

THE SACRAMENTARY OF SERAPION
FROM A THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF B. LIT.
WITHIN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD (*)

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So the Apost. Tradition of Hippolytus which comes from Rome, circulated on a large scale, in Egypt and Syria ; later on it reached Abyssinia where in the Anaphora of that Church two adaptations of the Anaphora of Hippolytus are used ; also it is translated into many Eastern languages, such as Ethiopic, Arabic, Coptic etc. Even in the Greek Euchologium of the Barberini (8th cent.) there is Hippolytus' prayer for the blessing of the first fruits.

All these show that there is contact between the Churches and an exchange of liturgical customs and documents, especially between Rome and Alexandria, which in many cases is a kind of liaison between East and West. But it would not be an exclusive influence by the one Church on the other, as Lietzmann thinks, but rather a mutual one. If, for example, the Church of Alexandria having astronomers and other mathematicians, sends (after the decision of the Council of Nicaea) letters about the date of Easter to every Church including that of Rome, there are also other cases when Alexandria is influenced by Rome or Syria, and so on.

The Apost. Tradition circulated in Egypt and Syria and the «Church Orders» in those lands followed it in many ways.

We come to the point of asking whether Serapion knew it and therefore used it. Although we do not possess the original Greek text of the Apostolic Tradition for comparing it with that of Serapion, so as to have as a result a clear picture of the relation of style and language between the two, nevertheless we shall try to make the comparison with what we possess.

We have no information in the Sacramentary of Serapion about the bishops and their consecration, apart from that which is given by the prayer of consecration itself. Comparing this with the equivalent prayer of Hippolytus we see that apart from certain common basic elements such as that the bishops are successors of the Apostles, having

(*) Συνέχεια ἐκ τῆς σελ. 275 τοῦ προηγουμένου τεύχους.

their foundation through them in Jesus Christ, and that they are pastors of the flock of Christ, there is no similarity of style and expression at all.

In regard to the presbyters we have also common points between the Apost. Tradition and Serapion. These are the following: In Hippolytus the bishop ordains by laying his hands upon the presbyter but at the same time the other presbyters do so as well. In Serapion the verb is in the plural «ekteinomen», and if this is not a plural of majesty or of formality it expresses the same practice. Also in both documents the presbyters are connected with the presbyters of Moses, and afterwards are called to fulfil their office in pure heart of conscience. But besides these similarities there is generally a difference of style which favours the view that Serapion, or the practice of his Church until his time, did not borrow from Hippolytus in order to compose their rite.

In the ordination of deacons there are again some similarities of Phraseology between the prayers of the two writings. Thus, in the Apost. Tradition and in the Sacramentary of Serapion God the Father through the Son (Logos in Hippolytus) has ordered all things. Also it becomes evident in the rather practical work of deacons, which must be performed blamelessly and in purity «καθαρῶς καὶ ἀμέπτως».

But again the difference of style is great. And not only this but the position of deacons appears different in the two documents. In the Apost. Tradition the deacon is ordained for the service of the bishop only. In Serapion he is «διάκονος τῆς καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας» (12). In Hippolytus it is emphasized that the deacon should not be the adviser of all the clergy, but is «to take (only) charge of the property and to report to the bishop whatever is necessary». Surely we see here traces of the gradually increasing power of the bishop's deacon in the West, which reaches finally the powerful type of archdeacon. Hippolytus would have also in his mind the activities of his rival, Callistus the archdeacon.

In Serapion the deacon does not have such a position. He ought to have «πνεῦμα γνώσεως καὶ διακρίσεως, ἵνα δυναθῇ μεταξὺ τοῦ λαοῦ... διακονῆσαι». There is no doubt that knowledge and discretion is necessary for the work of charity among the people and for all the auxiliary works.

In the Apost. Tradition the deacon is separated entirely from the other ranks of the ministry, and «he does not receive the Spirit which is common to all the presbyterate, in which the presbyters

share . . . nor is he appointed to receive the Spirit of greatness which the presbyters share . . . »⁵¹.

In Serapion the deacons are connected with the other ranks of the ministry and with the seven deacons and through them with the founder of the Church, Jesus Christ; they receive Holy Spirit which introduces them into the ministry and makes them deacons of the Catholic Church not of the bishop: «ὁ ἐκλεξάμενος ἐπισκόπους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους εἰς λειτουργίαν τῆς καθολικῆς σου ἐκκλησίας, ὁ ἐκλεξάμενος διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου τοὺς καὶ διακόνους καὶ χαρισάμενος αὐτοῖς Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, κατὰστησον καὶ τόνδε διάκονον τῆς καθολικῆς σου ἐκκλησίας . . . » (12).

So apart from the very few similarities in the ordination of deacons between the two writings, the differences are very many; therefore with certainty one may say that Serapion has not been influenced by the Apost. Tradition.

It is natural, because of the general practice of the Church, that the two documents should refer to subdeacons, readers and virgins, but there are no details to help us to compare their positions in the two writings.

In the Apost. Tradition confessors are referred to, and also those who have the gift of healing; these do not occur in the Sacramentary of Serapion. That may be explained by the difference of date. In the Apost. Tradition widows also are referred to, which is not the case in Serapion. On the other hand in Serapion there are interpreters and monks, which do not occur in Hippolytus. These are adapted fully to the surroundings of the Church in Egypt. All these points of difference distinguish further the two documents.

In the Eucharist of Hippolytus we have the usual form of thanksgiving of the whole Church, with the four parts, thanksgiving for the action of the Logos of God in the creation, the incarnation, the Passion, and the Last Supper⁵². In Serapion we have an absolutely different structure. The prayer begins with «Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστιν . . . αἰνεῖν . . . »; it does not refer directly to the work of creation, and the order is not the same as that of the prayer of Hippolytus. It deals with the relation of the Father and Son, and with the relation of the Father with the Saints and mankind through the Son.

~~The Anaphora of the Apost. Tradition is without the Sanctus.~~
The Anaphora of Serapion contains it.

51. Cf. G. Dix, op. cit. p. XLI.

52. Cf. G. Dix, op. cit., p. XLI.

The words of institution of the Sacrament are in both the works but they have a different position ; they are introduced in a different way and there is also a difference in the words.

In the Apost. Tradition the institution is followed by the affirmation that the Sacrament is the remembrance of the Passion and Resurrection and the Lord's word «ἀνάμνησις» is used. In Serapion there is no reference to the Lord's words : «Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν». But straight after the words of institution of the Cup there is the Epiclesis of the Logos for the consecration of the elements. «There is no support for the assumption that there existed in Egypt an indigenous tradition of an Anamnesis in the Hippolytan position. It is altogether missing from the oldest known Egyptian rite. When it does appear it is frankly an importation from the Liturgy of St. James»⁵³.

Even in the Epiclesis the two works differ from each other. As it has been said, Serapion has the Epiclesis of the Logos while in the Apost. Tradition the Epiclesis is of the Holy Spirit.

In Serapion after the consecration there are intercessions for the people and the Church, and the Diptychs are read. In the Apost. Tradition we do not meet such things.

Before the end we see in both works the blessing of oil. In Serapion we see also water and in Hippolytus cheese and olives.

In the Baptismal and Confirmation offices there are common points, but also many differences. There is a difference in the order which becomes evident from the different use of oil.

From all these matters which have been referred to above it becomes obvious that the differences between the Apost. Tradition and the Sacramentary of Serapion are great and they do not permit the supposition that Serapion used it.

The similarities can be explained by the fact that the worship of the primitive Church probably had a unity in the beginning, before the time when the several local rites sprang up, these rites later on tended again to unity.

Therefore points of worship remain common. Apart from that there is a contact between the Churches, especially Rome and Alexandria, though that does not mean that Serapion or the Church in Egypt at his time used the Apost. Tradition in worship. The later contains the liturgical practice of Rome but perhaps is representative of the practice of the whole Church. This becomes very probable

53. G. Dix, Primitive Consecration Prayers, Theology v. 37, 1938, p. 267.

when we think of the comparative unity of worship of the primitive Church and the relation of Hippolytus with Irenaeus and therefore with the Church of the East.

A great proportion of the «original independence and of radical individuality» of worship in Egypt was due to the great Church of Alexandria, despite outside influences within that Church.

The Liturgy of St. Mark, despite all the elements which come from Syria and especially from the Liturgy of St. James has nevertheless the stamp of the Egyptian tradition, and it has a textual tradition related to a great extent to that of Serapion. Because the latter had a connection with Athanasius, and because the Church of Thmuis was under the jurisdiction of Alexandria, we come to the conclusion that the Church of Thmuis and the Church of Alexandria used the same old and common Egyptian tradition with few differences.

The Liturgy of St. Mark has an important similarity of style, language and of ideas in the prayers, with the Sacramentary of Serapion.

Many times the same epithets are used to characterize God the Father and the Son, and the Church is called in both works «ἀγία καὶ καθολικὴ Ἐκκλησία».

If we compare the two liturgies following the order of St. Mark we shall find many common points.

In the Liturgy of St. Mark the prayer for the king among the others, is to : «Εἰρηνικὰ φρονεῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὄνομά Σου τὸ ἅγιον».

In Serapion there is the petition for all princes «εἰρηνικὸν τὸν βίον ἐχέτωσαν» and this has its influence on the «ἀναπαύσεως τῆς καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας».

The petition in St. Mark for the Patriarch and the bishop represents a further development of ecclesiastical organization ; in St. Mark there is the later articulation of the Church in Egypt with the Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria and the local bishop, while in Serapion only the local bishop is referred to.

At any rate, a common characteristic of both prayers is that the bishop is responsible in his Church for the presentation of the correct christian teaching and the whole religious life. Therefore in Serapion God is asked to give «ἀπὸ σοφίας καὶ γνῶσιν καὶ εὐδωσιν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστημαῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ» and in St. Mark to divide rightly «τὸν λόγον τῆς

ἀληθείας» and to carry out the «ἐμπιστευμένην ἁγίαν ἀρχιερωσύνην κατὰ τὸ ἅγιον καὶ μακάριον θέλημα» of God.

The «εὐχὴ πρώτη Κυριακῆς» (19) of Serapion which contains a petition for the Holy Spirit and for grace to be sent «εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν διάνοιαν» and to give «ἡμῖν μαθεῖν τὰς θείας γραφὰς ἀπὸ ἁγίου Πνεύματος καὶ διερμηνεῦειν καθαρῶς καὶ ἀξίως» recalls the Prayer of Trisagion of St. Mark where the similarity is obvious in the paragraph «Ἐξαπόστειλον τὸ φῶς σου καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειάν σου καὶ καταύγασον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς διανοίας ἡμῶν εἰς κατανόησιν τῶν θείων σου λόγων...». There is no doubt that these prayers were offered before the reading of the Scriptures.

In the intercessions of the Mass of the faithful there is not the same order and position of the petitions, but there is actually in many cases a similarity of subject and identity of things for which the help of God is asked.

In both works there are petitions for the sick, and for these who travel; their journey is spoken of by land and by sea. Also both writings (Serapion in the prayer for the fruits no. 23) contain petition for the dropping «ὑετῶν» and for the abundance of the fruit to the earth. The Liturgy of St. Mark speaks also of the river waters and of their rising; this, of course is connected with the situation in Egypt. In the Sacramentary of Serapion such an expression does not occur. Also in both Liturgies there are petitions for captives and the afflicted, for the Church, the bishop, clergy and laity. In St. Mark there are petitions for the king and the city etc., which do not occur in Serapion.

Let us come now to the Anaphora and see the points of contact between the two Liturgies which show also their common tradition.

The thanksgiving of St. Mark appears to have a different order from that of Serapion and it speaks about creation etc. It is interrupted by intercessions and diptychs and comes to the point where it is met by Serapion.

I give their text which leads to the Sanctus, and in which the similarity of the two becomes obvious.

Serapion

St. Mark⁵⁴.

Σὺ γὰρ ὁ ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς Σὺ γὰρ ὁ ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς
καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυ- καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυ-

54. The text is taken from Brightman's «Liturgies Eastern and Western», pp. 131 ff.

ριότητα καὶ παντὸς ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι. Σοὶ παραστήκουσι χίλια χιλιάδες καὶ μύρια μυριάδες ἀγγέλων ἀρχαγγέλων, θρόνων κυριοτήτων, ἀρχῶν ἔξουσιῶν.

Σοὶ παραστήκουσι τὰ δύο τιμιώτατα. Σεραφεὶμ ἑξαπτέρυγα, δυοὶ μὲν πτέρυξιν καλύπτοντα τὸ πρόσωπον, δυοὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας, δυοὶ δὲ πετόμενα καὶ ἀγιάζοντα.

Μεθ' ὧν δέξαι τὸν ἡμέτερον ἀγιασμὸν λεγόντων

Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος Κύριος Σαβαώθ πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης σου.

ριότητα καὶ παντὸς ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι. Σοὶ παραστήκουσι χίλια χιλιάδες καὶ μύρια μυριάδες ἁγίων ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων στρατιαί.

Σοὶ παραστήκουσι τὰ δύο τιμιώτατά σου ζῶσ, τὰ πολυόματα Σεραφεὶμ ἃ δυοὶ μὲν πτέρυξι τὰ πρόσωπα καλύπτοντα καὶ δυοὶ τοὺς πόδας καὶ δυοὶν ἱπτάμενα καὶ κέκρωγεν ἕτερος πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον ἀκαταπαύστοις στόμασι καὶ ἀσιγήτοις θεολογίαις τὸν ἐπινίκιον καὶ τρισάγιον ὕμνου ἄδοντα βοῶντα δοξολογοῦντα κεκραγότα καὶ λέγοντα τῇ μεγαλοπρεπῇ σου δόξῃ Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος Κύριος Σαβαώθ πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς ἀγίας σου δόξης.

*Εκφώνως

πάντοτε μὲν πάντα σε ἀγιάζει Κύριε καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον ἀγιασμὸν σὺν αὐτοῖς ὑμνούντων καὶ λεγόντων

(λαὸς)

Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος Κύριος Σαβαώθ πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς ἀγίας σου δόξης.

Further on we have the same order and structure in both liturgical documents, but in St. Mark we see a greater development, while in Serapion some foreign elements intervene between the words of institution and elsewhere.

Thus, the thanksgiving goes on as follows :

Serapion

Πλήρης ἐστὶν ὁ οὐρανός, καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς μεγαλοπρεποῦς σου δόξης Κύριε τῶν δυνάμεων.

St. Mark

Πλήρης γὰρ ἐστὶν ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς ἀγίας σου δόξης διὰ τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Πλήρωσον καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην τῆς σῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς σῆς μεταλήψεως.

Σοὶ σὰρ προσηνέγκαμεν ταύτην τὴν ζῶσαν θυσίαν τὴν προσφορὰν τὴν ἀναίμακτον.

Σοὶ προσηνέγκαμεν τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον, τὸ ὁμοίωμα τοῦ σώματος τοῦ μονογενοῦς, ὁ ἄρτος οὗτος τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος ἐστὶν ὁμοίωμα, ὅτι ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος καὶ Θεὸς καὶ παμβασιλεὺς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν ἡ νυκτὶ παρεδίδοτο ἔλαβεν ἄρτον καὶ ἔκλασεν καὶ ἐδίδοτο τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἑαυτοῦ λέγων.

Λάβετε καὶ φάγετε, τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κλώμενον εἰς ἄφρασις ἁμαρτιῶν.

Πλήρωσον ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ταύτην τὴν θυσίαν τῆς παρὰ σοῦ εὐλογίας διὰ τῆς ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ παναγίου σου Πνεύματος τῆ νυκτὶ ἢ παρεδίδοτο ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑφίστατο θάνατον σαρκὶ συνακλιθεὶς μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων ἄρτον λαβὼν ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἀχράντων καὶ ἀμώμων αὐτοῦ χειρῶν, ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν πρὸς Σὲ τὸν ἴδιον Πατέρα Θεὸν δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸν τῶν ὅλων, εὐχαριστήσας, εὐλογήσας, ἁγιάσας, κλάσας διέδωκε τοῖς ἁγίοις καὶ μακαρίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ ἀποστόλοις εἰπὼν·

Λάβετε φάγετε, τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κλώμενον καὶ διαδιδόμενον εἰς ἄφρασις ἁμαρτιῶν.

The well known interpolation of the Didache about the bread on the mountains follows in Serapion ; this is not in the Liturgy of St. Mark, and the two Liturgies meet each other again in the blessing of the Cup.

In St. Mark the words of the Lord follow : «Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἑμὴν ἀνάμνησιν» (Luke 22,19). These words are not referred to in Serapion but their meaning is seen after the blessing of the bread and Cup.

The Euclesis follows but in Serapion is addressed to the Father with a prayer to send the Logos, while in St. Mark the Euclesis is of the Holy Spirit. Both Anaphoras conclude with a phrase which was said by the people : «Ὡσπερ ἦν καὶ ἐστὶ καὶ ἔσται εἰς γενεὰν καὶ γενεὰν καὶ εἰς τοὺς σύμπαντας αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν».

One could find also similarities between Serapion's prayer of fraction which comes after the Anaphora and the prayer of St. Mark which comes before the Lord's prayer after the Anaphora.

The structure of the two Liturgies up to the end appears almost the same. The Liturgy of Serapion has more about the blessing of water and oil while that of St. Mark has a greater development generally, influenced also by other rites.

Therefore the great similarities between the two Liturgies connect them, and show that both have a common liturgical tradition which is fully adapted to the Church in Egypt.

There is also another document, a papyrus fragment of a liturgy from Der Balyzeh.

Those fragments were written in the 7th or 8th century, but the Liturgy which is contained in them is probably two centuries older⁵⁵.

There is no doubt that there are many similarities between this liturgy and Serapion and St. Mark as well: they show the same liturgical tradition.

Those similarities are mainly of language, style and ideas. For example in Fol. 1, recto 1 15-26 and in the last verses where the doxology is, it concludes as follows: «διὰ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου σου παιδὸς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δι' οὗ σοι ἡ δόξα, χάρις, τιμὴ, προσκύνησις νῦν καὶ εἰς γενεὰς γενεῶν καὶ εἰς τοὺς σύμπαντας αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων»⁵⁶.

In St. Mark there is the ending: «σοὶ πᾶσα δόξα, τιμὴ, προσκύνησις καὶ εὐχαριστία... νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων»⁵⁷.

In Serapion almost at the end of every prayer there is that type of doxology and the ending: «εἰς γενεὰς γενεῶν καὶ εἰς τοὺς σύμπαντας αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων».

Other expressions such as «Θεὸς τῆς ἀληθείας» «ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατήρ», «δέσποτα, παντοκράτωρ, ἐπουράνιε» are common in Der-Balyzeh, Serapion and St. Mark.

But the similarities become definitely obvious in the thanksgiving. Therefore it is fair to quote the texts of the three Liturgies:

Der - Balyzeh (Fol. LL recto ⁵⁸)	St. Mark ⁵⁹	Serapion ⁶⁰
<p>Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἔξου- σίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος καὶ παντὸς ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου οὐ μόνον ἐν τούτῳ τῷ αἰῶνι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι.</p>	<p>Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἔξου- σίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος παντὸς ὀνό- ματος ὀνομαζομένου οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι.</p>	<p>Σὺ γὰρ ὁ ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἔξου- σίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος καὶ παντὸς ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι.</p>

55. Cf. G. Dix, *Primit. Consecr. Pr Theology* v. 37, 1938, p. 256.

56. From. C. H. Roberts and B. Capelle, *An Early Euchologium*, p. 16.

57. Brightman, L. E. W., p. 124.

58. L. E. W., p. 131.

59. Brightman, J. TH. St., v. I, p. 105.

60. C.H. Robert and B. Capelle, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

Σοὶ παραστήκουσι χί-
λιαί τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων
καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων ἀναρίθ-
μητοὶ στρατιαί.

Σοὶ παραστήκουσι τὰ
πολύμοματα Χερου-
βίμ, σοὶ παρίστανται
κύκλω τὰ Σεραφίμ ἕξ
πτέρυγες τῷ ἐνὶ καὶ ἕξ
πτέρυγες τῷ ἐνὶ καὶ ταῖς
μὲν δυσὶ κατεκάλυπτον
τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ ταῖς
δυσὶ τοὺς πόδας καὶ
ταῖς δυσὶν ἐπέταντο
πάντοι δέ...

Σοὶ παραστήκουσι χί-
λιαί χιλιάδες καὶ μύρια
μυριάδες ἁγίων ἀγγέλων
καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων στρα-
τιαί.

Σοὶ παραστήκουσι τὰ
δύο τιμιώτατά σου ζῶα
τὰ πολύμοματα Χερου-
βίμ καὶ τὰ ἑξαπτέρυγα
Σεραφείμ ἃ δυσὶ μὲν
πτέρυξι τὰ πρόσωπα κα-
λύπτονται καὶ δυσὶ τοὺς
πόδας καὶ δυσὶν ἱπά-
μενα καὶ κέκραγεν ἕτε-
ρος πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον ἄ-
καταπαύστοις στόμα-
σι...

Σοὶ παραστήκονσι χί-
λιαί χιλιάδες καὶ μύρια
μυριάδες ἀγγέλων ἀρ-
χαγγέλων θρόνων κυρι-
οτήτων ἀρχῶν ἔξουσιῶν.

Σοὶ παραστήκουσι τὰ
δύο τιμιώτατα Σερα-
φεῖμ ἑξαπτέρυγα, δυσὶ
μὲν πτέρυξι καλύπτοντα
τὸ πρόσωπον, δυσὶ δὲ
τοὺς πόδας, δυσὶ δὲ πε-
τόμενα καὶ ἀγιάζοντα...

Further on the three Liturgies introduce us into the Sanctus as follows :

Der-Baryzeh

... τότε σε ἀγιάζει ἀλλὰ
μετὰ πάντων τῶν σε ἀ-
γιαζόντων δέξαι καὶ τὸν
ἡμέτερον ἁγιασμόν λε-
γόντων σοι...

St. Mark

... πάντοτε μὲν πάν-
τα σε ἀγιάζει ἀλλὰ καὶ
μετὰ πάντων τῶν σε ἀ-
γιαζόντων δέξαι δέσποτα
Κύριε καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον
ἁγιασμόν σὺν αὐτοῖς ὑ-
μνούντων καὶ λεγόν-
των...

Serapion

... μεθ' ὧν δέξαι καὶ
τὸν ἡμέτερον ἁγιασμόν
λεγόντων...

There are also similarities in the Anaphora before the words of institution, and the Epiclesis, despite the fact that Serapion's Epiclesis is of the Logos.

Der-Balyzed

(Fol. II recto I, 25-30).

Πλήρωσον καὶ ἡμᾶς
τῆς παρὰ σοῦ δόξης καὶ
καταξίωσον καταπέμψαι
τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιόν
σου ἐπὶ τὰ κτίσματα

St. Mark

Ἐξαπόστειλον ἐπὶ τοὺς
ἄρτους τούτους καὶ ἐπὶ
τὰ ποτήρια ταῦτα τὸ
Πνεῦμά σου τὸ Ἅγι-
ον..., ἵνα... ποιήσῃ

Serapion

Ἐπιδημησάτω Θεὸς τῆς
ἀληθείας ὁ ἅγιός σου
Λόγος, ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρτον
τοῦτον ἵνα γένηται ὁ
ἄρτος σῶμα τοῦ Λόγου,

ταῦτα καὶ ποιήσον τὸν τὸν μὲν ἄρτον σῶμα, τὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ποτήριον
 μὲν ἄρτον σῶμα Κυρίου δὲ ποτήριον αἷμα τῆς τοῦτο, ἵνα γένηται τὸ
 καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰη- Καινῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ ποτήριον αἷμα τῆς Ἁ-
 σοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ δὲ πο- τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ ληθείας . . .
 τήριον αἷμα τῆς Και- καὶ Σωτῆρος καὶ παμ-
 νῆς . . . βασιλέως, Ἰησοῦ Χρι-
 στοῦ . . .

The comparisons are made in those parts of the Liturgy for which there are fragments of Der-Balyzeh.

This Liturgy has in common with the Liturgy of Serapion the quotation of the Didache about the scattered bread on the mountains etc. The Church is called also «Holy Catholic».

Thus, the common tradition of the three Liturgies has been shown despite the many later interpolations in the Liturgy of St. Mark which were foreign to the Egyptian tradition. There is no doubt at all that the Sacramentary of Serapion belongs to that families of the liturgical tradition, and it shows more than the other two texts its characteristics.

After comparing the three Liturgies we can deduce the main characteristics of the Egyptian Liturgical tradition mainly from Serapion.

The preliminary «missa catechumenorum» is represented (in Serapion) by the «εὐχὴ πρώτη Κυριακῆς» (19), «Μετὰ τὸ ἀναστῆναι ἀπὸ τῆς δουλίας εὐχὴ» (20), a prayer for catechumens (21) and by the «χειροθεσία κατηχομένων» (28)⁶¹. This first prayer is mainly an Egyptian liturgical characteristic and it can be compared with the prayer of Trisagion of St. Mark. That prayer is before the lessons and it seems that the Synaxis began with that prayer in the Egyptian rite⁶². The prayer for the sermon is an Egyptian characteristic and there is a corresponding prayer in the Coptic rite.

In Serapion there is no «Sursum Corda», but that is presupposed by the beginning of the Anaphora «Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστιν . . .» which implies the usual framework of this portion of the Liturgy.

The introduction of the Sanctus is the same in Serapion, St. Mark and Der-Balyzeh «Σὺ γὰρ (εἰ) ὁ ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἔξουσίας etc.». This also can be regarded as an Egyptian characteristic; also the reference to Seraphim and the Sanctus with almost the same meaning and order. It seems actually that the preface with the San-

61. Cf. J. H. Srawley, The Early Hist. of the Liturgy. p. 50.

62. Cf. G. Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy. p. 446.

ctus originated at first in Alexandria and Egypt and spread all over the Church from there⁶⁸. The Sanctus is rather simple and corresponds to Isaiah 6,3.

Another characteristic of the Egyptian liturgical tradition apart from the sacrificial terminology is the «Pro-epiclesis» before the consecration of the bread and wine and before the institution. Thus, Serapion and St. Mark «take up the cue of the Sanctus from the word πλήρης» and resume the type «πλήρης ἐστὶν ὁ οὐρανός, πλήρης καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς μεγαλοπρεποῦς Σου δόξης Κύριε τῶν Δυνάμεων· πλήρωσον καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην τῆς σῆς δυνάμεως etc».

The words of institution are simple in character but with a few additions which appear also in later Egyptian rites.

The absence of the Lord's words «τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν» must be regarded as another characteristic. Certainly this is so in Serapion only and not in St. Mark; but its existence in St. Mark must be regarded as an interpolation from other, non-Egyptian rites.

Also from Serapion and other earlier authors we can deduce that the Epiclesis of the Logos and not of the Holy Spirit was the form of consecration in the Egyptian Church at that time.

Perhaps the recital of the names of the dead is an importation into the Liturgy of that time. The first evidence is that of Serapion.

The closing of the Anaphora are: «Ὡσπερ ἦν καὶ ἐστὶ καὶ ἔσται εἰς γενεὰς γενεῶν καὶ σύμπαντας αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν».

This formula is not related with the context but it seems to be «the conventional conclusion» of the Egyptian rites. Another Egyptian characteristic is the «prayer of the fraction».

In Serapion, also, there is no word to express fear and awe at the Eucharist.

Traces of some of these characteristics can be found in earlier Egyptian authors. For example in the prayer for the sermon (Serapion 20) there is the rubric «μετὰ τὸ ἀνασιῆναι ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμιλίας εὐχὴ». This might remind us perhaps of corresponding words about rising in some of Origen's sermons⁶⁹.

But we ought mainly to insist on the evidence which is connected with the Epiclesis of the Logos, traces of which are found in other Egyptian authors as well. So in Athanasius (Mai, Scr. vet. nova Collectio, IX 625)⁷⁰ there is the quotation «ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὴν τελείωσιν τῶν

68. Cf. Srawley, op. cit., p., 54.

69. Cf. Srawley, op. cit., p. 50.

70. In Ed. Bishop's Appendix in Texts and Studies, v. VIII no. I, p. 156.

μυστηρίων. Οὗτος ὁ ἄρτος καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον, ὅσον οὕτω εὐχαὶ καὶ ἱκεσίαι γεγόνασι, ψιλὰ εἰσὶ ἐπὶ δὲ αἱ μεγάλα εὐχαὶ καὶ αἱ ἅγαι ἱκεσίαι ἀναπεμφῶσι, καταβαίνει ὁ Λόγος εἰς τὸν ἄρτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον καὶ γίνεται αὐτὸ σῶμα».

Origen also uses, in reference to the consecration, the words of St. Paul (I Tim. 4,5 -) and writes : «Τὸ ἀγιαζόμενον διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως»⁷¹. Also in Levit. hom. IX, 10 (Migne P. 12, 523) he writes. «Sed tu qui ad Christum venisti, pontificem verum, qui sanguine suo Deum tibi propitium fecit et reconciliavit te Patri, non haereas in sanguine carnis sed discce potius sanguine Verb; et audi ipsum tidi dicentem quia Hic sanguis meus est qui pro vobis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Novit, qui mysteriis imbutus est, et carnem et sanguinem. Verbi Dei. Non ergo immoremur in his quae et scientibus nota sunt et ignorantibus patere non possunt». In this quotation we have the same eucharistic terminology as that of Athanasius and Serapion⁷². It seems that the same eucharistic terminology is used by Clement of Alexandria; it is apparent in «Παιδαγωγός» II, 2, Gr. 8, 409 b f., where we read : «. . . ἡ δὲ ἀμφοῖν αὐθις κρᾶσις ποτοῦ τε καὶ Λόγου, εὐχαριστία κέλῃται, χάρις ἐπαινουμένη καὶ καλὴ ἧς οἱ κατὰ πίστιν μεταλαμβάνοντες ἀγιάζονται καὶ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν».

Origen also presupposes the eucharistic prayer and consecration, and he connect the sanctifying effects of Communion with the dispositions required for Communion when he writes ; «we give thanks to the Creator of the Universe and eat bread which has been offered with thanksgiving and prayer . . . It has become in some sense a body consecrated by prayer an for those who use it in the proper frame of mind, a source of sanctification» (Contra Cel. 8,33⁷³. This latter is reminiscent of Serapion in the Eiclesis ; «καὶ ποίησαν πάντας τοὺς κοινωνοῦντας, φάρμακον ζωῆς λαβεῖν . . . μὴ εἰς κατάκρισιν Θεοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας μηδὲ εἰς ἔλεγγον καὶ ὄνειδος».

The Sacramentary of Serapion, connected with the liturgical tradition in Egypt and with earlier ecclesiastical authors of Alexandria like Athanasius, Origen and Clement, is a representative type of that tradition in the 4th century.

It is likely that it would have been influenced in some way by other liturgical centres. But also the Liturgies of those centres are themselves subject to influences. Thus, in the course of time the

71. Origen in matth. XI, P. Gr. 13,948 d. ff.

72. Ed. Bishop. op. cit., p. 157.

73. J. Danielou, Origen, p. 62.

influence of one on the other brings a comparative unity of rite which succeeded the variety which in its turn must have succeeded the comparative unity of the Apostolic period.

There is no doubt that the 4th century is the most important period in the history of christian worship. It is the time when christian worship becomes public and emerges from the darkness of persecution and private illegal practice. Its development is connected with the development of Church building, particularly when Constantine had restored the basilicas for public christian worship.

This is also the time when christianity expresses its traditional faith in a more intellectual way than ever before, and we can see the effect of this upon the old phrases of the Liturgy in this period. It was a time of ceaseless liturgical revision⁷⁴.

Now also with more systematic formation of ecclesiastical organization, and the emergence of the great christian centres, we have standardization and a «levelling up» in every expression of ecclesiastical life. Rome, Egypt, Syria and Asia Minor are the ecclesiastical and liturgical centres, and they accept the exchange of their tradition «on a scale now never known before».

Serapion and his Sacramentary stand on the border land between the old and the new epochs. His Sacramentary preserves the Egyptian tradition of worship; it belongs to that period when the introduction of foreign elements starts on a greater scale than before, and it has also the stamp of the personality of Serapion.

7. PLACE

The relation has already been shown between this Sacramentary and Serapion, bishop of Thmuis. Because of this relation, the Sacramentary is connected also with the Church of Thmuis and with Egypt generally.

Also, the connection has been shown of the Sacramentary with the Egyptian liturgical tradition, the Liturgy of St. Mark and the liturgical fragments of Der-Balyzeh; also the common elements with Athanasius, Origen and Clement. This connection places the Sacramentary of Serapion in Egypt and makes it an important document of the Liturgy of the Church in that area, at that time. The view that Egypt was the place of its origin has been strengthened also by recognition of the Egyptian characteristic which are found in it.

74. Cf. G. Dix, *Primitive Consecr. Pr.*, Theology v. 37, 1938 p. 278.

Apart from all these, we shall try to find out more internal witness which will confirm the view that Egypt is the Sacramentary of Serapion.

There is no doubt that the liturgical usage which is represented in it is an Egyptian one. Character, order and parallels with other Egyptian forms show this.

The conclusion of the doxologies «Εἰς τοὺς σύμπαντας αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων», which is at the end of almost every prayer of Serapion forms the same type which is du the regly «Ὡσπερ ἦν καὶ ἔστι... etc.» at the end of the Anaphora in the Egyptian Liturgies. This is found also in two doxologies of St. Athanasius and in Isaiah the Abbot ⁷⁵. Therefore the doxologies place it in Egypt even if this type of doxology can be found sporadically outside Egypt (mainly in the Roman canon). This can be explained by the contact of the the Churches. But the type seems to be an Egyptian one.

The terminology of Serapion is in accordance with the Egyptian environment in his time. In the Egyptian creeds there are characteristics which are characteristics of Serapion as well.

Thus, in the epistle of Alexander of Alexandria ⁷⁶ where there is a form of creed we read: «Πιστεύομεν... εἰς μόνον ἀγέννητον Πατέρα... Καὶ εἰς ἓνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν Μονογενῆ, γεννηθέντα... Μίαν καὶ μόνην καθολικὴν, τὴν ἀποστολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν...».

Also in De Sancto Macario Historiae ⁷⁷ where there is a form of creed as well, we read about the Son and His incarnation: «ἐπιδημήσαντα ἐν σαρκί... τὸν σταυρωθέντα καὶ ἀποθανόντα καὶ ταφέντα καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς etc.». Also in St. Athanasius and mainly in his «Expositio fidei» we find similar expressions ⁷⁸.

These characteristics of the Egyptian Fathers are characteristics of Serapion as well. One of the main epithets which is used by Serapion to Characterize God the Father is «ἀγέννητος». This is found in many of the prayers of the Sacramentary. The Son is called in Serapion «Μονογενής», «γεννηθείς», «παθών, σταυρωθείς, ἀναστὰς καὶ καθεζόμενος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ἀγενήτου». He also uses, in referring to the incarnation of the Son, the word «ἐπιδημία» which is found above in the creed of Macarios. This is used by St. Athanasius (Letter

75. Cf. Brightman, J. of Th. St., v. I, p. 93.

76. Theodoret., Eccl. Hist. I, 3, p. Gr. 82, 904 b. fl.

77. P. Gr. 84, 912d f.

78. Brightman, ibid., p. 93.

to Serapion) and it seems that it was a familiar expression in Egypt; the coming and installation of the political governor in Alexandria was called «ἐπιδημία».

The above expression in the creed of Alexander of Alexandria about the Church; «Μία καὶ μόνη καθολικὴ, ἀποστολικὴ Ἐκκλησία», is the usual one of Serapion with a few alterations.

The reference to interpreters among the orders can be explained by the need for translation into Coptic for the native people. This we can recognize in the person of Theodore «the interpreter» who is referred to in the life of John of Lycopolis as a member of this order⁷⁹. Also according to Brightman, the use of consecrated oil for the sick is an Egyptian custom even if in the 4th century it is not exclusively an Egyptian one.

Certainly, in the prayers of the Sacramentary there is nothing which suggests a different situation from that of the Church in Egypt at that period. There is no doubt that in the «prayer of fruitfulness» (23) rain is referred to in the same way as in St. Mark and the other Egyptian Liturgies, but not the rising of the river waters as it is in the latter. This could be taken as something foreign to the Egyptian environment. But it is not so. Thmuis is situated by the Nile Delta where much river water is available for irrigation, though rain water is used mainly. In Upper Egypt and in the valley of the Nile, even to-day, the Nile floods and the rising of the water are necessary for cultivation. Serapion prays for what is needed by the Christians of Lower Egypt and especially of Thmuis i. e. rain.

Thmuis is situated by the Delta between the Mendesian and Tantic branches of the Nile near to Lake Menzarah and south of Mendes. To-day its ruins can be seen at Tmey—el—Amdid.

The name seems to derive from Thmu, the he-goat, whose worship was widespread, in the past, here and at Mendes⁸⁰.

Therefore the conditions which appear in the prayers, the similarities in the doctrinal definition of basic teachings which there are in the Egyptian Fathers, the creeds and in Serapion and even the doxologies, all these suggest that Egypt and especially the Delta is the place of the Sacramentary's origin. Certainly, this view is strengthened by the argument of the relation of the Sacramentary to the Liturgy of St. Mark and the fragments of Der-Balyzeh as this has been shown in the previous chapter, also in favour of Egypt is its connection with Serapion.

79. Cf. Brightman, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

80. J. Wordsworth, *Bishop Serapion's Prayer Book*, p. 10.

8, CONTENT AND STRUCTURE

The prayers of the Sacramentary of Serapion are not arranged and numbered in the MS. of Mount Athos in their proper order. This means that the reconstruction of it will have some uncertainty. At any rate the order which has been accepted was introduced by Brightman⁸¹.

Therefore we have at first the «missa catechumenorum» which consists of the «εὐχὴ πρώτη Κυριακῆς» (19), the lessons and the sermon which would follow, and the «μετὰ τὸ ἀναστῆναι ἀπὸ τῆς διμιλίας εὐχὴ» (20). The «εὐχὴ ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηγουμένων» (21) follows and the «χειροθεσία κατηγουμένων» (28).

The first of them can be characterized as an introductory prayer. Supplication to God takes place for the right understanding of the Holy Scriptures and for their right interpretation. The second one follows the sermon and is has a petition for the drawing of souls to God (obviously by the help of the sermon) and it applies also to those who are outside the Church.

The prayers for the catechumens ask that they may have the christian gnosis and «διαφυλαττέσθωσιν ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν καὶ ἐν τῇ καθαρῷ φρονήσει» in order to become worthy of Baptism and the Sacraments.

After this, although there is not, in the Sacramentary, the part of the deacon and the people, the Liturgy of the Faithful commences. The prayers which follow can be arranged in order, though with great difficulty.

The «εὐχὴ ὑπὲρ Λαοῦ» (27) comes first and deals with and prays for all the things and the classes for the sake of which the Church prays i. e. for the well-being of the Faithful, for all the people, the Lords, free men, slaves, male and female, old men and children, poor and rich, the travelling, the afflicted, the captives and the sick.

A benediction of the people follows, «χειροθεσία λαϊκῶν» (29), and a prayer and a benediction of the sick (22, 30). In the latter there is a petition for the healing of the sick and it is important in that this will take place «in the name of the Only-begotten» as «His holy name» is «Φάρμακον . . . εἰς υἰεῖαν καὶ ὀλοκληρίαν».

The «εὐχὴ ὑπὲρ καρποφορίας» (23) follows and a prayer for the local Church as a whole (24), and another «εὐχὴ ὑπὲρ Ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας» («25»), for her several members and orders i. e. the

81. Cf. J. H. Srawley, *The Early History of the Liturgy*, p. 50.

bishop, presbyters, deacons, subdeacon, readers and interpreters ; also for the monks and virgins, the married people and the children.

Afterwards we have an «εὐχή «γονυκλισίας» (26). In this God is asked to strengthen the faithful in virtue, to forgive them, effacing the «χειρόγραφον» which is against them, and He is asked also to write their names «ἐν βιβλίῳ ζωῆς».

Brightman suggests that this last prayer can be regarded as the origin of the Egyptian peculiarity «the prayer of the veil». Although there is a general similarity, it is rather difficult to accept such an idea with absolute certainty. At any rate all these prayers were said before the Anaphora and probably some of them were used in non-liturgical service⁸².

The Kiss of Peace is not referred to in the Sacramentary but there is evidence about it in Clement and Origen and Timothy of Alexandria. Therefore the practice would be presupposed in Serapion, but the lack of any allusion shows that its prayer, an Egyptian and Syriac characteristic, is of later origin in Egypt and perhaps borrowed from Syria⁸³.

The Eucharistic prayer (1) follows and it has the rubric «εὐχή προσφύρου Σαραπίωνος ἐπισκόπου». There is no «Sursum Corda» but it may be presupposed by the beginning of the Eucharistic prayer which is «Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστιν . . . αἰνεῖν, ὑμνεῖν, δοξολογεῖν». In this prayer we can discern the Preface which leads to the Sanctus, a preliminary form of invocation, the words of institution of the Sacrament, an irrelevant petition, between the words of institution of the bread and of the Cup, for the gathering of the whole Church (this derives from the Didache), the Epiclesis of the Logos, intercession for the people and the departed, the Diptychs, and a kind of prayer of the prothesis which is placed here. The Anaphora concludes with the stereotyped formula «Ὡσπερ ἦν καὶ ἐστιν . . . etc», which certainly belongs to an earlier period than that of Serapion.

The «prayer of the fraction» (2) follows with the rubric «μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν ἢ κλάσις καὶ ἐν τῇ κλάσει εὐχή». Brightman thinks that the «μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν» presupposes the Lord's prayer. Although there is no Egyptian evidence about it in the fourth century this notion seems very probable. Certainly there is the allusion of Didymus that before Baptism catechumens are not allowed to recite the Lord's Prayer⁸⁴.

82. Cf. L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, p. 78.

83. Brightman, *op. cit.*, 95.

84. Didymus Alex., *De Trinitate* 3,39 P. Gr. 39, 980 c.

Therefore the prayer would be placed in a part of the Liturgy which was attended by the faithful only. The above rubric of the prayer (2) sheds light in some way on the probable position of the Lord's prayer before the «prayer of the fraction». Its position is not the same in later related liturgies in Egypt or elsewhere.

But, also, it is equally probable that that «μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν» refers to the Eucharistic Prayer itself («εὐχὴ προσφόρου»). The «prayer of the fraction» is an Egyptian characteristic and it is preparatory to the Communion.

Afterwards a preliminary Communion prayer of the people follows, with a benediction (3). This prayer has the rubric «Μετὰ τὸ διαδοῦναι τὴν κλάσιν τοῖς κληρικοῖς χειροθεσία λαοῦ». Certainly, that shows that the Communion of the clergy came first, the benediction of the people followed and then the Communion of the people and «μετὰ τὴν διάδοσιν τοῦ λαοῦ εὐχὴ» (4) which is a thanksgiving «ὅτι δέδωκας ἡμῖν κοινωνίαν σώματος καὶ αἵματος». A final benediction follows. This order which is in Serapion corresponds to later Egyptian and Syrian forms.

Before the final benediction there is the «blessing of the waters and oil» (5). The prayer has the rubric «Εὐχὴ περὶ τῶν προσφερομένων ἐλαίων καὶ ὕδατων». The petition is for those elements to become healing medicine «φάρμακον θεραπευτικόν».

The position of this prayer in Serapion before the final benediction, is a little strange seeing that in other documents it is either after the Anaphora (Ap. Tradition) or at the end of the Liturgy (Test. of Our Lord).

The prayers of Baptism and Chrism (Confirmation) in Serapion conform to the common shape which Baptism had in the 4th century.

Baptism has three parts, the preparation of the catechumens and the consecration of the oil, the Baptism itself with the consecration of the water, and the Chrism with its consecration⁸⁵.

The consecration of the water (7) is placed in the beginning, as also in other documents of the early period. Although the prayer has a petition for the waters to be filled by Holy Spirit, the invocation is addressed to the Eucharist.

The preparation of the catechumens follows; this would be the last stage of the course of teaching and exercise. In Serapion we have an «εὐχὴ ὑπὲρ τῶν βαπτιζομένων» (8) in which the catechumen is prayed for to become worthy of the divine mystery.

85. Brightman, op. cit., p. 247.

The renunciation and the confession of faith must follow as we can assume from the rubric of the following prayer (9) «μετὰ τὴν ἀποταγὴν εὐχῆ» and also from its content where we read: «σφραγίσον τὴν συγκατάθεσιν τοῦ δούλου σου τούτου τὴν πρὸς σὲ νῦν γεγεννημένην».

The anointing with the oil of exorcism follows and the «εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ ἄλειμμα τῶν βαπτιζομένων» (15). Certainly this prayer does not seem to be the consecration prayer of the oil. Afterwards it is the «μετὰ τὴν Ἑλεψιν εὐχὴ» (10) which according to Brightman can be regarded as a transition from the preparation of the catechumens to the celebration of Baptism itself.

The Baptism, by immersion, follows as is clear from the rubric of the following prayer (11) «μετὰ τὸ βαπτισθῆναι καὶ ἀνελθεῖν εὐχὴ». Then we are introduced into the confirmation by the prayer of Chrism (16). It seems that this prayer was read first and then the «sealing» with Chrism took place. The dressing of the neophytes would take place after the Chrism.

Apart from the fact that in the ordinal there are no ordinations of the minor orders, in the section which treats of ordinations to the major orders there are neither rubrics nor other information. We have only the prayers (I) «Χειροθεσία καταστάσεως διακόνων» (12), II) «Χειροθεσία καταστάσεως πρεσβυτέρων» (13) and III) «Χειροθεσία καταστάσεως Ἐπισκόπου» (14). More about these will be said in the special chapter.

In the Unction of the Sick, also, apart from the prayer (17) «εἰς ἔλαιον νοσούντων ἢ εἰς ἄρτον ἢ εἰς ὕδωρ» we have no other information (in Serapion) about the way in which that sacramental ceremony is celebrated. Neither do other sources of that period inform us about it. At any rate the early ecclesiastical tradition of the Unction of sick is continued.

We have only the prayer «περὶ τεθνεώτος καὶ ἐκκομιζομένου» (18) without any other information about the content of the funeral service. Any how, from the «ἐκκομιζομένου» we can assume that a kind of procession took place.

[Συνεχίζεται]