"Can one book give a complete overview of the history and theology of the eucharistic prayer from its origins to its recent manifestations, from East to West, from Catholic to Protestant, Anglican to Orthodox, with generous quotations and insightful analogy, charts and footnotes, and an ability to make you feel at the end that you have really understood more about how Christians offer their most important prayer? Well, yes. It's this one."

—Paul Turner
Author of *Glory in the Cross: Holy Week in the Third Edition of* The Roman Missal

"In this long-awaited companion to *The Rites of Christian Initiation* (2007), Bradshaw and Johnson draw upon their own extensive research, as well as up-to-date scholarship in several academic fields, in order to unravel and analyze the development of the Eucharist from the early church's meals and emerging rites through to (selected) rites in the twentieth century. Rites, practices, and theologies from the West and East are carefully examined from within their respective social, cultural, and religious contexts. Along with the extensive commentary, the use of liturgical texts, comparative charts, and summaries within each chapter makes this volume an especially valuable resource for student and specialist alike."

—Karen B. Westerfield Tucker
Professor of Worship
Boston University

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Paul F. Bradshaw
Maxwell E. Johnson

The Eucharistic Liturgies

Their Evolution and Interpretation

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IN MEMORIAM

This book is dedicated to the memory of
The Rt. Rev. Kenneth W. Stevenson,
our friend and fellow scholar (1949–2011)

Contents

Abbreviations

AAS	*Acta Apostolicae Sedis* (Vatican Polyglot Press, 1909ff.)
AIR	Edward Yarnold, *The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation: The Origins of the R.C.I.A.*, 2nd ed. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1994).
ANF	Ante-Nicene Fathers
BAS	The Anaphoras of St. Basil of Caesarea (various versions: ArmBAS = Armenian Basil; ByzBAS = Byzantine Basil; EgBAS = Egyptian Basil; SyrBAS = Syriac Basil)
CHR	The Anaphora of St. John Chrysostom
ET	English Translation
JAS	The Anaphora of St. James
LCC	Library of Christian Classics (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press)
LW	*Luther's Works* (Philadelphia/St. Louis)
NPNF	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale)
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
PEER	R. C. D. Jasper and G. J. Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed*, 3rd ed. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, Pueblo, 1987).

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Oregon Catholic Press, Portland, OR, for the following excerpts from Robert Cabié, *History of the Mass* (Washington, D.C.: The Pastoral Press, 1992):

Amalarius of Metz, *Liber officialis*, III.18, pp. 72–73.
Pope Innocent III, *De sacro alteris mysterio*, liber III, 1–3, p. 82.
Pope Pius V, *Quo primum tempore*, p. 87.

The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, London, England, for excerpts from Nicholas Cabasilas, *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, trans. J. M. Hussey and P. A. McNulty (London: SPCK, 1960), 26–28.

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Introduction

When we told our friend Professor Teresa Berger of the Yale Divinity School and Institute of Sacred Music that we were in the process of coauthoring a book on the Eucharist, she gently teased us, in reference to the rather critical approach both of us take in scholarly method, saying something to the effect of "We need a book that tells us what we *can* say about the Eucharist, not about what we *can't* say." We think it appropriate, therefore, to begin with a disclaimer or two about what we *don't* say or do in this study. That is, this is not a book about Eucharist and justice, Eucharist and inculturation, Eucharist and music, Eucharist and art and architecture, Eucharist and inclusive or exclusive language, Eucharist and gender issues, Eucharist and postmodernism, or any of the possible pairings of the topic of the Eucharist with other pertinent issues. Plenty of excellent studies—books and articles—are available on any and all of those topics.[1] Further, this book is also not about any calls for new liturgical reforms, nor does it offer a critique of the modern liturgical reforms, positive or negative. To borrow a line from our friend, Fr. Robert Taft, SJ, our intent here is to be liturgical "informers," not liturgical "reformers,"[2] though, of course, we expect it will be quite clear as to where we stand on various issues.

[1] Cf. Mark Searle, ed., *Liturgy and Social Justice* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1980); Anscar Chupungco, *Liturgical Inculturation: Sacramentals, Religiosity, and Catechesis* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, Pueblo, 1995); Edward Foley, *From Age to Age: How Christians Have Celebrated the Eucharist*, rev. exp. ed. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2008); Teresa Berger, *Gender Differences and the Making of Liturgical History* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011); Nathan Mitchell, *Real Presence: The Work of Eucharist*, new and exp. ed. (Chicago; Liturgy Training Publications, 2001); and Nathan Mitchell, *Meeting Mystery: Liturgy, Worship, Sacraments* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2007).

[2] Robert Taft, *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, vol. 6: *The Communion, Thanksgiving, and Concluding Rites*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 281 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2008), 786.

This book, then, is intended to be, primarily, a book of liturgical information; it is *descriptive* and not *prescriptive*. It is, as its title indicates, about the liturgical history and theology of the Eucharist from the time of the New Testament up to and including the liturgical reforms of the modern period in the mid-twentieth and now early twenty-first centuries. Although it is primarily descriptive, this does not mean that we shy away from making historical and theological judgments. *Au contraire*. What it does mean, rather, is that as liturgical historians our task is not to advocate particular liturgical practices based on our historical and theological analyses and conclusions.

In many ways, this volume, as suggested years ago by our now deceased Notre Dame colleague, Professor James F. White (d. 2004), is intended to be a companion to *The Rites of Christian Initiation: Their Evolution and Interpretation*,[3] which, we are pleased to note, has become today a standard textbook on Christian initiation rites in several schools and graduate programs across the United States and elsewhere. We are hoping for the same success with this volume, and introductions to various chapters here are occasionally based on parallel introductions in that book. Like that volume, our study proceeds historically. We move from the origins of the Eucharist (chap. 1) to the second and third centuries (chap. 2), with two chapters (chaps. 3 and 4) on the formative period and great patristic figures (e.g., Basil of Caesarea, John Chrysostom, Ambrose of Milan, and Augustine of Hippo) of the fourth and fifth centuries both in East and West. Unlike most studies of the Eucharist written by Western liturgical scholars, this book provides in chapter 5 an introduction to and developmental summary of the diverse eucharistic liturgies of the Christian East (Armenian, Byzantine, Coptic, East Syrian, Ethiopic, Maronite, and West Syrian) together with attention to their principal eucharistic prayers still in use today, though often edited herein for length. Chapter 6 continues with our treatment of the Western churches in the Middle Ages, including the various Western rites (e.g., Ambrosian, Gallican, and Mozarabic, in addition to the Roman), while chapter 7 is concerned with the Protestant and Catholic Reformations in the sixteenth century and beyond, including the 1570 *Missale Romanum* of Pius V; the various editions of the *Book of Common Prayer* in England; and the various liturgical books of the other Reforming movements, espe-

[3] Maxwell E. Johnson, *The Rites of Christian Initiation: Their Evolution and Interpretation*, rev. exp. ed. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, Pueblo, 2007).

cially Reformed and Lutheran in Germany, Switzerland, and Sweden. Chapter 8 essays the modern period, including the influence of the European Liturgical Movement, the Second Vatican Council and the 1969 *Missale Romanum* of Pope Paul VI, together with the eucharistic developments in other churches, most notably Anglican, Lutheran, Reformed, and Methodist. Each chapter ends not with a written conclusion but with various summary points, which we hope will make this book more user-friendly for teacher and student alike. Similarly, each chapter contains an abundance of liturgical texts for ease of reference, either in our own translations from the original languages or from other standard English translations of those texts.

Apart from chapters 1 and 7, where the materials did not allow us to do so, the other six chapters are all divided into rite(s) and eucharistic theology. And with regard to eucharistic theology we have tended to place most of our emphasis on two topics, namely, eucharistic or real presence, including theories of and approaches to the "consecration" of the bread and wine, and eucharistic sacrifice. While these are surely not the only possible topics in eucharistic theology and practice,[4] they have been the most central and most ecumenically challenging and divisive issues since the sixteenth-century Reformations. And while we do not claim to have solved the challenges posed by either of these topics, we are able to point to wide liturgical and theological convergence on both of them within various churches today. As such, we trust that the reader will find that, although there are some things that *cannot* be said or are no longer held in the light of recent scholarship, there is a great deal we *can* say about the Eucharist.

Finally, a word of thanks is due to the following people who enabled this book to be completed and published: to The Rev. Cody Unterseher, graduate student in liturgical studies at the University of Notre Dame, for his invaluable assistance with hunting down references, his close editorial proofreading of the manuscript, and his help with the index; to members of *Das Institut für Eklektische Liturgiewissenschaft*, namely, The Rev. Stefanos Alexopoulos, priest and professor in Athens, Greece, and The Very Rev. M. Daniel Findikyan, priest, professor, and dean of St. Nersess Armenian Seminary, New Rochelle, New York, and also to Dr. Nicholas Russo, assistant dean for undergraduate studies, the University of Notre Dame, for their assistance with and

[4] Cf. Kevin W. Irwin, *Models of the Eucharist* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2005).

critical reading of chapter 5; to Peter Dwyer and Hans Christoffersen of the Liturgical Press, Collegeville, Minnesota, for their willingness to publish this work under the Pueblo imprint; and to Ruth McCurry, commissioning editor of SPCK Books, London, England, for the appearance of this book as the 2012 volume in the Alcuin Club Collections series.

Paul F. Bradshaw and Maxwell E. Johnson

August 15, 2011

The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary
The Dormition of Our Lady, the Most Holy Theotokos
St. Mary the Virgin
Mary, Mother of Our Lord

Chapter 1

Origins

The historical root of the Christian Eucharist has traditionally been sought in the words and actions of Jesus at the Last Supper that he is said to have eaten with his disciples on the night before he died, and that is recorded in varying forms in Matthew 26:20-29; Mark 14:17-25; Luke 22:14-20; and 1 Corinthians 11:23-26. Modern liturgical scholarship concerning eucharistic origins, therefore, at first tended to focus on a literary-critical and traditio-historical analysis of these texts. In the last fifteen to twenty years, however, there has been a growing awareness that study of the Last Supper needs to be set within the broader context of the other meals in which Jesus participated and within the even wider sociological context of the form and dynamics of the Hellenistic group supper and the culture relating to meals in antiquity in general, which is where we begin.

MEAL CUSTOMS IN THE GRECO-ROMAN WORLD

In the ancient world, social life centered around eating and drinking every bit as much as it does for most people today, whether that was, for example, a banquet given at a rich person's house or a regular gathering of associations that were often formed around a trade guild or profession. There has been a good deal of interest in recent years in the way in which the earliest Christian assemblies would have resembled such groups.[1] Despite minor local variations that were due to particular social or ethnic distinctions, formal meals were broadly similar in character throughout that culture, and all would have

[1] For associations, see, for example, Philip A. Harland, *Associations, Synagogues, and Congregations* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2003); Richard S. Ascough, *Paul's Macedonian Associations: The Social Context of Philippians and 1 Thessalonians* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003); for meal practices, Matthias Klinghardt, *Gemeinschaftsmahl und Mahlgemeinschaft* (Tübingen: Francke Verlag, 1996); Dennis E. Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist: The Banquet in the Early Christian World* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2003); Hal Taussig, *In the Beginning Was the Meal: Social Experimentation and Early Christian Identity* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2009).

contained some religious dimension, even if that were not their primary orientation.

Accustomed as we are to visualize the Last Supper through its depiction by Renaissance artists as having the disciples seated at one long table with Jesus in the center, it requires an effort to understand that this was not, in fact, how people in the ancient world dined. Instead, participants would normally have reclined on a number of couches arranged around three sides of the room, with the food presented in common dishes on low tables in front of them, from which they would have helped themselves with their hands. Often diners would share couches, and they would all be ranked according to their social status, with the host at one end and the most important guest immediately to the right and the others in descending social order around the room.[2] Moreover, the wealthy might invite to dinner not only friends of similar social standing but also people of lower status, known as clients, who gave their patron loyal support in any of his ventures and in return received aid and protection of their interests. They would often be seated apart, however, and the food and drink served to them would be of a quite different quality from that being enjoyed by the host and his more privileged guests.[3] Similarly, there were times when these clients would have to make do with a charitable handout of food to take home rather than with a place at table.[4]

Such formal meals thus not only created and strengthened social bonds between the participants but defined boundaries between communities (who was included, who excluded) and relative status within them. Reclining was itself a sign of status, since traditionally it had been the preserve of free citizens, while women, children, and slaves

[2] See further Blake Leyerle, "Meal Customs in the Greco-Roman World," in *Passover and Easter: Origin and History to Modern Times*, ed. Paul F. Bradshaw and Lawrence A. Hoffman (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), 29–61; and Jan Michael Joncas, "Tasting the Kingdom of God: The Meal Ministry of Jesus and Its Implications for Contemporary Worship and Life," *Worship* 74 (2000): 329–65.

[3] See John D'Arms, "The Roman *Convivium* and the Idea of Equality," in *Sympotica: A Symposium on the "Symposium,"* ed. Oswin Murray (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 308–20.

[4] For references to primary sources, see Charles A. Bobertz, "The Role of Patron in the Cena Dominica of Hippolytus' Apostolic Tradition," *Journal of Theological Studies* 44 (1993): 170–84, here at 175–76; Klinghardt, *Gemeinschaftsmahl und Mahlgemeinschaft*, 143–49.

did not usually recline but ate quite separately. In time, however, this rule came to be relaxed and women might recline among the men, although there was still a danger that such women could be viewed as courtesans; on rare occasions slaves might be invited to eat with their masters.[5]

In contrast to modern times where wine is generally served throughout a meal, at these banquets a meal of several courses of food was eaten first, and then hands were washed and the tables removed before the second half of the evening began, the drinking-party or *symposium* (from the Greek word *symposion*, meaning literally "drinking together"). As each bowl of wine was needed, it was prepared by being diluted with something like two to three times its volume of water, and then a libation was offered to a particular deity, accompanied by a short prayer. Such a sharp separation of the two halves of the evening was not always preserved, however: Pliny the Elder reports that the custom of taking an aperitif of wine mixed with water before the meal began had been introduced during the reign of the Roman emperor Tiberias (14–37 CE),[6] and wine drunk unmixed during the meal itself is attested even earlier, in the first century BCE.[7] Nevertheless, occasions like these were—at least ideally—not just drinking parties. They were as much occasions for conversation, philosophical speculation, and the recitation of poetry or mythical stories, as well as for the fostering of relationships.

Naturally, meals among the poor did not follow the pattern of those among the rich. There, bread with salt and water would have formed the staple ingredients, augmented if possible with a little cheese or whatever else they could obtain—perhaps as leftovers from the banquets of the rich.[8] Not having couches, they would sit on the ground or on cushions, a custom still found today in the Middle East.

[5] On the role of women, see Kathleen E. Corley, *Private Women, Public Meals: Social Conflict in the Synoptic Tradition* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1993); Carolyn Osiek, Margaret Y. MacDonald, with Janet H. Tulloch, *A Woman's Place: House Churches in Earliest Christianity* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2006), esp. 144–63. On the position of slaves among early Christians, see Jennifer A. Glancy, *Slavery in Early Christianity* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2006).

[6] Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* 14.28.143.

[7] Diodorus Sicilus, 4.3.

[8] See Andrew B. McGowan, *Ascetic Eucharists* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 79, 93.

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