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ERNST HAMMERSCHMIDT

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IN THE ETHIOPIC
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PREFACE

Printed editions of the text of nearly all the known Anaphoras of the Ethiopic liturgy have been available for some years but no comprehensive or comparative study of these Anaphoras appears to have been made hitherto.

I shall first of all endeavour to give a survey of the editions and translations of the text of the Ethiopic Anaphoras. As the publications are scattered in various periodicals and books, it is often difficult to find particular Anaphoras. It may, therefore, be useful to liturgists as well as students of the Ethiopic language to find the editions and translations enumerated in one place. I have also added a brief account of where these Anaphoras are to be found in the Bodleian Manuscripts at Oxford.

The next section is devoted to some of the problems connected with the literary history (place and time of origin) of each of the Anaphoras individually, as well as the general structure of the Ethiopic liturgy, and then some of the main sections of the Ethiopic liturgy, the Eucharistic Thanksgiving, the Institution Narrative and the Epiclesis are discussed in turn. In these pages I have tried to illustrate the peculiarities and special characteristics of each of the Anaphoras, without trying to solve every problem. In particular I have endeavoured to ascertain to what extent the Ethiopic liturgical texts can be divided into sections corresponding to those of other rites. I have found some useful hints on these subjects in Sebastian Euringer's notes to the edition of the Ethiopic Anaphoras in which he collaborated with Oscar Löfgren.

Where the Ethiopic text is quoted I have also added a translation. For this purpose I have nearly always used the translations by Euringer and Harden. In each case these two translations were compared with the original text; in general I found Euringer's German translation the more accurate, but for convenience I have quoted Harden's English translation where it was in agreement with Euringer. I have cited the translation by Euringer where it was lacking in Harden. In the case of

the Anaphora of the Apostles the reliable translation in Brightman has been followed. In a few cases I have made my own translation.

In conclusion, it is my pleasant duty to express my cordial thanks to my wife for her patience and endurance in translating the manuscript of this book into English. I am also indebted to Miss E. A. Livingstone, M. A., of St. Anne's College, Oxford, for help in correcting the English. Without her kind assistance it would hardly have been possible to publish the book. I am also grateful to Prof. Dr. Edward Ullendorff, of Manchester, for a number of very valuable suggestions as regards Ethiopic questions; to Prof. P. Dr. Jean Simon, S. J., Rome, for his kind help with bibliographical details; and to Prof. Oscar Löfgren, of Uppsala, who most generously answered my questions about the Ethiopic Anaphoras in Swedish MSS. Further thanks are due to Prof. Dr. J. Irmscher, of Berlin, who accepted this work for publication in the series of the *Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten*. Together with the *Redaktor* of this volume, Miss R. M. Seyberlich, he has exercised the greatest care over the production of the book. And lastly, I must express my warm appreciation for the assistance of the *British Council* and of the *Österreichisches Bundesministerium für Unterricht* which enabled me to spend two years in Oxford to read for a degree.

The manuscript of this work was accepted by the Faculty of Theology of the University of Oxford for the degree of Bachelor of Letters.

Oxford, July 2nd, 1957

Ernst Hammerschmidt

ABBREVIATIONS

a) Anaphoras

- AMG = Alternative Ethiopic Anaphora of our Lady Mary by Gregory
- Ap = Ethiopic Anaphora of the Apostles
- Ath = Ethiopic Anaphora of St. Athanasius
- B = Ethiopic Anaphora of St. Basil
- C I = Longer Ethiopic Anaphora of St. Cyril
- C II = Shorter Ethiopic Anaphora of St. Cyril
- D = Ethiopic Anaphora of St. Dioscorus
- E = Ethiopic Anaphora of St. Epiphanius
- GC = Ethiopic Christmas-Anaphora of St. Gregory
- GH = Ethiopic Hosanna-Anaphora of St. Gregory
- J = Ethiopic Anaphora of Our Lord Jesus Christ
- JB = Ethiopic Anaphora of St. James the Lord's Brother
- JC = Ethiopic Anaphora of St. John Chrysostom
- JE = Ethiopic Anaphora of St. John the Evangelist
- JS = Ethiopic Anaphora of St. James of Sarug
- M = Ethiopic Anaphora of Our Lady Mary
- MC = Ethiopic Anaphora of Our Lady Mary composed by Cyriacus of Behnasā

- MG = Ethiopic Anaphora of Our Lady Mary by Gregory
- Mk = Ethiopic Anaphora of St. Mark
- O = Ethiopic Anaphora of the Three Hundred and Eighteen Orthodox

b) General Abbreviations

- add. = addit, addunt
- A = Anaphora
- AA = Anaphoras
- Br = F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* I, Eastern Liturgies, Oxford 1896
- Eu = Translations of the Ethiopic Anaphoras by S. Euringer in several periodicals (cf. the bibliography in Appendix I)
- H = J. M. Harden, *The Anaphoras of the Ethiopic Liturgy*, London 1928
- Ibid. = Ibidem
- Id. = Idem
- Idd. = Iidem
- MS = Manuscript
- MSS = Manuscripts
- OC = Ordo Communis of the liturgy
- om. = omittit, omittunt
- Ren = E. Renaudot, *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio*, 1-2, Francofurti ad Moenum 21847

I. THE ETHIOPIC ANAPHORAS

(Manuscripts, Editions and Translations)

1. THE ANAPHORA OF THE APOSTLES (Ap)

In 1548/49 the New Testament in Ethiopic was published in Rome by the well-known Ethiopian, Tesfa Sion (Tasfā Seyon), also called Petrus Aethiops: "*Testamentum novum . . . Missale cum benedictione incensi cerae etc. Alphabetum in lingua ግዕዝ gheez i. e. libera, quia a nulla alia originem duxit et vulgo dicitur Chaldaea. Quae omnia Fr. Petrus Ethyops auxilio piorum sedente Paulo III. Pont. Max. et Claudio illius regni Imperatore imprimi curavit (Romae) Anno salutis 1548*". In this edition he also added three Ethiopic AA: Ap (ff. 158–167), J (ff. 168f.) and MC (ff. 170–174). These AA were reprinted in the *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum*, Olisipone 1879, Appendix – Tomus III – Tomus II: pp. 201–238. There is also a Portuguese translation of the (Pre-Anaphora and of the) Ap by P. Petrus Paëz S. J. (died 1622) in the 11th chapter of the second book of his *Historia de Ethiopia*, edited in C. Beccari, *Rerum Aethiopicarum scriptores occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI. ad XIX. vol. II*, Romae 1905 (pp. 439–446; pp. 446–453).

The Ap (ገለጽተኛ: እግዚአብሔር ወልደክ: እግዚአብሔር: ኢየሱስ: H: "We give Thee thanks, O Lord, by Thy beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ") was then published in an English translation by Rev. C. J. Ball in F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western I* (Oxford 1896) (pp. 194–244): "The Liturgy of the Abyssinian Jacobites commonly called The Ethiopic including the Anaphora of the Apostles." In the short but profound introduction Brightman enumerated the MSS and printed editions of the OC and the AA as far as they were known at that time.

The Ap is also found in the Mercer MS Eth. 3, ff. 84a–106b, which has been translated, though unfortunately rather inaccurately, by S. A. B. Mercer in his book *The Ethiopic Liturgy*¹⁾. There is a third

¹⁾ Milwaukee and London 1915. Cf. the detailed review by Hugo Duensing in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 1916, No. 11, pp. 625–656; F. Praetorius in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 70 (1916) 263.

English translation by John Meadows Rodwell in *The Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record*, Vol. IV (New Series) 1863/64, pp. 108–117, and a fourth translation by J. M. Harden in his book: *The Anaphoras of the Ethiopic Liturgy*, pp. 31–60. The Ap has also been translated into Italian by Abba Pietros Hailù, *Messa etiopica detta "degli Apostoli"*, Roma 1946.

In addition to the MSS mentioned by Brightman the Ap is also found in three Bodleian MSS:

1. MS Aeth. Pocock 6 (cf. A. Dillmann, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae Oxoniensis*, Pars VII: Codices Aethiopici, Oxonii M. DCCC.XLVIII, Nr. XVII, pp. 31 ff.: "Codex membranaceus, formae 12^{ae}, folia 74 continens, quibus duo folia lacerata praefixa sunt, paginis in binas columnas divisus scriptura minuta, bene et a fol. 1 usque 68 eleganter exaratus. Hic Codex quondam E. Pocockii fuit. Videtur esse idem, e quo transscriptas Liturgias Aethiopicas E. Castellus ad J. Ludolfum misit (vid. Ludolfi Praefationem in Lexici sui Aethiopici editionem secundam); cf. Uri, 1787, Aeth. IV, p. 28") ff. 53a–55b: ቅዱስ: ስሐዋርያት: [Dillmann mistakenly has (p. 33): ቅዱስ: ሐዋርያት:] (cf. W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1877, General Index, p. 338).
2. MS Aeth. e. 1 (cf. Edward Ullendorff, *Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Vol. II, Oxford 1951, p. 8, Nr. 49: "154 ff., 2 cols. to a page; probably 18th century, purchased in 1887") ff. 63a–78b: አክብሮት: ቀዳሳን: ስእባዊ: ሐዋርያት::
3. MS Aeth. e. 20 (cf. Ullendorff, l. c., Nr. 50: "103 ff., 2 cols. to a page; end of the 18th century?, purchased in 1937") ff. 38a–44b: አክብሮት: ቀዳሳን: ስእባዊ: ሐዋርያት::

A complete list of the printed editions of the text and of translations of this and the other AA can be found in my article: „Zur Bibliographie äthiopischer Anaphoren“ in *Ostkirchliche Studien* V (1956) pp. 285–290; an English abstract of this article is appended (pp. 167–170).

The Ap is always used on those days for which no other A is prescribed. As very often another A is prescribed and used Mercer's statement¹ that "only one is normally used, the alternate ones being only for rare occasions" does not correspond to the facts.

¹) Mercer, *The Ethiopic Liturgy*, p. 148.

2. THE ANAPHORA OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST (J)

The Ethiopic text of the J (ነአሱተክ: አምላክ: ቅዱስ: ፍጹሜ: ነፍሱ። H: "We give Thee thanks, Holy God, the End of our Souls") was printed first in the above-mentioned edition of the New Testament by Tasfā Seyon (ff. 168f.), and then in the *Bullarium* (pp. 221–224). It is also printed in Ludolf, *Ad suam historiam aethiopicam Commentarius*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1691, pp. 341–345. In 1863/64 Rodwell's English translation was published in *The Journal of Sacred Literature* etc. Vol. IV N. S. (1863/64) pp. 118–122. Mercer published a facsimile of the J from the original Mercer MS Eth. 3, ff. 107a–114a together with an English translation. In 1928 Harden¹⁾ published an English translation of the J following the British Museum MS or. 545. In this MS we find a note that the J is to be used "On the Feasts of our Lord and on Mount Tabor"²⁾.

In the Bodleian MSS the J is contained as follows:

1. Poc. 6 ff. 49a–52b: ቅዱሴ: ዘእግዚእነ: ወመድኃኒነ: ኢየሱስ: ክርስቶስ:
2. e. 1 ff. 79a–82b: አመጽሐፈ: ኪዳን: ዘነገርመ: እግዚእነ: ለሐዋርያቲህ: እምቅድመ: ዕርገቱ: ወትግዛኤሁ: አመታን: (cf. Wright, General Index, p. 338).
3. e. 20 ff. 44b–47a: አመጽሐፈ: ኪዳን: ዘነገርመ: ለሐዋርያት: ቅድመ: ዕርገቱ: ድኅረ: ትግዛኤሁ: አመታን:
4. f. 1 (E. Ullendorff Nr. 43: "161 ff. 1 col. to a page. Vellum . . . Abyssinian leather binding over wooden boards . . . 18th century . . . On f. 161b the following note in English appears: 'This book with four others was taken by Hassan Bey from an Abyssinian who was found writing under a tree near the British army in Upper Egypt and given by Hassan Bey to Col. Murray Q^r M^r Gen^l and given by him to me. Sep. 1801 at Rosetta. J. N. Turner.' Acquired by the Bodleian Library some time before 1887") ff. 104a–106b: አክሱቴት: ቀርባን: ዘእግዚእነ: ወአምላክነ: ወመድኃኒነ: ኢየሱስ: ክርስቶስ:

¹⁾ H pp. 61–66.

²⁾ H p. 8: "The Nativity of Our Lord is celebrated on the 29th of each Ethiopic month, but these Feasts are not, it would seem, included here, as the Feast of the Nativity is specially mentioned below. There are several other Feasts connected with our Lord, the Baptism, January 11 (6)", (dates according to the Ethiopic Calendar, the numbers in brackets give the day according to Julian reckoning) "the Conception, March 29 (25), and various 'Entrances': into the Temple, February 8 (2), into Jerusalem, March 22 (18), into the Upper-room (Octave of the Resurrection), into Egypt, May 24 (19). Mount Tabor is the Feast of the Transfiguration, August 13 (6)."

3. THE ANAPHORA OF OUR LADY MARY BY CYRIACUS (MC)

The editions of this A are listed by S. Euringer¹⁾. The MC (ገሥኦ፡ ልብዮ፡ ቃለ፡ ወናየ፡፡ H: "My heart is inditing of a good matter"²⁾ has already been translated several times: J. M. Rodwell translated it into English³⁾, Hendrik de Vis into Flemish⁴⁾, Euringer into German⁵⁾ twice, Mercer (following the Mercer MS Eth. 3, ff. 114a–131b)⁶⁾ and Harden⁷⁾ again into English. The following MSS were at Euringer's disposal:

- a) the copy of the Ethiopian Cathedral Dabra Gannat (= Monastery of the Paradise) in Jerusalem, ff. 128b–134a; probably dating back to the last thirty years of the 19th century.
- b) Cod. Vaticanus Nr. 16; first thirty years of the 16th century.
- c) Berlin, Petermann II Nachträge 36 (A. Dillmann, *Verzeichnis der abessinischen Handschriften*, Berlin 1878, Nr. 34) ff. 49b–56a; 18th century.
- d) Berlin, or. qu. 414 (Dillmann, l. c., Nr. 33) ff. 49b–58a; beginning of the 19th century or the end of the 18th century at the earliest.
- e) Stockholm, Evangeliska Fosterlands-Stiftelsen Nr. 496 (O. Löfgren, „Die abessinischen Handschriften der Evangeliska Fosterlands-Stiftelsen Stockholm“⁸⁾, Nr. V) ff. 75a–89a; dating from the period 1682–1694.

In Oxford we find the MC in the following Bodleian MSS:

1. Poc. 6 ff. 55b–68b: ቅዱሴ፡ ዘእግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ዘደረሰ፡ አባ፡ ሀርያቆስ፡ (cf. Wright, General Index, p. 338).
2. e. 1 ff. 83a–93b: አክውቴተ፡ ቀርባን፡ ዘቅዱስ፡ ሕርያቆስ፡ ዘሀገረ፡ ብሕንሳ፡
3. e. 20 ff. 47a–53b: አክውቴተ፡ ቀርባን፡ ዘእግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ድንግል፡ ወለዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ ዘነበበ፡ አባ፡ ሕርያቆስ፡ ኤጲስ፡ ቆጶስ፡ ዘሀገረ፡ ብሀንሳ፡

¹⁾ „Die äthiopische Anaphora unserer Herrin Maria“ in *Oriens Christianus* 3. Serie 12 (1937) pp. 63ff.

²⁾ Cf. Psalm 45, 2: 'My heart is inditing a good matter'.

³⁾ "The Eucharistic Office (Kedasse) of our Lady Mary composed by Abba Heriacos of the City of Behnesa" in *The Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record* IV (New Series) (1863/64) pp. 122–131.

⁴⁾ In *Dietsche Warande en Belfort*, Antwerpen 1909.

⁵⁾ First edition in *Der Katholik* 95 I (1916) pp. 241–266, second edition in *Oriens Christianus* 3. S. 12 (1937) pp. 63–102 and 248–262.

⁶⁾ In *The Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* 3 (1919) pp. 51–64.

⁷⁾ H pp. 67–71.

⁸⁾ In *Le Monde Oriental* XXIII (1929) pp. 1–22.

4. f. 1 ff. 92a–103b: አ'': ቀላ': ዘእግዝእትነ: ማርያም: ዘነበሰ: በመንፈስ: ቅዱስ: አባ: ሕርያቆስ: ኤጲስ: ቆጶስ: ዘሀገረ: ብሕንሳ:

5. g. 18 (Ullendorff Nr. 73: "57 ff. 1 col. to a page. Vellum . . . Abyssinian binding: wooden boards . . . Early 19th cent.? Purchased in 1930") ff. 3a–56b: አ'': ቀላ': ዘአባ: ሕርያቆስ: ዘሀገረ: ብሕንሳ:

But who was Abbā Heryāqos, who is always mentioned as the author of the MC? Heryāqos (= Cyriacus) was Metropolitan of Behnasā in Central Egypt¹). Practically nothing is known about his life. R. Strothmann said that it was probably in the 11th century that Cyriacus of Behnasā-Oxyrhynchos composed the legends and apocryphas of the country in Arabic²). S. Euringer referred to the story in the *Liber Axumae*, which is connected with the name of Cyriacus³).

According to Euringer the name of Cyriacus might suggest that there is some connection between the MC and Egypt. He thought that the Ethiopic monastery in Behnasā might have been the place where the Ethiopians became acquainted with a foreign original of this A⁴).

¹) Cf. Euringer in *Oriens Christianus* 3. S. 12 (1937) p. 68: „Diese Stadt, jetzt ein Trümmerfeld bei dem Dorfe Behnesā, liegt 200 km südlich von Kairo am Bahr Jūsuf, 15 km westlich von der Bahnstation Beni Mazar. Sie hieß bei den Griechen Oxyrrhynchos, weil die Bewohner den gleichnamigen Nilfisch für heilig hielten und seinetwegen mit den Kynopoliten einen Krieg führten, wie man bei Plutarch lesen kann. Die Diözese Behnesā war frühzeitig ein Brennpunkt des ägyptischen Mönch- und Nonnentums und daher auch ein Zentrum christlicher Literatur. Zahlreiche wichtige Papyrusfunde, darunter die Logia Jesu, haben dieser Fundstätte Weltruf verschafft.“

²) *Die Koptische Kirche in der Neuzeit*, Tübingen 1932 (*Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie*), p. 102; cf. Rodwell in *The Journal of Sacred Literature* etc. IV (1863/64) p. 122: "He was bishop and metropolitan of Behnesa or Bahnesa, seven days from Cairo on the banks of the Canal Menhi (Edrisii, Africa, p. 511). A bishop of Nubia of the same name is mentioned in the life of Chail, the forty-sixth patriarch of Alexandria, (Renaudot, Or. Lit., I p. 441), A. D. about 730."; Pierre Dib, "Deux discours de Cyriaque, évêque de Behnésa, sur la Faite en Egypt" in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* XV (1918) pp. 157–161; Georg Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* I, Città del Vaticano 1944 (*Studi e Testi* 118), pp. 475.; J. Stephan, *Einige Mariensymbole des Alten Testaments in der äthiopischen Liturgie*, Civitas Vaticana 1957, pp. 8ff.; M.-A. van den Oudenrijn, O. P., *Gamaliel. Äthiopische Texte zur Pilatusliteratur*, Freiburg i. d. Schw. 1959, XVII–XIX; A. Caquot in *Annales d'Éthiopie* 1 (1955) 64; H. Engberding in *Oriens Christianus* 44 (1960) 144 f.

³) „Anaphora unserer Herrin Maria“, pp. 68 f.

⁴) L. c. p. 69: „Vielleicht war ein abessinisches Kloster in Behnesā der Umschlagplatz; denn wenn im Mittelalter und noch viel später in Qalamon, Qosqām, Skete usw. neben koptischen auch abessinische Klöster bestanden,

2 Ham-merschmidt, Ethiopic Anaphoras

According to the MS or. 545 (British Museum), the MC is used on the following days: on the Feasts of our Lady, the Feasts of Gabriel and of St. Dacesius¹). The edition of the AA, Addis Abbaba, 1918 Anno Misericordiae (Ethiopic reckoning) = 1925/26 A. D., appoints the following days²): “Feiere sie: an den Festen unserer Herrin; am 28. Tahsas (24. XII.), dem Weihnachtsfeste; am 29. Magābit (25. III.), dem Feste der Menschwerdung; am 2. Teqemt (29. IX.), dem Feste seines (des Cyriacus) Heimgangs!“

The person of St. Dacesius at first seems rather mysterious. Euringer has shown that this name is a mutilated form of the name of St. Ildefonsus of Toledo³). His name written in Arabic الدفنسوس became دفنسوس + ال, and then finally دقسيوس = ደቅደሳለሁ. This word was transcribed “Dacesius” by Harden, “Dekesius” by Ludolf and “Dexius” by Budge. Among the Ethiopians he is known to have had a great devotion to St. Mary the Virgin, who accorded him special favours.

4. THE ANAPHORA OF ST. DIOSCORUS (D)

The D (አፖቶሪዎ: ዓለፖ: ወአሰክ: ለዓለፖ: ሀሉ: አግቢአብሌር: በመኝግሥቱ:: H: “Before the world (was), and unto everlasting is God in His Kingdom”) was translated into English by Mercer, using the text of the MS. Eth. 3, ff. 194a–197b⁴), by J. M. Harden⁵), and J. M. Rodwell in *The Journal of Sacred Literature* etc. Vol. IV N. S. (1863/64) pp. 368f. It was then published and translated into German by O. Löfgren – S. Euringer on the basis of the Editio princeps (of

die auf die Wissenschaft und die Literatur der abessinischen Theologen befruchtend eingewirkt haben, dann wird auch im Mönchsstaat Behnesā ein solches nicht gefehlt haben.“

¹) Cf. H pp. 8f.: “The Rest of our Lady is commemorated on January 21 (16), and, apparently by reason of this, the 21st of each Ethiopic month is dedicated to the Virgin. Besides these days, her Nativity is commemorated on May 1 (April 26) and September 10 (7), her Burial on August 15 (8), her Assumption on August 16 (9), her Presentation on December 3 (November 29), and her Conception on December 16 (12).

The Feasts of Gabriel are on March 30 (26), June 12 (6), and December 19 (15); that of Dacesius on December 22 (18).”

²) Cf. „Anaphora unserer Herrin Maria“, p. 70. The 28. Tāḥsās is the 24. December of the Julian, and the 6. January of the Gregorian Calendar.

³) L. c.

⁴) In *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* 2 (1918) pp. 83–86.

⁵) H pp. 113–116.

Johannes Michael Wansleben¹⁾ and the five following MSS²⁾:

- a) Berlin, MS or. qu. 414 (Dillmann Nr. 33).
- b) Berlin, MS Petermann II Nachträge 36 (Dillmann Nr. 34).
- c) Berlin, MS Diez A. Duodez 11 (Dillmann Nr. 35); 17th century.
- d) Paris, MS Éthiopien 74 (H. Zotenberg, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1877); 17th century.
- e) Stockholm, MS Nr. V (O. Löfgren) of the Evangeliska Fosterlands-Stiftelsen.

The Roman-Catholic edition of the Ethiopian Uniats, which has been published by P. Coulbeaux³⁾ ascribes this A not to Dioscorus but to St. Dionysius (ዲዮናሲዮስ).

The D is also to be found in the Bodleian MSS:

1. Poc. 6 ff. 73a–74b: አ'': ቀ'': ዘቅዱስ: ዲዮስቆሮስ: (cf. Wright, General Index, p. 338).
2. e. 1 ff. 60a: አ'': ቀ'': ዘቅዱሳን: (sic) ዲዮስቆሮስ:
3. e. 20 ff. 69b–71b: አ'': ቀ'': ዘቅዱስ: ዲዮስቆሮስ: ሊቀ: ጳጳሳት: ዘእስከንድርያ:

According to Harden's MS (or. 545) this A is used on the Feast of the Ascension, and on the Feast of the Paraclete, and on the day of the Rest of Dioscorus⁴⁾. According to the edition of Addis Abbaba 1918 A. Mis. p. 454, the D is used on the Birth (Christmas), Feast of Baptism (Epiphany), Resurrection (Easter), Ascension, Paraclete (Pentecost), Trinity and on 7 Sept. (Death of St. Dioscorus).

The A bears the name of the 25th Patriarch of Alexandria, Dioscorus (444–451), who was of great importance in the Christological controversies. The book of the AA which is used by the Ethiopian Uniats (Asmara in Eritrea 1907 A. Mis. = 1914/15 A. D.) ascribes the A to the 14th Patriarch of Alexandria, Dionysius the Great (248–264/65); this is probably due to the fact, that the Uniats did not want to connect the name of the "monophysite" Dioscorus with a liturgical text.

¹⁾ *Lexicon Aethiopicum-Latinum and Grammatica Aethiopica*, Londini 1661: "Liturgia S. Dioscori, Patriarchae Alexandrini, in vetusto Liturgiarum Aethiop. Cod. MSS. Cl. Dn. D. Edw. Pocokii reperta. Nunc vero impressa, et Latinitate donata a J. M. W. Erffurtensi."

²⁾ In *Le Monde Oriental* 26/27 (1932/33) pp. 229–255.

³⁾ *ጥርጉጥ: ቅዳሴ: ዘሌተ: ክርስቲያን: ካፋለካዊት: እንተ: ሰኢጥጥጽ*: v. the end of this Paragraph p. 35 No. 11.

⁴⁾ H p. 11: "Dioscorus is commemorated on September 7 (4) and October 17 (14)".

5. THE ANAPHORA OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM (JC)

The JC (ፍህ፡ ዝኔ፡ ሀላዊህ፡ ለአብ፡ ዘህሉ፡ እምቅድመ፡ ይትረጠር፡ ዓለም፡ H: "Behold we declare the essence of the Father who was before the world was created") can be found in the *Chrestomathia Aethiopica* by August Dillmann (from MS Bodl. Poc. 6)¹⁾. The JC was published in an English translation by Mercer using his MS Eth. 3, ff. 148a–157b²⁾ and by Harden³⁾. There is also a translation into Swedish by O. Löfgren in *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift* 29 (1929) pp. 299–308. In 1888 a German translation by A. Schulte had appeared in *Der Katholik*⁴⁾. In 1913 Sebastian Euringer published a new translation in the same periodical⁵⁾.

The JC is found in the Bodleian MSS:

1. Poc. 6 ff. 42b–49a: አ'፡ ቀ'፡ ዘቅዱስ፡ አፈ፡ ወርቅ፡ (cf. Wright, General Index, p. 338).
2. e. 1 ff. 103a–108b: አ'፡ ቀ'፡ ዘቅዱስ፡ የሐንስ፡ አፈ፡ ወርቅ፡
3. e. 20 ff. 73a–76b: the same title as above.

The note about the use of the JC in MS or. 545 is as follows: On the Vigil of Passover, and on the Fast, and on the Day of the Saviour, and on the Feast of John Chrysostom, and on the Feasts of the Cross⁶⁾.

6. THE ANAPHORA OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST (JE)

The JE (ኅሴክ፡ እግዚአ፡ አንቃዕደኅ፡ አዕደነተኅ፡ H: "To Thee, O Lord, we have raised our eyes") was published in 1922 by Mercer using his MS ff. 132a–147b⁷⁾ and in 1928 by Harden⁸⁾, both publications

¹⁾ Lipsiae 1866, Editio secunda Berolini 1950, pp. 51–56.

²⁾ In *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* 4 (1920) pp. 35–42 (cf. Euringer in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete* 4 (1926) p. 127).

³⁾ H pp. 86–93.

⁴⁾ 68 I (1888) pp. 417–425.

⁵⁾ 93 I (1913) pp. 406–414.

⁶⁾ H pp. 9f.: "The first of these explains itself; the 'Fast' seems to refer to the 'Fast of Christ' which is marked in the Calendar given by Ludolf" (*Comm. ad Historiam Aethiopicam*, p. 407) "on February 4, January (29), but is probably not a fixed day but variable, marking the commencement of the fast before Easter. The Day of the Saviour is probably Good Friday, the 'Day of Salvation', (τά σωτήρια)".

The Feasts of John Chrysostom are on May 12 (7) and November 17 (13) and those of the Cross on March 10 (6) and May 9 (4)" and September 17 (14).

⁷⁾ In *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* 6 (1922) pp. 21–33.

⁸⁾ H pp. 72–85.

in English translation. In 1934 S. Euringer edited the Ethiopic text together with a German translation¹⁾ by using the two following Berlin MSS and the copy of the Ethiopian Cathedral in Jerusalem:

- a) Petermann II Nachträge 36 ff. 43a–49b;
- b) or. qu. 414 ff. 62b–70a;
- c) MS of the Ethiopian Cathedral in Jerusalem ff. 145a–160b.

This A is to be found in the Bodleian MSS:

- 1. Poc. 6 ff. 1a–14b: አ'': ቀ'': የሐንሰ: ወንጌላዊ: ሐዋርያ: (cf. Wright, General Index, p. 338).
- 2. e. 1 ff. 93b–103a: አ'': ቀ'': ዘየሐንሰ: ወልደ: ነግድንድ:
- 3. e. 20 ff. 53b–59b: አ'': ቀ'': ዘቅዱስ: ወብፀሕ: የሐንሰ: ወልደ: ነግድንድ:

There are several indications on the use of the JE:

- 1. In Harden's MS (or. 545) the marginal note says: "On the Feasts of St. John the Evangelist and on the Feasts of St. Stephen, and on (the Feast of) St. George, and on the Feasts of All Martyrs, and on the Day of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the month of Preaching, and on the Feast of Simeon"²⁾.
- 2. The final rubric of the Ethiopic edition (Addis Abbaba 1918 A. Mis.) p. 211 states that this A is used on the following days: On the Feast of Preaching, of the Apostles, of the Martyrs, Feast of the Flower, Feast of the Fruit, dedication of the Church, Feast of Abel 2nd January (28th Dec.) [there is a second Abel "the son of Takla Hāymanōt" on 19th July (13th), but I think the biblical Abel is meant here], Feast of the Prophets and on the Feast of John Son of Thunder.

¹⁾ „Die äthiopischen Anaphoren des hl. Evangelisten Johannes des Donner-
sohnes und des hl. Jacobus von Sarug“ in *Orientalia Christiana* Vol.
XXXIII. – 1., Nr. 90 (Roma 1934).

²⁾ H p. 9: "The Feast of St. John is on January 4 (December 30); the Feasts of St. Stephen on January 1 (December 27), September 15 (12), and October 17 (14), and the Feasts of St. George on April 23 (18) and November 7 (3). (Note: As various Saints of this name are commemorated in the Ethiopic Calendar it is not certain to which the notice refers. The two given above are commemorations of 'George the Great Martyr'.)

The Feasts of All Martyrs refer, it would seem, to no special day, but to all days on which a martyr is commemorated.

The Nativity of Our Lord is commemorated in the 29th of each month, the date being chosen from the December festival (December²⁹).

What the month of Preaching means I have been unable to discover. The last name Simeon refers apparently to the Prophet Simeon who is commemorated on February 8 (2)."

Since the time of the Flower lasts from 26th June until 26th September¹⁾, it seems very improbable that the JE is said throughout the whole season. Perhaps the rubric means that it is said throughout the whole season of Flower *diebus non impeditis* i. e. on all days for which no other A is laid down.

7. THE ANAPHORA OF ST. JAMES THE LORD'S BROTHER (JB)

In 1914 the JB (ኢያክ: ገሌብሕ: ኢያክ: ገላርክ: Eu: „Dich loben wir, dich benedeien wir“) was edited by Sebastian Euringer from the Bibliothèque Nationale MS Éth. 74 ff. 90b–96b and translated into German²⁾. As far as I know, Mercer did not translate the JB; it is also missing from Harden's edition.

Euringer does not give any notes about its use, but the following note is to be found in a copy of the JB, which had been ordered by Abba Tecele Mariam Semharay Selam (occasionally written Selim), according to a MS of the JB in the Monastery Ziena Markos [cf. *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 42 (1928) p. 442]: „Celebretur (scl. haec liturgia) in anniversario Defunctorum et in festo S. Jacobi Apostoli, alternatim cum S. Cyrilli liturgia.“

The JB is also missing from the Bodleian MSS: Poc. 6, e. 1 and e. 20. It is included, however, in the MS Vat. Aeth. 95.

8. THE HOSANNA-LITURGY OF ST. GREGORY (GH)

There are four AA in all known under the name of Gregory: the Hosanna-Liturgy (GH), the Christmas-Liturgy (GC), the Liturgy of our Lady Mary by St. Gregory (MG) and an alternative form of this latter (AMG). As these four AA have already been confused³⁾ and as it is not always realised that there are four „Gregory-AA“ it is important to distinguish these four AA by their opening words:

GH: ናአሁቶ: ለገባራ: ወናያት: ላዕሌኑ: እግዚአብሔር: መሐራ።

(Br: „We give thanks to our benefactor, the merciful God“);

¹⁾ At this season the „Song of Flower“ (ማሕሌት: ጸጌ) is recited in the Ethiopian Church in honour of the „Flower“ Mary and the „Blossom“ Jesus (cf. Is 11,1); Feast of the Fruits = Thanksgiving after the harvest(?).

²⁾ „Die Anaphora des hl. Jakobus, des Bruders des Herrn“ in *Oriens Christianus* N. S. 4 (1914) pp. 1–23.

³⁾ Br p. LXXIV: GC = MG.

GC: ናአኩተክ: እግዚአ: ወንጌብሐክ: ወንጌድሰክ: ቡሩክ: ስምክ: ወንባርክክ:

(Eu: „Wir danken dir, Herr, und loben dich und feiern dich! Gebenedeit ist dein Name, und auch wir benedeien dich“);

MG: ናአኩተክ: አምላክ: በወልድክ: ዋሕድ: ወመንፈሰክ: ቅዱሱ: እንበላ: ተፈልጦ: ዘኅሙሌሰ:

(Eu: „Wir danken dir, Gott, der du mit deinem eingeborenen Sohn und deinem heiligen Geist ohne Trennung dreieinig bist“).

AMG: ናአኩተክ: እግዚአ: በፍቁር: ወልድክ: ኢየሱሱ: ክርስቶሱ:

(“We give thee thanks, o Lord, by thy beloved Son Jesus Christ”).

The GH was translated into English by Mercer from his MS Eth. 3, ff. 157b–167b, under the title “The Anaphora of Saint Gregory the Brother of Basil”¹). A further English translation was produced by Harden²). The first edition of the Ethiopic texts as well as a translation into German was due to the work of O. Löfgren and S. Euringer. For this they were able to use five MSS for the GH³), namely:

- a) Paris, MS. Éthiopien 69 (Anciens fonds) Zotenberg Nr. 74; 17th century.
- b) Berlin, Petermann II Nachträge 36 (Dillmann Nr. 34): probably written under the reign of Negus Iyāsū II. (Between 1730 and 1745, cf. Löfgren-Euringer, *Gregorius-Anaphoren*, p. 69).
- c) Berlin, or. qu. 414 (Dillmann Nr. 33).
- d) MS of the Ethiopian Cathedral in Jerusalem (GH: 203–212; GC: 254–259).
- e) Stockholm, Ev. Fost.-Stift. MS Nr. V (Löfgren).

Although the four AA of Gregory are sometimes distinguished by the names of their authors, it should be made clear that such a differentiation is impossible. In the MSS all four AA are ascribed indiscriminately to Gregory of Alexandria, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory Illuminator⁴). Apart from each one's characteristic opening words, the only distinction possible is one of content and use peculiar to each. Such a differentiation by content and use was employed by Löfgren and Euringer. They identified GH by paragraphs peculiar to it (22–26⁵)) containing allusions to the rite of Palm Sunday

¹) In *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* 7 (1923) pp. 27–34.

²) H pp. 109–112.

³) *Die beiden gewöhnlichen äthiopischen Gregorius-Anaphoren in Orientalia Christiana* Vol. XXX. – 2. Nr. 85 (Roma 1933); a list of the MSS p. 68.

⁴) Cf. the survey in Löfgren-Euringer, *Gregorius-Anaphoren*, pp. 72f.

⁵) The text of the Ethiopic AA and their translations published by Löfgren and Euringer is marked by the § – sign.

(ዐደተ ሆሳስ); GC: because it seems to have been used for the Birth of Christ which is celebrated on the 29th of each month (or for Christmas); I do not know the reason why the third A is called MG because I have not yet been able to see the text. The reason for this title may perhaps be found in the content of this A.

The GH is to be found in the Bodleian MSS:

1. Poc. 6 ff. 68b–72b?: አ'': ቀ'': ዘቅዱስ ገርገርዮስ: (cf. Wright, General Index, p. 338).
2. e. 1 ff. 135b–142b: አ'': ቀ'': ዘቅዱስ ገርገርዮስ: እኅወ: ባሰልዮስ:
3. e. 20 ff. 87b–92a: አ'': ቀ'': ዘቅዱስ ወብወዕ: ገርገርዮስ:

According to the Codex Hierosolymitanus (of the Ethiopian Cathedral) the GH is used on the 21st January (16.) (= Requies Gregorii Nysseni, fratris Basilii M.; Dillmann, *Catalogus Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae Oxoniensis*, 1848, 51 b); according to Leningrad MS III, 19 (Turaev, "Efiopskija rukopisi v S. Peterburge", p. 176¹) the GH is used „in der Hosannazeit vom Mittwoch bis (Palm-) Sonntag“²; according to British Museum or. 545 (Wright CXXXII): "On the Feast of Hosanna and at the Passion"; according to the edition of Addis Abbaba 1918 A. Mis.: „vom Nikodemus-Mittwoch bis Hosanna (= Palmsonntag)"³ („Mit 'Nikodemus' wird zunächst der letzte Sonntag der Quadragesimalfastenzeit, dann die ganze folgende Woche bezeichnet"⁴). About the note in or. 545 Harden commented: "That is to say on Palm Sunday, and, apparently, during Holy Week"⁵. We may thus say that the GH is used on Palm Sunday and the four preceding days as well as on the anniversary of Gregory of Nyssa's death.

9. THE CHRISTMAS-LITURGY OF ST. GREGORY (GC)

In 1925 Mercer edited the English translation of this A, following his MS Eth. 3, ff. 248b–253b under the title: "The Anaphora of Saint Gregory the Armenian"⁶). Harden's edition of the GC followed in 1928⁷).

¹) In *Zapiski vostočnago otdelenija imperatorskago russkago archeologičeskago obščestva*, St.-Peterburg XVII pp. 115–248.

²) Löfgren-Euringer, *Gregorius-Anaphoren*, p. 73.

³) "Wednesday of Nicodeme" = የኢፋዲዮስ: ረቡዕ:.

⁴) Löfgren-Euringer, *Gregorius-Anaphoren*, p. 73.

⁵) H p. 11.

⁶) In *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* 9 (1925) pp. 8–12.

⁷) H pp. 127–131.

Boris Turaev translated it into Church Slavonic¹⁾. In 1933 Löfgren and Euringer edited the Ethiopic text together with a German translation using the first three MSS of the edition of the GH²⁾.

This A is to be found in the following Bodleian MSS:

1. e. 1 ff. 150a–154a: አ'': ቀ'': ዘቅዱስ: ወብፁዕ: ወክሱር: ወንጹሕ: ገርጉርዮስ: (cf. Wright, General Index, p. 338).
2. e. 20 ff. 71b–73a: አ'': ቀ'': ዘቅዱስ: ገርገርዮስ: በልጹጥ: ዘይትሰላሌ:

According to the Codex Hierosolymitanus (254) this A is read on the 21st November (17.) (= Requies Gregorii, Thaumaturgi: Dillmann Oxon. 45b); according to the Leningrad MS III, 19: „am Geburtstagsfest und werktäglich“³⁾; according to the edition of Addis Abbaba 1918 A. Mis.: „in der Weihnachtszeit“⁴⁾. Harden said that “No note as to usage is given”⁵⁾.

It seems, therefore, that the GC – as already mentioned – is used for the monthly celebration of the Nativity on the 29th of each month (or for Christmas) and on the anniversary of Gregorius Thaumaturgus' death⁶⁾.

10. THE ANAPHORA OF OUR LADY MARY BY GREGORY (MG)

The text of this A is to be found in both the MSS Berlin or. oct. 2168 and Paris Éthiopien 74 (Zotenberg) and has to be carefully distinguished from the two ordinary AA of Gregory⁷⁾. Brightman mistakenly thought that the MG was identical with one of the two ordinary AA of Gregory which, by the way, opens with a similar passage⁸⁾.

¹⁾ In *Zapiski vostochnago otdelenija imperatorskago russkago archeologičeskago obščestva*, St.-Peterburg XXI (1911/12) pp. 012–015.

²⁾ *Vide supra* note 3 on p. 23.

³⁾ Löfgren-Euringer, *Gregorius-Anaphoren*, p. 73; cf. MS Bodl. Aeth. e. 20 f. 71b.

⁴⁾ L. c.

⁵⁾ H p. 11.

⁶⁾ Löfgren-Euringer, *Gregorius-Anaphoren*, p. 74: „Die Angabe der Leningrader Hs. **ዘወጥር**: kann wohl, falls sie überhaupt richtig ist, nur bedeuten, daß diese Liturgie auch sonst an Stelle der Normalanaphora der Apostel eintreten kann.“

⁷⁾ Cf. Löfgren-Euringer l. c., p. 67 and O. Löfgren, „Nachtrag zu der Cyrillussliturgie“ in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete* 9 (1933/34) p. 265.

⁸⁾ Br p. LXXIV.

11. ALTERNATIVE ANAPHORA OF OUR LADY MARY
BY GREGORY (AMG)

This A has not yet been published. It is found only in a Stockholm MS (cf. the bibliography in the Appendix).

12. THE ANAPHORA OF THE 318 ORTHODOX (O)

The O (ግሉጽ፡ በውሰተ፡ ደመናት፡ ወልዑል፡ እምሰማያት፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ሰባሕ፡ በኩሉ፡ ፍናዊሁ፡ Eu: „Ehrfurchtgebietend in den Wolken und höher als die Himmel ist Gott, preiswürdig in allen seinen Wegen“) was translated into English by Mercer in 1924 using his MS Eth. 3, ff. 168a–183a¹). It was also translated by Harden from the MS or. 545 in 1928²). The Ethiopic text with a German translation were published by S. Euringer using the MS Berlin, or. qu. 414ff. 80a–86a³), in addition in 1932/33 O. Löfgren published „Varianten und Bemerkungen zur äthiopischen Anaphora der 318 Orthodoxen“ using the MSS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 74 (Zotenberg) and Stockholm Nr. V (Fosterlands-Stiftelsen)⁴).

In Oxford the O is only to be found in:

1. Poc. 6 ff. 14b–25b: አ'': ቀ'': ዘር፤ ፲ወ፤ ርቱአነ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ (cf. Wright, General Index, p. 338) and
2. e. 20 ff. 60a–65b: አ'' ቀ'' ዘር፤፲ወ፤፲ርቱዓት፡ (sic) ሃይማኖት፡

According to the marginal note in Harden's or. 545 this A is used on (the Feast of) Cana of Galilee, and on the Feast of Gēnā, and on (the Feast of) the Four Living Creatures, and on the Feast of the Twenty-four Heavenly Priests . . . and on the Feast of the Congregation of the Firstborn, and on the Feasts of the 318 Orthodox⁵).

The 318 Orthodox are, of course, the assembled Fathers of the Council of Nicaea (325 A. D.).

¹) In *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* 8 (1924) pp. 66–75.

²) H pp. 104–108.

³) „Die äthiopische Anaphora der 318 Rechtgläubigen. Äthiopisch und Deutsch“ in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik* 4 (1926) pp. 125–144 and 266–299.

⁴) In *Le Monde Oriental* 26/27 (1932/33) pp. 216–226.

⁵) H pp. 10f.: „Feast of Cana of Galilee on June 12 (6); Feast of Gēnā on December 28 (24) i. e. the Vigil of Christmas. The Feasts of the Four 'Living Creatures' and of the Twenty-four 'Heavenly Priests' are not mentioned by Ludolf. They are, however, commemorated in the Coptic Church (cf.

13. THE ANAPHORA OF ST. BASIL (B)

Harden refrained from translating the B (አግዚኦ: መሐረን: ክርስቶስ: Eu: „O Herr, Erbarme dich unser, Christus“) because “it is merely a translation into Ethiopic of the Coptic Anaphora of St. Basil”¹⁾ and I do not know of a translation of the B by Mercer. The Ethiopic text of the B was edited, with a German translation, by S. Euringer²⁾. He used three MSS for this edition, namely:

- a) Berlin, Petermann II Nachträge 36 (Dillmann Nr. 34) ff. 78b–84b.
- b) Berlin, or. qu. 414 (Dillmann Nr. 33) ff. 103a–110a.
- c) Stockholm, MS Nr. V (Löfgren) ff. 164b–178a.

The B is to be found in only one of the Bodleian MSS, namely: e. 20 ff. 96b–102a: አ’’: ቀ’’: ዘቅዱስ: ባስልዮስ: (cf. Wright, General Index, p. 338).

Indeed the B is a rather precise, and in parts even slavish, translation of the Coptic liturgy of St. Basil, which was first translated into Arabic and then from Arabic into Ethiopic.

According to MS or. 545, this A is read on the Feasts of all Patriarchs and Bishops³⁾. The final rubric of the edition of Addis Abbaba 1918 A. Mis. (p. 360) says that the B ought to be said daily (በዘወትር:), on the commemoration day of the patriarchs and the priests as well as of the kings and on the 6th January (1.), the anniversary of the death of St. Basil⁴⁾. The Coptic liturgy of St. Basil is, by the way, the liturgy most commonly used in the Coptic Church⁵⁾.

Dowden, Church Year and Kalendar, p. 148) and probably the Ethiopic commemoration was on the same days.

As to the Feast of the Congregation of the Firstborn, I can discover nothing. The Feasts of the 318 Orthodox are on September 21 (18) and November 9 (5). (Note: Another reference comes here in the MS. which I am unable to interpret); according to Harden this reference comes after “Heavenly Priests”. The note which Harden was unable to interpret, says: “and on many (feasts) of Mary”.

¹⁾ H p. 25; cf. p. 15.

²⁾ *Die äthiopische Anaphora des hl. Basiliius in Orientalia Christiana* Vol. XXXVI. — 3. Nr. 98 (Roma 1934).

³⁾ H p. 11.

⁴⁾ Euringer, *Anaphora des hl. Basiliius*, p. 144.

⁵⁾ Cf. John, Marquis of Bute, *The Coptic Morning Service for the Lord's Day*, London 1908, pp. VI f.

14. THE ANAPHORA OF ST. ATHANASIUS (Ath)

An English translation of the Ath (አሰምዕ: ለክመ: ሰማያት: አሰምዕ: ለክመ: ምድረ: "I call heaven to witness for you, I call earth to witness for you") is to be found in Harden's book¹). B. Turaev translated the Ath into Greek [in *EKKΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΟΣ ΦΑΡΟΣ* V (1910) pp. 321–338]. The Ethiopic text and German translation was published by S. Euringer who used the MSS²), namely:

- a) Berlin, Petermann II Nachträge 36 (Dillmann Nr. 34) ff. 84b–92b;
- b) Berlin, or. qu. 414 (Dillmann Nr. 33) ff. 95b–103a.

The Ath can be found in the Bodleian MSS:

- 1. e. 1 ff. 108b–120a: አ'': ቀ'': ዘቅዱስ: አትናቴዎስ: (cf. Wright, General Index, p. 338).
- 2. e. 20 ff. 80b–87b: አ'': ቀ'': ዘቅዱስ: ወብፀዕ: አትናቴዎስ: ሊቀ: ጸጸሳት: ዘለእስክንድርያ:

The Ath is used on all Christian Sabbaths, i. e. on all Sundays. It is a hymn praising the Christian Sabbath, as the Sunday in the Ethiopian Church is called.

15. THE ANAPHORA OF ST. EPIPHANIUS (E)

In 1925 an English translation of the E (ኅሊይ: ወኣቱ: እግዚአብሔር: ለዕለድ: ቅዱስ: በቅዱሳሁ: Br: "Great is God in his greatness, holy in his holiness") was published by Mercer, using his own MS Eth. 3, ff. 183a–193b³); a second translation was produced by Harden⁴). Since 1927 we have been in possession of the edition of the Ethiopic text, for which the same MSS were used as for the Ath (/a/ ff. 66b–70b; /b/ ff. 87a–91b) by S. Euringer together with a German translation⁵).

The E can be found in the following Bodleian MSS:

- 1. Poc. 6 ff. 26a–34b: አ'': ቀ'': ዘቅዱስ: ኤጲፋንዮስ: አርቶዶክሳዊ: (cf. Wright, General Index, p. 338).

¹) H pp. 94–100.

²) „Die äthiopische Anaphora des hl. Athanasius“ in *Oriens Christianus* 3. S. 2 (1927) pp. 243–298 (cf. the translation into Greek by Boris Turaev in: *EKKΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΟΣ ΦΑΡΟΣ* V (1910) pp. 321–338).

³) In *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* 9 (1925) pp. 110–117.

⁴) H pp. 101–103.

⁵) „Die äthiopische Anaphora des hl. Epiphanius, Bischofs der Insel Cypern“ in *Oriens Christianus* 3. S. 1 (1926/27) pp. 98–142.

2. e. 1 ff. 120b–127b: አ'': ቀ'': በቅዱስ: ወብፀፀ: ኤጲፋንዮስ:

3. e. 20 ff. 76b–80a: አ'': ቀ'': በክቡር: ወብፀፀ: ወቅዱስ: ኤጲፋንዮስ:

According to Harden's MS or. 545, this A is used on the Day of Baptism, and in the Month of Rain(s), and on the Feast of Epiphanius, and in the Prayer of the Fifth Day¹). In the MSS which were used by Euringer we find the following notes about the use of the A:

1. Petermann II Nachträge 36: „Zelebriere (sie) im Winter, beim Gebete des Donnerstages“.

2. or. qu. 414: „beim Gebete des Donnerstags, im Winter und bei der hl. Taufe“.

(Ullendorff pointed out that the Ethiopic word which Euringer translated as “winter” actually corresponds to our summer, i. e. the rainy season in Ethiopia.)

M. Chaîne also gives a rubric for the use of the E²): “haec oratio adhibetur pro festivitate baptismi, pro tempore hiemale, pro festivitate sancti Epiphanii, pro feria quinta”.

16. THE LONGER ANAPHORA OF ST. CYRIL (C I)

The Ethiopic AA include two AA connected with the name of St. Cyril. There are (as far as I know) 23 MSS which contain the C I³). O. Löfgren and S. Euringer have edited the C I [ገሌክ: አግቢኦ: አምላክ: አማልክት: ወአግቢኦ: አጋክነት: Eu: „(wir haben unsere Herzen) bei

¹) H p. 10: “The Day of Baptism is January 11 (6), the day on which the Baptism of Christ is commemorated. On that day there is a great ceremony of purification in which the whole population takes part, and during which there is even, it is said, a kind of re-baptism performed.

June 25 (19) is marked in Ludolf's calendar as the ‘Beginning of Rain(s)’. The note here evidently refers to the same time.

The Feast of Epiphanius is May 17 (12).

The Prayer of the Fifth Day probably refers to Maundy Thursday, on which day alone the Eucharist is celebrated in the Ethiopic Church with unleavened bread.”

The ceremony of purification (11. January) is not a kind of re-baptism but rather a renewal of baptism vows in remembrance of the baptism of Christ; cf. H. M. Hyatt, *The Church of Abyssinia*, London 1928, 169 f.

²) “La consécration et l'épiclese dans le missel éthiopien” in *Bessarione*, Anno XIV, Seria 3^a, Vol. VII, Fasc. 110 (Roma 1909/10) p. 205 note 1.

³) List by Löfgren-Euringer in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik* 8 (1932) p. 211 and 9 (1933/34) p. 265.

dir, o Herr, dem Gott der Götter und dem Herrn der Herren“] and translated it into German, using three MSS¹⁾:

- a) Paris, MS Éthiopien 69 (Zotenberg Nr. 74) ff. 108a–113b;
- b) Berlin, Petermann II Nachträge 36 (Dillmann Nr. 34) ff. 94a–99a;
- c) Stockholm Nr. 496 (Löfgren, Fosterlands-Stiftelsen Nr. V) ff. 114a–153b.

O. Löfgren discovered the concluding part of this A (§ 40), which had been missing, in the Paris MS²⁾.

This A can be found in the following Bodleian MSS:

- 1. e. 1 ff. 143a–150a: አ'': ቀ'': ስቅዱስ ወብዕዕ: ቄረሎስ: (cf. Wright, General Index, p. 338);
- 2. e. 20 ff. 92a–96b: ለጸድቃን: ወለመታን: አ'': ቀ'': ስቅዱስ: ቄረሎስ: ሊቀ: ጳጳሳት: ስአንክንድርድ: (sic).

The Stockholm MS adds to the name of the alleged author: ወልደ: ለቅላቅ: (walda laqlaq i. e. Son of Laqlaq). According to Euringer³⁾ this would mean that the A is not to be ascribed to Cyril I. (died 444) – the 29th Coptic Patriarch – but to Cyril III. Ibn Laqlaq (Son of the stork) – the 75th Coptic Patriarch (1235–1243)⁴⁾. As Ibn Laqlaq's reign is rich in liturgical reforms the production of this A could well be attributed to his initiative. But there is no definite proof for this theory.

According to the marginal note in the MS or. 545 this A is used on the Feast of Cyril the Patriarch, and on the Feasts of all the righteous and holy Prophets⁵⁾. The fact that the Old Testament Saints are often mentioned in the Intercession (§ 18 and 22) points to the use of the C I on the feasts of these saints.

¹⁾ „Die beiden Anaphoren ‘des heiligen Cyrillus, Patriarchen von Alexandrien’“ in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik* 8 (1932) pp. 210–234 and 9 (1933/34) pp. 44–86.

²⁾ „Nachtrag zur Cyrilluliturgie“ in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik* 9 (1933/34) pp. 264–280.

³⁾ Löfgren-Euringer, „Anaphoren des heiligen Cyrillus“ in *Zeitschr. f. Sem.* 9 (1933/34) p. 74.

⁴⁾ Cf. G. Graf, „Die Rangordnung der Bischöfe Ägyptens“ in *Oriens Christianus* 3. S. 2 (1927) pp. 299ff.

⁵⁾ H pp. 11f.: „This Anaphora is used apparently on all days of commemoration of Old Testament worthies. There are many of these in the Ethiopic Calendar in addition to the monthly celebration of the three great patriarchs, viz.: – Moses, Aaron, Job, David, Elijah, the Four Great Prophets, the Minor Prophets, Ezra, etc.

Cyril of Alexandria, himself, is commemorated on February 14 (8), June 12 (6), July 3 (June 27).“

17. THE SHORTER ANAPHORA OF ST. CYRIL (C II)

The shorter A of St. Cyril appears in one MS only: Paris Éthiopien 69 (Zotenberg 74). S. Euringer thought that the C II (ገላትላስ: ንባርከክ: ወንጌልሐክ: ቅዱስ: ወቡሩክ: ሰዎክ: Eu: „Wir danken dir und erheben dich, wir benedeien und loben dich; heilig und gebenedeit ist dein Name“) was not supposed to be a complete liturgy but that it represents a kind of completion and enrichment of the longer A of St. Cyril¹).

18. THE ANAPHORA OF ST. JAMES OF SARUG (JS)

The JS (ተንሥኡ: በፍርሃት: እግዚአብሔር: H: „Rise in the fear of God“) was edited in an English translation by Mercer using his MS Eth. 3, ff. 198a–205a²). In 1928 Harden translated it into English³). Both the Ethiopic text and a translation into German were published by S. Euringer who for this edition used the same MSS as for the edition of the JE⁴).

The JS can be found in the following Bodleian MSS:

1. Poc. 6 ff. 35a–42b: አ'': ቀ'': ዘቅዱስ: ያዕቆብ: ዘሰሩግ: (cf. Wright, General Index, p. 338);
2. e. 1 ff. 128a–135a: አ'': ቀ'': ዘቅዱስ: ያዕቆብ: ዘሥሩግ:
3. e. 20 ff. 65b–69b: አ'': ቀ'': ዘያዕቆብ: ዘሥሩግ:

There are several references as to the usage of the JS:

- a) Petermann II Nachträge 36f. 71a: „Zelebriere sie am Feste der Engel, im Schaltmonat, an (den Festen) Abrahams“⁵).
- b) Harden's MS or. 545 says: “On the Feast of Michael and Gabriel, and on (the Feast of) All Angels, and on the Feasts of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and in the intercalary month”⁶).

¹) Löfgren-Euringer, „Anaphoren ‘des heiligen Cyrillus’“ in *Zeitschr. f. Sem.* 9 (1933/34) p. 55.

²) In *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* 11 (1927) pp. 71–75.

³) H pp. 117–126.

⁴) *Vide supra* note 1 on p. 21.

⁵) Euringer, *Anaphoren des hl. Evangelisten Johannes* etc., p. 80.

⁶) H p. 11: “The intercalary month is a short month of five (six in Leap Year) days which comes at the end of the Ethiopic Year in accordance with the Alexandrian system of twelve months of thirty days each, followed by five extra days to make up the total of 365.” Cf. M. Chaîne, *La chronologie des*

c) The edition of Addis Abbaba 1918 A. Mis. p. 447: „Zelebriere (sie) an (den Festen) Michaels, Gabriels, Raphaels und der Myriaden (cf. Dan 7, 10); am (Fest der) Rede von der Ankunft (Wiederkunft Christi) und an seinem (des Jakob von Sarug) Todestag am 27. Sanê“¹⁾.

As for the dates, it may be noted that the “Feast of all Angels” may mean: “On all Feasts of the Angels”; e. g. St. Michael 12th of each month and 9. Sept. (6); St. Gabriel 30. March (26.), 12. June (6.), 19. Dec. (15.); St. Raphael 3. Pāguemēn (intercalary month) (26. Aug.); Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are commemorated on the 28th day of each month.

S. Euringer tried to give an explanation for the „Fest der Rede von der Ankunft“²⁾: „Das eigenartige Fest ‘der Rede von der Ankunft’ in T“ (his sign for the edition mentioned under (c)) „wird sich am einfachsten dadurch erklären, wenn beachtet wird, daß der Inhalt der Reden Jesu über das Weltende, die Auferstehung und das Weltgericht in Mt. 24 und 25 in den § 53–55 der A. ausgiebige Verwendung gefunden haben. Man wird daher diese A. an dem Tage, an dem diese Perikope trifft, zu wählen haben. Welcher Tag dies aber ist, kann ich nicht feststellen“.

From the name of the author (and other reasons) Euringer concluded³⁾ that the JS was a translation or at least a free version of a foreign liturgy. The name, however, is not very significant, since we have also mentioned such authors as Gregorius Illuminator Armeniae without assuming any connection between him and the A which bears his name. Euringer’s reference to the form of the Institution Narrative is worth further consideration. A prayer for the transmutation of the Elements has been substituted for the account of the Institution of the Sacrament. This prayer will be discussed later (cf. pp. 47 and 138–140). The rhyme in §§ 71–73 could suggest a Syriac origin. As there was an Ethiopian monastery close by the Syriac monastery in the Wādi’n-Natrūn (Dēr Suriani) Euringer thought that in this way the Ethiopian Church became acquainted with the corresponding Syriac A⁴⁾.

temps chrétiens de l’Égypte et de l’Éthiopie, Paris 1925, pp. 73f.; Roland L. N. Michell, *An Egyptian Calendar*, London 1900, p. 27; De Lacy O’Leary, *The Saints of Egypt*, London 1937, pp. 34f.

¹⁾ Euringer, *Anaphoren des hl. Evangelisten Johannes* etc., p. 81.

²⁾ L. c.

³⁾ L. c. pp. 81ff.

⁴⁾ For the importance of the Wādi’n-Natrūn as an intermediary between Syria and Egypt cf. my book *Die koptische Gregoriosanaphora*, Berlin 1957 (*Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten*, Band 8) pp. 179f. — It is not very likely that the entire A was originally written in Syriac. Perhaps only

The following two AA became known only in recent times (like the MG and AMG) so that with these four liturgies (Mk, M, MG and AMG) the number of the Ethiopic AA has been increased to twenty.

19. THE ANAPHORA OF ST. MARK (Mk)

The Mk was published by A. T. M. Semharay Selam from the text of the Codex Vaticanus Aethiop. 95 in *Ephemerides Liturgicae*¹⁾. The Mk (አገዢአብሔር፡ አፖላስ፡ አብ፡ አኃይ፡ ከሉ፡ ለክ፡ ንሴብሕ፡ Semharay Selam: "Domine Deus noster, Pater, Rector omnium, laudamus te") is used on the following days: "Celebretur ista liturgia in Festo S. Marci Evangelistae die trigesima cuius libet mensis, diebus in quibus coronati sunt reges, et diebus in quibus consecrati sunt episcopi"²⁾.

20. THE ANAPHORA OF OUR LADY MARY (M)

O. Löfgren discovered the M in three old Vatican MSS (Aethiop. Nr. 15, 18 and 24). This A is quite different from the A of Our Lady Mary composed by Cyriacus of Behnasā and from the MG³⁾. The M was published by A. T. M. Semharay Selam as *La Messe de Notre Dame dite Agréable parfum de sainteté*, Roma 1937. Details of the three MSS can be found in the catalogue of the Ethiopic MSS of the Bybliothea Apostolica Vaticana⁴⁾:

some parts of it are of Syriac origin; cf. *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* XIV (1938) pp. 422f.: „Nehmen wir also an, eine vom Vf. selbst geforderte Rückübers. ins Syr. bestätige seine These. Dann ist es aber noch sehr fraglich, ob der Rest der Anaphora auch aus dem Syr. geflossen ist. Für die Herleitung aus dem Syr. könnte vor allem das Fehlen des Einsetzungsberichtes sprechen. Aber die Posaunenstelle nach der Kommunion ist nach E. selbst äthiopisch. Die Lammepiklese, die Melósstelle darinnen, der schon in der Bespr. der Johanneslit. erwähnte u. auch hier sich findende Didachepassus, die Existenz einer andersgearteten Lit. gleichen Namens bei den Jakobiten, all das sind Dinge, die eher für Ägypten sprechen. Handelt es sich also um einen Mischtyp?“

¹⁾ Vol. 42 (1928) pp. 507–531.

²⁾ L. c. p. 511.

³⁾ Cf. Löfgren in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik* 9 (1933/34) p. 265.

⁴⁾ Cf. *Codices Aethiopici Vaticani et Borgiani Barberiniani Orientalis 2 Ros-sianus 865 recensuerunt* Silvanus Grébaut et Eugenius Tisserant, *Pars Prior: Enarratio Codicum*, In Bybliothea Vaticana MCMXXXV, pp. 57f., 73 and 123.

3 Hammerschmidt, Ethiopic Anaphoras

a) Cod. Vat. Aeth. 15 (Grébaut-Tisserant, l. c., pp. 45 ff.: Saec. XV et XVI, membr., mm. 175 × 123, ff. 299) f. 193 (Grébaut-Tisserant pp. 57 f.): Anaphora quae inscribitur: ቅዳሴ ለእግዚአብሔር ማርያም ወለዲተ: (sic) አምላክ: (sic) ዘደረሰ: አባ: (sic) ጊዮርጊስ: እነዚ: ትትናገር: እግዚአብሔር ማርያም: ጸሎት: ወበረከት: የሀሉ: ምስሉ: አሜን: “Liturgia Dominae nostrae Mariae, Dei genetricis, quam composuit Abbā Georgius (Giyörgīs), dum ei adlocuta est Domina nostra Maria. Precatio eius et benedictio eius sint nobiscum. Amen.” The A opens as follows: ግ(cod. ማ)ዕዘ: ቅዳሴ: ውክፍ: ዘምሰለ: ሰብሐት: ወግናይ: አቁርብ: ለሰምኪ: ማርያም: እሰመ: ወለድኪ: ለነ: ቀርባነ: (sic) አምላክ: ውክፍ: (sic) አንቲ: ውክፍ: ንጽሕት: እምንጽሐን: (sic).

“Modus liturgiae acceptae, quam cum laudatione et gratiarum actione obfero nomini tuo, Maria, genuisti enim nobis Deum, oblationem acceptam; purior es puris . . .”

b) Cod. Vat. Aeth. 18 (Grébaut-Tisserant pp. 69 ff.: Saec. XVI ante med., chart., mm. 133 × 104, ff. 313) ff. 122–130 (Grébaut-Tisserant p. 73): ቅዳሴ: ማርያም: መዐዛ: ቅዳሴ: ውክፍ: (sic) ዘምሰለ: ሰብሐት: ወግናይ: ናቁርብ: ለሰምኪ: ማርያም: እሰመ: ወለድኪ: ለነ: ቀርባነ: አምላክ:

“Liturgiae Mariae. Bonum odorem gratum habeto liturgiae, quam cum glorificatione et obsecratione obferimus nomini tuo, Maria, nam genuisti pro nobis oblationem adorationis . . .”

c) Cod. Vat. 24 (Grébaut-Tisserant pp. 116 ff.: Saec. XVI in., chart., mm. 152 × 119, ff. 197) ff. 138 v–146 (Grébaut-Tisserant p. 123): ቅዳሴ: (sic) ዘእግዚአብሔር: (sic) መርያም: (sic) መአዘ: (sic) ቅዳሴ: (:) (sic) ውክፍ: ዘምሰለ: ሰብሐት: (sic) ወግናይ: (sic) አ(ቀ suprascr.)ርብ: ለሰምኪ: (:) መርያም: (sic): “Liturgia Dominae nostrae Mariae. Odor bonus liturgiae acceptae, quam cum laude et humili gratiarum actione obfero nomini tuo, Maria . . .”

Semharay Selam (l. c., pp. 5 f.) said about the author of this A: “L’auteur de l’anaphore est le fameux Abba Ghiorghis, comme on lit à la première page du texte de la Bibliothèque Ambrosienne. Cet Abba Ghiorghis ne doit être autre que celui qui avait composé l’*Office pour le jour et pour la nuit*, comme on le peut constater du rapport qui existe entre cet office et l’anaphore.” It is said that this Abbā Giyorgis was the famous Giyorgis of Gāseččā [cf. E. Cerulli, “Abbā Takla Māryām Samharāy ed i suoi studi etiopici” in *Oriente Moderno* 22 (1942) pp. 516 f.; J. Stephan, *Einige Mariensymbole des Alten Testaments in der äthiopischen Liturgie*, Civitas Vaticana 1957, p. 17].

For the sake of completeness, the following editions made for practical use ought to be enumerated:

1. Ethiopic – Orthodox edition, Addis Abbaba 1918 A. Mis. = 1925/26 A. D., Ethiopic and Amharic; translation and explanation of 14 AA.
2. Edition of the same AA, Diredawa 1918 A. Mis. = 1925/26 A. D.; Ethiopic and Amharic.
3. Ethiopic – Orthodox edition, Addis Abbaba 1926 A. Mis. = 1933/34 A. D.
4. Ethiopic – Orthodox edition, Addis Abbaba 1942 A. Mis. = 1949/50 A. D. There is an English translation of this edition *The Liturgy of the Ethiopian Church*. Translated by the Rev. Marcos Daoud. Revised by H. E. Blatta Marsie Hazan. Addis Abbaba 1954 A. D. (252 pp.) [cf. J. Garrido in *Re-Union* 1 (1956) pp. 143f.].
5. Edition of the A of Our Lady Mary, edited by Tasfā Gabra Sellāsē in his መዝሙራት: ዘዳዊት: . . ., Addis Abbaba 1940 A. Mis. = 1947/48 A. D., second edition 1941 A. Mis. = 1948/49 A. D. This book was reprinted in 1948 A. Mis. = 1955/56 A. D.
6. Edition of the same A in ውዳሴ: ማርያም: ወቅዳሴ: ማርያም: Addis Abbaba 1943 A. Mis. = 1950/51 A. D. (Amharic translation and commentary).
7. Edition of the same A in መጽሐፈ: ጸሎት: edited by Tasfā Gabra Sellāsē, Addis Abbaba 1947 A. Mis. = 1954/55 A. D.
8. Edition of the A of Our Lord in ሰባቱ: ኪዳናት: edited by Tasfā Gabra Sellāsē, Addis Abbaba 1948 A. Mis. = 1955/56 A. D.
9. ቅዳሴ: ማርያም: Roma, Tipografia della R. Accademia dei Lincei 1882 A. Mis. = 1889 A. D. The editor of this edition of the A of Our Lady was I. Guidi [cf. *Oriens Christianus* 3. S. 12 (1937) p. 64].
10. Roman-Catholic edition of Cheren 1890 [cf. J. Simon in *Orientalia* X (1941) p. 300, note (3); G. Fumagalli, *Bibliografia etiopica*, Milano 1893, No. 1310]; for the history of this edition cf. P. Metodio da Nembro, O. F. M. Cap., *La missione dei Minori Cappuccini in Eritrea* (1894–1952), Roma 1953, pp. 372f. and 383.
11. Roman-Catholic edition for the Ethiopian Uniats, edited by P. Coulbeaux, Asmara in Eritrea 1907 A. Mis. = 1914/15 A. D.; because of numerous arbitrary editorial interferences this edition is valueless for critical study.
12. Edition of the *Sacra Congregazione per la Chiesa Orientale*, Tipografia poliglotta del Vaticano 1938 A. Mis. = 1945 A. D.; 17 AA.

There is also a Latin translation of this edition: *Revisione e ristampa del "Messale Etiopico". Allegato I: Testo latino dell' Ordinario della Messa con l'Anafora degli Apostoli*, Tipografia poliglotta del Vaticano 1944; *Allegato II: Testo latino di 17 Anafore etiopiche*, 1944; cf. C. Conti Rossini, "Publicazioni etiopistiche dal 1936 al 1945", No. 344, in *Rassegna di studi etiopici*, Vol. IV (Gennaio 1944–Dicembre 1945) Roma 1946, pp. 1–132.

II. THE ETHIOPIC DESIGNATION FOR “ANAPHORA”

The expression commonly used for the Ethiopic A is አኩቴት: ቀርባን: ('akuatēta querbān). አኩቴት: comes from the root አኩት: which is not used in other Semitic languages¹). The derived form II 1 (or A 1²): አአኩት: means: *laudibus celebrare, laudare, praedicare, honorem red-dere alicui; gratias agere, benedicere*. The noun አኩቴት: (masc. and fem.)³) means: *laudatio, laus, gloria* (cf. Jer. 17, 26; Mal. 2, 2). It renders also the Greek εὐχαριστία. A good example of its use is Rev. 7, 12: λέγοντες ἀμήν, ἡ εὐλογία καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ εὐχαριστία καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν ...

In Ethiopic this passage runs as follows: ወይብሉ: አጼን: ሉቲ: ሰብሐት: ወባርቶት: ወጥብብ: ወአኩቴት: ወኅይል: ወጽንዕ: ለአምላክነ ...

It is clear that in this passage the Greek εὐχαριστία corresponds exactly to the Ethiopic አኩቴት:. As in Greek εὐχαριστία plainly became the expression for the Eucharistic liturgy, so the አኩቴት: also acquired this meaning (cf. also Lev. 7, 12: הַתִּירְהָ תִּבְרַךְ = መሥዋዕት: አኩቴት:). This አኩቴት: is, however, defined more closely by the ቀርባን:. This word is derived from the verb: ቀርብ: or (raro) ቀረብ: which appears also as I 2 (O 2)⁴), II 1 (A 1)⁵), II 2 (A 2)⁶)

¹) Cf. *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae* a Chr. Fr. Augusto Dillmann, Lipsiae 1865, col. 785. Ullendorff suggested that this word might derive from the Greek ἐκούσιος.

²) A new designation for the derived forms in Ethiopic was recently evolved by E. Littmann „Die Äthiopische Sprache“ in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, edited by Bertold Spuler, Dritter Band: *Semitistik*, pp. 358f.

³) Dillmann, l. c., col. 786.

⁴) ቀርብ: 1. offerre sacrificium, 2. sacramentum altaris administrare.

⁵) አቅርብ: 1. appropinquare vel accedere facere sive jubere, 2. adhaerere facere, adjungere, 3. admovere, afferre, 4. apponere, antepone mensam, cibum, 5. offerre a) munera, b) sacrificia, 6. in specie: ad communionem altaris ad-mittere aliquem, eucharistiam vel sacramentum altaris communicare vel administrare alicui.

⁶) አቅርብ: 1. raro: appropinquare facere, 2. creberrime: offerre sacrificia; in specie de sacrificio corporis et sanguinis Christi.

and a narrower one. In the wider sense it means the *Consecratio eucharistiae* i. e. the *peractio sacrificii altaris*. In this meaning it is applied to the liturgy as a whole. In the narrower sense it is applied to the recital of the **ቅዱስ**: in the Sanctus, the Greek Ἁγιασμός.

b) The J usually bears the title **መጽሐፈ ኪዳን**: i. e. the Book of the Covenant. This title is certainly to be derived from the connexion of the J with that A which is found in the Testament of our Lord.

The title of the Pre-Anaphora is **ሥርዓተ ቅዳሴ. ሥርዐት**: [from **ወርዐ**: (O 1): *disponere, instruere, ordinare*] means *dispositio, ordo*¹⁾.

In any case it is advisable to avoid²⁾ speaking of the Ethiopic (and other oriental) AA as "Masses". This expression is not entirely appropriate even for the Eucharist of the Roman (Latin), Anglican, and Old-Catholic rites, because it originates in a comparatively unimportant element of the divine service (*Ite, missa est*, or *missa* = oblation?). It is even more inappropriate to use it for the Oriental liturgies. The "Mass" of the Western rites is bound up with so many long-established associations that it is inadvisable to use this purely Western designation for an Oriental liturgy³⁾.

¹⁾ L. c., coll. 243 f.

²⁾ Unfortunately even Löfgren-Euringer often refer to a „Messe“, „Meßtext“ or „Meßerklärung“. Even **ቅዳሴ**: should not be translated by „Mass“; cf. E. Hammerschmidt, „Christlicher Orient und 'Oriens Christianus'“ in *Theologische Revue* 52 (1956) col. 254.

³⁾ In Oriental usage "liturgy" always means the liturgy *kat'exochen*, i. e. the Eucharist.

III. THE ALLEGED AUTHORS AND THE ORIGIN OF THE ANAPHORAS

Most of the authors of the Ethiopic AA are known only under a pseudonym. Members of the modern *Liturgiegeschichtliche Schule*¹⁾ believe that all the names of authors or redactors of liturgical formulae which belong to the first four centuries A. D. are usually nothing more than pseudonyms. Anyone holding a contrary opinion would have to prove his case very thoroughly²⁾.

It is unnecessary to discuss the names of the Ap, Mk, JB, JE and O whose spuriousness is not in doubt. Most of the other authors belong to the period before 400: St. Athanasius (295–373), St. Basil (330–379), St. Cyril (died 444), St. Gregory of Nyssa (died 394), St. Gregory Nazianzen (329/30–390), St. Epiphanius (died 403), St. John Chrysostom (354–407). Dioscorus (died 451) would be an exception, but he died such a short time after 400 and is, besides that, so much venerated among the Copts and Ethiopians as an advocate of the so-called Monophysitism in opposition to the Byzantine Orthodoxy that it is hard to believe that he is in fact the author, or even the compiler or redactor, of the D. The same is true for St. Cyril if Cyril I. is meant. If, however, the statement of the Stockholm MS is true (which I very much doubt) and the reference to Cyril means Cyril III. Ibn Laqlaq, it would be possible to think of a connection in the sense mentioned above (cf. p. 30). The question of the authorship of the JS has to be left open unless by further research James of Sarug is established as the author of this A.

The situation is different, however, with regard to the attempt to deduce an Anaphora's land of origination from the name of its author. At least some parts of the JS point to Syria or to a Syriac monastery in the Sketis. It is unlikely that the Ath came from Egypt, since it shows a typical Ethiopic feature within Christian liturgy: the

¹⁾ This school was founded by Anton Baumstark and is associated with the periodical *Oriens Christianus*.

²⁾ Cf. my *Koptische Gregoriosanaphora*, pp. 95f. and 189f.

personification of the Sabbath. There is no connection between the Ath and the Syriac A *Athanasii magni Alexandrini* [cf. Baumstark in *Oriens Christianus* 2 (1902) pp. 90–129].

Generally it is true to say that in the first Christian centuries it was not at all unusual to name liturgical formulae after the names of famous theologians or fathers¹⁾ to increase the popularity of these texts and to encourage their use in the Church.

Leaving aside the Pre-Anaphora of the Ethiopic Liturgy²⁾ (the text of which is invariable except for the four lections from the New Testament: 1. from the Pauline Epistles, 2. from the Catholic Epistles, 3. from the Acts and 4. from the Gospels³⁾), the Ethiopic AA may for the time being be divided into three different groups (without accepting these categories as final):

α) The original liturgies: The Ap, the Normal A, represents the survival of prayers of the third century, „indem sie mit der Anaphora der ägyptischen Kirchenordnung identisch ist“⁴⁾. Edmund Bishop compiled a detailed table⁵⁾ comparing the *Ethiopic Church Order* and the Ap with the corresponding portions of the J and the *Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi*⁶⁾. He worked with such care that it is possible to build upon his results which I shall briefly summarize. The comparison led him to the following conclusions:

“a) The anaphora of the Ethiopic Church Order, in the state in which it is now found, is . . . the basis of the anaphora of the Normal Abyssinian Liturgy.

b) This latter simply is the former enlarged, enriched, and brought up to the level of (Greek-Eastern) Catholic practice. It is derived directly from the Ethiopic Church Order and without any intermediary. These two documents embody the ancient genuine and native tradition of the Ethiopic (Abyssinian) Church”⁷⁾.

¹⁾ The same happened with the Coptic liturgy of St. Gregory.

²⁾ Published in C. A. Swainson, *The Greek Liturgies*, Cambridge 1884, pp. 347–395: “The Ordinary Canon of the Mass according to the Use of the Coptic Church from two Manuscripts in the British Museum”, edited and translated by Dr. C. Bezold.

³⁾ Swainson, l. c., pp. 377, 379, 381 and 388.

⁴⁾ Theodor Schermann, *Ägyptische Abendmahlsliturgien des ersten Jahrtausends in ihrer Überlieferung dargestellt*, Paderborn 1912 (*Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums*, Sechster Band) p. 183.

⁵⁾ In *The Journal of Theological Studies* 12 (1911) pp. 398f.

⁶⁾ Cf. Bertold Altaner, *Patrologie*, Freiburg i. Br. ⁵1958, 51 (with bibliography).

⁷⁾ In *Journal of Theol. Stud.* 12 (1911) p. 399.

It may be added that all the parts of the *Ethiopic Church Order* which he compared correspond exactly to the main parts of the Ap so that it seems clear that it can be only an enrichment of the text of the Church Order. Harden printed only the translation of the Ap, but those parts of the Ap which are borrowed from the earlier form are printed in a different type¹).

Already the title of the J reveals the connection of this A with that of the *Testamentum Domini*²). Indeed the J seems to be the A of the *Testamentum*, enlarged and enriched with materials drawn from the Normal Ethiopic A (Ap)³).

Accordingly, both the Ap and the J are very probably the oldest remaining liturgical texts in the Ethiopian Church. It would certainly not be wrong to attribute at least the Ap to the beginnings of Ethiopian Christendom⁴). Perhaps one or several copies of the Church Order (of Egypt) had been made the basis for the service by Frumentius in the Diocese which had been bestowed on him. We may even go further and ask which liturgical texts might have been used by the merchants whom Frumentius assembled, as a regent of the realm of Aksum, "ut conventicula per loca singula facerent, ad quae Romano ritu orationis caussa confluerent"⁵). But this would immediately raise the question of the existence of Christianity in Ethiopia before the time of Frumentius. Is it possible that these Christians had already taken parts of a (Egyptian) Church Order as a basis for their service?⁶) But we do not

¹) H pp. 31–60.

²) Cf. J. M. Harden, "The Anaphora of the Ethiopic Testament of our Lord" in *Journal of Theological Studies* 23 (1922) pp. 44–49.

³) Cf. *Journal of Theol. Stud.* 12 (1911) p. 399.

⁴) Cf. E. Hammerschmidt, „Die Anfänge des Christentums in Äthiopien“ in *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* 38 (1954) pp. 281–294.

⁵) Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. I cap. IX: "De captivitate Frumentii et Edesii, et de conversione Indorum per ipsos gesta": Migne *PL* 21, coll. 478 ff.

⁶) Hippolytus' authorship of the *Egyptian Church Order* has recently been called in question, cf. H. Engberding, „Das angebliche Dokument römischer Liturgie aus dem Beginn des dritten Jahrhunderts“ in *Miscellanea Liturgica L. C. Mohlberg* 1 (1948) pp. 47–71. Already in 1914 T. Schermann remarked (*Die allgemeine Kirchenordnung, frühchristliche Liturgien und kirchliche Überlieferung*, Erster Teil. *Die allgemeine Kirchenordnung des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, p. 9): „Anzeichen aber, die zeigten, daß bereits vor Hippolyt von Rom Teile der K(irchenordnung) in Ägypten (bei Klemens von Alexandrien) in Gebrauch waren, daß in Rom schon zur Zeit des Klemens ums Jahr 96 gewisse Bestimmungen über Weiheerteilung mit solchen des Rituale übereinstimmten, ließen den Entschluß reifen, das ganze Rituale in allen Be-

want to concern ourselves with this question any further because it is not possible to go much beyond mere surmise.

β) A second group consists of the AA which were, without any doubt, translated from other languages. The B gives us this certainty. It is definitely a translation of the Greek/Coptic liturgy of St. Basil, first translated into Arabic and from Arabic into Ethiopic. S. Euringer has proved that the B has been translated from Arabic into Ethiopic¹⁾: A number of misunderstandings would otherwise be incomprehensible; e. g. ሀፃፃ፡፡ (instead) in § 108 as a translation of the Coptic ἁγιογναφφικια by the way of the Arabic بدالة (brave) which was read بدالة (instead).

The Mk has a strange history. For a long period the Ethiopic text of this liturgy was sunk in oblivion. A. T. M. Semharay Selam has recorded the amusing fact that certain (Ethiopian) theologians held the opinion that sixteen AA existed, "quin tamen in computatione ipsi quartum decimum numerum praetergredi valeant"²⁾. Semharay Selam then set out in search of the Mk in Ethiopia and after a few unsuccessful investigations³⁾ he was at last able to discover one copy of the Mk in the monastery of Ziena Markos⁴⁾. The Mk which he published in the *Ephemerides Liturgicae* is a not very exact translation of the Alexandrian liturgy of St. Mark⁵⁾. Semharay Selam himself believed that

standteilen neu zu untersuchen. Um das Resultat vorwegzunehmen, sei mitgeteilt, daß Justin, Tertullian (fast in allen Teilen) wesentliche Bestandteile kennen und es als apostolisches Ritual zitieren, daß die ganze K(irchenordnung) nicht allein in Ägypten oder Rom verbreitet, sondern eine allgemeine kirchliche war . . .".

¹⁾ *Anaphora des hl. Basilii*, pp. 142f. Text of the Greek/Coptic liturgy of St. Basil in: Ren I pp. 57–85 and 1–25.

²⁾ In *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 42 (1928) p. 441.

³⁾ L. c., p. 440: "Quum praeterea a Memhr Mahzentù, provectae aetatis presbytero, hierosolymitani pro Aethiopibus conventus Superiore, sciscitasset utrum in Aethiopia S. Marci liturgiam exstitisse se aliquando audiverit, negative respondit."

⁴⁾ L. c.: "In pago Moret regionis Sciowa erat vir quidam nomine Ziena Markos, qui apud Abune Teele Haimanot adiutoris munere fungebatur. Ab eius nomine monasterium appellatum est, quod antea Debre Bscirat nuncupabatur . . . Praecipua Patrona Monasterii de Ziena Markos est Beata Virgo, at ibi venerantur etiam S. Marcus, quatuor animalia et ipse Ziena Markos, et in singulorum festis celebrantur missae ad altaria quae ipsorum nominibus inscribuntur."

⁵⁾ Cf. Br pp. 125–143 (Greek liturgy of St. Mark), pp. 164–188 (Coptic liturgy of St. Cyril); cf. A. T. M. Semharay Selam, "Variationes in liturgia S. Marci" in *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 42 (1928) pp. 442 and 508.

the Mk had been used "ab antiquo" in the Ethiopian Church. As part of his evidence he mentioned that a "liber" of the Mk is kept in the very ancient monastery ("in antiquissimo monasterio") "de Debra Dammo in regione Tigray". But as nowadays the Mk seems to be used only in the monastery of Ziena Markos and is otherwise generally known as an apocryphal liturgy¹⁾ it seems very unlikely that it was used more frequently in earlier times. Otherwise the Mk would hardly be so unfamiliar to the Ethiopians that most of them would regard it as apocryphal. The desire of Semharay Selam to consider the Mk as an ancient formula used in early times in many parts of Ethiopia obviously greatly influenced his opinion. Holding this view he supported the reintroduction of the use of the Mk in Ethiopia²⁾. But the fact that we find passages in the Mk which seem to have been introduced from the J does not support the priority of the Mk.

All that has been established is that the Mk had been introduced into Ethiopia under Alexandrian influence. It is not clear when this happened. It might be thought that some kind of opposition to Alexandria – which always seems to have existed in Ethiopia in spite of its partial dependence on Alexandria³⁾ – prevented a wide circulation of the Alexandrian liturgy of St. Mark. In any case there is no reason to doubt the priority of the Ap (and the J).

A third A in which we can without any doubt identify an originally foreign formula is the JB⁴⁾. Here I need do no more than refer to

¹⁾ It is not even used on the feast of St. Mark in the newly built Church of St. Mark in Addis Abbaba.

²⁾ In *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 42 (1928) p. 443: "Quare melius foret si nos Aethiopes S. Marci liturgia uteremur, suppletentes defectus cum Apostolorum liturgia."

³⁾ In literature the influence of the Alexandrian Church on Ethiopic Christianity is usually regarded as the only deciding factor. But in reality Christianity was first introduced into Ethiopia in its Syriac-Hellenistic form. Cf. E. Ullendorff, "Hebraic-Jewish Elements in Abyssinian (Monophysite) Christianity" in *Journal of Semitic Studies* 1 (1956) 229 and passim.

⁴⁾ Cf. Br pp. 49–69 (Greek version) and pp. 83–110 (Syriac version); *Anaphorae Syriacae* Vol. II – Fasc. 3, Roma 1953, pp. 138–177; Adolf Rucker, *Die syrische Jakobusanaphora nach der Rezension des Ja'qôb(h) von Edessa*, Münster i. W. 1923 (*Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen*, Heft 4); my translation „Die syrische Jakobusanaphora. Aus dem Syrischen übersetzt und mit erklärenden Anmerkungen versehen“ in *Ostkirchliche Studien* 4 (1955) pp. 289–299; O. Heimig, O. S. B., „Palimpsestbruchstücke der syrischen Version der Jakobusanaphora aus dem 8. Jahrhundert in der Handschrift add 14615 des British Museum“ in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* XVI (1950) pp. 190–200.

what I said about the Syriac liturgy of St. James in my translation of this A: „Das Abhängigkeitsverhältnis der anderen Kirchen bezieht sich auf die griechische oder auf die syrische Textform. Die armenische Form schöpft aus beiden Textformen, die georgische ist weitgehendst von der griechischen abhängig, die äthiopische dagegen von der syrischen“¹⁾).

The situation is different in the case of the three AA of St. Gregory and the C I and the C II. Theodor Schermann was mistaken here²⁾ when he regarded the C I (hardly the C II) and the GH or GC (he knew only one A of St. Gregory) as translations of the Greek/Coptic liturgy of St. Mark/St. Cyril and of the Greek/Coptic liturgy of St. Gregory respectively (it is not quite clear whether he is referring to the GH or the GC). None of the three AA: GH, GC and MG correspond to the Greek/Coptic A of St. Gregory³⁾. The GH agrees with the Greek/Coptic Anaphora of St. Gregory only in that the Intercession is placed after the Epiclesis and consequently represents the Syriac and not the Alexandrian type (the AA of St. Gregory in no way resemble the Syriac A *Gregorii Nazianzeni*⁴⁾). At most these AA could be described as a very independent development of the Greek/Coptic liturgy, with the emphasis more on the “independent” than on the “development”.

Euringer thought in § 2 of the GC there was evidence of a Coptic original of this A, as the passive is constructed by using the third person plural. By way of illustration he quoted the Coptic sentence: **ΟΥΡΩΜΙ: ΕΛΥΟΥΟΡΗΝ ΕΒΟΛΣΙΤΗ Φ†**: („ein Mann, der von Gott gesandt wurde“⁵⁾).

It is true that in Coptic the third person plural is often used to render the passive, but it seems much more likely that the Ethiopian author of the GC had become acquainted with this construction in Egypt (perhaps during a stay in the Ethiopian monastery in the Sketis) and used this form as a “Copticism” in Ethiopic – rather than that the whole A

¹⁾ L. c., p. 289.

²⁾ *Ägyptische Abendmahlsliturgien*, p. 183: „Die Anaphora des Cyrill“ betrays itself „als Übersetzung der griechisch-koptischen der Markus-Cyrrillus-Liturgie, die Anaphora des Basilus und Gregorius als solche der uns bekannten griechisch-koptischen“.

³⁾ For the Greek/Coptic liturgy of St. Gregory cf. my *Koptische Gregoriosanaphora*.

⁴⁾ *Anaphorae Syriacae* Vol. I, Fasc. 2, Roma 1940, pp. 104–145.

⁵⁾ Löfgren-Euringer, *Gregorius-Anaphoren*, p. 138. Cf. Walter Till, *Koptische Dialektgrammatik*, München 1931, § 51b = p. 64; Georg Steindorff, *Lehrbuch der Koptischen Grammatik*, Chicago 1951, § 405, 3 = p. 194.

goes back to a Coptic original on account of this one word. Hitherto no trace of such a Coptic original has come to light.

The C I and C II are not translations of the Greek/Coptic A of St. Mark/St. Cyril either¹⁾ and there is no connection between them and the Syriac A *Cyrilli Hierosolymitani vel Cyrilli Alexandrini*²⁾.

On the other hand it appears that there is some connection between the O and a Greek text. Already Renaudot drew attention to the peculiar sentence in the Epiclesis of the O³⁾: the Holy Ghost "resplendeat super hunc panem" (§ 76: *ወያንጸሐርኑ: ሓ.ሰ: ዝኑቱ: ኅ-ሰሰት*). This expression can only be the result of a mistranslation from the Greek. The translator read *ἐπιφώτισις* (from *φῶς*) instead of *ἐπιποτίσις*. The difficulty is that we do not find any trace of an A of the Three Hundred and Eighteen Orthodox in Greek. Is it possible that in Ethiopia this A was originally composed in Greek (for foreign colonies) and that after its translation into Ethiopic the Greek text was lost, because it was no longer understood?⁴⁾ But it is quite possible that the author or compiler of this A has taken only the Epiclesis from a Greek text. As W. H. Worrell recorded, there is also an exorcism by the Three Hundred and Eighteen Orthodox in Ethiopic⁵⁾.

I mentioned the possibility that the MC might be of Egyptian origin. There is, however, no actual proof of this hypothesis beyond the name of the alleged author⁶⁾ and a few points which will be discussed later (cf. pp. 78–80).

¹⁾ For Br cf. note 5 on p. 43.; Ren I pp. 120–148 (Greek liturgy of St. Mark) and pp. 38–51 (Coptic liturgy of St. Cyril).

²⁾ *Anaphorae Syriacae* Vol. I – Fasc. 3, Roma 1944, pp. 334–363.

³⁾ Ren I pp. 51f.

⁴⁾ I have already mentioned that the Greek-Hellenistic-Syriac influence in Ethiopia was very strong at the beginning. As the conversion to Christianity in Aksum seems to have taken place at about 345–350 A. D. (cf. my article „Die Anfänge des Christentums in Äthiopien“, p. 293) it is possible that the O was written in remembrance of the first General Council of Nicea which had just taken place; cf. N. Nilles, S. J., „Die Konzilienfeste in der orientalischen Kirche“ in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 6 (1882) pp. 195–197.

⁵⁾ *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* III p. 400b; „Studien zum abessinischen Zauberwesen“ in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete* 29 (1914/15) pp. 120f.

⁶⁾ Euringer said („Die äthiopische Anaphora unserer Herrin Maria“ in *Der Katholik* 95 I (1916) p. 11): „Ein Anhaltspunkt zur Bestimmung der Sprache, aus welcher die Anaphora übersetzt sein könnte – es käme die griechische, koptische, arabische, vielleicht auch die syrische in Betracht – hat sich mir

For special reasons which I shall give later (cf. pp. 80–82), it seems clear that the Ath is of Ethiopian and not of Egyptian origin. The D has nothing to do with the Syriac A *Dioscori Alexandrini Prima et Secunda*¹⁾.

There is no similarity between the JC and the Syriac A of the same name²⁾.

The JS also seems to have no relationship with the Syriac AA *Jacobi Sarugensis*³⁾, although some parts of the JS at least had to all appearances an originally foreign text as a model. The fact that the Institution Narrative is treated freely suggests Syriac influence. This freedom in dealing with the Institution Narrative sometimes goes so far in the Syriac (Jacobite) AA that the words of the Institution are missing completely or are only hinted at. For instance, the words of the Institution in the A of Dionysius Bar Šalibī run thus (Cod. Vat. 29, f. 29): “Qui cum ad passionem salutarem paratus esset, panem accepit, + benedixit, + sanctificavit, + fregit, eumque corpus suum sanctum appellavit in vitam aeternam sumentibus ipsum. Et calicem, quem miscuit ex vino et aqua, (accepit), + benedixit, + sanctificavit, + eumque sanguinem suum perfecit in vitam aeternam sumentibus ipsum in saecula”⁴⁾ or (Renaudot): “Qui cum ad passionem salutarem paratus esset, panem etiam quem accepit + benedixit + sanctificavit + fregit, et corpus suum sanctum vocavit eum, in vitam aeternam illis qui illud acciperent. Amen. Et calicem quem miscuerat vino, et aqua, benedixit, et sanguinem suum pretiosum perfecit, illis qui illud acciperent in vitam aeternam. Amen”⁵⁾. The reason for this omission or alteration is, according to Euringer, the Oriental view that the Consecration is effected by the Epiclesis. The words of the Institu-

nicht ergeben. Ja nicht einmal dafür, daß dieselbe importiertes Gut sei, wie der Titel überliefert.“

¹⁾ *Anaphorae Syriacae* Vol. I – Fasc. 3, Roma 1944, pp. 272–299 and 306–321.

²⁾ *Anaphorae Syriacae* Vol. I – Fasc. 2, Roma 1940, pp. 158–197; for the Syriac A of St. John Chrysostom cf. H. Engberding, „Die westsyrische Anaphora des hl. Johannes Chrysostomus und ihre Probleme“ in *Oriens Christianus* 4. S. 3 (1955) pp. 33–47; about its relationship to the A *Duodecim Apostolorum* cf. H. Engberding, „Die syrische Anaphora der Zwölf Apostel und ihre Paralleltex-te“ in *Oriens Christianus* 3. S. 12 (1937) pp. 213–247.

³⁾ There are three AA of the name of James of Šarug, cf. *Anaphorae Syriacae* Vol. II – Fasc. 1, Roma 1951, pp. 1–83.

⁴⁾ Cf. S. Euringer, „Die ‘verschollene’ dritte römische Ausgabe des maronitischen Missale vom Jahre 1763“ in *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* VIII (1928) p. 245, note 5; Pierre Dib, “Études sur la liturgie maronite” in *Canoniste contemporain*, Paris 1910.

⁵⁾ Ren II p. 449.

tion were therefore not so important as in the West. But this problem will be discussed more thoroughly later (see pp. 138–140), and in any case Euringer does not seem to be entirely correct on this point.

According to Euringer, the incompletely rhymed passage (§§ 71–73)¹⁾ suggests a rhymed Syriac model: „Der Übersetzer wird versucht haben dieses nachzuahmen, aber nicht überall passende äthiopische Wörter gefunden haben, woraus sich die Inconsequenz des abessinischen Textes erklären würde.“

In § 5 Euringer saw an Arabism: ሀልዎት = حضرة = praesentia²⁾. In Arabic this title is, however, not held by the Patriarch³⁾ but only by the Viceroy: الخديوة الحضرة (al-ḥadra'l-ḥidiwiya). Harden's translation "our present honoured father . . ."⁴⁾ does not explain the construction: አዎሀልዎቱ ለአብ ነቡር: (thus, too, in the Oxford MSS Aeth. e. 1 f. 128a and e. 20 f. 65b).

As this § is the beginning of the Intercession, in which prayer is made for all conditions of men, it may well be that these words can be translated: "Let us begin from (= with) the condition of the honoured father. . ."

For the sake of completeness I should add that the OC (= Pre-Anaphora) is a translation of the Pre-Anaphora of the Greek/Coptic liturgy of St. Basil⁵⁾.

γ) Now we come to the third group, those AA which almost certainly originated in Ethiopia and those which were composed from foreign elements in such a way that they must be regarded as typically Ethiopic in character. They are the Ath, C I and II, E, GH, GC, MG, JE, JC, D, MC, M and O (?).

Hitherto the age of these AA has been obscure. They appear only in MSS of the 16th (15th at the earliest) and following centuries. This does not, of course, mean that they did not exist earlier. The earliest surviving written evidence of the liturgical texts in Ethiopic (and other Oriental) MSS begins comparatively late. But this is not particularly

¹⁾ *Die äthiopischen Anaphoren des hl. Evangelisten Johannes des Donnersohnes und des hl. Jacobus von Sarug*, p. 121.

²⁾ L. c., pp. 83 and 106.

³⁾ The title of the patriarch is غبطة (= Beatitude); cf. B. Lewis, *A Handbook of Diplomatic and Political Arabic*, London 1947, p. 67.; G. Graf, *Verzeichnis arabischer kirchlicher Termini*, Louvain ²1954 (CSCO 147), p. 81.

⁴⁾ H p. 117.

⁵⁾ Ren I p. 155: "Ex illa porro Liturgia expressa est Aethiopum communis, quae vulgo appellatur Canon Generalis Aethiopum . . . Itaque Liturgia, paucis exceptis, prorsus est eadem; nec tamen in codicibus praeferat Basilii, vel alterius ullius auctoris nomen."

strange because these texts were often thumbed by usage and also because many MSS seem to have been destroyed in Ethiopia during repeated and violent battles with Muslim armies.

It is possible to make a few suggestions about the probable age of several AA:

1. The MG seems to be of a very late date¹). It is completely rhymed.
2. The M appears in three comparatively old Vatican MSS. The oldest of these MSS dates back to the 15th century²); it follows that the M was already in use at about this time.
3. Almost no information about the date of origin of an A may be gathered from the fact that it is rhymed. The rhyme was sometimes regarded as an indication of a late date of composition³). It is said that the Syrians were not familiar with rhyme before the ninth century and that they learned its use from the Arabs⁴) but it is not possible to fix a similar date for Ethiopic liturgical literature⁵). As Ullendorff pointed out, the rhyme already appears in comparatively early pieces of Ethiopic poetry so that practically nothing can be deduced from the fact that an A is rhymed. Nevertheless, the presence of rhyme is very important because it may be regarded as proof that the rhymed texts are not a translation from a foreign language⁶) but an original composition of Ethiopic literature.

Other rhymed texts – besides the MG already mentioned – are the greater part of the C II and part of the D. This fact also shows that the D cannot be connected with Dioscorus, the 25th Patriarch of Alexandria.

¹) *Gregorius-Anaphoren*, p. 67.

²) Grébaut-Tisserant, l. c., p. 45 (cf. note 4 on p. 33).

³) Cf. Löfgren in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik* 8 (1932) pp. 213f. note 2.

⁴) Cf. A. Baumstark, *Die christlichen Literaturen des Orients* I, Leipzig 1911, p. 98; id., „Altsyrische Profandichtung in gereimten Siebensilbneren“ in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 36 (1933) pp. 345–348; id., „Syrische und hellenistische Dichtung“, in *Gottesminne* 3 pp. 570–593; id., *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, Bonn 1922, pp. 39ff.

⁵) For the Ethiopic poetry cf. Baumstark, *Christliche Literaturen* II, Leipzig 1911, pp. 58ff.; Enno Littmann, „Geschichte der äthiopischen Litteratur“ in *Die Literaturen des Ostens in Einzeldarstellungen* VII 2, Leipzig 1907, pp. 229–231; I. Guidi, „‘Qēnē’ o Inni abissini“ in *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*. Serie Quinta. Vol. IX, Fasc. 1–2 (Roma 1900), pp. 463–510; id., *Storia della letteratura etiopica*, Roma 1932, p. 81; S. Grébaut, „Notes sur la poésie éthiopienne“ in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 1909, pp. 90–98; Martino Mario Moreno, *Raccolta di Qēnē*, Roma 1935 (*Studi storici e linguistici a cura del Ministero delle Colonie*).

⁶) The JS is an exception.

⁴ Hammerschmidt, Ethiopic Anaphoras

IV. THE STRUCTURE OF THE ETHIOPIC LITURGY

A. THE PRE-ANAPHORA

Though this study is not concerned directly with the Pre-Anaphora of the Ethiopic liturgy, a brief account of the main features of this Pre-Anaphora may not be out of place¹).

The Pre-Anaphora begins with six Psalms: the 25th, 61st, 102nd, 103rd, 130th and 131st²). Then follow three longer prayers³) for the cleansing of the clergy and the vessels of the service. The second prayer: አግዚአብሔር: አምላክነ: ዘተአምር: ሕሊና: ሰብኢ: (Br: "Lord our God, who knoweth the thought of man") corresponds almost literally to the *Oratio veli* of the Coptic liturgy of St. Gregory. The third prayer is called the *Prayer of St. Basil* (ጸሎተ: ባስልጦስ:). After the third prayer the preparation of the instruments begins with the *Prayer over all the Vessels of the Church*⁴) (ጸሎት: ላዕለ: ኩሉ: ንዋየ: ቤተ: ክርስቲያን:) followed by the *Prayer over the "Towers"* (ግንፈዳት:)⁵). The worship before the tābot⁶) consists mainly of the *Prayer of*

¹) Cf. A. Raes, S. J., *Introductio in Liturgiam Orientalem*, pp. 62–88; H pp. 5f.; Ren I pp. 496–507; Text in: Ren I pp. 472–486, Br pp. 194–227 and Swainson, *The Greek Liturgies*, pp. 349–395.

²) For the recital of the Psalms cf. Raes, l. c., p. 69: "In r(itu) coptico et aethiopico prima pars missae quasi unice consecratur solemnissimae praeparationi et oblationi panis et calicis; de enarxi seu psalmodia nullum iam vestigium videtur superstitisse, nisi quis eam se detegere aestimat apud Aethiopes, ubi hi in initio seriem psalmorum recitant."

³) Br pp. 194–195, Swainson pp. 350–352.

⁴) Br p. 196, Swainson p. 352.

⁵) Br p. 196, Swainson pp. 352f.; cf. Br p. 581: "Māchfad pl. māchfadāt . . . The veil or napkins in which the oblate is wrapped . . . and with which the oblation is covered (Evidently translit. from arab. *miḥfazah* 'that in which a thing is kept' and then assimilated to the similarly sounding eth. word meaning 'a tower')."

⁶) Cf. Br p. 589: "Tābōt . . . The Ark (Heb IX, 4). A coffer of gold and gems in the cathedral of Acsūm, containing a slab on which are inscribed the ten commandments, supposed to be the Ark of Covenant stolen from the temple of Jerusalem and carried to Ethiopia by Menelek the son of Solomon and the queen of Sheba. The slab is used as the *tablith* on the altar . . . Hence

*John*¹⁾ (ጸሎተ: የሐንሳ።). After this the priest puts on the liturgical vestments²⁾. As soon as he is dressed he begins the Prothesis³⁾ which is longer than that in the Coptic rite and includes prayers for the preparation of the altar as well as for the blessing of the masob⁴⁾, the paten⁵⁾ the chalice⁶⁾ and the cross-spoon⁷⁾. The Prothesis ends with Psalm 117: ሰብሐዎ: ለአግዚአብሔር: ነሐሴ: ሕዝብ: ("Praise the Lord all ye nations"). Then follows the Enarxis⁸⁾ which is thus situated between the Prothesis and the Liturgy of the Catechumens⁹⁾. The Enarxis includes the *Prayer of Thanksgiving* (ጸሎተ: አኩፔት።), acclamations of the deacon, the *Prayer of the Mystery* (ጸሎተ: ምሥጢር።), the *Prayer of St. Basil* (ጸሎተ: ዘቅዱስ: ባስልዮስ።), the *Absolution of the Son* (ፍትሐት: ዘወልድ።) and a long litany, during which the people say at each clause: "Amen. Kyrie eleison, Lord, have

the *tablith* in every Church is called *tābōt*. Possibly there has been some confusion, such as is common in ethiopic ritual language, between the words *tablith* and *tābōt*. In the rubrics *tābōt* is commonly used where the altar as a whole is meant." Cf. E. Ullendorff, „Hebraic-Jewish Elements in Abyssinian (Monophysite) Christianity“ in *Journal of Semitic Studies* 1 (1956) 233–235; for Menelik cf. also E. A. W. Budge, *The Queen of Sheba & Her Only Son Menyelek*, London 1922; A. H. M. Jones – Elizabeth Monroe, *A History of Ethiopia*, Oxford 1955, pp. 10–21. — For the church building cf. Ullendorff, „Hebraic-Jewish Elements“, 235 s.; id., *The Ethiopians*, London 1960, 109 s., 162–164; J. Doresse, *L'empire du Prêtre-Jean II*, Paris 1957, 329–332.

¹⁾ Br pp. 196 f., Swainson pp. 353 f.

²⁾ Cf. A. T. M. Semharay Selam, *De Indumentis sacris ritus Aethiopici*, Roma 1930.

³⁾ Br pp. 197–201, Swainson pp. 355–362; cf. Br p. 586.

⁴⁾ Br p. 582: "Masōb (. . . 'pot' = σάμνος Heb IX. 4): a round box, 5 × 2 in., with a cover, of metal or wickerwork, in which the bread is brought to the altar before the prothesis . . . According to the terms of the prayer over it, it must originally have been used for a paten. Renaudot (I p. 474) renders *arcam sive discum maiorem*."

⁵⁾ ጸሐል: a plate (tray) on which the bread is offered, 7 in. in diameter.

⁶⁾ ጸዋዕ: the Eucharistic cup, generally of the same type as in the Western church.

⁷⁾ ዕርረ: መስቀል Br p. 588: "The spoon with which the people are communicated in the two species together . . . The Abyss. like the Byz. spoon has a cross at the end of the handle: hence its name." The cross-spoon can be used for the censuring, too, cf. Euringer, „Die äthiopische Anaphora unserer Herrin Maria“ in *Oriens Christianus* 3. S. 12 (1937) p. 101: the Pharaohs used such spoons (but without a cross) for the censuring.

⁸⁾ Cf. Br p. 576.

⁹⁾ Br pp. 202–208, Swainson pp. 362–372.

mercy upon us" (አሜን፡ ኪራላይሶን፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ተወሃልን፡). This litany is missing in the Coptic rite.

The Liturgy of the Catechumens¹⁾ begins with the prayer: እስክለክ፡ ወአስተባብሩኝ፡ አእግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክነ፡ (Br: "I pray and beseech thee, o Lord our God"). Then the priest applies the incense and says the *Prayer of Incense*: አአምላክ፡ ዘለዓለም፡ ቀዳሚ፡ ወደኃራ፡ (Br: "O eternal God, the first and the last") with supplications for the archpope, the bishops, priests and deacons. Then follow the lections from 1. the Pauline Epistles, 2. the Catholic Epistles and 3. from the Acts of the Apostles. After the third lection the priest casts the incense and says the prayer: እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክነ፡ ዘተወከፍክ፡ መሥዋዕተ፡ አቡነ፡ አብርሃም፡ (Br: "Lord our God who didst accept the sacrifice of our father Abraham") and a praise of the Virgin Mary, which is followed by the Trisagion. This Trisagion is very interesting as it has some additional clauses²⁾. Therefore I shall quote it *in extenso* from the text given by Brightman³⁾:

"Holy God, Holy mighty, Holy living immortal,
who was born of Mary the holy virgin,
have mercy upon us, o Lord

Holy God, Holy mighty, Holy living immortal,
who was baptized in Jordan and was hung
on the tree of the cross,
have mercy upon us, o Lord

Holy God, Holy mighty, Holy living immortal,
who rose from the dead the third day,
ascended with glory into heaven and sat down
at the right hand of his Father,
shall come again with glory to judge the quick
and the dead,
have mercy upon us, o Lord

Glory be to the Father, glory be to the Son,
glory be to the Holy Ghost
both now and ever and world without end
Amen and amen: so be it. so be it."

After this and a short invocation of the Holy Trinity (አሥሉሱ፡ ቅዱሱ፡) by the people, the priest says the "Rejoice, o Mary" (ተፈሥሐ፡ ማርያም፡).

¹⁾ Br pp. 209–222, Swainson pp. 372–389.

²⁾ Br p. 590.

³⁾ The Ethiopic text in: Dillmann, *Chrestomathia Aethiopica*, p. 46.

Then follows the Gospel. At the end of each Gospel (there is of course always a lection from one Gospel only) the people say one of four different responses¹).

After the Gospel the Liturgy of the Faithful begins²). It consists of a prayer for the Church, the archpope, the Abuna and the congregation, the Creed (ገላጾን፡ በ፪አዎላክ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አብ፡ አኃይ፡ ነጥሉ።), the *Lavabo* and the Kiss of Peace. In the Liturgy of the Faithful there are some differences between the Coptic and the Ethiopic rite. The Coptic liturgy begins with the *Prayer of the Veil* (*Oratio veli*)³) which the Ethiopic rite omits. Perhaps this ceremony is of later origin⁴).

B. THE ANAPHORA

It is very difficult to compare the Ethiopic AA with one another as the differences between them are often very considerable. It might be useful first of all to depict the progress of each of the AA in tabular form. On the basis of this scheme it might be easier to draw the necessary conclusions.

Abbreviations for the synoptic table

D	= Dialogue between priest and people introducing the Eucharistic Thanksgiving	Fr	= Prayer of the Fraction
Th	= Eucharistic Thanksgiving (corresponds to the western Canon up to the Institution Narrative)	LP	= Lord's Prayer (Our Father)
Inc	= Intercession	PLP	= Prayer after the Lord's Prayer
Ct	= Continuation of the Eucharistic Thanksgiving	Incl	= Inclination
S	= Sanctus	PA	= Prayer of the Angels
IN	= Institution Narrative	PP	= Prayer of Penitence
A	= Anamnesis	MC(Th)	= Manual Acts, Communion (with Thanksgiving)
Ep	= Epiclesis	PS	= Prayer: Pilot of the soul
PrFr	= Prooemium of the Fraction	ThC	= Thanksgiving after the Communion
		Imp	= Imposition of the hands

Where an abbreviation is in brackets, this signifies that the text concerned is mentioned in different MSS in a different place.

¹) Br p. 222, Swainson p. 388.

²) Br pp. 223–227, Swainson pp. 389–395.

³) Cf. Ren I p. 9.

⁴) H p. 6; it does not occur in the A of 1548.

OC (Renaudot)	1. Ap	2. J	3. MC
1. D	D	D	Th (Praise of the Virgin Mary) Inc Ct S Ct (Praise of the Virgin Mary and of the Holy Trinity) Credo (!) Ct S (!) Ct IN
2. Th	Th	Th	
3. Inc	Inc		
4. Ct	Ct		
5. S	S	S	
6. Ct	Ct	Ct	
7. IN	IN	IN	
8. A	A	A	Supplications
9. Ep	Ep	Ep Inc	
10. Fr	Fr	Fr	Fr
11. LP	LP	LP	LP PLP
12. Incl		Incl	
13. PA	PA Incl		PA Incl PP
14. PP (of St. Basil)	PP		
15. MC (Homologia) Th	MCTh	MCTh	MC
16. PS	PS	PS	PS Address to the Virgin Mary
17. Imp	Imp	Imp	Imp Final Benediction

From this scheme it is possible to see that there are certain features common to all these AA, yet in certain details they differ considerably from each other.

The Ap – like all other AA – begins with the Eucharistic Thanksgiving, which is divided into several sections by certain exclamations of the deacon, the Intercession and the Sanctus. The Sanctus is to be found in nearly all the AA. Harden was of the opinion¹⁾ that it was

¹⁾ H p. 16.

4. Ath	5. D	6. GH	7. GC	8. B
Th (Admonitions etc.)	Th	Th	Th	Th
S	Inc Ct		S	S
Ct (Praise of the Christian Sabbath)	S Ct		Ct	Ct
Inc Ct			Inc	
IN	IN	Ep (??) IN	IN	IN
A	Ct (Passion and Resurrection) Ep	Ct (Passion and Hosanna Prayers) Inc		A
Prayers	Ep	Fr	Fr (?)	Ep Inc PrFr
Fr (?)	Fr	LP		LP
LP	LP	PLP	Ep (?)	PA
Ep	PA	PA	PA	Fr (LP) (PA)
PA				Incl MC (Homologia)
Incl MC	Incl MC	Incl MC	Incl MC	
PS ThC Imp	PS (Euringer: Prayer to the Father)	PS Imp	PS ThC Imp Imp	PS ThC Imp

missing in the E and the O. But it exists in the E, as is shown in the edition of Euringer¹⁾. In the O, which is obviously composed very freely, the Sanctus is missing, unless § 49 (ሰራፊል: ወኪብል: ደጸርሐ:

¹⁾ S. Euringer, „Anaphora des hl. Epiphanius“, pp. 106 ff.

9. O	10. C I	11. C II
Th Inc Ct S (?) Ct IN	Th S Ct Inc IN	Th S Ct Inc Ct IN
Commemoration of the Passion and Crucifixion D (!) Commemoration of the Re- surrection, Appearance in the Upper room and Second Coming Ep PA Fr LP Incl PP MCTh	 Ep Fr LP PLP PA Incl Fr (?) Incl (?) PP MC	Commemoration of the Passion and Praise of God MCTh
PS (Euringer:) Fr (probably erroneously)	PS ThC Imp	... ?

ወይዘራ: Eu: „Die Seraphe und die Cherube rufen und sprechen: ...“
be regarded as an attempt to represent the Sanctus. Harden failed,
however, to observe that the Sanctus is missing in the GH.

After the Sanctus the Thanksgiving is continued. It ought to be
stated that the Eucharistic Thanksgiving was originally a continuous
text without any interruption up to the Institution Narrative. The
exclamations of the deacon and the Sanctus were inserted later.

Out of the 18 AA compared (the remaining two were not accessible
to me) it is possible to pick out five which are constructed very clearly:

12. E	13. JE	14. JS	15. JB
Th	Th	Th	D
S	S	Inc	Th
Ct	Ct	S	S
Inc	Inc	Ct	Ct
Ct			
IN	IN	Prayer substituted for the IN	IN
A	A		A
Ep	Ep	Ep	Ep
Fr	Fr	Fr	Inc
LP	LP	LP	Fr
PA	PA	Incl	LP
Incl	Incl	PA	
PP (of St. Basil)	PP	PP	Incl
Memento vivorum et mortuorum			
MC	MC	MC	MCTh
PS	PS	PS	
ThC	ThC	ThC	
Imp = Oratio osculi pacis ad Patrem of the Coptic A of St. Basil	Imp	Imp	Imp

(1.) Ap, (2.) J, (8.) B, (5.) JB and (17.) Mk. Those AA are either very old (the Ap and the J) or without any doubt have been translated from foreign languages into Ethiopic (the B, JB and the Mk). The Ap and the Mk conform to the Alexandrian type, i. e. the Intercession is within the Eucharistic Thanksgiving before the Sanctus, the B and the JB conform to the Syriac-Antiochian type, i. e. the Intercession comes after the Epiclesis. The structure of these five AA is classical and on the whole corresponds to the construction of the Alexandrian or Antiochian type. All the parts of these AA are in due proportion to one another, i. e. they are about as long or as short as they ought to be accord-

16. JC	17. Mk	18. M
	Pre-Anaphora	
Th	D	Th
Inc	Th	Inc
Ct	Inc	Ct
S	Ct	S
Ct	S	Ct
IN	Ct	IN
	IN	
Ct		
	A	A (in Cod. Vat. 24)
Ep	Ep	Ep
Fr	Fr	Praise of Christ and of the Virgin Mary
LP	LP	
Incl	Incl	
PA		
MC	MC	MC (Homologia)
PS	PS	PS
	ThC	ThC
Imp	Imp	

ing to their importance, and the length of their parts corresponds approximately to the length of the parts in the Greek, Syriac and Coptic AA.

In the case of the other AA the situation is completely different. The poetical element predominates and often conceals the clearness of the structure. In these AA the importance of their parts no longer corresponds to their extent. These facts will be discussed later (cf. pp. 75ff.).

In the Ap the Institution Narrative is followed by the Anamnesis¹⁾ and the Epiclesis, which are in turn followed by the *Prayer of Fraction* with the *Lord's Prayer* and the *Prayer of the Angels*²⁾. In the Ap the *Prayer of the Angels* comes before the Inclination. This is also the case in all the other AA (if they have the *Prayer of the Angels*) except the Canon of Renaudot, the JC and the JS. It is, however, possible that

¹⁾ Br p. 233 considered this text as already belonging to the Epiclesis.

²⁾ Br p. 235: "The hosts of the angels of the Saviour of the world stand before the Saviour of the world and encompass the Saviour of the world, even the body and blood of the Saviour of the world. And let us come before the face of the Saviour of the world. In the faith of him we give thanks to Christ." According to MS Add. 16202 (cf. Br p. 235) this prayer is repeated 18 times.

even in these three texts the *Prayer of the Angels* comes before the Inclination and that is was mentioned in the wrong place by mistake. The Inclination is followed by the *Prayer of Penitence* and the Manual Acts with the Communion. Usually the Communion is followed by the prayer: *Pilot of the soul* (which is already found in the Syriac *Testamentum Domini*), a Thanksgiving, and the *Imposition of the Hands*, i. e. the dismissal.

I should like to mention that the compilation of these tables was very tentative. We certainly possess MSS and editions with very reliable translations of the Ethiopic AA. But we have very little knowledge about the actual order of the service (except in the Ap). We know the text well, but we do not always know the exact position of its various parts. The rubrics vary in different MSS so that one cannot expect reliable information from them; especially is this the case for the part of the A which comes between the Epiclesis and the prayer: *Pilot of the soul*. Only approximate statements can be made here.

I sometimes suspect that the place where a particular text occurs in the MSS may not necessarily be the place where it is really used during the service. In the Oriental rites the priest and the deacon have to know most of the prayers by heart, so that the book on the altar is only intended to refresh their memory¹). In this case it would not be surprising if the prayers were not invariably found in the exact place where they are actually said in the service. It may also be possible that in Ethiopia there is no uniform tradition concerning the place of some of the liturgical texts.

In the field of the Christian Orient many problems arise which can only be solved by spending some time in the country concerned. I have now reached such a point²). It would be necessary to study actual ser-

¹) Cf. E. Renaudot, *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum Jacobitarum*, Parisiis 1713, p. 515 (about the 71st Patriarch Michael): "Notat Autor non mediocrem laborem fuisse ut doceretur Liturgiam D. Basilii, eamque memoriter teneret: neque Misram rediisse donec eam didicisset, sacrumque secundum eam celebrasset. Ea quippe disciplina est Jacobitarum Aegyptiorum multis locis perscripta, ut Sacerdos nullus ordinetur, qui Liturgiam memoriâ non teneat, quod multo magis in Patriarcha necessarium erat." Cf. Ren I p. LXXXIII; J. A. Jungmann, S. J., *Missarum Solemnia*, Wien 1948, p. 40; L. Eisenhofer, *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik* I, Freiburg i. Br. 1932, pp. 59f.

²) It is thought that prayers *ad libitum* are often added to the text of the MSS without this fact being recorded; this may be the reason why certain prayers appear twice, e. g. C I: Fr and Incl; GC: Imp.

vices being conducted in Ethiopia in order to get a clear idea about the order of the parts of the AA. MSS and books are not sufficient to answer all these questions.

That is why my tables are not intended to be in any way final; they merely point the way for further investigation [cf. now also J. Garrido, «Tableaux comparatifs des quatorze anaphores de l'Église éthiopienne» in *Les Cahiers Coptes* (Le Caire) 1956, pp. 17–24 (based on the book *The Liturgy of the Ethiopian Church*. Translated by the Rev. Marcos Daoud. Revised by H. E. Blatta Marsie Hazen. Addis Abbaba 1954 A. D.); I have not yet been able to obtain access to these publications.]

APPENDIX*

THE "DOCTRINE OF MYSTERIES"

Here I should like to mention an Ethiopic text which is no longer used in the Eucharistic liturgy but which at one time was an important part of the liturgy, the *Doctrina Arcanorum* (ጥምርተ: ጎሱአት።).

The Temherta ሄቡ'āt was originally an Ethiopic version of the 28th chapter of the first book of the *Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi*¹⁾. This version can be found in many MSS in most of the European libraries²⁾. In addition to this version there exists a second one which is not so commonly known: El-masṭo'agyā (አልመሰጦአጊድ፡)³⁾.

The opinions concerning the time and place of the composition of the *Testamentum Domini* vary considerably⁴⁾. In any case one can say that the very early dating by Ignatius Rahmani (between 180 and 200) is not correct. Nowadays it is believed that the *Testamentum* was written in the fifth century in Syria.

The facts concerning the *Doctrina Arcanorum* are as follows: In the early church the *Mystagogia Fidelium* was recited after the Catechumens had been dismissed and only the baptized faithful were present. The central figure of the celebration was described and eulogised without his name being immediately mentioned, a fact which is very important. The faithful, who were in the secret, knew very well who was intended.

In this text there are two important themes: 1. the glorification of the cross and the Crucified and 2. the celebration of Christ's victory over Death in his descent into hell. The address of (personified) Death reminds us of the familiar dialogues between Satan and Death in various old accounts of Christ's descent

¹⁾ Ignatius Ephraem II Rahmani, *Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi*, Moguntiae 1899, pp. 58–67.

²⁾ Cf. e. g. E. Ullendorff, *Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Vol. II, Oxford 1951, Index; W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in The British Museum*, London 1877, Index; S. Strelecyn, *Catalogue des Manuscrits éthiopiens (Collection Griaule)* tome IV, Paris 1954, table des matières.

³⁾ As the article of the word shows this version was certainly translated from Arabic into Ethiopic.

⁴⁾ I have dealt with the different opinions in my edition of the "Doctrine of Mysteries", cf. note 7 on page 62.

into hell (*Descensus ad inferos*). Their origin seems to be the Gnostic Acts of Peter¹).

Without any doubt the *Doctrina Arcanorum* at an earlier period was used at every divine service. To-day it is still deeply revered in the Ethiopic Church and, as I was told by an Ethiopian theologian²), is regarded as belonging to the New Testament — an opinion which seems to be rather phantastic³).

The *Doctrina Arcanorum* is still used in the liturgy on several days, for instance on the first Sunday of the month Tāhsās (called Sebkāt), on the third Sunday of the same month (called Nolāwī), at Epiphany, on Maundy Thursday, Easter Sunday and Pentecost⁴). It is also sung on Easter Eve. As D. Lifchitz suggested it is perhaps also used on Saturdays and Sundays during Lent.

The *Doctrina Arcanorum* was published once in an English⁵) and once in a French translation⁶). To both publications the Ethiopic text was added. With the help of MSS of the Bodleian Library and of the British Museum I have completed a new edition with a German translation. In this new edition I have also tried to deal with the theological problems which arise from this text⁷).

The *Doctrina Arcanorum* is a good example of development in liturgy. When the *Disciplina Arcani* was generally practised in the early church the *Doctrina Arcanorum* was an important text. When gradually the barriers between the Catechumens and the baptized faithful broke down the use of the *Mystagogia Fidelium* was no longer appropriate. It seems that the Ethiopians have to-day almost forgotten that the *Doctrine of Mysteries* was once such an important text in the celebration of liturgy.

¹) Cf. T. Zahn, „Neue Funde aus der alten Kirche“ in *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* XI (1900) p. 441.

²) Mikre Mariam who is at present studying in the Bible College of Wales in Swansea, in a letter dated 13th September, 1956.

³) Cf. A. Baumstark, „Der äthiopische Bibelkanon“ in *Oriens Christianus* 5 (1905) 162–173; M. Chaîne, „Le canon des Livres Saints dans l'Église éthiopienne“ in *Recherches de science religieuse* 5 (1914) 22–39; A. F. Matthew, *The Teaching of the Abyssinian Church as set forth by the Doctors of the Same*, London 1936, pp. 61 f.

⁴) Cf. W. Wright, *Catalogue*, pp. 137–140; the statement in the *Testamentum Domini* I 28 *sub fin.* (= Rahmani, l. c., pp. 66 f.).

⁵) F. Hallock, „The Ethiopic Version of the Mystagogia“ in *Le Muséon* 53 (1940) pp. 67–76.

⁶) D. Lifchitz, *Textes éthiopiens magico-religieux*, Paris 1940 (*Travaux et mémoires de l'institut d'ethnologie* — XXXVIII), pp. 40–85.

⁷) *Äthiopische liturgische Texte der Bodleian Library in Oxford*, Berlin 1960 (*Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Orientforschung der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, Nr. 38), pp. 48–72.

V. THE EUCHARISTIC THANKSGIVING

The Eucharistic Thanksgiving (corresponding to the western Canon up to the Consecration) will be treated as a self-contained entity, because, as was mentioned above, it was originally such and only later interrupted¹).

A. THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN PRIEST AND PEOPLE

Concerning the blessing of the priest at the beginning of the dialogue I should like to refer to a short but precise study by H. Engberding²). With the aid of the tables in that article we are able to establish the origin of the Ethiopic form of the dialogues.

The text of the dialogue is given in five Ethiopic AA only: in the Ap, J, O, Mk and JB. In the Ap it runs as follows³):

- | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|--------------------------------|
| 1 | { | a: | { | ደብል: ካህን፤ አግዚአብሔር: ምዕል: ከሉልክሙ። |
| | | (Br: "The priest shall say: The Lord be with you all") | | |
| | { | b: | { | ደብል: ሕዝብ፤ ምዕል: መንፈስክ። |
| | | (Br: "The people shall say: With thy spirit") | | |
| 3 | { | a: | { | ደብል: ካህን፤ አእኩትዎ: ለአምላክ። |
| | | (Br: "The priest shall say: Give ye thanks unto our God") | | |
| | { | b: | { | ደብል: ሕዝብ፤ ርቱዕ: ይደሉ። |
| | | (Br: "The people shall say: It is right, it is meet") | | |

¹) The exclamations of the deacon and the Sanctus are not found in the liturgy of the *Egyptian Church Order* (cf. Dom Gregory Dix, *The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St Hippolytus of Rome*, London 1937, pp. 7f.) and of the *Testamentum Domini* (Rahmani, l. c., pp. 38–41).

²) „Der Gruß des Priesters zu Beginn der *εὐχαριστία* in östlichen Liturgien“ in *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* IX (1929) pp. 138–143.

³) Br p. 228, Swainson p. 395.

- 2 { a: { ርብል: ካህን፤ አልዕሉ: አልባቢክሙ።
(Br: "The priest shall say: Lift up your hearts")
- b: { ርብል: ሕዝብ፤ ብን: ኅቡ: አግዚአብሔር: አምላክነ።
(("The people shall say: We have them unto the Lord our God".))

The J in Mercer has the same form¹). The MS or. 545, translated by Harden, corresponds in Nos. 1 and 3 to the Ap but is different in No. 2 which runs as follows:

"The priest saith: That which is holy among the holy.

The people say: Holy, Holy, Holy, O Lord, God of gods, who wast and art for ever in heaven and earth."

The dialogue is also found in the O but it stands in quite a different position²). Here it comes after the commemoration of the Passion and Crucifixion (after the Institution Narrative). The dialogue of the O does not completely correspond to that of the Ap. No. 3 a runs thus: ነአኩዩ: ለአግዚአብሔር። The answer of the people (No. 3 b) has been extended: ርቱዕ: ወዳድቅ: ይደልዎ።.

The O in MS Poc. 6 (f. 23a) is different again from the MS Berlin or. 414, translated by Euringer; the answer of the people is missing. No. 3 a runs thus: ነአኩዩ: ለአምላክነ። (in contrast to the MS Berlin or. 414: ነአኩዩ: ለአግዚአብሔር።); it consequently corresponds to the Ap. The dialogue of the O in the Oxford MS Aeth. e. 20 f. 64a has the same wording as the dialogue of the Ap.

It is difficult to say why the dialogue of the O is found in this position³). This variation can hardly be regarded as a mistake in the MS Berlin or. 414 as the MS Poc. 6, e. 20 and Mercer also give the text of the dialogue in the same place. The preceding text (§ 66) describes the Crucifixion and the Burial of Jesus in the tomb and closes with the words: አኀዘ: ሀሎ: ሆየ: ጸርሐ: ኅቡ: አዳም: ገብኑ: ወኅቡ: ነሎሙ: ደቂቁ። (H: "... and while He was there He cried to Adam His servant and to all his sons"). The description is interrupted by the dialogue which is usually found as an introduction to the Eucharistic Thanksgiving. It is possible that the dialogue replaces the address of Jesus to Adam and his sons because the content of this address of Jesus to Adam is not mentioned (§ 69: ወሳቢ: ይቤ: ዘንተ:

¹) "The Anaphora of our Lord" in *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* 1 (1917) pp. 25f. and 33f.

²) Euringer, „Anaphora der 318 Rechtgläubigen“, pp. 141 and 274.

³) H. Engberding tells me he is preparing a study of this problem. Cf. *Oriens Christianus* 45 (1961) 139f.

ⲁⲕⲉⲑⲣⲓ: ⲛⲁⲗⲓ: ⲛⲁⲗⲓⲣⲓⲁ: ⲕⲉⲑⲣⲓ: H: "And when He had said this to Adam His servant, Adam rejoiced").

If we compare this dialogue of the Ap (and O) with that of the other Oriental liturgies we at once realise that it corresponds to a large extent to the text of the Coptic liturgy of St. Cyril (Br p. 164):

1a: ὁ κύριος μετὰ πάντων

1b: καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου

2a: ἄνω ὧν τὰς καρδίας

2b: ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον

3a: εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ

3b: ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον.

Almost the same form can also be found in the *Ethiopic Church Order* and the *Sahidic Church Order*¹⁾. A comparison with the Ap shows that in the dialogue of the Ap a transposition in the order of the sentences has taken place: No. 3 was inserted between No. 1 and No. 2. This transposition has not yet taken place in the *Ethiopic Church Order*. On the other hand there is a small extension in the Church Order in No. 1b: [ⲙⲉⲗⲉⲁⲕⲉ: ⲁⲛⲓⲁ: ⲕⲉⲑⲣⲓ: ⲣⲉⲛⲛⲁⲕⲉ: ⲕⲉⲑⲣⲓ: Br: "And the people shall answer: May he be wholly with thy spirit." H. Duensing (*Aethiop. Text* etc., p. 21) translated: „Und es sagt das Volk vollständig: 'Mit deinem Geiste sei er!'“]

The short form: ὁ κύριος μετὰ πάντων (ὧν) is an Egyptian characteristic and in other liturgies a sign of dependence on the Egyptian rite²⁾. It is not possible, however, to draw the conclusion that the Mk or the B were predominant in Ethiopia. The dialogue first came to Ethiopia with the Ap and only later again with the Mk and B. Subsequently it was regarded as belonging to the Pre-Anaphora³⁾.

It is only possible to make suggestions about the reason why the transposition in the dialogue of the Ap has taken place. The answer of the people in No. 3b (ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον) is, e. g., in the Greek liturgy of St. Gregory continued by the priest: ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον, ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον. Ἀληθῶς γὰρ ἄξιόν ἐστιν καὶ δίκαιον σὲ αἰνεῖν, σὲ εὐλογεῖν, σὲ προσκυνεῖν, σὲ δοξάζειν, ... or, in the Greek liturgy of St. Mark: Ἀληθῶς γὰρ ἄξιόν ἐστιν καὶ δίκαιον, ὁσίωντε καὶ πρόπον, καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας ψυχὰς ἐποφελές ... σὲ αἰνεῖν, σὲ ὑμνεῖν, σοὶ εὐχαριστεῖν, i. e. it is stated what is

¹⁾ Cf. Lagarde, *Aegyptiaca*, Gottingae 1883, p. 249 (c. 31).

²⁾ Cf. Engberding, „Der Gruß des Priesters“, p. 141; cf. Br pp. 125 and 164.

³⁾ H p. 4; cf. Dix, l. c., p. 7.

5 Hammerschmidt, *Ethiopic Anaphoras*

“meet and right”, namely the praise of God. This connection is no longer to be found in the liturgy of St. Basil¹⁾; after the ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον of the people the priest continues: ὁ ὢν δέσποτα κύριε, ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀληθείας.

In the Ap also this answer (Ἀληθῶς γὰρ ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον) is missing. It is conceivable that in Ethiopic this lack of connection was the reason why this passage was transposed. There was no longer any necessity to have this passage (No. 3) immediately before the beginning of the Eucharistic Thanksgiving. The question naturally arises why there was no transposition in the Greek/Coptic liturgy of St. Basil. But in this liturgy the influence of the liturgy of St. Mark/St. Cyril and its example was so great that a transposition was prevented.

The Mk has also kept the original order. Moreover in No. 3 a in contrast to the Ap the Mk has: Ἀληθῆς καὶ δίκαιος: instead of: Ἀληθῆς; in No. 3b: Ἐπίσκοπος: Ἐκκλησία:; in No. 2b Ἀληθῆς: is missing.

The form of the J in the MS or. 545 goes back to the *Testamentum Domini* where a fourth clause is added (The *Sursum corda* of the *Testamentum Domini* with the answer of the people has been omitted in or. 545)²⁾: ብሔር ልዩ ልዩ : ልዩ ልዩ (ወደ ልዩ)

(Rahmani: “Et Episcopus clamet: Sancta per sanctos.”)

ብሔር ልዩ ልዩ : ልዩ ልዩ : ልዩ ልዩ

(“Et Populus conclamet: In caelo et super terram indesinenter.”)

Rahmani explains³⁾ this passage as follows: “Sensus est Deum proclamandum esse sanctum per sanctos seu a sanctis i. e. a fidelibus” (whether this explanation is correct may be left undecided). According to Harden the *Testamentum* ought to be translated thus: “That which is holy for the holy”⁴⁾. Here, too, the connection between the exclamation ἄξιον . . . and what ἄξιον is (viz. the praise of God) has become unrecognizable.

The fifth Ethiopic A which contains a dialogue, is the JB:

1a: ፍቅር: አግቢአብሔር: አብ:

ወደጋ: ዘዋሕድ: ወልድ:

አግቢአኑ: ወመድኃኒኑ: አያሱሱ: ክርስቶስ:

ወሰታፊ: መንፈስ: ቅዱስ:

የህሉ: ምስሉክሙ::

¹⁾ Cf. the *Egyptian Church Order* (Dix, l. c., p. 7) where this connection is also missing.

²⁾ Rahmani, l. c. pp. 38f.

³⁾ L. c., p. 39.

⁴⁾ H p. 62.

(Eu: „Die Liebe Gottes des Vaters
und die Gnade des einzigen Sohnes,
unseres Herrn und unseres Erlösers Jesus Christus,
und die Gemeinschaft des hl. Geistes
seien mit euch!“)

1b: Ἦ: ማንፈሰስ።

(Eu: „Mit deinem Geiste!“)

2a: ላዕለ: ይኩን፡ ሕሊናክሙ፡ ወላእምርትክሙ፡ ወአልባቢክሙ።

(Eu: „Aufwärts sei euer Sinn und euer Verstand und eure Herzen (gerichtet)!“)

2b: ብነ፡ ኅቦ፡ እግዚአብሔር።

(Eu: „Wir haben (sie) bei Gott“)

3a: ነአኩሉ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር።

(Eu: „Wir wollen Gott danken!“)

3b: ርቱዕ፡ ወጽድቅ፡ ይደሉ።

(Eu: „Es ist recht und billig; es geziemt sich“)

Continuation: ርቱዕ፡ ወጽድቅ፡ ይደሉ።

(Eu: „Es ist recht und billig; es geziemt sich“)

If we compare this dialogue with the Greek/Syriac liturgy of St. James the result is quite unexpected.

It might be expected that the dialogue of the Ethiopic A (the JB) would correspond to the respective Greek or Syriac A. But this is not the case.

The Greek liturgy of St. James runs as follows¹⁾:

1a: ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ κυρίου καὶ πατρός,
ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου καὶ [υἱοῦ]
καὶ ἡ κοινωνία καὶ ἡ δωρεὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος
εἴη μετὰ πάντων ἡμῶν

1b: καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος σου

2a: ἄνω σχῶμεν τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰς καρδίας

2b: ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον

3a: εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ

3b: ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον.

¹⁾ Br p. 49.

The Syriac form of the same liturgy reads¹⁾:

- 1 a: "The love of God the Father
and the grace of the only-begotten Son
and the fellowship and descent of the Holy Ghost
be with you all, my brethren, evermore.
1 b: And with thy spirit.
2 a: The minds and hearts of all of us be on high.
2 b: They are with the Lord our God.
3 a: Let us give thanks unto the Lord with fear and worship with
trembling.
3 b: It is meet and right."

The text of the Greek liturgy of St. James is almost identical with that of the Syriac and Old Church Slavonic translation²⁾. The form of the JB does, however, not completely correspond to the form of the Greek and Syriac liturgy of St. James. There are the following differences:

1. In contrast to the Greek text³⁾

- 1 a: Eth. add. "only-begotten . . . our (Lord) and our Saviour Jesus Christ"; Eth. second person plural instead of the Greek first person plural; Eth. om. ἡ δωρεά.
2 a: Eth. add. "and your intellect"; Eth. second person plural instead of the Greek first person plural.
3 b: The Ethiopic text adds the *πρόπον* of the Eucharistic Thanksgiving to the answer of the people so that the answer (No. 3 b) contains three parts.

2. In contrast to the Syriac text⁴⁾

- 1 a: Eth. add. "our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ";
Eth. om. "and descent", "my brethren, evermore".
2 a: Eth. add. "and your intellect"; Eth. second person plural instead of the Syriac first person plural.

¹⁾ Br p. 85; cf. now also the new edition by O. Heiming in *Anaphorae Syriacae* Vol. II – Fasc. 2, pp. 140ff.

²⁾ Cf. Engberding, „Der Gruß des Priesters“, p. 143; Br p. 85.

³⁾ Br p. 49.

⁴⁾ Br p. 85.

2b: Eth. om. "our God".

3a: Eth. om. "with fear and worship with trembling" (not all Syriac MSS have this form).

3b: Eth. add. "it is fitting" (*vide supra*).

Thus, in contrast to the Greek and Syriac text the Ethiopic text has some additions and omissions: In No. 1 a of the JB the following is added: "our (only-begotten) . . . our (Lord) and our Saviour Jesus Christ". In No. 2a the Ethiopic text adds "and your intellect". It is striking that the Ethiopic text in No. 1a has only the "fellowship of the Holy Ghost", and not the Greek *ἡ δωρεά* or the Syriac "descent".

Further investigation of the Oriental AA suggests that the form of the blessing of the priest in the dialogue of the JB is also related to that of the Greek/Coptic liturgy of St. Gregory¹):

1a: *ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς
καὶ ἡ χάρις τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ
κυρίου δὲ καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
καὶ ἡ κοινωνία καὶ ἡ δωρεὰ
τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἔσται* (Copt. liturgy *εἶη*) *μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν*

1b: *καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου*

2a: *ἄνω σχῶμεν* (Copt. liturgy add. *ὑμῶν*) *τὰς καρδίας*

2b: *ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον*

3a: *εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ*

3b: *ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον.*

The text of the liturgy of St. Gregory, however, (like the Greek/Syriac liturgy of St. James) in No. 1a has the *ἡ δωρεά* which is missing in the JB. The liturgy of St. Gregory has only one noun in No. 2a, while the dialogue of the JB has three.

There is a further Syriac liturgy which should be used for comparison, the A *Timothei Alexandrini*²). In this the passage runs as follows:

1a: "Caritas Dei
et gratia unigeniti Filii, Dei magni et salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi
et communicatio Spiritus sancti sit cum omnibus vobis.

1b: Et cum spiritu tuo.

2a: Sursum sint sensus et corda omnium nostrum.

¹) Ren I p. 92; my edition pp. 22f. = No. 53–No. 58.

²) *Anaphorae Syriacae* Vol. I – Fasc. 1, pp. 12f.

2b: Habemus ad Dominum.

3a: Gratias agamus Domino.

3b: Dignum et justum est."

As in the Ethiopic text the ἡ δωρεά is also missing in this text. Instead of the Ethiopic አገሊእ: ("our Lord") the Syriac text of this A says ܕܝ ܕܝܠ ("great God"). Even more obvious is the connection between the JB and the Syriac OC which has been printed in the edition of the *Anaphorae Syriacae*¹). We now realise where the Ethiopic ወአአዎሮትክመ: ("and your intellect") comes from. No. 2 a in the Syriac OC has: "Sursum mentes, intellectus et corda omnium vestrum". Except for the "omnium" this text corresponds exactly to the text of the JB.

We must not overlook the fact that there is a second dialogue at the end of the JB in the Cod. aeth. 74 of the Bibliothèque nationale at Paris. This dialogue naturally no longer belongs to the text of the A, but appears within a collection of much used versicles and responses²). Apart from a few exceptions this dialogue corresponds to the dialogue of the Ap, but it has the right order: 1, 2, 3. In No. 2b the አዎላክነ: of the Ap is missing; No. 3a has: ለአገሊአብሔር: instead of ለአዎላክነ: of the Ap. No. 3b has the extended form: ርቶ: ወጽኖ: ይደልዎ: with the addition ፫: ጊዜ: ("three times"). Thus there is at the end of an Ethiopic A which comes from Syria an appendix with the dialogue of the Egyptian type of the Ap.

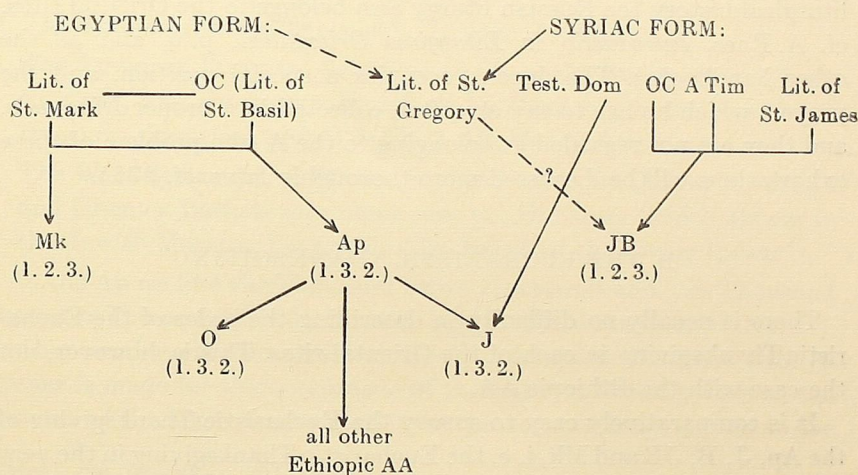
Recapitulating we may draw the following conclusions: The dialogue of the Ap and O (and, of course, of the Mk also) derives from the Egyptian form. They probably came to Ethiopia with their respective liturgies and subsequently were regarded as belonging to the Pre-Anaphora. The varying form in the J (MS or. 545) can be traced back to the *Testamentum Domini*. In the JB the Syriac form was decisive. But it is possible that the JB has borrowed the καὶ σωτηριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ from the Greek/Coptic liturgy of St. Gregory (the A *Timothei Alexandrini* has a similar form). There is no doubt that the exhortation in No. 2 a of the JB goes back to the Syriac form of the OC (not to the liturgy of St. James).

¹) *Anaphorae Syriacae* Vol. I – Fasc. 1, p. VI.

²) Euringer suspected this already („Anaphora des hl. Jakobus“, p. 23): „Der Abschnitt 20 macht den Eindruck, als ob er nicht mehr zu der Anaphora gehöre, sondern nur eine Zusammenstellung häufig wiederkehrender Versikel und Responsorien sei.“

Thus, there are two influences in this short liturgical text which have been decisive in the ecclesiastical life of Ethiopia, namely the (Greek-Hellenistic-) Syriac and the Egyptian influence. There are, however, a number of intermediary forms in the text of the dialogue, so that it is not possible to define sharply the limits of the different influences.

A graphic survey gives us the following picture:



S. Euringer thought that there was a further development of the dialogue in the Ethiopic liturgy. In the JC there is an exhortation of the deacon at the beginning of the Eucharistic Thanksgiving (Dillmann, *Chrestomathia Aethiopica*, p. 51): ላዕለ፡ ደኩን፡ ኅሊናክሙ፡ በሰማይ፡ የሆሉ፡ ልብክሙ፡ አእምሮ፡ ኅብ፡ ዘኅብወሙ፡ ወሰምዑ፡ ቃለ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ወአፀምኡ፡ ዜና፡ ወናዮ፡ (H: "Upwards be your thought; in heaven be your hearts. Know where ye stand, and hear the word of righteousness, and hearken unto good words"). Euringer thought that it was possible that this exhortation was said after the dialogue in the other Ethiopic AA also [the GH, e. g., begins in § 1 with the rubric ሆኅኅ፡ በሰማይ፡ ("instead of: In the heaven") from which he thought it was possible to conclude that such exhortations could indeed be found at the beginning of other AA]. I believe, however, that the place of these exhortations is not between the dialogue and the beginning of the Eucharistic Thanksgiving but before the dialogue. At least it cannot be proved that these exhortations come between the dialogue and the beginning of the Eucharistic Thanksgiving as the dialogue in the MSS is omitted as something self-evident. Moreover we must remember that in the Orient-

tal rites the position of the exclamations of the deacon can never be stated with complete certainty. Anyone who, for example, witnessed a Russian liturgy knows that the choir with its answer very often interrupts the prayers of the deacon and that on the other hand the deacon continues the Ektenes, while the choir is still answering. If this is the case in a comparatively well ordered Russian liturgy, so much the more is it possible in the other Oriental rites (there is no doubt that in the liturgical history the Russian liturgy also belongs to the Oriental rites, cf. A. Raes, *Introductio in Liturgiam Orientalem*, p. 9, and all the other handbooks). The deacon occupies a special position, and the prayers which he has to say are often collected in a proper *Diaconale*, and they are not regarded as belonging to the A (the problem of these exhortations will be discussed more thoroughly later, cf. 87f.).

B. THE EUCHARISTIC THANKSGIVING

There is usually no difficulty in describing the order of the Eucharistic Thanksgiving in each of the Oriental rites. This is, however, not the case with the Ethiopic AA.

It is comparatively easy to survey the Eucharistic Thanksgiving of the Ap, J, B, JB and Mk, i. e. the Eucharistic Thanksgiving in the very old AA (Ap and J) and in the ones which have come to Ethiopia from foreign countries.

The dialogue of the Ap and of the other AA has already been discussed.

In many Oriental rites the Eucharistic Thanksgiving begins with the *Oratio theologica* in which the attributes of God are praised in theological-speculative language. A trace of this *Oratio theologica* is also found in the Ap¹⁾. This latter *Oratio theologica* is not, however, concerned with praising the attributes of God, but comprises a thanksgiving to God (the Father) that he has sent his beloved Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, as the saviour and redeemer in this world. This text might be described as an *Oratio theologica* with christological content.

The introductory portion of the *Oratio theologica* is very short: ነአሱተክ እግዚአብሔር (‘‘We give Thee thanks, o Lord’’)²) and consequently points to the great antiquity of the text³). In the Ap this *Oratio*

¹⁾ Br p. 228, ll. 17–21; p. 231, ll. 5–29.

²⁾ Cf. the short: ‘‘Gratias tibi referimus’’ of the *Egyptian Church Order* (Dix, l. c., p. 7).

³⁾ Br p. 228.

theologica is interrupted by the Intercession¹). After a brief mention of the Incarnation the introduction to the Sanctus follows, in which the angels and the archangels and then the congregation are named.

The AA of the Oriental liturgies usually show the following elements in the introduction to the Sanctus (though in a different order):

1. Cherubim and Seraphim²): Is. 6, 2;
2. Choirs of the Angels: cf. Col. 1, 16;
3. The Thousand times Thousand . . . : Dan. 7, 10;
4. The Egyptian liturgies: Serapion, Ostraca, the liturgy of St. Mark/ St. Cyril, and the Syriac liturgy of St. Basil name the honourable creatures [identical with (1)]: Ez. 3, 13; Rev. 4,6–9;
5. The West-Syriac AA of St. Gregory of Nazianzus, James of Sarug I and Gregory Barhebraeus name also the Ophanim (which appear in the Jewish Morning Prayer) or the chariot of the divine throne³).

In the Ap we find the Thousand times Thousands and Ten Thousand times Ten Thousand (No. 3), the holy Angels and Archangels (cf. No. 2?), the honourable creatures (No. 4) the Seraphim and Cherubim (No. 1). Prayer is made for the acceptance of the Sanctus of the people as the Sanctus of the angels is accepted⁴). As this form of introduction to the

¹) Br p. 228, line 22–p. 231, line 2.

²) Cf. M. Ziegler, *Engel und Dämon im Lichte der Bibel mit Einschluß des außerkanonischen Schrifttums*, Zürich 1957, pp. 61–65.

³) Cf. G. A. Cooke, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel*, Edinburgh 1951 (reprinted from 1936), pp. 16ff.; Ernst Höhne, *Die Thronwagenvision Ezechiels*, Dissertation Erlangen 1953 (= *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 80 (1955) pp. 113f.); Talmud, *Hagigah* f. 12b:

שם אופנים ושרפים

(“There (too) are the Ofanim and the Seraphim . . .” in *The Babylonian Talmud*, *Seder Mo’ed*, *Hagigah*, London 1938, p. 72); *Rosh Hashanah* f. 24b:

לא תעשון כדמות שמשיי
המשמשין לפני במרום כגון
אופנים ושרפים וחיות הקודש
ומלאכי השרת.

(“ye shall not make the likeness of My attendants who serve before Me on high, such as Ofanim and Seraphim and holy Hayyoth and ministering angels” in *The Babylonian Talmud*, *Seder Mo’ed*, *Rosh Hashanah*, London 1938, p. 106).

⁴) Br p. 231: “Continually therefore as they all hallow thee and praise, with all them that hallow thee and praise thee, receive our hallowing also which we utter unto thee: HOLY HOLY HOLY LORD OF SABAOth: the heavens and THE EARTH are wholly FULL of THE HOLINESS of thy GLORY.”

Sanctus is characteristic of the Egyptian rite¹⁾, we have a clear hint of the Egyptian influence on the Ap.

After the Sanctus the Eucharistic Thanksgiving (*Oratio post Sanctus*) is continued with the *Oratio christologica*, in which the Saving Acts of the New Testament, i. e. the Incarnation, Passion and Resurrection, are mentioned. In the Ap the Institution Narrative immediately follows the clause²⁾: (H) "And made known His Resurrection". Comparison of the *Oratio christologica* of this A with that of other liturgies (Greek/Coptic or Syriac) shows that the former is comparatively short (it is missing altogether in the Greek/Coptic liturgy of St. Mark/St. Cyril³⁾).

The J, which goes back to the liturgy in the *Testamentum Domini*⁴⁾, also begins immediately (without the "Vere dignum et justum est") with an *Oratio theologico-christologica*: ነክሱተክ: ኣሞላክ: ቅዱሳ: (H: "We give Thee thanks, Holy God") i. e. the prayer is partly directed to God the Father, partly to the Son, so that there can be no question of a clear division into an *Oratio theologica* and an *Oratio christologica*, as is, e. g., the case in the Syriac AA and also in the Greek/Coptic A of St. Gregory. In Harden's translation⁵⁾ there is no Sanctus, but as the Sanctus appears in Mercer's MS⁶⁾ it seems likely that in the MS used by Harden it was omitted as something self-evident. According to Mercer's MS the Sanctus in Harden's text ought to be after the words of the deacon: "Answer ye"⁷⁾, namely between: "... for Thee a holy people" and "He stretched forth His hands"⁸⁾. As it is, however, also missing in the Syriac *Testamentum Domini* (as are also the exclamations of the deacon⁹⁾) it is clear that it did not originally appear in the text but was added later.

If we examine the text of the J after the Sanctus we discover that this text corresponds to the respective part of the Ap (and of the *Ethiopic Church Order*).

¹⁾ Cf. the Greek/Coptic liturgy of St. Mark/St. Cyril, Br pp. 132 and 175.

²⁾ Br p. 232.

³⁾ The Greek/Coptic liturgy of St. Mark/St. Cyril (Br pp. 132 and 176) has at this point the first (or general) part of an Euclesis.

⁴⁾ Cf. J. M. Harden, "The Anaphora of the Ethiopic Testament of our Lord" in *Journal of Theological Studies* 23 (1922) pp. 44–49.

⁵⁾ H p. 63 and in *Journal of Theological Studies* 23 (1922) p. 46.

⁶⁾ In *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* 1 (1917) p. 27.

⁷⁾ H p. 63.

⁸⁾ In *Journal of Theological Studies* 23 (1922) p. 46, ll. 32f.

⁹⁾ Rahmani, l. c., pp. 40f.

Ap ¹	J ²	Cf. Testamentum Domini ³ (secundum Rahmani)	Cf. Egyptian Church Order ⁴ (so-called Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus)	Cf. Ethiopic Church Order ⁵
“He stretched out his hands to the passion, suffering to save the sufferers	“He stretched forth his hands to the passion. He suffered that He might loose the suffering	“... expandit manus suas ad passionem, ut a passione et corruptione mortis liberaret eos, qui in te sperarunt. Qui, cum traderetur passioni vo- luntariae, ut erigeret eos, qui deciderunt, perditos reperiret, mortuos vivificaret, mortem tolleret, vincula diaboli confringeret, mentem Patris perficeret, inferos calcaret, viam vitae aperiret, justos lumen versus dirigeret, confinem figeret, tenebras illuminaret, pueros educaret, resurrectionem manifestaret, ...”	“... qui ... extendis (sic!) manus cum pateretur ut a passione liberaret eos qui in te crediderunt. qui cum traderetur voluntariae passioni ut mortem solvat et vincula diaboli dirumpat et infernum calcet et iustos inluminet et terminum figat et resurrectionem manifestet, ...”	“... by stretching out his hands, suffering to loose the sufferers that trust in thee: who was delivered of his own will to the passion that he might abolish death and burst the bond of Satan and trample on hades, lead forth the saints establish a covenant and make known his resurrec- tion.” that he might destroy death and burst the bonds of Satan and trample on hades and lead forth the saints and establish a covenant and make known his resurrec- tion.”

¹) Br p. 232.

²) H pp. 63f.

³) Rahmani, l. c., p. 41.

⁴) Dix, l. c., p. 8.

⁵) Br p. 190.; Duensing, *Aethiop. Text*, pp. 22f.

The comparison on the table shows that the Ap (together with the *Ethiopic Church Order* and the *Egyptian Church Order*) corresponds to the J (and the *Testamentum Domini*). The additions in the J (and in the *Testamentum Domini*) prove, however, that this text is a redaction of the *Egyptian Church Order* (and of the Ap?) (liturgical texts always develop from the shorter to the longer form¹⁾). The result of our comparison illustrates B. S. Easton's remark on the relation of the *Testamentum Domini* to the *Egyptian Church Order*²⁾: "The remainder (viz. from book I 19 onwards) of the work is based on Hippolytus's Apostolic Tradition, although often greatly changed and expanded . . . But Hippolytus's order is faithfully followed and his text is often reproduced verbally."

The next subject of discussion ought to be the Institution Narrative. But before we deal with the Institution Narrative we ought to investigate the Eucharistic Thanksgiving of the other Ethiopic AA.

The Mk in general corresponds to the Greek/Coptic liturgy of St. Mark/St. Cyril, the B to the Greek/Coptic liturgy of St. Basil and the JB to the Greek/Syriac liturgy of St. James. It is therefore not necessary to go into details about these three AA.

The other AA are more worth discussing. First the MC. The text of this A exceeds all proportions and violates the normal structure of classical liturgy. The Eucharistic Thanksgiving consists mainly of praise of Mary, put into the frame-work of a Eucharistic liturgy. We cannot help having the impression that the text of this Eucharistic Thanksgiving is far too abundant to be compressed into such a strict frame-work.

The beginning is typical of the MC. Its opening passage is given in the first person singular: ገዢ: ልብ: ቃል: ሠናዮ: (three times) (§ 2) ወሐነ: አየድዕ: ቅዳሴሃ: ለማርያም: አቦ: በአብዝኖ: አላ: በአውህዶ: ወሐነ: አየድዕ: ውዳሴሃ: ለድንግል: አቦ: በአንሐ: በቃል: ዝንግጫ: አላ: በአሕጽር: (H: "My heart is inditing of a good matter [this sentence is repeated three times]; (§ 2) and I will make known the qeddâsê of Mary, not in many (words) but in few; yea, I will make known the praise of the Virgin, not lengthening it with words of folly, but cutting it short"). If one considers that these words come after the phrase ("Lift up your hearts") "We lift them up unto the Lord our God" one realises

¹⁾ Hieronymus Engberding established this principle, cf. Anton Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, Chevetogne ³1953, p. 67; H. Engberding, O. S. B., *Das Eucharistische Hochgebet der Basileiosliturgie*, Münster i. W. 1931, pp. XIX ff.

²⁾ *The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus*, Cambridge 1934, p. 14.



that the (Ethiopian) author of this A¹) has lost all feeling for liturgical form and liturgical structure. He does not keep his promise to announce the A of the Virgin not in many words but in a few only as the MC is one of the longest Ethiopic AA.

Hitherto I have discussed only the negative aspects of this A. It has, however, its positive aspects also. The text contains a surprisingly large element of theological thought which far surpasses that of other Oriental liturgies²). Even the poetical element of the MC is not easily paralleled in other liturgies³). To take only the passage in which the Virgin Mary is identified with the types in the Old Testament (§ 36–41)⁴): she is the hope of Adam, the meekness of Abel, the ark of Noah, the ladder of Jacob, the fleece of Gideon, the harp of David etc.⁵).

The description of the Virgin's life in § 43 probably goes back to an apocryphal source⁶) as the *ገሳጽ ተብላ፡፡* ("how it is said") indicates. In §§ 44–46 her holiness of life, her betrothal, the conception of Christ and his Incarnation are described. Then follows (§ 47) a discussion of the nature of the Godhead (*መለኮት*) and of the Trinity (§§ 48–60). Particularly well worth consideration is the sublime passage about the efficacy of the three divine persons (§§ 53–55), built up in

¹) The compact character of the MC points to a single composer.

²) Cf. especially the §§ 34–46, 46–47, 50–55, 60 and 64–68.

³) This sort of poetry appears only in Oriental homilies.

⁴) Rodwell thought that § 34 originated in a homily of Proclus (in *Journal of Sacred Literature* etc. IV (1863/64) p. 124). Euringer also referred to Proclus (died 446, cf. Altaner, *Patrologie*, pp. 303f.), *Oratio I: Laudatio in sanctissimam Dei genetricem Mariam* = Migne, *PG* 65, coll. 681f. (cf. „Die äthiopische Anaphora unserer Herrin Maria“ in *Oriens Christianus* 3. S. 12 (1937) p. 94). This homily is contained in a collection of homilies called Qērlos (= Cyril) which is wide-spread and well-known in Ethiopia. — In § 65 the *Laudatio* of Proclus also seems to have been the source.

⁵) For these passages cf. also the *Organon Mariae*, ed. Pontus Leander, Leipzig 1922 [translation into German by S. Euringer in *Oriens Christianus* 3. S. 2 (1927) — 3. S. 6 (1931)]; K. Fries, *Weddāsē Mārjām*, Leipzig-Upsala 1892; I. Guidi, *Weddāsē wa-Genāy*, Roma 1900; especially Adolf Grohmann, *Aethiopische Marienhymnen*, Leipzig 1919, and the index of symbolic designations for the Virgin Mary in Grébaut-Tisserant, *Codices Aethiopici Vaticani* etc. II, In *Bybliotheca Vaticana* 1936, pp. 80f.

⁶) Cf. E. A. W. Budge, *Legends of our Lady Mary & Her Mother Hannā*, London 1922; M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford ²1953, Index p. 581.

three triple constructions¹⁾. The activities of the three divine persons are conceived as distributed in such a manner that the beginning is ascribed to the Father, the continuation to the Son and the completion to the Holy Ghost.

§ 60 is introduced by the words of § 59: ንሕነሰ: ንተሉ: አምሀርተ: ሠላይ: ፍኖት: በከመ: መሀተ: ሐዋርያት: እንዘ: ይብሉ: (Eu: „Wir aber folgen den Lehrern des guten Weges, wie uns die Apostel belehrt haben, indem sie sagten:“). This might appear to lead to the conclusion that the author has used a “Teaching of the Apostles” for this part of his work. The same introduction is found in the O in § 28: ንሕነሰ: ንለቡ: በከመ: መሐተ: ሐዋርያት: በእነተ: አቡ: ወወልድ: ወመንፈስ: ቅዱስ: እንዘ: ይብሉ (H: “Let us understand even as the apostles have taught us concerning the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, saying:”). But there is no need to assume that any apocryphal source was used, because according to the Ethiopic point of view all these theological ideas can be traced in the New Testament.²⁾

The MC has some very peculiar features in its structure. For instance, the Sanctus is found twice within the Eucharistic Thanksgiving. The first time it appears in § 32 (ይሕ: ቅ: ቅ: ቅ:). This first Sanctus is perhaps a personal addition of the author. The second time the Sanctus occurs before the Institution Narrative in § 70 which is introduced by § 69: ይእኬኒ: ንሰብሐ: እንዘ: ንብል: ቅ: ቅ: ቅ: (Eu: „Aber jetzt wollen wir ihn preisen, indem wir sagen: Heilig, heilig, heilig . . .“). This latter is perhaps the original position, but this question will be discussed later (cf. pp. 108f.).

In the MC there is yet another item which is recited twice, namely the Creed. The Creed, which had been said in the course of the Pre-Anaphora³⁾ is repeated during the Eucharistic Thanksgiving. § 61 invites the people to say the Creed: ከመዝ: ነአምን: ወከመዝ: ንትአመን: ወንበል: ጸሎተ: ሃይማኖት: (Eu: „So glauben wir und so bekennen wir, und wir wollen das Gebet des Glaubens sprechen:“). This second Creed is certainly a personal addition of the author.

¹⁾ E g. § 53 አቡ: ይሄሉ: ወወልድ: ይትናገር: ወመንፈስ: ቅ: ይሠዎር: አቡ: ይመክር: ወወልድ: ይነብላ: ወመንፈስ: ቅ: ይፈጽም: አቡ: ይገብር: ወወልድ: ያስተዋድድ: ወመን: ቅ: ያጠጋጥዕ: (Eu: „Der Vater denkt und der Sohn berichtet und der hl. Geist billigt. — Der Vater beschließt und der Sohn redet und der hl. Geist führt aus. — Der Vater schafft und der Sohn ordnet und der hl. Geist veredelt.“).

²⁾ E. g., Mt. 3, 17; Mk. 1, 11; Lk. 3, 22; Jn. 14 and 15; 16, 14f.; Heb. 1, 5; 5, 5.

³⁾ Cf. Br p. 226.

In contrast to other AA the MC is so peculiar in structure and content that it can hardly be ascribed to any but an Ethiopian author. The poetry, the theological niceties, the exuberant praise of Mary, – all that is composed in a typically Ethiopian way. Sebastian Euringer thought that the MC was translated from Arabic into Ethiopic, but I do not feel able to endorse his view. The texts adduced by Euringer in support of his opinion comprise only two or three rather doubtful words¹⁾. Euringer himself admitted that ጸባጤ: ኩሉ: in § 108 (cf. § 25 of the D) = παντοκράτωρ and ዶር: in § 130 = margarita are loan-words. There is, indeed, no reason to believe in a translation from the Arabic just because of these two words. Both words appear already in Dillmann's *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae*²⁾.

The supposition that the ሂሳ: ርኣሳ: (in § 6) goes back to the Coptic ⲬⲭⲈⲚ (i. e. Ⲭ + ⲭⲱ + Ⲛ = "over the head of") is in the highest degree improbable, because we know that even in the first Christian centuries the Copts had forgotten the basic meaning of the Coptic words in the Old Egyptian. Euringer admitted this also³⁾. There is really only the reference to the philosopher Silondis (ሲልዎንዲስ:) in § 41 which remains of the words which Euringer adduced to prove his opinion. No philosopher of this name has been identified. Euringer then suggested that the Arabic text might have been misread: سلوندس instead of سکوندس. Accordingly, the philosopher Secundus, who was well-known in Ethiopia, would be meant. Though Euringer's suggestion is rather attractive an important objection arises; Euringer thought that there might be a reference to the "Tree of Life" in the surviving works of Secundus (these works were not accessible to him). Yet a close examination of the works of Secundus has shown that he does not mention a "Tree of Life"⁴⁾ (he only mentions the tree which killed his mother).

¹⁾ „Anaphora unserer Herrin Maria“, pp. 69f., 93f. and 97f.

²⁾ Coll. 1332 and 1093.

³⁾ L. c., p. 69: „Allerdings müßte dann die postulierte arabische Fehlübertragung zu einer Zeit erfolgt sein, als man die Grundbedeutung von ⲬⲭⲈⲚ noch durchfühlte. Aber gerade dies macht die Beweiskraft dieser Lesart wieder fraglich, auch ist es sehr problematisch, daß der Übersetzer gerade eine so gewöhnliche und geläufige Präposition mißverstanden haben sollte.“

⁴⁾ *Secundi Philosophi Taciturni vita ac sententiae secundum Codicem Aethiopicum Berolinensem* quem in linguam latinam vertit nec non introductione instruxit Dr. Johannes Bachmann, Berolini 1887; Johannes Bachmann, *Das Leben und die Sentenzen des Philosophen Secundus des Schweigsamen – Nach dem Äthiopischen und Arabischen –* (Inaugural-Dissertation), Halle/Saale 1887; id., *Die Philosophie des Neopythagoreers Secundus*, Berlin 1888.

According to the Amharic interpretation of the text of this liturgy (Addis Abbaba 1918 A. Mis., p. 239), a philosopher is referred to: "Tu sei (come) l'albero di Silondis". Spiegazione: Silondis fu un filosofo. Egli aveva due alberi; con l'uno uccediva, con l'altro guariva¹⁾. Not only the form *سكندس* exists in Arabic but *اسكنداس*, *اسكندر* (Coptic: *CKONTAC*) as well as *سفيداس*²⁾. The tradition of this name is therefore very uncertain, though the latin name *Secundus* is hidden behind all these forms. Even if the explanation given by Euringer is accepted it is not impossible that the author of the MC knew only the corrupt form *سلوندس* (which really is not so different from the latin *Secundus* as the Arabic *سفيداس*). Perhaps through respect for tradition only the corrupt form has survived here.

There is still another point: Anybody who has any acquaintance with the structure of liturgical texts will recognise that the philosopher Silondis, listed among the Minor Prophets (in § 41), is certainly not in the right place. We should expect the name of a Minor Prophet to appear instead of Silondis. This is why we should not overlook J. M. Rodwell's suggestion that Silondis was the Prophet Zephaniah (*Sophonias*): *ሶፍንያስ* instead of *ሲሎንድስ* or *ሲሎንዲስ*³⁾.

After I had finished the manuscript of this book, through the kindness of Prof. A. Raes I received a study by J. Stephan on *Einige Mariensymbole des Alten Testaments in der äthiopischen Liturgie* (Civitas Vaticana 1957). In this work the author discussed in detail the "Tree of Life of Silondis" (pp. 46–54). He concluded that the author of the MC deliberately omitted the stroke in the Qāf of the Arabic form of "Secundus" in order to produce a word resembling the Greek *ξύλον δός* = a double tree. Stephan gave as reason that in the works of Secundus only the tree which killed his mother is mentioned (Bachmann, *Leben und Sentenzen*, pp. 24 and 28). The *ξύλον δός* would then indicate that there is still another tree which saves, the tree of life (= Christ). Even if it were not possible to accept this ingenuous explanation it shows how many difficulties there are in the interpretation of

¹⁾ Italian translation by the Uniat Abuna Tecla Mariam Kahsay in „Anaphora unserer Herrin Maria“, p. 97.

²⁾ J. Bachmann, *Das Leben und die Sentenzen des Philosophen Secundus*, pp. 12f.

³⁾ In *Journal of Sacred Literature* etc. IV (1863/64) p. 124: "The text is very corrupt. The word Silondis is doubtless a corruption of Sophonias, commemorated in the Aethiopic calendar on July 4." Cf. Ullendorff, *The Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, London 1955, p. 161.

the word "Silondis". In any case it cannot be regarded as providing any proof for an Arabic (Coptic) original of the MC.

There is a reference in the Eucharistic Thanksgiving of the MC which provides a *terminus post quem* for the time when the A was composed. In § 58 the author condemns the one-sided Monotheism of ለጄሀድ: አኩያን: ወለአዕማሌላውያን: ጊጊያን: i. e. "of the wicked Jews and the erring Ismaelites"; the Ismaelites are the Mohammedans. It follows that the MC could not have been composed before the period when a stand against the Islamic doctrines seemed to be necessary.

The M is very similar to the MC in that it consists mainly of a praise of the Virgin Mary. J. Stephan suggested (*Einige Mariensymbole* etc., p. 17) that it has its prototype in the MC. It is remarkable that in the M immediately before the Institution Narrative an abbreviated version of the passage is found which in the same place also occurs in the Ap and the J (Semharay Selim, pp. 12f.): ወአምላክ: ሰፍሎ: አደጋሁ: ለአማኞ: ፋብ: ዕፁ: መሰቀል፤ ሐመ: ከመ: ለአመማን: ያድኅን: ወያውጽአመ: ለአለ: ውሰተ: ሲኦል: ("Après cela Il étendit ses bras pour pâtre sur le bois de la croix, Il pâtit pour délivrer ceux qui patissent et libérer ceux qui se trouvent dans l'enfer").

We shall now deal with an A which in its structure shows a great similarity with the MC, namely the Ath. Like the MC this A betrays a very free composition. It was not without difficulty that its poetical text was adapted to the frame-work of the OC. The *Oratio ante Sanctus et post Sanctus* comprises 78 §§ compared with 42 §§ for the rest of the A. As in the MC there can be no question of dividing this A into an *Oratio theologica* and an *Oratio christologica*.

A considerable part of the 78 §§ of the Eucharistic Thanksgiving is devoted to the praise of the Christian Sabbath. The "Holy Sabbath of the Christians" (ሰንበተ: ክርስቲያን: ቅድሳት:) is one of the Ethiopic names for Sunday. The Eucharistic Thanksgiving celebrates this Christian Sabbath as the first and the last day of this world, the day on which the creation began and the day on which the creation will end, as the day which leads to eternity and the day on which the new creation started. With deep feeling the Christian Sabbath is greeted as a beloved guest. The author goes so far in the appreciation of the Christian Sabbath as to regard it as a Saint or an angel who is asked to be an advocate to God.

§ 105, e. g., runs as follows: አዛቲ: ዕለት: ሰንበተ: ክርስቲያን: ቅድሳት: ሰአለ: ለኅ: አዕተምህራ: ለኅ: ኅብ: አግቢአብሔር: አምላክነ: ለዓለመ: ዓለም: (Eu: „O du heiliger christlicher Sabbatstag, bitte für uns und lege Fürsprache für uns ein bei dem Herrn unserem Gott . . . in alle Ewigkeit!").

§ 116: ወካዕቡ: ንብል፤ ሰአለ: ለነ: አዕተምሀሪ: በአንጉሉነ: ነቡ: አግዚአብሔር: አምላክነ: (Eu: „Und wiederum sagen wir: Bitte für uns, lege Fürsprache für uns ein bei dem Herrn, unserem Gotte“).

§ 117: አቅድሰት: ንጌ: ነቤነ: ለለሰመነ: ከመ: ንትፈህነሕ: ብኪ: ለዓለመ: ኃለም: (Eu: „O Heiliger, komme zu uns jede Woche, damit wir uns an dir ergötzen in alle Ewigkeit!“).

Euringer already drew attention to a parallel to this personification of the Christian Sabbath, a parallel which appears in the famous song of the Jewish-Spanish poet Solomon Ben Moses Halevi Alkabez (16th century). In this song the Jews hail the Sabbath as the bride of Israel¹). The refrain runs as follows: לָכֶּה דּוּדֵי לְקִרְאָת כָּלָה פְּנֵי שַׁבָּת נִקְבְּלָה: “Come, my friend, to meet the bride; let us welcome the presence of the Sabbath.”

The second verse runs thus: לְקִרְאָת שַׁבָּת לָכוּ וְנִלְכָּה: כִּי הִיא מְקוֹר הַבְּרָכָה מֵרֹאשׁ מִקְדָּם גְּסוּבָה: סוֹף מַעֲשֵׂה בְּמַחֲשָׁבָה תַּחֲלָה:

“Come, let us go to meet the Sabbath, for it is a well-spring of blessing; from the beginning, from of old it was ordained, — last in production, first in thought.”

Verse nine: בּוֹאִי בְּשָׁלוֹם עֲטָרַת בְּעָלָה: גַּם בְּשִׂמְחָה וּבְצִהְלָה תוֹךְ אֲמוּנֵי עַם סִגְלָה: בּוֹאִי כָלָה בּוֹאִי כָלָה:

“Come in peace, thou crown of thy husband, with rejoicing and with cheerfulness, in the midst of the faithful of the chosen people: come, O bride; come, O bride.”²)

But this poet is a comparatively late source; he can only be regarded as a witness for the existence in Judaism of such ideas as the personification of the Sabbath but tells us nothing of their origin. There is, however, much earlier evidence about the personification of the Sabbath in the Talmud. Tractate *Shabbath* f. 119 a runs as follows:

¹) Cf. Ismar Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, Frankfurt a. M. ³1931, p. 108; A. Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Liturgy and its Development*, New York 1932, pp. 128–130.

²) *The Authorised Daily Prayer Book of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire*, London ²²1953, pp. 111f. It was a universal practise in the Synagogue to turn towards the door during the last verse. This custom is supposed to commemorate the time when the faithful went to meet the Sabbath.

6 Hammerschmidt, Ethiopic Anaphoras

רבי חנינא מיעטף וקאי
 אפניא דמעלי שבתא
 אמר בואו ונצא לקראת
 שבת המלכה רבי ינאי
 לביש מאניה מעלי שבת
 ואמר בואי כלה בואי כלה

(“R. Ḥanina robed himself and stood at sunset of Sabbath eve (and) exclaimed, ‘Come and let us go forth to welcome the queen Sabbath’. R. Jannai donned his robes on Sabbath eve and exclaimed, ‘Come, O bride, Come, O bride!’”¹⁾).

These quotations show without any doubt that in the Ath there is a continuation of Jewish ideas. This fact is made even more clear by a comparison with the book *Te’ezāza Sanbat* which is in the possession of the Ethiopian Jews, the Falashas. The personified Sabbath appears several times in this book; so e. g. in 30, 15–32, 18²⁾: “Attended by the angels she worships the Creator on Friday morning. God converses with her and tells her that those who honor her honor Him. Sabbath praises the Lord and then leaves the camp of God attended by angels. They bring her to earth and report the deeds of men on the Sabbath day to God, who then rewards or punishes. God bids all people praise Him . . . She bids Michael, Gabriel, Rumā’ēl, and Uriel bring her those who are her own. This leads to a struggle with the hosts of Bērnā’ēl who are driven back to Sheol. Michael then ascends to Sabbath and reports on the struggle (32, 6–16). Sabbath appeals to God to give her those who love her. God agrees. She promises to intercede for those who fear her on the Last Day, but those who disregard her will be seized by the hosts of Bērnā’ēl (32, 17–28).”³⁾

This text suggests two possibilities: either the personification of the Sabbath in the Ath originated in the book *Te’ezāza Sanbat* of the Falashas⁴⁾, or both the latter book and the Ath go back to a common Jewish source. In any case it is now clear that the origin of the Ath is not to be sought in Egypt.

¹⁾ *The Babylonian Talmud, Seder Mo’ed, Shabbath II*, London 1938, p. 588.

The personification of the Sabbath is also found in the Byzantine Jewish liturgy, cf. I. Davidson, *Thesaurus of Mediaeval Hebrew Poetry*, New York 1930, letter Mem No. 527.

²⁾ The numbers give the pages and lines in Wolf Leslau, *A Falasha Anthology*, New Haven 1951.

³⁾ L. c., p. 7.

⁴⁾ For the Falashas cf. E. Ullendorff, “Hebraic-Jewish Elements in Abyssinian (Monophysite) Christianity” in *Journal of Semitic Studies* 1 (1956) pp. 254–256.

The Eucharistic Thanksgiving opens with the invocation of heaven and earth. No. 2b of the dialogue is followed by the passage: አሰምዕ: ለክሙ: ሰማያተ: አሰምዕ: ለክሙ: ምድረ: ("I call heaven to witness for you, I call earth to witness for you"; cf. Deut. 4, 26). Here, too, the connection between the dialogue and the beginning of the Eucharistic Thanksgiving has become completely irreconizable. This passage is followed by an address to the priests and deacons. § 17 contains a lament about the sin of Adam and Eve and a passage on the evil effects of the Fall. In §§ 19ff. follows a long passage on the lost Paradise which the faithful long to see. In § 23 the four rivers of Paradise (ግዮን: Geyon; ኤፌሶን: Ēfēson; ጢግሮስ: Tigris; ኤፍራጥስ: Ēfrātes) are mentioned. The respective biblical passage (Gen. 2, 13) has probably contributed to the naming of Ethiopia¹) as it is written:

וְשֵׁם-הַנָּהָר הַשֵּׁנִי גִיחוֹן הוּא הַסּוֹבֵב אֶת כָּל-אֶרֶץ כּוּשׁ:

("And the name of the second river is Gihon: the same is it that compasseth the whole land of Ethiopia").

§ 26 contains a rather peculiar passage: ወንሕሰ: አለ: ቅቡአን: በጸጋ: አገሊአብሔር: በአማን: ክርስቶስወያን: መሲሐዊያን: ንጽሐቅ: . . . (Eu: „Wir wollen vielmehr als durch die Gnade des Herrn gesalbte wahrhaftige messianische (d. i. gesalbte) Christen streben . . .“). Euringer suggested²) that the author had some special reason for this Epitheton: መሲሐዊያን: „Er nennt sich und seine Religionsgenossen 'wahrhaftige' Christen, die nicht bloß Christen, sondern auch messianische Christen sind, also solche, die an den Messias, den Gesalbten, glauben, und bringt diese Bezeichnung und die Berechtigung, diese für sich in Anspruch zu nehmen, damit in Verbindung, daß sie 'durch die Gnade des Herrn Gesalbte' sind. Wohin aber diese Spitze zielt, kann ich nicht angeben. Jedenfalls handelt es sich aber um die in Abessinien seit Jahrhunderten schon geführten und noch immer nicht erledigten Kontroversen über die Salbung Christi“³). But it appears that Euringer saw too much behind this word. It may easily be explained as either an apposition (cf. Arabic مَسِيحِي) or a glosse which was inserted into the text later.

¹) Cf. E. Hammerschmidt, „Die Anfänge des Christentums in Äthiopien“, p. 284.

²) „Anaphora des hl. Athanasius“, pp. 289f.

³) Cf. I. Guidi, *La chiesa abissina e la chiesa russa*, *Nuova antologia*, Roma 1890, pp. 606f.; id. in *Enciclopedia Italiana* 14, p. 483.

§ 30 deals with those who were like unto the angels (አጡንቲ፡ ተመሰሉ፡ ከመ፡ መለክነት፡) in their life¹), who are cleansed and have washed their robes, and whose names are written in the book of life with the blood of the Lamb. In contrast to them the faithful have three births (፫ ልደታት፡) (§ 31): holy baptism, the body and blood of Christ and the tears in repentance. These three births clearly correspond to three of the sacraments of the Ethiopic Church: Baptism, Eucharist and Remission of sins in Absolution²).

§§ 32–34 must be regarded as the introduction to the Sanctus. This introduction refers to the angels who glorify God with the voice of praise. As the choirs of the angels magnify God, so the faithful sing in adoration (§ 35 H: “And we also say together with them”): “Holy, Holy, Holy”. The Sanctus is immediately followed by the praise of the Christian Sabbath which is extolled as the firstborn among the days (as well as in § 47). This extends from § 37 to § 60. From § 49 onwards the Christian Sabbath is identified with the day of the Last Judgment:

ወካዕሰ፡ አመ፡ ጥሰፍን፡ ካፒ፡ ዕለት፡ ይኸውን፡ ሐዳሰ፡ ግብር፡ ወሐዳሰ፡ ነገር።

(Eu: „Und wiederum, wenn dieser Tag zur Herrschaft kommen wird, dann wird ein neues Werk und eine neue Sache (wörtl. Rede) sein“). Thus, according to the Ath the day of the Last Judgment (and of the resurrection of the dead, § 51) is also a (Christian) Sabbath. On that very day the sea of fire (ባሕረ፡ እሳት፡) and the ice-ditch (ግብ፡ አዕሐንድ፡), which is beneath the sea of fire, shall open. A stream of fire (ፈለግ፡ እሳት፡) shall pour forth (cf. § 52).

In this passage a connection with Jewish thoughts and ideas seems obvious. It is a peculiarity of Talmudic thought that the Sabbath has an eschatological meaning, i. e. it is regarded as the last day³). The Talmud (Tractate *Tamid* f. 33b *sub finem*) says about it:

בשבת היו אומרים מזמור
שיר ליום השבת מזמור
שיר לעתיד לבוא ליום שכולו
שבת ומנוחה לחיי העולמים.

(“On Sabbath they used to say, a psalm, a song for the Sabbath day: A psalm (viz. XCII), a song for the time to come, for the day that will

¹) Harden’s explanation (H p. 96) is not quite correct: “. . . who were before in the flesh, but are now like unto the angels, . . .”.

²) Cf. *The Teaching of the Abyssinian Church*, London 1936, pp. 23–26, 39–42 and 35–39.

³) Cf. H. L. Strack-P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch* IV 2, München 1928, pp. 839 f.

תניא רבי יהודה אומר משום
ר"ע... בשביעי היו אומרים מזמור
שיר ליום השבת ליום שכולו
שבת א"ר נחמיה מה ראו חכמים
לחלק בין הפרקים הללו...
בשביעי על שם ששבת וקמפלגי
בדבר קטינא דאמר רב קטינא
שיתא אלפי שני הוה עלמא וחר
חרוב שנאמר ונשגב יי' לבדו
ביום ההוא (אמר אביי) תרי
חרוב שנאמ' יחיינו מיומים.

There may perhaps be a connection between § 50 of the Ath: **ወታሰተናፍሏል፡ ፆድር፡ ሺላሳት፡ ኣዝነ፡ አልሎ፡ በይጥሐወሏ፡ ወሳቴታ፡ በነፍሏ፡ ሕይወ፡** (Eu: ... und die Erde wird sieben Tage lang aufatmen, da sich auf ihr keine lebende Seele mehr regen wird⁽⁴⁾) and Rashi: “(the day which will be all Sabbath) When God shall be alone, between the end of the world and the resurrection of the dead”.

These texts only confirm the connection between Judaism and the Ath mentioned above. None of the other Christian liturgies (as far as I know) has given such an outstanding position to the Sabbath.

§ 61 contains another address to the priests, deacons, holy fathers and the faithful. A parallel for the sentence in § 61: አኩልከሙ፡ መሃይዮናን፡ እሉ፡ ጎመሰሉ፡ ከዋክብት፡ ብሩሃን፡ (Eu: „O ihr Gläubigen alle, die ihr leuchtenden Sternen gleichen werdet,“ better „gleicht“) may be seen Dan. 12, 3: יהמשכלים יזהרו כזהר הקקיע ומצדיקו

הרבים ככוכבים לעולם ועד:

(“And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever”).

Next follows the Intercession which in the Ath comes after the Sanctus (as in some other Ethiopic AA). This is followed by a hymn praising Christ, his essence and his activity. With § 79 the Institution Narrative begins.

The O opens the Eucharistic Thanksgiving with a hymn praising God: ግሩም፡ በውሰተ፡ ደመናት፡ ወልዑል፡ እምሰሚያት፡ እግሊአብሔር፡ ሰቡሕ፡ በኩሉ፡ ፍናዊሁ፡ (§ 2) አምላክ፡ አማልክት፡ ፀባዖት፡ ፍጹም፡ (H: “Awful amid the clouds and higher than the heavens is God, Glorious in all His ways, (§ 2) God of gods, Sabaoth, Perfect,”). This is followed by the Intercession (cf. § 6) and a long theological discussion of the nature of the Trinity (§ 8–19) and of creation (§§ 20 ff.). The sentence in § 11: ውክቱ፡ ለአቡሁ፡ እደ፡ መዝራዕቱ፡ (Eu: „Er ist die Hand des Armes seines Vaters“) may also be found in the Temherta hebu’āt (I 6) (= Ethiopic version of *Testamentum Domini* I 28). As mentioned above (cf. pp. 55 f.) § 49 could be regarded as an attempt to represent the Sanctus (which would otherwise be missing in the O): ሱራፊል፡ ወኪሉል፡ ይጸርሉ፡ ወይብሉ፡ ቅዱሱ፡ እግሊአብሔር፡ ቅዱሱ፡ ኃይል፡ አኩ፡ በኃይለ ጥዕቢት፡ ቅዱሱ፡ ሕያው፡ ዘኢይመውት፡ ዘሞተ፡ በእንተ፡ ፍቅረ፡ ሰብኡ፡ (Eu: „Die Seraphe und Cherube rufen und sprechen: ‘Heiliger Gott! Heiliger Starker, aber nicht (stark) durch die Stärke der Überhebung! Heiliger Lebendiger, Unsterblicher, der starb aus Liebe zu den Menschen.’“) This form is similar to the Trisagion which has been discussed above (cf. p. 52). The addition: “Who died for love to the men” at first sight looks as if it had its origin in monophysitic theology. The problem is the same as in the addition: ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι’ ἡμᾶς which is supposed to go back to Petrus Fullo (463–486). The admissibility of this addition to the Trisagion was a matter of discussion until

the Middle Ages; besides, it was not quite clear whether the Trisagion was only christological or trinitarian as well¹). It would therefore be unwise without more ado to regard the form of the Trisagion of the O as monophysitic. First of all it would be necessary to settle the question as to how the author of the O understood the Trisagion with the addition and what his intention was in taking up this form (this is, however, impossible). It is unfortunate that in the christological controversies of the fourth and the following centuries the exact meaning of the terms in dispute was not always clear²). By a given expression one side understood something different from what the other meant; from this a series of misunderstandings arose³). Later, the Oriental churches especially adhered obstinately to the formulations once forged in the controversy without worrying about the deeper meaning of these terms⁴).

The Eucharistic Thanksgiving of the E contains essentially praise of God and of the creation. This A, too, is freely composed, though not as freely as the MC and the Ath. The Intercession comes between the Sanctus and the Institution Narrative.

At the beginning of the GH, as I previously mentioned when discussing the dialogue (cf. pp. 71f.), there is an exhortation of the deacon. I said that I did not think it probable that this exhortation came between the dialogue and the beginning of the Eucharistic Thanksgiving.

I think that I have now found proof that my supposition was correct.

¹) Cf. H. Engberding, "Trishagion" in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 10, col. 295; id., „Zum formengeschichtlichen Verständnis des ἅγιος ὁ θεός, ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος — ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς“ in *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 10 (1930) pp. 168–174; A. Baumstark, „Der Orient und die Gesänge der Adoratio crucis“ in *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 2 (1922) pp. 2f.

²) Cf. J. F. Bethune-Baker, *The Meaning of the Homoousios in the 'Constantinopolitan' Creed*, Cambridge 1901 (*Texts and Studies* vol. VII No. 1); Franz Erdin, *Das Wort Hypostasis*, Freiburg i. Br. 1939; E. Hammerschmidt, „Die Begriffsentwicklung in der altkirchlichen Theologie zwischen dem ersten allgemeinen Konzil von Nizäa (325) und dem zweiten allgemeinen Konzil von Konstantinopel (381)“ in *Theologische Revue* 51 (1955) coll. 145–154.

³) For the Ethiopian theology cf. now P. Mario da Abiy-Addi, O. F. M. Cap., (Aielè Tekle-Haymanot), *La dottrina della chiesa etiopica dissidente sull'unione ipostatica*, Roma 1956 (*Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 147).

⁴) For the so-called Monophysitism cf. F. Heiler, *Urkirche und Ostkirche*, München 1937, pp. 454–459; especially several essays in A. Grillmeier, S. J., — H. Bacht, S. J., (ed.), *Das Konzil von Chalkedon I–II*, Würzburg 1951–1953.

In § 1 of the GH the deacon, after a few invitations to prayer, says: **ⲫⲟⲩⲥ: ⲱⲥⲓⲣⲉ: ⲫⲟⲩⲥ: ⲛⲟⲩ: ⲁⲗⲁⲩⲥ: ⲁⲕⲁⲓⲛⲁⲕⲁⲗⲁⲥ: ⲱⲣⲁⲥ: ⲓⲣⲁⲗⲁⲛⲟⲩ:** which Euringer translated thus: „Stehet richtig! Stehet, auf daß der Friede des Herrn mit euch sei!“, while Harden's translation runs: “Arise duly, arise that the peace of God may be with you” (in this translation he has not grasped the point since the faithful are not supposed to get up from sitting down (or kneeling) but are bidden to stand erect. He possibly had in mind the meaning of the Hebrew **קִּיּוּם**). This **ⲫⲟⲩⲥ: ⲱⲥⲓⲣⲉ:** without any doubt represents the Greek **στάθητε** of the Egyptian rite or the **στῶμεν καλῶς** of the Syriac rite. The Greek **στάθητε** can be found in the Coptic liturgy of St. Basil¹⁾; the Greek liturgy of St. Basil has **στῶμεν καλῶς**²⁾. The Syriac liturgy of St. James has only (according to Brightman): “Stand we fairly”; the Greek version of the same liturgy has the extended form³⁾: **στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν εὐλαβῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβον θεοῦ καὶ κατανύξεως**; according to the edition of the *Anaphorae Syriacae* the Syriac liturgy has: “Stemus bene (**ⲥⲩⲙⲉⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓ**), stemus cum timore, stemus cum modestia, stemus cum puritate, stemus cum sanctitate, stemus erga omnes, fratres mei, in amore et in fide vera” (cf. l. c. I p. VI). The Coptic liturgy of St. Gregory has **στῶμεν . . .** and **στάθητε**⁴⁾. H. Engberding has now proved that the exclamation: **στῶμεν . . .** in the liturgy of St. Gregory originated in the (Byzantine-) Syriac region⁵⁾.

If we see a parallel in the two **ⲫⲟⲩⲥ:** of the GH to the exclamations of the deacon mentioned above it follows that this text in the GH without any doubt stands before the dialogue as is the case in the other liturgies. Besides that, we can clearly make out the Egyptian influence as the **στάθητε**⁶⁾ belongs to the Egyptian rite. The [**ⲫⲟⲩⲥ:**] **ⲛⲟⲩ:** . . . seems to be a freely developed version of the Egyptian form (with some Syriac influence?). This **ⲫⲟⲩⲥ:** shows also how important attention to details can be in the history of liturgy.

Incidentally, the *Testamentum Domini*⁷⁾ has a number of *proclamationes Diaconi super Eucharistiam* (**ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲁⲕⲁⲗⲁⲥ ⲱⲣⲁⲥ ⲓⲣⲁⲗⲁⲛⲟⲩ**)

¹⁾ Ren I p. 12.

²⁾ Ren I p. 63.

³⁾ Br p. 85 and p. 49 respectively.

⁴⁾ My edition p. 20 = Nos. 50f.

⁵⁾ H. Engberding, „Ein Problem in der Homologia vor der heiligen Kommunion in der ägyptischen Liturgie“ in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 2 (1936) pp. 150f.

⁶⁾ Vide note 1; cf. S. C. Malan, *The Divine Liturgy of Saint Mark the Evangelist*, London 1872 (*Original Documents of the Coptic Church* I), p. 19.

⁷⁾ Rahmani, l. c., pp. 36ff.

which are also found in the J¹). In both of these (*Testamentum* and J) the dialogue starts only after these *proclamationes*; *Testamentum*²): “Deinde episcopus confitens, gratiasque agens dicat voce terribili: Dominus noster vobiscum”, and J³): “The priest says: The Lord be with you all.”

As for the alleged Epiclesis (§ 12), which in the GH curiously enough would come immediately before the Institution Narrative (§ 15–17), – I shall discuss this in due course when I deal with the Epiclesis in general (cf. p. 164).

In the Eucharistic Thanksgiving of the GH the Sanctus is missing; this is a very unusual feature. Although § 11 contains the exclamation of the deacon: አወሥኡ: (“answer ye”), which usually introduces the Sanctus of the people, this exclamation seems to be followed by a repetition of the preceding passage by the people: ከደኑ ሰማያት: ሥነ: ወመልአ: ምድረ: ሰብሐኑሁ: (Eu: „Es bedeckte die Himmel seine Schönheit und es erfüllte die Erde seine Glorie“)⁴).

The somewhat shorter GC shows a comparatively good structure of the Eucharistic Thanksgiving, opening with the words: ናአሁተከ: አገሊአ: ወንጌብሐከ: ወንዩደሰከ: (H: “We give Thee thanks, O Lord; we glorify Thee and praise Thee”); it corresponds rather to a classical form of the Oriental liturgies. Then follows the description of the praise of God by his angels (§ 2). The *Vigiles* here mentioned (ገገሃገ: H: “Watchers who sleep not”) play an important part both in apocryphal and in rabbinic literature. The starting-point for these *Vigiles* is Dan 4, 10ff.⁵) (they appear also in the C I § 11).

The eight formidable ones (፳ ገገሃገ:) are no demons but angels who stand close to God. The threescore majestic ones, whom Harden found in his MS or. 545⁶), may originate in the Song of Solomon 3, 7:

הנה מטותו של שלמה
ששים גברים סביב לה מגברי ישראל:

¹) H pp. 61f.

²) Rahmani, l. c., p. 39.

³) H p. 61.

⁴) Cf. Löfgren-Euringer, *Gregorius-Anaphoren*, p. 113.

⁵) Cf. R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, Oxford 1912, p. 330b (Index: Watchers); id., *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis*, London 1902, p. 267b (Index: Angels), especially IV 22 = p. 38; Talmud: *Sanhedrin* f. 38b = *The Babylonian Talmud, Seder Neziḳin, Sanhedrin I*, London 1935, p. 245; for the passage in Daniel cf. J. A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, Edinburgh 1950, p. 236; M. Ziegler, *Engel und Dämon im Lichte der Bibel mit Einschluß des außerkanonischen Schrifttums*, Zürich 1957, p. 61.

⁶) H p. 127.

("Behold his bed, which is Solomon's; threescore valiant men are about it of the valiant of Israel")¹⁾.

The introduction to the Sanctus in the GC is rather unusual. As already mentioned, that form of introduction, which (although it mentions the choirs of angels) yet has the Sanctus sung by the people, is a combination of both Syriac and Egyptian rites²⁾. Wherever such a combination occurs, the two parts are usually arranged in this order: the choirs of the angels are mentioned first. Their example stimulates the people to sing the Sanctus (as in the Greek/Coptic liturgy of St. Gregory³⁾). In the GC there is also the same combination, but with the order inverted; the introduction of the Sanctus of the people comes first, though the Sanctus itself is never actually recited:

(§ 3) ወንሕዚ: አግብርኲክ: ትሐታን: ከማሁ: በሰፍሐተ: አድ: አንዝ: ናነሥኦ: አደዊነ: ወአንዝ: ናሰተማሰል: በአርአያ: መሰቀል: ከመ: ንሰብሕክ: ወንወድሰክ: ወውአቶመሂ: ከንፍ: ቦመ: ለለጃጃ: ጌክነፊሆመ: ሰራፊል: ወኪሩቤል: (§ 5) ወኩሎመ: ንሰረ: በጃቃል: ኪያክ: ይቄድሱ: ወይዊድሱ: ጃለጃ: ወዝንጉ: ለዝንጉ: ወካልኦ: ለካልኦ: ወይብሉ: (§ 3: "So we too Thy humble servants, with hands outstretched and raised, making the sign⁴⁾ of the cross to glorify Thee and praise Thee; — — — and the Seraphim and the Cherubim also that have wings, six wings each, (§ 5) and all together with one voice sanctify Thee and praise Thee one to another, this one to that one, each to his fellow, and say, . . ."⁵⁾). The Sanctus of the Cherubim and Seraphim follows immediately. It ought perhaps to be mentioned that before the introduction of the Sanctus of the people a reference to the praises of the heavenly spirits is found: (§ 2) ወኩሎመ: ንሰረ: በጃቃል: ኪያክ: ይቄድሱ: ወይዊድሱ: (H: "And all together with one voice sanctify and glorify Thee").

The text suggests that the "composer" knew both kinds of introductions or at least the combination already existing and used it freely.

¹⁾ Cf. the edition of the Ethiopic version of the Song of Songs by H. C. Gleave, p. 15; cf. Talmud: *Gittin* f. 68b = *The Babylonian Talmud, Seder Nashim, Gittin*, London 1936, p. 326.

²⁾ Syrian rite: Br pp. 50 and 86; Egyptian rite: Br pp. 132 and 175.

³⁾ My edition pp. 24–26 = Nos. 71–80 and 82–85.

⁴⁾ Sign = symbol; cf. Löfgren-Euringer, *Gregorius-Anaphoren*, p. 139.

⁵⁾ Cf. H p. 127; Eu: „Und ebenso (feiern) auch wir, deine niedrigen Knechte, (dich) unter Ausbreitung der Hände (Arme), indem wir unsere Hände erheben und die Form eines Kreuzes nachbilden, um dich zu loben und zu feiern.“

In the GC the Intercession occurs in the course of the *Oratio post Sanctus* (§ 12–13). It is followed by the text which precedes the Institution Narrative: (§ 13) በከመ፡ አዕተጋባእካ፡ ለህገ፡ ኅብዕት፡ እንዘ፡ ዝሩት፡ ይኣቲ፡ ውዕተ፡ አድባር፡ ወአውግር፡ ወተጋቢኣ፡ ኮነት፡ አሐተ፡ ኅብዕተ፡ ፍጽምተ፤ ወከማህ፡ ኪያነሂ፡ አዕተጋብኣ፡ በመለኮትክ፡ እምሆሉ፡ ሕሊና፡ እኩይ፡ ውዕተ፡ ሃይማኖትክ፡ ፍጽምት፡ (“As Thou didst gather this bread when it was scattered on the mountains and hills, and being gathered it became one perfect loaf, even so gather us also by Thy Godhead from every evil thought unto Thy perfect faith”)¹⁾. Boris Turaev has pointed out²⁾ that we here have a passage which already occurs in the ninth chapter of the *Didache* and in the Euchologion of Serapion of Thmuis³⁾. It is, however, difficult to say whether this text can determine the age of the GC. The text is a common factor in early Christian liturgies and may thus have been used both in the first centuries and in later times.

The JE is a rather long A. The beginning of the Eucharistic Thanksgiving fits on to the dialogue in the form of the Ap where an inversion of the three parts (1, 3, 2) has taken place. After the response of the people in No. 2b: “We lift them up unto the Lord our God” the priest begins the Eucharistic Thanksgiving: ኅሴክ፡ እግዚኣ፡ አንቃዕዶኣ፡ አዕይንተኣ፡ አንሣእኣ፡ ልብኣ፤ ወአልፃኣ፡ ሕሊናኣ፡ (H: “To Thee, O Lord, we have raised our eyes, we have lifted up our hearts, we have exalted our thoughts”). §§ 2–23 form a real *Oratio theologica* which is followed by the introduction to the Sanctus. The introduction is formed of a combination like that in the Ap. After the Sanctus the Eucharistic Thanksgiving continues with the praise of God the Father (§ 30–34) which is soon succeeded by an *Oratio christologica* (§ 35–48). At this point I should like to draw attention to the two parallel texts in §§ 42 and 45 which, though they have no importance for the question of age and origin, are nonetheless remarkable as examples of Ethiopic liturgical poetry⁴⁾. §§ 50–75 contain the Intercession which is imme-

¹⁾ Cf. H pp. 128 f.; Löfgren-Euringer, *Gregorius-Anaphoren*, pp. 124–127.

²⁾ “Anafora sv. Gregorija Armenskago“ in *Zapiski vostočnago otdelenija imperatorskago russkago archeologičeskago obščestva*, S.-Peterburg 21 (1911/12) pp. 012–015.

³⁾ *Didache* in *Florilegium patristicum* VII, I, Bonnæ 1935, pp. 10 f.; Serapion I in *Journal of Theological Studies* 1 (1900) p. 106.

⁴⁾ § 42: ተቀብረ፡ ከመ፡ ያንምኣመ፡ ለቅብራን፡ ወይዕቀቦመ፡ ለእያዋን፡ መያንጽሐመ፡ ለርኩሳን፡ ወያጽድቆመ፡ ለኃጥኣን፡ ያዕትጋብኣመ፡ ለዝርዋን፡ መይሚሮመ፡ ለጊጉያን፡ (Eu: „Er wurde begraben, damit er die Begrabenen auferwecke, und die Lebenden behüte und die Unreinen reinige und die Sünder gerecht mache, die Zerstreuten sammle, und die Verirrten zurückführe“); § 45: እምኃሌሆመ፡

diately followed by the Institution Narrative (§ 78) without any connecting link.

In the JS the Intercession precedes the Sanctus (§ 5–7). The Sanctus of the JS is unusual in that it not only combines different elements but does so in a different way: it is sung twice by the people. The first time it is introduced with a reference to the choirs of the angels (§ 14: **ሠራዊተ: ሚካኤል: በባነገድሙ: ወሠራዊተ: ገብርኤል: በበሚኅበርሙ::** H: “The hosts of Michael by their tribes, and the hosts of Gabriel by their companies, . . .”), and then it is sung by the people (§ 16). Only after this does the priest introduce the Sanctus of the people (§ 17: **ወንሕሂ: ንባል: ምዕሌሆሙ: ህብረ: H: “Let us, too, say together with them, . . .”).** The passage (§ 18) which immediately follows the Sanctus, is another fine example of Ethiopic liturgical poetry: **አንተ: ዘበአማን: እግዚእነ: ወአምላክነ: ወመድኃኒነ: እየሱሱ: (sic) ክርስቶስ: ቅዱስ: በቅድሳቲክ: ልዑል: በልዕልናክ: እኩት: በአኩቴትክ: ወሰቡሕ: አንተ: በሰብሐተ: ቅዱሳን: መላእክቲክ: (H: “In truth Thou art our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ; holy in Thy holiness, exalted in Thine exaltation, praised in Thy praise, and glorified in the glory of Thy holy angels art Thou”).**

For the **ፈትል: ነዊህ: ዘኢይትብተክ:** (Eu: „langer Faden, der nicht abreißt“) one ought to compare Eccl. 4, 12: **הַרְהֲמָּבֹּא לֹא שֶׁשֶׁשֶׁמֶה שׁוֹחֲחִי: יִשְׁתָּבֵּר** (“and a treefold cord is not quickly broken”). In the *Organon Mariae* this biblical text is applied to the Trinity. In the Song of Flower (verse 62) from Adolf Grohmann’s collection of the *Aethiopische Marienhymnen*¹⁾, the golden thread and the purple thread, which Mary span for the new curtain of the Temple, are compared with the divine and the human nature of Christ²⁾:

ፈትል: ወርቅ: ወፈትል: ሜላት: አመ: በአፀባ(ዕ)ትክ: ተባየዱ:

አምሳለ: መለኮት: ወትሰብአት: አለ: ኢየሱስ:

ተአምረ: ብርሃን: ማርያም: ለ*ፀሐየ: ጽድቅ: አንቀዱ:

እንበል: አብ: በሰሚዓ: ቃል: ወድምፁ:

ለገብርኤል: መልአክኪ: (ዘ)ፍሠሕ: ገዱ:

ለመታን: አለ: አንሣክክ: ወሕያዊን: አለ: ንቀብክ: አምሳለ: ርኩሳን: አለ: አንጻሕክ: ወአምሳለ: ኃጥአን: አለ: አጽደቀ: ወአምሳለ: ዝርዋን: አለ: አስተጋባዕክ: መአምሳለ: ጌጉያን: አለ: ሚጥክ: ለክ: አሜን: አሜን: (Eu: „Von den Toten, die Du auf-erweckt hast, und (von den) Lebenden, die Du behütet hast, von den Un-reinen, die Du gereinigt hast, und von den Sündern, die Du gerecht gemacht hast, von den Zerstreuten, die Du gesammelt hast, und von den Verirrten, die Du zurückgeführt hast, sei Dir . . . Amen! Amen!“).

¹⁾ Leipzig 1919.

²⁾ L. c., pp. 96f.

Deines Engels Gabriel, dessen Antlitz froh ist.“

The Eucharistic Thanksgiving of the D is comparatively short (the whole A is not very long). This Eucharistic Thanksgiving has a surprisingly clear construction; the *Oratio theologica* ends with a doxology (§ 2): ሰብሐት ለአብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ይኣክቤ፡ ወዘልፈኒ፡ ወለዓለሙ፡ ዓለም፡ (H: “Glory (be) to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, now and ever and world without end”). After this doxology the exclamation of the deacon introduces the Intercession: በኣኑዮ፡ ብፁዕ፡ (H: “In behalf of the blessed . . .”) (Rodwell translated – obviously wrongly –: “Pray to the blessed . . .”). §§ 4–13 form the *Oratio christologica*.

⁴) For the wheels of the heavenly throne in § 28 cf. note 3 on page 73.

Rodwell already recognised¹⁾ that § 6 and § 10 were rhymed and tried to reproduce the style in English:

§ 6: "He was placed in the cave,
Royal presents were offered to Him,
Like other babes He wept,
Food craved He from His mother's breasts."

§ 10: "As a man didst Thou fast;
In the desert He sejournd;
By the devil He was tempted;
By the might of Deity He drove the devils into darkness."

Harden also tried to reproduce this style for § 6²⁾.

In the Sanctus the editions differ from each other. In Harden's translation the end of § 10 ("By the devil He was tempted; by the power of His Godhead He destroyed the chiefs of darkness") is followed by the exclamation of the deacon "Answer ye"; Harden regarded the following § 11 as the Sanctus: "Holy, Holy, Holy is God in His Trinity. Though He was King, He showed His humility as a servant." According to Rodwell's translation § 11, which Harden regarded as the text of a Sanctus, is once again followed by the exclamation of the deacon "Respond ye". It is therefore possible that the Sanctus follows only after second exclamation of the deacon. The text of Löfgren-Euringer is even clearer; the first አውሥኡ ("answer ye") of the deacon is missing; consequently § 11 cannot represent the text of the Sanctus but the introduction to it. It seems probable that the latter is the right form.

§ 13 forms a connecting link with the Institution Narrative. But I should like to draw attention to the fact that the passage (§ 13): (H) "He stretched forth His hands to the passion" shows a striking resemblance to the Ap (Br p. 232: "He stretched out his hands to the passion") and the J (H p. 63: "He stretched forth His hands to the passion").

There are several symptoms that the D is a rather old A; its brevity, its good construction, the fact that other AA such as the Ath, E and O partly correspond to the D, which suggests that their authors may have borrowed from the D.

Of the two AA of Cyrill I shall deal with the Eucharistic Thanksgiving of the C I first. The beginning of its Eucharistic Thanksgiving differs

¹⁾ In *Journal of Sacred Literature* etc. IV (1863/64) p. 368.

²⁾ H p. 114.

from other Ethiopic AA in so far as it fits in perfectly with the answer of the people in No. 2b ("We lift them up unto the Lord our God"): ሳቤክ: እግዚአብሔር: አምላክ: አማልክት: ወእግዚአብሔር: አገኝዝነት: [Eu: „(Wir haben unsere Herzen) bei dir, o Herr, dem Gott der Götter und dem Herrn der Herren“]. Harden did not recognise the connection between the beginning of the Eucharistic Thanksgiving and the dialogue and therefore translated¹⁾: "With Thee, O Lord, God of Gods and Lord of Lords ... is a consuming fire and a life-giving fire"²⁾. §§ 1–6 form the *Oratio theologica*, §§ 8–13 the *Oratio christologica*. In the *Oratio theologica* (§§ 1–3) the symbolism of the fire is fully utilized. Already § 1 says that God is a consuming fire (cf. Deut. 4, 24 and Heb. 12, 29) and a life-giving fire. In § 2 the appearance of God is described; God is clothed with a robe of fire (ልብ: እሳት:) and surrounded by fire. His throne rests on the heads of the flames of fire (ዘዲቦ: አርእሱት: እሳት:). Euringer did not know how to interpret this expression³⁾. The explanation is, however, comparatively simple: ርእሱ: (Hebr. שָׂרָף, Syr. ܪܥܝܫܐ, Arab. رأس, Amhar. ራሱ:) means not only caput, but also summum, supremum, culmen, fastigium, vertex⁴⁾. If this fact is recognised this expression would mean: The throne of God rests on the top of the flames of fire. The same explanation may be applicable to § 3 in the Paris MS Éth. 69 (= Zotenberg), where it is said of the angels that they flew ዲቦ: አርእሱት: እሳት: i. e. above the top of the flames of fire (if this reading is correct).

§ 3 is very interesting; of the angels it says: በክልሉቱ: ከነፊሆሙ: ዘእሳት: ይከድኑ: እገሪሆሙ: ከመ: ኢይብልዖሙ: እሳት: በላዒ: (H: "With two wings of fire they cover their feet lest the devouring fire consume them"). The fire is evidently regarded as a protection against the consuming fire. In § 4 the different classes of angels are mentioned:

1. ሱራፌል: ("Seraphim")
2. ኪሩቤል: ("Cherubim")
3. መላእክት: በሰራዊቶሙ: ("the angels according to their hosts")
4. ጥጉሃን: በወጽጋሆሙ: ("the watchers according to their orders")

¹⁾ H p. 132.

²⁾ Harden (H p. 132) made the following comment: There is some difficulty about the construction of this first sentence, but the general sense is clear."

³⁾ Löfgren-Euringer, „Anaphoren des 'heiligen Cyrillus'“ in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik* 9 (1933/34) p. 76: „... ohne daß ersichtlich wäre, was darunter zu verstehen sei.“

⁴⁾ Dillmann, *Lexicon*, coll. 294f.

In § 12 reference is made to the burial of Christ. In connection with the burial we find here (as in § 66 of the O) the phrase: “and they buried him in a sepulchre of three cubits” (ወቀበረዎ: ከመ: ባድን: ወሰተ: መቃብር: ዘህለሰቱ: አመቱ:). The seize of the sepulchre is mentioned during a meeting between Solomon and Ašmedai the prince of demons (Talmud *Gittin* f. 68b):

לסוף תלתא יומי עייל לקמיה
שקל קניא ומשח ארבעה גרמידי
ושדא קמיה א"ל מכדי כי מיית
ההוא גברא לית ליה בהדין

7 Hammerschmidt, Ethiopic Anaphoras

עלמא אלא ד' גרמידי השתא
 כבשתיה לכולי עלמא ולא
 שדעת עד דכבשת נמי לדידי.

(“After three days he (viz. Ašmedai) went in to see him (viz. Solomon). He took a reed and measured four cubits and threw it in front of him, saying, See now, when you die you will have no more than four cubits in this world. Now, however, you have subdued the whole world, yet you are not satisfied till you subdue me too.”¹⁾). I do not intend to maintain that there is a connection between these two texts. The passage in the Talmud shows, however, that the size of the sepulchre was sometimes discussed. It is possible that the following passage also refers to the size: *מאסא: צהר: יחא: דתמאח: אפ"ט: שפ"ח:* (Eu: „und er dehnte sein ehrwürdiges Haupt aus und es wurde von ihm das ganze Grab ausgefüllt“). Euringer thought that details about this might possibly be found in the Miracles of Jesus. But there this event is not mentioned²⁾).

¹⁾ *The Babylonian Talmud, Seder Nashim, Gittin*, London 1936, p. 224.

²⁾ Cf. S. Grébaut, *Les miracles de Jésus*, Paris 1917–1932 (*Patrologia Orientalis* vol. 12, pp. 551–652; vol. 14, pp. 769–856; vol. 17, pp. 783–858). The miracle in question also is not mentioned in E. A. W. Budge's editions *One Hundred and Ten Miracles of Our Lady Mary*, London 1923, and *Legends of Our Lady Mary & Her Mother Hannâ*, London 1922. But a similar idea is found in H. B. Swete, *The Akhmîm Fragment of the Apocryphal Gospel of St. Peter*, London 1893, pp. 18f. (= cap. IX): *Καὶ τῶν μὲν δύο τὴν κεφαλὴν χωροῦσαν μέχρι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, τοῦ δὲ χειραγωγουμένου ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὑπερβαίνουσιν τοὺς οὐρανοὺς* (l. c., p. 27: “and the head of the two reached to heaven, but that of Him who was led by them overpassed the heavens”). = E. Hennecke-W. Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen I*, Tübingen 1959, p. 123. — Epiphanius, *Haereses*, I, 2, Haer. 30 = Migne, *PG* 41, col. 433 C–D: “*Ἡδὲ δὲ μοι καὶ ἀνωτέρω προεδήλωται, ὡς ταῦτα μὲν Ἐβρίων οὐκ ᾔδει, μετὰ καιρὸν δὲ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, συναφθέντες τῷ Ἡλξᾷ ἐσχήκασιν μὲν τοῦ Ἐβρίωνος τὴν περιτομὴν καὶ τὸ Σάββατον καὶ τὰ ἔθνη. τοῦ δὲ Ἡλξᾷ τὴν φαντασίαν ὥστε νομίζεν μὲν τὸν Χριστὸν εἶναι τι ἀνδροεικέλον ἐκτύπωμα ἀόρατον ἀνθρώποις, μιλίων ἐνενηκονταὲς τὸ μήκος, δῆθεν σχοίνων εἰκοσιτεσσάρων, τὸ δὲ πλάτος σχοίνων ἑξ, μιλίων εἰκοσιτεσσάρων· τὸ πάχος δὲ κατὰ μέτρησιν ἄλλην τινα . . . Καὶ πόθεν, φησὶν, ἔγνων τὰ μέτρα; Ἐπειδὴ, φησὶν, εἶδον ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρέων, ὅτι αἱ κεφαλαὶ ἔφθανον αὐτῶν· καὶ τὸ μέτρον τοῦ ὄρους καταμαθὼν, ἔγνων Χριστοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος τὰ μέτρα.* Cf. Thomas O'Shaughnessy, S. J., *The Development of the Meaning of Spirit in the Koran*, Rome 1953, p. 23 (*Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 139). About the size of the original Adam cf., e. g., *Pesikta Rabbati, Midrasch für den Fest-Cyclus und die ausgezeichneten Sabbathes*, ed. by M. Friedmann, Wien 1880, f. 115a. For the transfer of these qualities to Jesus cf. W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, London 1948, pp. 45f.

§§ 18–24 form the Intercession, which is immediately followed by the Institution Narrative.

The C II is probably only a supplement to the C I. The C II was perhaps destined to replace certain prayers in the C I, if a change was wanted. In comparison with other AA the C II is very short; the Eucharistic Thanksgiving takes up exactly two and a half printed pages.

§§ 2–5 form the *Oratio theologica*, § 6 the introduction to the Sanctus. The introduction to the Sanctus is remarkable in that the prayer for the acceptance of the Sanctus of the people is missing. The Sanctus of the Cherubim and Seraphim: ኢያሱ: ይሉብሉ: ኢሩቤል: አባታወያን፤ ወሰራፈል: ዑፁፋን: መብረቅ: የኃርን: ለክ: ሰብሐተ: ወአክውቴተ: አንዝ: ይብሉ: (Eu: „dich loben die feurigen Cherube, und die mit dem Blitze bekleideten Seraphe lassen zu dir Lob und Danksagung emporsteigen, indem sie sprechen: ...“) is immediately followed by the Sanctus of the people; it thus represents the form of the Syriac rite.

Already in the *Oratio theologica* (§ 4) the Logos is addressed: አንተ: ውኃቱ: ምዕላዲሁ: ለጥበብ፤ ወአንተ: ውኃቱ: ውሳጤ: ከርሁ: ለኮሰብ: (Eu: „Du bist der Inbegriff (?) der Weisheit und du bist der Kern des Schoßes des Sternes (?)“). Euringer took the star as that of the wise men, „dessen Scheibe das Bild der hl. Jungfrau mit dem Jesuskind auf dem Arme zeigt“¹⁾.

§ 10 of the *Oratio christologica* says about Christ: ኃደረ: ውሰተ: ማገፀነ: ድንገል: ዘአንበለ: ትድምርት: (Eu: „er ... wohnte im Mutterschoße der Jungfrau ohne Vermischung“). ትድምርት: is the orthodox expression for the union of the two natures in Christ. In Cyril *Ad Theodosium* f. 15 the following is stated²⁾: እም፪ህላዌ: ተደመረ: ፩ክርስቶስ: (*ex duabus naturis unitur unus Christus*) and³⁾: ነፍሱ: አንተ: ለብላ: በትድምርት: (ή ἐνωθεῖσα αὐτῷ ψυχῇ). ትድምርት: is used to render the Greek ἐνωσις. The *συνάφεια* of the Nestorians, which is in opposition to the ἐνωσις — ትድምርት:, is called ቅርብት: or ልጽቀት: ⁴⁾.

This ambiguity shows very clearly the character of the so-called (Ethiopian) Monophysitism; the C II rejects not only the Nestorian

¹⁾ Löfgren-Euringer, „Anaphoren des 'heiligen Cyrillus'“ in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik* 9 (1933/34) p. 49; cf. C. Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, 1–2, Leipzig 1883/1888, pp. 56 and ॢॢॢ; A. Grohmann, *Aethiopische Marienhymnen*, pp. 99 and 231.

²⁾ Dillmann, *Lexicon*, col. 1087.

³⁾ L. c., col. 1088.

⁴⁾ L. c., coll 427 and 64.

expression – this would be expected – but even the orthodox expression in order to avoid any suspicion of an intermixture.

The same expression appears also in the *Homologia* (before the Communion) of the B (between the §§ 113 and 114) (though in its negative form: **ኢትድፍርት**). This *Homologia* is also found in the Greek/Coptic liturgy of St. Basil. The Greek version of this passage runs as follows¹): *μη ἐν μίξει, μηδὲ ἐν φθορᾷ, μηδὲ ἐν ἀλλοιώσει* (the same passage occurs in the Greek/Coptic liturgy of St. Gregory and in the Coptic liturgy of St. Cyril). In the B the Greek and Coptic expressions are not exactly translated but have been replaced by the watch-words of the Council of Chalcedon: **ኢንባለ፡ ቱሳሕት፡ ወኢትድፍርት፡ ዘኢንባለ፡ ፍልጠት፡ ወኢውላጤ፡** (cf. *ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαίρετως, ἀχωρίστως*). It is remarkable that the **ኢትድፍርት** (which, in its positive form, was the Orthodox expression for the *unio naturarum* in Christ) seems here to stand for the Greek *ἀτρέπτως*.

This example shows very well what confusion there has been in the domain of dogmatic conceptions and how much care is needed in the judgment of christological controversies. **ትድፍርት** could take the Orthodox meaning as well as the Heterodox (= really monophysitic?). Which of the two meanings it has in each individual case has to be deduced from the context.

The short *Oratio christologica* (§§ 10–14) includes the Intercession (§ 13). § 14 says of Christ that he stood in the river Jordan, i. e. he was baptized **ለፈጽሞ፡ ትሰብኣት** (Eu: „... um die Menschwerdung zu vollenden“). In the christological controversies of the Ethiopian Church the Baptism of Jesus in the Jordan plays an important part. The adherents of the theory of the three births teach three Births of Christ:

1. The eternal by which he is *Unigenitus*;
2. The birth from the Virgin by which he is *Primogenitus* (cf. Mt. 1, 25; Lk. 2, 7);
3. A third by which through the anointing of the Holy Spirit he is *Primogenitus omnis creaturae*. This birth took place during the Baptism in the Jordan²).

Before the beginning of the Eucharistic Thanksgiving of the JC come the exhortations of the deacon³). As already mentioned in connection with the GH, the proper place for these exhortations would be

¹) Ren I p. 80.

²) Cf. I. Guidi, *La chiesa abissina e la chiesa russa*, *Nuova antologia*, Roma 1890, pp. 606f.; id. in *Enciclopedia Italiana* 14, p. 483.

³) Euringer's translation in *Der Katholik* 93 I (1913) was not accessible to me.



before the dialogue. The Eucharistic Thanksgiving of the JC consists of an *Oratio theologica* (H p. 86, l. 10 – p. 87, l. 12 = Dillm. *Chrest.* pp. 51f.) and an *Oratio christologica* (H p. 88, l. 7 – p. 89, l. 6 = Dillm. *Chrest.* pp. 52f.), in addition to which it is perhaps possible to recognize the text of an *Oratio oeconomiae Veteris Testamenti* between these two texts¹⁾. The *Oratio theologica* is a theological discussion of the essence of the Father²⁾, which is of a great poetical exuberance³⁾. The Intercession in this A comes before the *Oratio christologica* (before the Sanctus). In the introduction to the Sanctus the reference to the Sanctus of the choirs of the angels is missing (!). There is only the introduction to the Sanctus of the people: **ወዘልፈ: እንከ: ንሕነ፤ ሊኖርፍ: በአልባቢ: ናኅብብ: ቅድሳተ: ሰብሐኒክ: ወንጾርፍ: እንዘ: ንብል:** (H: “Never, then, let us cease in our hearts to utter the holiness of His glory, and let us cry, saying:”). Between the Sanctus and the Institution Narrative there is a brief praise of Christ (H pp. 88f. = Dillm. *Chrest.* p. 53) which obviously belongs to the *Oratio christologica*.

C. THE EXCLAMATIONS OF THE DEACON

The exclamations of the deacon form the subject of a separate chapter; we find these exclamations in all the Coptic and Ethiopic liturgies.

In the Greek/Coptic liturgy of St. Mark/St. Cyril there are three which occur in different places within the Eucharistic Thanksgiving before the Sanctus:

1. οἱ καθήμενοι ἀνάστητε (Br pp. 131/174)
2. εἰς ἀνατολὰς βλέψατε (Br pp. 131/175)
3. πρόσχωμεν (Br p. 175).

¹⁾ H p. 87: “Let us tell, then, of the greatness of His mercy that hath been manifest upon us, which cannot be numbered nor measured. When we transgressed His commandment by the council of the accursed serpent, we went forth from the garden of delight unto destruction, from life unto death, from liberty unto bondage, and were brought under the yoke of sin. But He forsook us not, and despised us not, His work, and was not wroth with us for our sins, so that we should perish utterly even as we had sinned against Him, but He loved us and visited us, had mercy upon us, spared us and pitied us, and delivered us from the hand of sin who held us.”

²⁾ Mercer was mistaken in translating the first **ህላዌ** by “existence”, cf. *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* 4 (1920) p. 35.

³⁾ H pp. 86f.; Ethiopic text in Dillmann's *Chrestomathia Aethiopica*, pp. 51f

These exclamations may also be found in the Greek/Coptic liturgies of St. Gregory and of St. Basil. In the Greek liturgy of St. Mark and in the Coptic liturgy of St. Basil the third exclamation (πρόσχωμεν)¹⁾ is missing in the printed texts (Brightman, Renaudot, Swainson)¹⁾. It may be missing only through an error in the MSS. It would be rather strange if in the Coptic liturgy of St. Cyril a Greek exclamation appeared which does not exist in the Greek version. It would be equally strange if in the Coptic liturgy of St. Basil a third exclamation was missing which actually appears in the Greek text of the same liturgy.

In the Syriac liturgies these exclamations of the deacon do not appear within the Eucharistic Thanksgiving²⁾ nor do they appear in the Byzantine rite³⁾.

These exclamations have been discussed in Anton Baumstark's edition „Eine aegyptische Meß- und Tauf liturgie vermutlich des 6. Jahrhunderts“⁴⁾. In the introduction to this edition he tried to establish a connection between the exclamations of the deacon and the content of the text of the Eucharistic Thanksgiving: „Die Zwischenrufe des Diakons οἱ καθήμενοι ἀνάστητε und εἰς ἀνατολήν stehen in der Markosliturgie in keinerlei innerem Zusammenhange mit den Worten des Bischofs; sie sind erstarrte Rudimente älteren Brauches. Ganz anders in unserem Texte. Hier wird der Gemeinde geboten, sich zu erheben, während der Bischof von dem Preise Gottes zum Gebete im engeren Sinne, zur Bitte übergeht, – nach Osten zu blicken, während er die Herrlichkeit des im Aufgange thronend gedachten Herrn des Himmels schildert“⁵⁾. This explanation is fascinating but rather improbable⁶⁾. In connection with these exclamations, it ought to be remembered that the Egyptian liturgies are rather long and monotonous, as the priest sings nearly all the texts aloud. This is the reason why in a Coptic service it was difficult to hold the attention of the people. These exclamations were inserted into the Eucharistic Thanksgiving for this purpose⁷⁾. There is surely no connection between these individual ex-

¹⁾ For these exclamations cf. O. H. E. Burmester, „The Greek Kîrugmata, Versicles & Responses and Hymns in the Coptic Liturgy“ in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 2 (1936) pp. 363–394.

²⁾ *Anaphorae Syriacae* Vol. I – Fasc. 1, p. VI.

³⁾ Br pp. 322f. and 384f.

⁴⁾ In *Oriens Christianus* 1 (1901) pp. 4f.

⁵⁾ L. c.

⁶⁾ Cf. E. Hammerschmidt, *Die koptische Gregoriosanaphora*, pp. 114–116.

⁷⁾ The exclamations of the deacon were inserted at an early date.

clamations and the corresponding parts of the text of the Eucharistic Thanksgiving. They were meant to retain the people's attention and to prepare for the coming Sanctus.

The exclamations of the deacon can also be found in the Ethiopic liturgies. I shall deal first with the Mk and its exclamations because the Mk is a more or less exact translation of the Greek/Coptic liturgy of St. Mark/St. Cyril. In the Mk¹⁾ there are four exclamations of the deacon in the course of the Eucharistic Thanksgiving. The **ⲁⲕⲏⲧⲏⲩⲃⲏⲩ** introduces the Intercession and can therefore not be regarded as an exclamation which necessarily comprises a few words only. Harden was not quite sure whether to translate "For the sake of the blessed . . ." or "On behalf of . . ." ²⁾ Rodwell translated **ⲁⲕⲏⲧⲏⲩⲃⲏⲩ** with "for", "which is ambiguous, but which he probably took as an equivalent of Renaudot's 'pro' ³⁾. Euringer always translated **ⲁⲕⲏⲧⲏⲩⲃⲏⲩ** with "Für", and has undoubtedly hit the exact meaning. According to the common belief of the Coptic Church the final decision about the fate of all the departed will be made only at the Last Judgment. It is therefore possible to pray for all the departed – including the Saints⁴⁾. This opinion has also been accepted by the Ethiopic theologians. The translation with "On behalf of . . ." is also supported by the Coptic texts where the Intercession always runs: **ⲁⲣⲓⲫⲙⲉⲩⲛⲓ ⲡⲉⲩⲥ** ("Remember, O Lord") = Greek: *μνήσθητι κύριε*. The same words also appear in connection with the names of the Saints, and there is no good reason to translate it differently here. There is parallel to the Coptic **ⲁⲣⲓⲫⲙⲉⲩⲛⲓ** in the Roman Canon after the Consecration: "Memento etiam, Domine, famulorum, famularumque tuarum N. et N."

¹⁾ In *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 42 (1928) pp. 520–525.

²⁾ H pp. 18f.

³⁾ L. c., p. 19.

⁴⁾ Cf. Clemens Kopp, *Glaube und Sakramente der koptischen Kirche*, Roma 1932 (*Orientalia Christiana* Vol. XXV. – 1., Nr. 75), p. 61: „Das endgültige Wort spricht der Richtermund Christi erst beim Weltgerichte. Bis dahin kann jede Seele, auf die er in der Taufe die Hand gelegt hat, noch sein werden. Wenn deswegen die Sündenlast sie herabzieht in ihre natürliche, ewige Heimat, in die Hölle, so kann das ehemalige Kind Gottes doch immer noch seine Wiedergeburt erleben, sei es, daß der eigene Funke die Asche durchschlägt, sei es, daß die Fürbitte in Gebet und Werken von Christgläubigen auf der Erde den Funken neu entzündet. M. a. W. die Hölle ist zugleich das Fegfeuer, vielleicht sogar für alle Christen nur ein Fegfeuer, dessen Flamme für sie am jüngsten Tage umschlagen kann in reine Gottesglut.“

The four exclamations are:

1. አለ: ጎሳብሩ: ተንሥኡ: (= οἱ καθήμενοι ἀνάστητε = "ye who sit, arise")
2. ወሰተ: ጽባሕ: ነጽኑ: (= εἰς ἀνατολὴν βλέψατε = "look to the east")
3. ንጌጽር: (= προσχόμεν = "we are attending")
4. አውሥኡ: (= "answer ye").

In the Mk No. 3 comes before the description of the praise of the angels, No. 4 within it. The B has the same exclamations and the same arrangements, except that No. 4 immediately precedes the Sanctus. In the Ap No. 2 comes before the description of the praise of the angels, No. 3 before the prayer for the acceptance of the Sanctus of the people, No. 4 immediately before the Sanctus¹⁾. In the J No. 4 also comes immediately before the Sanctus²⁾, and No. 3 in the *Oratio christologica*.

In the MC, JS, D and JC the four exclamations appear in the same order before the Sanctus though inserted at different intervals in the text of the Eucharistic Thanksgiving. The O has only the first of the exclamations of the deacon (§ 26). In Mercer's text this first exclamation comes before § 18 i. e. in the theological discussion of the Trinity, and the second exclamation in § 26. In § 37 occurs the exclamation: አእምኑ: ጎባ: ዘትቀውው: ጎባ: እግዚአብሔር: አምላክነ: (Eu: „Wisset, wo ihr steht, (nämlich) bei Gott, unserm Gotte“³⁾). The edition of Asmara⁴⁾ has here: ላዕለ: ይኩን: ሕሊናክው (Eu: „Euer Sinn sei nach oben (gerichtet)“).

The first exclamation of the deacon in the GH runs thus (§ 4): ንጽር: ሥነ: ሰብሐኪህ: ለአምላክነ: (Eu: „Laßt uns die Schönheit der Glorie unseres Gottes betrachten“). This is followed in the course of the Eucharistic Thanksgiving by Nos. 1, 2 and 4. The GC has the exclamation No. 1 after the introduction of the Sanctus of the people and No. 2 after the introduction of the Sanctus of the choirs of angels.

The JE has the exclamations Nos. 3 and 4 before the Sanctus, Nos. 2 and 1 in the *Oratio post Sanctus*. The E has the exclamation No. 4 immediately before the Sanctus of the people and Nos. 1, 2 and 3 in the *Oratio post Sanctus* shortly before the Institution Narrative (§ 37). The exclamations Nos. 1, 2, 3 (twice) and 4 of the Ath appear in the *Oratio ante Sanctus*⁵⁾. The CI has the exclamations Nos. 3 and 4 before

¹⁾ Br p. 231.

²⁾ In *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* 1 (1917) pp. 27 and 35.

³⁾ Cf. the beginning of the CI.

⁴⁾ A. Mis. 1907 = 1913/14 A. D.

⁵⁾ For the "ante Sanctus" in general cf. H. Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl*, Berlin ³1955 (*Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte* 8), pp. 124–128.

the Sanctus and No. 2 in the *Oratio post Sanctus*. The C II puts the exclamation No. 4 before the Sanctus of the people and Nos. 3, 2 and 1 in the *Oratio post Sanctus* before the Institution Narrative.

There are no exclamations in the M, the JB¹⁾ has Nos. 3 and 4.

From this it seems clear that in many of the Ethiopic AA the exclamations of the deacon do not occur in the usual order but have been inserted fairly freely.

D. THE SANCTUS

There are certain differences between the biblical form of the Sanctus Is. 6, 3 (קְדוֹשׁ קְדוֹשׁ קְדוֹשׁ יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת מְלֵא כָּל-הָאָרֶץ כְּבוֹדוֹ) and that of each of the Oriental liturgies. In the Maronite liturgy the "Holy" was put into the second person singular (ܐܬܗ ܡܠܝܥ etc.). In the Maronite, West-Syrian and Nestorian liturgies the word "Lord" is often used in conjunction with "God"²⁾. In all the West-Syrian and Nestorian AA (as in the Peshitta) the noun צְבָאוֹת is rendered by an adjective: ܡܠܝܥ = strong, powerful³⁾. But in the Maronite liturgy both expressions are again used together and thus betray a later and secondary development. The "full" in the Maronite and Syriac AA is rendered by a relative clause⁴⁾: ... ܐܬܗ ܡܠܝܥ ܐܬܗ ܡܠܝܥ ܐܬܗ ܡܠܝܥ.

In all Oriental AA (as well as in the Western rite) the "whole" before "earth" of Is. 6, 3 has been dropped and "heavens and" inserted, running "heavens and earth". With the exception of the West-Syrian and Nestorian AA all the other AA put the object of "Glory" into the second person singular: "gloriae tuae, magnitudinis tuae". The Egyptian AA have: "of thy holy glory".

The Nestorian liturgy has further additions: "Heaven and earth are full of his praises and of the nature of his being and of the excellency of his glorious splendour"⁵⁾.

¹⁾ Cf. Br pp. 50f. and 85f.

²⁾ Br pp. 86 and 284; the *Anaphorae Syriacae* Vol. I – Fasc. 1, p. VI, on the other hand have only "Dominus Sabaoth"; A. Rücker, *Die syrische Jakobusanaphora*, pp. 64f., also has this form.

³⁾ Cf. C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, Halis Saxonum ²1928, col. 230a; this ܡܠܝܥ stands for the Hebrew תְּהִלָּה in Jos 4, 24.

⁴⁾ Rücker, *Jakobusanaphora*, pp. 64f.

⁵⁾ Br p. 284. – A further development appears in the Latin *Te Deum*: "majestatis gloriae tuae".

The Sanctus of the Ethiopic liturgy runs as follows: ቅዱስ: ቅዱስ: ቅዱስ: አግሊአብሔር: ጸባአት: ፍጹም: ምሉእ: ሰማያት: ወምድረ: ቅድሳት: ሰብሐኒክ: In his edition Harden has dealt with this form in a special "note"¹⁾. The translation usually given runs thus: "Holy, holy, holy Lord of Sabaoth, the heavens and the earth are wholly full of the holiness of thy glory"²⁾ or: "Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Hosts (or, Sabaoth), right (or, wholly) full are the heavens, etc."³⁾.

Difficulty of interpretation is found in the first addition: ፍጹም: . To justify the translation "wholly" or "right" this word ought to be in the accusative; it could then be an adverb⁴⁾: ፍጹም: . It is, however, always in the nominative. Harden explained this word by separating it from the Sanctus: "It seems to me more likely that originally the opening words only of the Sanctus were written, followed by the adjective 'complete' or 'full' in the sense of 'etc.'. Afterwards when the full form came to be written, this adjective would be retained under the erroneous impression that it formed part of the wording. From the liturgy the word has found its way into the text of the Ethiopic Bible in some MSS. in Isaiah IX"⁵⁾. It must be admitted that in most of the liturgical MSS it was usual not to quote well known texts in full (as e. g. the Sanctus) but only to refer to them by the opening words. For instance, this procedure was followed in the Coptic MS Hunt. 360 (of the Bodleian Library), where the prayer for the winds and fruits (from 11. Tūba to 11. Bawūna) runs thus: ΕΩΩΠ ΠΧΟΥ ΠΕ ΝΝΙΚΑΡ-ΠΟC ΕΚΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΟΝ ΧΕ ΑΡΙΚΑΤΑΞΙΟΙΝ ΠῚC ΝΙΚΑΡΠΟC ΝΤΕ ΠΚΑΞΙ CΜΟΥ ΕΡΩΟΥ ΝΕΜ ΠCΩΧΠ ΝΤΕΥΧΗ (= and the rest of the prayer). For this reason Harden's explanation at first seems very plausible. There are, however, two important objections to be considered: 1. In the Ethiopic liturgical MSS there is usually some indication (such as etc.) to indicate that the text, though not written out in full, is to be quoted in full. This is not, however, expressed by ፍጹም: but by በል: „Der Kopist begnügte sich des öftern, Texte, deren Kenntniss er bei seinen Klienten voraussetzte, nur durch ein oder mehrere Anfangsworte anzudeuten und die Auffüllung diesen zu überlassen. Diese Unvollständigkeit des Textes wird bisweilen, wie auch ander-

¹⁾ H pp. 50f.

²⁾ Br p. 231.

³⁾ H p. 50.

⁴⁾ Cf. Dillmann-Bezold, *Grammatik der Äthiopischen Sprache*, Leipzig ²1899, p. 339 = § 163.

⁵⁾ H pp. 50f.

weitig üblich, durch die Abkürzung bale (ausgeschrieben: balemād = 'nach Gewohnheit', 'sicut usus fert'), die unserem 'usw.' entspricht, kenntlich gemacht¹⁾. This latter abbreviation is used, for instance, in MS Aeth. e. 1 f. 80a: በእንተ: በፀዕ: በል: (MS Aeth. e. 20 f. 50b, however, reads: ቅዱስ: አገረ: አብሔር: ይ: ሕ: ቅዱስ: አገ: ኃይል: አሰከ: ጥፍጽ ሜቱ:) 2. Harden was of the opinion that the Sanctus was first of all abbreviated and later, when it was written out in full, the "etc." appeared in the Sanctus itself. But the development was surely the other way round; first the text of the Sanctus was written out in full; only later, when the text was known to everybody, would it have been abbreviated²⁾. It is highly unlikely that in the course of such a development the symbol for the abbreviation would be inserted within the Sanctus.

The translation of the ፍጹም³⁾ also presented a difficulty for Euringer. According to Dillmann-Bezold⁴⁾ ምሉእ⁵⁾ curiously enough can have both an active and a passive meaning (active: *implens*, passive: *plenus*, *repletus*). As it is here used with a double accusative Euringer thought that it must have an active meaning. According to his opinion the logical subject would be "God of Sabaoth": "filling the heavens and the earth". The ፍጹም: would be added to strengthen the meaning; it would be designed to correspond with ምሉእ⁶⁾: "completing, filling" = "completely filling"⁷⁾.

If we accept this translation the problem of the origin of the addition in the Sanctus would still remain unsolved. It should be noticed first of all that this addition is found only in the Ethiopic liturgy. There might appear to be some connection with the continuation of the Eucharistic Thanksgiving after the Sanctus. In the Ap this continuation runs thus: አማን: መልአ: ሰማያት: ወምድረ: ቅድሳት: ሰብሐቲክ: (This connection goes back to the Coptic type which with the Coptic equivalent for the Greek ἀληθῶς continues after the Sanctus: "Truly heaven and earth are full of thine holy glory . . ."⁸⁾). It would be conceivable that

¹⁾ Euringer, „Übersetzung der Antiphonen zum Feste des hl. Johannes Baptista in Dillmanns 'Chrestomathia Aethiopica'“ in *Orientalia* 11 (1942) p. 150.

²⁾ In the Ap of all the three Oxford MSS the Sanctus is still written out in full.

³⁾ Cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, coll. 1388f.

⁴⁾ *Grammatik der Äthiopischen Sprache*, p. 205 = § 108, 2c.

⁵⁾ Dillmann, *Lexicon*, coll. 148ff.

⁶⁾ Cf. Löfgren-Euringer in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik* 9 (1933/34) pp. 77ff.

⁷⁾ It would be conceivably possible to regard ቅድሳት: ሰብሐቲክ: as the subject: "the holiness of thy glory fills wholly the heavens . . ."

⁸⁾ Br pp. 132 and 176.

the አማን: of the continuation has so much influenced the text of the Sanctus itself that even here a similar addition was made.

Following a very useful hint by Prof. Ullendorff I think that the whole question seems to have been approached from the wrong end. The ፍጹም: is not an addition at all but represents the Hebrew אֱלֹהִים. ሞሉክ: ሰማያት: corresponds to the Hebrew phrase אֱלֹהֵי-לַיִךְ which, e. g., occurs Gen. 7, 19 and Deut. 2, 25. Thus, the only addition (apart from the addition ሰማያት: which is also found in the other liturgies) is ቅድሳት: which presents no difficulty at all.

In contrast to the biblical text of Is. 6, 3 the Ethiopic text thus shows the following variations:

1. add. ሰማያት: ወ . . .
2. add. ቅድሳት:.
3. the second person singular (ሰብሐኪክ:) is used instead of the third person (ነገሠክ).

In the JE the form of the Sanctus differs somewhat from that used in the other Ethiopic AA. The recital of the Sanctus by the priest runs thus: ወከማህ: ንሴብሐክ: ወነአምን: ንሐኒ: ከመ: ቅዱሳ: ቅ: ቅ: አንተ: አግሊአብሔር: ዐባኦት: (Eu: „Und ebenso wollen auch wir dich loben und glauben, daß du heilig, heilig, heilig bist, o Gott . . .“). After the third ቅ: a አንተ: was added.

As already mentioned above, there are two Sanctus in the MC. After the third exclamation of the deacon (§ 29) ነጻር: (“Let us attend”) follows an introduction by the priest (§ 30): ቅዱሳ: አግሊአብሔር: አብ: ዘመድ: ከኢክ: ቅዱሳ: ወልድ: ዋህድ: ዘካር: ወሰተ: ከርሆኑ: ቅዱሳ: ጸራቅሊጦስ: መንፈስ: ጽድቅ: ዘአጽንዓኒ: (Eu: „Heilig ist Gott der Vater, der an dir Wohlgefallen hatte; heilig ist der einzige Sohn, der in deinem Schoße gewohnt hat; heilig ist der Paraklet, der Geist der Wahrheit, der dich gestärkt hat“). Then the deacon says (§ 31): አውሥኡ: (“Answer ye”), after which follows the abbreviated Sanctus of the people (§ 32): ቅ: ቅ: ቅ: . The Eucharistic Thanksgiving is then continued, and in §§ 69 and 70 another Sanctus is recited:

§ 69: ርእሴ: ንሰብሐ: ኢንክ: ንብል: ቅ: ቅ: ቅ: .

(Eu: „Aber jetzt wollen wir ihn preisen, indem wir sagen: Heilig, heilig, heilig . . .“)

§ 70: ቅ: ቅ: ቅ: .

(Eu: „Heilig, heilig, heilig, . . .“).

This Sanctus, however, is not the ἐπινίκιος ὕμνος (i. e. Is. 6, 3) but the Trisagion of the Morning office, which is expressly referred to in

Tasfā Seyon's edition¹⁾ by ሠገዐ: (= ሠገዐ: ሠገዐ: the text of the Ethiopic Trisagion is given in the *Chrestomathia Aethiopica* by August Dillmann²⁾). What has happened? It must be remembered first of all that the MC belongs to that group of Ethiopic AA which a "classical" liturgist would describe as a "Wildwuchs" but which I would rather call a free composition. As the author has taken great liberties with the composition throughout the whole A it would not be surprising if he had done the same with the two Sanctus. It is, however, possible to draw certain conclusions from the MSS; the Codex Vaticanus Aeth. No. 16, the editio princeps of Tasfā Seyon³⁾, the Codex Berolinensis Petermann II (Nachträge 36), the Codex Holmensis of the Evangeliska Fosterlands-Stiftelsen, the MSS Bodl. Poc. 6, Aeth. e. 1 and g. 18 have no reference to the abbreviation even for the first Sanctus (§ 32⁴⁾), while MS Aeth. g. 18 not only omits the first Sanctus but in the second Sanctus quotes in full Is 6, 3 (f. 39a + b) which is then followed by the Trisagion. It is possible that originally the Sanctus appeared only in this second part. It is also possible that the author of this A has introduced two Sanctus from the beginning.

¹⁾ F. 172b.

²⁾ Berolini ²1950, p. 46.

³⁾ On the relation of these two cf. Euringer, „Anaphora unserer Herrin Maria“, p. 64 (Euringer denoted the edition of Tasfā Seyon with TS, the Codex Vaticanus with v): „Vermutlich hat TS bereits den Text v in seinem Sinne rezensiert und stilisiert; dann brauchte er bei der Drucklegung nichts mehr oder nur sehr geringes zu ändern und konnte v nahezu unverändert abdrucken lassen; denn v war seine Rezension. Aber noch mehr: vermutlich ist auch v sein Autogramm. Es liegt nichts näher, als daß der gelehrte Mönch die unfreiwillige Muße und den Bücherreichtum in Jerusalem dazu benutzte, um ein Missale abzuschreiben und nach seinem Geschmack und Urteil zu ‚verbessern‘.“

⁴⁾ The Codex Holmensis and Bodl. Aeth. e. 1, however, have the preceding አውሥኡ (‘answer ye’) of the deacon; the Sanctus may thus be implied.

VI. THE INSTITUTION NARRATIVE

Before I discuss in detail the development and relationships of the Institution Narrative of the Ethiopic AA I should like to give in full the Ethiopic texts and their translations. The reason is that the Institution Narratives in the Ethiopic AA can be compared without any difficulty. The Ethiopic text is taken from a combination of the editions of Chaîne and Euringer. For the M I have used the text of Semharay Selam's edition. I have emended Chaîne's Latin and Semharay Selam's French translation in some places; the German translation is that of Euringer.

1. Ap:

I በይክሮ፡ ሌሊት፡ እንተ፡ ባሮ፡ አመ፡ ያገብክዎ፡ ነሥኡ፡ ኅብስተ፡ በእደዊሁ፡ ቅዱሳት፡ ውበፀዓት፡ እለ፡ እንበለ፡ ነውር፡ አንቃዕደው፡ ሰማየ፡ ኅቤክ፡ ኅብ፡ አቡሁ፡ አዕከቶ፡ ባረኮ፡ ወፈተቶ፡ ወወሀቦመ፡ ለእሊአሁ፡ አርዳኢሁ፡ ወይቤሎመ፡ ንሥኡ፡ ብልዑ፡ ዝኅብስት፡ ሥጋየ፡ ውክቱ፡ ለዘበእንጉሉክመ፡ ይትፈተት፡ ለኅድገት፡ ኅጢአት፡

II ወከመሁ፡ ጽዋዕ፡ አእከቶ፡ ባረኮ፡ ወቀደሶ፡ ወመጠዎመ፡ ለእሊአሁ፡ አርዳኢሁ፡ ወይቤሎመ፡ ንሥኡ፡ ሰተዩ፡ ዝጽዋዕ፡ ደምየ፡ ውክቱ፡ ለዘበእንጉሉክመ፡ ይትከወው፡ ለሥርየተ፡ ኅጢአት፡ ወሶባ፡ ትገብርዎ፡ ለዝ፡ ተዝካረ፡ ዚአየ፡ ግቡ፡

2. J:

I በይክሮ፡ ሌሊት፡ እንተ፡ ባሮ፡ አመ፡ ያገብክዎ፡ ነሥኡ፡ ኅብስተ፡ በእደዊሁ፡ ቅዱሳት፡ ውበፀዓት፡ እለ፡ እንበለ፡ ርዕሐት፡ አእከቶ፡ ባረኮ፡ ወፈተቱ፡ ወመጠዎ፡ ለአርዳኢሁ፡ ነጊሮ፡ እንዝ፡ ይብል፡ ንሥኡ፡ ብልዑ፡ ዝኅብስትጋ፡ ሥጋየ፡ ውክቱ፡ ለዘበ እንጉሉክመ፡ ይትፈተት፡ ለኅድገት፡ ኅጢአት፡ ወሶባ፡ ዘንተ፡ ትገብሩ፡ ተዝካረ፡ ዚአየ፡ ግቡ፡

II ወከማሁ፡ ጽዋዕ፡ ወይን፡ ቶሲሐክ፡ አእከተክ፡ በሪከክ፡ ወቀዲሰክ፡ ወወሀብኩመ፡ በአማን፡ ደምክ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ዘተከወው፡ በእንተ፡ ኅጢአትክ፡

3. MC:

I በይክሮ፡ ሌሊት፡ እንተ፡ ባሮ፡ መጠው፡ ነፍሶ፡ ለጥት፡ አመረ፡ ለአርዳኢሁ፡ በብዙኅ፡ ትክምርት፡ በእንተ፡ ሕማመ፡ ወስቅለቱ፡ ወጥቱ፡ ወትንሣኤሁ፡ በሣልሰት፡ ዕለተ፡ በሥጋ፡ ወነፍሶ፡ አጽም፡ ወደም፡ በከመ፡ ኮነ፡ ትካት፡ እንዝ፡ ህለው፡ ምስሌሁ፡ አርዳኢሁ፡ በየማኅ፡ ወበፀጋመ፡ ወምዕሌሆመ፡ ኅሉቅ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ዘፍጥረቱ፡ ክርዳድ፡ ዘምዕለ፡ ሥርፍይ፡ ድመር፡ ይሁዳ፡ ዘአግብኡ፡ አሜሃ፡ ኢያሱስ፡ ክርዕቶስ፡ ነሥኡ፡ ኅብስተ፡ በእደዊሁ፡ ቅዱሳት፡ ውበፀዓት፡ ወንጹሐት፡ እለ፡ እንበለ፡ ርዕሐት፡ አንቃዕደው፡ ሰማየ፡ ኅብ፡ አቡሁ፡ ወአስተምህረ፡ ለወላዲሁ፡ [Eu፡ ወላ'፡] ወአማኅፀኅ፡ አርዳኢሁ፡ ከመ፡ ይዕቀዐመ፡ እምኸሉ፡ እኩይ፡ ባረኮ፡ እንዝ፡ ቡሩክ፡ ውክቱ፡ ፈተተ፡ እንዝ፡ ቅዱሶ፡ ውክቱ፡ ወወሀቦመ፡ ለአርዳኢሁ፡ ወይቤሎመ፡ ንሥኡ፡ ብልዑ፡ ዝኅብስት፡ ሥጋየ፡ ውክቱ፡ ለዘበእንጉሉክመ፡ ይትወሀብ፡ ወለቤዛ፡ [Eu፡ ለቤዛ፡] ኸሉ፡ ዓለም፡

1. Ap:

I In hac nocte in qua tradebatur, accepit panem in manus suas sanctas, beatas sine macula, elevavit oculos in coelum ad te Patrem suum, gratias agens benedixit, fregit, deditque discipulis suis dicens: „Accipite, manducate; hic panis est corpus meum, quod pro vobis frangitur in remissionem peccatorum.“

II Similiter calicem, gratias agens, benedixit, sanctificavit, deditque discipulis suis dicens: „Accipite, bibite; hic calix sanguis meus est, qui pro vobis effunditur in remissionem peccatorum. Et cum hoc feceritis, facite meam commemorationem.“

2. J:

I In hac nocte in qua traditus est, accepit panem in manus suas sanctas, beatas sine macula, gratias agens benedixit, fregit deditque discipulis suis dicens: „Accipite, manducate; hic panis est corpus meum, quod pro vobis frangitur in remissionem peccatorum, quotiescumque hoc feceritis, commemorationem meam facietis.“

II Similiter postquam vini calicem miscuisti, gratias egisti, benedixisti et sanctificasti, dedisti eis verum hunc sanguinem tuum, qui pro peccatis nostris effusus est.

3. MC:

I Eu: In jener Nacht, in der er sich selbst dem Tode überlieferte, unterrichtete er seine Jünger durch viele Zeichen über sein Leiden und seine Kreuzigung und seinen Tod und seine Auferstehung am dritten Tage mit Leib und Seele, Gebein und Blut, wie er vorher war, während seine Jünger bei ihm zu seiner Rechten und zu seiner Linken waren – und zu ihnen wurde jener gerechnet, dessen Natur unter den Weizen gemischtes Unkraut war, (nämlich) Judas, der ihn verriet –

Tunc Jesus Christus accepit panem in manus suas sanctas, beatas et puras sine macula, et elevavit oculos in coelum ad Patrem suum, misericordiam petit a patre suo (Eu: flehte seinen Erzeuger an) et apostolos suos (ei) commendavit ut servaret eos ab omni malo; benedixit Ille benedictus et fregit Ille sanctus deditque discipulis suis dicens: „Accipite, manducate; hic panis est corpus meum, quod pro vobis datur et (Eu om) pro redemptione totius mundi.“

II Similiter, (accipiens) calicem postquam coenaverunt, aspexit (ad coelum) et dixit: „Accipite, bibite; hic calix est sanguis meus, + quem pro vobis effundet lancea + (+ + Eu: das die Lanze für

8 Hammerschmidt, Ethiopic Anaphoras

II ወከማሁ፡ ጽዋዐኒ፡ እምድጎረ፡ ተደሩ፡ አንጸረ፡ ወይቤ፡ ንሥኡ፡ ሰተዩ፡ [Eu፡ ሰተዩ፡] ዝጽዋዕ፡ ደምዮ፡ ውኡቱ፡ ለዘበእንጉረኣክሙ፡ ያነቅዎ፡ ኩናት፡ ወለዝ፡ ሶብ፡ ትገብርዎ፡ ተዝካረ፡ ሞትዮ፡ ትገብሩ፡ ወተዝካረ፡ ትንሣህዮ፡ ትዜንወ።

4. D:

I በይኡቲ፡ ሌሊት፡ እንተ፡ ባቲ፡ አመ፡ ያገብእዎ፡ ነሥኡ፡ ኅብስተ፡ በእደዊሁ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ወብፀዓት፡ እለ፡ እንበለ፡ ነውር፡ አንቃዕደወ፡ ኅቤክ፡ ኅብ፡ አቡሁ፡ አእከተ፡ ባረክ፡ ወፈተተ፡ ወወሀቦሙ፡ ለእሊአሁ፡ አርዳኢሁ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ወለሐዋርያቲሁ፡ ንጹሓን፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ንሥኡ፡ ብልዑ፡ ዝኅብስት፡ ሥጋዮ፡ ውኡቱ፡ ለዘበእንጉረኣክሙ፡ ይትፈተት፡ [Eu፡ ይትፈተት፡] ለኅድገተ፡ ኅጢአት።

II ወካዕብ፡ [እምድጎረ፡ ተደሩ፡] [□ Eu om.] ቶሰሐ፡ ማዮ፡ ወወይኑ፡ አእከተ፡ ባረክ፡ ወቀደሰ፡ ወመጠዎሙ፡ [Eu፡ ወወሀቦሙ፡ ለእሊአሁ፡] ለአርዳኢሁ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ወለሐዋርያቲሁ፡ ንጹሓን፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ንሥኡ፡ ሰተዩ፡ [Eu፡ ሰተዩ፡] ዝጽዋዕ፡ ደምዮ፡ ውኡቲ፡ ለዘበእንጉረኣክሙ፡ ይትከዐው፡ ለቤዛ፡ ብዙኃን።

5. JC:

I ለአርዳኢሁ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ወለሐዋርያቲሁ፡ ንጹሓን፡ አርአዮሙ፡ ሥርዐተ፡ ምዕጢር፡ ዘቅርባን፡ ነሥኡ፡ ኅብስተ፡ በእደዊሁ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ወብፀዓት፡ ወንጹሓት፡ እለ፡ እንበለ፡ ርዕሐተ፡ አንቃዕደወ፡ ሰማዮ፡ ኅቤክ፡ አቡሁ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወእግዚአ፡ ኩሉ፡ ዘመልዕልተ፡ አእከተ፡ ባረክ፡ ወፈተተ፡ ወወሀቦሙ፡ ለአርዳኢሁ፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ዝውኡቱ፡ ሥጋዮ፡ መብልዑ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ዘበአማን፡ ዘበልዑ፡ እምኔሁ፡ ቦሕይወት፡ ዘለዓለም፡ ንሥኡ፡ ብልዑ፡ እምኔሁ፡ ኩልክሙ፡

II ወከማሁ፡ ጽዋዐኒ፡ ቶሰሐ፡ ማዮ፡ ወወይኑ፡ አእከተ፡ ባረክ፡ ወቀደሰ፡ ወወሀቦሙ፡ ለአርዳኢሁ፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ዝውኡቱ፡ ደምዮ፡ ሰቴ፡ ሕይወት፡ ዘበአማን፡ ዘሰትዮ፡ እምኔሁ፡ ቦሕይወት፡ ዘለዓለም፡ ንሥኡ፡ ሰተዩ፡ እምኔሁ፡ ኩልክሙ፡ ተአምር፡ ውኡቱ፡ ለክሙ፡ ወለእለ፡ እምድጎሪክሙ፡ ወከመዝ፡ ግብሩ፡ ተዝካርዮ፡ እስክ፡ ሶብ፡ እመጽእ፡ ወሰብኒ፡ ትትጋብሩ፡ በስምዮ፡ ዜንወ፡ ሞትዮ፡ ወትንሣህዮ፡ ወዕርገትዮ፡ ውሰተ፡ ሰማያት።

6. JE:

I በይኡቲ፡ ሌሊት፡ እንተ፡ ባቲ፡ አኃዝዎ፡ በዘለሊሁ፡ ፈቀደ፡ ከመ፡ ይቅተልዎ፡ ወውኡቱ፡ ሠምረ፡ ከመ፡ የሕምምዎ፡ ወከመ፡ ይትግገሥ፡ ሕማሙ፡ ቅንዋት፡ ከመ፡ ያግዕዛ፡ ለቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ በደሙ፡ ወከመ፡ ያጽንዎሙ፡ ለሕዝቡ፡ በመስቀሉ፡ ከመ፡ ይሕንጽ፡ ምሥዋዖ፡ ወይስርዎሙ፡ ለጣዖታት፡ ይሀርዮሙ፡ ለካህናት፡ ወይዝርዎሙ፡

euch hervorquellen lassen wird) et cum hoc feceritis, commemorationem mortis meae facietis et commemorationem resurrectionis meae annuntiabitis.“

(Sequitur Prooemium fractionis simile prooemio fractionis liturgiae Copticae S. Gregorii.)

4. D:

I In hac nocte in qua traditus est, accepit panem in manus suas sanctas, beatas sine macula, et elevavit oculos in coelum et te Patrem suum, gratias agens benedixit, fregit deditque discipulis suis sanctis et apostolis suis puris dicens: „Accipite, manducate; hic panis est corpus meum, quod pro vobis frangitur in remissionem peccatorum.“

II Similiter, + postquam coenaverunt + (+ + Eu om), miscuit aquam et vinum et gratias agens, benedixit, sanctificavit deditque discipulis suis sanctis et apostolis suis puris dicens: „Accipite, manducate; hic calix est sanguis meus, qui pro vobis effunditur in redemptionem multorum.“

5. JC:

I H: To His holy disciples and pure apostles He showed the ordinance of the mystery of the Eucharist. Accepit panem in manus suas sanctas, beatas et puras sine macula, et elevavit oculos in coelum ad te Patrem suum, + Dominum omnium et superexaltatum + (+ + H: God and Lord of all, who art above all things), gratias agens, benedixit, fregit deditque discipulis suis dicens: „Hoc est corpus meum, cibus justitiae verus. Quicumque ex hoc manducaverit, vitam aeternam habebit. Accipite, manducate ex eo omnes.“

II Similiter, calicem miscuit aqua et vino, gratias agens, benedixit et sanctificavit deditque discipulis suis dicens: „Hic est sanguis meus, potus vitae verus. Quicumque ex eo biberit, vitam aeternam habebit. Accipite, bibite ex eo omnes. Signum est pro vobis et posteris vestris. Sic facite meam commemorationem donec veniam, et cum convenieritis in nomine meo, mortem meam et resurrectionem meam et ascensionem meam in coelis annuntiate.“

6. JE:

I Eu: In jener Nacht, in der sie ihn gefangennahmen, weil er selbst wollte, daß man ihn töte, und (weil) er damit einverstanden war, daß man ihn peinige und daß er die Pein der Nägel erdulde, um die Kirche durch sein Blut zu befreien und sein Volk durch sein Kreuz zu stärken,

ለማርያን። ነሥኦ፡ ኅብዕተ፡ በእደዊሁ፡ ቅዱሳት፡ ውበፀዓት፡ ሕዌሃ፡ ለመርዓትከ፡
ወኅድጋቲሁ፡ [Eu፡ ወኅድጋቲሃ፡] ለእንተ፡ ኅደጋ፡ ምክራብ፡ አእከተ፡ ባረከ፡
ወፈተተ፡ ወወሀቦሙ፡ ለ [Eu. add.፡ እሊአሁ፡] አርዳኢሁ፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ዝውክቱ፡
ሥጋዮ፡ [መብልዐ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ዘበአማን፡] [□Eu om.] ዘበልዖሂ፡ ኢይመውት፡
ወዘነሥኦሂ፡ ኢይማዕን፡ [Eu add.፡ ንሥኦ፡] ብልዐ፡ እምኔሁ፡ ከፍልክሙ።

II ወከማሁ፡ ሰብሐ፡ ዲባ፡ ጽዋዕኒ፡ ወይቤ፡ ዝውክቲ፡ ጽዋዐ፡ [Eu om.] ደምዮ፡
ዘሐዲሰ፡ ሥርዐት፡ [Eu add.፡ ዘሰገዮኒ፡ ኢይመውት፡ ወዘነሥኦሂ፡ ኢይማዕን፡]
ንሥኦ፡ ሰተዮ፡ [Eu፡ ሰተዮ፡] እምኔሁ፡ ከፍልክሙ። መክከር፡ ተአምር፡ ውክቱ፡
ለከሎሙ፡ እሊ፡ ይሰግዱ፡ ሎቱ፡ ዐውዶ፡ ለሰቃልያን፡ [Eu፡ ዘሰገዮ፡] ዘተጽሕፈ፡
በደሙ፡ ወተሐትመ፡ በመሰቀሉ፡ [Eu፡ በሰቃሉቱ፡] ወተዐትብ፡ በቅትለቱ፡ በእንተ፡
ሕይወት፡ ዘለዓለም፡ በዘይቱ፡ ኅደግ፡ ኅጢአት፡ ወከመዝ፡ ግበሩ፡ ተዝካርያ፡ ሶባ፡
ትትገብሩ።

7. JB:

I በይክቲ፡ ሌሊት፡ እንተ፡ ባቲ፡ ይሚጡ፡ ነፍሶ፡ በእንተ፡ ሕይወት፡ ዓለም፡
ወመድኃኒት። ነሥኦ፡ ኅብዕተ፡ በእደዊሁ፡ ቅዱሳት፡ ውበፀዓት፡ እሊ፡ እንበለ፡
ነውር። አንቃዕደው፡ ኅብ፡ አብ፡ አእከተ፡ ባረከ፡ ወቀደሰ፡ ወፈተተ፡ ወወሀቦሙ፡
ለአርዳኢሁ፡ ወለሐዋርያቲሁ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል። ንሥኦ፡ ብልዐ፡ እምኔሁ፡ ከፍልክሙ፡
ዝውክቱ፡ ሥጋዮ፡ ለዘበእንቲአክሙ፡ ወበእንተ፡ ብዙኅን፡ ይትፈተት፡ ወይትወሀብ፡
ለሐድገተ፡ ኃጢአት፡ ወለሕይወት፡ ዘለዓለም።

II ወከማሁ፡ ጽዋዕኒ፡ እምድኅረ፡ ተደሩ፡ ቆሰሐ፡ ደመ፡ ወወይነ፡ [prob. ጽዋዐ፡
ወይን፡] እማይ፡ ወሶቤሃ፡ አእከተ፡ ባረከ፡ ወቀደሰ፡ ወወኅቦሙ፡ ለአርዳኢሁ፡
ወለሐዋርያቲሁ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል። ንሥኦ፡ ሰተዮ፡ እምኔሁ፡ ከፍልክሙ፡ ዝውክቱ፡
ደምዮ፡ ዘሐዲሰ፡ ሥርዓት፡ ውክቱ፡ ለዘበእንቲአክሙ፡ ወበእንተ፡ ብዙኅን፡
ይትከዓው፡ ወይትወሀብ፡ ለሕድገተ፡ ኃጢአት፡ ወለሕይወት፡ ዘለዓለም፡ አሜን።
በአምጣነ፡ ትበልዕዎ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ኅብዕት፡ ወትሰትይዎ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ጽዋዐ፡ ሞተ፡ ዚአየ፡
እንዘ፡ ትዜክሩ፡ እሰከ፡ አመ፡ እመጽኦ፡ አነ።

um seinen Altar zu erbauen, die Götzen aber auszurotten, die Priester auszuervählen, die Götzenpaffen aber zu zerstreuen, accepit panem in manus suas sanctas et beatas, dos sponsae tuae et libellus divortii synagogae quam repudiasti; gratias agens benedixit, fregit deditque discipulis suis dicens: „Hoc est corpus meum, + cibus iustitiae verus + (+ + Eu om.), quicumque manducaverit ex eo non morietur et quicumque hoc acceperit non peribit. (Eu add.: Nehmet) manducate ex eo omnes.“

II Similiter, + gratias agens + [+ + Eu: lobte er (freier: sprach er einen Lobspruch)] super calicem dixit: „Hic est calix (Eu om.) sanguinis mei (Eu: mein Blut) novi testamenti; (Eu add.: sowohl wer es trinkt, wird nicht sterben, als auch, wer davon nimmt, wird nicht verwesen) sumite, bibite ex eo omnes. Admirabile prodigium pro omnibus, + qui hoc adorabunt in circuitu et pro crucifixoribus, quod cum sanguine ejus scriptum est et per crucem ejus signatum est et per occisionem ejus sigillum habuit + [+ + Eu: die ihn anbeten, für die Kreuziger (aber) eine Anklage (?), die mit seinem Blut geschrieben, durch seine Kreuzigung besiegelt und durch seine Tötung gestempelt wurde] in vitam aeternam + et in remissionem peccatorum + (+ + Eu: weil dadurch die Sünde nachgelassen wird). Sic facite meam commemorationem cum conveneritis.“

7. JB:

I Eu: In jener Nacht, in welcher er sich selbst für das Leben der Welt und zur Erlösung hingab, nahm er das Brot in seine heiligen, seligen und makellosen Hände, blickte empor zum Vater, dankte, segnete und heiligte und brach und gab seinen Jüngern und seinen Aposteln, indem er sprach: „Nehmet (und) esset davon, ihr alle; dies ist mein Leib, der für euch und für viele gebrochen und gegeben (werden) wird zur Vergebung der Sünden und zum ewigen Leben.“

II Und ebenso, (was) den Kelch betrifft, nachdem sie gespeist hatten, mischte er (den Kelch des Weines) mit Wasser und dann dankte, segnete und heiligte und gab er (ihn) seinen Jüngern und seinen Aposteln, indem er sprach: „Nehmet (und) trinket daraus, ihr alle; denn dies ist mein Blut der neuen Stiftung, dasjenige, das für euch und für viele vergossen und gegeben (werden) wird zur Vergebung der Sünden und zum ewigen Leben.“ Amen.

„So oft ihr dieses Brot essen und diesen Kelch trinken werdet, (werdet ihr) meines Todes eingedenk sein, bis daß ich kommen werde.“

8. GH:

I ነሥኡ ኅብዕተ፡ በኢደቂህ፡ ዘተቀነወ፡ ወበዘለሐክ፡ ለአዳም፡ አቡነ፡ ንጹሕ፡ ውኃቱ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ኅጢአት፡ ወጽኖይ፡ ውኃቱ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ተምያን፡ አእክዑት፡ ባረክ፡ ወፈተት፡ ወወሀቦሙ፡ ለአሊአሁ፡ [Eu add.: አርዳኢሁ፡] ወይቤሎሙ፡ [Eu and Poc. 6 add.: ንሥኡ፡ ተሴሰቱ፡] ዝውኃቱ፡ [Eu and Poc. 6: ዝኅብዕት፡] ሥጋዮ፡ [Poc. 6 om.; Eu add.: ውኃቱ፡] ሙበልዓ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ዘበአማን፡ [Poc. 6 add.: ዘይትወሀብ፡ ለመድኅኒተ፡ ኩሉ፡ ሰብእ፡] [ዘይበልዕሂ፡ የሐዩ፡ *ለዓለሙ፡ ዓለም፡*] [†Eu፡ ብልዑ፡ እምኔሁ፡ ኩልክሙ፡; *×Poc. 6: ለዓለም፡]

II ወካዕበ፡ ነጸረ፡ ዲበ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ጸዋዕ፡ ማየ፡ ሕይወት፡ ምዕለ፡ ወይን፡ አእክዑት፡ ባረክ፡ [Eu add.: ወቀደሰ፡] ወመጠዎሙ፡ ለአሊአሁ፡ አርደኢሁ፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ [Eu and Poc. 6 add.: ንሥኡ፡ ሰትዩ፡] ዝውኃቱ፡ [Eu and Poc. 6: ዝጽዋዕ፡] ደምዮ፡ [Poc. 6 om.; Eu add.: ውኃቱ፡] ሰቴ፡ ሕይወት፡ ዘበአማን፡ ዘሰትዮ፡ እምኔሁ፡ ቦሕይወት፡ ዘለዓለም፡ [Eu add.: ንሥኡ፡] ሰትዩ፡ እምኔሁ፡ ኩልክሙ፡ ይኩንክሙ፡ ለሕይወት፡ ወለመድኅኒት፡

9. GC:

I ደምር፡ እግዚአ፡ ትሰብኣተነ፡ በመለኮትክ፡ ዕበየክ፡ በትሕትናነ፡ ወትሕትናነ፡ በዕበይክ፡ ክመ፡ ናቅርብ፡ [Eu add.: ለክ፡] ዘንተ፡ ቊርባነ፡ ዘአንተ፡ ወሀብክ፡ ለአርዳኢክ፡ እንዘ፡ ትብል፡ ንሥኡ፡ ብልዑ፡ ዝኅብዕት፡ ሥጋዮ፡ ውኃቱ፡ ለዘ በእንጉላክሙ፡ ይትፈተት፡ ወይትወሀብ፡ በዘይትኅደግ፡ ኅጢአት፡ ወለሕይወት፡ ዘለዓለም፡ [Eu add.: አሜን፡]

II ወከማሁ፡ ዲበ፡ ጽዋዕኒ፡ ነገርክሙ፡ እንዘ፡ ትብል፡ ንሥኡ፡ ሰትዩ፡ [Eu፡ ሰትዩ፡] ዝጽዋዕ፡ ደምዮ፡ ውኃቱ፡ ለዘበእንጉላክሙ፡ ይትከዕው፡ ወይትወሀብ፡ በዘይትኅደግ፡ ኅጢአት፡ ወለሕይወት፡ ዘለዓለም፡ [Eu add.: አሜን፡] ወክመዝ፡ ግብሩ፡ ተዝካርዮ፡ ትቤሎሙ፡ አምጣነ፡ ትበልዕዎ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ኅብዕት፡ ወትሰትይዎ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ጽዋዕ፡ ሞተ፡ ዚአየ፡ እንዘ፡ [Eu om] ትዜንገ፡ ወበትንግሌዮ፡ [Eu፡ ወትንግሌዮ፡] እንዘ፡ ትትነሥኡ፡ [Eu om] ወትትአመነ፡ [Eu፡ ትት'፡] ወግበሩ፡ ተዝካርዮ፡

10. O:

I ወኃረዮ፡ እምውሰቴ፡ [ወ፪ተ፡ ሐዋርያተ፡ አንሰሰወ፡ ምዕሌሆሙ፡ ወአርአዮሙ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ምሥጢር፡ ዘቊርባን፡ ነሥኡ፡ ኅብዕተ፡ በቅድሜሆሙ፡ ባረክ፡ [Eu add.:]

8. GH:

I Accepit panem in manus suas quae clavis confossae sunt et cum quibus plasmatus est Adam pater noster, Immaculatus sine peccato, Purus sine fraude. Gratias agens benedixit, fregit deditque suis (Eu add.: Jüngern) dicens: „(Eu and Poc. 6 add.: Nehmet, nähret euch!) Hoc (Eu and Poc. 6: Dieses Brot) est + corpus meum + (Poc. 6 om.) cibus justitiae verus, (Poc. 6 add.: which is given for the redemption of all men) + qui manducaverit quoque (ex eo) vivet § in saecula saeculorum § + (+ + Eu: Esset davon ihr alle! § § Poc. 6: for ever).“

II Similiter, respexit super calicem aquam vitae cum vino, gratias agens benedixit, (Eu add.: und heiligte) + deditque discipulis suis + (+ + Eu: und teilte seinen Jüngern aus) dicens: „(Eu and Poc. 6 add.: Nehmet, trinket!) Hic (Eu and Poc. 6: Dieser Kelch) est + sanguis meus + (+ + Poc. 6 om.) potus vitae verus, qui ex eo biberit vitam aeternam habebit. (Eu add.: Nehmet) Bibite ex eo omnes, sit vobis in vitam et redemptionem.“

9. GC:

I Conjunge, Domine, humanitatem nostram cum divinitate tua, magnitudinem tuam cum humilitate nostra et humilitatem nostram cum magnitudine tua, ut offeramus (Eu add.: Dir) istud sacrificium, quod dedisti discipulis tuis dicens: „Accipite, manducate; hic panis est corpus meum, quod pro vobis frangitur et datur + in remissionem peccatorum + (+ + Eu: damit die Sünde nachgelassen wird) et in vitam aeternam.“ (Eu add.: Amen).

II Similiter, super calicem locutus est eis dicens: „Accipite, bibite; hic calix est sanguis meus, qui pro vobis effunditur et datur + in remissionem peccatorum + (+ + Eu: damit die Sünde nachgelassen wird) et in vitam aeternam.“ (Eu add.: Amen). „Sic facite commemorationem meam.“ Dixisti eis: „Quamdiu manducaveritis panem hunc et biberitis hunc calicem, + mortem meam annuntiantes et sperantes resurrectionem meam, dum sumpseritis, facite commemorationem meam + (+ + Eu: sollt ihr meinen Tod verkünden und meine Auferstehung, indem ihr gläubig seid, und begehnet mein Gedächtnis!).“

10. O:

I Et elegit ex eis duodecim apostolos; incedens cum eis ostendit illis testamentum mysterii oblationis. Accepit panem in conspectu eorum, benedixit (Eu add.: und brach) dicens: „Accipite, manducate;

ወፈተት፡] ወይቤ፡ ንሥኡ፡ ብልዑ፡ ዝኅብዕት፡ ሥጋዮ፡ ውኣቱ፡ ለዘበኣንቴኣክሙ፡
ይትፈተት፡ [Eu፡ ይትፈተት፡] ለኅድገተ፡ ኅጢአት፡

II ወከማህ፡ ጽዋዕኒ፡ ባረክ፡ [Eu፡ ቀደሰ፡] ወይቤ፡ ንሥኡ፡ ሰተዩ፡ [Eu፡ ሰተዩ፡]
ዝጽዋዕ፡ ደምዮ፡ ውኣቱ፡ ለዘበኣንቴኣክሙ፡ ይትወሀብ፡ [Eu፡ ይትከፃው፡] ለሰርዮተ፡
ኅጢአት፡

11. B:

I ኅድገ፡ ለኅ፡ ዘንተ፡ ዓቢዮ፡ ምሥጢረ፡ ዘለኣምልኮ፡ ሠናይ፡ ወሠምረ፡ ከመ፡ ይመጡ፡
ነፍሶ፡ ለሞት፡ በኣንተ፡ ሕይወተ፡ ኩሉ፡ ዓለም፡ ነሥኡ፡ ኅብዕተ፡ በእደዊህ፡
ቅዱሳን፡ ወንጹሓት፡ እለ፡ እንበለ፡ ርዕሐት፡ ወብፁዓት፡ [Eu፡ ወብፁዓት፡]
ወማሕዋውያት፡ ነጻረ፡ ውሰተ፡ ሰማይ፡ ኅቤክ፡ ኅብ፡ አቡህ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወእግዚአ፡
ኩሉ፡ [ዘመልሰልተ፡ ኩሉ፡] [Eu om.] አእኩተ፡ ባረክ፡ ወፈተት፡ ጥዕመ [Eu
om.] ወወሀቦሙ፡ ለእሊአህ፡ [Eu om.] አርዳኢህ፡ [Eu፡ ለአ'፡] ቅዱሳን፡
ወለሐዋርያቲህ፡ ንጹሓን፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ንሥኡ፡ ብልዑ፡ እምኔህ፡ ኩልክሙ፡
ዝኅብዕት፡ ሥጋዮ፡ ውኣቱ፡ ለዘበኣንቴኣክሙ፡ ይትፈተት፡ ለኅድገተ፡ ኅጢአት፡
ወከመዝ፡ ግብሩ፡ ተዝካርዮ፡

II ወከማህ፡ ጽዋዕኒ፡ እምድኅረ፡ ተደሩ፡ ቶሶሐ፡ ማዮ፡ ወወይነ፡ አእኩተ፡ ባረክ፡
ወቀደሰ፡ ጥዕመ፡ ወወሀቦሙ፡ ለእሊአህ፡ አርዳኢህ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ወለሐዋርያቲህ፡
ንጹሓን፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ንሥኡ፡ ሰተዩ፡ [Eu፡ ሰተዩ፡] እምኔህ፡ ኩልክሙ፡ ዝጽዋዕ፡
ደምዮ፡ ውኣቱ፡ ለዘበኣንቴኣክሙ፡ ይትከዐው፡ ለሰርዮተ፡ ኅጢአት፡ ወከመዝ፡ ግብሩ፡
ተዝካርዮ፡ አምጣነ፡ ትበልዕዎ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ኅብዕት፡ ወትሰትይዎ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ጽዋዕ፡
ዜንወ፡ ሞትዮ፡ ወእመኑ፡ በትንሣኤዮ፡ ወግብሩ፡ ተዝካርዮ፡ እሰክ፡ [Eu. add.፡ ሶብ፡]
እመጽእ፡

12. Ath:

I ዘንተ፡ ኅብዕተ፡ ዘዚአክ፡ ሥጋ፡ ናቂርብ፡ ለክ፡ ወዘንተ፡ ጽዋዓ፡ ዘዚአክ፡ ደመ፡
ናዓርግ፡ ለክ፡ ወበኣንተ፡ ኃጢአትኅ፡ ወአበሳኅ፡ ወበኣንተ፡ እበድሙ፡ በሕዝብክ፡ አልቦ፡
ዘኃበኣክ፡ እምአርዳኢክ፡ ምሥጢረ፡ ዕበያቲህ፡ ለመለኮትክ፡ ነሣኣክ፡ ኅብዕተ፡
በቅድሜህሙ፡ አእኩትክ፡ ባረክ፡ ወፈተትክ፡ ወወሀብኩሙ፡ እንዘ፡ ትብል፡ ንሥኡ፡
ብልዑ፡ ዝኅብዕት፡ ሥጋዮ፡ ውኣቱ፡ ዘአልቦ፡ ተሌልዮ፡ እምኔህ፡

II ወከማህ፡ ጽዋዓኒ፡ ቶሳሕክ፡ ማዮ፡ ወወይነ፡ አእኩትክ፡ ባረክ፡ ወቀደሰክ፡ [Eu
add.፡ ወወሀብኩሙ] ወትቤ፡ [Eu፡ እንዘ፡ ትብል፡] ንሥኡ፡ ሰተዩ፡ [Eu፡ ሰተዩ፡]

hic panis est corpus meum, qui pro vobis frangitur in remissionem peccatorum.“

II Similiter, benedixit (Eu: heiligte er) calicem dicens: „Accipite, bibite; hic calix est sanguis meus, qui pro vobis datur (Eu: vergossen wird) in remissionem peccatorum.“

11. B:

I Eu: Er hinterließ uns dieses große Geheimnis zum schönen Gottesdienste (= *εὐσέβεια*), und es gefiel ihm, sich selbst dem Tode zu überliefern für das Leben der ganzen Welt. Accepit panem in manus suas sanctas, puras sine macula, beatas et vivificantes, aspexit in coelum ad te Patrem suum, Dominum omnium + et superexaltatum + (+ + Eu om.), gratias agens, benedixit, fregit, gustavit (Eu om.) deditque discipulis suis sanctis et apostolis suis puris dicens: „Accipite, manducate ex eo omnes; hic panis est corpus meum, quod pro vobis frangitur in remissionem peccatorum, sic facite meam commemorationem.“

II Similiter, postquam coenaverunt, miscuit calicem aqua et vino et gratias agens benedixit, sanctificavit, gustavit deditque discipulis suis sanctis et apostolis suis puris dicens: „Accipite, bibite ex eo omnes; hic calix est sanguis meus, qui pro vobis effunditur in remissionem peccatorum, sic facite meam commemorationem. Quamdiu manducaveritis panem hunc et biberitis hunc calicem, mortem meam annuntiate et in resurrectionem meam sperate; et facite meam commemorationem usquedum redeam.“

12. Ath:

I Dieses Brot, dein Fleisch, wollen wir dir darbringen und diesen Kelch, dein Blut, dir aufopfern, sowohl für unsere Sünden und unsere Schuld, als auch für die Torheit deines Volkes! Du hast vor deinen Jüngern das Geheimnis der Großtaten deiner Gottheit nicht verborgen.

Accepisti panem coram eis, gratias agens benedixisti, fregisti et dedisti eis dicens: „Accipite, manducate; hic panis est corpus meum, de quo nihil separatum est (better Eu: ohne daß es von Ihm getrennt wäre).“

II Similiter calicem miscuisti aqua et vino, gratias agens benedixisti et sanctificasti (Eu add.: und gabst ihn ihnen) dicens: „Accipite, bibite; hic calix est sanguis meus, de quo nihil segregatum est (better Eu:

ዝጽዋዕ፡ ደምየ፡ ውክቱ፡ ዘአልቦ፡ ተፈልጦ፡ እምኔሁ። አምጣነ፡ ትበልዕዎ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ኅብስት፡ ወትሰትይዎ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ጽዋዕ፡ ዜንወ፡ ሞትየ፡ ወትንግሌያ፡ ወእመኑ፡ ዕርገትየ፡ [Eu፡ በዕ'፡] ውሰተ፡ ሰሚያት፡ ወኅግመ፡ [Eu፡ ወበኅግም፡] ምጽአትየ፡ በሰብሐት፡ እንዘ፡ ትሴፈዉ።

13. E:

I በይኦቲ፡ ሌሊት፡ ምሴተ፡ ሐመዕ፡ ለጸቢሐ፡ ዐርብ፡ አመ፡ ረፈቀ፡ ውሰተ፡ ቤተ፡ አልዓዛር፡ አርኩ፡ ነሥኡ፡ [Eu፡ ወሃ'፡] በእደዊሁ፡ ኅብስተ፡ ሰርናይ፡ ናክተ፡ እምዘ፡ አምጽኡ፡ ሎቱ፡ ለድሬር፡ [በድ'፡] አእኩተ፡ ባረከ፡ ወፈተተ፡ ወወሀሰመ፡ ለእሊአሁ፡ [Eu om] አርዳኢሁ፡ [Eu፡ ለአ'፡] ወይቤሎመ፡ ንሥኡ፡ ብልዑ፡ ዝኅብስት፡ ሰታፊ፡ [Eu፡ ሰታፊ፡] ሥጋየ፡ ውክቱ፡ ዘይትፈተት፡ በእንጉረክመ።

II ወካዕብ፡ ቶሰሐ፡ [Eu፡ ቶሰሐ፡] ጽዋዕ፡ ወይን፡ ምስለ፡ ሚይ፡ አእኩተ፡ ባረከ፡ ወቀደሰ፡ ወወሀሰመ፡ [Eu፡ ወመጠዎመ፡] ለእሊአሁ፡ [Eu om] አርዳኢሁ፡ [Eu፡ ለአ'፡] ወይቤሎመ፡ ንሥኡ፡ ሰተየ፡ [Eu፡ ሰተየ፡] ዝጽዋዕ፡ ሰታፊ፡ ደምየ፡ ውክቱ፡ ዘይትከወ፡ በእንጉረክመ፡ ወዝንቱ፡ ሥርዓት፡ ይኩንከመ፡ ለተዝካረ፡ [Eu፡ ተዝ'፡] ሞትየ፡ ወትንግሌያ።

14. CI:

I በይኦቲ፡ ልሊት፡ እንተ፡ ባቲ፡ አመ፡ ያንብእዎ፡ ነሥኡ፡ ኅብስተ፡ በእደዊሁ፡ ቅዱሳት፡ ውበፀዓት፡ እለ፡ እንበለ፡ ነውር፡ አንቃዕደወ፡ ሰሚየ፡ ኅቤክ፡ ኅብ፡ አቡሁ፡ አእኩተ፡ ባረከ፡ ወፈተተ፡ ወይቤ፡ ንሥኡ፡ ብልዑ፡ ዝኅብስት፡ ሥጋየ፡ ውክቱ፡ ለዘበእንጉረክመ፡ ይትፈተት፡ ወይትወሀብ፡ ለቤዛ፡ ኩሉ፡ ዓለም፡ በዘይትኅደግ፡ ኅጢአት።

II ወካዕብ፡ እምድገረ፡ ተደሩ፡ ነሥኡ፡ ጽዋዕ፡ አእኩተ፡ ባረከ፡ ወቀደሰ፡ ወይቤሎመ፡ ለአርዳኢሁ፡ ንሥኡ፡ ሰተየ፡ [Eu፡ ሰተየ፡] ዝጽዋዕ፡ ደምየ፡ ውክቱ፡ ዘሐዲሰ፡ ሥርዓት፡ ለዘበእንጉረክመ፡ ይትከወ፡ ለቤዛ፡ ኩሉ፡ ዓለም፡ በዘይትኅደግ፡ ኅጢአት።

15. CII:

I ነሥኡ፡ (ኅብስተ፡) በእደዊሁ፡ ቅዱሳት፡ ውበፀዓት፡ እለ፡ እንበለ፡ ርስሐት፡ አእኩተ፡ ባረከ፡ ወፈተተ፡ ወወሀሰመ፡ ለእሊአሁ፡ አርዳኢሁ፡ ከመ፡ ይኩርመ፡ ቤዛ፡ ለብዙኃን፡ ወይቤሎመ፡ ንሥኡ፡ ብልዑ፡ ዝኅብስት፡ ሥጋየ፡ ውክቱ፡ ለዘበእንጉረክመ፡ ይትፈተት፡ ለኅድገተ፡ ኅጢአት።

II ወካዕብ፡ ቶሰሐ፡ ጽዋዓ፡ ወይን፡ ምስለ፡ ሚይ፡ አእኩተ፡ ወባረከ፡ ወቀደሰ፡

ohne daß es von Ihm geschieden wäre). *Quamdiu manducabitis panem hunc et bibetis hunc calicem, mortem meam et resurrectionem meam annuntiate, + ascensionem meam in coelis et secundum adventum meum in gloria, sperantes expectate + (+ + Eu: und glaubet an meine Auffahrt zu den Himmeln und an meine Wiederkunft in Herrlichkeit, in Hoffnung!).“*

13. E:

I In hac nocte, tempore vespertino feriae quintae, cum oriret feria sexta, dum reclinabat in domo Lazari amici sui, accepit in manus suas panem frumenti infermentatum, ex eo quem attulerunt ei pro coena. Gratias agens benedixit, fregit deditque discipulis suis dicens: „Accipite, manducate; hic panis est participatio corporis mei, qui pro vobis frangitur.“

II Similiter, miscuit calicem vini cum aqua, gratias egit, benedixit, sanctificavit deditque (Eu: und teilte aus) discipulis suis dicens: „Accipite, bibite; hic calix est participatio sanguinis mei, qui pro vobis effunditur. Haec institutio sit pro vobis in commemorationem mortis meae et resurrectionis meae.“

14. CI:

I In hac nocte in qua traditus est, accepit panem in manus suas sanctas, beatas sine macula, elevavit oculos suos in coelum ad te Patrem suum, gratias agens benedixit, fregit et dixit: „Accipite, manducate; hic panis est corpus meum, quod pro vobis frangitur et datur in redemptionem totius mundi, ut remittetur peccatum.“

II Similiter, postquam coenaverunt, accepit calicem, gratias agens benedixit, sanctificavit et dixit discipulis suis: „Accipite, bibite; hic calix est sanguis meus novi testamenti, qui pro vobis effunditur in redemptionem totius mundi, ut remittetur peccatum.“

15. CII:

I Er nahm (Brot) in seine heiligen und seligen Hände, die ohne Unreinheit waren, dankte, segnete und brach und gab seinen Jüngern, damit es ihnen sei zum Lösegeld für Viele, und sprach zu ihnen: „Nehmet, esset! Dieses Brot ist mein Leib, der für euch gebrochen wird zur Vergebung der Sünde.“

II Und weiterhin mischte er den Kelch des Weines mit Wasser, dankte und segnete und heiligte und sprach zu ihnen: „Nehmet,

ወይሌሎሙ፡ ንሥኡ፡ ሰቶ፡ ዝጽዋዕ፡ ደምዮ፡ ውኡቱ፡ ለዘበኣንቲኣክሙ፡ ይትከዓው፡
ለሰርዮተ፡ ኃጢአት፡ ወዝሥርዓት፡ ይኩንክሙ፡ ለተዝካረ፡ ሕማምዮ፡ ወትንሣኤዮ፡

16. JS:

I ነሣክክ፡ ኅብሰተ፡ በኣደዊክ፡ ቅዱሳት፡ ከመ፡ ተሀበሙ፡ [ለአርዳኢሁ፡ ቅዱሳን፡]
[□Eu፡ ለሐዋርያቲክ፡ ንጹሐን፡] ዘአሜሃ፡ ባረክ፡ [ዘምሰለ፡ ሰብሐት፡] [□Eu om.]
ባርኮ፡ ይእከቤ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ኅብሰት፡ ዘአሜሃ፡ ፈተትክ፡ [ዘምሰለ፡ በረከት፡] [□Eu
om] ፈተቶ፡ ይእከቤ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ኅብሰት፡

II ወክዕብ፡ ቶሳሕክ፡ [Eu፡ ቶሲሐኮ፡] ጽዋዕ፡ ወይን፡ ምሰለ፡ ማይ፡ ከመ፡
ተሀበሙ፡ [ለሐዋርያት፡ ንጹሐን፡] [□Eu፡ ለአርዳኢክ፡ ቅዱሳን፡] ዘአሜሃ፡ ቀደሰክ፡
ቀድሶ፡ ይእከቤ፡ [Eu add.፡ እግዚአ፡] ለዝንቱ፡ ጽዋዕ፡ ዘአሜሃ፡ መጦክ፡ መጥዎ፡
ይእከቤ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ጽዋዕ፡ ዘአሜሃ፡ ደመርክ፡ ደምሮ፡ ይእከቤ፡ [ለዝንቱ፡ ኅብሰት፡
ምሰለ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ጽዋዕ] [□Eu፡ ለዝ'፡ ጽ'፡ ም'፡ ዝ'፡ ጥ'፡] ይኩን፡ ሥጋክ፡
ወደመክ፡

17. Mk:

I እስመ፡ በይኣቲ፡ ሌሊት፡ [እንተ፡ ባቲ፡] መጠወ፡ ነፍሶ፡ በእንተ፡ ኃጢአትነ፡
ወበሥምረቱ፡ ወሀበ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ለሞት፡ ነሥኡ፡ ኅብሰት፡ በኣደዊሁ፡ ቅዱሳት፡ ነጻረ፡
ሰማየ፡ ኅብ፡ አቡሁ፡ አኃኤ፡ ኩሉ፡ አእከሞት፡ ባረክ፡ ወፈተተ፡ ወወሀበ፡ ለአርዳኢሁ፡
ቅዱሳን፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ ንሥኡ፡ ብልዑ፡ ዝውኡቱ፡ ሥጋዮ፡ ዘይትፈተት፡ በእንቲኣ
ክመ፡ ወይትወሀብ፡ ለሥሬተ፡ ኃጢአት፡

II ወክማህ፡ እምድጎረ፡ ተደሩ፡ ነሥኡ፡ ጽዋዓ፡ ቱሱሐ፡ ወይነ፡ ወማየ፡ ነጻረ፡
ወሰተ፡ ሰማይ፡ አእከሞት፡ ባረክ፡ ወቀደሰ፡ ወመልዕ፡ ላዕሌሁ፡ መንፈሰ፡ ቅዱሰ፡
ወወሀበ፡ ለአርዳኢሁ፡ ብፁዓን፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ ንሥኡ፡ ሰቶ፡ እምኔሁ፡ ኩልክሙ፡
ዝውኡቱ፡ ደምዮ፡ ዘሐዲሰ፡ ሥርዓት፡ ዘበኣንቲኣክሙ፡ ወበእንተ፡ ብዙኃን፡ ይትከዓው፡
ለሥሬተ፡ ኃጢአት፡ ከመዝ፡ ግበሩ፡ ተዝካርዮ፡ ሶብ፡ ትበልዕዎ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ኅብሰት፡
ወትሰትይዎ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ጽዋዕ፡ ዜንወ፡ ሞትዮ፡ ወትንሣኤዮ፡ እስክ፡ ለኅለመ፡ አመ፡
ዳግም፡ ምጽአትዮ፡

18. M:

I ወአርአዮ፡ ሥርዐተ፡ ምዕጢር፡ ዘቀርባን፡ እም፡ ዘአምጽኡ፡ ሎቱ፡ ለድራር፡
ነሥኡ፡ ኅብሰት፡ በኣደዊሁ፡ ቅዱሳት፡ ወብጹዓት፡ እለ፡ አልዐን፡ ነውር፡ አንቃዕደወ፡
ሰማየ፡ ኅብክ፡ አቡሁ፡ አእከሞት፡ ባረክ፡ ወፈተተ፡ ወወሀበሙ፡ ለእሊኣሁ፡ አርዳኢሁ፡

trinket! Dieser Kelch ist mein Blut, das für euch vergossen wird zur Verzeihung der Sünde.

Und diese Anordnung soll euch sein zum Gedächtnis an meine Leiden und an meine Auferstehung!“

16. JS:

I Accepisti panem in manus tuas sanctas, ut dares + discipulis tuis sanctis + (+ + Eu: Deinen reinen Aposteln). Tu qui tunc + cum gratiarum actione + (+ + Eu om.) benedixisti, benedic nunc hunc panem; tu qui tunc + cum benedictione + (+ + Eu om.) fregisti, frange nunc hunc panem.

II Similiter, calicem vini miscuisti cum aqua, ut dares + apostolis tuis puris + (+ + Eu: Deinen heiligen Jüngern). Tu qui tunc sanctificasti, sanctifica nunc (Eu add.: o Herr) hunc calicem; tu qui tunc prae buisti, praebe nunc hunc calicem; tu qui tunc conjunxisti, conjuge nunc + hunc panem cum hoc calice + (+ + Eu: diesen Kelch mit diesem Brot), ut sint corpus tuum et sanguis tuus.

17. Mk:

I Semharay Selam: ... quia illa nocte qua tradidit semetipsum pro peccato nostro atque sponte sua corpus suum morti dedit, accepit panem manibus suis sanctis, aspexit in coelum ad Patrem suum, Rectorem omnium, gratias egit, benedixit, fregit deditque discipulis suis sanctis dicens: „Accipite, manducate; hoc est corpus meum, quod frangitur pro vobis et datur in remissionem peccati.“

II Similiter postquam coenaverunt, accepit calicem mixtum vino et aqua, aspexit in coelum, gratias egit, benedixit, sanctificavit et implevit eum Spiritu Sancto deditque discipulis suis beatis dicens: „Accipite, bibite ex eo vos omnes; hic est sanguis meus novi testamenti, qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur ad remissionem peccati. Sic facite in meam commemorationem, quando manducabitis hunc panem et bibetis hunc calicem, mortem et resurrectionem meam annuntiate, usque in saeculum, (id est) tempus adventus mei alterius.“

18. M:

I Semharay Selam: Il révéla le Sacrement de l'Eucharistie de ce qui lui avait été apporté pour la Cène. Ayant pris l'hostie dans ses mains saintes, bienheureuses, et immaculées; élevant les yeux au ciel vers vous son Père, rendit grâces, bénit et rompit et donna à ses disciples,

ወይሌሎም፡ ንሥኡ፡ ብልዑ፡ እምነሁ፡ ከፍልክም፡ ዝ፡ ኅብስት፡ ሥጋየ፡ ውኡቱ፡
ለዘበእንቲአክም፡ ይትፈብት፡ ለኅድገት፡ ኅጢአት።

II ወከማሁ፡ ጽዋዕኒ፡ አእከተ፡ ባሪኮ፡ ወቀዲሶ፡ ወወህሰው፡ ለእሊአሁ፡
አርዳኢሁ፡ ወይሌሎም፡ ንሥኡ፡ እምነሁ፡ ከፍልክም፡ ዝ፡ ጽዋዕ፡ ደምየ፡ ውኡቱ፡
ለዘበእንቲአክም፡ ይትከፀው፡ ለኅድገት፡ ኅጢአት። ወሶባ፡ ትገብርዎ፡ ለዝንቱ፡
ተዝካረ፡ ዚአየ፡ ግብኡ፡ ተዘኪረክም፡ ሞትየ፡ ወትንግኤየ፡ ሶባ፡ ትገብርዎ፡ ለዝንቱ፡
ወከማሁ፡ ግብኡ፡ ተዝካረ፡ ሞትየ።

en disant: „Prenez tous et mangez de ceci, cette hostie est mon corps qui sera brisé pour vous pour la rémission des péchés“;

II et de même pour le calice, rendant grâces, bénissant, consacrant et donnant à ses disciples, Il dit: „Prenez tous de ceci, ce calice est mon sang qui sera versé pour vous pour la rémission des péchés. Quand vous ferez ceci, vous le ferez en souvenir de moi. Quand faisant mémoire de ma mort et de ma résurrection vous ferez ceci, faites le également en souvenir de ma mort.“

In dealing with the Institution Narrative in general Fritz Hamm laid down certain important principles which, with a few exceptions, are also valid for the Ethiopic Institution Narratives¹⁾:

1. The earlier form of the text is more symmetrical than the later one, and is more unlike the wording of the Bible.
2. The tendency towards symmetry was felt earlier than the influence of the Bible.
3. There is a third tendency from plain simplicity towards greater enrichment.
4. Not every part of the Institution Narrative was affected by each of these tendencies.
5. A foreign formula nearly always underlies the influence of the country which received it.
6. Apart from these tendencies theological considerations and local ritual customs sometimes play an important part.

¹⁾ Fritz Hamm, *Die liturgischen Einsetzungsberichte im Sinne vergleichender Liturgieforschung untersucht*, Münster i. W. 1928 (*Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen* 23) pp. 33ff.:

- „1. Die ältere Textgestalt ist symmetrischer als die jüngere . . . Die ältere Textgestalt steht sodann dem Wortlaut der Bibel ferner als die jüngere Formulierung. . . .
2. Der Trieb nach Symmetrie war . . . früher wirksam als der Einfluß der Bibel. Denn letzterer erst hebt gelegentlich die Symmetrie wieder auf. . . .
3. Unabhängig von der doppelten Entwicklungslinie in der Richtung auf eine immer stärkere Symmetrie und Angleichungen an die Bibel führt eine dritte von schlichter Einfachheit zu reicherer Ausgestaltung. . . .
4. Beachtenswert ist ferner, daß nicht alle Teile des Berichtes von einem bestimmten Entwicklungstrieb erfaßt sind. Es findet sich Asymmetrie in einer, neben Symmetrie in einer anderen Beziehung. . . .
5. Unabhängig von alldem besteht die Tatsache, daß ein Formular auf neuem Heimatboden dem Einfluß des dort üblichen Normalformulars unterliegt, sei es in einer Erweiterung . . . sei es in Verkürzungen . . .
6. Vereinzelt bleibt schließlich Veranlassung, mit dem Einfluß einer bestimmten theologischen Tendenz oder eines lokalen Kultinteresses zu rechnen. . . .“

Cf. now also O. H. E. Hadji-Burmester, "A Comparative Study of the Form of the Words of Institution and the Epiclesis in the Anaphorae of the Ethiopic Church" in *Eastern Churches Quarterly* 13 (1959/60), pp. 13–42. It is not the purpose of Burmester's article to discuss the historical development of the Institution Narratives and the Epicleseis (cf. p. 14).

We shall now see how these principles developed in the Ethiopic liturgy.

It is advisable to trace each part of the Institution Narrative by means of cross-section. The introduction of the Institution Narrative is naturally the starting point for discussion.

1. Introduction and Dating in the Institution Narratives of the Ethiopic Liturgy

a) *First Clause of the Words of Institution (Consecrating the Bread)*¹⁾

Fritz Hamm established that in the introduction of the liturgical Institution Narratives there are four basic motifs which stand out clearly, though there was a vast local variety in their development²⁾, viz. a) the betrayal in the night, b) the dating on the day before the passion³⁾, c) his expectation of voluntary death and d) the hour of the Last Supper. As most of the editions of the Ethiopic AA were not available at that time Hamm was not able to come to a final conclusion on these problems⁴⁾. It is nowadays possible to examine nearly all the Ethiopic AA and consequently to discover more about their Institution Narratives.

First of all, it is possible to say that nearly all the Ethiopic Institution Narratives have an introduction. Only the GH, C II and JS have no introduction. The JC, GC, Ath, O and M have a peculiar intro-

Cf. E. C. Ratcliff, "The Institution Narrative of the Roman Canon Missae" in *Studia Patristica* II, Berlin 1957, pp. 64–82, where he demonstrates that "the Roman or rather African-Roman, is the one liturgical Institution Narrative which cannot be described as resting on a tradition 'indépendante des évangiles'" (p. 82).

¹⁾ Hereafter called simply „The first clause“.

²⁾ Cf. Hamm, l. c., pp. 36 f.

³⁾ For the dating of the Last Supper and of the passion cf. Theodor Kardinal Innitzer, *Leidens- und Verklärungsgeschichte Jesu Christi*, Wien 1948 (*Kurzgefaßter Kommentar zu den vier heiligen Evangelien*, Bd. 5), pp. 32–44; A. Jaubert, "La date de la dernière Cène" in *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 146 (1954) pp. 140–173.

⁴⁾ Almost the only editions available for him were Mercer's and Chaîne's texts of the Institution Narratives and Epicleseis. But Mercer's text fails just at this point. Some introductions have not been printed at all (as, e. g., in the JE) as Mercer did not recognise them as such. Even in Chaîne's edition some introductions are missing.

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duction without any of the *motifs* just mentioned. It is therefore not necessary to discuss in detail the introduction of those five AA as there is neither any connection between each of the five introductions nor between them and the introductions of other AA.

a) The introduction of the Ap may be regarded as the original form on which the introductions of other Ethiopic AA are based: "In the same night, in which they betrayed him¹⁾". Already St. Paul has a similar formula (1 Cor. 11, 23): *ὅτι ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἣ παρεδίδοτο*. The introduction in Serapion of Thmuis (I)²⁾: *ὅτι ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐν ἣ νυκτὶ παρεδίδοτο* and in the *Apostolic Constitutions* VIII³⁾: *ἐν ἣ γὰρ νυκτὶ παρεδίδοτο* represent the same stage of historical development as the record of St. Paul.

Other Ethiopic AA followed the example of the Ap in mentioning the betrayal in the night: D, C I and J (if the J is not an independent form). The JE, whose introduction is very remarkable because of its length, uses this *motif* quite differently. Also different from the Ap is the introduction of the MC, which mentions Judas by name in connection with the betrayal (*ጭዓ: ዘአገብኦ*: "Judas who betrayed him"). The E mentions the night only (*በጸሐይ: ሌሊት*), without connecting it with the thought of the betrayal but of the Last Supper. Therefore the E belongs to the group to be dealt with in section (d).

The Mk follows its Greek/Coptic model and connects the reference to the night with the sacrifice of Christ "pro peccato nostro", and thus belongs to the group to be dealt with in section (c).

b) The second *motif* distinguished by Hamm⁴⁾ is the reference to the day preceding the passion⁵⁾ and does not appear in any of the Ethiopic AA. This form seems to be more a peculiarity of the Western rites⁶⁾.

c) The *motif* of his voluntary death appears in the MC, in the B, Mk and JB which follow their model and (in an extension which goes into details about the passion) in the JE. This *motif* is widespread in the Christian Orient. The *Testamentum Domini* already has a corresponding formula⁷⁾: *ܩܘܝ ܥܡ ܬܪܕܝܢܐ ܕܡܫܚܝܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ* ("qui, cum trade-

¹⁾ Br p. 232.

²⁾ In *Journal of Theological Studies* 1 (1900) p. 105.

³⁾ Br p. 20.

⁴⁾ L. c., pp. 38f.

⁵⁾ In the Latin rite: "Qui pridie quam pateretur."

⁶⁾ Hamm, l. c., p. 39: „Im Orient findet sich vereinzelt eine Bezugnahme auf das 'Leiden'." Cf. Rateliff, l. c., p. 73.

⁷⁾ Rahmani, l. c., pp. 40f.

retur passioni voluntariae”), also the so-called *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus¹⁾. In Greek a μέλλων-construction without a definite dating is frequently used²⁾. In the B this Greek μέλλων is rendered by the Ethiopic ሠጽረ፡. The Mk makes no mention of his intention and states only the fact that he delivered himself up to death: መጠፀ: ነፍሱ:; this corresponds to the Greek παρεδίδου. The MC follows the Mk with this difference that the introduction of the MC is more fully developed. The JE is constructed with ፈቃዱ፡.

d) In the Ethiopic rite only the E mentions the evening in a peculiar combination of evening and night: “In hac nocte, tempore vespertino feriae quintae, cum oriret feria sexta . . .” The introduction in the E is very remarkable in that according to that A Lazarus, the friend of the Lord, was the owner of the house in which the Last Supper was eaten. This tradition can already be found in the 46th chapter of the *Book of the Bee* by bishop Solomon of Boṣrā in Iraque (13th century)³⁾. This peculiarity of the E does not, however, provide us with any information about its age as it probably incorporates legends which are older.

b) *Second Clause of the Words of Institution*
(Consecrating the Wine)⁴⁾

The dating in the introduction of the first clause corresponds to the μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι of the Oriental liturgies in the second clause⁵⁾. Hamm was of the opinion that this element could be found only in those Ethiopic AA which have an introduction in the first clause as well. As there were only incomplete and inaccurate editions in Hamm's times, it is easy to see why he has not been proved quite correct on this point. As we have already noted only the GH, C II and JS have no introduction, while the JC, GC, Ath, O and M have introductory phrases which differ completely from the usual terms. As regards the remaining AA only the Mk, B, D, JB and C I (not – as Hamm stated –

¹⁾ Dix, l. c., p. 8.

²⁾ E. g. Br p. 237.

³⁾ E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Bee in Anecdota Oxoniensia, Semitic Series* I 2, Oxford 1886, pp. 115 and 102; J. M. Schoenfelder, *Salomonis episcopi Bassoriensis Liber Apis*, syriacum arabicumque textum Latine vertit, Bambergae 1866, p. 75; cf. A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 309.

⁴⁾ Hereafter called simply „The second clause“.

⁵⁾ In the New Testament only in St. Luke and St. Paul.

the J and MC) have the motif of the *μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι*; it is missing in the Ap, E, JE, MC and J. Thus, in only five Ethiopic AA (Mk, B, D, JB and C I) was the tendency for symmetry so strong that it led to the addition of the **አምድነረ፡ ተደሩ፡** in the second clause. The liturgical wording is, however, very often identical with the biblical wording, and consequently it is difficult to keep these two tendencies (symmetry and assimilation to the Bible) apart.

The four introductions in the JC, GC, Ath and O are so peculiar that it is understandable that they have not led to a parallel insertion in the second clause (the M has the **አምድነረ፡ ተደሩ፡** in Cod. Vat. 24).

Hamm's presumption that the insertion of this element in the second clause of the B was due to the influence of another A is now untenable, as we know that the B has an introduction in the first clause also.

2. The Actions of the Lord

Over the actions of the Lord a tendency towards an increasingly strong symmetry in the Oriental liturgies was decisive¹).

On this point the appearance of the Ethiopic AA is very diverse and confusing, and a clear impression is best conveyed by giving an analytical table of the references to the Lord's actions in each of the AA:

KEY:

I (Bread)	II (Wine)
1 = accipere	1 = miscere (vino calicem)
2 = aspicere (ad coelum ad Patrem)	2 = respicere (super calicem)
3 = gratias agere	3 = accipere
4 = benedicere	4 = aspicere (in coelum)
5 = sanctificare	5 = gratias agere
6 = frangere	5a = ሰብሐ : instead of አኩተ :
7 = gustare	6 = benedicere
8 = dare (discipulis)	7 = sanctificare
9 = dicere (discipulis)	8 = implere (Spiritu Sancto)
	9 = gustare
	10 = dare (discipulis)
	11 = dicere (discipulis)
	12 = conjungere

(Figures in brackets mean that there are several variant readings)

¹) Cf. Hamm, l. c., p. 45.

I (Bread)	II (Wine)
1. Ap: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9	5, 6, 7, 10, 11
2. J: 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9	1, 5, 6, 7, 10
3. MC: 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 9	4, 11
4. D: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9	1, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11
5. JC: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9	1, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11
6. JE: 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9	5a, 11
7. JB: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9	1, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11
8. GH: 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9	2, 5, 6, (7), 10, 11
9. GC: 8, 9	11
10. O: 1, 4, (6), 9	6, (7), 11
11. B: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9	1, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11
12. Ath: 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9	1, 5, 6, 7, 11
13. E: 1, 4, 6, 8, 9	1, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11
14. C I: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 9	3, 5, 6, 7, 11
15. C II: 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9,	1, 5, 6, 7, 11
16. JS: 1, 4, 6	1, 7, 10, 12
17. Mk: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9	3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11
18. M: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9	5, 6, 7, 10, 11

The earliest references to the Lord's actions are completely asymmetrical. In the New Testament St. Paul says¹⁾: *ἔλαβεν . . . εὐχαριστήσας . . . ἔκλασεν . . . εἶπεν . . .* — (of the Bread), *λέγων* — (of the Wine). The formulae of Hippolytus has an even simpler text: "accipiens panem gratias tibi agens dixit . . . — similiter et calicem dicens . . ." From these texts it is possible to distinguish the elements which were of importance in the development of this text: *accipere*, *gratias agere*, *frangere*, *dare* (*discipulis*) and *dicere*.

The formulae *λάβων . . . ἀναβλέψας . . . εὐχαριστήσας, εὐλογήσας κλάσας διέδωκε . . . εἰπών* (of the Bread) and *εὐχαριστήσας εὐλογήσας ἀγιάσας διέδωκε . . . εἰπών* (of the Wine) of the Ap shows that the tendency towards symmetry was so strong that the two verbs *εὐχαριστήσας* *εὐλογήσας* were added to both clauses. The Mk, B, JC, D and C II have the same form in the words about the Bread. The J, O, JE, JS, GH, GC, Ath and C II do not have the *ἀναβλέψας* in the first clause.

Nearly all the Institution Narratives which have the *λαβών* in the first clause complete the phrase by mentioning the Lord's hands. This motif is comparatively late; it is missing in the Bible, in the so-called *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus, in the Syriac *Testamentum Domini*,

¹⁾ 1 Cor 11, 23—25.

in Serapion's Prayer Book, in the fragment No. 27 of the *Coptica Lovaniensia*¹⁾ and in the Nestorian liturgy of Theodorus of Mopsvestia²⁾. The fact that this motif is missing in the Ath, GC and O is probably due to a later abbreviation brought about under biblical influence. Hamm has demonstrated that the reference to the Lord's hands is internally connected with the action of the "aspicere": „Nicht von der ganz selbstverständlichen Verwendung der Hände zum Ergreifen der Elemente ist die Rede und will die Rede sein, sondern von einem Segnen des Brotes auf die Hände zum Zwecke der Handlung des ἀναδείξαι oder unter Begleitung durch die Handlung des ἀναβλέπειν"³⁾. If the "aspicere" is missing in some of the Ethiopic Institution Narratives where reference is made to the Lord's hands, this fact might be explained on the hypothesis that in these AA (J, JS, JE, E, GH and C II) the latter was taken over from other liturgies purely superficially without awareness of the connection between it and the "aspicere". The E has the shortest form of reference to Christ's hands: "in manus suas". A further development can be seen in those Institution Narratives in which the adjective "Holy" has been added (as in most of the Syriac AA). Among the Ethiopic Institution Narratives only the JS and Mk have this simple extension. This fact is especially striking in the case of the Mk, as the Greek liturgy of St. Mark has the extension to three adjectives⁴⁾. The Ap demonstrates the same stage of development, namely three adjectives: in manus suas sanctas, beatas, sine macula. This A thus corresponds to the Greek liturgy of St. Mark: τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἀχράντων καὶ ἀμόμων⁵⁾ αὐτοῦ χειρῶν. This form of the Ap was copied by the D, M, C I, C II (CḤḤḤ: instead of ἱΘ·C:), J (CḤḤḤ: instead of ἱΘ·C:) and JB (which goes back to the Syriac liturgy of St. James). In the B the number of the adjectives is increased to five: „sanctas, puras, sine macula, beatas et vivificantes". The GH has a very peculiar theological addition: „quae clavis confossae sunt et cum quibus plasmatus est Adam, pater noster".

¹⁾ Cf. *Les manuscrits coptes de l'Université de Louvain I*: L. T. Lefort, *Textes Littéraires*, Louvain 1940, p. 104.

²⁾ Ren II p. 613.

³⁾ Hamm, l. c., pp. 65f.; Rateliff, l. c., p. 77.

⁴⁾ Br p. 132. The Coptic liturgy of St. Cyril (Br p. 176) has five adjectives: "... holy spotless and undefiled and blessed and lifegiving hands."

⁵⁾ The ἄμωμος can be found in many Institution Narratives. As a rule the ἀχράντος is connected with it; cf. Rateliff, l. c., p. 77.

The *ἀγιάσας* (of the Wine) as a counterpart of the *κλάσας* first appears in the *Apostolic Constitutions* VIII. It appears in most of the Ethiopic AA; only the JE, (GH), GC, MC (and O) form an exception; in addition the *κλάσας* in the first clause is missing in the GC (and in the O). The *ἀγιάσας* in Ethiopic did not, however, follow the further development by which it was elsewhere transferred to the first clause of the Institution Narrative. This happened, for instance, in the Greek/Coptic liturgy of St. Mark/St. Cyril and St. Basil. In Ethiopic the JB is the only exception, but this is due to the fact that the transference had already taken place in the Syriac liturgy of St. James.

The *γευσάμενος* in the second clause originated in Egypt where it appears in the liturgy of St. Basil¹⁾, in the Coptic liturgy of St. Cyril and in the Coptic liturgy of St. Gregory²⁾. At this point I should like to mention a fact which seems to me significant. In view of the influence the Egyptian rite had on the Ethiopic AA one would have expected the *γευσάμενος* to have appeared in Ethiopia also. This is, however, not the case. It appears only in the B (in both clauses). But it does not occur in the Mk. Would it be possible to conclude from the fact that the *γευσάμενος* does not appear in the Greek liturgy of St. Mark but does appear in the Coptic liturgy of St. Cyril that the Mk was translated from Greek into Ethiopic? I think, however, that this point alone is too insignificant to warrant such a conclusion.

The earliest reference to the mixing of the chalice is to be found in the *Apostolic Constitutions* VIII. This motif is necessarily later than that of the "sanctificare" (in the same clause). With a few exceptions all the liturgies have a "sanctificare" if they have a "miscere"³⁾. Among the Ethiopic Institution Narratives the J, JC, JB, JS, B, E, Ath, D and C II have the motif of mixing of the chalice as well as the motif of the "sanctificare". The Ap, C I, Mk, M (and O) have the "sanctificare" but not the "miscere". The motif of the mixing probably originated as

¹⁾ But not in the sahidic fragment of Louvain; cf. J. Doresse-E. Lanne, *Un témoin archaïque de la liturgie de S. Basile*, Louvain 1960 (*Bibliothèque du Muséon* 47), pp. 16–18.

²⁾ Cf. Cl. Kopp, l. c., p. 130, note 6: „Wieder ergänzt die Liturgie die Worte der Schrift mit diesem: 'Er kostete'. Es ist in allen drei Liturgien enthalten, auch die unierten Kopten haben es nicht getilgt. Natürlich wird angenommen, daß Christus seinen hl. Leib ebenfalls zuerst selbst genossen hat. Als Beweis führt J. Salâmi das Schriftwort an: 'Mit großer Sehnsucht habe ich verlangt, dieses Osterlamm mit euch zu essen, bevor ich leide' (la'âlî I, 588).“ Cf. Hamm, l. c., pp. 51f. and 59. The biblical text is Lk 22, 15.

³⁾ Cf. Hamm, l. c., p. 53.

a counterpart to the "accipere panem". This correspondence can still be recognized in the J, JC, JS, B, E, Ath, JB, D and C II. The mixing was not confined to the expression "miscuit" but several supplementary expressions were added: J: "vini calicem"; B, JC and Ath: "calicem . . . aqua et vino"; JS, JB, E and C II: "calicem vini cum aqua"; Mk: "calicem mixtum vino et aqua"; D: "aquam et vinum"¹). It is remarkable that in all the Ethiopic AA where such supplementary expressions were added to the mixing the addition of water has been maintained (with the exception of the J)²).

With the exception of the MC and Mk the "aspicere" occurs only in the first clause. Hamm maintained that as soon as the "accipere" had been added to the second clause it was necessary to find a counterpart to the mixing, the lifting up of the eyes³). It corresponds to the "miscere" in the JC, B and D. On the other hand the "aspicere" appears in the Ap, Mk, MC and C I without the second clause having the "miscere".

The verb "aspicere" is defined more closely by certain additions: Mk: "in coelum ad Patrem suum, Rectorem omnium"; Ap, D and C I: "in coelum ad te Patrem suum"; B: "ad te Patrem suum Dominum omnipotentem et superexaltatum"; MC: "in coelum ad te Patrem suum, Dominum omnium et superexaltatum"; M: "ad te Patrem suum". In the *Apostolic Constitutions* VIII the addition runs thus: *πρὸς σὲ τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ πατέρα*. To safeguard Christ's divinity there was probably in some cases a subsequent abbreviation in these additions in the Ethiopic Institution Narratives.

"Respicere super calicem" appears in the GH only. The MC has an addition to the "aspicere" which is surely the work of the author of the whole A, as it appears in none of the others: "misericordiam petit . . .". The JE also has an addition which is peculiar to itself. In this addition the Eucharistic Bread is called "the dowry for thy bride and the bill of

¹) The GH connects "respexit" with "calicem aquam cum vino".

²) Josef Jungmann, S. J., [*Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet*, Münster i. W. 1925 (*Liturgiegeschichtliche Forschungen* 7/8), p. 60] traces the omission of the mention of the water back to the strict monophysitic school: „Die nicht unierten Armenier sind denn auch jetzt die einzige kirchliche Gemeinschaft des Orients, die in der Messe Wein ohne Beimischung von Wasser gebrauchen, weil das Wasser andeuten würde, daß in Christus die menschliche Natur neben der göttlichen als solche fortbestanden habe, ein Standpunkt, den schon das Trullanum 680 ihnen gegenüber verurteilt hat.“

³) Cf. Hamm, l. c., p. 56.

divorcement for the Synagogue which you have put away¹⁾. On this matter, namely the Eucharist, the ways of the Synagogue and of the Church diverge.

In the Greek/Coptic liturgy of St. Mark/St. Cyril we find as a counterpart to *κλάσας* the expression: *πλήσας πνεύματος ἁγίου*, which was also taken over by the Ethiopic A. Hamm explained this addition as due to the appearance of a pneumatological wave after the third General Council of Constantinople²⁾.

There are some Ethiopic Institution Narratives which are remarkably brief in their enumeration of the Lord's actions; the JE (in the second clause), the GC (in both clauses), the MC (in the second clause) and the O (in both clauses). It was probably under biblical influence that the number of the Lord's actions was reduced³⁾. The same characteristic is also found in the liturgy of St. Chrysostom⁴⁾ and in the liturgy of Nestorius⁵⁾.

The distribution of the Eucharistic Elements or the "dicere" are defined more closely by a dative object; "to the disciples" or "to the apostles". This addition is naturally always missing if the motif of the "dare" is absent, i. e. in the C I (in the first clause), C II (in the second clause), O (in both clauses), MC (in the second clause), Ath (in the second clause), GC (in the second clause) and JE (in the second clause). Apart from the B, Mk and D most of the Ethiopic AA show an asymmetrical simplicity which may be explained as a later abbreviation due to biblical influence. The Ap has "discipulis suis" in both clauses. The same phrase occurs in the JE (in the first clause), in the GH (in both clauses according to Euringer's reading), in the GC (in the first clause), in the E (in both clauses), in the MC (in the second clause), in the C I (in the second clause), in the C II (in the first clause), in the M (in both clauses), in the J (in the first clause) and in the JC (in both clauses). Surprisingly enough the form of the B (which is the same as in the D) "discipulis suis sanctis et apostolis suis puris" (in both clauses) does not correspond to the Greek/Coptic liturgy of St. Basil, but to the Coptic liturgy of

¹⁾ Edition of Euringer § 80 = p. 42.

²⁾ Hamm, l. c., p. 52: „Die Wendung verdankt ihre Existenz erst der pneumatologischen Welle, die sich in der Liturgie im Anschluß an das dritte allgemeine Konzil von Konstantinopel geltend machte. Es ist für ihre Jugend bezeichnend, daß sie eine Übertragung auch in das erste Berichtsglied nicht mehr erfuhr.“

³⁾ Cf. Hamm, l. c., p. 49.

⁴⁾ Br p. 328.

⁵⁾ Ren II p. 623.

St. Cyril (in the first clause). The Mk has a shorter form "discipulis suis sanctis" in the first clause and "discipulis suis beatis" in the second clause. The JS has "apostolis tuis sanctis" in the first clause and "apostolis tuis puris" in the second clause; the JB has "discipulis suis et apostolis suis" in both clauses in contrast to the Syriac liturgy of St. James¹).

The general impression made by this comparison is that a tendency towards symmetry originally lay behind these Ethiopic AA, which were only later reduced in length, probably under biblical influence. It is, however, not possible to settle the question whether in some AA the original symmetrical form was later changed into an asymmetrical one or whether they had an asymmetrical form from the beginning.

The Institution Narrative of the JS needs special consideration. According to Euringer this Institution Narrative is „in ein Gebet um Verwandlung der Opferelemente umgebogen“²). From this form Euringer concluded that the alteration of the Institution Narrative pointed to Syria as the JS's country of origin (cf. p. 32). But he has not recognized the actual problem. He has failed to realize that this Institution Narrative corresponds to the first part of the *Prooemium fractionis* of the Greek/Coptic liturgy of St. Gregory which I discussed in detail in my edition of this liturgy³). In Greek and Coptic the first part of this *Prooemium* runs as follows⁴):

GREEK:

ὁ τότε εὐλογήσας, καὶ νῦν εὐλόγησον.
 ὁ τότε ἀγιάσας, καὶ νῦν ἀγίασον.
 ὁ τότε κλάσας, καὶ νῦν διάθρεπον.
 ὁ τότε διαδοὺς τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ ἀποστόλοις,
 καὶ νῦν δέσποτα διαδοὺς ἡμῖν, καὶ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ σου
 φιλόανθρωπε, παντοκράτωρ, κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν.

¹) Br pp. 51f. and 87.

²) Euringer, *Anaphoren des hl. Evangelisten Johannes* etc., p. 81; cf. pp. 110f.: „Es fällt ferner auf, daß die Einsetzungsworte, die in den übrigen AA. expressis verbis zitiert werden, hier vollständig fehlen, ja nicht einmal angedeutet sind. Auch die deprekatorische Form an Stelle des historischen Berichtes fällt ganz aus dem Rahmen der abessinischen Liturgie. Da aber die monophysitischen Abessinier das Wesen der Konsekration in die Epiklese (Invocatio) verlegen, haben für sie die Einsetzungsworte sozusagen nur historischen Wert und können daher wegbleiben.“

³) L. c., pp. 148–152.

⁴) Ren I p. 105 and my edition pp. 62–64 = Nos. 321–333.

COPTIC:

ΦΗ ΕΤΑΙΣΜΟΥ ΜΠΙΣΧΟΥ: †ΝΟΥ ΟΝ ΣΜΟΥ.
 ΦΗ ΕΤΑΙΣΡΑΓΙΑΖΙΝ ΜΠΙΣΧΟΥ: †ΝΟΥ ΟΝ ΑΡΙΑΓΙΑΖΙΝ.
 ΦΗ ΕΤΑΙΦΩΩ ΜΠΙΣΧΟΥ: †ΝΟΥ ΟΝ ΦΩΩ.
 ΦΗ ΕΤΑΙ† ΕΤΟΤΟΥ ΝΝΕΥΑΓΙΟΣ ΜΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΟΥΟΖ
 ΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΜΠΙCΧΟΥ: †ΝΟΥ ΟΝ ΠΕΝΝΗΒ
 ΜΟΙ ΝΑΝ ΝΕΜ ΠΕΚΛΑΟC ΤΗΡΑ: ΠΠΙΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ
 ΠΒΟΙC ΠΕΝΝΟΥ†.

As the Greek/Coptic liturgy of St. Gregory – as I hope I have demonstrated¹⁾ – is of Syriac origin, the existence of this *Prooemium fractionis* in the JS supports the supposition that at least some parts of this Ethiopic A are of Syriac origin. In my edition of the Coptic liturgy of St. Gregory I suggested that the liturgy of St. Gregory was used in the Syriac monastery (Dêr Suriani) in the Sketis²⁾. It is remarkable that Euringer (following a suggestion of G. Graf) came to the conclusion that the JS also probably originated in the Syriac monastery of the Wādî'n-Natrûn³⁾.

The strange formula $\text{ⲉⲙⲥⲏ: ⲉⲡⲥ: ⲉⲗⲏⲃⲓ: ⲁⲛⲏⲧⲉ: ⲕⲡⲟ: ⲡⲱⲗ: ⲛⲏⲧⲉ: ⲧⲱⲗⲧ: ⲉⲛⲧ: ⲡⲱⲛ: ⲙⲉⲛⲏⲏ}$ (Eu: „Vereinige auch jetzt diesen Kelch mit diesem Brot, auf daß es sei dein Fleisch und dein Blut“) according to Euringer⁴⁾ is nothing but a petition that Christ should make the Chalice, **together** with the Bread, his Body and Blood.

I should like to mention that the MC also has a text **after** the Institution Narrative which is similar to the *Prooemium* of the liturgy of St. Gregory (§§ 89–92). Perhaps this text was added in accordance with the model of the JS:

¹⁾ *Koptische Gregoriosanaphora*, pp. 176–180.

²⁾ L. c., pp. 179f.

³⁾ Euringer, *Anaphoren des hl. Evangelisten Johannes* etc., p. 82: „Der Ort, wo die Abessinier Gelegenheit gehabt haben können, diese syrische Anaphora kennenzulernen, dürfte, wie mir mein gelehrter Freund, Dr. G. Graf, nahelegt, in der Wüste Skete, im Wadi Natrûn, zu suchen sein. Denn dort war das von syrischen Mönchen bewohnte Kloster der Gottesgebärerin, Dêr Suriani, aus dem die berühmtesten syrischen Hss. stammen, welche den Stolz der europäischen Bibliotheken, Vaticana, Ambrosiana, Britisches Museum usw. bilden. Nicht weit davon befand sich noch zur Zeit Robert Curzons 1833 ein von abessinischen Mönchen bewohntes Kloster mit einer Bibliothek und gelehrten Bücherschreibern.“ Cf. R. Curzon, *Visits to Monasteries in the Levant*, London 1881, pp. 105ff.

⁴⁾ *Anaphoren des hl. Evangelisten Johannes* etc., p. 110.

- § 89: አእግዚአ: በከመ: አሜሃ: ዘንተ: ኅብሰተ: ባርክ: ወፈትት: ወሀብ: (Eu: „O Herr! wie damals, so segne und brich und gib (jetzt) dieses Brot!“)
- § 90: አሜን: („Amen.“)
- § 91: አእግዚአ: በከመ: አሜሃ: ዘንተ: ጽዋጌ: ዕተብ: ወቀድሰ: ወመጡ: („O Herr! wie damals, so besiege und heilige und reiche (jetzt) diesen Kelch!“)
- § 92: አሜን: („Amen.“)

3. The Words of the Lord

a) *The Words of Institution*

The words of Institution¹⁾ in the Ethiopic Institution Narratives are most unusual. They may be divided into the following groups (where an A is given in brackets it means that for this A the readings in Löfgren-Euringer and in Chaîne are different):

1. ዝኅብሰት: ሥጋዮ: ውኣቱ: (“Hic panis est corpus meum”): Ap, J, (GH), GC, B, Ath, MC, D, C I, C II, O, M
2. ዝውኣቱ: ሥጋዮ: (“Hoc est corpus meum”): Mk, JC, JE, JB, (GH)
3. ዝኅብሰት: ሱታፌ: ሥጋዮ: ውኣቱ: (“Hic panis est participatio corporis mei”): E
4. ዝኅብሰት: መብለዕ: ጽድቅ: በአማን: (“Hic panis est cibus iustitiae verus”): GH
5. ዝጽዋዕ: ደጋዮ: ውኣቱ: (“Hic calix est sanguis meus”): Ap, (GH), GC, B, Ath, MC, D, C I, C II, O, M
6. ዝውኣቱ: ደጋዮ: (“Hic est sanguis meus”): Mk, JC, JE, JB, (GH)
7. ዝጽዋዕ: ሱታፌ: ደጋዮ: ውኣቱ: (“Hic calix est participatio sanguinis mei”): E
8. ዝጽዋዕ: ሱቴ: ሕይወት: ዘበአማን: (“Hic calix est potus vitae verus”): (GH)
9. ዝውኣቱ: ጽዋዕ: ደጋዮ: (“Hic est calix sanguinis mei”): (JE).

This table shows that the words of Institution in most of the Ethiopic AA were influenced by the form of the Ap. Even the J, of which the Syriac counterpart runs thus: ܠܗܝܠܐ ܕܡܝܐ ܕܡܝܐ (“Hoc meum est

¹⁾ Cf. Hamm, l. c., pp. 70–77.

The form of this last has been much discussed. In his *Historia geral de Ethiopia a Alta ou Preste Joan* (Coimbra 1660⁷) P. Balthazar

“Na forma da consagração, se saiba que elles em seus livros a tem continuada com tudo o mais, e juntamente tudo dizião de cór, pollo que os mais delles não sabião qual era a forma, nem quaes as palavras da consagração, tudo dizião á ceto, sem saber quando consagravão, quando não. Mas bem se deixa ver que são aquellas palavras que acima notej com riscas por baixo

Tellez, S. J., questioned the validity of this form of Consecration: "Tambem na forma da consagração ponho muyta duvida, porque as suas palavras pera o Corpo de Christo sam estas, *Hic panis est corpus meum*; & no sangue, *Hic calix est meus sanguis*, as quays palavras, parece, que mudam o sentido essencialmente, como expressamente diz o nosso Padre Layman, & se pode ver no nosso doutissimo Patre Francisco Soares no lugar apontado á margem"¹⁾. The opinion of Renaudot is, however, less extreme²⁾: "Praeterea in illis verbis, *Hic panis est Corpus meum*: cum pronunciatur prima duo, panem id esse quod erat, ultro agnoscimus: cum tota oratio prolata est, simpliciter intelligimus, id quod panis erat, esse corpus Christi. Non recte fecisse videntur quicumque additionis verborum *Hic panis*, contra reliquiarum Ecclesiarum disciplinam, Alexandrinae praesertim cui subjecti erant, autores fuerunt: per illam tamen corrumpi penitus vim Christi verborum, effectusque suo illa spoliari, non adeo certum est, ut vocari in dubium nequeat." Euringer has dealt in detail with this form of the words of Institution in his first edition of the MC in „Der Katholik“³⁾. Although Hamm thought that the form of the first clause of the Ap (and of the AA which have copied the Ap) might be explained by a strong tendency towards symmetry⁴⁾, Euringer held that another explanation had to be found for this form which does not appear in any other Oriental liturgy. He suggested as an explanation the existence of an heretical movement

das regras; nas quaes com tudo conforme a boa theologia ha erro essencial; poiz dizem: *Hic panis est corpus meum*; his *calix est meus sanguis* (vide Soar. * in materia de Eucharistia) senão se, pera escuzarmos tam grande erro, quizermos que, quando dizem: *Hic panis*, entendão *divinum illum panem*, qui pro consecratione ibi ponitur, non autem illum quem prae manibus habet sacerdos ante prolationem verborum; quod de calice simili modo dici potest. En não determino a questão, disputemna os theologos, que isto he livro de historia, e não de controversias."

¹⁾ L. c., in the marginal note: "Vide Layman in Theolog. mor. lib. 3. — Soar. tom. 3 in 3. part. disput. 58. sect. 7. disput. 59. sect. 5."

²⁾ *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio* I (and not, as Euringer incorrectly said, "*Historia Patr. Alex.* 1713 lib. I"); cf. „Anaphora des hl. Athanasius“, p. 294) p. 508; cf. E. B. Pusey, *The Doctrine of the Real Presence*, London 1883, pp. 257 ff.

³⁾ „Äthiopische Anaphora unserer Herrin Maria“ in *Der Katholik* 95 I (1916) pp. 241–266.

⁴⁾ L. c., p. 73: „Ungleich seltener wird die Herstellung strenger Symmetrie in positivem Sinne durch die Schaffung eines Gegenstückes zu *ποτήριον* versucht, wobei der Bundesgedanke gleichfalls geopfert bleibt. Es entspricht sich: 'Dieses Brot ist mein Leib' und 'Dieses Gefäß ist mein Blut'“.

in the Ethiopian Church¹). But hitherto nothing has come to light about any movement in the Ethiopian theology which would have made such a form necessary. It would be reasonable to suppose that in the course of time (when theological speculation began to deal with these questions) there might have been a tendency towards assimilation to the Pauline text. In fact St. Paul calls the consecrated Elements simply Bread and Wine, as 1 Cor. 10, 16–17 and 11, 26–29. In the liturgy of the *Ethiopic Church Order* the form usually used in the Christian Orient is to be found: "Hoc est corpus meum"²). It is difficult so say whether this form originally appeared in the Ap and was altered only later. In any case it is very striking that so many Ethiopic AA have copied the form of the Ap³).

It is probable that the Ethiopians (with their realistic way of thinking) thought the ስዕል: too weak and vague. This may be the reason why they said precisely what ስዕል: meant⁴). The Pauline passages helped them in their attempt. The tendency towards symmetry was doubtless another reason.

It is also worth noticing that the edition of Tasfā Seyon preserved this form and that consequently he regarded it as unobjectionable⁵).

In considering this form the official Ethiopian teaching on the Eucharist should also be taken into account. This teaching was set out in the answers to a questionnaire which was sent to the Ethiopian Church by Miss Payne-Smith (a daughter of that distinguished Syriac scholar, Dean Payne-Smith of Canterbury)⁶). This document shows that Ethio-

¹) *Anaphora des hl. Basilii*, p. 205: „Gewiß hat das Streben nach Symmetrie mitgewirkt; aber bei dem großen Conservativismus der abessinischen Theologen muß dabei noch ein anderer mächtiger Faktor wirksam gewesen sein, möglicherweise die Abwehr einer falschen oder haeretischen, inner-aethiopischen Auffassung.“

²) Br p. 190; Duensing, *Aethiop. Text*, pp. 22f.

³) The edition of P. Coulbeaux has throughout omitted the ስዕል: and the ጸዋዕ: A. T. M. Semharay Selam also shows, from a somewhat different point of view, that this addition is of no great importance (*De Indumentis sacris ritus Aethiopici. De verbis consecrationis apud Aethiopes*, p. 16): "E verbis autem "panis" et "calix", quibus Ecclesia Aethiopica utitur ad denominandum corpus et sanguinem D. N. Iesu Christi etiam post consecrationem, nihil est causa obiciendi, cum sit usus mere connotandi species iam consecratas."

⁴) Cf. Kardinal Innitzer, *Leidens- und Verklärungsgeschichte Jesu Christi*, p. 90.

⁵) Pp. 165b, 168b and 172b. It seems very improbable that he did not at all notice the difference between the Ethiopian and the Latin rite.

⁶) *The Teaching of the Abyssinian Church*, London 1936.

pian theologians equate the meaning of the words of Institution in the Ap and its dependent AA with the meaning the words of Institution have in the New Testament. The passages in question run thus: "Our Lord Jesus Christ on that night on which He was arrested, on Maundy Thursday, while the Apostles were eating their supper in the evening, took bread, blessed it, broke it and gave it to the disciples and said to them, 'Take, eat, this is my Body; do this for a memorial'; and He took a cup and gave thanks and gave it to them with these words, 'Drink of this, all of you, for this is my Blood, which is shed for a new ordinance on behalf of many people for the forgiveness of sins'. . . . So as we have received this saying and wholeheartedly believe, this bread and wine which are blessed and consecrated by the word and help of the Lord and by the hand of the priest are united with His Body and Blood and truly changed; (the bread) is the Body of the Son of God, and the wine is truly the Blood of the Son of God. . . . By His word and help, when the priest who has received authority to bless blesses the bread, it becomes truly the Body of the Lord; and when he blesses the wine, it becomes truly the Blood of the Lord. Their becoming thus was due in the first place to the words of the Lord who on Maundy Thursday blessed the bread (and said), 'This is my Body'; and blessed the wine in a cup (and said) 'This is my Blood'; now however it is due to the word of man; it is not necessary for the Lord to bless every day because, even when heaven and earth pass away, this word which He spake at the beginning will not pass away. . . . But the minister who has been given authority to do this must of necessity consecrate and bless every day, for he is merely man"¹).

Some of the Ethiopic Institution Narratives have considerable additions taken from the Bible (Mk, C I and JB: "... sanguis meus novi testamenti"; JE: "... calix sanguinis mei novi testamenti") and other sources (MC: "... sanguis meus, quem pro vobis effundet lancea"; GH and JC: "... corpus meum, cibus justitiae verus, . . . sanguis meus, potus vitae verus"; JE: "... corpus meum, cibus justitiae verus").

The Ath has the peculiar addition: **ዘአልቦ: ተላልዖ: እምኔህ:** (in the first clause) and **ዘአልቦ: ተፈልዖ: እምኔህ:** (in the second clause); these were translated by Chaîne as follows: "de quo nihil separatum est" and "de quo nihil segregatum est" respectively; they were correctly translated by Euringer: „ohne daß es von Ihm getrennt wäre“

¹) L. c., pp. 39–41.

and „ohne daß es von Ihm geschieden wäre“ respectively. The Ath itself gives the explanation for this phrase in the Epiclesis (§ 101): „Aber niemand von uns meine, wenn er dieses Brot ißt, daß er nur das Fleisch ohne das Blut und ohne den Geist esse; und niemand von uns meine, wenn er diesen Kelch trinkt, daß er das nur Blut ohne das Fleisch und ohne den Geist trinke; sondern eines ist das Fleisch und das Blut und der Geist, wie auch seine Gottheit mit seiner Menschheit eines ist; nämlich der Herr, unser Gott“¹⁾. The Ath attaches great importance to the statement that after the Consecration the **whole** Christ is present under the species of the Bread as well as of the Wine²⁾. The words of the E: „participatio corporis mei . . . participatio sanguinis mei“ reflect the phraseology of 1 Cor. 10, 16: . . . *κοινωνία . . . τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ*; . . . *κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ*. Under the influence of this biblical text *κοινωνία* is translated by ሰጋፌ. (Incidentally this should certainly not be taken to suggest any Impanation theory; such a doctrine found no place in Ethiopia.) Euringer mentioned, however, that there is no uniformity in the MSS³⁾; in some of the MSS the ሰጋፌ appears in both clauses, in some it does not appear at all and in some only in one of the clauses⁴⁾.

There is also a remarkable reading in the GH according to which ሥጋዎ and ደምዎ: („ . . . my Body, . . . my Blood“) are missing. The addition: „cibus justitiae verus, . . . potus vitae verus“ was taken from Jn. 6, 55.

b) *The Lord's Invitation*

Most of the liturgical Institution Narratives have the Lord's invitation to eat and to drink⁵⁾. This invitation soon became a fixed article in the liturgical Institution Narrative⁶⁾.

¹⁾ Ethiopic text: ወኢይምሰሎ: ለጄኦምኔነ: ሶቦ: ደበልዕ: ዘነተ: ኅብስተ: ከመ: ዘይበልዕ: ሥጋ: ባሕቲቶ: ዘኣነበለ: ደም: ወመንፈስ: ወሶቦ: ደሰቲ: ዘነተ: ጽዋዓ: ኢይምሰሎ: ለጄኦምኔነ: ከመ: ዘይሰቲ: ደመ: ባሕቲቶ: ዘኣነበለ: ሥጋ: ወመንፈስ: አላ: ጂውኦቶ: ሥጋ: ወደም: ወመንፈስ: በከመ: ኮነ: መለኮቶ: ዘምሰለ: ኅሰብኦቶ: ጂዘውኦቶ: ኣግዚአብሔር: አምላክነ:

²⁾ For the „Spirit of Christ“ cf. Heinrich Goussen in *Theologische Revue* 23 (1924) col. 16.

³⁾ „Anaphora des hl. Epiphanius“, p. 139.

⁴⁾ L. c.: „Aber gerade dieses Ringen der gewöhnlichen mit der ungewohnten Form beweist, daß ሰጋፌ: Charakteristikum der Epiphaniusliturgie ist.“

⁵⁾ In the New Testament this invitation is missing in St. Luke and St. Paul (but cf. Lk 22, 17).

⁶⁾ Hamm, l. c., p. 78: „Wie sehr das Motiv bald als zum unverbrüchlichen Bestande der Herrenworte gehörig empfunden wurde, ergibt sich daraus, daß

10 Hammerschmidt, Ethiopic Anaphoras

In the Institution Narratives of most of the Ethiopic AA the simple form *λάβετε φάγετε* and *λάβετε πείτε* appears (this form of the Ethiopic liturgy is thus completely symmetrical): Ap, J (only in the first clause), (GH), GC, E, Ath, MC, D, O, C I and C II. The Mk has "accipite, manducate" in the first clause, in the second clause, however, the extended form: "accipite, bibite ex eo omnes". It should be recalled that the Greek liturgy of St. Mark has *πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες*¹⁾ (= Mt. 26, 27); only in the Coptic liturgy of St. Cyril is this form symmetrical: "accipite, bibite ex eo omnes"²⁾. Contrary to the case of the action of the "gustare" (*γευσάμενος*) the Ethiopic A does not copy the Greek but the Coptic form of the same liturgy. In the case of the "gustare" it would be possible to think of a Greek model of the Mk; in this case, however, it follows a coptic model. Yet the conditions in both cases are not the same. The *γευσάμενος* is missing in both clauses of the Greek liturgy of St. Mark and of the Mk. As in Ethiopic it appears in the B only it could not have been added to the Mk under the influence of other Ethiopic AA. Concerning the "accipite" the situation is quite different. As this appeared in at least one clause of the Greek liturgy of St. Mark it is reasonable to suppose that in Ethiopia it was added to the other clause because of the tendency towards symmetry only, without having been influenced by the Coptic liturgy of St. Cyril. The starting-point for this development was really conditioned by the *λάβετε* in the first clause of the Greek liturgy of St. Mark. In addition to that there is the example of the other Ethiopic AA (the B included) which have the "accipite" in both clauses. It is also significant that the "ex eo omnes" of the Coptic liturgy of St. Cyril is missing in the first clause of the Mk (as it is in the Greek liturgy of St. Mark).

The situation is similar in the B. The Greek liturgy of St. Basil has *λάβετε φάγετε* in the first clause, *λάβετε πείτε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες* in the second clause³⁾, the Coptic liturgy of St. Basil has "accipite, manducate ex hoc omnes" in the first clause and "accipite, bibite ex eo omnes"⁴⁾

einige griechische Bibelhandschriften, gewiß unter Einfluß der Liturgie, selbst in den Paulustext *λάβετε φάγετε* vor das Brotwort einschieben, das dann auch von Pešittā und Vulgata wiedergegeben wird."

¹⁾ Br p. 133.

²⁾ Br p. 177.

³⁾ Ren I p. 66.

⁴⁾ Ren I pp. 14f. Cf. now also the sahidic text in J. Doresse-E. Lanne, *Un témoin archaïque de la liturgie copte de S. Basile*, Louvain 1960 (*Bibliothèque du Muséon* 47), pp. 16–18.

in the second clause. As opposed to the B the supplement $\epsilon\acute{\xi} \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ (= አምላክ: ስጋው) is missing in the Greek liturgy of St. Basil in the first clause. But even in this case it is possible that this supplement in the first clause of the B was an independent development on the analogy of the "ex eo omnes" already present in the second clause¹). Like the Syriac liturgy of St. James the JB has "accipite, manducate ex eo vos omnes – accipite, bibite ex eo vos omnes"²). The M has the fully developed form "accipite, manducate ex eo omnes" in the first clause, but in the second clause only "accipite ex eo omnes". It is very probable that this latter form is a later abbreviation.

There are still two Ethiopic AA which, following the Syriac (Nestorian and partly Jacobite) custom, place the Lord's invitation after the words of Institution: the JC and the JE. Hamm held that this form was a characteristic of Old-Mesopotamian liturgy³). The JC adds: "accipite, manducate ex eo omnes – accipite, bibite ex eo omnes" to the words of Institution, the JE (after an interpolation): "(Eu add: Nehmet), manducate ex eo omnes – accipite, bibite ex eo omnes". We may possibly regard this as a mark of the influence the Syriac liturgy had on the Ethiopic liturgy. As already mentioned this influence was strong in some places (cf. note 3 on page 44)⁴).

¹) Cf. Hamm, l. c., p. 78: „Die Erweiterung mit $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma \epsilon\acute{\xi} \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ in symmetrischer Ausdehnung auf beide Glieder hat schon Dēr-B“ (= Papyrus of Dēr-Balizeh) „und die Urform von N“ (= liturgy of Nestorius) „und B“ (= liturgy of St. Basil). But cf. now Rateliff, l. c., p. 77: "The presence of the complete clause in *Matthew* 26²⁶ of b, however, is a difficulty in the way of treating its last three words as an addition of the Vulgate or post-Vulgate period. It may be added that a cognate form of the complete clause is quoted in Syriac by Aphrahat, 'akkul menneh kulkun (*manducate ex eo omnes*). In the account of the Institution, in which the Syriac phrase occurs, Aphrahat is quoting from the *Diatessaron*. Upon this ground, the addition of *ex hoc omnes* to *manducate* may be held to derive from an early insertion into the Greek text of *Matthew*."

²) Ren II p. 31; *Anaphorae Syriacae* Vol. II – Fasc. 2, pp. 146f.

³) L. c., p. 80: „Eine Sonderheit nestorianischer und teilweise jakobitischer – also letzten Endes jedenfalls altmesopotamischer – Liturgie ist die den Konsekrationsworten nachgestellte Aufforderung. Hierbei gehört vor allem das Zitat Ap(h)rahats mit einer dem Brotwort nachgestellten in Zusammensetzung und Stellung unbiblischen Wendung: 'Nehmet, esset von ihm (ihr) alle'."

⁴) Cf. Hammerschmidt, „Die Anfänge des Christentums in Äthiopien“, p. 294; A. Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden der Liturgie*, Freiburg i. Br. 1-5 1923, p. 48.

c) *The Conception of Salvation*

Reference to the conception of salvation through Christ's sacrifice is found in all the Oriental liturgies¹⁾ after the words of Institution.

In Ethiopic the Ap, D, B, O and C II have remained at the same stage of development as the liturgy of Serapion of Thmuis²⁾. Other Ethiopic AA already show traces of foreign (mostly Syriac) influence (MC, C I, GH, GC and JE). The Mk corresponds, significantly enough, to the Greek liturgy of St. Mark and not to the Coptic liturgy of St. Cyril. The Mk does not contain the addition in the first clause "et pro multis". The JB corresponds to the Syriac liturgy of St. James³⁾.

The Ethiopic Institution Narratives go back either to the *κλόμενον* of St. Paul (as the Ap, J, D, B, O, M, E and C II) or to the *διδόμενον* or *διαδιδόμενον* of St. Luke (as the MC (and the GH)). The C I, GC, JB and Mk have a combination of *κλόμενον* and *(δια)διδόμενον*. The *ἐκχυννόμενον* in the second clause in the Ap, Mk, J, B, E, D, (O), M, C I and C II and the *ἐκχυννόμενον καὶ (δια)διδόμενον* in the second clause in the JB and GC correspond to the *κλόμενον* and the *κλόμενον καὶ (δια)διδόμενον* respectively in the first clause.

The persons for whom the Bread is broken and the Blood shed are defined in the Ap, C I, C II, O, D, E, B, GC, J, M, Mk and MC by the simple "pro vobis"; the JB has: "pro vobis et pro multis" in both clauses; the Mk has the same addition in the second clause only. In addition to that most of the Ethiopic AA add: "in remissionem peccatorum" or "in remissionem peccatorum et in vitam aeternam" (GC) or "in redemptionem totius mundi, ut remittetur peccatum" (C I) or a similar phrase. Some AA have additions peculiar to themselves (GH, JE and JC). The Ath does not mention the conception of salvation in this connection.

d) *The Lord's Command*

The Lord's Command is an important element in the Institution Narrative as it vindicates the right of the Church to celebrate the Eucharist. For this reason it is missing in very few Institution Narratives. The absence of this injunction in the C I, O and GH may be due to subsequent tendencies towards abbreviation.

¹⁾ The only one exception is the „Berechungsgebet aus dem georgischen Jakobus“ (cf. Hamm, l. c., p. 81).

²⁾ In *Journal of Theological Studies* 1 (1900) pp. 105 f.

³⁾ Br p. 87.

The injunction appears in a double form; the first form appears in St. Luke (22, 19) where, in the first clause of the Institution Narrative, the celebration was ordered in commemoration of Christ, and in 1 Cor. 11, 24f. The Ap (in its second clause) corresponds to the *Egyptian Church Order* (so-called *Traditio Hippolyti*): "et cum hoc feceritis, facite meam commemorationem". In the B we find complete symmetry with "sic facite meam commemorationem" in both clauses. In this respect the B follows the Greek/Coptic liturgy of St. Basil¹). The GC has the same formula though only in the second clause. The J has "quotiescumque hic feceritis, commemorationem meam facietis" at the end of the first clause only²). The Mk corresponds to the Greek/Coptic liturgy of St. Mark/St. Cyril³).

Other Ethiopic Institution Narratives contain alterations and contractions (JC, GC (in addition to the form mentioned above) and JE).

The second form of the Lord's Command is derived from 1 Cor. 11, 26. St. Paul's idea was attributed to the Lord and the supposed words incorporated into the liturgical Institution Narrative⁴). The idea of the Lord's Death (θάνατον) and his Parousia (ἄχρῃ οὖν ἔλθῃ) was connected with that of his Resurrection. In the Egyptian liturgies of St. Basil (Greek version) and St. Mark a reference to the Ascension (ἀνάληψιν) was added. Hamm held that this last addition may perhaps have been due to the influence of the Creed⁵). In Ethiopia the Ath and JC followed this example – in the JC the reference to the Parousia is missing. It is very striking that in the Mk the motif of the ἀνάληψις is missing although it appears in the Greek liturgy of St. Mark (it is, however, also absent in the Coptic liturgy of St. Cyril⁶). The ἀνάληψις is also missing in the B though it is contained in the Greek liturgy of St. Basil (it is, however, also missing in the Coptic liturgy of St. Basil⁷). By way of compensation the words "et facite meam commemorationem" are added again in the B, the Coptic liturgy of St. Basil and the Coptic liturgy of St. Cyril⁸). The same form also appears in the GC.

¹) Ren I pp. 66 and 14f.

²) Cf. *Testamentum Domini* = Rahmani, l. c., p. 42f.: ⲉⲧ ⲉⲩⲙ ⲙⲉⲁⲙ ⲉⲩⲙⲉⲙⲟⲣⲁⲧⲓⲟⲛ
ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲁⲙ ⲉⲩⲙⲉⲙⲟⲣⲁⲧⲓⲟⲛ

³) Br pp. 133 and 177.

⁴) Cf. Hamm, l. c., p. 90; Ratcliff, l. c., pp. 75f.

⁵) Hamm, l. c., p. 91.

⁶) Br pp. 133 and 177.

⁷) Ren I pp. 67 and 15 respectively.

⁸) Ren I p. 15 and Br p. 177.

The E, M and MC mention Christ's Death and Resurrection only, the C II mentions the Passion and Resurrection.

From these details the conclusion seems to emerge that the Institution Narratives in the Ethiopic AA, on the whole, reached their final form in the golden period of theological speculation. They developed to a considerable extent and are full of theological conceptions and poetical phrases. On the other hand abbreviations were made in some of the AA (if these short texts are not really old).

VII. THE EPICLESIS

As I discussed the name and meaning of the Epiclesis in my edition of the Coptic liturgy of St. Gregory I should like to refer to this publication¹⁾. Here I shall deal with the Ethiopic Epiclesis without further introduction.

In the Ap the Epiclesis follows the Anamnesis:

ይእኩኒ፡ እግዚአ፡ እንዘ፡ ዝኬከር፡ ጥጥክ፡ ወትግዛኤክ፡ ንትአመክክ፡ ወናቄርብ፡
ለክ፡ ዘንተ፡ ኅብዕተ፡ ወዘንተ፡ [Poc. 6: ወ] ጽዋዕ፡ እንዘ፡ ናአኩተክ፡ ወቦቲ፡
ረሰይክ፡ ለኑ፡ ለተድላ፡ ንቁም፡ ቅድሜክ፡ ወለክ፡ ንትከህን፡ ንሰእለክ፡ እግዚአ፡
ወናዕተበቀሳወክ፡ ከመ፡ ትፈኑ፡ ቅዱሳ፡ መንፈሳ፡ ወኅይላ፡ ዲባ፡ ዝንቲ፡ ኅብዕት፡
ወላዕለ፡ ዝጽዋዕ፡ ይርሰዮ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ወደጥ፡ ለእግዚእነ፡ ወመድኅኒነ፡ [Aeth. e. 1:
ወአምላክነ፡] ኢየሱስ፡ ክርሰቶስ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡

ደሚረክ፡ ተሀቦመ፡ ለኩሎመ፡ ለእለ፡ ይነሥኡ፡ እምኔሁ፡ ይኩኖመ፡ ለቅድሳት፡
ወለምልጎት፡ መንፈሳ፡ ቅዱሳ፡ ወለአጽንዖ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ዘበአማን፡ ከመ፡ ኪያክ፡
ይቄድሱ፡ ወይቄድሱ፡ ወለወልድክ፡ [Poc. 6 om.: ወለ] ፍቁርክ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርሰቶስ፡
[ዘምሰለ፡ ቅዱሳ፡ መንፈሳ፡] [Aeth. e. 20 om.] [ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡] [Poc.
6 om.] ሀብነ፡ [ንህበር፡ በዘዚአክ፡ መንፈሳ፡ ቅዱሳ፡ ወፈውሰነ፡ በዝንቲ፡ ጽርሰፎራ፡
ከመ፡ ብክ፡ ንእያው፡ ዘኩሉ፡ ዓለም፡ ወለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡] [Poc. 6 om.].

“Nunc, o Domine, commemorantes mortem tuam et resurrectionem tuam, confidemus in te et offerimus tibi hunc panem et hunc (Poc. 6 om.) calicem gratias tibi agentes; per hoc enim nos dignos fecisti stare in conspectu tuo et tibi sacra peragere. Oramus te, Domine, et deprecamur a te, ut Spiritum Sanctum et virtutem emittas super hunc panem et hunc calicem; faciat illos corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri [et salvatoris] (Aeth. e. 1: et Dei nostri) Jesu Christi in saecula saeculorum.” [Chaine, p. 187, gives the text only up to “saeculorum”; the following (with the exception of the “who is with the Holy Ghost”) is taken from Brightman p. 233] “Give it together unto all them that take it, that it be unto them for sanctification and for fulfilling with the Holy Ghost and for confirming true faith that they may hallow

¹⁾ L. c., pp. 129f.

and praise thee and (Poc. 6 om.) thy beloved Son Jesus Christ + who is with the Holy Ghost + (+ + Aeth. e. 20 om.) § world without end § (§ § Poc. 6 om.). Grant us + to be united in thine Holy Spirit and heal us by this presphōrā that we may live in thee for ever world without end + (+ + Poc. 6 om.)."

The meaning of the Epiclesis in this text is expressed very clearly. The Ethiopic text uses the verb **ረሰ።** = *transponere, transferre, facere, convertere rem in rem*¹⁾. As Mercer also stressed²⁾, in the Oriental liturgies the Institution Narrative and Epiclesis ought not to be treated separately but regarded as one unity. According to the Oriental point of view the Consecration of the Elements is effected by the Institution Narrative and the Epiclesis. In the course of history greater importance was sometimes attached to the Institution Narrative and sometimes to the Epiclesis.

There is a *Crux interpretum* in the prayer which follows the supplication for the descent of the Holy Ghost. This prayer opens with the word **ደግረኩ** (the gerund of **ደጠረ**)³⁾. Brightman translated it "Give it together"⁴⁾, Mercer "Give it altogether"⁵⁾ and Euringer „Verleihe allen insgesamt (?)“⁶⁾. This last translation is based on older authorities, namely P. Paëz ("juntamente") and Ludolf and Dillmann ("conjunctim, pariter")⁷⁾. But Euringer himself was not quite satisfied with this translation and added a question mark. He also suggested translating the passage as follows: „Indem du (dein Blut mit deinem Fleische) vermischest, verleihe allen, die davon (von dieser Commixtio) empfangen usw.“⁸⁾. **ደጠረ** can have the meaning of "admiscere, commiscere"⁹⁾. Euringer thought that this interpretation would not be possible if this prayer originally came before the Epiclesis¹⁰⁾, and from

¹⁾ Dillmann, *Lexicon*, col. 281f.

²⁾ *The Ethiopic Liturgy*, p. 255. Cf. also J. Tyciak, *Heilige Theophanie – Kultgedanken des Morgenlandes*, Trier 1959, pp. 48–50.

³⁾ Cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, coll. 1086–1088.

⁴⁾ P. 233.

⁵⁾ *The Ethiopic Liturgy*, p. 356.

⁶⁾ „Anaphora der 318 Rechtgläubigen“, p. 275.

⁷⁾ Cf. Euringer, „Anaphora des hl. Epiphanius“, p. 139.

⁸⁾ „Anaphora der 318 Rechtgläubigen“, p. 295.

⁹⁾ Cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, col. 1086.

¹⁰⁾ „Anaphora der 318 Rechtgläubigen“, p. 295: „Entscheidender würde sein, wenn der Platz dieses Gebetes vor der Epiklese der vom Verfasser intendierte wäre; denn dann könnte von keiner Vermischung oder Vereinigung von Blut und Fleisch die Rede sein, da ja nach abessinischer Ansicht die Konsekration erst nachher durch die Epiklese erfolgt.“

the MSS accessible to him, Euringer was not able to determine the place of this prayer within the A; consequently he cautiously followed the translation of his predecessors.

On this point I should like to make the following observation. The position of our prayer in the Ap is quite clear: it comes after the Epiclesis. It is found in this position in Brightman, Tasfā Seyon, Harden, Mercer and the three Bodleian MSS. But, as I mentioned above, the Ethiopians ascribe the Consecration not only to the Epiclesis but to the Institution Narrative and the Epiclesis. Like other Oriental Churches the Ethiopians join the Words of Our Lord with the Invocation (Epiclesis) as together forming the essential act in the liturgy. Thus, it is not possible to determine the exact moment of the Consecration in the Oriental liturgies. Therefore the fact that the prayer **ደሚረክ** in some AA precedes the Epiclesis affords no obstacle to translating **ደሚረክ** with "commiscens" and to making it refer to the intermixture of Christ's Body with his Blood. This interpretation would be supported by the fact that in Ethiopia the Communion *sub utraque specie* is administered in this manner: The priest dips his finger into the Blood, moistens the Host with the Blood and then gives this moistened Host to the faithful.

In addition, Brightman printed a rubric which obviously refers to this ceremony: "He signs the body with the blood"¹). Further support for this supposition may be found in the MS Bodl. Aeth. e. 1 f. 67b where, preceding the **ደሚረክ**, the following rubric occurs: **ወለህ: ደዕትብ: ደመ: በአዱ: ወለሥኃ: በደም: እንተ: አፍአሁ: በትእምርተ: መስቀል: እንዘ: ደሚረክ: ደበል:** "And here he shall sign the Blood with his hand (= finger?) and the Body with the Blood outside (the chalice?) with the sign of the cross and – MIXTURE – shall say." In this rubric we find the Ethiopic word for mixture **ደሚረክ** (which is also used to denote the *Unio naturarum* in Christ). This rubric may be compared with the description of the ceremony by Lady E. S. Drower: "He dips his right thumb into the chalice and with it follows the outline of each of the thirteen squares which form the cross on the qurbān . . . In doing this he moves first down the sections (according to my informant to symbolise the Lord's descent from heaven), then from the side to side (His wandering on earth), then again downwards to the west of the qurbān (His death), and finally upwards (His resurrection). After the prayer by the people 'Grant us to be united . . .', the deacon says: 'Rise and pray'"²).

¹) P. 233.

²) *Water into Wine*, London 1956, p. 191.

The edition of Addis Abbaba 1918 A. Mis. (= 1925/26 A. D.) also shows that in modern Ethiopia ደሚረክ: is understood as referring to the mixture. This edition gives a translation into Amharic and an explanation of the parallel passage in the D: ሀብ: ሲል: ነው: ሕይወተ: ሥጋ: ሕይወተ: ነፍሱ: ለዘላለሙ: ከኃጢአት: መንጫ: ይሆናቸው: ዘንድ: ሥጋህን: ከደምህ: ደምህን: ከሥጋህ: አንድ: አድርገህ: ለሕዝቡ: ሁሉ: ሰጥ። „ተሀብ: (= *des!*) bedeutet so viel wie ሀብ: (= *da!*). Gib allem Volke, indem du mit deinem Fleische dein Blut und mit deinem Blut dein Fleisch zu einem machst, daß er ihnen für immer zur Reinigung von der Sünde und zum Leben des Leibes und der Seele sei!“¹⁾ Euringer adduced another piece of evidence for this interpretation: “Abūna Tekla Māryām Kahsay (Jerusalem) hatte die Güte, mir eine ähnliche Stelle in T”, (= Edition of Addis Abbaba 1918 A. Mis. = 1925/26 A. D.) „wo aber der Vater angeredet ist, also zu deuten: ‘O Padre, dà loro (ai comunicandi) il corpo del tuo Figlio insieme al suo sangue.’ Dementsprechend wäre zu ደሚረክ: als Objekt zu ergänzen: ‘dein Fleisch und dein Blut’“²⁾.

There is a further indication in the prayer ደሚረክ: of the Ath (§ 92): ደሚረክ: ተሀብሙ: ለኩሉሙ: እንዝ: ትቂድሶ: ለውክቱ: በውክቱ: (Eu: „Indem du vereinigst (dein Fleisch mit deinem Blute), dadurch daß du dieses durch jenes heiligst, verleihe allen . . .“)³⁾. In this what is to be united is specifically stated. The position of this prayer in the Ath is remarkable in that it precedes the Epiclesis. Here it is quite clear that there is little reason to maintain that the Ethiopians would ascribe the Consecration to the Epiclesis alone.

It is therefore quite certain that the ደሚረክ: is nowadays understood in the meaning of “commiscens”. The fact that the prayer ደሚረክ: in the O, for instance, precedes the Epiclesis affords no obstacle to this supposition. As the Ath shows, it is not at all true that the Ethiopians ascribe the Consecration to the Epiclesis alone.

This text would then be a counterpart of the prayer in the Latin rite recited by the priest after he has put a particle of the consecrated Host into the chalice: “Haec commixtio et consecratio corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi fiat accipientibus nobis in vitam aeternam.”

We could accept this explanation if we were not in possession of another text which shows the origin of this ደሚረክ:. The *Egyptian Church*

¹⁾ Löfgren-Euringer, „Dioscorusanaphora“, p. 254.

²⁾ L. c.

³⁾ Cf. § 100 of the same A: ይደመር: ሥጋህ: ውሳተ: ዝንቱ: ኅሳስት: ወደሙኒ: ይትከኑው: ውሳተ: ዝንቱ: ጽዋዕ: (Eu: „Es vereinige sich sein Fleisch mit diesem Brote und auch sein Blut ergieße sich in diesen Kelch!“).

Order (so-called *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus) contains an Epiclesis which provides a parallel text to the Epiclesis of the Ap: "Memores igitur mortis et resurrectionis eius offerimus tibi panem et calicem gratias tibi agentes quia nos dignos habuisti adstare coram te et tibi ministrare. Et petimus ut mittas spm̄ tuum scm̄ in oblationem sanctae ecclesiae; in unum congregans des omnibus qui percipiunt sanctis in repletionem sps̄ sc̄i ad confirmationem fidei in veritate. ut te laudemus et glorificemus per puerum tuum Iēm Chr̄m per quem tibi gloria et honor patri et filio cum scō spū in sancta ecclesia tua et nunc et saecula saeculorum. Amen"¹⁾. The similarity with the Ap is so striking that it seems clear that the "in unum congregans" was rendered by ጸጢረክ: when the *Egyptian Church Order* (or its developed form) was translated into Ethiopic. It is probable that later this passage was not really understood in Ethiopia and the ጸጢረክ: taken to refer to the mixture.

But even when we have realised²⁾ that the ጸጢረክ: represents the "in unum congregans" of the *Egyptian Church Order*, the question of what shall be joined together remains unanswered. The ambiguity of the Ethiopic text is paralleled in the Latin; in Latin also no explanation is given. "What is to be 'joined together' or, 'congregated in one' with what? . . . What is congregans doing governing nothing at all, and what is the object of des?"³⁾ Dom Gregory Dix has tried to reconstruct the text on the basis of the *Testamentum Domini*, and his reconstruction probably provides the solution of this difficulty (G. Dix

¹⁾ Dix, l. c., pp. 8f.; cf. pp. 75–79; E. C. Ratcliff, "Christian Worship and Liturgy", in K. E. Kirk (editor), *The Study of Theology*, London 1939, p. 433: "The Anaphora in Apostolic Tradition also contains a petition for the illapse of the Spirit. The intention of the latter, however, is different from Cyril's. It looks for the impregnation of the elements by Holy Spirit, in order that those who partake them may be filled with Holy Spirit. A petition of this kind belongs to a class of rite, of which some traces survive in certain Syrian authors, and which conceived the Eucharist as other than a representation of the Last Supper."

²⁾ Euringer did not recognise this problem. After I had completed the manuscript of this book I found that J. M. Hanssens had already pointed out the origin of this phrase: "Une formule énigmatique des anaphores éthiopiennes" in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 7 (1941) pp. 206–232 (cf. B. Botte, "L'épiclese de l'anaphore d'Hippolyte" in *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 14 (1947) pp. 241–251). The fact that Hanssens and I came to the same conclusion independently strengthens this explanation of the ጸጢረክ:.

³⁾ Dix, l. c., p. 78.

uses T. for *Testamentum Domini*, L. for the Latin text of the *Egyptian Church Order*, E. for the Ethiopic text and A. for *Apostolic Constitutions*¹⁾:

“ἀξιοῦμέν σε ὅπως (L. E. A.)

διδῶς (L. E. T.)

πᾶσιν τοῖς μεταλαμβάνουσιν ἁγίοις (L. E. T.)

ἐνοῦσθαί [σοι] (T.)

εἰς πλήρωσιν πνεύματος ἁγίου κτλ. (L. E. T.).”

The J has an Epiclesis which is very similar to that of the Ap: “Now also, O Lord, remembering Thy death and Thy resurrection, we confess Thee, and we offer to Thee the bread and the cup, giving thanks to Thee, who alone art from eternity God the Saviour, for Thou hast bidden us to stand before Thee and serve as priests unto Thee. Therefore we Thy servants pray Thee, O Lord, and entreat Thee to send the Holy Spirit and power on this bread and upon this cup. May He make it the Body and Blood of our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ for ever”²⁾. The text of this A goes back to the A in the Ethiopic *Testamentum Domini*³⁾. The Ethiopic *Testamentum Domini* is, as is well known, the Ethiopic version of the *Testamentum Domini* also found in Syriac, Coptic and Arabic versions⁴⁾. One would expect the J to correspond fairly closely to the text of the A in the *Testamentum Domini*. Surprisingly enough this is not the case in the Epiclesis. After the text: “Therefore we also Thy servants, O Lord, (give thanks unto Thee)” (of the *Testamentum*)⁵⁾ the J follows the text of the Ap and prays for the descent of the Holy Ghost; this prayer is missing in the A of the *Testamentum Domini*. Thus the influence of the Ap was so strong in this part of the J that it led to the addition of the actual prayer of the Epiclesis. In this part of the Epiclesis there is another surprising

¹⁾ L. c. There is another reconstruction by R. H. Connolly (cf. “The Eucharistic Prayer of Hippolytus” in *Journal of Theological Studies* 39 (1938) pp. 350–369) but this reconstruction also gives no explanation: εἰς ἐν συναγωγῶν (p. 353) (cf. Dom B. Botte, O. S. B., *Hippolyte de Rome, La Tradition Apostolique*, Paris 1946, p. 79).

²⁾ H p. 64.

³⁾ In *Journal of Theological Studies* 23 (1922) p. 47.

⁴⁾ Cf. O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* 4, Freiburg i. Br. 1–2 1924, pp. 273–275; B. Altaner, *Patrologie*, Freiburg i. Br. 5 1958, p. 51; G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* I, Roma 1944 (*Studi e testi* 118), pp. 569–572.

⁵⁾ In *Journal of Theological Studies* 23 (1922) p. 47 = Rahmani, l. c., pp. 42f.: “Quapropter gratias agimus tibi, nos tui famuli, Domine.”

feature: even in this Epiclesis the passage which I have discussed above ("in unum congregans") is, after a few intercessions, recited. In Ethiopic this passage is somewhat different from the passage in the Ap and the other AA: እግዚአብሔር: ሀብ: ለክፍል: ድሜራ: ለዕለ: ንጥሜጦ: እምቅድሳቲክ: ንጽጉብ: መንፈስ: ቅዱስ: ወኃይል: [Poc. 6, Aeth. e. 1 and e. 20 add.: ወጽንግ:] ሃይማኖት: በሰላማ: [Poc. 6, Aeth. e. 1 and e. 20 om.] በጽድቅ: ከመ: ለዝሉፋ: ኪያክ: ናዕኑት: ወለወልድክ: [Poc. 6 and Aeth. e. 1: ዘለ':] ፍቁርክ: ኢየሱስ: ክርስቶስ: [ዘምሰለ: ቅዱስ: መንፈስ:] [Aeth. e. 1 om.; Poc. 6: እስመ: ለክ: ክቡር: ወሰብሐት:] ለዓለመ: ዓለም::

Harden translated this text as follows¹⁾ (I have made some alterations in accordance with the variant readings in the MSS): "O Lord, grant unto us all union whereby we may receive of Thy holy things (and) be filled with the Holy Spirit and the power (Poc. 6, Aeth. e. 1 and e. 20 add.: and the strength) of true (Poc. 6, Aeth. e. 1 and e. 20 om.) faith in truth (or, righteousness) that for ever we may praise Thee and (Poc. 6 and Aeth. e. 1 om.) Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ § with the Holy Spirit § (§ § Aeth. e. 1 om.; Poc. 6: for Thine is the glory and praise) world without end."

There is no doubt that this text also goes back to the "in unum congregans" of the *Egyptian Church Order*; there are thus two traditions: the tradition in the Ap where the original meaning of the ድሜራ was either never known or forgotten later, and the tradition of the "in unum congregans" by way of the *Testamentum Domini* (in the form of a noun). In the latter it is obviously clearer that the Unio cum Deo (*in sacramento Eucharistiae*) was meant. It is surprising that the Ethiopians do not seem to have realised that the passage of the Ap which is obscure might be explained with the help of the J.

Most of the other Ethiopic AA also have an Epiclesis.

The Epiclesis of the Mk and the B correspond to their models. The Epiclesis of the Mk is, however, shorter than that of the Greek liturgy of St. Mark (and still shorter than that of the Coptic liturgy of St. Cyril). A comparison with both the texts will demonstrate the difference:

Greek liturgy of St. Mark:

σοὶ ἐκ τῶν σῶν
δῶρων προεθήκαμεν
ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ
δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε

Mk:

ነሰኣለክ: ወናሰተበቀዓክ:

¹⁾ In *Journal of Theological Studies* 23 (1922) p. 48 = H p. 65.

φιλόανθρωπε ἀγαθὲ
ἐξαπόστειλον

ἁγίου σου,

ἐξ ἐτοίμου κατοικητηρίου σοῦ, ἐκ
τῶν ἀπεριγράπτων κόλπων σοῦ
αὐτόν τὸν παράκλητον τὸ πνεῦμα
τῆς ἀληθείας
τὸ ἅγιον
τὸ κύριον τὸ ζωο-
ποιόν,
τὸ ἐν νόμῳ καὶ
προφήταις καὶ
ἀποστόλοις λαλήσαν,
τὸ πανταχοῦ παρὸν

τά πάντα πληροῦν
(Cf. Coptic liturgy of St. Cyril:
"who filleth all places and no
place containeth him")
ἐνεργοῦν τε αὐτεξουσίως οὐ δια-
κονικῶς ἐφ' οὓς βούλεται
τὸν ἁγιασμὸν
εὐδοκία τῇ σῇ,

τὸ ἀπλοῦν τὴν φύσιν,
τὸ πολυμερές τὴν
ἐνέργειαν,
τὴν τῶν θείων
χαρισμάτων
πηγὴν,

τὸ σοὶ ὁμοούσιον,

τὸ ἐκ σοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον,
τὸ σύνθρονον τῆς
βασιλείας σου
καὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς
σου υἱοῦ

ἁ'εC: ΘσφφC: Ἀ-Πῃ:
Δ'ι:
ΛΘΛ'ι:
ΦC'ῃ'εῃ:
ΘX'ῃ: ἁ'ι'ι: Λ'ῃ'σθ'ῃ'ι:

ΗΘ'ῃ'ι: ῀C'ῃ'Λ'ῃ'ῃ:
σθ'ῃ'ῃ: X'C'ῃ:

ἁ'ῃ'Λ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ:
σ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ:
Η'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ: Ἀ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ:
Ἀ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ: Θ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ:

Η'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ: Η'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ:
Θ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ: ῃ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ:
ῃ'ῃ'ῃ:

Η'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ:
Φ'ῃ'ῃ:
Ἀ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ:
Ἀ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ: σθ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ:

ῃ'ῃ'ῃ:
Δ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ: ῃ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ:
Η'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ: ῃ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ:
Ἀ'ῃ'ῃ: σθ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ:
Η'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ: ῃ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ:
Θ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ: Θ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ: ῃ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ:
ῃ'ῃ: σθ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ: σθ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ:
[Θ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ:] Θ'ῃ'ῃ'ῃ:
Φ'ῃ'ῃ:

τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ
καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ·
ἔπιθε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ
(ἐξαπόστειλον) ἐπὶ τοὺς
ἄρτους τούτους καὶ ἐπὶ
τὰ ποτήρια ταῦτα
τὸ Πνεῦμά σου τὸ
Ἅγιον ἵνα αὐτὰ
ἀγιάσῃ καὶ τελειώσῃ

እግዚእ: ወአምላክ:
ወመድኅኒ:
ኢየሱስ: ክርስቶስ:

ὡς παντοδύναμος
θεός καὶ
ποιήσῃ
τὸν μὲν ἄρτον
σῶμα
τὸ δὲ ποτήριον
αἷμα
τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης
αὐτοῦ
τοῦ κυρίου
καὶ θεοῦ
καὶ σωτῆρος
καὶ παμβασιλέως
ἡμῶν
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
ἵνα...

ዘረሶ:
ዘንተ: ኅብስተ:
ሥጋሁ:
ዝንቱ: ጽዋፅ:
ደመ:

እግዚእ:

ወመድኅኒ:

ኢየሱስ: ክርስቶስ: ዘሐዲስ: ሥርዓት:
(cf. sup.: τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης)
ከመ:...

(The Coptic liturgy of St. Cyril has an even more extended text.)

This comparison of the two versions shows us that the Mk possibly had an even older model of the liturgy of St. Mark than the one which we possess. The theological passage: τὸ ἀπλοῦν τὴν φύσιν, τὸ πολυμερὲς τὴν ἐνέργειαν, is typical of the later extensions. It is, however, interesting that the Ethiopic translator does not seem to have understood the Greek passage: ἐνεργοῦν . . . , as he translated *ἔνδοξα* τῇ σῇ, by *በሥጋቱ* and omitted the verb. The meaning of the text is consequently lost. The Greek means that the Holy Ghost does not effect sanctification as a servant of the Father (ministerially) but *αὐτεξουσίως*. This activity does not take place without or against the Father's will,

but according to his good pleasure. As the Ethiopic text connects the **በሥጋረቱ** with the Holy Ghost it loses the whole point of the passage.

The Epiclesis of the B follows the Greek/Coptic text more closely than does the Epiclesis of the Mk. This fact corresponds exactly to the situation mentioned above in connection with the B (cf. p. 135). As the B was translated from Arabic into Ethiopic the development of its Greek/Coptic text was long before completed. This is the reason why its Greek/Coptic text corresponds more closely to the Ethiopic than does the Mk. But in the Epiclesis of the B also there are a few differences between the Greek/Coptic and the Ethiopic version. These differences may probably be explained as misunderstandings of the Arabic version. The B has, for instance, (according to Euringer): **ነሰገድ ለክ: በሥጋረቱ አቡክ:** (Eu: „Wir beten dich an, auf daß du nach dem Wohlgefallen deines Vaters . . .“) in contrast to the Greek text: *καὶ προσκυνούμεν σε εὐδοκίᾳ τῆς σῆς ἀγαθότητος* (though Chaîne has **ፈቃድክ** instead of **አቡክ**, and his text therefore corresponds to the Greek text). The Greek text addresses itself to God the Father, the Ethiopic text is by **አቡክ** altered into a prayer to Christ.

The Ethiopic text has misunderstood the Greek *καὶ ἀναδεῖξαι ἡγιαγίον* and has thus translated: **ወኪያሂ: ትቀድሱ: በቅድሳኑክ:** (Eu: „... und auch uns durch deine Heiligtümer heiligen mögest“; Chaîne: „... et sanctitate tua nos sanctificabis“). This also may perhaps be a mistranslation of the Arabic: *ويظهرها قدساً لقدسيك* (the translator may have read: *وَنُطَهِّرُنَا قَدِيسِينَ بِقَدْسِكَ*).

As the Ethiopic text of the B addresses itself to Christ it should have **ሥጋክ** and **ደመክ** in the prayer for the Consecration of the Elements, not, however, **ሥጋሁ** and **ደጡ**. But this inconsistency does not seem to have caused any difficulty.

The E has a short and clear Epiclesis (§ 50) which is addressed to Christ. In this Epiclesis the prayer for the Consecration into **ሥጋ: ቢአክ: ቅዱሱ:** (“thy holy Body”) and **ደመ: ቢአክ: ማሳዋዊ:** (“thy life-giving Blood”) is found in its logical form. The text nearly corresponds to that of the Ap. In § 52 follows the prayer which opens with **ደሚረክ:** and which, in its ideas, corresponds on the whole to the prayer mentioned above. This prayer has passed into most of the Ethiopic AA though the list of the fruits “for those who receive from it” (**ለአለ: ይነሥኡ: እምኔሁ:**) was somewhat altered. It is possible, however, to recognise the prayer of the *Egyptian Church Order* (so-called

Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus) and of the *Testamentum Domini* quite clearly.

The D also has a clear and easily recognisable Epiclesis (§§ 19–21) which is followed by a second Epiclesis in § 22. Between these two Epicleseis the prayer ደሚረክ: is found. The second Epiclesis does not, however, pray for the descent of the Holy Spirit (as the first one) but for the descent of the Lamb himself: በግዕ [Chaine add.: ንጹሕ:] ይምጻኝ: ንርአየ: በአዕይንት: ወንጥብሐ: በአእዳው: ከመ: ንትፈሳኤ: ቦቱ: (Eu: „Es komme das (Chaine add.: purus) Lamm, auf daß wir es mit den Augen sehen und mit den Händen schlachten, damit wir uns an ihm erfreuen!“). This prayer for the descent of the Lamb is also found in the Epiclesis of the Ath (§ 99): ይምጻኝ: ውክቱ: በግዕ: እምልዕልተ: መልዕልተ: ንርአየ: በአዕይንት: ወንጥብሐ: በአእዳው: ከመ: ንትፈሳኤ: ቦቱ: ይደመር: ሥጋህ: ውሳተ: ዝነቱ: ኅብሰት: ወደመኒ: ይትከዓው: ውሳተ: ዝነቱ: ጽዋዕ: (Eu: „Es komme das Lamm von der Höhe der Höhe, damit wir es mit den Augen sehen und mit den Händen schlachten, um uns daran zu erfreuen! Es vereinige sich sein Fleisch mit diesem Brote und auch sein Blut ergieße sich in diesen Kelch!“). T. Schermann drew attention to the fact that this kind of Epiclesis is very old¹). It is curious that this Epiclesis in both AA (D and Ath) is preceded by the prayer of Fraction (ጸሎተ: ፈትቶ:)²). The question of the mutual relationship of these two Epicleseis arises. The fact that the D has two Epicleseis would favour the supposition that one of the two is not genuine. As the D, however, shows signs of being a really old liturgy, it is improbable that it has borrowed the second Epiclesis from the Ath. It would be more likely that the first Epiclesis of the D – following the example of other AA – was inserted later, so that the Epiclesis of the Lamb would be the older one.

The JS (§ 35) is another A with an Epiclesis in which there is a prayer for the descent of the Lamb: ወይረድ: ነዋ: በግዕ: ለእግዚአብሔር: (Eu: „... und es steige herab – siehe! – das Lamm Gottes“). In this Epiclesis there is another peculiar feature: prayer is made for the sending of the fire-sword of Mēlos (§ 35): ወይትፈራኖ: ጌሎሰ: ሰይፈ: እሳት: መደንግጽ: ወያሰተርኢ: ዲባ: ዝነቱ: ኅብሰት: ወጽዋዕ: ወይፈጽም: ዘንተ:

¹) *Ägyptische Abendmahlsliturgien des ersten Jahrtausends*, Paderborn 1912, pp. 189f.: „Eigenartige Epiklesen mit alter Tradition stellen jene dar, in welchen um die Herabkunft Christi als zweiter Person Gottes oder als des Opferlammes auf die Gaben gebetet wird. Die Anaphora des hl. Athanasius hat daher folgende Epikleseform: ‘veniat ab altissimis ille qui est agnus . . . , inseratur corpus ejus in hoc pane et effundatur sanguis ejus in isto calice’.”

²) ጸሎተ: ፈትቶ: in D is not the title of the Epiclesis as might be inferred from Euringer's edition.

11 Hammerschmidt, *Ethiopic Anaphoras*

The MC has no Epiclesis but the prayer *Ἐπικλησις* (§ 105)¹). The same is the case with the C II.

however, was to guard the way to the Tree of Life, no purpose would be served in introducing it into an Epiclesis. The true explanation of this 'flaming sword' is to be found in the Eucharist-Prayer of the Anaphora of the Three Hundred and Eighteen Orthodox Fathers, where we read: 'He (the Father) did not become weary, nor did He rest as a man resteth, but the *sword of fire* coming out of His mouth, what He hath spoken is immediately accomplished'. . . It appears therefore, that we may equate this sword of fire with the Logos."

³⁾ Cf. the Syriac Anaphora of St. John Maro (*Missale chaldaicum iuxta ritum ecclesiae nationis Maronitarum*, Quzhaya 1855, p. 125): "And may there

The Epiclesis in the O (§ 76) opens with the same words as the Epiclesis of the JS and JE¹⁾. The curious phrase **ወያንጸበርቅ፡ ዲባ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ኅብሐት፡** (Ren I 510 s.: "et resplendeat super hunc panem") has already been mentioned above (cf. p. 46). The prayer **ደሚረክ፡** precedes the Epiclesis of the O.

It is doubtful whether the text in § 12 of the GH (before the Institution Narrative) may be regarded as an Epiclesis, as it prays for the descent of the Holy Spirit on the faithful. The Codex Hierosolymitanus and the edition of Addis Abbaba 1918 A. Mis. (= 1925/26 A. D.), however, contain a different reading which is closer to the usual form of the Epiclesis: send down **መንፈሱ፡ ቅዱሱ፡ ወኃይሉ፡ ዲባ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ኅብሐት፡ ወለዕሉ፡ ዝጽዋዕ፡** (Eu: „den heiligen Geist und die Kraft auf dieses Brot und über diesen Kelch“). Euringer was mistaken in supposing that Harden saw in this passage of the GH a parallel to the text in the *Testamentum Domini*²⁾. Harden was referring to the prayer **ደሚረክ፡** (Euringer's § 35) which in the Ethiopic liturgy is clearly distinguished from the Epiclesis.

The GC in § 19, which Euringer called an Epiclesis, prays that Christ may be present over (ዲባ፡) this Bread. The position of this text after the prayer of Fraction (§ 17) is worth noticing.

The JB on the whole follows its Syriac model³⁾. The prayer for the Consecration of the Bread is, however, missing and instead of it appears the text: **ወእኮነ፡ ዘንፈልጥ፡ ዘነተ፡ ኅብሐት፡ እምሥጋኑ፡ ለክርሰቶሱ፡ አሜን፡** (Eu: „und nicht ist es, daß wir dieses Brot trennen vom Leibe Christi. Amen.“). As Euringer printed this A from a single MS (MS Aeth. 74 of the Bibliothèque nationale at Paris), and as there were erasures in the passage in question, this text can hardly be regarded as reliable. In order to be quite sure whether this passage has this wording, it would be necessary to examine the other known MS of the JB (MS Vat. Aeth. 95)⁴⁾ (this MS was unknown in 1914 when Euringer published this A).

be opened, O Lord, the gates of heaven and be revealed the gates of light, and may there come and dwell Thine Holy Spirit from the heights above and descend upon me and upon this oblation" [cf. Burmester in *Eastern Churches Quarterly* 13 (1959/60) p. 41]. For the Syriac Anaphora of St. John Maro cf. H. Engberding, "Die westsyrische Anaphora des hl. Johannes Chrysostomus und ihre Probleme" in *Oriens Christianus* 39 (1955) pp. 33–47.

¹⁾ Cf. J. Norman, *Handbook to the Christian Liturgy*, London 1944, p. 28.

²⁾ Löfgren-Euringer, *Gregorius-Anaphoren*, p. 113.

³⁾ Br pp. 87f.

⁴⁾ Cf. p. 22.

VIII. OUTSTANDING QUESTIONS

Only a few characteristic points could be dealt with in these studies. In conclusion, it is possible to say that the Ap and the J are the two oldest surviving liturgical texts in the Ethiopic Church. Besides these two there are other AA which were translated into Ethiopic from foreign languages; the Mk, B and JB. Most of the remaining AA were probably written in Ethiopic.

For the time being a number of problems must remain unsolved, because the necessary materials are lacking. It has hitherto proved impossible to discover the exact time of origin of most of the Ethiopic AA. They first appear in MSS of the 15th century, but this naturally does not mean that they were not composed much earlier. The language and style of the AA give little clue, firstly because we still know so little about Ethiopic liturgical style in general and secondly because the style in the AA has not altered to any great extent, as is, for instance, the case with the Western literature. The deciding factors (the Bible, the Fathers, the teaching of the church, theological speculation and mysticism) have influenced all the AA to some extent. A feature which may help us to come to a conclusion is the fact that in some AA (MG, most of the C II and part of the D) the lines are rhymed. The presence of rhyme may be regarded as proof that these texts are an original composition of Ethiopic literature.

The MC in § 58 adopts a positive attitude against the Mohammedans and thereby shows that it can have been written only at a time when Islam constituted a problem for Ethiopia and its Church. A particularly remarkable A is the Ath, which clearly betrays Jewish influence in the high esteem of the (Christian) Sabbath.

It would help us to define the age of the Ethiopic AA more precisely if we could compare the biblical quotations in the AA with the Ethiopic versions of the Bible. To my regret there is no reliable critical edition of the Ethiopic Bible. Only parts of a critical text have

been printed¹⁾; consequently this possibility is for the time being ruled out.

A problem which I should like to investigate at the first opportunity is the relationship between the Greek liturgy of St. Mark, the Coptic liturgy of St. Cyril and the Mk. As the short comparison in the Institution Narrative and especially in the Epiclesis has shown, it is possible that the Ethiopic text is an even older version than the existing Greek one. For such a purpose it would, however, be necessary to set out in tabular form the three versions word by word. Such an enterprise would yield material for an independent work.

I hope that the present studies have shown²⁾ that, contrary to the generally accepted view³⁾, most of the Ethiopic AA are not translations of other liturgies but genuine Ethiopic literature. The AA contain a surprising exuberance of theological thought and liturgical poetry. These AA deserve more attention from historians of Ethiopic literature and liturgy than has been accorded them hitherto.

¹⁾ For the parts of a critical edition of the Ethiopic Bible already published cf. I. Guidi, *Storia della letteratura etiopica*, Roma 1932, p. 14, note. To this must be added: Hugh Craswall Gleave, *The Ethiopic Version of the Song of Songs*, London 1951.

²⁾ Cf., e. g., pp. 45–49, 75–82, 91, 109 and 161–163.

³⁾ Since Ethiopic literature was largely composed of translations from other languages [cf. T. Nöldeke, „Die äthiopische Literatur“ in *Die Orientalischen Literaturen*, Berlin und Leipzig 1906 (*Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, Teil I, Abteilung VII), p. 126; E. Littmann, „Geschichte der äthiopischen Litteratur“ in *Geschichte der christlichen Litteraturen des Orients*, Leipzig 1907 (*Die Litteraturen des Ostens in Einzeldarstellungen VII 2*), pp. 201 and 205f.; id., „Die äthiopische Literatur“ in *Handbuch der Orientalistik III*, Leiden 1954, pp. 377 and 379] Euringer was inclined wherever possible to assume, that there was a foreign model. Schermann thought that the Ethiopic liturgies of St. Gregory and St. Cyril were only translation of the Greek/Coptic liturgies of these names. But he has emphasised the fact that most of the Ethiopic AA are of Ethiopic origin (l. c., p. 184).

APPENDIX I

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE ETHIOPIC ANAPHORAS¹⁾

1. The first printed text of Ethiopic Anaphoras is found in *Testamentum Novum cum Epistola Pauli ad Hebreos tantum . . . Missale cum benedictione incensi cerae, etc.* . . . Quae omnia Fr. Petrus Ethyops auxilio piorum sedente Paulo III. Pont. Max. & Claudio illius regni Imperatore imprimi curavit (Romae) Anno Salutis M. D. XLVIII:

- a) Ordo Communis with the *Anaphora of the Apostles*, ff. 158–167.
- b) *Anaphora of Our Lord Jesus Christ*, ff. 168f..
- c) *Anaphora of Our Lady Mary* (composed by Cyriacus of Behnasā), ff. 170–174.

2. Latin translation of the Ordo Communis with the *Anaphora of the Apostles* in (Tasfā Šeyon) *Modus baptizandi . . . item Missa qua communiter utuntur* (Aethiopes) quae etiam Canon universalis appellatur nunc primum ex lingua Chaldaea sive Aethiopica in Latinam conversa, Romae apud Antonium Bladum MDXLIX mense Aprilis. Reprinted in Louvain 1550. This version has been frequently reprinted (vide Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western I, Eastern Liturgies*, Oxford 1896, p. LXXIII), e. g. in E. Renaudot, *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio I*, Francofurti ad Moenum² 1847, pp. 469–518.

3. The *Anaphora of Our Lord Jesus Christ* in Hiob Ludolf (Leutholf), *Ad suam historiam aethiopicam antehac editam Commentarius*, Francofurti ad Moenum 1691, pp. 341–345.

4. The *Anaphora of Dioscorus* in Johannes Michael Wansleben (Vansleb), *Jobi Ludolfi Lexicon Aethiopico-Latinum Accessit Authoris Grammatica*, nunc primum in lucem editum, Londini 1661, *Appendix*. Wansleben's Latin translation was reprinted in Pierre Le Brun, *Explication littérale, historique et dogmatique des prières et des cérémonies de la messe, nouvelle édition*, Paris 1777, pp. 564–579.

5. *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum . . . quodquod post vicecomitem de Paiva Manso continuat Joannes A. de Graça Barreto, Appendix: Tomus III. – Tomus II*, Olisipone 1879: *Documenta historiam Ecclesiae Habessinorum illustrantia inedita vel antea jam edita*:

- a) "Liturgia communis", pp. 201–220.
- b) "Liturgia Domini Nostri Jesu Christi", pp. 221–224.
- c) "Liturgiae Beatae Mariae, quam scripsit Abba Cyriacus", pp. 225–238,
- d) "Liturgia communis versio latina" (ab Eusebio Renaudotio selectis locis castigata), pp. 239–257.
- e) "Liturgia Dioscori", pp. 259–263.

¹⁾ This section is an English summary of my article „Zur Bibliographie äthiopischer Anaphoren“ in *Ostkirchliche Studien* 5 (1956) pp. 285–290

6. There is a Portuguese translation of the Ordo communis and the *Anaphora of the Apostles* by P. Petrus Paëz, S. J., in his *Historia de Ethiopia* II 11 = C. Beccari, *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI. ad XIX, II*, Romae 1905, pp. 439–446 and 446–453.
7. John Meadows Rodwell, "Aethiopic Liturgies and Prayers", in *The Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record*, edited by B. Harris Cowper, London Vol. III (New Series) 1863, pp. 337–352; Vol. IV (New Series) 1863/64, pp. 108–117 and 363–375 (also published as an offprint of this periodical, London 1864):
 - a) The *Anaphora of the Apostles* together with the Ordo communis (the Funeral Anaphora is only a variation of the Anaphora of the Apostles), III pp. 337–352 and IV pp. 108–117,
 - b) the *Anaphora of our Lord*, IV pp. 118–122,
 - c) the *Anaphora of our Lady Mary* (composed by Cyriacus), IV pp. 122–131,
 - d) the *Anaphora of Dioscorus*, IV pp. 368f.
8. The Ordo communis of the Pre-Anaphora is found in G. A. Swainson, *The Greek Liturgies chiefly from Original Authorities*, Cambridge 1884, pp. 347–395 (Ethiopic and English).
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14. Id., "The Anaphora of St. Dioscorus in the Ethiopic Liturgy" in *ibid.* 2 (1918) pp. 83–86.
15. Id., "The Anaphora of our Lady" in *ibid.* 3 (1919) pp. 51–64.
16. Id., "The Anaphora of St. John Chrysostom" in *ibid.* 4 (1920) pp. 35–42.
17. Id., "The Anaphora of the Holy and Blessed John" in *ibid.* 6 (1922) pp. 21–33.
18. Id., "The Anaphora of St. Gregory the Brother of Basil" in *ibid.* 7 (1923) pp. 27–34.
19. Id., "The Anaphora of the Three Hundred and Eighteen Orthodox" in *ibid.* 8 (1924) pp. 66–75.
20. Id., "The Anaphora of Saint Gregory the Armenian" in *ibid.* 9 (1925) pp. 8–12.
21. Id., "The Anaphora of Saint Epiphanius" in *ibid.* 9 (1925) pp. 110–117.
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25. Id., "The Anaphora of the Ethiopic Testament of our Lord" in *Journal of Theological Studies* 23 (1921/22) pp. 44–49.
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APPENDIX III

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4. *Specimens of Ethiopic Manuscripts*

1. MS Aeth. e. 1, f. 60a = OC, Brightman p. 227, 11.23–35, and D § 1a–c
 2. MS Aeth. e. 1, f. 60b = D §§ 1c–8
 3. MS Aeth. e. 1, f. 63a = Ap, Brightman p. 228, 11.3–32
 4. MS Aeth. e. 1, f. 63b = Ap, Brightman p. 228, 1.32 – p. 229, 1.11
 5. MS Aeth. e. 1, f. 64a = Ap, Brightman p. 229, 11.11–32
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 9. MS Aeth. e. 1, f. 93b = MC § 138 and JE §§ 1–7
 10. MS Aeth. e. 1, f. 103a = JE §§ 119–121 and JC, Dillmann, Chrestomathia p. 51, 11.2f.
 11. MS Aeth. e. 1, f. 108b = JC, Dillmann, Chrestomathia p. 56, 11.20 – 25, and Ath §§ 1–2
 12. MS Aeth. e. 1, f. 109a = Ath §§ 2–6
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 20. MS Aeth. e. 20, f. 38b = Ap, Brightman p. 228, 1.18 – p. 229, 1.15
 21. MS Aeth. e. 20, f. 47a = End of J (missing in Harden's text) and MC §§ 1–6
 22. MS Aeth. e. 20, f. 60a = O §§ 1–8
 23. MS Aeth. e. 20, f. 65b = End of the O and JS §§ 1–7
 24. MS Aeth. e. 20, f. 71b = End of the D and GC §§ 1–7
 25. MS Aeth. e. 20, f. 96b = C I §§ 41 (fin.) – 42 and B §§ 1–12
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 Ath: Nos. 11 and 12
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 D: Nos. 1, 2 and 24
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 J: Nos. 7, 8 and 21
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 JE: Nos. 9 and 10
 JS: No. 23
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ወረሰዋን፡ ለካል፡
 ልዋን፡ ከመ፡ ጓት፡
 ማ፡ ሰበፊና ቲን፡ በ
 ሐም፡ ፡ ቅድስት፡ ፡
 ጠንቅመ፡ ፡ እንበለ፡
 ከነኒ፡ እም፡ ፡ ብትከ፡
 ቅድስት፡ እንተ፡ ይ፡
 ቲ፡ እንበለ፡ ጥት፡ ስ
 ማዋ፡ ፡ በኢየሱስ፡
 ከርሱ፡ እግ፡ እን፡
 ዘቦቱ፡ ለክ፡ ምስሉ፡
 ወምስለ፡ ቅዱስ፡ መን
 ልክ፡ ስብሐት፡ ወእረ
 ዝ፡ ይ፡ እኒ፡ ወዘል፡
 ኒ፡ ወሰላለሙ፡ ዓለም፡
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 እግዚ ከ-ጠሐር: በትሥልሐ
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 ኮቱ:: እሞቅ ድ መ: ጎሕ: ወ
 ድባሕ: ወእሞ ድ መ: መዓል
 ት: ወሌሊት: እሞቅ ድ መ:
 ይትፈጠሩ: መለእክት: ህሎ:
 እግዚ ከ-ጠሐር: በመጓግ
 ሥቱ:: እሞቅ ድ መ: ይትፈ
 በ-ጠ: ለመሄድ: ወእሞቅ ድ መ:
 ያከተርኢ: ገጽ: የጠከ: ወእሞ
 ቅ ድ መ: ያጥቀሉ: ሐመላማ

TABLE 2

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 ብቶ፡ወእምቅድመ፡ሚጠቀ
 ቶ፡ዘብርሃኖቶ፡ሀሎ፡ከጣ፡በ
 መሃ፡ጣሥቱ፡፡እምቅድመ፡
 ከሃስሐ፡ዘሃቶሐወከ፡ወእ
 ምቅድመ፡አዕዋ፡ዘሃሐ
 ሊር፡እምቅድመ፡አፊዊት፡
 ዘባሐር፡ሀሎ፡ከጣ፡በመ፡፡እ
 ምቅድመ፡ሃፍጥሮ፡ሐኦ፡
 ሞ፡ባዘዚኦሁ፡አርአዖ፡ወአ
 ምሰል፡ወእምቅድመ፡ደዕ
 ሎ፡ትእዘዘ፡ሀሎ፡ከጣ፡በ
 ሐር፡በመሃ፡ጣሥቱ፡፡ከብሐ
 ቶ፡ከሐከ፡ወወልድ፡ወመ
 ናፊከ፡ቅደከ፡ደእዚሊ፡ወዘ

ልፊሊ፡ወለሃለመ፡ዓለሞ
 ኦሚን፡፡እንተ፡ጠቀ
 ከቶደደከሚ፡ለማድ፡ወ
 ቅድመ፡ሞድር፡ወደደ፡
 ጣ፡፡መሠረታተ፡፡እምቅድ
 ሰፊቅድ፡ከሁሉ፡ወረደ፡
 በ፡መሃ፡፡እንተ፡ጠቀ
 ንጣል፡፡እንተ፡ጠቀ
 ከእብሐር፡ተወልደ፡
 በጎሐ፡ከሃስሐ፡ተወደደ፡
 እምቅድመ፡ተወልደ፡
 ወከመ፡፡እንተ፡ጠቀ
 ከሃዘ፡ደከእል፡እምቅድ
 ቶ፡እምቅድ፡ከሃሐወ፡
 ገሃደ፡ወእከተርአዮ፡ከመ
 ከብሐር፡ተወልደ፡፡እምቅድ

MS Aeth. e. 1, f. 60 b = D §§ 1 c—8

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ዊሳ፡ ሐዋርያት፡ በረከቶ ሙ
ትኩ፡ ጌ፡ ምሐሉ፡ ገጽጽ
ፈላጊ፡ ለዓለሙ፡ ግለሥ፡
ካህን፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ም
ሐሉ፡ ተሰልከሙ፡ ይሕ፡ ምሐሉ
መግደሉ ነ፡ ይካቶ እኩሳት
ተሥ፡ ለእምሳክነ፡ ይሕ፡ ር
ት፡ ይደሉ፡ ይካቶ እኩሳት፡
እግዚአብሔር፡ ከሙ፡ ቅር፡
ት፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ቅር፡
እኩሳት፡ ተከ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡
ፍቅር፡ ወልድ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡
እኩሳት፡ ለእኩሳት፡ ወልድ፡
ገጽጽ፡ ለእኩሳት፡ ወልድ፡
ወልድ፡ ወልድ፡ ወልድ፡ ወልድ፡
ከገጽ፡ ወልድ፡ እኩሳት፡
እኩሳት፡ ወልድ፡ ወልድ፡

[illegible]

TABLE 4

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 ከ፡ ወማትያ፡ ፤ ወይሁ
 ርያት፡፡ ወያዕቅ፡ በ፡ ሐዋ
 ርያ፡ እንጋሁ፡ ለእግዚእን፡
 ኢጲክ፡ ቆጵክ፡ ዘኢጲጳሱስ
 ም፡ ጳውሎስ፡ በ፡ ሞቱ
 ከ፡ ሱሳስ፡ ወበርናባስ፡ ቲዱ
 ልሐሞና፡ ቀለም፡ ምንጦክ፡ ሮወ
 ሂኦርድ፡ እት፡ ርያ፡ በ፡ ጽፍ
 ፤ ወፎርታ፡ ዓን፡ ሃይማኖት፡፡
 ሃሎተ፡ ነ፡ ሐሙሳ፡ ይ፡ በ፡ ጽሑ፡
 ነ፡ ወምስሊህሙሳ፡ ኪያን፡ ሐ
 ወ፡ ጽ፡ ወተዘክር፡ እ፡ ባተ፡ ሳ
 ዕለ፡ ነ፡ ሐ፡ ዘሐዋርያት፡ በ፡ ተ፡
 ክርስቲያን፡ በሐሳማ፡ ወበክ
 በ፡ ርያ፡ እ፡ ባተ፡ በክፍሉ

ስ፡ ተገብረ፡፡ ተዘክር፡ ነ፡
 ሐ፡ ሲቃን፡ ጳጳሳት፡ ጳጳሳ
 ት፡ ኢጲክ፡ ቆጵክ፡ ቀሳው
 ከት፡ ወዲያቆናት፡ እሐ፡ ይ
 ረት፡ በ፡ ፍጥ፡ ቃል፡ ዘበእ
 ማ፡፡ ርያ፡ መሐሮመ፡፡
 እግዚእ፡ ወተሳሃሐሙ
 ለሲቃን፡ ጳጳሳት፡ ጳጳሳት
 ኢጲክ፡ ቆጵክ፡ ቀሳው
 ት፡ ወዲያቆናት፡ ወነ፡ ሐ
 ሙ፡ ሐ፡ ዘበ፡ ክርስቲያን፡፡
 ጸሎተ፡፡ እሥሐስ፡ ቅዱ
 ከ፡ እ፡ በ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመሃ
 ራስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ በ፡ ራስ፡ ክርስቲያን
 ዲበ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ፍቁራን፡
 ክርስቶስ፡ ወያ፡ በበረከ
 ተ፡ ሐማያውያን፡ ወምድ
 ረውያን፡ ወፈኑ፡ ከዕለ

MS Aeth. e. 1, f. 63 b = Ap. Brightman p. 228, l. 32—p. 229, l. 11

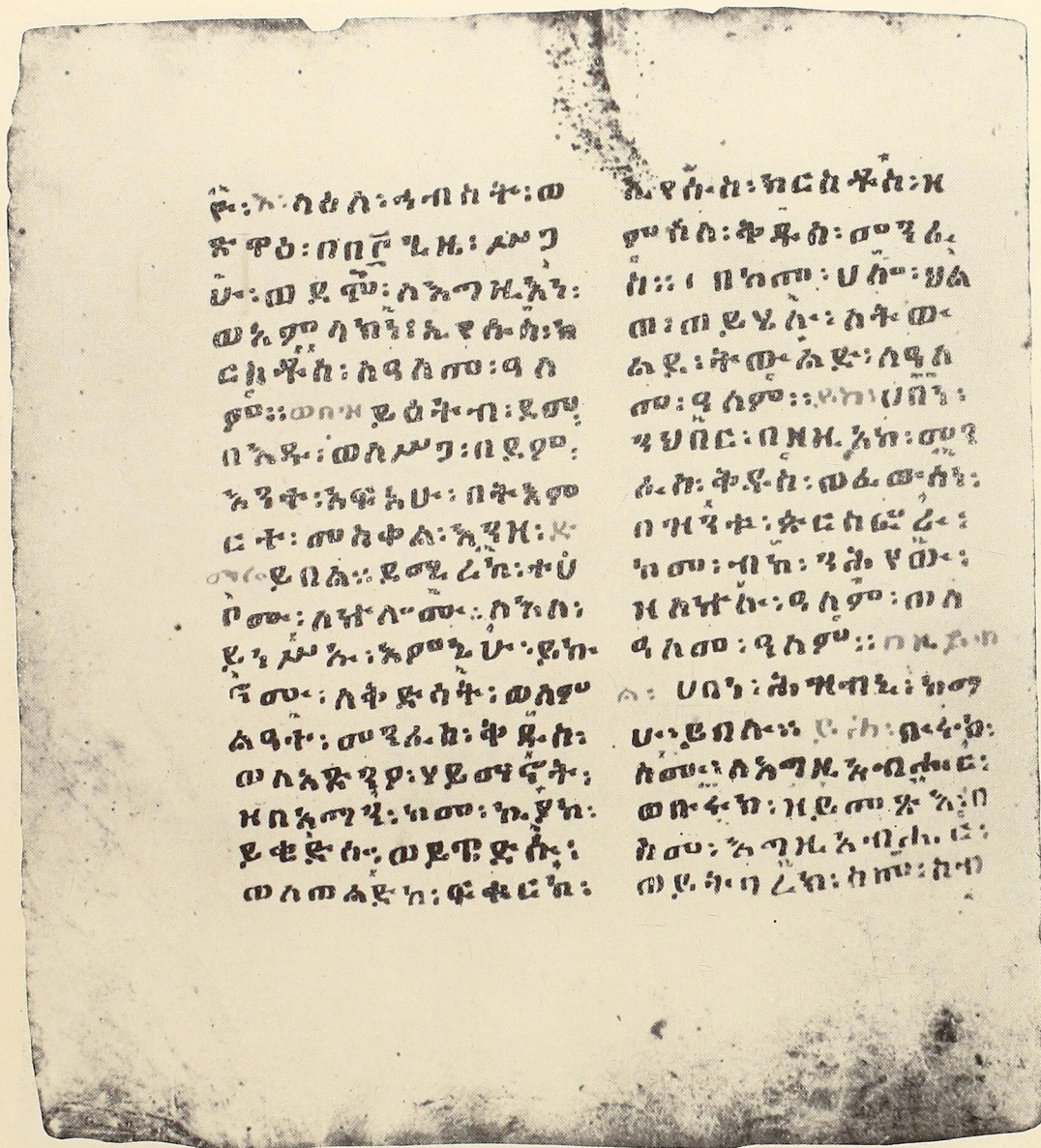
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ነ፡ጸጋ፡መጥ፡ፈሰ፡ቅዱስ፡
 ወረሰ፡ኃዋሳው፡ቤት፡
 ክርስቲያን፡ቅዱስት፡
 ርሳው፡ሰን፡በምሕረት፡
 መበክሚን፡መረጽ፡ም፡ለ
 ነ፡አሚን፡ሥላሳ፡ቅዱ
 ስት፡ክስክ፡ደኃሪት፡ኦ
 ስት፡ዳህ፡ኦሊቅድ፡ኢየ
 ሱስ፡ክርስቶስ፡ሐው፡ጼ፡
 ሕሙ፡ሚን፡ሕዝብክ፡ወ
 ፈ፡ውሶሙ፡ወምርሐሙ፡
 ለኦበዊን፡ወአኃዊን፡ኦ
 ስ፡ሐሩ፡ወተእዋገዱ፡ወ
 ሚሙ፡ሳቢ፡ማኅደ
 አባሙ፡በጥዲዳ፡መበሰ
 ሳም፡በርክ፡ነ፡ሐሳቱ፡ሰ
 ሚደ፡ወዝናማት፡ወሩ
 ሌደቱ፡ምድር፡በዘቱ፡

ዳመት፡በጸጋ፡ወረሰ፡ፍግ
 ዓ፡ወተድሳ፡ወትረ፡ዲበ፡
 ገላ፡ለምድር፡ወእጽ፡ዕክ፡
 ለነ፡ሰላመክ፡ሚሞ፡ልበ፡
 ነግሥት፡አዘዘን፡ሐኦሚ
 ሞ፡ካሰሱ፡በኾሱ፡ጊዜ፡ጸ
 ጋ፡ወሚገክ፡ለሐቃሙ፡ዓተ፡
 ቤተ፡ክርስቲያን፡ኦሰ፡ግ፡
 በ፡ዳዊ፡ውከተ፡በተ፡ክርስቲ
 ያን፡ቅዱስት፡ለሐሐዕበ
 በአስማቱሆሙ፡በቅዱሙ፡
 ነግሥተ፡ኃይለማርያም፡አምላክ
 ነ፡አዳሕዱ፡ለሙሙ፡አኦርሞ፡
 ነ፡ሐሳቱ፡አበዊን፡ወአኃዊን፡
 ኦሰ፡ሞሙ፡ወአሰረ፡ቃላ፡በግ
 ይማላት፡ርቅሶት፡በርክ፡
 ደበ፡ኦሰ፡ያስተንትን፡፡፡
 ሚደ፡ወተር፡ግዳ፡ወወደደ፡

MS Aeth. e. l. f. 64 a = Ap, Brightman p. 229, ll. 11-32

TABLE 6



MS Aeth. e. l. f. 77 b = Ap. Brightman p. 233, l. 16-p. 234, l. 2

TABLE 8


















ሳዝ፡ሆሉ፡በእድ፡ወይመል
 ነ፡ወበምክረ፡ዚእክ፡ወል
 ድክ፡ኢየሱስ፡የሕድ፡ዘተ
 ሰቅለ፡በእንተ፡ጓጢእትነ፡
 ዘበቃለ፡ኪዳንነ፡ቦቱ፡ገበ
 ርክ፡ሆሉ፡ሠሚረክ፡ቦቱ፡
 ወፈነውክ፡ውስተ፡ማሳፀ
 ነ፡ድንግል፡ተፀንሰ፡በክር
 ሥ፡ሥጋ፡ከነ፡ወልደቱ፡ተዓ
 ወተ፡እመንፈስ፡ቅዱስ፡እ
 ምድንግል፡ተወሊዶ፡ከመ፡
 ፈቃደክ፡ይፈጽም፡ወሕዝ
 በ፡ለክ፡ይሥራዕ፡፡ እ
 ውሥኡ፡፡ ሰፋሕ፡እደ
 ጂሆ፡በሕማም፡ሐመ፡ከመ፡
 ሕመማነ፡ያድሳን፡እለተ

ወከሉ፡በሳዕሊክ፡፡ ዘተውህ
 በ፡በፈቃዱ፡ለሕማም፡ከመ፡
 ሕመማነ፡ያድሳን፡ወያድ
 ንሥሙ፡ለእለ፡ተንተነ፡ግዱ
 ቀነ፡ይርክብ፡ወሙኑነ፡ያሕ
 ዩ፡፡ ሞተ፡ይፋታሕ፡ወማዕ
 ሰረ፡ሰይማን፡ይብተክ፡ፈቃ
 ደ፡እቡሆ፡ይፈጽም፡ወይኪ
 ድ፡ሲእለ፡፡ ወያርኑ፡አናቅደ፡
 ሕይወት፡ለዳድቃን፡ያብር
 ህ፡ሥርዓተ፡ይቅከል፡ጽል
 መተ፡ያእተተ፡ወሕፃናቲ፡
 ያልሕት፡ወትንሣኢሆ፡ያ
 ግህድ፡በይከቲ፡ሊሊት፡እን
 ተ፡ባቲ፡አመ፡ያገብእዎ፡ነሥ
 ኦ፡ሳብከተ፡በእደጂሆ፡ቅዱ

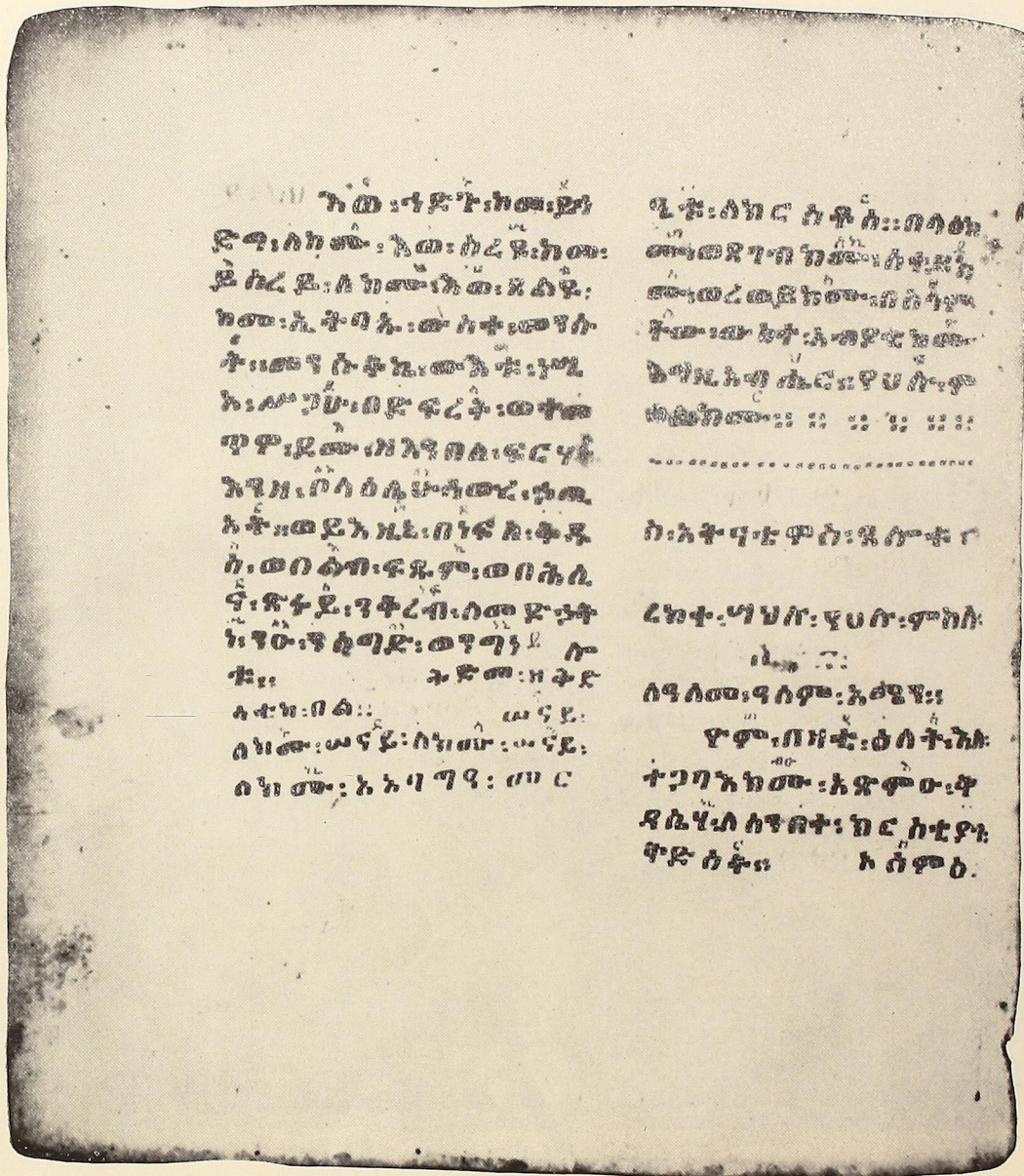
MS Aeth. e. 1, f. 80 b = J, Harden, p. 63, l. 11 – p. 64, l. 5

TABLE 10

በነ፡ዐዝ፡ዓለም፡ንሥክተ፡
ቅዱስ፡ምሥጢር፡ከማይ፡
በዘመኑ፡ትንሣእ፡መቻ
፤ ላዕረ፡ምኮሊቶደባረከዩ
ከ፡ቅዳሲ፡፡ በእግዚአብሔር
ሴኬር ከቅድስቀ፡ሰባ፡ምክሊ
ሁ፡ወምኮሊቶደቅ፡በል፡፡

[illegible][illegible]



MS Aeth. e. 1, f. 108 b = JC, Dillmann, Chrestomathia p. 56, ll. 20–25, and Ath §§ 1–2

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ስከሙ፡ስማዎት፡አስምሁ፡
 ስከሙ፡ምድረ፡ከሙ፡ትቶ
 ሙ፡በፍርሃት፡ወበረዓድ፡
 ዘእግበሉ፡ተህውኑ፡ወኢ
 መኑሂ፡ኢየሐስ፡ዝሃ፡በሙ
 ዓት፡ምሐሰ፡እትሁ፡ከሙ፡ታ
 የል፡እገዛ፡መስተበቅል፡ወ
 እቱ፡ወኢመኑሂ፡ኢየሃሉ፡
 ዝሃ፡በተቀርሮ፡ምሐሉ፡በፃ፡
 ከሙ፡ዳታ፡ወኢቤር፡እሉ፡
 ተቀረገዋ፡ሐሙ፡ኢ፡ወኢመ
 ኑሂ፡ኢየሃሉ፡ዝሃ፡በተጻሕ
 ልዋ፡ምሐሉ፡ከሐሰ፡ከሙ፡ከ
 ይህ፡ዘረሃታ፡ሐሙ፡የ፡
 እካህናት፡እናትሙ፡ወእቱ፡
 አሰደገተ፡እግዚአብሔር፡
 ብተሃት፡ተናጸፋ፡በበደናቲ

ከሙ፡፲፱ምሐሉ፡ካልኦ፡ሕቶ፡
 እምሙስተ፡ሕዝብከሙ፡በ
 አበደና፡ኢደቁም፡ወኢደፋ
 በር፡ምሐሉ፡ከሙ፡በጸልዋ፡
 ኢዘማዊ፡ወኢተቃሊ፡ኢዘያ
 ጣኦ፡ኢሆራ፡ወኢሐሳዊ፡
 ዘውእቶሙ፡ኢአካብ፡እሉ፡
 በአፍኦ፡ደትኪነኦ፡፲፱፡
 ዋ፡ሐታ፡ከሙ፡እትከሙ፡
 ዝልፍዋ፡በግህደት፡ሐሰ፡
 በቱ፡አበሳ፡ዘለሞት፡መገደ
 ዋ፡ሐዘ፡፲፱፡ከሙ፡ደፋድግ፡
 ኪያሃ፡ፍጥተ፡ወደቀ፡ጋነደ፡
 ሐክግዚአብሔር፡ከሙ፡ደ፡
 ረደ፡ሉ፡ቱ፡አዲደቆናት፡ማ
 ፋቶተ፡ቤተ፡ክርስቲያን፡ወፋ
 እካነሂ፡ምሐሉ፡ሕምሙስቲ

MS Aeth. e. 1, f. 109 a = Ath §§ 2-6

እኩቲ ተ፡ ቀ፡ ር፡ ግ፡ ገ፡ ገ፡
 ደ፡ ስ፡ ወ፡ ገ፡ ፀ፡ ፅ፡ ኢ፡ ፯፡ ፭፡
 ሃ፡ ስ፡ ደ፡ ስ፡ ቀ፡ ወ፡ በ፡ ረ፡ ከ፡ ቀ፡
 ወ፡ ሀ፡ ገ፡ ቀ፡ ረ፡ ድ፡ ኢ፡ ቀ፡ ሃ፡ ሀ፡ ስ፡
 ም፡ ስ፡ ለ፡ ቀ፡ ቁ፡ ሩ፡ ፡ ሲ፡ ፍ፡ ደ፡
 ለ፡ ግ፡ ለ፡ ሙ፡ ግ፡
 ም፡ ስ፡ ሚ፡ ግ፡ ፡ ፀ፡ ሲ፡ ሄ፡ ፡ ው፡ እ፡
 ቱ፡ እ፡ ግ፡ ሲ፡ አ፡ ገ፡ ሒ፡ ር፡ በ፡ ፅ፡ በ፡
 ዋ፡ ቅ፡ ዳ፡ ስ፡ በ፡ ቅ፡ ዳ፡ ሲ፡ ሆ፡ እ፡ ከ፡
 ት፡ በ፡ አ፡ ከ፡ ቲ፡ ቱ፡ ወ፡ ስ፡ ቡ፡ ሕ፡
 በ፡ ስ፡ ገ፡ ሐ፡ ቲ፡ ሆ፡ ፡ ቀ፡ ዳ፡ ማ፡ ድ፡
 ው፡ እ፡ ቱ፡ ዘ፡ ኢ፡ ይ፡ ገ፡ ሰ፡ ል፡ ም፡ እ፡ ማ፡
 እ፡ ኢ፡ ወ፡ ማ፡ ፅ፡ ከ፡ ሳ፡ ዊ፡ ው፡ እ፡ ቱ፡
 ዘ፡ ይ፡ ገ፡ ሰ፡ ል፡ ም፡ እ፡ ስ፡ ከ፡ ይ፡ እ፡ ኢ፡
 ው፡ ይ፡ ኃ፡ ራ፡ ዊ፡ ው፡ እ፡ ቱ፡ ዘ፡ ኢ፡
 ይ፡ ገ፡ ሰ፡ ል፡ ም፡ እ፡ ስ፡ ከ፡ ዝ፡ ግ፡ ፡ አ፡ ል፡
 በ፡ ም፡ ግ፡ ት፡ ለ፡ ህ፡ ለ፡ ዊ፡ ሆ፡ ወ፡ አ፡ ል፡
 በ፡ ማ፡ ሂ፡ ለ፡ ቅ፡ ት፡ ለ፡ ከ፡ ም፡ ም፡ ኒ፡ ሆ፡
 አ፡ ል፡ በ፡ ሂ፡ ለ፡ ል፡ ቱ፡ ለ፡ ሙ፡ ም፡ ሲ፡
 ሆ፡ ው፡ አ፡ ል፡ በ፡ ሐ፡ ሳ፡ ገ፡ ገ፡ ለ፡ አ፡
 ሙ፡ ታ፡ ቲ፡ ሆ፡ ፡ አ፡ ል፡ በ፡ ር፡ ስ፡ ግ፡
 ለ፡ ው፡ ር፡ ዘ፡ ዊ፡ ሆ፡ ው፡ አ፡ ል፡ በ፡ ድ፡
 ከ፡ ም፡ ለ፡ ድ፡ ግ፡ ድ፡ ኃ፡ ይ፡ ስ፡ ስ፡
 ል፡ በ፡ ሙ፡ ስ፡ ር፡ ለ፡ ሙ፡ ል፡ ከ፡ ሙ፡
 ው፡ አ፡ ል፡ በ፡ ድ፡ ል፡ ሙ፡ ት፡ ለ፡ ገ፡ ር፡
 ሃ፡ ነ፡ ገ፡ ደ፡ ፡ አ፡ ል፡ በ፡ ድ፡ ግ፡ ግ፡
 ለ፡ ግ፡ ሕ፡ ር፡ ግ፡ በ፡ ቡ፡ ው፡ አ፡ ል፡ በ፡
 ሙ፡ ስ፡ ራ፡ ር፡ ት፡ ለ፡ ሣ፡ ህ፡ ለ፡ ት፡ እ፡
 ዘ፡ ዘ፡ ፡ አ፡ ል፡ በ፡ ር፡ ር፡ ም፡ ለ፡ ስ፡
 ፍ፡ ሐ፡ ሙ፡ ግ፡ ማ፡ ሥ፡ ቱ፡ ው፡ አ፡ ል፡
 ር፡ ው፡ ስ፡ ግ፡ ለ፡ ራ፡ ግ፡ በ፡ ም፡ ስ፡ ር፡
 ኑ፡ ፡ ሐ፡ ው፡ ር፡ ው፡ እ፡ ቱ፡ ዘ፡ ኢ፡ ይ፡
 ከ፡ ገ፡ ም፡ በ፡ ሕ፡ ሊ፡ ር፡ ም፡ በ፡ ቱ፡
 ው፡ እ፡ ቱ፡ ዘ፡ ኢ፡ ይ፡ ገ፡ ገ፡ ይ፡ ቅ፡ ም፡
 በ፡ ል፡ ቡ፡ ር፡ ፡ ነ፡ ም፡ ግ፡ ው፡ እ፡ ቱ፡
 ዘ፡ ኢ፡ ይ፡ በ፡ ድ፡ ሕ፡ ም፡ አ፡ ግ፡ ስ፡ ር፡ ት፡

MS Aeth. e. 1, f. 120 b = E §§ 1—4

[illegible]

ከዓፄ፡ አግረ ሁ፡፡ ልዑል፡
ወዎ ስህ፡ ት፡ ዘው-ከተ-ብ
ርሃኛ ት፡ የኃ፡ ጽር፡ ልዑል
ወግኑ ዝ፡ ዘበሐ ማፄ ት፡
ሃፃኛ ጸሩ፡፡ ልብክ፡ አካት
ይት አፄ ፍ፡ ወዘ፡ ጸ፡ አካት
የዓው ሂ፡፡ ወሥር ግው-
ዲ በ፡ መፃኅ-ራ-ክረ፡ እካ
ት፡፡ ወዲ በ፡ አርእስት፡
አካት፡ መፃኅ ፍ፡ ወዲ በ፡
አየር፡ ዘኢይት ግሠ፡
ሃፃኛ ጸሩ፡ ወበሐ ማፄ ፍ፡
ሁል፡ ጠፈሩ፡፡ ዘበፄ መፍ
ት፡ ሀበዓክ-ራ-ክረ፡ ወዲ
በ፡ መፃኅ ክረ-ክረ፡ ግሥ
ር፡ ፍ፡ ፍ፡ ተ፡ ወው-ከተ፡ አ
ርእስት፡ አካት፡ አለ፡ ይ
ትለአክዎ ይሠሩ፡፡ ይፄ
ፂ፤ ጽር፡ በይክነሪዎ

MS Aeth. e. l, f. 143 a = C I §§ 1-3

TABLE 16

ሆሞ፡ ለሐዋርያት፡ ን ዱልን፡ በመ
ቃጠሉ፡ መልክተ፡ ለአስከፊ-
ውይክዚደ፡ ብበር፡ አዲኸ፡ ለአለ፡
ባሪ፡ ዕርፈ፡ መስቀል፡ ቅዱስ ቅ
ዘስከር፡ ባር፡ ወቀድሻ፡ ወመሀባ፡
ዕይለ፡ በነሙ፡ ወሀብ፡ ለጉጠ
ት፡ እንተ-ሱራፈል፡ እንተ፡ ይ
ትለክኩ፡ ባሪ፡ እንተ፡ አምሳ በ፡
መለክነት፡ ቅዱሳን፡ አለ፡ ይቂ
ድሰዎቹ ነሙ፡ ን ቁመ፡ በርት፤
ወ በንጽሕ፡ ፍዶሙ፡ ቅድሙ፡ ወ
ልድከ፡ እንቴክከ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ በ
አብሐት፡ ሰፊ፡ አግብር፡ ቴክ፡ አ
ምሳ በ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡ ተቢይቀዘ
እንዳሕከ፡ ከፍፍረሄቀወበአ
ንተዝ፡ ግሰአል፡ ወናሐት በቀሪ፡
ኒሩየት፡ ወናይቲከ፡ አመፍቀ
ሬ፡ ስብአታባርካ፡ በዛቲ፡ ዕር
ፈ፡ መስቀል፡ ቅዱስ፡ እንጽሕ፡
ወመሳሪ፡ ደመከ፡ በሞ፡ ይኩ
ን፡ ንዎዩ፡ ንዱሕ፡ ወናሩየቀለ
ሱትዩ፡ ደመኖ፡ ወልድከ፡ የህድ፡
ኢዩሱስ፡ ከርሰቶስ፡ እግዚአ
ን፡ ንዱሕ፡ ወቀዱስ፡ ዘሙቱ፡ ስ
ብሐት፡ ወክብር፡ እሳፍን፡ ወሀባ

[illegible]

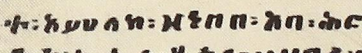
18

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B. 2

TABLE 18

[illegible][illegible]

[illegible][illegible]

ወበርኅ-ጸብ-አለ-አትሐተር
አሰመ-|| ቀድሜ ክ-ሕዝብ
አድ-ወእን ስት-አስተግ-ወሕ
ወየት-ጸያግ ል-ወመነከሳት.
ክቤራት-ወአጺ ል-ወግውታ:
ወኪያኒሂ-ጀምር-ሀይ-ወነድ
ጽ-ወርድዱ-በኃይሉ-^{ሆኑ}መላካክ
ክቲክፋክ ምክሉ-ምግባር
ክኩድ-አግሕሠን-ወውስተ
ኩሉ-ምግባር-ሠናይ-ጀም
ረኔ-በክርስቶሉ-አክርሱ
ሉ-አዞቱ-ለክ-በ-

አከውሪተ-ቁርባን-አስግኡአት
ን-በግርጌም ዳግግ ል-ወላጄ
ተ-አምላክ-አኖበበ-አበ-ሐርያ
ቅሹ-ኢሉ-ሉ-ቅሹ-አ-አሀገረ-ሐ
ህገሱ-አሎተ-ወበረከተ-የሃ
ሉ-ምስሌት-ለዓለሙ-ዓለሙ-
^{ሆኑ}ግሊህሳ-ል-ብዮ-ቃለ-ሠያዮ-
ኛ-ሠዓል-ብዮ-ቅሹ-ሠያዮ-^{ሆኑ}
ሠላ-ል-ብዮ-ቃለ-ሠያዮ-ቅሹ
ን-አዮድሱ-ቅዳሴ-ለማርያም

[illegible]

[illegible][illegible]

[illegible]

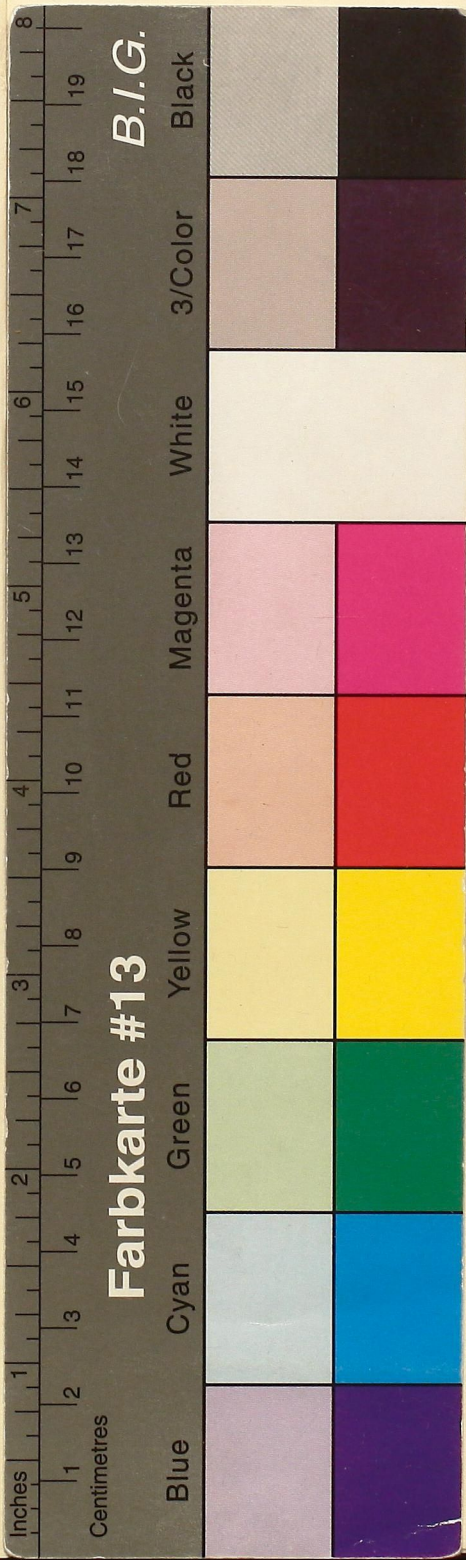
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