

Liturgical Studies

THE BIBLE AND THE LITURGY

BY JEAN DANIELOU, S. J.

UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME PRESS NOTRE DAME, INDIANA

IMPRIMI POTES: Theodore J. Mehling, C.S.C, Provincial

NIHIL OBSTAT: Eugene P. Burke, C.S.C., Censor Deputatus

IMPRIMATUR: ✠ Leo A. Pursley, D.D., L.L.D., Apostolic Administrator, Diocese of Fort Wayne

June 12, 1956

The original version of this work was published in 1951 by Les Editions du Cerf, in Paris, under the title of *Bible et Liturgie*.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOG CARD NO. 55-9516

© 1956 by the University of Notre Dame Press NOTRE DAME, INDIANA

-vi-

Contents

Introduction page	<u>3</u>
ONE The Preparation page	<u>19</u>
TWO The Baptismal Rite page	<u>35</u>
THREE The Sphragis page	<u>54</u>
FOUR The Types of Baptism: Creation and the Deluge page	<u>70</u>
FIVE Types of Baptism: The Crossing of the Red Sea page	<u>86</u>
SIX Types of Baptism: Elias and the Jordan page	<u>99</u>
SEVEN Confirmation page	<u>114</u>
EIGHT The Eucharistic Rites page	<u>127</u>
NINE The Figures of the Eucharist Page	<u>142</u>
TEN The Paschal Lamb page	<u>162</u>
ELEVEN Psalm XXII page	<u>177</u>
TWELVE The Canticle of Canticles page	<u>191</u>
THIRTEEN New Testament Types page	<u>208</u>
FOURTEEN The Mystery of the Sabbath page	<u>222</u>
FIFTEEN The Lord's Day page	<u>242</u>
SIXTEEN The Eighth Day page	<u>262</u>
SEVENTEEN Easter page	<u>287</u>

-ix-

EIGHTEEN The Ascension	page
NINETEEN Pentecost	page
TWENTY The Feast of Tabernacles	page
INDEX	page

303
319
333
349

THE BIBLE AND THE LITURGY

-1-

Introduction

THEOLOGY defines the sacraments as "efficacious signs,"--this being the sense of the scholastic saying (*significando causant*). But, as things are today, our modern textbooks insist almost exclusively on the first term of this definition. We study the efficacious causality of the sacraments, but we pay very little attention to their nature as *signs*. It is, therefore, to this aspect of the sacraments in particular that the chapters of this book will be devoted. We shall study the significance of the sacramental rites, and, more generally, that of Christian worship. But the purpose of this study is not simply to satisfy our curiosity. This question of the sacraments as signs is of fundamental importance for pastoral liturgy. Because they are not understood, the rites of the sacraments often seem to the faithful to be artificial and sometimes even shocking. It is only by discovering their meaning that the value of these rites will once more be appreciated.

There was no such problem in the early Church, for the explanation of the sacramental rites held an important place in the very formation of the faithful. During Easter week, for example, explanations of the sacraments were given to the newly-baptized who had received their first Communion after their baptism during the Easter vigil. Etheria, who, at the end of the fourth century, attended the Easter celebrations at Jerusalem, describes the bishop as saying in his last Lenten sermon to the catechumens: "So that you may not think that anything that is done is without

-3-

meaning, after you have been baptized in the name of God, during the eight days of Easter week you will be given instruction in the church after Mass." ¹ And also, in the sermons given on each feast of the liturgical year, the meaning of the feast was explained.

Our study will be based essentially on this teaching of the first Christian centuries, and will consist, therefore, of an interpretation of the symbolism of Christian worship according to the Fathers of the Church. We shall examine successively the symbolism of the three principal sacraments,--Baptism, Confirmation and the Holy Eucharist; and then that of the Christian week and of the liturgical year.

But before we study these patristic interpretations, we must first define the principles which inspired them. For this symbolism is not subject to the whims of each interpreter. It constitutes a common tradition going back to the apostolic age. And what is striking about this tradition is its biblical character. Whether we read the instructions concerning the sacraments, or look at the paintings in the catacombs, we are struck at once by figures taken from Holy Scriptures,--Adam in Paradise, Noe in the

ark, Moses crossing the Red Sea,--these are the images used for the sacraments. It is, then, the meaning and origin of this biblical symbolism that we must first make clear.

That the realities of the Old Testament are figures of those of the New is one of the principles of biblical theology. This science of the similitudes between the two Testaments is called *typology*.² And here we would do well to remind ourselves of its foundation, for this is to be found in the Old Testament itself. At the time of the Captivity, the prophets announced to the people of Israel that in the future God would perform for their benefit deeds analogous to, and even greater than those He had performed in the past. So there would be a new Deluge, in which the sinful world would be annihilated, and a few men, a "remnant," would be preserved to inaugurate a new humanity; there would be a new Exodus in which, by His power, God would set mankind free from its bondage to idols; there would be a new Paradise into

¹ XLVI, 5; Pétré, (Sources chrétiennes), p. 231.

² This is the term adopted nowadays by most exegetes. See J. Coppens, *Les Harmonies des deux Testaments*, p. 98.

-4-

which God would introduce the people He had redeemed.³ These prophecies constitute a primary typology that might be called eschatological, for the prophets saw these future events as happening at the end of time.⁴

The New Testament, therefore, did not invent typology, but simply showed that it was fulfilled in the person of Jesus of Nazareth.⁵ With Jesus, in fact, these events of the end, of the fullness of time, are now accomplished. He is the New Adam with whom the time of the Paradise of the future has begun. In Him is already realized that destruction of the sinful world of which the Flood was the figure. In Him is accomplished the true Exodus which delivers the people of God from the tyranny of the demon.⁶ Typology was used in the preaching of the apostles as an argument to establish the truth of their message,⁷ by showing that Christ continues and goes beyond the Old Testament: "Now all these things happened to them as a type and, they were written for our correction" (*I Cor.* 10, 11). This is what St. Paul calls the *consolatio Scripturarum* (*Rom.* 15, 4).

But these eschatological times are not only those of the life of Jesus, but of the Church as well. Consequently, the eschatological typology of the Old Testament is accomplished not only in the person of Christ, but also in the Church. Besides Christological typology, therefore, there exists a sacramental typology, and we find it in the New Testament. The Gospel of St. John shows us that the manna was a figure of the Eucharist; the first Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians that the crossing of the Red Sea was a figure of Baptism; the first Epistle of St. Peter that the Flood was also a figure of Baptism. This means, furthermore, that the sacraments carry on in our midst the *mirabilia*, the great works of God in the Old Testament and the New:⁸ for example, the Flood, the Passion and Baptism show us the same divine activity as carried out in three different eras of sacred history, and these three phases of God's action are all ordered to the Judgment at the end of time.

³ See Jean Daniélou, *Sacramentum futuri*, Paris, 1950, p. 98.

⁴ See A. Feuillet, *Le messianisme du Livre d'Isaïe*, Rech. Sc. Rel., 1949, p. 183.

⁵ "The only thing specifically Christian in the patristic exegesis of the Old Testament is the application

to Christ' (Harald Riesenfeld, *The Resurrection in Ezechiel XXXVII and in the Dûra-Europos paintings*, p. 22).

⁶ Harald Sahlin, *Zur typologie des Johannes evangeliums*, 1950, p. 8 et seq.

⁷ Rendel Harris, *Testimonies*, 1, p. 21.

⁸ Oscar Cullmann, *Urchristentum und Gottesdienst*, 2nd. ed., p. 114.

-5-

In general, then, sacramental typology is only one form of typology of the theological analogy between the great moments of Sacred History. But there is a special question in relation to the sacraments. For the sacraments present two aspects. First, there is the reality already accomplished, and this reality is in continuity with the works of God in the two Testaments. But there is also the visible sign,--water, bread, oil, baptizing, feasting, anointing,-by means of which the action of God operates. Here, properly speaking, is the sign, the sacramental symbol. But how are we to interpret this sign? Does it possess only the natural significance of the element or of the gesture that it is using: water washes, bread nourishes, oil heals. Or does it possess a special significance?

Here the recent studies on the history of liturgical origins are of service to us, for they have established the fact that we must not look to Hellenistic culture for the origin of the Christian sacraments as people have been so willing to do for the last fifty years, but rather to the liturgy of Judaism,⁹ to which they are directly related. We must, therefore, ask ourselves the question: what significance did the signs used in the Jewish liturgy hold for the Jews of the time of Christ and for Christ Himself? It is also quite evident that the mentality of the Jews and of Christ was formed by the Old Testament. Consequently, it is in studying the significance for the Old Testament of the different elements used in the sacraments that we have the best method of discovering their significance for Christ and for the Apostles. We shall possess a typology that will bear not only on the content of the sacraments, but also on their form; and this typology will show us that we are quite justified in seeing the sacraments as prefigured in the Old Testament, since it is for this reason that these particular signs were chosen by Christ.

Let us consider some examples. We usually interpret the rite of Baptism by seeing in it a reference to water as cleansing and purifying. But now this does not seem actually to be the most important meaning of the rite. Two references in the Bible set us on the track of other interpretations. On the one hand, the water of Baptism is the water that destroys, the water of judgment; or "the waters" in Jewish symbolism are actually a symbol of the power

⁹ See especially W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy*, Oxford, 1925; Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, Westminster, 1946.

-6-

of death. But the water of Baptism is also the water that brings forth a new creature, and this sends us back to the Jewish symbol of the waters as not only destructive but also creative. And, finally, Jewish baptism may also have referred to the crossing of the Red Sea. Or, again, in regard to the Eucharist: the choice of bread and wine may well have contained a reference to the sacrifice of Melchisedech; and the framework of a meal a reference to the sacred meals of Judaism, figures of the messianic feast; the season of the Pasch, a reference to the paschal meal, the symbol of the alliance between the People and God.¹⁰ We can thus see how the deeds of Christ are charged with biblical memories which tell us the true significance of these deeds.

This biblical symbolism, therefore, constitutes the primitive foundation which gives us the true significance of the sacraments in their original institution. Later on, in the midst of a Hellenistic culture, other kinds of symbolism were grafted on to this primitive stock--symbols borrowed from the customs of the Greek world. In this way, for example, the imposition of the sign of the cross, the *sphragis*, was first interpreted in relation to the Jewish rite of circumcision, but later was compared to the brand or sign with which sheep, soldiers and priests were marked. Or again, the dove, originally referring to the Spirit of God hovering over the waters, was later considered to be a symbol of peace. But these later interpretations have never entirely covered over the original biblical foundation which the Fathers have preserved for us. And so their sacramental theology must be considered as essentially biblical.

This reference to the Bible has a double value. ¹¹ First of all, it constitutes an authority justifying the existence and the form of the sacraments by showing that they are the expression of constant modes of the divine action, so that they do not appear as accidents, but rather as the expression of the very design of God. Moreover, these references to the Bible give us the symbolism in which the sacraments were first conceived, and they point out to us their various meanings, for the New Testament first defined them by means of categories borrowed from the Old. And so sacramental typology introduces us to a biblical theology of the sac-

¹⁰ These statements will be vindicated later on.

¹¹ See Augustine, *De cat. rud.*, III, 6; *P.L.*, XL, 313.

-7-

raments corresponding to their original significance, a significance which later theology was to continue to elaborate. The *sphragis*, for example, is, therefore, to be interpreted in line with the theology of the Covenant; Baptism in line with that of the judgment and of the Deliverance (redemption), the Eucharist in line with that of a meal and a sacrifice.

We can, therefore, now see the true value of our undertaking. We are not concerned with the personal theology of the Fathers; but what constitutes for us the supreme value of their work is that in them we meet apostolic tradition of which they are the witnesses and the depositaries. Their sacramental theology is a biblical theology, and it is this biblical theology which we are to try to recover. We are to look for it in the Fathers of the Church inasmuch as they are the witnesses of the faith of primitive Christianity. In them, we see this biblical theology as refracted through a Greek mentality, but this mentality affects only the method of presentation. The fact that the Good Shepherd appears dressed as Orpheus does not alter the fact that it is He Whom Ezechiel announced, and Whom St. John showed us as actually having come in the person of Christ.

A few words must now be said concerning the principal sources in which we discover this sacramental theology. The period of the first three centuries gives us only fragmentary witnesses, although these are particularly valuable by reason of their antiquity. If we must go back to the most ancient origin of treatises on the symbolism of worship, we should, perhaps, begin with the Gospel of St. John, if it is, as Cullmann believes, a kind of paschal catechesis commenting on the mysteries of Christ in relation to their biblical prefigurings ¹² and also to their prolongation in the sacraments. But we are not going to speak only of the Fathers of the Church. We observe, first of all, that the ancient rituals often contain theological indications. Thus, one of the most ancient, the *Traditio Apostolica* of Hippolytus of Rome, mentions the explanations of the Eucharist given by the bishop to the newly baptized before giving them their first Communion during the Easter Vigil. ¹³

¹² Cullmann, *Urchristentum und Gottesdienst*, 2nd. ed., 1950, p. 38-115.

¹³ *Trad. Apost.*, 23; Botte (Sources chrétiennes), p. 54.

-8-

But such indications are only occasional. More important are those which we find in works explicitly concerned with the rites of worship. We have a small treatise of Tertullian, *De Baptismo*.¹⁴ This is the earliest document to put in systematic order the different aspects of the theology of Baptism. In it we find an interpretation of the figures of Baptism in the Old Testament: the different rites are enumerated with their significance. This treatise, known to Didymus the Blind, was to serve as a model for later works. It might seem astonishing that there is nothing like it to be found in relation to the Eucharist, but the reason is that the discipline of the *arcana*, of secrecy, forbade the revelation of the Mysteries. The only teaching given on this subject, therefore, could not be preserved for us in writing.

The subject most fully documented at this ancient time is, perhaps, that of the liturgical year, that is, essentially, of the paschal season, which was its principal feast. For the date of Easter caused several controversies and so gave occasion to various writers to treat of the subject. Two works on Easter by Origen have recently been found in Egypt, though unfortunately they have not yet been published. And, again, the feast of Easter, which was also that of Baptism, served as the occasion for sermons, some of which have been preserved for us. Thus, a *Homily on the Passion* by Melito of Sardis has been found and published by Campbell Bonner,¹⁵ giving us a text of capital importance for paschal theology. Again, a homily that is substantially at least by Hippolytus of Rome, has been found by Fr. Charles Martin among the spuria of St. John Chrysostom.¹⁶

This material is sparse, but the fourth century gives us treatises on the whole subject. With the organization of the catechumenate, the custom spread of giving the new Christians an explanation of the sacraments which they had received. We have the good fortune to possess some of these sacramental catecheses given during Easter week, and they furnish us with the most important sources for our purpose. These documents, moreover, belong to

¹⁴ *P.L.*, I, 1198- 1224.

¹⁵ *The Homily on the Passion*, by Melito, Bishop of Sardis, edited by Campbell Bonner, Studies and Documents, 1940.

¹⁶ Established text, translated and annotated by Pierre Nautin, *Sources chrétiennes*, 1951. See Ch. Martin, *Un περὶ τῆν + 0311 Πάσχα de Saint Hippolyte retrouvé*, Rech. Sc. Rel., 1926, p. 148-167.

-9-

different times and places, the principal ones being the *Mystagogic Catecheses* of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, the *De mysteriis* and *De sacramentis* of St. Ambrose of Milan, the Catechetical Homilies of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and, finally, the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. We shall examine each of these in turn.

Under the name of Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, we possess a collection of twenty-four sermons addressed to the catechumens of Jerusalem.¹⁷ That which is of special interest to us is the introductory sermon, or procatechesis, which must have been given on the First Sunday of Lent. To begin with, Cyril reminds the catechumens that Baptism demands a conversion, and that it must be received with a sound

intention. Then he gives the significance of the exorcisms; he reminds his hearers that they must not reveal the content of their instructions to non-Christians; he insists on the importance of regularly attending the catecheses. Next, he gives some practical directions as to how they should conduct themselves during the periods of waiting: they should read or pray, but in a low voice so as not to annoy the others. And, finally, he shows what a great thing Baptism is and how important it is to prepare oneself properly for it.

The two first catecheses treat of penance and the mercy of God. The third, important for our purposes, gives a general teaching of Baptism. Cyril explains that it includes two elements, the water and the Spirit. He explains the meaning of the baptism of John the Baptist, and the reasons why Jesus was baptized by him. The catecheses that follow are commentaries on the Symbol of faith and contain few elements of sacramental theology.

Finally come the five mystagogic catecheses. ¹⁸ Their attribution to Cyril has been questioned, because certain reasons based on external criticism lead us to believe that they are by John of Jerusalem, Cyril's successor. But this does not matter to us, for in any case they are a document of the fourth century. ¹⁹ Cyril is now speaking to the newly baptized. He tells them why he has waited until this moment to give them the explanation of the significance

¹⁷ P.G., XXXIII, 331-1128.

¹⁸ An edition of the text with a translation by the Abbé Chirat will shortly be appearing in the collection entitled *Sources chrétiennes*.

¹⁹ See W. J. Swaans, *A propos des Catéchèses mystagogiques attribués à saint Cyrille de Jérusalem*, Muséon, 1942, p. 1-43.

-10-

of the sacramental rites,--they had to remain surrounded with mystery. Then Cyril takes the rites one after the other. The first two catecheses are devoted to Baptism, the third to Confirmation, the two last to the Eucharist. We shall see how, in the case of each Sacrament, Cyril begins with its figures in the Old Testament, then the symbolism of the rites and, finally, the dogmatic explanations. These three aspects are also found in a general way in the other catecheses, and so also is the method which consists in following the development of the rites.

The Catecheses of Cyril of Jerusalem were given in Palestine in the middle of the fourth century. With the *De mysteriis* and the *De sacramentis* of St. Ambrose, we are in Milan, and in the last part of the century. ²⁰ The two works are both mystagogic catecheses, analogous to those of St. Cyril, and they also deal with the three sacraments of Christian initiation. These catecheses were held during Easter week, as is shown by the beginning of the *De mysteriis*.

"The season now invites us to speak of the sacraments. If we thought it well to give some suggestions to the uninitiated before they received Baptism, this was done more by way of introduction than explanation. For we think that the light of the sacraments is better communicated if it is not expected than if some speaking has preceded it." (1, 2; Botte, 108.) We find the same idea with Cyril: the sacraments should preserve to the end their character of mysteries.

The relation of the two works has posed a difficult problem. Everyone agrees in seeing in the *De mysteriis* a work of St. Ambrose; but is this also true of the *De sacramentis*? Many arguments have been

brought against its authenticity: the absence of any attribution to St. Ambrose by the manuscripts, a style very inferior to his, differences in certain rites: the *sputatio* and the prayer *ad orientem* are found in the *De mysteriis* and not in the *De sacramentis*; and, finally, the *De mysteriis*, in conformity with the law of the *arcana*, does not reveal the words of Baptism, of the Consecration, or of the Pater, while all these are found in the *De sacramentis*. Nevertheless, the resemblances are so considerable

²⁰ Established text, translated and annotated by Bernard Botte, *O.S.B.*, *Sources chrétiennes*, 1950.

-11-

that criticism is now unanimous in seeing in both writings the work of St. Ambrose. ²¹

But we still need to account for the differences between these two works, and Dom Morin has given an explanation which seems conclusive. This is that the *De mysteriis* was a literary work intended for publication, while the *De sacramentis* gives us the notes taken down by one of the audience during the catecheses. This would explain the absence of attribution; for this would be a document preserved for ordinary use in the Church of Milan. The style is negligent, because these are notes having the special quality of spoken instruction. And, finally, the disappearance of the two rites of the *sputatio* and the prayer to the east are explained by the fact that these two rites, having fallen into disuse, were taken out of a collection which was thought of as concerned with the ordinary ritual. We may, then, consider the *De mysteriis* to be an abridged version of the *De sacramentis* made for public use.

The first chapters deal with Baptism. Here Ambrose speaks at the same time--as St. Cyril does not--of the general doctrine and the symbolic meaning of the rites. He emphasizes especially the figures from the Old Testament. We find many usages peculiar to Milan, in particular that of washing the feet after Baptism, which Ambrose defends against the Roman custom (*De Sacr.* III, 4-7; Botte, 73-74). The treatment of Confirmation is quite brief, and the last chapters are concerned with the Eucharist. Here again St. Ambrose dwells at length on the figures,--those of Melchisedech and of the manna in particular. Like Cyril, he gives a commentary on the Pater. Like Cyril also, he explains clearly the reality of transubstantiation. At once dogmatic and mystical, these two works are of the greatest possible interest for the theology of Christian worship.

The *Catechetical Homilies* of Theodore of Mopsuestia lead us to Antioch, a little after the time of St. Augustine. Msgr. Devreesse believes that they might have been given in 392. We have them only in a Syrian translation, recently discovered, of which, in

²¹ See G. Morin, *Pour l'authenticité du De sacramentis et de l'explanatio fidei de saint Ambr.*, *Jahr. Lit. Wiss.*, VIII, 1928, p. 86-106; O. Faller, *Ambrosius, der Verfasser von de Sacramentis*, *Z.K.T.*, 1940, 1-14; [81](#) - [101](#); R. B. Connolly, *The De sacramentis Work of S. Ambrosius*, Oxford, 1942.

-12-

1933, Alfred Mingana made an English translation. ²² The Syrian text, accompanied by a French translation by Rev. P. Tonneau, O.P., and an introduction by Msgr. Devreesse, has just been published.

[23](#)

The work begins with ten homilies making up a commentary on the Credo, parallel to the homilies of Cyril of Jerusalem, and as Msgr. Devreesse has shown, forming a valuable document for our knowledge of Theodore. The eleventh homily, on the Our Father, precedes the sacramental homilies, while in St. Ambrose's works, these are followed by the commentary on the Pater. Then come three homilies on Baptism and two on the Mass, which constitute the mystagogic catecheses properly so-called. As against the custom in the churches of Jerusalem and Milan, the explanation of the sacraments seems to have been given *before* their reception.

The sacramental symbolism of Theodore presents several characteristic aspects. In his Introduction, Msgr. Devreesse mentions "typology" several times; but what actually strikes us, when we compare Theodore to St. Cyril of Jerusalem, and, even more, to St. Ambrose, is the almost complete absence of any typology borrowed from the Old Testament. There is only one exception. Although Theodore ignores the baptismal figures of the Deluge or of the Crossing of the Red Sea, the theme of Adam appears several times, in particular in connection with the preparatory rites,--the examination, the exorcisms, etc.,--and the parallel between the situation of Adam in the garden and that of the catechumen in the baptistry dominates Theodore's presentation. But this is an exception, for his whole sacramental symbolism is founded on the parallel between the visible and the invisible liturgies. We are here in line with the symbolism of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*. We can certainly speak of typology, but we must make it clear that Theodore's is concerned more with the relation of things visible to the invisible than with the relation of things past to things to come, which is the true bearing of the word. Moreover, Theodore refers to the *Epistle to the Hebrews* in his first catecheses: "Every sacrament is the indication in signs and

²² *Commentary of T. of M. on the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, Woodbrooke Studies VI, Cambridge, 1933.*

²³ *Les Homélie catéchétiques de T. de M., Cité du Vatican, 1949.*

-13-

symbols of things invisible and beyond speech" (12:2), and he quotes Hebr. VIII, 5, and X, 1. He develops this line of thought especially in reference to the Eucharistic sacrifice, which he sees as the sacramental participation in the heavenly sacrifice. ²⁴ And this leads us to remark that the sacramental platonism of Theodore is itself the consequence of the literal quality of his exegesis. Rejecting typology because he refused to see a relationship between historic realities, he was led to interpret sacramental symbolism in a vertical sense, as the relationship of visible things to invisible.

Nevertheless, this is not the only aspect under which he sees them: symbols of heavenly realities, the sacraments are for Theodore also a ritual imitation of the historic actions of Christ. We find here another basic aspect of sacramental theology, but it has a special character in the works of Theodore. Instead of relating only wholes to one another, he forces himself to try to establish relationships between the details of the rites and those of the Gospel narratives: the offertory procession is a figure of Christ led to His Passion, the offerings placed on the altar are figures of Christ placed in His tomb (XV, 25), the altar-cloths are the burialcloths, the deacons who surround the altar are figures of the angels who guarded the tomb (XV, 27). We are at the beginning of a line of interpretation which was to have a great development in the East (we find it in Nicholas Cabasilas) and in the West with Amalarius). Seemingly a kind of typology along the lines of St. Matthew, it corresponded perfectly with one of the aspects of the temperament of Theodore, his care to hold himself to concrete realities. But it is obviously artificial. Theodore himself runs into complete absurdities, for example, when he tries to establish a comparison

between the deacons who accompany the offertory procession and the Roman soldiers who accompanied Jesus to Golgotha (XV, 25).

With the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy of the Pseudo-Dionysius, we are still in Syria, but some two centuries later. ²⁵ One of the results of the discovery of the *Homilies* of Theodore of Mopsuestia

²⁴ Francis J. Reine, *The Eucharistic Doctrine and Liturgy of the Mystical Catecheses of T. of M.*, Washington, 1942; J. Lecuyer, *Le sacerdoce chrétien et le sacrifice eucharistique selon T. de M.*, *Rech. Sc. Rel.*, 1949, p. 481-517.

²⁵ P.G. I, 585A-1120A. French translation and introduction of Maurice de Gandillac, Paris, 1943.

-14-

is that it allows us to determine more precisely the kind of culture with which the Areopagite writings were connected. We know the discussions which have arisen in the course of the search for the origin of these works: if Monsignor Daboy connects them with a convert of St. Paul's, Fr. Pira believes that they can be related to the writings of the Cappadocian Fathers. ²⁶ But Fr. Stiglmayr, even though he was mistaken in attributing them to Severus of Antioch, already had seen that their place of origin was Syria. ²⁷ And the striking resemblances, both in the order of the rites and in that of their symbolism, that exist between the *Homilies* and the *Hierarchy*, now render this origin certain.

But this work presents certain special characteristics. In the first place, it does not deal with an elementary catechesis, addressed to catechumens, like those of which we have so far been speaking. In one passage, having reminded his readers of the rites of Communion, the author writes: "And now, dear child, after giving these images ordered with piety toward the divine truth of their model, I will now speak for the spiritual instruction of the newly-initiated" (428 A). Following a number of explanations, the author continues: "But let us leave to the imperfect these signs which, as we have said, are magnificently painted on the walls of sanctuaries: they are enough to nourish their contemplation. For us, in Holy Communion, let us mount from effects to causes" (428 C). It certainly seems that the Pseudo-Dionysius distinguishes an elementary catechesis in which he meets the needs of the newly-baptized,--and this he only sketches out in passing,--from a deeper theology meant for advanced souls, which is the proper object of his work.

Another characteristic of the Hierarchy is that its symbolism is concerned with a more developed state of the liturgy itself. In connection with the rites of the Eucharist, we find here allusions to the incensing of the altar and the procession around the assembly: we are here concerned with the Byzantine liturgy. Dionysius treats at length of Confirmation and of the holy oils, which take up little space in the works of Ambrose or Theodore. Furthermore, after the three sacraments of initiation, he speaks of the

²⁶ *Denys le Mystique et la Theomachia*, R.S.P.T., 1936, p. 5-75.

²⁷ *Der sogennante D. Areopagiticus und Severus von Antiochen*, *Scholastik*, 1928. p. 1-27; 161-189.

-15-

Ordination of priests, of the Consecration of virgins, of the rites of betrothal; and there is nothing about these topics in the preceding writers. Here we are no longer dealing with the initiation of the newly

baptized for whom these allusions would have no meanings; and we find also that the liturgy is much further developed.

The symbolic orientation which had already appeared in Theodore has now become very marked. Not only does Dionysius make no references to the figures of the Old Testament, but we find very few even to the New. The typology according to which the sacraments appear as events in sacred history, prefigured by the Old Testament and themselves the figure of the Kingdom to come, has given way to a mystical symbolism in which sensible realities are the images of intelligible. The waiting for the end of time characteristic of the first centuries has given way to the contemplation of the heavenly world. And so we can understand why the author very naturally went to the neo-platonist, Proclus, to find the forms of expression in which to express his vision of the world. ²⁸

The mystagogic catecheses are the most important documents for the theology of worship, but they are not the only ones. For we find in various other works passages related to the symbolism of the sacraments. So, to give only two examples: the *De Trinitate* of Didymus the Blind contains a passage on the figures of Baptism ²⁹ and the *Treatise on the Holy Spirit* of St. Basil, has a symbolic commentary on a whole collection of rites, the prayer to the east, standing upright for prayer, etc. ³⁰ And, in any case, the mystagogic catecheses are only concerned with the sacraments, whereas Christian worship contains other rites also charged with meaning, particularly, for example, the liturgical cycle of feasts. And here also we have valuable documents in the form of homilies pronounced on the occasion of the chief feasts of the year. It is impossible to give a complete list of these homilies, and we shall only point out certain texts.

In the eastern world, one group in particular deserves our attention, that of the Cappadocians. We possess liturgical homilies by St. Gregory of Nazianzen and St. Gregory of Nyssa containing

²⁸ Hugo Koch, *Pseudo-Dionysios in seinen Beziehungen zum Neuplatonismus und Mysterien weisen*, Mainz, 1900.

²⁹ II, 12-14; P.G., XXXIX, 668-717.

³⁰ XIV: *Pruche (Sources chrétiennes)*, 162-167; XXVII: *Pruche*, 232-240.

-16-

elements of great value. Of those of the former, we should mention above all the homilies on the *Nativity*, on *Epiphany*, on *Pentecost*, on *Easter*. ³¹ Those of Gregory of Nyssa, though less celebrated, are also worthy of note. Besides three homilies on Easter and one on Pentecost, we have a brief homily on the Ascension, which now appears as a distinct feast, one on the *Baptism of Christ*, and, finally, one on Christmas. ³² All these texts are filled with symbolic interpretations.

The West is no less rich in works of this kind. We have a series of short *tractatus* on Easter, containing typological references, by Zeno, Bishop of Verona in the middle of the fourth century. ³³ Gaudentius, Bishop of Brescia in the fifth century, has also left a series of *Sermons on the Easter season*. ³⁴ The work of St. Augustine contains many sermons concerned with liturgical feasts, in particular Easter and Pentecost. And finally, to quote only the most important, we have a collection of homilies by St. Leo the Great commenting on the whole liturgical year. ³⁵

Besides these homilies, and in connection with the Easter season alone, we also need to consult the *Letters of the Feasts* which the Bishops of Alexandria customarily sent to their flock at the beginning of

Lent, and which are the primitive form of the episcopal charge. The oldest are those of St. Athanasius,³⁶ and there also exists a collection of St. Cyril of Alexandria.³⁷

This brief summary gives us an idea of the principal sources of liturgical symbolism in the first Christian centuries. It is also a witness to the important place held by this "mystagogic" teaching, in catechesis as well as in preaching. For the fact is that the life of ancient Christianity was centered around worship. And worship was not considered to be a collection of rites meant to sanctify secular life. The sacraments were thought of as the essential events of Christian existence, and of existence itself, as being the prolongation of the great works of God in the Old Testament and the New. In them was inaugurated a new creation which introduced the Christian even now into the Kingdom of God.

³¹ P.G., XXXVI, 312-452; 608-664.

³² P.G., XLVI, 578-702; 1128-1149. See Jean Daniélou, *Le mystère du culte dans les Homélie liturgiques de saint Grégoire de Nyssa*, Festgabe Casel, 1951.

³³ P.L., XI, 500-508.

³⁴ P.L., XX, 843-920.

³⁵ Text and translation by Dom Dolle, *Sources chrétiennes*, 1949.

³⁶ P.G., XXVI, 1360-1444.

³⁷ P.G., LXXVII, 402-981.

-17-

CHAPTER

ONE

The Preparation

IN OUR study of the great liturgical unities, we shall begin with Baptism, since it is this sacrament which inaugurates the Christian life. During the fourth century, as we know, Baptism was usually given during the night before Easter Sunday, but the baptismal ceremonies actually began at the opening of Lent. The candidates were enrolled at that time and began their immediate preparation for the sacrament, whereas, up until taking this step, they had been simple catechumens. This remote period of preparation, as we know, could last for a long time; and the Fathers often protested against those who thus put off their entrance into the Church. But from the time of their enrollment at the beginning of Lent, the candidates constituted a new group, the *photizomenoi*, "those who are coming into the light." The ceremonies of these forty days form a whole, of which our Ritual today makes a single ceremony.

This preparation for Baptism was introduced by the rite of enrollment, which we find described in this way by Etheria in her account of her pilgrimage: "Whoever wishes to give in his name does so on the eve of Lent; and a priest notes down all the names. The next day, the opening of Lent, the day on which the eight weeks begin, in the middle of the principal church, that is, the church of the *Martyrium*, a seat is placed for the bishop, and one by one the candidates are led up to him. If they are men, they come with their godfathers; if women, with their godmothers. Then

-19-

the bishop questions the neighbors of each person who comes in, saying: 'Does he lead a good life? Does he respect his parents: Is he given to drunkenness or to lying?' If the candidate is pronounced beyond reproach by all those who are thus questioned in the presence of witnesses, with his own hand the bishop

notes down the man's name. But if the candidate is accused of failing in any point, the bishop tells him to go out, saying: 'Let him amend his life and when he has amended it, let him come to Baptism'" (*Per. Eth.*45; Petre, p. 255-257).

Thus we see what this ceremony consisted of: the candidate gave in his name to the deacon in the evening; the next day, accompanied by his sponsor, he presented himself and underwent a kind of examination in order to ensure the purity of his motives; ¹ then the bishop officially inscribed his name in the registers. The rite described by Etheria is that of Jerusalem, and is analogous to that of Antioch, thus described by Theodore of Mopsuestia: "Whoever desires to come to Holy Baptism, let him present himself to the Church of God. He will be received by the man who is delegated for this duty, according to the established custom that those who are to be baptized should be enrolled. This man will inform himself concerning the candidate's habits and way of life. This office is filled, for those who are baptized, by those who are called guarantors. The man who is delegated for this duty writes down your name in the Book of the Church, and also that of the witness. As in a trial, the person who is accused must stand up, so you are to hold out your arms in the attitude of one who prays, and to keep your eyes cast down. For the same reason, you are to take off your outer garment and to be barefoot, standing on haircloth" (*Hom. Cat. XII*, 1; Tonneau, 323). ²

The literal meaning of these rites is obvious,--what interests us is the interpretation given to them by the Fathers. The examination which precedes the inscription in which the claims of the candidate are discussed, signifies for Theodore of Mopsuestia that at this moment Satan "tries to argue against us, under the pretext that we have no right to escape from his domination. He says that we belong to him because we are descended from the head

¹ This examination is mentioned as early as the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus of Rome (20; Botte, p. 47-48). St. Augustine gives an excellent explanation of the manner in which it was to be carried out. (*De catech. rud.* 9; P.L., XL, 316-317).

² See a similar description in the Pseudo-Denis, *Hier. Eccl.*, 393 D-396 A.

-20-

of our race," (XII, 18). Against him, "we must hasten to go before the judge to establish our claims and to show that by rights we did not belong to Satan from the beginning, but to God Who made us to His Own image" (XII, 19). ³ And Theodore compares this "temptation" to the scene in which Satan "tries to lead Christ astray by his wiles and temptations" (XII, 22). Even the attitude of the candidate is symbolic: he is clad only in his tunic and is barefoot, "to show the slavery in which the devil holds him captive and to arouse the pity of the judge" (XII, 24).

This interpretation brings out at the very beginning one of the themes of baptismal theology--the conflict with Satan. The baptismal rites constitute a drama in which the candidate, who up to this time has belonged to the demon, strives to escape his power. This drama begins with the enrollment and is not concluded, as we shall see, until the actual Baptism. Moreover, we notice that Theodore relates the trial which the candidate undergoes, on the one hand to the temptation of Adam, on the other hand to that of Christ. We are now in the center of biblical typology. A relationship between the temptation of Christ and that of Adam is perhaps to be found in the Gospel of St. Mark, where Christ is presented as the New Adam, ruling the wild beasts and served by angels (Mark I, 13). ⁴ The temptation of the candidate at Baptism is, in turn, a participation in the temptation of Christ. And so he also is contrasted with the first Adam. This parallelism of the scene in Paradise and that of Baptism, with that from the life of Christ in

between, will appear all through the course of the baptismal catechesis. We notice that the Gospel of the Temptation is still today to be found in the Roman liturgy on the first Sunday of Lent, and this should be interpreted in the light of the fact that this was the Sunday of enrollment.

One detail given by Theodore of Mopsuestia deserves special attention. In Syria, the candidate stood on a haircloth during the examination. This appears again at the moment of the renuncia-

³ "The justification of this idea may be found in St. Paul, when he says that at Baptism Christ destroys for us the *chirographum mortis*, the right which Satan claims over us (Col., II, 14), for that does seem to be the first introduction of juridical ideas into the theology of Baptism." (J. H. Crehan, *Early Christian Baptism and the Creed*, London, 1948, p. 104.

⁴ See U. Holzmeister, *Jesus lebte mit den wilden Tieren, Vom Wort des Lebens, Festschrift Meinertz*, 1951, p. 84-92.

-21-

tion of Satan, and we find it also in the African liturgy. ⁵ This custom has been studied by Johannes Quasten. ⁶ It seems that the original significance was that of penitence; in fact, we find analogous practices in the Eleusinian mysteries. Theodore also points out this symbolism. But elsewhere the rite took on another meaning related to the interpretation of the Baptismal rites according to the symbolism of Adam. The haircloth appears as a figure of the "garments of skin" (Gen. III:21) with which Adam was clothed after the fall, the garments which signified his degradation. Henceforth the candidate will tread under foot these garments of skin. It is to this that Theodore is alluding when he speaks of the old sins, of which the haircloths are a figure.

After the examination, came the enrollment itself. This also is given a symbolic commentary. In this *Sermon against those who put off their Baptism*, intended precisely to invite the catechumens to have themselves enrolled, Gregory of Nyssa writes: "Give me your names so that I may write them down in ink. But the Lord Himself will engrave them on incorruptible tablets, writing them with His own finger, as He once wrote the Law of the Hebrews" (P. G. XLVI, 417 B). The visible writing in the register of the Church is the figure of the writing of the names of the elect on the tablets of heaven. ⁷ Theodore of Mopsuestia devotes a whole homily to a commentary on the inscriptio. For Gregory of Nyssa, the inscription on the church registers is a figure of inscription in the Church of heaven: "O you who present yourselves for Baptism,--he who is delegated for this office is actually inscribing you in the Book of the Church in such a way that you may know that from now on you are inscribed in heaven, where your guarantor will take great care to teach you, stranger as you are in this city and only recently come in, everything concerning life in this city, so that you may accustom yourself to it" (XII, 16; Tonneau, 348-349).

⁵ Quodvultdeus, *De Symbolo ad Catech.*, I, 1; P.L., XL, 637.

⁶ Johannes Quasten, *Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Exorcism of Cilicium*, *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, 1942, p. 209-219.

⁷ The idea of heavenly tablets on which are inscribed the names of the elect comes from Exodus XXXII, 32. The idea was common in Jewish Apocalyptic writings. It is found in the New Testament (*Luke*, X, 20; *Apoc.*, III, 5) and in Christian Apocalyptic writings (*Apoc. Petri*; R.O.C., 1910, p. 117). On the origin of this idea, see Geo. Widengren. *The Ascension of the Apostle and the Heavenly Book*, Upsala, 1950.

Thus, on the first Sunday of Lent, the candidates were examined and enrolled. The forty days that followed were a time of retreat; "From this day on," writes St. Cyril of Jerusalem, "turn away from every wicked occupation; speak no unbefitting words" (P. G. XXXIII, 348 A). But "raise the eyes of your soul and contemplate the angelic choirs and the Lord of the universe seated on His throne, with His Son at His right hand and the Spirit beside Him" (XXXIII, 357 A). This whole period should be devoted to preparing for Baptism: "If your wedding-day were approaching, would you not leave everything else and devote yourself entirely to preparing for the feast? You are about to consecrate your soul to her heavenly Bridegroom. Should you not leave these material things in order to gain spiritual? (XXXIII, 345 A). This preparation consists on the one hand in strengthening faith against the attacks of error: this is the purpose of the catecheses. And, on the other, it is a time of purification in which "the rust of the soul should be removed so that only true metal will remain" ([357 A](#)).

During this time, the catechumens are to come to church every day, at the hour of Prime. This daily ceremony included, first of all, an exorcism. Etheria tells us: "The custom here is that those who are going to be baptized come every day during Lent, and first they are exorcised by the clerics" ([46](#); Petre, p. 257). Cyril of Jerusalem gives some suggestions as to how the candidates should conduct themselves while the exorcisms were going on: "During the exorcism, while the others are coming up to be exorcised, the men should stay with the men and the women with the women. The men should be seated, having in their hands some useful book: and while one reads, the others should listen. On their side, the young women should gather to chant the Psalms or to read, but they should do so in a low voice, so that the lips may be speaking but the sound not reach the ears of the others" (XXXIII, 356 A-B).

Cyril treats at length of the meaning of the exorcisms. For one thing, they are the expression of the conflict which is being waged between Christ and Satan ⁸ around the faithful soul. The devil makes a supreme effort to keep the soul in his power. The trial,

⁸ See A. Dondeyne, *La discipline des scrutins dans l'Église latine avant Charlemagne*, *Rev. Hist. Eccl.*, 1932, p. [14](#)- [18](#).

which Theodore shows us as beginning at the time of the enrollment, continues during the preparation. "The serpent is beside the road, watching those who pass by," writes Cyril of Jerusalem. "Take care that he does not bite you by means of unfaithfulness. He follows with his eyes those who are on the way to salvation, and he seeks whom he may devour. You are going to the Father of spirits, but you must pass by the serpent. How can you avoid him? Have your feet shod with the Gospel of peace, so that, if he bites you, it will do you no evil. If you see any evil thought coming to your spirit, know that it is the serpent of the sea who is setting snares for you. Guard your soul, so that he cannot seize it" (XXXIII, 361 A-B).

Here is another witness to the importance of the struggle with Satan in the baptismal rites. But we must add that this theme of Satan barring the way which leads to God, and needing to be conquered if we are to come to God, is found in other places besides the baptismal rites. It appears particularly in connection with martyrdom. Thus during an ecstasy, Perpetua saw "on a ladder that mounted to heaven, a dragon lying, of an extraordinary size, who sets ambushes for those who climb the ladder." ⁹ In connection with this rite, Carl-Martin Edsman has remarked on the parallelism between the rites of Baptism and the

theology of martyrdom, ¹⁰ and we shall have to mention it more than once. In a more general way, the demon is presented as trying to bar the way to heaven to the souls of the dead. St. Anthony sees in a vision "an enormous being, reaching to heaven, who, stretching out his hands, prevents the souls from rising up. He understood that this was the Enemy." ¹¹ J. Quasten has shown the place of this idea in the ancient funeral liturgy. ¹²

The rite of exorcism itself has for its precise purpose to free the soul little by little from the power that the demon has exercised over it. Cyril writes: "Receive the exorcisms eagerly, whether they be insufflations or imprecations, for this is salutary for you. Consider that you are gold that has been adulterated and

¹⁰ C. M. Edsman, *Le baptême de feu*, p. 42 - 47 .

¹¹ St. Athanasius, *Life of St. Antony*, 66.

¹² J. Quasten, *Der Gute Hirte in frühchristlicher Totenliturgie, Miscell. Mercati, I*, p. 385-396.

⁹ *The Passion of Ss. Perpetua and Felicity MM.* (Tr. W. H. Shewring. Sheed & Ward, 1931) IV, 3. See F. J. Doeiger, *Das Martyrium als Kampf gegen die Dämonen, Ant. und Christ., III*, 3, p. 177 et seq.

-24-

falsified. We are looking for pure gold. But as gold cannot be purified of its alloys without fire, so the soul cannot be purified without exorcisms, which are divine words, chosen from the Holy Scriptures. As goldsmiths, blowing on the fire, cause the gold to separate from the ore, so the exorcisms put fear to flight by the Spirit of God, and cause the soul to rise up in the body as if in its ore, putting to flight the enemy, the demon, and leaving only hope of life everlasting" (XXXIII, 349 A-B). ¹³

After the exorcism every morning came the catechesis: "Then," writes Etheria, "they place a chair in the Martyrium ¹⁴ for the Bishop, and all those who are to be baptized sit in a circle around him, both men and women, and their godfathers and godmothers, and also all those who wish to hear, provided they are Christians. During these forty days, the Bishop goes through all the Scriptures, beginning with Genesis, explaining first the literal and then the spiritual sense: this is what is called catechesis. At the end of five weeks of instruction, they receive the Symbol, and its teaching is explained to them phrase by phrase, as was that of all the Scriptures, first the literal sense and then the spiritual" (46; Pétré, 257, 259). We are so fortunate as to have a series of these Catecheses, those of Cyril of Jerusalem. ¹⁵

These catecheses end, on the Sunday before Easter, with the *redditio symboli* (the recitation of the Creed). ¹⁶

The meaning of the catechesis is made clear by St. Cyril in these words: "Do not think that it consists of ordinary sermons. These are good, but if we neglect them today, we can still listen to them tomorrow. But the teaching that is to follow on the Baptism of rebirth,--if you neglect it now, when can you find it again? This is the time for planting the trees. If you neglect to spade and dig the earth, when can you plant properly a tree that has been badly planted? The catechesis is a building. If we neglect to dig its foundations, if we leave holes and the building is shaky,

¹³ See F. J. Doelger, *Der Exorcismus im altchristlichen Taufritual*, Paderborn, 1909.

¹⁴ The Martyrium was the main church at Jerusalem, built on top of the cistern where the instruments of the Passion had been found. See Vincent-Abel, *Jérusalem, Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie*

et d'histoire, II, p. 183-194.

- ¹⁵ See also the *Catechetical Homilies of Theodore of Mopsuestia* and the *De catechizandis rudibus* of St. Augustine.
- ¹⁶ When the custom of having a *tradio* and a *redditio* of the Lord's Prayer be. came established, those of the Symbol were put forward one Sunday. See Dondeyne , *La discipline des scrutins, Rev. Hist. Eccl.*, 1932, pp. [14](#) - [15](#) .

-25-

of what use will be any further work?" (XXXIII, 352, A-B). The time of catechesis is, then, that in which the foundation of the faith is laid, while the purification of the soul is also being accomplished.

As for the *redditio symboli*, Theodore of Mopsuestia sees it as being the counterpart of the exorcisms. These have freed the soul from slavery to Satan. "By the recitation of the Creed, you bind yourself to God, by the mediation of the Bishop, and you make a pact to persevere in charity toward the divine nature" (XIII, 1; Tonneau, p. 369). We shall notice that the double aspect of struggle with Satan and of conversion to Christ will be found in the whole baptismal liturgy. All of it is a mystery of death and resurrection, and these preparatory rites are already marked with this character.

The last rite in preparation for Baptism took place during the Easter Vigil. This was the renunciation of Satan and adherence to Christ. This rite forms part of the preparatory ceremonies, although it is placed in the liturgy of the Easter Vigil. It also has been commented on by Cyril of Jerusalem in the first of the *Mystagogic Catecheses*, and we find it in all the writers and in all the Churches, in Jerusalem, in Antioch and in Rome. Its origin is ancient, being mentioned by so early an author as Tertullian. ¹⁷ It seems to be directly connected with the renunciation of idolatry. In this sense, it must have appeared, not in Jewish Christianity, where it would have had no meaning, but in the Christianity of the missions. And this explains why all the images it contains are connected more with the pagan world than with that of Judaism.

The renunciation of Satan is described by Cyril of Jerusalem: "You first entered into the vestibule of the baptistry, and, while you stood and faced the West, you were told to stretch out your hand. Then you renounced Satan as if he were present, saying: I renounce you, Satan, and all your pomp and all your worship" (XXXIII, 1068- 1069). The formula of Theodore of Mopsuestia is analogous, "Once more you are standing on haircloth, with bare feet, you have taken off your outer garment, and your hands are stretched out to God in the attitude of prayer. Then you

¹⁷ *De Corona*, 13; *De Spect.*, 4; *De Anima*, 35. For this last passage see the edition of J. H. Waszink, 1947, p. 414.

-26-

kneel but you hold your body upright. And you say: I renounce Satan, and all his angels, and all his works, and all his worship, and all his vanity, and all worldly error; and I bind myself by vow to be baptized in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit." (XIII, Introduction; Tonneau, 367).

Cyril explains to us why the renunciation of Satan takes place while the candidate faces the West: "I will explain to you why you stand facing the West. As the West is the region of visible darkness, and since

Satan, who has darkness for his portion, has his empire in the darkness, so, when you turn symbolically toward the West, you renounce this dark and obscure tyrant" (XXXIII, 1069 A). ¹⁸ This symbolism goes back to the pre-Christian world. The ancient Greeks placed the gates of Hades in the West, where the sun goes down. ¹⁹ We meet it frequently in the Fathers of the Church: Gregory of Nyssa sees the West as "the place where dwells the power of darkness" (XLIV, 984 A). ²⁰ St. Hilary comments on the verse of *Psalms* 47: *Ascendit super occasum* as being the victory of Christ over the power of darkness (P. L., IX, 446 B). ²¹

Of greater importance is the formula of renunciation itself. It appears as the "breaking of the ancient pact with Hades" XLIII, 1073 B). Afterwards the soul will no longer fear "the cruel tyrant" who has held it in his power. "Christ has destroyed his power, abolished death by His death, in such a way that I am finally and decisively withdrawn from his empire" (XXXIII, 1069 A). We are now on the threshold of the decisive act by which the liberation of the soul will be accomplished. Theodore of Mopsuestia, here again, insists on this aspect: "Since the devil, whom you, beginning with the heads of your race, once obeyed, has been the cause of many evils for you, you must promise to turn away from him. Yesterday, even if you had willed it, you could not have done so: but since, thanks to the exorcisms, the divine sentence has promised you freedom, you can now say: I

¹⁸ Likewise the Pseudo-Dionysius, Hier. Eccles., 401 A.

¹⁹ Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire chez les Anciens*, 1942, p. 39 et seq.

²⁰ See also Eusebius, P.G., XXIII, 726 A; Gregory of Nyssa, P.G., XLIV, 798 C; Athanasius, P.G., XVII, 294 B.

²¹ See F. J. Doelger, *Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit und die Schwarze*, Munster, 1919, pp. 33-49; A. Rusch, *Death and Burial in Christian Antiquity*, Washington, 1941, pp. 8- 10.

-27-

renounce Satan, indicating at the same time the association you once had with him, and the fact that you are turning away from it" (XIII, 5; Tonneau, p. 375). The gesture of stretching out the hand (Cyril), or the hands (Theodore) underlines the character of renunciation. For this was the gesture which in ancient times accompanied a solemn pledge made with an oath, or the denial of an oath. It expresses the candidate's denial of the compact that joined him with Satan in virtue of the sin of Adam. ²²

Certain liturgies add to the name of Satan, "and his angels." So in St. Basil (*Treatise on the Holy Spirit*,) ²⁷; Pruche, p. 234). So also in Theodore of Mopsuestia, who adds this commentary: "These angels are not demons, but men who submit to Satan whom he makes his instruments, and of whom he makes use to make others fall" (XIII, 7). Theodore makes a list of these "angels": there are "those who apply themselves to profane learning and who cause the error of paganism to penetrate further into the world"; and "the poets who increase idolatry by their fables"; there are also "the leaders of heresies, Mani, Marcion, Valentin, Paul of Samosate, Arius, Apollinarius, who, under the name of Christ, have introduced their own vices" (XIII, 8).

Now come "the pomps, the service and the works of Satan." The first expression is the most difficult, and it has been the subject of much discussion. The expression *pompa diaboli* properly signifies the worship of idols, as Tertullian shows (*De Corona*, 13). But under what aspect is this worship considered? Rev. Hugo Rahner sees in the *pompa* the procession of the demons; the word would thus designate persons. The addition of angeli in the Syrian liturgy fits into this sense. ²³

But J. H. Waszink, following Dr. de Labriolle, maintains that the primitive meaning was that of the manifestations of the pagan worship, in particular the processions and the games, and that pompa stood for these. ²⁴ This seems to be the original significance, and the personal one is an explanation of it related to the biblical and patristic idea of the worship of idols as being actually the worship of Satan.

This is the interpretation that we find in Cyril of Jerusalem:

²² F. J. Doelger, *Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit und die Schwarze*, pp. 118-119; J. H. Crehan, *Early Christian Baptism and the Creed*, pp. 96-110.

²³ "Pompa diaboli," *Zeitschr. Kath. Theol.*, 1931, p. 139 et seqq.

²⁴ "Pompa diaboli," *Vigiliae christianae*, 1947, 1, p. 13 et seqq.

-28-

"The pomp of Satan is the passion for the theatre, for horse-races in the hippodrome, for games in the circus and all the vanities of this kind. And also it is the things which are laid out in the feasts of idols,-- food, bread and other things that have been soiled by the invocation of impure demons. These foods, which are part of the pomp of Satan, are pure in themselves, but soiled by the invocation of demons" (XXXIII, 1072 A). This sentence reminds us of the old question of *idolothytes*--foods offered to idols-- already under discussion in the times of the Apostles.

We observe that the spectacles of the theatre, the hippodrome and the circus formed part of the pompa diaboli inasmuch as they included acts of worship that were manifestations of idolatry. This is what we find treated, for example, in the *De Spectaculis* of Tertullian. But as idolatry receded, we find the accent is placed on the immorality of these spectacles. This is also to be seen in Theodore of Mopsuestia: "What are called the wiles of Satan are the theatre, the circus, the stadium, the athletic contests, the songs, the organs played by water, the dances, that the devil has sown in the world under the guise of amusements, to incite souls to their ruin. He who shares in the sacrament of the New Testament must keep himself from all this" (XIII, 12). The aspect of immorality was, moreover, associated even in the most ancient Fathers with that of idolatry. So Cyril, speaking of the pomps of Satan, speaks "of the folly of the theatre, where one sees farces and mimes full of things that should not be seen, and the foolish dances of effeminate men" (XXXIII, 1069 C).

As for the "worship of Satan," this means, for both Cyril and Theodore, all kinds of idolatrous and superstitious practices. As for the first, "the worship of the devil is prayer in the sanctuaries, honors given to idols such as lighting lamps, burning perfumes by springs and rivers, as do certain people who, deceived by dreams or demons, plunge into their waters thinking to find in them healing for their diseases. The worship of the devil is also to be found in auguries, divinations, signs, amulets, engraved scales, magic practices" (XXXIII, 1073 A). Theodore gives a similar list, and adds astrology (XIII, 10). We know that, even after the establishment of Christianity, such prohibitions were not uncalled for. The *Code of Theodosius*, at the end of the fourth century, still forbids "the offering of perfumes to the Penates, the

-29-

lighting of lamps, the hanging of garlands around their altars" (XVI, 10, 201). ²⁵

To the renunciation of Satan and of his pomps, the *apotaxis*, corresponds the adherence to Christ, the *syntaxis*. Let us again take up St. Cyril's text: "When you have renounced Satan and broken the old pact with Hades, then the Paradise of God opens before you, the Paradise that He planted in the East from which our first father was driven out because of his disobedience. The symbol of this is that you turn from the West to the East, which is the region of light. So you were told to say: I believe in the Father, in the Son and in the Holy Spirit, and in the one Baptism of penance" (XXXIII, 1073 B). Theodore of Mopsuestia tells of an analogous rite, without saying precisely that the catechumen turns to the East, but showing him "with one knee on the ground, looking up to heaven with arms outstretched" (XIII, 1).²⁶

The profession of faith made while facing the East complemented the abjuration made while facing the West. The rite is found in the baptismal liturgy of Milan: "You were turned to the East. For he who renounces the demon turns himself to Christ. He sees Him face to face" (*De Myst.*, 7; *Botte*, p. 109). We know that this "orientation" of prayer is found in other places as well as the Baptismal liturgy. It was a general custom to turn to the East to pray. St. Basil ranks it among the most ancient traditions of the Church (*De Spir. Sanct.*, 27; Pruche, 233). In places of prayer and even in private houses the East was indicated by a cross painted on the wall.²⁷ The prayer to the East appears particularly at the moment of martyrdom: Perpetua saw four angels who were to carry her to the East after her death (*Passio Perpet.*, XI, 2). We find this custom of turning to the East also at the moment of death: Macrina, sister of St. Basil, "at the moment of her death, was conversing with her heavenly Bridegroom, on Whom she did not cease to fix her eyes, for her bed was turned toward the East" (P. G., XLVI, 984 B). And John Moschos

²⁵ See A. J. Festugière, *Le monde gréco-romain au temps de Notre-Seigneur*, II, pp. 40-41.

²⁶ The Pseudo-Dionysius, however, mentions the East, which shows that the rite existed at Antioch (*Hier. Eccl.*, 400 A).

²⁷ Erik Peterson, "*La croce et la preghiera verso l'Oriente*," *Ephem. liturg.*, LIX, 1945, p. 525 et seqq; Jean Daniélou, *Origene*, pp. 42-44.

-30-

tells the story of a poor man, seized by brigands, who asked to be hanged turned toward the East (*Pré Spirituel*, 72).

The symbolism of the rite has led to discussion. F. J. Dolger thought that he saw in it a usage inspired by the pagan custom of praying in the direction of the rising sun.²⁸ But Erik Peterson has apparently established the fact that the usage is connected with the controversies between Jews and Christians as to the place in which the Messiah will appear at the end of time. Prayer to the East thus would designate Christianity, in contrast with prayer toward Jerusalem for the Jews, and, later on, toward Qibla, or toward Mecca for the Moslems. This indicates its importance for distinguishing the three great forms of monotheism in the ancient Orient.²⁹ And here also appears the eschatological significance of the rite; it corresponds with what we have said of its being performed by those about to die:--they are waiting for Christ to come and take them.

Furthermore, a certain number of texts point out this eschatological meaning. It may have its origin in St. Matthew's Gospel: "As the lightning comes from the East, so shall the Son of Man appear" (XXIV, 27). The Didascalia of Addai explicitly connects it with this text: "It has been established that you should pray facing the East, because, as the lightning appears in the East and flashes to the West, so shall be the coming of the Son of Man" (II, 1; Nau, p. 225). This eschatological aspect appears clearly