

## Chapter 9

### How Christians Spent the Lord's Day

WE have attempted to show that the Christians thought in terms of a whole day and that the Lord's Day held the position of a Christian festival. But when we begin to examine the observance of the day, we are immediately faced with the problem of when the day began, and when it ended. The usual Jewish reckoning was from dusk to dusk<sup>1</sup>; the Roman civil reckoning was from midnight to midnight. In any examination of what took place this must always be borne in mind and checked.<sup>2</sup> The length of light and darkness in Mediterranean lands is not very different in summer and winter, so that sunset and sunrise do not greatly vary from month to month.

The question of the social life of that time is also important. Two meals in the day were the usual practice. The earlier meal (*ariston*) was taken towards noon, while the later meal (*deipnon*) was probably about five or six o'clock in the evening, when the day's work was done (see Macalister, 'Food'). After the earlier meal it was the custom to have a siesta for a time.<sup>3</sup> After the evening meal lamps would be lighted, if the family were well enough off, but it seems likely that in an average home by nine o'clock the household would have retired to rest.

It is impossible to be certain how long the early Christians continued the Jewish attitude of treating the day as beginning at dusk or whether they soon abandoned that for the Roman system.<sup>4</sup> It seems likely that though they may have treated the night before as a preparation for the Lord's Day, it was the morning in which they were more deeply interested, as being the time when the Lord rose from the grave.<sup>5</sup> We shall go into these points more fully later on.

Where the monastic system had developed, the whole conception of the week from a Christian standpoint would be altered, and it is necessary to be very careful in dealing with documents that may be affected by the monastic conception, but for earlier times this is not necessary.

#### THE SPIRIT OF THE CHRISTIAN SUNDAY

Before going into the detail of the Christian observance of Sunday, it is essential to try to get, so far as is possible, the 'feel' of those early

days as the first Christians experienced them; and especially to discover the theological background in which the Christian Sunday was born. We can take it for granted that the observance commenced in Jerusalem and from the earliest days.<sup>6</sup> The atmosphere was that of realised eschatology. The early Christians felt that they were in an era of fulfilment. All the promises and expectations of the Old Covenant were being fulfilled in Christ. No doubt the full significance of this was only slowly realised, and, to begin with, its implications were not fully understood, but Christians were sure that the 'day of the Lord' had come.<sup>7</sup> With the Resurrection and the giving of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, the new era, the New Covenant, had begun, 'the old had passed away', '(all) things had become new',<sup>8</sup> 'new wine must be put into new bottles'.<sup>9</sup>

They were living in a new age. The old forms were becoming obsolete.

In the Jerusalem Church, with its large percentage of Jewish Christians, this process would be a slow one, but as soon as Gentiles were received into the church, who had had little or no Jewish background, a decision had to be reached quickly and definitely as to how far the old forms were to be retained. The new forms had already taken shape before this.

These new forms were clearly pulsating with a new life, 'He hath begotten us again unto a living hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead' (1 Pet. 1: 3). The realisation that what the nation had so long been waiting for had at last been fulfilled gave them a new sense of liberty and joy. The arid wastes of rabbinic teaching had been left behind for a new interpretation of the Old Testament. This new interpretation gave a spiritual meaning to the old forms. In giving them up literally they were still retaining their spiritual values. Circumcision had passed away; but there was a new circumcision. The sacrifices had passed away; but there were new sacrifices to take their place. The temple was doomed, if it had not already disappeared; but a new temple was growing in its place. And these spiritual meanings were being attached to new forms. The new circumcision was clearly connected with the new initiation ceremony of Christian baptism (Col. 2: 11-13). The old offerings had ceased, but there were still very practical offerings in the worship, the bodies (Rom. 12: 1f.) and the possessions (Heb. 13: 16; 1 Pet. 2: 5) of Christians. The worship of synagogue and temple was passing away, but a new worship was taking its place. The Jewish sacred meals were disappearing, but Christian

sacred meals were taking their place with new meanings. The sabbath and the feasts were passing away, but a 'new day' (1 Cor. 16 : 2; Acts 20 : 7; Rev. 1 : 10) was being celebrated by Christians. The spiritual truths behind the old were clothing themselves in new forms.

All this was centred 'in Christ'. It was the coming, the death, the resurrection and the ascension of Christ, with his gift of the Holy Spirit, which had brought in this new covenant, this new creation. The fulfilments were to be found in him and associated with him. He is the one in whom the new circumcision takes place (Col. 2 : 11). He is the new temple, and so also, through him, is his body the church (John 2 : 21; Eph. 2 : 20-22; 1 Cor. 6 : 19). He is the victim of the sacrifice and at the same time the priest who offers it.<sup>10</sup> The supper is his, the Lord's (1 Cor. 11 : 20), and the day is his, the Lord's (Rev. 1 : 10). It was at this service and on this day each week that he was proclaimed 'Lord'. The Lordship of Christ in this new order was the central theme, and it was in the Resurrection that this Lordship had first been proclaimed (1 Cor. 12 : 3; John 20 : 28).

With these thoughts in their minds, that 'all things had become new' (2 Cor. 5 : 17), and that all this centred in the fact that the Jesus with whom they had walked and talked was 'the Lord', the synagogue services and the temple ritual could never satisfy their desire for worship. Without the name of Christ or any remembrance of what he had accomplished those forms of worship would be insipid indeed.<sup>11</sup>

Not only so, but they were looking for his return. If he had gone, he would come again. He had appeared to them on the first Sunday after his crucifixion. He had appeared again to them on the second Sunday. His Spirit had been given on a Sunday. Was it not most probable that he would come again on a Sunday?<sup>12</sup>

On all these occasions he had appeared when they were gathered together. Was it not probable that it would be when they were gathered, that he would come again? Week by week they met with this expectation in their minds, that the 'appearing' (*parousia*) of their Lord might take place while they were gathered for worship that day.

So it was in this double eschatological outlook (realised and future) that the Christian Sunday came into existence. The old had passed away. They were living both in a new age, and in an age which might be brought to an end at any time by the advent of the Lord, in whom this new age was centred.<sup>13</sup>

This brings us to a second aspect of the theological background. It is the corporate spirit which pervaded the early church, the sense of

the 'fellowship' (*koinōnia*) and the 'brotherhood' (*philadelphia*). This is clearly marked in the early days of the church.<sup>14</sup> The effect of the experience at Pentecost was to give to the members of the Christian church a deep devotion to each other. They realised that they were members of the same body (*synōma*).<sup>15</sup> Of this body Christ was the head and they were members one of another (Rom. 12 : 5). The same Spirit possessed them all and none lived to himself (Rom. 14 : 7; 1 Cor. 12 : 26).

Now the only way in which this corporate spirit could show itself was in gathering together.<sup>16</sup> The gathering together was primarily for spiritual ends, prayer together, worshipping together and partaking of the eucharist.<sup>17</sup> But it was not only for spiritual ends. It seems certain that 'the breaking of bread' meant other meals besides the eucharist and would include social gatherings in each other's house.<sup>18</sup> At first, it seems, an attempt was made to carry this out every day (Acts 2 : 46), and possibly the selling of their property was to make this possible (Acts 2 : 45; 5 : 1f.). Perhaps the expectation of an early second advent suggested it. But as time went on it became clear that this was not generally practicable, and the gatherings became confined to the weekly gathering on the first day. It was on this day that they were expected to gather together as one body: 'We being many are one loaf'.<sup>19</sup> All were expected to be present. The spirit of exuberant joy (*agalliasis*) (Acts 2 : 46), which we shall examine later, would be the outstanding mark of their meeting together; this would be centred in the thought of Christ as 'Lord' and especially the thought of his resurrection. He was 'with them', even if only 'two or three' (Matt. 18 : 20).

So far as the evidence goes, after the early days there does not seem to have been any other gathering of the Christians during the week until a much later date.<sup>20</sup> Perhaps the threat of persecution had something to do with this. It would be unwise to build an argument on such silence, but if in fact there were no meetings in between, this would certainly enhance the importance of the weekly gatherings. Their corporate life as a Christian body could only be expressed as they met together. Their deep devotion to their common 'Lord' required this, and the care of the poorer members of his body would show itself in these gatherings<sup>21</sup> and meals together.

The whole atmosphere of the early church, as reflected in the New Testament, suggests that these gatherings would be sources of deep help and satisfaction to all who joined in them, and that they would be extended as long as possible.<sup>22</sup> They would feel that in the presence

of their fellow-Christians they were enjoying the presence of the Lord himself.<sup>23</sup> There is nothing in the accounts which we have in Justin to suggest that the gatherings of the Christians were hurried services carried through before they went to work, or after they had completed it.<sup>24</sup> In fact there is much to suggest, as we shall see, that the morning gathering was not held until it was light, for how else could country Christians have been present after perhaps a longish journey?<sup>25</sup> From the descriptions given in Justin and also in Tertullian (Tert., *Apol.* 39; *PL* i. 468), there is every indication that these gatherings were long drawn out, with social intercourse and meals included in them. The fact that, in the earliest period, as many as wished could speak or pray in the gatherings suggests unhurried time (1 Cor. 14 : 6; *Didache* 10; see Congar, 'Théologie', p. 136).

If one takes into account, in addition, the earlier meal (*ariston*) and the siesta of Mediterranean countries, one gets the impression that a good deal of the day would be accounted for in these ways.<sup>26</sup>

There is a final consideration, which should be given its due weight. Beyond doubt, the early Christians were eager to learn. This would mean that if they could read they would want to read, and if unable to read would wish to have the Scriptures and other literature read to them.<sup>27</sup> It is unlikely that the poorer Christians would possess even part of the Scriptures for themselves. It would be at the weekly gatherings that the opportunity would come of reading or hearing the Scriptures. This will be examined more fully later on, but it is one more indication of the importance that the Sunday would have for the Christian.<sup>28</sup>

The background, then, in which the observance of Sunday began was an eschatological one, instinct with joy and hope, in which the corporate observance was the outstanding characteristic. The new life throbbing in the individual and in the churches showed itself in a deep devotion to their 'Lord' and to one another, and in a deep desire to share their experiences, to learn together what had been revealed, and to care for each other's needs.<sup>29</sup>

The sense of oneness in Christ's body and of the importance of each individual member (1 Cor. 12 : 15-25) would mean that for any to be absent from the gathering, the *ekklesia*, would be considered a tragedy, the absence of one limb from the body. Everything would be done to prevent this.<sup>30</sup> One remedy would be to take the bread and wine to these persons (Justin, *Apol.* 1.65; *PG* vi. 428). The concern to meet would become more pronounced as hostility from the outside world increased.

If, as we have suggested, the Christians considered their Sunday to be in some way a fulfilling of the Jewish sabbath and feast days, this conception would be heightened, for each feast day was a day of solemn assembly (*hē hēmera hē klētē hagia*) when the congregation of Israel was to meet together in joy to celebrate the feast. On the day of the Resurrection (the feast of the Firstfruits) they had met their risen Master, and again on the next Sunday. On the feast of Pentecost they had gathered together and he had bestowed the Holy Spirit. These thoughts must surely have been in their minds in their Sunday celebrations. And perhaps it is this conception of the corporate gathering of the Christians for worship, with Christ present as he had been on the day of the resurrection, that lies behind the vision in the first chapter of the Apocalypse (Rev. 1 : 12ff.). John is 'in the Spirit on the Lord's Day'. He is separated in the island of Patmos from the worshipping churches on the mainland, but in his vision he sees the glorified Christ in the midst of the golden candlesticks, 'the seven churches of Asia'. On the Lord's Day the Lord is present in his church at worship.<sup>31</sup>

#### THE PRACTICE OF THE CHRISTIAN SUNDAY

How then, precisely, did the Christians occupy their Sundays? It is certain that the eucharist was at first an evening meal. The name (*deipnon*) implies this.<sup>32</sup> It is impossible here to go into the vexed question of the origins of the eucharist, but 1 Cor. 11 suggests that it was originally combined with an *agapē* in an evening meal. The Gospels suggest that Christ's appearance to the disciples on the day of the resurrection was in the evening. Luke 24 : 29, 30 indicates that it was at the evening meal ('the day is far spent') that Christ revealed himself to the two at Emmaus and only after that to the disciples in Jerusalem. There is no suggestion at what time of the day the appearance a week later, mentioned in John 20 : 24, took place. The service at which the celebration of the sacrament in Acts 20 : 7 took place was certainly in the evening: the 'many lights' and the mention of 'midnight' confirm this.<sup>33</sup>

In the time of Pliny (c. AD 112) the celebration, it seems, is being changed to the morning (*Ep.* 96. *To Trajan*). It is wise, however, to remember that conditions under persecution may not represent the normal practice of the church. By Justin's time (AD 160) it is probably in the morning (Justin, *Apol.* 1.65-67; *PG* vi. 428).

Is there any evidence that before the change of the eucharist from

evening to morning the Christians met together on the Sunday morning?<sup>34</sup> The fact that Christ rose in the morning would suggest to them that they should meet early, though there is no direct evidence of this in the first century.<sup>35</sup> But it is significant that on the day of Pentecost, the disciples had met together in the morning, especially if this was a Sunday, as it may have been. St. Peter says that the time when he was speaking was the third hour, nine a.m. This was the Jewish 'hour of prayer' in the temple (Acts 3 : 1), and the hour of the first of the sabbath services in the synagogue (Acts 2 : 15). According to Pliny, in the passage already mentioned, even before the Lord's Supper was changed the Christians were meeting in the morning.

If we turn to the descriptions of Christian worship in 1 Corinthians, in chapter 11 there is a description of the celebration of the eucharist, which is not yet separated from the agape. The confusion and the disorder of this arrangement is condemned by St. Paul. The whole seems to be called the *deipnon kyriakon*, suggesting that in Corinth, as in Troas, it still took place in the evening (1 Cor. 11 : 20).

In 1 Cor. 14 : 23-40, there is a description of a gathering in which it would seem anyone may speak who is moved to do so. If he is speaking in 'tongues' there must be an interpreter; if he is speaking prophecy (and it is clear from vv. 1, 5, 31 that a number could prophesy, and that Paul would have liked to see the number increase), it must be one by one and not all together. It seems that many in the church at Corinth claimed the privilege of addressing the gathering, the *ekklesia*, in one way or another (vv. 26, 31).

It would seem, then, that we have here the descriptions of two gatherings, or two parts of a single gathering, of the church in Corinth. These, it could be inferred from 1 Cor. 16 : 2, took place on a Sunday, *kata mian sabbatou*. If we may take it for granted that the eucharist and the agape, accompanied by preaching (Acts 20 : 7, 9, 11), took place in the evening, is it not possible that the other gathering took place in the morning?<sup>36</sup> It perhaps corresponded to some extent to the events on the morning of the day of Pentecost, when there were 'tongues' and the prophetic words of St. Peter.<sup>37</sup>

From both descriptions in 1 Corinthians it would seem that there was no hurry in these gatherings. Both would have required a considerable time before they were completed. We shall go into this more fully later.

But before leaving the question there is another point which should be borne in mind. The Christian church was not building its services

*in vacuo*. It is certain that it adopted many of its customs from pre-Christian Jewish sources and especially from the synagogue.<sup>38</sup> There was a morning service in the synagogue and a shorter one in the afternoon, often with exposition. In these services there were regular readings of the Scriptures, the law and the prophets (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, p. 47). Together with these were set prayers and probably the use of Psalms. It seems most likely that the church from the earliest days would model its services on these, at least in part.<sup>39</sup> The deep interest of the early church in the Old Testament is shown throughout the New Testament and in the earliest patristic writings such as 1 Clement and Barnabas, especially in the concern with *testimonia*. We can be fairly sure, then, that services in which the Old Testament was read and expounded and in which all might take part in speaking would occupy a very considerable time.

Probably the apostolic letters would be read during one of the Sunday gatherings when the Christian body was present as a whole. This can be inferred from Col. 4 : 16; 1 Thess. 5 : 27; Rev. 1 : 3; and we know this to have been the practice at Corinth when Dionysius was bishop. To read the longer epistles such as Romans or 1 Corinthians would take at least an hour; the Apocalypse probably nearly two. It is doubtful if, to begin with, the Christians would be satisfied without hearing the whole. Probably also the Four Gospels would be read when they were available, as Justin says (*Apol.* 1.67).

#### THE PRACTICE IN THE SECOND CENTURY

##### 1. Pliny's letter (Bithynia)

If we move on from the New Testament period, when the eucharist seems to have been in the evening, to the second century, we have more material on which to go. Pliny's letter suggests that the Christians in his area met twice—before it was light and again to take food together. It is an account of Christian gatherings during a period of immediate danger and therefore it cannot be taken to be necessarily the ordinary practice of the church. The second gathering had been discontinued after Pliny's order and would refer to the *agapē*. The Christians would not have been willing to give up the eucharist. So it would seem probable that, unless by this time the eucharist was already being celebrated in the morning, it was changed to the morning in deference to Pliny's command; and that it was then accompanied by other acts of worship and probably by the recitation of the ten commandments.<sup>40</sup>

The later meeting, being a social occasion, would come under the law forbidding clubs (*betairiai*).<sup>41</sup>

## 2. *Justin Martyr (Rome, etc.)*

In Justin Martyr's *Apology* (PG vi. 428) there are two descriptions of the worship of Christians. The first, in chapter 65, is a celebration of the eucharist, apparently preceded by a Christian baptism. The baptismal rite itself has been mentioned in chapter 61. Here it is said that they are brought 'where there is water' and the service proceeds. In chapter 65 the baptism seems to precede the eucharist and to be followed immediately by it.<sup>42</sup> In chapter 67 the same celebration of the eucharist takes place, but in the place of the baptismal rite there is 'the reading of the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets as long as time permits; then, when the reader has ceased, the president verbally instructs and exhorts'.<sup>43</sup> In chapter 67 at the beginning, concluding the other account, there are the words, 'And we continually remind each other of these things, and the wealthy among us help the needy and we always keep together, and for all things wherewith we are supplied we bless the Maker of all through his Son Jesus Christ and through the Holy Ghost.'

There are several interesting points in this description of worship in Justin's time. Unfortunately we do not know of what church or district he is speaking, but it may very well be a general picture of things as they normally were in many parts, for Justin was well travelled. It would seem that the second account gives the normal Sunday morning practice. In the first account, having drawn attention earlier on in chapter 61 to baptism, he shows how the baptismal candidate goes on to partake immediately of the eucharist. This seems the natural meaning of the passage (PG vi. 428). The baptism may well not have been in the usual meeting place, for Justin says 'where there is water' (chapter 61). It is possible that this was at Easter,<sup>44</sup> but this is not certain. Then they proceed to the usual meeting place and the eucharist is celebrated.

In the ordinary services on Sundays readings from the 'memoirs of the apostles or from the prophets' take the place of the baptismal service. And these go on 'as long as time will allow' (*mechris enchōrei*). What does this phrase imply? It can hardly mean 'until work begins', for they go on with the eucharist after this. It seems unlikely that the eucharist would start at a fixed time. The absence of any means of telling the time, apart from the sun, would militate against a fixed hour

of the day, though it is surprising how accurately country people without clocks can tell the hour of the day.

If I may draw from my own experiences as a missionary in China in the country districts, I would suggest that the phrase means 'until all the Christians had arrived for the eucharist'. The important point was not at what time, but whether all were present, and quite frequently there were long periods of waiting, especially if the individual lived far away.<sup>45</sup> Justin mentions quite clearly that there were Christians who came, not only from the city, but from the country too (chapter 67). Pliny mentions the same fact of the spread of Christianity to the villages, and that was some fifty years earlier.<sup>46</sup>

This seems to be decisive against the Sunday services proper beginning before dawn except in wholly city congregations. Again, if one may draw from experience on the mission field, no villager would venture out of his village before dawn, and it is unlikely that, if the town were a walled one, as some were,<sup>47</sup> the gates would be open before dawn.

It would seem probable that the eucharist proper did not start until well after dawn. Pliny's statement about the Christians gathering before it was light (*ante lucem*) may well have been due to the circumstances of persecution prevailing at that time. There is corroboration of this view in a sentence of Tertullian in his work *De Fuga* (14); 'If you cannot meet in the day (because of persecution) you can meet in the night' (PL ii. 119).

Can we get any indication of how long the eucharist would last? Or at what time it would be likely to commence? It seems probable, if we may draw on missionary experience, that the country people would come from distances up to seven or eight miles, though more probably from three or four. If we allow then an hour or two after dawn before the service began, it would be somewhere about seven to eight a.m.<sup>48</sup> We may be quite sure that the service will not be hurried. If we can draw conclusions from some of the material which has come down from rather later times, it would seem that there must have been several readings and possibly several expositions,<sup>49</sup> which would have accorded with Jewish practice. The prayer of thanksgiving we know from Justin to have been a very long one (*eucharistian epi polu poieitai*). There would probably be singing (Justin, *Apol.* 1.65; Eusebius, *HE* 5.28.5).

Again, if we may take examples from the mission field, the Christians would not be satisfied with less than two hours. In the *Pilgrimage of*

*Aetheria* (McClure and Feltoe, p. 51) the services in Jerusalem in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, though obviously of much later date and greatly expanded and adorned, lasted from dawn until early noon. In the Orthodox Syrian Church of India the service begins, so I am told, at seven a.m. and continues until eleven a.m., which is getting near the midday meal and the siesta which follows it. And this in a church where the government of the country has never been Christian, just as in the early church.

### 3. *Tertullian (North Africa)*

Justin does not seem to mention any other gatherings of Christians on a Sunday. But we have seen that in earlier days, probably, the eucharist had been celebrated in the evening in conjunction with the *agapē*. Pliny has mentioned a second gathering of the Christians which evidently bore some resemblance to the forbidden 'clubs' (*betairiai*) and which would seem to have been the *agapē*. It is to Tertullian that we must turn, if we would get some account of this second gathering from the second or third century. It is true that he speaks of the practice in North Africa, but as Pliny has mentioned what seems to be the equivalent in Bithynia, we can perhaps take it for granted that it represents a general custom.

He says in the *Apology* (39),<sup>50</sup> 'About the modest supper room of the Christians alone a great ado is made. Our feast explains itself by its name. The Greeks call it love, *agapē*. Whatever it costs, our outlay in the name of piety is gain, since with the good things of the feast we benefit the needy . . . a peculiar respect is shown to the lowly. If the object of our feast is good, in the light of that consider its further regulations. As it is an act of religious service, it permits no violence or immodesty. The participants, before reclining, taste first of prayer to God. As much is eaten as satisfies the cravings of hunger, as much is drunk as befits the chaste. They say it is enough as those who remember that even during the night they have to worship God. They talk as those who know that the Lord is one of their auditors. After manual ablutions and the bringing in of lights, each is asked to stand forth and sing, as he can, a hymn to God, either one from the holy scriptures or one of his own composing, a proof of the measure of our drinking. As the feast commenced with prayer, so with prayer it is closed.'

Here the description of the meal, quite clearly the *agapē*, is of a substantial meal. The pagan critics are able to suggest its extravagance: 'You abuse also our humble feasts on the ground that they are ex-

travagant as well as infamously wicked.' Those who come eat 'till they are satisfied'. This is followed by a service in which, apparently, all who are present take part. But before the service there are manual ablutions and then the lighting of the lamps.

The sequence is interesting. In the sacred meal of the Jews at the beginning of the sabbath the sequence is lamplighting and then the meal,<sup>51</sup> which would imply that the meal was after sunset. Here the meal would be before sunset and the lighting of the lamps the preliminary to the religious gathering which followed. If then darkness fell about six p.m., this meal would probably have commenced soon after four p.m. For it was clearly considered a festive occasion. Minucius Felix, describing the charges of pagans, says in the *Octavius* (ch. 9), 'On a solemn day (*sollemni die*) they assemble at the feasts (*ad epulas*) with all their children, sisters, mothers, people of every sex and every age. There, after much feasting,<sup>52</sup> when the fellowship has grown warm . . . a dog that has been tied to a chandelier is provoked, by throwing a piece of offal beyond the length of a line by which he is bound, to rush and spring and thus the light being overturned and extinguished, in the shameless darkness the connections of abominable lust involve them in the uncertainty of fate. . . .' (*PL* iii. 262). While this is obviously a hostile description, there is again the conjunction of what must have been a substantial meal, the mention of lamps lit after dark, and the gathering of the whole Christian fellowship, apparently including the children. Their presence would perhaps suggest that the meal started fairly early, as the Tertullian passage also suggests, but was continued into the dark (*Apol.* 39; *PL* i. 468).

The same order (though not only on Sundays) seems to be in view in the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus, which would be about the same date.<sup>53</sup> Here, in chapter 26, the celebration of the *agapē* seems to be at the invitation of some Christian. There follows the description of what is to take place and in section 18 the lighting of the lamp, 'when the evening is come'. This is followed by prayer and singing in which, in section 28, the children join. Apparently, if widows are invited, they are to leave before dark (27.1).<sup>54</sup> All this suggests again that these celebrations would begin in the later afternoon, possibly about four p.m., and the meal itself be finished before dark.

### *A modern parallel*

There is an interesting sidelight on this in the present practice of at least a section of the Syrian Orthodox Church of India,<sup>55</sup> a church

which has always been in a minority and had to fight for its survival. It is likely that these practices are founded on very early patterns which have continued unchanged down the centuries. The Sunday starts on the Saturday evening with an evening service lasting one and a half hours. The eucharist begins about seven a.m. and continues until nearly noon. All church members, men, women, and children, attend. In the afternoon at about two p.m., after the midday meal and siesta, the church members gather in groups in different localities at the invitation of one member who invites the other members of the congregation in that locality, as families with the children, for a meal. In this instruction and singing go on, a more free and easy sort of gathering than on the church premises. It would seem that probably here is the survival of what had been practised in the early church.

If the conclusions drawn from what has been said are correct, then a good part of the Sunday in the early church was spent in the company of other Christians, in the *koinōnia*, the fellowship. This fits in well with the spirit of the early church, as we have already seen. And in fact not much time would be left for Christians to spend on their ordinary occupations (if indeed they ever did this).

#### 4. *Clement of Alexandria (Egypt)*

In confirmation of this, there is a passage in the *Paedagogus* of Clement of Alexandria (*Paed.* 3.11; *PG* viii. 657), which suggests that the Christians to whom he is speaking did not, after the morning celebration, go back to their ordinary jobs. He says, 'Woman and man (probably "wife and husband") are to go to church, decently attired, with natural step, embracing silence, possessing unfeigned love, pure in body, pure in heart, fit to pray to God. . . . But now I know not how people change their fashions and manners with the place. . . . So, laying aside the inspiration of the assembly, after their departure from it, they become like others with whom they associate . . . after having paid reverence to the discourse about God they leave within (the church) what they have heard. And outside they foolishly amuse themselves with impious playing and amatory quavering, occupied with flute-playing and dancing and intoxication and all kinds of trash.'<sup>56</sup>

This sounds very much like the description of the Jewish sabbath given by several of the Fathers (Chrysostom, *De Lazaro* 1; *PG* xlvi. 972), and which Augustine condemns by saying that it would have been better if they had spent the whole day in digging or in weaving than to spend it in this way (*Serm.* 9.3; *PL* xxxviii. 77). But what is

clear is that they were not occupied at their ordinary jobs, or he would not have been able to say what he does.

The same temptations seem to have been present much earlier, for in the so-called *Second Epistle of Clement*, perhaps the earliest example of a Christian sermon, the writer urges his hearers in section 17, 'Let us not think to give heed and believe now only while we are admonished by the presbyters, but likewise when we have departed home let us remember the commandments of the Lord and not suffer ourselves to be dragged off the other way by our worldly lusts, but coming hither more frequently, let us strive to go forward in the commandments of the Lord. . . .' The date usually given to this is c. AD 120-140.<sup>57</sup>

#### *Confirmation from Chrysostom (Antioch and Constantinople)*

This conception of concentrating on what has been heard in the Sunday celebration, mentioned in the so-called *Second Epistle of Clement* and in Clement of Alexandria, is well illustrated in a much later work, the *Commentary* of Chrysostom on Matthew. He says, '(the losing of the spiritual benefits) comes from the unbecoming use of our time. . . . For we ought not, as soon as we retire from the Communion, to plunge into affairs (*pragmata*) unsuitable to the Communion, but as soon as ever we get home to take our Bible into our hands and call our wife and children to join us in putting together what we have heard and then, not before, engage in the business of life. For if after the bath you would not choose to hurry into the market place, lest by the business in the market you should destroy the refreshment thence derived, much more ought we to act on this principle after the Communion. . . . When you retire from the Communion, you must account nothing more necessary, than that you should put together the things that have been said to you. Yes, for it were the utmost folly, while we give up five or six days to the business of life, not to bestow on spiritual things so much as one day or rather not so much as a small part of one day. . . . Therefore let us write it down as an unalterable law for ourselves, for our wives and for our children, to give up this one day of the week entire to hearing and to the recollection of the things which we have heard.'<sup>58</sup>

This passage from the sermons on Matthew's Gospel was given probably c. AD 390 at Antioch. It is, of course, well after the decree of Constantine, and therefore could not be used as an argument. But its spirit fits in so well with what has been already mentioned, and appeals not to the law or to the decree of Constantine, but to the value of the day

to the Christian, that we may take it as confirmatory evidence. It would seem to suggest that there existed undisciplined Christians who neither observed the emperor's decree nor showed any real desire for spiritual things—'not so much as a small part of one day'. Such people could exist at any period, but they incur reproof.

The passage is important also as showing that Chrysostom expected, not only the united worship of the church as a whole, but a family interest in the home, and it is noteworthy that he takes it for granted that many families will have a copy of the Scriptures, or part of them, in their homes.<sup>59</sup>

*Does the Didascalia (Syria) suggest a different practice?*

In this connection a passage in the *Didascalia* must again be examined which might seem to point the other way. In chapter 13 (the parallel passage to *Apostolic Constitutions* ii.63) it says, 'Let those who are young in the church be ministering diligently without sloth, in all things that are needful, with much reverence and modesty. Do you, the faithful, therefore, all of you, daily and hourly, whenever you are not in the church (at the gathering) devote yourselves to your work, so that in all the conduct of your life you may either be occupied in the things of the Lord or engaged upon your work, and may never be idle.'<sup>60</sup>

In the previous section<sup>61</sup> the writer has been dealing with Sunday worship. Then he goes on to warn about the danger of attending heathen celebrations, the theatre, idol festivals, etc. 'A believer must not even come near to a fair. . . .'<sup>62</sup> And then follows the passage already quoted. There does not seem to be any special reason why the words should be applied to Sunday, except that the whole section begins with a passage on the Sunday gathering. The warning seems to be occasioned by the thought that if the young man were not at his work he would be tempted to attend the theatre show or the heathen festival. But this explanation (that it does not refer directly to the Sunday) seems to be demanded by the word 'daily'. A passage a little earlier<sup>63</sup> in the *Didascalia* which is definitely speaking of the Sunday says, 'But if there be any one who takes occasion of worldly business to withdraw himself, let him know this, that the trades of the faithful are called works of superfluity; for their true work is religion. Pursue your trades therefore as works of superfluity, for your sustenance, but let your true work be religion. Have a care therefore that you never withdraw yourself from the assembly of the church.'

This seems to suggest, if we have rightly interpreted the meaning of

'a holy day', that the ordinary jobs were to be considered as secondary to the worship of the church, and as we have seen, this worship covered a large part of the day. As the parallel passage in the *Apostolic Constitutions* says, 'The worship of God is their great work. . . . Follow therefore your trades as by the by, for your maintenance, but make the worship of God your main business.'<sup>64</sup> In the *Apostolic Constitutions* the section beginning, 'Let the young men . . .' has as its reason for work that they may not be burdensome to the church, and the command about either being in church or at work is omitted.<sup>65</sup> We may, then, conclude that the *Didascalia* takes the same view as the other sources.

*Additional Sunday Practices: (a) Works of Charity*

But there is still another sidelight which we can get on Sunday practice in the early church. Besides the times of gathering together unitedly and of study at home, there seems from the earliest period to have been a regular practice of charity. In 1 Cor. 16 : 1, 2 there is the first express hint of this, that on the first day of the week there should be a laying aside of what was probably a monetary offering, as a gift to the poor saints in Jerusalem. It is true that no mention is made of the gifts being given at the services of worship, possibly because Paul is speaking of an exceptional offering, beyond the regular practice at the Sunday services, and therefore laid by at home; but what does seem clear is the association of charitable giving with the Sunday.<sup>66</sup> The fellowship (*koinōnia*) of the early church included not only the joining in worship, but the sharing of goods, and especially with those who were poor. Such passages as 2 Cor. 8 : 1-9 : 15 show what weight Paul laid on the practical exhibition of Christian charity. It is doubly interesting if this passage is the sequel of 1 Cor. 16 : 1, 2 (cf. 2 Cor. 9 : 4, 5). The 'doing good' (*eupoia*), a sacrifice (Heb. 13 : 16), seems to have included practical assistance.<sup>67</sup>

It would seem that the 'offering' (*prosphora, oblatio*) in the eucharist was connected with charitable giving. For the *agapē* was often provided for out of this, and also gifts were sent to the poor. In the *Apostolic Tradition* (3.26f.) charity is emphasised strongly. It seems from that source that wealthy Christians sometimes invited the widows to a meal, though this would not necessarily have been on the Sunday (Easton, op. cit., p. 50; BB 30, p. 74). In the same work there is the offering of the firstfruits in the Sunday gathering. This is probably part of the ordinary 'offering' at the eucharist (cp. 1.4-6), but it is

interesting to find that the idea of Sunday as in some way a continuation of the Old Testament feast of the Firstfruits is hinted at.<sup>68</sup> In the *Apostolic Tradition* again, the sick and aged are specially singled out as needing help from these sources (Easton, op. cit., p. 50; BB 30, p. 74). Tertullian (*Apol.* 39) includes in his description of what the Christian offerings were used for, 'to support and bury poor people, to supply the wants of boys and girls destitute of means and parents, and of old persons now confined to the house,<sup>69</sup> such as have suffered shipwreck, and if there happen to be any in the mines or banished to the islands, or shut up in prisons. . . .' It is true that this is a monthly collection, but it is probably in addition to the weekly 'offering' (*PL* i. 468ff.).

This agrees with a passage in Justin's *Apology* (I. 67), where he says, 'On the day called Sunday . . . they who are well-to-do and willing give what each one thinks fit, and what is collected is deposited with the president, who succours the orphans and widows and those who through sickness or any other cause are in want, and those in bonds and the strangers sojourning among us, and in a word takes care of all that have need' (*PG* vi. 429).

Sunday would seem to be the day when this was possible for ordinary Christians, and probably it is to such practices that Peter of Alexandria (c. AD 310) refers when he says that the Lord's Day must be a day of rest from labour, or works of charity and of reading the Scriptures.<sup>70</sup> Chrysostom considerably later says in his *Commentary* on 1 Cor. 16: 1, 2, 'Wherefore call to mind what ye attained to on this day . . . the beginning of our life took place on this day . . . But not in this regard only is the season (the first day of the week) convenient for a zealous benevolence, but also because it hath rest and immunity from toils; the soul when released from labour becoming readier and apter to show mercy. Moreover, the communicating on that day in the mysteries so tremendous and immortal instils great zealousness' (*In 1 Cor. Hom.* 43.1; *PG* lxi. 368). Ambrose in his *Commentary* on 1 Cor. 16 (*PL* xvii. 272) has the same thought: 'He orders the collection to be made on the Lord's Day, as he had arranged for all the churches that on that day, on which the Lord rose again, his people be joined together for the praise and glory of God.' The meaning, it would seem, is, that by the sharing in worldly possessions their hearts would be joined together.<sup>71</sup>

It is probable, then, that this special care for those in need is really an extension of the spirit of fellowship, the *koinonia*, which was the essential mark of the early church and its Sunday observance. Those

who were unable to be present at the gatherings would be visited in their homes. This is expressly mentioned of the eucharist. Justin (*Apology* 1.65) says, 'And to those who are absent a portion is sent by the deacons' (*PG* vi. 428). Eusebius of Caesarea<sup>72</sup> also mentions this.<sup>73</sup> The idea behind it probably is that among the whole body of Christians in that congregation none should be left out. Similarly, the thought behind the concern for sick, aged, and poor was that if 'one member suffered all the members suffered with it', and on the Sunday, the day of the fellowship, this needed to be shown in action.

#### *Additional Sunday Practices: (b) Baptisms*

As we have seen in Justin's *Apology* (1.65), baptisms took place on a Sunday morning and before the eucharist. This may only have been the practice at one period or in one place. Tertullian in his treatise *On Baptism* (chapter 19), suggests that the most suitable times for baptism are at the Passover and at Pentecost, but goes on to say, 'However, every day is the Lord's, every hour, every time is apt for baptism; if there is a difference in the solemnity (presumably the sacredness of the day), in the grace distinction there is none.' In the cases of Passover and Pentecost it would presumably have been on a Sunday. In the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus (2.21),<sup>74</sup> it is at cock-crow on a Sunday. In the *Clementine Recognitions* (10.72; *PG* i. 1454) possibly between AD 211 and 230, Peter is said 'to have proclaimed a fast to all the people and on the next Lord's Day he baptised him'. This would seem to be built on a current practice of baptism on a Sunday at that time. It would seem that the same practice lies behind Cyprian's words in *Ep.* 66. 2-4 (*PL* iii. 1017; Oxford ed. 64), where he takes the eighth day of Jewish circumcision to be fulfilled in the Christian Sunday, and possibly behind Origen's comment in reference to Psalm 118 (*PG* xii. 1588). While not a direct reference, Origen's language is baptismal.<sup>75</sup>

#### *Additional Sunday Practices: (c) Ordinations*

In the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus (Easton, op. cit., pp. 33-9; BB 2-8, pp. 5-27) the first nine sections of the first book deal with ordinations. These, in the case of a bishop and probably of the other orders, are to be on a Sunday. The ceremony it seems would be no very brief one. There is to be the naming and consent, presumably if not on the same Sunday then on a previous one. The consent would probably be something in the nature of a presentation of the candidate, followed by

discussion as to his suitability and possibly the interviewing of other candidates and an election. There is silent prayer and public prayer. All are to offer him the kiss of peace. There is the offertory and further prayer, which seems to be included in the eucharist. The ordination evidently preceded the eucharist, as baptism did in Justin Martyr's day.

*Additional Sunday Practices: (d) Discipline*

There is one other aspect of Christian practice on Sunday—the question of church discipline. With this would be included the whole question of social problems in the church. In Acts 6 the daily ministrations to the widows becomes an acute problem, and the apostles call together 'the whole multitude of the disciples'. Again in Acts 15: 12 it is clear that the whole body of the Christians has been gathered together. So too in 1 Cor. 6: 1 St. Paul takes it for granted that 'the saints' should together find a solution for quarrels between Christians. And in 1 Cor. 5: 4f., 'when (the Christians) are gathered together' (*synachthentōn hymōn*), they will take disciplinary action against the church member guilty of flagrant sin. None of these references mentions on what occasion the gatherings take place, but it seems natural to think that they would take place when the Christians were already together, especially in view of Matt. 18: 17, where *ekklēsia* would mean the normal Christian gathering.

After New Testament times,<sup>76</sup> the practice of discipline would have continued until it crystallised into penance and excommunication.<sup>77</sup> These would be decided by the whole church and would absorb no small time. The schisms which resulted from this problem, Novatianist and Donatist, highlight the strong feeling which it generated. For this, unhurried time would be required.

SUMMARY

If we try then to summarise what has been said of Christian practice on Sunday, we may conclude that the day was the special day for an expression of the solidarity of the Christian church, the body of Christ, the day on which the festal celebration brought Christians together for as long as possible. It would seem that, both for the eucharistic gathering in the morning (after the early years) and the more informal gathering later in the day (normally an *agapē*), Christians wished to be in each other's company, both in worship and social intercourse, for as long as possible. Both were considered to be

expressions of worship, as meals were with the Jews. The festal character of the day included the spirit of triumphant joy, the atmosphere of the Resurrection. It was the day of offering, both to God and to one another, in the form of the eucharist and of the *agapē*, and in help for the poor. It was also the day of concern for those members of the body who were in any way suffering or unable to join the family circle of the church. The absence of any one member was noticed and followed up. It was also the day for Christian initiation and ordination and for the exercise of discipline in the church. 'This is the day the Lord hath made, we will rejoice and be glad in it' (Ps. 118: 24) is a verse frequently applied to Sunday, from Clement of Alexandria onwards.<sup>78</sup>

CHAPTER 9 (pp. 84-103)

1. The sabbath light in Jewish homes had to be lit before dusk to welcome the sabbath (*JE*, art. 'Sabbath').
2. Moule (*Worship*) suggests that the origin of Sunday may have been a continuance of the sabbath day after six p.m. See Callewaert, 'Synaxe', pp. 34-40; see also Wordsworth, *Ministry*, p. 304.
3. This is almost universal in the warmer areas of the world.
4. Callewaert (op. cit., p. 40) assumes the author of Acts to have been writing as a Jew. But Bruce (*Acts*, p. 372) takes the opposite view. Foakes Jackson (*Acts*, p. 187) agrees with Callewaert's view. Williams (*Acts*) supports Bruce. On the question in general, see Beckwith, 'The Day'.
5. In Acts 2 on the day of Pentecost not only the apostles but apparently 120 followers in all were gathered together on the Sunday morning. *Pliny* (*Ep.* 96, *To Trajan*) states that even before he had taken any action, the Christians were meeting in the morning.
6. See Callewaert, 'Synaxe', p. 34, and Carrington, *Mark*, pp. 1-29. See also pp. 31-3 above.
7. Acts 2 : 17. See Dix, *Shape*, p. 336; Rordorf, pp. 112-16.
8. 2 Cor. 5 : 17. The addition of *ta panta* in the variant reading shows the thought of the early church.
9. Mark 2 : 22; Luke 5 : 36, 37. It will be noticed that in each of these cases the words precede a sabbath incident, the plucking of the ears of corn.
10. Heb. 9 : 26 and 10 : 6, 7 and the conception of the Lamb of God; and Heb. 5 : 5 and 8 : 1.
11. 1 Cor. 16 : 22. See Moule, *Worship*, pp. 70f, 75.
12. Dix, *Shape*, p. 325; Bengel, *Gnomon* 5, p. 201 (on Rev. 1 : 10); Feret, 'Sources', p. 101. On Pentecost, cp. note 16 on p. 162.
13. St. John's vision in the Apocalypse of the final judgment and triumph of Christ is seen on a Sunday. The eucharist was 'till he come'.
14. The fellowship (*koinōnia*) was the outstanding mark of the church in Acts 2 : 42f. The spirit behind it was brotherly love (*philadelphia*), Rom. 12 : 10; 1 Thes. 4 : 9; Heb. 13 : 1; 1 Pet. 1 : 22; 2 Pet. 1 : 7.
15. See Eph. 3 : 6. It is interesting to trace out the use of the compound *syn* in this epistle; cf. also *homothymadon*, Acts 2 : 46.
16. In his exhaustive treatment of this theme in *Common Life*, it is strange that Thornton does not seem to see the importance of Sunday.
17. 1 Cor. 10 : 16, 17; 11 : 18 and the conception of the body in 1 Cor. 12. See also 1 Cor. 14 : 26 and Heb. 10 : 24, 25.
18. For the purpose of this work it will not be necessary to go into the controversy over the origins of the Eucharist. It was not long before this was separated from the *agapē*. For the *agapē*, see Oesterley, *Background*, pp. 194-204, and Lietzmann, *Mass*, fasc. 3, pp. 161-71.

19. 1 Cor. 10 : 17, alternatively rendered: 'Because there is one loaf, we who are many are one body.'
20. Some writers have suggested that from the earliest times, at least in some areas, Christians never ceased to observe the sabbath and gather on it, as well as on Sunday. See Dugmore, *Influence*, p. 37.
21. See the section about 'works of charity' further on in the chapter, for this.
22. See, for example, *Didache* 10, where the prophets are permitted at the eucharist 'to offer thanksgiving as much as they desire'. Also Cullman, *Worship*, p. 16.
23. If the contents of the first Gospel reflect the thoughts of the early church, in Matt. 18 : 20 and 25 : 40, 45, the church felt Christ as present in its gatherings.
24. See Justin, *Apology* 1. 65-7 'We always keep together'; and the whole spirit of the passage (PG vi. 428ff.).
25. Justin in the same passage speaks of Christians 'from the country' (*agrow*); cf. Pliny's letter, which speaks of Christians in the villages.
26. Meyrick (*Sunday Observance*, ch. 7) has tried to suggest the way the day was spent. Unfortunately he has mixed up the evidence from the different periods and from non-monastic and monastic sources, but the main outline is probably correct. He mentions the midday siesta on p. 67. (Peter, in Acts 10 : 9, 10 falls asleep while waiting for the midday meal!)
27. Justin in the passages just cited speaks of a 'reader'. The production of many versions of the Bible as the church extended shows the deep interest in learning. It is the same in the mission field in modern times. See the note on 'lector' in ODCC.
28. Dugmore, op. cit., has pointed out the debt that the Christians would owe to synagogue customs. Earnest Jews made use of the sabbath to instruct their families.
29. See Dix, *Shape*, p. 344. He uses the words 'overwhelming exultation'.
30. The extreme punishment, excommunication, was for the good of the body and the individual, but the concern showed itself in the desire for his restoration, 2 Cor. 2 : 7; 2 Thess. 3 : 14f. This concern was shown also in the order of penitents, who were not excluded from worship.
31. For a Christian to get out of the atmosphere of the world around him, with so much that was licentious and degrading, and to find the quiet, pure atmosphere of fellow-Christians, would be another reason for him to spend as much time as possible with them.
32. Jungmann, *Roman Rite*, I, p. 17. The name *deipnon* would seem conclusive in this respect. Cf. Callewaert, 'Synaxe', p. 52; Lietzmann, *Mass*, pp. 210f.
33. Callewaert (ibid., p. 52) suggests that they would want to re-enact what went on in the upper room.
34. Dumaine ('Dimanche', p. 897) suggests that there would be a morning gathering at which they thought of Christ's resurrection, and an evening one in which they looked forward to his return.
35. The idea which is present in the Fathers, certainly from the time of Justin and probably much earlier, of the Sun of Righteousness arising, and the turning to the east, would be connected with the thought of the morning.
36. Jungmann (*Roman Mass*, p. 31) suggests that there was a morning gathering based on the synagogue service, and which became the introduction to the eucharist; cf. also his *Roman Rite* 2, pp. 17 and 20. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, takes it that 'the liturgy of the Holy Ghost' (1 Cor. 14) followed 'the liturgy of Christ'.
37. The accusation of misconduct was hurled against the Christians later on; see Minucius Felix, *Oct.* 9. vii (PL iii. 262). But this can hardly be due to the presence of women at late-night eucharists, since by then it would seem the eucharist had already been transferred to the morning. Jeremias (*Eucharistic Words*, p. 45) maintains that the evening meal commenced about four p.m.
38. See the *JE* art. 'Sabbath'; Rordorf, op. cit., p. 123, seems to belittle this.
39. Callewaert, op. cit., p. 47. The Jerusalem Christians would use the synagogue services at first and would probably take over the form of service. See also Dugmore, *Influence*, pp. 26f.
40. Pliny's reference to an oath suggests this, though Lietzmann interprets it of the baptismal vow (see Rordorf, op. cit., pp. 255-9).
41. This the Bithynian Christians were willing to give up.
42. Hippolytus, *Apost. Trad.* 2.21, mentions the baptism at cockcrow on a Sunday, likewise followed by the eucharist (Easton's ed., p. 45).
43. Greenslade ('Pastoral Care', p. 112) suggests that only the bishop was allowed to preach at the eucharist. In Justin it is 'the president'.
44. Blunt, *Justin's Apology*, p. xxxix; Tertullian, *De Baptismo* 19, allows any day (PL i. 1222).
45. In the district where I was in China there was a Christian family who regularly walked twenty-one *li* (nearly seven miles) every Sunday to the services.
46. See J. B. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, Part II, vol. 1, London, 1889, p. 53: *Neque civitates tantum sed vicus etiam atque agros . . . contagio pervagata est*. See Greenslade, 'Pastoral Care', pp. 102-18.
47. There are several references to city walls in both the OT and NT; in Acts 9 : 25 Paul is lowered from the walls. The new Jerusalem has walls and gates (Rev. 21 : 19).
48. This is the time when the worship begins in the Orthodox Syrian Church in India.
49. 'At daybreak everyone proceeds to the greater church . . . all the priests take their seats, as many as are willing preach and afterwards the bishop . . . the delivery of these sermons greatly delays the dismissal from the Church' (McClure and Feltoe, *Pilgrimage*, pp. 50f.)
50. PL i. 468. Compare this with the Orthodox Syrian Church practice on page 96 and in note 55.
51. *JE*, art. 'Sabbath'; see Lietzmann, op. cit., fasc. 3, p. 162, where he claims that the celebration of the *agapē* had ended before the day ended.
52. The words are *multas epulas*.
53. Easton, *Apostolic Tradition*, 3.26, p. 50; 26-29, BB, p. 66. See the text given in Dix (*Shape*, p. 85) from the Ethiopic version of the *Apostolic*

- Tradition.* He considers the date not much, if any, later than Hippolytus' time.
54. Easton, *Apost. Trad.* 3.27, p. 51 (BB 30, p. 75); cf. R. H. Connolly, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, p. 88; FXF 2.28, p. 108; Chrysostom, *De Eleem.* 3 (PG li. 264), seems to refer to the same thing.
  55. I received this information from the Rev. Toppil Cherian Mathai of Bombay. The practice is to work on Saturdays, but not on Sundays. In the service beginning at seven a.m. there are five OT lessons before the eucharist. Then in the eucharist there are two Epistles, the Gospel, and a sermon lasting an hour.
  56. Chrysostom warns them of the same thing much later, *Hom. Matt.* 5.1 (PG lvii. 55), and *Hom. 1 Cor.* 27.5 (PG lxi. 231); see also Eusebius of Alexandria, *Serm.* 16, No. 111, *De Die Dominico* (PG lxxxvi. 417).
  57. J. B. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, ed. J. R. Harmer, London, 1891, p. 51.
  58. *Hom. Matt.* 5.1 (PG lvii. 55). It would be possible to object that this was only a clerical attitude, a counsel of perfection, but it seems to fit into the pre-Nicene picture.
  59. In the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus 3.36, it is suggested that people may have a 'holy book' at home.
  60. Connolly, op. cit., p. 128 (FXF 2.63, p. 178). See also the previous discussion of the *Didascalia* on pp. 72f.
  61. Connolly, op. cit., p. 126f. (FXF 2.60, p. 172)
  62. Connolly, op. cit., p. 128 (FXF 2.63, p. 178)
  63. Connolly, op. cit., p. 127 (FXF 2.60, p. 173)
  64. FXF 2.61, p. 176-7
  65. Aetheria on a Sunday climbed Mount Sinai, receiving the eucharist five times! (McClure, op. cit., pp. 1-6).
  66. Most commentators take it in this way.
  67. When Christ claims in Mark 3 : 4 and parallel passages that it is right to 'do good' on the sabbath day, he seems to refer to acts of mercy.
  68. *Apost. Trad.* 3.28.13; B.S. Easton, op. cit., p. 50 (BB 31, p. 74); *Didascalia*, 9.25; Connolly, op. cit. p. 87 (FXF 2.26, p. 102); in fact, at all O.T. feasts there was an offering of some kind.
  69. Some take this of old slaves.
  70. The genuineness of this passage has been challenged.
  71. Compare Hippolytus, *Apost. Trad.* 3.28, esp. of the bishop visiting (Easton op. cit., p. 50).
  72. *HE* 6.44 (PG xx. 633) (Dionysius of Alexandria's ruling).
  73. The practice of prolonged reservation, so that the sacrament could be eaten at home or carried about, had exactly the opposite effect.
  74. Easton, op. cit. p. 45; (BB 21, pp. 44ff.)
  75. Orthodox Syrian baptisms in India are also mostly on a Sunday.
  76. Duchesne, *Early History*, pp. 376f.; also *ERE* 4, art. 'Discipline (Christian)', by D. S. Schaff.
  77. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.3; cf. Tertullian, *De Paen* and *De Pudic.*; Cyprian, *De Orat.* 18; *Epist.* 41; *Apost. Constit.* 2.16, 21-4, 37-9.
  78. Clement Alex., *Strom.* 6.16 (PG ix. 364); Cyprian, *De Dom. Or.* 35 (PL iv. 542); Athanasius, *Fest.* 11.15 (PG xxvi. 1412); Eusebius Caes., *In Pss.*

92(93) 5 (PG xxiii. 1173); Ambrose, *In Pss.* 43.6 (PL xiv. 1090); Ps.-Athanasius, *De Sab. et Circum.* 5 (PG xxviii. 133.40).