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INVOCATION OF HOLY SPIRIT IN ANAPHORA OF SAINT JOHN CHRYSOSTOM AND SAINT BASIL THE GREAT

„[...] there stands the priest, not bringing down fire from Heaven, but the Holy Spirit: and he makes prolonged supplication, not that some flame sent down from on high may consume the offerings, but that grace descending on the sacrifice may thereby enlighten the souls of all, and render them more refulgent than silver purified by fire. Who can despise this most awful mystery, unless he is stark mad and senseless?”¹

Aim of this paper is an analysis of epiclesis in anaphors of LitCHR and LitBAS. We try to focus on the explaining of its significance with regard to the process of historical evolution of texts from apostolic times to the appearance of the first complete patterns of worship and the release differences in the meaning of this prayer in the Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic. In the analysis of epiclesis prayer we will consider the oldest known to us now, and recently discovered, Barcelona Papyrus (P.Monts.Roca inv. 154b–157b). Written in the codex prayer anaphora is no later than the 4th century. Michael Zheltov suggests that this monument refers to a much older practice, even the beginning of the second century. As evidence he shows the terminology of prayer, which in many important areas corresponds to the “Didache” as well as of some other monuments². Researcher points out that this text is of prime importance for liturgical studies, especially of anaphora development³.

¹ JAN CHRYSOSTOM, *Dialog o kapłaństwie*, Kraków 2009, 34.

² M. ZHELTOV, *The Anaphora and the Thanksgiving Prayer from the Barcelona Papyrus: An Underestimated Testimony to the Anaphoral History in the Fourth Century*, “Vigiliae Christianae” 62 (2008), 495–496.

³ *Ibid.*, 467.

Characteristics of the epicletical prayers of anaphors of Saint Basil and Saint John will be presented from the perspective of the development of anaphora itself. To fully understand the importance of the Eucharistic prayer, in the beginning we describe the development of the Eucharistic prayer until complete separation of its classic elements, namely fragment before anaphora, anaphora itself and the communion of the Holy Gifts. Then we will show classification of the anaphora prayers together with an indication of their components. This classification will allow us to analyse one of the constituent elements of the anaphora – the prayer of epiclesis, and will show us its importance and place in the Eucharistic canon of the byzantine tradition.

1. From breaking bread to the thanksgiving anaphora prayer

Celebrated in the Orthodox Church Bloodless Sacrifice is the foundation of the community, reality and at the same time a confirmation of the mystical union of Christ and the Church – His Bride. The Eucharist was born during the Mystical Supper, as evidenced by Gospel (Matthew 26, Mark 14, Luke 22), and also The First Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians (1 Corinthians 11). Description of the Gospel provides the remembrance of this event and at the same time testimony of the liturgical practice of the disciples of Christ. Both in the descriptions of the Gospel, as well as in the Letter of Apostle Paul (1 Corinthians 11:23-29), we see the practice of breaking bread made by the apostles, wherein Apostle Luke and Apostle Paul points to an older description of the supper – more similar to the pattern of the Jewish paschal supper. According to their descriptions, during the supper Christ blessed two cups, first before meal, the second one at the end of the supper, which is analogous to the Hebrew festive dinner. Descriptions of the Apostles Mark and Matthew, mention only one cup and reflect description of the Eucharistic supper, which was celebrated by the apostles. In the Jewish scheme, prayer and blessing took place two times, before and after the meal. In the texts of the Apostles Paul and Luke, breaking (it means dividing) the bread, took place before a meal, while the prayer was recited over a cup after meals⁴. Evangelists Mark and Matthew does not mention the two chalices, also do not separate the Eucharistic prayer. In their description, Jesus Christ broke the bread not before the meal, but during it⁵. This bread was a part of left behind unleavened bread

⁴ А.П. ГОЛУБЦОВ, *Литургия в первые века христианства (I)*, „Богословский вестник” (1913) nr 7–8, 624.

⁵ See: Mathew 26:26, Mark 14:22.

called *afigomon*⁶. In this way the testimony of the New Testament shows us the apostolic Eucharist that organically evolved from Jewish thanksgiving prayers after meals (used by Jesus Christ during the Mystical Supper) into the form of an anaphora prayer.

Even in the first century, based on the testimony the Revelation of St. John, in Christian worship emergence new elements: it is performed by an apostle or bishop surrounded by priests⁷, appears an angelical glory prayer „Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God Almighty, who was and is and is to come!”⁸ (later called *Sanctus*) along with supporting presbyter’s words: „Worthy are you, our Lord and God, to receive glory and honour and power, for you created all things, and by your will they existed and were created”⁹. Eucharistic Service, already at the end of the first century, detailing two main elements – thanksgiving and commemoration (Anamnesis).

Based on the development of the ambiguous Greek term *εὐχαριστία*, which the Hebrew equivalent was term *todah*¹⁰, early Christian Eucharist achieved another fundamental feature – the principle of community. The Hebrew thanksgiving – *todah*, cannot be an individual action, but belongs to the category *Zevah shelamim*, it means is sacrifice of the community. If we analyse Scripture testimony of the Mystical Supper, including the Hebrew norms of thanksgiving, it turns out that both the Saviour instituting the Eucharist, and the apostles, who held it after His Ascension, achieved this in the community, i.e. not only in interaction with God the Father, but also in cooperation with other participants of the worship.

Acts of the Apostles complements scheme of the earliest Eucharist with prayers (cf. Acts 2:42), while further testimonies developing its celebration with another elements – reading Scripture, singing Old Testament hymns and the catechesis defined as teaching¹¹.

In the middle of the second century “Apology” of Saint Justin Martyr defines the Eucharist as a gift, or brought an offering. Especially the second term (gr. *προσφορά*), very quickly becomes the name for the entire worship. This name for the entire liturgical act, was already used by saint Irenaeus of Lyon, who called the Eucharist as “an offering” (gr. *προσφέρειν*)¹².

⁶ К. КЕРН, *Евхаристия*, Москва 1999, 12.

⁷ Revelation 4:2-4.

⁸ Revelation 4:8.

⁹ Revelation 4:11.

¹⁰ H. PAPIROCKI, *Misterium Eucharystii. Interpretacja genetyczna liturgii bizantyjskiej*, Kraków 2010, 20.

¹¹ А.П. ГОЛУБЦОВ, *Из чтений*, 18.

¹² *Ibid.*, 40.

With such a dynamic development of the Eucharistic Prayer, pretty quickly recovered its most important element, which is a direct reference to Christ's words spoken during the Mystical Supper. In this way the prayer of the anaphora is born. The aforementioned "Apology" of Saint Justin Martyr talks about the next elements of the Liturgy, in which the most important and dominant element becoming the so-called. "breaking of the bread", or anaphora, i.e. the Eucharistic Prayer. In „Apology” we can also find significant term „eucharistized”. In the anaphora text it runs: „food, which is blessed by the prayer of the Word”¹³. McKenna indicates that the meaning of this term is not clear. It could refer to a prayer to Logos, prayer for the Logos, the institution narrative or the entire Eucharistic prayer including the institution narrative. First two possibilities can lead to epiclesis prayer. “Supporters of this view appeal to the passage’s parallel with the Incarnation and to its grammatical reconstruction. In addition, they argue that second-century theology tended to attribute to the Logos what post-Nicene theology would later attribute to the Holy Spirit, and they point to fourth-century echoes of a Logos epiclesis to bolster this argument”¹⁴.

Anaphora becomes a precise term, defining the Eucharistic prayer of the priest. It begins with words of encouragement, which delivers a priest: “Let us give thanks unto the Lord”, and ends of praise of the Name and spewed by the community acceptance – “Amen”¹⁵.

In the text of saint Justin anaphora consisted of the following elements. The priest received the gifts and exclaimed the prayer in which were listed three elements: glorification, praise, and thanksgiving. Prayer was based on oral tradition and, as we can guess from the comments of the author, in large part improvised. St. Justin said that it was preached “at considerable length” and indicates, that the priest prayed “as long as he can”. In the 66th chapter of his “Apology” author explains that Eucharist is: „the food which is blessed by the prayer of His word”¹⁶. This fragment may indicate the presence of the Words of Institution¹⁷. Scheme of the St. Justin “Apology” anaphora prayer ends “amen”, joyfully expressed by everyone gathered¹⁸. This scheme has become an inspiration for all subsequent anaphors and has been preserved in the classic Antiochian anaphors.

¹³ J.H. MCKENNA, *The Eucharistic Epiclesis. A Detailed History from the Patristic to the Modern Era*, Chicago 2009, 44.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 44.

¹⁵ М. АРРАНЦ, *Евхаристия Востока и Запада*, Москва 1999, 27.

¹⁶ JUSTIN MARTYR, *The First Apology*, in: SHAFF PHILIP (ed.), *Ante-Nicene Fathers Volume I*, Grand Rapids, MI, 495.

¹⁷ В. АЛЫМОВ, *Лекции по Исторической Литургике*, Holy Trinity Orthodox School b.d., typescript, 28. Transl. M.L.

¹⁸ Н. РАПРОСКИ, *Misterium*, 26; М. АРРАНЦ, *Евхаристия Востока и Запада*, 30.

Anaphora of the „Apostolic Tradition”, attributed to saint Hippolytus of Rome, shows the development of further elements. The first is the bishop’s dialogue with the faithful, which is the introduction to the anaphora. The bishop directs to the community following words: “The Lord be with you” with the response from faithful “And with your spirit”, “Lift up your hearts” with the answer „We have them with the Lord” and „Let us give thanks to the Lord” with response „It is proper and just”¹⁹.

Anaphora of the „Apostolic Tradition” corresponds to the later classic anaphora prayers. Prayer takes place during the imposition of hands on the gifts. Hymn of praise and thanks is directed to the Father, but after first words is focused at the thanksgiving for the Saviour: „We give thanks to you God, through your beloved son Jesus Christ” and His work of Redemption. It’s not yet connected with to the angelic hymn (*Sanctus*), but leads to commemoration of the Words of Institution²⁰. Jewish thanksgiving prayer associated with the meal (supper) were complemented by commemoration of the salutary act of Jesus Christ (hbr. *zikaron*). Anamnetical part (*zikaron*) already taking form, which keep all subsequent traditions, and in which successively are: commemoration of death and Resurrection, bringing bread and wine as the *antitype*, thanksgiving and petition, communion with the Holy Spirit in Christ²¹. The last element shows distinguishable in anaphora prayer of epiclesis, i.e. an invocation of the Holy Spirit.

The Epiclesis of the „Apostolic Tradition” focuses on the supplication of the Father of the send down the Holy Spirit upon the brought gifts, and the effect of the descent of the Spirit is the unity of the faithful and the filling of the Holy Spirit, through the communion of Holy Gifts²². The Anamnesis and Epiclesis are not at the same time separated but constitute only one element²³.

The Anaphora of the „Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi” constitutes a development the schema of the „Apostolic Tradition”. The source of the document are earlier manuscripts dated to the third century, but which have been collected and compiled in the fifth century²⁴. The Anaphora was composed of one long prayer²⁵. This prayer was initially addressed to God the Father, then God the Son, and in the final part of the addressee are alternately Holy Trinity

¹⁹ HIPOLIT RZYMSKI, *Tradycja Apostolska*, in: *Antologia literatury patrystycznej*, t. I, ed. M. MICHAŁSKI, Warszawa 1975, § 3.

²⁰ X. МАТЕОС, *Развитие византийской литургии*, in: *Развитие византийской литургии*, transl. N. Vasilevich, Киев 2009, 50.

²¹ М. АРРАНЦ, *Евхаристия Востока и Запада*, 15.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ X. МАТЕОС, *Развитие византийской литургии*, 51.

²⁴ В. АЛЫМОВ, *Лекции*, 38.

²⁵ М. АРРАНЦ, *Евхаристия Востока и Запада*, 31.

and the Holy Spirit²⁶. Traditional Epiclesis, i.e. invocation of the Holy Spirit upon gifts is absent. Pray for the acceptance of Eucharistic sacrifice is directed to “the eternal Trinity”: the eternal Christ, the eternal Father and the Holy Spirit. Prayer of this type, directed to God the Father, and next ascending to the all Holy Trinity, was named by the archbishop Alexis van der Mensbrugge as an “ascending Epiclesis” (rus. *восходящий епиклесис*)²⁷. Request for acceptance of gifts is inseparably associated with their transformation (gr. *μεταβολή*, cs. *преложение*), which we can explain: Father accepts the sacrifice of the Son through the Spirit. In this manner could arise an ascending Epiclesis. The order of the remembrance of Persons of the Trinity is also unusual – Christ precedes God the Father²⁸. Pray for acceptance of gifts, instead asking for send down the Spirit, is characteristic for the Syrian tradition and the Western practice (Roman and Milanese)²⁹.

The last of the early Christian manuscripts, for which I wish to draw attention are the “Constitutions of the Holy Apostles”. There we can find the two descriptions of the Eucharistic Prayer saved in the second and in the eighth book. In the structure of worship described in the second book of the “Constitutions of the Holy Apostles” noticeable is the convergence of content of “Didascalia Apostolorum”, while the description of the eighth book corresponds to the structure of the “Apostolic Tradition”³⁰ and it’s called the „Liturgy of the Apostolic Tradition”³¹.

To summarize the first period, we have to note that the Eucharistic worship already recovered its most important element – anaphora, which already has its own characteristic, immutable attributes. It’s addressed to God the Father, and its content corresponds to Hebrew counterpart of the term “thanksgiving” becoming the prayer of the “*shelamim*” category, i.e. peace-offering. In the anaphora are clearly distinguishable main themes: thanksgiving, which is developed to the anamnetical text (hbr. *zikaron*), which is about the salutary act of Jesus Christ, followed by a prayers of epiclesis and intercession. All of these elements are continuously source of Christian anaphora and became indispensable elements of the tradition of the Orthodox Church.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 15.

²⁷ В. АЛЫМОВ, *Лекции*, 46.

²⁸ For the first time we see the order in the letter of St. Ignatius of Antioch. *Ibid.*, 47.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 47.

³⁰ М. АРРАНЦ, *Евхаристия Востока и Запада*, 32.

³¹ Liturgy is known in several editions, starting with the Ethiopian dated half of the third century. See: В. АЛЫМОВ, *Лекции*, 38.

2. The systematisation of the Anaphora Prayer

Liturgical prayers, from the third century, are beginning to be written down, which allows structuring them and juxtaposition of many of the existing parallel traditions. The fourth century is the era of codification structure of the liturgy³². The Anaphora relied on existing elements, among which are: Preface, *Sanctus*, Anamnesis, Epiclesis and Intercession. In the fourth century, all of anaphora schemes with their characteristic features have been worked by the Fathers of the Church: Saint Cyril of Jerusalem, Saint Basil the Great and Saint John Chrysostom. Of course, their efforts did not include all possible local anaphors editions³³, but closed in a unified structure all of the most important traditions. An attempt to systematize and standardize, made in the fourth century, is defined as an Antiochene synthesis. Eucharistic prayers become dogmatic treatise. Its start to creates a new structure that uses elements of praise, offerings and prayers associated with the meal (supper). A new model appears in the eighth book of “Constitutions of the Holy Apostles” and in anaphors of Saint James, Saint John Chrysostom and Saint Basil the Great³⁴. In the fourth century the most important and most common liturgies, systematised and codified by the Fathers of the Church, and then accepted by decision the Ecumenical Councils, created a group of liturgies, on which to this day based the Orthodox liturgical tradition. The earliest information about the liturgical traditions practiced has left disciple of saint John Chrysostom, Proclus, patriarch of Constantinople, who indicating that the LitCHR and LitBAS are rewritten and ordered tradition dating back to the times of the apostles³⁵. In addition to full descriptions of liturgies we find the fragments of the anaphors preserved to our times. Overall number of liturgical rites, taking into account the fragments of manuscripts, is greater than 100³⁶.

Classification of preserved prayers of anaphors was developed by Brightman and Hammond. In the manuscripts classified in terms of cultural and geographical, anaphora prayers manifested compliance within their group. In the each of the groups (Roman, Byzantine, Syrian, Egyptian), anaphora scheme was convergent and it was based on the main elements: *Preface* (P – *Praefatio*), *Sanctus* (S),

³² А.П. ГОЛУБЦОВ, *Литургия в первые века христианства (III)*, „Богословский вестник” (1913) nr 12, 779–780.

³³ Systematization of all existing anaphors was not possible due to their quantity. Today, we know of 16 liturgical rites of the Church in Ethiopia, as well as about 65 Jacobite and Maronite anaphors. В. АЛЫМОВ, *Лекции*, 58.

³⁴ М. АРРАНЦ, Ю. РУБАН, *История византийского типикона “Око церковное”. Часть I. Предвизантийская эпоха. Исторические свидетельства о молитве древних христиан (до V в.)*, Журнал “Нева,” Санкт-Петербург 2003, 26–27.

³⁵ See: И.А. КАРАБИНОВ, *Лекции по литургике. Читанные студентам (XIX) и (XX) курсов С. Петербургской Духовной Академии в 1911–1912 уч. году*, Санкт-Петербург 1912, 48–50.

³⁶ В. АЛЫМОВ, *Лекции*, 58.

Anamnesis (A), *Epiclesis* (E), *Intercession* (I). In the Syrian tradition anaphors preserved scheme: PSAEI, in the Egyptian tradition: PISAE, in the Persian: PSAIE, in the Byzantine: PSAEI³⁷. As we can see, in each schema are present all the classic elements of anaphora prayer. Prayer of epiclesis, except for the Persian tradition, occurs after an anamnetical part, which we define as the following sequence: „remembering this salutary act... – we asked”.

Among analysed by Brightman and Hammond³⁸ scheme there is not anaphora prayer, which was discovered in 1899 by A. Dmitrievskii. In the discovered on Mount Athos “Euchologion of Serapion” we find the only one prayer of the anaphora, in which epiclesis is addressed to the Son of God. In its structure anaphora prayer of the “Euchologion of Serapion” is different from the Egyptian tradition, revealing the older edition: *Preface, Sanctus, Anamnesis, Epiclesis, Intercession* (PSAEI), same as the Byzantine tradition³⁹. In the Anaphora of Serapion the text of the epiclesis reads: “May your holy Word, O God of truth, come upon this bread, so that the bread may become the body of the Word, and upon this cup, so that the cup may become the blood of truth”⁴⁰.

In all the classic prayers of the anaphora, noticeable is the presence of the epiclesis, i.e. calling of the Holy Spirit on the gifts and praying about their transformation. Besides the so-called ascending epiclesis, characteristic for the “*Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi*”, and anaphora of the Roman tradition, as well as the anaphora of the “Euchologion of Serapion” which is called Epiclesis of the Logos, in all anaphors epiclesis is based on the same pattern. All the classic byzantine epiclesis prayers are addressed to God the Father and pray Him for sending the Holy Spirit „upon us and upon these gifts here presented” and the transformation of the bread into the Body of Christ and the wine into the Blood of Christ.

3. The Epiclesis Prayer in the liturgical tradition

As already mentioned, the prayer of epiclesis, is addressed to God the Father sending a request to the Holy Spirit for the gifts. It is a prayer for the sanctification of the Eucharistic gifts.

Commentaries of the Holy Fathers about the Eucharist indicate that the epiclesis already in the fourth century was characteristic element of the anaphora.

³⁷ И.А. КАРАБИНОВ, *Лекции*, 45–46.

³⁸ F.E. BRIGHTMANN, C.E. HAMMOND, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*. Vol. I. *Eastern Liturgies*, Oxford 1896.

³⁹ В. АЛЫМОВ, *Лекции*, 85; Н. РАПРОСКИ, *Misterium*, 89–90.

⁴⁰ J.H. MCKENNA, *op. cit.*, 19.

What's more, it was such important element, that it put its emphasis on the whole prayer of the anaphora. Saint Gregory of Nyssa wrote about saint Ephraim the Syrian, that he: "not once, but many times brought down divine fire at the spiritual (gr. *λογικὴν*) sacrifice, in the likeness of great (prophet – M.L.) Elijah"⁴¹. „Scripture has taught us in many places that fire is the Holy Spirit's power"⁴². Invocation of the Holy Spirit is also confirmed by saint Cyril of Jerusalem and biographer of Saint Basil the Great, who mentions that saint Basil itself brought down the heavenly fire on the sacrifices⁴³. In the first of the „Mystagogical Catechesis” saint Cyril of Jerusalem tells about importance of epiclesis: „The bread and wine of the Eucharist before the holy invocation of the Adorable Trinity was simply bread and wine, while after the invocation (gr. *ἐπικλήσεως*) the bread becomes the body of Christ and the wine the blood of Christ"⁴⁴. In each of the above examples, the image of fire corresponds to the power of the Holy Spirit. In the ecclesiastical minds epiclesis became the culmination of anaphora prayer directly related to the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist⁴⁵.

Even in one of the oldest known prayer of the anaphora, called the Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari, we can find epiclesis. In this text, dating originally from the fourth or fifth century, epiclesis runs: “And may your Holy Spirit come and rest upon this offering of your servants and bless and sanctify it”⁴⁶. This epiclesis is far more direct than even later East-Syrian anaphors of Theodore or Nestorius, where we can read not about “your Holy Spirit” but “the grace of your Holy Spirit”⁴⁷.

Fr. Michael Zheltov in 2008 examined one of the lesser-known codex – Barcelona Papyrus (P.Monts.Roca inv. 154b–157b). It is the oldest extant manuscript containing a complete set of Christian Eucharistic prayers, conserved in their integrity⁴⁸. On the basis of comparative method father Zheltov is arguing for the 3th century, as the dating of the text of the anaphora prayer⁴⁹. We can study this prayer, based on the English translation by fr. Zheltov. In the anaph-

⁴¹ И.А. КАРАБИНОВ, *Лекции*, 112.

⁴² *Encomium of Saint Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, on His Brother Saint Basil, Archbishop of Cappadocian Caesarea*, Intro. and Transl. by sister James Aloysius Stein, Catholic University of America Press 1928, 37, 122.

⁴³ И.А. КАРАБИНОВ, *Лекции*, 112.

⁴⁴ J.H. MCKENNA, *op. cit.*, 49–50.

⁴⁵ Н. ДЕСНОВ, *Еще несколько слов об известных расхождениях между русскими и греками в литургиях святителей Василия Великого и Иоанна Златоуста*, „Богословские труды” 31 (1992), 86.

⁴⁶ J.H. MCKENNA, *op. cit.*, 31.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ M. ZHELTOV, *The Anaphora*, 467–368.

⁴⁹ More about the dating of the codex and anaphora prayer in: M. ZHELTOV, *The Anaphora*, 497–498.

ora we can clearly see a stable structure with the following elements: initial dialogue of anaphora, Preface (which includes creation narrative and Christological section), Pre-Sanctus, Sanctus, Oblation and Epiclesis, Institution narrative, Anamnesis, petition of worthy Communion (which Zheltov also called as “Epiclesis II”) and Doxology⁵⁰. Structure corresponds with the Egyptian pattern (Preface, Intercession, Sanctus, Anamnesis, Epiclesis), examined by Charles Hammond and Frank Brightmann, especially in the part: Sanctus, Epiclesis, Institution narrative⁵¹.

In this codex Epiclesis as well as all anaphora prayer is addressed directly to God the Father. Epiclesis prayer begins after the *Sanctus*, interrupted here by a short Christological Post-Sanctus, and runs: “Through Him we offer You these Your creations, the bread and the cup: we ask and beseech You to send onto them Your Holy and Comforter Spirit from Heaven, to represent them materially and to make the bread the Body of Christ and the cup the Blood of Christ, of the New Covenant”⁵². As we can see, 4th century Epiclesis is fully formed, it’s directed to God the Father as the invocation of sending Holy Spirit from Heaven and making bread the Body of Christ, and the cup the Blood of Christ. It’s then the one of the most important evidence of fully formed conception of Epiclesis in early Christian Church. This pattern corresponds to later developed prayers, known to us today. Shown by M. Zheltov as so called Epiclesis II, seems more like a petition to sanctify the communicants rather than request related with Eucharistic Gifts. In the prayer words “in sanctifying sanctify” are clearly connected with the communicants, and as we can compare with later anaphors, are an element of the final part of the Epiclesis⁵³.

Ivan Karabinov indicates that the term “epiclesis” in the first centuries of Christianity has a broader meaning. Not limited to the invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the Eucharistic gifts, it also signified in fact any invocation of the Divine Trinity. In his treatise on “On the Holy Spirit” saint Basil the Great writes in the fifteenth chapter about the sacrament of baptism, that he is made “In three immersions (in water – M.L.), then, and with three invocations (gr. *ἐπικλήσεις*)” the great mystery of baptism is performed⁵⁴.

In another place of the treaty the term “epiclesis” defines the baptismal formula: “Let no one be misled by the fact of the apostle’s frequently omitting the name of the Father and of the Holy Spirit when making mention of baptism, or

⁵⁰ M. ZHELTOV, *The Anaphora*, 493.

⁵¹ F.E. BRIGHTMANN, C.E. HAMMOND, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*. Vol. I. *Eastern Liturgies*, Oxford Clarendon Press, Oxford 1896, LXIII–LXV.

⁵² M. ZHELTOV, *The Anaphora*, 490.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 491, 494.

⁵⁴ И.А. КАРАБИНОВ, *Лекции*, 110. Transl. M.L.

on this account imagine that the invocation (gr. *τὴν ἐπίκλησιν*) of the names is not observed”⁵⁵. Saint Basil also did not indicate one specific moment of the invocation the Holy Spirit during the Liturgy. The term “epiclesis” was in fact used by him to describe the whole anaphora prayer. He detailed in fact three main Eucharistic prayers associated with gifts: prayer of proskomede (*prothesis*), after placing the holy gifts on the altar table (*proskomede*) and anaphora prayer and also epiclesis part itself.

If we analyse the LitBAS prayers, it turns out that the theme of invocation (epiclesis) of the Holy Spirit is present in both anaphora and in proskomede prayers. In the proskomede prayer, after the transfer of gifts to the altar reads: “Accept us as we draw near to Your holy altar, according to the multitude of Your mercy, that we may be worthy to offer You this spiritual sacrifice without the shedding of blood, for our sins and for the transgressions of Your people. Grant that, having accepted this sacrifice upon Your holy, heavenly, and spiritual altar as an offering of spiritual fragrance, You may in return send down upon us the grace of Your Holy Spirit”⁵⁶.

Epiclesis is not only prayer of the anaphora, but is present in all the sacraments of the Orthodox Church. This proves, according to the archimandrite Kiprian Kern that the Church liturgically confesses faith in the Holy Spirit as the sanctifying and effecting Power, so that in every sacrament anew the mystery of the Pentecost is done. “The prayer of epiclesis, as well as our whole liturgical theology is a prayerful confession of a well-known dogma of the Holy Spirit”⁵⁷.

From the oldest testimonies and comments about the epiclesis prayer, emerges one very important fact. The presence of the epiclesis, which is an important part of the Eucharistic Prayer, is not an inclusion, or a separate independent element, but is consistent with the whole prayer of the anaphora. What’s more, as a result of the development of the structure of the liturgy, this content is duplicated both before the anaphora, and in the prayers voiced after its completion. Fragments preceding anaphora, foreshadows the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the gifts, and prayers occurring after the anaphora, become an echo of the epiclesis and pray that the power of the Holy Spirit brought the community together around the Body and Blood. All this shows the Orthodox concept of the Eucharistic Prayer in which admittedly, we can analytically specify the next stages (introduction, angelic song, commemoration, epiclesis, intercession), while in no way we can make the a qualitative gradation. Orthodox theology has avoided therefore the particular indication

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* Transl. M.L.

⁵⁶ *Boska Liturgia świętego ojca naszego Bazylego Wielkiego*, Warszawa 2005, 72–73.

⁵⁷ К. КЕРН, *Евхаристия*, 165. Transl. M.L.

of the moment of sanctification, showing it throughout the whole prayer of the anaphora.

The Orthodox concept of holistic treatment of anaphora, however, was in a certain period juxtaposed with the Roman Catholic concept of words of institution which, according to the scholastic theologians, contains the secret of transubstantiation. When this concept began to seep into the Orthodox theology, caused thereby desire to search for the exact moment of transformation of the gifts, thus introducing some re-evaluation.

Many liturgists and theologians indicates that in the Roman liturgical tradition in the prayer of the anaphora cannot be identified the text of epiclesis. In the Roman canon some see a number of epiclesis type prayers. Do not focusing on this issue, I refer to two major developments – the classic book of saint Nicholas Cabasilas and contemporary studies of archimandrite Robert Taft⁵⁸. The Roman Catholic Church clearly pointed out the moment of the Consecration of the Holy Gifts, indicating there not to the Power of Holy Spirit, but on the words, it means a formula – words of institution. At the Council of Florence in 1439, pope Eugenius IV declared: “The words of the Saviour, by which He instituted this sacrament [of Eucharist – M.L.], are the form of this sacrament; for the priest speaking in the person of Christ effects this sacrament. For by the power of the very words the substance of the bread is changed into the body of Christ, and the substance of the wine into the blood”⁵⁹. In this way, the Roman Catholic Church introduced an alien to existent theology teaching, and judged position of the epiclesis prayer in the Orthodox liturgical tradition, as a later supplement and a violation of the commandments of Christ. In the Orthodox Church the words of institution are significant and important, but at the same time are only a piece of the anaphora prayer. That’s why Orthodoxy does not interpret these words to be the moment of changing holy gifts into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. Without the define of specific moment of change, orthodox theology explain that the process is perfectly completed during the anaphora prayer.

While a full analysis of these divergences has already made by archimandrite Kiprian⁶⁰, however, for our further analysis, we should even fragmentary but mention about the reaction of the Orthodox Church. In defence of the epiclesis in its orthodox meaning have written numerous authorities: Saint John of Damascus, Saint Nicholas Cabasilas, saint Simeon of Thessalonica and others. However, in the history also appeared those theologians and hierarchs who into

⁵⁸ See: Р.Ф. ТАФТ, *Статьи. II. Литургика*, Голованов, Омск 2011, 87–122; M. CABASILAS, *Komentarz Boskiej Liturgii św. Jana Chryzostoma*, transl. M. Ławreszuk, Warszawa 2009, 60–68.

⁵⁹ Quote: К. КЕРН, *Евхаристия*, 171.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 170–177.

the teaching of the Orthodox Church introduced yet strange and contradictory theories. The “Catechism” of Saint Peter Mogyla, metropolitan of Kiev, in its original Latin edition contained a typically Latin teaching about the sanctification of gifts by the words of Christ (i.e. words of institution)⁶¹. Latin doctrine appeared also in the works of: Innocent Gisel (1644), Theodosius Samsonowicz (1667), Simeon Polotsk and Sylvester Medvedev. Among the supporters of that doctrine, we can also mention Innocent Monasterski or Saint Dimitri of Rostov⁶². Such an extremely dangerous interest in scholastic Latin concept, ended only at the end of the seventeenth century, when the Council of the Moscow judged Latin doctrine about the sacramental formula and later introduced an additional point to the episcopal oath, indicating the necessity of epiclesis prayer for the transformation of the Eucharistic gifts. Unfortunately, these long-lasting disputes adversely affected on the consistency and uniqueness of anaphora prayer. Latin concept penetrated into liturgical texts, which were printed in Lvov and the south of Russia⁶³.

The issue of differences in the epiclesis prayer between the Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic, according to the archimandrite Kiprian, should be analysed as a dogmatic problem, and only later as a fact from the history of liturgics⁶⁴.

4. Epiclesis prayer in the Byzantine Liturgy

In the oldest manuscript of LitJAM, stored in the fifth catechesis of “Mystagogical Catechesis” of saint Cyril of Jerusalem († 386), been preserved only the text of the anaphora. Anaphora is not split, and the epiclesis starts immediately after the Sanctus: “[...]after sanctifying ourselves by these spiritual songs, we implore the merciful God to send forth His Holy Spirit upon the offering to make the bread the Body of Christ and the wine the Blood of Christ. For whatever the Holy Spirit touches is hallowed and changed”⁶⁵. As you can see, epiclesis has already petition of changing bread into the Body of Christ and the wine into the Blood, which has become a classic form of the Byzantine anaphors.

In the later Greek edition of the LitJAM the text of epiclesis runs: „Have mercy on us, O God, Father, Almighty One. Have mercy on us, God our Saviour. Have mercy on us, O God, according to your great mercy and send your all-Holy

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 176.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 177.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 177–178.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 165.

⁶⁵ И.А. КАРАБИНОВ, *Лекции*, 169–170; J.H. MCKENNA, *op. cit.*, 50–51.

Spirit upon us, and upon these holy gifts which we offer [...] Send your all-Holy Spirit himself, O Lord, upon us and upon these holy gifts which we offer, so that by visiting them by his holy, good and splendid presence he may sanctify them and make the bread the holy Body of Christ. Amen”⁶⁶. It starts from a series of intercessions which leads to epiclesis and to a final doxology. As we can see, immediately after epiclesis are spewed again the intercession prayers, which indicates the expected fruits of Eucharistic gifts.

LitCHR and LitBAS evolved on the basis of the older liturgical traditions and are often referred to as a Syrian-Palestinian type, thus refer to LitJAM⁶⁷. Editions of the Byzantine liturgies, preserved to our times, have not been written in the fourth century⁶⁸. The first saved edition (redakcja-wydanie) of the LitBAS comes only from the “Euchologion” Barberini gr. 336 from the 8th century. However, While we do not have the manuscripts of the fourth century liturgies, however saint John Chrysostom in his homilies and writing passes extremely valuable information in which he describes the various liturgical elements and frequently cites prayers⁶⁹.

Already in the earliest preserved anaphora of Saint John Chrysostom epiclesis is a supplicant prayer for the sending down of the Holy Spirit on the people (ecclesiastical Body of Christ) and on the gifts (Eucharistic Body of Christ). The petition is addressed directly to God the Father: „to make” (cs. *сотвори*) bread the Body of Christ, and “that which is in the cup” – Blood of Christ⁷⁰. It also indicates the form of action „changing it” (gr. *metabalon*, cs. *преложив*) and the Person by whom the Father works: „by your Holy Spirit”⁷¹. Prayer, contemporary interrupted by the dialogue between the priest and the deacon, ends with the actual summary: “So that it may become for those receiving [a source] of soberness of soul, forgiveness of sins, communion of your Holy Spirit...”⁷². These words indicate the purpose of celebrating the Eucharist and they are the logical continuations of the anaphora prayer. There are indeed their component parts.

⁶⁶ J.H. MCKENNA, *op. cit.*, 25–26.

⁶⁷ In the liturgical tradition often point to the LitBAS, as a shortened version of the LitJAM, while recognizing LitCHR as a redrafted and shortened LitBAS. This thesis is not confirmed. For LitBAS and LitCHR genius of their compilers imprinted their mark, and the similar period of their origins does not allow to talk about LitCHR as reedited LitBAS. What’s more, one of the evidence for the autonomous development of both liturgies are loanwords, which from both of these liturgies, at the end of the fourth century made Nestorius. А.П. ГОЛУБЦОВ, *Из чтений (I)*, 84; И.А. КАРАБИНОВ, *Лекции*, 128.

⁶⁸ The earliest edition of the LitBAS are: Constantinopolitan, Armenian (5th century), Alexandrian (Greek text and Coptic translation) and Jerusalem; И.А. КАРАБИНОВ, *Лекции*, 106–107.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 118.

⁷⁰ *Литургикон*, Milton 2000, 113.

⁷¹ М. АРРАЊИ, *Евхаристия Востока и Запада*, 25.

⁷² *Литургикон*, *op. cit.*, 115.

Anaphora of Saint John Chrysostom in its original edition is very close to the anaphora of the Twelve Apostles. One of the main differences is the absence of the Lord's command to "do this as a memorial", in the Chrysostom's anaphora. The Liturgy of the Twelve Apostles doesn't mention the burial of Christ, and the anamnesis is directed directly to Jesus Christ⁷³.

In saint Basil's anaphora epiclesis also is addressed to God the Father. Main goal of the epiclesis is a petition to God the Father for sending down the Holy Spirit "upon us and upon these gifts which we offer". Supplication is associated with a triple action. In the words of the prayer the priest asks God, for that: „bless them and sanctify them and make this bread the precious Body of the Lord and God and our Saviour, Jesus Christ and this cup the precious Blood of the Lord and God and our Saviour, Jesus Christ”⁷⁴.

Anaphora of Saint Basil contains a word that undermines the Latin concept of the words of the institution as a sacramental formula. In our analysis of the prayer of epiclesis and its place in the liturgy, we should briefly explain this term. The word is hidden in the prayer of epiclesis: "offering the images of the holy body and blood of your Christ, pray and call upon You, O Holy of holies"⁷⁵. Term "images" (pol. *podobieństwo*), in Greek was written as *ἀντίτυπα*, which in Church Slavonic translations is defined as *вместообразная*, as well as in the old manuscripts were written as: *подобнообразная, тождеобразная* or *образная*⁷⁶. Antitype – (from *ἀντί* – opposite and *τύπος* – pattern, model, standard) means to shown the reality, which was previously presented only by indications (gr. *τύπος*). In the Scriptures, signs and symbols existing in the Old Testament refer to the antitype, which is the reality revealed in the New Testament. Antitype is therefore not an image, symbol or a sign, but reality. In the Scriptures we can find following examples of the type and the antitype:

- Romans 5:14 – Adam „prefigured the One who was to come” namely Jesus Christ,
- Hebrews 9:24 – Jerusalem Temple, to which does not enter Christ, built by the people “which was merely a model (gr. *ἀντίτυπα*) of the real one”, which is in heaven,
- 1 Peter 3:20-21 – the ark that saved “eight souls” was the only type of washing of in the sacrament Baptism⁷⁷.

⁷³ J.H. MCKENNA, *op. cit.*, 27.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁷⁵ *Boska Liturgia świętego ojca naszego Bazylego Wielkiego, op. cit.*, 90.

⁷⁶ К. КЕРН, *Евхаристия*, 186.

⁷⁷ A. BARON, H. PIETRAS, *Konstytucje świętych apostołów [spisane] przez Klemensa*, in: *Konstytucje apostołskie oraz Kanony Pamfilosa z apostołskiego synodu w Antiochii, Prawo*

- The term „images” – *ἀντίτυπα* is located in the introduction of the saint Basil’s epiclesis, but already after the words of institution. Apparently that, for the of saint Basil the Great the sacramental transformation does not hide in the words of institution. In his anaphora we can find the following definitions of Eucharistic gifts:
 - a) “Gifts” – definition before the prayer of anaphora⁷⁸.
 - b) “A sacrifice of praise” – determine the gifts in the First Prayer of the Faithful⁷⁹.
 - c) “Images” (gr. *ἀντίτυπα*), i.e., showing the reality, previously announced, antitype of the Saviour sacrifice – in the beginning of the epiclesis prayer.
 - d) “Holy Body and Blood” – at the end of the epiclesis prayer: “And all of us who partake of the one bread and cup unite us with one another in the communion of the one, Holy Spirit and see to it that none of us partakes of the holy Body and Blood of your Christ unto judgement and punishment, but rather that we find mercy and grace with all the saints who have been pleasing to you from the beginning”⁸⁰.

Thus only after the prayer of epiclesis bread and wine are no longer called the gifts, sacrifice or images of Saviour’s sacrifice, but became “precious Body [...] and Blood of our Lord, and God, and Saviour, Jesus Christ”⁸¹.

Analysing the LitBAS and LitCHR Orthodox liturgists do not indicate for a moment of sanctification caused by sacramental formula. In each of these liturgies prayer of the anaphora, has however certain main accent, which has a sanctifying character. These words are hidden in part of epiclesis. Archimandrite Kiprian Kern says that the sanctifying words of the prayer of epiclesis, i.e. putting down proper accent, in the case of the LitCHR are the words: “and make”, while in the case of the LitBAS: “bless them and sanctify them and make”⁸².

kanoniczne świętych Apostołów, Kary świętych Apostołów dla upadłych, Euchologion Serapiona, Kraków 2007, vol. II, 2, 123, 171, 189.

⁷⁸ See: Prayer of Offering during Proskomede; „[...] Grant that, having accepted this sacrifice upon Your holy, heavenly, and spiritual altar as an offering of spiritual fragrance [...]” – Prayer of the Prothesis, after placing the divine Gifts on the holy table; prayer of the Great Entrance; *Boska Liturgia świętego ojca naszego Bazylego Wielkiego*, *op. cit.*, 30–31, 65–67, 72–74.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 61–62.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 92–93; J.H. MCKENNA, *op. cit.*, 23.

⁸¹ *Boska Liturgia świętego ojca naszego Bazylego Wielkiego*, *op. cit.*, 91.

⁸² К. КЕРН, *Евхаристия*, 193; J.H. MCKENNA, *op. cit.*, 23.

Conclusions

The development of the liturgical tradition of the first millennium, has left us a complete and consistent Eucharistic service, which is the common heritage of the Roman Catholic and the Orthodox Churches. This service, as opposed to the other prayers and rites, which also later developed autonomously within two Christian churches, points to a common, synonymous and consistent tradition. Of course, the liturgical ritual, both in the East and the West has changed, but these changes can be described as minimal. Most importantly, in the Orthodox liturgical tradition, these changes did not affect the content of the most important liturgical prayer, i.e. anaphora prayer. From the 4th century, or even earlier, in anaphora prayer we can find completely developed epiclesis, which is an invocation addressed to God the Father, as a petition of sending His Holy Spirit and sanctify Eucharistic gifts – bread and wine. On the basis of the earliest anaphors saved in manuscripts we can prove existence and importance of epiclesis. Even the later development of the liturgical tradition, doesn't change priorities of the anaphora. From historical evidences we can only find later interpolations, which add petitions or multiply thanksgivings, but not affect the meaning. For later interpolations we can include the appearance of the dialogue between the priest and the deacon after the great entrance, moving the words of institution of the Eucharistic canon: „Changing it by your Holy Spirit” (gr. *μεταβαλὼν τῷ Πνεύματί σου τῷ ἁγίῳ*, cs. *Преложу Духом Твоим Святым*) and addition of the troparia of third hour service to the anaphora prayer. These additions did not affect, however, the importance of anaphora prayer and did not change its epiclesis, which allows to indicate the permanently existing and living in the Orthodox Church apostolic rite of the breaking of bread, which in the first centuries has evolved in the rite of the Eucharistic Liturgy.

Przyzywanie Ducha Świętego w anaforach świętego Jana Chryzostoma i świętego Bazylego Wielkiego

Streszczenie

Zadaniem niniejszej pracy jest analiza modlitwy epiklezy w anaforach Liturgii św. Jana Chryzostoma i św. Bazylego Wielkiego. Tekst skupia się na wyjaśnieniu znaczenia modlitwy w odniesieniu do procesu historycznego rozwoju tekstów liturgicznych od czasów apostołskich do momentu pojawienia się pierwszych kompletnych schematów nabożeństwa. W tekście omówione zostaną rozbieżności w znaczeniu modlitwy epiklezy w Kościele prawosław-

nym i rzymskokatolickim. W efekcie przeprowadzonej analizy przedstawione zostanie znaczenie modlitwy epiklezy i jej miejsce w kanonie eucharystycznym tradycji bizantyjskiej.

Słowa kluczowe: epikleza; anafora; Boska Liturgia; liturgika; kanon eucharystyczny; św. Jan Chryzostom; św. Bazyli Wielki.

Keywords: Epiclesis; Anaphora; Divine Liturgy; Liturgics; Eucharistic Canon; Saint John Chrysostom; Saint Basil the Great.