genres and metres.

Of about thirty thousand known and published hymns, composed in the patristic and medieval church, only some hundreds are still in use in the Latin liturgy.[19] Many of these have inspired translations into modern languages, mostly in Protestant traditions.

3 The Humanist Reaction

By the protagonists of Renaissance Humanism in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the whole of this development was considered a decline and an aberration from the standards of the Golden Age of Antiquity. Accordingly, most specimens of medieval hymnography were accused of *barbaries*, rude and rustic barbarism.[20] A *résistance* movement was formed to counteract what was perceived as a collapse of civilization. Hardcore humanists like Pietro Bembo, Zaccaria Ferreri, Marsilio Ficino, Pietro Pomponazzi, Basileios Bessarion (the Latin patriarch of Constantinople), Pope Leo X, and many others, regarded occasional unpolished language as the main flaw of the Latin liturgy. They all were, *post restitutas Litteras*,[21] preoccupied with inventing modes of expressing Christian sentiments in a language acceptable to the style and vocabulary promoted by the Renaissance Latinists: classical, elegant, "and fastidiously aware of metrical and linguistic niceties," of which their medieval predecessors had showed a crude disregard.[22] These protesters were not concerned about orthodoxy—there was nothing in the hymnic heritage that could be accused of doctrinal errors—by solely about the purported lack of elegance, an aesthetic point of view that not seldom overruled dogmatic apprehensions.

18 For a survey of the different hymn families (so called Old, Frankish, New, Cistercian, Brigittine, etc., Hymnals) in general use or belonging to religious orders, see Sheerin, "Hymns," 600.
19 Martimort, *L'Église en prière*, 825–826.
20 Lentini, *Te decet hymnus*, xvii.
21 "After the restoration of education and literature," an expression used by Arevalo, *Hymnodia Hispanica*, 113.
22 Ann Moss, "Latin Liturgical Hymns of the Reformation Crisis (1520–1568)," *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 40 (1991): 73–111.

A poet of indisputable authority, Dante Alighieri (1265–1321), had defined the Latin language as a stable and unchangeable entity, hypostasised, eternal and incorruptible, uniform and governed by grammatical rules not subject to individual will, nor to contingent local developments, but universally accepted. To him, living languages were secondary.[23]

The Renaissance humanists attempted, with some success, to imitate and restore Classical Latin as a living language and to bring about a kind of linguistic and literary revolution that discredited and gradually abolished many, if not all, features of Medieval Latin. The metaphors commonly used by the humanists themselves suggest restoring from ruins, awakening from sleep, returning from exile, being reborn to the Golden Age.[24] This reform affected spelling, prosody and punctuation, vocabulary and phraseology, inflection and syntax, and the whole structure and rhythm of sentences.[25] The Latin language, which had never ceased to live and therefore had undergone many of those innovations that belong to every living system of human communication, received thereby the *coup de grace* by those very men who imagined that they raised it from the dead and transformed it into an international cultural medium. "The *history* of the Latin language ceases, and instead the *study* of its history begins."[26]

The ideal of these men was a reformed Breviary in Ciceronian Latin, with hymns as far as possible in harmony with Horace's *Odes*. In the parlance of these Latinists, who did not shun mere paganisms, to pray for the remission of sins was tantamount to *superosque manesque placare* ("to placate the celestial deities and the gods of the lower world"), the incarnation of the Word could be called *Minerva Iovis capite orta* ("Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, art, and sciences, born of Jove's head"), the Holy Spirit *aura Zephyri cœlestis* ("the gentle breeze of heavenly west wind"), the priests *flamines* (once meaning the priests

23 Dante Alighieri, *De vulgari eloquentia*, 1.1.3. Cf. Josef Eskhult, "Vulgar Latin as an Emergent Concept in the Italian Renaissance (1435–1601): Its Ancient and Medieval Prehistory and Its Emergence and Development in Renaissance Linguistic Thought," *Journal of Latin Studies* 17 (2018): 191–230, here 199.

24 Berthold Louis Ullman, *Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, Storia e letteratura 51 (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e letteratura, 1955), 11–25.

25 Paul Oskar Kristeller, "Humanism," in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. Charles B. Schmitt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 113–137, here 121–122.

26 Eduard Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1974), 2.767: "Die Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache hört damit endgültig auf, an die Stelle tritt die Geschichte ihres Studiums." This statement is to a great extent true as far as literature and poetry are concerned, but not with reference to the scientific use of Latin.

of particular deities), and the Blessed Virgin Mary *Diva potens* ("the mighty goddess"), and so on. The overall purpose should be to put an end to any minor blemish of correct Latinity, a stain ingrained since centuries (*maculam illam iam per tot sæcula … inustam*), in the words of Bembo.[27]

But there were also humanists attached to the linguistic tradition of the church. Raoul of Tongres (d. 1401), Burchard of Strasbourg, Giampietro Carafa, the future pope Paul IV, and others—who were well aware of all the faults of the Breviary, compounded as it was by apocryphal legends, frequent repetitions and accumulations of offices on the same day, and maladroit poetry—were fond of Latin purity and polished style, but they nevertheless had a profound respect for Christian tradition and piety, and the Latin language that was the medium of it.[28]

After all, the supposedly degenerate Latin of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, including two Renaissances, in the Carolingian era and in the twelfth century, had produced gems like *Ad cenam Agni, Adorna Sion, Ave maris stella, Claro paschali gaudio, Conditor alme siderum, Dies irae, Dulcis Iesu memoria, Panis angelicus, Stabat Mater, Tantum ergo, Veni creator Spiritus, Veni sancte Spiritus, Vexilla Regis*, *Victimae paschali laudes*, and other pieces that belong to the common Western heritage and have been set to music countless times.[29]

4 Attempts to Classicist Restoration

Leo X (pope 1513–1521) had initiated a tentative reform of the Breviary, assisted by Zaccaria Ferreri, bishop of Guarda Alfieri, a diocese in the kingdom of Naples. Ferreri was wholly dedicated to the Classical reform, and had no appreciation for ecclesiastical Latin, the language of the church. His opinion about the received hymns of the church was less than favourable. In a letter to pope Clement VII, he wrote: "The priests endowed with good Latinity are forced to praise God with barbaric sounds and provoked to laughter, and thereby they oftentimes despise holy things."[30]

Ferreri initiated his reform by the publication of a Hymnal, allegedly approved by Leo X, but not printed until 1525: *Hymni novi ecclesiastici iuxta veram metri ac latinitatis normam*. The content of the collection fully equals

27 Bäumer and Biron, *Histoire du Bréviaire*, 2.115.

28 Bäumer and Biron, *Histoire du Bréviaire*, 2.115–116.

29 Szövérffy, *Annalen*.

30 Arevalo, *Hymnodia Hispanica*, 143: *qui bona latinitate prœditi sunt Sacerdotes, dum barbaris vocibus Deum laudare coguntur in risum provocati, Sacra sæpe contemnunt*.

its pompous title. Every hymn was written afresh, nothing was preserved of the ancient treasure, except some occasional reminiscences. The famous *Ave maris stella*, rhythmical[31] and thus offensive to the ears of the extreme classicists,

Ave, maris stella,
Dei mater alma,
atque semper virgo,
felix cœli porta

was rendered thus by Ferreri:

Ave, superna janua,
ave, beata semita,
salus periclitantibus
et ursa navigantibus,

a iambic version admittedly impeccable from the metrical point of view, but conspicuous by the choice of *ursa*, meaning literally "she-bear," as an equivalent of the original *coeli porta*, and a reference to the constellation *Ursa Maior*, the Greater Bear, the sailor's seven guiding stars in the North.[32] Ferreri often displayed his ingenuity in converting pagan mythology to Christian theology, calling the Trinity *triforme numen Olympi* ("the threefold Godhead of Olympus") or addressing the Blessed Virgin Mary *Beluam tristem Phlegetontis atri / interemisti superosque nobis conciliasti* ("You have killed the harsh beast of the River in the Lower World"), a river which ran with fire instead of water in Classical poetry.[33]

Ferreri had lofty pretensions and a high esteem of his own achievement. He considered the illiterate clergy "squanderers of the sacred patrimony" and exhorted them scornfully to continue leading a lazy life "devoted to gormandizing, sleep, debauchery and lust."[34] Such an arrogant approach to liturgical

31 Tripodic trochaic, the ictus falling on the first syllables of *măris, măla, ĭter păra, tŭlit*. This format is ultimately a resonance of the classical *choraicus ithyphallicus*; Lentini, *Te decet hymnus*, 255.

32 Cf. Ovid, *Her.* 18, 152: *quæque micat gelido Parrhasis Ursa polo* ("the Parrhasian [= Arcadian] Bear that gleams in the frozen pole").

33 Bäumer and Biron, *Histoire du Bréviaire*, 2.117–124. Cf. Seneca, *Thyestes* 1116: *Phlegeton harenas igneus totas* (*var. lect. tostas*) *agens* ("Phlegeton, with glowing flood downpouring all his sands"). Szövérffy, *Annalen*, 2.438; Moss, "Latin liturgical hymns," 82–84.

34 Silvana Seidel Menchi, *Erasmus als Ketzer: Reformation und Inquisition im Italien des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Studies in Medieval and Reformations Thought 49 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 27

reform had small chances of general acceptance, and few copies of his book are extant today, even if the printed edition was approved for official use by Clement VII.[35]

The Council of Trent decided in 1563 to submit the whole question of a reformed Divine Office to the Holy See,[36] and in 1568 the *Breviarium Romanum* was published by Pius V. In substance it remained the official version of the Roman Church until 1971, although with a number of successive reforms, concerning the precise wording and interpunction of the biblical texts (Clement VIII), the distribution of the Psalms (Pius X), and the Latin translation of the Psalter (into a Ciceronian style, Pius XII).[37] But the most radical innovation was undertaken in the seventeenth century.

5 Pope Urban and "the Laws of Poetry and Latinity"

The Breviary of Pius V published in 1568 had retained almost entirely the hymn collection of the *Breviarium Curiæ* of the thirteenth century. In 1623, Maffeo Vincenzo Barberini was elected pope and took the name Urban VIII. His long pontificate of more than twenty years (he died in 1644) was a turning point in the history of the papacy. With artistic triumphalism, he spent lavishly on beautifying Rome, and in 1626 he consecrated the new Saint Peter's basilica. He was also himself an accomplished Latin poet,[38] who decided that the Hymnal of the church should be finally liberated of its medieval barbarisms and aesthetic flaws.[39] For this purpose he appointed a Committee (*Congregatio*

---

n. 22: *ceteri qui sunt sacri patrimonii heluones sine scientia … vitamque ducete ociosam, ventri, somno, luxui, libidinique debitam.*

35 Arturo Elberti, *La liturgia delle Ore in Occidente: Storia e teologia* (Rome: Edizioni Dehoniane, 1998), 442. Some dioceses in France adopted a number of Ferreri's hymns in the seventeenth century; Jacques-Paul Migne, *Encyclopédie théologique*, 50 vols. (Paris: Migne, 1844–1849), 8.660. For an overview of the Humanist contribution to Latin hymnography ("Ausklang der Hymnendichtung"), see Szövérffy, *Annalen* 2.434–444.

36 In the very last session of the Council, on 4 December 1563; see Josephus Alberigo et al., eds., *Conciliorum Œcumenicorum decreta*, 3rd ed. (Bologna: Istituto per le scienze religiose, 1973), 797.

37 Manlio Sodi and Achille Maria Triacca, eds., *Breviarium Romanum: Editio princeps (1568)*, Monumenta liturgica Concilii Tridentini (Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1999), xv.

38 An edition of his (more or less secular) *Poemata*, with a dedication to the French king Louis XIII, and with the approval of the Sorbonne faculty of theology, had been published in Paris 1621.

39 Peter Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome: Barberini Cultural Policies*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 135 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 132–133; Sebastian Schütze, *Kardi-*

super emendatione Breviarii) under the presidency of Cardinal Luigi Cajetano. In three years (1629–1631) and almost fifty sessions, it revised the tenor of the Roman Breviary in minor details, such as word order and interpunction.[40] But the decisive revision concerned the hymns. That was not, however, within the competence of this Committee.

A revised version of the Hymnal was promulgated in the papal bull *Divinam psalmodiam* in 1631. There, the Pope stated that he had restored the prose hymns and the rhythmic ones as far as possible to "the laws of poetry and Latinity," and this was done with the help of "more accurate manuscripts," either by retouching the imperfections, or even, when such amending was not feasible, by creating entirely new poems, as far as possible retaining the content of the originals.[41]

This revision of hymns had been formally commissioned to another group, consisting of four Jesuits, who were all well able to produce elegant imitations of Classical models: Flaminio Strada, Tarquinio Galluzzi, Hieronymo Petrucci, and, last but not least, Maciej (Mathias) Kazimierz Sarbiewski, Europe's most prominent Latin poet in the seventeenth century, and a renowned theoretician of poetics. But the part played by these Jesuits was far less extensive than one might expect. Urban had obviously reserved this issue to himself, in his double capacity of pope and poet. In all probability, it was the pope himself who was behind most of the "corrections."[42] We do not know whether the four Jesuits were at all involved in the project, or if they were just "token" poets. The hymnologist Joseph Connelly concludes: "[H]ow far their private feelings about exercising their gifts on the hymns and their spirit of obedience coincided is a matter of dispute, but it is quite clear that the driving force was from Urban, the last of the Humanist Popes."[43]

---

nal Maffeo Barberini, später Papst Urban VIII, und die Entstehung des Römischen Hochbarock, Römische Forschungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana 32 (München: Hirmer, 2007).

40 The minutes of this Committee are preserved in *MS Barberini Lat. 1185* in the Vatican library, digitized and available online: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.lat.1185.pt.A (October 2020).

41 [*I*]*n eo Hymni, paucis exceptis, qui non metro, sed soluta oratione, aut etiam rhythmo constant, vel emendatioribus codicibus adhibitis, vel aliqua facta mutatione ad carminis et latinitatis leges, ubi fieri potuit, revocati; ubi vero non potuit, de integro conditi sunt, eadem tamen, quoad licuit, servata sententia*. The draft of the bull was inserted in the minutes of the session 22 August 1630, *MS Barberini Lat. 1185*, fol. 106v–108r, but it was printed in the editions of *Breviarium Romanum* signed with the date 25 January 1631.

42 Clemens Blume, "Rhythmische Hymnen in metrischer Schmiede," *Stimmen aus Maria Laach* 78 (1910): 245–261.

43 Joseph Connelly, *Hymns of the Roman Liturgy* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1957), xviii.

The new version of the hymns was published separately in 1629, *Hymni Breviarii Romani Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Urbani VIII iussu et Sacræ Rituum Congregationis approbatione emendati et editi*, printed in Rome. Its preface is basically a declaration, formally directed to the Sacred Congregation of Rites and apparently written by this group of Latinists in the third person plural. The task entrusted to the Committee was compared to the commission received by St. Jerome from Pope Damasus to revise the Latin translation of the New Testament. Forced to do the same thing (*idem facere coguntur*) as Jerome, they had to act as arbiters between different conflicting manuscripts.[44]

Five principles were followed in the revision. Some traditional "prose hymns" (such as *Te Deum, Ave maris stella, Victimæ paschali laudes*), written *soluta oratione* albeit with divisions (*incisæ partes*, Greek κόμματα) of the sentences, were left untouched. Even if the text "could easily be improved," the four Jesuits refrained from doing so out of respect for the "saintly authors." The incontestable authority of Ambrose, Gregory the Great (pope Gregory I), Prudentius, Sedulius Scottus and Venantius Fortunatus argued for leaving their hymns as they were, even if a syllable or a word could occasionally and easily be replaced "by a better one." To the works of less prestigious poets, a "more efficacious medicine" must be applied. It is not becoming, according to the revisors, that the service of God should be marred by unpolished language.[45]

The "blemishes" detected and amended by the correctors were 952, out of a total of 1714 lines, according to the reckoning of the correctors themselves. Two hymns, *Tibi, Christe, splendor Patris* for the feast of Saint Michael, and *Urbs beata, Jerusalem*, for the Dedication of a church, were completely remade, as shown below.[46]

Several passages were thus left intact, even if they could have been "easily amended." Among other examples, the revisors picked a line from Prudentius, used in Lauds on Thursdays:[47] *purosque nos præstet sibi* (sc. *hæc lux*; "may this light present us unharmed before Him"). This line would sound smoother and sweeter (*rotundior erat et suavior versus*, i.e., with fewer consonants) if changed to *purasque mentes ambiat* ("may it surround pure minds").

The well-known and much loved eucharistic hymns of Thomas Aquinas for the feast of Corpus Christi were likewise left untouched. "The majesty of their

---

44 The preface of Jerome in Robertus Weber, ed., *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1969), 2.1515.

45 *Hymni Breviarii Romani: Sanctiss. Domini Nostri Urbani VIII iussu et Sacræ Rituum Congregationis approbatione emendati, et editi* (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1629), the initial letter addressed "Ad Sacram Rituum Congregationem."

46 Henri Leclercq, "Liturgies Neo-Gallicanes," *DACL* 9:1636–1729.

47 Prudentius, *Cathemerinon* 2.98.

subject matter, the piety of the church, and the very accustomedness of the ears" compensated for their relative lack of elegance, *verba non elegantissima*. They are furthermore rhymed, as if they had been written in Italian, but the *aurium illecebra*, "the allurement of the ears" may excuse them, as well as the fact that they were written *etrusco rhythmo* ("in an Etruscan rhythm"). Once more: the enterprise to remove innumerable blemishes did not always result in the foremost possible embellishments, due to the authority, holiness and antiquity of the poets.[48] Therefore, the Committee left it to the judgement of the Congregation of Rites what to delete, what to add or alter in the revisions suggested.[49]

Whatever was meant by "Etruscan rhythm," these excuses were all for the protocol. The new hymns had obviously been approved already by Urban; otherwise they had hardly been printed and published. Other circumstances as well point in the same direction. In a remarkable passage, the very last lines of the minutes on 18 December in 1631, the other of the two pontifical Committees, the one for the general reform of the Breviary, disclaims all responsibility for hymnic matters: "The above Committee has had no share in the corrections and alterations of hymns in the Breviary, since our most Holy Father Urban VIII … has amended them and restored them to a more elegant form, as it is to be seen from the new printed edition."[50] The revision is thus ascribed to the pope alone. The same impression is confirmed also by a statement made in the session held on February 14 in 1630, where the Committee had to examine a proposal to amend three passages in some hymns. The suggestion was rejected. After a dash (a symbol meaning "not to be taken into consideration"), it is said that the pope had not made any changes in the lines in question, "and it is our duty to follow, not to lead him."[51]

48 *Haec, inquam, et alia sexcenta, quamvis elegantiora, reiecimus, abstergere conatu labeculas, non semper omnem elegantiæ florem accersere*. *Hymni Breviarii Romani*, 1629, the initial letter, b 3.

49 *Hymni Breviarii Romani*.

50 *In correctionibus et mutationibus Hymnorum, qui sunt in Breviario, Congregatio Prædicta nullam habuit partem, quia Sanctissimus Dominus noster Urbanus … ipsos emendavit et in elegantiorem formam, prout videre est in novo Breviario impresso, restituit*. MS *Barberini Lat. 1185*, fol. 159^{v}.

51 *Nihil cum Hymnos S^{mus} emendaverit, cuius iudicium sequi, non præire … debeat Congregatio*. MS *Barberini Lat. 1185*, fol. 53^{r}.

6 The Fate of Two Hymns in the Urbanian Revision

Let us now consider more in detail the results of this revision by means of two examples: the Vesper hymn of Advent, *Conditor alme siderum*, and the corresponding hymn for the Dedication of a church, *Urbs beata Hierusalem*.

Breviarium Romanum 1568, p. 111:[52]

Conditor alme siderum,
Aeterna lux credentium,
Christe redemptor omnium,
Exaudi preces supplicum.

Qui condolens interitu
Mortis perire sæculum,
Saluasti mundum languidum,
Donans reis remedium.

Vergente mundi vespere,
Vti sponsus de thalamo
Egressus honestissima
Virginis matris clausula.

Cuius forti potentiæ
Genu curuantur omnia,
Cælestia, terrestria,
Nutu fatentur subdita.

Te deprecamur agie,
Venture iudex sæculi,
Conserua nos in tempore
Hostis a telo perfidi.

Laus, honor, uirtus, gloria
Deo patri, & filio
Sancto simul paraclito
In sæculorum sæcula. Amen.

52 Guido Dreves and Clemens Blume, eds., *Analecta hymnica medii ævi*, 55 vols. (Leipzig: Reisland; Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1888–1922), vol. 51, no. 46; Arthur S. Walpole, *Early*

This hymn (eighth century?) was perhaps not originally meant for Advent but is still used in the whole Latin tradition at Vespers during that season. Its author is anonymous; it has sometimes been attributed to Gregory the Great. Immediately striking in this iambic albeit rhythmic hymn is the very first word, *Cónditor* ("Creator") which apparently (at least if not sung) should be stressed *condítor*, meaning in fact "seasoner, pickler," which must have provoked the disgust of Renaissance humanists. Furthermore, the ictus falls on short syllables in *Christé*, *Virgínis*, and *hostís*. Accordingly, Urban rewrote it in the following way, sacrificing most of the assonances, but achieving a flawless prosody:

Creator alme siderum,
Aeterna lux credentium,
Jesu, redemptor omnium,
Intende votis supplicum.

Qui, dæmonis ne fraudibus
Periret orbis, impetu
Amoris actus, languidi
Mundi medela factus es.

Commune qui mundi nefas
Ut expiares, ad crucem
E virginis sacrario
Intacta prodis victima.

Cujus potestas gloriæ
Nomenque cum primum sonat,
Et cælites et inferi
Tremente curvantur genu.

Te deprecamur ultimæ
Magnum diei judicem,
Armis supernæ gratiæ
Defende nos ab hostibus.

Latin Hymns with Introduction and Notes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), no. 84.

Virtus, honor, laus, gloria
Deo Patri cum Filio,
Sancto simul Paraclito,
In sæculorum sæcula. Amen.

1. Creator of the starry height,
Thy people's everlasting light,
Jesu, Redeemer, save us all,
Hear thou thy servants when they call.

2. Thou, sorrowing at the helpless cry
Of all creation doomed to die,
Didst save our lost and guilty race
By healing gifts of heavenly grace.

3. When earth was near its evening hour,
Thou didst, in love's redeeming power,
Like bridegroom from his chamber, come
Forth from a Virgin-mother's womb.

4. At thy great Name, exalted now,
All knees in lowly homage bow;
All things in heaven and earth adore,
And own Thee King for evermore.

5. To thee, O HOLY ONE, we pray,
Our Judge in that tremendous day,
Ward off, while yet we dwell below,
The weapons of our crafty foe.

6. To God the Father, God the Son,
And God the Spirit, Three in One,
Praise, honor, might and glory be
From age to age eternally.[53]

53 Translated by John Mason Neale as hymn no. 45 in *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (London: William Clowes & Sons, 1958). It is still the opening hymn of *The New English Hymnal*, 19th impression (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2013); there modernised as "Creator of the stars of night."

This remake was a slight modification only, if compared to many other interferences. The hymn *Urbs beata Hierusálem*, written originally in trochaic dimeter acatalectic + trochaic dimeter catalectic, was the ultimate source of inspiration to all the many hymns concerning the New Jerusalem (there are purportedly more than thirty translations into English verse),[54] written sometimes in the eighth or ninth centuries.[55] The hymn finds its scriptural inspiration in Eph 2:20, 1 Pet 2:5 and Rev 21. The fourth stanza is dependent on Gregory the Great.[56]

Breviarium Romanum 1568:[57]

Vrbs beata Hierusalem,
Dicta pacis uisio,
Quæ construitur in cælis
Viuis ex lapidibus,
Et angelis coronata,
Vt sponsata comite,

Noua ueniens e cælo
Nuptiali thalamo,
Præparata ut sponsata
Copuletur domino.
Plateæ, & muri eius
Ex auro purissimo.

Portæ nitent margaritis
Adytis patentibus;
Et uirtute meritorum
Illuc introducitur
Omnis qui ob Christi nomen
Hic in mundo premitur.

---

54 Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns*, 378. Translation by John Mason Neale as no. 396 in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.

55 Dreves and Blume, *Analecta hymnica* 51.110; Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns*, 119.

56 Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* 34.12: *Per malleum* (1 Kings 6:7) *percussio cælestis exprimitur … ad* [*ecclesiæ*] *ædificationem electorum animæ quasi … expoliti lapides deferuntur … in cælis nullus … iam disciplinæ malleus resonat, quia dolati atque perfecti illuc lapides ducimur, ut locis iuxta meritum congruis disponamur. Hic enim foris tundimur, ut illuc sine reprehensione veniamus. Hic malleus, hic securis, hic omnia tunsionum resonant ferramenta.*

57 The original hymn is divided in two parts, on pages 57 and 61, respectively.

Tunsionibus, pressuris
Expoliti lapides
Suis coaptantur locis
Per manus artificis,
Disponuntur permansuri
Sacris ædificijs.

Angularis fundamentum
Lapis Christus missus est,
Qui compage parietum
In utroque nectitur,
Quem Sion sancta suscepit,
In quo credens permanet.

Omnis illa deo sacra
Et dilecta ciuitas,
Plena modulis, in laude,
Et canore iubilo
Trinum deum unicumque
Cum fauore prædicat.

Hoc in templo summe deus
Exoratus adueni;
Et clementi bonitate
Precum uota suscipe,
Largam benedictionem
Hic infunde iugiter.

Hic promereantur omnes
Petita acquirere,
Et adepta possidere,
Cum sanctis perenniter
Paradisum introire,
Translati in requiem.

Gloria & honor deo
Vsquequaque altissimo,
Vna patri, filioque,
Inclyto paraclito,
Cui laus est & potestas
Per immensa sæcula. Amen.

1. Blessed city, heavenly Salem,
vision dear of peace and love,
who of living stones art builded
in the height of heaven above,
and with angel hosts encircled,
as a bride dost earthward move!

2. From celestial realms descending,
bridal glory round thee shed,
meet for him whose love espoused thee,
to thy Lord shalt thou be led;
all thy streets and all thy bulwarks
of pure gold are fashioned.

3. Bright thy gates of pearl are shining,
they are open evermore;
and by virtue of his merits
thither faithful souls do soar,
who for Christ's dear name in this world
pain and tribulation bore.

4. Many a blow and biting sculpture
polished well those stones elect,
in their places now compacted
by the heavenly Architect,
who therewith hath willed for ever
that his palace should be decked.

5. Christ is made the sure foundation,
Christ the Head and corner-stone,
chosen of the Lord, and precious,
binding all the church in one,
Holy Sion's help for ever,
and her confidence alone.

6. All that dedicated city,
dearly loved of God on high,
in exultant jubilation
pours perpetual melody,
God the One in Three adoring
in glad hymns eternally.

7. To this temple, where we call thee,
come, O Lord of Hosts, to-day;
with thy wonted loving-kindness
hear thy servants as they pray,
and thy fullest benediction
shed within its walls alway.

8. Here vouchsafe to all thy servants
what they ask of thee to gain,
what they gain from thee for ever
with the blessed to retain,
and hereafter in thy glory
evermore with thee to reign.

Doxology:
Laud and honour to the Father,
laud and honour to the Son,
laud and honour to the Spirit,
ever Three, and ever One,
consubstantial, co-eternal,
while unending ages run.

The correctors must have been offended by obvious infringements of canonical rules, such as *construítur, lapídibus, véniens, angélis, nítent, prémitur, lócis, pariétum*, and hiatuses such as *-ata ut, plateæ et, qui ob*, etc., and for some reason they decided to make a complete *rifacimento* of the text in the conventional iambic dimeter.[58] It runs like this in the Urbanian version:

Cælestis urbs Jerusalem,
Beata pacis visio,
Quæ celsa de viventibus
Saxis ad astra tolleris,
Sponsæque ritu cingeris
Mille angelorum millibus.

58 There are, however, some hymns in trochaic trimeter, made by impeccably classical standards, in later editions of the Roman Breviary: *O quot undis lacrimarum* (for the Seven Sorrows of Our Lady), written by Callisto Palumbella, Servite, in the 18th century, and *Ira justa Conditoris*, by an unknown seventeenth-century poet (for the feast of the Most Precious Blood); see Connelly, *Hymns of the Roman Liturgy*, 226–227, and 206–207, respectively.

O sorte nupta prospera,
Dotata Patris gloria,
Respersa Sponsi gratia,
Regina formosissima,
Christo jugata principi,
Cœli corusca civitas.

Hic margaritis emicant
Patentque cunctis ostia;
Virtute namque prævia
Mortalis illuc ducitur,
Amore Christi percitus
Tormenta quisquis sustinet.

Scalpri salubris ictibus
Et tunsione plurima,
Fabri polita malleo
Hanc saxa molem construunt
Aptisque juncta nexibus
Locantur in fastigio.

Alto ex Olympi vertice
Summi parentis Filius,
Ceu monte desectus lapis
Terras in imas decidens,
Domus supernæ et infimæ
Utrumque junxit angulum.

Sed illa sedes cælitum
Semper resultat laudibus,
Deumque trinum et unicum
Jugi canore prædicat;
Illi canentes jungimur
Almæ Sionis æmuli.

Hæc templa, rex cælestium,
Imple benigno lumine;
Huc, o rogatus, adveni
Plebisque vota suscipe,
Et nostra corda jugiter
Perfunde cæli gratia.

Hic impetrent fidelium
Voces precesque supplicum
Domus beatæ munera
Partisque donis gaudeant,
Donec soluti corpore
Sedes beatas impleant.

Decus Parenti debitum
Sit usquequaque altissimo,
Natoque Patris unico
Et inclito Paraclito,
Cui laus, potestas, gloria
Aeterna sit per sæcula. Amen.

The hymn was recast "very much to its disadvantage," according to one commentator, while another is hardly more benevolent: "This is one of the few [hymns] which have not utterly perished in the process; while if we yet compare the first two rugged and somewhat uncouth stanzas, but withal so sweet, with the smooth iambics which in the Roman Breviary have taken their place, we shall feel how much of their beauty they have lost."[59]

7 The Neo-Gallican Breviaries

Another enterprise in the history of Latin hymnology is worth mentioning here. The Gallican tendency in the Catholic Church of France, less deferential to Roman authority, stressing its own liturgical heritage, and supported by the monarchy, led to the launching, inspired by the Classicist movement, of diocesan Breviaries with a thorough reorganisation of the Psalter, biblical readings, hymnody, responsories, antiphons and versicles in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries.[60] About 100 dioceses and religious orders thus reformed

59 John Julian and Richard Chevenix Trench *apud* Connelly, *Hymns of the Roman Liturgy*, 159.

60 Elberti, *La liturgia*, 428–432. There is a comprehensive history of the Neo-Gallican liturgical movement and the relevant editions of Breviaries and Missals produced by it, as well as an edition of its Classicist Latin poetry, with authors identified, in Ulysse Chevalier, *Poésie liturgique des églises de France aux XVII[e] et XVIII[e] siècles, ou Recueil d'hymnes et de proses, usitées à cette époque et distribués suivant l'ordre du Bréviaire et du Missel* (Paris: Picard, 1913).

their liturgy. The most well-known and successful of these "Neo-Gallican" ordinances was the Breviary of Paris, initiated and issued by Archbishop Charles-Gaspar-Guillaume de Vintimille du Luc in 1736. With some notable exceptions, the collection of hymns in the Parisian Office was almost totally independent of their Roman equivalents, even if inspired by the same subject matters. The reasons for substituting the old hymns with new compositions are accounted for by Vintimille in the preface of his Breviary: according to him, more recent poetry not seldom displays greater energy and elegance, and expresses pious sentiments more efficiently.[61] The new hymns were written by contemporary French poets, mainly Jean-Baptiste de Santeul, Claude de Santeul, and Charles Coffin, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Paris.[62] Coffin wrote the hymns for weekdays and several feasts, and a considerable part of his œuvre exists in English translations,[63] possibly thanks to John Henry Newman, who in 1838 published his anthology *Hymni Ecclesiae*, the first section of which is a selection from the Paris Breviary.[64]

Neo-Gallicanism suffered a backlash during the pontificate of Pius IX (1848–1878). The Roman rite was then adopted almost exclusively in all quarters of the Church of France under the influence of ultramontanism and its vigorous advocate, dom Prosper Guéranger in Solesmes, who considered the usage of Neo-Gallican books a kind of insubordination to Rome.

Without any doubt, the French liturgical reform was remarkable for its scriptural inspiration and high poetical ambitions. To offer one example reprinted in Newman's anthology, here is the first stanzas of a hymn for an evangelist by Jean-Baptiste de Santeul:

Sinae sub alto vertice,
Caelo tonante, lex data;
Inter tubas et fulgura
Praesens minabatur Deus.

61 [*V*]*eteribus Hymnis locus datus est, nisi quibus ob sententiarum vim, elegantiam verborum, et teneriores pietatis sensus, recentes anteponi satius visum est. Breviarium Parisiense, Pars verna*, 7.

62 Migne, *Encyclopédie théologique*, 8.661. The redactors and poets employed by Vintimille to draw up his Breviary were in fact suspected for sympathies with Jansenist theology; Olivier Andurand, *La grande affaire: Les évêques de France face à l'Unigenitus* (Paris: Société d'histoire religieuse; Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2017), 205–209, 231–233.

63 94 texts by Coffin are reported to have English translations: https://hymnary.org/person/Coffin_C (October 2020).

64 John Henry Newman, *Hymni Ecclesiæ* (London: Alexandrum Macmillan, 1865).

Nunc, temperato Numine,
Per vela carnis blandiùs
Amat videri, languidis
Se lumen aptans sensibus.

Insculta saxo lex vetus
Praecepta, non vires dabat;
Inscripta cordi lex nova
Quidquid iubet dat exsequi.[65]

(Under the high mount Sinai, the law was given: under Heaven's lightnings and thunders and the trumpet's voice, God was a frightening presence. Now, the Godhead refrains from threatening: he loves to be seen through the veil of his flesh and has adjusted his light to our feeble senses. The old law was engraved on stone, precepts without empowerment; the new law is written in the heart and enables us to accomplish whatever it prescribes.)

8 The Verdict of Posterity

True elegance versus enticement—in the ears and minds of the Roman correctors, rhymes and other deviations from the rules of prosody and Latinity were temptations not to be yielded to by a responsible poet. Prudentius and Aquinas could have done better, but the correctors did let them pass, since the ears of so many were accustomed during the centuries to their naive poetry.

The achievement of the four Jesuits—or, rather, of Urban himself—was assessed variously.[66] Jesuits in those times were generally in favour of the new Hymnal, whereas others, by no means less able Latinists, reproached the correctors for their arbitrariness.[67] The simple, noble and effortless character of medieval poetry had vanished. The cantors and ceremoniaries of the Roman

65 *Breviarium Parisiense, pars verna*, 447–448; Newman, *Hymni Ecclesiæ*, 171; Chevalier, *Poésie liturgique*, 71.

66 The most enthusiastic supporter of the Urbanian project was probably Arevalo, who refuses to believe that Ambrose, Gregory the Great, Sedulius, Prudentius and Fortunatus could be responsible for hymns so *absurde compositos*, and instead he blames generations of ignorant scribes for their metrical errors. He regrets that the restored hymns are not met with satisfaction in all quarters, although in every respect more apt to instil and nourish true piety than the old ones; Arevalo, *Hymnodia Hispanica*, 139–143.

67 Lentini, *Te decet hymnus*, xvii–xviii.

basilicas were not slow to complain that the correctors seemed to be more at home with the pagan Muse than with Christian music. An anonymous critic coined what was to become a trite saying: *Accessit latinitas, recessit pietas*.[68]

The harshest judgement on these poetical reforms was pronounced in the beginning of the twentieth century by Clemens Blume (1862–1932), himself a Jesuit and one of the editors of *Analecta hymnica medii ævi* (in 55 volumes):

> Had only humanism had the good sense of endowing its own poetry with the authentic, old, deeply religious and popular spirit of the Middle Ages! Instead, there is in Humanism, namely the later one, chiefly superficiality and artificiality, and repellent, slavish mimicry of Classical patterns. And so not only the rhythmical but the metrical hymnody of the Middle Ages, and the Christian Antiquity as well, was doomed to die.[69]

In Britain, another hymnologist summarized the result: "[M]any thoughts and ideas of the original text were obscured, changed or discarded altogether and many a good prayer spoiled."[70]

Blume hoped for a correction of the correction in his own century. He did not live to see his dream fulfilled. The Humanist hymn versions, once they were printed in Urban's official edition of the Roman Breviary, were to remain mandatory in the Roman rite until the Second Vatican Council—although with important exceptions: they were never accepted in Saint Peter's in Rome, nor by the Benedictines, the Carthusians, the Dominicans and part of the Carmelite and the Premonstratensian orders, who all retained the original versions, in spite of the papal injunction to adopt the Classicist remake.[71]

9 The Reform of the Second Vatican Council

Several initiatives to reform the Breviary were however taken by the Popes in the four centuries following the Council of Trent. It deserves mentioning that

---

68 Bäumer and Biron, *Histoire du Bréviaire*, 2.290–294.

69 Blume, "Rhythmische Hymnen," 251: "Hätte [der Humanismus] … nur den echten, alten, tiefreligiösen volkstümlichen Geist des Mittelalters seinen Dichtungen zu verleihen verstanden! Statt dessen zeigt sich beim Humanismus, namentlich beim jüngeren, vorwiegend Äußerlichkeit, Künstelei und abstoßend wirkende, sklavische Nachahmerei der altklassischen Vorbilder. So war nicht nur die rhythmische, sondern auch die metrische Hymnodie des Mittelalters und des christlichen Altertums dem Tode geweiht."

70 Connelly, *Hymns of the Roman Liturgy*, xviii.

71 Bäumer and Biron, *Histoire du Bréviaire*, 2.293.

Leo XIII (d. 1903), himself no mediocre poet, provided Classicist hymns for the feast of the Holy Family, introduced in 1892.[72] But no steps were taken for an overall reform of the Hymnary, until 1963, when the Second Vatican Council issued the Constitution *Sacrosanctum Concilium* on the Sacred Liturgy. In article 93, it is decreed:

> To whatever extent may seem desirable, the hymns are to be restored to their original form, and whatever smacks of mythology or ill accords with Christian piety is to be removed or changed. Also, as occasion may arise, let other selections from the treasury of hymns be incorporated.[73]

This directive means *en claire* that the reform of Urban VIII is revoked and, after more than three centuries, implicitly characterized as a mistake. The Italian Benedictine Anselmo Lentini (1901–1989), himself a brilliant Latinist and a poet, was appointed secretary of *Coetus a studiis VII*, the Committee charged with delivering a completely revised repertoire of hymns for use in the Divine Office. In 1968, a volume was published with all the texts intended to be included in the new Breviary, together with a scholarly apparatus. The *Coetus* invited all parts concerned world-wide to communicate their points of view.[74] The ultimate result was presented in 1971, in the new edition of the Roman Breviary, renamed *Liturgia horarum* (in four volumes). Some years later, Lentini presented these final versions of the hymns in his *Te decet hymnus*. It comprises 291 pieces, including all the traditional hymns in restored version, and furthermore a generous "selection from the treasury of hymns" long forgotten or hidden in the overwhelming wealth of texts in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, as well as some outstanding specimens of later hymnography, including some from the Humanist epoch, to which Lentini himself should be numbered—even though he is the author of one hymn in the same rhythm as *Ave maris stella*, written for the feast of the Holy Family: *Christe, splendor Patris*.[75]

In the Introduction of *Te decet hymnus*, Lentini reports the guiding criteria behind the revision: theological exactitude, the *cantabile*, the verity of time, place, person, and circumstances, the absence of expressions abhorrent to

72 Polycarpus Radó, *Enchiridion liturgicum complectens theologiae sacramentalis et dogmata et leges*, 2 vols. (Rome: Herder, 1961), 2.1138.

73 *Sacrosanctum Concilium* 93.

74 *Hymni instaurandi Breviarii Romani*, Consilium ad exsequendam Constitutionem de Sacra Liturgia (Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1968).

75 Lentini, *Te decet hymnus*, no. 82.

modern sensitivity, the fact that the Roman rite is used world-wide—and therefore the month of May should not be called *florum mensis*, the "month of flowers," from a Mediterranean perspective—and lastly the clarity of concepts: no hymn should be "una tortura del cervello" ("a cerebral torture"). After all, the folksy character, as it were, of hymnsong demands a directly comprehensible language, even when in Latin.

A conspicuous enlargement of the repertoire has thus taken place. Some of the most famous works of Ambrose, Prudentius, and several medieval poets, who by the vicissitudes of history had fallen into disuse, have been adopted anew in *Liturgia horarum*, although with occasional small adjustments called for by modern preferences and frames of references. Out of the 291 hymns in the current Divine Office, eight are by Ambrose, two by Sedulius, ten by Prudentius. All subsequent epochs are present, but the author most frequently represented in *Liturgia horarum* is Lentini himself, who has written no less than 43 hymns and revised, more or less, all the others. Perhaps with slight self-irony, and with a nod to his forerunners in the seventeenth century, he summarizes: "One may debate whether the adjustments are made always for the better, but it is without doubt that many of them could have been done better than has been."[76]

In fact, two short hymns by Urban VIII are still retained in the current Office, those written for the memorial day of St. Teresa of Jesus (or Avila, 15 October).[77] Bernini's famous marble statue in the Roman church of Santa Maria della Vittoria, "Saint Teresa's Ecstasy," completed in 1652, immediately presents itself to the inner eye of whoever sings the following stanza:

Sed te manet suavior
Mors, pœna poscit dulcior:
Divini amoris cuspide
In vulnus icta concides.

This is translated in Connelly's prose as: "But a less cruel death is in store for you and a more exquisite pain marks you as its victim; for death will lay you low when the shaft of God's love has pierced and wounded you."[78]

76 Lentini, *Te decet hymnus*, xxv–xxviii: "Che i ritocchi siano riusciti sempre felici, ovviamente è discutibile; che si sarebbe potuto spesso far di meglio, è indubitabile."

77 *Liber hymnarius cum invitatoriis & aliquibus responsoriis* (Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1983), 455, 456; Lentini, *Te decet hymnus*, no. 222, 223.

78 Connelly, *Hymns of the Roman Liturgy*, 238.

10 Hymnography as Seismography: A Final Reflection

Dogmatic formulas could very well inspire new strands of spirituality, novel and exciting ways of reading the biblical texts. Such was the case with Christology, Mariology, the eucharistic spirituality of the high Middle Ages and beyond. The church of the Patristic age wanted to eradicate Arianism; the dogma in Ephesus 431 affirming Mary's divine motherhood was the starting-point of Marian piety ever since; and Berengarius's heresy concerning the Eucharist inspired the cult of the Real Presence and the institution of Corpus Christi. Even hymnography exhibits traces of such conflicts. Poets celebrate something priceless which they apprehend as threatened by errors, misconceptions, negations or negligence. But the Urbanian reform was an exception, because it was initiated for linguistic reasons.

All things considered, hymns are poetry, not dogmatic formulas, nor poetic display. When Saint Ambrose, in a morning hymn, wanted to inculcate the Nicene faith in his congregation, he used the metaphor of light in a deliberate allusion to the Nicaean formula, Christ as *lumen de lumine*, but he expanded it by calling him *fons luminis*, which was unacceptable to the Arians. Nevertheless, it is perfectly possible to use this hymn as a prayer without knowing anything of the christological debates of the fourth century: *Splendor paternae gloriae / de luce lucem proferens / lux lucis et fons luminis / dies diem illuminans*. Dogma does not prevail over poetry: as an accomplished poet, Ambrose knew how to combine and intertwine concrete and abstract, the morning sunshine and the eternal Sun, sensuality and doctrinal precision. Poetry must operate with images appealing to the five senses, and on multiple levels of imagination. For this reason his hymns have survived the centuries and inspired countless translations, more or less successful in their attempt to do justice to the original.

As all editors of Hymnals and Breviaries have learnt, there is no guarantee of success when presenting *nova et vetera* in the hymnodic genre to be sung by a congregation. Only the passing of time will decide what is sustainable and what was once but a plausible concession to the Zeitgeist. *Probat omnia tempus*—time alone can judge.

Bibliography

Alberigo, Josephus, ed. *Conciliorum Œcumenicorum decreta*. Third edition. Bologna: Istituto per le scienze religiose, 1973.

Andurand, Olivier. *La grande affaire: Les évêques de France face à l'Unigenitus*. Paris: Société d'histoire religieuse; Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2017.

Arevalo, Faustino. *Hymnodia Hispanica ad cantus, latinitatis, metrique leges revocata*. Rome: Typographia Salomoniana, 1726.

Auer, Johann. *Jesus Christus—Gottes und Mariä "Sohn."* Kleine katholische Dogmatik 4.1. Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1986.

Baumstark, Anton. "'Te Deum' und eine Gruppe griechischer Abendhymnen." *Oriens Christianus* 34 (1937): 1–26.

Bäumer, Suitbert, and Réginald Biron. *Histoire du Bréviaire*. *Traduction française mise au courant*. 2 vols. Rome: Herder, 1967.

Bernard, Philippe. "L'hymnodie et la psalmodie dans le culte chrétien des six premiers siècles." Pages 137–163 in *Présence et rôle de la Bible dans la liturgie*. Edited by Martin Klöckener, Bruno Bürki, Arnaud Join-Lambert, and Mireille Fornerod. Fribourg: Academic Press, 2006.

Blume, Clemens. "Rhythmische Hymnen in metrischer Schmiede." *Stimmen aus Maria Laach* 78 (1910): 245–261.

Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana. *MS. Barberini Lat. 1185*, unpublished manuscript digitized and retrievable online: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.lat.1185.pt.A. Courtesy by Dr. Claudia Montuschi, BAV.

Breviarium Parisiense. Pars verna. Paris: Bibliopolæ Usuum Parisiensium, 1767.

Cabrol, Fernand, ed. *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* (*DACL*). 15 vols. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1907–1953.

Chapelle, B. "Le texte du 'Gloria in excelsis.'" *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 44 (1949): 439–457.

Chevalier, Ulysse. *Poésie liturgique des églises de France aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles, ou Recueil d'hymnes et de proses, usitées à cette époque et distribués suivant l'ordre du Bréviaire et du Missel*. Paris: Picard, 1913.

Connelly, Joseph. *Hymns of the Roman Liturgy*. London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1957.

Dreves, Guido, and Clemens Blume, eds. *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*. 55 vols. Leipzig: Reisland; Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1888–1922.

Elberti, Arturo. *La liturgia delle Ore in Occidente. Storia e teologia*. Roma: Edizioni Dehoniane, 1998.

Eskhult, Josef. "Vulgar Latin as an Emergent Concept in the Italian Renaissance (1435–1601): Its Ancient and Medieval Prehistory and Its Emergence and Development in Renaissance Linguistic Thought." *Journal of Latin Studies* 17 (2018): 191–230.

Fry, Timothy, ed. *The Rule of St. Benedict: In Latin and English with Notes*. Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1981.

Hymni Breviarii Romani: Sanctiss. Domini Nostri Urbani VIII iussu et Sacræ Rituum Congregationis approbatione emendati, et editi. Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1629.

Hymni instaurandi Breviarii Romani. Consilium ad exsequendam Constitutionem de Sacra Liturgia. Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1968.

Hymns Ancient and Modern. Standard edition. London: William Clowes & Sons, 1958.

Kristeller, Paul Oskar. "Humanism." Pages 113–137 in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*. Edited by Charles B. Schmitt. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Lentini, Anselmo. *Te decet hymnus: L'innario della "Liturgia Horarum."* Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1984.

Leclercq, Henri. "Hymnes." *DACL* 6.2:2826–2828.

Leclercq, Henri. "Liturgies Neo-Gallicanes." *DACL* 9:1636–1729.

Liber hymnarius cum invitatoriis & aliquibus responsoriis. Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1983.

Martimort, Aimé-Georges, ed. *L'Église en prière: Introduction à la Liturgie*. Paris: Desclée, 1961.

Metzger, Marcel, ed. *Les Constitutions apostoliques*. 3 vols. SC 336. Paris: Cerf, 1985–1987.

Migne, Jacques-Paul. *Encyclopédie théologique*. 50 vols. Paris: Migne, 1844–1849.

Moss, Ann. "Latin Liturgical Hymns of the Reformation Crisis (1520–1568)." *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 40 (1991): 73–111.

Norden, Eduard. *Die antike Kunstprosa vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1974.

Newman, John Henry. *Hymni Ecclesiae*. London: Alexandrum Macmillan, 1865.

Norberg, Dag. *Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine médiévale*. Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis: Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 5. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1958.

Raby, Frederic J.E. *The Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1974.

Radó, Polycarpus. *Enchiridion liturgicum complectens theologiae sacramentalis et dogmata et leges*. 2 vols. Rome: Herder, 1961.

Rietbergen, Peter. *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome: Barberini Cultural Policies*. Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 135. Leiden: Brill, 2006.

Sheerin, Daniel. "Hymns." Pages 596–606 in *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*. Edited by Frank A.C. Mantello and Arthur G. Rigg. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1996.

Schütze, Sebastian. *Kardinal Maffeo Barberini, später Papst Urban VIII, und die Entstehung des Römischen Hochbarock*. Römische Forschungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana 32. München: Hirmer, 2007.

Seidel Menchi, Silvana. *Erasmus als Ketzer: Reformation und Inquisition im Italien des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, 49. Leiden: Brill, 1992.

Sodi, Manlio, and Achille Maria Triacca, eds. *Breviarium Romanum: Editio princeps (1568)*. Monumenta liturgica Concilii Tridentini. Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1999.

Szövérffy, Josef. *Die Annalen der lateinischen Hymnendichtung*. 2 vols. Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1964.

The New English Hymnal. Nineteenth impression. Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2013.

Ullman, Berthold Louis. *Studies in the Italian Renaissance*. Storia e letteratura 51. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e letteratura, 1955.

Walpole, Arthur S. *Early Latin Hymns with Introduction and Notes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922.

Weber, Robertus, ed. *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*. 2 vols. Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1969.

19

"The Silence of All Authors": Understandings of New Testament Music in Early-Modern Music Theory and Philology

Mattias Lundberg

1 Introduction

Early Modern Europe saw a great surge of academic interest in music from antiquity, a surge which took many different guises. Three main types of such learned studies were (1) concrete interest in Greek music theory; (2) conceptual imitation of Greek and Roman forms of drama and poetry in current affairs of music; and (3) historical interest in musical *realia* (objects and sources from musical contexts) of antiquity. The last of these categories can certainly be said to have been the least prominent, and consequently also the one that has received least attention in modern musicology. There are good reasons for this—first and foremost, because the sources available to early-modern scholars were scarce indeed, especially with regard to what music of the ancient Egyptians, Babylonians, Jews, Greeks, and Romans actually sounded like, how it was perceived, and how it was taught. The sources also divulge little information on the relationships of ancient music to the music of the Middle Ages, at which point sources become much more numerous and informative. These very lacunae concerning ancient music also intrigued philologists, music theorists and historians, piquing them to attempt to single out what could be gleaned from sources relating to the early heritage of Christianity.

The scarcity of sources did not deter learned scholars, such as Marcus Meibom, Giovanni Battista "Padre" Martini, and Martin Gerbert, from attempting to spell out in concrete terms what ancient music would have been like, what it may have sounded like, and what it meant to the first Christians. The present study takes account of ideas from these scholars in a peculiar field of interest in late antiquity: the music of the period of the New Testament and early Christianity. It is clear that the historical and philological study of ancient music had repercussions not only for the careers of the scholars in question, but also on their faith, seeking historical confirmation in matters of exegesis and dogmatics.

DOI:10.1163/9789004522053_019

In modern musicology, scholars have accepted that the large gap, between New Testament times and the earliest notated music in the tenth century CE, makes it difficult to say anything at all about singing in the early church, let alone about particulars of singing and music-making referred to in Scripture and in other sources from the same period.[1] Similarly, it is also accepted that outward parallel practices, such as the singing of psalms common to both Judaism and Early Christianity, may not necessarily constitute an unbroken tradition from late antiquity to, say, the order of St. Benedict as the birth of the Liturgy of the Hours of the Western Office in the early sixth century.

Despite the aforementioned difficulties, a number of scholars during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries set out to explain exactly these unknown pathways. There were many different approaches to penetrating the secrets of Early Christian music, ranging from meticulous work that criticized and evaluated sources in ways which, in fact, seem to prefigure modern philology, to free conjecture, speculation, and "filling the gaps"-types of grand narratives. The latter approach to the matters at hand is summed up by the following proviso from the preface of Arthur Bedford's 1706 work, *The Temple of Musick*:

> The *Silence* of all *Authors*, both *Jews* and *Christians*, and the *Difference* of *Opinions* in those few Hints which they give us, render it [the earliest Christian music] uncapable of being fully Demonstrated: insomuch, that in a Subject of this Nature, nothing can be expected but *Probable Arguments*; and whether what I shall offer will amount to this or not, is left to the Judgement of the Impartial Reader. In some particular Cases, I have only given my private Opinion: wherein I shall be found to be Mistaken, I do not think my self obliged to vindicate the same, but shall rather be thankful for better Information.[2]

The present author, venturing to discuss these matters in a Festschrift to such an erudite man as Anders Ekenberg, concurs with Bedford's disclaimer. None-

1 See Emanuel Rubin and John Baron, *Music in Jewish History and Culture* (Sterling Heights: Harmonie Park Press, 2006), 53. Joachim Braun, "Jewish Music: The Persian and Hellenistic/Roman periods," in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), [online edition, visited 2021-06-02], states, "[N]aturally, psalmody disappeared from the synagogue until the 7th century at the earliest [....] If any form of continuity existed between the two institutions shortly before the destruction of the temple, it was probably lost in the early centuries of synagogue worship."

2 Arthur Bedford, *The Temple of Musick: Or, an Essay Concerning the Method of Singing the Psalms of David in the Temple* (London: J. Woodward, 1706), A.2. E-book print made available by Gale publishing (2018).

theless, in what follows I shall try to highlight several interesting currents in the early-modern study of music from New Testament times.

2 Views on Links between Ancient Jewish and Early Christian Singing of the Psalms

It seemed logical for antiquarian scholars in the early-modern period to assume a musical link between the singing of the book of Psalms in Jewish tradition and nascent Christianity, given the Jewish context of the apostles and early Christian congregations. Johann Andreas Schmidt surmised as much in his *De cantoribus ecclesiae: Vetus et Novum Testamentum* (1708) when he cites which psalms ought to have been sung at which feasts, according to Jewish traditions of late antiquity. Schmidt is pessimistic concerning knowledge about *how* they were sung, since, already in the early eighteenth century, it was acknowledged that such information had almost entirely been lost.[3] Nonetheless, one of his particular proposals (albeit without reference to an ancient source) concerns the psalms sung at the Feast of Tabernacles. According to Schmidt, the psalms were sung antiphonally, with choir members divided into groups of three, with pauses made long enough so that a new section could start and with trumpets sounding in between (both temporarily and spatially) the groups.[4] The lack of early Christian sources, and the resulting vaporous state of knowledge, led scholars to identify pieces of scant evidence in later sources, which, to them, seemed to shed light on earlier practice, as remnants in a presumed long tradition. One such source was the twelfth-century *Book of Kuzari* ("Sefer ha-Kuzari") by the Spanish historian and poet Judah Halevi. As we shall see below, Kuzari reported about a dialogue between a Rabbi and a gentile, which were scrutinized for information concerning musical practice.

Not all scholars argued for a strong continuation of Jewish tradition in the singing of Early Christians, however. The Jesuit Athanasius Kircher (ca. 1650), in his magisterial *Musurgia universalis*, omits further discussion of early Christendom in his extensive historical account in Book 2, "Philologicus," which included chapters on "The Music of the Ancients" (chap. 4); on "The Music

3 Johann Andreas Schmidt, *De cantoribus ecclesiae: Vetus et Novum Testamentum* (Helmstedt, 1708), 9: *Quinam vero hos psalmos canendi modus fuerit, hodie plane ignoramus, quia prisca illorum temporum musica jam diu est, quod tota fere interierit.* ("But which the way of singing these psalms really may have been, of that we are today utterly ignorant, since the music of ancient times existed so long ago that it has now become almost completely annihilated.")

4 Schmidt, *Cantoribus*, 9.

of David [book of Psalms]," with a sub-chapter on the music of the Jews in Kircher's time (chap. 5); and on the music of the ancient Greeks and music of the then-contemporary Greeks (chap. 6).[5] This choice assumes two distinct *longue durée* traditions (Greek and Jewish) both interpreted without what has been termed the "sacred bridge" in modern scholarship.[6] Instead, both Greek and Jewish music are construed as *types of historical "others"* throughout Kircher's account. This "othering" of non-Christian music may result from Kircher's focus on empirical sources—since these were virtually non-existent, they were interpreted in what may be called a hermeneutical vacuum, where each fragment, in itself perceived as "strange," was bereft of its context.

This phenomenon of cautiously aspiring to a complete historical account, while also acknowledging that the sources are silent on certain matters, is prefigured also in some earlier seventeenth-century contributions. Lutheran polyhistor Michael Praetorius (1571–1621) assumed, in every respect, a perfect continuity between Jewish and early Christian traditions but, in his account, it was nothing other than the Holy Spirit of the Trinity who passed on the tradition. This line of reasoning would appear to be a supersessionist (i.e., a replacement) theology today, but it was commonplace among seventeenth-century theologians. Praetorius also implies that, since messianic teaching was part of the Levite music, it would have been celebrated—that is, sung—similarly once Christ had arrived.[7] Similarly to Kircher, Praetorius turns to present-day Jewish traditions, stating that numerous Jewish scholars had provided him with information in matters of the ancient traditions.

Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) seems to conflate singing practice and the singing of psalms per se in his choice of words:

> *Nec dubito quin et hoc canendi genus vel praecipue commendet Paulus* (*Eph* V. *19, Coloss.* III, *16*). *Mansuit diu is mos in Ecclesia vetere*.
>
> I do not doubt that this way of singing is what [the apostle] Paul recommended so strongly (Eph 5:19, Col 3:16). This custom remained in the early Church for a long time.[8]

---

5 Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis* (Rome: Corbelletti, 1650), Book 2.

6 See Eric Werner, *The Sacred Bridge: The Interdependence of Liturgy and Music in Synagogue and Church During the First Millennium* (London: Dennis Dobson; New York: Columbia University, 1959), 183–184. Werner stresses the link between Jewish and Christian traditions very strongly.

7 Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum* (Wittenberg, 1615), b.1–b.2.

8 Hugo Grotius, *Annotationes in libros evangeliorum* (Amsterdam: Blaeu, 1641), 456.

The key terms here are *canendi genus* ("way/type/kind/manner of singing") and *mos* ("custom/order"), terms which connect the two types of gaps that need to be bridged. One gap is that between singing psalms at all (as commanded in the Pauline letters) and the establishment of the monastic office in the days of St. Benedict. The other link concerned *how* this was to be done, implying that the psalm-tones of the Western Church were part of such an apostolic succession in musical terms.

The recurring topos of bridging the gap of sources both by a perennial line (Western Christianity in Early Modern times) and a remnant tradition of Jewish singing of late antiquity, recurs also in Giovanni Battista "Padre" Martini's *Storia della Musica* (1757), who presents musical examples from different European Jewish traditions.[9] Although those examples may not strengthen his argumentation in regard to the ancient roots of Western plainchant, they offer valuable ethnographic records of Jewish singing from his own time. Some scholars contradicted the *duality* of distinct Greek and Jewish traditions proposed by Kircher, in assuming a general *commonality* of all music in ancient times. Charles Burney, for example, deemed it equally probable that the singing of the apostles descended directly from ancient Jewish temple singing or from ancient Greco-Roman ritual singing. His arguments for this equal probability is the versification of the Gregorian repertory, "… as it by no means resembles that of the Psalms, or of any other Hebrew poetry. And examples may be found in all the Breviaries, Missals, and Antiphonaries, ancient and modern, of every species of versification which has been practised by the Greek and Roman poets, particularly the Lyric; such as the Alcmanian, Alcaic, Sapphic …."[10] From the standpoint of modern musicology, however, a conspicuous flaw in Burney's line of reasoning is, of course, the unavoidable extensive time span between the discontinuation of ancient Roman temple liturgies and the earliest testimony of the mediaeval sources to which he refers.

3 Mythos of Golden Age and Decline

In relation to attempts to trace Jewish roots of Christian liturgical singing, several scholars speculated in terms of the accounts of singing in the Pauline letters as the *fons et origo* ("source and origin") of all later Christian music. In some instances, this amounted to a myth of a Golden Age, followed by a decline

9 Giovanni Battista Martini, *Storia della Musica* (Bologna, 1757).

in the early Middle Ages. In 1774, Martin Gerbert published his *De cantu et musica sacra, a prima ecclesiae aetate usque at praesens tempus*, which offered a most fascinating reasoning about music in the early church.[11] This book was written ten years before Gerbert fulfilled his staggering enterprise to publish edited transcriptions of all mediaeval music theory and liturgy known to him, although, already in the 1770s, most of the Latin texts published there were already in his possession.[12] Gerbert was thus naturally aware of the frustrating lack of comparable sources of Christian music from late antiquity, and had to rely on late sources and coeval accounts with only loose connection to the matters at hand. The first volume of his book covers the period up to the Middle Ages and presents a number of theories as to the origins of Christian music. His contextual point of departure is, as is typical, the biblical history of the Israelites' music. Gerbert, like Schmidt, draws on Halevi's *Book of Kuzari*. When the Rabbi in the dialogue asks Al-Khuzari whether he thinks that David and Samuel, the greatest masters of music, understood their art, the reply is rendered by Gerbert as follows:

> *Respondit Cosri: Tunc temporis citra dubium fuit perfectissima, et varie excitans et affeciens animos, sicut de ea dicitur, quod permoveat et transferat animam ab una proprietate (affectu) ad alteram. Quod hodie de ea scitur, nihil est ad comparationem eius, quod olim fuit: quia hodie contemptibilis reddita est, dum ei operam dant ancillae et vilissimi quique homines. Proinde descendit vel decidit a dignitate sua, sicut et vos ea excidistis*.[13]

> Al-Khuzari replied: In that time it [music] was doubtlessly most perfect, and it touched and moved the souls in different ways, as is often said about it, because it can move and transport the soul from one type of affect to another. What is known about it today, however, is certainly not comparable to how it was once. Since today it is made despicable/condemnable, as it is being cultivated by (female) servants and base/low class people. Consequently, it has lowered or fallen from its dignity/respectable status, just as you yourself have sunk from it.

11 Martin Gerbert, *De cantu et musica sacra a prima ecclesiae aetate usque ad praesens tempus* (St. Blasien, 1774).

12 Martin Gerbert, *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum* (St. Blasien, 1784).

13 Gerbert, *De cantu et musica sacra* I, 8.

This notion of decline becomes in Gerbert's scholarship a historiographical sub-type to the musical supersessionism accounted for in seventeenth-century authors, such as Praetorius, Grotius, and Kircher discussed above. It seems clear that Gerbert regards that what had survived—psalm-tones to psalms and the Song of Solomon, in his opinion—had given rise to a new Golden Age in Christianity, which however in his own time (the late eighteenth century) was again in decline as compared to mediaeval chant and the polyphony of the sixteenth century. As is often the case, presumed lines of common musical development are viewed both as tradition (presupposing lineage and change) and different points of pristine, "pure," stages in that line of tradition.

Arthur Bedford seems to subscribe to the notion of early Christianity as a musical Golden Age, but envisaged the link between ancient synagogue and early Christian chant as a type of reformation:

> For First, this [monophonic singing, as chant] was the *Method* used by the *Primitive Christians* in the most early Ages of the Gospel; and this they borrowed from the *Jews*. When the *Apostles* were sent to convert the *lost Sheep of the House of Israel*, they took a particular care not to separate from them in any thing which was lawful, lest by this means they might frustrate their grand Design. Accordingly, St. *Paul* tells us (1Cor. 9:19), *he was made all things to all men that by all means he might gain some*. And as they did not abolish the Duty of Singing *Psalms*, but recommended it to us, so it would be absurd to imagine that they did it in a new Method.[14]

This rather anachronistic line of reasoning says perhaps more about the self-identification of an Anglican priest than of ancient times, but it is interesting precisely for this reason. Bedford projects a type of humanist and non-biblical argument for a cautious reformation of music and liturgy to the Early Christians: that is, particulars of singing do not have to be commanded by Scripture (for a Christian) or by the Old Testament Law (for a Jew); it is sufficient that those particulars can be seen as *conforming* to Scripture (for a Christian) or to Old Testament Law (for a Jew).

No early modern scholar went further than Marcus Meibom in ambitions to revive a more pristine state of music and poetry than had ever before been experienced since antiquity. He published two books on the Psalms in which he claimed to have discovered philologically the hidden truths of Hebrew poetry and singing, and should reveal them fully to the world once he had

14 Bedford, *The Temple of Musick*, 63.

reached 6,000 subscribers.[15] His polyglot work in the two prints is impressive and highly learned, but his unconventional methods, uncouthly phrased criticisms of others, and *ad hominem* attacks on scholarly adversaries (including stylistic criticism of King David himself!) relegated him to the sidelines of the biblico-historiographical quest of bypassing all later scholarship by interpretation of the earliest sources only. Meibom had previously in his inexplicable career claimed to have revived both the secrets of the Greek music theory and multireme (ships with several storeys) shipbuilding, so his work on "reviving" the psalms from their current misunderstood state, and restoring them to their "original" musical and poetical form, follows a pattern for this extraordinary scholar.[16] John Jebb may be cited as a typical reaction of indignation to Meibom's combination of colossal ambition and polemic edge:

> Marcus Meibomius; who boasted that to him was revealed the long-lost secret of Hebrew versification; and that, through his means, by divine destiny, two great discoveries were about to break forth on the world: namely, the science of Hebrew metre; and a more perfect knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, than had been possessed by the Alexandrine translators, and by the whole body of interpreters since their time. [...] the absurdity of his specimens [...] was equalled only by their arrogance, and by the reproaches which he dared to fling upon the sacred text.[17]

It is possible that such optimistic and self-asserting attempts, such as Meibom's, gave a bad reputation not just to his own works, but to the entire field of studying ancient Jewish and Christian music.

When reading the scholarship in the 1720s, after the death of Meibom, one is reminded of the fact that The French Academy of Sciences much later (in 1866) formally banned papers and lectures on the topic of "the origins of language,"

---

15 Marcus Meibom, *Marci Meibomii Novarum in sacro hebraeo codice interpretationum* (Amsterdam, 1678); Marcus Meibom, *Davidis Psalmi duodecim et totidem Sacrae Scripturae Veteris Testamenti* (Amsterdam: Wetstenium, 1698). It seems that his attempt at "proto-crowd-funding" never succeeded.

16 Marcus Meibom, *Antiquae musicae auctores septem graece et latine* (Amsterdam: Elzevir, 1652); Marcus Meibom, *De fabrica triremium liber* (Amsterdam, 1671). Different aspects of his scholarship and its reception is the topic of the forthcoming anthology *Marcus Meibom: Studies in the Life and Works of a Seventeenth-Century Polyhistor*, ed. Mattias Lundberg and Janis Kreslins (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum, 2022).

17 John Jebb, *Sacred Literature Comprising a Review of Composition Laid Down by the Late Robert Lowth* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1820), 11.

since it was deemed to lack scientific evidence and to be too speculative.[18] In a similar vein, the music collector and amateur scholar Roger North expressed weariness over historical speculation about early Christian music in 1728:

> That there was a frequent usage of singing Psalmes and Hymnes from the beginning of Christianity, wherein consisted a great measure of their devotion is without all doubdt. But what that manner of singing was is hard to determine, and to refer to the Jewish psalmody, from whence it is supposed to have been derived, is *ignotum per ignotius*.[19]

While this may seem in itself an apt observation, it did not stop North from following up his words of warning with theories of his own, despite the fact that he was considerably less equipped for the task than polymath philologists like Meibom: "It is probable that being begun by plain men, as the Apostles were, the singing must be as plaine, and that is a sonorous pronunciation, syllabically, with some turnes in the nature of accents, to which a voice, even in speaking is *propens*."[20] This illustrates the enticement of this topic on scholars, collectors, and essayists in the early eighteenth century.

4 The Singing of Christ as Conceptual Ideal

In addition to a more general sense of a biblical Golden Age of liturgical singing, some scholars posed the question whether Christ himself would be the ultimate ideal in musical and liturgical matters. In one way, this theory is a learned counterpart to the biblicism found in some Protestant Reformed churches, albeit not so much in the sense that the church music of their own time ought necessarily to be guided and regulated by what could be gleaned from biblical music. Rather, the interest is focused on how such music (if it could be at all understood) sheds important light on why and how Christian music developed into what it became in the Middle Ages. Gerbert proposes a distinction between, on the one hand, "high" music and poetry of the psalms and, on the

18 Salikoko F. Mufwene, "The Origins and Evolution of Language," *The Oxford Handbook of The History of Linguistics*, ed. Keith Allan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 13–52, here 30.

19 Roger North, *Memoires of Musick, Being Some Historico-Criticall Collections of that Subject* (London: Bell, 1846 [1728]), 53–54. *Ignotum per ignotius* refers to an explanation of something obscure by something that is even more obscure.

20 North, *Memoires of Musick*, 54. "to which a voice [...] is *propens*" seems to mean here "to which a voice [...] is inclined."

other hand, what he envisages as very skilled improvised incidental music. He thus surmises that the biblical characters Deborah, Anna, Zachary, Mary, and the apostles could produce songs, such as their canticles (as testified in the Bible) extempore, whereas the Psalms were "composed" and codified.[21] This inference elevated the status of some of these biblical characters as master musicians, much like the mediaeval *Meistersingern*, in which Gerbert also took a keen scholarly interest.

A pious tradition attested already in the Middle Ages is the attribution of not just the *texts* of the book of Psalms to King David, but also their *melodies*. According to this myth, the melodies were, if not identical to, then at least variants of the eight psalm tones—melodies used for singing the Psalms in the Mass (introitus) and the Office in the Western Church. We have seen above that Grotius merely implied this. Padre Martini claims it more openly, albeit cautiously phrased:

> Ma chi intanto non vede, che coteste Salmodiche Cantilene, le quali nella Chiesa Cattolica tuttavia sussistono, e sono in uso, d'altronde l'origine loro, e quanto ai Tuoni, e quanto alle varie lor Formole non possono riconoscere, se non se dal Re David?

> But who does not see that these psalm cantillations, that still exist in the Catholic Church, and are in use, however have their origins—with all the tones and variants in formula that one cannot all know—where, if not with King David?

The ultimate claim to be made for the Western Church was an attempt at linking the early notation of the Middle Ages (where we find the psalm-tones and

21 Gerbert, *De cantu et musica sacra*, 22–23: *Denique a recentioribus quibusdam excogitatam distinctionem a modo elaborandi diverso reiicit, ut censeantur psalmi illa carmina Davidis, et aliorum cuiusvis argumenti; hymni extemporales Dei laudes ex occasione natae, nullisque numeris adstrictae, cuius generis sint Deborae, Annae, Zachariae, Mariae et Apostolorum is, qui extat Ap. XVI. 25. Odae tandem praemeditata carmina, et magis ex arte elaborata, sub angustiori forma, quam psalmi et hymni.* ("Finally he rejects a distinction that has been thought out by some people of that very time, in relation to different manners of composing. Namely, that David's well-known songs are to be regarded as psalms, and so also the songs of others of the same type, extemporized hymns: those songs of praise to God that have risen from the occasion, and which are not bound to any numbers. Of this type are the songs of Deborah, Anna, Zachary, Mary and the one of the apostles that appear in Acts 16:25. As odes, finally, are regarded those songs that have been premeditated beforehand, and which are more artisticallly crafted, in a stricter form than psalms and hymns.")

their antiphons both in neumatic and staff notation) to something that was sung by Christ and his apostles. Such a link seemed to some Early Modern scholars to present itself in the form of the ninth psalm-tone, the so-called *tonus peregrinus*. The eight psalm-tones were, as we saw in Martini, often tentatively assumed to be of Jewish ancestry, whereas the *tonus peregrinus* was seen as something out of the ordinary, and most likely older, due to its connection to a specific psalm, namely Psalm 113 (LXX and Vulgate; Psalm 114, MT): *In exitu Israel in Aegypto*. Martini reasoned that, since this is the beginning of the Hallel psalms, during the feast of the *Pesach* it was the sung form of the narrative from Israelite history that was being commemorated at *Pesach*. And since the Gospels mention that Christ "sang grace" with the *Hallel* at the Last Supper on Maundy Thursday (Matt 26:30), he could, in Martini's view, have sung Psalm 113 to that very melody. Again, it seems from the phrasing of this argumentation in *Storia della musica* that Martini wishes to signal a caveat, in awareness of the vast time span of non-notated music which separates the tenth-century notation of the *tonus peregrinus* from Ps 113:

> E poichè di cotesta vaghissima Intonazione non è possible reinvenire nella Chiesa Catollica il primo Inventore, chi potrà altresì ragionevolmente rimproverarci, se anche questa al Santo Re [David] ascrivamo, e dal Tempio di Gerusalemme nella Chiesa nascente, assieme colle altre Salmodiche Intonazioni, giudichiamo da i Santi Appostoli trasportata.[22]

> And since it is not possible to find the first/original composer of this most beautiful chant in the Catholic Church, who will venture to reasonably blame us if we ascribe this one, too, to the Holy King [David] and opine that it was brought by the Holy Apostles from the temple of Jerusalem into the nascent Church, together with the other psalmodic chants.

Gerbert adheres to a similar theory of that psalm-tone, purporting that this "unique melody" (*singularis melodia*) possibly was received from the synagogue, *forte a synagoga repetenda*, suggesting, perhaps, a later dissemination from Jewish traditions after the destruction of the temple in 70 CE.[23]

22 Martini *Storia della musica*, 420.

23 Gerbert, *De cantu et musica sacra* I, 5. For a discussion of these and other accounts of the history of the *tonus peregrinus*, see Mattias Lundberg, "The Tonus Peregrinus in the Polyphony of the Western Church" (Diss., University of Liverpool, 2007), 41–43, and Mattias Lundberg, Tonus Peregrinus: *The History of a Psalm Tone and Its Use in Polyphonic Music* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 276.

The authors quoted here come from very different contexts. Kircher as a Jesuit, Gerbert as Abbot of the monastery of St. Blasien in the Black Forest and Martini as a Franciscan produced most of their scholarship in tracing the roots of the Western Church. Scholars of law, like Grotius and North, were amateurs in musical history but seem to have had considerable collections of sources at hand. Meibom really defies classification, and his ideas about the psalms merit further study in the future. Gentlemen-scholars like Bedford and Burney did much to popularize these historical theories for a broader musical readership.

5 Conclusion

We have seen that "the silence of all authors, both Jews and Christians," as Bedford put it, has given rise to many speculations, conjectures and a great deal of wishful thinking. It is clear that the lack of solid information concerning the music of the first Christians caused much frustration in learned music discourse in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One may interpret the theories of these scholars in many ways, and explain their motivation and preconceptions from different aspects depending on their own contexts. Much can be viewed as stimulated from rival theological tenets and debates, corroborating on a scholarly level one's own piety and reverence for musical traditions that were nearly a thousand years old at the time (such as the Order of St. Benedict and all later ways of singing the book of Psalms from front to back) or as a mere state of *horror vacui* for scholars who aspired to know everything that could possibly be known (and more) of the musical traditions of the church before the great schism between East and West. What we today could learn from these intriguing ideas and theories is the same as we as scholars often think to ourselves every time (and this happens very often, in my experience) a curious layperson asks us "what was the singing like for Jesus and the apostles?", to which the reply ought to be: "Nobody knows, but let me tell you some fascinating accounts by some of those who did not know, either!"

Bibliography

Bedford, Arthur. *The Temple of Musick, Or an Essay Concerning the Method of Singing the Psalms of David in the Temple*. Bristol, 1706.

Braun, Joachim. "Jewish Music: The Persian and Hellenistic/Roman Periods (586 BCE – 70 CE)." *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie. 2nd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Burney, Charles. *A General History of Music*. New York: Dover, 1957 (1789).
Gerbert, Martin. *De cantu et musica sacra a prima ecclesiae aetate usque ad praesens tempus*. St. Blasien, 1774.
Gerbert, Martin. *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum*. St. Blasien, 1784.
Grotius, Hugo. *Annotationes in libros evangeliorum*. Amsterdam: Blaeu, 1641.
Jebb, John. *Sacred Literature Comprising a Review of Composition Laid Down by the Late Robert Lowth*. London: Cadell and Davies, 1820.
Kircher, Athanasius. *Musurgia universalis*. Rome: Corbelletti, 1650.
Lundberg, Mattias. "The *Tonus Peregrinus* in the Polyphony of the Western Church." Diss., University of Liverpool, 2007.
Lundberg, Mattias. Tonus Peregrinus: *The History of a Psalm Tone and Its Use in Polyphonic Music*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.
Martini, Giovanni Battista ("Padre"). *Storia della musica*. Bologna, 1757.
Meibom, Marcus. *Antiquae musicae auctores septem graece et latine*. Amsterdam: Elzevir, 1652.
Meibom, Marcus. *Davidis Psalmi duodecim et totidem Sacrae Scripturae Veteris Testamenti*. Amsterdam: Wetstenium, 1698.
Meibom, Marcus. *De fabrica triremium liber*. Amsterdam, 1671.
Meibom, Marcus. *Marci Meibomii Novarum in sacro hebraeo codice interpretationum*. Amsterdam, 1678.
Mufwene, Salikoko F. "The Origins and Evolution of Language." Pages 13–52 in *Oxford Handbook of the History of Linguistics*. Edited by Keith Allan. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
North, Roger. *Memoires of Musick, Being Some Historico-Criticall Collections of That Subject*. London: Bell, 1846 (1728).
Praetorius, Michael. *Syntagma musicum*. Wittenberg, 1615.
Rubin, Emanuel and John Baron. *Music in Jewish History and Culture*. Sterling Heights, Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 2006.
Schmidt, Johann Andreas. *De cantoribus ecclesiae vetere et nova testamenti*. Helmstadt, 1708.
Werner, Eric. *The Sacred Bridge: The Interdependence of Liturgy and Music in Synagogue and Church during the First Millennium*. London: Dobson, 1959.

20

Yaredian Patterns in the Hymns of *Aläqa* Tayyä

Ezra Gebremedhin

In a growing number of Ethiopian and Eritrean Orthodox Täwaḥədo congregations in Sweden, there is an ongoing renaissance of ancient hymns by the sixth-century Ethiopian hymnographer St. Yared (ca. 505–571 CE).[1] After decades in something of a cultural and spiritual vacuum in a foreign country, many Ethiopians and Eritreans are reclaiming their cultural and religious heritage, replanting on Swedish soil what their parents or grandparents left behind in towns and villages in Ethiopia and Eritrea. Marilyn E. Heldman and Kay Kaufman Shelemay identify the Yaredian heritage as vital to the survival of the Täwaḥədo diaspora movement:

> The emphasis on Saint Yared by Ethiopian diaspora churches of the late twentieth century and early twenty-first centuries [...] may be attributed not only to pride in the early history of the Ethiopian state and the Orthodox Church, but also a call for resilience during times of travail. At this juncture, it seems that Saint Yared, and the musical tradition attributed to him, has moved front and center as a symbol of Ethiopian Orthodox faith and survival.[2]

This renewal is also an ecumenical development, since the ancient hymns attributed to St. Yared are, potentially, important also for Evangelical Christians of Ethiopian and Eritrean heritage. Especially, this paper argues, the Yaredian patterns are clearly discernible in the hymns by the Evangelical hymnographer *Aläqa* Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam (1860–1924),[3] who was well acquainted

---

1 My sincere thanks to the editors of this volume for their kind encouragement and guidance, and to Jonas Karlsson, Hamburg, for a thorough review of this paper with particular attention to recent literature, transliteration of Gəʿəz, and to my translations of Tayyä's hymns.

2 Marilyn E. Heldman and Kay Kaufman Shelemay, "Concerning Saint Yared," in *Studies in Ethiopian Languages, Literature, and History: Festschrift for Getatchew Haile*, ed. Adam Carter McCollum, Aethiopistische Forschungen 83 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017), 65–93, here 88. I am forever indebted to Professor Getatchew for a lifetime of mentorship and friendship.

3 Traditional Ethiopian and Eritrean names do not include family names, but consist of an individual personal name (in this case Tayyä), to which the father's name, Gäbrä Maryam, may be added for further specification. *Aläqa* is a title for a leader, especially in an ecclesiastical institution.

DOI:10.1163/9789004522053_020

not only with traditional Ethiopian Orthodox chanting and singing, but also with Swedish evangelical spirituality, and even visited Sweden once, during a research stay in Germany.

The purpose of this paper is to show that the hymnal compositions by St. Yared and *Aläqa* Tayyä share a biblical, patristic and hymnological/liturgical heritage, from which they lift forth different aspects. Yared most often emphasizes Mariological themes, a fact particularly pronounced in his classical Marian hymn *Anqäṣä bərhan* ("Gate of Light").[4] In contrast, *Aläqa* Tayyä often emphasizes Christological and ecclesiological themes, especially when he writes in the tradition from St. Yared. Hymns such as his *Mäzmurä Krəstos* ("Hymn to Christ"), *Mälkəʾa Iyäsus* ("Image of Jesus"), or *Ḥaddis Mälkəʾa Mädḫane ʿAläm* ("New Image of the Saviour of the World") combine biblical material with Evangelical interpretations of both the Old and New Testaments, and with the *qəne*, the traditional Ethiopian Orthodox Christian literature.

In a previous paper, I have argued that, as an Evangelical scholar, *Aläqa* Tayyä made good use of his Orthodox heritage. The art of *qəne*, which he uses in his theological and devotional writings is a direct Orthodox inheritance, and the sources he quotes when questioning current teachings and interpretations within the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church (EOTC) were sources also used by the EOTC itself.[5] This article intends to concentrate more specifically on *Aläqa* Tayyä's hymnological compositions in Gəʿəz, on their kinship with the hymnological and liturgical corpus of St. Yared and on the theology that they reflect. Such an approach can, hopefully, underline not only the continuity of the Orthodox heritage in which *Aläqa* Tayyä stood, but also of the measure of personal reception of Orthodox theology which had become a part of his lasting, spiritual equipment.

---

4 Mary has a place of primary importance in Ethiopian spirituality, and the collection *Miracles of Mary* is sometimes even considered equal in importance to the Gospel. A tradition has it that Mary, Joseph, and the child visited Ethiopia during their flight to Egypt, and that Jesus gave the country in perpetuity to his mother, causing the inhabitants to call Ethiopia "the heritage of Mary." See Osvaldo Raineri, *Salmi Etiopici di Cristo e della Vergine* (Roma: Appunti di Viaggio, 2005), 8–9.

5 Ezra Gebremedhin, "Aleqa Taye: The Missionary Factor in His Scholarly Work," in *The Missionary Factor in Ethiopia: Papers from a Symposium on the Impact of European Missions on Ethiopian Society, Lund University, August 1996*, ed. Getatchew Haile, Aasulv Lande, and Sven Rubensson, Studies in the Intercultural History of Christianity (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1998), 101–120, here 119.

1 St. Yared

St. Yared is a renowned scholar, musician, and churchman in the EOTC, and the collection of hymns attributed to him, *Mäzgäbä Dəggʷa* ("Treasury of Hymns"), is regarded as the earliest known literary work written in Gəʿəz. Yared is believed to have been born in the early sixth century near Axum, Ethiopia's political, economic, and cultural center. According to tradition, he was slow in learning as a youth, and it was only after total failure and despair that he was tutored, by a strict teacher, to seek God in drastic forms of self-denial. When he complied, he was lifted to heavenly heights and experienced a vision of the heavenly worship described in Rev 4:4–10. From the twenty-four elders leading this worship, he learned three types of melodies: *gəʿəz* (the simplest plain chant, used on ordinary days), *ʿəzl* (a slow and dignified heavy-sounding mood, usually associated with fasts and funerals), and *araray* (the most complex mood, freer and lighter, with musical embellishments, sung on great festivals).[6] After this experience, he is believed to have introduced the practice of chanting hymns in church services, and originated an entire corpus of liturgical and devotional material which still permeates the EOTC.[7]

One of the best examples of the Yaredian tradition is the sung Divine Office known as the *Amməstu ṣäwatəwä zema* ("The Five Parts of Chant").[8] Detailed studies of this body of liturgical material are available from Habtä Maryam Wärqənäh and Andualem Dagmawi Gobena,[9] but Tedros Abraha gives the following overview:

6 For Yared's biography, see the entry for Gənbot 11 (May 19) in E.A.W. Budge (trans.), *Synaxarium: The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church* (Garland: Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Debre Meheret St. Michael Church, 1928), 504–507; Getatchew Haile, "Some Notes on Priest Yared and His Contributions," in *Ethiopian Studies in Honour of Amha Asfaw*, ed. Getatchew Haile (New York, 2017), 269–320, here 271.

7 In certain respects, his story parallels that of his contemporary, the Byzantine hymnologist Romanos the Melodist (ca. 490–556 CE), and Yared received a similar epithet—*Maḫletay*.

8 Cf. Habtemichael Kidane, "Dəggʷa," in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, ed. Siegbert Uhlig (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), 2.123a–124.

9 See Habtä Maryam Wärqənäh, **ጥንታዊ የኢትዮጵያ ሥርዓተ ትምህርት** [Ancient Ethiopian rules of learning] (Addis Ababa: Bərhanənna sälam mattämiya bet, 1969), 74 ff. The author became an archbishop under the name of *Abunä* Mälkäṣedeq, spent many years in the USA, and died at the age of 97 in October 2020. See also Andualem Dagmawi Gobena. "Soteriology in the Ethiopian Orthodox *Täwaḥədo* Church as Reflected in the Liturgical Hymns of the *Dəggʷa* of Yared" (PhD diss., University of St. Michael's College / Toronto School of Theology, 2019), http://hdl.handle.net/1807/99732.

> The first book is the *Dəggʷa*, the hymnbook for the whole liturgical year. It is the non-monastic or "cathedral" office. The *Ṣomä Dəggʷa*, the hymnary for the period of Lent, is a section of the *Dəggʷa*. The *Zəmmare* contains hymns of praise and thanksgiving to be sung during the Eucharistic celebration. The *Mäwaśəʾət* is the book of antiphons to be sung by alternating choirs for specific feasts, and for funerals of the clergy, monks or practicing Christians. The *Məʿəraf*, which literally means "pause" and more broadly "chapter," is the Common part of the Divine Office.[10]

Tedros has demonstrated that the Yaredian writings reflect a good acquaintance not only with canonical writings, but also with several extracanonical traditions including the Cyrillian (Qerlos) corpus and a large collection of trinitarian and Christological homilies and treatises. Explicit and implicit quotations from the Fathers of the church are to be found everywhere in the texts attributed to Yared.[11]

Quite naturally, the attribution of the Yaredian corpus to a single historical author has been questioned. Since, as Professor Getatchew notes, the traditions seem to have come to include hymns by saints who flourished centuries after the presumed time of St. Yared,[12] it would probably not be defensible to insist on Yared's authorship of these later additions. On the other hand, the whole corpus cannot be dismissed as late. Heldman and Shelemay have put it well:

> Surely a corpus of sacred chant existed in the Ethiopian Church centuries earlier than the sixteenth century, and there may well have been a brilliant church musician who played a pivotal role in composing and organizing much of the music for the liturgical cycle.[13]

Considering the lack of dependable evidence from which to draw firm conclusions, perhaps the most reasonable stance is Getatchew's conclusion: "The information we have is not enough to conclude that Yared was or was not a

10 Tedros Abraha, "Quotations from Patristic Writings and References to Early Christian Literature in the Books of St. Yared," *Mus* 122.3–4 (2009): 331–404, here 341–342.

11 Tedros, "Quotations," 360.

12 Getatchew, "Some Notes," 314.

13 Marilyn E. Heldman and Kay Kaufman Shelemay, "Concerning Saint Yared," in *Studies in Ethiopian Languages, Literature, and History: Festschrift for Getatchew Haile*, ed. Adam Carter McCollum, Aethiopistische Forschungen 83 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017), 65–93, here 85.

historical figure."[14] In any case, the questions raised around the person and literature attributed to Yared cannot erode the impact of the Yaredian heritage.

2 Yared's "Gate of Light"

The most well-known of Yared's works is the Marian hymn *Anqäṣä bərhan* ("Gate of Light"), which is used as a regular part of the Ethiopian Orthodox liturgy. In a translation by Christopher Lash, the first two verses read:

> Holy and happy, glorious and blessed, honoured and exalted, Gate of Light, Ladder of Life and Dwelling-Place of the Godhead; Holy of Holies you are, Our lady and God-bearer, Mary Virgin.
>
> You are named the Good-pleasure of the Father, the Dwelling-Place of the Son and the Shade of the Holy Spirit. O blessed above every creature, you replaced the heights of heaven for you were the heights [of heaven] on earth. In your likeness the holy prophets, priests and kings made for themselves the Holy of Holies and within it the Tables of the Covenant. May your Son grant us his mercy! Pray for us, holy one.[15]

This hymn is traditionally sung immediately after the end of the Sunday portion of the sung liturgy *Wəddase Maryam*.[16] Lash notes that *Anqäṣä bərhan* is often considered an abridgment of the older *Wəddase Maryam*, which doubtlessly—regardless of whether the popular attribution to St. Ephrem the Syrian (ca. 306–373 CE) is correct or not—has its origin in a Greek- or Syriac-speaking environment.[17] Getatchew Haile remarks that the Ethiopic Psalter—an Ethiopic Christian daily prayerbook—includes *Anqäṣä bərhan* to be chanted (not read)

14 Getatchew, "Some Notes," 314.

15 Yared, *Anqäṣä bərhan* 1–4; Gəʿəz original in Täsfa Gäbrä Śəllase, ed., *Mäzmurä Dawit*, መዝሙረ፡ ዳዊት፡ ወጸሎታት፡ ዘነቢያት፡ [The songs of David and the prayers of the prophets] (Addis Ababa: Täsfä Gäbrä Śəllase, 1998), 30, 32; English translation in Christopher Lash, "'Gate of Light': An Ethiopian Hymn to the Blessed Virgin (Part 1)," *ECR* 4.1 (1972): 36–46, here 37–38.

16 Gəʿəz original in Täsfa, *Mäzmurä Dawit*. For translations, see Stefan Weninger, "Wəddase Maryam," in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, ed. Siegbert Uhlig (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), 4.1173–1174.

17 Lash, "'Gate of Light,'" 37.

on Sundays as a complement to the Sunday hymns of the *Wəddase Maryam*, not as a replacement of the older tradition.[18]

As Lash remarks, the title "Gate of Light" clearly refers to Ezek 43:1–5 and 44:1–2, where the prophet is shown the east-facing gate of the temple, through which the glory of God enters to fill the temple. The hymn thus refers to Mary as the gate through which the Savior enters the world.[19] That the "Light" in the title refers to Christ is also clear from a later passage in the hymn:

> You are the golden lampstand, which no hand of human craftsman fashioned, and upon which no lamp is lighted. But he, the Light of the Father, Light from Light, came to you and dwelt upon you and, by his godhead, shed his light to the ends of the earth. He drove out darkness from among men and saved us by his life-giving word, saying: "I am the Light of the world. Believe in its light and walk while the light is with you."[20]

The point here is that the light placed upon the lampstand that is Mary is the divine Light of God himself. No human lamp is placed on this lampstand, since Mary remains a virgin.[21] Other images used for the Virgin in "The Gate of Light" are: "Ladder of Life," "Dwelling Place of the Godhead," "Shrine of Holiness," "Veil of Light," "Censer of Gold," "Bridge to eternal life," "Blessed tree," "Tree of life," and "Tree of salvation." She is also identified with the bush that Moses saw in the desert.

3 *Aläqa* Tayyä

Our later hymnographer, *Aläqa* Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam, was born in November 1860 in the village of Yifag, in the Ethiopian province of Bägemdər.[22] His family

18 Getatchew Haile, "Anqäṣä Bərhan," in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, ed. Siegbert Uhlig (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), 1.278–279, here 278b.

19 Lash, "'Gate of Light,'" 40.

20 Yared, *Anqäṣä bərhan* 44–46; Gəʿəz original in Täsfa, *Mäzmurä Dawit*, 44–46; English translation in Christopher Lash, "'Gate of Light': An Ethiopian Hymn to the Blessed Virgin (Part II)," *ECR* 5.2 (1973): 143–156, here 146.

21 Lash, "'Gate of Light,'" 152.

22 For brief surveys of Tayyä's life and work, see Gustav Arén, *Evangelical Pioneers in Ethiopia: Origins of the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus*, Studia missionalia Upsaliensia 32 (Stockholm: EFS-förlaget, 1978), 287, 294, 388; Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam, *History of the People of Ethiopia*, trans. Grover Hudson and Tekeste Negash, Uppsala Multiethnic Papers 9 (Uppsala: Centre for Multiethnic Research, Uppsala University, 1987), i–xiii; Gustav Arén, *En-*

was Orthodox, and as such never a target of deliberate missionary work on the part of the Swedish Evangelical Mission, whose aim was rather to reach non-Christian Oromo communities. Instead, Tayyä sought out the Swedish Mission himself, when he became an orphan. Gustav Arén describes the situation as follows:

> When he was eighteen, his mother died while her husband was on a trip in Oromo territory. There had been no news about him for a long time, so Tayyä resolved to seek out his maternal uncle who had gone to Massawa but had failed to return; he had indeed proceeded to India. At the port of Massawa Tayyä heard about the Swedish Mission school for boys and applied for admission.[23]

In fact, Tayyä's first request for admission was turned down by the head of the mission, Bengt Peter Lundahl, and when he was eventually admitted to the school, he was nineteen years old.

In November 1881, Tayyä took the next step, and joined the Bethel Congregation at Imkullu, in present-day Eritrea, as a communicant member. The congregation, in which he spent a total of twenty years, intensified his already keen appetite for studies, and left indelible marks on his theological and spiritual orientation, but he never abandoned the spirituality in which he had grown up. Even after having found his spiritual home at the Swedish Mission in Menkullu, he returned to Bägemdər, Ethiopia, in 1882 and stayed there until 1885, where he studied *qəne* and attained the title of *aläqa*.[24] His combined experiences from Imkullu and Bägemdər equipped him with knowledge and provided him contacts in high places. Eventually, Emperor Menelik himself was instrumental in selecting *Aläqa* Tayyä for a research co-operation with Eugen Mittwoch (1876–1942) at the Oriental Institute of the University of Berlin, where Tayyä worked 1905–1908, and published together with Mittwoch in the series Westasiatische Studien.[25]

---

voys of the Gospel in Ethiopia: In the Steps of the Evangelical Pioneers (Stockholm: EFS-förlaget; Addis Ababa: The Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus, 1999), 19–58; Bahru Zewde, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia: The Reformist Intellectuals of the Early Twentieth Century*, Eastern African Studies (Oxford: James Currey; Athens: Ohio University Press; Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University, 2002), 67–74 *et passim*.

23 Arén, *Envoys of the Gospel in Ethiopia*, 20.

24 Bahru Zewde, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia, 67.*

25 Mittwoch's publications appeared in *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* IX, X, XIII, XIV in the years 1906, 1907, 1910 and 1911. Cf. the survey of these works in Ernst

4 Tayyä's Works

Beside the scholarly co-operation with Mittwoch, Tayyä authored several works, a good number of which have unfortunately never been located or made available to a wider public. We have his *History of the People of Ethiopia* available in an English translation,[26] and *A Theological Debate Before Ras Mengesha*, a theological work available so far only in a Swedish translation from 1900.[27] His *magnum opus* was probably the voluminous *Mäzgäbä qalat* (MQ). The title literally means "a treasury of words" (i.e., "dictionary") but is probably better translated as "a treasury of concepts," since the work is in effect a veritable *Summa Theologica*. Written in Amharic with abundant quotations in Gəʿəz, it is extant as a handwritten manuscript of about 450 pages, a still unexamined mine of theological discourses and apologetics.[28] His hymns—many of which are clearly related to the prayers and praises regularly used in the liturgy of the EOTC—are often extant in only single handwritten copies,[29] and very few have ever been translated into any western language. Apart from the translations presented below, I know only of an Italian translation of the *Mäzmurä Krəstos* ("Hymn to Christ"), almost a "twin sister" in terms of content and style, of the long and multifaceted *Mäzmurä Dəngəl* ("Hymn to the Virgin").[30]

In his theological treatises, *Aläqa* Tayyä's combined Orthodox and Evangelical identity is clearly visible. While the sixty-six books of the Evangelical canon are central to his theology, he also quotes a number of sources among the writings of the ancient Church in support of biblical arguments. The book

---

Hammerschmidt, *Ethiopian Studies at German Universities* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1970), 27, and Taddesse Tamrat's introduction in Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam, **የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ታሪክ** [History of the people of Ethiopia] (Addis Ababa, 1971), 17–18, 28.

26 Tayyä, *History of the People of Ethiopia*.

27 Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam, *En teologisk strid inför Ras Mengesha* [A theological debate before Ras Mengesha], Missionsskrifter utgifna av Evangeliska Fosterlands-Stiftelsen 17 (Stockholm: EFS-förlaget, 1900).

28 Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam, **መዝገበ ቃላት** [Treasury of concepts], unpublished manuscript, Addis Ababa: Mekane Yesus Seminary Library. Arén, *Envoys of the Gospel in Ethiopia*, 23 n. 4: "This copy comprises 449 pages of foolscap size written in Indian ink with the special letters in red. It is presently kept at the Mekane Yesus Seminary Library, Addis Abeba; the whereabouts of the original are not known, unfortunately." The present author owns a copy of the version in the Mekane Yesus Library.

29 Getatchew Haile, "Mäzmurä Krəstos," in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, ed. Siegbert Uhlig (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), 3.897–898. The unpublished biography on *Aläqa* Tayyä by his adopted son, Mängəstu Tayyä, among the *Aläqa* Tayyä Papers, Ethiopian Language Academy, The National Library, may throw further light on the question of unpublished manuscripts left by *Aläqa* Tayyä.

30 Sokolinskaia and Pietruschka, "Mäzmurä Dəngəl," in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, ed. Siegbert Uhlig (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), 3.896–897.

known as *Rətuʿa Haymanot* ("The Orthodox") is one of the very first ones he cites in his MQ in support of the supremacy of the Bible.[31] Among the secondary sources *Aläqa* Tayyä uses in support of his arguments for a biblically founded teaching are certain teachers of the EOTC. He was evidently a great admirer of *Abba* Giyorgis of Gasəç̣ç̣a—purportedly the author of the *Mäṣḥafä məsṭir* and the *Arganon*.[32] On the other hand, he is critical of the claims of apostolic authorship by the works known as *Senodos* and *Fətḥa nägäś*—two important, extra-biblical sources for Ethiopian Orthodox theological thinking.[33] His criticism is not indiscriminate, and he does not engage in a wholesale rejection of any non-biblical sources, even though his opponents try to force him into such a position. Neither is he bound by the Lutheran confessions in all respects. To take one example, he does not propagate the teaching of the double procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son (the *Filioque*), which is specific to the Western churches. He is very skeptical about the whole discussion about the natures of Christ, and indicates what he believed to be the boundaries fixed by the Bible itself for legitimate speculation.[34] His reception of the Christian tradition is far from the Orthodox understanding of reception, with its emphasis on the ecumenical councils and their decisions, but aligns much better with what William G. Rusch calls ecumenical reception, or "a fundamental sharing in the one apostolic faith as it has been handed down in many communities of faith."[35] Rusch notes that in the early church, reception took place in many areas besides the councils, most importantly in the extensive exchange of litur-

31 Tayyä, *History of the People of Ethiopia*, 9–10. Getatchew Haile, "Rətuʿa Haymanot," in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*. ed. Siegbert Uhlig and Alessandro Bausi (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), 4.382–383, here 382b, maintains that Rətuʿa Haymanot "is the (pen-) name of several traditional scholars of the Ethiopian Orthodox (Täwaḥedo) Church (EOTC) as well as the title traditionally given to a compendium of homilies on Orthodox theology, that was authored by one of these scholars—in keeping with a frequent practice to style texts after their authors. […] The first R[ətuʿa] H[aymanot] wrote prior to 1337. […] [I]t seems fair to assume that this R[ətuʿa] H[aymanot] […] flourished during Aksumite period. […] [The compiler of] the traditional compendium R[ətuʿa] H[aymanot] […] must have lived ca. 1375" Getatchew writes that the compendium *Rətuʿa Haymanot* may have been authored by the famous *Abba* Giyorgis of Sagla (= *Abba* Giyorgis of Gasəç̣ç̣a).

32 For these works, see Gérard Colin, "Giyorgis of Sägla," in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, ed. Siegbert Uhlig (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), 812–813.

33 The *Fətḥa Nägäśt* is available in an English translation by Paulos Tzadua, see Peter L. Strauss, ed., *The Fetha Nagast: The Law of the Kings*, trans. Paulos Tzadua (Addis Ababa: Haile Selassie I University, 1968), https://www.academia.edu/27580468/THE_FETHA_NAGAST_Fditcd.

34 Tayyä, *History of the People of Ethiopia*, 404.

35 William G. Rusch, *Reception: An Ecumenical Opportunity* (Geneva: Lutheran World Press, 1988), 29.

gical traditions between different communities, based on the conviction that "all the local churches held the same faith and so had gifts to share with one another."[36]

5 *Aläqa* Tayyä's "Hymn to Jesus"

The hymns presented in this study affirm Tayyä's dual heritage, with a poetic style and content shared with St. Yared and the corpus associated with his name, combined with a clear Evangelical emphasis in theology. They also witness to Tayyä's personal spiritual journey, and his qualified reception of Ethiopian Orthodox theology, spirituality, and hymnology. The traditional composition of hymns of praise and devotion in the EOTC is described by the term *mälkəʾ* (literally "image"), and builds on the different parts of the body. Among the more general categories of compositions to the praise of the Godhead and the Virgin in the EOTC are *wəddase*, *maḫlet*, *dərsan*, and *mäzmur*, all of which have the character of hymns of praise.

Our first few verses from *Aläqa* Tayyä is a sample of his *Mälkəʾa Iyäsus*. The title literally means "The Image of Jesus," but can also be translated "Hymn to Jesus." The background to *Aläqa* Tayyä's Hymn to Jesus is a hymn by the same name, attributed to a certain ʿAmdä Ḥawaryat, who probably lived in the seventeenth or eighteenth century, but possibly much earlier. The *Mälkəʾa Iyäsus* of ʿAmdä Ḥawaryat praises the name of Jesus, his virtues, his physical characteristics and his wonderful works, and is performed liturgically on the Nativity of Christ and sung at annual feasts like the Incarnation and the Crucifixion.[37] *Aläqa* Tayyä's *Mälkəʾa Iyäsus* has similar functions:

**፯፡ ሰላም፡ ለልደትከ፡ እምልደተ፡ ኵሉ፡ ብዑድ።
በሰማይ፡ እንበለ፡ እም፡ እምባሕርየ፡ አብ፡ መርዕድ።
ወበምድር፡ እንበለ፡ አብ፡ ወልደ፡ ማርያም፡ ዋሕድ።
ተፈሥሑ፡ በልደትከ፡ ሰማያውያን፡ አንጋድ።
ወአነሂ፡ ኣቄርብ፡ አምኃ፡ ዘሰጊድ።**

**፲፯፡ ሰላም፡ ለአዕይንቲከ፡ አዕይንተ፡ ጸጋ፡ ወሀብት።
እለ፡ ይኔጽራ፡ በሣህል፡ ወአኮ፡ በመዓት።
መዝገበ፡ ጥበብ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወቀላየ፡ ምሕረት።**

36 Rusch, *Reception*, 42.

37 See Habtemichael Kidane, "Mälkəʾa Iyäsus," in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), 705.

ሀበኒ፡ ጸጋ፡ ጥበብ፡ እንበለ፡ መጠን፡ ወመስፈርት።
እስመ፡ ጥበብ፡ ትኄይስ፡ እምኵሉ፡ መዛግብት።

፶፡ ሰላም፡ ለአጻብዒከ፡ እለ፡ ጸሐፉ፡ በመሬት።
ሶበ፡ ሰከይዋ፡ አይሁድ፡ ለብእሲት፡ ዘማዊት።
ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ መዝገበ፡ ጸጋ፡ ወስርየት።
ስረይ፡ ሊተ፡ ከማሃ፡ ወባልሐኒ፡ እምእኪት።
እስመ፡ አንተ፡ ባላሒ፡ በኵሉ፡ ሰዓት።

፶፯፡ ሰላም፡ ለገቦከ፡ እንተ፡ ደመ፡ ጽድቅ፡ አውሐዘ።
ምስለ፡ ማየ፡ ሕይወት፡ ክቡር፡ ሶበ፡ በኲናት፡ ተረግዘ።
ኢየሱስ፡ ሥጋከ፡ ዘበሐብለ፡ ሕማም፡ ተእኀዘ።
ረስየኒ፡ እግዚኦ፡ እምቅንየተ፡ ዲያብሎስ፡ ግዑዘ።
በንዋመ፡ ሀኬት፡ ብዙኅ፡ ለዘኮንኩ፡ ድንዙዘ።

፶፱፡ ሰላም፡ ለአብራኪከ፡ እለ፡ ያሰግዳ፡ አብራከ።
ዘበምድር፡ ሰብአ፡ ወዘበሰማይ፡ መልአከ።
ኢየሱስ፡ ብርሃን፡ መድኀኒተ፡ ዓለም፡ ዘኮንከ።
መሐረኒ፡ እግዚኦ፡ ለኀጡአ፡ ምግባር፡ ገብርከ።
በአብራከ፡ መንፈስ፡ ወልብ፡ ከመ፡ እስግድ፡ ለከ።

፷፡ ስብሐት፡ ለከ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ዘእምቅድመ፡ ዓለም፡ ንጉሥ።
ስብሐት፡ ለከ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ሠራዔ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ሐዲስ።
ስብሐት፡ ለከ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ሠዓሌ፡ ሕፃናት፡ በከርሥ።
ስብሐት፡ ለከ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ብርሃነ፡ ዐይኑ፡ ለዕዉር፡ ወምርዋጸ፡ እግሩ፡ ለሐንካስ።
ስብሐት፡ ለከ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ማየ፡ ሕይወት፡ ወዕፀ፡ መድኀኒት፡ ዘኢይየብስ።[38]

6. Peace to your birth, unmatched by other births.
In heaven without a mother, from the Father's awe-inspiring nature,
On earth without a father, Mary's only Son.
The heavenly tribes (hosts) rejoiced at your birth,
And here I bring the gift of worship.

17. Peace to your eyes, eyes of grace and wealth
Which see with mercy and not with wrath
Store room of Wisdom, Christ, and a sea of Mercy
Give me the gift of wisdom without limit or measure
Because wisdom is better than all riches.

38 Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam, መዝሙረ ክርስቶስ [Hymn to Christ] (1918), 40 ff.

40. Peace to your fingers which wrote upon the ground
As the Jews accused the adulterous woman.
Jesus Christ, storeroom of grace and forgiveness,
Forgive me as you forgave her and free me from contempt,
Because you are always a rescuer.

42. Peace to your side, from which the blood of righteousness poured out
With the glorious water of Life, when your side was pierced by a spear.
Jesus, your flesh was bound by the rope of pain,
Free me Lord, from the rule of the devil.
I who have been numbed by the sleep of sloth (laziness).

49. Peace to your knees which cause the knees to bow,
Among angels in heaven, and human beings on earth,
Jesus thou Light, who art the Medicine (Salvation) of the world
Forgive me Lord, your slave, lacking in [good] deeds.
That I may fall down before you on the knees of the spirit and the heart.[39]

90. Glory to you Jesus, King before the world,
Glory to you Jesus, Creator (founder) of the New Faith (Covenant),
Glory to you Jesus, shaper of babies in the womb,[40]
Glory to you Jesus, light to the blind and the running-field for the cripple,
Glory to you Jesus, water of Life and the tree of Salvation which does not dry.[41]

Aläqa Tayyä's *Mälkəʾa Iyäsus* consists of 94 stanzas related to the body and mission of Christ and two prayers for the forgiveness of sins. These six stanzas are chosen because they illustrate the history of salvation: the birth (Incarnation) of the Son, the pierced side from which the redeeming blood flows, the fingers which write the acquittal from sin. The first two lines of verse 6 contain thoughts that engaged many a Church Father, both in East and West, includ-

39 Cf. Phil 2:9–10.
40 Cf. John 1:3.
41 The last two lines may be a reference to Matt 11:1–6, where John the Baptist's disciples ask Jesus if he is the one who was to come, and Jesus answers by pointing to the blind who receive their sight, the lame who walk, etc.

ing Proclus of Constantinople (d. 446 or 447) who wrote, "Who ever saw, who ever heard of God in his infinity dwelling in a womb? Heaven cannot contain him, yet a womb did not constrict him. He was born of a woman, God but not solely God, and man but not merely man. By his birth what was once the door of sin was made the gate of salvation."[42] There are places where the Virgin is likened to a young heifer and her son to a calf. According to *Abba* Giyorgis of Gasəč̣č̣a, who interprets the meanings of the animal forms which the Four Living Creatures in Yared's vision assumed, the one who was likened to a cow is Luke, "because he has spoken about the sacrifice of the clean calf, born of the small cow."[43] The metrical pattern and the wealth of details with which *Aläqa* Tayyä praises the body and mission of Christ are reflections not only of his faithfulness to an established tradition but also of his brilliance as a poet.

6 The "Hymn to the Virgin"

Our second sample of Gəʿəz poetry is five stanzas from the *Mäzmurä Dəngəl* ("Hymn to the Virgin"), a hymn by an anonymous fourteenth-century predecessor to *Aläqa* Tayyä.[44] Ute Pietruschka and Evgenia Sokolinskaia describe it as one of the longest Ethiopic hymnological compositions dedicated to St. Mary, and an extraordinarily popular composition, judging from the large number of extant manuscripts. It consists of a 15-line opening prayer describing Mary's beauty, 150 short psalms corresponding to the book of Psalms, 15 prayers referencing as many Judeo-Christian prophets beginning with Moses, and ends with five prayers inspired by the Song of Songs.[45] The sample quoted below consists of these concluding prayers.

As is common in the EOTC's *mälkəʾ* tradition, the *Mäzmurä Dəngəl* reuses language and images from chapters four, six, and seven of the Song of Songs, which enumerate and sing the praises of a detailed list of parts of the body. It is a common understanding to most Church Fathers—whether they are writing in Greek, Latin, Coptic, or Syriac—that the love language of the Song of Songs

42 Proclus of Constantinople, *Sermon* 1.2 (*ACO* 1.1.1, 103–107). ET: Maurice Wiles and Mark Santer, eds., *Documents in Early Christian Thought*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 63.

43 Maṣḥafa Säʿatat, መጽሐፈ ሰዓታት [Book of hours] (Addis Ababa: Tənśaʾe zä-gubaʾe mattämiya bet, 1993), 58. The work is traditionally attributed to Abba Giyorgis of Gasəč̣č̣a.

44 Mäzmurä Dəngəl, መዝሙረ ድንግል [Psalter of the Virgin] (Addis Ababa: Tənśaʾe zä-gubaʾe mattämiya bet, 1974).

45 Evgenia Sokolinskaia and Ute Pietruschka, "Mäzmurä Dəngəl," in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, ed. Siegbert Uhlig (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), 3.896–897.

has mystical connotations bearing on Christ and His Bride, the Church and the soul of the believer.[46] This conception is also shared by the EOTC and by *Aläqa* Tayyä.[47]

መኃልይ፡ ፭።
መኃልየ፡ መኃልይ፡ ዝውእቱ፡ ዘሰሎሞን።
እመዝሙረ፡ ዳዊት፡ ዘይተሉ፡ ወእምስብሐተ፡ ሙሴ፡ ካህን።
አዳም፡ ይቤ፡ ጥበ፡ ዚአኪ፡ እምወይን።
ማርያም፡ ጥዕምተ፡ ስም፡ እምነ፡ ዕቍረ፡ ማይ፡ ዘልብን።
ወእምነ፡ ጸበል፡ በስኂን፡ ለመሥዋዕት፡ ዕዩን።

መኃልይ፡ ፮።
ቃል፡ ወልድ፡ እኁየ፡ ማእከለ፡ አድባር፡ ቀነጸ።
አንተ፡ ተድባብ፡ ደነነ፡ ወእንተ፡ መሳክው፡ ሐወጸ።
ውስተ፡ ሥጋኪ፡ ይደምር፡ ርስነ፡ መለኮቱ፡ ብቁጸ።
ማርያም፡ በእንተ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ረኪበነ፡ ገጸ።
መጾረ፡ እሳት፡ ሰመይናኪ፡ ዕፀ።

መኃልይ፡ ፯።
መኑ፡ ይእቲ፡ ዛቲ፡ እንተ፡ ተዐርግ፡ እምገዳም።
ከመ፡ ሠርጸ፡ ጢስ፡ ዕጥነታ፡ አዳም።
ሰሎሞን፡ ይቤ፡ በእንቲአኪ፡ ማርያም።
ሶበ፡ ተጠብጠበ፡ ብዝኅ፡ ክብርኪ፡ በክርታስ፡ ወበቀለም።
እምኢያግመሮ፡ መጽሐፉ፡ ለዓለም።

መኃልይ፡ ፰።
ምንት፡ ውእቱ፡ እምውሉድ፡ ኄራን፡ አኀው።
ጕርዔሁ፡ መዐርዒር፡ ወኵለንታሁ፡ ፍትው።
ወልድኪ፡ ይቤሎ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ ልብው።
ማርያም፡ ድንግል፡ ገነት፡ ዕጽው።
ዐዘቅት፡ ኅትምት፡ ዘለኪ፡ ፍናው።

46 Among the Fathers of the Church who wrote commentaries on the Song of Songs are Hippolytus of Rome, Origen, Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Maximus the Confessor. The sole exception to the acceptance of a mystical or allegorical sense in the book is Theodore of Mopsuestia.

47 See the introductions to Origen's *Commentarius in Canticum* and *Homiliae in Canticum* in R.P. Lawson (trans.), *Origen: The Song of Songs: Commentary and Homilies*, ACW 26 (Westminister: Newman, 1957); Luc Brésard, Henri Crouzel, and Marcel Borret, eds., *Origène: Commentaire sur le Cantique des cantiques* 1, SC 375 (Paris: Cerf, 1991).

መኃልይ፡ ፳።
መኑ፡ ይእቲ፡ ዛቲ፡ ይቤ፡ ራእይ።
እንተ፡ ትሔውጽ፡ ከመ፡ ጎሕ፡ ድኅረ፡ ለያልይ።
በእንቲአኪ፡ ማርያም፡ ሙፃአ፡ ፀሐይ።
ክነፊ፡ ፍቅርኪ፡ ክነፊ፡ እሳት፡ ውዑይ።
አጥፍአቶ፡ ዘኢይክል፡ ማይ።

Canticle 1
This is the Song of Songs of Solomon,
Which follows the Psalms of David, and the Canticles of the Priest
Moses.
The Song of Songs says: Your breasts are more pleasant than wine.[48]
Mary, sweeter of name than is a bag of myrrh
And the incense-dust (white incense) chosen for the sacrifice.[49]

Canticle 2[50]
The Word, the Son! My brother dances in the mountains,
He leans on the roof and looks out of the window.
Into your body he introduces the ardent heat of his divinity:
Mary, for this reason, having found the image,
We call you the bearer of fire, wood.[51]

Canticle 3
"Who is this that comes up from the desert,
Like a column of smoke with a pleasant smell?"[52]
Said Solomon about you, Mary[53]
And if the abundance of your glory was written on parchment and in
ink,
the book of the world would not contain it.[54]

48 Cf. Song 1:2.
49 Through the spices mentioned in these lines, Mary is linked with the sacrifice which Christ became. A linking of Mariology with Christology?
50 Based on Song 2:8–3:5.
51 The "bearer of fire" refers to the dwelling of divinity within Mary. Cf. Proclus of Constantinople, *Sermon* 1.1 (ACO 1.1.1, 103–107), who describes Mary as "the living human bush, which the fire of a divine childbirth did not consume [see Exod 3:2]." ET: Wiles and Santer, *Documents in Early Christian Thought*, 62.
52 Cf. Song 3:6.
53 The connection of Song 3:6 to Mary may be based on Isaiah's prophecy in Isa 7:14.
54 A reference to John 21:25.

Canticle 4
Who is this, among the children (progeny) of good brothers,
Whose throat is sweet and who is altogether pleasant?
The wise Solomon says of him: Your Son!
Virgin Mary, closed garden,
Sealed well, the way [which leads] to you.

Canticle 5[55]
"Who is this," says the revelation
"who looks out as does the dawn, after the nights?"
About you, Mary, source of the sun
The wing of your love is a wing of burning fire,
That water cannot extinguish.

The emphasis in this hymn is almost entirely Mariological. However, this Mariology is linked with the sacrifice implied in the Incarnation (the incense-dust chosen for the sacrifice, Canticle 1), with the coming of the Word, the Son, the imparter of the fire of divinity (Canticle 2). In this respect the Mariology underlined in the hymn is intimately linked with Christology.

7 *Aläqa* Tayyä's "Hymn to Christ on Song of Songs"

Aläqa Tayyä's *Mäzmurä Krəstos zä-Mäḫaləyä mäḫaləy* ("Hymn to Christ on the Song of Songs") conforms to the Scriptural points of departure and poetical form of *Mäzmurä Dəngəl* to a remarkable degree. The first five stanzas are given below:

፩፡ ሰላም፡ ለልደትከ፡ እምልደተ፡ ኵሉ፡ ብዑድ።
በዘተናገሮ፡ ለአዳም፡ ወለአበው፡ ዘርአ፡ ዚአሁ።
ይስዕመኒ፡ በስዕመተ፡ አፉሁ፡ ይትናገረኒ፡ ውእቱ፡ ፍካሬሁ።
ዝውእቱ፡ ቃል፡ ቀዳማዊ፡ ዘሀሎ፡ ምስለ፡ አቡሁ።
ዘነገረነ፡ ቃለ፡ ሕይወት፡ ዘጥዑም፡ መዐዛሁ።

፪፡ ቃል፡ ወልድ፡ እኁየ፡ ናሁ፡ ውእቱ፡ መጽአ፡ እምሰማያት።
እንዘ፡ ይቀንጽ፡ ማእከለ፡ አድባር፡ ነቢያት።
ወያንበሰብስ፡ ዲበ፡ አውግር፡ ሐዋርያት።

55 Based on Song 8:5–14.

በመንፈሰ፡ ትንቢት፡ ወበስብከተ፡ ወንጌል፡ ቅድስት።
ወለደነ፡ ዳግመ፡ በመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወበጥምቀት።

፫፡ መኑ፡ ይእቲ፡ ዛቲ፡ እንተ፡ ተዐርግ፡ እምገዳም።
ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ይእቲ፡ ማኅደረ፡ ሰላም።
ወድንግልሂ፡ ማርያም፡ ጥዕምተ፡ ስም።
ትትሌዐል፡ ከመ፡ ደመና፡ ውስተ፡ አርያም።
ወከመ፡ ሠርጸ፡ ጢስ፡ ዕጥነታ፡ ጸሎተ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ፍጹም።

፬፡ ምንት፡ ውእቱ፡ ወልድ፡ እኁኪ፡ እምውሉደ፡ አኀው።
ሠናይት፡ አንቲ፡ እምአንስት፡ በኵሉ፡ ፍናው።
ማርያም፡ ንጽሕት፡ ወጽሪት፡ ከመ፡ ማህው።
ወቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ቅድስት፡ ከመ፡ ርጌ፡ አፈው።
ጸዐዳ፡ ወቀይሕ፡ አማኑኤል፡ ሕያው።
ዘተዋሐደ፡ ምስለ፡ ሥጋ፡ በተዋሕዶ፡ ስንእው።

፭: መኑ፡ ይእቲ፡ ዛቲ፡ እንተ፡ ትሔውጽ፡ ከመ፡ ጎሕ።
እንተ፡ ትትመረጐዝ፡ በወልድ፡ እኁሃ፡ ስቡሕ።
ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ይእቲ፡ ከመ፡ ማኅቶት፡ እንተ፡ ታበርህ።
ማኅደሩ፡ ለክርስቶስ፡ ለኀበ፡ ሰማያት፡ መርሐ።
ትሴብሖ፡ ወታአኵቶ፡ በዐቢይ፡ ክላሕ።[56]

1. So says Solomon on whom the Spirit of God rests
In what he spoke to Adam and the fathers, his seed.
Let him kiss me by the kissing of his mouth and tell me the meaning thereof,
About the First Word who was with His Father
Who spoke the Word of Life whose fragrance is sweet.[57]

2. The Word, the Son who is my brother, has now come from the heavens.

56 Tayyä, መዝሙረ ክርስቶስ [Hymn to Christ], 38–39. Cf. the Italian translation in Raineri, *Salmi Etiopici*, 124–125.

57 The concept of fragrance is used abundantly, not only in the Song of Songs but also in the poetic compositions on the Songs in *Mäzmurä Dəngəl* and in *Aläqa* Tayyä's *Hymn to Christ* on Song of Songs (see stanzas 1, 3 and 4). The mention of perfume and a large variety of plants in the Song of Songs has to do not only with taste but also with fragrance. *Aläqa* Tayyä's *Mäzgäba qalat* ("Treasury of concepts") underlines the importance of the concept of fragrance. He interprets biblical verses related to fragrance in depth. See Tayyä, መዝገበ ቃላት [Treasury of concepts], 88–89.

Jumping among the mountains, [i.e.] the prophets
And leaping among the hills, [i.e.] the Apostles
By means of the preaching of the Holy Gospel, in the Spirit of Prophecy,[58]
He gave us the new birth by the Spirit and by baptism.[59]

3. Who is the one who emerges from the wilderness?[60]
It is the Church which is the dwelling place of peace
And the Virgin Mary of sweet name
She rises like the cloud up to highest heaven.[61]
And like a rising column of smoke with the fragrance of the perfect prayers of the saints.[62]

4. Who is the Son, your brother, from the children of brothers?[63]
Beautiful you are, among women, in every way.
Mary, pure and clean like crystal
And Holy Church which is like fragrant odor
White and Red, Emmanuel, the Living One
Made one with flesh in a union that is fitting (appropriate).[64]

---

58 I am grateful to Jonas Karlsson for useful suggestions on the translation of Verse 2.

59 Baptism has an important place in the theology of *Aläqa* Tayyä. This fact can be cited as an example of his emphasis on the sacraments as a vital aspect of his ecclesiology. Baptism is one of the gates (doors) to the kingdom. The first gate (door) is Jesus himself, based on John 10:9, where Jesus says, "I am the gate." The second gate is the grace (*ṣägga*) of baptism. The third gate is the commandment of the precepts of the Gospel (*yä-ḥəggä Wängel tə'əzaz*). See Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam, **መዝገበ ቃላት** [Treasury of concepts], 15–16.

60 Song 3:6–5:8.

61 This line from *Aläqa* Tayyä is difficult to understand. In what sense did the Virgin rise to highest heaven for *Aläqa* Tayyä? In his *Gate of Light*, St. Yared sings, "O blessed above every creature, you replaced the heights of heaven, for you were the heights [of heaven] upon earth." Further on he sings, "Because of the Incarnation of the Son of God, through you and in you we are nearer to the dwelling-place in the heights than to the earth. […]. In you and in the name of your Son we have drawn near." Cf. Lash, "'Gate of Light,'" 38.

62 Song 3:6.

63 Based on Song 5:9–8:4.

64 Here both Mary ("pure and clean like crystal") and the Holy Church are mentioned, along with "The living One, made one with flesh …." These expressions are pointers to Mariology, ecclesiology and Christology. In a text taken from the *Zəmmare* "for [the liturgical season of] the Flowers," Tedros Abraha includes the words, "The bride says to her groom: 'The son of my brother is white and red … white like snow and his appearance is like coriander, he gave them bread from heaven'" (Tedros, "Quotations," 394). Tedros comments that "Ethiopian scholars interpret 'white and red' as a reference to the divinity and humanity

5. Who is the one who comes forth like the dawn[65]
Supported by the Son, her glorious brother?
It is the Church which shines like a lamp.
The dwelling place of Christ, the guide to heaven.
She glorifies him and praises him with a loud voice.[66]

Aläqa Tayyä's *Mäzmurä Krəstos* follows the *Mäzmurä Dəngəl* in almost all details as far as biblical content and poetic form are concerned, and must have been written with the specific intention of giving an Evangelical and Christological interpretation to an extensive Orthodox devotional work written in the poetic style and spirit of St. Yared. The marked difference between the *Mäzmurä Dəngəl*'s and *Aläqa* Tayyä's commentaries and prayers over the 150 psalms of David, the Canticles on the Prophets and the Canticles on the Song of Songs is the former's inclusion of prayers to the Virgin in practically all parts of the long poem. This concentrated Mariological emphasis is absent in *Aläqa* Tayyä's work. The Christological focus of this hymn is evident from its very title, supported by the mention of "the First Word" and "the Word of Life" in the first stanza, and confirmed by the mention of "The Word […] who has come down from the heavens" in the second stanza. The third and fourth stanzas, which name both the Church and the Virgin, can be said to combine or hold together ecclesiology and Mariology.

It is interesting to note that the concept of fragrance, which in the *Mäzmurä Dəngəl* is used primarily in relation to the Virgin, is used for "the Word of Life" in the first stanza of this hymn. The tone of proclamation that comes forth in the second stanza, which speaks of "Apostles […] and the preaching of the Holy Gospel, in the Spirit of Prophecy," suggests an ecclesiological emphasis. So does the expression "the fragrance of the perfect prayers of the saints" in the third stanza.

The mention of "the Word, the Son, my brother who dances in the mountains" in Canticle 2 of *Mäzmurä Dəngəl* and the mention of "the Word, the Son, jumping into the midst of the mountains (the Prophets) and the hills (the Apostles) in the second stanza of *Aläqa* Tayyä's hymn seem to be related to each other. Both are based on Song 8. With reference to St. Yared's "Gate of Light," Christopher Lash offers the following connection: Since the number ten is rep-

of Jesus Christ. 'Yared' reads the verse Christologically, but with a Eucharistic significance" (Tedros, "Quotations," 394 n. 260). *Aläqa* Tayyä seems to be following the tradition of interpretation represented by Yared.

65 Based on Song 8:5–14.

66 One more example of *Aläqa* Tayyä's ecclesiological emphasis.

resented by the Greek letter *iota*, the Ten Commandments are taken by the Fathers as a type of Jesus, whose name in Greek—'Ιησοῦς—begins with the letter I. Just as God spoke "I" (ten) Words on Sinai, so he speaks the "I" (Jesus) Word over Mary.[67] This gives rise to the idea of Mary as the Mountain, or Sinai. Thus, in the *Wəddase Maryam*, for Tuesday (2, 8): "The Living Word of the Father, who came down upon Mount Sinai and gave the Law to Moses and covered the summit of the mountain with cloud and smoke, with darkness and with wind and with the sound of the trumpets, taught those who stood there in fear."[68] The opening of the next verses makes the reference explicit: "He who came down upon you (*scil.* Mary), O mountain endowed with reason in humility, the Friend of man, was made man through you."[69]

For *Aläqa* Tayyä, the Virgin, the angels, the saints and martyrs are messengers and models, rather than mediators. But adoration of the Virgin had, evidently, still a place in his writings. In a study of *Aläqa* Tayyä's unpublished manuscript **ፀወነ፡ ነፍስ** ("Remedy of the Soul"), Alemé Esheté remarks:

> "**ፀወነ፡ ነፍስ**" or "Remedy of the Soul" (182 pages) is a book (still unpublished) containing prayers and advice of a religious and moral character. Some chapters also refute elements of the Orthodox doctrine. It is also in this book that *Alaqa* Taye includes his *Kebra Dengel*, a chapter in "Honour of the Virgin Mary," to show to his adversaries that refusal to worship the Mother of Christ does not make him a "Tsara Mariam" or enemy of Mary. The *Kebra Dengel* covers some 18 pages. [...] In this Ge'ez poem, Mary is praised and honoured essentially because She is the Mother of Christ who has saved the world. But nowhere does the *Alaqa* [i.e., *Aläqa* Tayyä] appear as venerating Mary in Her own quality. The following is an extract chosen at random:
>
> "Ark of Noah, Thou Mary, Virgin and Blessed
> As we were saved by it [the Ark] from the flood and death
> You became the cause of salvation for all creation.
> Through the birth of the Word of God, the Life,
> May He save us by His cross and may He give us health through baptism."[70]

67 Lash, "'Gate of Light,'" 43.

68 Lash, "'Gate of Light,'" 43. The corresponding section of *Wəddase Maryam* for Tuesday in the Gəʿəz Psalter is section 2, number 22. See Täsfa, *Mäzmurä Dawit*.

69 Lash, "'Gate of Light,'" 43–44.

70 Alemé Esheté, "*Alaqa* Taye Gabra Mariam (1861–1924)," *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 25 (1971–

Here, the Virgin is described as the cause of salvation. Was this a sign of a shift in Tayyä's theology and vocabulary? Further studies of the unpublished *Kəbrä Dəngəl* could yield an answer to that question.

8 Conclusion

This article has attempted to illuminate the common ground, in both theology and hymnography, shared between St. Yared (and the Yaredian corpus) and *Aläqa* Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam, by a comparison of a limited number of hymnal compositions from both bodies of literary sources. The Yaredian hymns we have quoted are clearly Mariological in emphasis, but also Christologically conditioned. The Virgin is the gate, the personal access-provider to the Son, on His saving mission to fallen humanity. That is the point of St. Yared's classical hymn "Gate of Light." The Yaredian tradition displays a large measure of poetic freedom, imagination, and creativity, whereby the Word, the Virgin, and the narratives of salvation connected with them are painted in bold colours.

Aläqa Tayyä's hymnological style appears to be subject to the literary restraints, the poetically toned-down language, of much of Scripture. Even his hymn on the Song of Songs, which is basically a poetic piece of writing, appears to breathe an air of caution. His overriding themes are Christological, pneumatological and ecclesiological. There is a clear catechetical character to his hymns, as his praise is often connected to a pedagogy with an apologetic, sometimes even polemical thrust. All of his hymns reflect the history of salvation, but also exhibit a deliberate use of the *ʿarke* style of hymnal composition, which goes back to St. Yared and the Orthodox liturgical tradition in which Tayyä was nurtured.[71] In short, Tayyä is an heir, an agent of reception of a theological heritage with an Ecumenical character, and a thankful student of the Ethiopian and Eritrean Orthodox hymnological tradition.

Considering the rich heritage of both Evangelical and Orthodox traditions available in Tayyä's hymns, it is unfortunate that so much of his writings—

1972): 14–30, here 22–23. I have excluded the Gəʿəz text and made some minor editions of the English translation by Alemé. Alemé did not indicate where this work was to be found at the time when he wrote his article.

71 Samuel Yalew writes, "ʿA[rke] (ዓርኬ) is a Gəʿəz poetic form, usually of five lines with identical end rhymes, in composition similar to *mälkəʾ*. As to their contents, the ʿA[rke] are short *sälam* dedicated to the saints and normally they can be found at the end of the different lives included in the *Sənkəssar*." Samuel Yalew, "ʿArke", in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, ed. Siegbert Uhlig (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), 1:342.

including his largely unexamined 449-page handwritten *Mäzgäbä qalat* ("Treasury of Concepts")—still await publication and study. In many senses, *Aläqa* Tayyä is an unexplored entity, a challenge awaiting study by scholars.

Bibliography

Alemé Esheté. "*Alaqa* Taye Gabra Mariam (1861–1924)." *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 25 (1971–1972): 14–30.

Andualem Dagmawi Gobena. "Soteriology in the Ethiopian Orthodox *Täwaḥədo* Church as Reflected in the Liturgical Hymns of the *Dəggʷa* of Yared." PhD diss., University of St. Michael's College / Toronto School of Theology, 2019. http://hdl.handle.net/1807/99732.

Arén, Gustav. *Envoys of the Gospel in Ethiopia: In the Steps of the Evangelical Pioneers 1898–1936*. Stockholm: EFS-förlaget; Addis Ababa: The Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus, 1999.

Arén, Gustav. *Evangelical Pioneers in Ethiopia: Origins of the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus*. Studia missionalia Upsaliensia 32. Stockholm: EFS-förlaget, 1978.

Bahru Zewde. *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia: The Reformist Intellectuals of the Early Twentieth Century*. Eastern African Studies. Oxford: James Currey; Athens: Ohio University Press; Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University, 2002.

Brésard, Luc, Henri Crouzel, and Marcel Borret, eds. *Origène: Commentaire sur le Cantique des cantiques* 1. SC 375. Paris: Cerf, 1991.

Budge, E.A.W., trans., *Synaxarium: The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church*. Garland: Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Debre Meheret St. Michael Church, 1928.

Colin, Gérard. "Giyorgis of Sägla." Pages 812–813 in vol. 2 of *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*. Edited by Siegbert Uhlig. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005.

Gebremedhin, Ezra. "Aleqa Taye: The Missionary Factor in His Scholarly Work." Pages 101–120 in *The Missionary Factor in Ethiopia: Papers from a Symposium on the Impact of European Missions on Ethiopian Society, Lund University, August 1996*. Edited by Getatchew Haile, Aasulv Lande, and Sven Rubensson. Studies in the Intercultural History of Christianity 110. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1998.

Getatchew Haile. "Anqäṣä Bərhan." Pages 278–279 in vol. 1 of *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*. Edited by Siegbert Uhlig. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003.

Getatchew Haile. "Mäzmurä Krəstos." Pages 897–898 in vol. 3 of *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*. Edited by Siegbert Uhlig and Alessandro Bausi. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007.

Getatchew Haile. "Rətuʿa Haymanot." Pages 382–383 in vol. 4 of *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*. Edited by Siegbert Uhlig and Alessandro Bausi. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010.

Getatchew Haile. "Some Notes on Priest Yared and His Contributions." Pages 269–320 in *Ethiopian Studies in Honour of Amha Asfaw*. Edited by Getatchew Haile. New York, 2017.

Habtä Maryam Wärqənäh. **ጥንታዊ የኢትዮጵያ ሥርዓተ ትምህርት** [Ancient Ethiopian rules of learning]. Addis Ababa: Bərhanənna sälam mattämiya bet, 1969.

Habtemichael Kidane. "Dəggʷa." Pages 123–124 in vol. 2 of *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*. Edited by Siegbert Uhlig. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005.

Habtemichael Kidane. "Mälkəʾa Iyäsus." Page 705 in vol. 3 of *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*. Edited by Siegbert Uhlig. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007.

Hammerschmidt, Ernst. *Ethiopian Studies at German Universities*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1970.

Heldman, Marilyn E., and Kay Kaufman Shelemay. "Concerning Saint Yared." Pages 65–93 in *Studies in Ethiopian Languages, Literature, and History: Festschrift for Getatchew Haile*. Edited by Adam Carter McCollum. Aethiopistische Forschungen 83. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017.

Lash, Christopher. "'Gate of Light': An Ethiopian Hymn to the Blessed Virgin (Part I)." *ECR* 4.1 (1972): 36–46.

Lash, Christopher. "'Gate of Light': An Ethiopian Hymn to the Blessed Virgin (Part II)." *ECR* 5.2 (1973): 143–156.

Lawson, R.P. trans. *Origen: The Song of Songs. Commentary and Homilies*. ACW 26. Westminster: Newman, 1957.

Maṣḥafa Säʿatat. **መጽሐፈ ሰዓታት** [Book of hours]. Addis Ababa: Tənśaʾe zä-gubaʾe mattämiya bet, 1994.

Mäzmurä Dəngəl. **መዝሙረ ድንግል** [Psalter of the Virgin]. Addis Ababa: Tənśaʾe zä-gubaʾe mattämiya bet, 1974.

Raineri, Osvaldo. *Salmi Etiopici di* Cristo *e della* Vergine. Rome: Appunti di Viaggio, 2005.

Rusch, William G. *Reception: An Ecumenical Opportunity*. Geneva: Lutheran World Press, 1988.

Samuel Yalew. "'Arke." Page 342 in vol. 1 of *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*. Edited by Siegbert Uhlig. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003.

Sokolinskaia, Evgenia, and Ute Pietruschka. "Mäzmurä Dəngəl." Pages 896–897 in vol. 3 of *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*. Edited by Siegbert Uhlig. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007.

Strauss, Peter L., ed. *The Fetha Nagast: The Law of the Kings*. Translated by Paulos Tzadua. Addis Ababa: Haile Selassie I University, 1968. https://www.academia.edu/27580468/THE_FET HA_NAGAST_Fditcd.

Täsfa Gäbrä Śəllase, ed., *Mäzmurä Dawit*. **መዝሙረ፡ ዳዊት፡ ወጸሎታት፡ ዘነቢያት፡** [The Songs of David and the prayers of the prophets]. Addis Ababa: Täsfä Gäbrä Śəllase, 1998.

Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam. *En teologisk strid inför Ras Mengesha* [A theological debate before Ras Mengesha]. Missionsskrifter utgifna av Evangeliska Fosterlands-Stiftelsen 17. Stockholm: EFS-förlaget, 1900.

Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam. *History of the People of Ethiopia*. Translated by Grover Hudson and Tekeste Negash. Uppsala Multiethnic Papers 9. Uppsala: Centre for Multiethnic Research, Uppsala University, 1987.

Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam. **የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ታሪክ** [History of the people of Ethiopia]. Addis Ababa, 1971.

Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam. **መዝሙረ ክርስቶስ** [Hymn to Christ]. Unpublished manuscript, 1918.

Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam. **መዝገበ ቃላት** [Treasury of concepts]. Unpublished manuscript. Addis Ababa: Mekane Yesus Seminary Library.

Tedros Abraha. "Quotations from Patristic Writings and References to Early Christian Literature in the Books of St. Yared." *Mus* 122.3–4 (2009): 331–404.

Weninger, Stefan. "Wəddase Maryam." Pages 1173–1174 in vol. 4 of *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*. Edited by Siegbert Uhlig and Alessandro Bausi. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007.

Wiles, Maurice, and Mark Santer, eds. *Documents in Early Christian Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975.

21

“Weeping at the Grave Creates the Song: Alleluia”: The *Nachleben* of Russian Orthodox Funeral Hymns in Modern Culture

Helena Bodin

The concluding lines from Russian writer Boris Pasternak’s novel *Doctor Zhivago* express pity for the way its protagonist, Yurii Zhivago (Yurochka), is going to be buried. According to standard Soviet practice, his body will be cremated:

> But what a pity he isn’t having a church funeral. The burial service is so grand and solemn! It is more than most people deserve when they die, but it would have been so appropriate for Yurochka! He would have deserved all that, he would have justified and given meaning to “the lament over the grave which is the hymn of Alleluiah.”[1]

It might be assumed that the reason for having a church funeral is that its potential grandness reflects the importance of the deceased. This thought is, though, immediately contradicted by the quotation from one of the Russian Orthodox funeral hymns, which says that singing “alleluia” (аллилу́иа) is the appropriate way to lament, implying that it was this kind of lament-through-praise, or praise-through-lament, that the doctor should have deserved.

An Orthodox Christian funeral is, then, not only a solemn act; practically, it must also adhere to a strict and prescribed form in terms of the certain hymns, prayers, and processions which are performed. The funerary texts are not only oriented towards grief and memorial, but also towards the hope for eternal life and the joy of resurrection. A distinctive feature is the emphasis on life-through-death, as in the liturgical enactment of the burial of Christ, which is celebrated on Good Friday and staged as an ordinary burial of a layman. In this way, lament at the grave is juxtaposed with the singing of praise in the “alleluia” of the funeral, and, as we will see, lament even *creates* the song of praise.

1 Boris Pasternak, *Doctor Zhivago*, trans. Max Hayward and Manya Harari (Pantheon Books: New York 1958), 500.

 | doi:10.1163/9789004522053_021

Against the backdrop of knowledge of the Orthodox Christian funeral ritual and its rich hymnography, this chapter aims to explore—to identify, analyse, and discuss—its reception within modern culture. The funeral hymns that will be examined come from liturgical texts in Church Slavonic within the Russian Orthodox tradition. The funeral service is found in the liturgical book entitled *Trebnik* (in Church Slavonic) or *Euchologion* (in Greek), while the hymns for the liturgical enactment of the burial of Christ on Good Friday, including hymns from Easter Saturday, are quoted from the *Triod' Postnaia* or *Triodion* (with their almost identical titles in Church Slavonic and Greek), and the Paschal celebration of the Resurrection is included in the *Triod' Tsvetnaia* or *Pentecostarion*. All of these hymns are readily available on the internet in English translations by Ephrem Lash (1933–2016) at an archived site named Anastasis, to which I will refer. The source texts in Church Slavonic follow in parentheses, and to reflect the sung performance of the hymns, they appear in modern accentuated Cyrillic letters.

The selected examples of modern literary and musical works span from the 1940s to the 1990s. They include various types of reception: funeral practices may be thematized or integrated in narrative episodes, and funeral hymns may be quoted directly or alluded to, or used as lyrics set to new music. The modern works are produced in Russian (by Anna Akhmatova and Boris Pasternak), Swedish and Finland Swedish (by Vera Alexandrova and Hagar Olsson), Church Slavonic (in music by Krzysztof Penderecki, supported by Jerzy Klinger's translation into Polish), and English (in music by John Tavener, with lyrics by Mother Thekla and in translation by Isabel Hapgood).[2] I will refer to published English translations whenever possible, but in a few cases (Alexandrova and Olsson) the translations will be my own.

Each of these modern works were published, circulated and received outside of their original Orthodox Christian context, that is to say, in a modernist cultural context (widely perceived). Through their references to Orthodox funeral hymns and practices, a religious and cultural heritage that was severely threatened and almost destroyed by the atheistic communist state of the Soviet Union was remembered and activated anew. As will be discussed in the conclusion, however, this also meant that the incorporated funerary texts were received in a different semiosphere to their original religious one, which was guided by the norms and practices of Orthodox Christian faith (or, by its nor-

2 It would be fruitful to extend a study of this kind to include similar cases of reception in, for example, modern Greek culture, e.g., Yannis Ritsos's cycle of poems, *Epitaphios* (1936). Also, an extended study would benefit from the inclusion of examples from visual arts, such as painting, e.g., the Russian modernist and suprematist Kazimir Malevich's *Plashchanitsa* (1908), or film, e.g., *Afterimage* (2016), by the Polish film director Andrzej Wajda.

mative centre, in this case the Moscow patriarchate).[3] Due to their transfer into a secular semiosphere, the funerary texts gained new meanings and functions according to the norms and values which set the standards for modern culture (which normative European centres may be, primarily, Paris, or, as far as the Nobel Prize is concerned, Stockholm).

Following a presentation of the Orthodox Christian funeral services for laymen and priests, as well as the liturgical enactment of the burial of Christ on Good Friday, the examples from modern culture will be explored in a fairly chronological order, beginning with Akhmatova and Pasternak (in the 1940s and 50s), via Alexandrova and Olsson (in the 1940s, still), to Penderecki and Tavener (in the 1970s, 80s, and 90s), before the discussion is wrapped up in the conclusion.

1 Funerals within Byzantine Traditions

Ever since Byzantine times, funerals in Orthodox Christian traditions have several characteristic features, and there are only minor differences between Greek and Slavonic Orthodox traditions.[4] The structure is tripartite and includes prayer services at the departed person's home, the funeral at church, and the burial service, outdoors at the graveside.[5] As in all Orthodox services there is continuous singing in the funeral. The prayer for "Eternal Memory" (Ве́чная па́мять) is repeated over and over again, and the Trisagion hymn, "Holy God, Holy Strong, Holy Immortal, have mercy on us" (Святы́й Бо́же, Святы́й Кре́пкий, Святы́й Безсме́ртный, поми́луй нас), is sung in a special, slow and grave, funeral melody, "with awe and all tenderness" (со стра́хом, и вся́ким умиле́нием).[6] Many more prayers and hymns are performed. Some of them

3 A semiosphere is the semiotic space which makes linguistic communication possible—it provides both the condition and result of the development of a culture. The concept has been coined by the Russian-Estonian cultural semiotician and literary scholar Yuri M. Lotman, see his *Universe of Mind: A Semiotic Theory of Culture*, trans. Ann Shukman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990).

4 Obviously, funerals in various Christian traditions may adhere to similar liturgical practices and texts, and customs change over time. For burial services and issues of death in historical Byzantium, see Nicholas Constas, "Death and Dying in Byzantium," in *Byzantine Christianity*, ed. Derek Krueger (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006), 124–145.

5 See Jonathan L. Zecher, "Death's Spiraling Narrative: On 'Reading' the Orthodox Funeral," *Studia Liturgica* 41 (2011): 274–292, here 277.

6 The last phrase is my translation from Church Slavonic; the first two phrases are translated by Ephrem Lash, from the Funeral Service, *Euchologion*, https://web.archive.org/web/20160406004123/http://www.anastasis.org.uk/funeral.htm. In Church Slavonic: "Poslédova-

are Psalms, while others are of Byzantine origin and belong to genres such as *troparion*, *kanon* and *kontakion*. The deceased lies in an open coffin, and the final greeting, when the mourners come forth to kiss him or her, takes place as the choir sings: “Come, let us give the final kiss, brethren, to the dead, as we give thanks to God” (Приидúте, послéднее целовáние дадúм брáтие умéршему, благодаря́ще Бóга).[7] Furthermore, the choir takes on the voice of the dead, and sings:

> As you see me lying without voice and without breath, all weep for me, brothers and friends, relatives and acquaintances; for only yesterday I was talking with you, … But come, all who loved me, and kiss me for the last time; for I shall not walk with you again, nor speak with you any more; … But I ask and implore you all, pray for me without ceasing to Christ God.

> Зря́ще мя́ безглáсна, и бездыхáнна предлежáща, воспла́чите о мнé брáтие и дрýзи, срóдницы и знáемии: вчерáшний бо дéнь бесéдовах с вáми, … но приидúте всú лю́бящии мя́, и целýйте мя́ послéдним целовáнием: не ктомý бо с вáми похождý, илú собесéдую прóчее. … но прошý всéх и молю́, непрестáнно о мнé молúтеся Христý Бóгу.[8]

Both John of Damascus (ca. 675–749) and Theophanes Graptos (ca. 778–845) are traditionally credited for having composed important parts of the funeral service.[9] There are two different rituals, one for the burial of laymen, and one for priests. They are largely the same, but the *kontakion*, ascribed to John of Damascus, is performed in full only when priests are buried.

In his article on a unitary reading of the Orthodox funeral as a narrative, Jonathan L. Zecher looks for a liturgical theology based in the performed liturgy rather than in its historical sources and presents this interpretation: “the funeral has no single perspective from which it looks at the death. It dwells in the present moment, but it also looks backward toward creation and forward to the *eschaton*, theologically centering each on Christ’s death.”[10] In this way, Zecher continues, the participants are enabled “to understand and approach

---

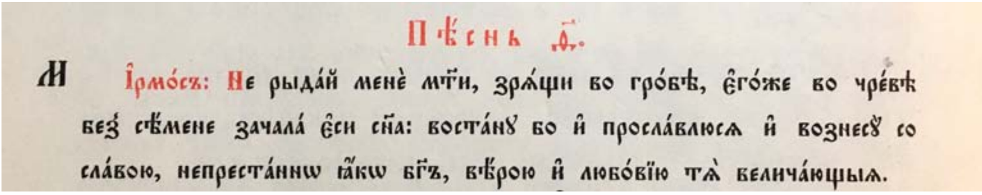
nie mértvennoe mirskíkh tél,” *Trebnik: v dvukh chastiakh*, Vol. 1 (Moscow: Moskovskaia patriarkhiia, 1979), 256–297.

7 Translation by Lash, *Euchologion*. In Church Slavonic: “Poslédovanie mértvennoe mirskíkh tél,” *Trebnik*.

8 Translation by Lash, *Euchologion*. In Church Slavonic: “Poslédovanie mértvennoe mirskíkh tél,” *Trebnik*.

9 Zecher, “Death’s Spiraling Narrative,” 280.

10 Zecher, “Death’s Spiraling Narrative,” 290.


Пѣснь ѳ҃.

И Ірмо́съ: Не рыда́й менѐ м҃ти, зря́щи во гро́бѣ, єго́же во чре́вѣ без сѣ́мене зачала̀ єси сн҃а: воста́нꙋ бо и҆ просла́влюсѧ и҆ вознесꙋ̀ со сла́вою, непреста́ннѡ ꙗ҆́кѡ бг҃ъ, вѣ́рою и҆ любо́вїю тѧ̀ велича́ющыѧ.

FIGURE 21.1 The hymn "Do Not Weep for Me, Mother" (Не рыда́й Мене́, Ма́ти) in Church Slavonic from *Trió́d' Pó́stnaia*
PHOTO: HELENA BODIN

death with an appropriately double attitude of joy and sorrow, of hope and fear, holding Christ at the center of their gaze, thus 'making their funeral lament a song: Alleluia.' "[11] This is the same phrase as was quoted by means of introduction from Pasternak's novel—its importance and impact cannot be exaggerated.

Furthermore, as Zecher underlines, each individual person's funeral is interconnected with the liturgical year: "the funeral looks outward beyond itself, echoing and resonating with services throughout the year, and the process of elaboration incorporates the entire liturgy of death."[12] Most importantly, each funeral resonates with the liturgical enactment of the burial of Christ. What is at stake, then, is not primarily a commemoration of Christ's burial but an iconic performance. An *epitaphios* (in Greek) or *plashchanitsa* (in Church Slavonic), that is, a beautifully embroidered cloth icon representing the dead body of Christ surrounded by angels and humans, is placed in the nave, in front of the iconostasis.[13] It is adorned with flowers and with the Gospel book for the believers to kiss, as they come forth, one by one, to give their final greeting. At this occasion, there is one special hymn, the *irmos* of the ninth ode of the *kanon* of Easter Saturday, and also a special icon, "Do Not Weep for Me, Mother" (Не рыда́й Мене́, Ма́ти), named after the hymn. It is Christ who personally addresses his mother, reminding her not to weep, because resurrection will soon follow. The choir performing this song lends in this case their voice to Christ, as they do to every dead individual in an Orthodox funeral service.

11 Zecher, "Death's Spiraling Narrative," 292.
12 Zecher, "Death's Spiraling Narrative," 286.
13 See further, Per-Arne Bodin, "Epitaphios as an Iconographical, Liturgical and Literary Motif," in Per-Arne Bodin, *Eternity and Time: Studies in Russian Literature and the Orthodox Tradition* (Stockholm: Stockholm University, 2007), 83–94.

FIGURE 21.2 Russian icon, "Do Not Weep for Me, Mother" (Не рыда́й Мене́, Ма́ти). Moscow school, 17th century, restored
© HEIKO ARENS, NATIONAL MUSEUM, STOCKHOLM (NMI 95)

2 Burials in Literature under the Soviet Regime

It was precisely this hymn, "Do Not Weep for Me, Mother," that the Russian Modernist poet Anna Akhmatova (1889–1966) alluded to in her cycle of poems, "Requiem." The full text of the hymn says:

> Do not weep for me, Mother, as you see in a tomb the Son whom you conceived in your womb without seed; for I shall arise and be glorified, and

> I shall exalt in glory without ceasing those who with faith and love magnify you.
>
> Не рыда́й Мене́, Ма́ти, зря́щи во гро́бе, Его́же во чре́ве без се́мене зачала́ еси́ Сы́на: воста́ну бо и просла́влюся, и вознесу́ со сла́вою непреста́нно, я́ко Бог, ве́рою и любо́вию Тя велича́ющыя.[14]

Both the hymn and its icon are reflections of utmost intimacy between the mother and her son. There are several well-known iconographies of the Mother of God with Christ as her child, expressing their mutual tenderness as they touch each other, cheek to cheek and skin to skin. By comparison, the iconography from the burial, "Do Not Weep for Me, Mother," may be regarded as their inverted counterpart: Christ is its central figure, already partly inside the grave, and his mother embraces him from the side, often cheek to cheek, or with her hands on his shoulder or chest. Because of this deep intimacy between mother and son at the crucifixion, and even in death, as expressed by this hymn and icon, a special identification is created between all mourning women-and-mothers and the grieving Mother of God at the cross.

Akhmatova's "Requiem" was written, or, rather composed and memorized, during the many years of the Stalinist terror in the 1930s, 40s and 50s. Its tenth poem, entitled "Crucifixion," can be read as a piece in which Akhmatova is grieving her son, who was arrested by the secret police, after which he disappeared in labour camps for many years. The poem opens with a quotation from the hymn "Do Not Weep for Me, Mother," and perhaps Akhmatova remembered it by heart, since it differs a little from its source. It activates the motif of grieving and weeping at the crucifixion of Christ in the contemporary context of the pains of mothers and sons who were separated from each other, due to the Stalinist terror of the Soviet Union:

x. Crucifixion

Weep not for Me, Mother,
when I am in the tomb.

1

A choir of angels hailed that glorious hour on high,
Waves of fire swept the heavens, swelling like the sea.

14 Translation by Ephrem Lash, from the Holy and Great Saturday (canon, ode 9, irmos), *Tri-*

"Father, why have You abandoned Me?" He cried,
Then, turning to His mother: "Do not weep for me …"

2
Mary Magdalene beat her breast, tore her hair,
The beloved disciple froze as still as stone,
But where the Mother stood—no one would look there,
None dared to glance at her, so silent and alone.[15]

Although Christ's name is never mentioned in the poem, there are several indications that its context is simultaneously the crucifixion scene, as narrated in the gospels, and the liturgical enactment of the burial of Christ. The introductory quotation from the hymn has already been mentioned, and in the end of the first stanza, it is quoted again, and articulated in direct speech: while the father is accused of abandoning his son, the mother is asked not to weep. Also, the first two lines, mentioning the angelic choir and the heavens in fire, may be inspired by the motif embroidered at the *epitaphios*, where angels are surrounding the dead body of Christ.[16] But, while the grief at the burial of Christ will soon change into the joy of resurrection, there is no such transition in Akhmatova's poem. It is also notable that the mother seems to be isolated even from partaking in loud expressions of grief. In the end of this short poem, she remains silent and alone—she offers a frightening figure to others. While the intention of the hymn is that the son comforts his mother by pointing to his resurrection, so that she does not need to weep, Akhmatova's poem presents the mother's grief as the worst kind of all, since she bears it in silence. If there is no hope for resurrection, and the plea not to weep remains, then only silence is left. Akhmatova's allusion to the liturgical enactment of the burial of Christ in the years of Stalinist terror was, thus, in this poem, made by means of contrast, to underline that the expected joy—which the omitted continuation of the Orthodox hymn ought to have announced—was not there.[17]

odion, https://web.archive.org/web/20160405122420/http://www.anastasis.org.uk/HWSat-M.htm. In Church Slavonic: "Vo Sviatúiu i Velíkuiu Subbótu" (kanón, pésn' 9, irmós), *Triód' Póstnaia* (Moscow: Moskovskaia patriarkhiia, 1974).

15 Anna Akhmatova, "Requiem," in *The Word That Causes Death's Defeat: Poems of Memory*, trans. Nancy K. Anderson (New Haven: Yale University Press 2004), 135–142, here 140–141. In 1980, the lyrics of Akhmatova's "Requiem" was set to music by John Tavener. "The Crucifixion" appears in parts XIII–XV of Tavener's composition.

16 Per-Arne Bodin, "Three Poets around the Epitaphios," *Scando-Slavica* 25.1 (1979): 5–17, here 9–12.

17 See also Bodin, "Three Poets around the Epitaphios," 12.

As mentioned above, Boris Pasternak's (1890–1960) novel *Doctor Zhivago* (first published in Italy in 1957) ends with the death of the eponymous doctor, Yurii Zhivago, and with the regret for the absence of a church funeral. It opens, however, with an Orthodox burial, in which the funeral hymn "Eternal Memory" is sung, while the procession approaches the cemetery. Bystanders ask who is being buried, and the answer is "Zhivago," but it is immediately corrected: "It isn't him. It's his wife."[18] Ten-year old Yura, who is the protagonist but yet not the grown-up doctor, is from now on left without his mother. Also, this episode renders the funeral hymns performed at the graveside: "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof, the earth and everything that dwells therein" (Госпóдня земля́, и исполнéние ея́ вселéнная, и вси́ живýщии на нéй),[19] and the beginning of "With the spirits of the righteous made perfect in death give rest, O Saviour, to the soul of your servant" (Со дýхи прáведных скончáвшихся, дýшу рабý твою спáсе упокóй, сохраня́я ю́ во блажéнной жи́зни).[20]

To Pasternak, these old words and phrases in Church Slavonic were of particular importance. In his *Sketch for an Autobiography*, he noted that the wordings of the Orthodox hymns were dear to several of the Russian modernist poets, in their literal sense, "as fragments of everyday life, in the same way as the street, the house, and any words of colloquial speech" were dear to them.[21] Perhaps that is one of the reasons why Pasternak let many of Doctor Zhivago's poems, presented in a collection which forms a separate, last part of the novel, allude on Orthodox feasts, icons, and hymns in Church Slavonic.[22] One of these poems is "Holy Week," in which the transition from Lent to Easter is depicted as affecting all of the surrounding nature, as if nature itself constituted the celebrating congregation and the entire world was the church building. The poem describes the liturgical moment when the *plashchanitsa* is carried in the funeral procession. It says that "a god is being interred," while the trees—still bare, since it is early in springtime—gather before the church, and, struck by horror, stare through the church's railings, before spring eventually breaks through: "Death itself can be overcome / Through the power of the

18 Pasternak, *Doctor Zhivago*, 3.

19 Pasternak, *Doctor Zhivago*, 3. Cf Ps 24:1 (LXX Ps 23:1). In Church Slavonic: "Poslédovanie mértvennoe mirskíkh tél," *Trebnik*.

20 Translation by Lash, *Euchologion*. In Church Slavonic: "Poslédovanie mértvennoe mirskíkh tél," *Trebnik*.

21 Boris Pasternak, *I Remember: Sketch for an Autobiography*, trans. David Magarshack (New York: Meridian Books, 1960), 94. See also Bodin, "Three Poets around the Epitaphios," 17.

22 See further, Per-Arne Bodin, *Nine Poems from Doktor Živago: A Study of Christian Motifs in Boris Pasternak's Poetry* (PhD Diss., Stockholm University, 1976).

Resurrection."[23] Numerous details from the Orthodox services and hymns are rendered in Zhivago's poem, but it is an acknowledged difficulty to translate words such as *plashchanitsa* or *prosfora* (the leavened eucharistic bread) into languages and cultures without any equivalents.

What is more, the title of the novel, *Doctor Zhivago*, alludes to the resurrected Christ, since the name Zhivago is Church Slavonic for "the Living One," that is, Christ. The specific Church Slavonic genitive case of the word, *-ago*, announces its religious provenance. In this context, the opening scene where bystanders comment that it is "Zhivago" that is buried—literally, the Living One—becomes significant. The novel that begins with a burial tells then, allegorically, the story of a Living individual in a society where only the collective was counted on. This aspect is also explicitly articulated in the novel, in a conversation where Jesus Christ as a historical person is described: "He came … emphatically human, deliberately provincial … and at that moment gods and nations ceased to be."[24]

3 Russian Orthodox Funerals in Translingual Narration and in Translation

While Akhmatova's and Pasternak's work were translated from Russian in order to reach wider audiences, there were also writers who wrote directly in other languages about their memories from pre-revolutionary Russia or about the Orthodox way of life, still accessible in the western borderlands of the Soviet Union.

Vera Alexandrova (1893–1968) was born and educated in Moscow as a Russian avant-garde dancer. After the Russian revolution, she emigrated to Sweden, where she became well-known for her dance school, inspired by the ideas of Isidora Duncan. Her autobiographical novel, composed in Swedish, and entitled *Sandal och sidensko* (1949; Sandal and Ballet Shoe), makes her a translingual writer, with a further handful of titles on her list.

The story of her childhood in Moscow is vividly presented as a kind of memorial of a lost world.[25] One of its episodes alludes to the particular motif

23 Pasternak, "Holy Week," *Doctor Zhivago*. The poems by Yurii Zhivago are translated by Bernard Guilbert Guerney and included in a separate, final chapter.

24 Pasternak, *Doctor Zhivago*, 43.

25 See further, Helena Bodin, "Två flickors minnen: Kulturmöten mellan svenskt och ryskt," in *Mångkulturell barn- och ungdomslitteratur: Analyser*, ed. Maria Andersson and Elina Druker (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2017), 109–125, here 118–123.

of the weeping mother in Orthodox tradition: The protagonist, the young girl Irina, who represents the author as a child, overhears a conversation in which her mother, who has been suffering from illness for a long time and is dying, confides in a close relative. Complaining, and in great distress over her severe pains, her mother says something that sounds horrible to the child: She has been quarrelling with God, for the reason that God had not been able to understand her torments since he himself had only wept once, in Gethsemane. Therefore, continues the mother, she would rather identify herself with his mother, who experienced such an immense grief through all of her life.[26] This reflection resonates with deep female traditions within Orthodoxy that only seldom are explicitly articulated, although performed in the burial service of every Good Friday.

After the mother's passing, Alexandrova describes in her novel how the family's dining room is restaged with the open coffin in the middle. It is occupied by priests and deacons singing *panikhida*, the special memorial service for the departed which is performed at home. Several of its readings are rendered in the novel, quite loosely translated into Swedish. The *panikhida* services last for three days, a period that turns out to be a difficult and trying experience for the children.[27]

Next, the mother's funeral takes place in great solemnity in the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour in Moscow.[28] The funeral is combined with the celebration of the morning service or matins, *utrenia*. Irina is about to faint from exhaustion during the long ritual, but she quickens when the priest suddenly opens the royal doors in the middle of the iconostasis and raises his arms, rejoicing and evoking God with words from the doxology: "Glory to you who have shown us the Light" ("—Ära ske dig, som har visat oss Ljuset …!").[29] At the same moment, thousands of lights flash under the dome, over the mother's open coffin. It seems to the girl as if the dome opens up into a place where there is no distance, neither in time nor space, only bliss and joy. For a second she experiences, beyond reason, "what it means to die" ("vad det betydde att dö"), but the sensation disappears immediately, and afterwards she is left with only "a faint intellectual memory of a transcendent experience" ("ett blekt, intellektuellt minne av denna övernaturliga upplevelse").[30]

26 Vera Alexandrova, *Sandal och sidensko* [Sandal and silk shoe] (Stockholm: Gebers, 1949), 194–195.
27 Alexandrova, *Sandal och sidensko*, 268–273.
28 This is the famous cathedral which was destroyed by Joseph Stalin in 1931 and rebuilt after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. In 2012 it was the scene for the feminist protest punk rock and performance art group Pussy Riot's guerrilla performance against Vladimir Putin.
29 Alexandrova, *Sandal och sidensko*, 274 (my translation.)
30 Alexandrova, *Sandal och sidensko*, 274 (my translation.)

In this way, the novel narrates how a professional dancer, such as Vera Alexandrova, who is trained to be attentive to movements in space and to music, experiences a Russian Orthodox ritual: as a performance where several arts and sensations are combined to gain meaning beyond what is possible to express in words. Completely exhausted and grieving her mother, the girl in Alexandrova's autobiographical novel experiences death as a kind of epiphany, as an overwhelming sensation of light. It is a fair guess that the dancer had not been allowed to narrate episodes like these in Russian under the Soviet regime. By presenting her memories translingually, in Swedish, they are offered to and received by a new audience, consisting of Swedish readers. Alexandrova's switch to Swedish, and her translations into Swedish of the liturgical texts in Church Slavonic, came quite early among Russian emigrants who lived in the Nordic diaspora, where Orthodox Christian services had not yet begun to be celebrated in Swedish.[31] As to her own life as a Christian in Sweden, Vera Alexandrova became a member of the Catholic Church.[32]

Another Swedophone writer who has described Orthodox funerals is the Finland-Swedish modernist—the novelist, playwright, and essayist—Hagar Olsson (1893–1978). She is also well-known as the friend of the modernist poet Edith Södergran, who, due to her tuberculosis, lived an isolated life in Raivola at the Karelian Isthmus, and as one of several Finland-Swedish Modernist writers who took a special interest in the particular expressions of Russian Orthodoxy in the Karelian borderlands between Finland and the Soviet Union, where there were villages inhabited by Russian Orthodox believers.

Olsson's long essay "'Jag lever': En studie i det mänskliga," (1948; "I live: A study in being human") was written between 1945 and 1948, after the end of the Second World War. It is guided by a strong personal feeling of despair and anxiety for the need of a radical cultural change. The title renders the words that a friend of hers, a Finnish poet, paradoxically uttered at the moment when he died: "I live, live" ("Jag lever, lever").[33] To Olsson, this exclamation verified that a transition to a higher spiritual consciousness was actually taking place among her contemporaries, so that her cultural analysis and critique were correct. She envisioned a future "era of the resurrection" ("uppståndelsens stadium") and found Orthodoxy to be "a warming sun" ("en värmande sol"), so different, as

31 See further, Helena Bodin, *Bruken av Bysans: Studier i svenskspråkig litteratur och kultur 1948–1971* (Skellefteå: Norma, 2011), 358–371.

32 Alva Dahl, "Vera Alexandrova," *Svenskt kvinnobiografiskt lexikon*, https://www.skbl.se/sv/artikel/VeraAlexandrova.

33 Hagar Olsson, "'Jag lever': En studie i det mänskliga," in *Jag lever* (Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 1948), 21 (my translation).

she puts it, from the intellectualism of Roman Catholicism and the totally unspiritual Protestantism.[34] In her essay, Olsson contrasts a civil burial with an Orthodox: according to her, the civil burial was altogether false, while the Orthodox burial offered to all humans a universal reality, "a truth that is possible to experience" ("en upplevbar sanning"), that is, that Christ is risen.[35] Not only Olsson's agony and pathos but also her pretentions were enormous, almost fanatical, and to her great regret the essay was not favourably received.[36]

Olsson had been more successful with her earlier novel, *Träsnidaren och döden* (1940; *The Woodcarver and Death*, 1965), presented as a tale from Karelia ("en berättelse från Karelen"), in which Orthodoxy was associated with something original, natural and authentic. The protagonist of this fairy-tale-like story, the Karelian woodcarver, is captured in a state of discord with himself, feeling lonely and depressed, when he becomes intrigued by the Orthodox practices in Karelia. His curiosity grows as he finds out that Eastern culture in Karelia is still in contact with impulses from "crusaders from Novgorod and holy men from Athos."[37] An important episode narrates the woodcarver's experience of an Orthodox burial, and a long passage renders a few of its hymns directly, in Swedish. It forms a collage with phrases from, firstly, the final greeting, and then from the composition by John of Damascus (the *idiomela* of tone 8 and 2):

> What a mournful parting, oh brothers! What a lament! What weeping in this hour! Come, let us take farewell of her who but recently was among us, now she shall be lowered into the grave, the stone shall be rolled over her, she shall have her place in the darkness, she shall be buried among the dead, all her relatives and friends shall be parted from her now.
>
> Wonder of wonders! What mystery is this which now has befallen us? How does it happen that we have been surrendered unto destruction? How have we been placed under a common yoke with death?
>
> Woe, how the soul struggles, when it is parted from the flesh! Woe, how it weeps, and there is no one to take pity upon it. It sends its glance unto the angels, but it beseeches them in vain, it stretches out its hands toward humankind, but finds no one to help it.

34 Olsson, "'Jag lever'," 117 and 57 (my translations.)

35 Olsson, "'Jag lever'," 40 (my translation).

36 See further, Helena Bodin, *Bruken av Bysans*, 61–63.

37 Hagar Olsson, *The Woodcarver and Death*, trans. George C. Schoolfield (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1965), http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/Literature.OlssonWood, 27.

> For this reason, dear brothers, let us consider the shortness of our life and let us implore Christ to give peace to her who has departed and to give great mercy to our souls.[38]

Olsson had to produce the Swedish translation herself, with the help of a Finnish translation from Church Slavonic.[39] In the English translation of the novel from 1965, it is her Swedish translation of the funeral hymns that has been translated once more, a fact that reflects how little known these hymns were—and perhaps still are—in Western cultures.

In her Karelian tale about the woodcarver, Olsson emphasizes particularly the mix in the funeral hymns of lament and joy, of sorrow and blessed delight—that is, how the burial is directed towards resurrection. The transition from death to new life, depicted in the scene from the Orthodox funeral in the Karelian village, appears later in the novel to be characteristic also of the fate of the woodcarver. Eventually he experiences a change that brings him to new life.[40]

4 From Entombment to Resurrection in Musical Compositions

A musical work from another of the Soviet Union's western neighbours, Poland, is *Utrenja* (Church Slavonic for morning service or matins; *Jutrznia* in Polish). This two-part work for choir and orchestra was created in 1970 and 1971 by the Polish composer Krzysztof Penderecki (1933–2020). His twelve-tone and serial music made him famous also as a composer of the sound tracks of horror films. Thus, parts from *Utrenja* appeared in Stanley Kubrick's film *The Shining* (1980).

Penderecki's *Utrenja* covers both the entombment of Christ and his resurrection, and its text renders accurately, though in fragments, parts of these Orthodox services in Church Slavonic. They are the burial of Christ, which in Russian Orthodox tradition is performed on Good Friday evening (though it is a morning service), and the celebration of resurrection at midnight, as early as possible on Easter Sunday. Included in Penderecki's composition is also the hymn "Do Not Weep for Me, Mother," along with many other compulsory hymns in the genres of *troparion*, *velichanie*, *kanon*, and *stikhiron*, as well as Psalms.

---

38 Olsson, *The Woodcarver and Death*, 117.
39 See, with further references, Helena Bodin, *Bruken av Bysans*, 56.
40 See further, Helena Bodin, *Bruken av Bysans*, 53–57.

Penderecki was particularly interested in the rites of the Old Believers, who observe Orthodox practices from before the reforms of Patriarch Nikon in the middle of the seventeenth century, and followed their services in the Soviet Union as well as in north-eastern Poland and in Bulgaria. Yet, his music does not imitate their way of singing; what he has tried to capture is rather its musical and emotional atmosphere. Deeply religious texts are combined with avant-garde music, demanding and symbolically significant hymns with complex and at times incomprehensible music.[41] In this way, through the repeated refrain praising the Lord as "long-suffering" (Сла́ва долготерпе́нию Твоему́, Го́споди),[42] Penderecki's composition dwells on suffering. But it says also that within chaos there is hope, and that death eventually will be defeated by death itself, as is sung in the Paschal *troparion* celebrating resurrection: "Christ has risen from the dead, by death he has trampled on death, and to those in the graves giving life!" (Христо́с воскре́се из ме́ртвых, сме́ртию смерть попра́в, и су́щим во гробе́х Живо́т дарова́в.)[43]

One of the often-repeated phrases in the Orthodox burial service is "Give rest to the soul of your servant who has fallen asleep" (Го́споди, упоко́й ду́шу усо́пшаго раба́ твоего́).[44] These words occur also in the famous work for choir, a cappella, *Song for Athene* (1993), by the British composer John Tavener (1944–2013), who converted to the Russian Orthodox Church in 1977. *Song for Athene* was originally created as a tribute to his young friend Athene Hariades, a half-Greek actress and teacher, but after its performance at the funeral of Diana, Princess of Wales, in Westminster Abbey in September 1997, it has become known world-wide.

The lyrics of *Song for Athene* were written by the Greek Orthodox nun Mother Thekla (1918–2011), who was born in Russia and lived in England. Her text is collage-like, consisting of quotes from Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, as well as from the Orthodox funeral service, with a strong emphasis on joy in the midst

41 See the liner notes by Ludwik Erhardt in Krzysztof Penderecki, *Jutrznia—Utrenja* (Polskie Nagrania Muza sx 889–890).

42 "Long-suffering Lord, glory to you!", translation by Ephrem Lash, from the Holy and Great Friday, Vespers, *Triodion*, https://web.archive.org/web/20160406030029/http://www.anastasis.org.uk/HWFri-V.htm. In Church Slavonic: "Vo Sviatýi i Velíkii Piatók," *Trióď Póstnaia*.

43 Translation by Ephrem Lash, from the Holy and Great Sunday of Pascha (troparion, tone 5), *Pentecostarion*, https://web.archive.org/web/20160401163529/http://www.anastasis.org.uk/pascha.htm. In Church Slavonic: "Vo Sviatúiu i Velíkuiu Nedéliu Páskhi" (tropar', glas 5), *Trióď Tsvetnáia* (Moscow: Moskovskaia patriarkhiia, 1977).

44 In Church Slavonic: "Poslédovanie mértvennoe mirskíkh tél," *Trebnik*. English Translation by Lash, *Euchologion*.

of sorrow: “The Choir of Saints have found the well-spring of life, and door of paradise. Alleluia. … Weeping at the grave creates the song: Alleluia. Come, enjoy the rewards and crowns I have prepared for you.”[45] Again, we see the phrase “weeping at the grave creates the song: Alleluia,” which has already been in focus in this chapter a few times. It is also worth noting that the quotations from *Hamlet*— “May flights of angels sing thee to thy rest” and “Life: a shadow and a dream”[46]—are congenial to the Orthodox funeral service, where angels are often called on and shadows and dreams are, likewise, mentioned: “All things are feebler than a shadow, all things are more deceptive than dreams; one instant, and death supplants them all” (вся́ се́ни немощне́йша, вся́ со́ний преле́стнейша: еди́нем мгнове́нием, и вся́ сия́ сме́рть прие́млет.)[47]

Another of Tavener’s compositions, likewise for choir, is *Funeral Ikos* (1981). Its lyrics consist of a selection of stanzas from the *kontakion* by John of Damascus, which is sung in the Orthodox funeral service for priests. As always in a *kontakion*, its refrain, in this case “Alleluia,” is seamlessly integrated in the last sentence of each *ikos* (as a stanza of a *kontakion* is called). Tavener’s choice of text for *Funeral Ikos* emphasizes the transitional state between death and new life, not only by the repeated praising of the threefold “Alleluia,” but also explicitly in the last *ikos*:

> With ecstasy we are inflamed if we but hear that there is light eternal yonder; that there is Paradise, wherein every soul of Righteous Ones rejoiceth. Let us all, also, enter into Christ, that all we may cry aloud thus unto God: Alleluia.[48]

45 John Tavener, *Song for Athene*. See also, in Ephrem Lash’s translation, the Eulogitaria for the dead, from *Euchologion*.

46 Slightly adapted from William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, act 5, scene 2, and act 2, scene 2.

47 Translation by Lash, *Euchologion* (the idiomels by John of Damascus, tone 1). In Church Slavonic: “Poslédovanie mértvennoe mirskíkh tél” (Samoglásny Ioánna Monácha, glás 1), *Trebnik*.

48 John Tavener, *Funeral Ikos*. English translation by Isabel Florence Hapgood (1851–1928), “The Order for the Burial of the Dead (Priests),” in *Service Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic* (*Greco-Russian*) *Church: Compiled, Translated and Arranged from the Old Church-Slavonic Service Books of the Russian Church, and Collated with the Service Books of the Greek Church* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co, 1906), 394–423, here 410.

5 Conclusion

The selected examples from Russian and Swedophone literary texts, as well as from a few musical compositions, spanning from the 1940s to the 1990s, have demonstrated that modern writers and composers used Orthodox funeral hymns and practices as a means of alluding to and commemorating a religious culture and practice, which otherwise was disappearing in the Soviet Union. While the Orthodox Christian tradition was severely threatened and about to be lost in the atheistic communist state of the Soviet Union, particularly in the period of Stalinist terror, it could nevertheless still be active and possible to experience in the former Russian borderlands and in the Russian Orthodox diaspora. Writers were not only grieving through the words of the funeral hymns; through their continued use they expressed a hope for change and protested against the prevailing circumstances. Emphasis in the modern texts and compositions was, then, often placed on aspects of new life, light and resurrection as prominent features of the Russian Orthodox funeral, as is the case in the autobiographical novel by Vera Alexandrova, the works by Hagar Olsson, and the musical compositions by Krzysztof Penderecki and John Tavener. However, in the example of Anna Akhmatova's poem, "Crucifixion," the point is rather the mourning mother's silence instead of her hope for resurrection, and at the end of Boris Pasternak's novel, its protagonist Doctor Zhivago, "the Living One," is buried by means of cremation.

Within their original religious semiosphere, the funeral hymns grieved a deceased individual and brought hope for resurrection, according to the norms of Orthodox Christian faith. In its new, secular semiosphere, the funerary grief concerned either a lost world (as in, e.g., Pasternak's and Alexandrova's works) or the spiritual condition of the contemporary, Western culture (as in Olsson's works), and the hope was directed towards political or ideological changes. In this way, the transfer from a religious to a secular semiosphere meant that the funerary texts were invested with new meanings and functions.

The literary works of Akhmatova and Pasternak, in which they wrote about the contemporary situation in the Soviet Union, were favourably received and circulated in Western culture. Pasternak was even awarded the Nobel Prize in literature after the publication of *Doctor Zhivago*. The lyrics of one of Tavener's musical compositions, in which Mother Thekla has combined phrases from a canonical writer as Shakespeare with phrases from the Orthodox funeral service, complete the transfer of the funeral hymns to the secular semiosphere in yet another way.

Alexandrova and Olsson were rather looking back to bygone times in their wish to narrate a transition from death to life—Alexandrova by commemorating her childhood in pre-revolutionary Moscow, and Olsson by turning eastwards to the surviving Russian Orthodox practices in the Karelian borderlands between Finland and the Soviet Union, practices which she regarded as more spiritually authentic than contemporary Western customs. In the case of Olsson's works, it might, though, seem as if the audience appreciated Orthodoxy more if it was associated with a bygone age and fairy tales than with challenging visions for the future.

Penderecki's composition for choir and orchestra has been assigned a new secular function as the soundtrack to a famous horror film. In the case of Tavener, his composition for choir a cappella, *Song of Athene*, has rather travelled full circle and been received, again, in a religious, although Western Christian, semiosphere, since it was performed in 1997 at a royal British funeral.

In these many ways, the Russian Orthodox funeral service of Byzantine origin keeps resonating within modern culture and its secular semiosphere. It gained a *Nachleben* in secular culture and was widely circulated and received. The transfer of Russian Orthodox funeral practices from the religious to the secular semiosphere has accomplished an effect of turning lament into praise or a supposed end into new life—an effect which is similar to what is described in the funeral hymn: "weeping at the grave creates the song: alleluia" (надгро́бное рыда́ние творя́ще пе́снь: аллилу́иа).[49]

Bibliography

Akhmatova, Anna. *The Word That Causes Death's Defeat: Poems of Memory*. Translated by Nancy K. Anderson. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

Alexandrova, Vera. *Sandal och sidensko* [Sandal and silk shoe]. Stockholm: Gebers, 1949.

Bodin, Helena. *Bruken av Bysans: Studier i svenskspråkig litteratur och kultur 1948–1971*. Skellefteå: Norma, 2011.

Bodin, Helena. "Två flickors minnen: Kulturmöten mellan svenskt och ryskt." Pages 109–125 in *Mångkulturell barn- och ungdomslitteratur: Analyser*. Edited by Maria Andersson and Elina Druker. Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2017.

Bodin, Per-Arne. "Epitaphios as an Iconographical, Liturgical and Literary Motif." Pages 83–94 in Per-Arne Bodin, *Eternity and Time: Studies in Russian Literature and the Orthodox Tradition*. Stockholm: Stockholm University, 2007.

Bodin, Per-Arne. *Nine Poems from Doktor Živago: A Study of Christian Motifs in Boris Pasternak's Poetry*. PhD diss., Stockholm University, 1976.

49 This is the translation by Mother Thekla in Tavener's *Funeral Ikos*. In Church Slavonic from "Poslédovanie mértvennoe mirskíkh tél" (íkos), *Trebnik*.

Bodin, Per-Arne. "Three Poets around the Epitaphios." *Scando-Slavica* 25.1 (1979): 5–17.

Constas, Nicholas. "Death and Dying in Byzantium." Pages 124–145 in *Byzantine Christianity*. Edited by Derek Krueger. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006.

Dahl, Alva. "Vera Alexandrova." *Svenskt kvinnobiografiskt lexikon*. https://www.skbl.se/sv/artikel/VeraAlexandrova.

Lotman, Yuri M. *Universe of Mind: A Semiotic Theory of Culture*. Translated by Ann Shukman. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990.

Olsson, Hagar. *Jag lever*. Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 1948.

Olsson, Hagar. *The Woodcarver and Death*. Translated by George C. Schoolfield. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1965. http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/Literature.OlssonWood.

Pasternak, Boris. *Doctor Zhivago*. Translated by Max Hayward and Manya Harari; "The Poems by Yurii Zhivago." Translated by Bernard Guilbert Guerney. Pantheon Books: New York, 1958.

Pasternak, Boris. *I Remember: Sketch for an Autobiography*. Translated by David Magarshack. New York: Meridian Books, 1960.

Penderecki, Krzysztof. *Jutrznia—Utrenja*. The Warsaw National Philharmonic Orchestra and Choir. Józef Bok, choirmaster. Conductor Andrzej Markowski. Liner notes by Ludwik Erhardt. Polskie Nagrania Muza SX 889–890.

Tavener, John. *Funeral Ikos: For Unaccompanied Choir SSATBB*. London: Chester Music, 1984.

Tavener, John. *Song for Athene: For Unaccompanied Choir SATB*. London: Chester Music, 1994.

Zecher, Jonathan L. "Death's Spiraling Narrative: On 'Reading' the Orthodox Funeral." *Studia Liturgica* 41 (2011): 274–292.

Orthodox Liturgical Sources

Funeral Service, Euchologion. Translated by Archimandrite Ephrem (Lash). https://web.archive.org/web/20160406004123/http://www.anastasis.org.uk/funeral.htm.

Holy and Great Saturday, Matins, Triodion. Translated by Archimandrite Ephrem (Lash). https://web.archive.org/web/20160405122420/http://www.anastasis.org.uk/HWSat-M.htm.

Holy and Great Sunday of Pascha, Pentecostarion. Translated by Archimandrite Ephrem (Lash). https://web.archive.org/web/20160401163529/http://www.anastasis.org.uk/pascha.htm.

"The Order for the Burial of the Dead (Priests)." Pages 394–423 in *Service Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic* (*Greco-Russian*) *Church: Compiled, Translated and Arranged from the Old Church-Slavonic Service Books of the Russian Church, and Collated with the Service Books of the Greek Church*. Translated by Isabel Florence Hapgood. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co, 1906.

Trebnik: v dvukh chastiakh, 1. Moscow: Moskovskaia patriarkhiia, 1979.
Trióď Póstnaia. Moscow: Moskovskaia patriarkhiia, 1974.
Trióď Tsvetnáia. Moscow: Moskovskaia patriarkhiia, 1977.

Index of Ancient Literature

Boldface page numbers indicate principal treatment of a subject.

1 Hebrew Bible

2 Ancient Jewish Literature

3 Greco-Roman Literature

4 New Testament

5 Early Christian Literature

6 Medieval and Byzantine Sources

Index of Modern Authors

Index of Subjects