

The Divine Name “Father” in Liturgical Prayer

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Frank Henderson’s Page on Liturgy and Medieval Women

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Preface to the 2002 World Wide Web Edition

This study was actually carried out between 1980 and 1984 but was not published then because it was not brought to its intended conclusion.

The original aims were to study (a) the extent to which “Father” was used in liturgical prayers; (b) the ways in which this divine name was used, (c) the range of meanings that “Father” had, (d) factors that may have influenced the use of “Father,” and (e) consequences that the use of “Father” may have had, especially with respect to patriarchy in the church.

The first three aspects were completed, and the fourth one sketched out, using liturgical books in print up to mid-1984. The final part – reflection on consequences – was not completed. In part I had to move on to other tasks, in part the literature on “Father” was growing rapidly, and in part the complexity of the subject made it difficult to come to firm conclusions.

After almost twenty years I believe that the analytical work is still valid, valuable and worth publishing in this World Wide Web format. I still do not have time or energy to complete the discussion section, and this is probably now best left to others. The original text has been revised somewhat for this edition.

Notes are numbered in parentheses and immediately follow the paragraph in which they are placed.

INTRODUCTION

“Father” in Liturgical Tradition

A fourth-century council of Hippo enunciated the already traditional axiom that “at the altar, prayer is always addressed to the Father” (1). This has been accepted as the norm for liturgical prayer through the centuries, though applied only to the more important prayers. The churches have not always been consistent in following this principle, however. Furthermore, this rule has never been understood as directing the use of the specific name “Father”. Throughout Christian history, God *the* Father – the First Person of the Trinity – has also been named and addressed as “God,” “Lord,” “Master,” “King,” “Creator,” “Shepherd,” “Most High,” “Eternal One,” and simply “You.”

1. Canon 21 = can. 23 of the Third Council of Carthage; Mansi III, 922, 884.

That *Pater* was used less frequently in Latin liturgical texts than were *Deus* and *Dominus*, and that this divine name could even be called “rare,” was noted some years ago by Joseph Jungmann and by Pierre Batiffol (2). A few other commentators on the post-tridentine Roman Catholic liturgy and on the contemporary Lutheran liturgy have come to the same conclusion (3).

2. Joseph Jungman, *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer*, 2nd rev. ed., trans. A Peeler. Staten Island: Alba House 1965, 119 fnt 1, 211.

Joseph Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development (Missarum Sollemnia)*, trans. F. A. Brunner, 2 vol. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1951, vol 2, 150 fnt 13.

Pierre Batiffol, *Lecons sur la messe*. Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffee 1927, 237.

3. Hans-Ludwib Kulp, "Das Gemeindegebet im christlichen Gottesdienst," in W. F. Muller and W. Blankenburg, eds., *Leiturgia: Handbuch des evangelischen Gottesdienstes*, vol. 2. Kassel: Johannes Stauda-Verlag 1955, 389.

Christopher Kiesling, *Before his Majesty: A Study of the Spiritual Doctrine in the Sunday Oraitons of the Roman Missal*. River Forest: The Aquinas Library 1965, 42, 87, 162.

Gail Ramshaw Schmidt, "Lutheran Liturgical Prayer and God as Mother," *Worship* 52 (1978) 517-542.

Yet it is apparent that "Father" is a common address in the modern Roman Catholic liturgy as we have it in English, and is not uncommon in contemporary Anglican and Lutheran liturgical texts. John Barry Ryan has drawn attention to the predominance of this divine name in both official and unofficial contemporary eucharistic prayers (4).

4. John Barry Ryan, *The Eucharistic Prayer, A Study in Contemporary Liturgy*. New York: Paulist Press 1974, 34, 53-54, 79-83, 112, 145.

Questions That Arise

That the relative importance of *Pater* as a liturgical address varied even in antiquity had also been noted by Jungmann, who pointed out that it was more common in the Veronese (Leonine) Sacramentary and in African texts than in the Roman liturgy (5). Today it seems necessary to ask if the use of this divine name has again undergone a shift, and if so, to what extent, in what manner, and on what basis? Ecumenically, it may be asked if "Father" is used differently in the liturgies of different Churches, and if so how have such diverse practices arisen?

5. See note 2, above.

This line of inquiry converges with another, arising from increasing contemporary sensitivity to the predominant use of male names and images, as well as of masculine pronouns, for God. In addition to the theological questions raised by such usages, the ecclesial and social implications of male language for God, as well as its cultural roots, are being subjected to analysis and critique (6). These concerns have led to calls by some for changes in liturgical language to eliminate or reduce traditional male language for God, balance this with female names or images, or to take multiple approaches to this matter.

6. There is a voluminous literature; the following works from the late 1970s and early 1980s, relate to the original study and many provide bibliographies. [The literature since 1985 has grown enormously.]

R. Hamerton-Kelly, *God the Father*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press 1979.

J.B. Metz and E. Schillebeeckx, *God as Father?* Concilium 145. New York: Seabury Press 1981.

R. R. Ruether, *Sexism and God Talk*. Boston: Beacon Press 1983

J. Shea, *Stories of Faith*. Chicago: Thomas More Press 1980.

Language about God: Opening the Door and The Power of Language Among the People of God. New York: United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. 1979

Language About God in Liturgy and Scripture: A Study Guide. Philadelphia: Geneva Press 1980

W.A. Visser't Hooft, *The Fatherhood of God in an Age of Emancipation*. Geneva: World Council of Churches 1983.

K. Watkins, *Faithful and Fair*. Nashville: Abington 1981

W.D. Watley, ed., *The Word and Words, Beyond Gender in Theological and Liturgical Language*. Princeton: Consultation on Church Union 1983

There are also non-feminist concerns about the use of "Father." see for example W. Starlz, "The Fatherhood of God in modern interpretation," in *The Lord's Prayer and Jewish Liturgy*, J. Petuchowski and M. Broche, eds., New York: Seabury Press 1978, 191-203

The Research Project

In order to deal responsibly with the historical shifts mentioned above and with contemporary sensitivity to masculine language for God, it seems appropriate to determine exactly to what extent and in what ways male language for God has been and is being used in different kinds of liturgical texts. This study therefore considers the use of the divine name "Father" in liturgical prayer over a wide historical time-span, and in the service books of the Roman Catholic, Anglican and Lutheran Churches. Selected Methodist, Presbyterian and other materials have also been consulted. Liturgical books studied here are listed below under "Sources Studied."

The specific questions that have been asked are (a) to what extent the divine name "Father" has been used in liturgical texts of different types, in different churches, in different places, and throughout Christian history; (b) in what ways has "Father" been used with respect to style, grammatical form and vocabulary; (c) what has the divine name Father meant in these liturgical texts, and (d) what has influenced the extent and manner of the use of "Father"?

Limits

The following limits have been placed on the study: (a) it considers only liturgical texts of the Western Churches; (b) it is limited to liturgical texts and does not consider scripture readings or hymn texts; and (c) it does not consider the use of masculine pronouns.

Finally, the focus of this study will be on the use of “Father” in the liturgical services experienced by the majority of Christians through the centuries, namely the eucharist and morning and evening prayer. Mass collects for the temporale and sanctorale are included, as well as those for marriage, burial and for the dead.

[Thus the use of “Father” in liturgies of Christian initiation, penance, orders, sickness, etc., is not considered here. The use of *Pater* in such texts of early Latin liturgical books is relatively small, however, and has been documented in a separate study, (“Ways in Which God is Addressed in Ancient Latin Liturgical Prayers”), also posted at this website. Note added in 2002.]

EXTENT TO WHICH “FATHER” IS USED IN LITURGICAL PRAYERS

Four types of use of “Father” in the eucharistic liturgy are considered here: (a) in collects, (b) in prefaces, (c) in eucharistic prayers, and (d) in the rest of the eucharistic liturgy.

Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer are then considered separately, and only from the perspective of the Anglican and Lutheran traditions. It is to be noted that the collects of the eucharistic liturgy may also be used in these liturgies.

Individual liturgical books have been examined and the uses of “Father” in each book have been considered from several points of view. Relationships between various liturgical books with respect to their use of collects addressed to “Father” have also been noted.

Collects

Though most collects are addressed to *the* Father, the use of the actual name “Father” varies widely with respect to historical period, individual author or compiler, and ecclesial tradition. These texts, therefore, will be considered in some detail.

Medieval Sacramentaries and Missals

Each sacramentary and missal has its own individual pattern of use with respect to the divine name “Father.” As noted by Jungmann (7), the Veronese (or Leonine) sacramentary refers to “Father” more often than does the *Missale Romanum* of 1570 or its Gregorian predecessors; so, however, do some other sacramentaries. It must be pointed out that prayers addressed to “Father” never constitute more than one to two percent of the total number of collects.

7. See note 2, above.

Veronese (Leonine) Sacramentary

Out of approximately 1300 collects in the so-called Veronese sacramentary, nine are addressed to *Pater*. In addition, there are two more in the so-called Rotulus of Ravenna which is appended to the Veronese sacramentary (8).

8. L. C. Mohlberg, *Sacramentarium Veronense* (Cod. Bibl. Capit. Veron. LXXXV *80) (Roma: Herder 1956). [It is generally believed that this work is a private collection of prayers of a Roman church, and not a true sacramentary for liturgical use. See for example, D. M. Hope, *The Leonine Sacramentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1971) pp 132ff.]

Collects: 253, *summe Pater*;

316, *Pater bone*;

403, 600, 602, *Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens aeterne Deus*

537, *sancte Pater, omnipotens aeterne Deus*

938, 1027, *Pater aeterne*

1240, *omnipotens et misericors Deus, et sempiternae Pater*

Rotulus 1333, 1360, *omnipotens Pater*.

An additional six prayers addressed to *Pater* are intended for ordinations or their anniversaries (972, 973, 990, 991, 989, 993).

Seven different formulas of address are used in these collects, among which *Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens aeterne Deus* is used for three prayers.

Four of these collects have been used (in whole or in part) in subsequent sacramentaries and missals, and in two of these cases the *Pater* of the addresses has been replaced by *Pastor*. Veronese collect 253 (*Remotis obumbrationibus...summe Pater...*) was reused by the Gelasian sacramentary, as well as by the sacramentaries of Gellone, Saint Gall, Fulda, Prague, Rheinau and others, and by the *Missale Francorum*. In another case the collect *Da nobis, quaesumus, omnipotens et misericors Deus, et sempiternae Pater* (no. 1240) was changed to *Da nobis, Domine...* when this prayer was reused in the Gelasian, Gellone, Saint Gall and Fulda sacramentaries; the whole prayer received considerable revision in the process. In addition, the address of the Veronese collect *Gregem tuum, Pater bone, placatus intende...* (no. 316) was changed to *Pastor aeterne* when it was taken into the *Missale Romanum* of 1570 (9). The first

part of the same collect was also used in the Gelasian sacramentary (10) and related manuscripts, while the remainder of the text is new; in this case, however, *Pater bone* was changed to *Pastor bone*. Finally Veronese collect 938 (using *Pater aeternae*) has been introduced without change of address into the *Missale Romanum* of 1970 (11).

9. *Commune Unius aut Plurium Summorum Pontificium*, and feasts of 26 individual popes. These assignments are contained in a 1942 insert.

10. Gelasian 272, 374, 1274

11. For Saturday of the first week of Lent.

Gelasian Sacramentary

The Gelasian sacramentary contains nine collects addressed to *Pater*, one (*Remotis...*, no. 679) being derived from the Veronese collection (12). Most of these collects are also found in the sacramentaries of Gellone and of Fulda, while two are used in the sacramentaries of Saint Gall and of Prague. The address of collect 1455, *Exaudi nos, Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens aeterne Deus*, used for weddings, was later simplified to *omnipotens et misericors Deus*, and as such was used in Gregorian sacramentaries and in the *Missale Romanum* of 1570.

12. L. C. Mohlberg, *Liber Sacramentorum Romae Aeclesiae Ordinis Anni Circuli* (Cod. Vat. Reg. Lat. 316) (*Sacramentarium Gelasianum*) (Roma: Herder 1960)
- Collect 434, *Deus fidelium Pater summe*
 - 573, *omnipotens Pater*
 - 679, *summe pater*
 - 847, 1273, 1454, 1455, *Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens aeterne Deus*
 - 1451, *Pater, mundi conditor, nascentium genitor, multiplicandi originis institutor*
 - 1621, *Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus*

An additional thirty collects addressed to *Pater* are used for ordinations, initiation, reconciliation, etc.

Eighth Century (or Frankish) Gelasian Sacramentaries

The sacramentary of Prague (13) contains eight collects addressed to *Pater*, and several so-called eighth century sacramentaries also used *Pater* more frequently than does the (seventh-century) Gelasian text. Thus there are six such collects in the sacramentary of Saint Gall (14), nine in that of Rheinau (15), and 15 in that of Gellone (16). There is one in the Philipps sacramentary, of which only portions are extant (17). The later sacramentary of Fulda (18) contains 15 such collects. Of the additional collects addressed to *Pater*, three are shared by the sacramentaries of Saint Gall and of Fulda, and a different but overlapping set of three by those of Gellone and Rheinau. Other individual collects are shared by various pairs of sacramentaries, though obviously some are found in only one text.

13. A. Dold and L. Eizenhofer, *Das Prager Sakramentar* (Beuron: Beuroner Kunstverlag 1979).

Collect 108.1, 237.1, 260.2, 289.1, *Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens aeterne Deus*
139.2, *summe Pater*
240.1, *Deus Pater omnipotens*
241.2, *clementissime Pater*
290.2, *sancte Pater, omnipotens aeterne Deus.*

[For relationships among Gelasian sacramentaries, see B. Moreton, *The Eighth-Century Gelasian Sacramentary*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1976)]

14. K. Mohlberg, *Das frankische Sacramentarium Gelasianum in alamannischer Uberlieferung* (Codex Sangall. No. 348) (Munster in Westf.: Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung 1918).

Collect 678, *Domine sancte Pater omnipotens eterne Deus*
846, *summe Pater*
[Beigaben:]
495, *Domine sancte Pater omnipotens eterne Deus*
512, *Domine Deus Pater omnipotens*
515, *Domine sancte Pater omnipotens Deus*
766, *omnipotens Pater*

15. A. Hanggi and A. Schonherr, *Sacramentarium Rheinaugiense* (Frieburg: Universitatsverlag 1970)

Collect 398, *Domine sancte Pater omnipotens Deus*
585, *omnipotens Deus Pater*
651, *summe Pater*
1287, 1316, *clementissime Pater*
1297, *Deus Patrem omnipotentem*
1329, *Domine sancte Pater omnipotens aeterne Deus*
1366, *Pater omnipotens eterne Deus*
1367, *sancte Pater*

16. A. Dumas, *Liber Sacramentorium Gellonensis*. Corpus Christianorum ser. Lat. CLIX. (Turnholt: Typographi Brepols Editores Pontificis 1981).

Collect 600, 633, 2639, 2779, 2828, *Domine sancte Pater omnipotens eterne Deus*
851, 2906, *sancte Pater omnipotens eterne Deus*
971, *omnipotens Pater*
1064, *summe Pater*
1862, 1957, 2926, *clementissime Pater*
1967, 1888, *Deus Pater omnipotens*
1878, *Pater sancte*

17. In Mohlberg, *Sacramentarium Veronense*, 181-199;
Collect 1409, *Domine sancte Pater omnipotens aeterne Deus*
18. G. Richter, *Sacramentarium fuldense saeculo X.* (Fulda: Fuldaer Actiendruckerei 1912). [Text nos. 1779 to 2909 only have been analyzed. Another 33 prayers are addressed to Pater in sections having to do with ordinations, baptism, anointing the sick, et al.]
Collect 1785, *Domine Deus Pater omnipotens*
1910, *aeterne consolationis Pater*
1996, 2312, 2313, 2615, *Domine sancte Pater omnipotens aeterne Deus*
2204, 2205, 2245, 2511, 2589, 2598, *clementissime Pater*
2300, *sancte Pater omnipotens aeterne Deus*
2886, *aeterne Deus Pater omnipotens*
2901, *sancte Pater*

Gregorian Sacramentaries

A marked reduction in the use of *Pater* is shown by the Gregorian sacramentaries, where in most manuscripts only one such text (no. 329) is found (19). This is the *super oblata* for Holy Thursday, *Ipse tibi...domine sancte Pater omnipotens [aeterne] Deus...* This collect is also found in the sacramentaries of Gellone, Saint Gall, Rheinau and Fulda, and was subsequently incorporated into various medieval missals (e.g., Leofric, Sarum, Hereford, Westminster, 1474 Roman missal) (20). It was finally incorporated into the *Missal Romanum* of 1570 (21). A few Gregorian manuscripts, however, do contain additional collects of this sort (22).

19. H. Lietzman, *Das Sacamentarium gregorianum nach des Aachener Urexemplar* (Munster: Aschendorffsche Verlagbuchhandlung 1921).
K. Mohlberg, *Die alteste erreichbare Gestalt des Liber Sacamentarium anni circuli der romische Kirche* (Cod. Pad. D47) (Munster in Westf: Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagbuchhandlung 1927).
J. Deschusses, *Le Sacramentaire Gregorien. Ses principales formes de'apres les plus anciens manuscrits* (Fribourg: Editions Universitaires 1971).
20. F. E. Warren, *The Leofric Missal as used in the Cathedral of Exeter during the episcopate of its first bishop A.D. 1050-1072 together with some account of the Red Book of Derby, the Missal of Robert of Jumieges, and a Few Other Early Manuscript Service Books of the English Church* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press 1883).
J. Wickham Legg, *The Sarum Missal* edited from three early manuscripts (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press 1916).
W. G. Henderson, *Missale ad usum percelebris ecclesiae Herfordensis* (1874; reprint Farnborough: Gregg International Publishers 1969).
J. Wickham Legg, *Missale ad usum Ecclesiae Westmonasteriensis* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society 1891).

R. Lippe, *Missale Romanum Mediolani 1474* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society 1899)

F. Terrizzi, *Missale Antiquum S. Panormitanae Ecclesiae* (Roma: Herder 1970)

21. *Aeterne* is variable in the Gregorian sacramentaries, but used in the missal.

22. Codex X: *Pater* in collect 299* of Deschuesses, *Le Sacramentaire Gregorien*; Codex C2: *Domine sancte Pater* in collect 435*.

An additional twelve collects addressed to *Pater* are intended to be used at ordinations and other occasions.

Medieval Missals

Some later medieval missals, though generally in the Gregorian tradition, use *Pater* in the collects more frequently than does the parental text. Thus the Leofric missal and fragments printed with it, contain in addition to the Holy Thursday *secreta/super oblata* already mentioned, seven more collects addressed to *Pater* (23). One of these is also used in the later Sarum missal, and the latter book contains six additional collects containing *Pater* in the address (24).

23. Warren, *The Leofric Missal* :(and other texts bound together)

Page 114, *summe Pater*

176, *Domine Deus Pater comipotens*

181, *Deus Pater omnipotens*

190, *clementissime Pater*

273, 274, *omnipotens Pater*

310, *Deus Pater omnipotens*

24. Wickham Legg, *The Sarum Missal*

Leofric 181 = Sarum 399, *Deus Pater omnipotens*

154, 246, *omnipotens Pater*

93, 412, *clementissime Pater*

483, *misericors Pater*

Gallican and Mozarabic Sacramentaries

Collects addressed to *Pater* are also usually found in sacramentaries of the Gallican type, though this is not always the case. The *Missale Gallicanum Vetus* (25), for example, contains no such text, and the *Missale Francorum* only one (26). However the so-called “Mone masses” contain eight collects addressed to *Pater* (27), and eight collects are also addressed to *Pater* in the *Missale Gothicum* (28). The Bobbio missal contains seven collects with this address (29). Finally, the Mozarabic sacramentary contains 15 collects addressed to *Pater* (30).

25. L. C. Mohlberg, *Missale Gallicanum Vetus* (Cod. Vat. Palat. Lat. 493) (Roma:

Herder 1958)

26. L. C. Mohlberg, *Missale Francorum* (Cod. Vat. Reg. Lat 257) (Roma: Herder 1957).
Collect 153, *summe Pater*

27. In Mohlberg, *Missale Gallicanum Vetus*, 74-91.
Collect 279, 291, 302, *Deus Pater omnipotens*
285, *clementissime Pater*
301, *omnipotentem Deum Patrem*
321, *Pater omnipotens*

331, *Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Jacob, Deus et Pater Domine nostri Jesus Christ*

337, *Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens aeterne Deus*

One additional text of this sort is among the appended Wurzburg fragment: 374, *sancte Pater, omnipotens Deus*

28. L. C. Mohlberg, *Missale Gothicaum* (Vat, Reg. Lat. 317) (Roma: Herder 1961).
Collect 229, *sancte Domine, omnipotens Pater*
318, *omnipotens Pater*
315, 328, 361, *Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens aeterne Deus*
497, 502, *Deus Pater omnipotens*
508, *Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum*

29. E. A. Lowe, *The Bobbio Missale: A Gallican Mass-Book* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society 1920).

p. 20, *Domine Deus Pater omnipotens;*

p 26, *aeterne Deus Pater omnipotens*

p 38, *Domine sancte Pater omnipotens Deus*

p 105, *Pater sancte*

pp 121, 141, *Deus Pater omnipotens*

p 130, *clementissime Pater*

30. D. M. Ferotin, *Le Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentarium et les manuscrits Mozarabes* (Paris: Librairie Firmin-Didot et cie. 1912).

Collect 94, *Domine sancte, Pater eterne, omnipotens Deus*

165, 171, 660, *Deus Pater omnipotens*

594, 1391, 1452, *Deus Pater*

707, *Deus et Pater universitatis*

722, *omnipotens Pater*

847, 946, *omnipotens Deus Pater*

895, *ingenite Pater summe*

1154, *Domine Deus Pater, omnipotens*

1151, *Domine sancte, Pater eterne*

1348, *omnipotens, eterne Pater et Domine*
1400, *pie Pater*.

Missale Romanum 1570

Medieval traditions were consolidated into the *Missale Romanum* of 1570, whose compilers incorporated only a single collect addressed to Pater. This was the *secreta* for Holy Thursday (*Ipse tibi...Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus*) from the Gregorian sacramentary.

Three other collects of this type were introduced during the next four centuries, however. Thus the *secreta* for the feast of St. Camillus of Lellis (July 18; canonized 1746) is addressed to *Deus Pater omnipotens*, and the *oratio* for the feast of St. Jerome Emiliani (July 20; canonized 1767) is addressed to *Deus, misericordiam Pater*. Finally, an *oratio* addressed to *Deus Pater omnipotens* was included in a mass formula *In Commemoratio omnium SS summorum pontificem*. This was placed in a *Supplementus pro clero romani* during the nineteenth century, and later included in the *Missae pro aliquibus locis* for July 3. All three of these latter collects were original compositions, having no specific roots in the ancient sacramentaries (31).

31. P. Bruylands, *Les Oraisons du Missel romain: Texte et Histoire* 2 vol. (Louvain: Abbaye du Mont Cesar 1952)

Missale Romanum 1970

The new *Missale Romanum* of 1970 has expanded its use of *Pater* to 22 collects (out of a total of ca 1500), but in doing so has retained only one of the four collects addressed to *Pater* contained in the previous edition, that for St. Jerome Emiliani (now Feb. 8); this is the only example in the *Proprium de Sanctis*. Of the three such collects in the *Proprium de Tempore* (32), one is from the Veronese sacramentary, one has been identified as a new composition (33), and the third probably is new. The remainder are in the *communia* (1 collect), *missae rituales* (3 collects), *missae et orationes ad diversa* (9 collects), *missae votivae* (3 collects), and *missae defunctorum* (2 collects). The source of only one of these has been identified (34); it is a new composition, and so, apparently are the others just listed.

32. Holy Family, *clementissime Pater*
Saturday, Lent I, *Pater aeterne*
Saturday, Easter 6, *Pater*

33. T. A. Krosnicki, *Ancient Patterns in Modern Prayer* (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press 1973)

34. A. Dumas, "Les sources du nouveau Missel romain," *Notitiae* 7 (1971) 37-42, 74-77, 94-95, 134-136, 276-280.

Nine distinct address formulas are used in the *Missale Romanum* of 1970, of which *Pater sancte* is found in seven collects

Two of the 1970 collects addressed to *Pater* are in masses “for the priest himself,” and one “for ministers of the Church”; all are addressed *Pater sancte*. It is intriguing in this regard that several medieval collects for the same occasion are also addressed to *Pater*; however the texts of the prayers are different (35). Similarly, two 1970 collects addressed to *Pater* are in masses for the dead; this address is also used in similar masses in the sacramentaries of Prague, Gellone and Fulda (36), although again the specific texts are different.

35. Prague: 240.1, *Deus Pater omnipotens*
241.2, *clementissime Pater*
Rheinau: 1366, *Pater omnipotens eterne Deus*
1367, *sancte Pater*
Gellone 1867, *Deus Pater omnipotens*
1878, *Pater sancte*
Fulda 2204, *clementissime Pater*
36. Prague 289.1, *Domine sancte Pater omnipotens eterne Deus*
290.2, *sancte Pater omnipotens eterne Deus*
Gellone 1957, *clementissime Pater*
2906, *sancte Pater omnipotens eterne Deus*
Fulda 2901, *sancte Pater*
2511, 2589, *clementissime Pater*

Anglican Prayer Books

The collects of the *Book of Common Prayer* may be divided into four groups: collects of the day for the Sundays of the year, collects of the day for saints days and other occasions; a small number that are fixed parts of Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer or The Holy Communion; and a miscellaneous group of prayers for various occasions. The collects of the day for the Sundays as well as the fixed collects (and a few others) are rooted in the Gregorian sacramentary tradition, especially via the Sarum Missal, and it would therefore be expected that few would be addressed to “Father.”

Book of Common Prayer 1549

In fact the 1549 edition contains only four such collects, two of which are derived from Latin prayers (St. Mary Magdalene: *clementissime Pater* / “Merciful Father”: and the Collect for Grace at Morning Prayer: *Domine sancte Pater omnipotens eterne Deus* / “O Lord our heavenly Father”. The two new compositions are the collect for the second communion service on Easter Day and also for Tuesday of Easter week (“Almighty Father”), and the occasional collect For Rain (“God heavenly Father”). (37)

37. F. E. Brightman, *The English Rite*. Being a Synopsis of the Sources and Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer, 2 vol. (London: Rivingtons 1921).

In the 1549 edition the prayer For Rain is among the collects at The Holy Communion “to be said after the offertory, when there is no communion”; in the 1662 and subsequent editions, however, it is among the “Prayers Upon Several Occasions.”

Book of Common Prayer 1662

Three of the 1549 collects addressed to “Father” were retained in the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* (38). Three other such prayers were added: In the Time of Dearth and Famine (“O God, heavenly Father,” and “O God, merciful Father”) among the Prayers for Several Occasions, and the prayer For the King’s Majesty at Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer (“O Lord our heavenly Father”).

38. The collects For Grace, For Rain, and that at the Easter season; the latter, however, was transferred to the first Sunday after Easter. The feast of St. Mary Magdalene was deleted from the calendar in this edition.

Translations

Versions of the *Book of Common Prayer* in French, Italian, German, Spanish, ancient and modern Greek, and Latin, have translated the divine names of the collects literally from the English (39).

39. *The Book of Common Prayer in Eight Languages* (London: Samuel Bagster and Sons n.d.)

Proposed (“Deposited”) *Book of Common Prayer* 1928

The 1928 Proposed or “Deposited” *Book of Common Prayer* may be mentioned briefly, for although it was not approved by Parliament for general use, it contained changes in the calendar and an augmented set of collects that have influenced subsequent editions. The set of occasional prayers and thanksgivings includes twelve collects addressed to “Father,” two of which are carried over from the 1662 edition. “O God, our heavenly Father” (and close variants) is the most commonly used address.

United States *Book of Common Prayer* 1928

A revision of the *Book of Common Prayer* of the Episcopal Church in the United States was also published in 1928, and it too contains an increased number of prayers addressed to “Father.” One is a collect for Maundy Thursday (“almighty Father”), and another is for Thanksgiving Day (“O most merciful Father”). The group of occasional prayers has been much expanded, and among these fourteen are addressed to “Father”. Eight verbally distinct address formulas are used, of which “Almighty God our heavenly Father” (15 collects) is the most

common.

Canadian Book of Common Prayer 1962

Another modest revision of the *Book of Common Prayer* was that of the Anglican Church of Canada in 1962. It added four collects addressed to “Father” to the calendar (40). As with the other revisions just mentioned, the collection of prayers upon several occasions was considerably expanded (to 58), and of these 13 are addressed to “Father”. The most common formulas are “O God, our heavenly Father” and “O heavenly Father”(3 collects each).

40. Advent ember days: almighty Lord and everlasting Father;
Baptism of the Lord, SS Philip and James: O heavenly Father;
Thanksgiving Day: O most merciful Father

United States Book of Common Prayer 1978

With the several revisions of liturgical books during the late 1970s and early 1980s, the use of “Father” in collect addresses increased even more. Thus the U. S. *Prayer Book* of 1978 now has sixteen collects addressed to “Father” in the seasons, saints days, commons and various occasions (41).

41. Holy Name: eternal Father
Baptism of the Lord: Father in heaven
Epiphany 8: most loving Father
Lent 4: gracious Father
Saturday in Easter week: heavenly Father.
Confession of St. Peter: almighty Father
Visitation: Father in heaven
St Matthew: heavenly Father
Thanksgiving Day: almighty and gracious Father
Of a pastor: heavenly Father
For the Sick: heavenly Father
Of the Holy Eucharist: God our Father
For a Church Convention: almighty and everlasting Father
For the Unity of the Church: almighty Father;
For Social Service: O Lord our heavenly Father;
For Vocation in Daily Work: Almighty God our heavenly Father

Of these two are retained from previous editions. The 1549/1662 collect at the Easter season has been transferred to Friday in Easter week, and the 1928 collect for Maundy Thursday has been retained.

A few collects for Sundays and seasons are revisions of 1662 texts, in which an address containing “Father” is used in place of the original “God” or “Lord” (42).

42. Almighty Father is used in the Second Sunday after Christmas (the 1662 collect for Epiphany 6);
heavenly Father on Easter 5 (Easter 5 in 1662), Ordinary Sunday 13 (Epiphany 5 in 1662),
and All Saints (the same occasion in 1662);
God our Father on Ordinary Sunday 20 (Trinity 6 in 1662);
Father in heaven on Ordinary Sunday 33 (Trinity 22 in 1662)

Almost all the other collects listed above have been identified as being modern compositions; one however is a revision of a Mozarabic collect (43).

43. M. J. Hatchett, *Commentary on the American Prayer Book* (New York: Seabury 1980 Saturday in Easter week

The most common addresses are “heavenly Father” and “almighty Father,” with a total of eleven distinct formulas that refer to “Father.” The 1978 U.S. revision also contains a much expanded set of prayers for diverse occasions (69 prayers). Of these 19 are addressed to “Father,” among which are eleven new texts. The most commonly used addresses are “(O heavenly Father” (4 collects) and “Almighty God our heavenly Father” (4 collects).

Alternative Services Book 1980

The Church of England’s *Alternative Service Book* was published in 1980, and among its collects are 28 addressed to “Father.” These include 15 for Sundays and seasons, including the 1662 collect for the first Sunday after Easter; six for festivals and holy days; one for lesser festivals and holy days; and 11 for various occasions. Four Sunday collects are revisions of 1662 texts, in which an address containing “Father” is used in place of the original “God” or “Lord” (44). Ten distinct address formulas contain “Father,” of which “heavenly Father” (14 collects) and “almighty Father” (10 collects) are the most common.

44. Heavenly Father is used on the eighth Sunday before Christmas and on Epiphany 6 (the 1662 collect for epiphany 6);
Lord God our Father on Pentecost 3 (Easter eve in 1662);
and Father of mankind on Pentecost 10 (Palm Sunday in 1662)

Canadian Book of Alternative Services 1985

The last Anglican collection that will be considered is the 1985 *Book of Alternative Services* of the Anglican Church of Canada. The collects that are designated prayers of the day (i.e., opening prayers) use addresses to “Father” sparingly. Five collects out of 71 for Sundays and seasons are of this type, as are two out of 40 for saints days, plus three occasional prayers. (45)

45. *Sundays and seasons:*

Christmas, in the Early Morning: O God our Father
The Naming of Jesus: Eternal Father
Fourth Sunday of Lent, Years A and B: Gracious Father
Good Friday: Almighty God, our heavenly Father
Baptism of the Lord: Eternal Father
Saints' Days
Holy Innocents: Almighty God, our heavenly Father
All Souls: Father of all
Occasional Prayers
For the Oppressed in this Land: O heavenly Father
For the Unemployed: Heavenly Father
For Those in Mental Distress: Heavenly Father

Seven distinct formulas of address are used for these, of which "Father" (3 collects) and "heavenly Father" (2 collects) are most common.

In a departure from traditional Anglican practice, this service book uses variable prayers over the gifts and prayers after communion. In a draft of this liturgical book (*Third Canadian Order*), 55 prayers over the gifts and 56 prayers after communion out of 71 for Sundays and seasons are addressed to "Father," as are 32 prayers over the gifts and 29 prayers after communion out of 40 prayers for feasts and other occasions. "Father" alone is used as the address for all but one of these prayers; the exception is "eternal Father." In the final version of the *Book of Alternative Services*, however, the number of prayers addressed to "Father" is substantially reduced: 8 prayers over the gifts and 17 prayers after communion (46).

46. Prayers over the gifts addressed to "Father"

Maundy Thursday; Sunday between 5 and 11 June; Sunday between 10 and 15 July; Sunday between 7 and 13 August; Sunday between 14 and 20 August; Saint Matthias; Saint Matthew; Common of a Martyr 2

Prayers after Communion addressed to "Father"

Christmas at Midnight; The Naming of Jesus; Fourth Sunday of Lent Year A; Second Sunday of Easter; Sixth Sunday of Easter; The Day of Pentecost; Sunday between 4 and 10 September; Sunday between 25 September and 1 October; Sunday between 30 October and 4 November; Confession of Saint Peter; Saint Joseph of Nazareth; Saint Peter and Saint Paul; Saint James the Apostle; Saint Andrew; Common of a Martyr 2; Common of a Missionary; Common of a Pastor

Lutheran Service Books

The collects of the contemporary North American Lutheran service books have immediate roots both in German and (to a lesser extent) Scandinavian Lutheran prayer traditions, and in the English language tradition of the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer*.

German Language Service Books

Luther himself frequently included the divine name “Father” in the addresses of collects. Thus in six of 15 Latin seasonal collects which he translated into German he introduced *Vater* where *Pater* was not in the original. Three of nine original German language collects that are attributed to his hand are also so addressed (47). Examination of 101 German translations of 34 Latin collects published by Paul Z. Strodach (48) shows that the addresses of eleven contain *Vater*; in nine cases this appears as *himmlischer Vater*, almost always in combination with other divine names.

47. U.S. Leupold, eds., *Luther’s Works*, vol 53: Liturgy and Hymns (Philadelphia: Fortress 1965)

48. P. Z. Strodach, “The Collects in the Church Book. The Advent Group,” *Lutheran Church Review* 35 (1916) 401-425

“The Collects in the Church Book. From Christmas through the Epiphanytide,” *Lutheran Church Review* 36 (1917) 105-136

“The Collects in the Common Service Book (Septuagesima to Judaica),” *Lutheran Church Review* 40 (1921) 57-74

“The Collects in the Common Service Book (Palmarum to Easter),” *Lutheran Church Review* 40 (1921) 242-466.

In the 1899 U.S. service book, *Kirchenbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden*, five out of 76 collects for Sundays and seasons, and six of twelve collects for saints days and other occasions, are addressed to *Vater*. Again *himmlischer Vater*, used together with other divine names, is the most common formula.

Common Service Book 1919

English-speaking Lutherans came to adopt (with some revisions and exceptions) the Anglican collects of the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer*. An important milestone in this process was the publication in 1919 of the *Common Service Book* (49). Of the five Anglican collects addressed to “Father,” however, only one was kept by the Lutherans, namely the Collect for Grace at Matins. That for the first Sunday after Easter was replaced by a translation of the Gregorian (and Sarum Missal) collect for this Sunday, apparently in an attempt to “keep closer to the traditional body of Collects than does the series in the Anglican Prayer Book” (50). As a result, the *Common Service Book* contains no addresses to “Father” in the collects for Sundays and seasons. The other *Prayer Book* collects (For Rain; In Time of Dearth and Famine; For the King’s Majesty) have simply been omitted. Collects addressed to “Father” are, however, used on two saints’ days and for four other observances; in these cases the texts are translations from the

German or are original English language compositions (51).

49. The collects of the 1958 *Service Book and Hymnal* are the same as those of the 1919 *Common Service Book*.

50. L. D. Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy* (Philadelphia: Fortress 1965), 465; cf also 284, 509

51. Reed, *Lutheran Liturgy*. Holy Innocents; St. John the Baptist; Reformation Day; Festival of Harvest; Day of Humiliation and Prayer; Day of General or Special Thanksgiving

Service Book and Hymnal 1958

The Lutheran service books contain large numbers of collects and prayers for various occasions. These number 138 in the 1958 *Service Book and Hymnal*, and 30 of these are addressed to “Father”. They come from a variety of English, German and Swedish sources, though most have English language origins. (52). It is of interest that the Prayer for Repentance, addressed “merciful Father,” comes from the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* collect for St. Mary Magdalene. This in turn is a translation from the Sarum Missal, where the address is *clementissime Pater*. Examination of the sources of the miscellaneous collects shows that in three cases “Father” was in the original text, but was deleted in translation into English; one each Latin, German and Swedish prayer is concerned.

52. Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy*, pp 516ff

Lutheran Book of Worship 1978

The use of “Father” in collect addresses is modestly increased in the 1978 *Lutheran Book of Worship*. Thus this type of address is used in seven collects for Sundays and principal festivals, in two lesser festivals (out of 38), and three (out of 18) occasions. (53)

53. *Sundays and Seasons:*

Baptism of Our Lord: Father in heaven

Lent 2 (1): Heavenly Father

Lent 2 (2) God our Father

Pentecost: God, the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ

Holy Trinity: Almighty God our Father

Pentecost 7: God of glory, Father of love

Pentecost 11: Gracious Father

Lesser Festivals and Commemorations

Name of Jesus: Eternal Father

Pastors and Bishops: Heavenly Father, shepherd of your people

Occasions

Unity: God our Father

Day of Thanksgiving: Almighty God our Father
New Year's Eve: Eternal Father

Of these seven texts for Sundays and Seasons, eight are identified as new compositions (54), two were taken from the *Common Service Book / Service Book and Hymnal* and two from Anglican sources.

54. P.H. Phatteicher and C. R. Messerli, *Manual on the Liturgy: Lutheran Book of Worship* (Minneapolis: Augsburg 1979)

A draft of this collection of prayers was published in 1973 (55). Thirteen prayers that were addressed to "Father" in this draft were given other addresses in the final publication (56).

55. *The Church Year, Calendar and Lectionary*. Contemporary Worship 6 (Minneapolis: Augsburg 1973)

56. Lent 1a; Lent 1b; Lent 3; Lent 5; Maundy Thursday; Pentecost 4, 7, 21, 27; Confession of St. Peter; Reformation Day; Martyrs and Renewers of the Church; Harvest

Nine different formulas of address containing "Father" are used in *Lutheran Book of Worship*, with "God our Father," "eternal Father and God of glory," and "Father of love" being used twice; "Father" alone is not used. This service book also contains a larger set of Petitions, Intercessions and Thanksgivings, of which 16 are addressed to "Father"; most of these texts are taken from Anglican sources.

Lutheran Worship 1982

The newest Lutheran service book is *Lutheran Worship* of the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod, published in 1982. It contains fewer new compositions among its collects than *Lutheran Book of Worship*, and instead retains more of the older texts. Eight collects for Sundays and seasons, and eight for minor festivals and occasions use "Father" in the address. With one exception (Baptism of our Lord) these are different collects than those in which "Father" is used in *Lutheran Book of Worship*. However, in four cases the body of the collect in the two service books is the same (or essentially so), but in *Lutheran Worship* the address has been expanded or altered to include "Father" (57), whereas this is not the case in *Lutheran Book of Worship*. Eleven verbally distinct address formulas contain "Father," only one of which is used more than once: "Lord God, heavenly Father" (5 collects). Finally, 17 out of 60 miscellaneous petitions and intercessions are addressed to "Father"

57. Palm Sunday; Easter; Easter 4; Confession of St. Peter; the corresponding collects of *Contemporary Worship 6* do not include Father in these instances either.

Other Churches

The use of “Father” in collect invocations in the service books of several other Churches will be mentioned briefly. Thus there are two such collects in the 1962 *Book of Common Worship* of the Church of South India, of which one is taken from the 1662 Anglican *Book of Common Prayer*. The other apparently is a new composition. The U.S. Presbyterian *Worshipbook* of 1970 includes three prayers of confession, three prayers of thanksgiving, 14 collects, and 13 other prayers of Christian worship that are addressed to “Father”. “God our Father” is the most common formula. The United Methodist Church published a small set of collects in 1979, (58) and of these three are addressed to “Father”; one uses the formula “God our Father and Mother.”

58. *Seasons of the Gospel: Resources for the Christian Year for the Use of United Methodists*. Nashville: Abingdon 1979.

The Presbyterian Church in Scotland’s *Book of Common Order* of 1979 contains two sets of collects, one of which is based on the 1968 *Daily Office* of the Joint Liturgical Group. None of these is addressed to “Father.” The second set comes from further ecumenical work in Britain. Eighteen collects are addressed to “Father,” and of these 14 are also found in the British *Methodist Service Book* of 1975 and 8 in the *Alternative Service Book* 1980 of the Church of England.

Prefaces

Traditional Preface Address (using “Father”)

In Latin

A tradition of considerable antiquity is for prefaces to contain a complex address to God which contains all three divine names: “God,” “Lord” and “Father.” In Latin this address is variously punctuated *Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeternae Deus* and *Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens, aetere Deus*; the latter is now accepted as the more authentic (59).

59. Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman Rite*, vol. 2, p. 126

This tradition can be traced back to the fourth century fragment of the “Anonymous Arian” (60) and to the Roman Canon as it existed in the sixth century (61).

60. In Mohlberg, *Sacramentarium Veronese*, pp. 202-203.

61. See Cipriano Vagaggini, *The Canon of the Mass and Liturgical Reform* (Staten Island NY: Alba House 1967) 31.

This formula is used in 13 of 15 prefaces of the 1570 *Missale Romanum* and in 56 of 62 prefaces

of the 1970 *Missale Romanum*.

In English

The English translation, “O Lord, holy Father, almighty, everlasting God,” is the only address used in editions of the *Book of Common Prayer* prior to 1978, in the Lutheran *Common Service Book* and *Service Book and Hymnal*, and in the *Book of Common Worship* of the Church of South India. It is also used in one of two prefaces in the British Methodist *Service Book* and in two of three prefaces of the Scottish Presbyterian *Book of Common Order*. It is also used in the 1978 U. S. *Book of Common Prayer* (Rite I), the Canadian *Book of Alternative Services* (1962 Rite), and in some prefaces of Lutheran *Book of Worship*

The version, “Holy Lord, almighty Father, everlasting God” is used in all of the prefaces of *Lutheran Worship*, while “Holy Lord, Father almighty, everlasting God” is found in the U.S. Presbyterian *Worshipbook*.

The present Roman Catholic version of the traditional address is “Father, all-powerful and ever-living God,” and this is used for 80 out of 83 prefaces in the modern English language Roman Catholic *Sacramentary*. It is also used in one of two prefaces in the Methodist *Service Book* of 1975.

Other Address Formulas

In Latin

Other addresses, which may or may not include “Father,” are also known in the tradition. Thus the fourth century fragment of the “Anonymous Arian,” already referred to, also mentions *Domine sancte omnipotens Deus*, and two prefaces of the 1570 *Missale Romanum* were simply addressed *Domine* (62).

62. Paschalis, Apostolis

The 1970 *Missale Romanum* uses *Domine* in five prefaces (63) and *sancte Pater* four times (64). One preface (Blessed Virgin Mary II) has no address.

63. Paschalis I, II, III, IV, V

64. Communis VI, EP II, EP III, Dedicacione Ecclesiae I

An appendix to the *Ordo Missae* in the new Latin missal gives nine additional preface introductions. Five contain *Pater*; seven of the nine addresses are simple in structure, containing only one divine name (65).

65. *Introductiones et conclusiones breves pro praefationes*, in *Missale Romanum*, p. 489.

Addresses include: *sancte Pater*; *Pater sancte*; *Pater omnipotens*; *Domine, Pater caelestis, omnipotens et misericors Deus*; and *misericors Pater, omnipotens Deus, Rex aeternae gloriae*. and three that do not refer to *Pater*. This appendix does not appear in the English language *Sacramentary*, though it has been retained in the German version

Following the publication of the 1970 Latin missal, five additional eucharistic prayers and accompanying prefaces were published for masses with children and masses of reconciliation. None of the prefaces in this collection uses the traditional preface address formula; however, all of the addresses used do contain *Pater* (66), and in four of these *Pater* is the only divine name used.

66. *Praeces Eucharisticae Pro Missis cum Pueris et de Reconciliatione*. Romae: Sacra Congregatio Pro Cultu Divino 1974. Addresses are *Deus, Pater noster* (C I); *amantissime Pater* (C II); *Deus / Pater* (C III); *Domine, sancte Pater* (R I); and *Deus et Pater omnipotens* (R II).

In English

Non-traditional address formulas are used in three of 83 prefaces of the contemporary Roman Catholic English language *Sacramentary*. These include “Father” and “Father in heaven” (67).

67. Father: Weekdays VI, EP II; Father in heaven: EP IV

The addresses of the prefaces for masses with children and masses of reconciliation refer to “Father.” (68)

68. God our Father: C I, C III;
God, our loving Father: C II;
Father, all-powerful and ever-living God: R I, R II.

The 1978 U. S. *Book of Common Prayer* uses “Father almighty, Creator of heaven and earth” for a number of prefaces, but also “God of all power, Ruler of the Universe” and simply “Father.” The Canadian *Book of Alternative Services* uses six simple addresses, including “Father.” In *Lutheran Book of Worship* the address, “O Lord, holy Father” is used for ten prefaces. A variety of other addresses that refer to “Father” are found in other contemporary Protestant service books. (69)

69. Other addresses: holy Father; O heavenly Father; O merciful Father; holy Father, heavenly King, almighty and eternal God; Lord, holy Father, mighty creator and eternal God; Lord, holy Father, true and living God; creator Lord, holy Father, true and living God; O Lord, holy Father; God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; mighty God, good Father; almighty God, eternal and holy Father; almighty God, eternal Father

Eucharistic Prayers

Ancient Latin and Greek Texts

The address of the *post sanctus* section of the eucharistic prayer to “Father,” and the use of this divine name in the concluding doxology of this prayer, are of ancient tradition. In the *Didache*, for example, the prayer of chapter 9 is addressed to *Pater noster* (*pater homon*) and that of chapter 10 is addressed to *Pater sancte* (*pater hagio*) (70). In the *Apology* of Justin (n. 65) thanks are given to *Pater universorum* (*patri ton holon*) *per nomen Filii et Spiritus sancti*. In contrast, Hippolytus addresses the eucharistic prayer of the *Apostolic Tradition* to *Deus* (71), while the concluding doxology refers to *Patri et Filio cum sancto Spiritus*.

70. This and other texts referred to here are in A. Hanggi and I. Pahl, *Præx Eucharistica: Textus e Variis Liturgiis Antiquioribus Selecti* (Fribourg: Editions Universitaires 1968)

71. The modern Roman Catholic EP II, which is based on that of Hippolytus, uses *Domine* / “Lord” in the address of the *post sanctus*. The translation in *Lutheran Book of Worship* (EP IV) is “Father” and that of the version in the U.S. *Book of Common Prayer* (EP B) is “God.”

Roman Canon

Though Ambrose (72) does not give the beginning of the eucharistic prayer of his period (ca 378) and locale, the institution narrative of his text twice refers to *sancte Pater omnipotens aeternae Deus*; the canon of the Ambrosian rite has retained the double reference, while the corresponding section of the Roman Canon has only a single reference to *Pater*.

72. Ambrose, “De Sacramentis.” In Hanggi and Pahl, *Præx Eucharistica*.

Cyprian Vagaggini’s reconstruction of the Roman Canon as it might have existed at the beginning of the fourth century uses the initial address, *omnipotens Pater* (73), and in the Roman Canon as it had developed by the sixth century, *Pater* is mentioned three times in addition to the preface: *clementissime Pater* at the beginning, *Deum Patrem...omnipotentem* in the institution narrative, and *Deo Patri omnipotenti* in the concluding doxology. Other divine names used as addresses within the text are *Domine* (6 times) and *Deus* (2 times); this same usage is of course found in the *Missale Romanum* of 1570 and that of 1970.

73. Cipriano Vagaggini, *The Canon of the Mass and Liturgical Reform*. Staten Island NY: Alba House 1967, 31ff

Modern Roman Catholic Texts in Latin

The Latin texts of the eight new eucharistic prayers use the address “Pater” in a number of sections. These data are shown here in tabular form. (For the sake of completeness and comparison, the Roman Canon is also included.)

Uses of “Father” (in whatever construction)

Post sanctus: EP I, EP III, EP IV, EP Children I, EP Children II, EP Reconciliation I

First epiclesis: EP III, EP IV, EP Children II, EP Children III

Institution narrative: EP I, EP IV

Anamnesis: EP I, EP II, EP III, EP IV, EP Children I, EP Children II, EP Children III

Second epiclesis: EP Children I, EP Children III, EP Reconciliation I, EP Reconciliation II

Doxology: All nine EP

Other” EP I, EP III, EP IV (three times), EP Children II, EP Children III, EP Reconciliation II

Modern Roman Catholic Texts in English

In the contemporary English translation of the Roman Canon, the three *Pater*’s are rendered “Father,” though there have been changes in associated adjectives and other divine names (74). In addition, *Domine* is twice rendered “Father” instead of “Lord”; one of these cases is the address of the anamnesis prayer.

74. *Clementissime Pater* = “Father”
Deus Patrem omnipotentem = “almighty Father” (twice)

In the new eucharistic prayers *Pater* is in all cases translated literally. In addition, *Domine* and *Deus* are rendered “Father” seven times (75).

75. EP II, *Domine* = “Father”
EP III, *Domine* = “Father” (3 times)
EP IV, *Domine* = “Father” (twice)
EP Reconciliation I, *Deus* = “Father”

“Father” is present five times in English where there is no divine name in the Latin text (76).

76. EP Children I, “God our Father,” “Father”
EP Children II, “Father”
EP Children III, “Father”
EP Reconciliation I, “Father”

In two places, the English does not have “Father” where *Pater* is present in Latin (77).

77. The doxology of EP Children, and the *post sanctus* of EP Reconciliation I

The result is that the *post sanctus* sections of EP I, EP III, and EP IV, EP Children I, EP Children II, and EP Reconciliation I are addressed to “Father.” The anamensis prayers of EP I, EP II, EP III, EP IV, EP Children I, EP Children II, and EP Children III are also addressed “Father.”

Anglican Prayer Books

The addresses of the *post sanctus* section of the eucharistic prayers (by whatever names these texts are referred to) of Anglican service books, from 1549 to the present, generally include the divine name “Father.” Corresponding addresses in the 1978 U. S. *Book of Common Prayer* (Rite II) include “Holy and gracious Father,” “O God,” “Father,” and “holy Lord,” while those in the Canadian *Book of Alternative Services* include “Holy God,” “Holy and gracious God,” “Lord our God,” “loving Father,” and “holy Lord.”

“Father” or “O Father” is also frequently used in the address of the anamnesis prayer in the same liturgical books. “Gracious God,” however, is a common address in the *Book of Alternative Services*, and address formulas that include “Lord” are also found.

The doxology at the conclusion of the eucharistic prayer is almost always addressed to “Father” in Anglican service books. The only exception is one prayer in the *Book of Alternative Services* where “you” is used. Finally, as with other service books, the eucharistic prayers sometimes contain addresses including “Father” that are interjected into other positions than those already considered. In the various texts of the U.S. *Prayer Book* and *Alternative Service Book*, these number from one to three.

Lutheran Service Books

The Lutheran eucharistic prayers (or the shortened texts that sometimes replace them) do not use “Father” as an address as much as do those of other traditions. Thus in the *Service Book and Hymnal* “Father” is used only in the doxology. In the four major eucharistic prayers of *Lutheran Book of Worship*, “Father” is used in one prayer at the *post sanctus* position, only once following the institution narrative, but in the doxologies of all four prayers. *Lutheran Worship* has only a *post sanctus* introduction to the institution narrative, and neither of its two prayers is addressed to “Father.”

Other Parts of the Eucharistic Liturgy

Having already considered collects, prefaces and eucharistic prayers, it remains to consider the remainder of the eucharistic liturgy. Here the divine name “Father” is found in a number of places and in a variety of types of texts. Comparisons will be made only to one older and one more recent Roman Catholic, Anglican and Lutheran service book. Some attention will be paid to chronology. (78)

78 78 See Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman Rite*, ad locum

Sign of the Cross and Greeting

Since 1570 Roman Catholic eucharistic celebrations have begun “In the name of the Father...”; these words, which accompany the cross-gesture, were introduced only in the 14th century. This sign and accompanying words may also be used by Lutherans, but are not found in Anglican liturgies. Contemporary Roman Catholic, Anglican and Lutheran liturgies may also begin with a scriptural greeting, some of which employ the divine name “Father.”

Doxology: Glory be

The “Glory be to the Father...” or similar doxology has concluded the psalms since very ancient times, and the use of the present text in the West is recorded since the 6th century. Though this doxology obviously is more frequently used in the Liturgy of the Hours, in the Latin mass it concluded the introit antiphon, psalm 42 near the beginning of the service, and psalm 25 at the washing of the hands; the latter texts came into use in the 14th century. All of these uses have been discontinued. In the older Lutheran liturgy it concluded the introit antiphon and the *Nunc Dimittis* which followed communion; again both usages have been discontinued in the contemporary *Lutheran Book of Worship*.

Confession

In the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* the prayer of confession and the absolution contain three references to “Father,” whereas in corresponding texts of the new U.S. *Prayer Book* this divine name is used from zero to three times. “Father” was also used in the confession and absolution of the older Lutheran *Service Book and Hymnal*, but in *Lutheran Book of Worship* this divine name is used only in one optional absolution prayer.

Glory to God

The Glory to God (*Gloria in excelsis*) has been used in the West since the 6-7th centuries. It is used in Roman Catholic, Anglican and Lutheran liturgies, at least on Sundays outside of Lent and Advent, and on feast days. This hymn refers to “Father” four times.

Creeds

The Nicene Creed was introduced into the mass during the 7th-9th centuries in the West, and it is still part of the Sunday and festal liturgies in all three traditions; some recent usages permit the use of the Apostles' Creed on some Sundays. The Nicene Creed refers to "Father" six times, the Apostles' Creed twice.

Prayer of the Church

In the Lutheran *Service Book and Hymnal* three prayers following the Prayer of the Church are addressed to "Father"; this is no longer the case in *Lutheran Book of Worship*. In the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* the prayer for the Church uses "Father" twice; this is also true of Rite I of the present U.S. *Book of Common Prayer*, while Rite II contains two optional uses of "Father."

Offertory

"Father" occurs at the offertory of the Latin mass in the prayer *Suscipe, sancte Pater*; this text is of medieval origin and has been deleted from the modern Roman Catholic eucharistic liturgy. In *Lutheran Book of Worship* one optional offertory prayer is addressed to "Father."

The introduction to the prayer over the gifts in the Roman rite takes the form of the invitatory, "Pray, brethren, that our sacrifice may be acceptable to God, the almighty Father." During the middle ages this text had various readings, only some of which contained *Deus Patrem omnipotentem*; however this reading was included in the the *Missale Romanum* of 1570. *Pater* is not found in the Sarum, Hereford, Westminster or 1474 Roman missals, for example. This text is not used in the Anglican or Lutheran liturgies.

Lord's Prayer

The Lord's Prayer has been a constant part of all liturgical services since a very early period. In the 1662 Anglican liturgy it was used twice, and in the modern Roman Catholic liturgy an optional text that introduces the Lord's Prayer also refers to "Father."

Prayers before Communion

In the Latin mass there were two references to *Pater* in the priest's private prayers before communion; these texts were introduced during the medieval period. At present there is only once such reference.

Prayers after Communion

The 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* contains two prayers following communion that are addressed to "Father"; the present U. S. *Prayer Book* text also contains two such references.

Concluding Blessing

Finally, the concluding blessing, “In the name of the Father...” is used in traditional and modern Roman Catholic and Anglican eucharistic liturgies, and in the older Lutheran *Service Book and Hymnal*. In *Lutheran Book of Worship* this divine name is in one optional text, while no wording is specified in the 1978 *Book of Common Prayer*. For centuries such a blessing was reserved to the bishop, and it was only during the medieval period that priests began to use this text.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the Latin mass refers to *Pater* 25 times in the texts considered above, while there are between 12 and 17 such references (depending on which optional texts are chosen) in the present liturgical texts in English. The 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* uses “Father” 19 or 20 times, while the 1978 U.S. *Prayer Book* does so 16-19 times in Rite I and 13-16 times in Rite II. The older Lutheran *Service Book and Hymnal* refers to “Father” 15-20 times, while the contemporary *Lutheran Book of Worship* does so between 7 and 16 times. It should be pointed out that the Glory to God and Nicene Creed, when used, together contribute 10 of these references. Finally, the total use of the divine name “Father” in all of these liturgies is less than those of “Lord” and “God.”

“Father” in Morning and Evening Prayer

The Anglican and Lutheran liturgies of Morning and Evening Prayer are considered here because historically they – especially Morning Prayer – have been the most important Sunday service(s) for many congregations; in some places this is still true today.

In the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* the liturgy of Morning Prayer begins with an invitation to confession, the confession itself, and the absolution; “Father” is used four times in these texts. The Lord’s Prayer is said twice, and the Glory be to the Father... follows each psalm and canticle. The *Te Deum* uses “Father” four times, and the Apostles’s Creed twice; on some Sundays the Athanasian Creed, with 19 references to “Father”, is substituted. Finally, both the Collect for Grace and that For the King’s Majesty, with which morning prayer concludes, contain “Father” in the address. In all, “Father” is used 14 times in addition to its usage in the Glory be to the Father... and in rare collects of the day.

Evening Prayer follows the same general form as Morning Prayer, except that neither the *Te Deum* nor the Collect for Grace is used, thus reducing the use of “Father” to nine times plus the number of Glory be’s.

In the 1978 U.S. *Prayer Book*, however, the use of “Father” at Morning Prayer has been considerably reduced. In addition to the Glory be’s, it is found in seven fixed and two optional

prayers in Rite I, and in four fixed and three optional prayers in Rite II. Evening prayer now contains six fixed and one optional uses of “Father” in Rite I, in addition to the Glory be’s.

The Lutheran liturgies use “Father” less frequently than does the *Book of Common Prayer*. Thus Matins in the *Common Service Book* and *Service Book and Hymnal* includes the *Te Deum*, the Lord’s Prayer, and the Collect for Grace (total = 6 “Father”) in addition to the several Glory be to the Father’s and rare Collects of the day. In Vespers “Father” is found only in the Lord’s Prayer and the Glory be’s. These usages are altered in *Lutheran Book of Worship* only in that a blessing containing “Father” has been added to Evening Prayer.

WAYS IN WHICH ‘FATHER’ IS USED IN LITURGICAL PRAYER

“Father” is used in liturgical prayer in a variety of ways. These may be considered according to:

- (a) type of liturgical prayer;
- (b) position within the text;
- (c) use alone or with other divine names;
- (d) use alone or with epithets
- (e) the nature of the epithets used.

Types of Liturgical Texts

The divine name “Father” is used in a variety of types of liturgical texts, including the following:

- (a) trinitarian formulas such as the sign of the cross, the Glory Be, many doxologies and blessings, and the creeds;
- (b) hymns such as the Glory to God and the *Te Deum*;
- (c) scriptural greetings;
- (d) a few prayer endings;
- (e) texts in which “Father” is direct object;
- (f) texts in which “Father” is used as a vocative interjected into the middle of prayers;

and

- (g) texts in which “Father” is used as a direct address at or near the beginning of prayers.

The final type of use is the focus of the following analysis and discussion.

Position within the text

“Father” may be used at the beginning of collects, prefaces and eucharistic prayers, or further along in the text.

In the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer*, 1978 U.S. *Prayer Book*, and the traditional collects of the *Australian Prayer Book*, the address (whether “Father” or another divine name) is within the text rather than at the very beginning in ca 18 to 20 percent of cases. In most of these the verb of the petition precedes the divine name. This style has been reduced to 6 to 7 percent in the English *Alternative Service Book* and in *Lutheran Book of Worship*. In the new Canadian Anglican collects only one collect for Sundays begins with a verb rather than the address proper; however a higher percentage of those for saints days do so.

In contrast, in the ICEL English Roman Catholic *Sacramentary* and Methodist collects, all texts begin with the address (“Father” or other divine name) without exception.

There are also two styles of using “Father” in the prefaces. In most service books studied the vast majority of prefaces do not begin with the address, but rather with “It is truly right...” or an equivalent phrase.

In contrast, all but one (EP Children 3) of the Roman Catholic prefaces begin with the divine name, “Father....”

The relative use of “Father” at the beginning of prayers and in other ways also varies in the eucharistic prayers. Thus in the *Alternative Service Book*, “Father” is never at the beginning of a sentence, whereas this is the case 65 percent of the time in the ICEL Roman Catholic *Sacramentary*. In other service books this proportion ranges from 15 (*Lutheran Book of Worship*) to 46 (Canadian *Book of Alternative Services*) percent.

“Father” Used Alone or with Other Divine Names

In Latin liturgical texts, *Pater* never appears completely alone. When it is combined with other divine names, however, it may appear as *Deus Pater* both with and without an epithet; as (*Domine*) *Deus, Pater* (+ epithet), as *Deus* (or *Domine*), (epithet) *Pater*; and as *Deus et Pater* (+ epithet). One expression that is not found is *Deus/Domine Pater noster*, though *Domine Deus noster* is among the standard addresses.

In English texts the name “Father” is used alone and in various combinations with other divine names, even when adjectives and other descriptive terms are absent.

The name Father alone is used by only a few service books, but in these cases it is used frequently.

“God our Father” is used by a wider range of liturgical books, but in only two is it a commonly used address.

“Father of our Lord Jesus Christ” (with or without various words preceding “Father”) is used by number of liturgical books, but it is not really a common address. “Lord God our Father” is used only rarely, as is “Father, Son and Holy Spirit.” “God the Father” is used, in combination

with adjectives, by *Lutheran Worship*; the definite article here is not used in other sources.

When “Father” is used together with other divine names and with epithets, the ways in which it is used are even more varied and complex. Thus “God” and “Father” may be preceded or followed by epithets, or both; be connected by “and” or by a comma; and the divine names may be used in any order. “Lord” and “Lord God” may also be used with “Father” in various ways: “Lord, ...Father”; “Lord our... Father”; “Lord God, ...Father”; and “Lord God our Father”.

Divine names alone (“Father,” “God our Father”) are found in 73 to 79 percent of all collects addressed to “Father” in the ICEL Roman Catholic *Sacramentary*, *Australian Prayer Book* and *Book of Alternative Services* of the Anglican Church of Canada, though obviously only one or two distinct formulas are used. This style of address is rare in other sources.

In eucharistic prayers, “Father” is mostly used alone. However, “God our Father” is used in some ICEL texts, and “Lord and heavenly Father; “almighty God our heavenly Father;” and “the God and Father of us all” by some Anglican texts. In a unique usage, the 1978 U.S. *Prayer Book* refers to “fatherly goodness.”

“Father” used with Epithets

“Epithets” are short terms or phrases that refer to the nature of God or God’s attributes.

More than half of the distinct formulas and more than 70 percent of the prayers addressed to “Father” in the 1978 U.S. *Prayer Book* and in the English *Alternative Service Book* use addresses containing a single divine name preceded by an epithet. This style is also the most common in the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* and in *Lutheran Book of Worship*, though only small numbers of collects are involved.

A variety of grammatical constructions are to be found. Thus “Father” may be followed by an appositive (Father, holy one), or by phrases beginning “our” (Father, our comfort and peace), by “in” (Father in heaven); or by “of” (Father of love). “Father” may be preceded by an adjective (almighty Father), by two adjectives (almighty and everpresent Father), by an adjective plus a superlative (most loving Father), or by an adjective with an appositive following the divine name (heavenly Father, Shepherd of your people).

In address formulas in which more than one divine name is used, the first divine name may be preceded by an adjective (heavenly Father and God of mercy), or followed by various words or phrases. The second divine name likewise may be preceded or followed by descriptive terms (Lord, holy Father; God of love, Father of all; Father, God of goodness). These different types of constructions vary among sources.

Lutheran Worship favors a different stylistic type, that containing more than one divine name, each preceded by an epithet (“almighty God, our loving Father”)

The Nature of the Epithets

What epithets or attributes are used with the divine name “Father”? Only three such terms were used in the collects, prefaces and eucharistic prayers of the *Missale Romanum* of 1570: *omnipotens*, *misericordiarum*, and *clementissime*. This represented a reduction from the six epithets used in the Mozarabic sacramentary and seven in the Veronese; additional terms used in these texts were *summe*, *bone*, *sancte*, *aeterne*, *sempiternae*, *ingenite*, *pie*, *gloriae* and *universitatis*. Seven epithets are now to be found in the collects of the *Missale Romanum* of 1970: *omnipotens*, *misericordiarum*, *aeternae*, *bone*, *clementissime*, *sancte* and *donorum omnium*. Additional epithets used in the new prefaces and eucharistic prayers include *clemens*, *amantissime*, *optime* and *omnium nostrum*. It is to be noted that *caelestis* / *in caelo* are never found in the Latin texts in association with *Pater*, and that *noster* is used only in one preface and in two of the new eucharistic prayers (EP Children I and II).

In the English language collects of the various Anglican liturgical books, “almighty” is used regularly, and “heavenly” in all but the *Australian Prayer Book*. “Merciful” is used in four, “gracious” in three, “everlasting” or “eternal” in five, “loving” in two, and “creator” in one source. In addition, “Father” is modified by various prepositional and genitive phrases: “of lights,” “of all mankind,” “of mercies” (or “of mercy”), “of peace,” “of all,” “of heaven and earth,” “of everlasting goodness,” “of all that is good,” and “in heaven”.

The prefaces of these sources use “almighty” and “holy” with “Father,” while most eucharistic prayers use “almighty,” “merciful” and “heavenly.” In addition, “gracious” and “Father of (us) all” are used in a few cases.

Like the Anglican sources, the Lutheran texts surveyed use “heavenly” and “merciful” to modify “Father”. “Gracious” and “eternal” are used in *Lutheran Book of Worship*, while “gracious,” “loving” and “dear” are used in *Lutheran Worship*. “Father in heaven” and “Father of love” are also used, but “almighty” is not used at all in the Lutheran texts. Epithets associated with “Father” in prefaces and eucharistic prayers include “holy” and “gracious”.

The ICEL Roman Catholic Sacramentary uses a wider range of descriptive terms to go with “Father”. These include “almighty / all powerful,” which is particularly common; “ever-present,” “eternal,” “merciful,” “heavenly,” “loving,” and “holy”. “Father” is also the “holy one” and the “creator,” and “author of all trust,” as well as “in heaven,” and our “comfort” and “peace.” Also used are genitive phrases such as “Father” “of love,” “of all,” “of all consolation,” “of our freedom,” “of our salvation,” “of everlasting goodness,” “of all that is good,” “of heaven and earth,” “of all holiness,” and “of light.” Epithets are used sparingly in the prefaces and eucharistic prayers of this source; however. “In heaven” is used in one preface, and “loving,” “almighty,” “heavenly / in heaven,” and “Father of us all” are used in some eucharistic prayers.

MULTIPLE MEANINGS OF “FATHER”

Liturgical prayers may also be analyzed from the perspective of the multiple meanings that the divine name “Father” may have. While these meanings overlap and represent different perspectives rather than distinct definitions, the following levels of meaning can be distinguished.

1. “Father” may be used as in the Hebrew Bible to mean creator and procreator, whether of the world or humankind in general, or particular groups and individuals.

2. “Father” may refer to the *Abba* of Jesus.

3. It may refer to “our Father.”

4. It may refer to “the Father of Jesus Christ” as Paul uses this phrase.

5. It may refer to the First Person of the Trinity as enunciated in later theological thought.

6. Finally, “Father” may be used together with “Lord” and “God” as simply an interchangeable general name or title for God.

From a grammatical point of view, “Father” may be used as a proper name, as a common noun denoting certain characteristics and a certain relationship, or as an image or metaphor.

The texts of liturgical prayers addressed to “Father” usually do not indicate which of these meanings is intended. However, “almighty / all-powerful” with “Father” may suggest God as creator. The few prayers that are addressed to “the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ” are clear in their intent. The use of epithets such as “in heaven” remind us of the Lord’s Prayer, but whether the emphasis is on the “Father” of Jesus or on *our* “Father” is unclear.

One way to evaluate the possibility that “Father” is just one of three interchangeable divine names, without any specific content, is to see if it shares the same associated epithets as do “God” and “Lord.”

Of the most common Latin epithets, certainly *omnipotens* is shared with *Deus*, as are *aeterne / sempiternae* and *misericors* and its derivatives. Latin terms that tend to be used exclusively with *Pater*, however, include *clementissime*, *sancte*, *bone* and *pie*.

In English, “almighty,” “merciful,” “eternal / everlasting,” and “gracious” are shared with other divine names in most if not all Anglican sources. In contrast, “heavenly,” “in heaven,” and “most loving” are used only with “Father.” In Lutheran texts, “eternal,” “merciful”

and “gracious” are shared with other divine names, whereas “heavenly” and “in heaven” are distinctive.

The significance of these distinctions in practice will of course vary with one’s awareness of the possibility that “Father” may have more than level of meaning. Many, probably, are not particularly conscious of this. For those who are, the spirituality and theological awareness of those who pray the text is important.

In this regard, it is my impression that up to recent times, “Father” in non-trinitarian liturgical texts primarily meant the Father of Jesus. In trinitarian texts it of course referred to the First Person and to God the Creator. In the twentieth century, however, I believe that a shift of meaning has or is taking place, such that “Father” in non-trinitarian texts increasingly (but not exclusively) refers to *our* “Father.”

FACTORS THAT HAVE INFLUENCED THE USE OF “FATHER”

An Initial Survey

The data presented here lead one to ask why the use of “Father” in liturgical prayer is the way – the various ways – it is. In other words, what influences have – or may have – affected the use of “Father” in liturgical prayer? Here, therefore I venture to at least name a number of real or potential factors that may be influenced the use of “Father”. Some are likely to have promoted the use of “Father,” while others are likely to have inhibited its use. This list may not be complete, and in any case each point requires further elaboration and discussion. I distinguish several time periods: early and medieval, sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, twentieth century up to 1970, the 1970s, and the 1980s and later.

Early and Medieval Periods

The following real or potential influences may be identified.

1. The Hebrew Scriptures and Jewish Liturgy

The Hebrew Scriptures refer to God as “Father”, for example in

Dt 32:6 - Is not he your father, who created you

Ps 68:5 - Father of orphans

Ps 89:26 - you are my father

Isa 9:6 - everlasting Father

Is 63:16, Is 64:8 - for you are our father.

“Father” is also a divine name in the Jewish liturgy, for example in the prayer “Our Father, Our King.”

2. The Lord's Prayer

In the prayer he taught his disciples, Jesus addressed God as "Our Father" (in Matthew) or simply "Father" (in Luke). This prayer has been part of the Christian liturgy since the beginning, as well as used in private prayer.

3. Other New Testament Influences

The individual Gospels differ in their use of "Father," from Mark with only a few such references, to John, with more than one hundred. Collectively, they refer to "my Father," "your Father," and "the Father," with other pronouns also used occasionally. The address, "Father of heaven and of earth" is found in a berakah prayer in Matthew (11:25) and in Luke (10:21).

The Epistles use "Abba Father" twice (Romans 8:15 and Galatians 4:6), as well as "God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." More common, however, is "God our Father," "God the Father," and "God and Father." James also uses "God and the Father" and "Lord and Father."

A small number of epithets and attributes accompany the name "Father" in the New Testament: "who is in heaven," "heavenly," "living," "one," "holy," "righteous," "of mercies," "of glory," "of spirits."

4. Baptismal Formulas

Jesus gives the commission to "Baptize...in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" (Mt 28:19). In turn this led to subsequent use of baptismal formulas such as "I baptize you/N. in the name of the Father....," "N. Is baptized in the name of the Father..." and "Do you believe in the Father?"

5. Creeds

Early creeds combined "God," "Father," "almighty" and "creator" in various ways, leading up to the "God the Father almighty" (*Deum patrem omnipotentem*) of the Apostles' Creed and the *unum Deum, Patrem omnipotentem* of the Nicene Creed.

6. Pagan Prayers

Another potential influence is the usage of prayers to the gods of Greece and Rome. A prayer addressed to *Mars pater* is known, for example.

7. Letter Writing

Pater was a title used widely in Latin epistolography. This address is used as a term of respect and affection. In Christian usage of the Western Roman empire, it became used especially among bishops, popes and others.

8. The Emperor

Pater was also used as a title and address of the Emperor, whether Christian or not. Thus letters were addressed to the emperor as *Domine sanctissime Pater*, or *Domine sacratissimi Pater*. Were such phrases models for the prayer address *Domine sancte Pater omnipotens aeterne Deus*? Closely associated terms such as *clementissime* and *aeterne* were also used for the

emperor, while *omnipotens* was also common in classical Latin.

9. Reverence and Deference

A certain caution surrounded the praying of the “Our Father” in the early church. Thus in the Latin mass its use required a certain boldness (*audemus dicere*). Jungmann refers to several patristic origins or parallels to this phrase, as well as to statements that it is Christ’s Father, not ours, that is being addressed.

10. Distancing of God

Jungmann also points out that one of the consequences of the Arian controversy was the distancing of God from God’s people. Thus stress was placed on God’s infinite majesty and on what separates us from God rather than on what unites us. The application to God of the model of ruler led in some parts of the early Church, not only to the idea that God is one who intervenes from outside the world, but also to attitudes of fear and extreme awesomeness.

11. Trinitarian Theology

Finally, trinitarian speculation and controversy in general led to an emphasis on “THE Father” – the First Person – rather than on “our Father.”

12. Individual spirituality and preference

It must be noted also that there was a considerable element of regional variation and variation from one liturgical book to another in the use of *Pater* in the address of prayers. Differences among the Veronese Sacramentary, Gelasian Sacramentary and Gregorian Sacramentary have already been noted. These variations may simply reflect the personal piety of composers and compilers, or of individual monasteries or bishops for whom sacramentaries were prepared.

A prime example of geographic variation is shown by sets of psalter collects from different regions of Western Europe. In ca. 170 prayers from Africa, *Pater* is used in the address 31 times, whereas similar collects from Spain and from Rome use *Pater* only once and twice, respectively.

13. Conclusions

While one cannot be at all certain, it is at least possible that by the time large collections of variable prayers came to be composed (6-8th centuries), the use of *Pater* as a direct address was thought to be incompatible with a distant, fear-inspired God of infinite majesty. At the same time, however, certain unchangeable texts addressed to *Pater*, such as the Roman canon, were already traditional.

Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries

14. The Reformation

There was a slight increase in the use of “Father” in the liturgies of the Reformation.

Luther used this title more often than did Cranmer, however. Was this just a matter of his own personal spirituality, or was *Vater* favored in German-speaking areas generally?

15. Cult of God the Father

From time to time in the history of the church some have desired to introduce a special “feast of God the Father” into the liturgical calendar. Most recently this idea was promoted by members of the French court during the 17th century. Wiser heads have always prevailed, however.

16. Individual spirituality

Some individuals have developed a preference for the image of God as “Father” as important for their personal spirituality. One recent example is Therese of Liseux, now a doctor of the church. In this she seems to have been influenced at least in part by her relationship with her biological father.

17. Ministry

The use of *Pater* in liturgical prayers for the feasts of certain saints seems to have been influenced by the ministry of those saints, which has been thought to be “fatherly.” This applies to two collects containing *Pater* that were introduced into the *Missale Romanum* of 1570 during the 17-18th centuries. Thus the collect for Jerome Emilian (July 20, *Deus, misericordiam Pater*) spoke of him as “father and helper of orphans.” Camillus de Lellis (July 18, *Deus Pater omnipotens*) ministered to the sick, especially to the dying.

Twentieth Century up to 1970

18. Concern for Tradition

In 1919, when texts of the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer* were being adapted for Lutheran use, most Anglican prayers addressed to Father were omitted. One reason for this was a desire to return to more ancient Latin sources rather than use 16-17th century Anglican compositions. A second reason was because certain prayers for particular occasions or themes were simply not desired or needed in the Lutheran liturgy.

19. Victorian Family and Social Gospel Movement

In Anglican revisions of the Prayer Book between 1928 and 1962, the use of “Father” increased somewhat. It has been pointed out by Janet F. Fishburn that “The Fatherhood of God was the most common image for God used by all religious groups in the Victorian period” and the possibility must be considered that this image of God, which was related to social and cultural trends, had an influence on these liturgical texts. “Father” was also important to the Social Gospel Movement, where the phrase “the Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man” was a central theme.

It is also worth noting that many of the prayers addressed to “Father” from this period were prayers for particular needs and occasions. They were therefore not among the texts that had come down from ancient tradition. Many were also oriented toward social needs of the day.

Roman Catholic Texts of the 1970s

The use of “Father” increased markedly in the Roman Catholic liturgical books of the 1970s, especially in the ICEL English language *Sacramentary*. A number of reasons for this change can be discerned.

20. Trinitarian Concerns

One factor was a desire that English speaking Roman Catholics be clear that their liturgical prayers were being addressed to the First Person of the Trinity, God THE “Father.” Thus there was a didactic and protective intention at work. *Dominus* / “Lord” can refer to either the First Person or the Second Person, and it was felt that Catholic lay people associated this title more commonly with Christ than with *the* “Father.” Greater clarity could be achieved, therefore, by replacing *Dominus* with some other title, such as “Father.”

21. Euphony

At the same time there was a concern for euphony – for the sound of the liturgical prayers spoken aloud. It was felt that the monosyllable “God” to render *Deus* at the beginning of a prayer did not “sound right.” Other divine names and combinations of names were therefore used instead in the ICEL *Sacramentary*. Thus “Lord God,” “God our Father,” and “Father” were frequently used to render *Deus*.

22. Biblical consciousness

An increased biblical consciousness together with a feeling that “Father” was the special and preferred language of Jesus, might also have led to an increased address of prayers to “Father.”

23. Greater immanence of God

Another factor which seems likely to have been influential, was a shift from emphasis on God’s transcendence to a greater appreciation for God’s imminence. In addition, God was less associated with attitudes of fear than in the past. It was thought that “Father” better accorded with these shifts in the predominant image of God.

24. Psychology and spirituality

Finally, twentieth century psychology and appreciation of one’s relationship with one’s biological father, may also have had an influence on the use of “Father” in the ICEL *Sacramentary*.

25. Conclusions

Clearly this situation is complex, and the contributions of individual factors probably are impossible to isolate. The complexity of this situation is indicated by variations in the use of “Father” in the English, German, French and Spanish translations from the same Latin text. At the same time, even the Latin text uses “Father” more than did the *Missale Romanum* of 1570.

Ecumenical Texts of the 1980s and later

26. Response to patriarchy

Sensitivity to masculine language for God and reaction against patriarchy led to a decrease in the use of “Father” in Protestant liturgical books prepared in the 1980s and later, for example *Lutheran Book of Worship* and the U.S. Methodist collects.

27. Desire for simplicity

A shift towards a more simple style of prayer address can be detected in several service books. Thus complex addresses that included “Father” together with other divine names decreased in frequency.

Selected Resources

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