

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. The Seventh Day Adventist claim that, until the time of Constantine, the church did not observe Sunday but only Saturday, is one which first sprang out of ignorance, and can only be maintained today in the face of the most cogent historical evidence to the contrary. See chs. 3, 6-13.
2. On the present state of the law about Sunday in the United Kingdom, and the direction any change in it should take, see Hodgkins, *Sunday* ch. 13. For some account of American law, see Jewett, *Lord's Day* pp. 136-51.
3. *Large Catechism* (1529).
4. *Institutes* (1536), bk. 2, ch. 8, sections 28-34.
5. *Decades* II (1549), sermon 4; in Parker Society reprint, vol. 1, pp. 253ff.
6. *De Regno Christi* (1557), lib. 1, cap. 11; lib. 2, cap. 10.
7. *Loci Communes* (1576), on fourth commandment.
8. See foot of p. vii.
9. Luther (loc. cit.) regarded one day in seven as a minimum.
10. *Ecclesiastical Polity*, bk. 5 (1597), ch. 70: 9.
11. *The Doctrine of the Sabbath* (1595).
12. *Über den Tag des Herrn* (1852).
13. *Church Dogmatics*, vol. 3, pt. 4 (1951), sect. 53.1; in ET, pp. 47-72.
14. *Answer to More* (1531), bk. 1, ch. 25; in Parker Society reprint, pp. 97f.
15. *The History of the Sabbath* (1635).
16. Bampton Lectures on *Sunday* (1860).
17. See pp. viii-ix.
18. They were partly influenced in this by a doubtful interpretation of Isa. 58: 13f. Even if 'pleasure', not 'business', is the right translation there, it may well refer to wilfulness rather than to recreation.

CHAPTER I (pp. 2-12)

1. In OT usage (as in NT usage) it is normally people that are 'blessed', and often people that are 'sanctified', not things. However, on those occasions when God 'blesses' a thing, he does good to it and good to men through it (Gen. 27: 27; Exod. 23: 25; Deut. 7: 13; 28: 5, 12; 33: 11, 13; Job 1: 10; Psalms 132: 15; Prov. 20: 21). Hence, for God to 'bless' the sabbath implies that he makes that day a blessing to men. One may compare the birthday that is 'cursed' and 'not blessed' in Jer. 20: 14 and Job 3: 1-9: it becomes a day of darkness and sorrow, instead of a day of light and joy. Again, when God 'sanctifies' a thing, he sets it apart as holy, to be treated as such by men (Exod. 29: 43f.; 1 Kgs. 9: 3, 7; 2 Chr. 7: 16, 20; 30: 8; 36: 14). He is not elsewhere said to 'sanctify' a *day*, but the meaning is doubtless the same as when he sanctifies any-

- thing else, namely, that he sets it apart to be observed as holy. Similarly, when it is men who 'sanctify' a day, or a year, they set it apart as holy, or (if already set apart by God) treat it as holy (Lev. 25 : 10; Neh. 13 : 22; Jer. 17 : 22, 24, 27; Ezek. 20 : 20; 44 : 24; Joel 1 : 14; 2 : 15).
2. In agreement with this, B. S. Childs affirms that Exod. 20 and Gen. 2 belong to a common tradition, and that both base the obligation of the sabbath on creation and date it from that era (*Exodus*, p. 416).
 3. *Sunday*, pp. 18-24. See also de Vaux, pp. 476ff. De Vaux is clear, however, that the sabbath is very ancient, possibly pre-Mosaic, being found in all strands of the Pentateuch and both forms of the Decalogue. The great antiquity of the sabbath is also recognised by Rowley (*Worship*, pp. 45f., 91f.) and Andreassen (*Sabbath*).
 4. It could be argued that the weeks of Genesis and the early chapters of Exodus are not necessarily in continuous sequence, and might simply be the approximate period of one of the phases of the moon. On this view, either of the above explanations of the absence of reference to sabbath-keeping would be as likely as the other. But there is no evidence that the biblical week changes its basis and character in the middle of the book of Exodus, and there are in fact examples in Genesis of two weeks in sequence (Gen. 8 : 10, 12; 29 : 27-30), even if not of a greater number. The sabbath so controls the biblical week that 'sabbath' is used as one of the names for the week (Lev. 23 : 15; 25 : 8).
 5. This is not to say that the sabbath rest did not also, like nightly rest, contribute to physical and mental refreshment. Exod. 23 : 12 and Deut. 5 : 14f. teach that human and even animal nature need not only sleep but a weekly change from toil. The anthropomorphic account of God's rest on the seventh day of creation in Exod. 31 : 16f. implies the same thing.
 6. This is not the place to attempt a full treatment of the topical and controversial issue of the subordination of the woman to the man. For a discussion of the subject, see Bruce and Duffield, *Why Not?*
 7. Gratuitous doubt was thrown on the genuineness of these fragments in the nineteenth century. For a thorough modern vindication of them, see Walter, *Thoraausleger*. The fragment here quoted comes in Eusebius, *Praep. Evan.* 13.12.
 8. In the biblical account, this is stated at the end of the sixth day (Gen. 1 : 31), but Philo, as we shall see, supposes it to have actually happened on the seventh day, and Aristobulus may have done the same.
 9. Rordorf, being conscious that Simeon is not attacking the sabbath, takes the bold and unusual step of denying any parallel with the saying of Jesus (op. cit., pp. 62f.). His grounds are that Simeon applies his saying not to the satisfying of hunger but to the saving of life, and that he did not live till the end of the second century AD. But the satisfying of hunger and the saving of life are in principle the same thing, and the saying probably did not originate with Simeon, since a parallel saying about the temple occurs in 2 Maccabees, a work written not later than the first century BC (see 2 Macc. 5 : 19).
 10. This interpretation of Mark 2 : 27 is early attested by the variant reading

'created', *ktizō*, for *ginomai*, and by the corresponding Syriac rendering *berā*'. The interpretation has been most recently defended by Jeremias, *Theology*, pp. 208f. The primeval origin and general application of the sabbath is not, in context, the main point which Christ is concerned to make, but in the light of the difference between Palestinian and Hellenistic teaching his choice of words is probably deliberate. The contrast between this saying on the sabbath and his saying in Mark 7 : 14-23 on distinctions of foods, when he 'made all foods clean', is striking, and appears to refute the idea that for Christ the sabbath was just one more ceremonial regulation, on a par with all others. There is a similar contrast with Mark 13 : 2, where he announces the approaching end of the temple (and its sacrifices).

11. This takes no account of Oscar Cullmann's interpretation of the verse, adopted by Jewett (*Lord's Day*, pp. 84-7), according to which God's sabbath follows his present 'work' and has not yet begun. Such an explanation cannot be judged completely impossible, but it ignores the OT and Jewish background of the saying, and the relation of the saying to first century Christian thought.

CHAPTER 2 (pp. 13-29)

1. See p. 5 above. The references to the week in the early part of Exodus, listed on p. 4 above, all belong to the time of Moses, and all come in actions and words of God, not of Israel.
2. The substance, but not the actual wording, of the last six commandments is reproduced and endorsed in the following places: the fifth commandment in Rom. 1 : 30; Col. 3 : 20; 1 Tim. 5 : 4; 2 Tim. 3 : 2; the sixth commandment in Mark 3 : 4; 7 : 22; John 8 : 44; Rom. 1 : 29; Jas. 4 : 2; 1 Pet. 4 : 15; 1 John 3 : 15; Rev. 9 : 21; 21 : 8; 22 : 15; the seventh commandment in Mark 7 : 22; 10 : 11f.; 1 Cor. 6 : 9; Heb. 13 : 4; 2 Pet. 2 : 14; the eighth commandment in Mark 7 : 22; 11 : 17; 1 Cor. 6 : 10; Eph. 4 : 28; 1 Pet. 4 : 15; Rev. 9 : 21; the ninth commandment in Matt. 15 : 19; 1 Cor. 15 : 15; 1 Tim. 3 : 11; 2 Tim. 3 : 3; Titus. 2 : 3; 1 Pet. 3 : 16; and the tenth commandment in Mark 7 : 22; Luke 12 : 15; Rom. 1 : 29; 1 Cor. 5 : 11; 6 : 10; Eph. 5 : 3, 5; Col. 3 : 5; 1 Tim. 3 : 3; 6 : 10; 2 Tim. 3 : 2; Heb. 13 : 5; 2 Pet. 2 : 3, 14.
3. Actually, the fourth commandment comes nearer to being quoted than the first three. The statement in the latter part of it that 'the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that is in them' (Exod. 20 : 11) is echoed in the NT four times (Acts 4 : 24; 14 : 15; Rev. 10 : 6; 14 : 7).
4. Not all the ungodly resented it. Some of them enjoyed religious festivals, as they might a secular holiday (Hos. 2 : 11). Presumably it depended on whether their primary aim was gain or amusement.
5. Psalms 74 clearly envisages only one sanctuary, that at Jerusalem, alongside the many synagogues: see vv. 2-7. The synagogues that it speaks of are consequently not high places used for sacrifice.
6. Thus, in the Palestinian Talmud, the Mosaic law against the mingling of diverse kinds is stated to be a creation ordinance: 'Was this forbidden

- to Adam also? Yes, replied Rabbi Jose in the name of Rabbi Hiyya, for, as is universally agreed, that law exists by reason of the precepts imposed upon the world at all eras' (*Jer. Kilaim* 1.7).
7. Cp. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, p. 343. For the papyri references, see LS. Another word of similar meaning used by Philo is *proseuktērion* (*De Vita Mosis* 2.216).
 8. For a discussion of these passages, see the commentaries of Plummer, Strack-Billerbeck, and Geldenhuys, ad loc.
 9. This is the case with Hirsch, in his article 'Sabbath', in *JE*.
 10. The inconsistency in the case of the cripple is aggravated by the fact that the Mishnah permits a man to be carried out on his couch on the sabbath (*Shabbath* 10.5). Yet when Jesus heals such a man, the man is forbidden to carry his couch back again! It should be mentioned here that one act of necessity apart from those that occur in the Old Testament had been clearly recognised by the Jews as permissible since the time of the Maccabees, namely, self-defence (1 Macc. 2:29-41; 9:43-47; Josephus, *Antiquities* 14.4.2f., or 14:63f., etc.). In the case of the satisfying of hunger, this can be regarded both as an act of necessity (when considered as the disciples' own act) and as an act of mercy (when considered as the act of Christ, who sanctioned it). In the latter respect, it is all of a piece with the saving of life, as the remainder of this paragraph shows, and as has already been remarked in note 9 on p. 146.
 11. Rordorf's claim that Christ singled out the sabbath as the day on which to do his healings, in order to show that it had no authority for him (op. cit., pp. 65f.), is quite arbitrary. The fact that six of the healings recorded are on the sabbath simply indicates that they were remembered because of their novel and controversial character and the teaching to which they led. Many healings on weekdays are also recorded, not to mention exorcisms and raisings of the dead.
 12. *Jubilees* and CD also recognise the need to make an exception in the case of the sabbath sacrifices (somewhat grudgingly in the case of the latter work), but this school of thought was less likely to be in the forefront of Christ's mind than Pharisaism, with which he was in continual contact.
 13. This ceremonialism was to a considerable extent based upon a rigorous interpretation of Exod. 16:29 and Jer. 17:21f., divorced from their contexts of gathering the manna and trade. The rabbis pressed these texts to mean that no one must for any purpose leave his city or carry anything out of his house. Christ may well have rejected these interpretations altogether, as he would certainly have rejected the evasion of the 'erub by which the rabbis attempted to mitigate the rigour of their own exegesis.
 14. A different conclusion might be drawn from the saying in Matt. 12:5f., where the temple takes precedence over the sabbath, yet even the temple is being fulfilled and replaced. The inference is that the same is true of the sabbath. But what is in view here is not, as in Mark 2:27, the sabbath in its primeval form, but the sabbath in its Mosaic form, with its appointed sacrifices and its rigid restrictions on work. It is the appointed sacrifices that take precedence over the rigid restrictions

- during the Mosaic period. This form of the sabbath was indeed being fulfilled and replaced through the ministry of Christ.
15. In these two passages, Paul is actually speaking only of love to one's neighbour, but in Rom. 8:4-9 he implicitly says the same about love to God, this being the opposite of 'enmity against God', and so equivalent to that 'walking after the Spirit' which 'fulfils the ordinance of the Law'. Love towards God is for Paul a summary of the Christian life (Rom. 8:28; 1 Cor. 2:9; 8:3; 2 Thess. 3:5).
 16. The narrative of Exod. 16 suggests that the sabbath fell seven days after the arrival of the Israelites in the wilderness of Sin, which took place on the fifteenth day of the second month. This means that the day of their arrival was likewise a sabbath, the Israelites having not perhaps as yet recommenced the actual observance of the sabbath after their Egyptian bondage, which they do later in the chapter. But if the fifteenth day of the second month was a sabbath, then the fifteenth day of the first month, on which they set out from Rameses (Exod. 12; Num. 33:3), was not. According to the Qumran calendar, based on the book of *Jubilees*, it was a Wednesday. According to rabbinical tradition, it was a Thursday or Friday (*Mekilta. Beshallab* 2, *Wayassa* 2). See also Frank, ch. 10.
 17. Though it is apparently a private duty that Paul is enjoining in 1 Cor. 16:2, his choice of this day for it must be significant. Paul, as a Jew, would presumably be referring to the first day of the Jewish week. There was also a pagan planetary week, beginning on Saturday, of which Rordorf gives a detailed account; but no evidence has been found to support the conjecture that its first day was a pay-day, and so might have been in Paul's mind here.
 18. The form of language in Acts 20:7 seems to imply that to meet for the breaking of bread on the first day of the week was normal practice for Paul and for the church of Troas. See p. 36f. below.
 19. See Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, p. 87, and Strack-Billerbeck there cited. As Jeremias shows, it is probable that Paul, like Luke and the other synoptists, believed that the Last Supper took place on the occasion of the Passover meal. However, the fulfilment of a type is not dependent upon exact synchronisation with its antitype. If in 1 Cor. 15:20, 23 Paul means that Christ by his resurrection fulfilled the type of the feast of Firstfruits, or the Sheaf, it cannot be the case that the resurrection also took place on the very day of the feast it fulfilled, at any rate according to the Pharisaic reckoning, which placed the Passover meal and Firstfruits on successive days. The Pharisaic reckoning was the reckoning followed in practice, according to Josephus (*Antiquities* 18.1.3f., or 18.15, 17), and it was of course the one in which Paul had been educated (Acts 22:3; 23:6; 26:5; Phil. 3:5). On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that, according to the rival Sadducean reckoning, the day on which Christ rose was Firstfruits (see note 12 on p. 152); and, in any case, the fact that the Last Supper certainly took place at about the season of the Passover meal, and the resurrection at about the season of Firstfruits, was enough to link each type with its antitype in the apostle's mind.

1. It should not be thought that Acts plays down the strictness of the Jewish Christians of Palestine. On the contrary, as Jacob Jervel has argued, convincingly in the main, Acts emphasises this (*Luke*, chs. 2, 5). So any qualifications that it makes should be given their full weight.
2. This may be the explanation of Matt. 24: 20—not that Christ envisaged his followers having scruples about the performance of acts of necessity on the sabbath, contrary to what we saw on p. 23, but that he envisaged unbelieving Jews putting obstacles in their way, by discouragement, threats, the barring of city gates, etc. How far the Jewish Christians actually shared the nationalistic ambitions of their fellow-countrymen is uncertain, but it must not be forgotten that they had been warned by this prophecy of Christ's that Jewish nationalism was heading for disaster.
3. As has often been observed, the decree of the Jerusalem council is based upon the so-called Noahic Laws, listed in the Tosephta (*Abodah Zarah* 8: 4) and in a *baraita* recorded in the Babylonian Talmud (*Sanhedrin* 56a), and discussed in the succeeding columns of the Talmud. These are laws believed to have been imposed upon all mankind, at least from the time of Noah, if not from the time of Adam, so that a heathen who transgressed them was held culpable by a Jewish court. A God-fearer or half-proselyte was naturally expected to observe them, though he was not expected to be circumcised or to observe the whole Law; and this seems to have been the model on which the Jerusalem council worked. A God-fearer, however, was expected to observe the sabbath as well as the Noahic Laws, in accordance with what is required of the resident alien in the fourth commandment (though a *baraita* in *Bab. Kerithoth* 9a somewhat reduces the stringency of the sabbath law in such a case). But of the sabbath the Jerusalem council's decree, significantly, says nothing.
4. For a refutation of the theory that Rev. 1: 10 refers not to Sunday but to Easter Day, see Rordorf, *op. cit.*, pp. 208-15. The patristic evidence of the late first century and the first half of the second, from which Rordorf argues, strongly supports the view that the Lord's Day was Sunday, that it was kept as the memorial of Christ's resurrection, and that it was the Church's regular day of corporate worship. See *Didache* 14; Ignatius, *Magnesians* 9; *Epistle of Barnabas* 15; *Gospel of Peter* 9, 12; Justin Martyr, *Apology* 1.67. Compared with this, the evidence for the existence of Easter is late; but, once the church had Sunday as a commemoration of the Resurrection, it is natural that in time the Sunday nearest to the Passover should have come to be specially emphasised.
5. See also note 17 on p. 149 above.
6. As noted above, there is no adjective 'dominical' in Aramaic, so 'Lord's Day' and 'Day of the Lord', 'Lord's Supper' and 'Supper of the Lord' would in Aramaic be indistinguishable, and would simply be two among the large group of similar phrases reflected in NT Greek: 'angel of the Lord', 'name of the Lord', 'way of the Lord', 'temple of the Lord', 'the Lord's death', 'the Lord's brother', etc.

7. Various theories of this kind are discussed by F. F. Bruce (*Hebrews*, pp. xxixff.). Though he thinks Italy a more likely destination for the letter than Egypt, he concludes that the recipients were a house-church belonging to a larger congregation, not a congregation in their own right.
8. See pp. 10, 20f. above. It is worth noting in this connection that one of the names for the synagogue current at the beginning of the Christian era was *sabbateion*, 'the building for sabbath-day worship': see the decree of Augustus quoted by Josephus in *Antiquities* 16.6.2, or 16.164. The fact that the Jews in some towns where Paul preached, but not others, pursued their discussions with him in their synagogue on weekdays, does not of course mean that they were accustomed to worship there on those days: see Acts 17: 10f. and possibly Acts 19: 8-10, but contrast Acts 13: 14, 42, 44; 17: 17; 18: 4. Perhaps the nearest thing to regular weekday worship in the synagogues is what the Mishnah records about *maamads*. The Mishnah states that, while the temple was still standing, each of the twenty-four courses of priests had a lay *maamad* corresponding to it, which provided an embryo congregation in temple and synagogue through the week when that course was officiating (*Taanith* 4.1-5). But, in the nature of the case, a member of a *maamad* was on duty only one week in twenty-four. It is clear from *Bikkurim* 3.2 that *maamads* did not meet in the synagogues of all towns, and from *Megillah* 3.4, 6 that, even in towns where they did meet, they were not meeting all the year round. *Bikkurim* 3.2 implies that the country was divided into twenty-four geographical areas, with one *maamad* to each, in which case they would not have met in any one place for more than two or three weeks in the year. Moreover, the services of the *maamads* took a form which shows that the later daily services were not yet in use; for they included readings from Scripture (*Taanith* 4.2f.) and were four in number—morning prayer, additional prayer, afternoon prayer, and the closing of the gates (*Taanith* 4.3-5). In both these ways they corresponded to the temple and synagogue services of sabbaths and holy days, not to the later daily services, which were only three, and did not include Scripture-readings. Apart from *maamads*, the Mishnah mentions services on Mondays and Thursdays (*Megillah* 3.6-4.1), but states that these were held only in some towns, not all (*Megillah* 1.3). See Elbogen, *Gottesdienst*, pp. 99f., 237, 239f.; Idelsohn, *Jewish Liturgy*, pp. xvii-xix, 24, 27f., 30f., 118f.
9. In the NT, the themes of creation and redemption are not explicitly linked with the Lord's Day, the memorial of Christ's resurrection, but only with his resurrection itself. Nevertheless, the context of the title 'the Lord's Day' in Rev. 1: 10 speaks not only of his resurrection and return (as was noted on p. 35) but also of the old and new creation. For the chapter repeatedly refers to God or Christ as 'him who is and who was and who is to come', 'the Alpha and the Omega', 'the First and the Last' (vv. 4, 8, 17), and the implication of this language, 'Behold, I make all things new', is drawn out in ch. 21, vv. 5f. In exactly the same way, the context in ch. 1 refers to the old and new redemption. For in vv. 5f. it

employs this remarkable language about Christ: 'him that loveth us and loosed us from our sins by his blood, and made us to be a *kingdom*, to be *priests* unto his God and Father'. The subject here is the new redemption through Calvary and the resultant privileges of the Church, but the language chosen to express it is evidently drawn from the Exodus, when God loosed the Israelites from the bondage of Egypt and thereupon constituted them 'a kingdom of priests' (Exod. 19: 5f.).

10. See James Orr, *The Sabbath Scripturally and Practically Considered*, as quoted by Swanton, RTR, p. 22.
11. Passover proper and Firstfruits (the Sheaf) are not individually described as holy convocations and days of rest, but they appear in the list of holy convocations in Lev. 23. Moreover, the Passover *meal* fell on the first day of Unleavened Bread, which *is* so described, and Firstfruits was one of the mid-festival days, on all of which a measure of rest was actually observed—as also on Passover proper (*M. Pesahim* 4; *M. Moed Katan*, *passim*).
12. *Megillath Taanith* is the oldest extant piece of rabbinical literature, and the only one compiled as early as the first century (though with additions made early in the second century). It is mentioned in the Mishnah (*Taanith* 2: 8). For text and discussion, see Zeitlin, 'Megillat Taanit'; Greenup, 'Megillath Taanith'. In relation to the Jewish feasts, Dr. Stott has pointed out to me that in Passion year, according to the Sadducean reckoning, many of them fell on Sundays, which were consequently days of rest. The Sadducees held that the day on which our Lord rose was Firstfruits, since it was the day after the weekly sabbath (*M. Hagigah* 2: 4; *M. Menaboth* 10: 3); and as this was a Sunday, Pentecost, seven weeks afterwards, was also a Sunday. If the Last Supper was the Passover meal, then the Sadducean Firstfruits fell on Nisan 17 and the Sadducean Pentecost on Siwan 7; but this being so, Trumpets and the first and last days of Tabernacles, Tishri 1, 15, and 22, were probably also Sundays, since the lunar month averages 29½ days, which would make these three dates come 112, 126, and 133 days later respectively, that is, exactly sixteen, eighteen, and nineteen weeks later. Assuming that the Lord's Day was observed from Passion year onwards, those who observed it (especially if of Sadducean background) may well have noticed how often it coincided with a holy rest-day that year.

CHAPTER 4 (pp. 43-7)

1. Since the reference of the Lord's Day to the old creation and the old redemption is only secondary, it is natural that the first day of the week was preferred to the seventh, as being more consonant with the primary reference of the festival, which is to the resurrection. Actually, there is no problem about commemorating the old creation on the first day, when it began, rather than on the seventh day, when it was all over; nothing is lost except the precise reference to God's *rest*, after the work of creation (though it is through Christ, raised on the first day, that Christians enter into God's rest). Even less is there any problem about

commemorating the Exodus on the first day, since the Exodus was at no time commemorated on the day when it occurred (see p. 27); consequently, the first day is as suitable for this purpose as the seventh. The commemoration of more than one event on the same day, as on the Mosaic sabbath, was freely practised in rabbinic Judaism at the beginning of the Christian era, and could readily have been implemented in the case of the Lord's Day. The Mishnah tells us that as many as five different calamities were commemorated on Ab 9, including both destructions of the temple, and the same number on Tammuz 17 (*Taanith* 4.6). All these were thought of as having taken place on the date in question, though one presumes that historically they did not all do so. A similar case is that of the feast of the Rededication of the Temple by Judas Maccabaeus on Chisleu 25. It appears from 2 Macc. 1: 18 that this served also as the commemoration of the original dedication of the second temple, which actually happened on Adar 3 (Ezra 6: 15f.), and may well have been commemorated on that date prior to the time of Judas Maccabaeus. A modern English parallel is Remembrance Day, which was originally the day when the first world war ended, but later, with a slight adjustment of date, was made the commemoration of the conclusions of both world wars.

2. The relevant words do not occur in all texts of the Mishnah, but the Jerusalem Talmud knows them either as Mishnah or as *baraita*—material of similar antiquity (*Jer. Taanith* 4.3f.). Further support for the words in question is found in the Mishnah's account of another similar custom of the *maamads* in *Taanith* 2.7. In the later rabbinical literature, fasting on Sunday is often permitted, and even in the Tosephta Sunday is regarded as a sad day, 'the day of the going out of the sabbath' (*Tos. Taanith* 4.9), but in the time of the *maamads*, before the destruction of the temple, this was evidently not so. The rule of not fasting on Fridays goes back to Judith 8: 6, and the extension of the rule to Sundays by the *maamads* was the next stage, after which the reaction began.

CHAPTER 5 (pp. 50-57)

1. Rordorf, *Sunday*, p. 234; and pp. 31-3 above.
2. Dumaine, 'Dimanche', p. 889. See also Callewaert, 'Synaxe', p. 35; Dix, *Shape*, p. 336; Duchesne *Christian Worship*, p. 47. Rordorf, *op. cit.*, p. 291.
3. Eusebius calls the Jerusalem bishops, 'they of the circumcision' (*HE* 4.5.3; *PG* xx. 308).
4. Ignatius, *Ad Mag.* 9.11 (*PG* v. 669): 'no longer observing sabbaths'.
5. Ignatius, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, etc.
6. Apost. Constit. 2: 36: 1, 2; 2: 59: 2f; 7: 23: 3; 8: 33: 2 (FXF, vol. 1, pp. 121, 171f., 408, 538). There is a list of passages where Sunday and Saturday services are mentioned. Rordorf (*op. cit.*, p. 140), believes it may have started in Tertullian's time, but Tertullian says in *De Idol.* 14 (*PL* ii. 682), 'We to whom sabbaths are strange.'
7. Bishai, 'Sabbath', pp. 25-31; Kraft, 'Notes', p. 18. Dugmore *Influence*,

- pp. 31ff., seems to take the same view. See too Dumaine, *op. cit.*, p. 937.
8. Socrates, *HE* 5.22 (PG lxvii. 625) and 6.8 (PG lxvii. 688), mentions Arian gatherings on Saturdays and Sundays in Constantinople.
 9. This observance tells against Rordorf's argument that after the edict the church leaders had to multiply services in order to fill the day and avoid laziness, when work on Sundays had ceased. It suggests rather that they wanted more time. They even forbade slaves working on the Saturdays (Apost. Constit. 8. 33).
 10. Irenaeus, *Haer* 4.13.2 (PG vii. 1007), holds this view strongly. It is developed even more fully in the idea of the Middle (Second) Legislation (*Deuterosis*) in the *Didascalia*. See R. H. Connolly's edition, ii, iii, pp. 12-14 and lvii ff., where the writer calls the Mosaic law 'the middle times' between the Patriarchs and Christians. Cf. Ephrem Syrus in *Three Rhythms* 2.40-41; Morris, *Select Works*, p. 391.
 11. Tertullian, *Adv. Jud.* 3 (PL ii. 605); Irenaeus, *Haer.* 4.16.1 (PG vii. 1013); Eusebius, *Comm. Pss.* 92 (PG xxiii. 1163); Aphrahat, *Serm.* 12; Ephrem Syr., *Rhythm on Faith* 1.41.
 12. Ephrem Syr., *Hymns on the Nativity*: 'Praise to him who made void the sabbath by fulfilling it'; *CSCO*, 186, *Hymns Nat.* 3.2.
 13. *CEP* 25, pp. 412ff. See also Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 39.3 (PG lvii. 436).
 14. Tertullian, *Adv. Jud.* 6 (PL ii. 608). The hymn by Abelard looks at the sabbath in this way.
 15. *Barnabas* 15. Apocalyptic literature had already paved the way for this; cf. *Enoch*.
 16. Justin, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Victorinus, and Lactantius all held millenarian views; so also rabbinic Judasim.
 17. There is a fine summary of the attitude of different Fathers to the sabbath in Daniélou, *Bible and Liturgy*, pp. 230ff. See also Dumaine, 'Dimanche', pp. 918-29.
 18. Ignatius, *Ad Mag.* 9.1. This, the usual explanation of the passage in Ignatius, has been challenged by the Seventh Day Adventists. See Guy, 'Lord's Day'.

CHAPTER 6 (pp. 58-61)

1. In the *Gospel of Peter* (probably *c.* AD 150) 'the first day' is already changed to 'the Lord's Day'.
2. As Rordorf suggested *op. cit.*, pp. 220ff.
3. This seems first to occur in Clement of Alexandria.
4. I have attempted to explore the significance of the word *kyriakē* in Rev. 1:10 in an article in *NTS* 12 (1965), pp. 70-75.
5. See, for instance, Clement Alex., *Strom.* 6.16 (PG ix. 364); Tertullian, *De Idol.* 14 (PL ii. 682) and *De Orat.* 23 (PL i. 1191); Victorinus, *De Fab. Mundi* (PL v. 306).
6. A *sollemnitas* was generally the observance of a day; see Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*.
7. It was a day of rejoicing, Hippolytus, *Comm. Daniel* 4.20 (*GCS*).
8. Eusebius, *HE* 3.27.5 (PG xx. 273); see also *HE* 5.24.11 (PG xx. 500ff.).

9. This throws light on the Seventh Day Adventist claim that Christians observed the sabbath from the earliest times.
10. Eusebius, *HE* 5.24 (PG xx. 499). See, for the whole controversy, Brightman, 'Quartodeciman Controversy'; Lohse, *Passafest*.
11. Melito, himself a Quartodeciman, wrote a treatise on the *Pascha*, recovered earlier this century and edited by C. Bonner (in Lake, *Studies* xii). As Melito also wrote a treatise on the Lord's Day, which has not survived, it looks as if this was his view.
12. Origen, *Contr. Cels.* 8.32 (*GCS*, p. 239); cf. Tertullian, *De jejum.* 14 (PL ii. 773).

CHAPTER 7 (pp. 62-74)

1. See BDB under *kdš* (pp. 871ff.). For Dionysius, cf. Eusebius, *HE* 4.23.
2. P. Schaff (*Church Manual*, p. 208) says the word is used pleonastically. Other translations give 'the Lord's Day' and 'the Lord's own day'. For a different explanation, see p. 32 above.
3. *Didascalia* 5.10.1 FFXF, p. 264; Connolly, *op. cit.*, p. 178.
4. It occurs in *Barnabas* 15. The date is uncertain, but in *ODCC* it is given as AD 70-100. Altaner gives before AD 140.
5. Dumaine, *op. cit.*, p. 880 (the idea of eternity following time).
6. Morfill and Charles, *Secrets*, p. 45 (2 *Enoch* 33.1); Fotheringham, 'Slavic Enoch', p. 252.
7. Hirsch, 'Sabbath and Sunday', claims that the word *euphrosynē*, which appears in *Barnabas* 15.9 and is used often by the Fathers, applied to Sunday, is the equivalent of the Hebrew words already given, and is the spirit of the sabbath.
8. See Justin, *Dial.* 12.3; 29.3; *Ep. Diognetus* 4.3, and many other passages, esp. in the *Didascalia*.
9. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.16.9; Strabo, *Geography* x. 467. See Dumaine ('Dimanche', p. 916), who points out that a cessation of manual work especially was the mark of all feasts, pagan, Judaic, and Christian. See also Socrates (*HE* v. 22) 'Inasmuch as all men have festivals, for they provide them with cessations from labour' (PG lxvii. 625).
10. Augustine, *Sermo*, 94 (A. Mai *Bibliotheca patr. nov.*, Tom. 1, 1852, pp. 183f.).
11. *Stromata* 6.16 (PG ix. 364b). The meaning of *archēgonos*, here translated 'primal', will be discussed in the next paragraph, but whether we take it as referring to Christ or to the first day of the week of creation, it is connected with rest in this passage.
12. See under *archēgonos* in *PGL*.
13. There is a variant reading, 'slipped out'.
14. The monastic system which grew up later seems to have been an attempt to carry this out. Both Clement and Origen feel that the true gnostic should be contemplating God all the time. Philo (*Decalogue* 20) suggests rather that a rhythm is needed; 'Let us then not neglect the great archetype of the two best lives, the practical and the contemplative' (the six days and the one).

15. A list of passages in the Fathers can be found in *DCA* 1, p. 724, art. 'Genuflexion'.
16. *Introd. to the Pss.* 4 (*PG* x. 713; *ANCL* 6, p. 500). Quasten (*Patrology* 2, p. 175) maintains that the preface is almost identical with Origen's.
17. Dugmore, *Influence*, p. 31. By contrast, Daniélou (*Bible and Liturgy*, p. 239) argues that it refers to the whole Christian life.
18. The Ebionites, and the Nazarenes, if they were different, observed both in early times, but this was considered strange.
19. It will be remembered that Origen made himself a eunuch.
20. This work was written originally in Greek, but has survived only in a Syriac translation. Parts of the Greek text appear in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, but only in an approximate form. Parts exist in a Latin translation.
21. *FXF* 2.63.1, p. 178; Connolly, op. cit., p. 128.
22. *FXF* 6.18.16, p. 362; Connolly, *ibid.*, p. 236.
23. *FXF* 2.59.2, p. 170; Connolly, *ibid.*, p. 124.
24. *FXF* 3.6.5, p. 192; Connolly, *ibid.*, p. 134; *Apost. Const.* 3.6.
25. *FXF* 5.10.1, p. 264; Connolly, *ibid.*, p. 178.
26. *Koptisch-Gnostische Schriften*, ed. C. Schmidt and W. C. Till, vol. 1 (*GCS* 43, *Die Pistis Sophia*, Berlin, 1962), pp. 134, 336, 341, 350f., 353, 360, 366f.

CHAPTER 8 (pp. 75-83)

1. I have made a précis of the whole passage and in important sentences I have translated word for word.
2. Cp. Theodoret, *Ps.* 117 (118) (*PG* lxxx. 1817).¹
3. The word comes in connection with the sabbath in Col. 2.17.
4. This was probably connected with the conception of the priesthood of all Christians, 1 Pet. 2:5; Rev. 1:6.
5. I suggest this as the most suitable meaning for *kyriōtera*. It would imply its connection with Christ.
6. Though Eusebius does not mention the eighth day in this passage, the thought is the same, as we have seen elsewhere, that both sabbath and the eighth day were foretastes of the final rest.
7. Is it possible that Eusebius was indebted to Melito of Sardis in any way, e.g., for the transference of the sabbath to Sunday? He knew of Melito's work, *On the Lord's Day (peri kyriakēs)*. The expressions 'the Word', 'the New Covenant' and 'changing' seem to be favourites of Melito's in his work on the *Pascha*.
8. The same process took place with regard to the Trinity, the Person of Christ and the Holy Spirit. The thoughts were there before, but not yet sorted out.
9. Clement Alex., *Strom.* 6.16 (*PG* ix. 364); Origen, *Hom. Num.* 23 (*PG* xii. 750f.); Theodoret's *Commentary* has the same thoughts about the sabbath, in *Psalms* 91 (*PG* lxxx. 1616); but Augustine, *Pss.* 92(91).2 (*PL* xxxvii. 1172) treats it in a purely spiritual way.
10. See also p. 10 above.

11. Eusebius says in 1169c, 'We are celebrating (*beortazontes*) holy and spiritual sabbaths'. We do not have the Greek of the Origen passage. He speaks of the festal day of the sabbath.

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 *gyn* in this epistle; cf. also *homoithymadon*, 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).

CHAPTER 10 (pp. 104-111)

1. Clement Alex., *Strom.* 6.16 (PG ix. 364); see also Origen, *Hom. Exod.* 7.5 (PG xii.345); and Ambrose, *Ennar. in Ps.* 43.6 (PL xiv. 1090)
2. PG xxviii. 133. Hoss considered that it was a genuine work of Athanasius; see Quasten, *Patrology* 3 (Sermons), p. 50.
3. Ps.-Athanasius, *De Semente* (PG xxviii. 144), has the striking phrase, 'The Sun has arisen; the lamp ceases', of the relationship of Sunday and the sabbath. Zahn (*Skizzen*) inclines to a fourth-century date for this work; Dumaine ('Dimanche', p. 929, note 1) suggests Antioch as its origin.
4. PG lxxxvi. 416. Bright (*DCB*) suggests the fourth or fifth century as the date of the sermon. Here first, so far as I can find, the word *phylassein* is used of Sunday. Its use with 'the holy day' suggests the fourth commandment. Rordorf (quoting H. Hüber) would place this work in the sixth century (op. cit., p. 168, note 2).
5. This connection of the Holy Spirit with Sunday we shall examine later on.
6. It was because of this verse that the early church was willing to accept the pagan title 'Day of the Sun'.
7. This is the better translation.
8. The conception of 'sons of light' was of course pre-Christian. In the Qumran texts the *War Scroll* is concerned with the opposition of the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness, and the same ideas occur in *Enoch* 61 : 12 and 108 : 11 (cf. Charles, *Enoch*, pp. 122, 271), where it speaks of a spirit of light. No doubt the ideas stem originally from the Psalms and Isaiah and possibly Zoroastrian influence.
9. PG x. 218. However, this treatise is usually assigned to the sixth century, only the part quoted by Eusebius being reckoned the genuine work of Anatolius.
10. PG xxiii. 1169a. The translation is mine.
11. See also the following passages: Eusebius of Caes., *Demonst. Evang.* 4.16 (PG xxii. 312); Ps.-Athanasius, *De Sabb. et Circum.* 5 (PG xxviii. 133); Juvenius, *Lib. Evang.* 4, line 728 (PL xix. 339); Basil, *Hexameron* 2.8 (PG xxix. 52); Gregory of Nyssa, *In Pss.* 5 (PG xliv. 504); Ambrose, *En Pss.* 43.6 (PL xiv. 1090); Augustine, *Pss.* 47 (PL xxxvi. 532); Jerome, *In die dom. Pasch.*; G. Morin, *Anecdota Maredsolana* 3.2, 1897 (418); Theodoret, *In Pss.* 117.24 (PG lxxxii. 584). The Mandaeen Prayer Book, while obviously very late, probably has early connections, and links Sunday and light; see Drower, *Prayer Book*, pp. 110, 116. It is also connected with the oblation.
12. The last verses of Mark 16 emphasise the same thing: 16 : 10, 11, 13, the 'telling' (*apēngeilen*) and the 'unbelief': see also 16 : 20 (*ekēryxan*).
13. We have already seen several passages which refer to the dullness of the hearers after the Word has been preached. See also Tertullian, *Apol.* 39

(PL i. 468); Acts of Peter 30 (M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, 1924, p. 330), which describes Peter preaching on the Lord's Day. I have collected more than thirty references in the first four centuries.

14. See Justin, *PG* vi. 429; Clement Alex., *PG* viii. 657; Chrysostom, *Com. Matt. Hom.* 5.1 (*PG* lvii. 55); *Adv. Iud.* 1 (*PG* xlvi. 844).
15. Heb. 6: 4 and 10: 32 may have this meaning. Moffatt (*ICC*) and Wickham (*Westminster Comm.*) both feel that it had not yet acquired this meaning. Spicq (*Hébreux*) and Montefiore (*Hebrews*, p. 108) seem to feel that this meaning lies behind the words. See also Maclean, *ERE*.
16. Augustine, *De Sermone in Monte* 1.4.12 (PL xxxiv. 1235); see Daniélou, *Bible and Liturgy*, pp. 37, 266. There is also the connection of eight person in the Flood story with baptism and the eighth day (cp. 1 Pet. 3: 20f.). That the Sadducean Pentecost in the year of Christ's passion, like the later Christian Pentecost, was a Sunday, see note 12 on p. 152.

CHAPTER 11 (pp. 112-116)

1. I have a list of at least fifty passages in the first four centuries.
2. Jungmann (*Early Liturgy*, p. 20), points out that 'the Lord' in this connection must mean Christ. St. Paul almost always when he uses it refers to Christ, except in OT quotations. See also Bousset, *Kurios Christos*, pp. 95-9.
3. If we accept the tradition in Mark 16: 14f., then the commission to preach would also have taken place, it would seem, on the second Sunday.
4. We have seen that some authors have suggested (improbably) that the day got its name from the meal.
5. I have gone into this in an article in *NTS* 12 (1965-6), p. 70, 'A note on the meaning of *kuriake* in Rev. 1.10.' White in the art. 'Lord's Day' in *HDB* points out that one so familiar with the OT as the author would certainly have used the common OT expression for 'the day of the Lord' if he had meant that.
6. This has been challenged by Seventh Day Adventist authors, but without success.
7. Another name for the day was *anastasimos*; see the references in *PGL*, in loc. and also Basil, *De Spirit. Sanct.* 27.66 (*PG* xxxii. 192).
8. The two are combined in 1 Cor. 11. It is clearly a religious service in Tertullian's *Apology* 39 (PL i. 468).
9. For *kyrios*, see Bousset, *Kurios Christos*. For *sōtēr*, LS give references to the Greek gods and the Roman emperors.
10. Adolph Saphir, the converted Jew, attempted to identify the two (*Divine Unity*, p. 59).
11. For instance, see the references in Heb. 1. It is interesting to note that in Luke's Gospel the author uses *kyrios* no less than seventeen times of Christ.
12. *PG* xxiii. 1169; Ps.-Athanasius, *De Semente* (*PG* xxviii. 144), has the same thought.

13. It is strange that the celebration of the Eucharist more than once on a Sunday and at different times of the day has tended to destroy this understanding. No doubt the taking of the elements in the early days to those not present was to emphasize the unity that 'all' were partaking. The celebrations which later grew up on other days than Sunday would tend to have the same splintering effect.

CHAPTER 12 (pp. 117-124)

1. Bultmann (*Theology*, 1, p. 128) suggests that the name may have arisen merely in contrast with Jewish custom. Rordorf (p. 271) suggests a baptismal origin.
2. Justin Martyr, *Fragment* 16 in Anastasius (*PG* vi. 1597c); *Barnabas* 15 (*PG* ii. 769c); Clement Alex., *Strom.* 6.16 (*PG* ix. 364b). *Barnabas* says, 'the sabbath . . . in the which, when I have set all things at rest, I will make the beginning the eighth day'.
3. Jungmann (*Early Liturgy*, p. 22) points out that the Christian did not like to think of the seventh day as the climax of the week; cp. Gregory of Nyssa, *Comm. Pss.* 2.5 (*PG* xlv. 504-505).
4. In non-millenarian circles there were seven ages followed by the world to come. In millenarian circles there were six ages, then the millennium on earth, i.e., the seventh day, then the eighth, the final state.
5. See the references under ch. 7, n. 26.
6. Hippolytus, *Fragments on Pss.* 4 (*PG* x. 713); compare Clement Alex., *Strom.* 4.25 (*PG* viii. 1368b); Origen, *Hom. Canticles* 1.1 (*PG* xiii. 37).
7. Luke 22: 18; Matt. 26: 29; and the parables of the Great Feast and the Marriage Supper. Cf. Rev. 21: 2.
8. Justin, *Dial.* 41 (*PG* vi. 564); see also Methodius, *Sympos.* 7.6 (*PG* xviii. 133). Ps.-Athanasius has the complete connection of the sabbath and circumcision worked out in the idea of the new creation: *De Sab. et Circum.* (*PG* xxviii. 133).
9. Justin, *Dial.* 113 (*PG* vi. 736); Origen, *Comm. Johan.* 6.26 (*PG* xiv. 277); Augustine, *Serm.* 169.2, 3 and *Serm.* 231.2 (PL xxxviii. 916 and 1105).
10. Origen, *Pss.* 118.2 (*PG* xii. 1588); Philastrius of Brescia (*De Haer.* 141) speaks of the eighth day as the perfection of virtues. (PL xii. 1274).
11. Cyprian, *Ep.* 58 (Oxford 64) 2-4 (PL iii. 1015). See also Didymus the Blind (AD 313-398), *Exp. Pss.* 6 (*PG* xxxix. 1173).
12. Probably in the writer's mind is the conviction that it is the coming and work of Christ which have brought both to an end. As they were signs of the first covenant, the new covenant required new signs for the spiritual truths behind them, namely Baptism and Sunday.

CHAPTER 13 (pp. 125-139)

1. 1 *Clement* 2.3 The references seem definitely to be to the Ten Commandments and not to the Jewish law in general.
2. But it is not mentioned in the *Shepherd* of Hermas.

3. *Totius diei* surely must be rendered 'the whole day' or 'a whole day', especially in view of the reference to Rom. 8 : 36.
4. In ch. 7 we have discussed these passages from the point of view of Sunday rest, but here we are dealing with them in regard to the authority and interpretation of the Decalogue.
5. The thirteenth sermon, *De Sabbato*, can be found in *CEP* 25, under the name of Jacob of Nisibis; see Rordorf, op. cit., p. 84.
6. Ephrem Syrus, *CSCO* 145; St. Ephrem. *Commentaire de l'évangile concordant*, trans. Louis Leloir, Louvain, 1954, p. 130.
7. In his *Hymns and Sermons* (ed. J. Lamy, Malines, 1882, p. 4, col. 542) Ephrem says that the sabbath has lost the blessings of the first-born, which have been given to the Lord's Day.
8. *Ainigmatōdos*; *ainigma* was originally a riddle; then something seen only dimly; cf. 1 Cor. 13 : 12, 'in a mirror dimly'. It is used also in the LXX, Num. 12 : 8—Moses was to see God face to face, not 'dimly'. The sabbath, then, would give a picture only dimly.
9. If it is taken to mean 'that one day', referring to the sabbath, it is strange that Chrysostom uses 'us', i.e. Christians.
10. In Chrysostom, as in all fourth century writers, the tendency towards monasticism has to be carefully watched, as this will affect the attitude to Sunday; but in the passage quoted this does not come in. When it does, the ideal of all time given to God takes the form of the monastic life.
11. Augustine abandoned his earlier millenarian views later in life; see Daniélou, 'Typologie', p. 16, and *Bible and Liturgy*, pp. 282-6.
12. For this idea compare Justin M., *Fragment 16* (PG vi. 1597).
13. See the passage in Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 4.12 (PL ii. 386ff.), where he says, 'He hath yet put his own sabbaths in a different position (Isa. 58 : 13; 56 : 2). Thus Christ did not at all rescind the sabbath. He kept the law thereof . . . imparting to the sabbath day, which from the beginning had been consecrated by the benediction of the Father, an additional sanctity by his own action.' He speaks of the sabbath as, to do good, to save life—not to destroy it, and of the gentleness, the mercy, suitable to it. Cp. Hippolytus, *On the Pss.*, *Fragment 4* (PG x. 713); Peter of Alexandria, 'Coptic Fragment', in Gebhardt and Harnack, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Neue Folge, 1899-1901, v. 4.4; Eusebius Caes., *In Pss.* 91 (92) (PG xxiii. 1169); Chrysostom, *In Gen. I*, Hom. 10.7 (PG liii. 89); *Comm. Matt.* 39.3 (PG lvii. 436); Ps.-Athanasius, *De Sab. et Circum.* 2 (PG xxviii. 133).