

is repetitive and somewhat pedantic, and there are a few errors of fact and date, but these do not mar the good qualities of the book. There is an excellent selected bibliography. The book should take its place on the shelves of all students of modern Turkey, the eastern Mediterranean area, and of international politics.

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George Galavaris, *Bread and the Liturgy: The Symbolism of Early Christian and Byzantine Bread Stamps*. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1970. Pp. 235.

Everything which in the past has been associated with and is still relevant to the liturgical life and experience of the Church is always interesting and provocative, not only for the theologian or the Church historian but for scholars who look at history as an integral part of the human experience. Professor Galavaris' contribution lies precisely in his effort to enrich our knowledge of the past by studying all the converging disciplines, cultures and literary information he had at his disposal. Thus the author successfully and with a deep sense of scholarly responsibility presents in his book the story of the eucharistic bread in the life of the Early Church and in the Byzantine liturgy more particularly. He openly acknowledges his debt to the brilliant work in this field by Professor Franz Joseph Dölger and discusses the nature of the Last Supper. He seems to accept the *Sabbath-Kiddûsh* or *Chabûrah* nature of the Lord's Last Supper, a thesis entertained by various scholars (Gregory Dix, Trempelas and others), without however mentioning the work of Annie Jaubert, who in her work *La date de la Cène* brought forth new material, especially from the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls, regarding the nature of the Last Supper.

Professor Galavaris is right in declaring that many problems concerning Christian worship have been solved as a result of archaeological investigations and the bread stamps and moulds offer indisputable proof of this fact. Of course stamps and moulds were used by the ancient Greeks and Romans, and the Christians continued this custom. However, the author points out the problem of determining the stamps which were used for bread and more specifically the stamps which were used not

simply for the common bread but for the eucharistic bread or for any bread used in religious rites. Naturally the pagans who were converted to Christianity were already accustomed to buying and using common bread with a stamped trademark and, because of the persecutions, Christian symbols could not be stamped on this bread. However, Christians could buy and use the *panis quadratus*, loaves bearing incisions in the form of two crossed lines which create four parts. The sign of the cross was there but the pagan authorities could not suspect its special meaning for the Christians! By changing slightly the angle, the letter X could be formed, which stood for Christ. Cryptic Christian symbols were also stamped on the bread, as fish for Christ, two intersecting triangles forming a star for the Holy Trinity, the words ΦΩΣ, ΖΩΗ ("Light, Life") etc. The author frankly concedes that he cannot point out exactly the precise date of these stamps but they must come earlier than the fourth century. After the fourth century there is an abundance of Christian stamps of the cross, the cross with rays, the seven-branched candlestick, and of the Jewish menorah (as the symbol of Christ, the Light of the world).

The question which awaits its answer is precisely when Christians decided to distinguish the eucharistic bread by impressing specific signs upon it. The author believes that such a differentiation did not take place before the great and final triumph of the Christian Church. The literary evidence on this matter is scanty. Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis in Cyprus in the beginning of the fifth century, speaks about the *round* form of the eucharistic bread and one can trace an early tradition of special ovens for the baking of eucharistic bread, as for example in the monasteries of Grand Lavra on Mount Athos and of Saint John the Theologian on the island of Patmos. The author draws a correct parallel between the sacredness of the eucharistic bread and the sacredness of the holy vessels about which St. Athanasius and St. Cyril of Alexandria speak so candidly (p. 45). Then he presents to us stamps dating from the fourth or the fifth century at the latest. Some of the stamps bear special inscriptions: ΚΑΡΠΟΙ ΚΥΡΠΙΟΥ ("Fruits of the Lord") or ΦΟΡΑ ΘΕΟΥ ("Gift of God"), etc.; some have symbols of eucharistic significance: a stag, a palm branch, etc. However, there is no absolute assurance that these stamps were used for only eucharistic loaves.

The author sees a "formalization" of some composition on the stamps, probably earlier than the sixth century, but there are still in use both stamps with "improvised" and "formalized" compositions, a fact which shows that there was not a common formula among early Christian com-

munities concerning the symbols impressed upon the eucharistic bread (p. 62). Gradually the formation of the Byzantine formula can be discerned. A stamp found in Cyprus (and now kept in the British Museum) dating from the sixth or seventh century, bears the Greek cross in a square. Between the arms of the cross are the letters *IC XC NI KA* ("Jesus Christ conquers, or is victorious"). Whereas the particles of the Mother of God and the nine Orders of Angels are explicitly mentioned in manuscripts since the fourteenth century (p. 71), most probably the assembling of all portions on one stamp represents a later, post-Byzantine phase of the development of the eucharistic bread. The author is aware of the contemporary liturgical practice according to which the priest extracts the various portions from various loaves (p. 108).

In his fourth chapter the author discusses the *eulogia bread* and acknowledges that it is not easy to distinguish it from the eucharistic bread, since both, in the early period of the Church, had the same stamps. The only valid distinction which could be made is that this *eulogia bread* ("blessed bread") was given instead of the eucharistic bread as a sign of communion and affection, as a token or bond of love between the faithful. In the twelfth century this *eulogia bread* becomes in the East the *antidoron* which means a substitute for the real gift, which was the Eucharist. It seems, however, that the *eulogia-antidoron bread* taken after the extraction of the Lamb in the *Proskomide* and distributed to the people is a later Byzantine development. Prior to the eighth century blessed loaves were distributed to the clergy and to the people and not simply "fragments" from the bread for the eucharistic rite. The author further presents all the usages of the *eulogia bread*, as the *artoclasia bread*, which is blessed and given during the vespers or on the day of great festivals, for Saints Days, during pilgrimages to Jerusalem, or in memory of departed Christians. Finally, in his fifth and last chapter, which serves as an epilogue to his entire work, the author concludes that the present-day usage of the *antidoron* was formulated in the eighth century (p. 182).

Undoubtedly Professor Galavaris has presented us with an exhaustive examination of his sources. The originality of his book lies in the fact that he studied carefully the material (stamps, moulds, etc.) which the *science* of archaeology has amply provided for him. The more than seventy illustrations of various bread stamps make his book particularly attractive even to the non-specialist.

The author is not interested in profound theological discussions and in an in-depth analysis of Christian symbolism. Nonetheless, he is thor-

ough within the scope of his endeavor and more than successful in the correlation of his literary and archaeological sources. One might question the use of the King James version for Biblical quotations and might have expected a more precise reference in the *Constitutions* attributed to Cyril of Alexandria: the citing of the original text would have made the argument stronger and more dependable (p. 44). However, these are minor matters. On the other hand, the absence of a bibliography is a major drawback in the book.

In any case, the contribution of Professor Galavaris to the study of the liturgical life of the Church is a splendid one and it reveals not only his scholarly abilities but also his deep Christian convictions.

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P. - Y. Péchoux et M. Sivignon, *Les Balkans*. Paris. P.U.F. (Collection "Magellan"), 1971, pages 284 avec 21 figures+8 planches hors texte.

La géographie, au sens moderne du terme, est presque totalement inconnue des Grecs. Les quelques ouvrages existants sur la géographie humaine de la Grèce ont été fait par des étrangers, surtout des français.

Le livre que nous citons ici est du à MM. Pierre-Yves Péchoux et Michel Sivignon qu'ont tous deux vécu et travaillé pendant des années en Grèce en qualité d'experts auprès du Centre des Sciences Sociales d'Athènes. Ils ont eu de ce fait la possibilité de connaître à fond les problèmes que pose le développement de l'économie grecque ainsi que les efforts faits en ce sens.

Les autres pays balkaniques, ils les ont connus par des documents (statistiques, résultats d'enquêtes, etc.) étudiés sur les lieux.

Pour la rédaction de leur livre MM. P. - Y. Péchoux et M. Sivignon disposaient donc d'un matériel assez considérable.

Si les quatre pays balkaniques présentent, au point de vue de la géographie physique, des ressemblances, il n'en est pas de même quant à l'organisation de leur économie: L'Albanie et la Bulgarie ont basé leur économie sur le modèle socialiste des pays de l'Europe de l'Est: la Grèce fait partie de la catégorie des économies de type occidental, tandis que