

From synagogue to church

Temple, synagogue, and domestic origins

The first Christians, like Jesus and his apostles, were Jews. Their tradition of worship was Jewish and continued to be so even after Jesus ascended to heaven. They attended the Temple and synagogues just as always and continued the traditions of Jewish worship even after they were expelled from the Temple and synagogues, toward the end of the first century. Christian worship did not replace Jewish worship but organically grew out of that tradition. That fact helped determine the architectural and artistic development of early and subsequent Christian churches and art.

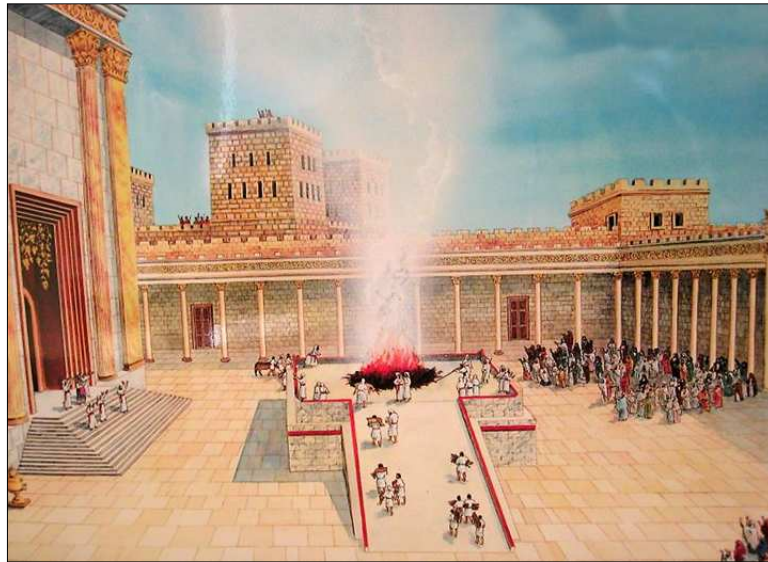
47 Reading from the Torah at the Western Wall in Jerusalem



Synagogue

Synagogues developed during the sixth century BC when the Jews were in exile from their homeland. The term *synagogue* means “a gathering place” and is where the Jews would meet to study and pray. In the first century AD, back in Palestine and wherever Jews lived, the Hebrew scriptures were read [47] and discussed in the synagogues on the Sabbath. (The Hebrew scriptures were apparently not regularly read-out in Temple services¹). As there were no prayer books, prayers were offered according to remembered oral formulas. Laymen — *rulers*— directed the services.

48 Altar of Sacrifice, 1st Century Jerusalem Temple



Temple

The Temple, of course, was different. There was only one Temple and it was in Jerusalem. Its primary function was as a place of sacrifice.[48] Temple worship was led by priests (those who offer sacrifice). Jesus had prayed,² taught,³ and even challenged the religious authorities in the Temple precincts⁴ when he was alive. His disciples continued to worship, to evangelize, and to celebrate the holy days there after he was gone.⁵

Word and Eucharist

What the apostles and early followers could not do at the Temple or in the synagogues was what Jesus had commanded them to do in remembrance of him: offer the sacrifice of the new covenant, the “breaking of the bread”.⁶ They had to celebrate that sacrificial meal somewhere else because it was centered on Jesus.

It is in the *Acts of the Apostles* and in the letters of St. Paul that we learn of the activities of the apostles in the synagogues and Temple following Jesus’ departure and it is also there that we learn where they gathered to celebrate the Lord’s Supper. Initially, the Eucharist was celebrated in the homes⁷ of the Christian-Jews at the Sabbath day evening meal having first attended Synagogue services in the morning. This was not much of a change from normal Jewish practice as the Sabbath was not only a day of study and prayer in the synagogue but also a day celebrated with at least one special meal in the home.

The Christian “breaking of the bread” took place at this Sabbath meal. It resembled the *chaburah*, a weekly fellowship meal.⁸ Jesus and his disciples had surely shared this meal when he was alive. The Last Supper was probably a Passover meal and so aspects of that celebration may have been included with the *chaburah*. The *chaburah* included a blessing with bread and wine and was a somewhat formal ritual of standard washings, prayers (*berakoth*),⁹ with some scripted parts. The sequence of Passover meal prayers corresponds closely to the order of the earliest Eucharistic prayers.¹⁰ A form of sacrifice relevant to the Christian breaking of the bread was the *todah* or “thank offering.” This is the origin of the term *Eucharist* (thanksgiving). It was an un-bloody sacrifice offered by a person who had been delivered from a dangerous situation. In thanksgiving, he expressed confidence in God’s almighty power and abundant mercy.¹¹ The meal began by recounting the circumstances of the dire situation that had threatened the person and it continued by describing the merciful action of God that had saved him. The offering consisted of wine and unleavened bread.

There are varying accounts of the ritual followed by the earliest followers of Jesus when they reenacted the “do this” that he commanded them to do in his memory. They all stem from the liturgical life of Israel as expressed in Jewish ritual meals.¹²

It is very unclear as to just when the transfer to Sunday took place or even why but the growing mutual need to draw a distinction between Christian Jews (“believers”) and Jews was probably the primary reason. Most of the converts to Christianity in the first through third centuries came from the ranks of “God-fearers”, Gentiles who believed in the God of the Jews. These God-fearers attended the Jewish synagogues and studied the Torah. They were ‘Jewish’ but had not been circumcised or otherwise initiated as Jews. Jews and Christians competed with each other in harvesting converts from this group. They all used the Synagogue on the Sabbath. The move to Sundays may have been an attempt on the part of Christians —with a push from the Jews— to make a distinction between

themselves and the Jews who were not followers of Jesus.

By the start of the second century, scripture reading and teaching were joined with the Eucharist into one service held Sunday mornings (the “Lord’s Day”). The actual meal, or *agape feast*, for disciplinary and logistical reasons was eventually separated from the Eucharist although it continued to be held, separately, well into the third century. The basic order of Christian worship, ‘Word’ and ‘Eucharist’, is evident from the very start of Christian worship and was a natural outgrowth of traditional Jewish worship in the Temple, in the synagogue, and in the home.

49 Detail from the Arch of Titus, AD 81, Rome

Roman soldiers parade the spoils from the Jerusalem Temple into Rome after destroying the Temple in AD 70. The Temple menorah appears as a beautifully crafted sacred work of art. If it had not been valuable both artistically and symbolically the Romans would not have hauled it all the way back to Rome.

Www.histoire-fr.com



Jewish Liturgical tradition

Relevant to our survey of Christian art is the *liturgical* nature of the worship practices of the Jews in Jesus’ day because early Christian worship was Jewish worship with a new understanding.

Liturgical, for our purposes, refers to the performance of a rite or ritual according to a traditional repertoire of actions, movements, gestures, phrases, and music. It also includes the use of aesthetically pleasing and symbolically significant clothing, furniture and utensils. A *liturgical* worship service appeals to several senses and usually follows a fairly formal order. Aesthetic qualities play an essential, but supportive role. Through emotional experience, liturgical worship embeds the meaning of worship in the memory of not only the individual participant but also in the collective memory of the community.¹³

“Lots of smells and bells” is a humorous phrase some lightheartedly use in referring to a liturgical worship service.

Temple

First century Jewish worship in the Temple, synagogue, and home, was liturgical. This is important to understand as it was out of this tradition that Christian worship developed. Christian worship was liturgical because Jewish worship was liturgical.¹⁴ Temple worship was the most liturgical of Jewish worship. The liturgical requirements were a matter of God’s revelation in the Torah and included such things as the internal décor of the Tabernacle and details concerning the priests’ vestments, the use of incense and the altar, as well as the rubrics surrounding daily and festival offerings.¹⁵ The primary function of the Temple was as a place of sacrifice but the ritual ceremonies enacted there were also meant to be a reflection of worship as it occurs in heaven.¹⁶ This heavenly worship is described in the Torah as awesome and even fearsome (Isaiah 6 and Daniel 7). Priestly vestments,[50] incense, ritual movements, sprinklings, marble and golden tables, mysterious spaces off limits to all but the high priests, a massive candelabra,[49] an enormous altar, professional choirs,¹⁷ brass horns, percussion and string instruments, and a beautiful



50 Temple High Priest with Levites

architectural setting provided such a rich liturgical environment that it must have been an intense mysterious experience. The Temple was, after all, holy ground and a place housing the presence of God — “the geographical location where heaven and earth met and overlapped.”¹⁸

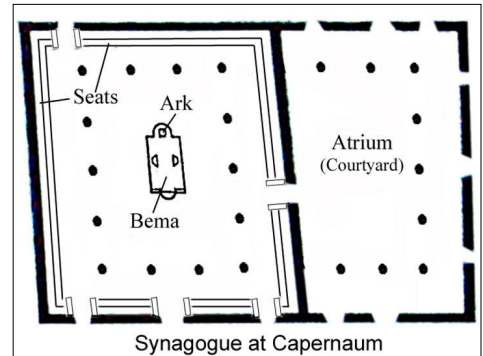
Synagogue

Synagogue worship adopted some of the Temple liturgical prayers and actions after the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple by the Romans in AD 70. But even before that, synagogue worship was formal and mod-

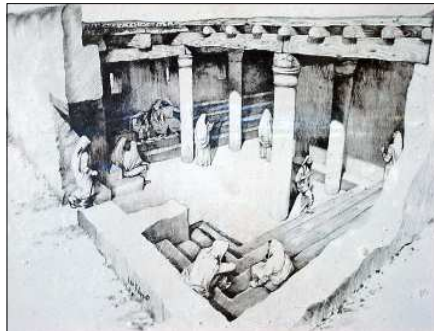
51 Illustration of the Synagogue, Capernaum, 1st century



52 Ground Plan, Synagogue at Capernaum.



53 (Left) Illustration of the interior of the synagogue at Massada.



54 (Right) Model of Synagogue at Sardis, 3rd or 4th century



The marble Torah table and the statues of the two lions at the west end of the interior hall of the Synagogue. Note the beautiful mosaic floor. The building was originally a basilica used for Roman pagan gatherings. It was sold to the Jews for use as a synagogue.

Model – Beth Hatefutsoth, Permanent Exhibit

Model – Beth Hatefutsoth, Permanent Exhibit
<www.bh.org.il/Communities/Synagogue/Sardis.asp>

55 Synagogue at Sardis, photograph of ruins.

The Torah Table and apse seen in [54] are in the lower right corner of this photograph. On the left side of the photograph you can see a central doorway flanked by two tabernacles in which the scrolls were stored. On the wall just to the right of the entrances can be seen a restored portion of the beautiful marble *facing* stone used to cover the rougher wall blocks. The floor consists of the original multi-colored mosaic patterns see [54].



<www.sitemaker.umich.edu/late-antiquity/sardis>

eled on the Temple. They were built facing east toward the Jerusalem Temple and each one had an *ark* in which the scrolls of the Torah were stored when not being read. A raised platform,[52] *dias*, or *bema* was often constructed near the center from which the scriptures were read, sermons delivered, and was the place from which the service was generally conducted.¹⁹ As we might guess, the aesthetic quality of liturgical objects and furnishings was dependent on the relative wealth of the community. The synagogue building reflected this fact. A first century synagogue in a rural town or village might be nothing more than a square one room meeting hall with a dirt floor and clay pots to hold the scrolls of the Torah. In contrast, a synagogue in an urban center may be housed in a large Roman basilica with rich mosaic floors, frescoed walls, a marble scroll table, and a beautifully carved wooden readers' desk.[54] In addition, the scrolls were probably beautifully decorated and venerated as a synagogue treasure.²⁰ The texts of the Torah scrolls were read in a rhythmic way that to our modern ears would sound more like music, perhaps resembling chant. The whole assembly probably chanted the *Shema* by heart at every morning service. The leader likely began by intoning the first line. A cantor/leader probably soloed other prayers and blessings such as the *Amidah* due to their improvisational nature and changing format. There was, however, not much congregational hymn singing in the synagogues.²¹

Domestic

Domestic Jewish worship was also liturgical. The custom of beginning the observance of Shabbat (Sabbath) by the lighting of two candles or lamps at sunset has an ancient origin initiated by the Pharisees in the late Second Temple period.²² The lamp stands or candelabra were as elaborate or as precious as the family budget would allow. The meal was —still is— preceded by the *Kiddush* (sanctification over wine) and made use of goblets and perhaps matching saucers²³ that also reflected the relative wealth of the family. It is a good chance that they were made of glass as that was a very common material used for cups and plates in the first century. No doubt *Kiddush cups* were prized gifts and family heirlooms sporting engravings with the recipient's name. A beautifully embroidered veil covered the two Sabbath loaves (*challah*) during the Kiddush.[56] As we can certainly imagine, the knife used for slicing the challah was also a family treasure. A script of prayers, blessings and consecrations were followed from memory. Some were no doubt brief chants.

56 Challah cover, 21st century

www.answers.com/topic/shabbat



57 Large Goblet, Limestone, 1st century, 28¾ inches high.

"This large goblet-shaped vessel was produced on a lathe, probably in Jerusalem, and is extremely well crafted. It is surprising that an ancient lathe was capable of supporting and working such a large and heavy stone block. The vessel may shed light on the shape of the "kallal," mentioned in the Talmudic sources as a vessel for holding the purification ashes of the red heifer."

www.loc.gov/exhibits/scrolls/art2.html



The importance of beauty in Jewish worship

Whether for the high worship in the Temple or the more modest rites in the home, beauty was much promoted by the rabbis of the late Temple and Christian-Jewish period. It was they who shaped the liturgical practices and influenced the production of ritual objects. In the *Festival of Tabernacles* the pursuit of beauty was even deemed part of a biblical commandment.²⁴ Interestingly, liturgical objects were highly revered, certainly because they were artistically precious but also because they were, in a sense, sacred themselves. When they became unusable they were placed in a special container and given a ritual burial.²⁵

Malleable limestone vessels[57] were commonly used in Jerusalem in the late Second Temple period.²⁶ They came in a variety of shapes and sizes and were expertly and beautifully fashioned. They have even been found in the ruins of the monastic community at Qumran. The reason for the use of stone can be found in Jewish ritual law which required clay pottery to be broken once it became ritually unclean whereas stone pottery need not be discarded as it always retained its ritual purity. Stone pottery cost considerably more to produce and yet served the same purposes as clay pottery. The production of stone vessels came to an end with the destruction of the Second Temple.

From home to synagogue to Temple, Jewish first century worship was liturgical and beautiful; rich in symbolic gestures, sounds, and forms. There can be no doubt that this tradition carried over into Christian worship once the church was on its own.

Christians on their own

During the second and third centuries the Christian church became more formally organized. This was partly the result of the passing of the apostles and those who knew Jesus and the realization that the expected imminent return of Jesus would have to be re-interpreted. The new faith needed to be safe-guarded from novelties and inventions proposed by false teachers. The roles of bishop, priest, and deacon further evolved and became more clearly defined. Priests, in addition to bishops, were leading the Eucharist by the beginning of the second century.²⁷ Deacons (some apparently, women) had been around for some time but by the second century, in addition to taking care of widows and doing some preaching, their duties now included guarding doors, heralding the bishop, leading prayers, reading-out scripture, preparing the altar, and delivering "the sacrament" to the sick.²⁸ Worship, too, became more standardized. The agape meal was separated from the Eucharist probably by the start of the

58 Detail of the *Didache*, AD 90-100

www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/didache

Chapter 9. The Eucharist. Now concerning the Eucharist, give thanks this way. First, concerning the cup: "We thank thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David Thy servant, which You madest known to us through Jesus Thy Servant; to Thee be the glory for ever.." And concerning the broken bread: "We thank Thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which You madest known to us through Jesus Thy Servant; to Thee be the glory for ever. Even as this broken bread was scattered over the hills, and was gathered together and became one, so let Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy kingdom; for Thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for ever.." But let no one eat or drink of your Eucharist, unless they have been baptized into the name of the Lord; for concerning this also the Lord has said, "Give not that which is holy to the dogs."

Chapter 10. Prayer after Communion. But after you are filled, give thanks this way:... We thank Thee, holy Father, for Thy holy name which You didst cause to tabernacle in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality, which You madest known to us through Jesus Thy Servant; to Thee be the glory for ever. Thou, Master almighty, didst create all things for Thy name's sake; You gavest food and drink to men for enjoyment, that they might give thanks to Thee; but to us You didst freely give spiritual food and drink and life eternal through Thy Servant. Before all things we thank Thee that You are mighty; to Thee be the glory for ever. Remember, Lord, Thy Church, to deliver it from all evil and to make it perfect in Thy love, and gather it from the four winds, sanctified for Thy kingdom which Thou have prepared for it; for Thine is the power and the glory for ever. Let grace come, and let this world pass away. Hosanna to the God (Son) of David! If any one is holy, let him come; if any one is not so, let him repent. Maranatha. Amen.



second century.²⁹ Instructions —referred to as “rules” or “canons”— for the proper celebration of the Eucharist appeared. Church order manuals[58] by the middle of the third century offered “copious” legislation concerning the liturgy. Some prayers had become fixed and universal³⁰ such as the “Holy, Holy, Holy...” as well as liturgical dialogues:

Priest: “Lift up your hearts!”
Assembly: “We lift them up to the Lord!”

While still able to improvise within traditional formulas, clergy, in general, were expected to give careful attention to the words they used for prayers.³¹

Theologically, we can say for sure that the Eucharist was understood from the very start to be a sacrificial meal³² of praise and thanksgiving; also, that it was a foretaste of the heavenly banquet that would be enjoyed at the end of time. The added layer of understanding, that the Eucharist was also a *propitiatory* sacrifice, would not appear until the fourth century.³³ The words of institution “This is my body... my blood” was not part of at least some of the earliest celebrations of the Eucharist. The words of institution are missing from a few of the accounts of the Eucharist in church canons³⁴ during the first three centuries. (At least one rite has come down to us —the anaphora of Saints Addai and Mari— without the words of institution.) It is difficult to tell if some of these were an intentional omission or an accurate description of the rite, as the church was reluctant to talk about, much less describe in detail, “the mystery.” This silence the church called the “discipline of the secret.”³⁵ Candidates and the newly baptized were forbidden to discuss the Eucharist with non-Christians. Nevertheless, the bread and wine, after being consecrated in the Eucharist, were believed to be the actual body and blood of Jesus.³⁶ The apostles and early followers never felt a need to explain how that could be. St. Cyril of Jerusalem (mid fourth century), was the first to actually attempt an explanation —at least a description. Many centuries later the doctrine of *transubstantiation* was promulgated which pretty much officially declared what Cyril had already stated: the substances of the bread and wine are changed into the flesh and blood, soul and divinity of Christ although, to our senses, they remain bread and wine. We can also say with certainty that, from the start, the church believed that Jesus himself presided at the Eucharist³⁷ and that it was Jesus who took the *oblation* (also Jesus) —the consecrated elements— to the throne of God in heaven, bringing them back for distribution to the followers so that they might have eternal life.³⁸

The New Testament only gradually evolved over these centuries

into the new scripture. The four Gospels were written by the end of the first century and universally accepted as authoritative but there were many other gospels claiming authority also circulating. It would be awhile before those other gospels were excluded from consideration for inclusion in the canon. Christian theology came under the influence of Greek philosophy during this period as Christian teachers tried to make the faith more approachable for the pagan gentiles.

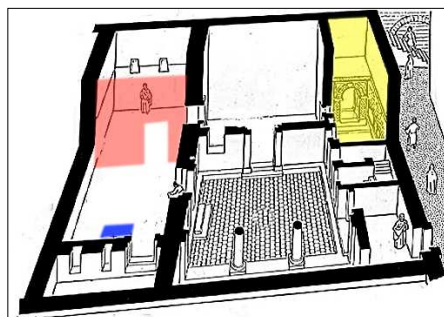
The emperor Nero had initiated the first violent persecutions of Christians in AD 64-68. It was limited to Rome and Sts. Peter and Paul are believed to have been martyred there at that time. Some estimate that out of the 249 years between Nero's reign and the edict of toleration in 311 Christians suffered persecution a total of 129 years. These were sporadic persecutions and usually not empire wide; the targets were often church property and clergy and not a general round-up of believers. The most severe and far ranging persecution was under the Emperors Diocletian and Galerius (303-311). The church saw a total of about 120 years of relative calm and peace during the *period of persecution* so, at times, the church was a fairly visible part of the local community.

By the start of the second century it is estimated that there were approximately 20,000 Christians in the Roman empire. By the year 300 the estimate is 7 million out of perhaps 50-60 million;³⁹ 15-20 percent of the population. The church grew quickly among poor urban gentiles —the God-fearers.

The gentile converts provided leadership roles (not necessarily always clergy) and also houses and other buildings for the faithful to meet and worship in. As a result they may have left a permanent Hellenizing influence on the church.

59 Illustrated elevation and cut-a-way showing the 'house church' at Dura-Europos

The yellow colored area in the illustration is the 'baptistery' where catechumens were initiated/baptized. A wall —red in the illustration— was removed from this home to create a larger space for celebrating the 'Eucharist.' A bishop or priest probably presided from a chair placed at one end of the room (blue).



“House-churches”

An archeological discovery in Dura-Europos, in modern day Syria, suggests that, at some point, houses were purchased and set aside for the sole purpose of worship.[59] The floor plan of the ‘house-church’ at Dura-Europos (AD 241) is that type of church as it has the layout of a typical Roman house, somewhat altered to conform it to community use. One room [59] was used as a baptistery with a font, and frescos on the walls depicting Christian themes. This was the room of images we looked at earlier in this chapter while discussing how images were “programmed” to communicate a larger theme.

Across the open courtyard from the baptistery, a wall was removed between two rooms in order to make a single large room that

could hold perhaps 35 to 40 people for the Eucharist. At the east end of that room is a raised platform upon which either stood an altar table, or, more likely, a seat for the person presiding, a bishop or priest.

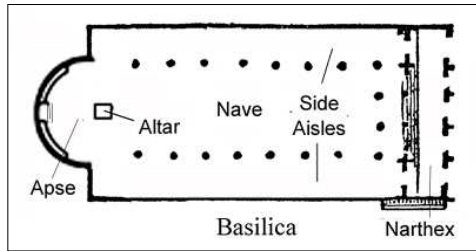
60 Roman Church Basilica, Syria, 4th century

Structures similar to this were probably constructed as the first Christian churches. None from the *Period of Persecution* have survived. This was the typical architectural form utilized by the Romans for housing large groups of people.



61 Typical Ground Plan of a Christian Church Basilica

The interior hall was divided into naves (aisles) by colonnades. The apse was a typical feature of Roman civic basilicas although it was usually located on one of the long sides. This is drawn to illustrate a church plan and so the apse is at the end opposite the entrance. The Roman basilica architectural form served in a most efficient way the needs of Christian worship.



This room had no frescos. Twenty-five house churches in Rome were recorded in the early fourth century as *tituli*,⁴⁰ churches named after the owner of the property. Subsequent churches were built over them but the churches still retain their *titulus* even today.

Most Roman style houses had the same general plan or concept as the house-church at Dura-Europos: an open-to-the-sky central courtyard—an *atrium*—surrounded by rooms on all sides, one or two levels high. A shallow pool was located in the center of the courtyard which collected the water that ran off the interior sloping roofs. Except for houses owned by merchants who had business counters opening onto the street, exterior walls were windowless, plain, and as high as the number of stories. Roman houses were noticeably inward looking, and non-descript on the exterior. Christians met in these kinds of houses, sometimes designated and altered for community use like the one in Dura-Europos. A permit or license was apparently necessary to use a building for religious purposes as the Dura-Europos house-church had a plaque on the outside wall indicating that it could be used for worship.

Following the use of house-churches, new buildings were actually

62 Hoard of silver drinking cups, Roman Britain, late 1st century AD, British Museum

These cannot be identified specifically as liturgical cups but they do offer us a glimpse at what would have been the kind of top quality vessel available to wealthier owners of Christian house churches. These were found in Hockwold cum Wilton, Norfolk (1962), on the edge of the empire. Glass vessels were more common at the time of the apostles, as well, of course, as clay pottery. But even in those more fragile materials the more skillfully fashioned and aesthetically pleasing would have been employed in worship.

www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pe_prb/h/hoard_of_silver_drinking_cups.aspx



constructed from scratch for use solely as churches[60-61]. These were barn-like designs, “simple, columned halls”⁴¹— commonly constructed by the Romans as meeting halls and government buildings or anytime a structure was needed to hold a large group of people. Many Christian churches were constructed even before the edict of toleration in 311. In Nikomedia, in the third century, non-Christians complained about the size of a recently built Christian church. None of these halls have survived except for the ruins of one dating from the year 311; the ruins are under the cathedral of Aquileia.⁴²

Sensual enrichment and liturgical formality in the worship of the early church seems fairly certain. Only the finest vessels and lamp stands made with the most precious materials the local community could afford were used for the liturgy. There is simply no evidence that the earliest Christians deliberately used simpler, humbler vessels if better and more beautiful ones were available. Just the contrary. A government confiscation inventory of the contents of a Christian house church in a small north African town listed a rather large treasury of precious vessels: two golden chalices, six silver dishes, a silver bowl, seven silver lamps, two torches, seven short bronze lamp stands and eleven bronze lamps on chains⁴³ The meeting hall was also outfitted with bronze lamps and candle holders. It is safe to say that similar valuable vessels and furnishings were common in churches of even larger cities. Tertullian (ca.160–ca.220), an early Christian writer, described chalices decorated with images of Christ. About the year 265 the bishop of Samosata had a rather impressive throne built for himself on the dais of a meeting hall into which he would enter greeted with much the same ceremony and acclaim accorded to Roman magistrates.⁴⁴ (It needs to be said, however, that many of the man’s brother bishops disapproved. Although, in fact, he had been handed a civil service job by the local magistrate and so his pretensions may have had some justification.)

The bishops, priests, and deacons apparently wore their “Sunday best” civilian street clothes for worship. These were their newer and cleaner clothes. There is no evidence of special vestments worn by

clergy. Roman men generally wore two garments, the *tunica* and the *toga*. The *tunica* was a short woolen under garment with short sleeves. By contrast, to wear a long tunic with long sleeves was considered effeminate and was generally avoided by society as a whole. The *toga virilis* was a plain, unadorned toga made in an off-white color. It was worn by any adult male. In general, the toga was specifically meant as a public display garment. Much later, as the church began to be influenced by Roman court dress, but also as it began to view itself in more Old Testament terms, clergy began vesting in liturgical clothing, as a priestly class. Already, toward the end of the first century Clement, Bishop of Rome, was making comparisons between the clergy and the priests of the Temple:

To the high priest (i.e. the bishop) his special liturgies have been appointed, and to the priests (i.e. presbyters) their special place is assigned, and on the Levites (i.e. the deacons) their special services are imposed; the layman is bound by the ordinances of the laity. Let each of you, brethren, make eucharist to God according to his own order, keeping a good conscience and not transgressing the appointed rule of his liturgy (1 Clem.40, 41).

Just before the ascendancy of Constantine and the edict of toleration that would legitimize Christianity, the church had attained a respectable strength in numbers. It was, however, undergoing theological tests within its ranks as it attempted to solidify its understanding of its founder, Jesus Christ, and itself as bearer of Christ to the world. The church was also suffering the eighth year of the cruelest persecutions yet inflicted by the empire. But the “period of persecution” that had lasted nearly three centuries was about to suddenly end and a new “period of recognition” was about to commence that would catapult the church into a position of universal spiritual and cultural power that would last a thousand years.

¹ Edward Foley, *From Age to Age: How Christians Have Celebrated the Eucharist*, (Chicago, Liturgy Training Publications, 1991) p16

² Luke 21:37 (see also John 5:14, Luke 2:41-48, Mark 12:41)

³ Mark 12:35

⁴ John 2:14-19

⁵ Acts 2:46 (see also Acts 4:1, 5:12, 5:17-21, 5:42)

⁶ Mike Aquilina, *The Mass of the Early Christians*, (Huntington, Indiana, Our Sunday Visitor Publishing Division, 2001) p24-25

⁷ Acts 2:46-47

⁸ Aquilina 28

⁹ Aquilina 28

¹⁰ Aquilina 34

- ¹¹ Aquilina 29
- ¹² Aquilina 32
- ¹³ Nicholas Cabasilas, *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, (Crestwood, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1977) p30
- ¹⁴ Liturgica.com, *Early Christian Liturgies*, January 17, 2009, 15:30 January 17, 2009<www.liturgica.com/html/litEChLit.jsp>
- ¹⁵ Liturgica.com, *Jewish Liturgies*, January 17, 2009, 15:30 January 17, 2009<www.liturgica.com/html/litEChLit.jsp>
- ¹⁶ Liturgica.com, <www.liturgica.com/html/litJLit.jsp>
- ¹⁷ Foley 10
- ¹⁸ N. T. Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God*, (Minneapolis, Fortress Press, 2003)
- ¹⁹ Liturgica.com, *Jewish Liturgies*, 15:36
- ²⁰ Foley 17
- ²¹ Foley 13
- ²² articlealley.com, *Jewish Customs on the Sabbath*, 2009, 13:27 January 31, 2009<www.articlealley.com/article_574489_24.html>
- ²³ Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Jewish Ceremonial Objects The Sabbath Meal*, 2008, 13:10 January 31, 2009<www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Facts%20About%20Israel/People/Jewish%20Ceremonial%20Objects>
- ²⁴ Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- ²⁵ Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- ²⁶ Library of Congress, *The Qumran Community: Artifacts from the Qumran Site*, February 27, 2002, 17:31 January 29, 2009<www.loc.gov/exhibits/scrolls/art2.html>
- ²⁷ Aquilina 27
- ²⁸ Aquilina 27
- ²⁹ Aquilina 35
- ³⁰ Aquilina 40
- ³¹ Aquilina 40
- ³² Aquilina 46
- ³³ Hugh Wybrew, *The Orthodox Liturgy, The Development of the Eucharistic Liturgy in the Byzantine Rite* (Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press 1996), p. 33
- ³⁴ Didache, Chapter 9 (see also the Anaphora of Addai and Mari)
- ³⁵ Aquilina 47
- ³⁶ Aquilina 38-9
- ³⁷ Wybrew 34
- ³⁸ Aquilina 92
- ³⁹ Foley 26
- ⁴⁰ James Snyder, *Medieval Art, Painting-Sculpture-Architecture, 4th-14th Century*, (New York, Harry N. Abrams, Inc. 1989) p. 25
- ⁴¹ Louise Gardner, *Art Through the Ages, Ninth Edition*, (Fort Worth, Harcourt Jovanovich College Publishers 1991) p. 258
- ⁴² Wybrew 21
- ⁴³ Wybrew 22
- ⁴⁴ Wybrew 22