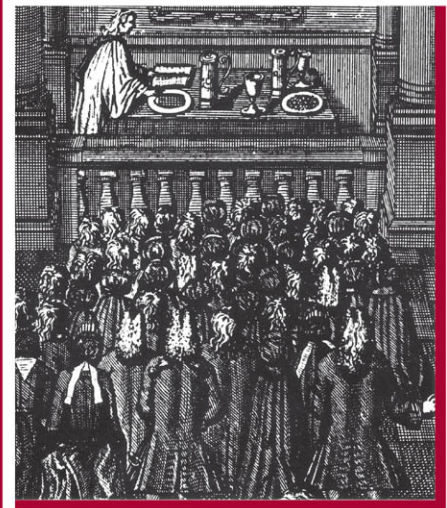
Documents of Christian Worship

DESCRIPTIVE AND INTERPRETIVE SOURCES



James F. White

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In grateful memory of
Mark Searle,
1941–1992,
scholar, colleague, friend

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Preface

Most of my lifetime has been devoted to teaching Christian worship or to preparing others to do the same. I feel great empathy with the moving words with which H. A. Reinhold concluded his 1956 *Autobiography:* "When I had first ventured out, the road was narrow and the wayfarers few; . . . The road is wider now." When I began teaching Christian worship in 1959, the wayfarers were still comparatively few; today the North American Academy of Liturgy alone numbers nearly four hundred members, and there are many other laborers in the same vineyard. The road is much wider now.

In recent years I have given much thought to what materials I wish I could put in the hands of students of Christian worship. This book is the result of those reflections. It began as a series of documents I collected and/or translated for my students during two decades of teaching at Perkins School of Theology. Now I find my doctoral students and graduates are requesting permission to use the same collections with their students. It seems time to provide them with something better. I have tried to let my imagination range as far as I could in order to develop a better format and to discover a wider range of materials not readily available or, in some cases, never before accessible. To the two hundred verbal documents, I have added various maps, diagrams, bibliographies, a chronology, a glossary, and visual illustrations. I have tried to reach beyond conventional verbal documents and to provide materials particularly pertinent to the worship of North American Christians.

I think it is exciting for students to have direct access to verbal and visual documents so they can see for themselves. My teaching method has been to exegete texts in class and to answer questions. Thus I have not added introductions, expecting the instructor will do this. Of course, some of the sources speak for themselves; others—such as the debate whether or not *Didache* 9–10 refers to the eucharist—require extensive interpretation.

The historical documents reflect in most cases worldviews that marginalize many people and would not be acceptable today. However, it would be historically inaccurate to impose modern sensitivities on ancient documents, and so they speak for themselves, if not for us.

For the most part, I have avoided reproducing liturgical texts in favor of descriptive or interpretive documents. Several excellent collections of liturgies are readily available, especially Bard Thompson, *Liturgies of the Western Church,* and R. C. D. Jasper and G. J. Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed.* For those who read other languages, A. Hänggi and I. Pahl, *Prex Eucharistica,* and I. Pahl, *Coena Domini I,* are highly useful. The chief exception on liturgical texts has been the reproduction of considerable portions of the *Apostolic Tradition,* attributed to Hippolytus. Descriptive or interpretive documents often tell us much more than do the words uttered in worship because such sources indicate those things an observer considered worth noting or how he or she understood the meaning of what the Christian community did.

In most cases, I have used the best available English translation; in others, where none existed or seemed satisfactory, I have made my own. In every instance, I have indicated the source from which permission was given or signified the text from which I translated. I am happy to thank Dr. Susan J. White for taking most of the photographs.

The arrangement I have followed is to trace significant structures of worship through the course of their development. This enables the reader to see issues and practices develop without having to sort out all the contemporary problems, both related and unrelated. This will make it easier for those who also use as a textbook my *Introduction to Christian Worship* (rev. ed., 1990). The books complement each other.

I am grateful for the careful assistance of Nancy Kegler, Sherry Reichold, and Cheryl Reed in producing a clean manuscript.

I owe much to my students and colleagues who have frequently been my teachers. The comments of Grant S. Sperry-White, John K. Brooks-Leonard, Paul F. Bradshaw, and Robert F. Taft, S.J., have contributed much to improving the clarity and accuracy of this book.

Above all, I hope this book will strengthen the ministry of those fellow wayfarers who are engaged in teaching and studying the forms and meaning of Christian worship.

J. F. W.

University of Notre Dame
June 15, 1992

Abbreviations

ACC	*Alcuin Club Collections*
ACW	*Ancient Christian Writers*
ANF	*Ante-Nicene Fathers*
ASB	*Alternative Service Book*
BCP	*Book of Common Prayer*
BEM	*Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry*
CSL	*Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy*
FC	*Fathers of the Church*
HBS	*Henry Bradshaw Society*
LBW	*Lutheran Book of Worship*
LCC	*Library of Christian Classics*
LW	*Luther's Works*
NPNF	*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*
PG	*Patrologia Graeca*
PL	*Patrologia Latina*
UMH	*United Methodist Hymnal*

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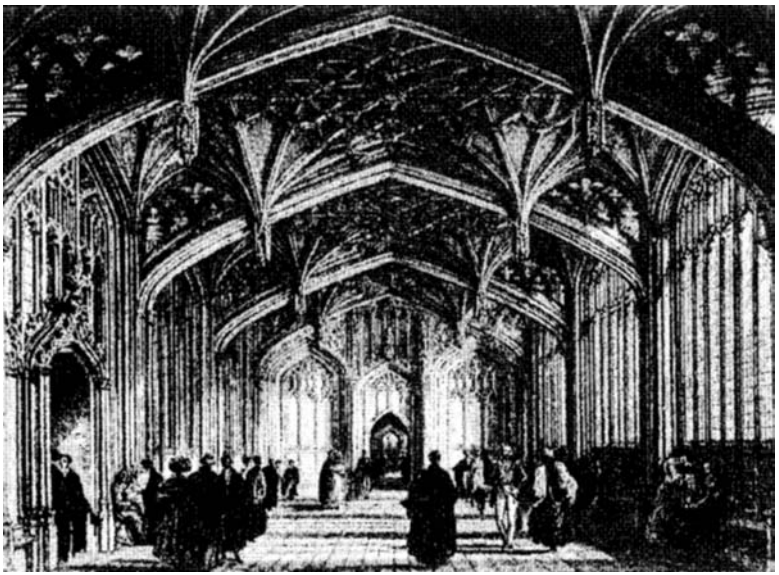
CHAPTER I

The Teaching of Christian Worship



Learning how to worship is an essential part of becoming a Christian. In the heroic age of Christianity, being permitted to worship at the eucharist with the Christian community was a sign of one's final initiation into the faith. It was preceded by months or even years of preparation before one was deemed ready for this step of full acceptance by the community. The same is no less true today although usually less dramatic. Christian children are trained in the worship tradition of their parents (or sponsors) by being brought to worship week after week, year after year. From a very early age they become conscious of what Christians do in worship and how they do it. The same is true of those of a more mature age who come to Christianity by conversion. They, too, must be taught what Christians do in worship in order to become part of the community.

If learning to worship is essential to becoming a Christian, then the teaching of Christian worship is a major part of ministry to new Christians. Making disciples involves much teaching of Christian worship. This ministry involves all Christians, lay and ordained. It does not mean that one has to be a liturgical scholar to engage in this ministry, but it does imply a basic familiarity with the practices and beliefs underlying Christian worship. A method of organizing one's knowledge about these communal experiences is necessary for teaching Christian worship in a clear and accurate pattern. The careful organization of information about worship is a high priority for effective communication of such knowledge.

In this chapter, we shall make a few basic comments on the organization of our knowledge and experience of worship, give a few graphic means for the presentation of this information, and provide a bibliography of general books on Christian worship.

The Organization of Liturgical Pedagogy

It is customary to divide our knowledge about Christian worship into three rather general areas: biblical and historical, theological, and practical or pastoral. Obviously these overlap at many points: for example, when one examines the shape and meaning of baptism in the fourth century (history and theology). What makes the study of worship most interesting is how often theory and practice intersect. Purely historical scholarship has reshaped the way we actually do many things in worship today such as recent reforms in the structure of the eucharist (history and practice). Theology and practice also go hand in hand. One cannot discuss the theology of the wedding service without finding implications for how it is to be performed (theology and practice).

The biblical and historical witness is essential in the teaching of worship simply because it explains how we came to do what we now do. The search for the origins of Christian worship helps us to understand better the sources of much that we still do, such as the mixing of water and wine in the eucharist. But traditions develop as they mature, and it is important to know why changes were made. In a sense, the study of biblical and historical sources is a means of self-understanding so we know what factors formed us to be as we now are and to act as we do.

At the same time, it is necessary to raise theological questions about the meaning of what we do. This can take various forms: the theology of worship in general, theology of proclamation (dealing especially with

preaching), and theology of the sacraments (usually called "sacramental theology," although the latter term is capable of a much broader interpretation). In addition, there is liturgical theology, which uses Christian worship as a source for theological reflection.[1]

It is also essential to be concerned about the actual practice of worship so it can lead to the fullest and deepest level of active participation on the part of worshipers. One can speak of pastoral liturgy with a threefold concern about the quality of planning, preparing for, and conducting worship. Each of these three stages involves important practical concerns. To prepare for an Ash Wednesday service, one must plan for the imposition of ashes, see to it that the ashes are secured in advance, and conduct the service so that this act communicates in depth. A more theoretical approach to the practical aspects of worship is found in the discipline of ritual studies, which often expands beyond the scope of Christian worship.

One soon realizes that much of the work of teaching Christian worship is a matter of inculcating basic vocabulary. Some terms are in common use: pulpit, Christmas, hymn. Others are a bit more esoteric: epiclesis, concomitance, antiphon. But each relates to a practice or concept that is important for developing a deeper knowledge of Christian worship. Tests on the meaning of basic terms are often good means for gauging familiarity with the practices and ideas they represent. Until one develops a basic liturgical vocabulary, it is difficult to converse on the subject. One writer has called this "liturgical literacy."[2] He happened to choose more than 650 terms as "essential" while concentrating on the Roman Catholic tradition. Several liturgical dictionaries are listed in the bibliography at the end of this chapter.

Of course, worship is not an abstraction. It can only be fully understood by doing it, although at times it may be useful to detach oneself enough to observe it in a fairly objective fashion. Robert Frost speaks of a scientist who catches, chloroforms, and mounts a butterfly in order to study it, only to discover that he no longer has a real butterfly. Christian worship has to be experienced to be understood, and this cannot be done in laboratory or library but only in church. Only by participating can we understand what it is Christians do in worship.

However, it is advisable deliberately to broaden one's contacts with

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[1]Geoffrey Wainwright, *Doxology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), is a pioneering work in this field.

[2]Dennis C. Smolarski, *Liturgical Literacy* (New York: Paulist Press, 1990).

worshiping communities beyond those with whom one is immediately familiar. Latin Rite Roman Catholics certainly should worship with Eastern Rite Catholics such as Ukranians or Melkites; Episcopalians need to worship with both Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics in order to comprehend just their own Anglican tradition. This requires systematic effort. Often the yellow pages of the telephone book will categorize churches by denominations, and it is comparatively easy to figure out what worshiping traditions are present in any area. (See Table 2.) One may need to remember that Presbyterians, the Christian Reformed Church, and the Reformed Church in America all share in the Reformed tradition. The largest number of American denominations stem from the Frontier tradition. Churches whose denominational names include such terms as Lutheran, Methodist, or Pentecostal belong to the respective traditions called by those terms. Anabaptists are present as Mennonites, and Quakers as the Society of Friends or simply Friends. All Western Christians will learn much from worshiping with churches usually listed as "Eastern Orthodox." Christians are often welcome at Jewish synagogues or temples and will learn much from these encounters.

Visits to unfamiliar worshiping traditions will be enhanced if one learns to look for much more than what words are said and sung. It is important to have some structure to remind one to look for such items as: who the people are (age, race, sex), what roles each group plays (including ministers and choir), what is the architectural setting of worship, what visual arts are present, how people arrive and leave, what actions happen (such as offering, receiving communion, baptism, etc.), what leadership roles are apparent (usher, reader, presider), who sings and how, the use or disuse of printed materials, and how strangers are treated. One soon realizes that much more is done in worship than is said. Sometimes it is helpful to imagine oneself as a pagan who comes to worship just out of curiosity to see what Christians do. And many Christians might be surprised to see what their worship looks like to others. We may discover some self-contradictory non-verbal statements: for example, do we profess inclusitivity and exclude children from any significant role? Eyes to observe may be opened wide in astonishment.

The broader our experience of Christian worship is and the more we reflect on it, the better we are able to teach others and to help them appropriate for themselves its richness and depth. This is certainly an important ministry in bringing people to newness of life in Christ. Our hope is that the documents that follow will put readers in direct contact

with the Christian community's experience of public worship over the course of two millennia. And then they will be better equipped to pass this tradition on to others.

Graphic Presentations

The tables, maps, and chronology that follow are greatly simplified. They are meant to help one visualize relations in time and space of the chief items of importance. In order to do this, it is necessary to concentrate on essentials and to omit all else.

The Classical Liturgical Families
Sixth Century to Present

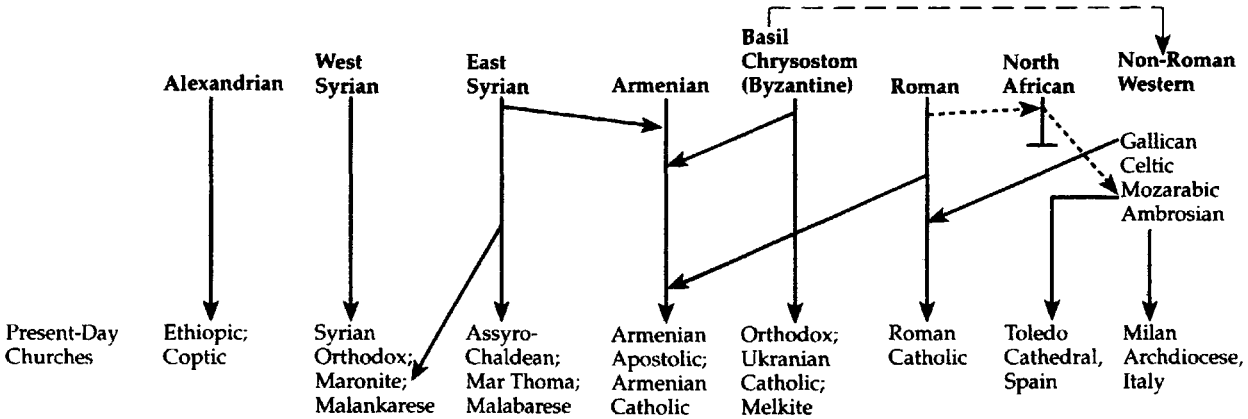

Table 1

The Protestant Traditions of Worship
Sixteenth Century to Present

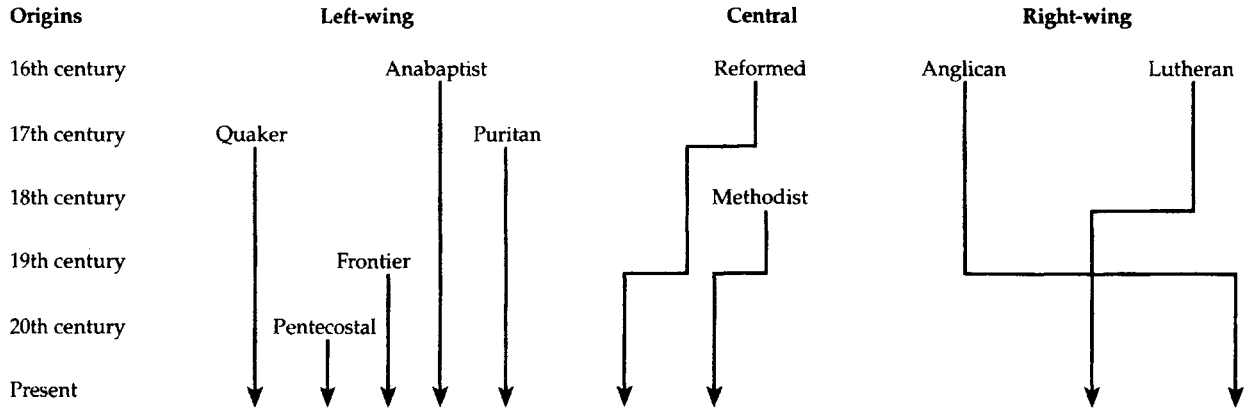

Table 2

The Classical Liturgical Families, c. 600 A.D.

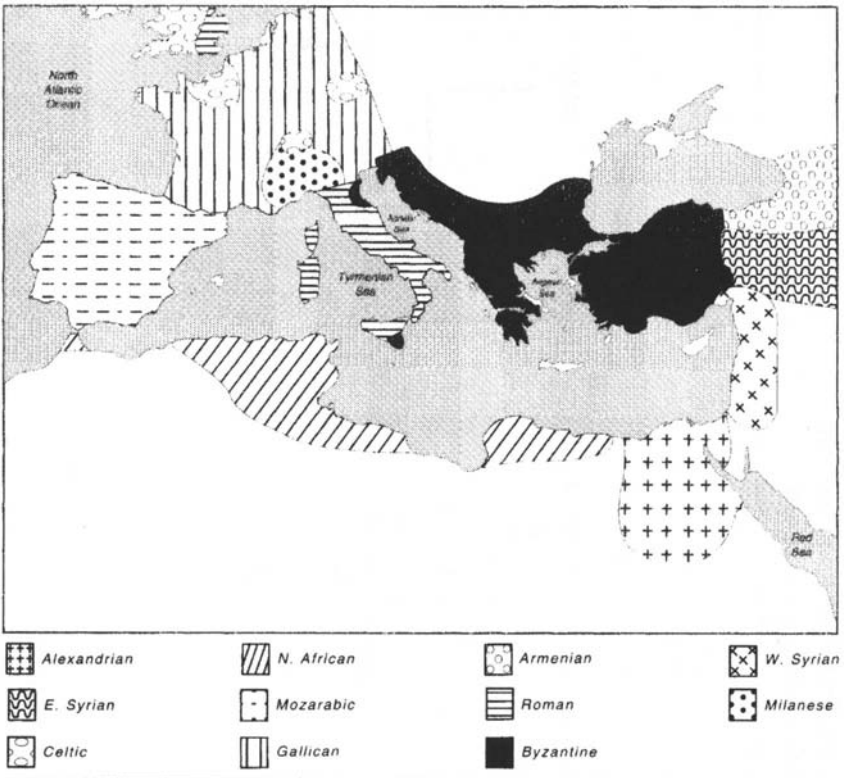

Table 3

The Protestant Traditions of Worship, c. 1600 A.D.

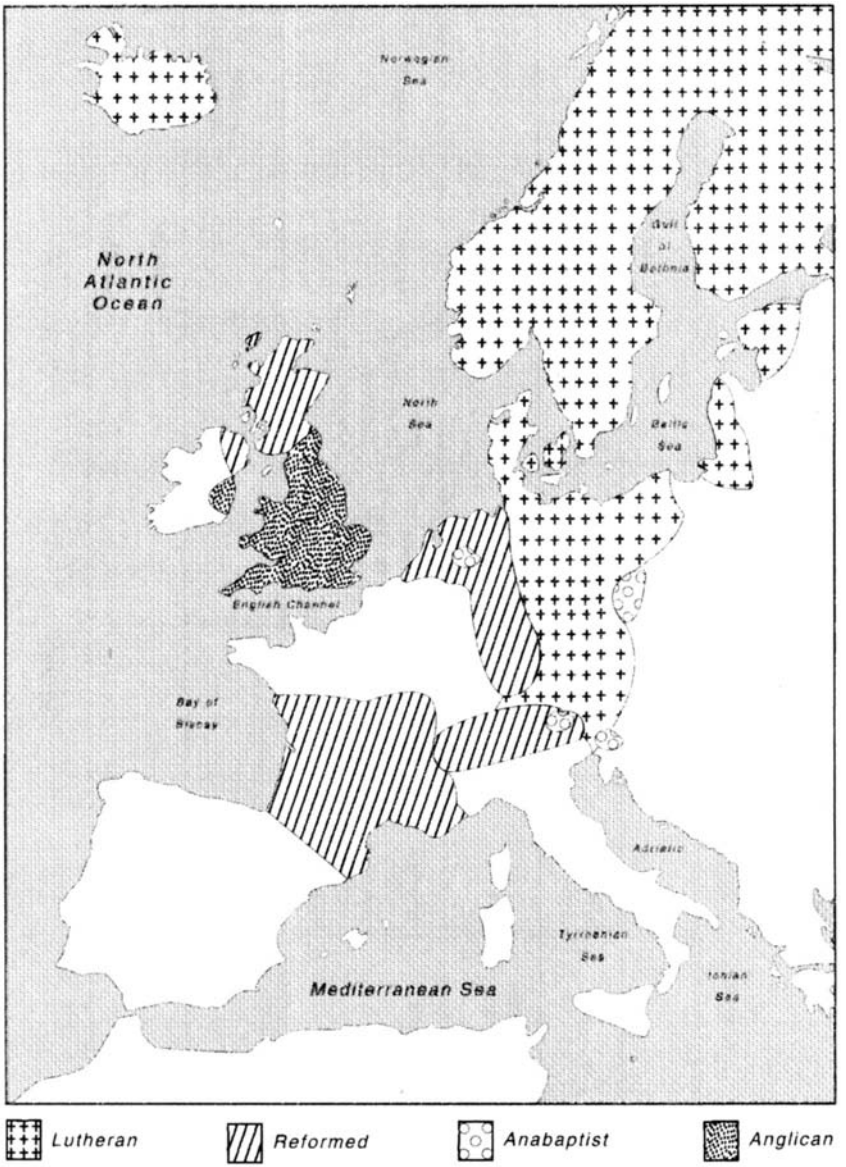

Table 4

Early Documents and Writers on Christian Worship

	N. Africa	Egypt	Jerusalem	Syria	Asia Minor	Rome	Milan
1st century				*Didache*		*1 Clement*	
2nd century		Clement of Alexandria		Ignatius *Barnabas*	Pliny	Justin Martyr	
3rd century	Tertullian Cyprian	Origen		*Didascalia*		*Apostolic Tradition*	
4th century	Augustine	*Apostolic Church Order* *Canons of Hippolytus* Sarapion	Cyril Egeria	*Apostolic Constitutions* *Epitome*	Basil Chrysostom Theodore *Testamentum Domini*	Jerome	Ambrose
5th century							Cassian (Marseilles)
6th century						Benedict Gregory I	

Table 5

Chronology

Century	Liturgical Documents/Writers	Church Events/ Persons	World Events/ Persons
1st	*Didache* *First Clement*	N.T., 50–135 A.D. Neronian persecution	fall of Jerusalem, 70
2nd	*Letter of Pliny* Irenaeus Polycarp Ignatius Justin Martyr Clement of Alexandria *Epistle of Barnabas*	spread of church around Mediterranean sporadic persecution	
3rd	Tertullian *Apostolic Tradition* monastic origins Origen (c. 185–c. 254) Cyprian (d. 258) *Didascalia*	monastic origins empire-wide persecutions	
4th	*Apostolic Church Order* Sarapion Cyril of Jerusalem (c. 315–86) Egeria *Apostolic Constitutions* Eusebius of Caesarea *Epitome* Basil (c. 330–79) Chrysostom (c. 347–407) Theodore of Mopsuestia (c. 350–428) Ambrose (c. 339–97) Jerome (c. 342–420) Augustine (354–430) *Testamentum Domini*	conversion of Constantine, 312 Council of Nicaea, 325 Trinitarian controversies Council of Constantinople, 381 gradual conversion of northern tribes	Christianity made legal, then official division of empire barbarian invasions
5th	*Canons of Hippolytus* Cassian (c. 360–435)	Christological controversies Council of Ephesus, 431 Council of Chalcedon, 451	fall of Rome, 455
6th	Benedict of Nursia (c. 480–c. 550) Gregory I (590–604)	organization of Western monasticism	
7th	*Ordo Romanus Primus* sacramentaries		spread of Islam

Chronology (cont.)

Century	Liturgical Documents/Writers	Church Events/ Persons	World Events/ Persons
8th	Hadrianum sent to Charlemagne	John of Damascus (c. 675–c. 749) Iconoclastic controversy Council of Nicaea, 787 Bede (c. 673–735)	
9th	supplement added Benedict of Aniane (c. 750–821) Ratramnus (d. 868) Paschasius Radbertus (c. 790–865)		Charlemagne crowned, 800 learning revived
10th		low ebb of Rome and papacy Cluniac monastic reforms	
11th	Berengarius (c. 999–1088) Lanfranc (c. 1005–89)	schism East and West, 1054 Anselm (1033–1109) Gregory VII (1073–85) Crusades begin	emperor intervenes in Rome
12th	Suger (c. 1081–1151) Hugh of St. Victor (c. 1096–1141) Peter Lombard (1095–1159)	invention of gothic Cistercian monastic reforms	
13th	Innocent III (1198–1216) Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225–74)	Francis of Assisi (1181–1226) scholastic theology mendicant orders Fourth Lateran Council, 1215 Crusades end	
14th	John Wycliffe (c. 1329–84)	Avignon papacy 1309–77 split of papacy, 1378–1417	
15th	*Decree for Armenians*, 1438	John Huss burned, 1415 Council of Basel, 1431–49	fall of Constantinople, 1453 invention of printing Columbus reaches America, 1492

Chronology (cont.)

Century	Liturgical Documents/Writers	Church Events/ Persons	World Events/ Persons
16th	Martin Luther (1483–1546) Ulrich Zwingli (1484–1531) Martin Bucer (1491–1551) Menno Simons (1496–1561) John Calvin (1509–64) John Knox (1514–72) Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556) revised Roman books, 1568–1614 Thomas Cartwright (1535–1603)	Erasmus (c. 1466–1536) Reformation begun, 1517 founding of Jesuits, 1540 Council of Trent (1545–63) missions expand Bible translations *Schleitheim Confession,* 1527 Marburg Colloquy, 1529	colonization of Latin America defeat of Spanish Armada, 1588 reign of Elizabeth I, 1558–1603
17th	*Millenary Petition,* 1603 Westminster *Directory,* 1645 Robert Barclay's *Apology,* 1676 Christopher Wren (1632–1723)	age of baroque art Puritan ascendancy Quakers originate age of Jansenism	colonization of North America Isaac Newton (1642–1727)
18th	John Wesley (1703–91) *Sunday Service,* 1784 American BCP, 1789 J. S. Bach (1685–1750)	latitudinarianism Synod of Pistoia, 1786 Febronianism Immanuel Kant (1724–1804)	age of enlightenment American Revolution French Revolution
19th	Charles G. Finney (1792–1875) John Nevin (1803–86) Alexander Campbell (1788–1866) Prosper Guéranger (1805–75) A. W. N. Pugin (1812–52)	scientific study of Bible Christianizing of American frontier Oxford Movement worldwide missions Pius IX (1846–78)	Charles Darwin (1809–82) Karl Marx (1818–83) age of reform abolition of slavery women's rights
20th	Fanny Crosby (1825–1915) Pius X (1903–14) Lambert Beauduin (1873–1960) *Mediator Dei,* 1947 BEM, 1982 revised R.C. rites LBW, 1978 BCP, 1979 ASB, 1980 UMH, 1989	Pentecostal churches anti-modernism liturgical movement Vatican II, 1962–65 Karl Barth (1886–1968) Karl Rahner (1904–84) Faith and Order, 1927 World Council of Churches, 1948	World War I World War II atomic age, 1945 space age, 1957 Korean War Vietnam War Iraq War