

## Gifts from the Orient: Eastern Textual Influence in the Development of Anglican Liturgy

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### Abstract

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Demonstrably, the texts of Eastern liturgies have been influential on Anglican rites from the Reformation to the late twentieth century. The historical development of these influences is traced chronologically, from the Reformation to the contemporary Anglican context. Public and private rites which draw on Orthodox liturgical texts are examined, such as liturgies of the non-Jurors and of the Scottish Episcopal Church, and liturgical usages of India. The modern liturgical movement is also considered, and an analysis made of Anglican service books in current usage; Eastern influence is found especially in their anaphoras, but also in liturgical time and seasons, celebrations of the Divine Office, ministries at the time of death, and funeral liturgies. These texts are ecumenically significant. Though the Eastern influence is evident in all these texts, the ambience of the liturgies remains on the whole Western; and the importance of such texts is not so much in their Eastern origin, as in their intrinsic beauty and authenticity. Further, the trinitarian dimension which is prominent in the texts of Eastern influence is not restricted to these, but rather is a constant element of Anglican liturgical texts.



## *Introduction*

The evolution of Anglican liturgical texts has been influenced by many sources. From the early Prayer Books of the sixteenth century to the newer families of rites associated with the liturgical movement, a consistent strand in this long history of liturgical evolution has been the liturgies of the East: Byzantine and Oriental. The significance of Eastern liturgical materials, particularly the Liturgies of St. James, St. Basil, and St. John Chrysostom, and the so-called Clementine liturgy from Book 8 of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, is evident in Anglican liturgical consciousness from the sixteenth century. The import of the Eastern liturgies achieved particular prominence in late twentieth-century prayer books such as the 1985 *Book of Alternative Services* of the Anglican Church of Canada. This article will trace the textual influence of the Eastern liturgies on Anglican rites from the Reformation to the late twentieth century. In addition, it will delineate some of the effects of Eastern influences in Anglican liturgy and, more broadly, in the life of the churches of the Anglican Communion.

Two qualifications need to be made at the outset. First, liturgical texts cannot neatly be isolated from the broader context of liturgical environment, musical expression, theology and spirituality. The influence of Eastern texts is perhaps most evident in Anglican eucharistic liturgies, but other rites will be examined as well. Further fruitful avenues of study could equally consider Eastern influences on Anglican hymnody and music, not to mention liturgical space and architecture, iconography, fabric art, and the like. These areas deserve serious consideration elsewhere. Nonetheless, the focus of the present study remains more narrowly that of liturgical *texts*.

Second, the notion of Eastern influence needs to be qualified. I do not intend merely to list similarities between the liturgies of the Eastern churches and the churches of the Anglican Communion. Rather, my focus is on those texts having their origins in Eastern liturgical rites which have been directly or indirectly interpolated by Anglicans into their own rites from the sixteenth century onwards. In the history of

Anglican liturgical development it is difficult to separate neatly those Eastern texts which are important because they were or are prayed by contemporary Eastern Christians, from those whose importance is due to their Eastern patristic patrimony. I suspect such a distinction would be difficult for Eastern Christians to make as well.

## 1. *Historical Developments*

### A. *The Reformation*

#### i. Liturgical Texts of the English Reform

The chief architect of the sixteenth-century English liturgical reforms was Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556), archbishop of Canterbury. A liturgical scholar in his own right, Archbishop Cranmer had at his disposal a variety of liturgical sources on which to draw for his reform of the English liturgy, not to mention his own liturgical and theological instincts and insights. In the creation of liturgical texts, from the Great Litany of 1544 to the *Book of Common Prayer* of 1549 and subsequent editions, one can trace numerous influences. For example, there is the inherited medieval Roman rite of the Western church, in particular the Sarum usage which was widely used in England from the thirteenth century. There are earlier Western medieval rites such as the Mozarabic and Gallican families of liturgies. As well, there are the liturgical rites from sixteenth-century continental Lutheran and Reformed churches, such as Archbishop Hermann von Weid's *Pia Deliberatio*, the Church Orders from Nuremberg and Brandenburg, Ulrich Zwingli's *Action oder Brauch*, and John Calvin's 1542 Genevan service book, *The Form of Prayers and Manner of Ministering the Sacraments according to the Usage of the Ancient Church*.

Also, there are the liturgies of the Eastern churches, which were being reproduced by Italian printing presses from the early sixteenth century. The Horologion was published in Venice in 1509; the Euchologion, in Rome in 1526 and in Venice in 1528; the Typikon, in 1545. At the request of John

Fisher, bishop of Rochester, Erasmus translated the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom into Latin in 1509, later published in Paris in 1536 and 1537; this translation was reproduced in the Basel edition of Chrysostom's *Works* in 1539. On the basis of internal evidence, R.C.D. Jasper and Paul Bradshaw argue that Cranmer probably knew the 1528 Venice and the 1539 Basel editions of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, but not the 1526 Roman edition, and that he was far more dependent on the 1528 text.<sup>1</sup> F.E. Brightman maintains that a copy of the Liturgy of St. James was written for Henry VIII, since the copy of St. James in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, bears his coat of arms.<sup>2</sup> Certainly by 1560 a printed version of St. James was available. By 1563 the fourth-century *Apostolic Constitutions* with its eucharistic material, the so-called Clementine liturgy, was available in printed form. American liturgist Marion Hatchett has remarked that the publication of the *Apostolic Constitutions* was important to Reformation Anglicans: "Some Anglicans accorded this, and other Eastern liturgies, great authority."<sup>3</sup> It is significant that the Eastern rites were available to Western Christians, Roman and Reformed, through the intermediary of the published Latin translations, largely through the effort of the Roman Catholic Church. Liturgical scholar Bryan Spinks notes that these editions of Eastern liturgical texts were used largely for intra-Western polemical purposes:<sup>4</sup> for instance, Philipp Melancthon (1497–1560) used the anaphora of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom to attack late medieval views on eucharistic sacrifice. In a sermon in 1560, John Jewel (1522–71), bishop of Salisbury, used the Liturgy of St. James to attack the Roman rite, and defend various features of the *Book of Common Prayer* such as vernacular liturgy, the eucharistic prayer prayed aloud, and

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<sup>1</sup>R.C.D. Jasper and Paul F. Bradshaw, *A Companion to the Alternative Service Book* (London: SPCK, 1986), 141.

<sup>2</sup>F.E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896), li.

<sup>3</sup>Marion Hatchett, *Commentary on the American Prayer Book* (USA: Seabury Press, 1980), 303.

<sup>4</sup>Bryan D. Spinks, *Western Use and Abuse of Eastern Liturgical Traditions* (Rome: Centre for Indian and Inter-religious Studies, 1972), 48, 51, 57, 63.

people receiving Holy Communion in both kinds. Jewel also knew the Liturgies of St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom.

Eastern liturgies held a particular place in Reformation Anglican consciousness, the extent of which has been a matter of some debate. Not only were they liturgical texts of the common patrimony of patristic Christianity, but also, they belonged to a living tradition of the contemporary Orthodox churches, with which the newly independent Church of England quickly established contact. Moreover, to some Anglicans, the Eastern Church with its liturgical traditions represented an element of *catholic* Christianity which was decidedly *not* Roman. The conservative-minded Reformation bishop of Durham, Cuthbert Tunstall (1474–1559), for example, saw the Byzantine texts as a possible non-Roman source for more traditional Anglicans. In the end, however, the Eastern liturgies played a minor role in the crafting of the texts of the *Book of Common Prayer*. Cranmer's most recent biographer, Diarmaid MacCulloch, suggests that on the whole the effects of the Eastern liturgical texts on Cranmer's thinking were limited.<sup>5</sup> Spinks agrees: "Although Cranmer does seem to have been acquainted with the Liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom, and just possibly St. James, the actual use he made of these seems to have been minimal."<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, within the overall context of the sixteenth century, Spinks judges that the Anglican reformers held a more positive approach to the Eastern liturgies than was generally the case elsewhere in the West.<sup>7</sup>

## ii. Cranmer's Great Litany

The first instance of a Reformation liturgy of the Church of England bearing the influence of an Eastern rite is the Great

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<sup>5</sup>Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1996), 416.

<sup>6</sup>Bryan D. Spinks, "'And with Thy Holy Spirit and Worde': Further Thoughts on the Source of Cranmer's Petition for Sanctification in the 1549 Communion Service," in Margot Johnson, ed., *Thomas Cranmer: Essays in Commemoration of the 500th Anniversary of his Birth* (Durham: Turnstone Ventures, 1996), 95.

<sup>7</sup>Spinks, *Western Use*, 54.

Litany composed by Thomas Cranmer in 1544. The Great Litany was the first official vernacular text of the English Reformation. It was based on a number of sources, including the medieval Roman, Sarum, and York litanies, the 1529 Latin litany of Martin Luther, and the Byzantine Euchologion.<sup>8</sup> Luther's litany, too, is based on a number of sources, in particular the Great Litany of the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom.<sup>9</sup> Brightman notes the following petitions from the litany of Constantinople: "That it may please thee to succour, help, and comfort all that be in danger, necessity, and tribulation," and "that it may please thee to preserve all that travel by land or by water, all women labouring of child, all sick persons, and young children, and to show thy pity upon all prisoners and captives."<sup>10</sup>

The clearest borrowing of an Eastern source in the Great Litany occurs in its concluding prayer, known to Anglicans for centuries as "A Prayer of Saint Chrysostom":

Almighty God, who hast given us grace at this time with one accord to make our common supplications unto thee; and dost promise that when two or three are gathered together in thy name, thou wilt grant their requests: Fulfil now, O Lord, the desires and petitions of thy servants, as may be most expedient for them: granting us in this world knowledge of thy truth, and in the world to come life everlasting. *Amen.*<sup>11</sup>

In the Divine Liturgy this particular text is the Prayer of the Third Antiphon after the deacon's litany in the Liturgy of the Catechumens. Procter and Frere observe that, in all likelihood, Cranmer

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<sup>8</sup>F.E. Brightman, *The English Rite*, vol. 1 (London: Rivingtons, 1915), lxxv.

<sup>9</sup>Francis Procter and Walter Howard Frere, *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer*, revised edition (London: MacMillan & Co., 1958), 410, 413–14.

<sup>10</sup>Brightman, *English Rite*, vol. 1, 178.

<sup>11</sup>Isabel Florence Hapgood, *Service Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic Church*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed (Englewood, NJ: Antiochene Orthodox Christian Archdiocese, 1975), 83.

had recourse to S. Chrysostom's liturgy primarily for help in drawing up the Litany, and that, finding this prayer in close connexion with the Deacon's Litany there, he translated it and used it as the closing prayer in the English Litany.<sup>12</sup>

Whereas this prayer is found in the Liturgies of both St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom, the source of Cranmer's prayer was not the Greek text, but the 1528 Latin translation of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, which contained some misreadings of the original, and shows a clear dependence on the 1528 Venice text rather than the 1539 Basel edition of Erasmus.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, Cranmer omitted the prayer's concluding doxology: "For thou art a good God, and lovest mankind, and unto thee we ascribe glory, to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, now, and ever, and unto ages of ages."<sup>14</sup>

In the Prayer Books of 1549 and 1552 the prayer appears without a title; from the Prayer Book of 1559, it bears the ascription, "A Prayer of Chrisostome," and from the *Book of Common Prayer* of 1662, "A Prayer of St. Chrysostom." The post-Restoration 1662 Prayer Book includes the Prayer of St. Chrysostom in a new place, quite detached from its place as the conclusion to the Great Litany. The revisers of the Prayer Book placed it at the end of Morning and Evening Prayer, where it has been prayed daily and weekly by Anglicans for centuries; this position is retained even in recent liturgical books.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Procter and Frere, *New History*, 401.

<sup>13</sup>For example, "two or three are gathered together in thy name" from Venice "*duobus aut tribus covenientibus*" rather than Basel "*quando duo aut tres concordant in nomine tuo*"; "supplication" from Venice "*supplicationes*" rather than Basel "*preces*"; "petitions" from Venice "*petitiones*" rather than Basel "*postulationes*." Jasper and Bradshaw, *Companion*, 141.

<sup>14</sup>*Service Book*, 83.

<sup>15</sup>Cf., for example, The Episcopal Church of the United States of America, *The Book of Common Prayer* (New York: Church Hymnal Corporation, 1979) 59, 72, 102, 126; Church of England, *The Alternative Services Book* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1980), 105; Church of the Province of Southern Africa, *An Anglican Prayer Book* (Cape Town: Collins, 1989), 53.

In 1548 Cranmer published *The Order of the Communion*, a vernacular preparatory rite for holy Communion inserted within the medieval Latin rite. One of the prayers of this rite, the "Prayer of Humble Access," begins: "We do not presume to come to this thy Table, most merciful Lord." This prayer was retained in the subsequent Prayer Books, although its location within the various eucharistic liturgies has changed over the centuries. While the prayer is Cranmer's own composition, he evidently used a number of sources ranging from the Scriptures, medieval liturgies and theologians, to Eastern texts such as the Liturgies of St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom.<sup>16</sup>

### iii. Cranmer's 1549 Epiclesis

A topic which has generated some debate is the Byzantine influence on the eucharistic prayer of the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*. In the *English Rite*, for example, Brightman identified Eastern sources of various fragments of the canon, such as the Liturgies of St. James, St. Basil, and St. John Chrysostom.<sup>17</sup> Of considerable debate is the Eastern provenance of epiclesis of the 1549 eucharistic rite. The priest petitions the Father:

with thy holy Spirit and Word vouchsafe to blaess and sanctify these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ.<sup>18</sup>

On the one hand, the very inclusion of an epiclesis in what is an otherwise thoroughly Western liturgical book is noteworthy, and has led many Anglican liturgists, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, to cite its presence as a

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<sup>16</sup>Brightman, *English Rite*, vol. 1, lxxv; vol. 2, 698, 670; G.J. Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy* (London: MacMillan, 1969), 64.

<sup>17</sup>Brightman, *English Rite*, vol. 2, cix, 690, 692, 694.

<sup>18</sup>R.C.D. Jasper and G.J. Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (henceforth PEER), (New York: Pueblo, 1987), 239.



strong indication of patristic and Eastern influence.<sup>19</sup> In the early twentieth century, Brightman unequivocally identified the Liturgy of St. Basil as the source of the epiclesis.<sup>20</sup> A number of twentieth-century Anglican scholars followed Brightman's lead, apparently without qualification.<sup>21</sup> As recently as 1986, Jasper and Bradshaw came to the same conclusion. They suggest that if "Word" in the epiclesis refers to the institution narrative, then Thomas Cranmer "could be said to have combined both Eastern and Western emphases in a novel and effective manner."<sup>22</sup> In 1980 Marion Hatchett also identified the anaphora of St. Basil as an important influence on the wording of the formula, particularly the phrase "to bless and sanctify"<sup>23</sup>:

Cranmer's reading of the church Fathers and of the Eastern liturgy has probably caused him to feel the need for a fuller form of epiclesis with specific mention of the Holy Spirit rather than the clipped form of the Roman rite.<sup>24</sup>

In 1988, however, Hatchett identified the "Greek Liturgy of St. Chrysostom" as the source of the epiclesis.<sup>25</sup> It should be noted that the unusual Spirit *and* Word epiclesis does bear a resemblance to the fourth-century *Euchologion* of Serapion. The correspondence, however, is at best coincidental, since Serapion's text was not available in the West until the nineteenth century, and could not have been known to Cranmer.

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<sup>19</sup>Bryan Spinks refers to C. Wheatley, *A Rationale Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (1720), 289; John Johnson, *The Unbloody Sacrifice* (London: 1714, 1718), 175–81, and W.E. Scudmore, *Notitia Eucharistica* (London: 1896), 588–89. Spinks, "Further Thoughts," 95.

<sup>20</sup>Brightman, *English Rite*, vol. 2, 692.

<sup>21</sup>Spinks notes W.K. Lowther Clarke, "The Holy Communion Service," in *Liturgy and Worship* (London: 1932), 342; W.H. Frere, *The Anaphora* (London: 1938), 196. Spinks, "Further Thoughts," 95.

<sup>22</sup>Jasper and Bradshaw, *Companion*, 219.

<sup>23</sup>Hatchett, *Commentary*, 355.

<sup>24</sup>Hatchett, *Commentary*, 356.

<sup>25</sup>Marion J. Hatchett, "Prayer Books," in Stephen Sykes and John Booty, eds., *The Study of Anglicanism* (London: SPCK, 1988), 124.

Bryan Spinks effectively demonstrates the unlikelihood that the provenance of Cranmer's 1549 epiclesis is Eastern.<sup>26</sup> First, it does not appear in the Antiochene or West Syrian position, but rather before the institution narrative, a position analogous to the *quam oblationem* of the Roman *prex canonica*. Second, the Liturgy of St. Basil mentions the Holy Spirit, but not the Word. Third, Spinks notes a fact all too often ignored, namely that in 1927 Brightman retracted the position advocated in the 1915 *English Rite*.<sup>27</sup> In this article, Brightman lists a series of Western sources for the Word and Holy Spirit invocation, such as Florus of Lyons, Gratian, and William Durandus, as well as late medieval sermons, especially those for Corpus Christi. According to Brightman, all these sources would have been known by Cranmer. In addition, Spinks cites an unpublished paper and an article in *Liturgical Studies* by E.C. Ratcliff which also conclude that the sources for the 1549 epiclesis are Western, not Eastern. Spinks deems that the convincing evidence marshalled by Brightman (1927) and Ratcliff makes an Eastern provenance for the epiclesis of the 1549 eucharistic prayer almost impossible to maintain.<sup>28</sup>

Spinks also notes various possible Reformation sources for the Word and Holy Spirit epiclesis that would have been known by Cranmer, such as the works of Luther, Calvin, Zwingli, and particularly Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr Vermigli.<sup>29</sup> Although elsewhere Spinks notes that "on the whole" the Reformers "were not comfortable with the Eastern rites,"<sup>30</sup> these Reformation sources may yet point (in an oblique and indirect way) to an Eastern provenance of the 1549 epiclesis. It will be remembered that Bucer, Peter Martyr, and Calvin were also influenced by Eastern texts and theological works regarding their theory of consecration, which depended not on a "formula," but on prayer and the

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<sup>26</sup>Spinks, "Further Thoughts," 95-6.

<sup>27</sup>F.E. Brightman, "The New Prayer Book Examined," *Church Quarterly Review*, 104 (1927): 219-52.

<sup>28</sup>Spinks, "Further Thoughts," 96.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, 97.

<sup>30</sup>Spinks, *Western Use*, 50.

invocation of the Holy Spirit.<sup>31</sup> John Chrysostom, in particular, was very popular among the Reformers. Bucer, for instance, in 1536 referred to him as the most distinguished biblical scholar of the early Church.<sup>32</sup>

The eucharistic prayer of the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*, along with much of that liturgical text, was short lived. The 1552 edition of the Prayer Book removed and revised much of the earlier book in a far more Reformed direction. In spite of its patristic pedigree and parallels in continental Protestant thinking, the epiclesis was lost to the Prayer Book. Elements of the 1549 eucharistic rite, such as the words of administration in the more balanced 1559 Prayer Book of Elizabeth I, would be important for later Anglican liturgical revision. The 1549 eucharistic prayer, along with its epiclesis, would influence succeeding Anglican liturgical thinking from the seventeenth century to the present. Of note is the short-lived Scottish Prayer Book of 1637, which included much of the 1549 eucharistic prayer, including the epiclesis.

Thus the evidence points towards a Western rather than Eastern provenance for the Word and Holy Spirit epiclesis in the canon of the 1549 Prayer Book. Nevertheless, generations of Anglican liturgical scholars have argued for an Eastern origin. The mere fact that for centuries Anglican commentators and apologists have easily – and perhaps uncritically – identified the origins of the 1549 epiclesis as Byzantine is significant in and of itself. It illustrates a certain Anglican attitude of receptivity towards the Eastern liturgy, and perhaps an almost wistful yearning for Byzantine credentials. Or, as Diarmaid MacCulloch has commented in his biography of Thomas Cranmer:

Another source of inspiration which has sometimes been suggested in Cranmer's work is Eastern Orthodox liturgy: one suspects that for some commentators, this possibility of one eminently respectable liturgical lineage for the Prayer Book was a welcome refuge from the dismaying contemplation of Cran-

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<sup>31</sup>Cf. Hatchett, *Commentary*, 389.

<sup>32</sup>Cf. MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 383.

mer's theological radicalism with regard to the western rite.<sup>33</sup>

## B. *Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Centuries*

### i. Anglican Contact with Orthodoxy

Beginning in the 1580s, one notes the emergence of a party within the English Church which placed great stress on sacramental life and on the historic continuity between the reformed Church of England and the medieval Church. This tendency was particularly strong in the first half of the seventeenth century:

Often this led them to an interest in – indeed, fascination with – Eastern Orthodoxy: the Orthodox world had the advantage of not having been directly involved in Reformation bitterness, and (perhaps fortunately) it was not so readily to hand for detailed contemporary scrutiny as was the Roman Church.<sup>34</sup>

There was a tremendous scholarly interest in Eastern texts, in terms of both publication and the acquisition of Greek manuscripts; the great patron of this enterprise was William Laud (1573–1645), archbishop of Canterbury from 1633. The very existence of the Orthodox Church was important to Anglicans in their defense against Roman Catholic charges of schism; just as the Orthodox were independent of Rome, but with an ancient and legitimate lineage, so was the reformed Church of England, the argument went. Anglicans had a particular interest in the Orthodox Church, a natural ally of the English Church, especially during the reign of Charles I (1625–1649).<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 415–16.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, 625.

<sup>35</sup>Cf. Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Church of England and the Greek Church in the Time of Charles I," in *From Counter-Reformation to Glorious Revolution* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 83–111.

Friendly relations during this period between the Orthodox Church and the Church of England are evident in the correspondence between bishops. Of importance, for example, are the letters between Cyril Loukaris (1572–1638), Patriarch of Alexandria and later of Constantinople, and two successive archbishops of Canterbury, George Abbot (1562–1633) and William Laud. Another point of evidence is the growing presence of the British embassies – with their chaplaincies – throughout the Byzantine world in the Middle East, including Istanbul from the late sixteenth century. There were Greek Orthodox students in the English universities in the seventeenth century, as well as a short-lived Greek College at Oxford from 1699–1705 which was established by Anglicans. The first Orthodox church in England was built in 1676 with assistance from the Church of England.

Seventeenth-century Anglican contact with Orthodoxy, combined with an interest in Eastern and patristic traditions, included respect for Eastern liturgical traditions. Growing Anglican awareness and appreciation of Eastern liturgical traditions had no impact on the prescribed liturgy of the Church of England, the *Book of Common Prayer*. Yet Eastern influence is evident in some unofficial liturgies of private individuals.

## ii. Private Use of Eastern Liturgical Traditions

An instance of this phenomenon is the *Preces Privatae* by Lancelot Andrewes (1555–1626), bishop of Chichester (1605), and later Ely (1609) and Winchester (1619), an important theologian and bishop in the early seventeenth century. The *Preces Privatae* is a collection of Andrewes' devotions for private use, published in 1648 and, in 1903, in an edition by F.E. Brightman. For this work Andrewes drew on many Byzantine liturgical sources.<sup>36</sup>

Another example is *A Collection of Offices, or Forms of Prayer, In Cases Ordinary and Extraordinary; Taken out of the Scriptures and the ancient Liturgies of several Churches,*

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<sup>36</sup>Cf. Spinks, *Western Use*, 59–60.

especially the Greek, Together with A Large Preface in vindication of the Liturgy of the Church of England, published in 1658 (and reprinted for decades) by Jeremy Taylor (1613–67), later bishop of Down and Connor, Ireland.<sup>37</sup> In 1658 Taylor was a royalist priest living in retirement in Wales during the Interregnum, when the Church of England, episcopacy, and the *Book of Common Prayer* were all illegal in Cromwell's England. *A Collection of Offices* was a liturgical book, but *not* the Prayer Book, and thus was not illegal. Taylor used a variety of Eastern sources in his eucharistic rite in *A Collection of Offices*, such as the Liturgy of St. James and the Byzantine liturgies. The Beatitudes are part of the entrance rite. The collect at Ante-communion (much like that of the Prayer Book) is from the Prayer of Incense of the Liturgy of St. James. The prayer before the epistle is drawn from the Proskomide<sup>38</sup> of St. James and St. Basil. The absolution in the penitential section is from the Byzantine rite of confession and absolution. The *sursum corda* is followed by the first part of the anaphora of St. James. The Lord's Prayer follows the *sanctus* and is followed by the *Ekphonesis* (or Prayer of the Veil)<sup>39</sup> from the Great Entrance of the Liturgy of St. James: "Let all corruptible flesh be silent, and stand with fear and trembling." The "prayer of consecration" continues with an adaptation of the anaphoral epiclesis, creation and christological salvation history, and the institution narrative; it includes various acclamations by the people. Communion prayers are borrowed from the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. W. Jardine Grisbrooke concludes that Eastern texts are used as the raw materials; but, with the exception of the above-mentioned texts, they are so adapted as to render much of Taylor's eucharistic rite as original material.<sup>40</sup> Bryan Spinks assesses Taylor's eucharistic rite as a creative use of the Eastern

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<sup>37</sup>Text: W. Jardine Grisbrooke, *Anglican Liturgies of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Alcuin Club, No. 40 (London: SPCK, 1958), 185–99.

<sup>38</sup>Cf. Spinks, *Western Use*, 73.

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, 74.

<sup>40</sup>Grisbrooke, *Anglican Liturgies*, 24.

materials, within the constraints of the 1645 Westminster Directory.<sup>41</sup>

Another individual who took a great interest in the Eastern liturgies was the late seventeenth-century priest, Edward Stephens. Stephens enjoyed first-hand contact with Eastern Christians, particularly through the friendships he developed with Greek Orthodox students at Oxford.<sup>42</sup> Stephens was particularly inspired by the Clementine liturgy of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, and by the Liturgy of St. James. He produced a series of rites for private use based on the Prayer Books of 1549 and 1662, as well as the Scottish rite of 1637, which contained many of the 1549 texts. These rites were also based on the Clementine liturgy and St James. In 1696 he published a liturgy for public use under the title: *The Liturgy of the Ancients Represented, As near as well may be, In English Forms*.<sup>43</sup> The lengthy anaphora is heavily dependent on that of the Clementine liturgy. R.C.D. Jasper sums up Stephens' contribution:

His contemporaries paid little heed to him and most would have regarded him as a crank. Nevertheless, his work was important for two reasons. In the first place he cut through what Grisbrooke calls "English liturgical insularity" directing attention to the riches and insights of the Eastern rites. Secondly he paved the way not only for the Non-Jurors but also for other High Church liturgists of the future.<sup>44</sup>

### iii. Rites of the Non-Jurors

Eastern influence is evident in the liturgies of communities of Anglicans who were not able to identify themselves with the

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<sup>41</sup>Spinks, *Western Use*, 68, 77.

<sup>42</sup>According to Grisbrooke, Stephens was even admitted to communion in the Orthodox Church by a Greek bishop, though he cannot locate the evidence to corroborate this. *Anglican Liturgies*, 38.

<sup>43</sup>Text: Grisbrooke, *Anglican Liturgies*, 231–45.

<sup>44</sup>R.C.D. Jasper, *The Development of the Anglican Liturgy, 1662–1980* (London: SPCK, 1989), 12–13.

Established Church of England. In the late seventeenth century, a small but significant group of Anglicans left the Church of England because they were unable to take the oath of allegiance to King William III as long as his predecessor, James II, was still alive. This group, known as the Non-Jurors, included nine bishops (one of whom was the archbishop of Canterbury), four hundred priests and some thousands of lay people. The early seventeenth-century Anglican interest in Eastern Christianity survived in the Non-Jurors. From 1716–1724 the bishops of the Non-Juring church maintained a correspondence with Orthodox bishops, with the intent of establishing communion with the Orthodox Church. The English and Orthodox bishops achieved a level of agreement on the Holy Scriptures, Holy Tradition, Orthodox teaching about the Holy Spirit, Councils, and Sacraments. The dialogue came to an end when a later archbishop of Canterbury, William Wake, informed the Patriarch of Jerusalem that the bishops with whom he was in correspondence were not bishops of the Church of England, but were in schism from the Established Church.

One of the creative results of the Non-Jurors' break with the Established Church of the Non-Jurors was a degree of liturgical freedom hitherto unknown to Anglicans. The Byzantine ecumenical orientation of the Non-Jurors had fascinating liturgical consequences. The first-fruits of Non-Juror liturgical scholarship and experimentation appeared in the Communion Office of 1718. While continuing to draw on the earlier prayer books of the Church of England, they also drew on a variety of Eastern sources which influenced the eucharistic prayer of the Non-Juror liturgy, in particular the Liturgies of St. Basil, St. John Chrysostom, St. James, and especially the Clementine liturgy. As with Taylor's rite, the post-*sanctus*, for instance, is based on the Liturgy of St James. The epiclesis is of the Holy Spirit alone, leaving out the Word as in the 1549 canon; moreover, it appears after the institution narrative and is linked with the eucharistic oblation in the Eastern position, rather than the Western position as in the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* and the 1637 Scottish book. Moreover, the Non-Jurors justified the epiclesis and its (then)



novel location in their rite on the grounds that it corresponded to Eastern usage.<sup>45</sup> The 1718 Non-Juror rite followed the West Syrian or Antiochene anaphoral structure, marking the first instance of the importation into the West of this Eastern anaphora shape,<sup>46</sup> anticipating late twentieth-century developments by nearly three centuries.

The second Non-Juror Communion Office of 1734 is even more dependent on Eastern sources. *The Holy Liturgy; or, The Form of offering the Sacrifice, and of administering the Sacrament, of the Eucharist* is largely the work of Bishop Thomas Deacon.<sup>47</sup> After the Creed, which significantly omits the *filioque* for the first time in an Anglican rite,<sup>48</sup> the deacon says: "Let us attend." The priest then says: "Peace be with you all," and the peace is exchanged.<sup>49</sup> The wording comes from the Divine Liturgy, although in a different location; the peace associated with the Creed is reminiscent of the same in the Divine Liturgy, where it occurs *before* rather than *after* the Creed, as in the Non-Juror text. Then follows the dismissal of the catechumens. The text refers to the "Prothesis" as the place from which the elements are brought to the altar.<sup>50</sup> The extremely lengthy anaphora,<sup>51</sup> like that of Stephens' 1696 rite, is based on the *Apostolic Constitutions*. Again, following closely the Eastern rites, prior to communion the deacon says: "Let us attend," followed by the priest's "Holy things for Holy persons," to which the people respond: "There is only one Holy, one Lord, one Lord Jesus Christ, blessed for ever, to the

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<sup>45</sup>Cf., for example, Thomas Brett, *A Collection of the Principal Liturgies, Used by the Christian Church in the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist: Particularly the Ancient, viz. the Clementine, as it stands in the Book call'd The Apostolical Constitutions; the Liturgies of S. James, S. Mark, S. Chrysostom, S. Basil, & c. Translated into English by several hands. With a Dissertation upon Them, Shewing their Usefulness and Authority, and pointing out their several Corruptions and Interpolations* (London: 1720), 126–28; repr., Grisbrooke, *Anglican Liturgies*, 107–8.

<sup>46</sup>Cf. W. Jardine Grisbrooke, "Compenetration of Rites and Confluence of Worship: Ecumenical Perspectives," *Studia Liturgica* 26 (1996): 150–51.

<sup>47</sup>Text: Grisbrooke, *Anglican Liturgies*, 297–316.

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, 302.

<sup>49</sup>*Ibid.*, 303.

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, 306.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, 306–12.

glory of God the Father. Amen.”<sup>52</sup> The 1734 rite follows the 1718 Non-Juror rite, and would have some influence on Thomas Rattray and the Scottish rite of 1764, but one wonders whether it can still be considered “Anglican.” Towards the end of his life Thomas Deacon no longer considered himself an Anglican, for Anglicanism to him was simply an unhappy mixture of “popery” and Calvinism. In fact, Deacon and his successors referred to their part of the dwindling Non-Juror movement as the “Orthodox British Church” and looked to the East as a model for the Church and its life.

### C. *The Rite of the Scottish Episcopal Church*

Because the Established Church of Scotland was Presbyterian, Scottish “Anglicans” effectively found themselves in a position analogous to English Non-Juring Anglicans, and indeed enjoyed a close affinity with them. In 1722, Scottish Episcopalians, under the leadership of Bishop Thomas Rattray, produced their own eucharistic rite based on the Non-Juror rite of 1718 and to a more limited extent on the 1734 rite, but also on the Liturgy of St. James of Jerusalem. Unlike previous seventeenth- and eighteenth-century rites, Rattray did *not* use the Clementine liturgy, which he regarded as somewhat suspect. Like Cranmer, Rattray was a liturgical scholar in his own right, and produced a study of the Liturgy of St. James, published in 1743, the year after his death. Rattray’s *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem, being the Liturgy of St. James, Freed from all latter Additions and Interpolations of whatever kind, and so restored to it’s [sic] Original Purity: By comparing it with the Account given of that Liturgy by St. Cyril in his fifth Mystagogical Catechism, And with the Clementine Liturgy, &c.*, contained a proposed eucharistic rite, which however was never used. In 1755 the Scottish Church produced another revision, which was dependent on Rattray’s proposed 1744 rite, included in the Scottish Prayer Book of 1764.<sup>53</sup> Though much shorter than the 1718 and 1734 Non-Juror antecedents, and retaining a great

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<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*, 313.

<sup>53</sup>Text: *Ibid.*, 333–48.

deal from the Prayer Book tradition, including the Word and Holy Spirit epiclesis from the 1549 rite, the eucharistic prayer of the 1764 rite retains the Antiochene shape, but again it is much shorter.

### Effects and Influences of These Liturgical Rites

Although these non-Church of England eighteenth-century Anglican eucharistic rites would have been used by a fairly limited community, their profound significance in the history of Anglican liturgy ought not to be underestimated. First, the 1718 rite became the model for subsequent Anglican rites such as the Scottish Episcopal Church's "Communion Offices" of 1722 and 1764, which were instrumental in the creation of the first Prayer Book of the Episcopal Church of the United States in 1790 after the American Revolution. American Anglicans found themselves unable to get bishops from the Church of England, because bishops had to be nominated by the crown. The first American priest to be ordained to the episcopate, Samuel Seabury, was consecrated by Scottish bishops in 1784. In return, the young American Church adopted the usages of the Scottish rather than the English Church. The American rite, with its rich Eastern and Western heritage, was brought by American missionaries to newer Anglican churches around the world in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. "So it is," judges Grisbrooke, "that the Nonjurors' Communion Office in 1718 has a claim to be regarded as a primary source of all the Anglican rites descended from the Scottish Liturgy of 1764."<sup>54</sup> Second, this family of eighteenth-century Anglican rites is an example of eucharistic liturgy, including a eucharistic prayer, drawn up according to Eastern and patristic models, rather than those of the medieval and Reformation sources. Last, the eighteenth-century rites anticipated a trend which would begin in the twentieth century, namely the continued use of Eastern sources in the ongoing process of revision of Anglican liturgical texts.

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<sup>54</sup>*Ibid.*, 112.

The liturgical revival of the nineteenth century is associated with the Anglo-Catholic or Tractarian movement. In many ways, Anglican liturgy became far more Western in this period, mining the riches of the Church of England's own medieval heritage, as well as that of contemporary Roman Catholicism. Liturgical texts were concocted which "enriched" the text of the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* with embellishments of text, rubric, ritual, music, and vesture from the Roman missal. An example of such liturgical interpolations is the 1903 *English Liturgy*, various editions of the *English Missal*, and the eleven editions of *Ritual Notes*.

At the same time, there was considerable Anglican scholarly interest in Eastern liturgical rites. For instance, in 1848, Archdeacon Henry Tattam published a collection of Eastern patristic Church Orders known as the Clementine Heptateuch or the Alexandrine Sinodos. Brightman published his monumental *Liturgies Eastern and Western* in 1896, followed in 1900 by *The Prayer Book of Serapion*. In 1904, George Horner published a collection of Coptic texts, the *Statutes of the Apostles*.

#### D. Early Twentieth Century

In common with many other Western churches, Anglicanism has been thoroughly influenced by the Liturgical Movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Much of the Liturgical Movement within Anglicanism from the middle of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was characterised by a recovery of lost traditions: medieval English, early Reformation (such as the 1549 Prayer Book), seventeenth-century liturgical piety and aesthetic, and Non-Juror influences. There was also much, often uncritical, adaptation and borrowing of current Roman Catholic texts, practices, and aesthetics. As well, Anglican liturgy at this time was evolving to meet the new pastoral realities.

A significant liturgical meeting point between East and West for Anglicans in the early twentieth century was India. There, Anglicans were in immediate contact with the ancient Malankara Syrian Orthodox churches, with their particular

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recension of the Liturgy of St. James. In 1920, an English priest by the name of J.C. Winslow edited a collection of essays for the consideration of the Lambeth Conference of bishops in 1920.<sup>55</sup> Winslow's book made a strong case for liturgical inculturation, citing the failure of the English *Book of Common Prayer* to meet the needs of Indian Anglicans. According to the authors of *The Eucharist in India*, the Liturgy of St James of the Syrian churches in Malabar was much more suitable. The very young E.C. Ratcliff, then a student serving with the YMCA in India, wrote an article advocating the use of the anaphora of St. James, noting that it was of the same shape as that of the Clementine liturgy, which had a considerable historical following among Anglicans.<sup>56</sup> On the whole, *The Eucharist in India* was well received by the bishops of the 1920 Lambeth Conference.

*The Eucharist in India* also contained a draft eucharistic rite, which was largely an adaptation and abbreviation of Syriac St. James translated into pseudo-Tudor English, reminiscent of the Prayer Book. Other Eastern sources were used as well, such as the Liturgy of SS. Addai and Mari, Jacobite St. James, the Ethiopic Anaphora of the Apostles, the Byzantine Proskomide, the Liturgies of St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom and Greek St. James. Western sources such as the Stowe Missal, the Roman Missal, and the 1549 and 1662 Prayer Books were also used.<sup>57</sup> The rite was further revised in 1930, 1942, and 1947. Although it was authorized in the Diocese of Bombay in 1922, and in 1933 for the whole Indian province, the Winslow rite was never widely used in the Indian Church, and was printed in a supplementary volume of the Indian Prayer Book. Notwithstanding its infrequent use, it remains significant in two respects. First, in the midst of various revisions of the *Book of Common Prayer* in the first half of the

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<sup>55</sup>J.C. Winslow, ed., *The Eucharist in India: A Plea for a Distinctive Liturgy for the Indian Church with a Suggested Form* (London: Longman, Green, and Co., 1920).

<sup>56</sup>E.C. Ratcliff, "The Eucharistic Office and the Liturgy of St James," in Winslow, ed., *The Eucharist in India*, 49–50.

<sup>57</sup>A helpful list of the sources used for Winslow's text is found in the appendices of *The Eucharist in India*, 113–14.

twentieth century, Winslow's rite stands as the only major attempt to go beyond Anglican and Western sources; its extensive use of Eastern liturgical texts to meet a pastoral and cultural context is unique. Second, it became a basis for the later rites of the Church of South India, which would have later impact on wider Anglican renewal.

Although the more radical movement for liturgical reform would not begin in Anglican Churches until the 1960s, an important precedent was set by the drafters of the 1950 *Book of Common Worship* of the newly created Church of South India (CSI). The CSI was established in 1947, uniting Anglicans, Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Methodists in a single, episcopal Church. Not only does the CSI stand out as a unique ecumenical achievement of the twentieth century, but it also stands out because of its liturgy. In 1950, drafters set out to delineate a liturgical rite which was a revision of neither the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer* nor the Presbyterian *Book of Common Worship*. In terms of the Eucharist, the result was a rite resembling that of the *Book of Common Prayer*, but also Winslow's rite, and the liturgies of the Syrian Malankara churches, as well as other Eastern and patristic sources.<sup>58</sup> Given the Indian cultural context, the Syriac Liturgy of St. James held a prominent place in the formation of the CSI eucharistic rite. In the entrance rite, the Trisagion is featured as an alternative to the *Gloria in excelsis*. The Eastern litany form is restored as the pattern of intercessory prayer. The peace – which was to be exchanged, for the first time in a Western rite – is located before the offertory. The shape of the eucharistic prayer is Antiochene or West Syrian. The epiclesis is restored, but based on the form from the Presbyterian *Book of Common Order*. There are two congregational acclamations within the eucharistic prayer. The first, "Thy death, O Lord, we commemorate, thy resurrection we confess, and thy second coming we await. Glory be to thee, O Christ," appears as the anamnesis after the institution narrative, as in the mid-fourth century Syrian *Anaphora of the Twelve Apostles*.<sup>59</sup> The

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<sup>58</sup>The Church of South India [hereafter CSI], *The Book of Common Worship*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 5–20.

<sup>59</sup>PEER, 126.



second, prior to the epiclesis, is based on that from the Divine Liturgy: "We give thanks to thee, we praise thee, we glorify thee, O Lord our God."<sup>60</sup> The Fraction sentence is either 1 Corinthians 10.16, or the *ta hagia tois hagiios* of the many Eastern liturgies, translated by the Anglican Benedictine, Dom Gregory Dix, as "The things of God for the people of God."<sup>61</sup> Many of the features of the CSI eucharistic liturgy come from Eastern texts, often mediated through Winslow's text.

The creation of a new liturgy for the CSI received wide attention, and proved to be a liturgical laboratory of sorts for liturgists prior to the dramatic revisions of the 1960s. The CSI rite, in turn, would influence later Anglican rites. R.C.D. Jasper judges that the 1952 CSI rite "marked a kind of watershed in the history of liturgical revision; it coloured the thinking of would-be revisers; and its influence, whether direct or indirect, was undeniable."<sup>62</sup> Many features of the eucharistic rite would find their way into the newer liturgical texts throughout the churches of the Anglican Communion from the 1960s onwards.

### *E. The Twentieth-Century Liturgical Movement*

The full flowering of the Liturgical Movement began in the 1960s across the churches of the Anglican Communion. Again, much like the sixteenth-century liturgical Reformation, there has been a tremendous amount of borrowing from the experience of other provinces of the Anglican Communion and from other Western Christian churches, in addition to extensive ecumenical collaboration in the preparation of renewed liturgical texts and norms, music, and theology, all of which have influenced Anglicanism from the latter part of the twentieth century.

As well, the modern Liturgical Movement in Anglicanism has been marked by a conscious and growing appreciation of Eastern sources. In part, this is a reconstitution of early Refor-

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<sup>60</sup>CSI, *Common Worship*, 16.

<sup>61</sup>Gregory Dix, OSB, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1945), 135.

<sup>62</sup>Jasper, *Development*, 206.

mation interest in Eastern Christianity, and a consequence of a renewed appreciation of the Non-Juror rites and their descendants. In addition, it belongs to the traditional Anglican appreciation of patristic texts, both Western and Eastern. The second half of the twentieth century is marked by a far more obvious and deliberate borrowing of Eastern material, not simply by means of texts mediated through liturgical archaeology but by increasing ecumenical contact with the living life and witness of Eastern Christianity: Byzantine, Oriental and Catholic. Of course, Anglicans are not the only Western church to make use of Eastern liturgical texts and structure; the same also can be said of Roman Catholic, Lutheran and Reformed liturgical revisions. As A.H. Couratin is reported to have said about the Roman rite, "The Orontes has finally flowed into the Tiber."<sup>63</sup> What is surprising about Anglican texts emerging from the liturgical movement is the degree to which Byzantine material has been adapted and adopted.

Anglican liturgical renewal from the 1960s was not a revision of historic Prayer Books, as had been the case to that point, but was marked by the creation of a new family of liturgical texts, starting in a real sense with the CSI liturgy of 1952. I shall use, as exemplar of recent Anglican liturgical books, the 1985 *Book of Alternative Services* (BAS) of the Anglican Church of Canada; it is the liturgy of my own province of the Anglican Communion, and, on the evidence of the present investigation, the Anglican text most influenced by Eastern sources. While the BAS is the principal text to be studied, reference to – and comparison with – other contemporary rites of the Anglican Communion will be made. The other Anglican liturgical texts that will be examined are the 1979 *Book of Common Prayer* of the Episcopal Church of the United States of America, the 1980 *Alternative Services Book* of the Church of England, the *New Zealand Prayer Book* of 1989, the 1989 *Anglican Prayer Book* of the Province of Southern Africa, and the 1995 *Prayer Book for Australia*.

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<sup>63</sup>Spinks, *Western Use*, 126. Couratin was one of Spinks' teachers.

## II. Liturgical Elements

### A. The Holy Eucharist

The eucharistic rites of the churches of the Anglican Communion are the most significant liturgical texts bearing the marks and influence of Eastern Christianity. They are significant both in regard to the number of texts within the rite which are a clear borrowing and adaptation of Byzantine materials, and also in regard to the sheer accessibility of this rite to Anglicans through weekly celebration. I will examine the eucharistic liturgy in terms of its structural components.

#### i. Entrance Rites

The entrance rite of the *Book of Alternative Services* contains a number of elements which suggest an Eastern flavour. The rite begins with the apostolic greeting by the presiding bishop or priest: "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you all."<sup>64</sup> Traditionally in Anglican rites the "Grace" has marked the conclusion of Morning and Evening Prayer. Its inclusion as the presidential greeting is reminiscent of the beginning of the anaphora in the Eastern liturgical tradition. An even clearer reflection of Byzantine liturgy is found in the presidential greeting of the 1979 eucharistic rite of the Episcopal Church of the United States and the 1995 Australian rite: "Blessed be God: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. And blessed be his kingdom, now and forever. Amen"<sup>65</sup> – a clear adaptation of the priest's blessing at the beginning of the liturgy of the catechumens in the Divine Liturgy.<sup>66</sup> From Easter Day through the day of Pentecost, the greeting in the BAS and a number of other Anglican rites is

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<sup>64</sup>Anglican Church of Canada, *The Book of Alternative Services* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1985), 185, 230. The Anglican Church of Australia, *A Prayer Book for Australia* (Alexandria, NSW: Collins, 1995), 119.

<sup>65</sup>1979 USA, 323, 355; 1995 Australia, 199.

<sup>66</sup>*Service Book*, 80.

“Alleluia! Christ is risen: The Lord is risen indeed. Alleluia!”<sup>67</sup> the traditional paschal greeting of Eastern Christianity.

The opening hymns of praise in the BAS and the American Prayer Book include the *Gloria in excelsis*, or in Lent the *Kyrie Eleison* (in English or Greek), or the *Trisagion*.<sup>68</sup> Historically one could argue for an Eastern provenance for both the *Gloria* and the *Kyrie*, but they are such a longstanding part of Western eucharistic rites as to be past the point of comment. The inclusion of the *Trisagion* (sung three times) is clearly an Eastern import.

## ii. Liturgies of the Word

Within the liturgy of the Word of the *Book of Alternative Services*, the most conspicuous and perhaps sole instance of Byzantine influence is the version of the Nicene Creed.<sup>69</sup> First, the text of the creed is that of the International Consultation on English Texts (ICET), which restored the original first person plural, i.e.: “We believe in One God,” rather than the inherited Western form using the first person singular. Second – and more significant – the Canadian version omits the *filioque*. This change, a direct consequence of Anglican-Orthodox theological dialogue, is in accordance with the following statement of the 1978 Lambeth Conference:

The Conference ... requests that all member Churches of the Anglican Communion should consider omitting the Filioque from the Nicene Creed, and that the Anglican-Orthodox Joint Doctrinal Commission

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<sup>67</sup>1985 Canada, 185, 230. Cf. 1979 USA, 323, 357; 1980 England, 119; 1989 Southern Africa, 104.

<sup>68</sup>1985 Canada, 186–7, 231–2. Cf. 1979 USA, 324, 356. The *Trisagion* is also found in the “inclusive language” liturgies of the North American Anglican provinces. Cf. ECUSA, *Supplemental Liturgical Texts: Prayer Book Studies 30* (Church Hymnal Corporation: New York, 1989); Anglican Church of Canada, *Three Supplementary Eucharistic Prayers for the Book of Alternative Services and Two Services of the Word* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1998), 9.

<sup>69</sup>1985 Canada, 188–89.

through the Anglican Consultative Council should assist them in presenting the theological issues to their appropriate synodical bodies and should be responsible for any necessary consultation with other Churches of the Western tradition.<sup>70</sup>

Sadly, of the liturgies of the six provincial churches examined here, only the Anglican Church of Canada has omitted the *filioque* from the Nicene Creed.

The Prayers of the Faithful fell into desuetude in the Roman rite during the reforms of Gregory the Great at the end of the sixth century. Petitionary prayer in the Roman rite was found principally in the Canon of the Mass, a practice retained in the first *Book of Common Prayer* of 1549. From the second Prayer Book of 1552 to the present, intercessory prayer was made after the "offertory," and prior to the penitential material, which led directly into the eucharistic prayer. The intercessions were in the form of a series of petitions prayed by the bishop or priest celebrating the rite. Recently, Anglican liturgical renewal has restored intercessory prayer as an integral element of the eucharistic liturgy. In particular, intercessory prayer belongs no longer to the presider of the rite, but is to be led by a deacon or member of the community; this part of the rite has been aptly renamed, "The Prayers of the People." Intercessory prayers are no longer a series of lengthy presidential petitions, but are offered in the Eastern form of the litany. A number of litanies are provided in the BAS,<sup>71</sup> most of which are new creations, whereas some are of great antiquity. For instance, the first litany of both the Canadian BAS and the American Prayer Book begins: "In peace let us pray to the Lord, saying, 'Lord have mercy.' For peace from on high and for our salvation, let us pray to the Lord."<sup>72</sup> The Canadian Anglican text is a fairly faithful recension of the Great Litany

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<sup>70</sup>Resolution 35.3, in Roger Coleman, ed., *Resolutions of the Twelve Lambeth Conferences* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1992), 192.

<sup>71</sup>1985 Canada, 110–27.

<sup>72</sup>1985 Canada, pp. 110–11, 236–38. A slight variation is found in the 1979 USA, 383–84.

of the Divine Liturgy.<sup>73</sup> Curiously, of the six provincial churches of this study, only two have used the litany from the Divine Liturgy.

In the BAS, the litany from the Divine Liturgy concludes with a revision of the "Prayer of St. Chrysostom" which brings it more in accord with the original Byzantine text, including a revised doxology: "for you, Father, are good and loving, and we glorify you through your Son Jesus Christ our Lord, in the Holy Spirit, now and forever. Amen."<sup>74</sup> Of the six provincial liturgies of this study, only the BAS has restored the final doxology, making it the most faithful version of the Byzantine prayer, even though it no longer bears the title, "A Prayer of Saint Chrysostom."

The Prayers of the People in the BAS are followed either by the penitential rite, the peace, and the Preparation of the Gifts, *or* directly by the peace and the Preparation of the Gifts. The location of the peace as preliminary to the Preparation of the Gifts, and in such close proximity of the Prayers of the People, is inspired by its primitive, ancient location reflected in Justin Martyr's *First Apology* (65.1),<sup>75</sup> the Hippolytan *Apostolic Tradition* (chapter 4),<sup>76</sup> and Book 8 of the *Apostolic Constitutions*.<sup>77</sup> A structural parallel to the peace in the Divine Liturgy is difficult to make, yet it is nonetheless closer to Byzantine practice than to the inherited Western position, that is, before holy Communion. The position of the peace prior to the Preparation of the Gifts is based on the 1952 CSI rite, which in turn is based on the Winslow rite, based on the Syriac Liturgy of St. James.

### iii. Anaphoras

The most significant examples of Anglican liturgical texts that have been influenced by Eastern Christianity are the new

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<sup>73</sup>*Service Book*, 80–82.

<sup>74</sup>1985 Canada, 111, 238. The doxology is also restored at the end of the Great Litany, 143. Cf. *Service Book*, 83.

<sup>75</sup>PEER, 28.

<sup>76</sup>*Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>77</sup>*Ibid.*, 104.

anaphoras. From the Reformation to the present, the eucharistic liturgies of the *Books of Common Prayer* retained from the inherited Roman rite the practice of a single eucharistic prayer, with variable prefaces. This is in contrast to the Eastern tradition, which knew various anaphoras, with no variable elements. In the wake of the liturgical movement, however, Anglicans (and other Western traditions) began to develop eucharistic liturgies with many eucharistic prayers, many of which have no invariable elements: a clear reflection of Eastern liturgical practice rather than the medieval Western pattern continued through the Prayer Books. The *Book of Alternative Services*, for example, contains six eucharistic prayers in the modern language rite, two in the Prayer Book language rite; three new eucharistic prayers were authorised by the General Synod of the Canadian church in 1998. Of the nine eucharistic prayers in the so-called modern language rites, only *one* has a variable preface.

In terms of structure, the new prayers owe more to the Eastern tradition than to any other. Following the anaphoras of St. James, St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom, the BAS eucharistic prayers and the three new supplementary eucharistic prayers follow the Antiochene or West Syrian anaphoral structure.<sup>78</sup> The trinitarian shape of the anaphora culminates in the epiclesis and prayer for the Church. The structure of three out of the four eucharistic prayers in the 1979 *Book of Common Prayer* of the Episcopal Church also follows the Antiochene pattern<sup>79</sup>; the 1989 *Supplemental Liturgical Texts* invariably follow this structure.<sup>80</sup> The four eucharistic prayers of the 1980 *Alternative Services Book* of the Church of England follow the Alexandrian pattern of the 1969 Missal of Paul VI in locating the epiclesis prior to the institution narrative. This location is reminiscent of the *quam oblationem* of the Roman canon, while maintaining an overall trinitarian structure for the whole prayer.<sup>81</sup> Of the five new eucharistic

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<sup>78</sup>1985 Canada, 193–210; 1998 Canada, 15–22.

<sup>79</sup>1979 USA, 361–63, 367–69, 369–72, 372–75.

<sup>80</sup>1989 USA, 66–73.

<sup>81</sup>1980 England, 130–41. Four new prayers were created for the 1995 *Patterns of Worship*; one was based on the Antiochene pattern, and another

prayers of the 1989 Southern African book,<sup>82</sup> only one follows the Antiochene pattern.<sup>83</sup> The five new eucharistic prayers of the 1989 New Zealand book all follow the Antiochene pattern.<sup>84</sup> Of the six new eucharistic prayers of the 1995 Australian book,<sup>85</sup> only one prayer follows the Antiochene anaphoral structure.<sup>86</sup> Of the new eucharistic prayers in the six prayer books, only the 1985 Canadian book exclusively follows the West Syrian or Antiochene anaphoral structure.

Regardless of the apparent lack of consistency in anaphoral shape throughout the Anglican Communion, the 1995 International Anglican Liturgical Consultation clearly stated its preference for the Antiochene pattern. The preference for this particular structure owes more to theological issues and the inherent logic of the trinitarian structure than to its Eastern provenance. Yet as the Eucharistic Theology group of the International Liturgical Consultation noted in 1995:

The Western eucharistic rites have not always given full expression to our Trinitarian faith. The classical forms of the eucharistic prayer in the East have an explicitly Trinitarian structure which became lost in the West. It is not found in the Roman Canon, nor was it part of the awareness of most of the Reformers. More recently, we have returned to the pre-Cappadocian custom of addressing the eucharistic prayer to the Father, through the Son, in the Spirit.<sup>87</sup>

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drew on the language of the East Syrian anaphora of SS. Addai and Mari. The eucharistic prayers were defeated in General Synod and were not included in *Patterns of Worship*. In March 2000, General Synod approved eight new eucharistic prayers, which will be published later in 2000 in *Common Worship*.

<sup>82</sup>1989 Southern Africa, 117–26, 131–33.

<sup>83</sup>Fourth Eucharistic Prayer, 1989 Southern Africa, 124–26.

<sup>84</sup>Church of the Province of New Zealand, *A New Zealand Prayer Book* (Auckland: Collins, 1989), 420–23, 436–38, 467–70, 485–88, 512–14.

<sup>85</sup>1995 Australia, 128–40, 176–77.

<sup>86</sup>Thanksgiving 2, 1995 Australia, 130–32.

<sup>87</sup>David Holeton, ed., *Renewing the Anglican Eucharist: Findings of the Fifth International Anglican Liturgical Consultation, Dublin, Eire, 1995* (Cambridge: Grove Books, 1996), 9–10.



The new eucharistic prayers also employ textual material from the Eastern anaphoras. For example, Eucharistic Prayer 1 of the BAS is a (much reduced) recension of the anaphora of the Clementine liturgy of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, including thanksgiving for Old Testament salvation history. Eucharistic Prayer 6, a recension of the anaphora of St. Basil, is the collaborative work of an ecumenical group of North American Anglican, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Lutheran liturgical scholars. Produced in 1974, it is found in a variety of English-language liturgical books. The aim of the committee was to draft a eucharistic prayer which could be prayed by all the respective churches. Rather than create a new prayer, the committee took as its model Eucharistic Prayer 4 of the Missal of Paul VI and "de-Latinized" it; the Roman model was itself based on the Egyptian (or Alexandrine) anaphora of St Basil, prayed by Byzantine churches on certain days, as well as by the Coptic Church. Unlike the Roman rite's recension of the prayer, the ecumenical text places the epiclesis after the institution narrative, that is, in its original position. Spinks suggests that "the Eastern Church can take some comfort in this considerable influence of one of their most venerable anaphoras."<sup>88</sup>

The new eucharistic prayers also include acclamations, a feature of Eastern anaphoras. Eucharistic Prayer 1 contains two anamnestic acclamations by the people; the second option is: "Dying you destroyed our death, rising you restored our life. Lord Jesus, come in Glory."<sup>89</sup> The lineage of this liturgical text is the anaphora of St. James, through the intermediary Winslow rite.<sup>90</sup> Eucharistic Prayers 4 and 5 also include acclamations by the assembly, which have been set to music bearing a Byzantine tone.<sup>91</sup> The clearest textual interpolation of a Byzantine text into a current Anglican eucharistic

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<sup>88</sup>Spinks, *Western Use*, 130.

<sup>89</sup>1985 Canada, 195. The only other book in this survey where it appears is 1989 Southern Africa, 118, 123.

<sup>90</sup>Cf. Liturgy of St James: "Your death, Lord, we proclaim and your Resurrection we confess," PEER, 92; Winslow: "Thy Death, O Lord, we commemorate; thy resurrection we confess; and thy second coming we await," *The Eucharist in India*, 88.

<sup>91</sup>E.g., 1985 Canada, 923.

prayer is the choir's hymn of praise in the anaphoras of St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom<sup>92</sup>: "We praise you, we bless you, we give thanks to you, and we pray to you, Lord our God." In the BAS, it likewise appears after the anamnesis and oblation in Eucharistic Prayer 6.<sup>93</sup> The interpolation also appears in both eucharistic prayers of BAS's traditional Prayer Book language rites.<sup>94</sup>

The Communion rite in both the 1979 American Prayer Book and the *Book of Alternative Services* begins when the priest says: "The gifts of God for the People of God," to which in the Canadian rite the assembly responds, "Thanks be to God."<sup>95</sup> The 1980 ASB of the Church of England is much closer to the Byzantine text; the president says: "The gifts of God for the people of God," to which the community responds: "Jesus Christ is holy, Jesus Christ is the Lord, to the Glory of God the Father."<sup>96</sup> Whereas this is not quite the *ta hagia tois hagnos* of the Divine Liturgy, the latter remains its inspiration.<sup>97</sup> On the other hand, as Dix pointed out long ago, "It is not quite easy to represent the full meaning of this in English."<sup>98</sup>

### B. Other Liturgical Texts

Although the eucharistic liturgy may bear more evidence of Byzantine influence than other rites, it is by no means the only place where Anglicans have drawn on liturgical treasures from the East. Also of significance is liturgical time, including both the liturgical calendar throughout the year, and the celebrations of the Divine Office – Morning and Evening Prayer – throughout the day. As well, Ministry at the Time of

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<sup>92</sup>*Service Book*, 105.

<sup>93</sup>1985 Canada, 209.

<sup>94</sup>*Ibid.*, 242, 244.

<sup>95</sup>1979 USA, 364; 1985 Canada, 213. A variation is found in 1989 New Zealand, 472; 1995 Australia includes it as an option, 142. It does not appear in 1989 Southern Africa.

<sup>96</sup>1980 England, 172.

<sup>97</sup>Hatchett, *Commentary*, 370; Jasper and Bradshaw, *Companion*, 254.

<sup>98</sup>Dix, *Shape*, 134–35.

Death and the Funeral liturgies bear a particular liturgical gift from the East.

### C. *The Calendar*

The *sanctorale* of the recent calendars contains a number of Eastern holy people who are commemorated by Anglicans. For instance, January 2 in New Zealand is the commemoration of "Seraphim of Sarov, Mystic, Russia, 1833."<sup>99</sup> January 2 in Canada and Australia is the memorial of "Basil the Great and Gregory Nazianzus, Bishops and Teachers of the Faith, 379, 389,"<sup>100</sup> closer to its Eastern commemoration. In the United States, England, New Zealand, and Australia, Basil and his companions are observed on June 14.<sup>101</sup> On January 14, "Sava, first archbishop of the Serbian Church (d. 1256)" is kept in New Zealand and Australia.<sup>102</sup> January 17 is the memorial of "Anthony, Abbot of Egypt, 356."<sup>103</sup> January 27 is the memorial of "John Chrysostom, Bishop of Constantinople, Teacher of the Faith, 407."<sup>104</sup> "Cyril and Methodius, Missionaries to the Slavs, 869, 885" is observed on February 14<sup>105</sup>; "Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, Martyr, 156" is kept on February 23.<sup>106</sup> March 9 is Gregory of Nyssa.<sup>107</sup> "Cyril of Jerusalem, Bishop and Teacher of the Faith, 386" is observed on March 18<sup>108</sup>; on March 23 "Gregory the Illuminator, Bishop

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<sup>99</sup>1989 New Zealand, 14.

<sup>100</sup>1985 Canada, 22; 1995 Australia, 456.

<sup>101</sup>1979 USA, 24; 1980 England, 19; 1989 New Zealand, 19; 1989 Southern Africa, 24.

<sup>102</sup>1989 New Zealand, 14; 1995 Australia, 456.

<sup>103</sup>1985 Canada, 22; 1979 USA, 19; 1980 England, 18; 1989 New Zealand, 14; 1989 Southern Africa, 22; 1995 Australia, 456.

<sup>104</sup>1985 Canada, 22; 1979 USA, 19; 1980 England, 18; 1989 Southern Africa, 22; 1989 New Zealand, 14; 1995 Australia, 456.

<sup>105</sup>1985 Canada, 14; 1979 USA, 20; 1989 Southern Africa, 22; 1989 New Zealand, 15; 1995 Australia, 456.

<sup>106</sup>1985 Canada, 23; 1979 USA, 20; 1980 England, 18; 1989 Southern Africa, 22; 1989 New Zealand, 14; 1995 Australia, 456.

<sup>107</sup>1985 Canada, 24; 1979 USA, 21.

<sup>108</sup>1985 Canada, 24; 1979 USA, 21; 1989 Southern Africa, 23; 1989 New Zealand, 16; 1995 Australia, 456.

of Armenia, c. 332” is kept.<sup>109</sup> May 2 is the observance of “Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, Teacher of the Faith, 373.”<sup>110</sup> In the United States, June 10 is “Ephrem of Edessa, Syria, Deacon.”<sup>111</sup> September 25 is the observance of “Sergius, Abbot of Holy Trinity, Moscow, Spiritual Teacher, 1392.”<sup>112</sup>

There is a new observance on April 24 in Canada and on August 14 in Australia entitled “Martyrs of the Twentieth Century.”<sup>113</sup> The observance brings to remembrance Christians from a variety of traditions; we remember “the three million Armenian Christians who died under Turkish brutality during the First World War; the million Orthodox who perished in the Soviet Union in the 1920s and 1930s; the unknown number of Albanians who disappeared in their government’s efforts to suppress Christianity.”<sup>114</sup> Of the Christian Martyrs against Nazism, *For All the Saints* mentions, among others, Mother Marie Skobtsova (1891–1945), the Russian Orthodox nun who protected French Jews in her convent, and who was gassed at the Ravensbrueck concentration camp on Easter Day, 1945<sup>115</sup>; she is also named in the Australian Prayer Book. A serious lacuna, however, is the absence of any mention of Eastern Catholics, as well as Coptic, Syrian and Ethiopian Christians who also suffered horrendous martyrdoms throughout the last century.

Some of the Eastern names on the calendar, such as Polycarp, John Chrysostom, and Athanasius are remembered as saints of the patristic Church, and their dates have long been observed by Anglicans. Others, such as Basil and Gregory of

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<sup>109</sup>1985 Canada, 24; 1979 USA, 21.

<sup>110</sup>1985 Canada, 26; 1979 USA, 23; 1980 England, 19; 1989 Southern Africa, 23; 1989 New Zealand, 18; 1995 Australia, 457.

<sup>111</sup>1979 USA, 24.

<sup>112</sup>1985 Canada, 30; 1979 USA, 27; 1980 England, 20; 1989 New Zealand, 22; 1995 Australia, 459.

<sup>113</sup>1985 Canada, 25; 1995 Australia, 458.

<sup>114</sup>Stephen Reynolds, *For All the Saints: Prayers and Readings for Saints’ Days, According to the Calendar of the Book of Alternative Services of the Anglican Church of Canada* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1994), 150.

<sup>115</sup>Reynolds, *For All the Saints*, 517–18.

Nazianzus, Anthony of Egypt, and Cyril of Jerusalem, reflect an Anglican appreciation of the Eastern patristic tradition. Saints such as Gregory the Illuminator, Seraphim of Sarov, Sava, Sergius of Moscow, and the Orthodox included among the martyrs of the twentieth century, reflect a deep appreciation of Eastern Christianity beyond the common patristic patrimony, particularly the holy witness of Eastern martyrs. The presence of these holy people on Anglican calendars also bears witness to the growing ecumenical contact between Eastern Christians of, for example, the Russian, Serbian, and Armenian churches, with Anglicans throughout the world. The presence of Eastern holy men and women in recent Anglican calendars also manifests that, in spite of the centuries of separation, there remains a common instinct for the recognition of holiness.

Two other celebrations in the new Canadian Anglican calendar owe something to Byzantine tradition. November 4, within the octave of the Feast of All Saints, is a memorial to the Saints of the Old Testament.<sup>116</sup> Old Testament holy women and men have not been a feature of Western observance, but have rightly been celebrated in the East; the Eastern precedent suggested this important observance. A related observance, within the season of Advent, occurs on December 9: "Prophets of the Old Testament."<sup>117</sup> In New Zealand, however, August 16 is kept as "Holy Women of the Old Testament"<sup>118</sup> and December 9 is "Holy Men of the Old Testament."<sup>119</sup>

#### *D. The Divine Office*

The celebration of the Divine Office – Morning and Evening Prayer – has been a significant staple of Anglican liturgical life from the Reformation to the present, mandated as the daily prayer of the clergy—usually alone. Although public daily celebration has been encouraged, in reality it is only in

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<sup>116</sup>1985 Canada, 32.

<sup>117</sup>*Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>118</sup>1989 New Zealand, 21.

<sup>119</sup>*Ibid.*, 25.

limited situations that they have been prayed daily in public, notably cathedral and collegiate churches and, since the nineteenth century, Anglican monastic communities. On Sundays, however, Morning Prayer was for centuries the most popular liturgy, especially when eucharistic celebration was infrequent. Evening Prayer decreased as a part of parish life only in the 1960s, though it continues in cathedrals and some parish churches.

The most discernible Eastern import into the Divine Office has been the inclusion of Cranmer's "Prayer of St. Chrysostom" from the Great Litany to the end of Morning and Evening Prayer, dating from the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* onwards. Current revisions reflect further Byzantine influences. For instance, along with the other books surveyed, the BAS retains the traditional beginning of the Divine Office of the Western tradition *via* the Prayer Book, that is, "Lord, open our lips." Unique among the liturgical books, however, the BAS also includes a number of alternative introductory responses; the "general" introductory response begins:

Blessed be God: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit  
**And blessed be his kingdom, now and forever.**  
**Amen.**  
 Come, let us worship God our King.  
**Come let us worship Christ, our King and our**  
**God.**  
 Come, let us worship Christ among us, our King and  
 our God.

**Holy God,**  
**Holy and mighty,**  
**Holy and immortal one,**  
**have mercy upon us.**<sup>120</sup>

This particular beginning of the Divine Office is clearly the beginning of several offices in the Byzantine tradition.<sup>121</sup> The

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<sup>120</sup>1985 Canada, 99.

<sup>121</sup>*Service Book*, 15.

BAS is the only modern Anglican prayer book noted that includes this thoroughly Byzantine text.

Whereas Morning Prayer in the Prayer Book always included an invitatory psalm (Psalm 95), Evening Prayer in the Prayer Book received an invitatory only in the newer rites. One of the invitatory hymns at Evening Prayer is the *Phos Hilaron*,<sup>122</sup> a hymn from Vespers of the Byzantine rite.<sup>123</sup>

A criticism of the Divine Office in the Prayer Book has been the lack of variety in canticles to be prayed; two canticles are to be said or sung at both Morning and Evening Prayer, and only two options are provided. Newer books provide far more canticles from which to choose; the BAS, drawing heavily on the 1979 American Prayer Book, contains 27 canticles. Most of the new canticles are biblical; some have been used in earlier Western rites, such as the Gallican or Mozarabic. Many of the so-called newer canticles are also found in the Eastern tradition, a parallel that Anglican commentators are quick to point out.<sup>124</sup> For example, the *Magnificat* or Song of Mary has been associated in Western liturgical tradition with Evening Prayer. That some of the newer Anglican books such as the BAS, the American Prayer Book, and the *Prayer Book for Australia* also permit its use in Morning Prayer<sup>125</sup> finds a parallel in the Eastern tradition, where it is sung at Matins.<sup>126</sup> The *Gloria in excelsis Deo* in the Western tradition is identified as the opening hymn of praise at the eucharistic liturgy, whereas in the East it is sung as a canticle at Matins<sup>127</sup>; the BAS and the English ASB, following the 1979 American book, permit its use at the Divine Office, particularly Morning Prayer.<sup>128</sup> The Beatitudes are included as

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<sup>122</sup>1985 Canada, 61, 66–7; 1979 USA, 64, 112, 118; 1980 England, 63; 1989 Southern Africa, 55.

<sup>123</sup>*Service Book*, 8.

<sup>124</sup>Cf. Hatchett, *Commentary*, 112–21; Jasper and Bradshaw, *Companion*, 106, 127.

<sup>125</sup>1985 Canada, 86; 1979 USA, 91; 1995 Australia, 31.

<sup>126</sup>*Service Book*, 33.

<sup>127</sup>*Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>128</sup>1985 Canada, 95; 1979 USA, 94; 1980 England, 55.

a canticle only in the BAS,<sup>129</sup> Byzantine Christians include them among the Typical Psalms, to be sung during the Great Fast after the Ninth Hour.

Intercession and thanksgiving are no longer in the form of a series of collects or versicles and responses as in the *Book of Common Prayer*, but in the litany form, including the Great Litany of the Divine Liturgy as the first option. The litany for Evening Prayer in the BAS that begins: "That this evening may be holy, good, and peaceful, We pray to you, Lord,"<sup>130</sup> is based on the litany at Evening Prayer in the 1979 American *Book of Common Prayer*<sup>131</sup> which, in turn, is based on the concluding litany of Byzantine Vespers.<sup>132</sup>

### E. Death

The liturgies for death in the *Book of Alternative Services*, notably "Ministry at the Time of Death" and the funeral rites, contain a particularly poignant Eastern interpolation. Other textual influences abound, such as the Trisagion, litany style of intercession, and the eucharistic prayer; however, the singular text which is of significance is the so-called "Russian Kontakion,"<sup>133</sup> a recension of the kontakion and ikos of the Byzantine rite:

Give rest, O Christ, to your servants with your saints,  
where sorrow and pain are no more,  
neither sighing, but life everlasting.

You only are immortal, the creator and maker of all;  
and we are mortal, formed of the earth,  
and to earth we shall return.  
For so did you ordain when you created me, saying,  
"You are dust, and to dust you shall return."

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<sup>129</sup>1985 Canada, 85; 1989 New Zealand, 81, however, does include the Beatitudes as the invariable song of praise at Morning Prayer on Thursdays.

<sup>130</sup>1985 Canada, 118.

<sup>131</sup>1979 USA, 68, 122.

<sup>132</sup>*Service Book*, 10.

<sup>133</sup>An Anglican popular title of what is actually Kyivan chant.



All of us go down to the dust;  
yet even at the grave we make our song:  
Alleluia, alleluia, alleluia.

Give rest, O Christ, to your servants with your saints,  
where sorrow and pain are no more,  
neither sighing, but life everlasting.

This text is used as a form of commendation at the time of death,<sup>134</sup> and also as the commendation at the end of the funeral liturgy prior to burial.<sup>135</sup> The rubrics indicate that it may be said or sung; a popular musical setting found in the *Hymnal 1982* of the Episcopal Church is based on Kievan chant.<sup>136</sup> In the Byzantine tradition the kontakion and ikos are found in the Order for the Burial of the Dead<sup>137</sup> and in the Requiem Office for the Dead.<sup>138</sup>

Although the borrowing of a single kontakion and ikos from the rich Byzantine funeral liturgy may seem inconsequential, I think it highly significant that the last prayer an Anglican may hear before she or he dies comes from the East. Similarly, the kontakion and ikos will be the last prayer said or sung publicly before the body of an Anglican Christian leaves his or her parish church for burial.

#### *F. Conclusion: Lex orandi, lex credendi*

That there has been a growing Eastern influence on Anglican liturgy is easily demonstrable on the evidence of the liturgical texts themselves. In many ways, late twentieth-century Anglican liturgists succeeded in fulfilling a desire which can be traced to the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries: to recover the liturgical resources of the Eastern and

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<sup>134</sup>1985 Canada, 563.

<sup>135</sup>*Ibid.*, 586, 595.

<sup>136</sup>*The Hymnal 1982* (New York: Church Hymnal Corporation, 1982), Hymn 355.

<sup>137</sup>*Service Book*, 383, 408, 411, 428.

<sup>138</sup>*Ibid.*, 445–6, 451–2.

patristic patrimony of the one, holy, catholic, and apostolic Church into the official liturgical prayer of the churches of the Anglican Communion. A more difficult task is to evaluate the significance of the various Eastern influences for Anglican liturgy in particular, and Anglicanism in general. Here, only a few observations can be made, in the hope that they may be tested elsewhere.

i. Western Ambience, Eastern Influence

First, in spite of the manifold adaptations, adoptions, and interpolations of Eastern materials into current Anglican liturgical texts – a process which W. Jardine Grisbrooke tags the “compenetration”<sup>139</sup> of rites – the tenor of Anglican liturgical life remains thoroughly Western, bearing the stamps of the medieval Church, the Reformation, and the Western Liturgical Movement. Byzantine influences from hymnody, liturgical text, vesture, posture and architecture may abound in varying degrees, yet the context and ambience remain that of the West. It would be difficult to conclude that the presence of Byzantine textual influences are leading Anglicans to a more Byzantine experience of worship.<sup>140</sup> Nonetheless, I believe there have been major consequences in Anglican life and worship as a result of the Byzantine liturgy.

ii. Importance of Eastern Influence

A second observation and a first consequence of the Byzantine influence on Anglican liturgy comes from a series of informal conversations I have had with clergy, theological students, and lay people from the diocese of Ottawa, where I live. I have asked those in my sample group if they could identify the origin of texts such as the “Holy God, Holy and

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<sup>139</sup>Grisbrooke, “Compenetration,” 149ff.

<sup>140</sup>A helpful comparison between a modern Western celebration of the Eucharist, Anglican included, and the Divine Liturgy is offered by Canon Hugh Wybrew, “Western Eucharist and Orthodox Liturgy,” ch. 1, *The Orthodox Liturgy: The Development of the Eucharistic Liturgy in the Byzantine Rite* (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1990), 1–11.

mighty,” the first litany of the BAS, the acclamation in the eucharistic prayer: “We praise thee, we bless thee,” the evening invitatory “O Gracious light,” and: “Give rest, O Christ, to your servant with your saints,” from the Ministry at the Time of Death and the Funeral liturgy. Generally, the people with whom I spoke had no idea where these texts originated. They were accordingly oblivious to – and only mildly interested in – their Byzantine provenance. I also asked the people in my survey what they thought about these particular texts. Everyone agreed that they were beautiful liturgical texts, which greatly enhanced worship; of particular note were the kontakion and ikos from the funeral liturgy. This scant anecdotal evidence leads to the suggestion that the Eastern liturgical influences are important not because they are Eastern, but because they are beautiful, and are received because they reflect and reveal an authentic Christian experience of life and death and worship.

### iii. Trinitarian Tenor in Anglican Texts

A third observation arises from reflection on the relationship between liturgical prayer and doctrine. Following the Western medieval and Reformation traditions, Anglican liturgical texts have never *not* been Trinitarian,<sup>141</sup> though they have been less Trinitarian than the Eastern counterparts. In the wake of the ecumenical movement, Western Christian theology, liturgy, and spirituality have become much more consciously Trinitarian. This movement is particularly evident in liturgical texts, especially in the eucharistic prayers which are addressed to the Father, through the Son, and in the Holy Spirit, with their tripartite shape and restored epiclesis. In its celebration of the Eucharist, focussed more fundamentally in the eucharistic prayer, the Church both proclaims and becomes

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<sup>141</sup>Notwithstanding Bryan Spink’s disparaging remarks that “it is salutary to remember that eighteenth and nineteenth-century Anglican Deists produced revised Prayer Books with only minor omissions from the standard text, showing just how marginal this belief is in terms of prayer texts.” “Trinitarian Theology and the Eucharistic Prayer,” *Studia Liturgica* 26 (1996): 212.

who it is meant to be. Now, a trinitarian vision and experience of the life of the Church is prayed in the eucharistic liturgy. The Eucharistic Theology working group of the 1995 International Anglican Liturgical Consultation observes that eucharistic theology “is often discussed as though it were simply a Christological, or at best, a ‘binitarian’ issue,”<sup>142</sup> though its starting point is the revelation of the Triune God of love:

The eucharist celebrates the Father’s bestowing of divine grace on the community of believers in the Church through the combined (“perichoretic”) interaction of the Son and the Spirit. Through the Son, the Church knows God as Father and knows God as creator and gives thanks for creation. It gives thanks for the incarnation and redemption through the Son and rejoices in its sanctification and recreation by the Spirit.<sup>143</sup>

It is the Triune God whose presence and fellowship we have when we take, eat and drink the body and blood of Christ. When in the eucharist we make the memorial (anamnesis) of the one sacrifice of Christ, it is none other than the self-giving love of the Trinity which is proclaimed and experienced.<sup>144</sup>

The same vision is articulated in various doctrinal texts, such as the Virginia Report of the Inter-Anglican Theological and Doctrinal Commission, presented at the 1998 Lambeth Conference of Bishops. The second chapter, entitled “Theology of God’s Gracious Gift: The Communion of the Trinity and the Church,” is an excellent, recent Anglican expression of trinitarian ecclesiology<sup>145</sup>:

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<sup>142</sup>Holeton, *Renewing the Anglican Eucharist*, 9.

<sup>143</sup>*Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>144</sup>Holeton, *Renewing*, 9.

<sup>145</sup>“The Virginia Report,” in *The Official Report of the Lambeth Conference, 1998* (Harrisburg, PA: Morehouse Publishing, 1999), 24–30.

The Church looks forward in Christ, through the power of the Holy Spirit, to that day when God's name will be made holy, God's Kingdom come, when God's will is done on earth as it is in heaven. The seventh-century theologian St Maximus the Confessor put it in this way: "The things of the past are shadow; those of the present, icon; the truth is to be found in the things of the future" (Scolion on the ecclesiastical hierarchy, 3,3:2). Faithful Christian community with God, the Holy Trinity, is focussed in a vision of the final and ultimate reign of God.<sup>146</sup>

The use of Maximus the Confessor – premier Byzantine theologian of the seventh century – by a twentieth-century international Anglican doctrinal commission is telling, in and of itself. This usage witnesses to the role of Byzantine theology in shaping Anglican theological expression.

In 1997 the House of Bishops of the Church of England published a theological statement on eucharistic presidency. Here, too, the basis of ecclesiology is trinitarian. The second chapter, entitled "The Church in the Purposes of the Triune God," locates the communion of the Church within the communion of the Trinity.<sup>147</sup> It discusses the Eucharist as "Trinitarian Feast":

We are drawn into the life of the Trinity, and being drawn in are sent out from the Eucharist to partake of the triune God's mission to the world. In the liturgy, the trinitarian character of the Eucharist is perhaps most evident at two critical points: in the Thanksgiving, when the Church prays to the Father for the gift of the Son by the work of the Spirit; and in Communion, when we participate in Christ (1 Corinthians 10:16), which, as we have seen, is made possible by

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<sup>146</sup>*Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>147</sup>*Eucharistic Presidency: A Theological Statement by the House of Bishops of the General Synod* (London: Church House Publishing, 1997), 13–22.

being pervaded by the Spirit and entails being led closer to the Father.<sup>148</sup>

The same trinitarian basis is found in various ecumenical documents. Of note for Anglicans and Orthodox is the eucharistic material of *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry*, which is unequivocally trinitarian.<sup>149</sup> The 1996 Llandaff agreed statement of the International Commission for Anglican-Orthodox Theological Dialogue also reflects a trinitarian understanding of the Eucharist:

The Holy Eucharist is the sacramental sign and instrument of graced life in the Holy Trinity. The Holy Eucharist is the sacrament of fellowship and unity, the meeting place of divinity and humanity, the visible expression of the inner working of God's grace, the supreme manifestation of the Church as a sacramental fellowship of communion. The Eucharist effects by grace the ecclesial event of fellowship and unity of the faithful with God, the Blessed Trinity, and with one another. The Trinity, the Church, the Eucharist have an essential relationship of communion that is nothing less than mutual self-disclosure, covenant and life together.<sup>150</sup>

It is notoriously difficult to define precisely the meaning of the adage *lex orandi, lex credendi*. For some, it describes the liturgy as shaping or establishing doctrine, much along the lines of Prosper of Aquitaine's original dictum.<sup>151</sup> For others, the adage defines the place of doctrine in the evolution of

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<sup>148</sup>*Eucharistic Presidency*, 36.

<sup>149</sup>World Council of Churches, *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry*, Faith and Order Paper No. 111 (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1982), 10-13.

<sup>150</sup>International Commission for Anglican-Orthodox Theological Dialogue, "The Trinitarian Basis of Ecclesiology," no. 12 (publication pending), 6.

<sup>151</sup>Cf. Aidan Kavanagh, *On Liturgical Theology* (Collegeville: Pueblo/Liturgical Press, 1994).

liturgical rites and texts.<sup>152</sup> This adage may be helpful in understanding the relationship between the emerging trinitarian ecclesiology of recent Anglicanism and the trinitarian liturgical texts – especially the tripartite eucharistic prayers – emerging from the recent period of liturgical renewal. Chronologically, the newer eucharistic prayers antecede the theological statements which reveal a trinitarian ecclesiology. This might suggest that the experience of praying in a trinitarian way has given rise to another expression of ecclesiology. However, the choice of the so-called West Syrian or Antiochene anaphoral structure itself bears the imprint of a theological conviction. Perhaps one could say that the very fact that Anglicans have been praying trinitarian eucharistic prayers has anticipated a trinitarian understanding of the Church. At the very least, the trinitarian experience of liturgy has overcome certain christomonistic tendencies, which makes the ecclesiology of the “Virginia Report,” *Eucharistic Presidency* or “The Trinitarian Basis of Ecclesiology” more easily and naturally received by Anglicans. Clearly, there needs to be more thorough research and reflection on the relationship between trinitarian prayer and trinitarian theology by late twentieth-century Anglicanism. Their emergence and convergence are not coincidental; both would be unimaginable without recourse to Eastern liturgy and theology.

#### iv. Ecumenical Value of These Texts

A fourth and final observation concerning the significance of Eastern influence in modern Anglican liturgies is about their ecumenical value. I suspect that my small sample of parish clergy and lay people mentioned above is not atypical, yet there is an ecumenical value which may, in God’s time, play its part in the restoration of the *koinonia* of the separated churches, in this case Anglican and Eastern. Anglicans who have the opportunity to worship with Eastern Christians will recognize some liturgical texts as their own. Such recognition bears witness to a broader tradition of prayer which Eastern

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<sup>152</sup>Cf. Geoffrey Wainwright, *Doxology: The Praise of God in Worship, Doctrine, and Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).

and Western Christians have always shared, but more particularly to the conscious use of Eastern texts in recent Anglican liturgical books. This “sense of recognition” comes not simply from textual similarity, but from recognising oneself in the other, recognising the reality of worship, Church, and the body of Christ in the other. Such is the heart of the ecumenical movement. Again, with other Western Christian traditions, Anglicans have never *not* been trinitarian. Yet, the recently accentuated place of the Holy Trinity recovered in liturgical texts, articulated by ecumenical commissions, doctrinal and theological commissions, houses of bishops, and the Lambeth Conference of bishops, and enjoyed in the spirituality and lived experience of the faithful, has tremendous consequence for Anglican-Orthodox relations. There is no “Anglican” Trinity or “Orthodox” Trinity: the Triune is One for us all. When Anglicans and Eastern Christians are able to experience the encounter with the Triune God in worship, and to articulate and recognize the same in each other, then we enter more deeply into the prayer of the One who prayed “that they all may be one.”



### Резюме

Від часів самої Реформації, англіканська Церква цікавилася православною літургійною спадщиною і постійно включала в свою богослужбу практику поодинокі молитви і гимни візантійської, та інших східніх, традицій. Автор статті подає перелік таких запозичень від Сходу, і показує як вони стали органічною частиною англіканської традиції. Найновіші англіканські богослужбні книги використовують ще більше східніх молитов і гимнів.

