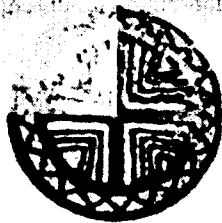


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NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA

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YEREVAN STATE UNIVERSITY

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ON THE ORIGINS OF THE ARMENIAN ANAPHORA OF BASIL

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Anyone investigating the Antiochene-type anaphora, and in particular the Anaphora of Basil, has to take into account the seminal doctoral dissertation of Hieronymus Engberding (published in 1931) on the various redactions of Basil, written under the supervision of the then leading expert on Eastern liturgy, Anton Baumstark.

H. Engberding's painstaking analysis of virtually all the pertinent manuscripts and editions of the various redactions in Greek, Coptic, Ethiopic, Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, Church Slavonic, etc. is often respectfully referred to in publications,¹ but hardly ever studied in detail. The reasons have to do with the philological hurdles involved in following Engberding's towering methodological and analytical achievements, published in a highly literary German admittedly not always easy to read.

In his pioneering study Engberding blazed the trail, establishing for the first time various groups of traditions of this famous anaphora, after having retro-translated into Greek the various redactions in Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Syriac in order to find the four basic branches of the tradition and the *Urgestalt* of Basil.

Since Engberding's towering investigation of the entire manuscript tradition nothing worth mentioning has been published to challenge Engberding's stemma of the relationship among the various redactions of Basil, namely:

1. that the *short* Egyptian Basil (which has come down to us in Greek, Coptic, and Ethiopic) is older than the longer redaction of W, on which all other redactions depend;
2. that the longer redaction of W (the prime witness of W is the first Armenian redaction of Basil) consists mainly of scriptural passages later included for doctrinal reasons to support the christological tenets of the period (opposite to the Armenian redaction stands Y, from which the Syriac and Byzantine versions derive);
3. that the original anaphora antedates St. Basil (f 379) and that St. Basil himself *may* have been the author of W;
4. that the original anaphora was a Greek text.

I shall attempt to modify several details of the hitherto held positions of Engberding, for whom I have the greatest respect, a fact which I want to strongly emphasize: anyone challenging Engberding's method (*which I do not*) or conclusions (*which I shall attempt in some cases*) has to take the greatest care to assure that the method and the new findings are truly up to the standards of Engberding's methodology, to his breathtaking knowledge of the sources, and to his intellectual accumen and perspicacity of judgment concerning the primary sources.

Before I go into detail I have to say a word about methodology in the context of the beginnings and further evolution of the Liturgy of Basil: if the beginnings are inves-

tigated and a Greek text is used, then it has to be the Egyptian Greek text, not the Byzantine redaction, for the latter is one of the youngest redactions of Basil. This Egyptian Greek text was published in the first volume of Renaudot and modified by Macomber in two articles.² We have so far no critical editions of the Egyptian versions, in Greek, Coptic or Ethiopic. The gap will hopefully be filled by A. Budde (Bonn) who is presently finishing his doctoral dissertation providing a critical edition and investigation of the Greek manuscript tradition of Egypt, including the Coptic evidence.

I am presently preparing an edition of both extant Armenian redactions with an extensive commentary, including the other versions of Basil, as well as the East-Syrian and Ethiopian anaphoral traditions. A critical edition of the first Armenian redaction was recently published by E. Renhart, without, however, any commentary.³

In this context I also want to mention the valuable edition by Stefano Parenti and Elena Velkovska of the most important Greek Codex, namely the *Codex Barberini 336*, which presents the earliest manuscript of the *Byzantine* redaction of Basil.⁴

Engberding's stemma and commentary already elucidated the importance of the Armenian redaction, which, I believe, holds the key to many hitherto unsolved problems. Until 1997 the Armenian redactions had never been studied in detail.⁵ Furthermore, at the Baumstark Congress of 1998 I tried to prove that the entire section of Basil from the "post Sanctus" to the intercessions is influenced by the respective baptismal creeds.⁶

Today I want to summarize my findings of 1997-2001 and add new observations, which can be summarized in the following observation: the so-called anaphora of Basil reflects many traits which are typical of the older East-Syrian tradition. Let me present some of these early Syriac traits in the Anaphora of Basil.

I. The Oratio ante Sanctus

1. Minor, yet still quite significant, is the formula: "*Lord of All*" typical for the early East-Syrian creeds and the East-Syrian baptismal evidence; we find it in the Acts of Thomas, in Aphrahat, as well as in the "ante Sanctus" of *Addai and Mari*.⁷

2. Of greatest importance is *the sequence of the reference to the angels*: First the *Cherubim* are mentioned, then the Seraphim, as typical of all East-Syrian anaphoras,⁸ for instance in:

- Addai and Mari⁹
- the Anaphora of Nestorius¹⁰
- the Anaphora of Theodore.¹¹ In Nestorius and Theodore this is already mentioned during the initial Dialogue.¹²

Some of you may argue this is also true for the Anaphora of Chrysostom. But Engberding had already demonstrated that the Anaphora of Chrysostom shows Syriac underpinnings.¹³

3. Moreover, the Armenian version of Basil mirrors the Targum-tradition of Ez 1,24: only the Aramaic text interprets *the flapping of the wings* of the angels as a mighty song;¹⁴ in East-Syrian anaphoras, these are the wings of the *Cherubim* as in the anaphoras of Nestorius and Theodore, whereas in Armenian Basil they are the wings of the *Seraphim*. This came about through a fusion of the vision of Isaiah with Ezechiel. The echo of an Aramaic Bible text in an anaphora strongly points toward Syria as its place of origin.

4. The missing Benedictus in the first redaction of the Armenian Anaphora of Basil corresponds to the early form of Addai and Mari.¹⁵ Some would say this is also true of the Egyptian tradition. Yet I would argue that the Egyptian tradition is dependant on older Syriac layers.

II. The Oratio post Sanctus¹⁶

1. The creation "*out of nothing*" in the Armenian fragment of the Anaphora (= jawstos V,28) is typical of Syriac anaphoras,¹⁷ v.g. in:

- the Anaphora of Theodore of Mopsuestia (here also in the "post Sanctus")
- the Apostle-Anaphora (in the "ante Sanctus").

We find this reference also in the Anaphora of Chrysostom, but Chrysostom is dependant on the Syriac Apostle-Anaphora, as Engberding has shown.

2. The "formulae" concerning the relationship of the Son with the Father and the incarnation show several Syriac underpinnings that I have pointed out in previous publications.¹⁸

3. The *Descensus* into hell *per se* is often mentioned in the early Syriac tradition. Of particular interest, in addition, is the peculiar clarification in the Armenian redaction of the Anaphora of Basil: "he descended *with his body*", also known to Ephrem.¹⁹

The Anamnesis²⁰

1. Lietzmann had already pointed out that the reference to the "passion" in the context of the Anamnesis occurs frequently in Syriac sources.²¹

2. The Son's coming *again* (TiocGSXw) is typical for the Antiochene Creed, the East Syriac Creeds, and the Armenian Baptismal Ordo.²²

IV. The Epiclesis²³

The genuine tradition of the Anaphora of Basil uses the verb *come*, which is found only in the earliest East-Syrian sources, v.g.:

- the Acts of Thomas,
- the Anaphora of Addai and Mari.

All other West-Syrian and Greek epicleses use the verb *send*. As a matter of fact, all early East-Syrian epicleses are characterized by the usage of the verb "come," whereas the Greek (and many West-Syrian) invocations use the verb "send."²⁴

V. The Intercessions²⁵

The earliest *Syriac* sources of the Creed speak of the Son's coming again "to judge *the dead* and *the living*" (in that order!),²⁶ whereas all Greek sources have the sequence: "the *living* and the *dead*"TM

The Syriac tradition is also present in the Armenian redaction of the Anaphora of Basil: the intercessions flow out of the epiclesis without any rupture in the text, commemoration is made of the fathers, patriarchs, etc. - that is to say, the saints. This means that the dead are commemorated first, followed by the commemoration of the living.²⁸

The Egyptian Anaphora of Basil has manipulated the original text of the intercessions in order to follow the Greek sequence: Christ comes to judge the living and the dead.²⁹

Summary:

These Syriac connections are by no means sporadic, but are recognizable throughout the Anaphora of Basil.³⁰ The most important East-Syrian traits in Basil include:

1. the sequence: "Cherubim - Seraphim" in the "ante Sanctus" plus the traces of the Aramaic Bible (that is to say the *Targum* tradition of Ez 1,24) present in all versions of the Anaphoras of Basil as the grammatical construction demonstrates: it is the flapping of the wings of the angels which brings forth the Sanctus;

2. the epiclesis: Basil follows the exclusive East-Syriac tradition of using the verb "come," whereas *all Greek* anaphoras use "send;"

3. the sequence of the intercessions in Armenian Basil to commemorate first

the saints (the dead), then the living, is peculiar *only* to the earliest East-Syriac creeds.

The other congruencies:

- the missing Benedictus;
- the formula "Lord of All"
- the "creation out of nothing;"
- the expressions in connection with the *otxpoitDa* and the incarnation;
- the descensus;
- the coming "again;"

have to be interpreted in the light of the other surprising Syriac features of the Anaphora of Basil. Thus, this anaphora, which certainly antedates St. Basil himself, must derive from the Antiochene hinterland and its close ties with Edessa.

But who was the author of, and who did the reworking of the longer version of the so-called anaphora of Basil? If the revision was the work of St. Basil, then he seemingly was influenced by the Syrians: as he himself mentions in his writings, a Syrian assisted him.

And finally, which redaction of the Anaphora of Basil is the original, the longer or the shorter version? Baumstark thought the longer version, Engberding proved that the shorter redaction is older. Who is right? In a sense I think that both are: the shorter redaction as a whole certainly is older than the longer version, as Engberding convincingly has demonstrated. But both Armenian redactions of Basil, and in particular the first recension, have preserved some of the original features which pertain to Ur-Basil, showing - as is often the case - the singular importance of the Armenian evidence.

Literature

1. Cf. H. Engberding, Das Eucharistische Hochgebet der Basileiosliturgie. fextgeschichtliche Untersuchung und kritische Ausgabe (*Theologie des Christlichen Ostens. Texte und Untersuchungen*, MInster 1931). The criticism of Engberding and / or the claim to supercede him, voiced in several English publications on the liturgies of Basil (and James) from 1992-1997 by Fenwick, Stuckwisch, Witvliet and T.E. Johnson, just to name a few, need not concern us, since they missed even basic assumptions and conclusions of Engberding's study in German, even apart from the fact that they are severely wanting in (1) in methodology and (2) in any serious investigation of the primary and secondary sources. See the review in *Oriens Christianus* 78 (1994), 269-277; and A. Budde, "Wie findet man 'agyptisches Heimatgut'? Der agyptische Ursprung der Basileios-Anaphora in der Diskussion", in: R.F. Taft S.J. and G. Winkler, Acts of the International Congress Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years After Anton Baumstark (1872-1948), Rome, 25-29 September 1998 (*OrientaliaChr. Analecta* 265, Rome 2001), 671-688.

As far as I know, there is only one serious investigation (in English) of Engberding's findings worth mentioning: the doctoral dissertation of A.G. Gibson (Saint Basil's Liturgical Authorship, Washington 1965), which regrettably has remained unpublished. The extent of Engberding's scholarly achievements is well described by Gibson on pp. 25-32, 34-66. Gibson believed in the existence of a twofold Basilian revision. According to Gibson, Basil revised an original and then revised his own first revision. Although I am not sure whether it is appropriate to start with the question of authorship - a text analysis is preferable in my estimate - Gibson's dissertation offers the most detailed assessment and overview of Engberding's magnificent study.

- 2 Cf. W.F. Macomber, "The Kacmarcik Codex. A 14th Century Greek-Arabic Manuscript of the Coptic Mass", *Le Museon* 88 (1975), 391-395; *idem*, "The Greek Text of the Coptic Mass and of the Anaphoras of Basil and Gregory According to the Kacmarcik Codex", *Orientalia Chr. Periodica* 43 (1977), 308-334.
- 3 Cf. E. Renhart, "Die Sttteste armenische Anaphora. Einleitung, kritische Edition des Textes und Ubersetzung", in: E. Renhart - J. Dum Tragut (ed.s), *Armenische Liturgien. Ein Blick auf eine feme christliche Kultur (Heiliger Dienst. Ergänzungsband 2. Graz / Salzburg 2001)*, 93-241. For a review cf. G. Winkler, "Zur Bedeutung alttestamentlicher Schriftzitate im ante Sanctus und ihre liturgiewissenschaftliche Deutung", *Oriens Christianus* 86 (2002), 548-561.
- 4 Cf. S. Parenti - E. Velkovska (ed.s), *L'Euclologio Barberini gr. 336* (BEL.S 80, Rome 2000).
- 5 Cf. G. Winkler, "Zur Erforschung orientalischer Anaphoren in liturgievergleichender Sicht I: Anmerkungen zur Oratiopost Sanctus und Anamnese bis Epiklese", *Orientalia Chr. Periodica* 63 (1997), 363-420.
- 6 "Zur Erforschung orientalischer Anaphoren in liturgiewissenschaftlicher Sicht II: Das Formelgut der Oratio post Sanctus und Anamnese sowie Interzessionen und die Taufbekenntnisse", in: R.F. Taft - G. Winkler (eds.), *Acts of the International Congress Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years after Anton Baumstark (1872-1948)*, Rome, 25-29 September 1998 (= *Orientalia Chr. Analecta* 265, Rome 2001), 403-497.
- 7 Cf. G. Winkler, *Über die Entwicklungsgeschichte des armenischen Symbolums. Ein Vergleich mit dem syrischen und griechischen Formelgut unter Einbezug der relevanten georgischen und athiopischen Quellen* (*Orientalia Chr. Analecta* 262, Rome 2000), 295-300; *eadem*, "Das theologische Formelgut über den SchOpfer, das oSuououroatoV, die Inkarnation und Menschwerdung in den georgischen Troparien des Iadgari im Spiegel der christlich-orientalischen Quellen", *Oriens Christianus* 84 (2000), 117-177.
- 8 Cf. G. Winkler, *Das Sanctus. Über den Ursprung und die Anfänge des Sanctus und sein Fortwirken* (*Orientalia Chr. Analecta* 267, Rome 2002), 149-154; *eadem*, "Beobachtungen zu den im 'ante Sanctus' angeführten Engeln und ihre Bedeutung", *Theologische Quartalschrift* (2003), 213-238.
- 9 Cf. A. Gelston, *The Eucharistic Prayer of Addai and Mari* (Oxford 1992), 48/49.
- 10 Cf. S. Naduthadam, *L'Anaphore de Mar Nestorius. Edition critique et etude* (Diss. Institut Catholique, Paris 1992).
- 11 J. Vadakkel, *The East Syrian Anaphora of Mar Theodore of Mopsuestia. Critical Edition, English Translation and Study* (Diss. Pont. Istituto Orientale, published in Kottayam 1989).
- 12 Cf. Winkler, *Das Sanctus*, 162, 243-233.
- 13 Cf. H. Engberding, "Die syrische Anaphora der Zwolf Apostel und ihre Paralleltex-te einander gegenübergestellt und mit neuen Untersuchungen zur Urgeschichte der Chrysostomosliturgie begleitet", *Oriens Christianus* 34 (1937), 213-257.
- 14 Cf. Winkler, *Das Sanctus*, 157-170, especially: 163-165; *eadem*, "On the Formation of the Armenian Anaphoras: A Preliminary Overview", in: D.M. Findikyan (ed.), *Liturgy in Context: Worship Traditions of Armenia and the Neighboring Christian East* (New York 2003) (in press).
- 15 Cf. Winkler, *Das Sanctus*, 157 *passim*; *eadem*, "Beobachtungen zu den im ante Sanctus angeführten Engeln".
- 16 Cf. Winkler, "Zur Erforschung orientalischer Anaphoren II", 407-493.
- 17 Cf. Winkler, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, 310-312; *eadem*, "Zur Erforschung orientalischer Anaphoren II", 436-439.

- 18 Cf. **Winkler**, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, 313-466. *eadem*, "Zur Erforschung orientalischer Anaphoren II", 443-458.
- 19 Cf. **Winkler**, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, 528-532. *eadem*, "Zur Erforschung orientalischer Anaphoren II", 463-469.
- 20 Cf. **Winkler**, "Zur Erforschung orientalischer Anaphoren I", 363-420; II, 469-475.
- 21 Cf. **H. Lietzmann**, *Messe und Herrenmahl. Eine Studie zur Geschichte der Liturgie* (Bonn 1926), 57.
- 22 Cf. **Winkler**, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, 546-551; *eadem*, "Zur Erforschung orientalischer Anaphoren II", 473-474.
- 23 Cf. **Winkler**, "Zur Erforschung orientalischer Anaphoren I", 398-410.
- 24 With regard to the wording, shape and theological significance of all Syrian epicleses the following pioneer studies of S.P. Brock have to be consulted: "The Epiclesis in the Antiochene Baptismal Ordines", in: *Symposium Syriacum 1972* (*Orientalia Chr. Analecta* 197, Rome 1974), 183-218; "Towards a Typology of the Epicleses in the West Syrian traditions", in: **H.-J. Feulner - E. Velkovska - R.F. Taft** (eds.), *Crossroad of Cultures. Studies in Liturgy and Patristics in Honor of Gabriele Winkler* (*Orientalia Chr. Analecta* 260, Rome 2000), 173-192; "Invocations to for the Holy Spirit in Syriac Liturgical Texts: Some Comparative Approaches", in: **Taft - Winkler**, *Comparative Liturgy*, 377-406.
- 25 Cf. **Winkler**, "Zur Erforschung orientalischer Anaphoren II", 476-485.
- 26 Cf. **Winkler**, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, 551-554, 581-583; *eadem*, "Zur Erforschung orientalischer Anaphoren II", 477.
- 27 *Ibid.*
- 28 Cf. **Winkler**, "Zur Erforschung orientalischer Anaphoren II", 480-482.
- 29 *Ibid.*, 482-485.
- 30 *Ibid.*; 486-490.