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**COMPARATIVE LITURGY**  
**FIFTY YEARS AFTER ANTON**  
**BAUMSTARK (1872-1948)**

Rome, 25-29 September 1998

edited by

Robert F. Taft, S.J. & Gabriele Winkler



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*Anton Baumstark*

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Ugo ZANETTI (Monastère de la Sainte-Croix, Chevetogne), <i>Parallèles antiques au malke' éthiopien</i> . . . . .	997	CPG	<i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum</i> , 5 vols. ed. M. Geerard, F. Glorie (Corpus Christianorum, Turnhout 1974 ff.)
	1005	CPG Suppl.	M. Geerard et J. Noret, <i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum. Supplementum</i> (= Corpus Christianorum), Turnhout, 1998.
		CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Louvain 1903 ff.)
		CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Wien 1866 ff.)
		CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn 1828-1897)
		DACL	Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie
		Denzinger, ROC	H. Denzinger, <i>Ritus Orientalium</i> ... I, II (Würzburg 1863-1864)
		DHGE	Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastique (Paris 1912ff.)
		Dmitrievskij	A. A. Dmitrievskij, <i>Opisanie Liturgičeskich rukopisej čpravoslávščaja v bibliotekach pravoslavnogo vostoka</i> , I-II (Kiev 1895, 1901) III (Petrograd 1917)
		DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
		EL	Ephemerides Liturgicae
		EO	Échos d'Orient
		Funk I-II	F. X. Funk, <i>Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum</i> I-II (Paderborn 1905, repr. Torino 1964)
		GAL	C. Brockelmann, <i>Geschichte der arabischen Literatur</i> I (Weimar 1898) II (Berlin 1902)
		GAL2	<i>Idem</i> I-II (Leiden, 1943-1949)
		GALS	<i>Idem</i> , Supplementbände I-III (Leiden 1937, 1938, 1942)
		GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller (Leipzig/Berlin 1897 ff.)
		Goar	J. Goar, <i>Explication sive Rituale graecorum</i> (Venezia 1730 <sup>2</sup> repr. Graz 1960)
		GSL	A. Baumstark, <i>Geschichte der syrischen Literatur</i> (Bonn 1922)
		Hor	Handbuch der Orientalistik (Leiden/Köln 1952 ff.)
		HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society
		Iren	Irenikon
		JOB	Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft (1951-68); Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik (Wien 1969 ff.)
		JSSr	Journal of Semitic Studies
		JTS	The Journal of Theological Studies

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

LOC	E. Renaudot, <i>Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio</i> , 2 voll. (Frankfurt 1847)
LO	Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen
LOF	Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen, demde (Heft 32, 1957ff.) Liturgiewissenschaftliche Q. u. F.
LRKD	Literarische Rundschau für das katholische Deutschland
JSAS	The Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies
LThK <sup>1-2-3</sup>	Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche (1930, 1957, 1993)
Mansi	Johannes Dominicus Mansi, <i>Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio</i> (Firenze 1759 ff.)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica inde ab anno 500 usque ad annum 1500 (Hannover 1826 ff.)
Metzger I-III	M. Metzger, <i>Les Constitutions Apostoliques</i> , SC 320, 329, 336 (Paris 1985, 1986, 1987)
Mus	Le Muséon
OC	Oriens Christianus
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OCh	Orientalia Christiana
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
OKS	Ostkirchliche Studien
OLF	Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica
OLZ	Orientalische Literaturzeitung
OS	L'Orient Syrien
Pauly-Wissowa	Pauly's Realencyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft
Pedalion	Ἰηρόδιον ἢτοι ἱεράριος οἱ ἱεποὶ καὶ βετοῦ κωνόρος (év Ἀβήνας 1908 <sup>5</sup> )
PG	Jacobus Paulus Migne, <i>Patrologia Graeca</i> (Paris 1857-1866)
PL	Jacobus Paulus Migne, <i>Patrologia Latina</i> (Paris 1841-1864)
PO	Patrologia Orientalis (Paris 1903 ff.)
POC	Proche-Orient Chrétien
PS	Patrologia Syriaca, I-III (Paris 1897, 1907, 1927)
RByz	Reallexikon der Byzantinistik
REArm	Revue de Études Arméniennes
REB	Revue des Études Byzantines
Renaudot, HP	E. Renaudot, <i>Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum Jacobitarum</i> (Paris 1713)
Rhallis-Potlis	G. A. Rhallis et M. Potlis, <i>Ἐντάγμα τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἱερῶν κωνόρων</i> (év Ἀβήνας, 1852-1859)
RHC	Recueil des Historiens des Croisades (Paris 1864-1906)
RHE	Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique
ROC	Revue de l'Orient Chrétien
RO	Römische Quartalschrift
RSBN	Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neocellenici
RSR	Recherches de Science Religieuse
SC	Sources Chrétiennes (Paris 1941 ff.)
SH	Subsidia Hagiographica (Bruxelles 1886 ff.)
SP	Studia Patristica
ST	Studi e Testi (Città del Vaticano 1900 ff.)
SVNC	A. Mai, <i>Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio</i> , 10 voll. (Romae 1825-1838)
SynOr	J.-B. Chabot, <i>Synodicon Orientale ou Recueil des synodes nestoriens</i> (Paris 1902)
ThR	Theologische Revue
ThQ	Theologische Quartalschrift
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
VC	Vigiliae Christianae
VV	Vizantijskij Vremennik
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft

## INTRODUCTION

It was a source of great satisfaction and pleasure for us, the organizers of the 1998 International Congress *Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years after Anton Baumstark (1872-1948)*, that so many accepted our invitation to reflect on the working methods of original research in the primary sources of our discipline and its tool, the Comparative Method. The Congress attracted world renowned representatives of liturgical studies, as well as of related fields such as philology of the Christian Orient, Patristics, Church History, and Medieval Studies.

A very special and unexpected pleasure was the honored presence among us of Anton Baumstark's grandson, Dr. Reinhold Baumstark, then General Director of the National Museum in Munich, now "Generaldirektor der Bayerischen Staatsgemäldesammlungen" in that same Bavarian capital. The memories he shared with us of his famous ancestor and his active participation in the work and social interchange of the Congress provided an almost electrically palpable tone of historical immediacy and continuity that was felt and treasured by all.

We express our gratitude to the Pontifical Oriental Institute and the Centro di Studi Ezio Aletti for their hospitality in hosting our Congress and its speakers. The Centro Studi Ezio Aletti with its rich combination of Theology and Art<sup>1</sup> provided us, in a singular way, a warm atmosphere of friendly scholarly and social exchange. The Centro Aletti staff assisted the organizers of the Congress in every possible way, making an essential contribution to its success.

The Pontifical Oriental Institute itself is an institution preeminently suited to house such a Congress. Its impressive array of world renowned specialists in the study of the eastern liturgies who taught or are still teaching there — Jean-Marie Hanssens (1922-1960), Alphons Raes (1932-1971), later Prefect of the Vatican Library, Juan

<sup>1</sup> The Director and Founder of the Centro Aletti, Rev. Prof. Marko Ivan Rupnik, S.J., and his artistic équipe, have recently completed a huge project, furnishing the private Redemptoris Mater Chapel of the Papal Palace in the Vatican with mosaics: cf. M. Apa, O. Clément, C. Valenziano (eds.), *La capella «Redemptoris Mater» del Papa Giovanni Paolo II. Dono del Collegio Cardinalizio al Santo Padre in occasione del 50° anniversario dell'ordinazione sacerdotale, realizzata dall'Atelier dell'arte spirituale del Centro Aletti* (Città del Vaticano 1999). The co-editor of this volume, Gabriele Winkler, wishes to express her gratitude to Professor Rupnik and the Centro Aletti community for presenting her this magnificent volume as a gift on the occasion of the international and ecumenical *Festakt* at the Oriental Institute and Centro Aletti, on March 9, 2000.

Mateos (1958-1988), specialist in the Syriac and Byzantine rites; Louis Ligier (1962-1969) for the eucharistic anaphora and liturgical theology; William F. Macomber (1966-1974), who concentrated on the study of the Syriac and Ethiopian traditions and their manuscripts; Frans van de Paverd (1968-1987), specialist in the Greek patristic and historical sources of the liturgy especially in Late Antiquity; Miguel Arranz (since 1967) and Robert Taft (since 1970), both experts on the Byzantine rite — assured our Congress an ambience and tone of both academic seriousness, and religious and scholarly commitment to the study and practice of liturgy.

Had it not been for the Oriental Institute and these scholars<sup>2</sup> who have taught the next generation of liturgologists specializing in these and other oriental rites,<sup>3</sup> the Comparative Method might have died out with its German founder Anton Baumstark (†1948) and his disciple Hieronymus Engberding (†1969).<sup>4</sup> That so many specialists in the

<sup>2</sup> Cf. G. Winkler, "The Achievements of the Pontifical Oriental Institute in the Study of Oriental Liturgiology", in: R. Taft, J. L. Dugan (eds.), *Il 75° anniversario del Pontificio Istituto Orientale. Atti delle celebrazioni giubilari 15-17 ottobre 1992* (OCA 244, Rome 1994), 115-141.

<sup>3</sup> In more recent years one must add to the above list of Orientale professors of an earlier generation the collaboration of later professors such as Pierre Youssif, Sarhad Jammo, and Augustin Mouhanna for the Chaldean, Syrian, and Maronite liturgies, and Edward J. Kilmarin (†1994) and Cesare Giraudo for the eucharistic anaphora, the sacraments, and eucharistic and liturgical theology.

<sup>4</sup> Yet the Liturgical Section of the Oriental Institute, now served by only three full-time professors instead of the six serving the far smaller student body of our student years, is no longer what it once was in its heyday of the sixties to mid-seventies. The participation of non-Jesuits in large numbers, laypeople and clergy alike, at the Jubilee-celebrations of the 75th anniversary of the founding of the Pontifical Oriental Institute in 1993, seems to point to the direction this famous institution may have to take in the future. A new era of fruitful cooperation between Jesuits, non-Jesuits and laypeople is needed if the Orientale is to assume once more the intellectual leadership for which the Jesuits are known and esteemed throughout the world.

Something similar — albeit from a somewhat different angle — has to be said about the situation of our discipline in the German-speaking countries. If the present liturgists at the various German-speaking universities fail to integrate into their curriculum once again the systematic "Quellenforschung" which expounds the *entire* liturgical tradition, recognizing its fundamental value for the applied sciences in theology and for the intellectual exchange with other theological fields and areas beyond theology, including its inherent authority for the enhancement of the scholarly esteem of our discipline, then we should not be surprised if this discipline lapses further into insignificance and decline. For a somewhat pessimistic assessment of the present situation see the introduction to G. Winkler, *Studies in Early Christian Liturgy and its Context* (Variorum Collected Studies Series CS593, Aldershot 1977), VIII: "Whether Comparative Liturgy with its philological underpinnings will flourish once more in Germany and elsewhere, and survive at the turn to the next century, remains to be seen". See also: G. Winkler, R. Meßner, "Überlegungen zu den methodischen und

field of liturgy were able to gather for our Congress at the Orientale to reflect on some of the scholarly premises of our discipline is due, in part, to these eminent specialists in the field of liturgiology, who not only greatly enhanced our knowledge of liturgy but also brought new perspectives and renown to the discipline, just as A. Baumstark did in his day.<sup>5</sup>

And yet — despite the undeniably towering merits of that great orientalist and liturgologist — we cannot ignore some deplorable aspects in the career of one of the greatest scholars in the history of our field. But if Baumstark's well-known sympathies with the Nazi regime<sup>6</sup> tarnished our discipline, credit must be given to the perspicacity and courageous rectitude of judgement of the Benedictine monks of the Abbey of Maria Laach, who redeemed the reputation of German liturgiology for future generations of liturgical scholars by distancing themselves from Baumstark as soon as his National Socialist political leanings became known.<sup>7</sup> In this context, the foresight and sharp condemnation of Baumstark by Odo Casel, OSB, merits special acknowledgement here. We remain perplexed today how such an accomplished scholar as Baumstark — he was the then leading German expert in Semitic languages — with his vast interests and immense knowledge of various Christian cultures, and his obvious perspicacity of scholarly judgment could, on the political level, show himself so obtuse. This undoubtedly pertains to the obscurity of the human psyche, which permits intellectual prowess and generosity of mind to stand side by side with the abysses of human failure.

It must be emphasized, however, that Baumstark's political preferences never tainted his scholarly publications as such: not a single shred of evidence of his political inclinations can be found reflected in the scholarly works of A. Baumstark, something that certainly was not true of the vast number of German intellectuals of that time.

wissenschaftstheoretischen Grundlagen der Liturgiewissenschaft", *ThQ* 178 (1998), 229-243.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the eulogy for A. Baumstark by Theodor Klauser in *EL* 63 (1949), 185.

<sup>6</sup> See especially Dom E. Lanne, "Les dix leçons de Liturgie Comparée d'Anton Baumstark au Monastère d'Amay-sur-Meuse en 1932: nouveauté, mérites et limites", below in this volume; also F. S. West, *Anton Baumstark's Comparative Liturgy in its Intellectual Context* (UMI Dissertation Services, Ann Arbor 1988), 174-177; Winkler - Meßner, "Überlegungen", 232-233 with note 16; K. Aland, *Glanz und Niedergang der deutschen Universität. 50 Jahre deutscher Wissenschaftsgeschichte in Briefen an und von Hans Lietzmann (1892-1942)* (Berlin 1979), 824-828 (no. 925).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. West, *Anton Baumstark's Comparative Liturgy*, 174-175.

But Baumstark's Nazi sympathies and the political divisions they created certainly affected the field of liturgiology in indirect ways. The rupture between Baumstark and the Abbey of Maria Laach had profound repercussions felt to the present day. For it was above all the learned Benedictine monks of Maria Laach, led by the capable Abbot Ildefons Herwegen and eminent liturgical theologians like Dom Odo Casel, who had first enlisted the intellectual acumen of Baumstark influencing him to turn his attention to the liturgical evidence of the West as well.<sup>8</sup> The rupture between the Benedictines and Baumstark, not only brought to an abrupt halt the most promising and fruitful cooperation between experts of the eastern and western rites. It also rang the death-knell to a significant chapter in the history of scholarly cooperation between monastic communities and a layman on such a large scale, and induced Baumstark to concentrate his considerable intellectual energies on other areas of his vast scholarly interests.<sup>9</sup>

One can only wistfully surmise what might have become of our discipline had this most enriching scholarly exchange between the layman A. Baumstark and the Benedictine monks of Maria Laach in Germany and of Amay in Belgium lasted, allowing this great liturgologist systematically to deepen his teaching on the Comparative Method. It was not to be. A fresh start had to be made, not so much with the death of Baumstark in 1948, but with the decision of H. Engberding, Baumstark's foremost disciple, not to accept an academic position at a German Theology Faculty, but rather to remain in the monastic enclosure.

#### *Researching the Primary Sources (Quellenforschung) via the Comparative Method*

These two fateful intertwined developments: (1) the rupture in scientific collaboration between Baumstark, the then most creative and preeminent philologist and expert on the liturgical traditions of the Christian Orient, and famous experts of the western tradition like O. Casel and others in the Benedictine abbeys of Maria Laach in Germany and Amay in Belgium; and (2), the equally fateful decision of Baumstark's foremost disciple, H. Engberding, not to become part of the further dissemination of academic "Liturgiewissenschaft" (as dis-

<sup>8</sup> This is well described in *ibid.* 171-174.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 174-176.

tinct from "Pastoralliturgik"<sup>10</sup>) in German universities, may explain, to some extent at least, occasional present-day misperceptions about the possibilities and aims of "Vergleichende Liturgiewissenschaft". Specialists in western liturgy in the post-Vatican II period have concentrated their attention and goals first and foremost on the pastoral application of the decisions of the Vatican Council II, a tendency also clearly demonstrated in German university Faculties of Catholic Theology, which have determined our discipline to be exclusively a branch of "Praktische Theologie".<sup>11</sup> Though not negative *per se*, this development brought in its train, initially at least, a certain desinterest in and consequent decline of "Quellenforschung", the very foundation of the school of Comparative Liturgy.<sup>12</sup>

Fortunately, the Comparative Method of A. Baumstark and H. Engberding would be picked up in other countries, and by scholars of other orders like the Jesuits.<sup>13</sup> Especially with Juan Mateos, the then dominant figure in the Liturgical Section of the Faculty of Oriental Christian Studies at the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome, new scholarly endeavours came to life and led to a veritable new "Mateos School" of Comparative Liturgiology that took into account the philosophical underpinnings and prerequisites of our discipline already espoused by Baumstark and Engberding.

<sup>10</sup> It was Baumstark who in 1919 coined the concept of "Liturgiewissenschaft", as distinct from "Liturgik" with its more pastoral orientation. Baumstark's new concept, followed and expanded by Romano Guardini, fell like seed on fertile ground at the monastic community of Maria Laach; cf. Winkler - Meßner, "Überlegungen", 230-231.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 235: "Die Entstehung der Lehrstühle an den deutschsprachigen Universitäten: Die im deutschen Sprachraum heute anscheinend weitgehend selbstverständliche Einordnung der Liturgiewissenschaft unter die "praktisch-theologischen" Fächer ist das Ergebnis der Etablierung des Fachs an den deutschsprachigen Universitäten nach dem Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil mit der unmittelbaren Notwendigkeit, die Beschlüsse des Konzils praktisch umzusetzen. Der ursprüngliche epochale Entwurf der Liturgiewissenschaft wurde dabei jedoch fallengelassen, und an seine Stelle trat ein Fach, das zwar den von Baumstark und Guardini geprägten Namen erhielt, inhaltlich jedoch aus der alten "Liturgik" als Teilgebiet der Pastoraltheologie hervorging. Daß damit ein signifikanter Umbruch im Selbstverständnis der Liturgiewissenschaft verbunden war, ist offensichtlich weitgehend unbemerkt geblieben. Gegenstand der Liturgiewissenschaft wurde, ganz im Gegenteil zum Maria Laacher Konzept mit den großen Entwürfen R. Guardinis und A. Baumstarks, faktisch wieder, wie im 19. Jahrhundert üblich, die Liturgie, nun freilich nicht einfach die im Wandel der Zeiten vorgegebene, sondern die zu reformierende bzw. zu konzipierende Liturgie".

<sup>12</sup> Cf. second part of note 11; furthermore: R. F. Taft, "Über die Liturgiewissenschaft heute"; ThQ 177 (1997), 243-255.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Winkler, "The Achievements", 118-132.

### The Scholarly Prerequisites of "Quellenforschung"

These scholarly prerequisites as emphasized by A. Baumstark and rigorously applied by his disciple, H. Engberding, have not changed with the passing of time.

#### 1. Investigation of the Sources across the Traditions

An extensive knowledge of the sources is indispensable for the Comparative Method as envisaged by Baumstark and tangibly present in his own writings. Looking through Baumstark's many publications, one is struck by his vast knowledge of the sources of the entire Christian East. This entailed a thorough familiarity with several liturgical traditions, not just one particular rite. The editors of these *Acta* remember well the insistence their former teacher, Juan Mateos placed on this most fundamental of all principles of comparative science: *Liturgie Comparée* always implies the analysis and comparison of a variety of liturgical families.<sup>14</sup>

Though the practical significance for comparative analysis of knowing the sources of several liturgical traditions hardly needs to be emphasized, some examples may elucidate our point. None of the suggestions for reform of the Roman rite at Vatican II, such as the inclusion of a Holy-Spirit epiclesis in the eucharistic prayers, would have been thinkable without the impact made by studies in the eucharist of the various eastern traditions. Likewise it hardly needs to be stressed how important it is to see specific Roman developments<sup>15</sup> in the light of the entire tradition, East and West. The scholarly investigations by various specialists of the traditions of the Christian East create the very foundation for a fresh appraisal of local traditions, be they Roman, Constantinopolitan, or of other ecclesial provenance. Nor is this without practical fallout, for it leads almost inevitably to

<sup>14</sup> The first fruits of J. Mateos' teaching on our own publications are reflected in: R. F. Taft, "Some Notes on the Bema in the East and West Syrian Traditions", OCP 34 (1968), 326-359; id., "Toward the Origins of the Offertory Procession in the Syro-Byzantine East", OCP 36 (1970), 73-107; and G. Winkler, "Über die Kathedralvesper in den verschiedenen Riten des Ostens und Westens", ALw 16 (1974), 53-102.

<sup>15</sup> Such as the understanding of the eucharist exclusively as "sacrifice", combined with the absence of an epiclesis, the Roman emphasis on private oral confession in contrast to the testimony of communal penitential practices in the Christian East, the disjunctioning of the Liturgy of the Hours in the West and the successful fusion of cathedral and monastic elements in the Eastern traditions, etc.

new ecumenical understanding.<sup>16</sup> Needless to say, an extensive knowledge of primary sources and the familiarity with several liturgical traditions in differing cultural contexts not only tells us something about the scholarly acumen of individuals like A. Baumstark, H. Engberding and others. Such expertise also reflects favourably on our discipline as a whole in the concert of other disciplines within the academy.

#### 2. In the Original Languages

The philological prerequisites for the analysis of liturgical texts remain valid as originally stated by A. Baumstark in the following introductory remarks to the discipline of Comparative Liturgiology:

The first task in Comparative Study of the liturgical texts is of a purely philological kind.... It will be self-evident that for studies of this kind knowledge of the languages in question is very necessary, and it should be added that no one can embark on Comparative Liturgy without extensive knowledge of oriental languages....<sup>17</sup>

Anyone familiar with the many important reviews written by A. Baumstark, or with his *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, published in 1922 and unsurpassed to the present day, will be fully aware of Baumstark's expertise in Semitic and other languages of the Christian East. In this context it is interesting to note that the philologist Baumstark, like several of his followers — H. Engberding and F. Hamm, to name but his foremost disciples — obtained their doctoral degree not in Theology but in Philosophy.<sup>18</sup> This was at a time when philological skills were still highly respected and philology still had a significant part in the curricula of theology departments. Famous scholars like Hans Lietzmann also come to mind, likewise Dom Bernard Botte, who began his scholarly liturgical career as an accomplished specialist in Classical Languages and Syriac. Engberding, too, was an outstand-

<sup>16</sup> For a detailed assessment see R. Taft's extensive overview: "Anton Baumstark's Comparative Liturgy Revisited", below in this volume.

<sup>17</sup> A. Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy* (Westminster Maryland 1958) 52; French original: *Liturgie Comparée* (Chevetogne 1939 [1953]), 57-58.

<sup>18</sup> This is also true for one of the editors of these *Acta*, G. Winkler, who after two licentiates in Theology (one at the Gregorian University in the spring of 1971, the other at the Orientale in the summer of the same year) turned then entirely to study the Philology of the Christian East, obtaining her doctoral degree in Philosophy with Philology of the Christian Orient as "Hauptfach", and "Byzantinistik" and "Liturgiewissenschaft" as "Nebenfächer".

ing philologist, at ease with an impressive array of oriental languages in addition to his fundamental German classical "humanistische Ausbildung" with many years of Latin and Greek.

This investigation of all extant liturgical rites in their respective original languages constitutes, precisely, the genius of A. Baumstark: his unparalleled unified overview or "Zusammenschau" of all liturgical traditions with its inherent ecumenical dimensions (the latter often overlooked by his critics). This remains of prime significance to the present day. His observations also led him to the articulation of some of the "Gesetzmäßigkeiten" (which, it should be noted, is *not the same* as "lois" or "laws", as usually translated into French and English) in the evolution of liturgies.

### 3. In Context

Furthermore, it was Baumstark who made us aware that liturgical evolution must be seen in the larger context of cultural exchanges. Not only do the evolving structures of rituals have to be compared with one another, and individual texts of various rites investigated comparatively on the basis of a philological analysis. Historical changes, too, must be studied comparatively within their proper historical context. We would add today that the assessment and explanation of historical data are always themselves historically conditioned, a principle clearly applicable to A. Baumstark's own writings too.

### 4. Some Caveats

But Comparative Liturgy is heavy work, and neither Baumstark nor his disciples Engberding or Hamm<sup>19</sup> make for easy reading. With Baumstark the problem is first and foremost his convoluted German syntax, with its predilection for subordinate clauses within subordinate clauses, intricately meandering from the main thread of an argument into all possible sidepaths in one endless sentence of heavily laden technical German prose. The difficulty with Engberding lies above all in his formidable methodological skills, often combined with an excessive accumulation of information, all densely packed into one single sentence. With his exceedingly sharp mind Engberding employed his towering knowledge of methodology with uncanny ease.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. F. Hamm, *Die liturgischen Einsetzungsberichte im Sinne der vergleichenden Liturgiewissenschaft untersucht* (LOF 23, Münster 1928). See also the important review by H. Engberding in OC 27 (1930), 110-112.

This is especially marked in his 1931 doctoral dissertation on the various redactions of the anaphora of the Liturgy of St. Basil.<sup>20</sup> No wonder everyone speaks highly of Engberding's dissertation, while very few show evidence of having studied and understood his arguments why and how he established the two oldest groups of redactions of the Basil Anaphora: the shorter Egyptian branch and the longer  $\Omega$  branch, the latter being the source of all other recensions; and why the shorter Egyptian redactions constitute the older shape of the text than the longer extant redactions, which derive from  $\Omega$ . His methodology and philological arguments, accompanied by a formidable knowledge of all pertinent eastern sources, have maintained their validity to the present day. But the complexities of his study are further compounded by the fact that he attempted a Greek retroversion of all these oriental versions, in order to facilitate establishing, by the way of comparison, the Greek "Urtext". To study Engberding's painstaking methodology and comparisons of the various redactions of the Basil Anaphora both requires and warrants a good deal of time, more than the everyday modern student of liturgy is inclined to invest. Yet anyone truly interested in the evolution of the various recensions of this anaphora must still return to this foundational dissertation of 1931, written before most of us were born.

### 5. A Lasting Heritage

Despite all such caveats, we remain permanently indebted to scholars like A. Baumstark and H. Engberding in our present day understanding of their achievements. As was said elsewhere:

Die *Vergleichende Liturgiewissenschaft* mit ihrer Methodologie beschränkt sich weder auf die ausschließliche Darstellung der geschichtlichen Entwicklungsprozesse der östlichen und westlichen Riten noch auf deren Ursprung und Frühgeschichte, sondern durch den sorgfältigen Vergleich (1) der *Strukturen*, (2) der *Texte* auf philologischer Grundlage und (3) deren Wandel in der *Geschichte* geht sie auch den theologischen Prämissen und Implikationen bei den Veränderungen der verschiedenen Riten nach, und sie zeigt in der Aufschlüsselung der Begriffe und Wortfelder die Vernetzung zwischen den einzelnen Kulturen auf (der griechischen wie lateinischen ebenso wie die der orientalischen Kirchengemein-

<sup>20</sup> Cf. H. Engberding, *Das eucharistische Hochgebet der Basilienliturgie. Textgeschichtliche Untersuchungen und kritische Ausgabe* (Theologie des Christlichen Ostens. Texte und Untersuchungen 1, Münster 1931). Engberding's superb methodological skills and perspicacity of judgment are also evident in his review of F. Hamm's study of the *Einsetzungsberichte* cited in the previous note.



schaffen in ihrer koptischen, äthiopischen, syrischen, armenischen und georgischen Auffächerung). Somit ist die *Vergleichende Liturgiewissenschaft* nicht nur für die Liturgiegeschichte von grundsätzlicher Bedeutung, sondern auch fächerübergreifend für die Darstellung des Wandels der theologischen Prämissen in den unterschiedlichen Kulturen...<sup>21</sup>

So it seems to us that the significance and measure of scholars like A. Baumstark and H. Engberding do not lie in the correctness of each single observation and conclusion they may have derived from their investigations, but in the fruitfulness of their insights for subsequent research, above all *in the present ecumenical context*.

#### *The Continuing Significance of Philological Liturgical Analysis and its Theological Implications*

After Baumstark and Engberding, it was above all Juan Mateos of the Oriental Institute who taught us to investigate liturgical terminology philologically, through his own discussions of Syriac and Greek liturgical vocabulary, resulting in impressive *indices verborum* and extensive explanations of the meaning of liturgical terminology in the various Eastern rites, above all of Syria and Byzantium.<sup>22</sup>

No one interested in the evolution of hymnodic material, the responsories and antiphonal refrains to psalms and canticles, can prescind from J. Mateos' pioneering study of the various Greek and Syriac terms and their possible correspondences.<sup>23</sup> Helmut Leeb, then working on the meaning of Georgian rubrics referring to troparia in the Georgian Lectionary, travelled to Rome in order to make full use of Mateos' research for his own investigation of the Georgian terminology, at that time still shrouded in obscurity.<sup>24</sup>

Investigations by philologists, far from operating on the margins of our discipline, have also revolutionized our understanding of the rites of initiation, the eucharist, and the evolution of the creeds in the

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Winkler – Meßner, "Überlegungen", 240-241.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. J. Mateos, *Lévy-Sapra. Essai d'interprétation des mains chaldéennes* (OCA 156, Rome 1959; 2nd edition: *Les offices chaldéens de la nuit et du matin* (OCA 156, Rome 1976), 485-502; "Glossaire des termes liturgiques"; id., *Le Typicon de la Grande Église. Ms. Saini-Croix n° 40, X<sup>e</sup> siècle. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes II* (OCA 166, Rome 1963), 279-329; "Index liturgique".

<sup>23</sup> Cf. J. Mateos, *La célébration de la parole dans la liturgie byzantine. Étude historique* (OCA 191, Rome 1971), 7-26; "La psalmodie: ses genres".

<sup>24</sup> Cf. H. Leeb, *Die Gesänge im Gemetadogotiedienst von Jerusalem* (vom 5. bis 8. Jahrhundert) (Wiener Beiträge zur Theologie 28, Vienna 1970).

Christian East, to name but a few examples. In recent decades it was Sebastian P. Brock of Oxford, in particular, who turned his attention to the Syriac terms of the initiation rites and eucharist, initially via his investigation of the epiclesis in the Antiochene baptismal *ordines*,<sup>25</sup> that led to path-breaking publications. Brock presented his findings at the *Symposium Syriacum*, organized by Ignacio Ortiz de Urbina at the Oriental Institute in 1972, and in its *Acta* published in 1974 in the Orientale's prestigious series, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 197, where his paper lay dormant, ignored by most liturgists for nearly twenty years.<sup>26</sup>

Brock's epoch-making study on the history of the epiclesis, based on a philological analysis of the vocabulary, was followed by numerous other publications in which he scrutinized liturgical terminology and imagery, in particular of the eucharist and initiation rites.<sup>27</sup> These philological studies have revolutionized our understanding not only of

<sup>25</sup> Cf. S. P. Brock, "The Epiclesis in the Antiochene Baptismal *Ordines*", in: *Symposium Syriacum* 1972: (OCA 197, Rome 1974), 183-218.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. G. Winkler, "Nochmals zu den Anfängen der Epiklese und des Sanctus im Eucharistischen Hochgebet", ThQ 174 (1994), 214-231; eadem, "Weitere Beobachtungen zur frühen Epiklese (den Doxologien und dem Sanctus). Über die Bedeutung der Apokryphen für die Erforschung der Entwicklung der Riten", OC 80 (1996), 177-200.

<sup>27</sup> From the numerous contributions by S. P. Brock one should single out: *The Holy Spirit in the Syrian Baptismal Tradition* (The Syrian Churches Series 9, Poona 1979); "Baptismal Themes in the Writings of Jacob of Serugh", in: *Symposium Syriacum 1976* (OCA 205, Rome 1978), 325-347; "Studies in the Early History of the Syrian Orthodox Baptismal Liturgy", JTS 23 (1972), 16-64; "The Syrian Baptismal Ordines (with Special Reference to the Anointings)", *Studia Liturgica* 12 (1977), 177-183; "The Transition to a Post-Baptismal Anointing in the Antiochene Rite", in: B. D. Spinks (ed.), *The Sacrifice of Praise. Studies on the Themes of Thanksgiving and Redemption in the Central Prayers of the Eucharist and Baptismal Liturgies in Honour of A. H. Couratin* (BELS 19, Rome 1981), 215-225; "The Thrice-Holy Hymn in the Liturgy", *Sobornost* 7 (1985), 24-34; "Passover, Annunciation and Epiclesis: Some Remarks on the Term *aggen* in the Syriac Versions of Lk. I: 35", *Novum Testamentum* 24 (1982), 222-233; "Magganziā: A Technical Term in East Syrian Spirituality and its Background", in: *Mélanges Antoine Guillaumont. Contributions à l'étude des Christianismes Orientaux* (Geneva 1988), 121-129; "From Annunciation to Pentecost: the Travels of a Technical Term", in: *Εὐδοκίμια. Studies in Honor of Robert Taft* (Studia Anselmiana 110 = *Analecta liturgica* 17, Rome 1993), 71-91; "The *Ruḥā* *Elōhīm* of Gen 1.2 and its Reception History in the Syriac Tradition", in: J.-M. Auwers, A. Wénin (eds.), *Lectures et relectures de la bible. Festschrift P.-M. Boer* (Bibl. Eph. Theol. Lovaniensium 144, Louvain 1999), 327-349; "Towards a Typology of the Epiclesis in the West Syrian Anaphoras", in: H.-J. Feulner, E. Velkovska, R. F. Taft (eds.), *Crossroad of Cultures. Studies in Liturgy and Patristics in Honor of Gabriele Winkler* (OCA 260, Rome: PIO 2000) 173-189; "Invocations to the Holy Spirit in Syriac Liturgical Texts: Some Comparative Approaches" (below in this volume); in addition see: "L'arrière-plan du mot *hūssāwā*", in: *Péché et Réconciliation. Painsine Syriaque. Actes du colloque IV* (Antelias 1996), 161-167.

Syriac liturgy but our perception of Syria as a whole, a key area whose significance for the entire Christian East can hardly be overestimated.

Gabriele Winkler pointed this out in several philological studies of liturgical terminology of the Syriac, Armenian, and lately also Georgian liturgical evidence, investigating particularly the relationship of the Armenian liturgical practices with the Syrian patrimony. Following in the footsteps of her teachers in Comparative Liturgy in Rome and in the philology of the Christian East in Oxford, Winkler compared the Greek, Syriac, and Armenian terminology in the context of the baptismal liturgies, giving particular attention to the anoinings before and after baptism,<sup>28</sup> as well as to the Armenian, Greek and Georgian vocabulary in connection with the responsories and troparia to psalms and canticles, including the troparia which accompany several liturgical actions like the Great Entrance.<sup>29</sup> More recently she has turned also to investigations of the vocabulary for the "oblation/sacrifice" in the Syriac, Armenian, Greek, and Georgian anaphoras.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Cf. G. Winkler, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale. Entwicklungsgeschichtliche und liturgievergleichende Untersuchung der Quellen des 3. bis 10. Jahrhunderts* (OCA 217, Rome 1982); eadem, "The Original Meaning of the Prebaptismal Anointing and its Implications", *Worship* 52 (1978), 24-45 — a study of the Armenian, Syriac and Greek terminology, reprinted in: M. E. Johnson (ed.), *Living Water, Sealing Spirit. Readings on Christian Initiation* (Collegeville 1995), 58-81; eadem, *Studies in Early Christian Liturgy and its Context* (Variorum Collected Studies Series CS539, Aldershot 1997).

<sup>29</sup> I addition to the last entry in the previous note, see also G. Winkler, "The Armenian Night Office II: The Unit of Psalmody, Canticles, and Hymns with Particular Emphasis on the Origins and Early Evolution of Armenia's Hymnography", *REArm* 17 (1983), 471-551; eadem, "Ungelöste Fragen im Zusammenhang mit den liturgischen Gebräuchen in Jerusalem", *Handes Amasorya* 101 (1987), 303-315; eadem, "Nochmals das armenische Nachhoffizium und weitere Anmerkungen zum Myrophorenoffizium", *REArm* 21 (1988-89), 501-519; eadem, "Das theologische Formelgut über den Schöpfer, das *epouonios*, die Inkarnation und Menschwerdung in den georgischen Troparien des *Iadgari* im Spiegel der christlich-orientalistischen Quellen", *OC* 84 (2000) 117-177; eadem, Über den Ursprung und die Anfänge des Sanctus und sein Fortwirken (OCA 2002), here part II: ("Über die Bedeutung von Is 6,3 in den östlichen Liturgien und das Troparion zum Einzug mit den Gaben").

<sup>30</sup> Cf. G. Winkler, "Zur Erforschung orientalistischer Anaphoren in liturgievergleichender Sicht I: Anmerkungen zur Oratio post Sanctus und Anamnese bis Epiklese", *OCP* 63 (1997), 363-420; eadem, "Ein Beispiel liturgievergleichender Untersuchung. Philologische und strukturelle Anmerkungen zur Erforschung der Anamnese in den westlichen und östlichen Riten", *ThO* 177 (1997), 293-305; eadem, "Zur Erforschung orientalistischer Anaphoren in liturgievergleichender Sicht III: Der Hinweis auf «die Gaben» bzw. «das Opfer» bei der Epiklese", in: A. Gerhards – K. Richter (Hrsg.), *Das Opfer. Biblischer Anspruch und liturgische Feier* (Quaestiones Disputatae 186, Freiburg im B./Basel/Wien); eadem, "Über die Bedeutung einiger liturgischer Begriffe im

These investigations illustrate what was recently said in another publication:

Einer der methodischen Grundsätze der Vergleichenden Liturgiewissenschaft ist es, die vielfältigen Formen und religiösen Anschauungen, wie sie in großer Mannigfaltigkeit bei den östlichen Riten greifbar werden, nicht von außen und durch der jeweiligen Tradition fremde Begriffe zu erfassen, sondern sie aus dem eigenen Sprachgebrauch und mit den von ihnen geschaffenen Begriffen aufzuschlüsseln und sprechen zu lassen.<sup>31</sup>

In this context it seems, however, that we have implicitly and quietly modified A. Baumstark's and H. Engberding's original philological approach. Baumstark, seconded by H. Engberding, still reasoned "that no one can embark on Comparative Liturgy without an extensive knowledge of Oriental languages" because they help us "to reconstitute the primitive form of an original Greek text".<sup>32</sup> Though this is undoubtedly true, nowadays philological inquiries are no longer restricted to reconstituting a Greek original. No longer do we study texts as was done at the time of Baumstark and Engberding, with the chief aim of establishing a Greek "Urtext". Today, rather, one seeks to follow the developments of various branches of a text via its specific vocabulary imbedded in the process of cultural differentiation. We want to know today what vocabulary was used, let us say, by the Greeks, Syrians and Armenians to express important liturgical and doctrinal issues, how they are interrelated, and what translation techniques the various regions of the Christian Orient employed in order to render, for example, a Greek text. In this regard, too, several important publications by S. Brock have to be singled out.<sup>33</sup>

georgischen Lektionar und Iadgari sowie im armenischen Ritus", *Studi sull'Oriente Cristiano* 4 (2000) 133-154.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Winkler – Meßner, "Überlegungen", 240-241.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy*, 52-53 (emphasis added).

<sup>33</sup> Cf. S. P. Brock, "From Antagonism to Assimilation: Syriac Attitudes to Greek Learning" in: N. Garsolian, Th. F. Mathews, R. W. Thomson (eds.), *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period* (Washington 1982), 17-34; id., "Some Aspects of Greek Words in Syriac" in: A. Dietrich (ed.), *Synkretismus im syrisch-persischen Kulturgebiet* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen 96, Göttingen 1975), 80-108; see in addition further references below in the following note.

*Current Liturgical-Doctrinal Research Based on Philological Analysis*

This research has opened new avenues of investigation of various credal statements and symbols of faith across the spectrum of the entire Christian East, studies which again were inaugurated by philologists engaged in liturgical and patristic studies. Once again such studies, far from being superfluous or operating only at the fringes of our discipline, have significantly contributed to our knowledge of the varied liturgical practices of the Christian East, while at the same time laying new foundations and perspectives for the ongoing ecumenical dialogue. For the creeds, an integral part of the early baptismal rites, and from the sixth century onward of the eucharistic rites too, are first and foremost liturgical sources, and consequently, in that liturgical context, also important witnesses for "Dogmengeschichte".

Furthermore, an objective philological analysis of crucial technical terms, unencumbered by preconceived ideas and confessional value judgments, can bring to light the enormous variety, depth and richness of the heritage of the various Eastern Churches. This leads to a renewed and deepened appreciation of the diverse cultural and religious patrimones of the Christian Orient, which should be considered in their own context and appreciated in their own right, no longer perceived through Eurocentric views and parameters alone. Here once more, S. Brock has paved the way, particularly with his important overview on the influence of Eusebius in how we view Church History,<sup>34</sup> as well as by pointing out misnomers deeply ingrained in our perceptions of the Christian Orient.<sup>35</sup>

Already Bernd M. Weischer had contributed significantly to our knowledge of the Ethiopian evidence by pointing out the importance of the Ethiopian witness for the ongoing research on the Nicene creed.<sup>36</sup> Yet it was particularly the early Syriac testimony which at-

<sup>34</sup> Cf. S. P. Brock, "Eusebius and Syriac Christianity", in: H. A. Attridge, Gohei Hata (eds.), *Eusebius, Christianity, and Judaism* (Detroit 1992), 212-234; id., "The Church of the East in the Sasanian Empire up to the Sixth Century and its Absence from the Councils of the Roman Empire", *Pro Oriente. Syriac Dialogue 1* (Vienna 1994), 69-86, where he states on p. 70: "Eusebius' model of Church History has had an insidious influence on his successors, ancient and modern, encouraging the emergence of the excessively Eurocentric view of Church History that is generally current today..."

<sup>35</sup> Cf. S. P. Brock, "The 'Nestorian' Church: a Lamentable Misnomer", *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester (The Church of the East: Life and Thought) 78* (1996), 23-35.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. B. M. Weischer, "Die ursprüngliche nikanische Form des ersten Glaubenssymbols im Ankyrōtos des Epiphianos von Salamis. Ein Beitrag zur Diskussion um die

tracted several world-class patristic scholars and philologists, such as Jean Gribomont, and above all Sebastian Brock and the late regretted André de Halleux, and led to entirely new insights into the early shape of the Syriac creeds, their evolution, and their meaning.<sup>37</sup> The new findings concerning the Syriac formulations about the relationship of the Son with the Father, and the initially widespread clothing metaphors as a means to express the mystery of the Incarnation, have revolutionized our understanding of early theological thought-patterns. Subsequently, during the fifth and sixth century christological controversies, these pristine paraphrastic tendencies underwent a slow process of shifts in translation techniques via the coining of neologisms crafted to conform more closely to the Greek models. That this adaptation process of rendering more closely the Greek vocabulary by coining neologisms was by no means restricted to Syria but had spread to the entire Christian East, was then shown by subsequent investigations into the Armenian<sup>38</sup>, Georgian<sup>39</sup>, and Ethiopian evidence.<sup>40</sup>

Entstehung des konstantinopolitanischen Glaubenssymbols im Lichte neuester äthiopischer Forschungen", *Theologie und Philosophie* 53 (1978), 407-414; id., *Orientalis IV: Traktate des Epiphianos von Zypern und des Proklos von Kyzikos* (Äthiopische Forschungen 6, Wiesbaden 1979).

<sup>37</sup> Cf. J. Gribomont, "Le symbole de foi de Séleucie-Ctésiphon (410)", in: R. H. Fischer (ed.), *A Tribute to A. Vööbus* (Chicago 1977), 283-294; id., "La catéchèse de Sévère d'Antioche et le Credo", *Parole de l'Orient* 6-7 (1975-76), 125-158; A. de Halleux, "Le symbole des évêques perses au synode de Séleucie-Ctésiphone (410)", in: G. Wiessner (ed.), *Erkenntnis und Meinungen II* (Göttinger Orientforschungen I/7, Wiesbaden 1978), 161-190; id., "La Philoxénienne du symbole", in: *Symposium Syriacum 1976* (OCA 205, Rome 1978), 295-315; id., "La falsification du symbole de Chalcedoine dans le *synodicon nestorien*", in: *Mélanges offerts à Jean Dauvillier* (Toulouse 1979), 375-384; id., "La deuxième lettre de Philoxène aux monastères du Beit Gaugali", *Mus* 96 (1983), 5-79; S. P. Brock, "The Christology of the Church of the East in the Synods of the Fifth to Early Seventh Centuries: Preliminary Considerations and Materials", in: *Aksum-Thyateira. A Festschrift for Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira and Great Britain* (Athens 1985), 125-142; id., "The Church of the East in the Sasanian Empire up to the Sixth Century and its Absence from the Councils in the Roman Empire", *Syriac Dialogue 1* (Pro Oriente, Vienna 1994), 69-86; id., "Clothing Metaphors as a Means of Theological Expression in Syriac Tradition", in: M. Schmidt, C. F. Geyer (eds.), *Typus, Symbol, Allegorie bei den östlichen Kirchenvätern und ihre Parallelen im Mittelalter* (Eichstätter Beiträge 4, Regensburg 1982), 11-38.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Winkler, *Über die Entwicklungsgeschichte des armenischen Symbolums. Ein Vergleich mit dem syrischen und griechischen Formelgut unter Einbezug der relevanten georgischen und äthiopischen Quellen* (OCA 262, Rome 2000); eadem, "Ein Beitrag zum armenischen, syrischen und griechischen Sprachgebrauch bei den Aussagen über die Inkarnation in den frühen Symbolzitate", in: H. Ch. Brennecke, E. L. Grasmück, Ch. Marksches (eds.), *Logos. Festschrift für Luise Abramowski* (Beihfte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 67, Berlin/New

Moreover, it was demonstrated that the respective oriental baptismal creeds, influenced by several formulas of the Nicene or Niceno-Constantinopolitan creed, had also shaped various central parts of the anaphora, such as the oratio post Sanctus; the anamnesis, sections of the epiclesis, and also the sequence of the anaphoral intercessions, first for the dead, then for the living.<sup>41</sup> This has been shown, in fact, in one of the contributions at this Congress, which took up the observations made by H. Engberding and combined them with our present knowledge of the formation of the oriental creeds, drawing out new insights as to how the various redactions of the Anaphora of Basil are possibly related with one another, and how doctrinal shifts left their mark on the shape and content of the anaphoras.<sup>42</sup>

It should be obvious then, that philological skills are not only indispensable for our trade, but comprise a formidable tool for resolving questions of cultural and theological exchange, including the evolution of various central parts of the liturgy. Thus Baumstark's insistence on knowing the languages of the Christian East, and Engberding's skillful application of philological considerations in his research, are by no means superceded relics of the past, but can lead to new theological insights that could very likely contribute to enhanced ecumenical understanding.

So one can only welcome the fact that these philological endeavors are being resumed and continued by the younger generation of liturgists, a work that shows considerable promise.<sup>43</sup> The upcoming

York 1993), 499-510; eadem, "Armenian Anaphoras and Creeds: A Brief Overview of Works in Progress", in: R. F. Taft (ed.), *The Armenian Christian Tradition. Scholarly Symposium in Honor of the Visit to the Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome, of his Holiness Karekin I, Supreme Patriarch and Catholicos of All Armenians, Dec. 12, 1996* (OCA 254, Rome 1997), 41-55.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. G. Winkler, *Über die Entwicklungsgeschichte* (previous note); eadem, "Das theologische Formelgut über den Schöpfer, das *ουνοτοκος*, die Inkarnation und Menschwerdung in den georgischen Troparien des *Iadgari* im Spiegel der christlich-orientalischen Quellen", OC 84 (2000) 117-177.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. G. Winkler, *Über die Entwicklungsgeschichte* (note 38 above); eadem, "Zur Erforschung orientalischer Anaphoren in liturgievergleichender Sicht II" (below in this vol.).

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Winkler, "Zur Erforschung orientalischer Anaphoren II" (below in this vol.); eadem, *Über die Entwicklungsgeschichte*.

<sup>42</sup> See G. Winkler, "Zur Erforschung orientalischer Anaphoren II" below in this volume.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. H.-J. Feulner, "Zu den Editionen orientalischer Anaphoren", in: H.-J. Feulner, E. Velkova, R. F. Taft S.J. (eds.), *Crossroad of Cultures*, 251-282; E. Renhart, "Zu einem Gebetseinschub in der jüngeren Redaktion der Basiliananaphora", *ibid.* 591-601; id., "Hieronymus Engberding und seine Analyse der anaphorischen Fürbittegebete.

generation of liturgiologists are integrating once more an extensive study of languages into liturgical dissertation proposals,<sup>44</sup> with the result that their investigations, rooted in the primary sources in their original languages, will be able to carry the considerable weight of scholarly seriousness.

#### *Baumstark après Baumstark*

But just as there is a "Byzance après Byzance", continued in post-Byzantine cultures and churches of the Byzantine heritage long after the Fall of Byzantium in 1453, so too, contemporary exploitation of Baumstark's heritage has not stood still nor been limited to this continued fruitful use of his philological-textual analysis principles. It is not surprising, then, that one of Baumstark's still useful adages, that "Die Entwicklung der Liturgie nur aus Sonderentwicklungen besteht (The development of the liturgy is but a series of individual developments)", has been exploited by contemporary liturgy in ways Baumstark himself had not foreseen. As Robert Taft shows in his paper in these *Acta*, research has verified time and again that what Baumstark held for texts is also true of liturgical structures: they do not always evolve homogeneously as integral units. Larger unities of both texts and structures can each have its own Form- and Redaktionsgeschichte independent of the rest. Though Baumstark applied this principle to "liturgical units" in the sense of a *complete rituale*<sup>45</sup> — the ritual of baptism, of marriage — it is in fact the *individual components* of such rituals to which Baumstark's principle is best applied.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Kritische Bemerkungen zur angewandten Methode" (below in this vol.); see in addition the interesting contributions of A. Budde: "Einsetzungsbericht und Heiligensbitte der ägyptischen Basilios-Anaphora: Zur Sonderstellung der bohairischen Version", in: S. Emmel, M. Krause, et al. (eds.), *Ägypten und Nubien in spätantiker und christlicher Zeit* (Sprachen und Kulturen des Chr. Orients VII/1, Wiesbaden 1999), 465-485; id., "Wie findet man ägyptisches Heimatgut. Der ägyptische Ursprung der Basilios-Anaphora in der Diskussion" (below in this vol.); moreover M. D. Findikyan, "The Multiplication of Propers in the Armenian Liturgy of the Hours and Baumstark's Law of the Preservation of Ancient Liturgical Material" (below in this vol.).

<sup>45</sup> Cf. H.-J. Feulner, *Die armenische Athanasius-Anaphora. Kritische Edition, Übersetzung und Liturgievergleichender Kommentar* (Anaphorae Orientales 1 = Anaphorae Armeniacae 1, Rome 2001); see also his prize-winning essay below in this vol.: "Das anaphorische Fürbittegebet und die Diptrychen nach der kritischen Edition der armenischen Athanasius-Anaphora".

<sup>46</sup> Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy*, 31.

<sup>47</sup> See e.g., R. F. Taft, *Beyond East and West. Problems in Liturgical Understanding*. Second revised and enlarged edition (Rome 1997) chapters 10-11.

a classic instance is the Byzantine communion psalmody, as Taft shows in his most recent book.<sup>47</sup>

Again, Baumstark showed how simple liturgical actions give rise, at a later stage, to the creation of liturgical prayers to "explain" them.<sup>48</sup> Pursuing this further has shown how rites once of practical import acquire symbolic meanings. This "law of the collapse and symbolization of the redundant" is no more than a refinement and application of Baumstark's seminal observation that the innate conservatism of ritual leads to the continued survival of liturgical units long after they have ceased to fulfill the purpose for which they were originally meant.<sup>49</sup> This law has also been expanded and refined into a valuable interpretative tool extending far beyond Baumstark's limited formulation and application of the principle.

Further, Hamm's "law" concerning the homogenizing of texts via the exchange of epithets,<sup>50</sup> has also been shown operative with respect to complete liturgical formularies and to ritual actions.<sup>51</sup> And the well-known rule in the critical editing of texts that the *lectio difficilior* is to be preferred, has been successfully applied to euchological formulas in their entirety.<sup>52</sup>

Nuancing of Baumstark's view of how liturgies grow has shown that new liturgical growth generally occurs at what Taft has called the "soft points" of existing liturgical structures, those places ripe for growth, such as the beginning and end of liturgical services, or at their structural seams, especially places where in the primitive liturgy there was an action without words.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>47</sup> R. F. Taft, *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, vol. V: *The Precon-munion Rites* (OCA 261, Rome 2000) chapter VI.

<sup>48</sup> Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy*, 136.

<sup>49</sup> See Taft, "Baumstark's Comparative Liturgy Revisited", below in these *Acta*.

<sup>50</sup> See Hamm, *Einsatzungsberichte*.

<sup>51</sup> H. Engberding, "Die Angleichung der byzantinischen Chrysostomuliturgie an die byzantinische Basilusliturgie," OKS 13 (1964) 105-122; and Taft, "Baumstark's Comparative Liturgy," below in these *Acta*.

<sup>52</sup> R. F. Taft, *The Preconunion Rites*, chapter IV; id., "The Inclination Prayer before Communion in the Byzantine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom," *Ecclesia orans* 3 (1986) 29-60.

<sup>53</sup> See Taft, *Beyond East and West*, chapter 11, esp. pp. 204-5. This "law" has been applied and developed in the doctoral dissertation of Taft's student Gregor Hanke OSB, *Vesper und Orthros des Kathedrastritus der Hagia Sophia zu Konstantinopel. Strukturanalyse und Entwicklungsgeschichte unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Psalmodie* (Theologische Hochschule Sankt-Georgen, Frankfurt am Main, in preparation), chapter 2: "Die Methodologie der Arbeit im Kontext des Forschungsstandes zum Asmatikos."

Finally, to the paradoxical nature of Baumstark's "laws," one can add a codicil-paradox. Local churches of the periphery, far from the home-center of liturgical diffusion, tend to hold onto older liturgical practices long after they have been abandoned by the Mother Church, while at the same time, paradoxically, one can find at the periphery instances of liturgical creativity not found in the source-tradition.<sup>54</sup>

All this shows that Baumstark's "laws" are heuristic principles, not infallible *a priori* to be followed blindly, but aids in formulating hypotheses for the interpretation of data. That, at least, was the teaching imparted in the "Mateos School" of eastern liturgy at the Pontifical Oriental Institute.<sup>55</sup> While Mateos taught his students to recognize their debt to Anton Baumstark, he always maintained a certain critical distance from Baumstark's approach, nuancing, improving, even, where necessary, correcting it. For no so-called "laws" can ever be a substitute for research. On the contrary, hermeneutical principles are not the starting point; they stand rather at the end of a long process of research, analysis, synthesis, and subsequent conclusions. Only then do they become interpretative presumptions for proceeding from the known to the unknown, which is at the basis of all human reasoning.

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So the method of comparative liturgy to which Anton Baumstark gave theoretical formulation and which he popularized<sup>56</sup> has, in our view, stood the test of time, showing itself to be not only useful but indispensable for the history of liturgy. The question is not, was every single one of Baumstark's principles, or every use he made of them, one hundred percent correct, but what can we derive from his insights? What we derive from them is a way of working and thinking that remains valid to the present day. That the solution to some problems in liturgical history and interpretation is simply impossible except through the methods of comparative liturgy has time and

<sup>54</sup> Examples in Taft, *Great Entrance*, 77-78, 172-73, 177, 254-56, 392-95; id., "A Proper Offertory Chant for Easter in some Slavonic Manuscripts," OCP 36 (1970) 437-448.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. G. Winkler, "The Achievements of the Oriental Institute in the Study of Oriental Liturgiology," in R. F. Taft, J. L. Dugan (eds.) *Il 75° Anniversario del Pontificio Istituto Orientale. Atti delle celebrazioni giubilari, 15-17 ottobre 1992* (OCA 244, Rome 1994) 115-141.

<sup>56</sup> Especially in A. Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden der Liturgie* (Ecclesia Orans 10, Freiburg/B 1923), and id., *Comparative Liturgy*.

again been proven beyond cavil. When all is said and done, what is important is what works. As no less a liturgical scholar than Dom Bernard Botte affirmed in his "Foreword" to Baumstark's *Comparative Liturgy*, "A method is to be judged by its results. The method here employed has proved its competence...."<sup>57</sup> Nothing has surfaced in the years since Anton Baumstark to shake this judgement, which is why we decided to organize this Congress to reaffirm the Baumstark heritage of Comparative Liturgy, of which we are a part and which we wish to foster.

That does not mean, however, that we pretend Comparative Liturgy can accomplish every task in the study of liturgy. Comparative liturgy is a philological and historical discipline. In Baumstark's words, the vocation of the historian of liturgy is "to investigate and describe the origins and variations of the changing forms of this enduring substance of eternal value" that is "the living heart of the Church."<sup>58</sup> For Baumstark's very expressions, "this enduring substance of eternal value" and "the living heart of the Church," refer to what stands at the very core of text and history: they are, after all, the prayers of the Churches, and thus mirror the very life of those Churches, to which liturgy is both expression and witness.

And so the Congress planners took great care to invite important representatives from other areas of liturgical studies, those interested first and foremost in the theological and pastoral aspects of our discipline. For our firm belief in a multifaceted approach to liturgical studies is already on record.<sup>59</sup> This many-faceted approach has provided us with a diversified set of fascinating scholarly contributions, which we have grouped below into the following six categories:

- I. *Anton Baumstark, the Man and his Œuvre* (with contributions of R. Baumstark, the grandson of A. Baumstark, and H. Kaufhold, E. Lanne, and F. West);
- II. *Baumstark's Method of Comparative Liturgy Reconsidered* (R. Taft, P. De Clerck, A. M. Triacca, B. D. Spinks);
- III. *Baumstark's and Engberding's Method of Comparative Liturgy Applied* (Ch. Renoux, H. Brakmann, S. Brock, G. Winkler, S. Janeras, C. Giraud);

<sup>57</sup> Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy*, viii.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-2.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. G. Winkler (ed.), *Die Liturgiewissenschaft heute. Unterschiedliche Zugänge* (ThQ 177, 1997): esp. Taft, "Über die Liturgiewissenschaft heute" (note 12 above), 243-255; id., "Anton Baumstark's Comparative Liturgy Revisited" (below in this vol.); Winkler - Meßner, "Überlegungen" (note 4 above).

IV. *Church Orders, an Unresolved Problem of Comparative Liturgy: A Panel Discussion* (Ch. Marksches, M. Metzger, P. F. Bradshaw);

V. *The Baumstark Prize-Winning Essay* (H.-J. Feulner);

VI. *Communications*, with many exceedingly valuable contributions (presented in alphabetical order).

Our only regret is that we did not tape and then summarize for publication the many interesting and high-level scholarly discussions that followed the papers. They formed an integral and very important part of this International Congress. That leaves us something to improve for the next time.

What certainly could not be improved upon, however, was the superb spirit of international and ecumenical fellowship and scholarly exchange, and the frequent occasions for social interaction, with the renewal of old acquaintances and friendships, the making of new contacts, and the burgeoning of new friendships. For this we are grateful for the collaboration of all participants, especially our invited speakers, our various research and student assistants of Tübingen and Rome, and above all the then Oriental Institute Rector Gilles Pelland, S.J., who arranged the financing of the Congress, his successor Rector Hector Vall Vilardell, S.J., who opened the Congress as the first official act of his rectorate, the secretarial staffs of Tübingen and Rome, the administrative and custodial staffs of the Pontifical Oriental Institute, and for the hospitality so marvellously provided by the members of the Centro di Studi Ezio Aletti, thereby greatly enhancing the fellowship and success of this Congress. Finally, we are indebted to Cavaliere Pierluigi Hassemer of the Ente Provinciale di Turismo di Roma who provided materials on Rome for the Congress participants.

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