CHAPTER ONE

Christian Initiation

1. Historical Overview

Christian initiation—or the sacrament of baptism, as it is more commonly designated, or the mystery of illumination, as it is called in the patristic literature—is the series of rites through which a person is incorporated into the Church, according to the commandment of Christ to his apostles: "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost" (Mt 28.19). Through baptism we become members of the Church, which is the Body of Christ. The different rites of Christian initiation were never separated in the East as they came to be in the West, where, starting as early as the third century, and mostly for pastoral reasons, a separate rite of "confirmation" appeared, conferred by the bishop, often years after the baptism conferred by the parish priest. This separation led the Latin West to the concept of three different sacraments baptism, confirmation, and the Eucharist—that were integrated into the official list of seven sacraments elaborated in the twelfth century. This list of seven sacraments was eventually adopted in the Greek East between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century, although the rites of baptism and chrismation were never disunited in the Byzantine practice, and they also remained connected to the celebration of the Eucharist, which is the mystery of the gathering or assembly (synaxis) and the manifestation of the Church as the Body of Christ.

Since Christian initiation is incorporation into the Church as the Body of Christ, it implies serious preparation and examination. This is why in the early Church, the bishop, as the head of the local community, was the person who conferred baptism. Those being baptized were mostly adults. This explains why the contemporary rites of Christian initiation in the Orthodox Church continue to follow the pattern of adult baptism, even though they are commonly celebrated today for infants. A person who asked to be baptized (that is, to be integrated into the Christian community) of his own will, also had to be recommended by a member of the Church. This is why a sponsor (who later became what we call today the godparent) was required. The sponsor had to witness to the moral life of the candidate. If the candidate did not fulfill the moral requirements of Christian life, his baptism was postponed.¹ If his moral life was fitting, then his name was inscribed on the list of those to be baptized.

Baptism was always preceded by a period of catechesis, during which the candidate was instructed by the bishop in the fundamental elements of the Christian faith. He was always accompanied by his sponsor. This period could sometimes last for several years, but it was a period of at least eight weeks prior to baptism; it consisted of lectures on the major passages from Holy Scripture about the mystery

of salvation, and the explanation of the Symbol of Faith. A good example of such a catechesis is found in the famous *Catechical Homilies* of Saint Cyril of Jerusalem. Our liturgical texts even today make a distinction between "catechumens," that is, persons receiving instruction in preparation for their baptism, and "those who are preparing for holy illumination," that is, the catechumens entering their final stage of preparation, who are to be baptized in the following weeks. Throughout this period, priests would recite prayers of exorcism over the candidate.² Baptism was then followed by a one-week period of mystagogy, an explanation of the liturgical rites of Christian initiation. The *Mystagogical Homilies* of Saint Cyril of Jerusalem provide a remarkable example of these.³

It is important to emphasize that such an important and serious preparation was organized over time. In the early Church, baptism was celebrated in connection with Pascha, because baptism according to St Paul signifies our death and our resurrection with Christ (Rom 6.3-4). It occurred during the paschal vigil, on the eve of Pascha, which corresponds to our vesperal Liturgy of Saint Basil the Great, celebrated on Great and Holy Saturday. Baptism took place in the baptistery during the long series of Old Testament readings prescribed at Vespers; these were read for the faithful, who were waiting in the nave of the Church for the entrance of the bishop with the newly baptized Christians.4 For this reason, the period of catechesis that immediately preceded baptism corresponded to the period of Great Lent. The coincidence of this period of preparation for baptism with a period of fasting followed the recommendation of the early Church that baptism be preceded by fasting. 5 One must note that in the early Church, there were no individual baptisms. Catechumens were instructed together as a group, and then they were baptized together on the eve of Pascha. Eventually, when the number of catechumens became too large, the Church introduced other days in the liturgical year for baptism: Lazarus Saturday, Pentecost, Theophany, Nativity. This explains why, at the Divine Liturgy on these feast days we still sing the Pauline verse: As many as have been baptized in Christ, have put on Christ (Gal 3.27). The week of post-baptismal mystagogy coincided with Bright Week, during which the newly baptized attended Divine Liturgy daily as they received their final instruction.

Things changed significantly when the Roman Empire became mostly Christian, and adult baptism consequently became rare. Indeed, the tendency was not to wait for the children of Christians to grow to adulthood before baptizing them. Thus baptism gradually took place at an earlier and earlier age, until infant baptism became widespread. This new situation led to new rites. Since children were born to Christian families who were attending church services, they needed to receive a status between their birth and the moment of their baptism. One has to remember that at one point, the norm in Byzantium was to baptize children not as infants, but more or less at the age of reason, so that they would be conscious of their initiation into the Church and would be able to follow a pre-baptismal catechesis that was shorter than the instruction for adults, but that still lasted for a month. This is the reason why the Byzantine Church created new rites connected to the birth of the child: the

naming of the child on the eighth day after birth and the entrance of the child into the church on the fortieth day, in imitation of events in the life of Christ (Lk 2.21–38).8 This gave an ecclesiastical status to the child who began his preparation for his future baptism at this point. For this reason, Miguel Arranz speaks of a "first cate-chumenate." Such a practice seemed to last during almost the whole of the first millennium, since at the very end of that time, people were still discussing whether it was possible to baptize infants who were not able to renounce Satan and confess the faith for themselves. Later, when infant baptism was widespread, Saint Symeon of Thessalonica discussed the question of free will and catechesis in the case of infant baptism, and he explained that the godparent ought to be a practicing Christian capable of raising the child in the Orthodox faith. Thus when infant baptism became normative, pre-baptismal instruction was replaced by post-baptismal instruction that is commonly known as catechism classes or, more recently in some places, Sunday school or church school.

Thus, as we can see, Christian initiation is constituted of several rites, which were initially spread throughout the period of Great Lent and Bright Week. Today, they are gathered together in one single ceremony. The prayer to make someone a catechumen at the beginning of the service used to be said at the beginning of the period of the catechumenate, with an imposition of hands. 12 The three prayers of exorcism used to be repeated during the whole period of the catechumenate. The fourth prayer was said just before the moment of baptism, 13 with the rite of renunciation of Satan and adherence to Christ. This ancient rite was accompanied in the early Church by the recitation of the Symbol of Faith in front of the bishop, as the ultimate examination of the period of the catechumenate, and this usually took place on Great and Holy Friday at the service of Trithekti. 14

The actual rite of baptism took place in the baptistery on Great and Holy Saturday, during the paschal vigil. It began with the blessing of the water and of the oil. The candidates stood naked, thus showing that they had put off "the old man." 15 The rite of the pre-baptismal anointing is interpreted by the Apostolic Constitutions as a sign of "remission of sins, and the first preparation for baptism," 16 as one can see in the prayer of the Euchologion. In the early Church, the whole body was anointed with this oil by the deacon or by the deaconess.17 The anointing with oil always preceded the threefold immersion that took place in the baptistery, in the name of each of the three persons of the Holy Trinity; this triple immersion also signifes Christ's burial for three days in the tomb and his resurrection on the third day. 18 After the immersion and the appropriate prayer, in which the celebrant gave thanks to God for giving the neophyte a new birth and the remission of sins, and asked for the seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit and the Communion of the body and blood of Christ, the neophyte was anointed with holy Myron (i.e., Chrism) in the sign of the cross on the forehead, eyes, nostrils, lips, ears, and breast, with the formula the seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit. 19 St Cyril of Jerusalem compares the rite of chrismation after baptism with the manifestation of the Holy Spirit after Christ's baptism in the Jordan river (Mt 3.16). For him this signifies that the neophyte who has put on Christ and has

become an image of Christ (a word that literally means the anointed one.)²⁰ For this reason, the Pauline verse, As many as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ (Gal 3.27), was sung at that point. The neophytes were given a "luminous" (white) robe, showing that they had become children of light through the mystery of holy illumination, and had received the remission of sins.²¹ Finally, just after the readings from the Old Testament of Vespers, during the recitation of Psalm 31, there was a procession with the neophytes from the baptistery to the nave of the main church, where the Divine Liturgy was celebrated, and at this Liturgy the neophytes received Holy Communion.²²

In the early Church, the neophytes would then stay in the church for eight days, receiving their mystagogical instruction, which could be attended only by baptized Christians.²³ On the eighth day, only one prayer of ablution (the first one of our contemporary rite) was recited over the neophytes, and this concluded the rites of Christian initiation. There was no tonsure, since the origin of the current prayer of tonsure has nothing to do with the rites of Christian initiation: it is found in the ancient *Euchologion* as a prayer for the first haircut of children.²⁴ When infant baptism became widespread, this prayer was later added to the rites of Christian initiation, although it has no intrinsic connection with it.

2. The Rites Connected with the Birth of a Child

2.1. The Prayers on the Day of Birth

The contemporary *Euchologion* contains three prayers for the birth of a child, said by the priest at the place of the birth. They are unknown in the most ancient manuscript of the *Euchologion*, *Barberini gr. 336*, dated to the second half of the eighth century. This rite is known by Saint Symeon of Thessalonica at the end of the fourteenth century, who explains it essentially as a penitential prayer for the mother, to give her recovery after childbirth and for the remission of her sins, having in mind the biblical interpretation found in the prayers that "childbirth is accomplished in sin and sensual desire,"²⁵ and secondly for the child so that he may live and be baptized in due time.

2.2. The Naming of a Child on the Eighth Day

Table 1.1: The Order for the Naming of a Child on the Eighth Day

- 1. Usual beginning prayers
- 2. Troparion of the day
- 3. Prayer over the child
- 4. Troparion of the feast of the Meeting of the Lord
- 5. Dismissal

This rite is celebrated in the narthex.²⁶ The prayer for naming a child on the eighth day is already attested in the Barberini *Euchologion*.²⁷ The inspiration for this rite is

the circumcision and naming of Christ in the Temple on the eighth day (Lk 2.21), according to the interpretation given by Saint Symeon of Thessalonica.²⁸ It ought to be performed in the narthex of the church. The prayer concerns the child, asking that he may in due time be united to the holy Church and partake of the holy mysteries of Christ. This corroborates what we have said before: this rite, already known in the second half of the eighth century, was composed in order to give a certain status to the children of Christian parents as these children waited for their baptism to take place when they were older.

2.3. The Entrance of the Child into the Church on the Fortieth Day

Table 1.2: The Order of the Entrance of a Child into the Church on the Fortieth Day

- 1. Beginning Prayers
- 2. Troparion of the day
- 3. Prayer over the mother and the child
- 4. Prayer for the mother
- 5. Prayer for the child
- 6. Prayer of inclination
- 7. Rite of entrance into the church [and altar]
- 8. Canticle of Symeon (Lk 2.29-32)
- 9. Dismissal

This rite is celebrated in the narthex. The prayer for the entrance of the child into the church on the fortieth day after his birth (no. 5 in the above list) is already attested in the Barberini manuscript.²⁹ The rite was inspired by the meeting of Christ and Symeon in the Temple on the fortieth day (Lk 2.22–38), as can be seen in the prayer for the child (no. 5) and the presence of the canticle of Symeon at the conclusion of the rite (no. 8). This is also the interpretation given by Saint Symeon of Thessalonica,³⁰ who says that purification is granted to the mother (because "childbearing is impure, since it is linked with the passion of desire"³¹) and this purification allows her to receive Holy Communion. He refers here to the prayer for the mother (no. 4), unknown by the Barberini *Euchologion*. He then adds that prayers are offered also for the child, so that in due time he may be united to the body of the Church and be born again of water and Spirit.

After the prayers, the rite prescribes that the priest take up the child, and to make with it the sign of the cross before the doors of the church, while saying: *The servant of God*, N., *is churched, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.* Amen. He then carries the child into the church, saying: *I will enter into thy house: I will worship toward thy holy temple.* Coming to the center of the church, he says: *The servant of God*, N., *is churched, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen. In the midst of the congregation I will sing praises to thee.* Then, before the holy doors of the altar, he says: *The servant of God*, N., *is churched, in the name of the*

Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.

In contemporary practice, if the child is male, the priest then carries him into the sanctuary, making the sign of the cross with the child at the four sides of the holy table. If the child is female, she is carried only as far as the holy doors. One should note that this practice of bringing the child into the church, and eventually into the sanctuary, is unknown in the Barberini *Euchologion*, which had only one prayer for the child on the fortieth day (no. 5).

The rite of the entrance of the child into the church on the fortieth day presents several challenges today.

First, it raises the disputed question of the purity of the mother. The biblical interpretation that childbearing is impure (cf. Lev 12.1–5; Ps 50.7; Jn 1.13), and that because of this, the mother who gives birth to a child is impure, is challenged by our contemporary society.32 From a rather negative perspective, this biblical or patristic interpretation sees human sexuality as a consequence of the fall, and therefore of sin, and oriented to assuring the perpetuity of the human race in the face of death, which is also a consequence of sin. In a more positive perspective, the notion of purity and impurity as developed in the Old Testament shows a feeling of awe and respect before the sacredness and mystery of life. In this sense, blood, as the center of life, ought not to be touched or eaten, and therefore, any contact with blood required a period of purification.33 Regardless of our opinion on this issue today, it is important to stress that the rite of the entrance of the child into the church on the fortieth day, as attested in the second half of the eighth century, did not know any prayer for the mother and therefore had no reference to her impurity. For this reason, if the question of the impurity of the mother raises some issues among the faithful today, we suggest, for pastoral reasons, that only the most ancient prayer be kept (no. 5 in the preceding table: O Lord, our God, who on the fortieth day), given that it makes no reference to that issue, and to follow it by the prayer of inclination (no. 6), while omitting the others (no. 3 and no. 4).34

Second, in contemporary practice, during the rite of the entrance of the child into the church, only boys are taken into the altar, and this practice is perceived by some of our contemporaries as discriminatory. It is interesting to note that until the fourteenth century, both boys and girls were brought into the altar in the same manner.³⁵ The reason most likely is that this rite was performed on the fortieth day after the birth of the child and therefore, there was no question of female ritual impurity at that age. Saint Symeon of Thessalonica does not mention a difference of practice according to the sex of the child. He merely notes that the child is taken into the altar only if it has been baptized.³⁶ This might suggest to us today that, if the question of so-called "sex discrimination" arises in connection with this rite, and if to some people it is inconceivable to bring female babies into the altar, then all children could simply not be presented at the altar, but only brought in front of the holy doors of the iconostasis. The testimony of Saint Symeon shows also that by the end of the fourteenth century baptism had been advanced to a very early age, sometimes even

preceding the fortieth day, thus rendering this fortieth-day rite a contradiction in terms when celebrated after baptism.

Indeed, the practice of performing this entire rite of entrance into the church and altar *after* baptism is an aberration, since, as we have already said, this rite was composed to give a status to the children of Christian parents within the Church *before* their baptism, which once took place when the child was older.³⁷ This is precisely what the oldest prayer of the rite [no. 5] implies when it states: *so that being accounted worthy of holy baptism, he may obtain the portion of thine Elect of thy Kingdom.* Many priests are embarrassed by this phrase and omit it from the prayer, as has been suggested by some modern editions. This clearly shows that performing this rite *after* baptism is an aberration, since the real entrance into the Church is baptism, and theologically there is absolutely no need to perform any rite of incorporation into the Church after the holy mystery of baptism. Therefore, the rite of the entrance of a child into the church should be performed only before baptism, on the fortieth day after birth. With regard to an adult catechumen, serving this rite before baptism is complete nonsense, since the rite was created specifically for children.

3. Pre-Baptismal Rites

Table 1.3: The Order of the Pre-Baptismal Rites

- 1. Prayer to make a catechumen
- 2. Three prayers of exorcism
- 3. Prayer for the catechumen before the moment of baptism
- 4. Renunciation of Satan, adherence to Christ, and recitation of the Symbol of Faith
- 5. Final prayer

The rites preceding baptism take place in the baptistery or in the narthex of the church. The rubrics mention that the priest breathes thrice on the face of the candidate for baptism and signs him thrice on the forehead and breast, and then he says the prayer to make a catechumen, while laying his hand on the head of the candidate, as used to be done in the early Church.³⁸ The candidate for baptism should wear only a shirt without a belt, and he should be barefoot and with his head uncovered. Symeon of Thessalonica interprets the breathing, which is made thrice because of the Holy Trinity, as recalling the first creation (Gen 2.7), and the sign of the cross as recalling the saving sacrifice of the incarnate Word of God on the cross. The candidate is naked under his shirt, thus signifying his state of sinfulness.³⁹

This prayer is followed by three prayers of exorcism. Symeon of Thessalonica emphasizes that these prayers should all be read with great attention, without rushing, and aloud. He mentions that there was in fact a practice to read them several times in the week prior to baptism, in a vestige of the ancient practice of reading them daily during the whole period of the catechumenate.⁴⁰ The three prayers of exorcism are followed by a fourth, which was originally the prayer for the catechumen immedi-

ately before baptism; in this the priest prays that there be driven out from the cate-chumen every evil and unclean spirit hiding and lurking in his heart, the spirit of error, the spirit of evil, the spirit of idolatry and of all covetousness; the spirit of lying and of all uncleanness, that operates according to the instruction of the devil. This prayer includes once again the priest's threefold breathing in the sign of the cross, as he says these words, and according to Saint Symeon of Thessalonica this breathing signifies a new creation. Some priests are embarrassed to read these prayers, originally intended for adult catechumens, over infants, supposing that infants are not troubled by these passions. It is important to stress that this prayer also has a protective effect, as Saint Symeon explains that demons like to make their dwelling in the hearts of those who are not yet baptized in order to incline them later towards $\sin.41$

This prayer is followed by the renunciation of Satan. According to an ancient practice, this renunciation is made facing west, since, as Saint Cyril of Jerusalem explains, "the west is the place where darkness appears," since the sun sets in the west. Because of this, Symeon reminds the newly illumined: "symbolically keeping your eyes toward the west, you renounced that dark and gloomy prince."42 The catechumen renounces Satan three times, each time answering the priest's question: Do you renounce Satan, and all his works, and all his angels, and all his service, and all his pride? by saying: I do renounce him.43 He is then invited by the priest to blow and spit upon him. According to Saint Symeon, this action means to reject Satan from one's heart.44 Then, facing east—"the place of light" as Saint Cyril of Jerusalem explains it,45 and therefore symbolizing Christ who is the Light of the world (Jn 8.12)—the catechumen unites himself to Christ. He answers the priest's question: Do you unite yourself to Christ? by saying: I do unite myself to him. Again the priest asks: Do you unite yourself to Christ? and the catechumen responds: I do unite myself to him. The priest asks: Have you united yourself to Christ? and the catechumen affirms: I have united myself to Christ. Finally, the priest asks: And do you believe in him? The catechumen confesses: I believe in him as King and God, and then he recites the Symbol of Faith. The Euchologion specifies that all this ought to be repeated three times. We find a witness of the threefold confession of faith in the Areopagite.46 One has to keep in mind that the origin of the Symbol of Faith is the baptismal symbol that was taught during the period of catechumenate, which was to be recited in front of the bishop before the mystery of baptism to ensure that the candidate had a correct knowledge of the Orthodox faith. After the threefold confession of faith, the priest asks the catechumen three more times: Have you united yourself to Christ? Again the catechumen responds: I have united myself to Christ. And then the priest adds: Bow down before him. And the catechumen answers: I bow down before the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the Trinity one in essence and undivided. Then the priest glorifies God saying: Blessed is God, who desires that all men should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth, now and ever, and unto ages of ages. And he reads the final prayer, which asks God to call the catechumen to the mystery of holy illumination and grant him the grace of baptism, in order to put off the old man (cf. Col 3.9) and renew him in eternal life.

4. The Mystery of Holy Illumination

Table 1.4: The Order of the Mystery of Holy Illumination

- 1. Opening blessing: Blessed is the kingdom, as at the Divine Liturgy
- 2. Litany
- 3. Prayer of the priest
- 4. Prayer of blessing the water
- 5. Prayer of inclination—blessing of the oil
- 6. Pre-baptismal anointing
- 7. Baptism
- 8. Psalm 31
- 9. Vesting with a white garment
- 10. Prayer of chrismation and chrismation
- 11. As many as have been baptized into Christ, reading of the Epistle and Gospel
- 12. Litany [and dismissal]
- 13. Prayers of ablution and ablution
- 14. Prayers of tonsure and tonsure
- 15. Litany and dismissal

The ceremony of baptism used to take place in the baptistery, a separate building or at least a separate room in the church complex.⁴⁷ Where there is no baptistery, it would be proper to celebrate the rite in the narthex, although for practical reasons today it is often celebrated in the nave. Although baptism can be celebrated elsewhere in cases of emergency, the celebration of baptism at home has been criticized by theologians such as Alexander Schmemann, because that practice does not render properly the meaning of baptism as the entrance into the ecclesial community.⁴⁸ For this reason, Canon 59 of the Council in Trullo forbids the celebration of baptism in private chapels—it must be celebrated only in parish churches.⁴⁹ Thus baptism should never be considered a private event, but an event of the ecclesial community, and this is why Saint Symeon of Thessalonica considers that "it is indispensable that all the faithful be present, to the extent that this is possible."⁵⁰

The ceremony begins with the exclamation of the chief celebrant: *Blessed is the Kingdom*, as at the Divine Liturgy; this is followed by the litany, in which special petitions are added for the blessing of the water and for the candidate for baptism. Normally, the litany ought to be intoned by the deacon while the priest, in a low voice, says a penitential sacerdotal prayer (similar to the one said by the priest during the Cherubic hymn of the Divine Liturgy), in which he acknowledges his unworthiness and asks God to grant him the power from on high to accomplish this great mystery. If there is no deacon, the priest says his prayer after the litany.

When the litany and the prayer of the priest have been concluded, the priest says aloud the prayer of blessing of the water, which has a structure similar to the euchar-

istic prayers (anaphoras). Water must be blessed at each ceremony. To use holy water blessed on the feast of Theophany, or to use water from a previous baptism, is not proper. Nevertheless, several persons can be baptized at the same time in the same baptismal font. Saint Symeon of Thessalonica prescribes that the holy water from baptism should be disposed of with reverence, after the ceremony, and in a special place, where nobody can step on it—that is, either in a special well, in a river, or in the sea. During the prayer of sanctification of the water, the priest blows three times over the water and makes the sign of the cross three times with his right hand, while saying: Let all hostile powers be crushed beneath the sign of the image of thy Cross. Saint Symeon of Thessalonica says that the priest thus inscribes over the water the image of Christ and invokes the grace of the Holy Spirit, so that the baptismal font may be filled by the presence of Christ and of the Holy Spirit. 52

After this prayer, the chief celebrant gives the peace. The prayer of inclination that follows is in fact the prayer to bless the oil that will be used for the pre-baptismal anointing. Today some priests observe a decadent practice and omit this prayer, while using oil that was blessed at a previous ceremony. This usage should be avoided. Saint Symeon of Thessalonica says in his commentary that the holy oil left over from baptism should be burned in a lamp in the sanctuary.53 The prayer must be read, since it is an essential part of the mystery—and furthermore it is very rich theologically. Indeed, it gives the symbolic explanation of the olive in reference to Noah (Gn 8.11), as a sign of change and salvation and as a prefiguration of the mystery of grace. It also emphasizes the meaning of the pre-baptismal anointing as an unction of incorruption, an armor of righteousness, a renewal of the soul and body, and a deliverance from all action of the devil. In Greek pracice, the ancient tradition of anointing the entire body of the candidate is still observed, so the godparents usually bring a bottle of olive oil to be used for the ceremony.54 This practice should be encouraged. When the priest has said the prayer, he takes the bottle of oil and pours from it three times into the baptismal font in the sign of the cross, while singing Alleluia. Saint Symeon of Thessalonica sees in this rite a manifestation of the fact that the water has been sanctified by the presence of Christ and of the Holy Spirit, and a sign of the mercy of God.55 After glorifying God by saying: Blessed is God, who illumineth and sanctifieth every man that cometh into the world, now and ever and unto the ages of ages, the priest anoints the candidate with the newly blessed oil, with the formula: The servant of God is anointed with the oil of gladness, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. In former times, after this formula the deacon (or deaconess) would anoint the candidate's whole body.56 Today, after making the sign of the cross on the forehead while saying this, the priest anoints the candidate on the breast and shoulders, while saying: For the healing of soul and body—then making the sign of the cross on the ears: For the hearing of faith;—next, making the sign of the cross on the hands: Thy hands have made me and fashioned me;—then making the sign of the cross on the feet: That he may walk in the path of thy commandments (or in the Greek books, *That he may walk in thy footsteps*).

Then comes the solemn moment of the actual baptism, when the priest immerses the candidate three times in the baptismal font, with the words: The servant of God, N., is baptized in the name of the Father, Amen (first immersion), and of the Son, Amen (second immersion), and of the Holy Spirit, Amen (third immersion). This Trinitarian formula, which is fundamental for the validity of the mystery of baptism, is directly derived from the commandment of Christ to his apostles: "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost" (Mt 28.19). Saint Symeon of Thessalonica stresses that the formula The servant of God, N., is baptized shows that he is baptized according to his own will, and Symeon interprets the threefold immersion as a confession of the Holy Trinity and a symbol of the three-day burial of Christ and of his resurrection on the third day.57 In fact, the fiftieth Apostolic Canon had already specified that the threefold immersion is compulsory in order to manifest baptism as a sign of Christ's death and resurrection.58 One should note that the proper way to baptize is through full immersion, since the etymological meaning of to baptize is to immerse in water. The Didache (1st c.) prescribes that water be poured three times over the head of the candidate only in exceptional cases, when there is no possibility of immersing the candidate in water.59 It should be recommended that every parish have an adequate baptismal font, or even better, a real baptistery where adult baptisms could also take place.

The rite of baptism is followed by the chanting of Psalm 31, and while this is being chanted, the priest usually washes his hands, which are covered with oil, and the candidate is wiped dry. After the psalm, the priest gives the neophyte a white garment, while saying: *The servant of God*, N., *is clothed with the robe of righteousness, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit*, and then the troparion: A robe of light is sung.

Then the priest says the prayer of chrismation: *Blessed art thou, Lord God Almighty*, and then he anoints the neophyte with the holy Chrism (also called *Myron*), by making the sign of the cross on the forehead, the eyes, the nostrils, the mouth, the ears, the breast, the hands, and the feet, and saying each time: *The seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit. Amen.*

The Pauline verse: As many as have been baptized in Christ, have put on Christ (Gal 3.27), is then sung, while the priest, holding the neophyte by the hand with his epitrachelion, together with the godparents walk around the baptismal font three times. According to Saint Symeon of Thessalonica, this procession around the baptismal font is a kind of dance expressing the joy of being reborn from the spiritual womb that is the baptismal font, through the power of the Spirit of God. But in the early Church, at this point there was a procession of the bishop, his clergy, and the neophytes from the baptistery to the nave of the main church, where the Divine Liturgy was celebrated, starting with the Scripture readings. This is why, in the contemporary ceremony, the readings of the Epistle (Rom 6.3–11) and of the Gospel (Mt 28.16–20), which are fundamental for the theology of baptism, occur after the procession. These are in fact the daily readings of the vesperal Divine Liturgy of Great Saturday, when baptism was initially celebrated.

The readings are followed by the litany and the dismissal, since the *Euchologion* presumes that the post-baptismal rites will be celebrated on the eighth day of baptism. This is a vestige of the practice of the early Church, when the neophytes remained in church for eight days for mystagogical instruction. Today, the post-baptismal rites are usually accomplished immediately after the baptism, and therefore at this point we usually omit not only the dismissal but the litany as well, since it will be repeated at the end, after the post-baptismal rites, which consist of the prayers of ablution, the ablution, the prayers of tonsure, and the tonsure.

The rite of ablution is preceded by two prayers and a prayer of inclination. Of these, only the first: O Thou, who by holy baptism hast granted forgiveness of sins to thy servant, is mentioned in the Barberini manuscript.62 Thus we suggest that if an abbreviation is needed for pastoral reasons, this is the prayer to retain. The priest then soaks the end of a linen cloth in clean water and sprinkles the newly baptized person, with the words: Thou art justified, thou art enlightened. Then he dips a new sponge or a ball of cotton in water and wipes the neophyte's face, head, breast, and all the other places that have been anointed with holy oil and holy Chrism, while he says: Thou art baptized, thou art enlightened, thou art anointed with Chrism, thou art sanctified, thou art washed: in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen. The purpose of this rite is to wash and wipe away the oil remaining from the anointing, before the neophyte returns home. Saint Symeon of Thessalonica explains that in the early Church, the neophytes were vested with a special robe that they wore for seven days, during which they were not allowed to wash themselves. Only on the eighth day, after the week of mystagogy, the priest washed the parts of the body that had been anointed so that the holy Chrism might not be profaned.63

The ablution is followed by the rite of tonsure, which consists of a prayer and a prayer of inclination. Only the prayer of inclination: O Lord our God, who through the fulfilment of the baptismal font, is attested by the Barberini manuscript, although it is not found there among the baptismal rites, but elsewhere among prayers for various occasions. As we explained above, this was originally a prayer for the first haircut of the child, but it was later added to the post-baptismal rites. Saint Symeon of Thessalonica, on the basis of the content of the first prayer, sees in this rite a kind of offering of the first fruits of the newly baptized child to Christ. In our opinion, founded on historical research, the rite of tonsure has no place in the case of an adult baptism. The priest then tonsures the hair of the newly baptized child in a form of the cross saying: The hair of the head of the servant of God, N., is tonsured in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.

The ceremony ends with the litany and the dismissal.

5. Baptismal Liturgy

The Orthodox Church is usually quite proud to have retained the unity of the three sacraments of Christian initiation (baptism-chrismation-Eucharist), but in fact, most Orthodox do not receive Holy Communion at their baptism. Most receive Com-

munion at a Divine Liturgy celebrated later, either on the same day or a few days after the ceremony of baptism. Unfortunately, pastoral practice reveals that in many cases the parents do not consider it important to bring the newly baptized child to receive Communion. For this reason, many Orthodox theologians of the twentieth century, such as Alexander Schmemann and Ioannis Phountoulis, 66 advocated the restoration of baptismal Liturgies, or in other words, the celebration of Christian initiation within the Divine Liturgy of a local ecclesial community, as was the practice of the early Church.

With regard to these attempts at restoration, some remarks must made concerning the ancient practice of the Church. First of all, baptism in the early Church was of course neither private nor individual. This means that it was always communal, not only because it implied the attendance of the local ecclesial community, but also because baptism was never conferred on a single individual, but on a group of catechumens. For this reason, the celebration of baptism was not so frequent as it is today. It occurred only on a very few specific days during the year, four times at the most (Pascha, Lazarus Saturday, Pentecost, Theophany).67 It was celebrated by the bishop, as the head of the local ecclesial community, in the presence of his priests and the deacons and deaconesses, in a separate building or room—the baptistery—while the ecclesial community was listening to Old Testament readings and awaiting the solemn entrance of the bishop, with the clergy and the neophytes, into the nave of the main church.68 One might consider these historical remarks when reintroducing the celebration of baptism in the Divine Liturgy.

The order of the celebration of a baptismal liturgy is quite simple. The pre-baptismal rites are accomplished before the beginning of the Divine Liturgy, or even on the eve. The Divine Liturgy begins with the regular opening blessing: *Blessed is the Kingdom*, and the regular order of the mystery of illumination is followed until the the Pauline verse—*As many as have been baptized in Christ, have put on Christ* (Gal 3.27). From this point, the regular order of the Divine Liturgy continues, starting from the daily readings, to which the readings for baptism are added. To omit the antiphons and the Little Entrance is not a problem, since these elements come from the stational celebration, and were later added to the ancient Divine Liturgies, which always started with the readings, as we shall see in the next chapter. Even in our contemporary practice, antiphons are omitted at Vesperal Liturgies, when the Divine Liturgy starts with the epistle and gospel readings just after the Old Testament readings of Vespers. The post-baptismal rites (ablution, tonsure) are done at the end of the Divine Liturgy, or even after it, since they used to be a separate service on the eighth day after baptism.

6. Reception of Non-Orthodox Christians into the Orthodox Church

The mystery of baptism is a person's entry into the Church. From very ancient times, the Church was concerned with the reception into her midst of people who were baptized outside her canonical limits, whether they were heretics, schismatics, or, in our

times, members of other Christian confessions. The canonical norm for the reception of non-Orthodox Christians into the Orthodox Church is set out in Canon 95 of the Council in Trullo (691), which develops the earlier Canon 7 of the Second Ecumenical Council (Constantinople, 381). According to this canon, by the end of the seventh century there were three different cases:

- a) Heretics, such as Manicheans, Marcionites, Montanists, Modalists, or Eunomians, who rejected the three persons of the Holy Trinity—sometimes identifying the Father with the Son, or in the case of the Eunomians excluding the Son from the divine *ousia*, and therefore practicing baptism through a single immersion—were received through *baptism* because their heterodox baptism was considered to be invalid;
- b) Heretics, such as moderate Arians, Apollinarists, and Tetradites, who confessed the Holy Trinity in an erroneous way, were received through *chrismation* together with the signing of an appropriate *libellus* renouncing their particular heresy;
- c) Heretics, such as Nestorians and Monophysites, who confessed Christ in an erroneous way, were received by signing only an appropriate *libellus* or confession of faith, wherein their heresy was renounced, and by receiving *Holy Communion*.

As we can see, the criterion for acknowledging the baptism of heretics when they decided to return to the Orthodox Church was their trinitarian baptism, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. These guidelines were applied in the second millennium for the reception of Christians from other confessions into the Orthodox Church.

In the twelfth century, the Byzantine canonist Theodore Balsamon, Patriarch of Antioch (d. 1193), states that Latins were to be received either by the submission of a *libellus*, together with the indirect support of the reapplication of Chrism, or by partaking of Holy Communion following the renunciation of Latin practices. To The Great Council convened in the Church of the Theotokos Pammakaristos in Constantinople in 1484 and presided over by Ecumenical Patriarch Symeon produced a rite for the reception of Latins, which prescribed that they ought to be anointed by holy Chrism and submit a *libellus*. To Patriarch Dositheos II of Jerusalem published the rite of the Council of Constantinople (1484) in his $T \acute{o}\mu o \varsigma A \gamma \acute{a}\pi \eta \varsigma$ (Tomos agapēs) in Iassy in 1698. Patriarch Dositheos also stated in his time that Protestants ought not to be re-baptized when coming to the Orthodox Church. This became the norm in the Orthodox Church, that is to say, not to re-baptize Roman Catholics or Protestants.

The contemporary partisans of rebaptizing non-Orthodox usually refer to a Pseudo-Synod of 1755, which never took place, but which is in fact a decision signed by three patriarchs (Cyril V of Constantinople, Matthew of Alexandria, and Parthenios of Jerusalem), which called for the rebaptism of Western Christian wishing to join the Orthodox Church. He Because the definition had three patriarchal signatures, it was considered valid and made its way through the publication of the Pedalion (or Rudder) of Saint Nicodemus the Hagiorite. Nevertheless, this definition

was rejected by the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate—the reason why Patriarch Sylvester of Antioch refused to sign the Definition—and eventually Patriarch Cyril V was deposed by his Holy Synod for a second time in 1757. Thus the practice of rebaptizing Western Christians who desire to join the Orthodox Church has no canonical foundation.

Today the appropriate and most common rite for the reception of non-Orthodox Christians is through chrismation. To give us an idea of the differences, in the following table we compare the rite for the reception of Latins of the Council of Constantinople (1484)75 with the rite in the contemporary edition of the *Small Euchologion* of Athens of 1974.76

Table 1.5: The Order for the reception of Roman Catholics into the Orthodox Church

2. Psalm 50 2. Psalm 50

Order of 1484 Small Euchologion, Athens, 1974.

1. Usual beginning prayers

1. Usual beginning prayers

3. Questions by the bishop on the faith (councils, *filioque*, azymes)

4. Symbol of Faith

3. Symbol of Faith

5. Anointing with holy Chrism, with the formula: *The seal of the*

4. Anointing with holy Chrism, with the formula: *The* seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit

gift of the Holy Spirit

6. Prayer of absolution

5. Prayer of absolution

7. Psalm 144

8. Litany

6. Litany

9. Dismissal

7. Dismissal

10. Signature of the *libellus*

8. Signature of the libellus



Notes

¹ Egeria, *Itinerarium* 45.4 (SC 296:306); in English: *Egeria: Diary of a Pilgrimage*, ed. Johannes Quasten, Walter J. Burghardt, and Thomas Comerford Lawler, trans. George E. Gingras, Ancient Christian Writers 38 (New York and Mahwah, NJ: The Newman Press, 1970), 122 (hereafter Egeria, *Diary*). [Cf. Hippolytus, *Apostolic Tradition* 15–17 (Dix 16–17), in *Hippolytus: On the Apostolic Tradition*, Alistair C. Stewart, tr. and ed., Popular Patristics Series 54 (Yonkers, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2018), 116–23.—*Ed.*]

² Ibid., 46 (SC 296:306-308).

³[In Greek and English: Cyril of Jerusalem, Lectures on the Christian Sacraments: The Procatechesis and the Five Mystagogical Catecheses Ascribed to St Cyril of Jerusalem, trans. Maxwell Johnson, Popular Patristics Series 57 (Yonkers, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2017).—Ed.]

- ⁴ Juan Mateos, *Le Typikon de la Grande Église: Ms. Sainte-Croix no. 40, Xe siècle;* Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes par Juan Mateos, S.J., Vol. 2: *Le cycle des fêtes mobiles, OCA* 166 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1963), 84–86.
- ⁵ Didache 7 (SC 248 bis:170–172); in English: On the Two Ways: Life or Death, Light or Darkness: Foundational Texts in the Tradition, Alistair Stewart(-Sykes), tr. and ed., Popular Patristics Series 42 (Yonkers, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2011), 9.
 - ⁶ Typikon de la Grande Église, 1:185; 2:62, 136.
- ^I This explains why in later Byzantine times, the date of enrolling those who were to be baptized was the third Sunday of Great Lent (Sunday of the Cross), one month before Pascha. Cf. Le Typikon de la Grande Église, 2:38.
- § Stefano Parenti and Elena Velkovska, eds, *L'Euchologio Barberini gr. 336* (Rome: Edizioni Liturgiche, 2000) 117–118 [hereafter *Barberini* in footnotes, and in the text "Barberini *Euchologion*" or "Barberini manuscript" or "Barberini codex"]; this euchologion will often be cited in comparisons with later works.
- ⁹ M. Arranz, "Les sacrements de l'ancien Euchologe constantinopolitain (3): II: Admission dans l'Eglise des enfants des familles chrétiennes (premier catéchuménat)," *OCP* 49 (1983): 284–302.
- ¹⁰ Cf. Vassa Kontouma, "Baptême et communion des jeunes enfants: la lettre de Jean d'Antioche à Théodore d'Éphèse (998/999)," Revue des études byzantines 69 (2011): 85–204.
 - 11 Symeon of Thessalonica, De sacramentis 62 (PG 155:213ab).
 - 12 Apostolic Constitutions 8.39.4 (SC 336:94; ANF 7:476).
 - 13 Barberini, 122.
- 14 Apostolic Constitutions 8.41.4 (SC 336:96–100; ANF 7.476); Egeria, Itinerarium 46.5 (SC 296:310–312; Egeria, Diary, 124); Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogical Homilies 1.4–5, 9 (SC 126:88, 98; Cyril, Lectures, PPS 57:86–89, 92–95); Typikon de la Grande Église, 2:78. [In the cathedral rite of the Church of Constantinople, Trithekti was a lenten mid-day service of antiphons, readings, and prayers; for its structure see Juan Mateos, Le Typikon de la Grande Église 1:xxiv—Ed.]
 - 15 Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogical Homilies 2.2 (SC 126:104–106; PPS 57:95–99).
 - 16 Apostolic Constitutions 8.42.2 (SC 336:100; ANF 7:476).
 - 17 Barberini, 130.
 - 18 Cyril of Jerusalem, *Mystagogical Homilies* 2.3–4 (SC 126:106–112; PPS 57:98–101).
- 19 Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogical Homilies 3.4 (SC 126:126; PPS 57:106–109); Barberini, 130–131.
 - 20 Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogical Homilies 3.1 (SC 126:120; PPS 57:104–105).
- ²¹ Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy 2.7, 3.8 (PG 3:396d, 404c; Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*, tr. Colm Luibheid, The Classics of Western Spirituality [New York: Paulist Press, 1987; hereafter Luibheid], 203, 208); Symeon of Thessalonica, *Dialogue in Christ* 67 (PG 155:232d).
 - 22 Barberini, 131; Typikon de la Grande Église, 2:88-90.
 - 23 Egeria, Itinerarium 47.1-4 (SC 296:312-314; Egeria, Diary, 125-26).
 - 24 Barberini, 198.
- ²⁵ Symeon of Thessalonica, *Dialogue in Christ* 58 (PG 155:208d); cf. Lev 12.1–5; Ps 50.7; Jn 1.13.
 - 26 [Or in the home.—Ed.]
 - ²⁷Barberini, 117.
 - 28 Symeon of Thessalonica, Dialogue in Christ 60 (PG 155:209ab).

- 29 Barberini, 118.
- 30 Symeon of Thessalonica, Dialogue in Christ 60 (PG 155:212a).
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Cf. Vassa Larin, "What is 'Ritual Im/purity' and why," SVTQ 52.3-4 (2008): 275-292.
- ³³ [Cf. Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 766–68.—*Ed.*]
- ³⁴[Priests must consult with their bishops in this matter. In the US, both the Orthodox Church in America and the Antiochian Archdiocese have blessed alternate orders for this service.—*Ed.*]
- 35 M. Arranz, "Les sacrements de l'ancien Euchologe constantinopolitain (3): II: Admission dans l'Eglise des enfants des familles chrétiennes (premier catéchuménat)," 294.
 - 36 Symeon of Thessalonica, Dialogue in Christ 60 (PG 155:212b).
- 37 [This order has become the norm in the Russian tradition. The Slavonic *Trebnik* (*Euchologion*) includes the following rubric toward the end of the prayers for a woman on the fortieth day after birth (an addition to the earlier text, in brackets): "If the infant is baptized, then the priest performs the churching, but if not, then he does this after the baptism." Cf. *Great Book of Needs* vol. 1 (South Canaan, PA: St Tikhon's Seminary Press, 2000), 14.—*Ed.*]
- 38 Apostolic Constitutions, 8.39.4 (SC 336:94; ANF 7:476). On the pre-baptismal rites, see M. Arranz, "Les sacrements de l'ancien Euchologe constantinopolitain (4): III-a: Préparation au baptême: 1. Second catéchuménat," *OCP* 50 (1984): 43–64; "Les sacrements de l'ancien Euchologe constantinopolitain (5): III-b: Préparation au baptême: 2. Renonciation à Satan et adhésion au Christ," *OCP* 50 (1984): 372–397.
 - 39 Symeon of Thessalonica, Dialogue in Christ 62 (PG 155:213c-216b).
 - 40 Ibid., 61 (PG 155:212d).
- 41 Ibid., 62 (PG 155:217c). [Cf. St Diadochos of Photiki, On Spiritual Knowledge and Discrimination: One Hundred Texts 76; English translation in Philokalia 1:279.—Ed.]
 - 42 Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogical Homilies 1.4 (SC 126:88; PPS 57:87).
- 43 The translations of these exchanges are taken from the booklet, *Baptism* (New York: Department of Religious Education of the Orthodox church in America, 1972).
 - 44 Symeon of Thessalonica, Dialogue in Christ 62 (PG 155:220a).
 - 45 Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogical Homilies 1.9 (SC 126:98; PPS 57:93).
- 46 Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy 2.2.7 (PG 3:396b; Luibheid, 203).
- 47 On baptismal rites, cf. M. Arranz, "Les sacrements de l'ancien Euchologe constantinopolitain (6): IV-a: L'illumination de la nuit de Pâques: 1-a. Bénédiction de l'eau et de l'huile baptismales," *OCP* 51 (1985): 60–86; "Les sacrements de l'ancien Euchologe constantinopolitain (7): IV-b: L'illumination de la nuit de Pâques: 1-b. Bénédiction de l'eau et de l'huile baptismales (suite et fin)," *OCP* 52 (1986): 145–78; "Les sacrements de l'ancien Euchologe constantinopolitain (8): IV-c: L'illumination de la nuit de Pâques: 2. Onction pré-baptismale. 3. Immersion baptismale. 4. Onction post-baptismale. 5. Entrée dans le temple et liturgie. Appendice: Les autres jours de baptême," *OCP* 53 (1987): 59–106.
- 48 Cf. Alexander Schmemann, *Of Water and Spirit* (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1974), 8.
- 49 Périclès-Pierre Joannou, *Discipline générale antique (IVe–IXe s.)*, Vol. 1.1, *Les canons des conciles oecuméniques* (Grottaferrata [Rome]: Tipografia Italo-Orientale "S. Nilo," 1962), 195.
 - 50 Symeon of Thessalonica, Dialogue in Christ 62 (PG 155:221b).
 - 51 Symeon of Thessalonica, Dialogue in Christ 70 (PG 155:237a).

- 52 Symeon of Thessalonica, Dialogue in Christ 62 (PG 155:225ab).
- 53 Symeon of Thessalonica, Dialogue in Christ 70 (PG 155:237a).
- 54 Barberini, 130.
- 55 Symeon of Thessalonica, Dialogue in Christ 62 (PG 155:225b).
- 56 Barberini, 130. [In contemporary Greek practice the godparents anoint the entire body with oil, as the deacons did in antiquity.—*Ed.*]
 - 57 Symeon of Thessalonica, Dialogue in Christ 63-64 (PG 155:228d-229a).
 - 58 Apostolic Constitutions 8.47.50 (SC 336:290-294; ANF 7:503).
 - 59 Didache 7 (SC 248:170; PPS 41:39).
 - 60 Symeon of Thessalonica, Dialogue in Christ 67 (PG 155:233a).
- 61 On post-baptismal rites, cf. M. Arranz, "Les sacrements de l'ancien Euchologe constantinopolitain (9): IV-d: L'illumination de la nuit de Pâques: 6. Ablution et tonsure des néophytes," *OCP* 55 (1989): 33–62.
 - 62 Barberini, 131-32.
 - 63 Symeon of Thessalonica, Dialogue in Christ 68 (PG 155:236a).
 - 64 Barberini, 198.
 - 65 Symeon of Thessalonica, Dialogue in Christ 67 (PG 155:232c).
- 66 Alexander Schmemann, Of Water and Spirit (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1974), 169–70; Ioannis Phountoulis, Λειτουργική, Α΄, εἰσαγωγή στη Θεία λατρεία (Thessaloniki, 1993), 288–89. On this subject, cf. Nenad Milosevic, To Christ and the Church: The Divine Eucharist as the All-Encompassing Mystery of the Church (Los Angeles: Sebastian Press, 2012), 48–57.
- 67 Typikon de la Grande Église, 1:184; 2:62, 136. At 1:158, this source also mentions the singing of the Pauline verse on the feast of the Nativity, but it says nothing about baptism on that day.
 - 68 Typikon de la Grande Église, 2:84–88.
- 69 Cf. P. L'Huillier, "Les divers modes de réception des catholiques-romains dans l'Orthodoxie," *Le Messager orthodoxe* 82 (1979): 15–23; J. Erickson, "Reception of Non-Orthodox into the Orthodox Church: Contemporary Practice," *SVTQ* 41 (1997): 1–17.
- 70 G. A. Rhalles and M. Potles, Σύνταγμα, vol. 4 (Athens, 1854), 460; cf. V. Phidas, "Tò κύρος τοῦ βαπτίσματος τῶν αἱρετικῶν καὶ τὸ ζήτημα τοῦ ἀναβαπτισμοῦ," Orthodoxia 11 (2004): 434.
- 71 George Dion. Dragas, "The Manner of Reception of Roman Catholic Converts into the Orthodox Church," Greek Orthodox Theological Review 44 (1999): 235–271, at 237–42; Phidas, "Τὸ κύρος τοῦ βαπτίσματος" 437–38.
- ⁷² I. Karmiris, Τα δογματικά και συμβολικά μνημεία τῆς Ὀρθόδοξου Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, vol. 2 (Athens, 1953), 987–89; Rhalles-Potles, op. cit., t. V, pp. 143–47; English translation of the rite in Dragas, "The Manner of Reception of Roman Catholic Converts into the Orthodox Church," 238–41.
- 73 Dositheos of Jerusalem, Confession of Faith 15, in The Acts and Decrees of the Synod of Jerusalem, tr. J. N. W. B. Robertson (London: Thomas Baker, 1899), 110–181 at 138–139; I. Karmiris, Τα δογματικά, 758.
- 74 Cf. Phidas, "Τὸ κύρος τοῦ βαπτίσματος," 444–49; English translation of the declaration in Dragas, "The Manner of Reception," 243–48; Vassa Kontouma, "La Définition des trois patriarches sur l'anabaptisme (1755/56)," *Annuaire de l'École pratique des hautes études (EPHE)*, Section des sciences religieuses, 121 (2014): 255–67.
- 75 I. Karmiris, Τα δογματικά, 987–89; English translation of the rite: Dragas, "The Manner of Reception," 238–41.

<u>76</u> Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον (Athens, 1974), 87–9.