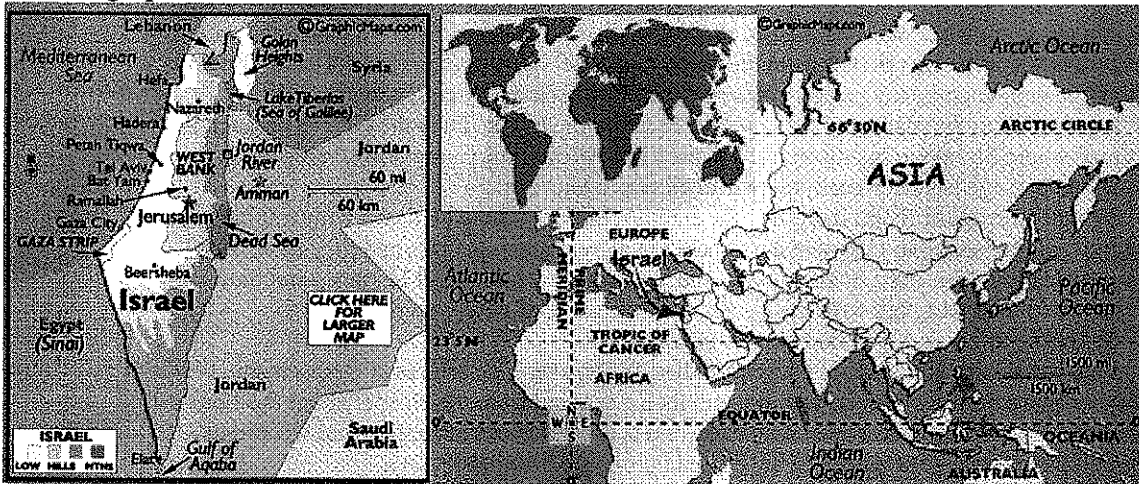


D9: Christian Worship in 4th Century Jerusalem: Premodern Wisdom for Postmodern Times Lester Ruth and Carrie Steenwyk

5 What might an ancient church have to say for renewing our worship today? We'll look at how Jerusalem in the 4th century worshiped, including descriptions and resources from that time, to think about new possibilities today.

Session Outline

- 10 I. Welcome and Introduction
II. 4th Century Jerusalem Church
a. Geographical location



- b. Historic background: how was there a church there in the 4th century?
c. What were the key points of its worship? (see Significant Themes for more)
i. A scriptural piety and the use of Scripture in worship, esp. the reading of Scripture as an act of worship
ii. Keeping of time in commemorative rhythms (where does our yearly calendar come from)
iii. Baptismal preparation and the linking of baptism to salvation history
iv. Awareness of different kinds of services (daily office and Eucharistic) with different purposes (celebratory and formative) involving different people (different levels of clergy involvement and different clergy involved)
d. Primary Sources
i. People and Artifacts
ii. Worship Setting and Space
iii. First Hand Account of Worship: Excerpts from a pilgrim's observations of Jerusalem at worship

30 31. 1 At one o'clock all the people go up to Eleona Church on the Mount of Olives. The bishop takes his seat, and they have hymns and Antiphons suitable to the place and the day, and readings too. When three o'clock comes, they go up with hymns and sit down at the Imbomon, the place from which the Lord ascended into heaven. (For when the bishop is present everyone is told to sit down, except for the deacons, who remain standing the whole time.) And there too they have hymns and Antiphons suitable to 35 2 the place and the day, with readings and prayers between them. At five o'clock the

The ability to worship at the sites described in biblical episodes allows the first hints of dramatization in worship. Here is a degree of literal enactment of the biblical event. This is different than the kind of sacramental participation Cyril describes in his sermons.

passage is read from the Gospel about the children who met the Lord with palm branches, saying, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."

At this the bishop and all the people rise from their places, and start off on foot down from the summit of the Mount of Olives. All the people go before him with psalms and Antiphons, all the time repeating, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the 3 Lord." The babies and the ones too young to walk are carried on their parents' shoulders. Everyone is carrying branches, either palm or olive, and they accompany the bishop in the very way the

4 people did when once they went down with the Lord. They go on foot down the Mount to the city and all through the city to the Anastasis, but they have to go pretty gently on account of the older women and men among them who might get tired. So it is already late when they reach the Anastasis; but even though it is late they hold Lucernare when they get there, then have a prayer At the Cross, and the people are dismissed.

36.1 When the cock begins to crow, everyone leaves the Imbomon and comes down with singing to the place where the Lord prayed, as the Gospels describe in the passage which begins, "And he was parted from them about a stone's cast, and prayed." The bishop and all the people go into a graceful church which has been built there, have a prayer appropriate to the place and the day, and one suitable hymn. Then the Gospel passage is read where he said to his disciples, "Watch, lest ye enter into temptation," and, when the whole passage has been read, there is another prayer.

2 From there all of them, including the smallest children, now go down with singing and conduct the bishop to Gethsemane. There are a great many people, and they have been crowded together, tired by their vigil, and weakened by their daily fasting—and they have had a very big hill to come down—so they go very slowly on their way to Gethsemane. So that they can all see, they are

3 provided with hundreds of church candles. When everyone arrives at Gethsemane, they have an appropriate prayer, a hymn, and then a reading from the Gospel about the Lord's arrest. By the time it has been read everyone is groaning and lamenting and weeping so loud that people even across in the city can probably hear it all.

Next they go with singing to the city, and walking they reach the gate at the time when people can first recognize each other. And from there every single one of them, old and young, rich and poor, goes on through the center of the city to be present at the next service—for this above all others is the day when no one leaves the vigil till morning comes. Thus the bishop is conducted from the Gethsemane to the gate, and from there through the whole

4 city as far as the Cross. By the time they arrive Before the Cross it is pretty well full day, and they have another Gospel reading, the whole passage about the Lord being led away to Pilate, and all the recorded words of Pilate to the Lord or to the Jews.

45.1 I feel I should add something about the way they instruct those who are to be baptized at Easter. Names must be given in before the first day of Lent, which means that a presbyter takes down all the names before the start of the eight weeks for which Lent lasts

2 here, as I have told you. Once the priest has all the names, on the second day of Lent at the start of the eight weeks, the bishop's chair is placed in the middle of the Great Church, the Martyrium. The presbyters sit in chairs on either side of him, and all the clergy stand. Then one by one those seeking baptism are brought up, men coming with their fathers and women with their mothers.

3 As they come in one by one, the bishop asks their neighbors questions about them: "Is this person leading a good life? Does he respect his parents? Is he a drunkard or a boaster?" He asks about

4 all the serious human vices. And if his inquiries show him that someone has not committed any of these misdeeds, he himself puts down his name. But if someone is guilty he is told to go away, and the bishop tells him that he is to amend his ways before he may come to the font. He asks the men and the women the same questions. But it is

This was intergenerational worship. Everyone, including the youngest children and the senior citizens, participated.

This day that commemorates the death of Christ is often known as Good Friday.

Having the advantage of the actual sites recorded in the Gospel accounts of Jesus' passion, Jerusalem's worship proceeds by time and place according to these Scriptures. Egeria has in mind Luke 22:41 to identify the place where Christ prayed.

The loudness of the people's reaction to the account of Jesus' arrest is another reminder of how demonstrative late patristic worship could be. Congregations were not quiet and passive at this time.

Preparing for baptism was an intense experience involving several dimensions, including this regular round of prayer to make sure that evil forces had been broken in the candidate's life. Note, too, the prior examination that reviewed conduct. What are appropriate thresholds to baptize someone?

not too easy for a visitor to come to baptism if he has no witnesses who are acquainted with him.

46.1 Now, ladies and sisters, I want to write something which will save you from thinking all this is done without due explanation. They have here the custom that those who are preparing for baptism during the season of the Lenten first go to be exorcized by the clergy first thing in the morning, directly after the morning dismissal in the Anastasis. As soon as that has taken place, the bishop's chair is placed in the Great Church, the Martyrium, and all those to be baptized, the men and the women, sit round him in a circle. There is a place where the fathers and mothers stand, and any of the people who want to listen (the faithful, of course)

2 can come in and sit down, though not Catechumens, who do not come in while the bishop is teaching.

His subject is God's Law. During the forty days he goes through the whole Bible, beginning with Genesis. First, he relates the literal meaning of each passage, and then he interprets its spiritual meaning. He also teaches them at this time all the resurrection 3 and the faith. And this is called *catechesis*. After five weeks of teaching they receive the Creed, which he explains article by article in the same way as he explained the Scriptures, first literally and then spiritually. Thus, all the people in these parts are able to follow the Scriptures when they are read in church, since there have been teaching on all the Scriptures from six to nine in

4 the morning all through Lent, three hours of catechesis a day. At ordinary services when the bishop sits and preaches, ladies and sisters, the faithful utter exclamations, but when they come and hear him explaining the catechesis, their exclamations are far louder, God is my witness; and when it is related and interpreted like this they ask questions on each point.

At nine o'clock they are dismissed from Catechesis, and the bishop is taken with singing straight to the Anastasis. So the dismissal is at nine, which makes three hours of teaching a day for seven weeks. But in the eighth, known as the Great Week, there is no time for them to have their teaching if they are to carry out

5 all the services I have described. So when seven weeks have gone by, and only the week of Easter remains, the one which people here call the Great Week, the bishop comes early into the Great Church, the Martyrium. His chair is placed at the back of the apse, behind the altar, and one by one the candidates go up to the bishop, men with their fathers and women with their mothers,

6 and repeat the Creed to him. When they have done so, the bishop speaks to them all as follows: "During these seven weeks you have received instruction in the whole biblical Law. You have heard about the faith and the resurrection of the body. You have also learned all you can as Catechumens of the content of the Creed. But the teaching about baptism itself is a deeper mystery, and you have not the right to hear it while you remain Catechumens. Do not think it will never be explained; you will hear it all during the eight days of Easter after you have baptized. But so long as you are Catechumens you cannot be told God's deep mysteries."

47.1 Then Easter comes. During the eight days from Easter Day to the eighth day, after the dismissal has taken place in the church and they have come with singing into the Anastasis (it does not take long to say the prayer and bless the faithful), the bishop stands leaning against the inner screen in the cave of the Anastasis

2 and interprets all that takes place in Baptism. The newly baptized come into the Anastasis, and any of the faithful who wish to hear the Mysteries. While the bishop is teaching, no Catechumen comes in, and the doors are kept shut in case any try to enter. The bishop relates what has been done, and interprets it. As he does so, the applause is so loud that it can be heard outside the church. Indeed, the way he expounds the mysteries and interprets them cannot fail to move his hearers.

3 In this province there are some people who know both Greek and Syriac, but others know only one or the other. The bishop may know Syriac, but he never uses it. He always speaks in Greek and has a presbyter beside him who translates the Greek into Syriac, so that everyone can understand what he means.

Here Egeria describes part of the intensive preparation one received before baptism. This church, like others of the period, seems concerned that those being baptized are able to hold the Bible together as an intelligible whole and to know how the whole testifies to the Gospel of Jesus Christ (the "spiritual meaning"). This ability to know the breadth of the Bible in a Christian way is a key capacity for participating well in worship in this period.

The baptismal candidates had been told neither what would be done in their baptisms nor the meaning. The week after Easter was spent disclosing these things and connecting them to the biblical story as Cyril's sermons show.

Imagine how noisy it might have been with people whispering translations to those sitting near them.

If Egeria only spoke Latin, she would have needed someone to translate for her. Her observations, then, would be dependent on the accuracy of the translation.

4 Similarly, the lessons read in church have to be read in Greek, but there is always someone in attendance to translate into Syriac so that the people understand. Of course, there are also people here who speak neither Greek nor Syriac, but Latin. But there is no need for them to be discouraged, since some of the brothers or sisters who speak Latin as well as Greek will explain things to

5 them. And what I admire and value most is that all the hymns and Antiphons and readings they have, and all the prayers the bishop says, are always relevant to the day which is being observed and to the place in which they are used. They never fail to be appropriate.

Source: The account of Egeria's experience in Jerusalem is drawn from John Wilkinson's book, *Egeria's Travels* (London: S.P.C.K., 1971; rev. edition, Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1999; 3rd edition, pp.142-164). The critical edition of this travel diary in Latin is *Corpus Christianorum*, Series Latina, vol. 175 (Turnholti, Belgium: Brepols, 1965), which was based on K. Vretska, *Die Pilgerreise der Aetheria* (Peregrinatio Aetheria), Klosterneuburg, 1958 and O. Prinz, *Itinerarium Egeriae*, Heidelberg, 1960.

Egeria's diary was originally published with a treatise, *On the Mysteries: with three Hymns* (S.Hilarii Tractatus de mysteriis et hymni et S. Silviae Aquitanæ Peregrinatio ad loca sancta. Biblioteca dell' Accademia storico-giuridica, vol. 4. Romæ, ex typographia Pacis P. Cuggiani) in 1887 by Gian Francesco Gammurrini from the sole surviving manuscript that he found in Arezzo, Italy. A revised edition appeared the following year as fasc. 2^o-3^o of the Studi e documenti di storia e diritto, anno IX. The authorship has since been ascribed to a nun, Aetheria (Etheria, Eucheria, Egeria) mentioned by a Spanish monk, Valerius (7th cent.) in a letter to the Fratres bergidenses. cf. Dom Férotin, *Revue des questions historiques*, v. 79 (1903); P. Geyer, *Die wirkliche Verfasserin der "Peregrinatio Silviae"* in *Archiv f. latein. lexikogr.* XV. (1908); Teuffel, vol. III (1913 Schanz, vol. IV (1914). The Arezzo manuscript includes the *Tractatus de mysteriis* of Hilarius, followed by three hymns of doubtful authorship, in the manuscript ascribed to Hilarius. The manuscript likely came to Arezzo from the monastery of Monte Cassino when Ambrose Rastrellini came from Monte Cassino to be Abbot at Arezzo, perhaps in 1599. It was translated into Russian in 1888 and was first published with an English translation by J.H. Bernard in 1891.

10 iv. Order of Service and Texts

1. The likely Scripture used in Jerusalem

17. Instruction for those who are written in the book for the Holy Fast, and who are preparing to receive baptism.

15 Old Testament: Isaiah 1:16-20

Old Testament: Ezekiel 18:20b-23

Apostle: Romans 6:3-14

Apostle: Colossians 2:8-3:4

Apostle: Hebrews 11:1-31

20 Old Testament: Isaiah 45:16b-25

Apostle: Ephesians 3:14-4:13

Old Testament: Jeremiah 32: 18b-44¹

Old Testament: Job 38:2-40:5

Apostle: 1 Corinthians 8:5-9:23

25 Apostle: Hebrews 1:1-2:1

Old Testament: Isaiah 7:10-8:10

Old Testament: Isaiah 53:1-54:5

Apostle: 1 Corinthians 15:1-28

Old Testament: Daniel 7:2-27

30 Apostle: 1 Corinthians 12:1-7

Apostle: 1 Corinthians 12:8-27

Old Testament: Ezekiel 37:1-14

Apostle: 1 Timothy 3:14-16

This canon of 19 readings is for the instruction of those who are preparing to be baptized.

Although difficult to coordinate exactly with what is found in Cyril's existing Lenten catechesis, the readings here offer some of the critical passages considered important to know to prepare for baptism. Notice what it prioritizes. It begins with readings about forgiveness, faith, and piety. Then the readings move like a creed from creation in Job 38 through the life of Christ and the church to recreation with the dry bones in Ezekiel.

¹ Renoux lists this as 39:19b-44, and Wilkinson has it as 32:19b-44.

38. On the Thursday of Holy Week, concerning which Jesus said to His disciples, "I ardently desire to eat this Passover with you," they gather at the beginning of the seventh hour, at the Holy Martyrium

Old Testament: Genesis 22:1-18

Old Testament: Isaiah 61:1-6

Apostle: Acts 1:15-26

Psalm 55 (antiphon: vs. 21 "His words are smoother than oil, and they are like darts")

After the psalm, they sit for the homily, and the Catechumens are dismissed.

39. And after the dismissal of the Catechumens, they gather again

Psalm 23 (antiphon: vs. 5 "You have prepared a table before me, in the sight of my oppressors")

Apostle: 1 Corinthians 11:23-32

Gospel: Matthew 26:17-20

Then the sacrifice is offered in the Holy Martyrium and before the Holy Cross.

And they immediately go to Holy Sion

Psalm 23 (antiphon: vs. 5 "You have prepared a table before me, in the sight of my oppressors")

Apostle: 1 Corinthians 11:23-32

Gospel: Mark 14:1-26

They immediately ascend the Mount of Olives, and they do the evening office and the vigil.

At the Mount of Olives, they pray groups of psalms on bended knee.

Psalms 2, 3, and 4 (antiphon: 2:2b "The princes of the peoples have gathered together against the Lord and against his Christ")

Psalms 40, 41, and 42 (antiphon: 41:7, 38:21 "They have set an unjust word against me: Lord, Lord, do not abandon me!")

Psalms 58, 59, and 60 (antiphon: 59:1 "God, deliver me from my enemies, and save me from my persecutors")

Psalms 78, 79, and 80 (antiphon: 88:5c, 79:13a "They are expelled from Your hand; we are Your people, and the sheep of Your pasture")

Psalms 108, 109, and 110 (antiphon: 109:2b-3a "They have spoken against me with a lying tongue, and have surrounded me with words of hate.")

And after the fifteen psalms in the five groupings and the five prayers, in the same evening at midnight

Gospel: John 13:16-18:1.

40. At the same hour of the night, on the Mountain, at the Summit

Psalm 109 (antiphon: vs. 4 "Instead of loving me, they betrayed me, and I continued to pray")

Gospel: Luke 22:1-65

At the same hour of the night, they gather at the Room of the Disciples

Gospel: Mark 14:27-72

At the same hour of the night, they descend the Holy Mount of Olives to Gethsemane

Gospel: Matthew 26:31-56.

41. Following this, they go, singing psalms, to the Courtyard of the House of the High Priest Caiaphas, at the Place of the Repentance of Peter.

Gospel: Matthew 26:57-75

The catechumens are dismissed before the reading of Scripture that deal with the Lord's Supper. This exclusion is consistent with common practice across Christianity at the time to restrict unbaptized persons' knowledge of the sacrament. Also, notice the use of Psalm 23 to interpret the meaning of Communion.

The office refers to prayer services, normally held on a daily basis and without sermon or sacrament.

After the commemoration of the Last Supper, the Jerusalem church begins its detailed worship "walk through" of the events surrounding the passion, burial, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. It is almost as if it had a three-day long service, interrupted only by some intermissions.

Although any one of a number of examples could be drawn, this instance shows how the church coordinated assembling at a given locale according to the scriptural account and using Old and New Testament material appropriate for the time and place.

42. At the same hour of the night
Psalm 118 (antiphon: vs. 1 "Give glory to the Lord, for He is good, and his mercy is forever").

5

And beginning at the gate, they begin singing psalms until they arrive before Holy Golgotha
Psalms 78, 79, and 80 (antiphon: 88:5, 79:13 "They are expelled from Your hand; we are Your people, and the sheep of your pasture")

10

At Holy Golgotha
Gospel: John 18:2-27

15

At dawn
Psalm 109 (antiphon: vs. 4 "Instead of loving me, they betrayed me, and I continued to pray")
Gospel: John 18:28-19:16a

20

43. On Friday morning of Holy Week, the precious wood of the Cross is placed before Holy Golgotha. And those who are assembled adore it, offering adoration until the sixth hour. And at the sixth hour, they gather at Holy Golgotha, and they say eight Psalms, eight readings from the Prophets, eight from the Apostle, and for each Psalm, two readings, and one prayer only:

25

Psalm 35 (antiphon: vs. 11 "Unjust witnesses stood, asking things I do not know")
Old Testament: Zechariah 11:11-14
Apostle: Galatians 6:14-18
Prayer

30

Psalm 38 (antiphon: vs. 17 "I am ready for torments, and my sorrows are always before me")
Old Testament: Isaiah 3:9b-15
Apostle: Philippians 2:5-11
Prayer

35

Psalm 41 (antiphon: vs. 6bc "In his heart, he gathered iniquity to himself")
Old Testament: Isaiah 50:4-9a
Apostle: Romans 5:6-11
Prayer

40

Psalm 22 (antiphon: vs. 18 "They parted my garments among them, and cast lots for my robe.")
Old Testament: Amos 8:9-12
Apostle: 1 Corinthians 1:18-31
Prayer

45

Psalm 31 (antiphon: vs. 5a "Into Your hands I commit my spirit")
Old Testament: Isaiah 52:13-53:12
Apostle: Hebrews 2:11-18
Gospel: Matthew 27:1-56
Prayer

50

Psalm 69 (antiphon: vs. 21 "They gave me gall for food, and in my thirst gave me vinegar to drink")
Old Testament: Isaiah 63:1-6

55

The Scriptures used to mark the time of Jesus' crucifixion on Good Friday span a range. Worshipers in Jerusalem hear prophecies announcing the death of the Savior, the apostle Paul's interpretation of the significance of this death, as well as the Gospel accounts of the passion. Once again this church takes a whole-Bible approach to God's saving activity in Christ.

Apostle: Hebrews 9:11-28
Gospel: Mark 15:1-41
Prayer

5 Psalm 88 (antiphon: vs. 4b-5a "I became like a man without help, and free among the dead")
Old Testament: Jeremiah 11:18-20
Apostle: Hebrews 10:19-31
10 Gospel: Luke 22:66-23:49
Prayer

Psalm 102 (antiphon: vs. 1 "Lord, hear my prayer; let my cry come to You")
Old Testament: Zechariah 14:5c-11
Apostle: 1 Timothy 6:13-16
15 Gospel: John 19:16b-37
Prayer

After the reading of the Gospel, at the tenth hour, they immediately enter the Holy Martyrium
20 Old Testament: Jeremiah 11:18-12:8
Old Testament: Isaiah 53:1-12
Psalm 22 (antiphon: vs. 18 "They have parted my clothes, and for my robe they cast lots")

25 After the Psalm, they immediately descend to Holy Anastasis
Gospel: Matthew 27:57-61

44. On Saturday morning, in Holy Anastasis
30 Psalm 88 (antiphon: vs. 6 "They laid me in the deepest pit, in the darkness, and in the shadows")
Gospel: Matthew 27:62-66

On Saturday evening, in the Holy Passover, the bishop sings songs in Holy Anastasis
35 Psalm 113 (antiphon: vs. 2 "May the name of the Lord be blessed, now and forever")

And in the same hour, they ascend to the Holy Martyrium, and the bishop lights a lamp.

And the clergy immediately begins the vigil of the Holy Passover, and they do twelve readings. And for each reading, the prayer is done with kneeling.
40 Psalm 118 (antiphon: vs. 24 "This is the day that the Lord has made. Exult and rejoice in it!")
Old Testament: Genesis 1:1-3:24
Prayer with kneeling

45 Old Testament: Genesis 22:1-18
Prayer with kneeling

Old Testament: Exodus 12:1-24
Prayer with kneeling

50 Old Testament: Jonah 1:1-4:11
Prayer with kneeling

55 Old Testament: Exodus 14:24-15:21 (antiphon: 15:21b "Let us sing to the Lord, for He is covered in glory!")
Prayer with kneeling

As with Epiphany, worshippers held a worship vigil by walking through important Old Testament scriptures to lead the way to celebrating the resurrection. Thus, the whole Bible was held together as a single story of salvation by one God.

Old Testament: Isaiah 60:1-13
Prayer with kneeling

5 Old Testament: Job 38:2-28
Prayer with kneeling

10 Old Testament: 2 Kings 2:1-22
Prayer with kneeling

Old Testament: Jeremiah 31:31-34
Prayer with kneeling

15 Old Testament: Joshua 1:1-9
Prayer with kneeling

Old Testament: Ezekiel 37:1-14
Prayer with kneeling

20 Old Testament: Daniel 3:1-23 with the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Jews
1-12a (Refrain: "Lord, you have made the dew fall, a dew of mercy, and quenched the
flame of burning fire, for it is you alone who is recognized as Savior")
Then the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Jews 12b-28 (Refrain: "You have
had pity on our fathers. You have visited us. You have saved us.")
25 Then the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Jews 29-68

And while they sing the hymn, at midnight, a great number of the newly baptized enter
with the bishop.

30 Psalm 65 (antiphon: vs. 1 "To You, God, belongs the praise in Sion, and to You is
presented prayer in Jerusalem!")

Apostle: 1 Corinthians 15:1-11

Alleluia, Psalm 30 (vs. 1 "I will exalt You, O God, for You lifted me up from the
depths")

Gospel: Matthew 28:1-20

35 And at the same hour, the sacrifice is offered. And after the dismissal, at the same hour
of the night, it is offered at Holy Anastasis, in front of Holy Golgotha. And immediately
they read at Holy Anastasis
40 Gospel: John 19:38-20:18

45. Easter Sunday, at the Holy Martyrium

Psalm 65 (antiphon: vs. 1 "To You, God, belongs the praise in Sion, and to You is
presented prayer in Jerusalem!")

Apostle: Acts 1:1-14

45 Alleluia, Psalm 147:12-20 (vs. 12 "Jerusalem, praise the Lord and bless your God!")

Gospel: Mark 15:42-16:8

50 On the same Easter Sunday, at the ninth hour, they ascend the Holy Mount of Olives.
Here they sing psalms for a little while. They descend singing psalms to Holy Anastasis,
and from there in the evening they go to Holy Sion.

Psalm 149 (antiphon: vs. 1 "Sing to the Lord a new song, praise for Him in the assembly
of the saints!")

Gospel: John 20:19-25

The Scriptures and the
arrival of the newly-
baptized provide a dual
witness to the resurrecting
power of God through
Jesus Christ

Source: The lectionary describing Jerusalem scripture practices is best attested in Armenian sources. The chief among these is Codex Armenian Jerusalem 121, a manuscript from the fifth century. Athanase Renoux has published the critical edition of this manuscript in Armenian with French translation, introduction, and commentary as "Le Codex Arménien Jérusalem 121," *Patrologia Orientalis* 36/2 (1971) p.210-373. This manuscript has fewer gaps than ms. Paris B.N. arm. 44, which was the basis of F. C. Conybeare's *Rituale Armenorum* (1896). The English translation is new for this publication.

2. The Communion prayer likely used in Jerusalem

The bishop:

5 The love of God the Father, the grace of our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you all.

The people:

And also with you.

10 *The bishop:*

Let us lift up our minds and our hearts.

The people: We lift them up to the Lord.

15 *The bishop:*

Let us give thanks to the Lord.

The people:

It is fitting and right.

20 *The bishop, bowing:*

It is truly fitting and right to praise you, to bless you, to worship you, to glorify you, to give thanks to you, the creator of all creation, visible and invisible, the giver of all good things, the fountain of life and immortality, the God and Master of all.

25 The heavens and all their powers, the sun and moon and all the choirs of stars, earth, sea, and all that is in them praise you. The heavenly Jerusalem, the assembly of the elect, the church of the first-born written in heaven, the spirits of righteous people and prophets, the souls of martyrs and apostles sing your praise. Angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, principalities and powers worship you. The cherubim with many eyes and seraphim with six wings—with two covering their own faces, with two their feet, and with two flying—cry to one another with untiring mouths and never-silent hymns of praise. With clear voice they proclaim the triumphal hymn of your magnificent glory, praising, crying, and saying:

35 *The people:*

Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Hosts; heaven and earth are full of your glory. Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is he who comes and will come in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.

40 *And the bishop, standing up, seals the gifts, says privately:*

You are holy, King of the ages, and Lord and Giver of all holiness. Holy too is your only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom you made all things. And holy too is your Holy Spirit, who searches out all things, even your depths, O God and Father.

45 *He bows:*

50 You are holy, almighty, omnipotent, awesome, and good. You have compassion for your creation. You made human beings from the earth in your image and likeness. You gave them the enjoyment of paradise. When they transgressed your commandment and fell, you did not despise them or abandon them, for you are good. Instead, you chastened them as a kindly father, you called them through the law, and you taught them through the prophets.

55 Later you sent your only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, into the world to renew and raise up your image. He came from heaven and was made flesh from the Holy Spirit

This kind of prayer is called an anaphora because, roughly translated, the word means to lift or send up prayer. The opening lines, which may refer to Paul's command in Colossians 3:1 ("Set your hearts on things above.") call for the congregation to do exactly that.

Rather than being focused on ourselves, this Eucharistic prayer develops a strong cosmic note. As was common in classic ways of Christian praying, this prayer's naming and remembering practices are outwardly focused.

This instruction for the bishop to pray privately (i.e. in a hushed or whispered voice) shows part of the evolution of liturgical practice. Whereas the earliest centuries of the church indicate that prayers were said audibly in church, by the late patristic period some prayers, including the Eucharistic anaphora, were said so that people could not hear them. This tendency will increase in upcoming centuries.

There are Trinitarian and narrative qualities to the prayer. The prayer is addressed to God the Father, who is the main actor, especially in what he has accomplished through Jesus Christ, the Son of God. Later in the prayer there will be a pleading for the Father to send the Holy Spirit.

and Mary, the Holy Virgin Mother of God. He dwelt among us and ordered everything for the salvation of our race.

5 He was willing to endure a life-giving death on the cross, the sinless for us sinners. On the night when he was betrayed, or rather handed himself over, for the life and salvation of the world,

The bishop stands up, takes the bread, and seals it:

10 he took bread in his holy, undefiled, blameless and immortal hands. He looked up to heaven and showed it to you, his God and Father. He gave thanks, blessed, sanctified, and broke it, and he gave it to his holy and blessed disciples and apostles, saying,

he puts the bread down, saying aloud:

15 Take, eat. This is my body, which is broken and distributed for you for forgiveness of sins.

The people:

Amen.

20 *The bishop takes the cup, seals it, and says privately:*

Likewise, after supper he took the cup and mixed wine and water. He looked up to heaven and showed it to you, his God and Father. He gave thanks, blessed, and sanctified it, filling it with the Holy Spirit. Then he gave it to his holy and blessed disciples and apostles, saying,

25

he puts it down, saying aloud:

Drink from it, all of you. This is my blood of the new covenant, which is shed and distributed for you and for many for forgiveness of sins.

30

The people:

Amen.

Then the bishop stands and says privately:

35 Do this for my remembrance. For as often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, you proclaim the death of the Son of Man and confess his Resurrection, until he comes.

The deacons:

We believe and confess.

40

The people:

Your death, Lord, we proclaim, and your Resurrection we confess.

Then the bishop makes the sign of the cross, bows, and says privately:

45 We, sinners, therefore, remember his life-giving sufferings, his saving cross, his death, his burial, and his Resurrection from the dead on the third day. We remember his return to heaven, his session at your right hand, his God and Father, and his glorious and awesome second coming. He will come with glory to judge the living and the dead and will reward us according to our works.

50

The bishop repeats three times:

Spare us, Lord our God.

The bishop:

55 According to your compassion, we offer you, Master, this awesome and bloodless sacrifice. We ask that you "not deal with us according to our sins." According to your gentleness and unspeakable love for us pass over and blot out the handwriting that is

Communion was not only received. It was also offered. The church was not merely a passive recipient in the Eucharist. Rather, participating in, or offering, the sacrament was the supreme act of adoration and thanksgiving. Remember how Egeria normally calls it the "oblation" or "offering."

against us, we pray. Grant us your heavenly and eternal gifts, "which no eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor the human heart conceived, what you, O God, have prepared for those who love you."

5 *The bishop repeats three times:*
And do not dismiss your people on account of me and my sins, O Lord, lover of humanity.

10 *The bishop prays aloud:*
for your people and your Church pleads with you.

The people:
Have mercy on us, Lord, God, Father, the almighty.

15 *And the bishop stands up and says privately:*
Have mercy on us, Lord, God the Father, almighty. Have mercy on us, God, our Savior. Have mercy on us, O God. According to your great mercy, send out upon us and upon these holy gifts set before you your Holy Spirit, (*he bows*) the Lord and giver of life, who shares the throne and the kingdom with you, God the Father and your only-begotten Son, consubstantial and co-eternal. Send forth your Holy Spirit, who spoke in the law and the prophets and in your new covenant, who descended in the likeness of a dove upon our Lord Jesus Christ in the river Jordan and remained upon him, who descended upon your holy apostles in the likeness of fiery tongues in the Upper Room of the holy and glorious Zion on the day of the holy Pentecost.

Compare this section with the Nicene Creed. The controversies that led to the creed are still fresh in the life of the church. These words clearly contain explicit doctrinal statements embedded in the very language of the prayers.

25 *He stands up and says privately:*
Send down, Master, your all-Holy spirit upon us and upon them. By his holy, good and glorious coming, sanctify them, and make this bread the holy body of Christ,

30 *The people:*
Amen.

The bishop stands up and says privately:
that this bread may bring to all who eat it forgiveness of sins, eternal life, and sanctification of souls and bodies. May it bring forth good works and strengthen your holy, catholic, and apostolic Church, which you founded on the rock of faith, so that the gates of hell should not prevail against it. May it rescue your Church from every heresy, from the stumbling-blocks of those who work lawlessness, and from the enemies who rose and rise up until the consummation of the age.

40 *The clerics alone answer:*
Amen.

45 *Then the bishop makes the sign of the cross and bows:*
We offer to you, Master, for your holy places also, which you glorified by the appearance of your Christ and the descent of your all-Holy Spirit. We offer to you principally for holy and glorious Zion, the mother of all the churches, and for your holy, catholic, and apostolic Church throughout the world. Even now, Master, richly bless it with the gifts of your Holy Spirit.

As was typical for the time, the church's intercessory prayers were as broad as the Lordship of Jesus Christ. Notice the wide expanse of requests in this next section, from creation to family members to public officials.

50 Remember, Lord, also our holy fathers and bishops in the Church, who preach your word of truth throughout the world. We pray for our holy Father N., all his clergy and priesthood. May he live a long life. Preserve him to shepherd your flock in all piety for many years.

55 The Anaphora of St. James is adapted from Ronald Claud Dudley Jasper and G.J. Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist: early and reformed* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1990), 88-99. An old, standard English translation of the entire liturgy is found in F. E. Brightman's *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (1896) based on a 14th century manuscript. The standard critical edition in Greek is B. C. Mercier, *La Liturgie de S. Jacques Patrologia Orientalis* 26, 2 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1946). The key manuscript for the Greek version is ms. Vaticanus Graecus 2282 from the 9th century. The standard critical edition in Syriac (with Latin translation) is O. Heiming, *Anaphorae Syriacae* (Rome, 1953).

v. Sermons—Excerpts from sermons Cyril preached to the newly baptized in the week after Easter

1. Mystagogic Catechesis 1

3 I invite you now to turn your attention from the old to the new, from symbol to reality. There Moses was sent by God to Egypt; here Christ is sent from the father into the world. There Moses was to lead his oppressed people out of Egypt, and here Christ is sent to rescue his people in the world who are afflicted by sin. There the blood of the lamb ward off the destroyer; here the blood of the spotless Lamb Jesus Christ puts the demons to flight. Of old the tyrant pursued the people into the sea, but in your case this headstrong, shameless demon, who is the origin of all evil, followed you even into the springs of salvation. The earlier tyrant was drowned in the sea; here the tyrant disappears in the water of salvation.

What God has done in Christ culminates all that has come before. Note how Cyril speaks of Old Testament episodes as the "symbols" of the reality of salvation experienced in baptism.

4 Nonetheless you hear a voice telling you to stretch out your hand and say to him as if he were there before you: 'I renounce you, Satan.' I want to tell you why you stand facing west, for you need to know. The west is the region of visible darkness, and Satan is himself darkness and exerts his power in the dark. This is the meaning of the symbol of facing the west to renounce the prince of darkness and gloom. What then did you each stand and say? 'I renounce you, Satan, you evil and savage tyrant', meaning: 'I no longer fear your strength. For Christ has abolished it by allowing me to partake of his blood and his flesh, so as to destroy death by death through these his sufferings and to release me from perpetual slavery (cf. Heb 2:14-15). I renounce you, you subtle and crafty serpent. I renounce you, you schemer, who on the pretext of friendship introduced all wickedness and brought about the rebellion of our ancestors. I renounce you, Satan, author and partner in every evil.'

Cyril is reinforcing the meaning of the renunciations which the baptismal candidates spoke at their baptism. Not only did they pledge faith to Christ at the time of baptism, they had to break all connection to everything not of his Kingdom.

5 Then you are told to pronounce a second phrase: 'And all your works'. Satan's works are every sin, which you must renounce, in the same way that someone who has escaped from a tyrant has escaped from his weapons as well. Every kind of sin is numbered among the devil's works. But I want you to realize that your words, especially at such an awe-inspiring moment as this, are inscribed in God's invisible records. So if ever you are caught doing something that contradicts your words, you will be judged a criminal. So renounce Satan's works, by which I mean all irrational actions and thoughts.

The list of all Satan's pomp and worship gives a hint how thoroughly Roman—not Jewish—the city of Aelia Capitolina (the Latin name for the city founded by Hadrian in the 2nd century over the ruins of Jerusalem) had been.

6 Then you say: 'And all his pomp'. These are the devil's pomp: a passion for the theatre, horse-races, hunting and all other such vain pursuits as those from which the saint begged God to free him when he said: 'Turn away my eyes from beholding vanity' (Ps 118 (119).37). Do not indulge in a passion for the theatre, where the actors put on indecent spectacles full of every kind of shameless obscenity, and effeminate men perform wild dances. Do not share the passion of hunters who expose themselves to wild beasts in order to indulge their wretched stomachs; to pamper their bellies with food they become themselves food for the stomachs of savage beasts. To tell the truth, for the sake of their belly, which is their own God, they fight for their lives in single combat on the edge of a precipice. Avoid the races, a mad spectacle which unseats the soul. All these things are the devil's pomp.

8 Next you say: 'And your worship'. The devil's worship consists of prayers in the temples of idols, honors paid to lifeless idols, the lighting of lamps or burning of incense by springs and rivers. Some people have been tricked by dreams or demons into acting in this way, thinking they will even find a cure for bodily ailments, but you must have no part in such doings. Taking the auspices, divination, omens, amulets, writing on leaves, the use of charms or other spells—such things are the devil's worship. So avoid such actions, for if you give way to them after renouncing Satan and siding with Christ, you will find the tyrant will treat you more savagely. Perhaps he treated you before as one of his family and spared you from some of the harshness of his service; but now that you have bitterly enraged him, not only will you lose Christ but you will learn what Satan is really like. You hear us telling you the story in the Old Testament about Lot and his

daughters, didn't you? Wasn't he saved with his daughters when he reached the mountain, but his wife was turned into a pillar of salt, pilloried for all eternity to preserve the memory of the bad disposition she showed in looking back. Think of your own good, then, and once you have put your hand to the plough (cf. Lk 9.62), don't turn back to the bitter concerns of this life. Escape to the mountain, to Jesus Christ, to the stone cut without human hands which filled the world (cf. Dan 2.34-45).

9 So when you renounce Satan and trample underfoot every contract you have made with him, you annul the old treaty made with hell, and there opens before you God's paradise which he planted in the east, and from which our ancestor was expelled because of his disobedience. You symbolize this by turning from the west to the east, which is the region of light. Then you are instructed to say: 'I believe in the Father and in the Son and in the Holy Spirit and in one baptism of repentance.' I spoke to you at length about these things in the earlier instructions according to the grace God gave me.

2. Mystagogic Catechesis 2:

Concerning Baptism

4 After this you were led to the holy pool of sacred baptism, just as Christ was taken from the cross to the tomb which stands before you. Then you were each asked if you believed in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. You made the saving profession of faith and three times you were immersed in the water and came up from it again. There in the font you symbolically re-enacted Christ's three-day burial. For just as our Savior spent three days and three nights in the heart of the earth, so too when you came up the first time you were imitating Christ's first day in the earth and when you submerged his first night. A man in the dark can no longer see, but during the day a man lives in the light; so too when you submerged you could see nothing, as if it were night, but when you came up again it was as if you were in daylight. At the same moment you both died and were born; that saving water became your tomb but also your mother. So what Solomon said in another context could be adapted to you. For in his book he wrote: 'There is a time for giving birth and a time for dying' (Eccles 3.2(LXX)). But with you it is the other way round: there is a time for dying and a time for being born, and one and the same time produces both results: your birth coincided with your death.

5 What a strange and wonderful thing! We did not literally die, we were not literally buried, we did not literally rise again after being crucified. We experienced these things only in symbols and representations; but salvation we experienced literally. Christ was really crucified and really buried and literally rose again, and all of this he did for our sake, so that by sharing his sufferings in imitation, we might gain salvation in truth. What unmeasured love this showed for mankind! Christ received the nails in his pure hands and experienced pain, and grants me salvation through sharing his experience without the pain and the toil.

Source: The various homiletical materials from Cyril come from Edward Yarnold's translations in *Cyril of Jerusalem* (New York: Routledge, 2000). For Cyril's sermon on the paralytic, Yarnold translated it from *S. Patris Nostri Cyrilli Hierosolymorum Archiepiscopi Opera quae supersunt Omnia*, ed. W. K. Reischl and J. Rupp (Munich, 1848-60). The Lenten catechesis came from this source. For the post-baptismal mystagogical sermons, Yarnold translated the critical edition published by A. Piedagnel as *Mystagogic Catecheses* SC 126 bis (Paris, 1988).

Like many ancient texts, the question of authorship of patristic sermons sometimes is debated among scholars where the evidence is not absolutely clear. Some researchers, for example, have questioned whether Cyril was the preacher of the mystagogical sermons presented below (see SE. 4). For a defense of Cyril's authorship, see Alexis James Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue: The Authorship of the Mystagogic Catecheses* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press Press, 2001). Doval's position is accepted widely. For a questioning of Cyril's authorship, see Juliette Day, *The Baptismal Liturgy of Jerusalem: Fourth and Fifth Century Evidence from Palestine, Syria, and Egypt* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). The publication of Bishop Macarius's discussion of Jerusalem liturgy in 335 would call into question some of Day's conclusions. See Abraham Terian, trans., *Macarius of Jerusalem: Letter to the Armenians, A.D. 335* (Creswood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press; St. Nersess Armenian Seminary, 2008).

Ancient baptismal rites often portrayed the sacrament as a renunciation of allegiance from one realm to another. Cyril speaks of baptismal possibilities as entrance into paradise. This is another example of how the sacraments open up a way to experience the biblical

The reference to "the tomb which stands before you" indicates that Cyril gave these sermons to the newly-baptized gathered at the tomb of Christ. Imagine what it would have been like to have been one of these candidates: still smelling from the perfumed anointing oil administered in baptism, dressed in sparkling white clothes, listening to an expert preacher speak of God's mighty acts of salvation experienced in baptism, while standing at the site of the most cataclysmic event in human history.

Cyril's sacramental theology is found in this paragraph. For him, the sacraments are not empty symbols. Although the newly baptized did not literally experience the events in the life of Christ to which they point, they did truly (literally) gain the salvation produced by those events.

Significant Themes and Practices to Observe

As you study the following materials, be on the lookout for these significant themes and practices that are categorized by some of the primary elements in the practice of worship.

5

Piety

- The public devotion of the people was organized around the story of salvation told in the Bible and culminating in Jesus Christ.
- Worship included reading long passages of Scripture, often chosen to be appropriate for the time and place; people would listen attentively and respond openly.
- Remembering this biblical story provided the basic content of worship which fueled the people's adoration.
- Baptism and the Lord's Supper were seen as important ways of encountering this story.

10

15

Time

- There were regular rounds of daily, weekly, and yearly worship services.
- The main yearly rhythms focused on Christ's death and resurrection (the Pascha/Easter), Christ's birth and appearing to the nations (Epiphany), and the commemoration of the dedications of the emperor's newly built worship spaces in the city (Encaenia in mid-September)
- These yearly celebrations were preceded by periods of ascetic preparation and all-night worship vigils. Yearly celebrations also started seasons of great rejoicing, with the first week especially important.

20

25

Place

- The city of Jerusalem and the surrounding area, near and far, had become filled with buildings which sparked worship focused on events in the biblical story, especially from the life of Christ.
- There was no fixed seating although there would have been separation of different categories of people (clergy and laity; women and men; monastic and non-monastic).
- Much of Jerusalem's worship was on the move, transitioning from space to space, especially during the yearly celebration of Christ's last week, death, and resurrection.

30

35

Prayer

- Prayer life for Christians was very communal rather than private or family-oriented.
- There were regularly daily and weekly services for prayer without sermon or sacrament.
- Especially important for the rank and file member were the morning and evening prayer services.

40

Preaching

- Several sermons could be preached back to back with the bishop presenting the concluding one.
- The Gospel of Jesus Christ provided the basic interpretive lens for preaching all Scripture.

45

Music

- Music was less perceived as a separate thing as it was a way of doing basic acts of worship.
- A choir or soloist assisted congregational singing, which was done without instruments.

- Having the congregation sing a response to someone else's singing of a longer text facilitated congregational singing.
- Psalms were prominent as musical texts.

5 People

- The worshipping congregations were made up of several different kinds of people: permanent residents of the town, monastics (monks and nuns) who resided there, and pilgrims from across the Christian world.
- Attendance levels seem to have varied by group for different services.
- 10 • The preaching and Scripture reading was conducted in Greek and translated into Syriac. Those who understood neither had to rely upon someone to translate privately for them.
- The bishop was the most important worship leader.

Why Study Jerusalem's Worship? Small Group Discussion Questions

The following are discussion questions for each section of this book.

5 General Introduction and Timeline

- What makes Jerusalem unique for the development of Christianity?
- What surprised you about Jerusalem from the time of Christ to the fourth century? Why?

At Worship

- 10
- Imagine what it might have been like to be a pilgrim to the Holy Land. What might motivate such a pilgrimage? Are there any similar practices we have?
 - Christians moved from place to place around Jerusalem as they worshiped. How would this approach change our sense of worship space? How would this approach change our current sense of "belonging" to a particular church? What would be gained or lost?
- 15
- In your opinion is our worship similar to the worship Egeria experienced? In what ways? What can we learn from fourth century Jerusalem about worshipping?

People and Artifacts

- 20
- P2 shows a common posture for prayer. What emotion does this posture demonstrate? What does this posture communicate about the relationship between the person praying and God? Have you seen people take this posture in worship? Have you seen people take this posture in prayer? What postures do we use for prayer? What postures don't we use? What does this communicate about our relationship with God?
- 25
- Notice the connection between politics and worship. In what ways do politics affect our worship? Is this good, bad, or unavoidable?

Worship Setting and Space

- 30
- As you look through these images, do you think these spaces give a greater sense of God being present among the people or of God being a distant, majestic ruler? What features contribute to either sense?
 - Do you think the Jerusalem church gave too much emphasis to space and buildings? Why or why not?

First Hand Accounts

- 35
- Note the times Egeria describes people's emotions. What kinds of emotions occur during worship? What motivates these emotions? Do we and should we respond in our worship as they did?
 - In 31.3-4 Egeria mentions the accommodations made to enable the old and young to participate. What does this and other similar passages (such as 47.4 on the topic of language translation) tell us about the value this worshipping community placed on participation and hospitality? Is there anything to be learned from this example?
- 40
- Several times Egeria comments about how readings or songs are "appropriate to the day or place." Why might this be significant? What do you think would make a reading or song "appropriate" for a particular time or place of worship?
 - How does the role of the bishop and other clergy compare to the role of the worshiper? Why might specific roles be reserved for specific people? What does this communicate about participation in worship?
- 45

Order of Service

The likely Scripture readings used in Jerusalem on major occasions

- Notice the number and variety of scripture readings for specific services. Why might this be important? In what ways, can the reading of scripture be an act of worship?

- Look carefully at the instructions for those preparing to receive baptism (17). What does the selection of these particular passages tell you about what is important for new converts to know about their faith?
- Examine the readings listed in 44. How would hearing these stories of God's salvation hours before Easter morning affect how you would hear the Easter resurrection story?

5

The Communion prayer likely used in Jerusalem along with its surrounding liturgy

- As you read through this communion prayer, notice the references to God, particularly the different persons of the Trinity. What do these tell you about how this worshipping community thinks about who God is and what God does?

10

- Can you imagine the content of this prayer being part of a sermon? What might this feature tell us about the relationship between praying and preaching?

Liturgy of St. James

- In this service, how many different kinds of prayers are there? Is it possible to have too many prayers in worship? What kinds of things are prayed for? What do these requests tell us about how this community understands the relationship between God and God's people?
- This service seems very scripted. How does the Holy Spirit work through written texts? What is gained by using scripted texts? What is lost?
- At one point (p. xx), a deacon sends all the catechumens out of the service. Why might he do this? What does this communicate about what happens after their dismissal? Are there people we prevent from joining particular parts of our services? If so, why? What does this communicate about those parts of the service?

15

20

Sermons

- In Cyril's sermon on the paralytic by the pool, how does he describe who Jesus is? How important is it for Cyril to understand Jesus as the Incarnate God?
- As you look through Cyril's Prologue to the Catecheses and his sermons to those preparing to be baptized, consider whether or not you think baptism is important for him. In Cyril's mind, what is the importance of baptism?
- The sermons for those preparing for baptism also demonstrate discipleship. What does Cyril focus on for those who are new to the faith? What are the main issues of belief, and what does he present as the greatest temptations? Would you point out the same topics now to those new to faith? If not, what would you change and why?

25

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35

The resources provided in this handout will be published by Eerdmans (March 2010) in *Walking Where Jesus Walked* written by Lester Ruth, Carrie Steenwyk, and John Witvliet. This book is the first in a series of case studies of particular worshipping communities from around the world and throughout Christian history which aim to allow a worshiper today to think concretely and contextually about some of the continually important issues for Christian worship.

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Photos and other information on the current state of the Holy Sepulcher can be found at <http://www.christusrex.org/www1/jhs/TSpmenu.html>.
More extensive bibliographies on Egeria see the links found at http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~Harsch/Chronologia/Lspost04/Egeria/ege_intr.html.