

**The Authorship of the Byzantine Anaphora of Saint Basil
under Investigation with the TLG Database:
The Post Sanctus Section of the Anaphora and Saint Basil's
Writings – a Comparative Study**

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Abstract:

St. Basil the Great's Anaphora is one of the most important and widespread eucharistic texts of the Eastern Orthodoxy. The eucharistic text attributed to St. Basil the Great is one of the most beautiful eucharistic formulations of the Eastern Orthodoxy in which the great mystery of divine love revealed through the sacrifice of the redemption of the incarnated Son of God appears described in a liturgical poetry of some beauty. The history of this Eucharistic form contains information on how the Eucharistic canon has been crystallized and evolved over time, and on the other hand, the association of this Eucharistic form in all four versions of it with Saint Basil the Great called the possibility of questioning the paternity of this Eucharistic text.

Keywords:

Liturgy, St. Basil the Great, Anaphora, Prayer, Comparative Liturgy

Saint Basil the Great wrote one of the most important and widely acknowledged Eucharistic texts in the Eastern Orthodox Church, a liturgical anaphora that bears his name. Before the dawn of the second millennium, this was the main Eucharistic text used in Constantinople and in the territories under its authority. At present, with Saint John Chrysostom's Liturgy having become the central Eucha-

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ristic formulary of the Orthodox rite, Saint Basil's Liturgy is celebrated only ten times a year, as the exchange anaphora in the Byzantine rite. The Eucharistic text attributed to Saint Basil the Great is among the most beautiful euchological formularies in the Eastern Orthodox rite, one in which the ineffable mystery of the divine love that was revealed in the redeeming sacrifice of the Son of God Incarnate, is depicted in a liturgical poem of rare beauty. In the richness and diversity of biblical passages that are skillfully and harmoniously intertwined, in the careful structuring of the text, and in the elevated style of the narrative, the author articulates an impressive theological viewpoint, in which the opposing pairs sin – death and life – redemption constitute the central ingredient in the Liturgical ritual of giving God thanks for His love that was revealed in the Sacrifice of the New Adam.

The fact that none of the Eastern Orthodox anaphoras had ever been so vastly spread, or circulated in so many versions as the Eucharistic text ascribed to the great Archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, has represented a unique opportunity for the liturgical research to investigate the origins and evolution of the Christian Liturgy, as the history of this euchological formulary holds information on how the Eucharistic canon crystallized and evolved in time. On the other hand, the association of this euchological formulary, in all of its four versions, with the name of Saint Basil the Great, has brought under discussion the possibility of questioning the authorship of this Eucharistic text.

More than eighty years have passed since the issuance of Hieronymus Engberding's invaluable monograph on the anaphora of Saint Basil the Great, and an in-depth analysis of this Eucharistic text still prevails as a painfully actual imperative for the contemporary liturgists. The rigors of scientific work outlined by the German liturgist have remained normative for the study of this Eucharistic text, although many things have changed and the research in the field has significantly evolved from 1931 up to the present: new manuscripts have been discovered; older manuscripts have been critically edited - which made them easier to be studied comparatively; furthermore, Liturgiology has become both an interdisciplinary science that takes into account the historical data as well as the dogmatic and spiritual input, and also a 'computerized science', having entered a new and challenging age of the digital media. The emergence of Patristic and liturgical texts in this novel format was able to revolutionize the field of Comparative Liturgics and open new perspectives for its study. Just as Professor Robert Taft predicted and demonstrated programmatically in 1990, the possibility of authentication of liturgical texts by using the computer has now become an extremely useful and convincing work method, able to raise questions or to validate or invalidate many hypotheses present in the *status quaestionis* of the greatest themes in the Liturgical research. This same new work method will be employed in the present study as well, in an attempt to

prove the authenticity of Saint Basil the Great's anaphora, by dwelling first on the analysis of the Post Sanctus Prayer, and then following the structure and methodological principles formulated in 1990 by the pioneer of this type of research.

I. The authorship of the anaphora attributed to Saint Basil the Great and the current Liturgical research

The sequent paragraphs will only note the main scientific research connected to this theme, because a complete record of all the studies on the authorship of Saint Basil the Great's anaphora would overwhelm the current study.

Before the publication of Hieronymus Engberding's fundamental work in 1931, the Liturgical research had mainly been concerned with the analysis of the evolution path of the anaphora, rather than with establishing the authorship of this Eucharistic text. In his doctoral dissertation, defended at Bonn,¹ a Benedictine monk from Joseph Coesfeld Monastery, one of the illustrious students of the great German Orientalist Anton Baumstark, the father of the Comparative Liturgics method², was able to complete a research and a thorough investigation of all (!) the manuscripts of Saint Basil the Great's anaphora, which had been preserved in the languages of all Oriental Churches (Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopian, Georgian, Greek, Slavic, Syrian, and the Bohairic and Sahidic dialects). In order to do that, he set the scheme for their historical evolution; he brought to light their interrelations and interferences with one another, and indicated the role of reviser that the great Cappadocian father played in the birth of the eucharological text that bears his name.

The main conclusions of his research may be synthetically rendered thus:

– Saint Basil the Great's anaphora was preserved in four significant versions: the Egyptian (Ä), the Armenian (Arm), the Syrian (Syr) and the Byzantine one (Byz).

– The oldest is the Egyptian version, followed by the Armenian.

– The Syrian and the Byzantine versions appeared later and derived from a unique archetype that Engberding denoted by Ψ.

– at the root of their redaction, Ψ and the Armenian version share a common archetype, denoted by Ω, which is a reworking by Saint Basil the Great of an

¹ In September 1998, 50 years after Anton Baumstark's death, the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome organized a commemorative congress and dedicated it to the methodology of Comparative Liturgics. The articles presented at that congress were published in: R.F. Taft, G. Winkler (ed.), *Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years after Anton Baumstark (+1948)* (=OCA 260) (Rome, 2000). See also: R. Taft, 'Über die Liturgiewissenschaft heute', *ThQ* (177, 1997), pp. 243-255.

² H. Engberding, *Das eucharistische Hochgebet der Basileiosliturgie* (see n. 12).

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ancient euchological formulary originating from Caesarea in Cappadocia (Urgestalt), whose nucleus merged with other Egyptian liturgical elements (ägyptisches Heimatgut) and engendered the text of the Egyptian version (Ä).

– Saint Basil the Great's input enriched the theological and biblical content of this ancient formulary (Urgestalt), and thus he conceived the euchological text Ω, that constituted the foundation for the Armenian, Syrian, and Byzantine versions. Consequently, the anaphora of Saint Basil the Great bears not only the name of the man who wrote it, but also that of the one who arranged it.³

– The nucleus of the Egyptian version appeared, most certainly, before Saint Basil the Great was born. Hence, this euchological text cannot be in any way related to the personality of this great and Holy Father. The fact that it bears his name can be assigned to an ancient custom that had people brand the Liturgy of a metropolis after the name of one of its important bishops, such as was the case of the Liturgy of Saint Mark and Saint James. Therefore, in Engberding's opinion, Ä is a faithful reproduction of the old Liturgy from Caesarea, to which certain Egyptian traditional ritualistic elements were added.⁴

– However, the Benedictine liturgist does not exclude the possibility that the Cappadocian Eucharistic formulary entered the Egyptian ritualistic tradition bearing not only the name of Saint Basil, but also the marks of the great hierarch's contribution to it. The fact that the text of the Armenian, Byzantine, and Egyptian versions include, just before the Eucharistic anaphora, a prayer that most certainly was authored by Saint Basil the Great⁵, and which contains a series of elements that are also present in Ä, made the German liturgist tone down his opinion on the origins and development of this Eucharistic text: 'In this case, – writes Engberding

³ *Ibid.*, p. LXXXV: '...Basileios als der Verfasser von Ω, also als Bearbeiter eines Kernstückes anzusprechen ist, dass also die Basileiosliturgie ihren Namen nicht von ihrem Schöpfer, sondern von ihrem Bearbeiter erhalten hat'. In this same context, Engberding notes also the pioneering auspices that the hypotheses of his work fall under: 'Hier rühren wir an die Grenzen des Wissen-Könnens, und wir gestehen gern, dass auch wir noch nicht alles wünschenswerte Licht über die Textgeschichte der Ba (Basileiosanaphora) verbreiten konnten'.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. LXXXVI.

⁵ The title Εὐχὴ τῆς προσκομιδῆς given to this prayer has initially been considered synonymous with the entire text of the Eucharistic anaphora. Hence, its ascription to Saint Basil the Great's hand could justify, in Engberding's opinion, the naming of the anaphora after the name of the great Cappadocian father. The way that it appears in the Byzantine text of Saint Basil the Great's anaphora, this prayer is made up of two euchological formularies that are bonded in a whole, with the first being a petition that God bless the entrance of the priest, and the second, a prayer for the bringing of the gifts. See also: H. Engberding, 'Die Εὐχὴ τῆς προσκομιδῆς der byzantinischen Basiliusliturgie und ihre Geschichte', *Le Museon* (Louvain, 79, 1966), pp. 287-313; Robert Taft, *The Great Entrance* (=Orientalia Christiana Analecta 200) (Rome, 1978) pp. 364-369; S. Verhelst, 'La seconde partie de la deuxième prière de Saint Basil', *Le Museon* (Louvain, 111, 1998), pp. 157-172.

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– we have to imagine things this way Egypt borrowed from the North a Eucharistic formulary that was already impressed – in and outside the Eucharistic anaphora – with marks of a reworking by the hand of Saint Basil the Great (it is worth noticing the obvious fact that only \AA and the Liturgy of Nestorius⁶ contain the expression $\delta\varsigma \eta\gamma\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$). But this formulary had essentially kept the old form, whereas the other territories had adopted the new one. Yet these are but mere simple hypotheses.⁷ In other words, there is a possibility that the Egyptian text bearing Saint Basil's name is the first concise reworking of the anaphora from Caesarea. There is also the possibility that the text of the archetype Ω represents, in this case, a more extensive elaboration of the same Cappadocian formulary, drafted later by the great Cappadocian father, who made it richer in meaning by adding some theological and biblical elements, and thus creating a new euchological formulary that eventually spread throughout the entire Eastern Orthodox world.

– The text arranged by Saint Basil the Great suffered small retouches in the following four centuries, at the end of which it reached the form that is preserved in Codex Barberini gr. 336 [B] in the 8th century.⁸ Around the year 1000, an important Church figure of the age re-framed this Eucharistic formulary linguistically and stylistically, and thus created a new euchological text that would later replace the old version.

In 1931, Engberding managed to draw the precise direction of the evolution of the Eucharistic text attributed to Saint Basil the Great, and to establish the authorship of the Byzantine version of this euchological formulary, and yet he never approached the problem of the Egyptian text. *How* a pre-Basilian anaphora could have reached Egypt, and *how* it came to be ascribed to the great hierarch and to

⁶ That the author of Nestorius's anaphora used a Byzantine euchological formulary, belonging to Saint Basil the Great, in the redaction of this Eucharistic text, is a certain fact that has been scientifically proven by Anton Baumstark. Also, the fact that only the text of the Egyptian version and of Nestorius's Liturgy contain the expression $\delta\varsigma \eta\gamma\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$ may indicate the existence of two or more of Basil's reworkings of the ancient Cappadocian euchological text that were acknowledged in the Eastern Liturgical Tradition. (See also: Anton Baumstark, 'Die Chrysostomusliturgie und die syrische Liturgie des Nestorios', in Albertus Lepidi, Joseph Cepetelli (eds.), *Χρισσοστόμικα. Studi e ricerche intorno S. Giovanni Crisostomo a cura del comitato per il XV^o Centenario della sua morte* (Rome, 1908), pp. 771-857, and Idem, 'Zur Urgeschichte der Chrysostomusliturgie', *Theologie und Glaube* (5, 1913), pp. 299-313.)

⁷ 'Dann müßten wir uns den Gang der Dinge so erklären, daß Ägypten vom Norden ein Formular empfing, das zwar schon außerhalb wie innerhalb der $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$ Spuren einer Weiterbildung durch Basileios aufwies (vgl. Auch die ganz auffallende Tatsache, daß nur \AA und Ne die Stelle 20,22 $\delta\varsigma \eta\gamma\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$ bieten), aber im wesentlichen noch die alte Gestalt bewahrt hatte, während die anderen Gebiete das neue Hochgebet übernahmen. Doch kommen wir da über Vermutungen nicht hinaus'. H. Engberding, *Das eucharistische Hochgebet der Basileiosliturgie* (see n. 12), p. LXXXVI.

⁸ Stefano Parenti, Elena Velokovska (eds.), *L' Eucologio Barberini Gr. 336*. (see n. 17).

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be regarded as the main euchological text in the Church of Alexandria, these are questions that the post-Engberding liturgists have been concerned with.

In 1932, J.M. Hanssens tried to solve the problem of Saint Basil's authorship of the Egyptian text. Contrary to Engberding, though, he argued that Basil himself was responsible only for the Egyptian text and that the Byzantine version belonged to one of his Episcopal successors⁹. Although not altogether satisfactory, this view does provide an explanation for the ascription of the saint's name to the Egyptian version of the anaphora of St. Basil.

Alphonse Raes was the first to suggest that Saint Basil authored both versions, the Egyptian text being the first draft that he wrote during his first years as a priest, and the Byzantine narrative, a second draft that he compiled later, after his consecration as a bishop¹⁰.

This point of view was also shared by Louis Bouyer¹¹ and Arthur Gibson¹², who suggested (like Hanssens) that the Egyptian version was authored by the saint, and that the Byzantine version was a subsequent reworking by the same.

The first attempt to prove the authorship of the Eucharistic texts ascribed to Saint Basil the Great, by finding correlations between the euchological formularies and the works of the Holy Father, was done in 1942 by M.J. Lubatschivskyj¹³. He tried to prove that Saint Basil the Great's interference with the text of the anaphora from Caesarea was due to the Holy Father's pastoral and missionary desire to fight the late Arianism. At first, Lubatschivskyj sought to find out what the extra passages were that the Byzantine text had more of than the Egyptian. By relating those to the text of the Apostolic Constitutions and to that of Saint James's anaphora, he then proceeded to highlight the fragments that belonged without a doubt to the great Cappadocian father. Having thus defined and delimited all of the added passages, Lubatschivskyj went on to show their truthfulness by relating their dogmatic content to Saint Basil the Great's theological viewpoints and opinions, just as they appeared

⁹ J.M. Hanssens, *Orientalia Christiana* (Roma, 26, 1932), pp. 220-223.

¹⁰ A. Raes, 'L'authenticité de la liturgie de Saint Basile', *Revue des études byzantines* (16, 1958), pp. 160-161: 'It can be supposed that Saint Basil the Great is the author of both reworkings, of the short one that reached Egypt under his name, and of the long one, which is an extension of the short version and its actual replacement in Caesarea, and which spread very quickly to the Armenians and Syrians, and penetrated all the places that the Byzantine rite would later reach'.

¹¹ Louis Bouyer, *Eucharistie. Théologie et spiritualité de la prière eucharistique* (Tournai, 1966), pp. 281-283.

¹² Arthur Gibson, in his doctoral thesis: *Saint Basil's Liturgical Authorship*, (Washington D.C., 1965) (unpublished).

¹³ M.J. Lubatschivskyj, 'Des Heiligen Basilius liturgischer Kampf gegen den Arianismus, Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte der Basiliusliturgie', *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* (66, 1942), pp. 20-38.

throughout his work. The interferences and correlations between the euchological text and the writings of this Holy Father have been grouped by Lubatschiwskyj according to the major themes of the Orthodox Dogmatics: Triadology, Christology, Pneumatology, Soteriology, Mariology, to which he added the theme of using scriptural texts in the narrative of the archetype Ω . His final conclusion, following this thematic-dogmatic analysis, was that the added passages, delimited through the method of textual criticism, have an ideational background that is identical with that of Saint Basil the Great's writings and reflect completely the Holy Father's effort and discretion in his fight against late Arianism.

The most important development in the study of Saint Basil's anaphora was the publication in 1960 of the Sahidic text of the Egyptian version (sah Bas), edited by Doresse and Lanne.¹⁴ The said manuscript comprised a number of elements, which indicated that the narrative had enclosed an anaphora ascribed to Saint Basil much earlier than any other liturgical text known by that date. In the preface to this edition, Bernard Capelle wrote that the same prayer could easily represent the text that was used by Saint Basil himself before his death in 379.¹⁵ His statement also implied that Basil was, in fact, familiar with the Egyptian Basil, an assertion Engberding had never made in his work. The importance of the Sahidic text is capital for the study of the history of Saint Basil's anaphora. A comparison of the latter part of the anaphora in the Doresse-Lanne manuscript, with the Brightman-edited Egyptian text from the manuscript Paris gr. 325, makes it possible to spot any existent discrepancies and make an estimate of how the Egyptian anaphora of Saint Basil evolved between the 7th and 14th centuries.

The manuscript discovered by Doresse and Lanne was edited along with an essay by Bernard Capelle¹⁶, in which the French liturgist examined the verbal similarities existent between the Basilian anaphoras and the writings of Basil the Great.

In 1931, Engberding made only a few associations between the Byzantine text of this Eucharistic anaphora and Saint Basil the Great's other writings¹⁷, and

¹⁴ J. Doresse and E. Lanne, *Un témoin arhaïque de la liturgie copte de S. Basile* (see n. 1).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. I-II; B. Capelle, following in Engberding's footsteps, he draws the direction in which Saint Basil the Great's Eucharistic anaphora evolved: the text of the Byzantine archetype is an actual revision of an ancient euchological formulary that was essentially kept alongside other elements of the local Liturgical tradition in the Egyptian anaphora. This revision had been made before 379, therefore the original Egyptian text must have been already in use at the beginning of the 4th century. The fact that the Egyptian narrative was also known under the name of Saint Basil the Great can lead one to suppose that this text was yet another reworking of the great father from Caesarea in Cappadocia.

¹⁶ Bernard Capelle, 'Les liturgies "basiliennes" et saint Basile' (see n. 1), pp. 45-74.

¹⁷ The correlations established by Engberding, between the Byzantine text and the writings of Saint Basil the Great are no more than three (*Das eucharistische Hochgebet der Basileiosliturgie, Textgeschichtliche Untersuchungen und kritische Ausgabe* (see n. 12), pp. LXXXIV-LXXXV), with

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in 1942, M. Lubatchiowskyj tried to extend the area of comparison, by relating the entire Liturgy to the works of the great Cappadocian hierarch, but it was only in 1960 that the first rigorous demonstration of the Basilian authorship of the Byzantine text appeared. The author found an impressive number of parallel texts and doctrinal correlations between the contents of the liturgical anaphora and Saint Basil's writings or standpoints that he took in the second half of the 4th century. The premise that Capelle started from in his research was: 'the detailed confrontation of the two forms of the narrative - the Egyptian and the reviser's (the revised form, i.e. the Byzantine) - is the only means to any result. As the Byzantine text is characterized by insertions unknown to the Egyptian formulary, the investigation should be directed to the nature of these insertions and towards their likely literary and doctrinal correlations with Saint Basil's writings.'¹⁸

Even though his study is limited only to the first part of the Eucharistic text, and even if not all the established parallels are equally convincing, B. Capelle's analysis is extremely valuable, for it proves, in a unique way, the Basilian authorship of the Byzantine text. The way he does that is by pinpointing the correlations and similarities in literary and theological expression that can be set between Saint Basil the Great's writings and the text bearing his name.

Unfortunately, Capelle's examination stopped short before the institution narrative, hence it included only the first half of the anaphora. Yet, this shortcoming was corrected to some extent by Boris Bobrinskoy.¹⁹ As he extended the comparison from the institution narrative, through the Epiklesis, and then to some of the intercessions, while taking in consideration the theological ideas and images in addition to the phraseology, Bobrinskoy further substantiated the relationship between Byz and its deemed author.

A completely new view on the origins and evolution of the Eucharistic text ascribed to Saint Basil the Great can be found in the doctoral thesis published by

two of them making references to the 'Ascetical Constitutions', a piece of writing whose Basilian authorship is seriously disputed. In his review, Odilo Heiming would later defend Engberding by stating: 'I believe that the list is complete now: this is how it should certainly be, when it comes to such a delicate spot.' (JLW 11 (1931), p. 304.). B. Capelle thinks that the explanation for such a superficial presentation of the parallel texts must lie hidden in Engberding's discrete and somewhat shy position when it came to contradicting the opinion of his magister, Anton Baumstark (Bernard Capelle, 'Les liturgies 'basiliennes' et saint Basile', p. 48).

¹⁸ B. Capelle, 'Les liturgies 'basiliennes' et saint Basile', p. 49.

¹⁹ Boris Bobrinskoy, 'Liturgie et ecclésiologie trinitaire de saint Basile', *Verbum Caro* (23, 1969), pp. 1-23. The study was reconsidered and improved in Idem, *Communion du Saint – Esprit* (=Spiritualité Orientale 56), Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1986, pp. 217-254. Bobrinskoy's research is limited only to the comparative analysis of the Byzantine and the Egyptian texts; there is no reference in it to the Syrian and the Armenian versions.

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John Fenwick in 1985²⁰, wherein the author proposes a follow-up investigation on Saint Basil the Great's anaphora that had already been started by Hieronymus Engberding in 1931. Fenwick's approach came from a new methodological perspective, as it incorporated in its pursuit the newly discovered manuscripts, as well as recent critical editions of the main versions of this Eucharistic text.²¹ Therefore, he analyzed by comparison the entire Eucharistic text, the purpose of his argumentation being to re-examine the relation between the anaphoras of Saint Basil the Great and Saint James, in a detailed study on the textual similarities and confluences between the two Eucharistic formularies. The hypothesis he aimed to prove true was that the correspondence between the two Eucharistic anaphoras was not essentially caused by mutual borrowings or influences, but rather by the fact that both euchological texts represented an independent reworking of one and the same common primary formulary, which the author thought was faithfully recorded in the Louvain manuscript.²²

However, the critical review of Fenwick's work has caused the contemporary liturgical research to outline the main steps that are highly necessary to be taken within the current liturgical science, so as to give a final answer to the bundle of problems raised by the Basilian Eucharistic text. Consequently, in her 1994 review of Fenwick's dissertation²³, Gabriele Winkler programmatically showed that, in order to give a satisfactory answer to the problems that were still unsolved in the history of this euchological text, one would need to:

- edit the critical texts and analyze them in the context of the liturgical tradition of the area where they were used.
- include in the comparative analysis, beside the text of the Armenian version (Arm), the fragment from Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk²⁴, as well as the Arme-

²⁰ His doctoral dissertation was initially published in abbreviated form in: John Fenwick, *Fourth Century Anaphoral Construction Techniques* (=Grove Liturgical Study 45) (Nottingham, 1986), which was later reconsidered and improved in: *The Anaphoras of St. Basil and St. James: An Investigation into their Common Origin* (=OCA 240) (Rome, 1992).

²¹ John Fenwick, *The Anaphoras of St. Basil and St. James* (see n. 37), pp. XXIV-XXVI.

²² On the one hand, this common ancient Eucharistic text that - in his opinion - could be identified with the euchological formulary from the Louvain manuscript, was arranged and enriched with theological and scriptural elements by Saint Basil the Great, and thus became the text of the archetype Ω. On the other hand, around the year 370, it was assimilated - most likely by Saint Cyril of Jerusalem - to the old Antiochian Eucharistic text from book five of his *Mystagogical Catecheses*, which led to the birth of the text of Saint James's anaphora. John Fenwick, *Fourth Century Anaphoral Construction Techniques* (see n. 37), pp. 4-5, 35-37.

²³ *Oriens Christianus* (78, 1994), pp. 269-277.

²⁴ Gabriele Winkler, *Die Basilius-Anaphora, Edition der Beiden Armenischen Redaktionen und der relevanten Fragmente, Übersetzung und Zusammenschau aller Versionen im Licht der*

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nian text of the Byzantine version (byz arm), which contains ancient traces of the pre-Basilian text, just as Engberding suggested back in 1931.²⁵

– edit the critical texts of the various versions - only after that could it be possible to have well documented comparative studies come to light, studies that might allow for a recomposition of the hypothetical euchological formularies Ψ and Ω .

– draw a correlation between the euchological texts of the various versions of Saint Basil the Great's anaphora and his other writings, in order to question their Basilian authorship.

The current study intends to tackle only the issue of the authorship of the Byzantine version, in the way Bernard Capelle did, and also to call into question the results of his study with the help of the computer.

II. Establishing the authorship of a Eucharistic text - methodological guidelines

The emergence of written Eucharistic texts has been a long-standing process of anchoring and defining the oral Tradition of the Church. In the beginning, only the patterns of the ritualistic celebrations were retained, upon which were then grafted the words of the proestos, who would improvise the content of the Eucharistic prayer in the given conditions. In time, however, the euchological formularies have come to be entirely transferred in writing for their safe-keeping and for the standardization of the ritualistic acts. This process managed at first to limit the amount of improvisation in the cult, and then to remove it altogether.²⁶ The liturgical texts have thus started to be disseminated, multiplied and adapted to the various local ritualistic traditions. In the transcription of liturgical manuscripts, the copyists had to depart from the norms applied in the case of literary texts, and so they would oftentimes focus less on preserving the accuracy with the original, and more on the correspondence between the texts and the practical liturgical reality of their time and ritualistic tradition. Therefore, the Eucharistic anaphoras cannot be thought of as the work of a single Church figure, but they are the result of the collective labor of the entire Church.²⁷ In some cases, this common euchological material was arranged and reformulated by a great hierarch, which eventually led to the naming of that very Eucharistic text after its reviser. Yet, this proofreading

Orientalischen Überlieferungen, (=Anaphorae Orientales 2 Anaphorae Armeniacae 2), Pontificio Istituto Orientale, Rome, 2005.

²⁵ H. Engberding, *Das eucharistische Hochgebet der Basileiosliturgie* (see n. 12), pp. LXIV-LXV.

²⁶ Bradshaw, *The Origins...*, 1992, p. 73 ff.

²⁷ Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden der Liturgie*, p. 71.

process occurred within the confines of a well-determined framework, as all the old anaphoras contained elements like Epiklesis, anamnesis, instituting words, doxologies, and hymns, which are all part of that 'given' of any Christian Liturgy. This actually inclined the process of proofreading mainly towards certain sections of the Eucharistic text, such as the Theological and the Christological Prayer, wherein the proestos was free to express himself in a more personal manner.²⁸ To establish, however, how and what the reviser contributed to the current form and content of the Eucharistic text bearing his name is a very difficult procedure, as it calls for means and methods other than those employed in establishing the authorship of a literary work. In the case of the Eucharistic text, its origins and evolution were influenced by many factors, and the contribution of the reviser was limited only to certain sections of it.

In the case of Saint Basil the Great's anaphora, the aforementioned external arguments are many and obvious enough in indicating that the great Cappadocian father left his print on the Eucharistic text named after him. The internal arguments in favor of this hypothesis are still under scrutiny. In his 1990 study, Robert Taft was pointing to the possible internal clues to the authenticity of a Eucharistic text: the style, the propensity to use a certain vocabulary, the doublets, and favored spiritual loci.²⁹ The author indicated that the use of a certain specific terminology, the tendency to employ rare expressions, the preference towards some particular biblical passages were rather convincing internal arguments for the establishment of the authorship of a Eucharistic text, especially when they appeared in highly similar contexts.³⁰

Robert Taft identified two major problems that made these internal arguments pass unnoticed. Firstly, the Liturgical texts are living texts, 'subject to growth and changes that can obscure the traces of the original author's hand'³¹ and secondly, the ritualistic texts are stereotypical, i.e. they are the fruit of the living tradition of

²⁸ E. Lanne asserts this in his reference to the text of Saint Basil the Great's anaphora: 'it is fit to believe that the first part of the anaphora, the one in which the priest could express himself in a more personal manner, is indeed the work of Saint Basil the Great'. See also: E Lanne, 'Les anaphores eucharistiques de Saint Basile et la communauté ecclésiale', *Irenikon* (55, 1982), p. 319; See also G Cuming, *Pseudonymity and authenticity...* p. 537: 'Hence, a bishop from the 4th century had but little liberty of action and the contribution was practically materialized in specific short passages that were inserted in a given context', R. Taft, 'The authenticity of the Chrysostom anaphora revisited. Determining the authorship of liturgical texts by computer', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* (56, 1990), p. 22 and A. Achim Budde, *Die ägyptische Basilios – Anaphora, Text – Kommentar – Geschichte* (=Jerusalem Theologisches Forum 7) (Münster, 2004), pp. 50-56.

²⁹ R. Taft, 'The authenticity of the Chrysostom anaphora revisited...' (see n. 45), p. 21.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

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the Church, and those who took the pains to put them in writing, had to keep to a certain euchological scheme and to specific ritualistic language patterns, generically called Formelgut. All the Eucharistic texts employ scriptural passages, all narrate in a specific language the entire economy of salvation, and all are marked by the fight against heresies.³² Besides these two major issues, Robert Taft insists on pointing out that, due to the general tendency to standardize the Eucharistic Anaphoras, ‘the most important liturgical texts may be the hardest to authenticate’.³³

The methodological principles for the establishment of the authorship of a Eucharistic text can be synthetically rendered as follows:

1. All doublets attributable to another source, or common to several authors and anaphoras and hence possibly Formelgut, must simply be discounted as indices of authorship.³⁴

2. When there are noticeable correlations between the text of the anaphora and the works of a Holy Father, then they are undoubtedly arguments for the authorship of the euchological formulary if, by performing a computer scan of all the Patristic writings, it can be proven that those doublets belong exclusively to that Holy Father.³⁵

3. If such doublets occur exclusively in a compact block of paragraphs, both in the Patristic literature, and in the text of the Eucharistic anaphora, then the authorship can be assigned to the entire section of the Eucharistic text, and all the correlations contained within it turn into decisive arguments, even if their exclusivity cannot be demonstrated.

4. In the case of Saint Basil the Great’s anaphora, a special situation is posed by the Holy Father’s inclination towards certain biblical passages that appear both in the ritualistic text, and in his own writings, as they were used in identical contexts, with the purpose to demonstrate one of this great Holy Father’s original dogmatic ideas.

All of these research methods can be applied only when the study is done with the aid of the computer, by accessing the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae database, and by using the digitalized format of euchological texts. Thesaurus Linguae Graecae is a research centre at the University of California, Irvine, which was founded in 1972. It represents the first attempt in the field of Humanities to produce a digital corpus of great magnitude, containing literary texts from Old Greek. Ever since its beginnings, this centre has collected and digitalized countless Greek texts, from Homer’s works to authors contemporary to the fall of Byzantium in 1453. The TLG texts have been made available to the academic communities, first on magnetic tapes (in the mid 70s), and later on CD-ROMs. In the spring of 2001,

³² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

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the TLG centre developed its own proprietary search engine, and made the TLG Corpus available online. Today, TLG Online contains over 105 million words in more than 10,000 associated papers, with 4,000 authors, and is constantly updated and improved with new characteristics and texts.

It has been almost two decades now since Robert Taft – with the help of the computer and the TLG database – proved the authorship of Saint John Chrysostom’s anaphora, and his pertinent remark on the necessity that the modern tools of research be utilized in liturgical studies is still very much valid, because ‘Only via computerization can one get a relatively complete picture of the relatedness of vocabulary, the author’s theological and ascetical nomenclature, recurring thought patterns, parallel passages, hapax legomena, rare terms and their frequency, all served up by this programming. ... Computer scanning is not only quick, doing in minutes work that would take more than a lifetime, and with no guarantee of inerrancy. It also finds, with total accuracy, all doublets without exception...’³⁶

III. Establishing the authorship of St. Basil’s anaphora: The comparative analysis of the text of the Post Sanctus Christological Prayer in the Egyptian and Byzantine anaphora of Saint Basil the Great

In the following pages, the texts of the Post Sanctus Prayer in the Egyptian and the Byzantine versions of Saint Basil the Great’s anaphora were arranged on parallel columns, so as to allow for a comparative analysis of the relation between the two euchological narratives, and to detect the elements that draw them together, and those that set them apart.

	The greek text of the egyptian version ³⁷ [Äg] Renaudot I, p.63-71	The greek text of the byzantine version ³⁸ [Byz] Brightman, 321-327	
1		Μετὰ τούτων τῶν μακαρίων	1
2		δυνάμεων, Δέσποτα φιλόανθρωπε,	2
3		καὶ ἡμεῖς, οἱ ἁμαρτολοὶ βοῶμεν	3
4		καὶ λέγομεν·	4
5	Ἄγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος εἰ ἀληθῶς,	ἅγιος εἰ ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ πανάγιος	5
6	Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν·		6

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ E. Renaudot, *Liturgiarum orientalium collectio*, vol I, Fröncofurti a.M., 1847, p. 63-71; A. Hänggi, I. Pahl, (eds), *Prex Eucharistica*, Fribourg 1968, p. 347-350.

³⁸ F.E. Brightman, *Liturgies eastern and western*, vol I: Eastern liturgies, Oxford 1896, p. 321-327; A. Hänggi, I. Pahl, (eds), *Prex Eucharistica*.232-234.

7		καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν μέτρον τῆς	7
8		μεγαλοπρέπειας τῆς ἀγιοσύνης σου	8
9		καὶ ὁσίοι ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔργοις σου	9
10		ὅτι ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ κρίσει ἀληθινῇ	10
11		πάντα ἐπήγαγες ἡμῖν·	11
12	ὃς ἔπλασας ἡμᾶς,	πλάσας γὰρ τὸν ἄνθρωπον	12
13	καὶ	χοῦν λαβῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ	13
14		εἰκόνη τῆ σῆ ὁ Θεὸς τιμήσας αὐτὸν	14
15	ἔθου ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τῆς	τέθεικας αὐτὸν ἐν παραδείσῳ τῆς	15
16	τρυφῆς.	τρυφῆς ἀθανασίαν ζωῆς	16
17		καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν αἰώνιων ἀγαθῶν	17
18		ἐν τῇ τηρήσει τῶν ἐντολῶν	18
19		σου ἐπαγγειλάμενος αὐτῷ·	19
20	Παραβάντας δὲ τὴν ἐντολήν σου	ἀλλὰ παρακούσαντα σοῦ τοῦ	20
21		ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτὸν	21
22	διὰ τῆς ἀπάτης τοῦ ὄφεως,	καὶ τῆ ἀπάτη τοῦ ὄφεως	22
23	καὶ ἐκπεσόντας ἡμᾶς ἐκ	ὑπαχθέντα νεκρωθέντα τε αὐτὸν	23
24	τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς,	τοῖς οἰκειοῖς αὐτοῦ παραπτώμασιν	24
25	καὶ ἐξορισθέντας	ἐξώρισας αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ	25
26	ἐκ τοῦ	δικαιοκρισίᾳ σου ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ τοῦ	26
27	παραδείσου τῆς τρυφῆς,	παραδείσου εἰς τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον	27
28		καὶ ἀπέστρεψας αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν γῆν	28
29		ἐξ ἧς ἐλήφθη οἰκονομῶν αὐτῷ	29
30		τὴν ἐκ παλιγενεσίας σωτηρίαν	30
31		τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Χριστῷ σου·	31
32	οὐκ ἀπέβριψας ἡμᾶς	οὐ γὰρ ἀπεστράφης τὸ πλάσμα σου	32
33	εἰς τέλος,	εἰς τέλος ὁ ἐποίησας ἀγαθῆ,	33
34		οὐδὲ ἐπελάθου ἔργων χειρῶν σου,	34
35	ἀλλὰ διὰ παντὸς ἐπεσκέψω ἡμᾶς διὰ	ἀλλ' ἐπεσκέψω πολυτρόπως	35
36		διὰ σπλάγχνα ἐλέους σου,	36
37	τῶν ἁγίων σου προφητῶν,	προφήτας ἐξαπέστειλας,	37
38		ἐποίησας δυνάμεις διὰ τῶν ἁγίων σου	38
39		τῶν καθ' ἐκάστην γενεὰν καὶ γενεὰν	39
40		εὐαρεστησάντων σοι,	40
41		ἐλάλησας ἡμῖν διὰ στόματος	41
42		τῶν δούλων σου τῶν προφητῶν	42
43		προκαταγγέλλων ἡμῖν τὴν	43
44		μέλλουσαν ἔσεσθαι σωτηρίαν,	44
45		νόμον ἔδωκας εἰς βοήθειαν,	45
46		ἀγγέλους ἐπέστησας φύλακας·	46
47	καὶ ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων	ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν	47
48	ἐπεφάνης ἡμῖν	καιρῶν ἐλάλησας ἡμῖν	48
49	τοῖς ἐν σκότει καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου		49
50	καθημένους,		50
51	διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου Υἱοῦ,	ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Υἱῷ σου	51

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52	Κυρίου δὲ καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτήρος	52
53	ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,	53
54		54
55		55
56		56
57		57
58		58
59		59
60		60
61		61
62		62
63	ὃς, ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ	63
64	ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας δεσποίνης ἡμῶν	64
65	θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας	65
66	σαρκωθείς καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσας,	66
67		67
68		68
69		69
70		70
71		71
72		72
73		73
74		74
75		75
76		76
77		77
78		78
79		79
80		80
81		81
82		82
83		83
84		84
85		85
86	ὑπέδειξεν ἡμῖν ὁδοὺς σωτηρίας,	86
87		87
88		88
89		89
90	χαρισάμενος ἡμῖν τὴν ἄνωθεν	90
91	ἀναγέννησιν ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ	91
92	πνεύματος, καὶ ἐποίησεν	92
93	ἡμᾶς ἐαυτῷ λαὸν περιούσιον·	93
94		94
95		95
96	ἡγίασεν ἡμᾶς τῷ Πνεύματί σου	96

97	τῷ ἀγίῳ.	τῷ ἀγίῳ	97
98	Ὅς ἠγάπησε τοὺς ἰδίους τοὺς		98
99	ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ,		99
100	ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ἀντίλυτρον τῷ	ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ἀντάλλαγμα τῷ	100
101	βασιλεύοντι ἡμῶν θανάτῳ,	θανάτῳ	101
102	ὑφ' ᾧ κατειχόμεθα	ἐν ᾧ κατειχόμεθα	102
103	πεπραμένοι ὑπὸ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν,	πεπραμένοι ὑπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας	103
104	καὶ κατελθὼν διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ εἰς	καὶ κατελθὼν διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ εἰς	104
105	τὸν ἄδην,	τὸν ἄδην	105
106		ἵνα πληρώσῃ ἑαυτῷ τὰ πάντα	106
107		ἔλυσεν τὰς ὠδῖνας τοῦ θανάτου	107
108	ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ·	καὶ ἀναστὰς τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ	108
109		καὶ ὁδοποιήσας πάσῃ σαρκί	109
110		τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν	110
111		καθότι οὐκ ἦν δυνατόν κρατεῖσθαι	111
112		ὑπὸ τῆς φθορᾶς τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς	112
113		ζωῆς ἐγένετο ἀπαρχὴ τῶν	113
114		κεκοιμημένων, πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν	114
115		νεκρῶν ἵνα ἢ αὐτὸς τὰ πάντα ἐν	115
116		πᾶσιν πρωτεύων	116
117	καὶ ἀνελθὼν εἰς οὐρανοὺς,	καὶ ἀνελθὼν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς	117
118	ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ σου τοῦ Πατρὸς,	ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης	118
119	ὀρίσας ἡμέραν ἀνταποδόσεως,	ἐν ὑψηλοῖς	119
120	καθ' ἣν ἐπιφανεῖς		120
121	κρίναι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν	ὃς καὶ ἤξει	121
122	δικαιοσύνῃ,		122
123	καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὴν	ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα	123
124	πράξιν αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ·	124
125	κατέλιπε δὲ ἡμῖν τοῦτο	κατέλιπεν δὲ ἡμῖν	125
126	τὸ μέγα τῆς εὐσεβείας	ὑπομνήματα τοῦ σωτηρίου αὐτοῦ	126
127	μυστήριον.	πάθους ταῦτα ἃ προτεθείκαμεν	127
128		κατὰ τὰς αὐτοῦ ἐντολάς·	128

1. The comparative analysis of the Egyptian and Byzantine texts

The arrangement of the two versions on parallel columns shows that the Egyptian eucharistical formulary is much shorter than the Byzantine one and has a kerygmatic and concise doctrinal content, whereas the Byzantine text impresses by its complexity, length, and its theological profound and comprehensive character.

Before Engberding, the liturgical researchers were tempted to see in the Egyptian text an abridged version of the Byzantine narrative, one that was compiled by the Church authorities in order to satisfy the needs of a less fervent gener-

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ation of Christians. This is what the work *Tractatus de traditione divinae missae*³⁹, by Saint Proclus, patriarch of Constantinople, states.

It is important to note that the text of the Egyptian version underwent three reworkings, i.e. the Egyptian-Ethiopian (α),⁴⁰ the Egyptian-Coptic [Bohairic] (β)⁴¹ and the Egyptian-Greek version (γ or $\dot{A}g$)⁴². The latter formulary has been ignored for a long time, as it was considered either as unrelated to that of the Byzantine version⁴³, or accused of being an abridged version of the Byzantine, i.e. a subsequent apparition.⁴⁴

Yet, in 1931, by drawing a comparison between all the versions of Saint Basil the Great's anaphora, Hieronymus Engberding managed to prove that those two versions of Saint Basil the Great's anaphora were extremely important to the process of setting the direction in the evolution of this Eucharistic text. In analyzing with great scientific accuracy and akribeia the relation between the texts of the two versions, the German liturgist demonstrated that the Byzantine text is, without a doubt, a reworking and a theologically and biblically improved version of the Egyptian eucharistical formulary. Also, he managed to prove that the direction in the evolution of Saint Basil the Great's anaphora narrative went from simple to complex, from sobriety to theological comprehensiveness.

³⁹ PG 65, 849B-852B

⁴⁰ The Ethiopian text of the Egyptian version of Saint Basil the Great's anaphora is recorded by P. Coulbeaux in *Ordnung der Liturgien der katholischen Kirche der Christen in Äthiopien* (Asmara, 1907), and by Sebastian Euringer in 'Die äthiopische Anaphora des heiligen Basiliius', *Orientalia Christiana* 98 (Rome, 1934), pp. 147-201.

⁴¹ Raphael Tuki, *Missale coptice et arabice* (Rome, 1736); Josephus Aloysius Assemani, *Codex Liturgicus Ecclesiae Universae*, book IV, part IV (Rome, 1754) and reprinted in Paris and Leipzig in 1902, pp. 1-92.

⁴² The main manuscript used by Engberding for the Greek text of the Egyptian version of Saint Basil the Great's anaphora is Graec.325 (14th century) from the National Library in Paris, a manuscript that was published by Eusebius Renaudot, in *Liturgiarum orientalium collectio*, vol. 1 (Frankfurt, 1847), pp. 57-85, by Josephus Aloysius Assemani in *Codex Liturgicus Ecclesiae Universae*, book VII, part I, (Paris / Leipzig 1902), pp. 45-86 and by PG 31, 1629-1656. In the current study, this manuscript will be used under the name of $\dot{A}g$, as the representative text of this version.

⁴³ In the introductory note to the Greek text of the Egyptian version (γ) published in PG 31, 1629-1656, the following statement is made: 'Researchers unanimously acknowledge that this Liturgy, known under saint Basil's name, is not the great man's work...' and in *Ägyptische Abendmahlsliturgien des 1. Jahrtausends* (=Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums 6) (Paderborn, 1912), p. 165, note 2, Theodor Schermann insists upon the fact that: '... the correlation between the Egyptian and Byzantine versions of Saint Basil the Great's anaphora is very limited...' Engberding qualifies the first statement as false and the second as premature (H. Engberding, *Das eucharistische Hochgebet...* (see n. 12), p. LXXIII)

⁴⁴ Anton Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland* (Kempten / München, 1906), p. 72: '[this text] is nothing but a reworking of the Byzantine Basilian formulary, shortened and adapted to the Egyptian use'.

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A synthesis of Enberding's pertinent and still unmatched comparative analysis of the two narratives leads to the main conclusions reached by the German liturgist:

a. In the text of the two versions, the economy of salvation is worded in an almost identical manner. Starting from the Angelic hymn (from ἐπινίκιος), everything that appears in $\ddot{A}g$, except for some later-date developments, can also be found in Byz, a version that comes from the archetype Ω , the euchological formulary reworked by Saint Basil the Great.

b. There is a resemblance in what Saint Mark's Liturgy,⁴⁵ Saint James's⁴⁶ and the text of the Egyptian version $\ddot{A}g$ all leave out from the fragment that writes about the entire economy of salvation, in comparison to the text of archetype Ω . In the ancient Eucharistic anaphoras, that fragment is characterized by a dense and concise style, which is specific to the Apostolic kerygma, and is devoid of theological speculations like those found in archetype Ω .⁴⁷

c. The text of the Egyptian version \ddot{A} possesses a concise style that proves it to be an older Eucharistic formulary than that of the archetype Ω . It constituted the kerygmatic nucleus, which through scriptural and theological insertions gave birth to the text of this archetype. The singularity of a new subsequently appeared euchological formulary lies in the comprehensive theological style of the arche-

⁴⁵ The text of this ancient Egyptian Liturgy that had been used in the Alexandrian ritualistic tradition before the Egyptian version of Saint Basil the Great's anaphora appeared, can be found in: F.E. Brightmann, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, vol 1 (Oxford, 1896), pp. 125-134; Anton Hänggi, Irmgard Pahl, *Prex Eucharistica* (see n. 54), pp. 101-123.

⁴⁶ The origins of Saint James's Liturgy can be traced back to the Liturgical tradition in Jerusalem, which merged with the Antiochian and thus gave birth to the 'Antiochian patriarchal rite'. See also: F.E. Brightmann, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, 1, (Oxford, 1896), pp. 30-68; Anton Hänggi, Irmgard Pahl, *Prex Eucharistica* (Fribourg, 1968), pp. 244-261; B.-Ch. Mercier, *La liturgie de saint Jacques. Édition critique du text grec avec traduction latine*, *Patrologia Orientalis* 26 (1946), pp. 115-223.

⁴⁷ The resemblance between the Egyptian version $\ddot{A}g$ and that of Saint Mark's and Saint James's anaphoras are based only on what these Liturgical formularies leave out, in comparison to the long and extensive text of archetype Ω . At this point, Engberding's demonstration risks contradicting one of the principles of textual criticism that he presented at the beginning of his work: 'When a document coincides with another set of documents only in what they omit, and has no other similarities with those, then the omissions cannot be used as arguments for the existence of any correspondence between them.' (principle 6, H. Engberding, *Das eucharistische Hochgebet...*, (see n. 12) p. XXIV). Thus, in order to scientifically 'ensure' the proposition that the text of the Egyptian version $\ddot{A}g$ could be as old as the anaphoras of Saint James and Saint Mark, it is necessary to demonstrate that, despite their independence and differences, the similarities between the three euchological formularies are not restrained to omissions. Nonetheless, the Egyptian text shows marks of theological elaboration, as well as excisions that the other two euchological formularies do not have, which could lead to the conclusion that the former is more recent than the latter, and that it has its roots in the reworking of an older Eucharistic text that was directly related to the narrative of Saint Mark's and Saint James's anaphoras.

type Ω , characterized by the abundant use of an extremely well-chosen biblical language, where 4/5 of the entire anaphora is pure scriptural text.⁴⁸

d. Given the similarities between the text of the Egyptian version of Saint Mark and that of Saint James, in no likelihood could there be chance that $\ddot{A}g$ represents a shortened version of Ω , and therefore of Byz, in the sense that there occurred an adjustment and contraction of the scriptural texts and theological speculations in time. These are the very elements that Saint Basil the Great cared to embed in the Eucharistic text, for it is hard to imagine how the man who might have handled this contraction - against the general direction of the evolution of the Eucharistic anaphora⁴⁹ - could cut out by elimination and with great precision only certain elements from the text of the archetype Ω , so as to be left exactly with the framework of the passage regarding the economy of salvation that appears in the Eucharistic anaphora of Saint Mark and Saint James.

e. The text of the Egyptian version [$\ddot{A}g$] is most certainly older than that of the Byzantine version [Byz], and this can be noticed in its lack of comprehensive theological elements, and in its concise kerygmatic style. $\ddot{A}g$ preserves the nucleus of an old pre-Basilian anaphora from Cappadocia, onto which many other ritualistic elements, specific to the Egyptian tradition (*Ägyptisches Heimatgut*), were grafted.

f. The logical conclusion that comes with these observations is that the evolution of Saint Basil the Great's anaphora did not follow the path from a longer formulary to a shorter one, but rather it went the opposite way around, i.e. from the concise and simple kerygmatic character, to the ample and elaborate theological 'given'.⁵⁰ Saint Basil did not create the nucleus of the Egyptian version $\ddot{A}g$, but he revised and expanded that ancient formulary by adding to it some theological, Christological and biblical ingredients.

⁴⁸ Engberding believes that the emergence of archetype Ω through the reworking and the theological and scriptural enhancement of the ancient Egyptian eucharological formulary $\ddot{A}g$ is due to an ethos alteration that occurred in the Church tradition during the first centuries: What was formerly worded in a dense, kerygmatic style and manner - take the Apostolic Symbol for instance - has later come to be expressed in theological-speculative formularies, as the life of the Church evolved - such was the case with the penning of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed. (H. Engberding, *Das eucharistische Hochgebet...* (see n. 12), p. LXXVI).

⁴⁹ See also: Hans Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl, Eine Studie zur Geschichte der Liturgie*, Berlin 1955. Fritz Hamm, *Die liturgischen Einsetzungsberichte im Sinne vergleichender Liturgieforschung untersucht* (=Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen 23) (Münster, 1928).

⁵⁰ H. Engberding, *Das eucharistische Hochgebet...* (see n. 12), p. LXXVI. Engberding is beware though, of the temptation to generalize the results of his research: 'It falls upon the minds of liturgical researchers to come, to take on the urgent task, indifferent to the opinions expressed hereby and those unanimously accepted, of questioning once more the evolution of the Eucharistic anaphora, and to investigate the ways in which the evolution of Saint Basil the Great's anaphora represents a unique case or must be regarded as typical [paradigmatic].'" *Ibidem*, p. LXXVII.

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The authorship of the Egyptian text still remains one of the unsolved problems of Saint Basil the Great's anaphora. To try and prove it would mean to wander too further away from the frameworks and purposes of the present research study. It is difficult to give a definite answer to the question whether the Cappadocian father did or did not arrange the text of the old anaphora from Caesarea, before it was adopted by the Egyptian ritualistic tradition. Engberding admits that the nucleus of the Egyptian version appeared, most certainly, before Saint Basil the Great was born. Hence, this euchological text cannot be in any way related to the personality of this great and Holy Father. The fact that it bears his name can be assigned to an ancient custom according to which people named the Liturgy of a metropolis after the name of one of its important bishops, as was the case of the Liturgy of Saint Mark and Saint James. However, the Benedictine liturgist does not exclude the possibility that the Cappadocian Eucharistic formulary entered the Egyptian ritualistic tradition bearing not only the name, but also the marks of Saint Basil's contribution to it.

2. The structure of the Byzantine version of the Post Sanctus prayer

The text of the Byzantine version of Saint Basil the Great's anaphora belongs to the West Syrian liturgical family. In the Christological or Post Sanctus Prayer, these anaphoras unveil, diversely and within a rich thematic landscape, the great mystery of the salvation of humankind.

The ineffable mystery of the divine love that was revealed in the redeeming sacrifice of the Son of God Incarnate is worded in the Byzantine version of the Eucharistic text attributed to Saint Basil the Great, through a series of ingeniously intertwined biblical passages that combine into a Liturgical poem of unique beauty. Man's lapse into sin is narrated through excerpts from Psalms and the Book of Genesis, followed then by a mosaic of biblical texts extracted from the Pauline Epistles to the Philippians, Romans, Ephesians, and Hebrews, that depict the fulfillment of the economy of salvation through the preparation of humankind, the Incarnation of the Son of God, His Sacrifice, Resurrection, Ascension to Heaven, and Second Coming. The thus created theological vision is impressive: the opposition sin – death and life – redemption constitutes the core basis on which is built the liturgical ritual of giving God thanks for His love that was revealed in the Sacrifice of the New Adam. It is remarkable how, within the liturgical text, Saint Basil the Great managed to associate the theme of knowledge, of discovering the Truth in the Person of the Savior to the grand theme of life that is created and restored in Christ. This is furthermore proof that the great Holy Father did not care only to enrich a Eucharistic text theologically and biblically, but he meant to bring that text to the plenum and beauty of the original Eucharist.⁵¹

⁵¹ Louis Bouyer, *Eucharistie. Théologie et spiritualité de la prière eucharistique* (Tournai, 1966), p. 289.

For analysis purposes, the text of the Post Sanctus Prayer may be schematically divided in the following sections:

1. God's holiness and righteousness, the source of all gifts given to men (1-11)
2. The creation of man (12-19)
3. The fall into sin (20-31)
4. The preparation of the world for the coming of the Savior (32-46)
5. The fullness of time - the restoration of all things in Christ (47-128)
 - a. The Person of the Savior and the ineffable kenosis of His Incarnation (47-72)
 - b. The accomplishment of salvation for the humankind: the Savior's earthly life, Sacrifice, Resurrection, Ascension, and Second Coming, and the consecration through water and the Spirit (73-128).

3. The interpretation of the parallelisms between the text of the Byzantine version and the writings of Saint Basil the Great

The analysis that the present study proposes starts from the premise that the penmanship of Saint Basil the Great was *par excellence* biblical and liturgical at the same time. Beyond his vast knowledge of profane culture and skilful mastery of classic Greek, the great hierarch from Caesarea in Cappadocia was also a follower of Church tradition, a man of the experiential faith, who knew how to express – in the text of the Eucharistic anaphora, as well as in all of his writings – what the Early Church lived and exhorted ever since the beginning. Given this fact, the attempt to establish the authorship of the Eucharistic text ascribed to him is no easy task. Saint Basil adopted the language of the ritualistic Tradition and tried to breathe a new theological and biblical spirit into the Eucharistic formulary that he used in the celebration of the Holy Liturgy.

The comparative analysis of the text of the Post Sanctus Prayer in the Egyptian and Byzantine versions equally denote the manner in which Saint Basil the Great knew how to revise the Eucharistic anaphora – by lending it his own style, whilst preserving its accent and note that were specific to the early Christian liturgical tradition. It is impressive how the great hierarch handled the arrangement of the Eucharistic text of his age, by cutting out certain expressions and rephrasing them, so as to make room for some ample dogmatic accounts, expressed by way of some original combinations of biblical verses. Therefore, the scriptural expressions that are mentioned in Äg have been expanded and augmented in Byz, and the concise phrases in Äg have turned thick and symmetrical, and have been filled with countless participial constructions.

The thematic structuring of the Post Sanctus Prayer allows the entire economy of salvation to be described in an impressively coherent manner. Each great theological theme like the creation of man, the lapse into sin, the preparation of the

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world for the Incarnation of the Savior, the description of the Savior's Person and of the work of salvation, has a corresponding section in the text of the anaphora, and the transition from one theme to another is done in a consummate manner, thus making the whole text look like a vast and unitary poem.

On the basis of the thematic structuring of the text of the Post Sanctus Prayer in the Byzantine version, the following paragraphs will highlight the most important correlations between this euchological text and the writings of Saint Basil the Great. It is of great import that, in all of its sections, there are extremely numerous doublets to be found in common with the writings of Saint Basil the Great. However, even if their exclusiveness is in certain cases barely demonstrable, the passages where these exclusive doublets appear have the power to deem as 'Basilian' other correlations, whose exclusiveness cannot be proven, but which have a high degree of occurrence and favouredness only in Saint Basil the Great's writings.

a. The creation of man (12-19)

	[Äg] Renaudot I, p.63-71	[Byz] Brightman, p. 321-327	
12	ὃς ἔπλασας ἡμᾶς,	πλάσας γὰρ τὸν ἄνθρωπον	12
13	καὶ	χοῦν λαβῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ	13
14		εἰκόνι τῆ σῆ ὁ Θεὸς τιμήσας αὐτὸν	14
15	ἔθου ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τῆς	τέθεικας αὐτὸν ἐν παραδείσῳ τῆς	15
16	τρυφῆς.	τρυφῆς ἀθανασίαν ζωῆς	16
17		καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν	17
18		ἐν τῇ τηρήσει τῶν ἐντολῶν	18
19		σου ἐπαγγειλάμενος αὐτῷ.	19
12	You Who have made us,	For having made man	12
13	and	by taking dust from the earth, and	13
14		having honored him with Your own	14
15	placed us in the garden	image, You placed him in a garden	15
16	of delight.	of delight, promising him eternal life and	16
17		the enjoyment of everlasting blessings	17
18		in the observance of Your	18
19		commandments	19

Upon relating this passage from Byz to the writings of Saint Basil the Great, it appears as a double correlation of ideas and of linguistic patterns. Both types of doublets will be analyzed in the attempt to prove that the internal theological discourse of the great Cappadocian hierarch has left its mark on the text of the anaphora that bears his name.

This short passage from the Byzantine text contains four major ideas:

- a. The Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground (Genesis 2,7)
- b. The man was created in the image of God
- c. The man was placed in the garden of delights
- d. The man was promised eternal life and the enjoyment of everlasting blessings in the observance of commandments.

However, this ideational background belonging to the apostolic kerygma has found a unique formulation that was inspired by the euchological formulary hereby analyzed. Consequently, the short and faulty statements from *Äg* have been assumed and reformulated in *Byz*, with the clear desire to give the narrative some style and symmetry. The reviser intended that, in the Byzantine Eucharistic text, the accent of the entire exposition to fall on the main verb of the sentence, which depended on two strings of participial pre- and post-modifiers. This structure gives the whole Eucharistic text a sense of symmetry. In the section 12-19, the focus is on the man's placement into Heaven and on his happy state of being, hence the choice of a main verb in the past tense, 'You placed [him]' [τέθεικας], pre-modified by the participles in Aorist: 'having made' [πλάσας], 'taking' [λαβών], 'having honored' [τιμήσας], which describe the acts before the man was placed in Heaven, and followed by a final participle, 'promising' [ἐπαγγειλάμενος] that is meant to expand the idea stated by the main verb. Any of the enlisted participles could have been the main verb, but the reviser chose the verb τίθημι instead of ἔπλασας from *Äg*, and turned it into a mere participle in *Byz*, precisely because he wanted to emphasize the importance of man's placing in the Heaven and of the love communion between man and God. God made the man and intended him for this delightful state; its loss and recovery are the reasons why all the acts in the economy of salvation were fulfilled.

All four ideas regarding the creation of man, as well as the focus on man's happy state of being in the Heaven, are found in the writings of Saint Basil. Between the *Äg*, *Byz* and the writings of the great hierarch, there are more than a number of simple correlations in expressions, as full passages from his works render faithfully the main ideas from the Eucharistic texts. Sure enough, these ideas can be encountered throughout the entire Patristic literature, yet in the following paragraphs, there will be noted a few passages from the writings of the great Cappadocian father, so as to clarify the manner in which he formulated his anthropology.

Man's happy state in Heaven was the 'good' that God made everything for, and He meant to 'place' the man amongst these delights. Therefore, Saint Basil the Great writes 'He did not create the man first, for He did not mean the man to be poor, but He made heaven and earth, and all the plants and animals and gave the man domin-

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ion over all things created, and He found a special place on the earth, and He placed the man in it,... for the man-loving God did not stop after giving the man the delights of the earth, but He [prepared] a special place, His own adornment, as He wanted the man for Himself, and then He placed him in the Heavens.⁵²

This ‘good’ of the primary man is defined by Saint Basil the Great as: ‘getting closer to God and uniting with Him through love’,⁵³ because, ‘long ago, Adam was standing on high, not with his body, but by the freedom of his will, and when he was given breath of life, he raised his eyes to the sky; he delighted in what he saw and felt immense love for his Benefactor, Who had granted him enjoyment of eternal life, had placed him in the *delights of Heaven*, had given him dominion over what the angels possessed, and had made him worthy of hearing the divine voice. And above all these, he was in God’s caring hands, drawing pleasure from His delights and blessings.’⁵⁴

The same idea is presented by Saint Basil the Great in *The Longer Rules* 2,3: ‘God created man after His image and in His likeness, He made him worthy to know Him, He gave him a rational mind unlike any other being on earth, He allowed him to *delight* in the ineffable beauties of the paradise, and gave him dominion over everything on earth.’⁵⁵

For man’s advancement in virtue and attainment of perfection, God granted him the gift of labor and the guardianship of paradise, and gave him a commandment ‘so as to try his obedience’, as he was furnished with all the strength to keep it and by keeping it to earn his joy and eternal life.⁵⁶

⁵² Basiliius Caesariensis, *Homilia dicta in Lacisis*, PG 31, 1453A: Εἶδεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἠρκέσθη ὁ φιλόανθρωπος Θεὸς τῇ τῆς γῆς ἀπολαύσει· ἀλλ’ ἐξαίρετον ἐνδιαίτημα, τὸ ἴδιον ἐγκαλλώπισμα, τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἑαυτοῦ βουλόμενος, ἐκεῖ κατέστησεν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ.

⁵³ Basiliius Caesariensis, *Quod deus non est auctor malorum*, PG 31, 344B: Τί δὲ ἦν αὐτῇ τὸ προηγούμενον ἀγαθόν; Ἡ προσεδρεία τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἡ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης συνάφεια ἧς ἐκπεσοῦσα, τοῖς ποικίλοις καὶ πολυτρόποις ἀρρώστημασιν ἐκακώθη.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, 344C: Ἦν ποτε ὁ Ἀδὰμ ἄνω, οὐ τόπω, ἀλλὰ τῇ προαιρέσει, ὅτε, ἄρτι ψυχωθεὶς καὶ ἀναβλέψας πρὸς οὐρανὸν, περιχαρὴς τοῖς ὁρωμένοις γενόμενος, ὑπεραγαπῶν τὸν εὐεργέτην, ζωῆς μὲν αἰωνίου ἀπόλαυσιν χαρισάμενος, τρυφαῖς δὲ παραδείσου ἐναναπαύσαντα, ἀρχὴν δὲ δόντα κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἀγγέλων, καὶ ἀρχαγγέλοις αὐτὸν ποιήσαντα ὁμοδίαιτον, καὶ φωνῆς θείας ἀκροατὴν· ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις ὑπερασπιζόμενος παρὰ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἀπολαύων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀγαθῶν, ταχὺ πάντων ἀναπλησθεὶς, καὶ οἷον ἐξυβρίσας τῷ κόρῳ, τὸ τοῖς σαρκίνοις ὀφθαλμοῖς φανερὸν τερπνὸν τοῦ νοητοῦ προετίμησε κάλλους, καὶ τὴν πλησμονὴν τῆς γαστρὸς τῶν πνευματικῶν ἀπολαύσεων τιμιωτέραν ἔθετο.

⁵⁵ Basiliius Caesariensis, *Asceticon magnum sive Quaestiones (regulae fusius tractatae)*, PG 31, 913A: κατ’ εἰκόνα Θεοῦ καὶ ὁμοίωσιν ποιήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώσεως ἀξιώσας, καὶ λόγῳ παρὰ πάντα τὰ ζῶα κατακοσμήσας, καὶ τοῖς ἀμηγάνοις τοῦ παραδείσου κάλλεσιν ἐντροφῶν παρασχόμενος, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀπάντων ἄρχοντα καταστήσας.

⁵⁶ Basiliius Caesariensis, *Quod deus non est auctor malorum*, PG 31, 348D: Ὅτι ἔδει εἶναι ἐντολὴν τὴν δοκιμάζουσαν ἡμῶν τὸ ὑπήκοον. Διὰ τοῦτο ἦν φυτὸν ὠραίων καρπῶν εὐφορον, ἵνα ἐν

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In all of these passages containing the fundamental ideas in the anthropology of Saint Basil the Great, there can be found many lexical correlations between the Eucharistic texts and Basil's writings. The biblical expression 'delights of paradise' [ὁ παράδεισος τῆς τρυφῆς] from Gen 3, 24, which is common to the Egyptian and the Byzantine texts, is familiar to the writing style of the great Cappadocian hierarch. In his *Ascetic word and exhortation on renunciation of the world and spiritual perfection*, he advised: '...see that the enemy lead you not into the sin of Adam, and quickly ban you from the delights of paradise.'⁵⁷, and in The Longer Rules 55, when asked whether the recourse to the medical art was in keeping with the practice of piety, he responded: 'Just as we would have no need of the farmer's labor and toil if we were living amid the delights of paradise, so also we would not require the medical art for relief if we were immune to disease, as was the case, by God's gift, at the time of Creation before the Fall.'⁵⁸

In his *Homily on Psalm I*, PG 29, 216A, Saint Basil the Great uses the expression: 'the delight of eternal blessings' that appears also in the Byzantine Eucharistic text: 'Therefore the One Who restores our lives, the great Teacher, the Spirit of truth has wisely placed before us the rewards, for upon rising above the labors that lay ahead, we should hasten our minds towards the delights of the eternal blessings.'⁵⁹

The expression 'taking dust from the earth' is mentioned by Saint Basil the Great in his *Homily on famine and drought*: 'For if we know he is strong, could he then not lack goodness? It cannot be so. What need could ever compel the one who is not good to create the man in the beginning? Who compelled the Creator against His own will, to take dust from the earth and mould such beauty out of clay?'⁶⁰

τῆ ἀποχῆ τοῦ ἡδέος, τὸ τῆς ἐγκρατείας καλὸν ἐπιδειξάμενοι, τῶν τῆς ὑπομονῆς στεφάνων δικαίως ἀξιοθῶμεν.

⁵⁷ Basiliius Caesariensis, *Sermo 11 (sermo asceticus et exhortatio de renuntiatione mundi)*, PG 31, 640A: ὄρα μὴ σε πλανήσῃ ὁ ἐχθρὸς τῆ τοῦ προπάτορος ἀμαρτία, καὶ τὸ τάχος σε ἐκβάλῃ τοῦ παραδείσου τῆς τρυφῆς.

⁵⁸ Basiliius Caesariensis, *Asceticon magnum sive Quaestiones (regulae fusius tractatae)*, PG 31, 1044C: Ὡσπερ γάρ, εἰ ἦμεν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τῆς τρυφῆς, οὐδὲν ἂν ἐπινοίας καὶ μόχθου γεωργικοῦ ἐπεδείθημεν.

⁵⁹ Basiliius Caesariensis, *Homiliae super Psalmos*, PG 29, 216AB: Διὸ καὶ ὁ κοινὸς τοῦ βίου διορθωτῆς, ὁ μέγας διδάσκαλος, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, σοφῶς καὶ ἐντέχνως τοὺς μισθοὺς προεβάλετο, ἵνα, ὑπερκύπτοντες τοὺς ἐν χερσὶ πόνους, τῇ διανοίᾳ πρὸς τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν αἰώνιων ἀγαθῶν ἐπειγώμεθα.

⁶⁰ Basiliius Caesariensis, *Homilia dicta tempore famis et siccitatis*, PG 31, 317A: Οὐδὲ οὗτος ἐφεστὼς ὁ λόγος. Τίς γάρ ἀνάγκη τὸν μὴ ἀγαθὸν ἐπεισεν ἐν ἀρχῇ δημιουργῆσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον; Τίς δὲ ὁ κατεπειξας τὸν Κτίστην καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον χοῦν λαβεῖν, καὶ τοιοῦτον ἐκ πηλοῦ κάλλος εἰδοποιῆσαι;

As one can see, this is not only about simple lexical coincidences or the use of certain well-known biblical expressions that were often employed in theological debates of the 4th century, but it is about real thematic and linguistic correlations that exist between the Eucharistic texts and Saint Basil the Great's writings.

b. The fall into sin (20-31)

	[Āg]	[Byz]	
20	Παραβάντας δὲ τὴν ἐντολὴν σου	ἀλλὰ παρακούσαντα σοῦ τοῦ	20
21		ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτὸν	21
22	διὰ τῆς ἀπάτης τοῦ ὄφεως,	καὶ τῆ ἀπάτη τοῦ ὄφεως	22
23	καὶ ἐκπεσόντας ἡμᾶς ἐκ	ὑπαχθέντα νεκρωθέντα τε αὐτὸν	23
24	τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς,	τοῖς οικείοις αὐτοῦ παραπτώμασιν	24
25	καὶ ἐξορισθέντας	ἐξώρισας αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ	25
26	ἐκ τοῦ	δικαιοκρισίας σου ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ τοῦ	26
27	παραδείσου τῆς τρυφῆς,	παραδείσου εἰς τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον	27
28		καὶ ἀπέστρεψας αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν γῆν	28
29		ἐξ ἧς ἐλήφθη οἰκονομῶν αὐτῷ	29
30		τὴν ἐκ παλιγγενεσίας σωτηρίαν	30
31		τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Χριστῷ σου·	31
20	when we disobeyed Your	But when he disobeyed	20
21	commandment	You, the true God who had created him,	21
22	through the deception of the serpent	and by the deception of the serpent	22
23	and fell from	was led astray, becoming subject to death	23
24	eternal life,	through his own transgressions,	24
25	You expelled us	You, O God, in Your righteous judgment,	25
26	from	expelled him from	26
27	the paradise of delights	paradise into this world,	27
28		returning him to the earth	28
29		from which he was taken, yet providing	29
30		for him the salvation of regeneration	30
31		in Your Christ	31

This section that depicts the drama of man's lapse into sin is narrated in approximately the same linguistic terms in both versions of the Eucharistic text, with short and precise words in Āg, and ample and well-structured clauses in Byz.

This passage contains three central ideas that also constitute the fundamental themes of Orthodox anthropology:

a. The disobedience of the divine commandment, through the deception of the serpent, brought death and decay in the human nature.

b. Because he alienated himself from God, the man was expelled from paradise and stripped of his state of joy.

c. Man's lapse was the cause for the Incarnation of Christ the Savior, and for the entire economy of salvation.

The Egyptian text is confined to the documentation of only the first two ideas, whereas the Byzantine euchological formulary groups the three themes around its two main verbs: 'expelled him' [ἐξώρισας] and 'returning him' [ἀπέστρεψας] that are related antithetically, through a perfect parallelism with the main verb 'placed him' [τέθεικας] from the previous section, and through the adversative construction ἀλλά. Again, the reviser of the Egyptian text is visibly interested in textual symmetry and in an elevated manner of narrating the lapsarian drama. While the previous section focused on the placing of man in paradise, in lines 20-31 the highlight of the narrative falls on the expulsion from paradise, which brought about man's loss of communion with God, and the entrance of death and decay into the human nature. The syntactic symmetry that the reviser employed is impressive: the two main verbs 'expelled him' [ἐξώρισας] and 'returning him' [ἀπέστρεψας] that capture the focus of the entire exposition, gather around them a series of participles that give color to the narrative. The first three: 'disobeyed' [παρακούσαντα], 'was led astray' [ὑπαχθέντα] and 'becoming subject to death' [νεκρωθέντα] that precede the first of the main verbs (expelled him) indicate the motive and consequences of man's fall into sin, and the last participle 'providing' [οἰκονομῶν] that is connected with the second main verb (returning him), is meant to open the way for the enumeration of the other acts in the divine economy, by which the man was restored to his former state of heavenly joy that he had lost through his disobedience.

The alienation from God, the loss of the 'being together' or of the communion with Him, these are for Saint Basil the essential elements that define the lapsarian drama and the root of all other consequences: the entrance of sin and death in the world, and the alteration of God's image in man.⁶¹

In some of his writings, such as: *Homily, God is not the author of evil*, *The Longer Rules 1-2*, *Homily to the Lazicans*, and *Homily on Psalm 48*, in passages that outline synthetically the entire economy of salvation, the drama of man's fall into sin is depicted in the same manner, with the same highlights, and sometimes with the same linguistic texture that was used in the Eucharistic texts:

1. In the *Homily, God is not the author of evil 7*, Saint Basil the Great describes man's fall into sin with these words:

“And above all these, Adam was in God's caring hands, drawing pleasure from His delights and blessings. But he soon got wearied of all those goods, and

⁶¹ Saint Basil the Great defines alienation from God as the worst of evils, and the evil par excellence. See also: *The Longer Rules*, 2, 2, PG 31, 912B and *Homily, God is not the Author of evil 8*, PG 31, 348A.

somehow cursing the feeling of satiety [τῷ κόρῳ], he chose that which was seemingly pleasant to the eyes rather than the spiritual beauty, and he treasured the gratification of the body instead of feasting on spiritual delights. Therefore he hastily got outside paradise, outside that happy way of life, not evil from necessity, but by the lack of wisdom. Thus he sinned because of a wicked choice, and died because of sin, for „the wages of sin is death”. The further he went from life, the closer he got to death. For God is life, and the lack of life is death.’⁶²

2. In a few passages of the *Homily to the Lazicans* 8-9, Saint Basil the Great shows that the devil’s envy is the cause of lapse into sin and the entrance of evil into the world:

“The devil worked maliciously, for he saw a great delight overwhelming the man [πολλὴν ἀπόλαυσιν περιέρευσαν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ], and guiding angels surrounding him: [and the devil saw] God conversing with men, talking in His own voice, in all places taking care of the child, the infant so as to have him run towards the likeness with God; [he loathed the man] because [God] taught man well; [he hated him] because he saw God elevating that tiny being to angelic honor...’⁶³

“The devil hates men because he leads a battle against God. He has always been a man-hater, and one day he rose against the Almighty God, he despised the Master of all and grew apart from God. When he saw the man made in the image and after God’s likeness, in his inability to stand against God, he let loose his entire evil wrath against God’s image...’⁶⁴

⁶² Basiliius Caesariensis, *Quod deus non est auctor malorum*, PG 31, 344D-345A: ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις ὑπερασπιζόμενος παρὰ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἀπολαύων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀγαθῶν, ταχὺ πάντων ἀναπλησθεὶς, καὶ οἷον ἐξυβρίσας τῷ κόρῳ, τὸ τοῖς σαρκίνοις ὀφθαλμοῖς φανέν τερπνὸν τοῦ νοητοῦ προετίμησε κάλλους, καὶ τὴν πλησμονὴν τῆς γαστρὸς τῶν πνευματικῶν ἀπολαύσεων τιμωτέραν ἔθετο. Ἐξω μὲν εὐθὺς ἦν τοῦ παραδείσου, ἐξω δὲ τῆς μακαρίας ἐκείνης διαγωγῆς, οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης κακός, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἀβουλίας, γενόμενος. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμαρτε μὲν διὰ μοχθηρὰν προαίρεσιν, ἀπέθανε δὲ διὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν. Τὰ γὰρ ὀψώνια τῆς ἁμαρτίας θάνατος. Ὅσον γὰρ ἀφίστατο τῆς ζωῆς, τοσοῦτον προσήγγιζε τῷ θανάτῳ. Ζωὴ γὰρ ὁ Θεός· στερήσις δὲ τῆς ζωῆς θάνατος.

⁶³ Basiliius Caesariensis, *Homilia dicta in Lacisis*, PG 31, 1453B: Ἐπονηρεύσατο ὁ διάβολος ὁρῶν πολλὴν ἀπόλαυσιν περιέρευσαν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ἀγγέλους παιδαγωγὸς παρεδρεύοντας αὐτῷ Θεὸν ὁμόγλωσσον γενόμενον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, διαλεγόμενον ἀπὸ ἰδίας φωνῆς, πανταχόθεν τὸν παῖδα τὸν νήπιον παιδευόμενον, ἵνα εἰς Θεοῦ ὁμοιότητα ἀναδράμῃ ἐπειδὴ κατέμαθε τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἐπειδὴ εἶδεν, ὅτι τὸ μικρὸν τοῦτο ζῶον πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀγγέλων ὁμοιότητα ὁ Κύριος προεκαλεῖτο διὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀνάγων αὐτὸν, καὶ διὰ σωφροσύνης τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐπὶ τὴν τελείωσιν τῆς ψυχῆς. Ἔως γὰρ μόνος ἦν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, οὐκ εἶχε λαβὴν ὁ διάβολος, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκτίσθη ἡ γυνή, ἀπαλὸν ζῶον, ἀναγκάτως τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ τὴν ἀπα- λότητα φυσικὴν ἐμπούησαντος, ἵνα ὑπὸ τοῦ φιλανθρώπου εὐμαρῶς τραφῇ τὰ νήπια.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, PG 31, 1456C: Μισάνθρωπος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ θεομάχος. Ἐμίσησε πρότερον, ἐτραχηλίασε κατὰ Θεοῦ παντο- κράτορος, κατεφρόνησε τοῦ Δεσπότη, ἠλλοτριώθη τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ἐπειδὴ εἶδε τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ’ εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν Θεοῦ, μὴ δυνάμενος εἰς Θεὸν τραπῆναι, εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πονηρίαν ἐκένωσεν.

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3. In *The Longer Rules* 2,3, in the passage that discusses man's love for God, the Holy Father states: 'God created man after His image and in His likeness, He made him worthy to know Him... and then, after the first man was beguiled by the serpent, and was counselled in sin, and through sin met death, and through death misery, God did not forget him'⁶⁵.

There is an obvious correspondence between the ideas found in these passages and the Eucharistic texts. The reviser's preference for a display of antitheses, such as divine love vs man's disobedience, the delights of paradise vs losing them through sin, life vs death, betray his oratorical skills, as he intended the narrative of this Eucharistic text to be live, warm and personal, and able to convey the experiential dogmatic truth of the Church in a live and personal manner.

Similar to the previous section, there is a striking concordance in vocabulary between the writings of Saint Basil the Great and the Eucharistic texts. This may constitute a decisive argument in favor of their Basilian authorship, for it is possible to prove that the only other place where one can find a predilection in the use of certain expressions, in almost identical contexts as they are used in the eucharistical text, is in the writings of the great Cappadocian hierarch.

Thus, the biblical expression: 'deception of the serpent' [ἀπάτη τοῦ ὄφραως] extracted from Genesis 3, is often found in the Patristic literature of the 4th and 5th centuries. It is mentioned by Saint Athanasius the Great⁶⁶ and by Saint John Chrysostom,⁶⁷ but the specific context where it appears in the Byzantine Eucharistic text unmasks the intervention of Saint Basil the Great, for it is also mentioned twice, in an identical context, in other Basilian writings, i.e in the aforementioned passage of the *Homily to the Lazicans*,⁶⁸ and in the *Letter 261* addressed to the Sozopolitans:

"If, then, the sojourn of the Lord in flesh has never taken place, the Redeemer paid not the fine to death on our behalf, nor through Himself destroyed death's reign. For if what was reigned over by death was not that which was assumed by the Lord, death would not have ceased working his own ends, nor would the sufferings of the God-bearing flesh have been made our gain; He would not have

⁶⁵ Basiliius Caesariensis, *Asceticon magnum sive Quaestiones (regulae fusius tractatae)*, PG 31, 913BC κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ καὶ ὁμοίωσιν ποιήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώσεως ἀξιώσας, καὶ λόγῳ παρὰ πάντα τὰ ζῶα κατακοσμήσας, καὶ τοῖς ἀμηγάνοις τοῦ παραδείσου κάλλεσιν ἐντροφῶν παρασχόμενος, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀπάντων ἄρχοντα καταστήσας, εἶτα κατασοφισθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄφραως, καὶ καταπεσόντα εἰς τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀμαρτίας εἰς τὸν θάνατον, καὶ τὰ τούτου ἄξια, οὐ περιεῖδεν.

⁶⁶ *Homily on the Lord's Passions and Cross*, PG 28, 216A.

⁶⁷ *Homily 26 on Genesis*, PG 53, 320C; *Homily on Repentance*, PG 60, 700D; *Homily on the Parable on the Good Samaritan*, PG 62, 755D.

⁶⁸ PG 31, 1456A.

killed sin in the flesh: we who had died in Adam should not have been made alive in Christ; the fallen to pieces would not have been framed again; the shattered would not have been set up again; that which by the serpent's trick had been estranged from God would never have been made once more His own [διὰ τῆς ἀπάτης τοῦ ὄφεως ἀλλοτριωθέν].⁶⁹

It is also remarkable that the participle οἰκονομῶν that closes this section and marks the opening to the next passages from the Eucharistic text, is a term that Saint Basil predilectly uses in his writings. The Holy Father often talks about 'God Who provides all things for us' [Ὁ τὰ ἡμέτερα οἰκονομῶν Θεός] or about God Who 'provides salvation to the humankind' [τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίαν οἰκονομῶν], as he writes in the *Homily on Faith*.⁷⁰ To denote this last meaning, Saint Basil the Great also uses the noun ἡ οἰκονομία in an attempt to capture the Savior's entire work of salvation in one generic term. In the *Homily to Psalm 44*, Saint Basil the Great writes about the 'economy of the Incarnation', which he defines either as 'οἰκονομίαν τῆς σαρκώσεως'⁷¹, or as 'οἰκονομίαν τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως'⁷², and in *A Treatise on Baptism* he refers to 'the economy of obedience until death' [τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῆς μέχρι θανάτου ὑπακοῆς]⁷³.

Even though the expression 'salvation through regeneration' [τὴν ἐκ παλιγγενεσίας σωτηρίαν] from Byz is not mentioned verbatim in Saint Basil's writings, he often employs the noun παλιγγενεσία in several other contexts, to define the beginning of a new life in Christ through the Holy Baptism. Hence, in the *Treatise on the Holy Spirit*, the saint refers to it several times:

– in chapter 10, 26 : 'For if to me my baptism was the beginning of life, and that day of regeneration the first of days, it is plain that the utterance uttered in the grace of adoption was the most honourable of all.'⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Basilius Caesariensis, Epistula 261, Y. Courtonne, *Saint Basile. Lettres*, vol. 3 Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1966, p. 116: Εἰ τοίνυν μὴ γέγονε τοῦ Κυρίου ἢ ἐν σαρκὶ ἐπιδημία, οὐκ ἔδωκε μὲν ὁ λυτρωτῆς τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τίμημα τῷ θανάτῳ, οὐ διέκοψε δὲ τοῦ θανάτου τὴν βασιλείαν δι' ἑαυτοῦ. Εἰ γὰρ ἄλλο μὲν ἦν τὸ βασιλευδόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ θανάτου, ἄλλο δὲ τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου προσληφθέν, οὐκ ἂν μὲν ἐπαύσατο τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἐνεργῶν ὁ θάνατος, οὐκ ἂν δὲ ἡμέτερον κέρδος ἐγένετο τῆς θεοφόρου σαρκὸς τὰ πάθη, οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε δὲ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ἐν τῇ σαρκί, οὐκ ἐζωοποιήθημεν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ οἱ ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ ἀποθανόντες, οὐκ ἀνεπλάσθη τὸ διαπεπτωκός, οὐκ ἀνωρθώθη τὸ κατερραγμένον, οὐ προσφκειώθη τῷ Θεῷ τὸ διὰ τῆς ἀπάτης τοῦ ὄφεως ἀλλοτριωθέν.

⁷⁰ PG 31,468A.

⁷¹ PG 29, 389C: 'He, Who accepted the economy of the Incarnation for us' [ὁς τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῆς σαρκώσεως ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀπεδέξατο].

⁷² PG 29, 405A.

⁷³ PG 31, 1620B. See also: Saint Basile de Césarée, *Sur le Baptême*, introduction, notes and translation by Jeanne Ducatillon (=SC 357) (Paris, 1989), p. 282.

⁷⁴ Basilius von Caesarea, *De Spiritu Sancto*, translation and introductory notes by Hermann J. Sieben (=Fontes Christiani 12) (Freiburg, 1993), p. 148: Εἰ γὰρ ἀρχὴ μοι ζωῆς τὸ βάπτισμα, καὶ

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– in chapter 14, 33 : ‘Why then do these calumniators of the truth, by means of the shadow and the types, endeavour to bring contempt and ridicule on the rejoicing of our hope, and the rich gift of our God and Saviour, who through regeneration renews our youth like the eagle’s?’⁷⁵

– in chapter 15, 35 he cites the phrase: ‘[...]for the regeneration, as indeed the name shows, is a beginning of a second life’.⁷⁶

In the *A Treatise on Baptism: With an Exhortation to Receive It*, he coins Baptism as: ‘... the ransom of captives, the remission of debts, the death of sin, the regeneration of the soul [παλιγγενεσία ψυχῆς], the robe of light, the seal which cannot be broken, the chariot to heaven, the means to attain the Kingdom, the gift of adoption.’⁷⁷ In his *Homily to the Lazicans*, Saint Basil the Great talks about sin as the cause of ‘the loss of the grace that was given to us through the bath of regeneration.’⁷⁸

This enumeration of thematic and lexemic correlations between the Eucharistic texts and the writings of the great hierarch are clear arguments in favor of their Basilian authorship, given that they occur in a homogeneous euchological section that also includes exclusive doublets, such as it will be shown in the interpretation of the narrative on the preparation of the world for the coming of the Saviour.

c. The preparation of the world for the coming of the Saviour (32-46)

In the Eucharistic anaphora, God’s loving care for the fallen man represents another grounds for thankfulness. The Egyptian text Äg gives a succinct account, by means of a kerygmatic expression, of what the preparation of the world for the coming of the Savior meant. In contrast to it, the Byzantine text presents, in

πρώτη ἡμερῶν ἐκείνη ἢ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας ἡμέρα, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ φωνὴ τιμιωτάτη πασῶν ἢ ἐν τῇ χάριτι τῆς υἰοθεσίας ἐκφωνηθεῖσα. See also: Saint Basile de Césarée, *Sur le Saint-Esprit*, introduction, notes and translation by Benoît Pruche (=SC 17bis), Paris, 2002, p. 336.

⁷⁵ Basilius von Caesarea, *De Spiritu Sancto*, translation of Sieben (see n. 91), pp. 168-169; greek text by Pruche (see n. 91), pp. 362-363: Τί οὖν τὸ καύχημα τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν, καὶ τὴν πλουσίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν δωρεάν, τοῦ διὰ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας ἀνακαινίζοντος ἡμῶν, ὡς ἀετοῦ, τὴν νεότητα, εὐκαταφρόνητον δεικνύουσιν οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς σκιᾶς καὶ τῶν τύπων τὴν ἀλήθειαν διαβάλλοντες;

⁷⁶ Basilius von Caesarea, *De Spiritu Sancto*, translation of Sieben (see n. 91), pp. 173-174; greek text by Pruche (see n. 91), pp. 366-367: Ἡ γὰρ παλιγγενεσία, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ δηλοῖ τὸ ὄνομα, δευτέρου βίου ἐστὶν ἀρχή.

⁷⁷ Basilius Caesariensis, *Homilia exhortatoria ad sanctum baptisma*, PG 31, 433A: Βάπτισμα αἰχμαλώτοις λύτρον, ὀφλημάτων ἄφεσις, θάνατος ἁμαρτίας, παλιγγενεσία ψυχῆς, ἐνδύμα φωτεινόν, σφραγὶς ἀνεπιχειρήτου, ὄχημα πρὸς οὐρανόν, βασιλείας πρόξενον, υἰοθεσίας χάρισμα.

⁷⁸ PG 31, 1457: Ἡ δὲ ἁμαρτία ἀφανιστικὴ τῆς χάριτος τῆς δεδομένης ἡμῖν διὰ τοῦ λουτροῦ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας.

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an ample and profoundly theological manner, the way in which God showed His infinite goodness and mercy throughout the entire history of the chosen people:

	[Äg]	[Byz]	
32	οὐκ ἀπεῤῥίψας ἡμᾶς	οὐ γὰρ ἀπεστράφης τὸ πλάσμα σου	32
33	εἰς τέλος,	εἰς τέλος ὃ ἐποίησας ἀγαθὲ,	33
34		οὐδὲ ἐπελάθου ἔργων χειρῶν σου,	34
35	ἀλλὰ διὰ παντὸς ἐπεσκέψω ἡμᾶς διὰ	ἀλλ' ἐπεσκέψω πολυτρόπως	35
36		διὰ σπλάγχνα ἐλέους σου,	36
37	τῶν ἁγίων σου προφητῶν,	προφήτας ἐξαπέστειλας,	37
38		ἐποίησας δυνάμεις διὰ τῶν ἁγίων σου	38
39		τῶν καθ' ἑκάστην γενεάν καὶ γενεάν	39
40		εὐαρεστησάντων σοι,	40
41		ἐλάλησας ἡμῖν διὰ στόματος	41
42		τῶν δούλων σου τῶν προφητῶν	42
43		προκαταγγέλλων ἡμῖν τὴν	43
44		μέλλουσαν ἔσεσθαι σωτηρίαν,	44
45		νόμον ἔδωκας εἰς βοήθειαν,	45
46		ἀγγέλους ἐπέστησας φύλακας·	46
32	For You did not desert us	For You did not reject Your creature	32
33	forever	forever, whom You made, O Good One	33
34		nor did You forget the work of Your hands	34
35	but You visited us throughout the	but You visited him in various ways,	35
36	temp	because of Your tender compassion:	36
37	through Your holy prophets,	You sent forth prophets;	37
38		You performed mighty works by Your	38
39		saints who in every generation	39
40		have pleased You.	40
41		You spoke to us by the mouth	41
42		of Your servants the prophets,	42
43		announcing to us	43
44		the salvation which was to come;	44
45		You gave us the law to help us;	45
46		You appointed angels as guardians.	46

In the Byzantine narrative, the idea stated in the short clause in the Egyptian text develops into a pretext for the enumeration of four distinct elements, which are deemed as defining for the entire Old Testament economy of salvation:

(1a) You sent forth prophets

(2) You performed mighty works by Your saints who in every generation have pleased You.

(1b) You spoke to us by the mouth of Your servants the prophets, announcing to us the salvation which was to come;

- (3) You gave the law to help us;
- (4) You appointed angels as guardians.

It is of significant importance that the listing of all these acts, through which God revealed His loving care for the fallen man, can be encountered four times in the writings of Saint Basil the Great (and only in his writings!)⁷⁹, where it occurs, sometimes, among other elements pertaining to the divine providence, that are not mentioned in the Eucharistic text.⁸⁰

Therefore,

I. In *The Longer Rules*, which he penned around the year 360, he recorded almost verbatim the following passage:

- (3) He gave the law to help us;
- (4) He provided angels as guardians to watch over all
- (1a) He sent forth prophets

[9] With warnings, He deterred man's impulses towards evil, and with promises He awakened his desire for virtue:

“and then, after the first man was beguiled by the serpent, and was counselled in sin, and through sin met death, and through death misery, God did not forget him, but gave the law to help him and provided angels as guardians to watch over him, He sent forth prophets to warn against evil and preach the virtue, He deterred man's impulses toward evil with warnings, and with promises He awakened his desire for virtue; He forecautioned him about the end of evil and of virtue by recounting the lives of others, so that he may learn from them; yet despite all of these and many more of the like, He did not turn His back on those who persisted in their disobedience.”⁸¹

II. In chapter 15,39 from his *Treatise on the Holy Spirit* (ca 375), Saint Basil the Great draws a concise picture of the entire economy of salvation of the hu-

⁷⁹ This can be easily proven with the aid of the TLG database.

⁸⁰ See also: B. Capelle, ‘Les liturgies ‘basilienne’ et Saint Basil’ (see n. 1), pp. 58-60.

⁸¹ Basiliius Caesariensis, *Asceticon magnum sive Quaestiones (regulae fusius tractatae)*, PG 31, 913C: κατ’ εἰκόνα Θεοῦ καὶ ὁμοίωσιν ποιήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώσεως ἀξιώσας, καὶ λόγῳ παρὰ πάντα τὰ ζῶα κατακοσμήσας, καὶ τοῖς ἀμηχάνοις τοῦ παραδείσου κάλλεσιν ἐντροφῶν παρασχόμενος, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀπάντων ἄρχοντα καταστήσας, εἶτα κατασοφισθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄψεως, καὶ καταπεσόντα εἰς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας εἰς τὸν θάνατον, καὶ τὰ τούτου ἄξια, οὐ περιεῖδεν ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα νόμον ἔδωκεν εἰς βοήθειαν, ἀγγέλους ἐπέστησεν εἰς φυλακὴν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν, προφήτας ἀπέστειλεν εἰς ἔλεγχον κακίας καὶ διδασκαλίαν ἀρετῆς, τὰς ὁρμὰς τῆς κακίας ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς ἐνέκοψε, τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὴν προθυμίαν ἐπαγγελίαις διήγειρε, τὸ πέρασ ἐκατέρου πολλάκις ἐν διαφόροις προσώποις εἰς νοουθεσίαν τῶν ἄλλων προλαβὼν ἐφάνέρωσε, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἅπασιν ἐπιμένοντας τῇ ἀπειθείᾳ οὐκ ἀπεστράφη. This passage, generic for the entire economy of salvation, is completely replicated in the section where the Person of the Savior is described.

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mankind, by enlisting the following acts, by which God prepared the world for the coming of the Savior:

- [5] the blessings of the patriarchs
- (3) the succour given through the legislation
- [6] the types
- [1] the prophecies
- [7] the valorous feats in war
- (2) the signs wrought through just men.

“Whether you wish to examine ancient evidence;—the blessings of the patriarchs, the succour given through the legislation, the types, the prophecies, the valorous feats in war, the signs wrought through just men...”⁸²

III. *Letter 261*, dated 377, contains the very same enumeration, yet in a larger context that also features other elements which are defining for the Old Testament economy of salvation:

- [5] first through the patriarchs
- (3) Next for succour He gave the Law
- (1b) then [He sent] the prophets, foretelling the salvation to come
- [8] judges
- [6] kings
- (2) righteous men, doing great works in secrecy [with a mighty hand].

“Next for succour He gave the Law, ordaining it by angels in the hand of Moses; then [He sent] the prophets, foretelling the salvation to come; judges, kings, and righteous men, doing great works in secrecy [with a mighty hand]. After all these in the last days He [the Savior] was Himself manifested in the flesh, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons.”⁸³

IV. In the *Homily V to the Hexaemeron*, Saint Basil the Great comments on the Parable of the Workers in the Vineyard (Matthew 21, 33-40) and shows that the vineyard symbolizes the souls of those who profited from God’s uninterrupted merciful help, in that they were surrounded by:

⁸² Basilius von Caesarea, *De Spiritu Sancto*, translation of Sieben (see n. 91), pp. 192; greek text by Pruche (see n. 91), pp. 386: Εἶτε βούλει τὰ παλαιὰ σκοπεῖν· τὰς τῶν πατριαρχῶν εὐλογίας, τὴν ἐκ τῆς νομοθεσίας δεδομένην βοήθειαν, τοὺς τύπους, τὰς προφητείας, τὰ ἐν πολέμοις ἀνδραγαθήματα, τὰ διὰ τῶν δικαίων σημεῖα.

⁸³ Basilius Caesariensis, *Epistula 261*, Y. Courtonne, *Saint Basile. Lettres*, vol. 3 Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1966, pp. 116-117: Εἶτα νόμον ἔδωκεν εἰς βοήθειαν, δι’ ἀγγέλων αὐτὸν διαταξάμενος ἐν χειρὶ Μωσέως· εἶτα προφήτας προκαταγγέλλοντας τὴν μέλλουσαν ἔσεσθαι σωτηρίαν, κριτὰς, βασιλεῖς, δικαίους, ποιοῦντας δυνάμεις ἐν χειρὶ κρυφαίᾳ. Μετὰ πάντα τοῦ- τοὺς ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν αὐτὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, «Γενόμενος ἐκ γυναικός, γενόμενος ὑπὸ νόμον, ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ἐξαγοράσῃ, ἵνα τὴν υἰοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν».

(3) the authority of His precepts

(4) a guard of angels.

“I have planted a vineyard and hedged it round about.” (Matt. 21,33) Evidently He calls human souls His *vine*, those souls whom He has surrounded with the authority of His precepts and a guard of angels.⁸⁴

Bernard Capelle wrote about these doublets in his pertinent study from 1960⁸⁵, although he was unable to verify their exclusiveness. Today, this is possible due to the TLG database, and such proof is necessary in order to show that Saint Basil did not draw inspiration from the ritualistic text, but rather that he was the one who inspired the euchological formulary that was named after him. Yet, to the great hierarch, the revision of a euchological text meant more than a huge effort to recount the teachings of the Church in a biblical and liturgical language; it was also a *strife to synthesize the core ideas of his theological expression*.

d. The fullness of the time - the restoration of all things in Christ (47-128)

Fundamentally, this section can be subdivided in two major parts, one that describes the Person of the Savior, revealed to men through Incarnation (47-72), and one that writes about the fulfilment of the salvation of humankind, about the Savior's earthly life, Sacrifice, Resurrection, Ascension to Heaven, and Second Coming (73-128).

As far as the themes are concerned, three essential ideas come to the fore:

a. The kenosis of His Incarnation entailed the restoration of human nature and manifested the ultimate degree of contiguity between God and man.

b. Through Incarnation, Crucifixion and Resurrection, all barriers between God and man, i.e. the fallen human nature, sin and death, were torn down.

c. All the acts in the economy of salvation, the Savior's Sacrifice, Resurrection, Ascension to Heaven, Second Coming, and the consecration through water and the Spirit, were directed toward the restoration of man's joyous paradisaical life, wherein the man acknowledges God and abides in a communion of love with Him.

A. Thematic correlations

While these ideas are expressed in a concise and kerygmatic manner in the Egyptian anaphora *Ag*, in the Byzantine text they are articulated exclusively in biblical words. Complete verses from Pauline Epistles are combined into a vast poem of rare delicacy and beauty, wherein the theological expression of the Apos-

⁸⁴ Basilus Caesariensis, Homilia in hexaemeron 5, PG 29, 108C: Ἀμπελῶνα ἐφύτευσα, καὶ περιέθηκα φραγμόν. Τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας ψυχὰς δηλονότι λέγει τὸν ἀμπελῶνα, αἷς φραγμόν περιέθηκε τὴν ἐκ τῶν προσταγμάτων ἀσφάλειαν, καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν ἀγγέλων.

⁸⁵ Bernard Capelle, 'Les liturgies 'Basilienne' et Saint Basil' (see n. 1), pp. 58-59.

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tle of the peoples is brilliantly transferred to the ritualistic text. That the juxtaposed relative clauses, which render phrases from a certain scriptural passage, are furnished with participial constructions that reproduce wordings from other verses in the Holy Scriptures provides the Eucharistic text with a biblical foundation, and also with grace and precision in the expression of the major concepts of the Christian teaching on the salvation of man.

The mystery of man's union with God, which has been hidden from ages and from generations, has been revealed at the fullness of time, when God manifested in the flesh so as to fulfil what the man alone could not. Then, He set the human nature free from the bondage of the devil, sin, and death; He restored it to its primary beauty, and reinstated the man in his former joyful state of communion with God. These are also the guidelines of the great Cappadocian father's theological expression. In his writings, they are detailed in several defining passages that denote striking thematic and linguistic resemblances with the Egyptian and Byzantine Eucharistic texts *Ag* and *Byz*.

Some phrases from the writings of Saint Basil the Great present the entire economy of salvation in a similar way that the text of the anaphora does, some phrases contain all three major themes, while some other focus solely on one of those. In this respect, the current study will note only the most significant ones, without dwelling on a systematic presentation of this Holy Father's Christology, and then it will proceed to analyze the linguistic correlations between the Eucharistic texts and the Basilian writings. The following Basilian passages bear an outstanding thematic similarity to the Byzantine Eucharistic text. Moreover, the possibility to prove its exclusive occurrence by access to the TLG database deems as Basilian the entire narrative of the economy of salvation from *Byz*.

1. The stages in the salvation of humankind are succinctly described by Saint Basil the Great in his mature work *Treatise on the Holy Spirit*, 15,35:

“The dispensation of our God and Saviour concerning man is a recall from the fall and a return from the alienation caused by disobedience to close communion with God. This is the reason for the sojourn of Christ in the flesh, the pattern life described in the Gospels, the sufferings, the cross, the tomb, the resurrection; so that the man who is being saved through imitation of Christ receives that old adoption.”⁸⁶

⁸⁶ Basilus von Caesarea, *De Spiritu Sancto* 15,35, translation of Sieben (see n. 91), p. 172; greek text by Pruche (see n. 91), p. 364: Ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον οἰκονομία ἀνάκλησις ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκπτώσεως, καὶ ἐπάνοδος εἰς οἰκειώσιν Θεοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς διὰ τὴν παρακοὴν γενομένης ἀλλοτριώσεως. Διὰ τοῦτο ἢ μετὰ σαρκὸς ἐπιδημία Χριστοῦ· αἱ τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν πολιτευμάτων ὑποτυπώσεις τὰ πάθη ὁ σταυρὸς· ἡ ταφή· ἡ ἀνάστασις ὥστε τὸν σφριζόμενον ἄνθρωπον διὰ μιμήσεως Χριστοῦ, τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐκείνην υἰοθεσίαν ἀπολαβεῖν.

2. In an equally concise and rhetoric way, in the *Homily On Not Three Gods*, Saint Basil the Great depicts, in opposing, terms the work of salvation fulfilled by the Savior, Jesus Christ:

“He was begotten by a woman, so that he might bring all those begotten to rebirth. He was willingly crucified, so that he might take down [from the cross] those unwillingly crucified. He died willingly, so that he might raise up [from the grave] those who died involuntarily. He accepted a death that he need not have accepted, so that he might give life to those subjected to death. Death devoured Him in ignorance, but after it devoured Him it came to know what it had devoured. It devoured Life; it was swallowed up by Life. It devoured the One along with all the rest; it lost all the rest because of the One...”⁸⁷

3. In yet another one of his mature writings, in the *Letter 261 addressed to the Sozopolitans*, written in 377, Saint Basil the Great chronicles the stages in the economy of salvation, by utilizing the same ideas and expressions that appear in the texts of the Egyptian and Byzantine anaphoras:

“You write that there are men among you who are trying to destroy the saving incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, and, so far as they can, are overthrowing the grace of the great mystery unrevealed from everlasting, but manifested in His own times, when the Lord, when He had gone through all things pertaining to the cure of the human race, bestowed on all of us the boon of His own sojourn among us. For He helped His own creation, first through the patriarchs, whose lives were set forth as examples and rules to all willing to follow the footsteps of the saints, and with zeal like theirs to reach the perfection of good works. Next for succour He gave the Law, ordaining it by angels in the hand of Moses; then the prophets, foretelling the salvation to come; judges, kings, and righteous men, doing great works, with a mighty hand. After all these in the last days He was Himself manifested in the flesh, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons.

If, then, the sojourn of the Lord in flesh has never taken place, the Redeemer paid not the fine to death on our behalf, nor through Himself destroyed death’s reign. For if what was reigned over by death was not that which was assumed by the Lord, death would not have ceased working his own ends, nor would the sufferings of the God-bearing flesh have been made our gain; He would not have

⁸⁷ Basilius Caesariensis, *Adversus eos qui per calumniam dicunt dici a nobis tres deos*, PG 31, 1496A: Ἐγεννήθη διὰ γυναικὸς, ἵνα τοὺς γεννηθέντας ἀναγεννήσῃ. Ἐσταυρώθη ἐκὼν, ἵνα τοὺς μὴ σταυρωθέντας ἐκοντὶ καθέλῃ. Ἀπέθανεν ἐκὼν, ἵνα τοὺς ἀκουσίως ἀποθανόντας ἐγείρῃ. Ἐπεδέξατο ὃν οὐκ ἐπεδέχετο θάνατον, ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ θανάτου ζωοποιήσῃ. Κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος ἀγνοῶν καταπιῶν ἔγνω ὃν κατέπιεν. Κατέπιε ζῶην, κατεπόθη ὑπὸ ζῶης. Κατέπιε τὸν ἕνα μετὰ πάντων, ἀπώλεσε διὰ τὸν ἕνα τοὺς πάντας.

killed sin in the flesh: we who had died in Adam should not have been made alive in Christ; the fallen to pieces would not have been framed again; the shattered would not have been set up again; that which by the serpent's trick had been estranged from God would never have been made once more His own.⁸⁸

5. In the *Treatise on Faith 4* that precedes the Asketicon, he depicts the economy of salvation in a passage of unique beauty and concision, carrying obvious thematic and lexical similarities with the Egyptian and the Byzantine Eucharistic texts:

“We believe and confess one true and good God, Father Almighty, of Whom are all things, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ: and His one Only-begotten Son, our Lord and God, Jesus Christ, only true, through Whom all things were made, both visible and invisible, and by Whom all things consist: Who was in the beginning with God and was God, and, after this, according to the Scriptures, was seen on earth and had His conversation with men: Who being in the form of God thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but emptied Himself, and by means of the birth from a virgin took a servant's form, and was formed in fashion as a man, and fulfilled all things written with reference to Him and about Him, according to His Father's commandment, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross. And on the third day He rose from the dead, according to the Scriptures, and was seen by His holy disciples, and the rest, as it is written: And He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of His Father, whence He is coming at the end of this world, to raise all men, and to give to every man according to his conduct.”⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Basilius Caesariensis, *Epistula 261*, Y. Courtonne, *Saint Basile. Lettres*, vol. 3 Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1966, pp. 116-117: Ἐγράφετε δὲ εἶναι τινὰς παρ' ὑμῖν τοὺς λύοντας τὴν σωτήριον οἰκονομίαν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅσον τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ἀθετοῦντας τοῦ μεγάλου μυστηρίου τὴν χάριν, τοῦ σεσιγημένου μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων, φανερωθέντος δὲ καιροῦς ἰδίους, ὅτε ὁ Κύριος πάντα διεξελθὼν τὰ εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν ἦκοντα τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὴν οἰκειὰν ἐχαρίσατο ἡμῖν ἐπιδημίαν. Ὡφέλησε γὰρ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πλάσμα πρῶτον μὲν διὰ πατριαρχῶν ὧν οἱ βίοι ὑποδείγματα καὶ κανόνες προετέθησαν τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς ἴχνεσι τῶν ἁγίων καὶ κατὰ τὸν ὁμοιον ἐκείνοις ζῆλον φθάσαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργων τελείωσιν. Ἐἶτα νόμον ἔδωκεν εἰς βοήθειαν, δι' ἀγγέλων αὐτὸν διαταξάμενος ἐν χειρὶ Μωσέως· εἶτα προφήτας προκαταγγέλλοντας τὴν μέλλουσαν ἔσεσθαι σωτηρίαν, κριτάς, βασιλεῖς, δικαίους, ποιοῦντας δυνάμεις ἐν χειρὶ κρυφαῖα. Μετὰ πάντας τούτους ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν αὐτὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, «Γενόμενος ἐκ γυναικός, γενόμενος ὑπὸ νόμον, ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ἐξαγοράσῃ, ἵνα τὴν υἰοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν». Εἰ τοίνυν μὴ γέγονε τοῦ Κυρίου ἡ ἐν σαρκὶ ἐπιδημία, οὐκ ἔδωκε μὲν ὁ λυτρωτὴς τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τίμημα τῷ θανάτῳ, οὐ διέκοψε δὲ τοῦ θανάτου τὴν βασιλείαν δι' ἑαυτοῦ. Εἰ γὰρ ἄλλο μὲν ἦν τὸ βασιλευόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ θανάτου, ἄλλο δὲ τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου προσληφθέν, οὐκ ἂν μὲν ἐπαύσατο τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἐνεργῶν ὁ θάνατος, οὐκ ἂν δὲ ἡμέτερον κέρδος ἐγένετο τῆς θεοφόρου σαρκὸς τὰ πάθη, οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε δὲ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐν τῇ σαρκί, οὐκ ἐζώοποιήθημεν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ οἱ ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ ἀποθανόντες, οὐκ ἀνεπλάσθη τὸ διαπεπτωκός, οὐκ ἀνωρθώθη τὸ κατερραγμένον, οὐ προσωκειώθη τῷ Θεῷ τὸ διὰ τῆς ἀπάτης τοῦ ὄφραως ἀλλοτριωθέν.

⁸⁹ Basilius Caesariensis, *Prologus 8 (de fide)*, PG 31, 685AB: Πιστεύομεν τοίνυν καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν ἓνα μόνον ἀληθινὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν Θεὸν, καὶ Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα

6. Another passage that presents all the stages in the divine economy of the salvation of men can be found in *The Longer Rules* 2,3. In it, one may easily spot concepts and expressions that are identical to those employed in the Egyptian and Byzantine Eucharistic anaphoras:

“God created man after His image and in His likeness, He made him worthy to know Him and He gave him a rational mind unlike any other being on earth, He allowed [granted] him to delight in the ineffable beauties of the paradise, and gave him dominion over everything on earth. Then, after the first man was beguiled by the serpent, and was counselled in sin, and through sin met death, and through death misery, God did not forget him, but gave the law to help him and provided angels as guardians to watch over him, He sent forth prophets to warn against evil and preach the virtue, He deterred man’s impulses toward evil with warnings, and with promises He awakened his desire for virtue; He forecautioned him about the end of evil and of virtue by recounting the lives of others, so that he may learn from them; yet despite all of these and many more of the like, He did not turn His back on those who persisted in their disobedience. We are not forgotten by the goodness of God, and although by our insensibility towards the kindness of God we have sorely offended our Benefactor, yet we cannot efface His love for us, but we are again brought back from death, and again made alive by our Lord Jesus Christ Himself. In Which even the way of doing good exceeds all wonders: „Who, being in the form of God, did not consider it robbery to be equal with God, but emptied Himself, taking the form of a bondservant”.⁹⁰

τὸν Θεὸν καὶ Πατέρα τοῦ Πιστεύομεν τοίνυν καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν ἓνα μόνον ἀληθινὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν Θεὸν, καὶ Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα τὸν Θεὸν καὶ Πατέρα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ Θεοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Καὶ ἓνα τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ Υἱὸν Κύριον καὶ Θεὸν ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, μόνον ἀληθινὸν, δι’ οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τὰ τε ὄρατα καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα καὶ ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα συνέστηκεν ὡς ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, κατὰ τὴν Γραφὴν, ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὤφθη, καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συνανεστράφη ὡς ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων, οὐχ ἄρπαγμόν ἠγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ, ἀλλ’ ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσε, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐκ Παρθένου γεννήσεως μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν, καὶ σχήματι εὑρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος, πάντα τὰ εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένα ἐπλήρωσε κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ Πατρὸς, γενόμενος ὑπήκοος μέχρι θανάτου, θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ καὶ τῆ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγερθεὶς ἐκ νεκρῶν, κατὰ τὰς Γραφάς, ὤφθη τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς, ὡς γέγραπται ἀνέβη τε εἰς οὐρανοὺς καὶ κάθηται ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὅθεν ἔρχεται ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἀναστήσει πάντα, καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὴν πράξιν αὐτοῦ.

⁹⁰ Basilios Caesariensis, *Asceticon magnum sive Quaestiones (regulae fusius tractatae)*, PG 31, 913BD: κατ’ εἰκόνα Θεοῦ καὶ ὁμοίωσιν ποιήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ γνώσεως ἀξιώσας, καὶ λόγῳ παρὰ πάντα τὰ ζῶα κατακοσμήσας, καὶ τοῖς ἀμηγάνοις τοῦ παραδείσου κάλλεσιν ἐντροφᾶν παρασχόμενος, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀπάντων ἄρχοντα καταστήσας, εἶτα κατασοφισθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄφους, καὶ καταπεσόντα εἰς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας εἰς τὸν θάνατον, καὶ τὰ τούτου ἄξια, οὐ περιεῖδεν ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα νόμον ἔδωκεν εἰς βοήθειαν, ἀγγέλους ἐπέστησεν εἰς φυλακὴν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν, προφήτας ἀπέστειλεν εἰς ἔλεγχον κακίας καὶ διδασκαλίαν ἀρετῆς, τὰς ὁρμὰς τῆς κακίας ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς ἐνέκοψε, τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὴν προθυμίαν ἐπαγγελίας διήγειρε, τὸ πέρας ἐκατέρου πολλάκις

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...He has redeemed us from the curse (of the law), being made a curse for us; endured for us a most shameful death, that He might bring us back to a glorious life. And it did not suffice Him merely to call us back to life, but He has also granted us the dignity of His Godhead, and has prepared for us ever lasting rest, which in greatness of joy far exceeds all human thought.⁹¹

To Saint Basil the Great, only God the Man could bring the salvation of humankind to completion. That is why he insists on emphasizing in all of these passages, just like in the Eucharistic texts, that God Incarnate is both divine and human. Thus it becomes clear here, that the intention of the great Holy Father was, on the one hand, to fight against Arianism that denied the divinity of the Logos,⁹² and on the other hand, to counteract Docetism,⁹³ which questioned the reality of the Incarnation, as well as Apollinarianism that defiled the unity of the Savior's human nature.⁹⁴ For Saint Basil the Great, the wondrous mystery of the Savior's Person must be venerated in silence, and all inquisitive concerns should be replaced by pious adoration.⁹⁵

B. Lexical correlations

In the following paragraphs, the current study will delve into the most important lexical correlations existent between Byz and Saint Basil the Great's writings, and for that, it will make use of the subdivision that Bernard Capelle proposed in 1960. Next, it will highlight - with the aid of the TLG database - the frequency with which the main phrases from the Byzantine Eucharistic text are also used in the writings of Saint Basil the Great.⁹⁶

ἐν διαφόροις προσώποις εἰς νοουθεσίαν τῶν ἄλλων προλαβὼν ἐφανερώσε, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἅπασιν ἐπιμένοντας τῇ ἀπειθείᾳ οὐκ ἀπεστράφη. Οὐ γὰρ ἀφείθημεν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγαθότητος τοῦ Δεσπότητος, οὐδὲ ἐνεκόψαμεν αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀγάπην, ἀναισθησία τῶν τιμῶν τὸν εὐεργέτην παρυσβρίσαντες ἀλλὰ ἀνεκλήθημεν ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ ἐζωοποιήθημεν πάλιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὁ τρόπος τῆς εὐεργεσίας μεῖζον ἔχει τὸ θαῦμα: Ἐν μορφῇ γὰρ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων, οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἠγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε, μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν.

⁹¹ Basilus Caesariensis, *Asceticon magnum sive Quaestiones (regulae fusius tractatae)*, PG 31, 916A: καὶ τῆς κατάρως ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασε, γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρως, καὶ τὸν ἀτιμῶτατον ὑπέστη θάνατον, ἵνα ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν ἐνδοξὸν ζωὴν ἐπαναγάγῃ. Καὶ οὐκ ἠρκέσθη μόνον νεκροῦς ὄντας ζωοποιῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεότητος ἀξίωμα ἐχαρίσατο, καὶ ἀναπαύσεις ἡτοίμασεν αἰωνίου, πᾶσαν ἔννοιαν ἀνθρωπίνην τῷ μεγέθει τῆς εὐφροσύνης ὑπερβαινούσας.

⁹² Basilus the Great, *Homily On the Incarnation of the Lord*, PG 31, 1461AB.

⁹³ Idem, *Against Eunomius the heretic* 2, 15, PG 29, 601A; *Letter 261*, 3, Courtonne III, pp. 117-118.

⁹⁴ Idem, *Letter 263*, 4; Courtonne III, pp. 124-125; 265, 2, Courtonne, pp. 130-131.

⁹⁵ Idem, *Homily On the Incarnation of the Lord* 6, PG 31, 1473C: 'Great things must be venerated in silence in the Church. Let those things that are believed be glorified, and those which are left unsaid be not pried into.'

⁹⁶ The common passages in both Egyptian and Byzantine texts will be presented comparatively; the phrases that appear only in the Byzantine text will be arranged on a single column.

I. Äg, Byz 47-53			
	[Äg]	[Byz]	
47	καὶ ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων	ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν καιρῶν ἐλάλησας ἡμῖν	47
48	ἐπεφάνης ἡμῖν		48
49	τοῖς ἐν σκότει καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου		49
50	καθημένους,		50
51	διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου Υἱοῦ,	ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Υἱῷ σου	51
52	Κυρίου δὲ καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτήρος		52
53	ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ		53
47	And, in those final	And when the fullness of time had come ⁹⁹	47
48	days, ⁹⁷ You have shown Yourself	You spoke to us	48
49	to us, who sat in darkness		49
50	and in the shadow of death ⁹⁸		50
51	through Your only begotten	through Your Son Himself ¹⁰⁰	51
52	Son, our lord and God		52
53	and Savior Jesus Christ		53

This fragment impresses the reader by the way in which the biblical expressions are used in it. Both euchological texts describe in a profoundly biblical manner the advent of the time for the Incarnation of the Son of God: the Egyptian text utilizes expressions from Hebrews 1,2 and Luke 1,79, while the Byzantine text expands the idea stated in Hebrews 1,2 by introducing it via the well-known phrase from Galatians 4,4. Such dexterity in combining the scriptural verses reveals the hand of an author who was very well versed in the Holy Scriptures. All the important Fathers of the Church were excellent exegetes of biblical texts, and the TLG database makes it rather effortless to prove a Holy Father's fondness for certain scriptural phrases.

Thus, the fullness of time for the Incarnation of the Son of God is expressed in the writings of Saint Basil the Great in a unique way, as the great hierarch uses either the Hebrews 1,2 phrase: ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων like in *Letter 261*,¹⁰¹ or the syntagm: ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν καιρῶν, which also occurs in the *Treatise on Baptism: With an Exhortation to Receive It*.¹⁰² In addition to it, he utilizes the

⁹⁷ Hebrews 1, 2; Eph 1, 10.

⁹⁸ Luke 1, 74.

⁹⁹ Gal 4, 4.

¹⁰⁰ Hebrews 1, 2.

¹⁰¹ Courtonne III, p. 115-116.

¹⁰² Basilius Caesariensis, *Homilia exhortatoria ad sanctum baptisma*, PG 31, 428AB: Ὁ Ἰσραὴλ ἐκεῖνος εἰς τὸν Μωϋ σὴν ἐβαπτίσθη ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσει, σοὶ τοὺς τύπους παραδίδου, καὶ χαρακτηρίζων τὴν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν καιρῶν δειχθησομένην ἀλήθειαν.

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well-known phrase, ‘But when the fullness of the time had come’ [ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν καιρῶν] from Galatians 4,4, in thoroughly Christological sections, with a double occurrence in the comment on the book of Isaiah,¹⁰³ and a single one in his comment on Psalm 44: ‘Ripeness differs from beauty, because ripeness is said to be the attainment at a suitable time to its own flowering, as the grain is ripe which is already mature for the harvest; and the fruit of the vine is ripe which receives the proper maturing for its own perfection through the season of the year and is fit for enjoyment. On the other hand, beauty is the harmony in the composition of the members, and it possesses a grace that blooms in it. ‘Gird Thy sword upon Thy thigh, O Thou most mighty’. ‘With Thy ripeness’, that is to say in the fullness of time, ‘and Thy beauty’, the divinity which can be known through contemplation and reason.’¹⁰⁴

The correlation in expressions, particularly in biblical ones, between the Eucharistic texts and Saint Basil’s writings can be credited to a common theological and liturgical language that was used in the services of the Church, and in the dogmatic discourses of his time. However, when these expressions are frequently used in the writings of a Holy Father, in similar or identical contexts with those found in the Eucharistic text, they are considered arguments in favor of their authorship.

II. Byz 54-62

through whom You created the ages. He, being the splendor of Your glory and the image of Your being¹⁰⁵, upholding all things by the word of His power¹⁰⁶,

¹⁰³ Basiliius Caesariensis, *Enarratio in prophetam Isaiam*, PG 30, 228D: Καὶ ὡς παράδεισος δὲ, ὕδωρ μὴ ἔχων. Τοιοῦτος δ’ ἂν εἴη καὶ ὁ Ἰσραὴλ, φύλλα μὲν ἔχων παραπλησίως δρυὶ, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου σκιάν, ἣν ἀπέβαλεν ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ ἐν τῷ πληρώματι τῶν καιρῶν; PG 30, 437C: Προχειρίσαι ἄλλον, ὃν ἀποστελεῖς, τουτέστιν ἐλθέτω ὁ ἀληθινὸς Νομοθέτης, ὁ δυνατὸς Σωτὴρ, ὁ μόνος ἔχων ἐξουσίαν ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὕτω ἦλθε τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν καιρῶν καὶ ἔδει ἐν τοῖς τύποις προεθισθῆναι τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ εἰσηκούσθη τοῦ Προφήτου ἢ αἰτησις.

¹⁰⁴ Basiliius Caesariensis, *Homiliae super Psalmos* PG 29, 400C: Τὸ ὠραῖον τοῦ κάλλους διαφέρει· ὅτι τὸ μὲν ὠραῖον λέγεται τὸ συμπληρωμένον εἰς τὸν ἐπιτήδειον καιρὸν πρὸς τὴν οἰκειάν ἀκμὴν ὡς ὠραῖος ὁ σῖτος, ὁ ὄριμος ἤδη πρὸς θερισμόν· καὶ ὠραῖος ὁ καρπὸς τῆς ἀμπέλου, ὁ τὴν οἰκειάν πένιν εἰς τελείωσιν ἑαυτοῦ διὰ τῆς τοῦ ἔτους ὥρας ἀπολαβῶν, καὶ ἐπιτήδειος εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν κάλλος δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ συνθέσει τῶν μελῶν εὐάρμοστον ἐπανθοῦσαν αὐτῷ τὴν χάριν ἔχον. Περίζωσαι οὖν τὴν ῥομφαίαν σου ἐπὶ τὸν μηρόν σου, δυνατέ. Τῆ ὠραιότητί σου, τουτέστιν, ἐν τῷ πληρώματι τῶν καιρῶν· καὶ τῷ κάλλει σου, τῇ θεωρητῇ καὶ νοητῇ θεότητι. Bernard Capelle makes use of this passage in order to justify the ‘literary preference’ of the reviser, who has replaced the expression ‘in the last days’ from Ἄγ with ‘in the fullness of time’ from Byz, but his arguments fall short of proving the matter.

¹⁰⁵ Hebrews 1, 2.

¹⁰⁶ Hebrews 1, 3.

thought it not robbery to be equal with You, God and Father.¹⁰⁷ But, being God before all ages, He appeared on earth and lived with humankind.¹⁰⁸

δι' οὗ καὶ τοὺς αἰῶνας ἐποίησας, ὅς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεώς σου φέρων τε τὰ πάντα τῷ ῥήματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἠγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα σοὶ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ, ἀλλὰ Θεὸς ὢν προαιώνιος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὤφθη καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συνανεστράφη

This second paragraph appears only in the Byzantine text. Just like the previous one, it is a beautiful poem, a florilegium of scriptural verses, where the unfathomable humility and descent of the Son of God amongst men is described with expressions from the Hebrews 1, 2-3 and Philippians 2, 3, with the insertion of an Old Testament fragment from Baruch 3, 38. Once more, the same deep knowledge of the Scriptures and skilful arrangement of biblical verses is revealed, just as it can be found in the writings of Saint Basil the Great. Bernard Capelle points to the glosses, i.e. to the feel of 'being added to' of the biblical passages that appear quoted in this paragraph.¹⁰⁹ Therefore, the verse 'did not consider it robbery to be equal with God' [οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἠγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα τῷ Θεῷ] from Philippians 2, 6, has an insertion here: 'thought it not robbery to be equal with You, God and Father' οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἠγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα σοὶ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ,], which can also be found in paragraph V, where it refers to the verse from John 1, 18, 'Who is in Your bosom, God and Father' [ὁ ὢν ἐν τοῖς κόλποις σοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρός], as well as in paragraph VIII, where Colossians 1,10 becomes, 'brought us to the knowledge of the true God and the Father' [προσήγαγεν ἡμᾶς τῇ ἐπιγνώσει σοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρός]. This very 'glossing' of the Eucharistic texts is specific to the penmanship of Saint Basil, and can be encountered in countless fragments of his work. It often appears cited in *Against Eunomius the heretic*¹¹⁰, and it is employed in the *Homily on the Beginning of the Gospel of John*¹¹¹, in the *Homily on Faith*¹¹², the *Homily to Psalm 45*¹¹³, the *Homily to Psalm 48*¹¹⁴, and no less than nine times in the *Treatise On the Holy Spirit*.¹¹⁵ Consequently, it is most likely that the great Cap-

¹⁰⁷ Philipians 2, 6.

¹⁰⁸ Baruch 3, 38.

¹⁰⁹ B.Capelle, 'Les liturgies "basilienne" et Saint Basil' (see n. 1), pp. 64-65.

¹¹⁰ PG 29, 500B, 549A, 569A, 569B, 569C, 569D, 572A.

¹¹¹ PG 31, 480C.

¹¹² PG 31, 685A and 689A.

¹¹³ PG 29, 416A.

¹¹⁴ PG 29, 432B.

¹¹⁵ Basilius von Caesarea, *De Spiritu Sancto* 1, 3, translation of Sieben (see n. 91), p. 78; greek text by Pruche (see n. 91), pp. 256: 'Lately when praying with the people, and using the full doxology to God the Father in both forms...' [Προσευχομένῳ μοι πρόην μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ ἀμφοτέρως

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padocian hierarch constantly associated the noun 'Father' with God's name in an attempt to counteract heresies and leave a sure statement regarding the Trinitarian terminology, and to emphasize the importance of the monarchy of the Father, and of both the distinction and the unity between the Three divine Persons.

Another significant feature is the glossing and alteration of the verse from Baruch 3,38: 'Afterwards he was seen upon earth, and conversed with men.' [μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ γῆς ὤφθη καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συνεστράφη], which is inserted in the text of the anaphora without its temporal determination 'afterwards' [μετὰ τοῦτο] that the author replaced with a participial construction, 'But, being God before all ages' [Θεὸς ὢν προαιώνιος], that is meant to determine closely the subject of the entire exposition, and to assert the Son's coeternality with the Father. This is the same Church precept that Saint Basil the Great defended in *Against Eunomius the heretic*¹¹⁶ and that he would later debate and expand on in the *Homily on the Beginning of the Gospel of John*¹¹⁷.

The reviser's theological motive is obvious, as the 'glossed' Old Testament verse becomes here the subject of the main clause, which is also inspired from Philippians 2,7: 'thought it not robbery to be equal with You, God and Father, But, being God before all ages, He appeared on earth and lived with humankind.' [οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἠγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα σοὶ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ, ἀλλὰ Θεὸς ὢν προαιώνιος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὤφθη καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συνανεστράφη]. Furthermore, the verse from Philippians 2,6 contains not only the addition, 'with You, God and Father', but also a whole insertion from Hebrews 1,3 [φέρων τε τὰ πάντα τῷ ῥήματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ] that replaces the original biblical participial construction, 'who being the express image of His person' [ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων], in order to avoid the repetition of the noun μορφή, which is mentioned twice in Philippians 2, 6-7. The creative intertwining and glossing of biblical verses, and the eschewal of repetitions was not done due to a desire to fully stylize the Eucharistic text, but with the obvious intention to express, in a clear and precise manner, the depth of the truth of faith that was exhorted through the rituals of the Church. The analogy with Saint Basil the Great's style of writing is evident here, and there is no need for further proof.

τὴν δοξολογίαν ἀποπληροῦντι τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ; *Ibidem* 2, 4: Sieben, p. 80; Pruche, p. 262.; *Ibidem* 5,5, 5,8: Sieben, p. 94; Pruche, p. 276.

¹¹⁶ Basilus Caesariensis, *Adversus Eunomium* II, 12, PG 29, 593B: Οὐκοῦν καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς, πρὸ αἰῶνος ὢν, καὶ αἰεὶ ὢν, οὐκ ἤρξατο τοῦ εἶναι ποτε, ἀλλ' ἀφ' οὗ Πατὴρ, καὶ Υἱὸς, καὶ εὐθὺς τῆ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐννοία ἢ τοῦ Υἱοῦ συνεισέρχεται. This dogma of Orthodox Triadology is extensively discussed in chapters 13-15 of the same work. See also: PG 29, 596A-604A; 608A, Saint Basile de Césarée, *Sur le Baptême*, translation by Jeanne Ducatillon (see n. 90), pp. 47-61; 67.

¹¹⁷ PG 31, 472-481.

III. Äg, Byz 63-66
[Äg]

[Byz]

63	ὄς, ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ		63
64	ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας δεσποίνης ἡμῶν		64
65	θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας	ἐκ παρθένου ἁγίας	65
66	σαρκωθείς καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσας,	σαρκωθείς	66
63	Who, from the Holy Spirit and		63
64	from	from	64
65	the Holy Virgin Mary took flesh	the holy Theotokos and ever virgin Mary	65
66	and become man	taking flesh	66

IV. Byz: 67-72

ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτὸν μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν, σύμμορφος γενόμενος τῷ σώματι τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν ἵνα καὶ ἡμᾶς συμμόρφους ποιήσῃ τῆς εἰκόνης τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ.]

He emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant, conforming to the body of our lowliness, that He might change us in the likeness of the image of His glory.

V. Byz: 73-81

ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δι' ἀνθρώπου ἡ ἁμαρτία εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον καὶ διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὁ θάνατος, ἠϋδόκησεν ὁ μονογεῆς σου Υἱὸς ὁ ὢν ἐν τοῖς κόλποις σοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρός, γενόμενος ἐκ γυναικὸς τῆς ἁγίας θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, γενόμενος ὑπὸ νόμον, κατακρίναι τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ

For, since through man sin came into the world and through sin death, it pleased Your only begotten Son, who is in Your bosom, God and Father, born of a woman, the holy Theotokos and ever virgin Mary; born under the law, to condemn sin in His flesh...

VI. Byz Byz 82-85

ἵνα οἱ ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ ἀποθνήσκοντες ζωοποιηθῶσιν ἐν αὐτῷ Χριστῷ σου· καὶ ἐμπολιτευσάμενος τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ
so that those who died in Adam may be brought to life in Him, Your Christ. He lived in this world

These three important fragments reveal the same tendency of the author to intertwine biblical passages in a creative way, for the sake of highlighting the truth of faith confessed by the Church in a very accessible, unequivocal and clear manner. Consequently, in order to reveal the purpose of the Savior's Incarnation, in Byz 82-85, Saint Basil the Great correlates two biblical verses, i.e. I Corinthians 1,23 and I Timothy 1,15.

In this case, the way the biblical text is glossed denotes an extreme elegance. The expression ἐμπολιτευσάμενος τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ appears here as an exquisite arrangement and adaptation of the clause used by Saint Apostle Paul in I Timothy 1,15: ‘Christ Jesus came into the world...’ [Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον]. In the text of this Eucharistic anaphora, a participle specific to Classic Greek is used, ἐμπολιτευσάμενος. It comes from the verb ἐμπολιτεύω (“to be a citizen”), and here it appears as medium-passive participle at the Aorist tense, with the meaning ‘to become a citizen’, or ‘to live, to be received, to be naturalized’¹¹⁸. It is the proof that, whoever revised this Eucharistic text was familiar with the scriptural language and also with that of the Ancient culture. Saint Basil the Great was incredibly well-versed in Classic Greek, he had excellent skills in working with it, and a simple query directed to the TLG database would prove how well he was acquainted with this term, and how frequently he used it in his writings:¹¹⁹

1. *Homily on Psalm 28*: ‘...these are the magnificent men in whom the voice of the Lord dwells’ [οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς, ἐν οἷς ἡ φωνὴ τοῦ Κυρίου ἐμπολιτεύεται]¹²⁰.

2. *Homily On Psalm 32 PG 29, 341A*: ‘How all things have been scattered and rendered useless, and the truths of the Gospel alone now hold place in the world?’ [πῶς διεσκέδασται πάντα, καὶ ἠχρεῖώται, μόνη δὲ ἐμπολιτεύεται νῦν τῷ κόσμῳ ἢ ἀλήθεια τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου;]¹²¹.

3. *Letter 54, 1*: ‘According to the ancient custom observed in the Churches of God, ministers in the Church were received after careful examination...’ [Τοὺς ὑπηρετοῦντας τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ἢ πάλαι ταῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησίαις ἐμπολιτευομένη συνήθεια μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας δοκιμάζουσα παρεδέχετο·]¹²²

4. *Letter 73, 3*: ‘...nor is the divine law less honored than are the civil laws.’ [οὔτε ἡ παρ’ ἡμῶν ἐπιτίμησις ἐλάττων ἐστὶν εἰς ἐκδίκησιν, οὔτε ὁ θεῖος νόμος ἀτιμότερος τῶν ἐμπολιτευομένων τῷ βίῳ νομίμων.]¹²³

5. *In his Letter 101, 1*: ‘that what happens is assuredly advantageous... for the soul which was taken up, lest, tarrying too long in this life, it should be filled with the evil which exists in this world.’ [ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνο πεπεῖσθαι ὀφείλομεν ὅτι πάντως συμφέρει τὸ γινόμενον, ἢ ἡμῖν διὰ τὸν τῆς ὑπομονῆς μισθόν, ἢ τῇ παραληφθείσῃ

¹¹⁸ See also: H.G. Liddel, R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1996), p. 547.

¹¹⁹ In its various forms, the verb occurs 17 times in Saint Basil the Great’s writings. A list of the most important passages can be found in B Capelle’s, ‘Les liturgies “basilienne” et Saint Basil’ (see n. 1), pp. 66-67.

¹²⁰ *PG 29, 293A*.

¹²¹ *PG 29, 341A*. This wording is suggestive, for it associates the verb ἐμπολιτεύομαι to the noun κόσμος, just as the text of the anaphora does.

¹²² Courtonne III, p. 139:

¹²³ Courtonne I, p. 171.

ψυχῆ, ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ πλέον τῆ ζωῆ ταύτῃ ἐπιβραδύνασα τῆς ἐμπολιτευομένης τῷ βίῳ κακίας ἀναπλησθῆ.]¹²⁴.

6. *Letter 140*, 2: ‘Therefore, there has been introduced [received] in our church from the times of the Fathers [the Creed]’ [Ἔστι τοίνυν ἐκ πατέρων ἐμπολιτευομένη τῆ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ἡμῶν ἡ γραφεῖσα παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων πίστις τῶν κατὰ τὴν Νίκαιαν συνελθόντων ἡμῖν...]¹²⁵.

7. *Letter 160*, 3: ‘Consequently, it is very probable that this form of sin had not at that time been introduced among the Gentiles.’ [Ὡστε τοῦτο εἰκός που τὸ εἶδος τῆς ἁμαρτίας μὴ ἐμπολιτεῦεσθαι τότε παρὰ τοῖς Ἕθνεσι]¹²⁶.

8. *Treatise on the Holy Spirit* 29, 71: ‘the greater number of our mysteries are admitted [received] into our constitution without written authority’ [τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν μυστικῶν ἀγράφως ἡμῖν ἐμπολιτεύεται]¹²⁷.

These few examples are able to prove not only Saint Basil the Great’s preference for this verb, but also the broad semantic area that its use covers. It is also important to note that, in departing from the verb’s fundamental meaning - ‘to become a citizen’ -, the great hierarch applies it especially in contexts that speak about the handing down of the Tradition of the Church, the inheritance of the Apostolic practices, and also in contexts concerning the customs of Christian life. The text of the anaphora employs the verb ἐμπολιτεύομαι with the meaning ‘to become a citizen, to live, to enter the world’. Thus, it indicates the great closeness brought about between man and God through the Incarnation of the Savior Jesus Christ.¹²⁸ It is a specific trait of Saint Basil the Great’s penmanship to ‘iconize’, by the clever use of verbs, such a profound reality and mystery of the Christian faith.

VII. Äg, Byz 86-90

	[Äg]	[Byz]	
86	ὑπέδειξεν ἡμῖν ὁδοὺς σωτηρίας,	δοὺς προστάγματα σωτηρίας,	86
87		ἀποστήσας ἡμᾶς τῆς πλάνης τῶν	87
88		εἰδώλων προσήγαγεν ἡμᾶς τῇ	88
89		ἐπιγνώσει σου τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ	89
90		καὶ Πατρὸς	90

¹²⁴ Courtonne II, p. 2.

¹²⁵ Courtonne II, p. 61.

¹²⁶ Courtonne II, p. 90.

¹²⁷ Basilius von Caesarea, *De Spiritu Sancto*, translation of Sieben (see n. 91), p. 292; greek text by Pruche (see n. 91), p. 500.

¹²⁸ This verb and all of its derivatives are very rarely used in the Patristic literature. See also: G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristik Greek Lexikon* (Oxford, 2003), p. 456.

86	He showed us paths of salvation	He gave us precepts of salvation.	86
87		Releasing us from the	87
88		delusions of idolatry, He guided us to the	88
89		sure knowledge of You, the true God and	89
90		Father	90

In this fragment, it is clear that the reworking of the Egyptian text meant a translation from personal objectiveness to speculative theological abstractedness. This is exactly what Engberding was noting in 1931: ‘Again, we have to consider [in this fragment] that the Egyptian text is genuine, because the powerful expression: „He showed us paths of salvation” is clearly superior to the abstract term: „He gave us precepts of salvation”, precisely because of its inclination toward sobriety that we were often able to witness, and which is specific to archetype Ω’..¹²⁹

Engberding proved that the clause, ‘He showed us paths of salvation’ from Äg 86 is also specified in the Kiss of Peace Prayer from the Egyptian text (Εὐχή τοῦ ἀσπασμοῦ) and in the Offertory Prayer from the Byzantine text (Εὐχή τῆς προσκομιδῆς), which are both assigned to Saint Basil the Great, and also in the anaphora attributed to Nestorius. This proves that its roots are in the Egyptian text, and that it most likely resulted from an intervention of the Holy Father on the Eucharistic text from Cappadocia, which he had performed prior to the adoption of this text by the ritualistic tradition in Egypt.¹³⁰

VIII. Byz 86-90

δοὺς προσταγματα σωτηρίας, ἀποστήσας ἡμᾶς τῆς πλάνης τῶν εἰδώλων
προσήγαγεν ἡμᾶς τῇ ἐπιγνώσει σοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς

Releasing us from the delusions of idolatry, He guided us to the sure knowledge
of You, the true God and Father

The knowledge of God is one of the pivotal themes in the older Eucharistic anaphoras. The biblical expression from Colossians 1,10, where Saint Apostle Paul talks about the increase in the knowledge of God [αὐξαμόμενοι τῇ ἐπιγνώσει τοῦ Θεοῦ], is expertly reformulated in Byz 89, in order to emphasize the fact that the greatest gifts of the Savior’s Incarnation, i.e. the complete manifestation of God and the true knowledge of Him, can be cited in the Eucharistic text as reasons for thank-

¹²⁹ H. Engberding, *Das eucharistische Hochgebet der Basileiosliturgie*, (see n. 12), p. 52.

¹³⁰ *Ibidem*.

fulness, precisely because the economy of salvation has already been fulfilled by the Son of God and is continuously actualized in the Church. The man is now able to thank and bless Him only because he was ‘granted’ the true knowledge that he had previously possessed in heaven, and because the Holy Spirit makes it possible for him to enjoy God’s authentic manifestation and presence in the cult.

The Byzantine Eucharistic text presents antithetically the magnitude, number and uniqueness of the gifts that God has poured into the man’s soul and life. Therefore, the highly recurrent opposition sin – death, life – redemption, and darkness of ignorance – true knowledge, from the early Christian literature becomes the central motive for thankfulness in Byz.

In this fragment, the antithetic presentation is based on the opposition between the two verbs, ‘releasing us’ and ‘guided us’ [ἀποστήσας and προσήγαγεν], and also on that of the nouns, ‘delusions of idolatry’ and ‘knowledge’ [τῆς πλάνης and τῆ ἐπιγνώσει], which modify these verbs. Yet, this dramatic contrast between ignorance, darkness of idolatry and the light of the true knowledge of God encloses the definition and succinct outline of one of the fundamental reasons why the Son of God became man. He came into the world in order to guide the man to the authentic knowledge, to restore the fallen human nature and elevate it to its pre-lapsarian joyful state, and to remove all obstacles between God and man. All of these reasons are explicitly and separately recorded in the Byzantine text. The sterling dogmatic narrative of the reasons for the Incarnation is done through doxological terms and betrays the theological mind of the great Cappadocian hierarch. In his research study, Bernard Capelle managed to pinpoint the correlations between this fragment and the writings of Saint Basil the Great, by analyzing the frequency in the use of the previously mentioned antithetical terms.¹³¹

IX. Äg, Byz 90-99

	[Äg]	[Byz]	
90	χαρισάμενος ἡμῖν τὴν ἄνωθεν		90
91	ἀναγέννησιν ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ		91
92	πνεύματος, καὶ ἐποίησεν	κτησάμενος	92
93	ἡμᾶς ἐαυτῶ λαὸν περιούσιον·	ἡμᾶς ἐαυτῶ λαὸν περιούσιον,	93
94		βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα,	94
95		ἔθνος ἅγιον, καὶ καθαρίας ἡμᾶς ἐν	95
96	ἡγίασεν ἡμᾶς τῷ Πνεύματι σου	ὑδατι καὶ ἀγιάσας τῷ Πνεύματι	96
97	τῷ ἁγίῳ.	τῷ ἁγίῳ	97
98	Ὅς ἠγάπησε τοὺς ἰδίους τοὺς		98
99	ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ,		99

¹³¹ B. Capelle, ‘Les liturgies ‘basilienne’ et Saint Basil’ (see n. 1), pp. 68-70.

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90	by granting us the rebirth		90
91	from water and the Spirit, and		91
92	He made us for Himself,	He acquired us for Himself,	92
93	His chosen people	as His chosen people,	93
94		a royal priesthood,	94
95		a holy nation. Having cleansed us	95
96	and sanctified us with	by water and sanctified us with	96
97	the Holy Spirit.	the Holy Spirit,	97
98	He, Who has		98
99	thus loved His own in this world,		99

What is significant in this paragraph is that the Byzantine text seems to be shorter than the Egyptian, as it mentions neither the first idea, nor the addition: ‘He, Who has thus loved His own in this world’ [Ὁς ἠγάπησε τοὺς ἰδίους τοὺς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ] from Äg 98-99, which Engberding thought was genuine. This proves that the revision of the Egyptian text was not a mere process of enriching a Eucharistic anaphora, but rather an impressive effort to reformulate its core ideas, and that caused some expressions to be completely cut out of the text, so as to make room for a new and much more sober and theologically elaborate narrative. In this respect, it is worth mentioning how the simple notice of the new chosen people from Äg was enriched in Byz, through the verbatim quotation of the biblical verse from I Peter 2,9.

The paragraph in Byz 92 employs the verb κτάομαι [to gain, to acquire], which is one of Saint Basil the Great’s preferred terms, as B. Capelle insisted on pointing out in his study.¹³² As in other cases, the frequency in the use of these verbs shows the author’s fondness for a certain manner of writing and depicts a specific way of thinking that can also be recognized in the Eucharistic texts that bear the name of the holy Cappadocian hierarch.

X. Äg, Byz 100-103

	[Äg]	[Byz]	
100	ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ἀντίλυτρον τῷ	ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ἀντάλλαγμα τῷ	100
101	βασιλεύοντι ἡμῶν θανάτῳ,	θανάτῳ	101
102	ὑφ’ ᾧ κατειχόμεθα	ἐν ᾧ κατειχόμεθα	102
103	πεπραμένοι ὑπὸ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν	πεπραμένοι ὑπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας	103
100	He gave Himself as ransom	He gave Himself as ransom	100
101	to the death that ruled over us,	to death	101
102	under which we were held captive,	in which we were held captive,	102
103	sold under our sins	sold under sin	103

¹³² *Ibidem*, p. 70.

In this fragment as well, the Egyptian text proves to be more elaborate than the Byzantine, for it is made up of an original combination of three scriptural passages, i.e. I Timothy 2,6; Romans 5,14 and Romans 7,6.

B. Capelle considers the replacing of the noun ἀντίλυτρον from Äg with ἀντάλλαγμα in Byz as the indicator of a slight preference that Saint Basil the Great manifested toward this latter term, which he mentions twice in his commentary on Psalm 48, verses 7 and 13.¹³³ Furthermore, that the preposition ὑπό was changed with ἐν to accompany the relative pronoun associated to the verb κατειχόμεθα is, to the Belgian liturgist, an important *doctrinal correction*: ‘To God we owed our dues, and not to the death under which we still are... That is why the reviser alters everything in a superb gesture, and yet he does nothing more than suppress the expression βασιλεύοντι ἡμῶν and replace the preposition ὑφ’ ᾧ with ἐν ᾧ. That is a remarkable sample of his doctrinal strength and deep knowledge of the Scriptures.’¹³⁴

The pivotal idea in this fragment is typical for Saint Basil the Great’s thought process, as it is skilfully presented in a passage from *Homily On Not Three Gods*, which depicts, in antithetical, terms the work of salvation fulfilled by the Savior Jesus Christ: ‘He died willingly, so that he might raise up [from the grave] those who died involuntarily. He accepted a death that he need not have accepted, so that he might give life to those subjected to death. Death devoured Him in ignorance, but after it devoured Him it came to know what it had devoured. It devoured Life; it was swallowed up by Life. It devoured the One along with all the rest; it lost all the rest because of the One...’¹³⁵

Upon inspection of the lexical correlations within this fragment, between the two Eucharistic texts and Saint Basil the Great’s writings, it is worth noting that the expression ‘in which we were held captive’ is mentioned twice in the *Treatise On Baptism*:

Treatise on Baptism I, 13: ‘For when we were in the flesh, the passions of sins which were by the Law did work in our members, to bring forth fruit unto death. Now we are loosed from the Law, dead to that wherein we were detained; so that we should serve in newness of spirit and not in the oldness of the letter.’¹³⁶

¹³³ *Ibidem*, p. 71.

¹³⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹³⁵ Basilius Caesariensis, *Adversus eos qui per calumniam dicunt dici a nobis tres deos*, PG 31, 1496A: Ἀπέθανεν ἐκὼν, ἵνα τοὺς ἀκουσίως ἀποθανόντας ἐγείρη. Ἐπεδέξατο ὃν οὐκ ἐπεδέχετο θάνατον, ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ θανάτου ζωοποιήσῃ. Κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος ἀγνοῶν. Ἀπέθανεν ἐκὼν, ἵνα τοὺς ἀκουσίως ἀποθανόντας ἐγείρη. Ἐπεδέξατο ὃν οὐκ ἐπεδέχετο θάνατον, ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ θανάτου ζωοποιήσῃ. Κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος ἀγνοῶν-καταπιῶν ἔγνω ὃν κατέπιεν. Κατέπιε ζῶην, κατεπόθη ὑπὸ ζωῆς. Κατέπιε τὸν ἕνα μετὰ πάντων, ἀπώλεσε διὰ τὸν ἕνα τοὺς πάντα. Ἦρπασεν ὡς λέων, συνεθλάσθη τοὺς ὀδόντας. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὡς ἀσθενῆς καταφρονεῖται.

¹³⁶ Basilius Caesariensis, *De baptismo libri duo*, PG 31, 1545D, translation by Ducatillon, p. 142 (see n. 90): ‘Ὅτε γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ σαρκί, τὰ παθήματα τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τὰ διὰ τοῦ νόμου ἐνηργεῖτο

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The same exact passage is later rewritten in *Treatise on Baptism* I, 18.¹³⁷

It can be inferred that this fragment also contains clear ideational and linguistic correlations that can be drawn between Byz and the writings of Saint Basil the Great, and that they are arguments in favor of establishing their Basilian authorship.

XI. Äg, Byz 104-107

	[Äg]	[Byz]	
104	καὶ κατελθὼν διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ εἰς	καὶ κατελθὼν διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ εἰς	104
105	τὸν ἄδην,	τὸν ἄδην	105
106		ἵνα πληρώσῃ ἑαυτῷ τὰ πάντα	106
107		ἔλυσεν τὰς ὠδῖνας τοῦ θανάτου	107
104	and descending through the Cross	Descending through the cross,	104
105	into Hades	into Hades	105
106		that He might fill all things with Himself,	106
107		He loosed the sorrows of death.	107

It is remarkable how the author used the suggestive expression, ‘sorrows of death’ in Byz. This is a term that Saint Basil the Great prefers, and in his *Homily on Psalm 114*, in the exegesis on verse 3, he dedicates an entire passage to it. ‘„The sorrows of death have compassed me”, he says, „and the perils of hell have found me”. Properly the ‘sorrows’ of death have been agreed upon as the pains of childbirth, when the womb, distended with its burden... He transferred the name of these pains to those which besiege the animal in the division of soul and body at death. He says that he has suffered nothing moderately, but that he has been tried even to the sorrows of death and has arrived at the peril of the descent into hell.¹³⁸ Saint Basil described what these sorrows were, in the paragraph on verse 1 of the same Psalm, where he stated that the prophet David had found that the pangs of death, the dangers of hell, the affliction, the pain, all things whatsoever, were

ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν ἡμῶν, εἰς τὸ καρποφορῆσαι τῷ θανάτῳ· νυνὶ δὲ κατηγορήθημεν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου, ἀποθανόντες ἐν ᾧ κατειχόμεθα, ὥστε δουλεύειν ἡμᾶς ἐν καινότητι πνεύματος, καὶ οὐ παλαιότητι γράμματος.

¹³⁷ *Ibidem*, PG 31, 1557B, translation by Ducatillon (see n. 90), p. 162.

¹³⁸ Basiliius Caesariensis, *Homiliae super Psalmos*, PG 29, 488AB: Περιέσχον γάρ με, φησίν, ὠδῖνες θανάτου, κίνδυνοι ἄδου εὔροσάν με. Κυρίως μὲν αἱ ὠδῖνες ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς κησεις ὀδυνῶν εἰσι τεταγμένα, ὅταν, πρὸς ὄγκον ἢ γαστήρ διεγειρομένη, ὠθῆ τὸ ἔμβρυον πρὸς τὸ ἐξω-εἶτα θλιβόμενα τὰ γεννητικὰ μέρη, καὶ περιτεινόμενα τῷ κυήματι σπασμοῖς καὶ συνολκαῖς τῶν ἰνῶν, ὄξυτάτας ἀλγηδόνας καὶ δριμείας ὀδύνας ἐμποιεῖ ταῖς τικτούσαις. Μετήνεγκε δὲ τὰς ὠδῖνας καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θανάτου, τὰς περιισταμένας τὸ ζῶον ἐν τῷ μερισμῷ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος. Οὐδὲν οὖν φησι μέτριον πεπονθέναι, ἀλλὰ μέχρι καὶ αὐτῶν πεπειρᾶσθαι τῶν ὠδίνων τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ εἰς κίνδυνον τῆς καταβάσεως τοῦ ἄδου ἀφίχθαι.

desirable to him because of the love of God and for the hope which was stored up for those who receive sufferings for the sake of piety.¹³⁹

XII. Äg, Byz 108-116

	[Äg]	[Byz]	
108	ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ·	καὶ ἀναστὰς τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ	108
109		καὶ ὁδοποιήσας πάσῃ σαρκί	109
110		τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν	110
111		καθότι οὐκ ἦν δυνατὸν κρατεῖσθαι	111
112		ὑπὸ τῆς φθορᾶς τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς	112
113		ζωῆς ἐγένετο ἀπαρχὴ τῶν	113
114		κεκοιμημένων, πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν	114
115		νεκρῶν ἵνα ἢ αὐτὸς τὰ πάντα ἐν	115
116		πᾶσιν πρωτεύων	116
108	He rose from the dead on the third day	He rose on the third day,	108
109		having opened a path for all flesh	109
110		to the resurrection from the dead,	110
111		since it was not possible that the Author	111
112		of life would be dominated by corruption.	112
113		So He became the first fruits of	113
114		those who have fallen asleep, the first	114
115		born of the dead, that He might be	115
116		Himself the first in all things.	116

In this particular fragment, the Byzantine text is much more developed than the Egyptian one, and it contains a series of harmoniously interlaced biblical expressions that are bound together into a description of the gifts brought about by the Savior's Resurrection. To make the narrative more elegant and expressive, the author inserted in the midst of these scriptural passages, the participle, 'having opened a path' [ὁδοποιήσας], that obviously belongs to the reviser of this Eucharistic text, for it reminds of the expression used in Äg 'You showed us paths of salvation' [ὑπέδειξεν ἡμῖν ὁδοὺς σωτηρίας], which was deemed specific to the penmanship of Saint Basil the Great.¹⁴⁰

Again, there is an obvious tendency to 'iconize through verbs' that is typical of the work of Saint Basil. As it was stated in the analysis of fragment VII of this Eucharistic text, in chapter VIII from the *Treatise on the Holy Spirit*, there is

¹³⁹ *Ibidem*, PG 29, 485A: Τίνα δέ ἐστι ταῦτα, μικρὸν ὕστερον διεξέρχεται, τὰς ὠδῖνας τοῦ θανάτου, τοὺς κινδύνους τοῦ ἄδου, τὴν θλίψιν, τὴν ὀδύνην, ἅπερ πάντα αὐτῷ ἀγαπητὰ διὰ τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν ἀγάπην, καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα, τὴν ἀποκειμένην τοῖς τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας πάθῃ καταδεχομένοις, ἐφαίνετο.

¹⁴⁰ See the interpretation on fragment VII above.

a marked preference of the archbishop from Caesarea in Cappadocia toward expressing the fundamental truths of faith through an imagery that is both evocative and expressive:

“... on account of the various manners wherein grace is given to us, which, because of the riches of His goodness, according to his manifold wisdom, he bestows on them that need, Scripture designates Him by innumerable other titles, calling Him Shepherd, King, Physician, Bridegroom, Way, Door, Fountain, Bread, Axe, and Rock. And these titles do not set forth His nature, but, as I have remarked, the variety of the effectual working which, out of His tender-heartedness to His own creation, according to the peculiar necessity of each, He bestows upon them that need.”¹⁴¹

Furthermore, beside the aforementioned fragments, which are yet another argument in favor of the Basilian authorship of the Byzantine text, there is also the sobriquet, ‘The Author of life’ from Acts 3,15, which Saint Basil the Great utilizes three times in his works:

1. *In the Homily VI on the Hexaemeron*: ‘I we understand this, we shall learn to know ourselves, we shall know God, we shall worship the Creator, we shall serve the Lord, we shall extol the Father, we shall love our Provider, we shall revere our Benefactor, we shall not cease adoring the Author of our present and future life...’¹⁴²

2. In *Treatise on the Holy Spirit* 5, 7: ‘Well then did the apostle add „Of him and through him and to him are all things”. For of Him, to all things that are, comes the cause of their being, according to the will of God the Father. Through Him all things have their continuance and constitution, for He created all things, and metes out to each severally what is necessary for its health and preservation [of the existence]. Wherefore to Him all things are turned, looking with irresistible longing and unspeakable affection to the Author and Maintainer of their life...’¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Basiliius Caesariensis, *De Spiritu Sancto*, translation of Sieben (see n. 91), p. 120; greek text by Pruche (see n. 91), p. 304: Καὶ πάλιν μέντοι διὰ τὸ πολὺ-τροπὸν τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς χάριτος, ἦν διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς ἀγαθότητος κατὰ τὴν πολυποικίλον αὐτοῦ σοφίαν τοῖς δεομένοις (25) παρέχεται, μυρίαὶ αὐτὸν ἑτέραις προσηγορίαις ἀποσημαίνει· ποτὲ μὲν ποιμένα λέγουσα, ποτὲ δὲ βασιλέα, καὶ πάλιν ἱατρόν, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν νυμφίον, καὶ ὁδόν, καὶ θύραν, καὶ πηγὴν, καὶ ἄρτον, καὶ ἀξίνην, καὶ πέτραν. Ταῦτα γὰρ οὐ τὴν φύσιν παρίστησιν, ἀλλὰ, ὅπερ ἔφη, τὸ τῆς ἐνεργείας (30) παντοδαπὸν, ἦν ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸ ἴδιον πλάσμα εὐσπλαγχνίας κατὰ τὸ τῆς χρείας ἰδίωμα τοῖς δεομένοις παρέχεται.

¹⁴² Basiliius Caesariensis, *Homiliae in hexaemeron*, PG 29, 120A: Ἐὰν ταῦτα μάθωμεν, ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιγνωσόμεθα, Θεὸν γνωρίσομεν, τὸν κτίσαντα προσκυνήσομεν, τῷ Δεσπότηι δουλεύσομεν, τὸν Πατέρα δοξάσομεν, τὸν τροφέα ἡμῶν ἀγαπήσομεν, τὸν εὐεργέτην αἰδεσθησόμεθα, τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν τῆς παρουσίας καὶ τῆς μελλούσης προσκυνοῦντες οὐκ ἀπολήξομεν.

¹⁴³ Basiliius Caesariensis, *De Spiritu Sancto*, translation of Sieben (see n. 91), pp. 92-94; greek text by Pruche (see n. 91), pp. 275-276: Ὅθεν οἰκείως ἐπήγαγεν ὁ ἀπόστολος τὸ «Ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα.» Ἐξ αὐτοῦ γὰρ τοῖς οὖσιν ἡ αἰτία τοῦ εἶναι κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ

3. In *Treatise on the Holy Spirit* 28.70: ‘We call upon Him as the Author of Life, and then despise Him as a slave like ourselves. We received Him with the Father and the Son, and we dishonour Him as a part of creation.’¹⁴⁴

XIII. Äg, Byz 117-124

	[Äg]	[Byz]	
117	καὶ ἀνελθὼν εἰς οὐρανοὺς,	καὶ ἀνελθὼν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς	117
118	ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ σου τοῦ Πατρὸς,	ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης	118
119	ὀρίσας ἡμέραν ἀνταποδόσεως,	ἐν ὑψηλοῖς	119
120	καθ’ ἣν ἐπιφανεῖς		120
121	κρίναι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν	ὃς καὶ ἔξει	121
122	δικαιοσύνη,		122
123	καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὴν	ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα	123
124	πράξιν αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ.	124
117	and ascending into heaven,	Ascending into heaven,	117
118	He sat at Your Fatherly right hand,	He sat at the right hand of majesty	118
119	appointing the day of retribution	on high	119
120	when He will appear		120
121	to judge the world	and He will come	121
122	with righteousness and		122
123	to render	to render	123
124	to each according to His works.	to each according to His works.	124

The Savior’s Ascension to Heaven and Second Coming are worded in almost the exact same terms in the two versions of Saint Basil the Great’s anaphora. The Byzantine text here is more concise and sober, for the short clause, ‘He sat at Your Fatherly right hand’ from Äg is rephrased in Byz without the mention of any personal address formula: ‘He sat at the right hand of majesty on high’. Also, it is noteworthy that, in comparison to Byz, the Egyptian text contains a profoundly theological insertion: ‘appointing the day of retribution when He will appear to judge the world with righteousness’.

The clause, ‘He sat at the right hand of majesty on high’ [ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς] from the Byzantine text is obviously a reworking

Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς γίνεται. Δι’ αὐτοῦ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἡ διαμονὴ καὶ ἡ σύστασις· τοῦ κτίσαντος τὰ πάντα καὶ τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἐκάστῳ τῶν (45) γενομένων ἐπιμετροῦντος. Διὸ δὴ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπέστραπται @1 τὰ σύμπαντα, ἀσχέτῳ τινὶ πόθῳ καὶ ἀρρήτῳ στοργῇ πρὸς τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς καὶ χορηγὸν ἀποβλέποντα, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον· «Οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ πάντων εἰς σὲ ἐλπίζουσι.»

¹⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, translation of Sieben (see n. 91), p. 290; greek text by Pruche (see n. 91), p. 496: Ὡς ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς ἐπικαλούμεθα· καὶ ὡς ὁμοδούλου καταφρονοῦμεν. Μετὰ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ παρελάβομεν· καὶ ὡς μέρος τῆς κτίσεως ἀτιμάζομεν.

and adaptation of the biblical verse from Hebrews 1,3, which is recorded by Saint Basil the Great twice in chapter 6,15 of the *Treatise on the Holy Spirit*:

“Now, to omit all proof of the ignorance of those who predicate place of incorporeal things, what excuse can be found for their attack upon Scripture, shameless as their antagonism is, in the passages „Sit on my right hand” and „Sat down on the right hand of the majesty of God”¹⁴⁵

“What shall we say? What just defence shall we have in the day of the awful universal judgement of all-creation, if, when the Lord clearly announces that He will come in the glory of his Father; when Stephen beheld Jesus „standing at the right hand of God”; when Paul testified in the spirit concerning Christ that „he is at the right hand of God”; when the Father says, „Sit on my right hand”; when the Holy Spirit bears witness that he has sat down on the right hand of the majesty of God...?”¹⁴⁶

The syntagma ‘day of retribution’ is another term that Saint Basil the Great is very fond of. He uses it no less than 23 times in his writings. Here are just a few examples:

1. In *Letter 52*, 1: ‘But, he adds that he found among you such slanders against us, indeed, as might be spoken by those who do not expect, on the day of His just retribution, to render an account to the Judge even of every idle word.’¹⁴⁷
2. In *Letter 97*, 1, 42. Courtonne I, p. 211
3. In *Letter 146*, 1; Courtonne II, p. 68
4. In *Letter 197*, 2; Courtonne II, p. 152
5. In *Letter 217*, 84. Courtonne III, p. 31.

The final clause, ‘to judge the world with righteousness’ also appears in Saint Basil the Great’s *Treatise on the Holy Spirit*, chapter 13,29: ‘...he knows that angels shall be present with the Lord when He shall come in the glory of His Father to judge the world in righteousness.’¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, translation of Sieben (see n. 91), p. 106; greek text by Pruche (see n. 91), pp. 292; 296: “Ἴνα δὲ τῆς ἀμαθείας τὸν ἔλεγχον σιωπήσω, τόπον ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσωμάτων ἀφορίζοντων, τί τὴν πρὸς τὰς Γραφὰς μάχην καὶ ἐναντίωσιν αὐτῶν οὕτως ἀναίσχυντον οὖσαν παραμυθήσεται, τό· «Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου», καὶ τό· «Ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλοσύνης τοῦ Θεοῦ»;

¹⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, translation of Sieben (see n. 91), p. 110; greek text by Pruche (see n. 91), p. 296, Sieben, p. 110: Τί γὰρ καὶ φήσομεν; τίνα ἔξομεν δικαίαν ἀπολογίαν ἐπὶ τοῦ φοβεροῦ καὶ κοινοῦ τῆς κτίσεως πάσης δικαστηρίου, εἰ τοῦ Κυρίου σαφῶς ἐπαγγελλομένου ἦξιν ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ Στεφάνου θεασαμένου «Ἰησοῦν ἐστῶτα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ», καὶ Παύλου ἐν Πνεύματι διαμαρτυρομένου περὶ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι «ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Θεοῦ», καὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς λέγοντος· «Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου», καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος μαρτυροῦντος ὅτι ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλοσύνης τοῦ Θεοῦ.

¹⁴⁷ Basilius Caesariensis, *Epistula 52, 1*, Courtonne I, p. 134: Προσεπετίθει δὲ ὅτι καὶ διαβολὰς εὔρε παρ’ ὑμῖν καθ’ ἡμῶν ἀνοσίας καὶ τοιαύτας οἷας εἶποιεν ἂν οἱ μὴ ἐκδεχόμενοι καὶ περὶ ἀργοῦ ῥήματος δώσειν λόγον τῷ Κριτῇ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἀνταποδόσεως αὐτοῦ τῆς δικαίας.

¹⁴⁸ Basilius Caesariensis, *De Spiritu Sancto*, translation of Sieben (see n. 91), p. 158; greek text by Pruche (see n. 91), p. 350: Καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἀγγέλους ἐπιμαρτύρεται· οἶδε γὰρ ὅτι συμπαρέσονται

These few examples show Saint Basil the Great's predilection for the expressions used in both the Byzantine and the Egyptian Eucharistic anaphoras. They make it possible to demonstrate that this fragment was authored by Basil as well. The last clause of this passage, 'to render to each according to His works', common to both anaphoras, also constitutes an argument in favor of the Basilian authorship of the two eucharistical formularies, as it is often mentioned in the writings of the great hierarch:

1. In *Letter 46*, 5: 'Picture in your mind, I pray, the final end of human life, when the Son of God will come in His glory with His angels. For, He „shall come and shall not keep silence” (Ps. 49,3) when He comes to judge the living and the dead and to give to each according to his deed, when that trumpet sending forth a great and terrible call shall awaken all who through the ages have been sleeping. 'And they who have done good shall come forth unto resurrection of life; but they who have done evil unto resurrection of judgment.'¹⁴⁹

2. In the *Homily on Psalm 32*: 'For, when he considers that the expression, 'Behold the Lord and his reward' (Isaiah 40,10) refers to each according to his work, and when he ponders his own evil deeds, he fears the punishment and cowers beneath the threats.'¹⁵⁰

3. In his *Prologue to Asketicon, On Faith*: '...rising on the third day from the dead, according to the Scriptures, He was seen by His holy disciples and the others, as it is written; that He ascended into heaven and sits on the right hand of the Father whence He will come at the end of time to raise up all men and to render to each according to his works.'¹⁵¹

ἄγγελοι τῶ κριτῆ, ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ Πατρὸς κρῖναι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ.

¹⁴⁹ Basilius Caesariensis, *Epistula 46,5*, Courtonne I, p. 123: Διάγραφόν μοι τῇ διανοίᾳ τὴν τελευταίαν τοῦ κοινῆ βίου καταστροφὴν, ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ, «Ἦξει γὰρ καὶ οὐ παρασιωπήσεται»: ὅταν ἔλθῃ κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὴν πράξιν αὐτοῦ· ὅταν ἡ σάλπιγξ ἐκεῖνη, μέγα τι καὶ φοβερὸν ἠχήσασα, τοὺς ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἐξυπνίση καθεύδοντας, καὶ ἐκπορεύσονται οἱ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ποιήσαντες εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς, οἱ δὲ τὰ φαῦλα πράξαντες εἰς ἀνάστασιν κρίσεως.

¹⁵⁰ Basilius Caesariensis, *Homiliae super Psalmos*, PG 29, 348A: Ὅταν γὰρ ἐνθυμηθῇ τὸ, Ἰδοὺ Κύριος καὶ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ, ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ ὡς τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ, καὶ λογίσσεται ἑαυτοῦ τὰ πονηρὰ ἔργα, φοβεῖται μὲν τὴν κόλασιν καὶ ὑποπτῆσσει τοῖς ἀπειλουμένοις.

¹⁵¹ Basilius Caesariensis, *Prologus 8 (de fide)*, PG 31, 685A: καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγερθεὶς ἐκ νεκρῶν, κατὰ τὰς Γραφὰς, ὤφθη τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς, ὡς γέγραπται ἀνέβη τε εἰς οὐρανοὺς καὶ κάθηται ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὅθεν ἔρχεται ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἀναστήσει πάντας, καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὴν πράξιν αὐτοῦ.

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XIV. Äg, Byz 125-128
[Äg]

[Byz]

125	κατέλιπε δὲ ἡμῖν τοῦτο	κατέλιπεν δὲ ἡμῖν	125
126	τὸ μέγα τῆς εὐσεβείας	ὑπομνήματα τοῦ σωτηρίου αὐτοῦ	126
127	μυστήριον	πάθους ταῦτα ἃ προτεθείκαμεν	127
128		κατὰ τὰς αὐτοῦ ἐντολάς	128
125	He has left us	He has left us	125
126	this great mystery	as reminders of His saving passion,	126
127	of the true religion/godliness	these gifts which we have set forth before	127
128		You according to His commands.	128

The entire narrative of the stages in the economy of salvation reaches a pinnacle in this fragment, in the reference to the Christian Eucharist, the act that the Savior Himself instituted in order to have His whole redemptive work perpetually actualized through the Holy Spirit in the Church. This idea, essential as it is to the truth of faith, is worded in distinct ways in the two Eucharistic anaphoras.

Even though the verb at the beginning, ‘has left us’ [κατέλιπε] is the same in both eucharological texts, its object in Äg differs from that in Byz. The Egyptian text defines the Eucharistic celebration by the general term, ‘this great mystery of the true religion/godliness’ [τοῦτο τὸ μέγα τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον], whereas the Byzantine is more precise and, by the use of the liturgical realism that is inherent to the context of a Eucharistic Synax, it presents the Liturgy as the anamnesis of all the acts in the economy of salvation that culminate in the very act of bringing the gifts of bread and wine, and in their transubstantiation into the Saviour’s Body and Blood, which was commanded by the Lord at the Mystical Supper.

B. Capelle states that Saint Basil cut the biblical expression from I Timothy 3,16¹⁵² out of the Egyptian text, because he thought it was too general and too inadequate a phrase to define the Christian Eucharist, for ‘the mystery of faith’ is, to the Holy Father, the term that denotes the entire mystery of the Church, such as it also appears in Letter 265, 2.¹⁵³ He considers that, in the exercise of revising the Egyptian text, Saint Basil the Great introduced a way of expression much more accurate and practical, and able to portray the realism of the Holy Liturgy: the Savior

¹⁵² ‘And confessedly, the mystery of faith is great’ [καὶ ὁμολογουμένως μέγα ἐστὶν τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον].

¹⁵³ Basilus Caesariensis, *Epistula* 265, 2, Courtonne III, p.129: ‘The great mystery of piety is not a ludicrous topic when the bishops are seen walking without the people and without clergy...’ [Οὐχὶ γελάται τὸ μέγα τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον ὡς ἄνευ λαοῦ καὶ κλήρου ἐπισκόπων περιερχομένων, ὄνομα ψιλὸν περιφερόντων, οὐδὲν δὲ κατορθούντων εἰς προκοπὴν τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου τῆς σωτηρίας;].

has left the Church ‘reminders of His saving passion’, which are visible, in the most objective way, in the gifts of bread and wine that are brought to the altar in order to be consecrated, according to His commandment at the Mystical Supper.¹⁵⁴

However, there is a fact Capelle overlooked and that is worth mentioning. In the aforementioned letter, Saint Basil the Great talks about the ‘great mystery of the true religion/godliness’, whereas the Egyptian text writes, ‘*this* great mystery of the true religion/godliness’, which clearly alludes to the Holy Liturgy, the ritualistic act par excellence, through which the truth of faith is expressed and experienced in the bosom of the ecclesiastical pleroma.

Yet both expressions - from Āg and Byz - that are intended to designate the Eucharistic Supper, are well known and familiar to Saint Basil’s writing skills.

Just as the great Holy Father writes in *Letter 265,2* about ‘the mystery of true religion/godliness’, in an attempt to define the invisible and mysterious nature of the Church, in the same way, the ineffable mystery of God’s descent and dwelling among people is described in *Letter 261,1* as ‘the grace of the great Mystery’:

“You write that there are men among you who are trying to destroy the saving incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, and, so far as they can, are overthrowing the grace of the great mystery unrevealed from everlasting, but manifested in His own times, when the Lord, when He had gone through all things pertaining to the cure of the human race, bestowed on all of us the boon of His own sojourn among us.”¹⁵⁵

In the same respect, in the *Treatise on the Holy Spirit 14,33*, the generic phrase ‘the great mystery of our salvation’ [τὸ μέγα τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν], to which the noun ‘religion/godliness/piety’ [εὐσεβεία] is associated just like in the Egyptian text, incorporates all the truths of faith of the Church:

“Surely it is altogether childish, and like a babe who must needs be fed on milk, to be ignorant of *the great mystery of our salvation*; inasmuch as, in accordance with the gradual progress of our education, while being brought to perfection in our training for *godliness*, we were first taught elementary and easier lessons, suited to our intelligence...”¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ B. Capelle, ‘Les liturgies “basilienne” et Saint Basil’ (see n. 1), p. 72.

¹⁵⁵ Basilios Caesariensis, *Epistula 261, 1*, Courtonne III, p.117-118: Ἐγράφετε δὲ εἶναί τινας παρ’ ὑμῖν τοὺς λύοντας τὴν σωτήριον οἰκονομίαν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅσον τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς, ἀθετοῦντας τοῦ μεγάλου μυστηρίου τὴν χάριν, τοῦ σεσιγημένου μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων, φανερωθέντος δὲ καιροῖς ἰδίους, ὅτε ὁ Κύριος πάντα διεξελθὼν τὰ εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν ἤκοντα τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὴν οἰκειάν ἐχαρίσατο ἡμῖν ἐπιδημίαν. Ὡφέλησε γὰρ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πλάσμα πρῶτον μὲν διὰ πατριαρχῶν ὧν οἱ βίοι ὑποδείγματα καὶ κανόνες προετέθησαν τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς ἴχνεσι τῶν ἁγίων καὶ κατὰ τὸν ὅμοιον ἐκείνοις ζῆλον φθάσαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργων τελείωσιν.

¹⁵⁶ Basilios von Caesarea, *De Spiritu Sancto*: 14, 33: Ἦπου νηπίας φρενὸς παντελῶς τοῦτο, καὶ παιδὸς τινος ὡς ἀληθῶς γάλακτος δεομένου, ἀγνωεῖν τὸ μέγα τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν μυστήριον, ὅτι κατὰ

However, the addition of the demonstrative pronoun ‘this’ to the expression ‘great mystery of true godliness/piety/religion’ in *Äg* attaches to the phrase a particularization of the significance of the great Mystery of the Church: ‘*this* great mystery of the true religion/godliness/piety’ is the Holy Liturgy, the utmost Mystery of God’s descent and dwelling amongst people. The Eucharistic Synax is thus defined through a concise term that is meant to reveal the depth and uniqueness of the mystery of the Orthodox way of experiencing the Truth. It is only in the Church that this Truth can be learnt and lived; its knowledge and experience delineate the boundaries of the Church. Any deviation from the truth of faith, that has been kept by the unwritten tradition and handed down unaltered from generation to generation, brings about a rupture and a separation from the liturgical life of the Church.

The classic passage, where Saint Basil the Great indicates the indissoluble bond between the liturgical praxis and the truth of faith that was preserved in the oral tradition of the Church, appears in chapter 27,66 from the *Treatise on the Holy Spirit*:

“Which of the saints has left us in writing the words of the invocation [uttered] at the displaying of the bread of the [Holy] Eucharist and the cup of blessing? For we are not, as is well known, content with what the apostle or the Gospel has recorded, but both in preface and conclusion we add other words as being of great importance [significance] to the validity of [celebrating] the ministry, and these we derive from unwritten teaching.”¹⁵⁷

In the case of the Byzantine text, the expression used to characterize the Eucharistic Synax in the Holy Liturgy is fully ‘Basilian’¹⁵⁸ too, given that the noun: ‘reminders’ [τὸ ὑπόμνημα] can be found in 11 contexts in the following writings by Saint Basil the Great: *The Longer Rules*¹⁵⁹, *Homilies to the Hexameron*,¹⁶⁰ *Treatise*

τὸν εἰσαγωγικὸν τῆς διδασκαλίας τρόπον, ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν εὐσέβειαν γυμνασίᾳ πρὸς τὴν τελείωσιν ἐναγόμενοι, τοῖς εὐληπτοτέροις πρῶτον καὶ συμμετέροις ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν γνώσιν ἐστοιχειώθημεν, Translation of Sieben (see n. 91), pp. 169-170; greek text by Pruche (see n. 91), p. 362.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, 27, 66, 15-21: Τὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ῥήματα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναδείξει τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς Εὐχαριστίας καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου τῆς εὐλογίας, τίς τῶν ἁγίων ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν καταλέλοιπεν; Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τούτοις ἀρκούμεθα, ὧν ὁ ἀπόστολος ἢ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐπεμνήσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ προλέγομεν καὶ ἐπιλέγομεν ἕτερα, ὡς μεγάλην ἔχοντα πρὸς τὸ μυστήριον τὴν ἰσχύν, ἐκ τῆς ἀγράφου διδασκαλίας παραλαβόντες, Translation of Sieben (see n. 91), p. 274.

¹⁵⁸ See also: B. Capelle, ‘Les liturgies ‘basilienne’ et Saint Basil’ (see n. 1),, p. 72.

¹⁵⁹ *PG* 32, 972C

¹⁶⁰ Basilus Caesariensis, *Homiliae in hexameron*, *PG* 29,77C: ‘...in the earth, in the air, and in the heavens, in water, in night and in day, and in all things visible, clear reminders of the [our] Benefactor.’ [Τὰ γὰρ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου τοῖς ποιήμασι νοούμενα καθορᾶται, ἢ τε ἀίδιος αὐτοῦ δύναμις καὶ θεϊότης, ὥστε καὶ ἐν γῆ, καὶ ἐν ἀέρι, καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐν ὕδατι, καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ, καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ὁρωμένοις ἐναργῆ λαμβάνειν ἡμᾶς τοῦ εὐεργέτου τὰ ὑπομνήματα.]

The Authorship of the Byzantine Anaphora of Saint Basil

on the Holy Spirit 27, 66,¹⁶¹ *Encomium to Saint Julitta*¹⁶², and that the phrase: ‘His saving passion’ [τοῦ σωτηρίου αὐτοῦ πάθους] is mentioned three times in the works of the great hierarch, i.e. twice in the *Treatise on the Holy Spirit*¹⁶³ and once in the *Homily on Fasting*¹⁶⁴.

All of the above show that these two phrases are terms that Saint Basil the Great had a preference for, and therewith they constitute proofs in favor of Basil’s authorship of the Byzantine text.

Conclusions

1. The anaphora of Saint Basil the Great is one of the most important and beautiful euchological formulary in the Eastern Orthodox Church. The most complex and ample section of this Eucharistic text is the Post Sanctus Prayer that is also known, due to its rich theological substance, as the Christological Prayer.

2. The Eucharistic text attributed to Saint Basil the Great was preserved in four versions, Egyptian, Armenian, Syrian and Byzantine. The present article has focused on the comparative analysis of only two of these variants, namely the Egyptian and the Byzantine. Their comparative analysis has confirmed Engberding’s hypothesis on the evolution of the Eucharistic text from simple to complex, from a kerygmatic discourse to theological comprehensiveness. Therefore, all that is expressed in a simple and concise manner in the Egyptian text, is amplified and nuanced in the Byzantine euchological formulary. This same comparative analysis has drawn attention to the fact that the process of reviewing the Egyptian Eucharistic text lied not only in the insertion of dogmatic content wrapped in biblical phrases, but also in the excisions that the reviser had to resort to, in order to make

¹⁶¹ Basilius von Caesarea, *De Spiritu Sancto* 27, 66, translation of Sieben (see n. 91), p. 280; greek text by Pruche (see n. 91), p. 486: ‘Moreover all Pentecost is a reminder of the resurrection expected in the age to come.’ [καὶ πᾶσα δὲ ἡ πεντηκοστὴ τῆς ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι προσδοκωμένης ἀναστάσεως ἐστὶν ὑπόμνημα].

¹⁶² Basilius Caesariensis, *Homilia in martyrem Julittam*, PG 31, 237A: ‘I have heralded this day to you, for it is a reminder of the great fight...’ [περιηγειλαμεν γὰρ ὑμῖν τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην, ὡς ὑπόμνημα ἔχουσαν τῆς μεγάλης ἀθλήσεως].

¹⁶³ Idem, *De Spiritu Sancto* 14, 31, translation of Sieben (see n. 91), p. 165; greek text by Pruche (see n. 91), p. 357: ‘...and the serpent on the standard [is a type] of the passion of salvation accomplished by means of the cross...’ [καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ σημείου κείμενος ὄφις, τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους τοῦ διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ τελεσθέντος]; *Treatise on the Holy Spirit* 30, 77, Pruche, p. 525; Sieben, p. 317: ‘...others of the enemies of the saving passion have seized the helm and made shipwreck of the faith’.

¹⁶⁴ Basilius Caesariensis, *De jejuniō (homilia 1)*, PG 31, 184D: ‘So that we may now commemorate the saving Passion of Christ and in the age to come enjoy the reward for our deeds in life...’ [νῦν μὲν τῆς ἀναμνήσεως τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους, ἐν δὲ τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι τῆς ἀνταποδόσεως τῶν βεβιωμένων ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ δικαιοκρίσει τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα].

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room for some new and rich kerygmatic expressions of a profound theological nature.

3. The comparative analysis showed that the Egyptian text was the best preserver of the original Eucharistic text from Caesarea in Cappadocia, to which certain local traditional ritualistic elements were grafted later-on. However, despite the kerygmatic sobriety and simplicity of the narrative, the Egyptian text contains clues that point to a further theological arrangement, which is also confirmed by its established correlations with Nestorius's anaphora, with Saint Basil the Great's Prayer of the Prothesis in Byz, and with the Kiss of Peace Prayer from Äg, which is attributed to the same Holy Father.

4. In the case of Saint Basil the Great's anaphora, the external arguments on the authorship of this Eucharistic text are numerous and obvious enough in indicating that the great Cappadocian father left his print on the Eucharistic text named after him. The internal arguments in favour of this hypothesis are still to be discussed by the liturgical research.

5. In its endeavour to examine Saint Basil the Great's anaphora, the current study has employed and implemented the new interdisciplinary research method proposed by Robert Taft back in 1990. With the aid of the TLG database, the study investigated all the thematic and lexical correlations existing between the liturgical text ascribed to this great Cappadocian father and his writings. The outcomes of this investigation show that the main ideas in the Christological Prayer are also present, with the same highlights and sometimes even the same lexical identity, in some passages of Saint Basil the Great's writings. Features like: the frequent use of biblical texts, the ingenious way of combining them with the intention of expressing the truth of faith in subtly different ways, the personalization of the narration, and the elevated style of the text, wherein the verbs play a defining role in creating antitheses, are typical traits of Saint Basil the Great's penmanship that can definitely be found in the Byzantine Eucharistic text of the anaphora ascribed to him.