

ORIENTALIA CHRISTIANA ANALECTA
N. 200

THE GREAT ENTRANCE

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200

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THE GREAT ENTRANCE

A History of the Transfer of Gifts and other Pre-anaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom



PONT. INSTITUTUM STUDIORUM ORIENTALIU

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TO MY MOTHER,

AND TO THE MEMORY OF MY FATHER

P R E F A C E

*"Quae [scientia] ad finem caritatis adhibita
multum est utilis . . ."* (Augustine, *Ep.* 55, 39).

The history of liturgy is the story of a people at prayer, expressing in worship its peculiar cultural incarnation of the common faith. For the forms of worship are the product of a religious culture and spirit, the unique way that a particular faith community perceives, lives, and celebrates its Christian life. If liturgy is the most perfect religious expression of the soul that animates each tradition, a proper understanding of liturgy demands an understanding and sympathy for the genius and temperament, the ethos from which the liturgy springs.

The liturgiologist studies but one limited manifestation of this history: the concrete way in which the many forces — cultural, social, theological or whatever — that produce liturgical change are reflected in the concrete evolution of liturgical texts and rites. His task is painstaking, often frustrating, but experience especially in recent times has amply demonstrated its importance. Only by a meticulous study of the evidence provided by the extant documents does the student of liturgy control with hard facts the flights of fancy he might otherwise be tempted to allow himself. It is of little use, for example, to seek the historical forces that led to the disappearance of the offertory procession of the faithful in the Byzantine mass when patient research shows there never was one in the first place. Broader theological and liturgical reflection on more sweeping areas of liturgical history may be more important, but it must follow the patient discovery and clarification of the facts upon which one is to reflect. Since this initial, basic research is far from done with respect to the Byzantine liturgical tradition, we undertook this study in the hope of accomplishing at least a small part of this task.

Although this is basically a study in liturgical history, our interest is not with the past. Like those who would be Scribes in the Kingdom, the scholar at the service of the Church must be "like a householder who can produce from his store both new

things and old" (Mt 13:52). So in attempting to record accurately the voice of the past the author hopes that this study may serve a pastoral aim for the future. All liturgies undergo change and reform. To reform does not mean to return to the usages of the past. But the past provides us with the indispensable knowledge of what function each part of the liturgy originally served and how it got to what it is today. In short, to reform, it helps to understand what one is reforming. But even before the day of reform arrives, we hope that this study will help those whose spiritual life is fed by this liturgy to a truer understanding of their own tradition. With that in mind we offer it as a service to the Churches of the Byzantine tradition, that it may help them to know better and love more the glorious heritage that is theirs.

The author wishes to express his deep gratitude to the superiors of the New England Province of the Society of Jesus who gave him the opportunity and support necessary to write this study, to his many professors past and present, especially those of the Liturgical Section of the Oriental Sciences Faculty of the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome, who provided him with the training that made this work possible, and to the friends who sustained and advised him during the often arduous process that this study involved. Without their constant support and encouragement this book would be much worse than it is.

It is impossible to name them all, but a special word of thanks to James H. McCarthy, a friend and colleague of many years, who patiently endured hours of boredom listening to endless accounts of the author's research; to Gabriele Winkler, friend and fellow liturgiologist, for her encouragement and many valuable suggestions; to William F. Macomber, who saved the author from many a careless error or inaccuracy of detail by his careful reading of the first draft; and to Thomas F. Mathews, whose friendship and constant sharing of ideas in his specialty, the relation between Byzantine liturgy and church architecture, was an example of interdisciplinary collaboration that is unfortunately altogether too rare. Above all, thanks are due to Juan Mateos, S.J., who had sufficient confidence in the author to hand over to him this second part of his projected history of the Byzantine mass, and who directed the research, correcting the author's mistakes and pointing out lines of investigation from his vast erudition. At the end of his history of the Byzantine Liturgy of the Word, he had the generosity to make the following remarks:

Voici terminée notre étude sur l'évolution historique de la Liturgie de la Parole dans l'Eglise byzantine. Un de nos élèves, Robert Taft, S. J. est en train d'élaborer une étude semblable pour la Liturgie Eucharistique. Nous sommes sûrs que les mérites de la deuxième partie ne seront en rien inférieurs à ceux de la première, *si quae sunt*. (*Célébration*, p. 173).

With this volume we present the first part of that projected study, though we are realistic enough not to pretend that it can equal the work of J. Mateos, who in Ghazir, Lebanon, in the summer of 1957, first inspired the author with the idea of devoting his life to studying the liturgies of the East. May these pages at least not cause him to regret that.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

(For abbreviations of MS codes, see the chronological list of MSS at the end of the volume)

ALW	= <i>Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft</i>
BAS	= Byzantine Liturgy of St. Basil
BZ	= <i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CHR	= Byzantine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom
CSCO	= <i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i>
CSEL	= <i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i>
CSHB	= <i>Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae</i>
DACL	= <i>Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie</i>
EL	= <i>Ephemerides Liturgicae</i>
GCS	= <i>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte</i>
JAS	= Greek Liturgy of St. James
JLW	= <i>Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft</i>
JTS	= <i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LMD	= <i>La Maison-Dieu</i>
LThK	= <i>Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche</i>
MARK, MK	= Alexandrine Greek Liturgy of St. Mark
Mu	= <i>Le Muséon</i>
OC	= <i>Oriens Christianus</i>
OCA	= <i>Orientalia Christiana Analecta</i>
OCP	= <i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
OrSyr	= <i>L'Orient Syrien</i>
OS	= <i>Ostkirchliche Studien</i>
PETER	= Greek Liturgy of St. Peter
PG	= Migne, <i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
PIOS	= Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, Rome
PL	= Migne, <i>Patrologia Latina</i>
PO	= <i>Patrologia Orientalis</i>
POC	= <i>Proche-Orient Chrétien</i>
PRES	= Byzantine Liturgy of the Presanctified
REB	= <i>Revue des Études Byzantines</i>
SC	= <i>Sources Chrétiennes</i>
Tr	= <i>Traditio</i>
ZkTh	= <i>Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie</i>

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INTRODUCTION

Our century has seen an enormous increase of interest in Christian worship: its history, its spirit, the need for its reform. In the West this phenomenon, generally known as "the liturgical movement", has stimulated and in turn been stimulated by a veritable avalanche of editions of sources, collections, periodicals scientific and pastoral, dictionaries, monographs — in short, popular and scholarly studies of every imaginable sort. For the Roman mass this effort reached a peak in the great work of Joseph A. Jungmann, S. J.: *Missarum Sollemnia*, a complete and scholarly history of the Roman Mass.

Until recently, however, no such study was ever attempted for the second most commonly celebrated eucharistic liturgy in Christendom, the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. In fact such an attempt would have been fruitless. For the Oriental liturgiologist who undertakes such a work of synthesis finds himself impeded at every turn by a lack of the most basic instruments of research: critically edited primary sources, to say nothing of trustworthy, modern monographs on particular questions. Suffice it to note by way of example that we are still waiting for a complete edition of our oldest Byzantine euchology, the 8th century codex *Barberini 336*, although a critical edition is now being prepared under the competent editorship of A. Jacob.

But in recent years two key works have provided the necessary tools with which at least an initial attempt can be made to compose a serious history of the Byzantine mass: the 10th century *Typicon of the Great Church* edited by J. Mateos, S. J.¹ and the studies of A. Jacob on the historical evolution of the Greek formula of CHR.² The *typicon* has been one of the indispensable fonts for the editor, J. Mateos', own recently completed history of the Byzantine Liturgy of the Word.³ In the following study

¹ MATEOS, *Typicon*. We refer the reader to the *List* on pp. xiii-xxii for complete data on the works mentioned in the Introduction.

² JACOB, *Formulaire*; also, *Tradition*.

³ MATEOS, *Célébration*.

we take up where Mateos left off, and try to describe the historical evolution of the first part of the eucharistic liturgy from the Great Entrance to the anaphora, a work we hope some day to complete with a study of the rest of the liturgy. But without the work of Jacob, our research in the MSS of the Byzantine euchology would have been frustrated. Previously no serious attempt had ever been made to list, date and catalogue — never mind describe — the available euchology MSS and most important versions and editions of CHR in anything but the most incomplete and at times haphazard fashion. With the completion of his dissertation, Jacob has filled this lacuna.

Previous Studies

The state of things being such, it is not surprising that the already mentioned study of Mateos is the only reliable scientific work that explains the origins and evolution of a substantial part of the Byzantine mass. Mandalà did a similar work for the prothesis some years ago, but this needs to be redone on the basis of recent discoveries.⁴ Dom Placide de Meester is the first one to have written a study of the whole of CHR. In 1908 he published in *XPYCOCTOMIKA* a lengthy article entitled "*Les origines et les développements du texte grec de la liturgie de S. Jean Chrysostome.*" De Meester's study was a laudable effort. However, it was based not only on insufficient sources, but on an inadequate use of them. The mere absence of the 10th century typicon edited by Mateos rendered any complete reconstruction of the Liturgy of the Word impossible.

In 1924 de Meester wrote another study of the Byzantine mass in the article *Grecques (liturgies)* in the *DACL* (VI², 1591-1662). The article includes some historical background, a description of contemporary usage, and material from the non-Greek Byzantine sources. But in the style of its genre it summarizes the state of our knowledge at the time of writing rather than attempting a new synthesis based on yet unused sources. Two more recent studies by M. M. Solovey, O. S. B. M.⁵ and C. Kucharek⁶ are not abreast of the best modern research. Neither offers anything new on the subject matter under study here, though they

⁴ MANDALÀ, *La protesi.*

⁵ *Božestvenna liturgija* (= *Analecta OSBM, Opera XX*) Rome, 1964 (English translation: SOLOVEY, *The Byzantine Divine Liturgy*).

⁶ *Byzantine-Slav Liturgy.*

do make accessible much material previously available only in Slavic sources. Also Petrovskij's earlier, rather undigested description of the vagaries of the Slavonic version of CHR has provided useful data from the Slavic MSS.⁷

On particular points of the liturgy we must mention our debt to the various studies of A. Strittmatter, O. S. B., E. Lanne, O. S. B., H. Engberding, O. S. B., Sebastia Janeras, A. Jacob, A. Raes, S. J. and J. Mateos, S. J. Their writings have contributed greatly to our knowledge of the Byzantine mass. In particular, as will be seen in our description of the sources and in the chapters on the *Nemo dignus* prayer, *orate fratres*, and proskomide prayer, we are indebted to the works of Jacob, Lanne, Raes and Mateos on these topics.

Hanssens' encyclopedic *Institutiones liturgicae de ritibus orientalibus* has much valuable information, especially regarding the patristic and historical references to the liturgy, and the descriptions of contemporary local usages. For the pre-euchology history of the liturgy, F. van de Pavverd's *Zur Geschichte der Messliturgie in Antiocheia und Konstantinople gegen Ende des vierten Jahrhunderts*, has finally given us a reconstruction of the liturgy in the homilies of Chrysostom that does not confuse Antiochene and Constantinopolitan sources. In studying the Byzantine liturgical commentaries we have depended on the excellent study of René Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins de la divine liturgie du VII^e au XV^e siècle*. Bornert has done for the commentaries what Jacob did for the euchology, ordering and dating the sources, tracing their fonts, disentangling their *Urtext* from later additions, and locating the commentaries within the larger tradition of allied literature. To Bornert's study can be added H.-J. Schulz, *Die byzantinische Liturgie*, a study of the liturgical symbolism in the Byzantine commentaries.

For the *locus liturgicus*, essential to any history of the liturgy but often ignored or inadequately treated, we have the study of Thomas Mathews: *The Early Churches of Constantinople*. Dr. Mathews' locating of the skeuophylakion and retracing of the route of the Great Entrance in Hagia Sophia provided a crucial link for our understanding of the literary sources concerning this rite.

⁷ PETROVSKIJ, *Rédaction slave.*

The Scope of This Work

The task we have set ourselves in this study is to describe, on the basis of primary sources, the development of the manner in which the liturgical rite of the Chrysostom liturgy was actually performed. Hence we shall study the concrete liturgical celebration in all its aspects, textual as well as ceremonial, insofar as is necessary to trace the concrete historical path taken by the visible rite in its progress from primitive simplicity to the complexity of its present shape. It is, then, to what G. Dix calls the "shape of the liturgy" that we address ourselves. Neither a critical edition of the liturgical texts nor an analysis of the theology expressed therein is intended.

Although we limit our study to CHR, the liturgy of BAS differs from CHR in the text but not in the *déroulement* of the celebration itself. So we will adduce complementary evidence from the sources of BAS whenever we feel it helpful to our proposed end.

Since all non-Greek versions of CHR are derivative, our study is concerned primarily with Greek sources, the versions in other languages being used only as secondary indications of some original Greek source, or as illustrative of local usages. Until the MS tradition of these versions has been studied systematically, little more can be gained from an examination of these fonts.

Chronologically our study is limited to Greek CHR from the earliest Byzantine liturgical sources until the *editio princeps* of Doucas, Rome, 1526.⁸ This date is somewhat arbitrary; we select it for convenience. Actually, the fall of Constantinople in 1453 put an end to liturgical development in the eastern regions of the Byzantine world; on the other hand there are regions such as Athos and Southern Italy where MSS continued to be copied and used, and local usages survived, long after the appearance of the printed editions.⁹ But the printed editions eventually won out, and our contemporary liturgy is the same as that of the *editio princeps* except for minor details.

⁸ We call this the *editio princeps* as is customary, although apparently another edition, no longer to be found anywhere, came out the same year in Venice. Cf. STRIPTMATTER, *Synapte*, pp. 75-76; RAES, *Les livres liturgiques grecs publiés à Venise*, in *Mélanges Tisserant III* (= *Studi e testi* 233), Città del Vaticano, 1964, p. 211.

⁹ JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 14-15. The Italian tradition remained uninfluenced by the diataxis of Philotheus (see below, section 4), and the Italo-Greek *editio princeps*, Rome, 1601, remains faithful to Calabrian usages (*ibid.*, pp. 426, 466).

The Sources

The primary sources of our study, both edited and unedited, are fivefold: 1) published texts; 2) euchology MSS; 3) other liturgical books (typica, lectionaries, diataxeis); 4) liturgical commentaries; 5) and liturgical information contained in patristic, historical and canonical sources.

1. *Published Sources of the Byzantine Liturgies*

We have already complained of the meagre published sources available. But this should not be taken as a condemnation of the past. Much was in fact accomplished by scholars working under conditions almost unimaginable in this age of easy travel and microfilm. This can be seen from the various editions and translations of Byzantine liturgical sources from the 16th century on.¹⁰ We will limit ourselves here to listing those sources we have used — i. e. generally those that witness to the liturgy anterior to the *editio princeps* of 1526.

a) *Ancient Translations:*

One of our most important primary sources for the rite of the Great Church is a Latin version of BAS from a MS once kept in the monastery of Johannisberg in the Rheingau-Gebirge on the Rhein below Mainz, and probably lost when the monastery burned at the beginning of the last century.¹¹ The Latin translation was published in the 16th century *Liturgia S. Basilii* of Witzel (Mainz, 1546) in Cochlaeus' *Speculum antiquae devotionis circa missam* (Mainz, 1549), again by Witzel in 1555, and was later included in the well-known collection of Jean de Saint-André printed by Morel in Paris (1560).¹² We do not know the date of the translation, but it presents a pontifical liturgy of the Great Church that goes back to at least the 10th century, and is closely related to BAS of *Codex Pyromalus* published by Goar.¹³ A critical edition of this version is being prepared by A. Jacob.

Another important Latin version, this time of CHR, is the *Divina ac sacra liturgia sancti Ioannis Chrysostomi. Interprete Ambrosio Pelargo Niddano. Ordinis Praedicatorum* (Worms, 1541).¹⁴

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-11.

¹¹ LEW, p. lxxxiv.

¹² Cf. *loc. cit.*; JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 7 ff, *Otrante*, pp. 52-3.

¹³ Cf. *loc. cit.* and JACOB, *Concélébration*, p. 252, note.

¹⁴ We are grateful to Msgr. Dr. Klaus Gamber of the Liturgiewissen-

Ambrose Pelargus (Storch), preacher and professor in Trier and delegate at the Colloquium of Worms in 1540,¹⁵ recounts how he used his spare time at Worms to translate a codex he had found in Trier containing, among other things, CHR.¹⁶ The MS is now lost, but according to Pelargus it was brought to Trier by the Greek monk Symeon, and we have no reason for doubting this tradition.¹⁷

Symeon, born in Syracuse, grew up and was educated at Constantinople, where he was sent as a child of seven, then went to Palestine where he eventually became a deacon and monk.¹⁸ On a journey to Europe in 1026-28 he became acquainted with Archbishop Poppo of Trier, whom he accompanied on pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1028, returning with him to Trier in 1030, where he lived as a recluse in his cell in the Porta Nigra until his death June 1, 1035. Since the whole of St. Symeon's adult life was spent in the Holy Land, the lost *Codex Sancti Simeonis* of Pelargus must be a Palestinian MS anterior to 1030.¹⁹

Pelargus' edition of his version of CHR from this codex, along with 82 "scholia" comparing the MS with other sources of CHR at his disposal,²⁰ has been called by Jacob our "first example of a scientific edition of a liturgical text."²¹ Its greatest merit has been in preserving for us the *Codex Sancti Simeonis*, our earliest datable witness to the new Constantinopolitan recension of CHR.²²

In the following century during the reign of Manuel I Comnenus (1143-1180), Leo Tuscan of Pisa, translator of the imperial chancellery, also put CHR into Latin at the request of Raymond of

schaftliches Institut, Regensburg, for providing us with a photocopy of this work from the collection of the Regensburg Schottenbibliothek, now located in the Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek of that city, under pressmark *Liturg.* 279. On this version see JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 264-277; STRITTMATTER, *Missa Treverensis*.

¹⁵ On Pelargus cf. STRITTMATTER, *Missa Treverensis*, p. 508, n. 39; A. WALZ, *Pelargus*, *LThK* 8, 251-252.

¹⁶ *Liturgia*, f. A2v.

¹⁷ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁸ On Symeon, cf. *Acta Sanctorum*, Junii, I, pp. 87-107; G. DENNIS, *Simeon of Syracuse*, *St. New Catholic Encyclopedia* 13, pp. 218-219. H. RIES, *Simeon v. Trier*, *LThK* 9, 762-763; PÉTIN, *Dictionnaire hagiographique* II, Paris, 1850, 1024.

¹⁹ JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 268. This codex is not to be confused with the still extant lectionary also brought by Symeon to Trier (RIES, *Simeon*, 762).

²⁰ *Liturgia*, ff. E1v-F2r.

²¹ JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 265.

²² Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 264.

Montcada, a Catalan nobleman in Constantinople on a mission circa 1173.²³ From the names in the diptychs of this version, Jacob has dated the original Greek text between 1173-1178.²⁴ As a result of the new critical edition of Jacob, the version of Tuscan is now a secure source for the liturgy of Constantinople. For our purposes it has been especially valuable because of the rubrical detail it has incorporated from an ancient diataxis.²⁵

From the Italian branch of the Byzantine tradition during this period we have the anonymous translation of BAS and CHR published by Strittmatter from the 12th century codex *Paris Nouv. acq. lat. 1791*,²⁶ and the version of BAS made in 1174/8-1198 by Nicholas of Otranto († 1235), higoumen of St. Nicholas of Casole, and recently edited by Jacob.²⁷ In the same study Jacob has also edited the Otrantan revision of Tuscan's version from the codex *Karlsruhe Ettenheimmünster 6* (13th century), important for the differences it reveals between Constantinopolitan and Italo-Greek — or at least Otrantan — usages at that time.²⁸

b) Collections:

The first true collection of sources for the Greek liturgies is the already mentioned *Liturgiae siue Missae Sanctorum Patrum* of Canon Jean de Saint-André, printed by Morel in Paris in 1560. It includes BAS, CHR, the *editio princeps* of JAS, and several Latin versions, including that of Leo Tuscan from codex *Paris lat. 1002* and the Johannisberg version of BAS.²⁹ A century later, also in Paris (1647), appeared what is still one of the most valuable collections of Byzantine liturgical sources, the *Εὐχολόγιον siue Rituale Graecorum* of the French Dominican Jacques Goar. A second edition appeared at Venice in 1730. Most important for our purposes are Goar's edition of the diataxis of *Paris Gr. 2509*, CHR from *Grottaferrata Gb III* (= *Codex Basilii Falascae*), and especially BAS from a now lost codex brought from Patmos by the deacon Isidore Pyromalus (= *Codex Pyromalus*). As we already mentioned, this 11th century source of BAS in the rite of the Great Church is very closely related to the Latin version of Johannisberg.

²³ JACOB, *Toscan*, pp. 112-113, *Tradition*, pp. 131-132.

²⁴ *Toscan*, pp. 112-114.

²⁵ Cf. section 4 below.

²⁶ STRITTMATTER, *Missa Graecorum*.

²⁷ JACOB, *Otrante*.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 83-107; cf. JACOB, *Tradition*, p. 135.

²⁹ Cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 7-8, *Toscan*, pp. 118-120.

In modern times we have the well-known collections of the English liturgists Hammond, Swainson and Brightman, and of the Russians Krasnosel'cev, Dmitrievskij, Muretov, Gorskij and Nevostruev. Swainson has preserved for us readings from the now lost codex *Burdett-Coutts III, 42*. Brightman's *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (1896) provides what is still the most handy edition of CHR and BAS from *Barberini 336*. Krasnosel'cev's *Svedenijsa* and *Materialy* contain, among other things, an edition of the important codices *Leningrad 226* and *Sevastianov 474*, and of several diataxeis. Dmitrievskij's *Opisanie liturgičeskich rukopisej* provides an edition or description of many valuable MSS, especially from the Sinai collection. Muretov's *K materialam* also gives some Greek sources but is more concerned with the Slavic MSS. And the *Opisanie slavjanskich rukopisej* of Nevostruev and Gorskij has valuable — if incomplete — descriptions of the Liturgy in the Slavonic MSS from the collection of the Library of the Holy Synod in Moscow.²⁹

c) *Other Published Sources:*

Two other works must also be mentioned, I. M. Orlov's *Liturgija sv. Vasilija Velikago*, an edition of Greek and Slavic BAS based on MSS in Russia, and M. P. Trempelas' edition of CHR, BAS and PRES from the Athenian MSS. These editions provide considerable information on the MSS used in their preparation. However, both works are based mostly on late sources and combine readings of different MSS in a way that often makes it impossible for the reader to make head or tail of the structure of the liturgy in any one MS, or of its chronological development in any one period.

To these one can add the editions of various other individual sources: Isaac Habert's *APXIEPATIKON: Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Graecae* (Paris, 1643), our first edition, with version and commentary, of Gemistos' archieratikon or pontifical of the Great Church;³¹ Bacha's Arabic version of CHR;³² Armenian CHR edited by Cattergian and Dashian³³ and translated into Italian by Aucher,³⁴ the Georgian versions of CHR edited and translated by

²⁹ NEVOSTRUEV-GORSKIJ, III, 1. This collection is now found in the State Historical Museum (GIM), Moscow.

³¹ On the archieratikon see section 4 below.

³² BACHA, *Versions arabes*.

³³ CATERGIAN-DASHIAN, pp. 353-384.

³⁴ AUCHER, *Versione armena*.

Tarchnišvili³⁵ and Jacob;³⁶ and Engdahl's edition of CHR, BAS, and other matters from codex *Karlsruhe Ettenheimmünster 6*.

2. *Manuscripts of the Liturgy*

a) *The MS Tradition According to A. Jacob:*

Jacob has compiled the most complete list of all the known extant MSS of CHR anterior to the 16th century as well as some later codices employed by him in his research — 249 in all.³⁷ For our present study we have utilized as many of these MSS as time and other conditions have permitted. In addition to the MSS edited in the printed sources already cited, we have studied MSS of CHR found in Rome, Grottaferrata, Modena, Parma, Milan, Munich, Geneva, Paris, London and Oxford, as well as all the pertinent Sinai, Jerusalem, and Anthonite codices contained in the microfilm collection of the Library of Congress, Washington D. C.³⁸ In general we have attempted to use enough source material from each tradition and each historical period to provide a secure basis for our conclusions. Needless to say, however, it was impossible to study every extant source.

For the dating and classification of these MSS we have depended completely on Jacob. One great merit of his research into the formulary of CHR is that for the first time we now possess a grouping of the MSS into three clearly defined recensions: the ancient Italo-Greek recension, the ancient Constantinopolitan recension, and the new Constantinopolitan recension.

According to Jacob's classification, the ancient recension of CHR is characterized by the fact that CHR follows BAS in the euchology and is in most cases incomplete.³⁹ The celebrant re-

³⁵ *Liturgias ibericas*.

³⁶ *Versio georgianna*.

³⁷ *Formulaire*, pp. 509-588.

³⁸ Cf. K. W. CLARK, *Checklist of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the Greek and Armenian Patriarchates in Jerusalem, microfilmed for the Library of Congress, 1949-1950*, Washington, 1953; ID., *Checklist of manuscripts in St. Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai, microfilmed for the Library of Congress, 1950*, Washington, 1952; E. SAUNDERS, *A Descriptive Checklist of Selected Manuscripts in the Monasteries of Mount Athos, microfilmed for the Library of Congress and the International Greek New Testament Project, together with listings of photoreproductions of other Manuscripts in the Monasteries of Mount Athos*, prepared by Harvard University, etc. Washington, 1957.

³⁹ On the ancient recension of CHR, see JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 60-252; *Tradition*, pp. 114-128, 137.

ferred to the complete formulary of BAS for the prayers common to both liturgies. What distinguishes the ancient Italo-Greek recension from the ancient Constantinopolitan is that in the former, various lacunae in the incomplete formulary of CHR are filled with prayers of Oriental origin, e. g. the prayers of the prothesis, introit, Trisagion and some others, depending on the MS.⁴⁰ In both ancient recensions the most significant point for the part of the liturgy under study here is the simplicity of the rite: the only presbyteral formula at the Great Entrance is the proskomide prayer.

Eventually, at the turn of the 10-11th century, CHR took over first place from BAS as the principal liturgy of the Great Church and, consequently, as first liturgy in the euchology, with a complete formulary of its own, the former missing prayers being supplied from BAS.⁴¹ This new Constantinopolitan recension was also characterized by certain new readings in the text of the anaphora and in the formulation of certain titles and rubrics.⁴² By the end of the 11th century it had imposed itself throughout the whole Byzantine world.⁴³ But the growth of the text did not stop completely, and so in various areas secondary formulae are multiplied and — what is more important for us — rubrics appear in conformity with local usage.

b) Rubrical Information in the Euchologies:

Because of the distribution of roles in liturgical celebration, and because of the obvious problems involved in MS copying, the formulary of the liturgy in the earliest Byzantine euchologies is relatively sparse when compared with the text of our printed editions. Originally, the various elements comprising any complete mass formulary — presbyteral prayers, diakonika (i. e. litanies and other formulae assigned to the deacon), etc. — were copied separately in MSS destined for either presbyter or deacon, and not all grouped together in one complete text destined for all. Thus the deacon's part was contained in the diakonikon,⁴⁴ the priest's prayers were gathered in another book (or at least in another part of

⁴⁰ JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 63-196, 207-208, 499 ff; *Tradition*, pp. 114 ff, 137-138.

⁴¹ JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 52 ff, 254, 499 ff, and *passim* throughout.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 476 ff, 493 ff.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 499-503; JACOB, *Tradition*, p. 138.

⁴⁴ Diakonika are found, for example, in codices *Barberini 336* (cf. STRITTMATTER, *Barberinum*, nos. 124, 134, 163, 176, 180, 184, 188, 212, 249, 271, 272, 276, 313, 314, 315) and *Sinai Gr. 1040* (DMITRIEVSKIJ II, pp. 127-135).

the euchology anthology), and rubrics and well-known short formulae were often left to tradition and the memory of the ministers.

Hence the original formulary of the liturgies in the euchology was simply a series of prayers with almost no rubrics whatever except, perhaps, for some scant rubrical indications in the title of this or that prayer. By his classification of the MSS Jacob has shown that this type of formulary is especially characteristic of the MSS from Constantinople and Greece.⁴⁵ Hence the few extant Constantinopolitan sources that do contain rubrics are invaluable fonts for the rite of the Great Church: BAS of the Johannenberg version and the related *Codex Pyromalus*, and CHR in the version of Tuscan. For the rest, we must rely on other witnesses for information on the liturgical ceremonial of the capital.

The situation in Italy, apart from the earliest MSS, was somewhat different. From the 10th century on we find numerous developed rubrics inserted right into the text of the liturgy.⁴⁶ According to Jacob this may have been due to the isolation of the Italo-Greek churches and monasteries: cut off from the great centers of the Byzantine world and hence from the source of their liturgical traditions, they may have felt a need to codify these traditions lest they degenerate and be lost.⁴⁷

For comparative purposes one valuable Italian source is the Otrantan revision of Tuscan's version, in which at a time not far distant from the original, the latter's Constantinopolitan rite has been adapted to local Italian, probably Otrantan monastic usage.⁴⁸

c) Problems in Using the Euchology Sources:

In general, great caution must be used in handling the euchology sources. Very few codices — especially non-Italian codices — can be located with any precision as having originated in this or that monastery or church.⁴⁹ Furthermore, we cannot expect to find absolute uniformity in liturgical texts that were used in the same region during the same period. The usages of monasteries and churches and the taste of the scribe held a certain sway until the advent of printing. On the other hand, since almost all codices were living texts, copied in order to be used, the scribes updated

⁴⁵ *Formulaire*, p. 29.

⁴⁶ See for example the 10th century *Codex of Porfirij Uspenskij* (= *Leningrad 226*) KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, pp. 283-304.

⁴⁷ Cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 29.

⁴⁸ Ed. JACOB, *Otrante*, pp. 83-107. Cf. *id.*, *Toscan*, pp. 123 ff; *Tradition*, pp. 134-135.

⁴⁹ JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 38-39.

the source they were copying according to the usages in vigor at the time.⁵⁰ Hence a codex can usually be taken as representative of the customs in use at the time of copying. We have tried to formulate tentatively our conclusions based on the euchology evidence, bearing all this in mind.

3. Other Liturgical Books

Because of the nature of the liturgical formulary in the euchologies, they alone are inadequate as sources for anything more than a study of the liturgical formulary itself. For a study such as ours, more ceremonial than textual in scope, we have had to rely on other liturgical sources such as the typicon, the lectionary, and above all the diataxis, for many aspects of the history of the liturgy.

The liturgical typicon, a book that has no exact counterpart in the Latin rite, indicates the proper of both mass and office for the whole liturgical year, and also contains the rubrics for any special rite that may occur in the liturgical cycle. This book is, then, the primary source for the proper of the mass. We have already underlined the importance of the 11th century typicon edited by Mateos, to which one may add M. Arranz's edition of the typicon of codex *Messina Gr. 115*.⁵¹

Mention should also be made of the prophetologion edited by C. Høeg and G. Zuntz, a musical lectionary of the Great Church containing the Old Testament readings for Lent and the vigils of the greater feasts, as well as troparia and abundant rubrical information, some of it regarding the proper of the mass.⁵²

Useful for comparative purposes have been three sources of the liturgy of Jerusalem: Papadopoulos-Kerameus' edition of the so called "Typicon of the Anastasis" — actually more a triodion for Holy Week and Easter — from codex *Stavrou 43*, Thibaut's edition of codex *Leningrad Gr. 44* (= *Sinai Gr. 50*) containing sixteen "propers" for the Liturgy of the Word of JAS, and the famous Georgian lectionary of Jerusalem edited by Tarchnišvili.⁵³ These sources are especially informative with respect to the psalmody of the Jerusalem cathedral rite, which has recently

⁵⁰ Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38.

⁵¹ ARRANZ, *Typicon du S. Sauveur*.

⁵² HØEG-ZUNTZ, *Prophetologium*.

⁵³ PAPAPOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Analekta II*, pp. 1-24; THIBAUT, *Monuments*, pp. 1*-11* ; TARCHNIŠVILI, *Lectionnaires*.

been studied by H. Leeb.⁵⁴ Dr. Leeb's work, which he was kind enough to discuss with us and put at our disposition before it was ready for publication, was most useful for our attempted reconstruction of the Great-Entrance antiphon in chapter II.

4. The Diataxis⁵⁵

From the scarcity of rubrics in the early MSS one can conclude that originally the ritual of the Great Church was preserved and passed on by unwritten tradition. But in the 12th century there appears a new liturgical source, the diataxis, a sort of *caerimoniale* describing the ceremonial of the mass. Our first indication of such a source is the translation of Leo Tuscan. Jacob has shown how, especially at the Great Entrance and communion, Tuscan filled in his basic text, a typical rubricless Constantinopolitan euchology, with rubrics from another source, probably a diataxis of the 10th century or earlier.⁵⁶ We shall see more of this later.

From the 12th to the 15th century these diataxeis multiply especially in monastic circles, probably because of the desire to impose the new developments in the ritual of the prothesis, and in fact some of our extant diataxeis are concerned with the prothesis only.⁵⁷ In Italy the prothesis developments were usually incorporated right into the liturgical formulary.⁵⁸ In other areas the mass formulary itself, opening with only the prothesis prayer as in the oldest MSS, was left untouched, and the new prothesis rite was prefaced to it as a "diataxis of the divine liturgy."⁵⁹ We find this same phenomenon in some of the printed editions right until modern times.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ LEEB, *Gesänge von Jerusalem*.

⁵⁵ On the diataxeis, see JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 437-446.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 30 ff., 311, 325 ff., 330 ff.; *Concélébration*, pp. 250 ff.

⁵⁷ E. g. *Barberini Gr. 316*, 12th c., (cf. note 62 below) and a 13th century Athonite diataxis edited by KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, pp. 9-15.

⁵⁸ JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 29; see also pp. 338-434, *passim*; MADALÀ, *La protesi*, pp. 107 ff., for examples of this evolution.

⁵⁹ Cf. for example KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 15; codex *Sinai Gr. 2111* (ff. 1r-4r). We have found a number of even very late MSS in which the formulary of the liturgy begins with the prothesis prayer, e. g. *Milan Ambros. 637* (P. 112 *sup.*); *Iviron 373*; *Sinai Gr. 986, 1046, 1049, 2037*; *Sabas 53*; *Vat. Slav. 14* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 163); all of the 15th c. or later. This does not mean that the rite comprised only that prayer. The rest was undoubtedly added from a diataxis.

⁶⁰ Cf. the Venice editions of 1571, 1745, 1776, 1877.

The first diataxis of the complete liturgy to come down to us is the 12-13th century patriarchal ordo of the Great Church edited by Metropolitan Gennadios Arabatzoglou from codex *British Museum Add. 34060*.⁶¹ This edition is very defective, so we correct it where necessary from our own reading of the MS. From the same period we have a brief diataxis from the 12th century Reggio codex *Barberini Gr. 316*,⁶² and a monastic diataxis edited by Trempeles from codex *Ethnike bibl. 662*.⁶³ Krasnosel'cev has published a closely related diataxis from the 13-14th century *Moscow Synod 275 (381)*.⁶⁴ Another 13-14th century diataxis, also related to the above two, and as yet unpublished, is found in codex *Vatican Gr. 782* (ff. 215r-219r).⁶⁵ All three sources describe the liturgy as celebrated by one priest assisted by a deacon. Another monastic diataxis from about the same period, edited by Dmitrievskij from a codex in his own personal library⁶⁶, also bears many resemblances to the later diataxis of *Leningrad Gr. 423* and *Sabas 305* (see below).

For the 14th century, we have the rubrics of *Esphigmenou 34* (AD 1306) published by Dmitrievskij.⁶⁷ According to Jacob the formulary of this MS appears to be a combination of a traditional Constantinopolitan liturgical formulary with a diataxis of the same type as that of codex *Panteleimon 5924*.⁶⁸ The latter MS contains only the prothesis.⁶⁹

But by far the most influential diataxis was that of Philotheus Kokkinos. The best edition is that of Trempeles from *Panteleimon 770*, a codex practically contemporary with the composition of the diataxis.⁷⁰ According to the title of the diataxis in this codex, Philotheus wrote his work as higoumen of the Great Lavra on

⁶¹ ARABATZOGLOU, *Bibliothèque*, pp. 235-240.

⁶² Ed. JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 392-393. The diataxis does not go beyond the gospel and hence gives no information on the parts of the liturgy we are investigating.

⁶³ TREMPÉLAS, pp. 1-16, left column.

⁶⁴ *Materialy*, pp. 18-29. Cf. also the partial edition in MANSVETOV, *Mitropolit Kiprian*, appendix, I, pp. I-V.

⁶⁵ Cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 439 note 6.

⁶⁶ DMITRIEVSKIJ III, pp. 117-121. The diataxis is found following a typicon of St. Sabas in a codex dated 13th c. by Dmitrievskij (*ibid.*, p. 116).

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* II, pp. 262-269.

⁶⁸ JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 439.

⁶⁹ KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, pp. 9-15, cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 439-440.

⁷⁰ TREMPÉLAS, pp. 1-16, right column.

Athos, hence before he became bishop of Heraclea in 1347.⁷¹ Upon his accession to the patriarchal throne of Constantinople in 1353, his diataxis gained great prestige. It spread all over the Greek world, and was also translated into Slavonic by Philotheus' contemporary the Bulgarian St. Euthymius of Tirnovo, a monk on Athos and later Bulgarian patriarch from 1375-1393.⁷²

It had once been customary to incorporate entire or partial diataxeis into the euchology apart from the text of the liturgies.⁷³ But with the later MSS and the *editio princeps* of Doucas, the rubrics of Philotheus' diataxis were inserted into the text of the liturgy itself, intercalated in their proper place between the prayers, thereby completing the evolution of the liturgical formulary to its present shape.⁷⁴

Around 1380 the deacon Demetrius Gemistos, notary under Philotheus and later protonotary of the Great Church, composed his archieratikon describing the patriarchal rite of Hagia Sophia.⁷⁵ We have used the edition of Dmitrievskij from *Jerusalem Sabas 607 (362)* (14th century) with variants from other 15-16th century MSS,⁷⁶ and the already mentioned edition of Habert's *APXIEPATIKON: Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Graecae* which Jacob believes to be based on codex *Paris Gr. 1362* (15th century).⁷⁷ As yet we

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1. There is also a diaconal diataxis for vespers and orthros attributed to Philotheus (GOAR², pp. 1-8; *PG* 154, 745-766).

⁷² On Euthymius and his work cf. KALUŽNIACKI, *Werke des Euthymius* (the diataxis is on pp. 283-306). There is another, Muscovite redaction made in the same period by Metropolitan Kiprian (ed. KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, pp. 37-79). This latter is the vulgate version often found in Russian liturgical MSS such as *The Služebnik of Metropolitan Kiprian* in the 14th century codex *Moscow Synod 344 (601)* (NEVOSTRUEV-GORSKIJ, III, I, pp. 13-15). On Kiprian see MANSVETOV, *Mitropolit Kiprian*; KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, pp. 171-172 and *Materialy*, p. 35. The most recent study of the literary influence of these two metropolitans is found in I. TALEV, *Some Problems of the Second South Slavic Influence in Russia* (= *Slavistische Beiträge*, Bd. 67) München, 1973.

⁷³ Cf. the previous note as well as the references (pp. xxxvii, xxxviii) to the diataxeis of *Barberini Gr. 316* and *Munich Gr. 540*; the incorporation into 12-13th century Otrantan euchologies of the 11th century letter of the Patriarch of Constantinople to Paul of Gallipoli on the prothesis (JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 343-356); etc.

⁷⁴ This is readily apparent from a comparison of the rubrics of Doucas — or for that matter of our modern rubrics — with the diataxis.

⁷⁵ On the archieratikon of Gemistos and its various MSS and editions, see JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 443-445.

⁷⁶ DMITRIEVSKIJ, II, pp. 301-319. Also edited from the same MS by PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS in a small pamphlet (*Διάταξις τῆς τοῦ πατριάρχου λειτουργίας πῶς γίνεται ἐν τῇ Μεγάλῃ Ἐκκλησίᾳ*, Athens, 1890).

⁷⁷ *Formulaire*, pp. 444, no. 6.

have no critical edition of Gemistos' work. Another patriarchal diataxis of the Great Church for vespers, orthros and the eucharistic rite was edited by Dmitrievskij from a 15th century MS of the Russian St. Andrew Skite on Athos.⁷⁸

In the 15-16th centuries various other diataxeis existed side by side with that of Philotheus before the incorporation of his rubrics into the *editio princeps* pushed all other diataxeis into oblivion. Among those still extant are that of *Paris Gr. 2509*,⁷⁹ of *Vatican Gr. 573*,⁸⁰ and the one divided between *Sabas 305* and *Leningrad Gr. 423*.⁸¹ In addition we have found an unedited diataxis on ff. 26r-27r immediately following CHR in codex *Munich Gr. 540* (AD 1416), containing rubrics for the Great Entrance, communion, and final rites of the mass.

There is as yet no critical study of the diataxis tradition, so these sources must be used with prudence.

5. The Liturgical Commentaries

Among the Byzantine liturgical commentaries the following are the most important:

a) The *Mystagogia* (628-630) and lesser works of St. Maximus the Confessor († 662), our earliest complete witness to the liturgy of Constantinople.⁸²

b) The *Historia Ecclesiastica* of St. Germanus I, Patriarch of Constantinople († circa 733) in its various recensions.⁸³ One of the most important witnesses for the reconstruction of the original text of this commentary is the Latin version of Anastasius Bibliothecarius edited by N. Borgia, which dates from 869-870.⁸⁴

c) The *Prothectoria* (1055-1063) of Nicholas of Andida, later revised by Theodore of Andida, a valuable source

⁷⁸ DMITRIEVSKIJ I, pp. 164-172.

⁷⁹ Ed. GOAR², pp. 78-83. The prothesis is edited in LEW, pp. 549-551.

⁸⁰ Ed. KRASNOSEL'OV, *Materialy*, pp. 95-114.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 82-93. MS 423 now contains ff. 1-6 of *Sabas 305*.

⁸² PG 91, 657-717. There is also liturgical data in Maximus' *Quaestiones et dubia* 41, 68, PG 90, 820, 841-844; *Relatio motionis* 4-5, PG 90, 117; *Scholia in Ecclesiasticam Hierarchiam* 3, PG 4, 136-152. Note that Maximus' authentic *Scholia* were later mixed with those of John of Scythopolis. In order to find which *Scholia* to attribute to whom, cf. VON BALTHASAR, *Scholienwerk*.

⁸³ BORGIA, and BRIGHTMAN, *Historia Mystagogica* (reconstructed text); PG 98, 381-453 (interpolated text). On the various recensions, cf. BORNERT, *Commentaires*, pp. 130-142.

⁸⁴ BORGIA.

because it refers explicitly to the traditions of the Great Church.⁸⁵

d) The 12th century *Commentarius liturgicus* of Pseudo-Sophronius of Jerusalem incompletely edited in Migne from the codex *Ottoboni Gr. 459* (15th c.).⁸⁶

e) The *Sacrae liturgiae interpretatio* of Nicholas Cabasilas (circa 1350).⁸⁷

f) The *De sacra liturgia*⁸⁸ and *Expositio de divino templo*⁸⁹ of Symeon of Thessalonika († 1429).

We have relied completely on the already mentioned study of Bornert for everything concerning the dating, authenticity, etc. of these commentaries.

6. Other Primary Sources

Among the other sources that can be cited, first place must be given to the rich liturgical information found in the Constantinopolitan homilies of Chrysostom as recently analyzed in the study of van de Pavard referred to above. In addition, we have used the descriptions of the patriarchal liturgy at Hagia Sophia in the well-known 11th century *De caerimoniis* of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus († 959),⁹⁰ and in the *De officiis* of Pseudo-Codinus (circa 1350-1360),⁹¹ as well as whatever other patristic, historical or canonical material we found relevant.

One valuable and generally ignored witness for the later pontifical rite are the canons of the Russian reform of 1666-1667, carried out by the Eastern patriarchs gathered in council in Moscow in order to bring the Russian books into conformity with Greek usage.⁹²

⁸⁵ PG 140, 417-468. Cf. BORNERT, *Commentaires*, pp. 181-206. The didactic poem of Michael Psellos on the liturgy edited by P. JOANNOU (*Aus den unedirten Schriften des Psellos: Das Lehrgedicht zum Messopfer und der Traktat gegen die Vorbestimmung der Todesstunde*, BZ 51, 1958, 1-14) is little more than a versification of the *Prothectoria* (cf. BORNERT, *Commentaires*, pp. 208-209).

⁸⁶ PG 87², 3981-4001. Cf. BORNERT, *Commentaires*, pp. 210-211.

⁸⁷ PG 150, 368-402.

⁸⁸ PG 155, 253-304. On Symeon, see BORNERT, *Commentaires*, pp. 243-263.

⁸⁹ PG 155, 697-749.

⁹⁰ Ed. VOGT.

⁹¹ Ed. VERPEAUX.

⁹² *Dejanija*.

The Methodology Used

Our study of the Byzantine pre-anaphoral rites in comparison with their parallels in other Eastern liturgies led us to the conclusion that these rites fall into two distinct categories at present intermingled in the liturgical celebration: 1) the Great Entrance or transfer rites proper concerned with the preparation of the altar and gifts for the anaphora; 2) what we have called the "*accessus ad altare*" rites or spiritual preparation of the ministers, comprising the *lavabo*, *orate fratres* dialogue, and prayer of the proskomide, as well as some later, secondary elements. We have taken this ritual distinction as a natural division for our study. The kiss of peace, the primitive conclusion of the Liturgy of the Word, and the creed, a later addition to the mass, fall outside this twofold division and will be treated separately.

After an introductory chapter on the background of this part of the Liturgy in the early sources, we have given a description of contemporary usage. Then we have proceeded to study the individual rites one by one. For those later elements not found in the earliest MSS, the process was relatively simple. We sought to locate the earliest witnesses to the practice in question and to trace, if possible, its origins on the basis of the Byzantine sources or by comparison with other liturgies. Then we followed its history up until the advent of the printed editions.

For the primitive stratum of the liturgy — elements going back in some form at least to the earliest euchologies — the process was more complex. Here we sought to reconstruct the pre-history of the rite or formula in question in sources anterior to our earliest MSS of CHR, having recourse at all times to comparative liturgy for whatever parallels could be adduced to illumine our path. The conclusions arrived at by such a process must, by the very nature of the evidence, often remain tenuously hypothetical. This is the case, for example, with our hypothesis on the use of Psalm 23 at the Great Entrance. At other times, however, one can reach such a confluence of reliable evidence best explained by one hypothesis, that the conclusions are reasonably secure.

For certain other parts of the liturgy — e. g. the *pax*, the creed — the evidence is strong and clear and presents no insuperable problems of interpretation.

PART I

THE "ENTRANCE OF THE MYSTERIES"

CHAPTER I

THE RITE TODAY AND ITS HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS

I. DEROULEMENT OF THE RITE TODAY

Among all the Oriental eucharistic liturgies, only the Byzantine and Armenian have preserved in its primitive place before the anaphora the solemn transfer of gifts first described by Theodore of Mopsuestia. In its present form the Byzantine procession with the gifts, the Major Introit or "Great Entrance", as it is commonly called to distinguish it from the First Introit or "Minor Entrance", is the most ceremonially evolved liturgical action of the eucharist in this rite.¹ Inevitably this ritual display evokes its adequate response in the popular liturgical piety of the faithful, for whom the Great Entrance is one of the most sacred and awesome moments of their worship. The process by which a once so totally insignificant act as the transfer of the gifts evolved into a high-point of the Byzantine Liturgy is the stuff from which the history of human culture is woven.² It is to this process that we now address ourselves.

Preparation of the Altar

The space taken by even a bone-dry rubrical description of today's complex ritual is adequate proof of how far we have come from Justin's 2nd century laconism: "Then bread and a cup of water and mixed wine are brought to the one presiding over the brethren" (*Apol.* I, 65). Immediately following the ephonesis that concludes the prayer over the catechumens — and hence as

¹ BAUMSTARK, not one given to excessive sentimentality, stated, "Wer auch nun ein einziges Mal das Glück gehabt hätte, der Feier der 'Göttlichen Liturgie' nach griechischem Ritus beizuwohnen, dem müste in seiner überwältigenden dramatischen Grossartigkeit der Augenblick des so genannten 'Grossen Einzuges' unvergesslich sich eingepägt haben." (*Cherubhymnus*, p. 70).

² Cf. DIX, *Shape*, pp. 121 ff.

the first act of the liturgy of the faithful — the altar is prepared to receive the gifts by the spreading out on it of the antimimension and/or eiliton (corporal).² The modern Greek rubrics leave no doubt that this is when the eiliton is spread: they repeat it three times! "Prayer of the Catechumens, before spreading the eiliton ... And the priest spreads the eiliton ... First Prayer of the Faithful ... after spreading the eiliton." This is where it occurs in all the euchology MSS and in the Slavic rubrics too, even though among the Slavs the generally observable liturgical law of ritualizing words and verbalizing ritual has moved the spreading of 2/3 of the antimimension up to the ektene³. They open the last fold at the words "Open to them the gospel of truth" in the litany over the catechumens.⁴

The "Nemo dignus" Prayer, Cherubic Hymn and Incensation

Following the oepnonesis that concludes the second prayer of the faithful, the priest starts to recite silently the so-called "Prayer of the Cherubic Hymn" while the choir intones the first half of the hymn itself. Meanwhile the deacon, having entered the sanctuary by the south door of the iconostasis, bows as usual to the "high throne" and to the priest, then opens the royal doors. At this point there occurs in present-day usage a certain confusion not so much in what is to be done, but how, when, and by whom. We will not attempt to account for every variant usage. Contemporary sources agree that the altar, prothesis, sanctuary, ministers, iconostasis and congregation are to be incensed; and that the ministers say the *Nemo dignus* prayer and the Cherubic Hymn to themselves, kiss the altar, bow to the people and go to the prothesis, the deacon with the thurible leading the way. In some sources the deacon censes while the priest is saying the *Nemo dignus*

² Today it is both the antimimension, a decorated cloth containing relics and consecrated by the bishop, and the eiliton or corporal that enfolds the antimimension, which are spread out on the altar. Primitively, the antimimension was used as a portable altar. Today an antimimension is used at every liturgy, but was formerly employed only when a consecrated altar was unavailable.

³ For some unknown reason DIX (*Shape*, p. 104) states wrongly that the spreading of the eiliton has been moved to the beginning of the liturgy.

⁴ Cf. NIKOL'SKIJ, *Ustav*, pp. 428-9; BULGAROV, *Nastol'naja kniga*, pp. 815-16. The latter traces this practice to the *Činovnik* (*Pontifical*) which says that the first 1/3 of the antimimension are unfolded at the petition for the synod in the ektene, and the rest at the oepnonesis of the prayer for the catechumens.

prayer;⁵ in others the priest (or bishop) incenses after he has completed the indicated formulae.⁷ The rubrics also instruct the one censing to recite Ps. 50 and the penitential troparia.

The Lavabo and Preparation of the Gifts at the Pontifical Liturgy

If there are concelebrants, they say the indicated prayers to themselves and, at the appointed time, kiss the antimimension two by two, bow to each other and to the people, and proceed to the prothesis. If it is a pontifical liturgy, subdeacons bring a ewer of water before the royal doors and the bishop washes his hands and then puts on the small omophorion before going to the prothesis.

The gifts, already prepared on the altar of the prothesis, are censed thrice (by deacon, priest, or bishop, depending on the usage) with the thrice repeated formula "O Lord, cleanse me a sinner and have mercy on me." At a pontifical liturgy, the bishop removes the aer and places it on the deacon's shoulder. While the deacon continues incensing, the bishop offers particles for the living, including his concelebrants who now approach him according to seniority, request the remembrance of themselves and their intentions, then kiss his hand and shoulder. Then the bishop commemorates the dead. After the commemorations he re-covers the gifts and incenses them once more.⁸ The ministers having thus prepared the altar, gifts, and themselves, all is ready for the procession, the "Great Entrance" which has given the whole rite its name.

The Procession

At the presbyteral liturgy there is no *lavabo* or rite of commemorations. After the indicated incensation and prayers, the deacon, dropping down on one knee for the convenience of the priest, says "Ἐπαρῶν, δέσποτα" ("Lift up, master"). And the priest removes the aer from the gifts and puts it on the deacon's

⁵ E. g. in the Russian usage and in many Greek sources (cf. TREMPERIAS, p. 78).

⁷ E. g. *Ieratikon*, Athens, 1951.

⁸ This is at least the contemporary Russian usage according to the *Činovnik*. But in some churches it has also become customary at this point for the bishop to complete the prothesis rite, from the commemorations of the living to the end. On this problem see chapter VII below.

shoulder — usually his left shoulder, though the rubrics show confusion on this point — tucking it into his collar so it won't fall off, and says: "Ἐπάρατε τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν εἰς τὰ ἅγια, καὶ εὐλογεῖτε τὸν Κύριον" (Ps. 133:2), thus applying τὰ ἅγια to the gifts, as is usual in Greek liturgical terminology, rather than to the Holy of Holies intended by the psalmist⁹. The deacon, with the censer hanging from a finger of his right hand over his right shoulder and down his back (unless there are two deacons, in which case the second carries the thurible), raises his hands to his forehead, receives the discos handed him by the priest, and rises to begin the exit of the procession. Meanwhile the other concelebrants and ministers queue up in proper order, for today everyone marches in the procession except the bishop, who goes over to the royal doors to meet the procession on its return. The procession exits from the north door of the sanctuary,¹⁰ led off by lesser ministers bearing cross and candle and the bishop's omophorion, followed by ὁ δευτερεύων, the second deacon (if there is one), who walks backwards incensing the gifts all the while, which come next borne by the first deacon (discos) and senior priest (chalice), followed by the other priests, each bearing one or other implement for the eucharistic rite: spoon, lance, etc. Depending on what usage one is describing, and what source one reads, one can find a welter of the most detailed rubrics as to who does what when, where, and how, in the course of the entry.

During the procession the choir will interrupt the singing of the Cherubic Hymn to allow the ministers to chant the commemorations that have become customary here, the chief of which is "May the Lord God remember us all in His kingdom always, now and forever, and unto ages of ages!" The Greeks and Melkites go down the north aisle and up the central nave while the priest and deacons together chant the commemorations. Some priests when they reach the solea will turn and bless the people with the gifts. Then they enter the sanctuary to place the gifts on the altar. Among the Slavs, some (e.g. the Bulgarians) do as the Greeks. The Russians do not descend from the solea at all,

⁹The Greeks often tie the aer around the deacon's shoulders with tapes. In the Russian pontifical liturgy this verse (Ps. 133:2) is said by the bishop when he puts the discos on the deacon's head; the aer is removed and put on the deacon's shoulder before the bishop makes his commemorations. (*Činovnik*, Moscow, 1798, ff. 31v, 32v).

¹⁰KHOURL-SARKIS erroneously states that among the Byzantines and Armenians the Great Entrance still exists, "mais, en règle générale, elle ne se déroule plus que dans le sanctuaire ..." (*Les saints mystères*, p. 307).

but simply line up before the iconostasis facing the congregation and chant numerous commemorations — usually as many as there are concelebrating priests — beginning with the first deacon, then going down the ranks, and ending with the senior priest again making a commemoration and blessing the people with the chalice. At a pontifical liturgy the main celebrant awaits the procession at the doors of the iconostasis. When the ministers have drawn up before him he takes the thurible from the deacon, and after censuring the discos, takes it, blesses the people while chanting commemorations, puts it on the altar, then returns and does the same with the chalice. Only then does the procession enter the sanctuary.

During the procession the people take various attitudes of profound reverence. In Rumania, for example, they prostrate themselves in the path of the ministers and seek to be touched by the sacred vessels being borne in, to such an extent that at times the priest must literally step over them in order to enter the sanctuary. The author has seen this himself at the monastery of Piatra Neamt.

Gogol's Description of the Great Entrance

The famous Russian author N. V. Gogol († 1852) in his *Divine Liturgy* has left us a modern description of this Entrance of the Mysteries, and of the spirit in which it was viewed by the Orthodox Christian of his time:

To the singing of the Cherubic hymn the solemn procession appears, like a procession of the heavenly powers. It is called the Great Entrance. At the sight of the King of All, carried in the humble guise of the Lamb lying on the paten, as on a shield, surrounded by the instruments of His earthly Passion, like the spears of the innumerable heavenly host, all bow their heads and pray in the words of the thief on the cross: "Lord, remember me when you come into your kingdom." (Lk 23:42).

The procession pauses in the midst of the temple. The priest makes use of this great moment to remember before the Lord, in the presence of the gifts he bears, all Christian men, beginning with those whose obligations are the heaviest and most sacred, upon the fulfillment of which depend the welfare of all and the very salvation of their souls [i.e. the civil and ecclesiastical authorities], and ending with the words: *You and all Orthodox Christians — may the Lord God remember you in His kingdom, now and always and unto ages of ages.* The choir con-

cludes the Cherubic hymn with the thrice-repeated chant *Alleluia!* announcing the eternal progress of the Lord.

The procession makes its way through the Royal Gates. Entering the sanctuary first, the deacon, standing to the right side of the Gates, meets the priest with the words: "May the Lord God remember your sacred ministry in His kingdom", to which the priest replies: "May the Lord God remember your holy diaconate in His Kingdom, now and always and unto ages of ages." And he lays the sacred chalice and the bread representing the Body of Christ on the altar as in a grave.

The Royal Gates are closed,¹¹ like the doors of the tomb closing on the Lord. The curtain above them is drawn, custodian, as it were, set on guard before the tomb. The priest takes the sacred paten from the deacon's head, as though he were lifting the Body of Christ from the Cross, and lays it on the outspread antimimension as upon a winding sheet, saying as he does so:

"Noble Joseph [of Arimathea] took down from the cross your most pure Body and wrapping it in a clean shroud with pure spices, carefully laid it in a new grave."

And remembering the omnipresence of Him who now lies before him in the grave, he repeats silently:

"Though in the tomb with Your Body and in Hades with Your Soul, and in paradise with the good thief, still, since you were God, You were also enthroned with the Father and the Holy Spirit, filling all things because nothing holds you bound."

Remembering the glory with which the sepulchre was filled, he says:

"Since it brings life, and is more beautiful than paradise, Your tomb O Christ appears truly more resplendent than any royal palace: it is the fountain of our resurrection."

And taking the veil from the paten and the chalice, and from the deacon's shoulder the *aer*, which now represents not the swaddling-clothes in which the Infant Jesus was wrapped, but the winding-sheet round His dead Body, he censes it and covers the paten and chalice with it, again saying, "Noble Joseph ..."

Then receiving the censor from the deacon, he censes the holy gifts, bowing thrice before them, and in preparation for the coming oblation, silently repeats the words of the prophet David:

¹¹ It should be noted that at the liturgy of a bishop or of an archpriest with pontifical privileges the royal doors are closed only for the communion of the clergy. And during Easter week all three doors remain open at all times.

*Deal kindly, O Lord, with Sion your graciousness, so that the walls of Jerusalem may be rebuilt. Then will you receive the lawful sacrifices, offerings and holocausts; then will they lay calves upon your altar (Ps. 50: 20-21)."*¹²

The "Orate Fratres" Dialog

After the celebrants have arranged the gifts and other instruments on the altar, the main celebrant covers and incenses them as described by Gogol. Then he returns the thurible to the deacon, lets fall his phelonion, and commences a dialogue comparable to the *orate fratres* of the Roman Rite:

Priest: Remember me, brother and concelebrant.

Deacon: May the Lord God remember your priesthood in his kingdom. Pray for me, holy master.

Priest: May the Holy Spirit come upon you, and the Power of the Most High overshadow you.

Deacon: May the same Holy Spirit concelebrate with us all the days of our lives. Remember me, holy master.

Priest: May the Lord God remember you in His kingdom always, now and forever and unto ages of ages.

Deacon: Amen.

Litany and Prayer

During all this time, since the completion of the commemorations during the procession, the choir has been singing the second half of the Cherubic Hymn. When the hymn is completed, one of the deacons, taking leave of the priest in the usual manner,¹³ goes out before the central doors of the iconostasis and intones a litany, while the priests within the sanctuary recite silently the accompanying prayer and, after the litany, one of them chants the *ecphonesia*.

¹² We are following basically the translation of R. EDMONDS (London, 1960, pp. 34 ff).

¹³ The deacon approaches the priest holding his orarion with his right hand cupped in his left, and receives the priest's blessing in his right hand, in usual Byzantine fashion, then kisses the priest's hand and goes out. Cf. *χαίρος* in the *Index liturgique* of MATEOS, *Typicon* II, p. 299. If a bishop is celebrating, he blesses the people with the trikerion and dikerion, the double and triple-branched candelabra of his rank. This he does from the *solea*, before the litany is intoned. Then the people acclaim him, as usual when a bishop blesses, with "εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη, δεσποτα."

Kiss of Peace and Creed

After the ephonesis and greeting the deacon outside on the solea immediately cries out: "Let us love one another, so that with unanimity we may confess." The choir answers: "Father, Son and Holy Spirit, Trinity, consubstantial and indivisible," and the *pax* is exchanged by the concelebrating bishops and presbyters. Meanwhile the deacon has announced: "The doors, the doors, in wisdom let us be attentive!" and the creed is sung. The Russians and other Slavs usually follow the ancient practice of having everyone chant the creed. Present-day Greek practice is to have the congregation recite it or to have a soloist or the senior cleric in attendance chant it while the others say it to themselves, and the choirs respond with Amen.¹⁴

With this Amen, the pre-anaphoral rites conclude. We have described them somewhat in detail — though by no means with the fine detail of the *Ceremonials* or with the infinite variety of local usage that could be added — in order to give an impression of their complexity. To grasp its truly impressive solemnity, however, this ceremonial must be seen. The esthetics of a religion cannot be communicated in words. Rite is action, and the Christian liturgy is an action in which the whole community takes part. In the present-day Byzantine rite as in no other tradition, the *impression*, the esthetic impact of this stately, hieratic ceremonial is, for better or worse, of fundamental importance.¹⁵

¹⁴ Cf. *Ieratikon*, Athens, 1951, p. 85.

¹⁵ As the ancient Russian *Chronicle of Nestor. Povest' vremennykh let* (*The Tale of Bygone Years*), tells it, this was a primary factor in the conversion of Russia. The Bulgars (i. e. Moslems), Germans (i. e. Latins) and Greeks were all trying to persuade Vladimir to adopt their faith. So he sent, successively, emissaries to all three to look into the worship of each. The Bulgars impressed them as a sorrowful lot, and besides they had "a dreadful stench." Not a very strong theological argument, but it led to the *non-sequitur*: "Their religion is not good." As for the German ritual, "We beheld no glory there." But the Greeks pulled out all the stops. Upon the arrival of the mission, "The Emperor sent a message to the Patriarch ... and directed him to prepare the church and the clergy, and to array himself in his pontificalia, so that the Russes might behold the glory of the God of the Greeks." Understandably, a patriarchal liturgy in Hagia Sophia left the emissaries speechless. On their return, they reported: "The Greeks led us to the edifices where they worship their God, and we knew not whether we were in heaven or on earth. For on earth there is no such splendor or such beauty, and we are at a loss how to describe it. We only know that God dwells there among men, and ... we cannot forget that beauty. Every man, after tasting something

II. THE ORIGINS OF THE "GREAT ENTRANCE": THE PROBLEM OF THE OFFERTORY PROCESSION IN THE EAST

The complexity of the Great-Entrance ritual is enough to show the overriding importance assumed by the transfer of gifts in the Byzantine mass. In fact this procession came to be considered so characteristic of the whole Byzantine liturgy that medieval frescoes depicting the "Great Entrance" bear the title: ἡ θεία λειτουργία.¹⁶ This rite has quite naturally attracted the attention of more than one student of the liturgy, and although there is no consensus among scholars as to its origins, the general tendency has been to consider the Great Entrance a highly ceremonialized clericalization of a primitive offertory procession of the faithful.

In a recent article we have re-examined all the early evidence concerning the transfer of gifts in the Eastern liturgies, especially in those that may be considered to have contributed to the formation of the rite of the Great Church.¹⁷ The original aim of that study was to provide a more solid basis for the commonly held theory that the faithful once took part in the procession of the gifts. But an objective examination of the sources forced us to the opposite conclusion: the Great Entrance is simply a development of the original transfer of gifts by the deacons; there is no convincing evidence that there was ever an offertory procession of the faithful in the East. Here we will summarize the results of our study. For a fuller treatment of the sources the reader may consult our article.

sweet, is afterward unwilling to accept that which is bitter, and therefore we cannot dwell any longer here." (Cf. *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, translated and edited by S. H. Cross and O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, Cambridge, Mass., n. d., pp. 110-111). Among Russians, at least, the esthetics of religion is still a matter of considerable importance. Cf. the remarks of G. P. Fedorov, *The Russian Religious Mind*, (Cambridge, 1946-1960) I, pp. 371 ff; II, pp. 355 ff; A. Yelchaninov calls Orthodoxy "Christianity understood as the cult of the Supreme Beauty" (*Fragments of a Diary* in G. P. Fedorov, *A Treasury of Russian Spirituality*, NY, 1948, p. 432). On the relationship between cult and esthetics in Orthodox worship, see K. Onasch, *Die Ikonmalerei. Grundzüge einer systematischen Darstellung*, Leipzig, 1967, pp. 29 ff: "Die Ikone und der orthodoxe Kultus."

¹⁶ Cf. G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos*, I, plates 64, 1; 118, 2-3; 219, 3; 256, 2; 257, 2; 261, 1-2; 262, 1-2; J. Ștefanescu, *Illustration des liturgies*, pp. 73 ff; 189-190; and plates XXIX, 1-2; XXX, 1-2; LV.

¹⁷ Taft, *Offertory*.

The "Offertory" in the Early Documents

The rites of preparation and transfer of gifts in the contemporary Eastern liturgies are a far cry from the "offertory" of the primitive eucharist. In fact there was no "offertory" in the eucharistic liturgy of the primitive church. There was but one Christian offering, the sacrifice of Christ; and one prayer of blessing over the gifts, one "offertory prayer" (*ἀναφορά*): the eucharistic prayer itself.

The ritual element in the early "offertory" was as spartan as the eucharistic. When the time came for the eucharistic prayer, bread and wine were brought up and placed on the table; the early "offertory" was a material act of no more ado than that. Justin witnesses to this presentation of the gifts, so simple that it cannot even be called a ritual.

After finishing the prayers [= of the faithful], we greet one another with a kiss. Then bread and a cup of water and mixed wine are brought to the one presiding over the brethren. He takes it, gives praise and glory to the Father of all in the name of the Son and Holy Ghost, and gives thanks at length for the gifts that we were worthy to receive from him. (Justin, *Apol.* I, 65).¹⁸

Hippolytus adds the precision that this service was performed by the deacons.

Et cum orauerint, de ore pacem offerant. Et tunc iam offeratur oblatio a diaconibus episcopo et gratias agat... (*Apostolic Tradition*, 21)¹⁹

Various Theories on the Origins of the Great Entrance

In time, for various reason both cultural and religious, this part of the liturgy became enriched — and at times obscured — by the addition of an antiphon, prayers, and other ceremonies.²⁰ But is it true, as Jungmann once said, that this rite developed into an "offertory procession of the faithful which subsequently was to be found in all countries and which flourished in the Occi-

¹⁸ PG 6, 428. Cf. *Apol.* I, 67 (PG 6, 429): "After the end of the prayers... the bread, and wine mixed with water are brought up, and the president offers prayers and thanksgiving, according to his ability."

¹⁹ Ed. BOTTE, p. 54.

²⁰ Cf. TART, *Offertory*, pp. 75 ff.

dent for over a thousand years"?²¹ The evidence for such a procession in the West is indisputable.²² But for the East, the question is by no means settled. Jungmann in his *Missarum Sollemnia* is more cautious than in the work cited above: he leaves the question open.²³ So does van de Pavard in his recent study of the liturgical evidence in the homilies of Chrysostom: whether or not the faithful played *any role whatever* in the transfer of gifts is "für den Osten sehr umstritten."²⁴

But apart from Hanssens,²⁵ who is very sceptical of the whole business, the majority of liturgiologists and archeologists that have studied the problem have concluded that the Great Entrance or transfer of gifts by the clergy replaced an earlier offertory procession of the faithful before the anaphora. Dix puts the case bluntly: "The offertory procession of the deacons from the sacristy [is] a Syrian custom which has replaced the original offering by the church corporately before the altar."²⁶ Other scholars do not state their conclusions so dogmatically, but the majority hold for at least some sort of offering by the laity just before the anaphora as the original step in the evolution of what is now the Great Entrance.

For example, H. Lietzmann, like Dix, held that the clergy procession replaced an offertory procession.²⁷ Probst believed the procession of the clergy to be a ritualistic innovation unknown before the time of Chrysostom, and reasoned that the change occurred because the decline in frequent communion, and the church's improved financial situation once the empire had begun to support her after the Edict of Milan, rendered the offerings of the faithful superfluous.²⁸ Edmund Bishop held for at least some

²¹ *Early Liturgy*, p. 117.

²² Consult any standard work on this point — e. g. SRAWLEY, *Early History of the Liturgy*, pp. 127, 136, 168 ff, 193 ff; JUNGSMANN, *Missarum Sollemnia* II, pp. 1-41; E. BISHOP, "Supplementary Note" in the *Appendix to Narsai*, pp. 114 ff.

²³ II, p. 4, n. 10.

²⁴ *Messliturgie*, pp. 243 ff.

²⁵ *Institutiones*, III, pp. 278 ff. One should also note the good judgement in the matter of P. HAMMOND (*The Waters of Marah. The Present State of the Greek Church*, London, 1956, p. 67).

²⁶ *Shape*, p. 290. Cf. also pp. 120 ff, 476, and TART, *Offertory Procession*, pp. 79-81 and *passim*.

²⁷ *Die Liturgie des Theodor von Mopsuestia. Sonderausgabe aus den Sitzungsberichten der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse 23, Berlin, 1933, pp. 18-19 = *Kleine Schriften* III, (= *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, 74), Berlin 1962, p. 88.

²⁸ *Liturgie des 4. Jahrhunderts und deren Reform*, Münster, 1893, pp. 178-

sort of offering by the laity, and believed that the custom died out in the 4th century.²⁹

Arguing on archeological grounds, Soteriou and Stričević tried to show that the appearance in Byzantine churches of the Syrian system of pastophoria flanking the apse at the east end of the church was the result of changes in the offering of the faithful.³⁰ The argument runs as follows: originally, Byzantine churches had a diaconicon of sorts not beside the sanctuary, but elsewhere, usually near the esonarthex. Here the faithful left their gifts. Some of these gifts were charitable donations (victuals, etc.), others were bread and wine to be borne in at the transfer of gifts by the deacons coming in procession down the central nave. This is why the ambo is often off-center in the early basilicas of Greece and the Balkans: to allow the procession to pass unhindered. Later the charitable donations were taken out of the hands of the church — or at least separated from the liturgy — and there was no need of a chamber near the entrance of the church to store these goods. Under Syrian influence perhaps, the now usual pastophoria appear flanking the sanctuary, and the great ambo is moved into the axis of the main nave, all of which is supposed to show that the "Great Entrance" as we know it has arrived.

This thesis is concerned not with the replacement of an offertory procession of the faithful, but rather with a change in the liturgical disposition of the church that in turn affected the path taken by the deacons in transferring the gifts to the altar. Hence when Hoddinott affirms that the Great Entrance was "officially adopted" during the second half of the 6th century what he seems to mean is that since the tripartite sanctuary begins to appear in Greek churches at this time, then the Great Entrance as a procession from the north pastophorion to the altar appears at this time.³¹ There was, in fact, nothing to "adopt". The procession was always there, from skeuophylakion to altar, though its ceremonial has

179; *Die antiochenische Messe nach den Schriften des hl. Johannes Chrysostomos dargestellt*, *ZkTh*, 7, 1883, pp. 276-277.

²⁹ *Appendix to Narsai*, pp. 114-117. We shall bring forward several witnesses to show that the faithful offered gifts — though not ritually — long after the 4th century.

³⁰ Cf. SOTERIOU, *Prothesis*, esp. pp. 95 ff.; STRIČEVIĆ, *Djakonikon, pasim* and *Iconografia*, p. 16. FRESHFIELD was the first to claim that the tripartite sanctuary in Byzantine churches was a 6th century innovation symptomatic of changes in the procession with the gifts, but he did not argue from an offering by the faithful as we mistakenly asserted in *Evolution historique*, p. 251; *Offertory*, p. 103.

³¹ HODDINOTT, *Early Byzantine Churches*, pp. 32, 120, 139.

evolved. To change the location of the skeuophylakion is not to introduce the procession, but merely to change its route. Hence this theory is really beside the point.

A. M. Schneider, however, tried to connect the introduction of the tripartite sanctuary in Syrian church architecture with what he considers a late 4th century innovation — again, the supposed offertory procession of the faithful being replaced by a procession of the deacons.³²

Others like Dmitrievskij, Petrovskij, de Meester, Bârlea, etc. argue from the *disciplina arcani* and the institution of the catechumenate that the faithful could have offered their gifts only after the dismissal of the catechumens.³³ With the abolition of the catechumenate, the distinction between the liturgy of the catechumens and that of the faithful lost all meaning, and there was no longer any need to hold off the preparation of the gifts until after the Liturgy of the Word. So the preparation of the gifts was shifted — at least in the Byzantine tradition — to its present position before the Liturgy of the Word. This change is supposed to have taken place in the 8-9th century.

S. Muretov, arguing from the homilies of Chrysostom and the story of Valens, both of which will be discussed below, also held that the faithful formerly brought up gifts to the deacons at the beginning of the eucharistic part of the liturgy, but that in 7th century Constantinople the great number of offerers made it necessary to shift this rite to the beginning of the Liturgy of the Word.³⁴

Mandalà also held that the preparation of the gifts or prothesis rite was shifted from before the Liturgy of the Eucharist to before the Liturgy of the Word. But his argument is "liturgical." Since the prothesis is a rite of preparation, it logically belongs at the beginning of the mass. When the Liturgies of the Word and of the Eucharist were considered distinct, the prothesis preceded

³² *Liturgie und Kirchenbau*, pp. 51, 59. His opinion was followed by K. ONASCH, *Der Funktionalismus der orthodoxen Liturgie*, *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 6, 1961, pp. 27-29.

³³ A. DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Očerki istorii liturgii našej pravoslavnoj cerkvi*, *Christianskoe šenie* 1868, II, pp. 547-548. A. PETROVSKIJ, *Dreenij akt prinošenija veščestva dlja tajnstava eucharistii i posledovanie proskomidii*, *Christianskoe šenie* 84, March 1904, pp. 406-431, esp. p. 414; DE MEESTER, *Origines*, pp. 320 ff, 330; BÂRLEA, *Proskomidie*, pp. 15-16.

³⁴ MURETOV, *Proskomidija*, pp. 62, 64, 109-110, 120. The arguments he uses from the sermons of Chrysostom are invalid, as can be seen in VAN DE PAVERD, *Messliturgie*, pp. 293 ff, 468 ff. The argument from the offering of Valens will be discussed below.

the eucharist, for which it is a preparation. When the distinction became blurred and the two liturgies formed one indivisible unit, the rite of preparation was naturally moved up to precede the whole.³⁵ We will discuss this theory in chapter VII, since it does not postulate an offertory procession of the faithful. Suffice it to say here that there is no evidence to support the hypothesis.

Thus there are many nuances in the various theories proposed by the scholars to explain the origins of the Great Entrance, but the majority are in general agreement on one fundamental point: the Great Entrance represents something "new" in the liturgy, something "introduced" at a certain point in its evolution, and that its origin is linked in some way to the disappearance of (or at least a change in) the offering of gifts by the faithful. Let us see if the evidence supports this idea.

The Evidence

On the basis of the theories proposed by the various authors, we can group the evidence under three headings: liturgical, archeological, theological.

1. The Liturgical Evidence

Several authors such as Probst, Brightman, Hanssens list numerous patristic and liturgical sources as possible evidence concerning the offering of gifts in the Eastern churches.³⁶ But as Hanssens points out, the majority of these documents speak of "offering" in very general terms, and one cannot read "bread and wine for the eucharist" into any slightest hint of an offering of any sort.³⁷ There is abundant evidence that the faithful offered

³⁵ MANDALÀ, *Protesi*, pp. 60 ff.

³⁶ PROBST, *Liturgie des 4. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 21, 54, 131; LEW, *Appendices*; HANSENS, *Institutiones* III, pp. 279-282. Hanssens considers only two witnesses as being possibly valid to prove a ritual offering by the faithful in the East: the reference to emperor Valens' offering, which we will treat below, and Cyril of Alexandria, *In Zachariam*, 116, (PG 72, 273; cf. LEW, p. 508, 6-10). Hanssens rejects both witnesses (pp. 280-281). BISHOP, too, argues effectively against all the witnesses adduced by Brightman (Cf. *Appendix to Nazari*, pp. 114-117), and DIX's resumption of the argument against Bishop is not convincing (cf. *Shape*, p. 123, note 3). As for the Egyptian witness, it has no relevance for the Byzantine East.

³⁷ *Institutiones* III, p. 280. This mistake is made, for example, by BRIGHTMAN in the *Appendices* of LEW.

all sorts of gifts other than the matter for the eucharist.³⁸ Furthermore, many of these references can, and probably should, be interpreted as referring not to an "offertory" in the modern sense of the term, but to the eucharistic offering, the "anaphora", as a whole.³⁹

Hence we will consider only those sources that might be interpreted as referring to the offering of bread and wine by the faithful in the East. But in order to properly evaluate the evidence, two distinct questions must not be confused.⁴⁰

- 1) Did the faithful offer bread and wine for the eucharist?
- 2) Did they do so in a ritual act, an offertory procession of some sort?

As to the first question, the evidence will show beyond any possible doubt that at least at some times and in some places in the East, the faithful offered bread and wine to be consecrated at the eucharist. As to how and when the gifts were handed in, the evidence is slight but consistent: the faithful gave their gifts to the deacon in the sacristy as they arrived for the liturgy; the deacons selected as much bread and wine as was needed and brought it to the altar before the anaphora. There is no evidence whatever — not a shred — that this offering, be it of bread and wine or whatever, was ever at any time ritualized into an offertory procession of the faithful, as an integral part of the liturgical ceremonial, as was true in the West.

This is the nub of the problem. As Dix says, we know that the laymen offered *prospora*, and that the deacons presented these

³⁸ Cf. *Didache*, 13; *The Apostolic Tradition*, ch. 5, 6, 28 (see also *The Arabic Canons of Hippolytus*, canon 36, ed. COQUIN, *Les canons d'Hippolyte*, PO 31, fasc. 2, Paris 1966, pp. [141-143], 409-411); *Didascalia* II, 27, 3; 34, 5, 6; IV, 6-9, etc. (FUNK, I, pp. 106, 118, 224 ff); *Apostolic Constitutions* VIII, 40 (FUNK I, pp. 548-550); *Apostolic Canons* 3 and 4 (= *Apost. Const.* VIII, 47, FUNK, I, p. 564); *Ex Constitutionibus Capitula* 13 (FUNK II, p. 138); *Lex Canonica SS. Apostolorum*, canon 16 (FUNK II, p. 152). See also BEVEREGH, *Codex Conc. Ecclesiae Primitivae*, London, 1678, *De primitiis offerendis*, pp. 185-192 (= *Apost. canons* 3, 6); Council of Trullo (892), canon 28, MANSI II, 956. On this whole question cf. TAFT, *Offertory*, pp. 104-106.

³⁹ Cf. for example the texts in LEW pp. 473, 519 (and the relevant footnotes), 508, n. 13.

⁴⁰ JUNGMANN (*Missarum Sollemnia*, II, pp. 4 ff) does keep the issues separate, but in p. 4, note 10 he confuses the evidence. BRIGHTMAN (*LEW, Appendices, passim*), SCHNEIDER (*Liturgie u. Kirchenbau*, p. 51) and others confuse the two ideas.

gifts at the altar, but "what we do not know, as regards the pre-Nicene church generally, is when and how the deacons received them from the laity."⁴¹

a) *The Didascalia*:

The only pre-Nicene evidence *at all* is the *Didascalia*, and this source suggests that in 3rd century Syria the offerings were handed over to the deacon before mass. We shall give the text according to the versions of both Connolly and Funk, from the Syriac and Greek recensions respectively:

But of the deacons let one stand always by the oblations of the Eucharist; and let another stand without by the door and observe them that come in; and afterwards, when you offer, let them minister together in the Church (ed. CONNOLLY, *Didascalia*, p. 120).

Diaconorum autem unus semper adstet oblationibus eucharistiae, et alter foras stet ad portam spectans introeuntes, et postea, cum vos offeretis, simul ministrent in ecclesia (II, 57,6, FUNK I, p. 162).

It would seem that the people, one by one, left their gifts with the first deacon as they arrived in church at the beginning of the liturgy, since he had to watch over the oblations *while the second deacon stood at the door to control those entering*. Were the offering done by all together, in procession, just before the anaphora, the expression "*postea, cum vos offeretis*," which refers to the anaphora (*vos offeretis* is addressed to the bishops — cf. II, 57, 1, CONNOLLY, p. 119; FUNK I, p. 158), becomes unintelligible.

b) *The Commentaries of St. Jerome*:

The Commentaries of St. Jerome († 420) also mention that the deacons wrote down the names of the offerers. Jerome with his wonted acid refers as follows to those who offer for their own glory:

Publiceque diaconus in ecclesiis recitet offerentium nomina; tantum offert illa, tantum ille pollicitus est, placentque sibi ad plausum populi ...⁴²

Can we take this as representing Eastern practice? Perhaps, since Jerome may have written his *Commentaries* in Bethlehem.

⁴¹ *Shape*, p. 120.

⁴² *Comm. in Ezechielem* 6, 18, PL 25, 175. Cf. *Comm. in Jeremiam* 2, 11, PL 24, 755.

Three things should be noted in this passage: 1) Jerome must be referring to more than gifts of bread and wine; otherwise there would have been to reason for competition among the offerers. 2) The offering was most likely not made in a public rite or procession, for otherwise the deacon would not have had to announce who had offered what. It would have been visible to all. 3) The offering probably did not take place at today's transfer of gifts because it would have taken an inordinate amount of time for the deacons to collect the gifts, write down the names of the offerers and what their gifts were, and then read the list.

c) *The Testamentum Domini* (2d half of 5th century):

The witness of the *Testamentum* is even clearer. 1) In an undeniable reference to the eucharistic bread, it is prohibited for the ministers to accept a eucharistic prosphora from a catechumen even if he is offering it for his Christian wife or child, because it is not to be offered (*netqarrab*) before he has received baptism. (I, 23, ed. RAHMANI, pp. 36-37) 2) Those to be baptised Holy Saturday night are instructed to bring nothing with them "except one bread for the eucharist" (II, 8, pp. 126-127). 3) These offerings are presented at the sacristy, which is located for this purpose near the entrance of the church so that the offerings can be controlled by the deacons: "Let the diaconicon be to the right of the right-hand entrance, so that the eucharists or oblations (*qurbānē*) that are offered can be watched" (I, 19, pp. 22-23).⁴³ 4) The names of the offerers, or of those for whom they offered their prosphora, were recorded by a priest and proto-deacon — again, undoubtedly a lengthy process that would hardly have been possible if the gifts were brought up by the faithful just before the anaphora.⁴⁴ 5) During the liturgy the deacon brings up the oblation (*qurbānā*) to the bishop, who offers thanks over it (II, 10, pp. 130-131).

From these texts it is obvious not only that the faithful offered gifts, but that they offered them not at the altar, nor in procession, but without ceremony or fuss, upon entering the church. It seems

⁴³ However it seems that the place where the names of the offerers were recorded was distinct from this sacristy. Cf. the following note.

⁴⁴ *Commemorationis causa aedificetur locus, in quo considens sacerdos cum proto-diacono et lectoribus inscribat nomina eorum, qui offerunt oblationes (qurbānē), vel pro quibus ii obtulerunt, ut, cum ab episcopo sacra offeruntur, lector vel proto-diaconus nominet illos in commemoratione, quam pro illis sacerdotes coetusque supplicantes faciunt ... Locus presbyterorum sit intra velum prope locum commemorationis.* (I, 19, ed. RAHMANI pp. 24-25).

also that the catechumens were present when the offerings were made (cf. no. 1).

d) *The Homily of James of Sarug* († 521):

Our most explicit witness to the offering by the faithful in the East is a document overlooked by most authors who have studied this problem: *The Homily of Mar James on the Memorial of the Dead and on the Eucharistic Bread and on the Fact that the Dead Profit by the Offerings and Alms Given for Them*.⁴⁵ The whole sermon is a common clerical lament: the faithful do not offer alms and gifts as they once did in the good old days. Only the offering for the dead has remained, and even this practice is dying out, James informs us. Among the offerings the author mentions are bread and wine for the eucharist:

... Inscribe your memorial and that of your deceased on the eucharistic bread and give it to the priest to offer before God ... Give to God his [= the deceased's] name and his memorial together with your offering ... (p. 539).

... All who have offered and brought the eucharistic bread he [the priest] commemorates with love (p. 545).

How were these gifts carried to the altar? From two passages one might infer that the faithful themselves put them on the altar:

Set his memorial on the altar in the house of atonement, with the bread and wine which is the mystery of the body and blood (p. 539).

... Believing heirs of a dead man departed bring bread and wine in his name to the holy altar ... (p. 547).

But such expressions must be figurative, for James speaks of widows bringing gifts, and women certainly did not enter the enclosed sanctuary of the 6th century Syrian church.⁴⁶ Furthermore,

⁴⁵ *Homiliae selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, ed. P. BEDJAN, Paris-Leipzig, 1905, I, pp. 353-550. There are at least two translations easily accessible, in English: H. CONNOLLY, *A Homily of Mār Jacob of Sêrûgh on the Memorial of the Departed and on the Eucharistic Loaf*, *Downside Review* 29, 1910, 260-270; and in German: JAKOB VON BATNĀ IN SARUG, *Gedicht über die Messe für die Verstorbenen*, in *Bibliothek der Kirchenwörter* (new series, vol. 6, Kempten and München, 1913) pp. 304-315 (56-67). We will give the page numbers to BEDJAN in the text itself. We have followed the version of Connolly in part, but for the more crucial passages we have made our own translation from the Syriac edition.

⁴⁶ Cf. TAFT, *Offertory*, pp. 87-88.

in other passages James states explicitly that the priest placed the gifts on the altar:

Bring bread and wine and love to the place of atonement, that with your memorial the priest may enter in before the Majesty. On the stones of the ephod Moses wrote the names of the tribes, that the priest might bring in the memorial of them to the holy of holies (p. 539).

For the souls of the dead the priest enters and sets the bread and wine of the oblation on the altar (p. 545).

How did the gifts get from the hands of the faithful into those of the priest? According to Jungmann, James "speaks about bread and wine which the faithful carry in procession to the altar."⁴⁷ There is one passage that might lend itself to this interpretation:

And if the former [men of the Old Testament] carried it [the shewbread] in procession upon their hands, how much more should the latter [Christians] apply themselves to it. And if the Old [Testament] conveyed it in procession ... how much more should the New be eager for its honor ... It was not Melchizedek that taught the Church what she should do: on her Lord she gazed, and as He did, so does she daily ... Jesus, who was God, taught her the Mystery. And behold, she cares for it, and bears it in procession, and glories in it ... (pp. 537-538).

The pa'el verb zayyah used here three times does mean "bear in pomp" or "carry in procession." But from this text it is not certain that there was a procession of the faithful. For although the Syriac 'ēdtā (church) can refer to the Church as a whole, to the church building, or to the congregation, from the context of the passage it seems clear that James is speaking of the Church in the broad sense and not of the congregation. Hence the reference to the Church bearing the gifts in procession can be applied equally well to a procession of the deacons — especially in the light of the evidence we have from homily 15 of Theodore of Mopsuestia that in North Syria at the end of the 4th century it was the deacons that brought in the gifts. Furthermore, the preacher explicitly avoids making what would have been the obvious parallel between the Old Testament procession and a procession of the faithful had this been the Syrian custom. Instead he uses the Old Testament practice as an argument for a personal offering by the faithful from their own hands. This at least seems to be indicated by the con-

⁴⁷ Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia* II, p. 4, n. 10.

text of the homily, where the author complains that many — especially the rich — have grown lax, and have a servant bring their prosphora to the church for them:

The eucharistic bread ... is despised, and no one brings it to the house of atonement ... (p. 542).
... [The rich man] sends the offering to the house of God by a maid ... Why don't you bring here your offering with your own hands ... ? What rich man has brought the eucharistic bread to God's house and carried it in his own hands ... ? Happy is the widow who ... does not send the eucharistic bread to the Lord as the rich man does, but brings it herself ... (pp. 549-550).

Had the faithful offered their gifts in procession, would the notables of the community have passed up their place of honor in an important ceremony, especially when their gifts would be the best, in the fanciest containers, and visible to all? But here we see them sending their prosphora on with the maid. In addition, what we know of the disposition of the Syrian church at this time, with its transverse barrier to keep the women back in the section reserved for them, would make it hard to envision a procession with their participation.⁴⁸ Since they did partake in the offering, however, it was probably done as described in the *Testamentum Domini* some years before James got off his lament in tones so familiar to post-Vatican II ears. A final argument against a procession of the laity just before the anaphora would be, again, the impossible task it would present the deacons of writing down and ordering on time for the diptychs, which in Syria occurred at this point,⁴⁹ the names of the dead that were handed in with the gifts.

e) *The Didascalia Arabica*:

The following passage from the *Didascalia arabica*, translated in 1295 from a post-5th century Coptic recension of the *Apostolic Constitutions* I-VI (cf. FUNK II, pp. xxviii ff.), also seems to imply that the offerings were handed over in a sacristy:

Supra ecclesiam e loco septentrionali sit domus oblatorum, et diaconi nomina eorum, qui singulis diebus dona afferunt, describant, sive sit pro vivis sive pro mortuis, ut sacerdos, quando

⁴⁸ Cf. TAPP, *Bema*, pp. 330 ff, 341 ff.

⁴⁹ On the place of the diptychs in the Syrian liturgies cf. the references to Theodore of Mopsuestia, Pseudo-Denys and Narsai in the table at the end of this chapter.

orat, eos commemoret, et ita in diacono eorum commemorationem hac hebdomade efficiat, et ei, qui prope velamenta sunt, sicut et populus simul orent pro illis (35, 14; FUNK II, p. 125).

In a previous chapter, when referring to the transfer of gifts, the same document says only the following: "Tum presbyter afferat panem et calicem eucharistiae." (23, 11; FUNK II, p. 123).

f) *The Liturgy of St. James*:

Finally we might mention the fact that although those who offer gifts are prayed for in all liturgies usually in terms so general that one cannot conclude to an offering of the eucharistic elements, in JAS from at least the 9th century on we find an explicit reference to those who offer eucharistic prosphorai (codex *Vat. Gr. 2282*, ed. MERCIER, p. 222, 5-7).

Other liturgical and patristic sources also give evidence that in the East the faithful offered gifts.⁵⁰ They will be found to substantiate our contention that: 1) the people "offered" almost everywhere in the East — but *what, when and how* is nowhere perfectly clear except in the *Testamentum Domini*; 2) the gifts were brought to the altar by the deacons shortly before the anaphora was to begin. The few sources which have the presbyters bring up the gifts, e. g. *Didascalia arabica* 23, 11 (FUNK II, p. 123), are later exceptions to the general rule. The sources never mention how the deacons received these gifts from the laity, but since present Byzantine practice is to offer a prosphora informally upon arriving at church, and there is *never* any mention of an offertory procession of the faithful, it seems gratuitous to propose such a procession as an intermediate step in the evolution from past to present practice. In the earliest sources the people handed in the gifts informally; the deacons brought them to the altar at the appointed time. The only difference between this and present practice in the Byzantine tradition is that the procession has evolved, as one might well have expected.

Of course most of the evidence proposed so far has been Syrian, and cannot be used as a proof of Byzantine practice. But if we

⁵⁰ The non-Byzantine evidence can be traced through the sources cited in note 36. Some sources have the deacons bring the gifts to the altar without, however, indicating that they were offered by the faithful — e. g. JOHN OF SCYTHROPOLIS, *Scholia* (post 532), incorporated by MAXIMUS into his *Scholia* 3, PG 4, 136 (cf. VON BALTHASAR, *Scholienwerk*, p. 26 on the attribution of this passage to John); Ps. DENYS, *EH* 3, PG 3, 425, 437; and other sources cited below in part III of this chapter.

turn to directly Byzantine evidence we shall see that it can be best interpreted in the light of what we have already seen. At any rate it certainly does not support the popular theory of the origin of the Great Entrance.

g) *The Offerings of the Faithful in Byzantine Sources:*

The Constantinopolitan homilies of Chrysostom refer to the faithful offering "προσφοραι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπελθόντων"⁵¹ but it is not certain that these offerings for the dead were bread and wine for the eucharist rather than alms or some other form of gift.⁵² And Chrysostom, who is otherwise so rich in liturgical information, says nothing of an offering or transfer of gifts during mass.⁵³ Hence the transfer of gifts could not have been of overriding importance, though on the basis of later evidence we can presume its existence.

Other Byzantine sources — especially canonical sources — from the 4th century on clearly refer to the fact that the faithful offered prosphorai for consecration at the eucharist. St. Basil, in two of his three canonical letters, speaks several times of the offering of the faithful.⁵⁴ Canon 7 attributed the Theophilus of Alexandria (385-412) is also concerned with regulating the gifts offered for the sacrifice (τὰ προσφερόμενα εἰς λόγον θυσίας).⁵⁵ Although this canon is included by Brightman at the end of his outline of "The Liturgy from the Writings of the Egyptian Fathers,"⁵⁶ we have it in its present redaction from Byzantine canonical sources, so regardless of its origins, the Byzantines incorporated it into their own law. The *Ecclesiastical Constitutions* of Nicephorus of Constantinople (806-815), the authenticity of which is doubtful, also contain several canons regulating the offering of gifts for consecration at the eucharist.⁵⁷ The initial rubric before the beginning

⁵¹ *In acta apost. hom.* 21, 4, PG 60, 170-171. See VAN DE PAVERD, *Messliturgie*, pp. 466, 501 ff, cf. 247 ff.

⁵² VAN DE PAVERD, *Messliturgie*, pp. 247-251.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 466.

⁵⁴ For the history of all this canonical material upon its entrance into Byzantine collections, cf. BECK, pp. 140 ff, 422 ff; N. MILASCH, *Das Kirchenrecht der morgenländischen Kirche*, (Mostar, 1905) esp. pp. 104 ff, 110-113. Here are the references to BASIL, which we cite and interpret in *Offertory*, pp. 90-91, text and note 4: *Epist. 2a* (= 199), 22, 44, PG 32, 724, 729. *Epist. 3a* (= 217), 56, 75, 77, PG 32, 797, 804, 805.

⁵⁵ Text in PG 65, 41. Cf. MARCEL RICHARD, *Les écrits de Théophile d'Alexandrie*, Mu 52, 1939, p. 48, no. 62: "Décisions canoniques byzantines attribuées à Théophile quatorze canons tirés de cinq écrits."

⁵⁶ Cf. LEW, p. 506.

⁵⁷ *S. Nicephori Constantinopoli Typicum et Constitutiones Ecclesiasticae*, ed. PITRA, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, IV, (Paris, 1858), canons 69, 72, 75,

of mass in the version of the 10th century Liturgy of St. Basil in the MS of Johannisberg, has the patriarch and clergy in the skeuophylakion before mass select the matter for the eucharist from the *oblatae a populis susceptae*.⁵⁸ Similar evidence can be adduced from the queries on the rubrics of the prothesis sent by a Greek priest to Metropolitan Elias of Crete circa 1120. The document, edited by Laurent from codex *Paris Gr. 1234*, states explicitly that the faithful offer prosphorai for the liturgy, and that commemorative particles are extracted for the offerer's intentions during the prothesis.⁵⁹

Finally, Balsamon († 1214) comments on the above mentioned canon 7 of Theophilus as if it were still in force at his time:

If perchance there is an excess of those [gifts of bread and wine] that are offered by the faithful for the sacrifice, after what are consumed in the divine mysteries, the clergy should divide them up so that they are eaten and drunk by them, and also by the lay faithful, but the catechumens are not to be given any of them. Because they were offered at the altar and from them a part was taken and sanctified for the divine gifts ... what is offered at the sacrifice is bread and wine, and it is not permitted to offer anything else at the altar.⁶⁰

And it is still common practice in countries of the Byzantine rite to offer a prosphora for the eucharist. Hanssens, it is true, maintains that the contemporary practice is not to be traced back to the primitive custom of offering gifts, but rather to the custom, first appearing in the 11th century, of offering at the prothesis prosphora-particles for the living and the dead.⁶¹ We must admit

98, 138, 146, pp. 395-411. Cf. also TAFT, *Offertory*, p. 92. On the question of authenticity, cf. BECK, p. 490.

⁵⁸ COCHLAEUS, *Speculum*, p. 119, cf. LEW, p. 539, 26 ff. The whole text is cited below, p. 187.

⁵⁹ LAURENT, *Procomidie*, p. 133, lines 220 ff, 222 ff.

⁶⁰ PG 65, 41.

⁶¹ *Institutiones* II, pp. 185-186. MANDALÀ (*Protesi*, pp. 118 ff) tries to argue from a canon of Nicephorus I and from JAS of *Vat. Gr. 2282* that the practice goes back to the 9th century. But the phrase of JAS (= MERCIER, p. 212, 5-7) proves only that prosphorai were offered for special intentions, and the same can be said for canon 72 of Nicephorus: "He does not sin who offers (προσκομίζων) one prosphora or lights one candle for three persons." (PITRA, *Spicilegium Solesmense* IV, p. 396.) Testimony to the practice from the 11th century on is adduced by HANSENS, *Institutiones* II, pp. 187 ff; MANDALÀ, *Protesi*, pp. 120 ff. To their sources should be added COZZA-LUZI's edition of the instruction of Patri-

that there are considerable gaps in our evidence. But the *argumentum ex silentio* is not convincing, especially in the absence of any positive evidence against the continuity of the practice.⁶² And Hanssens offers no proof of his point of view. Hence we can take it as highly probable that in the tradition of Constantinople and elsewhere in the East the faithful always offered gifts to be consecrated at the eucharistic liturgy.

h) *A Special Problem: Do the Imperial Offerings Indicate an Offertory Procession of the Faithful in Constantinople?*

As to *when* and *how* this offering of the faithful took place, the evidence is slight. All the Byzantine sources from Eutychius and Maximus on witness to the present practice: a "Great-Entrance" procession of the clergy.⁶³ But some authors have tried to use the well-documented custom of the imperial offerings as evidence for an offertory procession of the faithful in the rite of Constantinople. Let us consider this evidence.

(i) *The Story of Ambrose († 397) and Theodosius I (379-395):*

In his *Ecclesiastical History*⁶⁴ Theodoretus relates how the emperor Theodosius in Milan, "When the moment had arrived to bring the gifts to the holy table ... rose and entered the sanctuary. After the completed offering, however, he remained, as he was wont to do, within [the sanctuary], near-by the chancel." Doughty Ambrose, no one to have much truck with the greats of this world, huffed: "The purple makes emperors, not priests," and had a deacon tell the emperor to leave forthwith. Surprisingly enough, Theodosius left the sanctuary, excusing himself by saying that he

arch Nicholas III Grammaticus (1084-1111) from codex *Grottaferrata Gb VIII* (*Parergon liturgicum: Domini Nicolai Patriarchae Constantinopolensis de ratione, qua sacerdos facere debet oblationem*, in A. MAI, *Patrum Nova Bibliotheca* X, 2, Roma, 1905, pp. 111-112), and the already mentioned response of Elias of Crete edited by Laurent (cf. note 59 above), which refers to the regulations of Nicholas III.

⁶² BRIGHTMAN also appears to hold for continuity of this practice (cf. *Chronicle: Liturgica*, *JTS* 121, 1912, p. 321).

⁶³ See below, pp. 42 ff and chapter V *passim*.

⁶⁴ THEODORETUS, *Hist. eccl.* 5, 18 (PG 82, 1236-7); cf. SOZOMEN, *Hist. eccl.* 7, 25 (PG 67, 1496-7). The occasion was the first eucharist to which the emperor was admitted as a communicant following his penance for the massacre of Thessalonika. HANSSSENS (*Institutiones* III, p. 281) is wrong in saying that this affair "non ad ritum orientalem sed ad italicum pertinet", because Theodoretus explicitly states that he also offered in the capital. The difference was that there he remained in the sanctuary for communion.

had remained not from presumption, but because it was the custom in Constantinople for him to wait within for communion.

Even after his return to the capital, he followed Ambrose's admonition. "... He brought the gifts to the holy table, but immediately afterwards left the sanctuary," so that the Patriarch Nectarius was surprised and asked, "Why didn't you stay in the inner room?"

There are four points we should note here:

1. Though the customs of Milan and Constantinople differed, in neither tradition was there any problem about the emperor offering his gift in the sanctuary. The whole point of contention was whether he should then leave.
2. Because of the special position — *ecclesiastical* position of the Byzantine emperor and the liturgical honors accorded him, one cannot argue from imperial ritual to any general usage on the part of the laity in the capital.⁶⁵ In fact canon 69 of the Council in Trullo and later Byzantine sources explicitly forbid any layman but the emperor to enter the sanctuary.⁶⁶ Hence even if it is an "offertory procession" that is referred to in the incident, the passage could simply mean that the emperor participated in the Great Entrance along with the deacons —

⁶⁵ The *De officiis*, a treatise on the functions of the imperial court circa 1350-1360, describes the emperor's participation in the Great Entrance during the liturgy of his coronation. Nothing is said about his offering any gift, nor does he enter the sanctuary. He merely accompanies the procession bearing a staff and cross. In so doing, the treatise states that he is exercising the order of "deputy" (Ἐπέχει γοῦν τότε τάξιν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἢν καλοῦσι τοῦ δευτάτου). Cf. PSEUDO-KODINOS, *Traité des offices*, ed. VERPEAUX, p. 264 (cited below, pp. 201-2) and also pp. 357-358. The "deputy" was a minor cleric of the Great Church. Those who held the order bore candles in the entrances, or went before the patriarch with a staff, etc. Cf. DU CANGE, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis*, Lyon, 1688 - Graz, 1958, p. 281; J. DARROUZÈS, *Recherches sur les offices de l'église byzantine* (= *Archives de l'orient chrétien* II) Paris, 1970, pp. 231 n. 4, 284 n. 4 and *passim* (cf. *index*). The ordination prayer for this order is given in GOAR², p. 198.

⁶⁶ MANSI, II, 973. HEFELE-LECLERQ (*Histoire des conciles*, III, I, Paris, 1909, p. 571 note 1), concerning this canon, state with no justification whatsoever that all the people were to enter the sanctuary and offer their gifts, but that "Byzantine flattery" at Constantinople allowed the emperor to remain there instead of leaving like everyone else. NICETAS STETHATOS of Stoudios († circa 1090) also says that entrance to the sanctuary is forbidden to all laity except "to emperors bearing gifts" (δῶρα προσφέρουσι), *Epist.* 8, 3, *Opuscules et Lettres*, ed. DARROUZÈS, *Sources chrét.* 81, Paris, 1961, p. 282. Cf. also NICHOLAS CABASILAS, *Liturgiae expositio* 24, PG 150, 420.

a practice for which we have proof at a later date.⁶⁷ It is no proof of an offertory procession of the faithful.

3. Furthermore, we have no evidence that the "gifts" in question were bread and wine for the eucharist. One might object that they must have been bread and wine because to offer anything else at mass (and here it is clearly a question of mass) was forbidden. However, these prohibitions were freely ignored. That is why they are so often repeated.
4. There are other sources that refer to the emperor offering gifts in the sanctuary at the altar. These gifts are offered *at the beginning of the liturgy*, and they are monies or vessels, *but not bread and wine*.⁶⁸

(ii) *The Story of Basil († 379) and Valens (364-378):*

Theodosius was not the first Byzantine emperor to stub his imperial toe on a Father of the church, as we see in the meeting between his predecessor Valens and Basil the Great, recounted by Basil's brother Gregory Nazianzen († c. 390) in his eulogy. It is the only one of the proofs adduced by Brightman for the early Byzantine offertory that Hanssens thinks worthy of consideration.⁶⁹ As the story goes, the emperor arrived in church on the feast of the Epiphany with his entourage, and took his place with the faithful, thus signifying his union with them. (It will be remembered that Valens was an Arian, and this was the point of his disunity and clash with Basil.) Valens appears to have been a pious soul in spite of his heresies, and the psalmody, the devotion of the crowd, the sight of the great bishop standing facing the people, so moved him that, as Gregory tells it,

... when he [= Valens] was to present on the divine table the gifts he himself had made, and no one took them from him, as was customary, because it was not certain that they would be accepted [by Basil], at that moment his discomfiture was manifest ...⁷⁰

Both Hanssens and Bishop have pointed out that already in the 9th century Nicetas Serronius interpreted the "gifts" in this anecdote as "gold vessels which he himself [= Valens] had made."⁷¹

⁶⁷ Cf. notes 65 and 76.

⁶⁸ Cf. note 76.

⁶⁹ LEW, p. 525; HANSENS, *Institutiones*, III, pp. 280-81.

⁷⁰ *Oratio 43 in laudem S. Basilii Magni*, 52, PG 36, 564.

⁷¹ HANSENS; *Institutiones*, III, p. 281; BISHOP, *Appendix to Narsai*, p. 116; SERRONIUS' text is given in PG 36, 563 note 12.

At any rate we find it hard to imagine Valens puttering around the kitchen baking bread, in spite of Fleury's pious observation in his *Histoire Ecclésiastique*: "On voit que ... chacun faisoit de sa main le pain qu'il offroit et que l'empereur même n'en étoit pas dispensé; car il ne paroît pas que ces dons pussent être autre chose".⁷² Admittedly, Nicetas' testimony is so distant from the fact that it bears no extrinsic weight whatever. But Bishop quite rightly shows that the passage from the eulogy in itself proves nothing. The emperor's gift could have been — and probably was — something precious, and not bread and wine. However, Bishop's comment that it *could not* have been bread and wine for the eucharist because Valens was an Arian is not pertinent.⁷³ Basil had no business receiving *any* gift, even money, from anyone not in full communion with the church.⁷⁴ Dix resumes the argument against Bishop, and not without justice.⁷⁵ For it does seem that Valens offered his gift at the time of today's Great Entrance. But we remain sceptical still of the validity of arguing from imperial practice to general usage. And regardless of when the offering was made, it seems better to interpret the gift, with Nicetas, as once of precious vessels, since this fits in with *all* the other evidence we have of offerings by the Byzantine Emperors.⁷⁶

⁷² Quoted by F. Boulenger in *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours funèbres en l'honneur de son frère Césaire et de Basile de Césarée*, ed. F. BOULENGER (= *Textes et documents pour l'étude historique du christianisme*), Paris, 1908, p. xeviii.

⁷³ BISHOP, *Appendix to Narsai*, pp. 116 ff, and *Liturgical Comments and Memoranda*, JTS, 12, 1911, p. 391.

⁷⁴ Cf. for example *Didascalia* and *Apost. Const.* IV, 6 ff (FUNK I., pp. 224 ff); *Ex constitutionibus capitula* 28-29 (FUNK II, p. 142); EPIPHANIUS, *Adv. haer.* 3, 2; *Expositio fidei* 24, PG 42, 832.

⁷⁵ Cf. DIX, *Shape*, p. 123 note 3. What Dix is resuming, actually, is the dispute on this point between Brightman and Bishop. BISHOP (*Appendix to Narsai*, pp. 116 ff) criticised what BRIGHTMAN said on the offertory in LEW. BRIGHTMAN responded in *Chronicle*, JTS 12, 1911, p. 320.

⁷⁶ First, as far as we know the references to the emperor's offerings never use terminology that must clearly be read as the eucharistic gifts (e. g. τὰ ἅγια δῶρα). Cf. for example *In Trullo* canon 69 (MANSI 11, 973); προσάξαι δῶρα; or the decree of Theodosius II (MANSI 5, 441) declaring that the emperor was to leave the sanctuary after making his offering (τὴν τῶν δωρεῶν προσφορὰν); or Nicetas Stethatos cited above in note 66. The *Book of Ceremonies* (10th c.), which often has the emperor offering gifts, specifies what the gifts were, and *they are never bread and wine*. The description of the paschal liturgy in Hagia Sophia makes it perfectly clear that 1) the emperor offered his gifts at the introit; 2) that the gifts were vessels and a purse, not bread and wine; and 3) that at the Great Entrance he did not offer, nor even enter the sanctuary:

(iii) *The Mosaics of Ravenna:*

According to Mathews, the recent polemic between Stričević and Grabar over whether the mosaics of Justinian and Theodora in San Vitale, Ravenna, represent the Great Entrance or not must be decided for the negative. Mathews argues further, and quite effectively, that not only is it not the Great Entrance; it is also not merely an act of imperial largesse, as Grabar thought, but the Minor Entrance or first introit, when it was customary for the emperor to make his donation. At the Great Entrance it is the deacons who carry the gifts. The emperor carries a lamp. But in the panels of Ravenna, one deacon carries a book and the bishop Maximianus holds the cross, which were carried in the Minor, not the Great Entrance. Besides, the bishop marched in

a) *The Introit:*

"The patriarch comes to meet [the emperor], and the emperor kisses the gospel and cross. Then the emperor and the patriarch go up to the royal doors [i. e. of the church]. The patriarch begins the Prayer of the Entrance of the Divine Liturgy and the emperor, after taking the candles from the praepositus, prays. After both have offered their prayers to the Lord, the emperor ... traverses with the patriarch the middle of the nave; they go alongside the ambo and enter the solea. On arriving at the holy doors [i. e. of the chancel] the patriarch enters the sanctuary and the emperor, after lighting candles and praying, gives the candles to the praepositus and enters the sanctuary. As he is about to enter, the metropolitans who are standing occupying the holy doors make a small sign to the emperor ... [who] enters the sanctuary and after praying before the holy table, spreads two ephrasyon and places on them the previously brought in objects: two discoi and two chalices. Then he kisses the holy linens and taking the apokombion [= purse] from the hands of the praepositus, he puts it on the holy table. The emperor ... leaves the sanctuary and goes to the metatorion.

b) *The "Great Entrance":*

"When the sacred gifts are about to pass through [μελλούσιν διέρχουσι θύραις], the emperor puts on the mantle and, preceded by his usual entourage, goes to the place where the candle stands, i. e. the lamp that he is to carry. [Then the author describes how the emperor meets the procession near the ambo and accompanies it up to the sanctuary] ... and the emperor passes through [between the ranks of patricians] accompanying the holy gifts. After entering within the solea, near the holy doors ... the emperor stands near the candle until the holy gifts have passed by. When the gifts have gone through, the emperor and the patriarch bow profoundly to each other and the emperor, preceded by his usual entourage, goes away to the metatorion via the outside of the sanctuary." I, 9, ed. Voort I, pp. 58-60. Cf. also I, 1, pp. 10-13; I, 10, p. 69; I, 32(23), pp. 122-123; I, 35(26), pp. 134-135; I, 39(30), pp. 154-155; I, 44(35), p. 170.

the First Entrance, not in the procession of the gifts, and the participation of women in the Great Entrance is out of the question.⁷⁷

Conclusion from the Imperial Offerings

Still, when all is said and done, from the context of the stories it seems to us quite probable that the emperor participated in the transfer of the eucharistic gifts. At a later date both the *De caerimoniis* and the *De officiis* witness to his participation in the Great Entrance.⁷⁸ But this is no more than what we have already said: that in the East, the faithful offered gifts, among these gifts were bread and wine for the eucharist, and these were transferred to the altar by the clergy (and here we can include the emperor because of his quasi-hierarchical position) at the appointed time.

i) *Offertory Credences in Hagia Sophia?*

Finally, we have a reference in the *Chronicon paschale* for the year 624 to credences or side-altars (παρατραπέζια)⁷⁹ which de Meester takes as evidence that there were small tables on which the faithful deposited their gifts, since access to the sanctuary and main altar was forbidden them.⁸⁰ This idea is not in itself unreasonable. But in the *Chronicon* these tables are used in the communion rite, not in an offertory rite, and we know from other sources that the faithful left their gifts in the skeuophylakion. Furthermore, in the *De caerimoniis* we learn that a small table (ἀντιπέδιον) was used at the communion of the emperor, and also in the imperial coronation and wedding rites to hold the chlamyde and crowns, but never in an offertory rite.⁸¹ At any rate their

⁷⁷ MATHIEWS, *Early Churches*, pp. 146-147. On the whole dispute, cf. GRABAR, *Quel est le sens de l'offrande*; STRIČEVIĆ, *Iconografia*, 5-27; ID., *Djakonikon* pp. 63, 66. Grabar (p. 63) does not consider the offering in the mosaics to be a part of any liturgical rite, but just an offering pure and simple — though he formerly held it to be a representation of the ceremony of the purse (apokombion) described in the *Book of Ceremonies* (see the previous note) and clearly done at the liturgy (cf. GRABAR, *L'empereur*, pp. 106-107). GRABAR in *Quel est le sens de l'offrande* reviews various attempts that have been made to interpret this mosaic as a representation of the Great Entrance. He also dispenses with various other bits of archeological evidence that some have brought forward in an attempt to prove a ceremonial offering by the faithful in the East.

⁷⁸ Cf. notes 65, 76, and pp. 201-2 below.

⁷⁹ PG 92, 1001.

⁸⁰ *Origines*, p. 303.

⁸¹ *De caerimoniis* I, 10, ed. Voort, I, p. 70; II, 47(38), 49(40), 50(41).

existence is hardly proof of an offering of the faithful just before the anaphora.

2. *The Theological Argument*

The theoretical or theological argument based on the discipline of the catechumenate is *a priori*: the faithful *must have offered* just before the anaphora since they could not have offered in the presence of the catechumens. It is true that only the faithful could offer, but the liturgical evidence we have already seen does not support the presupposition that the offerings were handed in only after the dismissals. On the contrary, the texts we have quoted prohibiting catechumens, penitents, etc. to offer give us the impression that they were written precisely because these classes were present when the people handed in their gifts and hence the deacons had to take care to accept offerings only from the faithful in good standing. What would have been the problem if these grades weren't even there? ⁸² That at least is the impression given by the *Didascalia* and the *Testamentum Domini*. The people gave the gifts to the deacon in the diaconicon located near the door of the church as they arrived for the liturgy, and he was there precisely to see that only those fit to offer did so; a pointless duty if no one else was there. Texts such as those of Athanasius which forbid "offering" in the presence of the catechumens refer to the celebration of the eucharistic synaxis as a whole, and not to what we now call the "offertory". ⁸³

Petrovskij is at pains to have this handing over of the gifts after the dismissals, because he is trying to prove that the present-day prothesis rite (in its primitive form of course) could not have taken place at the beginning of the liturgy. ⁸⁴ But this is a totally different question. There was no such thing as a pro-

VOGT II, pp. 3, 11, 16. PS.-CODINUS, *Narratio de structura templi S. Sophiae* 16, ed. T. PRAGER, *Scriptores originum constantinopolitanarum* fasc. 1, Leipzig, 1901, p. 94, has a passage referring to four silver tables, but they are the capitals of the four columns supporting the main altar and not auxiliary altars as has sometimes been supposed: Τραπεζας δὲ ἀργυρᾶς τέσσαρας τῷ ἁγίῳ θυσιαστηρίῳ ἑστῆσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς κίονας [i. e. of the altar which were referred to in the previous sentence] καὶ αὐτὰς κατεχρῶσατο.

⁸² At least one grade was there, the last grade of penitents, the εὐοτάτους. See the references in note 54, (BASIL), and TAFT, *Offertory procession*, pp. 90-91, note 4.

⁸³ Cf. *Apologia contra Arianos* 28, (PG 25, 296); 46, (PG 25, 332). LEW, p. 507, note 7 also has the texts.

⁸⁴ *Drevnij akt prinošenija*, pp. 407 ff.

thesis rite at the beginning or anywhere else, nor any offertory prayer, in the early centuries. The "preparation of the gifts" as it is now called consisted simply in the deacons gathering the gifts and watching over them until the time for the transfer, and then selecting as much bread as needed, mixing the wine and water, and carrying it all in at the appointed time. We must remember that the Byzantine rite is basically the rite of the Great Church, and in a cathedral the size of Hagia Sophia to have done all this in the church itself just before the transfer of gifts would have taken an enormous amount of time. That the transfer itself was done everywhere just before the anaphora is obvious, just as it is obvious that today's preparation of gifts before mass represents in part a misplacing of liturgical elements. But that question is beyond the scope of this chapter.

3. *The Archeological Argument*

What of the archeological argument that the introduction of pastophoria flanking the apse in Eastern church architecture indicates that the supposed offertory procession of the faithful — or, according to some, the offering of gifts by the faithful even if there had been no procession — had died out, and that the "Great Entrance" had been "introduced" into the liturgy? We have already seen that the offerings of the faithful never seem to have been suppressed in Constantinople. Hence that could not have been the cause for the supposed change in the liturgical disposition of the church, at least in the capital. Furthermore, T. Mathews has recently attacked this theory on archeological grounds, and has demonstrated that the tripartite sanctuary was introduced at Constantinople long after we have evidence for the existence of the Great Entrance in more or less its present form. ⁸⁵ The theory is based largely on archeological evidence from Greece and Macedonia. But even in these regions great variety is found in the liturgical disposition of the church, and one cannot work out a clear chronological progression to connect the architectural change with a shift in liturgical practice. And at any rate, as Mathews

⁸⁵ MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, *passim*, and p. 107: "In later churches within Constantinople itself, the planning of the east end is again quite different. Starting with the Budrum Camii and the north church of the Fenari Isa Camii, both from the early tenth century, later Constantinopolitan church planning regularly flanks the central apse with two small side apses, each of which is preceded by a diminutive sanctuary bay of its own."

has demonstrated, "in pre-iconoclastic times ... one can identify the Byzantine liturgy only as the liturgy of Constantinople. In other centers the literary evidence is either entirely lacking or it indicates a non-Byzantine liturgy". For Greece, there is not a shred of literary evidence, and the archeological evidence "indicates that the Greeks used a rather different rite" from that of the Great Church. "Only after the 9th century does one observe a uniformity of liturgical planning between Constantinople and Greece."⁸⁶

CONCLUSION

It would seem, then, that contemporary Byzantine practice is a fairly accurate reflection of what has always been the Oriental custom regarding the offerings of the faithful: the people bring to the priest their prosphora with a list of the living and dead for whom they wish him to pray, whenever they happen to arrive in church. These gifts remain in the skeuophylakion or prothesis until after the Liturgy of the Word, when they are then transferred to the altar in the Great Entrance.

In Russia today so many breads are offered that non-concelebrating priests must be pressed into service to extract the commemorative particles from them right up until the Great Entrance, and the rest of the offerings are held over until the next liturgy. The author has seen in Rumania a constant stream of people going up to the north door of the iconostasis with their prosphora after the liturgy has begun. And it is said that in the villages of Greece each family still brings to the Sunday liturgy seven offerings: a prosphora loaf, a cruet of wine, some oil for the lamps, a candle, a few grains of incense, a coin, and the family diptychs.⁸⁷

We cannot, of course, prove that such practices are in direct continuity with ancient usage. However, one thing at least is certain. For Constantinople there is not the slightest trace of an offertory procession or an offering by the faithful at the point of today's transfer of gifts.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

⁸⁷ Cf. A. VAN DER MENSBRUGGE, *Concerning the Shape of the Liturgy, Eastern Churches Quarterly* 6, 1945, p. 185; P. HAMMOND, *The Waters of Marah*, pp. 60-61.

III. EARLY DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PROCESSION OF THE GIFTS

Theodore of Mopsuestia († 426)

The earliest witness to anything resembling today's ritualized transfer of gifts is found in the Mystagogic Catecheses of Theodore of Mopsuestia, a series of homilies which most scholars believe to have been delivered at Antioch, where Theodore had served as presbyter for a decade before becoming bishop of Mopsuestia in 392.⁸⁸ We will cite the famous passage at length, because of its importance not only in what it describes, but in the way it speaks of the procession.

It is the deacons who bring out this oblation ... which they arrange and place on the awe-inspiring altar, a vision ... awe-inspiring even to the onlookers. By means of the symbols we must see Christ who is now being led out and going forth to his passion, and who, in another moment, is laid out for us on the altar ... And when the offering that is about to be presented is brought out in the sacred vessels, the patens and chalices, you must think that Christ our Lord is coming out, led to his passion ... by the invisible hosts of ministers ... who were also present when the passion of salvation was being accomplished ... And when they bring it out, they place it on the holy altar to represent fully the passion. Thus we may think of him placed on the altar as if henceforth in a sort of sepulchre, and as having already undergone the passion. That is why the deacons who spread linens on the altar represent by this the figure of the linen cloths of the burial ... [And afterwards] they stand on both sides and fan the air [aer] above the holy body so that nothing will fall upon it. They show by this ritual the greatness of the body lying there ... which is holy, awe-inspiring, and far from all corruption ... a body that will soon rise to an immortal nature ... It is evident that there were angels beside the tomb,

⁸⁸ This is the opinion of ALTANER (*Patrology*, New York, 1961, p. 372), QUASTEN (*Patrology*, Westminster Maryland, 1960, vol. 3, p. 409) and DEVREESSE (*Introduction*, TONNEAU-DEVREESSE, p. XVI). LIETZMANN (*Liturgie des Theodor von Mopsuestia*, p. 72) held for Mopsuestia during the period of Theodore's episcopate (392-428), and S. JANERAS leans toward the same opinion (*En quels jours furent prononcées les homélies catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste ?* in *Mémorial Mgr. Gabriel Khouri-Sarkis*, Louvain, 1969, p. 133). Recently Dom B. BORRE has argued not ineffectively for Tarsus where Theodore was a guest of Diodore shortly before being appointed bishop (Cf. *L'onction postbaptismale dans l'ancien patriarcat d'Antioche*, in *Miscellanea Liturgica in onore di S. E. il Cardinale G. Lercaro*, Roma, 1967, vol. 2, pp. 805-806).

seated on the stone... and now too shouldn't one depict as in an image the similitude of this angelic liturgy?... [the deacons] stand around and wave their fans... because the body lying there is truly Lord by its union with the divine nature. It is with great fear that it must be laid out, viewed, and guarded. These things take place in complete silence because, although the liturgy has not yet begun, still it is fitting to watch the bringing out and deposing of such a great and wonderful object in recollection and fear and a silent and quiet prayer, without saying anything... and when we see the oblation on the altar as if it were being placed in a kind of sepulchre after death, a great silence falls on those present. Because that which is taking place is awe-inspiring, they must look on it in recollection and fear, since it is suitable that now, by the liturgy... Christ our Lord rise, announcing to all the participation in ineffable benefits. We remember therefore the death of our Lord in the oblation because it makes manifest the resurrection and the ineffable benefits.

Then comes prayer, not a silent prayer, but [one] proclaimed aloud by the chant of the deacon...

After he has finished his appointed service and admonished all with his voice and exhorted them to recite the prayers that are suitable to ecclesiastical gatherings, and while all are silent, the priest begins the rite of the prothesis, and before all else he offers prayer to God, because before all other things that are indispensable to the fear of God he has necessarily to begin with prayer. This is especially true of this awe-inspiring service, for which we are in need of God's help... And the priest concludes his prayer after having offered thanks to the Lord for the great things he has provided for our salvation... and for having given us knowledge of these wonderful mysteries.... After this he offers thanksgiving for himself for having been appointed servant of such an awe-inspiring sacrament. He prays also for the grace of the Holy Spirit, so that he may perform this ministry free, by God's grace, from all evil conscience, and without fear of any punishment, as he, being infinitely beneath the dignity of such a ministry, draws nigh to things way above himself.⁸⁸

To this prayer the people respond "Amen!" Then the priest greets the people with "Peace be to you", the kiss of peace is exchanged,

⁸⁸ *Homily 15*, 24 ff, ed. TONNEAU-DEVRESSE, pp. 503 ff. We are using basically the English translation of A. MINGANA, revising it when it departs too much from either the Syriac text as interpreted by TONNEAU-DEVRESSE or from reasonably intelligible English. (Cf. *Commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Lord's Prayer and on the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist*, Woodbrooke Studies 6, Cambridge, 1933, pp. 85-89.

the concelebrating priests wash their hands, the diptychs are proclaimed, and then the anaphora begins.

Here for the first time we see the beginnings of a theory of the eucharistic liturgy as an anamnesis of the resurrection, and of the procession with the gifts as the burial procession of Christ.⁸⁹ This will eventually lead, in the Byzantine tradition at least, to the interpretation of the liturgy as culminating in a resurrection from a passion or sacrifice accomplished before the liturgy has even begun.

Where this concept arose, we have no idea. But whatever its origins, Dix is right in observing that by Theodore's time the entrance of the gifts had evolved into a ritual of central importance in the liturgy he describes.

Whatever its original intention of mere convenience, this [procession] had evidently become by Theodore's time an imposing ceremony, which had completely eclipsed the simple placing of the oblation on the altar... It is now the *procession* which attracts attention, which impresses and evokes religious emotion; the actual offering has become merely the terminus of this. It is therefore the procession which Theodore has to account for, and since it can hardly be interpreted as in itself the central act of the eucharist (though it has already by the fifth century become the moment of the greatest ritual splendour in the whole rite and remains so still among the Byzantines) it must be regarded as the *consequence* of something. And since this is the opening of the eucharist proper, the whole centre of gravity of the rite has been shifted back to 'before the liturgy begins' — to something which has happened in the sacristy, in fact. The Byzantine *prothesis* only puts into action the underlying conception by its obvious symbolism of the enacting of the passion outside the eucharist altogether...⁹¹

By the time of Theodore, then, the former simple transfer of gifts has already become a "Great" Entrance. We are not concerned here with the obvious theological problems posed by his interpretation of this new development. But as we shall see, this interpretation was to find its way into the Byzantine liturgical commentaries, and inevitably affected the ritual of the liturgy itself.

From Theodore's description of the entrance we should note the following elements, some of which will have decisive influence

⁸⁹ Dix, *Shape*, pp. 288-289.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

on the theology of the liturgy, especially of the prothesis and Great Entrance, in the Byzantine East:

1. The burial-cortège symbolism.
2. The sacramental realism: the gifts are already the body (dead) of Christ.
3. Only the deacons take part in the procession; the priest awaits its arrival in the sanctuary.
4. There is no accompanying chant.
5. A new, hitherto unknown eucharistic element appears here for the first time, between the *preces* and the eucharistic prayer: a prayer proclaimed by the deacon, followed by a prayer of the priest.⁹² But with respect to this last point, we should be very wary of calling this prayer an "offertory" prayer. When Theodore says "the priest begins the *office of the prothesis* (tešmeštā d'syāmā)," this should not be understood as referring to a *prothesis* in the modern Byzantine sense of the term.⁹³ In the ceremonial of the procession described by Theodore, there is no "offertory". After the gifts are brought in, the priest says a prayer *not over the gifts*, but in preparation for the ministry that he is about to begin.⁹⁴

Narsai († 502)

A century later, we find the same interpretation of the procession in the *Liturgical Homilies* of Narsai.

Let us put aside ... anger and hatred,
and look upon Jesus led to death for us.
He goes forth to suffer in the paten and
chalice, with the deacons ...

It is the symbol of his death that they carry in their hands,
and when they place it on the altar and cover it,
they symbolise his burial.

⁹² There is a parallel piece after the creed in the East-Syrian mass (cf. LEW, p. 271).

⁹³ The Syriac tešmeštā d'syāmā (ed. TONNEAU-DEVRESSE, p. 510, 25; cf. 508, 16) is probably a translation of some form of τῆθημι such as πρόθεσις and ἐπιθέσις, both used by Ps-DENYS who was also describing a Syrian offertory procession (cf. EH 3, PG 3, 425 and 437). Or it could simply mean the gifts deposited on the altar (τὰ προσέτιμα, τὰ προτιθέμενα) or the anaphora itself.

⁹⁴ Cf. Hom. 15, 32-3 ed. TONNEAU-DEVRESSE, pp. 512-513.

The deacons do not represent the Jews, but the watchers who ministered at the passion of the Son.

He was served by the angels during his passion,
and the deacons accompany his body which is suffering mystically ...

All the priests in the sanctuary represent
the apostles who gathered at the sepulchre.

The altar is the symbol of the tomb of our Lord ...

The veil above them [i. e. the bread and wine]
presents a symbol, that of the stone sealed with
the seal of the priests and guards.

The deacons who stand on each side and wave their fans
are a symbol of the angels ...

The sanctuary is the symbol of the garden of Joseph
[of Arimathea] ...⁹⁵

The Apostolic Constitutions (late 4th century) and Pseudo-Denys (end of 5th century)

Still, the highly developed interpretation of the procession in Theodore and Narsai is a long step from Justin and Hippolytus, or even from the homilies of Chrysostom and the *Apostolic Constitutions*, both contemporaneous with the homilies of Theodore of Mopsuestia. The *Constitutions* VIII, 12, 3-4 (FUNK I, pp. 494-496) states that after the *pax* and *lavabo*, and a final warning against the presence of anyone except the faithful, "the deacons bring up the gifts to the bishop at the altar." Deacons with flabella are mentioned too, but they serve no symbolic purpose. They are to prevent flies from messing up the gifts. And the pontiff at the altar surrounded by the priests prays silently with them, then puts on his "bright vestment" and goes right into the anaphora without any explicit *oratio super oblata* or *apologia*.

The same simplicity is seen in Pseudo-Denys, a contemporary of Narsai. He also describes a Syrian-type liturgy, and mentions the transfer of gifts without assigning it any special importance or meaning.⁹⁶

So the tradition of a simple transfer of gifts was still in vogue in parts of Syria during the century between Theodore's and Narsai's preaching. Perhaps the source of this new develop-

⁹⁵ Ed. CONNOLLY, *Narsai, Homily 17*, pp. 3-4, revised on the basis of the Latin version in JAMICO, *Messe chaldéenne*, pp. 172-173. Cf. also *Homily 21*, ed. CONNOLLY, pp. 55-56, and KHOURI-SARKIS, *Mystères*, pp. 312-315.

⁹⁶ EH 3, PG 3, 425, 437.

ment can be traced to Theodore's door. At any rate in Theodore and Narsai we find not only a procession both solemn and important, with only the chant missing, but a symbolic interpretation that was soon to become standard in the East. And in Theodore we also have the first new eucharistic element of the "second stratum", a new prayer between the *oratio fidelium* and the anaphora.

The Rahmani Codex (6th century)

Another early Syriac source, the *Bibliotheca Rahmani Codex Syr. 303* (8-9th c.)⁹⁷ gives us a fuller description of the pre-anaphoral rites, and adds a chant — two of them, in fact. According to Rahmani the codex itself dates from the 8-9th century, but the liturgy it describes seems to be pre-7th century.⁹⁸ We will give in full the ordo prescribed by the document following the gospel:

And the litany (litania).
 And the bishop prays.
 And the archdeacon carries the gospel book which had been put on the altar.
 And the Greek deacon cries: "Ὅσοι κατηχῆσθε πορεύεσθε!"
 And after him the Syrian deacon: "All those who have not received the seal, depart!"
 And all the deacons cry out in this manner until they enter to the altar.
 And the archdeacon bearing the gospel cries: "Οἱ κατηχούμενοι πορεύεσθε! τὰς θύρας!"

⁹⁷ *Ordo quo episcopus urbem inire debet*, ed. I. E. RAHMANI, *Studia Syriaca*, fasc. III, Charfeh, 1908, pp. 1-4 [versio 16-22]. Cf. also the French translation and commentary of KHOURI-SARKIS, *Réception d'un évêque syrien au VIe siècle*, *OrSyr* 2, 1957, 137-148. There is also a Greek retroversion in HANSENS, *Institutiones*, III, pp. 542-3.

⁹⁸ RAHMANI's edition is based on a recent copy of an 8-9th cent. MS belonging to the Jacobite church in Mediad near Mardin. Both RAHMANI (*Ordo*, p. [4]) and KHOURI-SARKIS, (*Réception*, pp. 139-145) date the MS at least before the Moslem conquest of Syria. KHOURI-SARKIS places it in the 6th century, a date accepted by P. E. GEMAYEL, *Avant-messe maronite* (= *OCA* 174), Rome, 1965, p. 152. The argument that to receive a bishop with such pomp and display would have been impossible under the Arabs presumes that the MS could not have been from a border town under Byzantine control. But the other arguments for the date are well taken: the presence of the Trisagion and creed (introduced in the 5th cent.) and the absence of the *Monogenes* (introduced in the 6th cent.). W. Macomber of the Pontifical Oriental Institute agrees with this date.

And the doors and veils are closed.
 And right away the vigilers (šahhārē) chant the ma'nyātā.
 And water for the lavabo is brought to the bishop and all the priests.
 And the bishop enters and stands before the altar, and immediately the psalmists begin to sing the alleluia before the mysteries (alleluya qdām rāzē). And as soon as they have arrived at the door of the sanctuary, the veils are opened.
 And as soon as the mysteries are placed on the altar, the bishop offers incense, and they say the creed [explicit].⁹⁹

⁹⁹ Ed. RAHMANI, *Ordo*, pp. 3-4 [20-22]. The Syriac text gives the Greek texts in transliteration. Note the term litania instead of the more usual kārōzūtā, which is used, however, earlier in the MS. (Cf. KHOURI-SARKIS, *Réception*, p. 177). The bilingual character of the liturgy inevitably raises the question as to its place of origin. The whole of Syria was bilingual, as was the city of Jerusalem (see the texts offered in proof of this by RAHMANI, *Ordo*, pp. 5-15). We have already discussed this subject (*Bema*, p. 355) where we argued for the Maphrianate of Tikrit as a possible place of origin. But before this question will be adequately solved — which we have no intention of attempting here — the following will also have to be considered: the ordo of the liturgy in this MS is far closer to that of Greek JAS than to that of the actual Jacobite or Nestorian liturgies:

<i>Codex Rahmani</i>	<i>JAS</i> (MERCIER, pp. 176-182)
gospel	gospel
litany	litany
prayer of bishop	prayer
dismissals	dismissals
hymn	—
lavabo	—
bishop enters sanctuary	—
chant before the mysteries	—
transfer of gifts	Great-Entrance chant
incense	transfer of gifts
creed	incense
[explicit]	creed
	pax
	etc.

The only real discrepancy is the first hymn with the *lavabo* in the *Codex Rahmani*. But we know that the ancient Jerusalem liturgy had a "manuum lotionis [cantus]" (cf. below, pp. 72-76). See the parallel chants in Greek MARK (*LEW*, p. 120, 33), the 'ōnītā after the gospel in the Chaldean rite, and the Ambrosian *antiphona post evangelium*. The latter two chants had apparently the same function as the Jerusalem *manuum lotionis* chant. The Ambrosian chant is a response to the gospel. The 'ōnītā is used among the Chaldeans only during the hot period from Ascension to the feast of the Dedication, when the Liturgy of the Word is celebrated in the church courtyard. The chant is related to the gospel and is sung to cover the procession to the bema after the Liturgy of the Word. (Cf. S. H.

Since the MS ends with the creed, we presume that the kiss of peace followed. The two new elements offered by the document are the chant ("the alleluia before the mysteries") and the incensation.

The Byzantine Sources

1. *The Constantinopolitan Homilies of Chrysostom (397-404)*

If we turn now to evidence that either comes from Constantinople or can with probability be applied to the Byzantine tradition, we are on shakier ground. Chrysostom in his Constantinopolitan homilies does not breathe a word about a procession with the gifts.¹⁰⁰ There must have been a transfer of gifts, but it could not have been of any great significance either in itself or in the popular piety of the people. Otherwise St. John, who has so much concrete liturgical detail in his talks, would surely have dropped a clue somewhere. But we see simply:

- Dismissals
- Litany of the faithful
- "Peace to all": "And to your spirit."
- Prayer of blessing (*oratio inclinationis*)
- "Peace to all": "And to your spirit"
- *Pax*
- Anaphora¹⁰¹

2. *Eutychius (552-565, 577-582)*

Patriarch Eutychius is our first Constantinopolitan witness to the Great Entrance. In his *Sermo de paschate et de ss. eucharistia* he speaks of the deacons carrying in the gifts and putting them on the altar to the accompaniment of a chant sung by the people.¹⁰² We shall see more of this passage in the next chapter when we study the Cherubicon.

JAMMO, *Messe chaldéenne*, pp. 110-112, 131). Now we know that in Jerusalem the Liturgy of the Word and that of the Eucharist were often celebrated in different places (cf. ETHÉRIE, *Journal de voyage* 25, ed. PÉTRÉ, *Sources chrét.* 21, Paris, 1948, pp. 198-200), and that the text of the *manuum lotionis* has nothing whatever to do with the *lavabo*, but is a response to the gospel as H. LEEB shows in his study of these chants (*Gesänge des Weihnachtsfestes*, p. 239).

¹⁰⁰ Cf. VAN DE PAVERD, *Messliturgie*, p. 466.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 466-467.

¹⁰² 8, *PG* 80², 2400-2401.

3. *Maximus (628-630)*

But the first Constantinopolitan witness to the *ordo* of the Byzantine pre-anaphoral rites — our only such witness, in fact, anterior to the earliest euchology — is Maximus the Confessor. Three times in his *Mystagogia* he explains the *ordo* of the liturgy:¹⁰³

- Dismissals and closing of the doors (15)
- The bishop descends from his throne (24)
- Entrance of the gifts (16)
- *Pax* (17)
- Creed (18)

We are not told from where the procession departs, but it is spoken of as a real "entrance" (ἡ τῶν ἁγίων εἰσοδος).¹⁰⁴

In *Quaestiones et dubia* 41 he speaks of the custom of offering (προτιθεῖν) an uneven number of breads and chalices "in the prothesis (ἐν τῇ προθέσει) of the body and blood of Christ."¹⁰⁵ However, there is no indication as to the meaning and place of this prothesis. In the *Mystagogia* there is no mention of any rite of preparation of the gifts before the liturgy or anywhere else, nor of any prayer, though we cannot argue from that. Maximus is describing the symbolism of the liturgical rites as they appeal to the senses, and so he also omits mentioning the whole anaphora. More significant would be his silence with respect to a Great-Entrance chant if we did not already have other evidence previous

¹⁰³ Cf. *Mystagogia* 8-21 (*PG* 91, 688-696); 24 (*PG* 91, 704); 24 (*PG* 91, 705-709). The numbers in the text refer to the pertinent chapters in which the element in question is found. We prescind from the information on the Great Entrance in the *Scholía* attributed to Maximus: that only the deacons march in the procession, that only the discos is covered with a veil, etc. (*Scholía* 3, *PG* 4, 136, 137, 144). The *Scholía* are in reality a mixture of the scholia of Maximus with those of John Scholasticus, bishop of Scythopolis in Palestine from 536-550, and the passages in question seem to be from John. On this question see VON BALTHASAR, *Scholienwerk*; BECK, pp. 377, 438.

¹⁰⁴ See *Myst.* 15 and 24, *PG* 91, 693, 704, 708. In the time of Maximus the "first" (today's "minor", or "little") entrance was still the real introit of the liturgy, when the clergy and people actually entered the church. The entrance into the sanctuary is treated by Maximus at the end of chapter 8 and has a different symbolism. He uses the term εἰσοδος both for the "First Entrance" (ἡ πρώτη εἰσοδος) and the "Entrance of the Mysteries," and the modifier "first" clearly implies a "second." (Cf. *Myst.* 8, *PG* 91, 688; 23, *PG* 91, 697; 24 *PG* 91, 704-708). On this point see also below, chapter V, pp. 192-194.

¹⁰⁵ *PG* 90, 820.

to Maximus proving its existence (cf. chapter II). Hence, about all Maximus really tells us is that by his time Constantinople had an entrance with the gifts, before the kiss of peace and creed.¹⁰⁶

But this simple additional information does not show adequately what an advance Maximus is over Chrysostom. To see the new importance of the entry in the 7th century we must take account of the place Maximus assigns to it in the mystagogic explanation of the liturgy.

The holy and venerable entrance of the mysteries is the beginning and preamble ... of the new teaching, to come in heaven, about

¹⁰⁶ BORNERT (*Commentaires*, p. 109) makes the following observation about Maximus' comments on the entrance: "Une relation plus étroite encore se vérifie entre le chapitre 16 de la *Mystagogie*, expliquant la signification de l'entrée "des saints mystères" et l'oraison de la proskomidie de la liturgie de saint Basile. Voici les deux textes, mis en face l'un de l'autre :

Liturgie de saint Basile: "Oraison de la proskomidie de saint Basile, après que le peuple a chanté l'hymne mystique" (*LEW*, 319a, 6-11)

Κόρις ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ... ὁ ὑποδείξας
ἡμῖν ὁδὸν εἰς σωτηρίαν,
ὁ χαρισάμενος ἡμῖν οὐρανῶν
μυστηρίων ἀποκάλυψιν.

Mystagogie: "Ce que signifie l'entrée des saints mystères" (*Myst.* 16, *PG* 91, 693)

Ἡ δὲ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ σεπτῶν
μυστηρίων εἰσοδος ... ἐστὶν ...
ἀποκάλυψις τοῦ ἐν ἁδύτοις τῆς
θείας κρυφύτητος ὄντος μυστηρίου
τῆς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας.

De même ici, il existe une correspondance de thèmes et d'expressions entre la *Mystagogie* et le texte liturgique. Ces deux relations permettent-elles de conclure à une dépendance de la *Mystagogie* du texte liturgique?

He then argues for the affirmative because this prayer is also found in *JAS*, and that would seem to indicate its anteriority to Maximus. We don't doubt the dependence here, but the argument from *JAS* is worthless because *JAS* got the prayer from *BAS*, as can be seen from the title of the prayer in *JAS* (*MERCIER*, p. 192, 24). This literary dependence confirms what we already know: that at Maximus' time, *BAS* was still the main liturgy at Constantinople. But BORNERT's attempt (pp. 108-9) to see a literary dependence of *Myst.* 8 on the entrance prayer of *CHR* in *Barberini 336* (cf. *PG* 91, 688 C, 12-13 and *LEW*, p. 312b, 15-28) is less fortunate. This prayer was never used at Constantinople, belonging as it does to the Italo-Greek MS tradition of *CHR*. (Cf. *JACOB*, *Formulaire*, pp. 85 ff and chapter I, *passim*.) The same can be said for the prayer of the εὐχήνη πᾶσι (*LEW*, p. 314, 17-20) misnamed "Prayer of the Throne" because it is said on ascending to the throne in the apse (*Commentaires*, p. 109, n. 2 and *LEW*, p. 314, 17-20). The latter prayer is found only in *Barberini 336* (cf. *JACOB*, *Formulaire*, pp. 104-105). On the other hand, Maximus was pushed about considerably, and during one of his exiles he may have had contact with the non-Constantinopolitan MS tradition.

God's economy for us, and the revelation of the mystery of salvation hidden in the divine sanctuaries.¹⁰⁷

True, Maximus gives the entrance no more importance than the gospel, *sanctus*, Our Father, etc. — i. e. no more than any other significant part of the liturgy. So we find ourselves at mid-point between Chrysostom's ignoring it totally, or the laconic mention of it in the *Apostolic Constitutions* and other early sources, and the full-blown rite of later times.

In summary, then, Maximus offers us the picture of a liturgy in early 7th century Constantinople that is still very close to its origins. As Bornert has pointed out, the solemn introit of bishop and people, and the Old Testament readings, are regressive traits that will disappear as others become dominant, and the new importance he assigns to the transfer of gifts is a sign that this process had already begun.¹⁰⁸ Even more important, perhaps, is Maximus' theology of sacramental symbolism. In his view an image is not the sign of an absent reality but the reality itself somehow made present in the sign.¹⁰⁹ With such a symbolic-realism it is not hard to see how in Constantinople one could come to look on the bread and wine as somehow "consecrated" at the prothesis and to be "worshipped" in the Great Entrance, a realism that conforms to Theodore of Mopsuestia's view of the gifts as the real body of the crucified Christ.

3. *The Codex Barberini 336 (mid-8th century)*¹¹⁰

If we take the information provided by Maximus and compare it with our earliest Byzantine euchology, the codex *Barberini 336* (mid-8th cent.), we can get a fairly complete picture of the Byzantine Great-Entrance rites of the 7-8th century. Since the codex *Barberini 336* is later than Maximus, there is no problem in reading Maximus' ritual detail into the almost rubricless text

¹⁰⁷ *Myst.* 16, *PG* 91, 693.

¹⁰⁸ BORNERT, *Commentaires*, p. 110.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 113 ff.

¹¹⁰ For the dating, description, etc., of the MSS of *CHR* we depend completely on *JACOB*, *Formulaire*. *JACOB* gives a complete description of *Barb. 336*, and is in the process of preparing the codex for publication, a task passed on by Dom Anselm Strittmatter, to whom we owe our first critical description of it (cf. *STRITTMATTER*, *Barberinum*). For *Sinai Gr. 1037* cf. R. TAIT, *A Note on some Manuscripts*. MSS referred to without reference to a published edition have been read by the author in the original MS or in microfilm.

of the euchology. Can we work backwards as well? Not entirely. The *Barberini* codex adds at least two new elements between the Great Entrance and the anaphora: a Great-Entrance chant, and the Prayer of the Proskomide.¹¹¹

But the *argumentum ex silentio* is a risky one. The Great-Entrance chant certainly existed in Maximus' time, as we shall see in the next chapter. We would presume the same for the proskomide prayer, which is certainly a more primitive piece than the chant.

CONCLUSION

Hence, at the end of the 6th century and up until the middle of the 8th, the structure of the Byzantine pre-anaphoral rites was as follows:¹¹²

- Prayers of the faithful.
- The deacons bear in the gifts.
- The main celebrant, or more probably the deacons, puts them on the altar, and (undoubtedly) covers them.
- The Prayer of the Proskomide is recited by the priest.
- Then follows the rite of the kiss, etc.

In addition to this, for which the evidence is sure, we can also legitimately suppose an incensation of the altar and gifts, and perhaps too a *lavabo*. These elements will appear in the euchologies as soon as rubrics begin to develop, and the almost complete absence of rubrics in early Constantinopolitan manuscripts makes the argument from silence unsure except with respect to the text of the priestly prayers.

IV. THE ORDO LITURGICUS OF THE BYZANTINE PRE-ANAPHORAL RITES

Before we proceed from this now sure ground of clearly *Byzantine* evidence to our study, one by one, of the evolution of each element in today's rite, a few words must be said about the *order-*

¹¹¹ LEW, pp. 318-320.

¹¹² We are prescinding for the moment from the diakonika. We will discuss them in detail later.

ing of these elements first with respect to each other, and then *vis à vis* the other early witnesses from the general area of the Byzantine liturgical homeland. Most witnesses have a transfer of gifts before the anaphora, but its location with respect to the usual accompanying ceremonies of the *lavabo* and *pax* varies from place to place.

If we examine in the accompanying table how the elements of the pre-anaphoral rite are ordered around the *pax*, the most ancient and stable element between the *preces* and the anaphora, we find considerable disagreement. Since Cyril and Chrysostom do not mention the transfer of gifts, they are of no help to us. Theodore of Mopsuestia and Pseudo-Denys present basically the same tradition. And in fact in all the witnesses, one gets the impression that the *lavabo* and *pax* go more or less together, as rites done (or at least initiated) by the bishop or presbyters, whereas the transfer of gifts, a purely diaconal ministry, is mentioned as occurring before or after (actually it is only in the *Missa Clementina* that the transfer takes place *after* the *pax*).

At any rate, the disagreements we find should not surprise us for two reasons:

1. The early transfer of gifts was so insignificant that it was undoubtedly done by the deacons while the rest of the service proceeded. Hence it is hard to pin down an actual place for it in the earliest sources. And when it did eventually evolve into a rite of some importance, demanding time and place all to itself, one tradition provided this time before the rites with which it was once simultaneous (*pax*, *lavabo*, diptychs), and others put it after.
2. We are dealing here with "second stratum" elements that were introduced, at different places, into an already fixed and common *ordo* by local churches according to their own whims. This is true at least of the *lavabo*, creed, litanies and prayers, all of which we will treat in detail later. And the diptychs at this point in the liturgy represent a Syrian tradition that seems never to have been followed at Constantinople.¹¹³ Hence the one disa-

¹¹³ We hope to discuss the place of the diptychs in the liturgy of Constantinople in a later volume, when we study the anaphora of CHR. The best study on the subject is still that of E. BISHOP, *The Diptychs*, in *Appendix to Narsai*, pp. 97-114. Also to be consulted with profit is VAN DE PAVEED, *Messaliturgie*, pp. 502 ff, 507 ff, 515 ff, 523-524. We agree with these authors, against BRIGHTMAN (LEW, pp. 528, 28 ff; 535, 35-

+ = present
- = absent or not mentioned

TABLE I				
Cyril of Jerusalem († 386)	Theodore of Mopsuestia (c. 388-392 † 428)	Apostolic Bk II (4th cent.)	Constitutions Bk VIII	Chry- In Antioch (before 397)
1. DISMISSAL	?	+	+	+
2. —	?	(cf. <i>infra</i> , 13 ?)	(cf. <i>infra</i> , 8)	Doors closed
3. —	?	—	Litany of faithful	+
4. —	?	Prayer	Prayer	Prayer
5. —	—	—	—	—
6. —	—	—	—	—
7. (<i>infra</i> , 10)	(<i>infra</i> , 18-19)	—	"Peace to you"; PAX	(<i>infra</i> ,
8. —	—	(<i>infra</i> , 13)	Rubric to watch people and doors	—
9. (<i>infra</i> , 17)	(<i>infra</i> , 22)	—	LAVABO	—
10. —	—	(<i>infra</i> , 13)	Final warning	—
11. —	—	—	—	—
12. —	TRANSFER OF GIFTS	+	+	—
13. —	—	Rubric to watch people and final warning	(<i>supra</i> , 8, 10)	—
14. —	—	—	—	—
15. —	—	—	—	—
16. —	Kārōzūtā and Prayer	(<i>infra</i> , 20 ?)	—	—
17. LAVABO	(<i>infra</i> , 22)	—	(<i>supra</i> , 9)	—
18. —	"Peace to you"	—	(<i>supra</i> , 7)	"Peace
19. PAX	+	+	(<i>supra</i> , 7)	+
20. —	(<i>supra</i> , 15 ?)	Litany and Episcopal blessing	—	—
21. —	—	—	—	—
22. (<i>supra</i> , 17)	LAVABO	—	(<i>supra</i> , 9)	—
23. —	DIPTYCHS	—	—	—

NOTE: For Chrysostom, we depend on VAN DE PAVERT, *Messaliturgie*. The other outlines are our own reconstructions from the sources indicated already. The "Catholic Hymn" of Denys could well have been a long creed like the one in the *Didascalia arabica* 39 (FUNK II, 133-136). John of Scythopolis (*post* 532) in the *Scholia arabica* 39 (FUNK II, 133-136). John of Scythopolis (*post* 532) in the *Scholia arabica* 39 (FUNK II, 133-136). John of Scythopolis (*post* 532) in the *Scholia arabica* 39 (FUNK II, 133-136).

+ = present
- = absent or not mentioned

TABLE I				
Chrysostom in Constantinople (397-404)	Ps.-Denys (end of 5th cent.)	Narsai († 502)	Codex Rahmani (late 6th cent.)	Maximus Confessor (628-30)
DISMISSAL	+	+	+	+
—	Doors closed	+	+	+
+	—	—	—	—
Prayer of inclination	—	—	—	—
—	"Catholic hymn" (= CREED?)	(<i>infra</i> , 15)	(<i>infra</i> , 15)	(<i>infra</i> , 21)
—	—	—	Chant	—
18-19)	(<i>infra</i> , 19)	(<i>infra</i> , 19)	(<i>infra</i> , 19 ?)	(<i>infra</i> , 19)
—	—	—	—	—
—	(<i>infra</i> , 23)	—	LAVABO	—
—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	Bishop enters sanctuary	—
—	TRANSFER OF GIFTS	+	Chant +	+
—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	Incense offered	—
—	(<i>supra</i> , 5 ?)	CREED	CREED	(<i>infra</i> , 21)
—	Prayer	Diaconal exhortation; Prayer	?	—
—	(<i>infra</i> , 22)	—	?	—
to all"	—	—	?	—
PAX	+	+	?	+
—	—	(<i>supra</i> , 16 ?)	?	—
—	(<i>supra</i> , 5 ?)	(<i>supra</i> , 15)	(<i>supra</i> , 15)	CREED
—	LAVABO	—	(<i>supra</i> , 9)	—
—	DIPTYCHS	+	?	—

Denys is not all that clear (*EH*, PG 4, 425 and 436). As for the discrepancy between AC II and VIII, it should be noted that the material in Bk II is interpolated into the *Didascalia* text, and this may well mean that some rearranging is needed. See the remarks of E. BISHOP, *Liturgical Comments and Memoranda*, JTS, 14, 1912, pp. 50 ff.

greement in the ordering of primitive elements which must be accounted for here is the position of the transfer of gifts with respect to the kiss of peace. In Justin's *Apology* and in the *Apostolic Tradition*, the order is: *preces*, *pax*, transfer of gifts, anaphora. At first glance this most primitive arrangement, which is also followed (with additions) by the *Missa Clementina*, would seem to be the more suitable one. The *pax* would conclude the Liturgy of the Word, and not constitute the opening of the Liturgy of the Eucharist. And the usual interpretation would be to consider all those elements added between the *preces* and *pax* as later insertions into the "first stratum" or primitive shape of the liturgy. Against this, however, is the rather weighty argument of universal practice today: the *pax* comes after the handling of the gifts and the *accessus ad altare* in every oriental rite. So universal a phenomenon cannot so easily be explained away.

It would seem that originally the transfer of gifts was done by some of the deacons while other deacons announced the *pax* and kept order during it, which probably took a bit of time and caused considerable confusion. By the time all the faithful had exchanged the *pax*, the gifts were already on the altar and the bishop and presbyters had meanwhile washed their hands and approached the altar. The *pax* was the most important thing after the *preces*. The other two rites — *lavabo* and transfer of gifts — were material actions to be done swiftly and without fuss.¹¹⁴ When, later, emphasis came to be put on the transfer, when it became ritualized, then it needed time and space of its own, and in different liturgies it fell before or after the *pax*, whichever seemed more convenient. The fact that it was ultimately settled before the *pax* was probably helped by Mt 5:23-24:

If you are offering your gift at the altar, and there remember that your brother has something against you, leave your gift

536, 7) and others, that the diptychs in the liturgy of Constantinople were always found where they are in codex *Barberini 336*, i. e. during the intercessions in the anaphora (cf. *LEW*, pp. 331, 336). However, the argument from MAXIMUS, *Scholia 3* (*PG* 4, 136 D) has no weight if VON BALTHASAR (*Schollenwerk*, p. 26) is right in attributing this text to John of Seythopolis.

¹¹⁴ Perhaps one proof of this might be the fact that in *Apostolic Constitutions II* the gifts are brought up during the "final warning" apparently. Then comes the *pax* (II, 57, 15-17, *FUNK* I, p. 165).

there before the altar and go; first be reconciled to your brother, and then come and offer your gift.

This text attached the kiss in the popular mind to the eucharist and not to the Liturgy of the Word. At any rate, by the time this evolution took place the distinction between the two was disappearing rapidly, and several commentators that give an explanation of the *pax*, relate it to the text of Matthew and the eucharist, and not to the Liturgy of the Word.¹¹⁵

* * *

We have now at last entered into an historical period where the textual evidence in both euchologies and commentaries is reasonably abundant. There are enormous gaps in the source-material, but not such as to be compared with the scarcity of clearly Byzantine material before Maximus. Hence we can now turn to a detailed study of each element in the order in which it occurs in today's Byzantine mass. The elements we shall be dealing with pertain, largely, to what is secondary in worship: the addition to the primitive shape of secondary elements, some of which have quite infelicitously obscured its true form.

As Dix has well said, after the Peace of Milan in 313 Christian worship became "public", i. e. not kept hidden for the eyes of an initiated elite. Before this, anything else was impossible. The Apocalypse shows Christian worship as public "under the only conditions in which it could then be imagined as a public worship — in heaven." And in a world in which magnificence was a virtue of public life, "the church of the fourth century did not hesitate to be magnificent, just because she did not refuse to be public."¹¹⁶ Private dwellings might be insignificant, but the public halls and baths were a marvel even in small towns.

It was believed, in short, that public life *ought* to be splendid, and this could not but affect the worship of the church. And so we will observe a growth and dialectical interplay of increasingly developed ceremonial, and increasingly complex liturgical mystagogy to interpret it and in turn influence its further growth. This

¹¹⁵ MAXIMUS explains it simply as a symbol of fraternal concord and does not relate it to the eucharist — at least that is how we understand him (*Myst.* 17, *PG* 91, 693-6). But THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA (*Hom.* 15, 39-40, ed. TONNEAU-DEVREESSE, pp. 520-23) and CYRIL (*Myst. Cat.* 5, 3, ed. CROSS 31 [72]) relate it explicitly to Mt 5:23-4.

¹¹⁶ DIX, *Shape*, pp. 314-315.

was the period when deliberate symbolism entered Christian worship, and Dix holds Syria and Cyril of Jerusalem responsible for much of it.¹¹⁷ Be that as it may, both ceremonial and symbolism eventually came into their own, and this with a vengeance in Byzantium, inheritor of the splendor of imperial public life and the platonism of Greek Christian thought.

In Constantinople this development is seen most clearly in the evolution of the Great Entrance, though where this evolution began remains a mystery. Jerusalem can be excluded, for neither Cyril nor Egeria mention any offertory or transfer of gifts.¹¹⁸ Dix locates the beginnings of this new emphasis on the procession in the regions of Syria or Southern Asia Minor vaguely dependent on the church of Antioch,¹¹⁹ but it is precisely from these regions that relatively contemporaneous evidence is most contradictory. The procession is given no importance in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, or in the writings of Chrysostom in Antioch or Constantinople. But in the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Narsai it has already come into its own. We shall now address ourselves to what became of it in the Byzantine rite.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 304 ff, 350 ff, 432 ff. Cf. JUNGSMANN, *Early Liturgy*, pp. 52 ff, 109-120, on the early development of ritual.

¹¹⁸ HODDINOTT (*Early Byzantine Churches*, p. 31) falsely considers the procession in EGERIA (*Journal*, 25, ed. *Sources chrétiennes* 21, p. 198) to be the Great Entrance. There is no mention of the gifts, says he, because of the *disciplina arcani*. In fact this entrance was a peculiarity of the Jerusalem Sunday synaxis because the Liturgy of the Word and that of the Eucharist were celebrated in different places. As Dix rightly notes (*Shape*, p. 438, n. 2) Egeria (381-4) says nothing about the offertory or transfer of gifts.

¹¹⁹ Dix, *Shape*, p. 438, n. 2.

CHAPTER II

THE CHERUBIC HYMN

I. THE BYZANTINE GREAT-ENTRANCE CHANTS

As we have seen, in the liturgy described by Theodore of Mopsuestia the transfer of gifts took place in dead silence. Augustine is generally taken to be the earliest witness we have of a chant to "cover" this action.¹ He takes issue with a certain *vir tribunicius* Hilarius who opposed the custom recently introduced at Carthage "*ut hymni ad altare dicerentur de psalmodum libro, sive ante oblationem sive cum distribuereur populo quod fuisset oblatum*".² Augustine is clearly referring to psalmody during communion; whether the psalmody before the anaphora (*ante oblationem*) can be identified as an "offertory" chant is questionable.

At any rate as we saw in chapter I a chant at the offertory or transfer of gifts, called in the Roman rite the *antiphona ad offertorium*, or simply *offertorium*, was also adopted in the East. In the Byzantine rite it is popularly called the Cherubic Hymn or Cherubicon, although this is strictly speaking the proper name of the most commonly used Byzantine Great-Entrance chant.³ It is testified to in our oldest manuscript, *Barberini 336*, as τὸ

¹ Cf. JUNGSMANN, *Missarum Sollemnia* II, 26 ff; M. RIGHETTI, *Storia liturgica III: La Messa*, Milano 1966², p. 318; SRAWLEY, *Early History of the Liturgy*, p. 137.

² *Retractationes* 2, 11, *PL* 32, 634.

³ Cf. CEDRENIUS, *Historiarum compendium* (PG 121, 748) cited below, p. 69. But the tradition of using "Cherubicon" as a general term for these chants is an old one. See for example HÆRG-ZUNTZ, *Prophetologium*, I, p. 119, where *Nunc virtutes caelorum* of PRES is called "Cherubicon". It is otherwise, however, in PRES of *Barberini 336* (STRITTMATTER, *Barberinum*, p. 341, 48). See also the rubric before the *Sileat* in JAS of codex *Paris Gr. 2509* (15th c.) MERCIER, p. 177 apparatus 19, and ASSEMANI, *Codex liturgicus ecclesiae universae* (Romae, 1752), IV, II, p. 16: καὶ ἀρχοῦται οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες τὸν χερουβικὸν ὕμνον. Note that the Byzantines call the Trisagion as well as the Cherubicon "ὁ χερουβικὸς ὕμνος" (cf. PHOTIUS, *Bibliotheca* 228, PG 103, 960, and the *editio princeps* of DOUCAS, Rome, 1526).

χερουβικά, i. e. in the plural, and as ὁ μυστικός ὕμνος.⁴ Both names are still used today. The testimony to the use of this chant is unbroken throughout the whole manuscript tradition, though of course the euchologies, as service books for the celebrant, almost never give the text of this or any other chant.

The Text of the Byzantine Great-Entrance Troparia

Here is the *textus receptus*, with a literal translation, of the Cherubicon (A) and of the other three Byzantine chants now used at the Great Entrance on Holy Thursday (B: *Cenae tuae mysticae*), Holy Saturday (C: *Sileat omnis caro*), and for the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts (D: *Nunc virtutes caelorum*):

(A)
Οἱ τὰ Χερουβίμ μυστικῶς εἰκονίζοντες, καὶ τῇ ζωοποιῷ Τριάδι τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον προσάδοντες, πᾶσαν τὴν βιωτικὴν ἀποθώμεθα μέριμναν ὡς τὸν Βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων ὑποδεξόμενοι, ταῖς ἀγγελικαῖς ἀοράτως δορυφορούμενον τέξουσιν. Ἀλληλούια, ἀλληλούια, ἀλληλούια.⁵

We who mystically represent the Cherubim and sing the thrice-holy hymn to the life-giving Trinity, let us lay aside all worldly care [Lk 21:34] to receive the King of All escorted unseen by the angelic corps. Alleluia ...

(B)
Τοῦ δείπνου σου τοῦ μυστικοῦ σήμερον, Υἱὲ Θεοῦ, κοινωνόν με παράλαβε· οὐ μὴ γὰρ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς σου τὸ μυστήριον εἶπω· οὐ φίλημά σοι δώσω καθάπερ ὁ Ἰούδας· ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ ληστής ὁμολογῶ σοι· μνήσθητί μου, Κύριε, ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου.⁶

At your mystical supper, Son of God, receive me today as a partaker, for I will not betray the sacrament to your enemies, nor give you a kiss like Judas, but like the thief I confess you: remember me Lord in your kingdom [cf. Lk 23:42].

⁴ LEW, pp. 318, 2-3 (the exact same rubric is found in BAS of the 10th century codex *Grottaferrata Ob VII* [f. 121v]); 319, 3-5; and glossary, p. 573. Cf. STRIPTMATTER, *Barberinum*, p. 338. The 10th century Typicon of the Great Church calls the Cherubic Hymn "τὸ μυστικόν", or "ὁ μυστικός ὕμνος" (ΜΑΤΕΟΣ, *Typicon II, Index liturgique*, pp. 307-308).

⁵ *Ieratikon*, Rome, 1950, p. 124; LEW, pp. 377, 379; GOAR², p. 92 (*editio Erasmi*), but with single alleluia.

⁶ *Ieratikon*, Rome, 1950, p. 182; GOAR², p. 145. There is the triple alleluia in the Slavonic version of *Cenae tuae*, though not in the Greek *textus receptus* or in the old Latin (Ambrosian-rite) version (cf. LEVY, *Hymn for Thursday*, p. 128). However one does find the alleluia, initially single, later triple, in Greek sources from at least the 14th century on (*ibid.*, pp. 132, 157). Levy also notes that the article before "Judas" is a later addition, as is the reading "Remember me Lord when you come into your kingdom" (cf. *Triodion*, Rome, 1879, p. 663) based on Lk 23:42.

(C)
Σιγησάτω πᾶσα σὰρξ βροτεία, καὶ στήτω μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου· καὶ μηδὲν γήενον ἐν ἑαυτῇ λογιζέσθω· ὁ γὰρ Βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων καὶ Κύριος τῶν κυριεύόντων προσέρχεται σφραγισθῆναι καὶ δοθῆναι εἰς βρώσιν τοῖς πιστοῖς· προηγούμενοι δὲ τούτου οἱ χοροὶ τῶν Ἀγγέλων, μετὰ πάσης Ἀρχῆς καὶ Ἐξουσίας, τὰ πολυόμματα Χερουβίμ καὶ τὰ ἑξαπτέρυγα Σεραφίμ, τὰς ὄψεις καλύπτοντα, καὶ βοῶντα τὸν ὕμνον· Ἀλληλούια, ἀλληλούια, ἀλληλούια.⁷

Let all mortal flesh be silent, and stand in fear and trembling, and harbor no earthly thoughts, for the King of Kings and Lord of Lords comes forth to be slain and given as food to the faithful. The choirs of archangels go before him, with all the principalities and powers, the many-eyed Cherubim and the six-winged Seraphim, faces covered, and proclaiming the hymn: Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia!

(D)
Νῦν αἱ Δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν σὺν ἡμῖν ἀοράτως λατρεύουσιν· ἰδοὺ γὰρ εἰσπορεύεται ὁ Βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης. Ἴδοὺ θυσία μυστικὴ τετελειωμένη δορυφορεῖται. Πίστει καὶ πόθῳ προσέλθωμεν, ἵνα μέτοχοι ζωῆς αἰωνίου γενώμεθα, Ἀλληλούια, ἀλληλούια, ἀλληλούια.⁸

Now the powers of heaven worship with us unseen, for behold the King of Glory enters, behold the mystical sacrifice, already accomplished, comes escorted. In faith and love let us approach in order to become sharers in eternal life. Alleluia ...

Of these hymns the Cherubicon was and is still sung at every mass except those of Holy Thursday and Holy Saturday, and we have no evidence that the other chants were ever used more extensively than they are now. In fact the Cherubicon and, perhaps, *Cenae tuae*, are apparently the only extant authentically Byzantine Great-Entrance hymns of the eucharistic liturgy. And *Cenae tuae* may have been originally a communion chant. *Nunc virtutes caelorum* is of PRES and *Sileat omnis caro* probably comes from Jerusalem, as we shall see shortly when we discuss the origins of these chants.

This latter upsets the hymn's structure of paired, seven-syllable lines, and appears first in 16th c. MSS (LEVY, p. 128, n. 6). Baumstark believed that the phrase about not revealing the mysteries goes back to the *arcanum* and shows the antiquity of the hymn but Levy is sceptical of this idea (*loc. cit.* and BAUMSTARK, *Cherubhymnus*, p. 12).

⁷ *Triodion*, Rome, 1879, p. 760. The most common variants are: κυριεύοντων add. Χριστὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ASSEMANI, *Codex Liturgicus*, IV, II, p. 17 (JAS); om. καὶ Κύριος τῶν κυριεύόντων, MERCIER, p. 176. (JAS). GOAR², p. 145 (BAS) and MERCIER have only one alleluia. Some editions have "archangels." The Slavonic version agrees with the *textus receptus*.

⁸ *Ieratikon*, Rome, 1950, p. 247; Athens, 1951, p. 139. The text in the *Chronicon Paschale* ad annum 615, PG 92, 989, has φόβῳ instead of πῶθῳ, and single alleluia (cf. LEW, p. 348), although the Slavonic version of the chant supports the *textus receptus*.

Since the Liturgy of St. Basil is celebrated on Holy Thursday and Holy Saturday, the Cherubicon is the only Great-Entrance chant used with CHR. However, we shall consider the other chants insofar as they can assist us in tracing the evolution of the Byzantine Great-Entrance antiphon.

Variants in the Text of the Cherubicon

1. The Greek Original

In the text of the Cherubicon a few variant readings occur. Most MSS do not give the text of liturgical chants, but among the very few that do, codex *Karlsruhe EM 6* (13th century),⁹ *Codex Basilii Falascae* (= *Grottaferrata Gb III*, 14th century),¹⁰ codex *Grottaferrata Gb XIX* (AD 1591) (f. 7v), and the Slavonic transliteration of the Greek text in codex *Vatican Slav. 10* (15th c.),¹¹ give $\nu\bar{\nu}$ instead of the present reading $\tau\eta\nu$. This variant is supported by the Johannisberg version of 10th century BAS — “*omnem nunc mundanam deponamus sollicitudinem*”¹² — as well as by the reading *nyne* of the Slavonic *textus receptus* and by the 1873 Roman edition of the *Euchologion*.¹³ However, Pelargus’ version of the *Codex S. Simeonis* (ante AD 1030) has simply “*omnem secularem deponamus sollicitudinem*,”¹⁴ and later MSS such as the 16th century *Modena Gr. 19* (f. 10r) and *Paris Suppl. Gr. 1135* (18th century) have $\tau\eta\nu$.¹⁵

De Meester makes much of what he considers a change in the text of the hymn resulting from the later practice of interrupting the Cherubicon with commemorations:

L’extension et la solennité que reçut cette cérémonie [i. e. the commemorations] eurent pour conséquence une interruption dans le chant du khéroubikon et une alteration de son texte original:

⁹ Ed. ENGDahl, p. 19, 3.

¹⁰ F. 18v. The reading of GOAR², p. 87 ($\tau\bar{\nu}$) is a misprint.

¹¹ Ed. HORBATSCH, *De tribus textibus*, p. 135.

¹² COCHLAeus, *Speculum*, p. 123.

¹³ P. 55. This edition, however, contains no small number of peculiarities.

¹⁴ *Liturgia*, f. Clv. Similarly, the version of Leo Tuscan: “*omnem secularem sollicitudinem abiciamus*” (JACOB, *Toscani*, p. 150).

¹⁵ We are grateful to J. Noret of the Société des Bollandistes for providing us information on the readings from the Cherubicon in this MS of liturgical music.

on chanta dorénavant $\omega\varsigma$ τὸν βασιλέα ὑποδεξάμενοι au lieu de ὑποδεξόμενοι.¹⁶

Actually we have found this reading with the aorist participle ὑποδεξάμενοι only in the *Codex Falascae*,¹⁷ in the Slavonic transliteration of the Greek text in *Vat. Slav 10* (15th century),¹⁸ and in a few printed editions.¹⁹ The future participle ὑποδεξόμενοι is found in the 13th century *Karlsruhe EM 6*²⁰ and is confirmed by the reading “*suscepturi*” of the Johannisberg version of BAS.²¹

At any rate de Meester is wrong in saying that the aorist participle was chanted “*dorénavant*”, for the primitive reading ὑποδεξόμενοι has remained the *textus receptus*: it is found in every modern edition we have seen.²² The variant does show, however, that the true sense of the hymn had been lost, and was no longer understood as referring to the reception of Christ in communion. We shall see more of this shortly.

But the argument of de Meester from the interruption of the chant by commemorations may well provide the reason for the reading ὑποδεξόμεθα of codices *Grottaferrata Gb XIX* (AD 1591) (f. 7v) and *Modena Gr. 19* (f. 10r), also of the 16th century. The Latin version in *Modena Gr. 19*, however, supports the participial reading (“*suscepturi*”, f. 33r). This variant, which found its way into the Roman *Euchologion* of 1873 (p. 55) — cf. also *podimem*” in the Slavonic *textus receptus* — is a more sensible reading if the hymn is to be interrupted.

The alleluia with which the chant concludes is a common ending of Byzantine troparia, as for example in the third antiphon of the Divine Liturgy. Originally there was only a single alleluia

¹⁶ *Origines*, p. 333.

¹⁷ F. 18v. The reading of GOAR² (p. 87) is wrong.

¹⁸ HORBATSCH, *De tribus textibus*, p. 135.

¹⁹ E. g. H. A. DANIEL, *Codex liturgicus Ecclesiae universae IV: Codex liturgicus Ecclesiae Orientalis*, Leipzig, 1853, pp. 350-351; C. E. HAMMOND, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1878, p. 101. (= CHR, reprinted from DANIEL; cf. also JAS p. 35). Both sources also give ἄδοντες loco προσάδοντες. Cf. also Greek MK in LEW, p. 122, 24. For CHR, LEW gives the *textus receptus* (pp. 377, 379).

²⁰ Ed. ENGDahl, p. 19, 4.

²¹ COCHLAeus, *Speculum*, p. 123. PELARGUS, *Liturgia* (f. Clv) has “*suscipientes*”.

²² Cf. for example the Orthodox edition *The Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. The Greek Text with a Rendering in English*, London, The Faith Press, 3d ed., no date, p. 28; A. COUTURIER, *Syllitourgikon*, Jerusalem, 1925, pp. 73-79; LEW, p. 379; *Ieratikon*, Rome, 1950, p. 125; etc.

at the end of the Cherubicon, as we see in all the early sources.²³ The origin of the triple alleluia of the *textus receptus* will be explained below.

2. Variants in the Slavonic Recension

The ancient Slavonic version in use until the Slavic books were corrected in the 17th century offers a few additional variants:

1. *prinosjašče* in place of *pripevajušče* of the *textus receptus*;
2. the participle *podemljušče* (or *priemljušče*) in place of *podimem*;
3. *otverzem* in place of *otložim*.²⁴
4. *dary prinosim* in place of *dorinosima*.²⁵

Variant 1, *prinosjašče*, resulted probably from misreading προσά-
γοντες (offer) in place of the correct προσάδοντες (sing) in the
Greek text.²⁶ On the other hand it should be noted that the
variant reading is supported by the Armenian version (cf. below),
and that the "offer-accept" terminology more usual in prayers
of offering is applied to at least one other chant, the Trisagion, in
the prayer of that hymn.²⁷ Variants 2 and 3 are simply stylistic
variants changed in the 17th century. Number 4, *dary prinosim*
(= we bring gifts), resulted from mistaking δωροφορούμενον (= es-

²³ Cf. BAS in the version of Johannisberg (COCHLAEUS, *Speculum*, p. 123); Karlsruhe EM 6, ed. ENGBAHL, p. 19, 6; AUCHER, *Versions arméniennes*, p. 384; *Codex Palaeus* (= Grott. Gb III, f. 18v). Grott. Gb XIX (f. 7v) has the triple alleluia, but this MS dates from 1591.

²⁴ Cf. *Vat. Slav. 10* (15th c.), HORBATSCH, *De tribus textibus*, p. 135; *Sofia 555* (15-16th c.) and 899 (17th c.), ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 135; MURETOV, *K materialam*, p. 87; *Služebnik*, Lvov, 1646, f. 127r-v. Some Slavic commentators and translators take *podimem* to mean "lift up", as is noted by SOLOV'EV, *The Byzantine Divine Liturgy*, pp. 227-228. It is easy to understand this confusion, for though *pod'imati* is a legitimate translation of ὑποδέχεσθαι (cf. MIKLOSICH, *Lexicon Palaeslovenico-Graeco-Latinum*, Wien, 1865, p. 598) and was used with respect to the reception of communion in ancient Slavonic literature (cf. I. I. SREZNEVSKIJ, *Materialy dlja slovarja drevne-russkago jazyka po pis'mennym pamjatnikam*, St. Petersburg, 1902, II, 1057), it also means "to lift up, elevate" (Russian *podnimat'*) and is not the term commonly used in the liturgy to translate ὑποδέχεσθαι in reference to communion.

²⁵ *Codex Petersburg Academy 522* (14th c.), MURETOV, *K materialam*, p. 87.

²⁶ ČERNJAVSKIJ, *Ob izmenenijach*, p. 135.

²⁷ "Ὁ θεὸς ... ὁ καταξιώσας ἡμᾶς ... δωρολογίαν προσάγειν αὐτός, δεύοντα, πρόδεται τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον ..." (LEW, pp. 369, 9-370, 1-3).

corted) for δωροφορούμεν (= we bear gifts), an error that appears also in the Armenian Cherubicon, as we shall see shortly. Various readings found in other MSS (*daronosima*, *darynosima*, etc.)²⁸ may be attributable to the same error. But Slavonic orthography is so capricious that it is hazardous to argue from such vowel changes. All other variants in the various Slavonic recensions are stylistic or orthographic, and need not delay us here.

3. Variants in the Armenian Version

We do not believe — *pace* Baumstark²⁹ — that the peculiarities of the Armenian version of the Cherubicon originate in a variant Greek original. *Grabar* at its best is not the most lucid tongue to have sprung from Babel, but the obvious care of the Armenian translator to follow slavishly the word order of the Greek original betrays that he was working from our *textus receptus*. However, he took considerable liberties with the Greek syntax, betraying, it seems, an imperfect grasp of what the Greek text really means.

Here is the *textus receptus* of the *K'erobēakan* with a literal version that preserves both the word order and the ambiguities of the Armenian text:³⁰

[Բերրեւանն]

Որք զբարեկիցն խորհրդարար կերպարանիւք,
 Եւ կենդանարար նրբորդութեանն զերեքսրբեան
 օրհնութիւնս մասնուցանեմք,
 Զամենայն ըղկենցադակեանս ի բաց դնելով զգործս.
 Որպէս զի զթագաւորն ամենեցուն ընդունիցիմք,
 Եւ զհրեշտակացն հանդիսապէս ընծայեալ բերեմք
 զկարգ:

Qui Cherubim mystice repraesentamus,
 et vivificanti Trinitati ter sanctum hymnum offerimus,
 omne mundanum opus procul ponendo,
 ut regem omnium recipeamus,
 et angelorum sollemniter proferentes ferimus ordinem.

²⁸ Cf. ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 135 and apparatus.

²⁹ BAUMSTARK, *Cherubhymus*, p. 11.

³⁰ *Textus receptus*, cf. *Divine Liturgy of the Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Church*, New York, 1950, p. 56.

Let us examine verse by verse the variants offered by this text:

- 1) Verse one contains a nuance imperceptible in our Latin version because there is no article in Latin, and "Cherubim" is not inflected. The Armenian gives the sign of the direct object (z) followed by the genitive plural of "Cherubim," leading one to understand "Cherubim" as the genitive attribute of a substantive to follow, serving as direct object. But in the *textus receptus* there is no such substantive. There is one, however, in the Cherubicon of the 12-13th century Armenian version of CHR in codices *Lyons Arm. 15* (AD 1314) and *Munich Arm. VI* (copied in AD 1427-32 from an original dated 1298) published by Catergian-Dashian and translated in the *Versione armena* of Aucher.²¹ In this text, in addition to a few purely orthographic variants, we find the reading *kerparanimk'* (repraesentamus) *add. zxorhowrd* (mysterium). This verb (meaning "to express, form, show, represent, imitate," etc.) together with its object (meaning "mystery, symbol, type, sacrament", etc.) is simply a translation of *εἰκονίζοντας*. If the object is part of the original version, it was probably dropped because in fact the verb alone suffices to express the idea. Why the medio-passive form of the verb is used remains a mystery. But the active-medio-passive distinction is weak in Armenian, and deponents are common. Our verb should be taken in this way even though there does exist an active form. Otherwise the phrase is meaningless. Furthermore, we have found the active form in one edition.²² It seems, then, that the original Armenian version was meant to read: "We who mystically express the mystery of the Cherubim."

If the direct object found in Armenian CHR is not original but added later to render the genitive of "Cherubim" intelligible, then the Armenian reading might have come about because the translator, failing to understand τὰ as the article of "Cherubim" — he probably would have expected τοὺς — understood the phrase thus:

Οἱ τὰ [μυστήρια] τῶν χερουβὶμ μυστικῶς εἰκονίζοντας.

²¹ CATERGIAN-DASHIAN, p. 367; AUCHER, *Versione armena*, p. 384 (cited below). We have not consulted the original MSS. On the date of this version of CHR see JACOB, *Formulaire II*, pp. 302-303.

²² *Ordo divinae missae armenorum* (in Armenian and Latin), Romae, 1642, p. 61. This edition also adds the triple alleluia at the end of the hymn.

- 2) "hymnum offerimus" (*matuwc'anemk'*) (cf. the Greek variant *προσάγοντες* for *προσάδοντες*) is a misreading supported by the older Slavonic reading *prinosjašče*, as already noted. The same verb *matuwc'anem* is used to translate *προσάγειν* in the Armenian version of the Trisagion prayer.²³
- 3) βιωτικὴν μέριμναν from Lk 24:42 is rendered βιωτικὸν ἔργον (*zgorcs*). The translator was apparently unaware of the scriptural citation.
- 5) Verse four is a straightforward translation, but verse five seems to have embarrassed more than one translator, causing them to force the text. Brightman, for example, has:

That we may receive the king of all
and solemnly represent the order of the angels.²⁴

However, the Armenian text does not give one subordinate clause with compound predicate, as here, but two clauses, of which only the first is in the conjunctive:

that we may receive the king of all,
and we solemnly ...

The translation of Aucher on this and most other points is more faithful to the Armenian text:

- 1 Noi che misticamente rappresentiamo [imitiamo]
il mistero dei cherubini
- 2 ed alla vivificante Trinità offriamo l'innno tre
volte santo,
- 3 deponendo ogni affare di questa vita,
- 4 imperocchè riceviamo il re di tutti
- 5 e che festosamente rappresentiamo l'ordine
degli angeli. Alleluia.²⁵

However, both Brightman and Aucher translate the aorist participle and present indicative of the final verb-group by the single verb "represent". This is one solution, since *encayem* (*munero, dono, exhibeo, praebeo, profero*, etc.) and *berem* (*fero, affero, porto*, etc.) are more or less synonymous and could be understood meta-

²³ *Divine Liturgy*, New York, 1950, p. 40 (cf. above, note 30).

²⁴ LEW, p. 432. Cf. also *The Divine Liturgy of the Holy Apostolic Church of Armenia*, London, 1908, p. 68. D. I. TZOLAKIDES in his Greek translation of the Armenian liturgy solves the problem by simply omitting the whole verse (Ἀκολουθία τῆς θείας Λειτουργίας κατὰ τὰς διατάξεις τῆς Ἀρμενικῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας, Constantinople, 1888, p. 32).

²⁵ AUCHER, *Versione armena*, p. 384.

phorically to mean "show forth, represent, manifest".³⁶ Nevertheless, we would lean toward the opinion of a more recent translator, Bishop Tiran Nersoyan: "In the last line of the Cherubicon ... the Armenian translator has clearly misunderstood the Greek word meaning 'escorted' [δορυφορούμενον], and has made the line a phrase devoid of meaning".³⁷

But how did the Armenian translator arrive at his reading? We hesitate to postulate a variant Greek text when we have no other witness whatever for this variant in the extraordinarily stable text of the hymn. And we have already noted the exact correspondance in word-order in the two versions, with the sole exception of the conjunction "and" which the translator, having changed the original syntax, was forced to add:

ταῖς ἀγγελικαῖς ἀοράτως δορυφορούμενον τάξεσιν.
[et] angelorum sollempniter munerantes ferimus ordinem.

From the two texts thus juxtaposed it is not hard to see how the translator, slavishly following the Greek text, might have arrived at this version. It appears that he understood δορυφορούμενον, "escorted, guarded" (from δόρυ, "spear", and φορέω, "to bear") as δωροφορούμενον, "we bear gifts", and translated — accurately — φορούμενον by *berem* (*ferimus*), and the idea of gift-giving by the aorist participle *encaycal*. Since the offering is certainly not made unseen, ἀοράτως becomes ὁρατῶς, and the syntax is rearranged thus:

[καὶ] τὴν τῶν ἀγγέλων ὁρατῶς δωροφορούμενον τάξιν.

The Theme of the Cherubic Hymn

Whereas the Roman rite has been proleptic in its offertory prayers, which sometimes speak of the gifts as if already consecrated, the Eastern liturgies are often proleptic in the chants that accompany the procession of the gifts. They refer to the entrance of the gifts as the entrance of Christ himself. This way of viewing the unconsecrated gifts, which has caused problems for more than one commentator on the liturgy,³⁸ results apparently from the

³⁶ Cf. E. CIAKCIAN, *Dizionario armeno-italiano*, Venezia, 1837, I, pp. 316, 546.

³⁷ *Divine Liturgy*, New York, 1950, p. 312.

³⁸ E. g. CABASILAS, *Liturgiae expositio* 24, PG 150, 420; SYMEON OF THESSALONIKA, ET 78, PG 155, 728; and the criticism of Eutychius cited on p. 84-85 below.

interpretation of the Great Entrance first formulated, as we have seen, by Theodore of Mopsuestia.

There is nothing peculiarly "Byzantine" about the way this idea is expressed in the Constantinopolitan chants. Their central symbolism — that the deacons bearing the unconsecrated gifts symbolise the entrance of Christ escorted by the heavenly hosts that acclaim him with the angelic chant — expresses the Dionysian concept of the earthly liturgy imaging forth the heavenly.³⁹ This is part and parcel of the common Oriental patrimony and is often expressed in the Great-Entrance chants of the East.⁴⁰ The Eastern commentators have often rendered this general symbolism more specific, interpreting the "entrance of Christ" in a paschal context as the triumphal entry of Christ into Jerusalem,⁴¹ Christ being led to His passion and burial,⁴² His descent into hell, His resurrection and ascension, His entrance into His kingdom, and the entrance of the saints and the just,⁴³ etc. The earliest interpretation, that of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Narsai, of the procession as the funeral cortège of Christ, is the one that gained the most currency in the Syrian and Byzantine traditions, eventually effecting, as we shall see, certain later additions to the liturgy.⁴⁴ But there is not a trace of any of this in Byzantine sources before the commentary of Germanus († 733),⁴⁵ and the chants themselves (except for the later *Sileat omnis caro*, which is not of Byzantine origin anyway) show no evidence of a more developed symbolism. In this, as well

³⁹ Cf. SCHULZ, *Liturgie*, pp. 69 ff. We have seen the same idea in the citations from Theodore of Mopsuestia and Narsai given in the previous chapter.

⁴⁰ Cf. LEEB, *Gesänge von Jerusalem*, pp. 120 ff and the chants of other rites cited below, pp. 90-95.

⁴¹ *Protheoria* 18, PG 140, 441; PS.-SOPHONIUS, *Commentarius liturgicus* 20, PG 87^a, 4001; CABASILAS, *Liturgiae expositio* 24, PG 150, 420.

⁴² THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, *Homily 15*, 25 ff (TONNEAU-DEVREESSE, pp. 503 ff); NARSAI, *Liturgical Homily 17* (CONNOLLY, *Narsai*, pp. 3-4) and also *Homily 22* (*ibid.*, pp. 55-56); GERMANUS, *HE* (BORGIA, pp. 30-32; PG 98, 419); *Protheoria* 18 (PG 140, 441); PS.-SOPHONIUS (PG 87^a, 4001); SYMEON OF THESSALONIKA, ET 77 (PG 155, 728).

⁴³ GERMANUS, *HE* (BORGIA, pp. 30 ff; PG 98, 419). NARSAI interprets the procession as the entrance of Christ into His kingdom (*Liturgical Homily 17*, CONNOLLY, *Narsai*, p. 5).

⁴⁴ Cf. JANERAS, *Trisagion christologique*, pp. 479 ff and chapter VI below.

⁴⁵ Compare the earlier *Mystagogia* of MAXIMUS (16, PG 91, 693) with GERMANUS, *HE* (BORGIA, pp. 30-32; PG 98, 419). As LEEB notes, however, the theme of the angels is also closely linked to the funeral cortège symbolism (*Gesänge von Jerusalem*, p. 120).

as in the small number of Great-Entrance hymns, the Byzantine rite is more conservative than the other Oriental traditions.

Symbolism apart, the central theme of the Cherubicon is quite simple: "Let us lay aside all worldly care to receive the King of all".⁴⁶ As Jungmann has pointed out,⁴⁷ this is an anticipation of the *sursum corda* in the dialogue before the anaphora, and follows closely even in language Cyril of Jerusalem's commentary on the latter:

After this the priest cries aloud: *Lift up your hearts*. For truly ought we in that most awful hour to have our heart on high with God, and not below, thinking of earth and earthly things (τά γήινα πράγματα).⁴⁸ The priest then in effect bids all in that hour abandon all worldly thoughts or household cares (πάντας... φροντίδας βιωτικής, μερίμνας τὰς κατ' οἶκον), and to have their heart in heaven with the merciful God... But let no one come here, who with his lips can say "We lift up our hearts to the Lord", but in mind employs his thoughts on worldly business (τὰς βιωτικής... φροντίδας).⁴⁹

There remains one further problem in interpreting the text of the Cherubicon. In the phrase "Let us lay aside all worldly care to receive (ὑποδεξόμενοι) the King of all," the future participle ὑποδεξόμενοι refers to the reception of Christ in communion, though contemporary Byzantine piety often seems ignorant of this meaning, and hence the phrase is taken to refer to the coming of Christ in a general sense, or even to His coming at the Great Entrance itself ("... so that we may welcome the King of all," etc.).⁵⁰ But ὑποδέχομαι is a term used commonly for the reception of communion,⁵¹ and this is the interpretation of the *Protheoria*,

⁴⁶ Cf. the *Protheoria* (PG 140, 441, cited in note 52). NARSAI commenting on the transfer of gifts also says we must "put away from us anger and hatred" (*Homily 17*, CONNOLLY, *Narsai*, p. 3).

⁴⁷ *Missarum Sollemnia* II, p. 110, note 5.

⁴⁸ Note the similar language in the hymn *Sileat omnis caro*: "Μηδὲν γήινον ἐν ἑαυτῇ λογίζεσθαι," and in CHRYSOSTOM, *Hom. 14 in ep. ad Eph.* 4, 4 (PG 62, 105): "Μηδὲν πράττει, μηδὲν λέγει τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς." Cf. also PS.-DENYS, *EH* 3,10, PG 3, 440.

⁴⁹ *Myst. Cat.* 5,4, ed. Cross, pp. 31 [72-73].

⁵⁰ Cf. for example the translation of SCHULZ, *Liturgie*, pp. 69-70: "Denn wir werden den König des Alls bei uns aufnehmen."

⁵¹ See for example the prayer before the Our Father in BAS (LEW, pp. 338, 19-20; 339, 4; the second prayer of the faithful of PRES (LEW, p. 348, 8). Cf. SOLOVEY, *The Byzantine Divine Liturgy*, pp. 227-228. The Armenian version uses the proper term for the reception of communion (*andownim*) but we have already noted that the Slavonic *podimem* has often been misunderstood (cf. note 24).

an interpretation later incorporated into the commentary of Pseudo-Sophronius and the interpolated medieval recension of Germanus' *Historia Ecclesiastica*:

The Cherubic hymn which is sung exhorts everyone to be more attentive from now until the end of the service, rejecting all lower worldly care as befits those that are to receive the Great King in communion.⁵²

A glance at the Greek text (cf. note 52) will show that the author is simply paraphrasing the text of the hymn, and that with the phrase "ὡς βασιλέα μέγαν μέλλοντα δεχέσθαι διὰ τῆς κοινωνίας" he unmistakably interprets ὑποδεξόμενοι as the reception of communion.

Understood in this way, the Cherubicon appears related to the whole eucharistic liturgy, with references to the *sanctus* ("τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον"), *sursum corda*, and communion. It is not an "offertory chant", but an introduction to the *accessus ad altare* rites (cf. below, Part II) and to the anaphora in the broad sense of the term,⁵³ which it once immediately preceded before the creed, litany, etc. were added between the transfer of gifts and the eucharistic prayer.

This interpretation of the Oriental Great-Entrance chant is not restricted to the Cherubicon. *Sileat omnis caro* and *Nunc virtutes caelorum* also refer to the whole rite to follow, not just to the procession itself.⁵⁴ And the Byzantines did not hesitate to borrow a communion hymn as the Great-Entrance chant for Holy Thursday. In addition to the numerous Great-Entrance hymns of various traditions that refer to the *sanctus*⁵⁵ others can be cited that look forward to the anaphora and communion. Here are two examples from one of our oldest liturgical song-books, *The Hymns*

⁵² *Protheoria* 18, PG 140, 441: "Ὁ δὲ ἀδόμενος χερουβικός ὕμνος προτρέπεται πάντας ἐντεῦθεν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ τέλους τῆς ἱερουργίας προσεκτικώτερον ἔχειν τὸν νοῦν πάσαν βιωτικὴν μερίμναν κάτωθεν ἀφαιρέμενος, ὡς βασιλέα μέγαν μέλλοντα δεχέσθαι διὰ τῆς κοινωνίας. Cf. also PS.-SOPHRONIUS, PG 87^b, 4001; GERMANUS, *HE*, PG 98, 420-421.

⁵³ I. e. the whole eucharistic formulary including the prayers immediately before and after the anaphora proper.

⁵⁴ *Sileat*: "... the King of Kings ... comes forth to be slain and given as food to the faithful." *Nunc virtutes caelorum*: "... in faith and love let us approach in order to become sharers in eternal life."

⁵⁵ Cf. the chants cited below, pp. 66, 90-95. The presence of the angelic chant in these hymns is due to the very common theme of angelic participation in the Great Entrance.

of Severus of Antioch († 538) translated into Syriac by Paul of Edessa in 619-629 and revised by James of Edessa in 675:

Sprinkle me with hyssop and I shall be cleansed (Ps. 51:9). You who by the sprinkling of your living and divine blood cleanse those who participate in it with faith, our hearts being sprinkled and cleansed from every evil and staining consciousness, prepare us for the holy reception of the life-giving mystery, bestowing upon us by its means forgiveness of our offenses and sins as you alone are good and merciful.⁴⁸

Hymn no. 209 of the same collection, attributed to John of Aphthonia († 538) anticipates the anaphora dialogue and *sanctus*:

Because your grace has been great upon me (Ps. 86:13). It is truly meet and right that we should praise and bless your goodness, Christ God, because you have deigned to give us awful mysteries ... and in the awful hour of the spiritual and bloodless sacrifice have in your mercy admitted us sinners to see your glory ... and to sing in praise and cry with the hosts of the heavenly ones, "Holy are you, holy are you, holy are you, Lord of all".⁴⁹

That these texts are not aberrations, but suit the precise function of these hymns as chants of introduction to the eucharistic part of the liturgy, is borne out by the name they bear: "Again, hymns (ma'nyotho) after the reading of the Gospel, which are chanted before the oblation (qurrābā)." ⁵⁰ "Oblation" here means the sacrifice of the mass or, as we would say, the eucharistic prayer.

The same should be said for the name "*Prosporika*" given to the hymns for the transfer of gifts in two Syriac MSS of the 7th and 9th centuries, *British Museum Add. 17134, 17207*, (cf. also 18819).⁵¹ It should be taken as referring to the offering of the eucharist itself. This is evident from the use of similar terminology, "prosporic or oblatinal hymns," in *The Hymns of Severus* for chants before and after communion where there can be no question of any reference to an "offertory".⁵²

⁴⁸ BROOKS ed., *The Hymns of Severus*, PO 7, fasc. 5, p. 670, hymn 205. Cf. also hymn 206 (p. 671) and hymn 207 cited below, pp. 93-94, which also refer to communion. On the dating, etc. of this source, see p. 801 and Brook's introduction, PO 6, fasc. 1, p. 5.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, PO 7, fasc. 5, p. 673.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 670.

⁵¹ Cited by LEEB, *Gesänge von Jerusalem*, p. 115, after Mateos.

⁵² Ed. BROOKS, PO 7, fasc. 5, pp. 674, 681. Other Syriac names for

This interpretation of the Great-Entrance chant, though not the usual one, cannot be considered untraditional. It corresponds perfectly with the way in which Augustine, our first witness to a chant at this point in the mass, refers to the liturgical piece in question:

Hymni ad altare ... sive ante oblationem, sive cum distribuereetur populo quod fuisset oblatum.⁶¹

The "*oblatio*" is not the "offertory" in the modern sense of the term but the anaphora, as is obvious from the intended parallel *oblatio-oblatum*. *Oblatum* can refer only to what happens during the anaphora, for what the people receive in communion are not merely offered but *consecrated* gifts.

All this bears out what we have already shown in chapter I: that the tendency to consider the Oriental pre-anaphoral rites, including the procession with the gifts and its accompanying chants, in terms of "offertory", "offertory procession", "offertory chant", is a prejudice based on later, largely Western, liturgical categories.⁶² Here again the Cherubicon betrays the primitiveness of the Byzantine Great-Entrance chants, a primitiveness that we shall see in other elements of the pre-anaphoral rites of CHR.

Properly understood then, the Great-Entrance chant assumes a broader, more balanced liturgical role, tempering the exaggerated importance that has been assigned to the Great-Entrance *procession*

this chant can, however, be taken as referring either to the entrance alone or to the eucharist as a whole: e. g. alleluia qdām rāzē ("alleluia before the mysteries", cf. above, p. 41), the East-Syrian 'onitā d-rāzē and the West-Syrian "Refrains (ma'nyotho) of the Mysteries" (cf. below, pp. 92-94). "Mysteries" can refer to the gifts borne in (as in codex *British Museum Add. 14.949*, below, p. 93) or to the eucharist as a whole, as in the various titles in *Hymns of Severus*, ed. BROOKS, PO 6, fasc. 1, pp. 29, 31-32.

⁶¹ *Retractationes* 2, 11, PL 32, 634.

⁶² H. Leeb has, we believe, succumbed to this bias when he writes, "Das Stellen der Gaben von Brot und Wein auf den Altar ist aber auch symbolischer Ausdruck des Opfers der Gemeinde. Deshalb gibt es im Lektionar auch Initien, die auf die sogenannte "Opferung" der Gläubigen anspielen." (*Gesänge von Jerusalem*, p. 122). Leeb bases his argument on the following four *incipits* which, it seems to us, can be far better applied to the eucharistic offering itself:

1. Incruentum sacrificium offerim(us). (TARCHNISVILL, *Lectioinaire*, 1193)
2. Tibi sacrificium offerimus. (*Ibid.*, 169, 469, 469^b)
3. Gloriam et laudem offero. (*Ibid.*, 1468)
4. Corpus Domini, sanguis. (*Ibid.*, 41).

in itself. For at the entrance we welcome the gifts, symbol of Christ, only with a view to their oblation and reception in communion, as is expressed in the Holy Saturday chant:

Let all mortal flesh be silent ... for the King of Kings and Lord of Lords comes forth to be slain and given as food to the faithful.

The same idea is found in the second prayer of the faithful of PRES. This prayer is simply a paraphrase of the Cherubicon and the *Nunc virtutes caelorum* of PRES, our two oldest Byzantine Great-Entrance chants. If we prescind from what is applicable only to PRES, it may be taken as a summary of what the chants at this point of the Byzantine liturgy are meant to express:

Holy Master ... make us worthy of the reception (της υποδοχης) of your only-begotten Son and our God, the King of Glory. For behold His immaculate body and life-giving blood entering at the present moment to be placed on this mystical altar, invisibly escorted by a multitude of the heavenly host. Grant us communion in them without condemnation, so that with the eyes of our understanding enlightened by them, we may become sons of the light and the day.⁶¹

The Origins of the Byzantine Great-Entrance Chants

1. The Cherubicon and *Cenae tuae*

According to Cedrenus' *Historiarum Compendium*, in the ninth year of his reign (573-4) Justin II, in the midst of waging war

⁶¹ LEW, p. 384, 6-14:

Δεσποτα ἄγιε, ὑπεράγαθε, δυσω-
ποῦμέν σε τὸν ἐν ἐλέει πλούσιον, ἵκεον
γενέσθαι ἡμῖν τοῖς ἁμαρτωλοῖς, καὶ
ἀξιῶς ἡμᾶς ποιῆσαι τῆς υποδοχῆς τοῦ
μονογενοῦς σου Υἱοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν,
τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς δόξης. Ἰδοὺ γὰρ τὸ
ἀγραπτον αὐτοῦ Σῶμα καὶ τὸ ζωοποιον
Αἷμα, κατὰ τὴν παρούσαν ὥραν εἰστο-
ρευόμενα, τῇ μυστικῇ ταύτῃ προτίθεσθαι
μέλλει Τραπέζῃ, ὑπὸ πλήθους στρατιᾶς
οὐρανόθεν ἀοράτως δορυφορούμενα, ὃν τὴν
μετέληξιν ἀκατάκρυστον ἡμῖν δώρησαι.
ἵνα δι' αὐτῶν τὸ τῆς βιανίας ἕμμα κατα-
γαζόμενοι, οἱ αἰ φωτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας γενώ-
μεθα.

Cherubicon and *Nunc virtutes*:

... ὡς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ὕλων ὑποδεξό-
μενοι (Cherubicon)
... ἰδοὺ γὰρ εἰσπορεύεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς
δόξης. Ἰδοὺ θυσία μυστικῇ τετελειω-
μένη δορυφορεῖται (*Nunc virtutes*)

... ταῖς ἀγγελικαῖς ἀοράτως δορυφορού-
μενον τάξασιν (Cherubicon)

... ἵνα μέτοχοι ζωῆς αἰωνίου γενώμεθα
(*Nunc virtutes*).

and transferring relics, managed also to introduce the Cherubicon as well as as *Cenae tuae* into the liturgy of his church:

Under him [= Justin] it was decreed that *Cenae tuae mysticae* be chanted on Holy Thursday. Also the image "not made with hands" came from Camulianis, a village in Cappadocia, and the venerated wood from the city of Apamea in Syria Secunda. And it was decreed also that the Cherubic Hymn be sung.⁶²

Into what part of the liturgy they were introduced is not stated. Since the Cherubicon never appears in Constantinople as anything but a chant to accompany the transfer of gifts, we shall presume it was introduced at the Great Entrance where we find it in the earliest euchologies and where it still is today. As for *Cenae tuae*, we next hear of it in the 10th century Typicon of the Great Church, as the Great-Entrance chant, koinonicon and apolytikion or *dimissorium* (i. e. in place of the Πληρωθήτω) of Holy Thursday.⁶³

Are these two chants original Byzantine compositions? The evidence is unsure, but we are inclined to say yes. Cedrenus testifies to their presence in the liturgy of Constantinople centuries before they appear elsewhere. Other arguments can also be adduced in favor of a Constantinopolitan origin.

a) *Cenae tuae*:

As we have seen, by the time of the 10th century typicon of the Great Church *Cenae tuae* has clearly established its rights in the Holy Thursday liturgy of the capital. Evidence for the same chant in the liturgy of Jerusalem is much weaker. It first appears in the Georgian lectionary of Jerusalem, and there in only one MS (*Sinai Georg.* 37, AD 982), as only the second of the two koinonica for Holy Thursday.⁶⁴ *Cenae tuae* is also found as the Great-Entrance chant and as one of the koinonica for Holy Thursday in the Jerusalem Typicon of the Anastasis in codex *Stavrou* 43.⁶⁵ This MS is dated AD 1122, but the document describes the liturgical practice of the period at least anterior to the destruction of certain Christian sanctuaries in Jerusalem by the Arabs under Hakim in 1009.⁶⁶ So we see an earlier and stronger tradition for

⁶² PG 121, 748.

⁶³ MATEOS, *Typicon* II, p. 76. On the apolytikion cf. *ibid.*, *Index liturgique*, II, p. 285.

⁶⁴ TARCHNISVILI, *Lectionnaire*, 639⁶⁵ in the apparatus.

⁶⁵ PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Analekta* II, p. 76. The document is actually a combined typicon-triodion for Holy and Easter Weeks.

⁶⁶ On the dating of this MS see DMITRIEVSKII, *Drevnejšie tipikony*, pp. 61 ff.

the chant in Constantinople, over against the later, gradual introduction of it into the Holy Thursday liturgy of the Holy City around the 10th century, at a time when it is generally agreed that Constantinople was influencing the liturgy of Palestine.⁶⁹ Its presence in the liturgy of Jerusalem should probably be attributed to the gradual Byzantinization of that rite.⁷⁰

b) *Cherubicon*:

As for the Cherubicon, the problem is more complex. It also appears outside Constantinople for the first time in the 10th century. The oldest MS of JAS, the 9th century *Vatican Gr. 2282*, does not include chants or diakonika, so we can conclude nothing from it. But we find the Cherubicon in JAS of codex *Vat. Borg. 24* (AD 1880) which is a faithful copy of codex *Messina 177*, a 10th century MS that was in use in Jerusalem itself.⁷¹ Its first appearance in the Jerusalem lectionary dates from the same period. The Armenian lectionary and the earliest MSS of the Georgian lectionary mention no Great-Entrance chants at all,⁷² but the 10th

BAUMSTARK, *Heiligtümer*, pp. 282-9; *Denkmäler*, pp. 18-20; *Comparative Liturgy*, p. 141; BERTONIERE, *Easter Vigil*, pp. 13 ff; RENOUX, *Jérusalem 121*, p. 25; JANERAS, *Viernes santo*, p. 26. The *terminus post quem* is 1009, since the document locates offices in churches destroyed at that time; the *terminus ante quem* is early 10th century, for the typicon contains a chant attributed to Patriarch Photius, who was patriarch in 858-867, 877-886 (cf. *Analekta* II, p. 78, 1 ff), and mentions the hymnographer Mark of Otranto (*ibid.*, pp. 164, 29 and 165-168 *passim*) who was a contemporary of emperor Leo VI (886-912) (cf. BECK, p. 605). BAUMSTARK's final opinion was that the MS dated from the decade 927-937 (cf. *Nocturna Laus, Typen frühchristlicher Vigiliensfeier und ihr Fortleben vor allem im römischen und monastischen Ritus* [= *Liturgiewiss. Quellen und Forschungen* 32], Münster 1956, p. 133 and n. 449). In *Comparative Liturgy* (p. 141) he added the precision: "superimposed [on the 10th c. material] is a light layer consisting of later revision which belongs to the epoch of the French Kingdom, which was established in Palestine by the First Crusade."

⁶⁹ On the interaction of these two traditions cf. BAUMSTARK, *Denkmäler*, pp. 10-32; *Comparative Liturgy*, pp. 6, 141 ff; DMITRIEVSKIĬ, *Drevnejšie tipikony*, ch. III; BERTONIERE, *Easter Vigil*, pp. 119-120. See the summary in TARR, *Offertory Chant*, pp. 440 ff.

⁷⁰ LEVY (*Hymn for Thursday*, p. 129) also opts for the Constantinopolitan origin of *Cenae tuac*, though he suggests (p. 174) that because of the final phrase ("Remember me, Lord, in your kingdom") it may originally have been a *makarismos* refrain. However, there is no evidence to support this. (On the *makarismoi* and *μνήσθητι* verses, see JANERAS, *Viernes santo*, pp. 144-157.)

⁷¹ MERCIER, p. 176, 27. On the MS see pp. 135-136.

⁷² Cf. RENOUX, *Lectionnaire arménien*; TARCHNIŠVILI, *Zwei georgische*

century MSS of the latter give the Cherubicon as the "*Sanctificationum (cantus)*", i. e. Great-Entrance chant, for the Sundays of Lent from Cheese-fare Sunday until Palm Sunday (exclusive):

IN SANCTA DOMINICA DIE *in casei ablatione ... Sanctificationum, modus II: In omnibus Dominicis usque ad (Dominicam) Palmarum hoc dicas: Qui cherubim mystice.*⁷³

Since Lent is a notoriously conservative liturgical season, one would be inclined to presume that this usage is ancient, and represents a remnant of former practice on every Sunday of the year. However, there are reasons for doubting that it goes back as far as 573-4, when we already find the Cherubicon in the liturgy of the Great Church.⁷⁴ For an examination of the Jerusalem sources shows that the Cherubicon, too, played its role in the gradual encroachment of Byzantine practices on the traditions native to the Holy City. To see this, we must first examine the structure of the Jerusalem Liturgy of the Word.

In the MSS of Greek JAS, after the gospel and litany, we find the following:

Ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος: Ἐν εἰρήνῃ Χριστοῦ ψάλλωμεν.

Then come the dismissals, etc., giving us the following structure:

- gospel (MERCIER, p. 172, 2-22)
- synapte with aiteseis (*ibid.*, p. 172, 24 ff)
- archdeacon: "In the peace of Christ, let us sing" (*ibid.*, p. 176, 13)
- dismissals (*ibid.*, p. 176, 15-16)
- Great-Entrance chant (*ibid.*, p. 175, 19 ff)

Lektionarfragmente aus dem 5. und 6. Jahrhundert, Kyrios 6, 1942-43, pp. 21-28; *id.*, *Lectionnaire, Introduction*, pp. xi-xii.

⁷³ TARCHNIŠVILI, *Lectionnaire*, 320 and 328. Cf. also 363, 401, 437, 476, 526. Cf. KERELIDZE, *Ierusalimskij kanonar*, pp. 56 ff. LEEB (*Gesänge von Jerusalem*, p. 121 note 169) notes that the words "*sicut latrones*" which follow the *incipit* of the Cherubicon for the 5th Sunday of Lent (*Lectionnaire*, 476), and might appear to be part of that chant, really belong to the following chant of dismissal. The MS is damaged at this point, and there is a lacuna.

⁷⁴ A study of the Jerusalem lectionaries has demonstrated the influence of the Jerusalem liturgy on that of other churches, including the Byzantine, in the 5th century (cf. RENOUX, *Jérusalem 121*, p. 185). But we simply have no evidence that would extend this influence to the Cherubicon, for there is no proof that Jerusalem had it earlier than the 10th century.

The diaconal injunction is obviously the introduction to a chant. And from the Georgian lectionary of Jerusalem and PRES of codex *Graz Georg. 4* (10th c.), we learn that the liturgy of the Holy City once contained after the readings two successive chants, the *lavabo* chant or *Manuum lotionis (cantus)*, and the Great-Entrance chant or *Sanctificationum (cantus)*.⁷⁵ The former chant was sung after the gospel, during the *lavabo*. Hence its name. But according to H. Leeb, who has made a thorough study of these chants, it is in reality an "Antwortsgesang auf das Evangelium."⁷⁶ *Sicmidsay* ("Sanctificationum") is the Georgian term for the chant that accompanies the transfer of gifts, as can be seen from the Great-Entrance rubrics of the 11th century Georgian version of CHR in codex *Sinai Georg. 89*:

*Et tollant diaconi thuribulum et flabellum et lucernam, et sacerdos calicem et patenam, et sanctificata introducant. Et cantores dicant voce (alta) Sanctificationum (hymnum): Qui cherubim mysterium.*⁷⁷

Here *sanctificata* translates *sicmide*, which is simply the Georgian translation of τὰ ἅγια, the common Greek term for the gifts of bread and wine. Used in the genitive, *sicmidsay (sanctificationum)*, short for *Sanctificationum donorum cantus*, it corresponds perfectly with the Greek name for one of the mass chants in a slightly later Jerusalem source, the Typicon of the Anastasis of codex *Stavrou 43* (AD 1122): σιχηρὸν ψαλλόμενον εἰς τὰ ἅγια, or simply εἰς τὰ ἅγια, or τὰ ἅγια.⁷⁸ The same term is found in the rubric preceding the Cherubicon in the old Arabic version of CHR (10th c.): "Haec oratio dicitur in tempore 'sanctorum' (al-aḡīya) ..."⁷⁹

In *Stavrou 43*, however, this title is found not before the

⁷⁵ TARCHNISVILI, *Lectionnaire*, cf. for example Easter, nos. 750-751, and *passim* throughout the lectionary. For PRES see *id.*, *Liturgiae ibericae*, pp. 93 (text), 71 (*versio*) and below, p. 114.

⁷⁶ LEEB, *Gesänge des Weihnachtsfestes*, p. 239; *Gesänge von Jerusalem*, p. 112. On these chants cf. also chapter I, note 99; TAFT, *Offertory Chant*, pp. 441-443.

⁷⁷ A. JACOB, *Version géorgienne*, p. 100. See also the rubric at the offertorium in Georgian PETER: "Cantores incipiunt canere (canticum) sanctorum (donorum) et transferunt sancta." TARCHNISVILI, *Liturgiae ibericae*, p. 64. On the meaning of the Georgian term, cf. LEEB, *Gesänge von Jerusalem*, pp. 113 ff; KEKELIDZE, *Ierusalimskij kanonar* under τὸ ἅγιον in the lexicon, p. 338; *id.*, *Liturgiĉeskie gruzinskie pamjatniki*, p. 11, n. 1.

⁷⁸ PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Analekta II*, pp. 187, 20; 188, 23; 201, 31; 212, 1.

⁷⁹ BACHA, *Versions arabes*, p. 456; HANSSSENS, *Institutiones III*, p. 287.

Great-Entrance chant, where it belongs, but before the chant following the gospel, where one would expect the name *Manuum lotionis (cantus)*, and the Great-Entrance chant is called "Cherubicon" or chant "in place of the Cherubicon".⁸⁰ How are we to explain this? By a misplacement, we believe, of the old Jerusalem chants resulting from the introduction of the Cherubicon, as foreign chant, into the liturgy of the Holy City.

In the original structure of the Jerusalem liturgy we found two successive chants, one during the *lavabo*, and one during the Great Entrance, the *Sanctificationum (cantus)*. On some occasions the Byzantine Cherubicon was used as the latter chant — for example, on Sundays of Lent in the Georgian lectionary.

By the time of *Stavrou 43*, however, the Cherubicon (or a chant ἀντὶ τοῦ χειρουβικοῦ) is used in the liturgy not in place of, but in addition to the native Jerusalem offertory hymn or εἰς τὰ ἅγια, and the *Manuum lotionis (cantus)* has disappeared.⁸¹ Thus instead of the original Jerusalem structure (left-hand column) we find a displacement of the chants:

<i>Original Jerusalem Structure</i>	<i>Stavrou 43</i>
— gospel	— gospel
— [litany]	— [litany]
— <i>Manuum lotionis (cantus)</i>	— <i>Sanctificationum (cantus)</i>
— dismissals	— dismissals
— <i>Sanctificationum (cantus)</i>	— Cherubicon or chant "ἀντὶ τοῦ χειρουβικοῦ"

The same evolution is observable in the 9th century Jerusalem codex *Leningrad 44* (= *Sinai 50*) edited by Thibaut.⁸² This MS contains sixteen propers for the Liturgy of the Word of JAS: eight for Sundays according to the eight tones; others for various categories of saints, etc. All but two of these masses present the following structure:

⁸⁰ PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Analekta II*, pp. 25; 106-107; 187; 201-202; 212.

⁸¹ *Loc. cit.* (though no chant in place of the Cherubicon is indicated for Easter Monday, p. 212).

⁸² THIBAUT, *Monuments*, pp. 3*-11*. Thibaut (p. 21) wrongly maintains that these two chants are parallel to the *Sonus* and *Laudes* of the Gallican mass as described by Ps.-Germanus of Paris. In the Gallican mass the Trisagion is the chant after the gospel. The *Sonus* accompanies the entrance of the gifts and the *Laudes* are sung after the gifts have been placed on the altar. Cf. PS.-GERMANUS, *Ep. I*, PL 72, 91-93; GAMBER, *Ordo antiquus gallicanus*, pp. 18-20; 30-34.

- gospel
- [litany]
- chant
- dismissals
- Great-Entrance chant

This first chant, entitled *στιχηρὸν εἰς σὺναξιν* in the Sunday propers of tones 2 and 4, corresponds to the *εἰς τὰ ἅγια* (*Sanctificationum*) of *Stavrou 43*, which the latter also refers to as *στιχηρὸν ψαλλόμενον εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν*,⁸² a term synonymous with the *στιχηρὸν εἰς σὺναξιν* of *Leningrad 44*.⁸³

We see the same process at work if we compare the *ordo* of Georgian JAS as found in the earlier and later codices. For example, in codices *Graz 4* (10th century) and *Tiflis A 86* (10-11th century) we find before the dismissals our diaconal invocation followed, as expected, by the *lavabo* chant. *Codex Tiflis A 86*:

Deacon: Let us chant in peace.
 And they say [the chant] of the washing of hands.
 Deacon: Let no one who is unfit ... [= dismissals]
 And they say the *Holies* [= *Sanctificationum*].⁸⁴

Codex Graz 4 gives the same *ordo* except that the rubric following the dismissals mentions the transfer of gifts without indicating any accompanying chant,⁸⁵ but we can presume one since it is found in all other sources. The later MS *Borgia 7* (13-14th century), however, has the following *ordo*:

In pace Christi cantate.
 Cantor dicit *cantum introitus sanctorum*.
 Daconus: Nullus catechumenorum ...
 Cantor: alleluia.⁸⁷

Here too the Great-Entrance chant (*Sanctificationum*) has moved up to the place of the *lavabo* chant and there is another chant — here alleluia — after the dismissals, i. e. at the transfer of gifts.

⁸² PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Analekta* II, p. 106, 25.

⁸³ Cf. however LEEB's interpretation (*Gesänge von Jerusalem*, p. 101). He connects the title with the diaconal call to the faithful to gather for the synaxis and for the catechumens to leave, which immediately follows the chant.

⁸⁴ CONYBEARE-WARDROP, *Georgian Version*, p. 402. We have supplied the proper term "chant" in place of the word "prayer" inserted by the translators.

⁸⁵ Cf. TARCHNISVILI, *Liturgiae ibericae*, p. 3.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

What we find in the later sources, then, is the gradual but inexorable encroachment of a Constantinopolitan liturgical piece, the Cherubicon, on its Jerusalem sister piece, the *Sanctificationum*. Initially, in the Georgian lectionary, the Cherubicon appears on some days as a variant *Sanctificationum* chant. But eventually, by the time of *Stavrou 43*, this duplicate piece — or some chant *ἀντί τοῦ χερουβικοῦ* — wins a permanent place as the Great-Entrance chant of the liturgy of Jerusalem. The original Jerusalem chant, the *Sanctificationum*, is pushed back to the place of the other native Jerusalem chant, the *Manuum lotionis*, and eventually forces it out of the liturgy.

Since the whole progression in this evolution is towards ever greater Byzantinization of the Jerusalem liturgy, and since the Cherubicon appears as the aggressor against a native Jerusalem liturgical element for which it is clearly a duplicate, we take it as likely that the *Οἱ τὰ Χερουβιμ* is of Constantinopolitan, not Jerusalem, origin. This does not mean, of course, that the Jerusalem hymns that eventually come to be designated as chants *ἀντί τοῦ χερουβικοῦ* are of Constantinopolitan origin, or that they were once used as Great-Entrance chants in the rite of the Great Church. Rather, the Jerusalem rite represented by *Stavrou 43* seems to have adopted the Constantinopolitan Cherubicon as a second Great-Entrance chant and then adapted the new liturgical unit to its own more flexible tradition which, as we see in the Georgian lectionary, provided twenty-eight *Sanctificationum* chants for use during the liturgical year.⁸⁸

It seems safe to assert, then, that both the Cherubicon and *Cenae tuae* are original Byzantine compositions, in spite of their presence in the liturgies of other churches. Both chants occur not only in the Byzantinized Jerusalem rite, but in other traditions as well. For instance the Cherubicon has been introduced into the Armenian mass, where its foreign origin is betrayed by the fact that it duplicates a native Armenian Great-Entrance chant, the *Hagiology*.⁸⁹ We find it also among the numerous Eastern chants borrowed by the West, where it appears in the 9th century as an offertory chant as well as among the antiphons of a South-Italian

⁸⁸ TARCHNISVILI, *Lectionnaire*, *passim*. All these chants have been listed, classified, and thoroughly studied by H. LEEB in his excellent study *Gesänge von Jerusalem*. Before the publication of this work Dr. Leeb had the kindness to discuss these chants with us and allow us to use his notes on the subject.

⁸⁹ Cf. below, pp. 90-91.

processionale.⁹⁰ And in the Holy Thursday mass of the Ambrosian rite we find a 10-11th century version of *Cenae tuae mirabili* as an "ingressa" as well as an *antiphona post-evangelium*,⁹¹ a chant corresponding to the *Manuum lotionis (cantus)* of Jerusalem.

2. *Nunc virtutes caelorum*

We have equally precise testimony regarding the *Nunc virtutes caelorum* of PRES. According to the *Chronicon Paschale*, it was introduced into the liturgy in the year 615:

In that year, under Patriarch Sergius of Constantinople ... there began to be sung [the following]: after the *κατεσθουθήτω* [= Ps. 140], when the presanctified gifts are brought into the altar from the skeuophylakion, after the priest says "Κατὰ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου," the people begin immediately "Νῦν αἱ δυνάμεις ... Ἀλληλούια." This is sung not only at Lenten Presanctified Liturgies, but also on other days, whenever the Presanctified occurs.⁹²

In the absence of any other evidence, we presume this hymn to be of Constantinopolitan origin.

3. *Sileat omnis caro*

The *Sileat omnis caro*, however, makes its appearance much later. The 10th century Typicon of the Great Church orders that the Cherubicon be replaced by the *Nunc virtutes caelorum* at PRES of Cheese-fare Wednesday and by *Cenae tuae* at the Holy Thursday liturgy, but makes no mention of the *Sileat omnis caro* in the rubrics for Holy Saturday.⁹³ G. Bertonière, in his book on the historical background and evolution of the Byzantine Easter Vigil, has examined the typica of the various traditions that have entered into the formation of our present Byzantine Easter services: Stoudion, St. Saba, Sinai, the Typicon of Evergetes, and the

⁹⁰ LEVY, *Hymn for Thursday*, p. 127.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁹² PG 92, 989. The psalm referred to is the traditional psalm of vespers, the office onto which the communion service has been grafted to form PRES. Κατὰ τὴν δόξαν ... is the ecphrasis of the second prayer of the faithful of PRES. BRIGHTMAN (*LEW*, p. 573) remarks that perhaps *Nunc virtutes caelorum* had first been used in the ordinary liturgy, and that this is the chant referred to by Eutychius. It is true that the *Chronicon Paschale* merely recounts its introduction into PRES, without excluding this idea of Brightman. But cf. below, pp. 84-86.

⁹³ MATROS, *Typicon II*, pp. 6, 76, 90; cf. *Index liturgique*, p. 308.

Italo-Greek typica of Studite influence in the classical period. Several MSS explicitly indicate the Cherubicon for Holy Saturday: *Messina Gr. 115* (Ad 1131-2), *Turin Gr. 216* (AD 1174), *Grottaferrata Ga I (404)* (AD 1300), *Vatican Gr. 1877* (AD 1292) — to which we can add the lectionary MS *Lavra 190* (AD 1078).⁹⁴ But of all the MSS he examined, only two, the prophetologion *Sinai Gr. 14* (11-12th century) and the typicon *Sinai Gr. 1098* (AD 1392), replace the Cherubicon with the *Sileat* in the Holy Saturday liturgy of BAS, and Bertonière could not determine from what source this item was introduced.⁹⁵ It may have been borrowed from the liturgy of Jerusalem. We find it in codex *Vatican Gr. 1970*, a 12th century MS of Greek JAS.⁹⁶ And it makes its first appearance in the rite of Constantinople in the two Palestinian MSS just cited.

In the *Typicon of St. Sabas* printed by the Sabio brothers at Venice in 1545, the *Sileat* is indicated as an optional replacement for the Cherubicon in the Holy Saturday mass. Only later does it become a regular feature of the Byzantine Holy Saturday rites.⁹⁷

4. Other Byzantine Great-Entrance Troparia

In the Byzantine rite sources we have been able to study we have found only one additional Great-Entrance chant beyond the common four already mentioned. In the Slavic typicon of *Codex 493* of the monastery of Chilandarion edited by Dmitrievskij, there is a proper Slavonic *Cheruvim'skaja pesn'* for Easter.⁹⁸ In a recent article P. Simić pointed out that this chant is also found in the Slavic typicon of *Codex 26 (285/82)* of the Serbian monastery of Krka in Dalmatia, and "in manchen anderen serbischen Hand-

⁹⁴ BERTONIERE, *Easter Vigil*, p. 190. For the text of *Messina 115*, see ARRANZ, *Typicon*, pp. 246-247; for *Vatican Gr. 1877*, DMITRIEVSKIJ I, p. 884; for *Lavra 190*, HØRG-ZUNTZ, *Prophetologium I*, p. 494.

⁹⁵ BERTONIERE, *Easter Vigil*, pp. 139, 190, 225, 237, 257, 266, 276, 286-287.

⁹⁶ MERCIER, p. 176, 20-25, sigl. L. It is also found in codex *Borgia Gr. 24* (*loc. cit.* sigl. M.) which dates from 1880, but which is a faithful reproduction of the 10th century codex *Messina Gr. 177* (*cf. ibid.*, p. 135). BAUMSTARK claimed that this hymn is of Jerusalem origin and was for the Holy Saturday mass of baptism (*cf. Cherubhymnus*, p. 12). But it is not found in the Holy Saturday mass in the extant Jerusalem sources, e. g. TARCHENIŠVILI, *Lectionnaire*, p. 114; PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Analekta II*, pp. 187-188; RENOUX, *Lectionnaire arménien*, p. 377.

⁹⁷ BERTONIERE, *Easter Vigil*, pp. 158.

⁹⁸ DMITRIEVSKIJ III, p. 471.

schriften."⁹⁹ Simić proposed the theory that this piece is an original 14th century Slavonic Great-Entrance chant.¹⁰⁰ We have dealt with this question in a brief article, showing that in reality the chant is the translation of a paschal sticheron of the Byzantine office, Ἐξῆγγέρθης, Χριστέ, ἐκ τοῦ μνήματος, found among the paschal stichera of codices *Vatican Gr. 771* (11th c.), *Lavra G 67* and *G 72* (12th c.).¹⁰¹ It is also used as a chant ἀντὶ τοῦ χειρουβικοῦ at the Holy Saturday Vigil and Easter morning liturgies of the Typicon of the Anastasis in codex *Stavrou 43*.¹⁰² But in non-Jerusalem Byzantine sources this hymn is found only as a resurrectional sticheron.¹⁰³ Slavonic liturgical MSS offer many peculiarities, but Slavic originality is usually limited to inserting into the liturgy translations of Greek prayers or chants taken from other offices or other parts of the mass. The same is true of our "Slavonic Cherubicon".

The Execution of the Great-Entrance Chant

In contemporary practice the Cherubicon is sung once, and is interrupted by the commemorations which the celebrants chant during the procession. We can dispense with this problem immediately. There is no witness to these commemorations before the 12th century, as we shall see in chapter VI. And the few early sources that have the text of the hymn give it continuously, without interruption, and mention no commemorations.¹⁰⁴ A glance at the Greek text of the Cherubicon is enough to prove

⁹⁹ P. SIMIĆ, *Ein östlicher cherubischer Hymnus*, *Byzantinoslavica* 30, 1969, pp. 116-118.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

¹⁰¹ TAFT, *Offertory Chant*.

¹⁰² PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Analekta* II, pp. 187-188, 202.

¹⁰³ Cf. the references in FOLLIERI, *Initia hymnorum ecclesiae graecae I* (= *Studi e testi* 211), Città del Vaticano, 1960, p. 491; BERTONIERE, *Easter Vigil*, p. 304, no. 27.

¹⁰⁴ E. g. BAS of the version of Johannisberg (COCHLAEUS, *Speculum*, p. 123) and of the *Codex Pyromalus* (GOAR², p. 155); *Codex S. Simeonis* (PELAGUS, *Liturgia*, f. Clv); codex *Karlsruhe EM 6* (ed. ENGDAL, pp. 19, 59). This argument is not overpowering, however. For some later codices, e. g. *Modena Gr. 19* (16th c.), also give the text of the Cherubicon in full, without break, before the entrance (f. 10r), but provide a commemoration, aloud, during the entrance procession (f. 11r). See also the Latin translation of Janus Lascaris in the same MS, f. 33r (on this translation cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 454 ff.). And musical MSS give the chant with no split even though the commemorations antedate by centuries the MSS in question (e. g. *Paris Suppl. Gr. 1135*, 18th c.).

that it was meant to be sung continuously; it is a single grammatical unit that allows for no split. Furthermore, there is disagreement as to where the chant should be interrupted for the commemorations. The Greeks interrupt it after τῶν ὄλων, the Slavs just before *jako* (= ὡς). The 14th century *Codex Basilii Palascae* (= *Grottaferrata Gb III*) divides it after προσάδοντες and refers to the second half as another hymn: "Ἐτερος ὕμνος."¹⁰⁵

In the 10th century Typicon of the Great Church the Great-Entrance chant is assigned to the psalmists.¹⁰⁶ The rubric for PRES of Cheese-fare Wednesday specifies that they sing it from the solea,¹⁰⁷ which in Hagia Sophia and some other churches was a pathway connecting the ambo in the middle of the nave to the sanctuary, corresponding to the Syrian bêt-šqāqōnā that led to the bema in the middle of the church.¹⁰⁸ It seems odd to find the psalmists singing from the solea. Their customary place was on the ambo or — according to Paul Silentarius' *Descriptio ambonis S. Sophiae* — in the chamber beneath the enormous raised ambo in the center of the Great Church.¹⁰⁹ But as we shall see, the Great Entrance procession in Hagia Sophia passed around the ambo and up to the sanctuary via the solea, so perhaps the psalmists lined up along the solea as a "guard of honor" to greet the procession on its arrival.

Three other sources that witness to the liturgy of the Great Church in the 10th century assign the chant to both the psalmists and people, as in BAS of *Codex Pyromalus* and the version of Johannisberg, or to the deacons, as in the diataxis incorporated by Leo Tuscan into his version of CHR.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ F. 18v (cf. GOAR², p. 87).

¹⁰⁶ MATEOS, *Typicon*, II pp. 6, 82, 90, 96.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* II, p. 8.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. the reconstruction of XYDIS, *Chancel*, pp. 16 ff, and MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, pp. 32, 37-38, 54, 65-66, 98-99. Both authors note the presence of this type of solea in several churches of Constantinople. Hence MATEOS (*Typicon* II, p. 321) is wrong in identifying as the solea the platform before the chancel equivalent to the Syrian qestrōmā. On the disposition of the Syrian church and meaning of these terms, cf. TAFT, *Bema*.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. MATEOS, *Typicon* II, *Index liturgique*, pp. 281, 308, 321, 328; canon 5 of the Council of Laodicea (MANSI 2, p. 567); MARCELLINUS COMES, *Chronicon* (PL 51, 937); PAUL SILENTARIUS, *Descriptio ambonis S. Sophiae* 110 ff. (PG 86², 2256); *De caerimoniis* I, 10 (ed. VOGT I, p. 67); *Codex Pyromalus* (GOAR², p. 153) and the version of Johannisberg (COCHLAEUS, *Speculum*, p. 120); etc.

¹¹⁰ GOAR², p. 155 and COCHLAEUS, *Speculum*, p. 123; JACOB, *Toscan*, pp. 149-150 (on the diataxis and its dating, cf. *id.*, *Concélébration*, pp. 250 ff and *infra*, pp. 124-125).

Later sources also vary somewhat as to who sang the Cherubicon. For example the 11th century codex *Grottaferrata Gb XV* assigns it to the people (f. 2v).¹¹¹ In the contemporaneous Georgian CHR of *Sinai Georg.* 89 it is chanted by the "cantores."¹¹² According to Pseudo-Sophronius, the psalmists and people sing it together.¹¹³ In Habert's edition of the archieratikon of Gemistos it is sung by the psalmists alone.¹¹⁴ In the 13-14th century Italian sources for the liturgy according to the usages of Otranto the rubrics assign it now to "clerus et populus", now to "clerus" or "populus" alone.¹¹⁵ The 16th century codex *Modena Gr. 19* (f. 10r) also has it sung by the psalmists ("chorus" or "cantores" in the Latin version, f. 32r-v).

Undoubtedly both the psalmists and the congregation sang the various refrains, for there was no choir in the strict sense in Byzantine churches. Hagia Sophia had only a small nucleus of psalmists to assist the people in singing the responses and chants. According to Justinian's code, in the 6-7th century the number of psalmists serving the three patriarchal churches of Hagia Sophia, Hagia Eirene and the Chalkoprateia did not exceed twenty-five.¹¹⁶ And surely in smaller Italian churches there were even fewer.

The reference to the deacons in Tuscan and the "clerus" in the Otrantan sources may simply indicate that it was also customary for those that marched in the procession to join in the chant. As we shall see in chapter V, at the time of Tuscan's version only the deacons took part in the transfer procession. And since in Hagia Sophia the skeuophylakion from which the procession departed was outside the church (cf. chapter V), the deacons may have had to intone the chant to signal that the procession was ready to enter. A parallel practice can be found in the *Ordo antiquus gallicanus* edited by Klaus Gamber:

Cum debent offere habent in sacrario praeparatas oblationes in turres

Egrediuntur de sacerdotibus qui circumstant altare unus aut duo, uel quanti necessi fuerint. Cum diaconibus ingrediuntur sacrario et accepit sacerdos in manibus suis turrem (uel patena)

¹¹¹ Likewise in *Sinai Gr. 973* (AD 1153) f. 7r.; *Vat. Gr. 1213* (14th c.); KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenijsa*, p. 134.

¹¹² JACOB, *Version géorgienne*, p. 100.

¹¹³ PG 87², 4001.

¹¹⁴ HABERT, p. 75.

¹¹⁵ JACOB *Otranto*, pp. 69, 3 and apparatus XIV (1); 96, 11; 97, 1; codex *Karlsruhe EM 6*, ed. ENGDAL, pp. 19, 1; 19, 30; 59, 17; 60, 10.

¹¹⁶ Cf. *novella 3, 1, Corpus Iuris Civilis*, ed. SCHÖLL, III, p. 21.

eum hostia oblationis: similiter diaconus calicem et eleuant eos contra capita sua.

Antequam ingrediantur in ecclesia dicunt antiphonam alta uoce prolixè, hoc est: Laudate dominum de caelis.

Et respondit ipse clerus in ecclesia et dum ipsi respondent ipsa, ingrediuntur sacerdotes cum ipsas turres (uel patena) seu et calices et uadunt ante altare...¹¹⁷

The sources provide us with one more interesting detail concerning the execution of the Cherubicon. The 10th century Typicon of the Great Church had it repeated three times on Easter Sunday:

Δεῖ δὲ εἰδέναι ὅτι γ' λέγεται τὸ Οἱ τὰ Χερουβίμ, τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ.¹¹⁸

The same practice is found in the rubrics of the Holy Saturday vigil and Easter morning liturgies in several Italo-Greek typica of the Studite tradition.¹¹⁹ Since festive liturgy is generally more conservative than the run-of-the-mill variety, this paschal practice can be a valid witness to a former general usage. And in fact we find confirmation of this in the present custom of concluding the Cherubicon with the triple alleluia. A misunderstanding of the old rubric seems responsible for this. Both the single and triple alleluia are found as refrains in the 10th century typicon, but with the Cherubicon the single alleluia is the older tradition. The text in the Johannenberg version of 10th century BAS,¹²⁰ in the 13th century codex *Karlsruhe EM 6*,¹²¹ in the 12-13th century

¹¹⁷ GAMBER, *Ordo antiquus gallicanus*, p. 33. We are indebted to Msgr. Gamber for pointing out to us this and several other possible parallels between Byzantine and Western liturgical usages. The meaning of the "turres" referred to is explained in the *Epistula prima Germani Parisiensis*, *ibid.*, p. 19): "Corpus uero domini ideo defertur in turribus, quia monumentum domini in similitudine turris fuit scissum in petra..."

¹¹⁸ ΜΑΤΕΟΣ, *Typicon II*, p. 96.

¹¹⁹ *Messina Gr. 115* (AD 1131), ARRANZ, *Typicon du S.-Sauveur*, pp. 246-247 (Holy Saturday vigil), 250 (Easter morning); *Vatican Gr. 1877* (AD 1292), DMITRIEVSKIJ I, pp. 884, 887 (Easter morning); *Turin 216* (AD 1174), *Grottaferrata Ga I* (404) (AD 1300), and *Jena Universitätsbibliothek Codex G. B. q. 6a* (?) (1130-1150 AD) referred to in BERTONIERE, *Easter Vigil*, pp. 190, 223 (cf. p. 178 on the problem of identifying the Jena codex, a copy of which is found in *Grottaferrata Ga xxix* [401]). These MSS indicate that the chant is to be sung "χορὸν" twice and "ἀργὸν" once at the vigil and Easter morning masses (*Turin 216* has the triple repetition only at the vigil).

¹²⁰ COCHLAZUS, *Speculum*, p. 123.

¹²¹ Ed. ENGDAL, p. 19, 6.

Armenian version of CHR,¹²² and in the 14th century *Codex Fa-lascae* (*Grottaferrata Gb III*) (f. 18v)¹²³ has but one alleluia. According to K. Levy, the same is true of the Cherubicon in the earliest musical MSS.¹²⁴ Baumstark tried to argue that there is no alleluia at all in the Armenian Cherubicon.¹²⁵ But the single alleluia sung by the clerics after the priest and deacon have said Ps. 117: 26a is really part of the Cherubicon.¹²⁶ This is substantiated by the fact that the commentary on the liturgy of Nerses of Lampron, Bishop of Tarsus in Cilicia from 1176-1198, which gives the Cherubicon without indicating any psalm verses, adds to the end of the chant the single alleluia.¹²⁷ And since the Armenians borrowed this chant from Constantinople, they must have adopted it as they found it. Had they added anything to it, it would have been the biblical Trisagion with which their Great-Entrance chants or "Hagiologies" almost always conclude.¹²⁸

In the early Slavic sources the Great-Entrance chants have one or three alleluias, depending on the source.¹²⁹ But the *starobrjadcy* or "Old Ritualists" in Russia, who went into schism because of the reform of 1666, still sing only one alleluia here and condemn the Orthodox "Nikonites" for introducing the triple ending.¹³⁰

¹²² AUCHER, *Versions armenia*, p. 384.

¹²³ GOAR², p. 87 mistakenly omits this alleluia in his edition of this codex. On the alleluia in the other Great-Entrance chants, cf. notes 6-8 above.

¹²⁴ *Hymn for Thursday* pp. 163, note 63; 163 ff.

¹²⁵ *Cherubhymnus*, p. 11.

¹²⁶ LEW, p. 432, 27 cited below, p. 103.

¹²⁷ CATERGIAN-DASHIAN, p. 539 line 486 and apparatus. A much later source, the Armenian-Latin *Ordo divinae missae armenorum*, Romae, 1642, gives the triple alleluia (p. 61).

¹²⁸ Cf. the examples cited below, pp. 90-91.

¹²⁹ For example the Slavic *Služebnik* of Lvov, 1666, has one alleluia with the Cherubicon, none with *Cenae tuae*, three with *Sileat omnis caro* and the *Nunc virtutes caelorum* of PRES. Cf. also ORLOV, *Liturgija*, pp. 135-137, apparatus, where the chants have one or three alleluias depending on the source. Though the triple alleluia is sometimes found in old printed editions, even there the single alleluia is the older tradition. Cf. *Opisanie nachodjaščichsja v Imperatorskoj Publičnoj Biblioteke staropečatnykh bogoslužebnykh knig (1564-1640 gg.)*, *Christianskoe čtenie* 1857, no. 2, p. 120, and the sources cited by ČERNJAVSKIJ, *Ob izmenenijach*, pp. 275 ff, 408 ff. Especially interesting is the typicon of codex *Rumjancev Museum 445* (AD 1428): "On Holy Thursday instead of the Cherubic hymn, *Cenae tuae mysticae* thrice ... also alleluia" (*ibid.*, p. 275). After the liturgical reform of 1666, the Cherubicon appears in the Slavic books with the triple alleluia (cf. Moscow *Služebnik*, 1780).

¹³⁰ Cf. NIKOL'SKIJ, *Ustav*, p. 431 note 5; ČERNJAVSKIJ, *Ob izmenenijach*,

The only Greek MSS in which we have found the triple alleluia are all late: *Modena Gr. 19*, 16th century (f. 10r); *Grottaferrata Gb XIX*, AD 1591 (f. 7v); *Paris Suppl. Gr. 1135*, 18th century.

The single alleluia with the Cherubicon is, then, the original tradition, and the custom of repeating it three times probably arose from a misunderstanding of the rubric "thrice" that followed the chant. As we have seen, according to the Typicon of the Great Church and several other sources, the whole *Cherubicon* was to be sung three times. The original rubric "γ'" refers, therefore, not to the alleluia but to the whole troparion.

Why this triple repetition of the Cherubicon? To explain that adequately we must reconstruct the original form of the Byzantine Great-Entrance chant.

II. THE ORIGINAL SHAPE OF THE BYZANTINE GREAT-ENTRANCE CHANT: AN ATTEMPT AT RECONSTRUCTION

Antiphonal Psalmody at The Great Entrance?

A priori, apart from any direct evidence, the comparative study of Christian hymnology should lead us to doubt that the Cherubicon or its sister pieces could represent the Byzantine Great-Entrance chant in its original form. First of all, in the Byzantine eucharistic liturgy brief ecclesiastical compositions such as the Cherubicon, usually called troparia, were originally destined to be chanted as refrains with the verses of an antiphonal psalm.¹³¹ Furthermore, from what we know of the history of Christian liturgical chant, we can presume that when the Cherubicon was introduced into the liturgy in 573-574 it was meant to accompany the verses of a psalm. For in this early period ecclesiastical (i. e. non-biblical) compositions were not employed independently of biblical psalmody, but served the latter as refrain. Only later did ecclesiastical poetry encroach upon and, as we shall see, eventually stifle the psalmody to which it was originally subordinated.¹³²

pp. 273 ff. They make the same objection regarding *Nunc virtutes caelorum* (*ibid.*, p. 407).

¹³¹ For a complete study of Byzantine psalmody, see MATEOS, *Psalmodie*, pp. 107-126 (reprinted in *Célébration*, pp. 7-26).

¹³² Cf. A. BAUMSTARK, *Psalmenvortrag und Kirchendichtung des Orients, Gottesminne, Monatsschrift für religiöse Dichtkunst* (Hamm) 7, 1912-1913, pp. 305, 428, 540-558, 887-902; LEEB, *Gesänge von Jerusalem*, pp. 41, 104.

Finally, from comparative liturgy we can argue 1) that most other liturgies have (or had) a psalm with refrain at this point of the mass as well as at the introit and communion,¹³³ and 2) that in the Byzantine liturgy the two chants corresponding to the *introitus* and *communio*, the antiphon of the First or Little Entrance and the *koinonikon*, were once antiphonal psalms with refrains.¹³⁴ Consequently it is not at all gratuitous to ask if the Byzantine Great-Entrance chant might once have been an antiphonal psalm that later disappeared through the vagaries of liturgical evolution.

And in fact this hypothesis receives strong support from our earliest witness to a chant at the Great Entrance in the rite of the Great Church.

Eutychius' "Sermo de Paschate et de ss. Eucharistia"

Around the time of the introduction of the Cherubicon into the liturgy under Justin II in 573-4, Patriarch Eutychius of Constantinople (552-65, 577-82) in his *Sermo de paschate et de ss. eucharistia* complained about the reverence given to the unconsecrated gifts at the Great Entrance.

They act stupidly, who have taught the people to sing a certain psalmic chant (ὕμνον τινὰ ψαλμικόν) when the ministers are about to bring up to the altar the bread of oblation and the recently

¹³³ See for example the Roman and Ambrosian rites (cf. JUNGSMANN, *Missarum Sollemnia* II, pp. 26 ff; RIGHETTI, *Storia Liturgica* (3d ed.) III, pp. 318 ff; DIX, *Shape*, p. 493) and the old liturgy of Jerusalem (cf. LEEB, *Gesänge von Jerusalem*, pp. 37-144). From the evidence available, the same seems to have been true of the Chaldean rite (on the Chaldean chants cf. A. RÜCKER, *Die wechselnden Gesängstücke der ostsyrischen Messe*, *JLW* 1, 1921, pp. 78-80; JAMMO, *Messe chaldéenne*, pp. 79 ff, 188 ff). A similar antiphonal chant seems once to have been part of the West-Syrian liturgy. The Syrian entrance procession and its refrains fell into disuse before the time of Dionysius Bar Salibi in the 12th century (cf. pp. 92 ff below), but some of these refrains have come down to us in the songbook of Severus of Antioch (cf. above, pp. 65-66; below, pp. 93-94). We are not sure what their original structure was, but it seems probable that they were refrains for antiphonal psalms. First, they are preceded by a psalm verse which may well have been the *incipit* of the psalm they accompanied (cf. BROOKS, *Hymns of Severus*, *PO* 7, pp. 670 ff and below, note 161). Secondly, they are called *antiphona* or *ma'nyotho* (cf. BROOKS, pp. 670, 672) both of which names support our contention (cf. J. PUYADE, *Composition interne de l'office syrien*, *OrSyr* 3, 1958, p. 35).

¹³⁴ For a reconstruction of the original entrance antiphon, see MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 34-68; for the *koinonikon* cf. *Chronicon Paschale* for May 624, *PG* 91, 1001 and LEEB, *Gesänge von Jerusalem*, pp. 129-132.

(ἀπτερος) mixed chalice. In this hymn, which they consider suitable to the action being performed, the people say that they bear in the king of glory (βασιλέα δόξης) and refer in this way to the things being brought up, even though they have not yet been consecrated by the high-priestly invocation — unless perhaps what is sung means something else to them. For as Athanasius the Great says in his sermon to the baptized: "You will see the Levites [i. e. deacons] bearing in breads and a chalice of wine and putting them on the table. And as long as the supplications and prayer have not been completed, it is nothing but plain bread."¹³⁵

It has often been noted that the "king of glory" in Eutychius' protest is a misquotation if it refers to the "king of all" of the Cherubic Hymn.¹³⁶ It seems hardly possible that the patriarch would quote inaccurately a controversial expression about which, precisely, he wished to complain, and which, moreover, he heard chanted, to his chagrin, whenever he celebrated or attended mass. And we can exclude any possible reference to the "king of kings" of *Sileat ominis caro* not only for this reason, but because this chant is not heard of at Constantinople until centuries after Eutychius. If the citation is taken as referring to the *Nunc virtutes caelorum* of the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts, which does contain the exact phrase, then Eutychius' objection falls apart, because at the Great Entrance of this service the *already consecrated gifts* are borne in. Besides, this chant was introduced into PRES only in the year 615, according to the passage of the *Chronicon Paschale* already cited, and we have no evidence it was ever used in any other service.¹³⁷ Hence we can exclude the possibility that the patriarch had in mind one of our extant Byzantine Great-Entrance chants.

Furthermore, Eutychius speaks of "ὕμνον τινὰ ψαλμικόν." Now ψαλμικός in Christian literature is normally applied exclusively to

¹³⁵ 8, *PG* 86², 2400-2401.

¹³⁶ Cf. MATEOS, *De Liturgia*, pp. 78-79; JANERAS, *Introductio* IV, p. 36; SCHULZ, *Liturgie*, pp. 73-74. However, BAUMSTARK (*Cherubhymnus*, p. 11) considered Eutychius' "king of glory" as a variant reading of the Cherubicon; HANSENS (*Institutiones* III, p. 287) thinks it probable that Eutychius is referring to the Cherubicon; and BRIGHTMAN (*LEW*, pp. 532, 9-19 and 573) thought it possible that Eutychius is referring — inaccurately — to either the Cherubicon or *Sileat*, or even to *Nunc virtutes caelorum* which he claims may once have been used at the eucharistic liturgy. But no arguments are offered in support of these ideas.

¹³⁷ *PG* 92, 989, quoted above on p. 76.

the biblical psalms.¹³⁸ This should lead one to suspect that the patriarch is referring to one of the forms of cathedral psalmody — antiphonal or responsorial — in use in the rite of the Great Church.

We shall return to Eutychius after examining other evidence that seems to point to antiphonal psalmody at the Great Entrance.

The Typicon of the Great Church

As we have already observed, according to the 10th century Typicon of the Great Church the Great-Entrance chants were sung by the psalmists. Now the psalmists, according to the same source, were the ministers who formed the two choirs that alternated in singing the refrains of the antiphons in response to the psalm verses and concluding *gloria patri* chanted usually by one or two soloists from among the lectors.¹³⁹ Could this mean that the Cherubicon was originally a troparion repeated after the verses of a psalm, and could its triple repetition at Easter in the same source be a relic of this?

If we examine the nature of Byzantine antiphonal chant according to the early Constantinopolitan sources we shall find, we believe, an affirmative answer to this question.

Byzantine Antiphonal Psalmody

As J. Mateos has shown in his study of Byzantine psalmody, there were two forms of cathedral — i. e. parochial or non-monastic — psalmody common in the rite of Constantinople: responsorial and antiphonal.¹⁴⁰ In the earlier responsorial psalmody, a psalm verse chosen as *responsorium* is repeated by the people after each verse of the psalm intoned by the soloist. The *responsorium* is always a psalm verse, and the responsorial psalm never ends with *gloria patri*. In today's prokeimenon we see the remains of this type of chant.¹⁴¹

The later antiphonal psalmody is considerably more complex, and could be executed in various ways. The antiphon opened

¹³⁸ Cf. G. W. H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford, 1961, p. 1539; I. A. SOPHOCLES, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Cambridge, 1914, p. 1178; H. STEPHANUS et al., *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, Paris, 1831, vol. 8, p. 1836.

¹³⁹ MATEOS, *Typicon II: Index liturgique*, pp. 283-284, 328.

¹⁴⁰ MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 7-26.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-13.

with the repetition of the refrain(s) by the two choirs. If there was only one refrain, it was sometimes repeated six times, thrice by the soloists and thrice by the people. The verses of the accompanying psalm were then chanted by a soloist or by two alternating soloists, one at the head of each choir. To these the people, divided into two choirs, responded alternately with the refrain(s), which were usually an ecclesiastical composition, more rarely a verse of Scripture. Sometimes each choir in turn responded with the same troparion or refrain; sometimes there was a different refrain for each choir. If the troparion was rather long, it was sung in its entirety only at the beginning and end of the psalmody. After each psalm verse the respective choir would respond with only the *ἀκροτελεύτιον* or final phrase of the refrain.¹⁴² This explains why many Byzantine troparia conclude in a final phrase, intelligible in itself, and hence easily detachable from the rest of the composition. The final psalm verse was always followed by the *gloria patri*.

We have a clear example of this type of psalmody in the antiphons which interrupt the readings on the vigils of Christmas and Theophany. The first of these, according to the typicon and prophetologion, was executed in the following manner:

The Psalmists: "You were born in the secret of a grotto, but heaven, putting up a star to proclaim it, announced You to all, O Savior, and it led the Magi to You, who adored You with Faith: *with them have mercy on us!*" (repeated three times)

Readers and people: the same troparion, three times.

Psalmist: "His foundation upon the holy mountains, the Lord loves. He prefers the gates of Sion more than any dwelling of Jacob. Glorious things are said of you, O city, of God: 'I reckon Rahab and Babylon among those who know me.'" (Ps. 86: 1-4a)

People: "With them, have mercy on us!"

Psalmist: "Tyre, Philistia, or Ethiopia, one such was born there; but Sion, everyone says to her: 'Mother', for in her everyone was born. And he who has established her is the Most High." (Ps. 86: 4b-5).

People: "With them, have mercy on us!"

Psalmist: "The Lord inscribes in the book of the nations..." (Ps. 86: 6-7)

People: "With them, have mercy on us!"

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 13-23, and MATEOS, *Typicon II, Index liturgique* p. 325, II. Early references to the *ἀκροτελεύτιον* can be found in EUSEBIUS, *HE II*, 17, PG 20, 184; SOZOMEN, *HE* 8, 8, PG 67, 1536-1537.

Psalmist: "Glory be to the Father ... now and always and unto ages of ages. Amen."

People: "With them, have mercy on us!"

The Psalmists: "You were born in the secret of a grotto..." until the end.

Readers and people: "You were born in the secret of a grotto ..." until the end.¹⁴²

The ancient manner of beginning an antiphonal psalm with the triple repetition of the whole refrain, first by all the psalmists, then by the people, is preserved by the Slavs at the beginning of the liturgy and offices of Easter week, although now the priest takes the place of the psalmists, and the troparion is so short it is repeated in its entirety after each verse of the psalm.

The ancient method of concluding the psalmody should also be noted.¹⁴³ After the "Glory be to the Father," the short phrase is repeated a final time. Then the psalmists repeat the whole troparion, and, finally, the readers and the people do the same. This double final repetition of the entire troparion was called *perisse* (περισσή) or "appendix". More often, however, the name *perisse* is given to a second refrain which, for variety, was substituted at the end of the antiphon for the final repetition of the troparion. In contemporary Byzantine practice, the *Monogenes* is a *perisse* of the second antiphon of the Liturgy. So also is the *kontakion* of the third antiphon on great feast-days in the Slavic books, which have preserved, on these days at least, the ancient manner of psalmody intact.

We propose that the triple repetition of the Cherubicon at Easter in the sources we have cited can be best explained as a remnant of the practice of beginning the antiphon with a triple repetition of the troparion.

Evidence from Byzantine Musical Sources

Further evidence that the Great-Entrance chant was once an antiphonal refrain has been unearthed by K. Levy in his musical study of *Cenae tuae*. In one of the oldest extant musical compo-

¹⁴² HæGG-ZUNTZ, *Prophetologium* I, pp. 39-41 and the rubrics on pp. 39^a, 40^a, 41^{ab}; MATEOS, *Typicon* I, p. 150. There are variants in the various MSS of these sources; we are following the reconstruction of MATEOS *Célébration*, p. 17.

¹⁴³ MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 17-19, and *Typicon* II, *Index liturgique*: pp. 313-314.

sitions for this chant there is no alleluia. After the *explicit σου*, come four additional musical notes without any accompanying text. Of this Levy remarks:

The distinctive phrase of four notes which follows the final cadence on *G* ... represents a type of post-cadential formula that is found throughout the early Constantinopolitan repertoires of florid chants. Its function is not clear, although it may have been a standardized preparation for choral or congregational interpolations and refrains. In this case the conventional formula, with its characteristic holds (*apodermata*), may lead to a repetition of the refrain ... [i. e. "Remember me, Lord, in your Kingdom"] in syllabic style, or perhaps to an alleluia, with which Τοῦ δεῖπνου σου has concluded, either as Cheroubikon or Communion, since at least the 14th century.¹⁴⁵

According to this explanation, it is possible that *Cenae tuae* (and, therefore, the other Great-Entrance chants) was the troparion of an antiphon, and that the final phrase of the troparion was used as the short refrain or ἀκροτολεύτιον to be repeated after the verses of the psalm.

A similar argument can be drawn from the music for the Οἱ τὰ Χερουβίμ. According to Levy, in the musical MSS there is considerable variety in the melodies for the chant itself, but great stability in the music for the single alleluia with which the chant once concluded.¹⁴⁶ If the alleluia was used as the short refrain or ἀκροτελεύτιον to be repeated by the people, a certain simplicity and uniformity in the melodies would be expected.

Hence evidence is not totally lacking to show that the Byzantine Great-Entrance hymn was formerly the refrain of an antiphonal psalm.

The Alleluia as the Original Byzantine Great-Entrance Refrain

But we believe that we can push the evolution back even a step further. Is it not possible that the alleluia is the original refrain of the Great Entrance in the Byzantine tradition, to which the Cherubicon would then have been added under Justin II in 573-4?

In an old article, rich in ideas but little known because of the author's penchant for publishing his gems in relatively inac-

¹⁴⁵ LEVY, *Hymn for Thursday* p. 132 and Example 1, p. 134.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 163 ff.

cessible, short-lived journals, Baumstark had some interesting things to say about the Great-Entrance chant.¹⁴⁷ His main thesis is that the alleluia is not an original element of our four extant Byzantine Great-Entrance troparia. This he tries to demonstrate from his forte, comparative liturgy.

After observing — falsely, as we have said — that the Armenian Cherubicon has no alleluia,¹⁴⁸ Baumstark proceeds to build his case, beginning with a study of the Armenian Great-Entrance chant or "Hagiology". Because of the authority of Baumstark and the inaccessibility of this article — the only study of any significance ever written on the subject — we shall review his arguments.

1. The Armenian "Hagiologies"

The native Armenian refrains, like the Byzantine, emphasize the ministry of the angels at this part of the mass. And when one thinks of angelic liturgy, it is natural to refer to the angelic hymn *par excellence*, the triple *sanctus* of Isaiah 6:3.¹⁴⁹ In fact, the Armenian Great-Entrance chant is called "Hagiology" precisely because it normally ends with the angelic Trisagion. Here are a few examples of these refrains:¹⁵⁰

After the deacon has warned that only the faithful can "draw near to this divine mystery", the clerics sing:

The body of the Lord and the blood of the Savior are set forth; the heavenly hosts sing unseen and say with unceasing voice: "Holy, holy, holy, Lord of hosts".

This troparion, which is also found among the 'ōnyātā d-rāzē of the Chaldean rite,¹⁵¹ is a later addition to the Armenian liturgy. The original "Hagiology" is still found in its rightful place, following the diaconal command:

¹⁴⁷ *Cherubhymnus*.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11, and see our discussion of the alleluia above, pp. 81-83.

¹⁴⁹ On the whole question of the Trisagion at the Great Entrance, see JANERAS, *Trisagion christologique*, pp. 479-485. We discuss the matter more fully below, in chapter VI.

¹⁵⁰ For these hymns, see *The Divine Liturgy of the Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Church*, New York, 1950, pp. 143 ff. The first two can be seen in their place in the liturgy in *LEW*, pp. 430-431.

¹⁵¹ Cf. *LEW*, p. 267, 33-268, 2. Note that in the Chaldean liturgy it is used as a refrain for an antiphonal psalm, the 'ōnītā d-rāzē [= antiphon of the mysteries].

Deacon: Sing unto our Lord God, you clerks, spiritual songs with a sweet voice:

(*Hagiology for ordinary Sundays, Palm Sunday, Pentecost, and some other feasts*): With the angelic order, O God, you have filled your holy church. A thousand thousand archangels stand before you and myriads of myriads of angels minister to you, O Lord: yet you have been pleased to be praised by men in mystic song: Holy, holy, holy, Lord of hosts.

(*For Holy Thursday*): You who sit majestically enthroned in light, O ineffable Word of God, descending from the celestial heights for your creatures, you have deigned this day to sit at table with your disciples. In awe and wonder the Seraphim and Cherubim stand around, and the legions of heavenly hosts cry: Holy, holy, holy, Lord of hosts.

(*From Easter to Pentecost, and for the feast of the Holy Cross*): Who is like unto our God? He was crucified, buried, and is risen again. He has been acknowledged God by the world, and has gloriously ascended into heaven. Come, O people, sing His praise with the angels: Holy, holy, holy are you, O Lord our God.

Since the Trisagion is the common element in all these hymns, Baumstark argues that Isaiah 6:3 was the original nucleus of the Armenian Great-Entrance hymn, and that the ecclesiastical composition is only a decorative and subsidiary introduction. And we "may say with all certitude", Baumstark claims — a bit too strongly — that such was also the case in Jerusalem and Constantinople; the hymn is an addition to a biblical text which is the primitive nucleus of Oriental chants at the entrance of the gifts.¹⁵²

In fact one of today's Byzantine hymns, *Cenae tuae*, ends with Lk 23:42, "Remember me Lord in your kingdom", instead of alleluia.¹⁵³ And two other hymns do lend themselves to Baumstark's argument. In the text of the Cherubicon we read:

Οἱ ... τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον προσάδοντες ...

However, a reference to the Trisagion does not prove it was once appended to the refrain. In Byzantine troparia such references

¹⁵² *Cherubhymnus*, p. 17: "Dann darf man aber mit aller Bestimmtheit sagen, dass es nicht anders ehemals auch in Jerusalem und Konstantinopel war." We beg to differ.

¹⁵³ In today's Slavic editions, however, the alleluia is added after the text of Lk. One of the Armenian hymns which, by way of exception, does not end in the Trisagion, still concludes with a scriptural text: "Glory to God in the highest ..." (= Hagiology for the feast of martyrs).

are not at all uncommon.¹⁵⁴ But the Holy Saturday chant (*Sileat omnis caro*), a later Jerusalem addition to the Byzantine typicon, is clearly dependent on the introduction to the *sanctus* in the eucharistic anaphora:

Holy Saturday Hymn:

... προηγούνται ...
οἱ χοροὶ τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων,
μετὰ πάσης ἀρχῆς
καὶ ἐξουσίας,
τὰ πολυόμματα Χερουβὶμ
καὶ τὰ ἐξαπτέρυγα Σεραφίμ,

τὰς θύεις καλύπτοντα

καὶ βοῶντα τὸν ὕμνον·
ἀλληλούϊα...

Anaphora of JAMES:

... ἀρχάγγελοι ...
ἀρχαὶ τε
καὶ ἐξουσίαι ...
Χερουβὶμ τὰ πολυόμματα
καὶ τὰ ἐξαπτέρυγα Σεραφίμ,
ἃ ταῖς μὲν δυοῖ πτέρυξι
κατακαλύπτει τὰ πρόσωπα
ἐκυστῶν ... τὸν ἐπινίκιον
ὕμνον ... βοῶντα ...
"Ἄγιος ἅγιος ..."

After this one would surely not expect a weak alleluia!

2. *The Syrian "Refrains of the Mysteries"*¹⁵⁵

Today the Armenians (and, in a sense, the Nestorians) are the only Orientals who have just before the anaphora an Entrance of the Mysteries similar to the Byzantine Great Entrance. But there was once such a procession in the Syrian tradition, too. Dionysius Bar Salibi still remembers it in the 12th century, though it was no longer in use in his time:

After the litany and the koruzutho, the elders used to begin the antiphons or refrains [ma'nyotho] of the mysteries, and the priests carried the discos or paten and the chalice of blood, and went around [the church] in procession.¹⁵⁶

It still existed in the 9th century, as can be seen in the following rubric for the deacon with respect to the procession of

¹⁵⁴ For example a refrain at vespers for the 20th of December refers to the Trisagion, but certainly was not accompanied by it (*Menaia II*, Rome, 1892, pp. 551-552). Nevertheless, the Trinitarian Hymns of Byzantine orthros, which end in the phrase "Holy, holy, holy are you, O God!" show that this type of composition was not foreign to that tradition.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. BAUMSTARK (*Cherubhymnus*, pp. 18-19), whose line of argument we are following in this section, though we carry it a bit further, and disagree with his conclusions.

¹⁵⁶ Bar Salibi *Expositio Liturgiae* 5, p. 21 [47].

the blessing of the waters at Epiphany in the MS *British Museum Add. 14.949*:

The veil of the altar is spread over him, as when the holy mysteries are carried in ... And all the deacons carry fans ... and shelter the one who carries the vessel [for the water] as is done over the holy mysteries.¹⁵⁷

A collection of the "Refrains of the Mysteries" sung during this procession has come down to us in James of Edessa's revision of the Syriac version of Greek hymns mostly attributed to Severus of Antioch.¹⁵⁸ According to James, the translation was done by Paul, bishop of Edessa, during his exile in Cyprus, where he had fled before the invading Persians. This dates the version between 619-629. The translation was not literal. The text, rather, was amplified to fit the Syriac metre, and so in 675 James revised this version, adding a literal translation and indicating the metrical interpolations.¹⁵⁹

In this anthology there are six "hymns after the reading of the gospel, sung before the oblation" (hymns 205-210).¹⁶⁰ The first three are attributed to Severus, the rest to John of Aphthonia († 538). The third hymn (207) is as follows:

Come, let us bless and worship him (Ps. 95: 6).¹⁶¹ Restraining the turmoil of our soul with mysterious calmness and silence,

¹⁵⁷ Quoted here from KHOURI-SARKIS, *Les saints mystères*, pp. 307-308 (emphasis added). The procession is clearly described also by MOSES BAR KEPIA (ed. CONNOLLY-CODRINGTON, *Two Commentaries*, ff. 150b-151a [p.34]).

¹⁵⁸ BROOKS, ed. *The Hymns of Severus*, PO 6, fasc. 1, pp. 1-179 and 7, fasc. 5, pp. 593-802.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. *Ibid.*, PO 6, p. 5; PO 7, pp. 801-802.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, PO 7, pp. 671-674.

¹⁶¹ Note that all these hymns are preceded by a psalm verse which indicates, perhaps, that they were once meant as the refrain of an antiphonal psalm. The hymns and their corresponding psalms are as follows:

Hymn	Psalm
205	51: 9a
206	51: 9b
207	95: 6
208	148: 1
209	86: 13
210	88: 2

It is hard to find any least common denominator here. Ps. 94(95): 6 is the present Byzantine daily *eisodikon*, and Ps. 148 is one of the psalms of Lauds. The rest are cries for pity hardly suited to the Entrance of the Mysteries. But there is here at least a hint that these chants may

and preparing our hearts within with fear and trembling, and covering the hidden pupils and eyes of our minds with pure and divine thoughts as with wings, and looking to receive the living Lamb of God and the Word who became incarnate without change as one who is about to ascend to heaven itself, inclining our necks before him, with the Cherubim and Seraphim and the rest of the spiritual companies let us cry out and say: Holy are you, holy are you, holy are you, Lord Sabaoth. The heaven and all the earth are full of your glory, O merciful one.

The last two hymns of John (209-210) also conclude with the Trisagion of Isaiah, and as Baumstark points out, hymn 210 is the Armenian Sunday refrain (cf. p. 91) with variants:

Lord God of my salvation (Ps. 88:2). You have filled your holy church, O God, with angelic and seemly orderliness. Myriads of myriads of holy angels minister to your honor [= you], and a thousand thousand spiritual archangels stand before you in fear, and you have been pleased to be praised by men with mysterious utterances. Holy, holy, holy! Praise to you!

The italicised words show the Syriac interpolations not found in the Greek text, as indicated by James of Edessa in his revision of the Syriac version. The elimination of these interpolations makes the text identical with the Armenian version except for the inversion of "angels and archangels." So both versions are translations from the same Greek text. Hence, Baumstark argues, it seems reasonable to suppose that the Armenian tradition received its style of Great-Entrance chant (Trisagion or other scriptural verse preceded by an introduction), and in some cases the very text of the chant itself, from Greek (though not necessarily *Byzantine*) liturgical compositions.

3. The Refrains of Other Rites

This conclusion is further supported by the numerous similar chants found in other rites. In the normal course of liturgical evolution, it is the Greek liturgy that provides the font for liturgical elements common to more than one Eastern tradition. To the Syrian chants already mentioned we can add the following from the West-Syrian *Diaconal*:

have been antiphonal refrains, with the Trisagion as their detachable versicle to be repeated after each verse of the psalm.

Behold the body that our savior took for us, borne in procession on the spiritual chariot of fire and spirit. Countless Cherubim bless him; the Seraphim praise him with their wings; they sing to him: Holy, holy, holy is the Lord. The heavens are full of you, and the earth of your glory. Alleluia! May you be blessed for all eternity!¹⁶²

And from the Chaldean tradition, in addition to the 'ōnitā d-rāzē that they share with the Armenians, (cf. p. 90), other 'ōnyātā d-rāzē exhibit the same structure:

The angels surround the terrible throne of your glory, O mighty Lord, and in your honor O Christ the Seraphim stand before your majesty, with fear, and dare not look upon you, but with uninterrupted voice cry out together and say: Holy, holy, holy are you, lover of mankind, glory to you!¹⁶³

Great is the mystery that Isaiah saw upon your holy altar. He saw countless Seraphim crying out: Holy, holy, holy Lord God! The earth is full of His glory and heaven is covered with his splendor!¹⁶⁴

Nor is this type of hymn a stranger to the Western rites, as witness, for example, the following Ambrosian *Sonus* or chant for the entrance of the gifts:

Eccc apertum est templum tabernaculi testimonii: et Ierusalem noua descendit de caelo in qua est sedes dei et agni. Et serui ejus offerent ei munera dicentes: *Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus dominus deus omnipotens, qui erat et qui est et qui venturus est.

V. Et ecce sedet in medio eius ... agnus ... Et quatuor animalia requiem non habent, dicentia sedenti super thronum: *Sanctus ...¹⁶⁵

Finally, a similar structure is found in the *lavabo* chant of Georgian PRES in codex *Graz Georg.* 4 (985 AD).¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² From KHOURI-SARKIS, *Les saints mystères*, pp. 311-312, translated from the West-Syrian *Diaconal*, ed. RAHMANI, Charfeh, 1905, pp. 112-113.

¹⁶³ From JANERAS, *Introductio IV*, p. 33, taken from *Supplementum Mysteriorum, sive proprium Missarum de tempore et de sanctis iuxta ritum Ecclesiae Syro-Malabarensi*, Romae, 1900.

¹⁶⁴ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁶⁵ GAMBER, *Ordo antiquus gallicanus*, p. 34, cf. p. 13 no. 4.

¹⁶⁶ TARCHNISVILI, *Liturgiae ibericae*, p. 71, cited below, p. 114. For the date of this MS, see *id.*, *Jakobusliturgie*, pp. 50-51.

Conclusion: The Original Shape of the Refrain at the Transfer of Gifts in the Oriental Rites

Not only in Armenia, then, but also in the liturgical regions of Jerusalem, Antioch and Persia, the hymn at the transfer of gifts very often appears as an introduction to the biblical Trisagion. And Baumstark tried to extend his conclusions, on the basis of comparative liturgy, to the tradition of the Great Church. Here we must disagree with him. For we have no evidence, internal or external, that the three native Constantinopolitan Great-Entrance chants were once introductions to the Trisagion.¹⁶⁷ And Baumstark's argument is weakened even more by the fact that in present Byzantine usage the borrowed Jerusalem hymn *Sileat omnis caro*, which from its text at least seems meant to introduce the Trisagion, is now sung with alleluia. Hence even if we were to accept the supposition that *Sileat omnis caro* originally ended with the Trisagion, we would have to conclude that when the Church of Constantinople adopted this chant *she kept to her own tradition and replaced the Trisagion with alleluia.*

Inversely, the presence of the alleluia in the Armenian Cherubicon is also an argument in our favor. Since the Armenians *did not* replace the alleluia with their customary Trisagion, the actual form of their Cherubicon is probably the way they found it in Constantinople. The Armenian clerics charged with executing the Cherubic Hymn add a single alleluia in response to the "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord" said by the celebrant.¹⁶⁸ Since the entire chant of the clerics is made up of verses of the Cherubicon, and since the alleluia is the final piece, we are justified in putting all these sections of their chant together and concluding against Baumstark that the Armenian Cherubicon does, in fact, end with a single alleluia.

Was the alleluia once used alone, distinct from the rest of the hymn? Baumstark tried to argue that the biblical text (e. g. the Trisagion) at the end of the chants he studied was the original element, to which an introduction was later added. Another explanation for the form of these Eastern refrains would be to

¹⁶⁷ But the Trisagion was a common theme at the entrance, undoubtedly because of the allegory of angelic participation in the procession. The *Protheoria*, for example, mentions that the angels sing the Trisagion at the Great Entrance (PG 140, 441, also interpolated into the text of Germanus' commentary, PG 98, 420). On the later use of the Trisagion at the Great Entrance, see JANERAS, *Trisagion christologique*, pp. 479-485, and below, chapter VI.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. text below, p. 103, and above, p. 82.

consider their final member (alleluia, Trisagion, or scriptural verse) as originally the ἀκροτελευτήσιον or final versicle of the troparion that served as a detachable refrain. But only the alleluia could have been used as ἀκροτελευτήσιον of the Cherubicon. The whole hymn contains only one finite verb. This is not true, however, of *Cenae tuae* or *Nunc virtutes caelorum*: both contain a detachable finale (μνήσθητι ... σου; Πίσται ... γενόμεθα). Hence the alleluia was probably added later to these two hymns in imitation of the more common Cherubicon. And it is possible that the Cherubicon was added to the simple alleluia, which would then have been the original Great-Entrance troparion of the Great Church. Indeed the simple alleluia is a common Eastern Great-Entrance refrain: it is used as a *Sanctificationum* (*cantus*) in the Georgian lectionary of Jerusalem for some of the oldest, most solemn — hence most conservative — feasts,¹⁶⁹ as well as in codex *Leningrad 44*.¹⁷⁰ The tradition is very ancient, for in the 6th century Syrian *Ordo quo episcopus urbem inire debet* edited by Rahmani, the very name of the chant at the transfer of gifts is *Alleluia coram mysteriis*.¹⁷¹ On the basis of this and other evidence, H. Leeb, in his reconstruction of the ancient Jerusalem *Sanctificationum* chant, has argued convincingly that alleluia was the original Jerusalem refrain for this antiphon.¹⁷² Only later was it replaced by poetic strophes — a process similar to what we believe must have happened in the rite of the Great Church.

CONCLUSION

If we now combine all this with what we have seen of Byzantine antiphonal psalmody, we can draw the following conclusions:

- 1) The triple repetition of the Cherubicon on Easter Sunday in the 10th century Typicon of the Great Church is a relic of the ancient manner of opening the antiphon with a triple repetition of the troparion by the psalmists.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. LEEB, *Gesänge von Jerusalem*, pp. 115-117, 119, 121. It is found on the following feasts in the MSS indicated by TARCHNIŠVILI: Palm Sunday (TARCHNIŠVILI, *Lectionnaire*, no. 596^o); Holy Saturday Easter Vigil (no. 739b, 739^o); Easter (no. 751^o); Pentecost (no. 888), Sept. 13 (1240^o).

¹⁷⁰ THIBAUT, *Monuments*, pp. 3*-11*.

¹⁷¹ RAHMANI, *Ordo*, p. 4 [22]; cf. above, p. 41.

¹⁷² LEEB, *Gesänge von Jerusalem*, pp. 115-119.

- 2) The Byzantine Great-Entrance troparia, because of their length, were probably not repeated in their entirety after each verse of the accompanying psalm. All of them have a final versicle (or alleluia) which could serve as ἀποταλεύσιον.
- 3) There are two possible paths which the evolution of the Cherubicon antiphon might have taken. The troparion with its alleluia may have formed a unit from the very beginning, and have been executed as described in no. 2. Or the alleluia may have been the original element to which the ecclesiastical composition was later added — in this case in the year 573-4. The latter solution seems to us the most probable one.

III. THE ORIGINAL PSALMODY OF THE GREAT-ENTRANCE ANTIPHON

But if the Byzantine Great-Entrance chant was in fact formerly an antiphonal psalm, today's chant is merely one element of the primitive composition: its troparion or refrain. Do we have any positive evidence for the verses of a psalm at this part of the liturgy of the Great Church? And if so, what has become of it?

The Complaint of Eutychius: Psalm 23(24): 7-10

We have already proposed that Patriarch Eutychius' complaint in his *Sermo de paschate et ss. eucharistia* is directed not against the Cherubic Hymn, but against some psalm containing the phrase "king of glory." And since βασιλέα τῆς δόξης occurs five times in Ps. 23 (LXX): 7-10 and nowhere else in the psalter, this must be the psalm to which he refers. This was first proposed by Thibaut, followed by Mateos, Schulz and Janeras.¹⁷³ Let us see if we can support this hypothesis from comparative liturgy.

¹⁷³ To the best of our knowledge this theory was first proposed by J. B. THIBAUT in *Monuments*, p. 23, and again in *Origine de la Messe des Presanctifiés* (*Echos d'Orient*, 19, 1920, p. 45), consequent to his discovery of Ps. 23 as a Great-Entrance chant in codex *Leningrad Gr. 44* (= *Sinai Gr. 50*) (Cf. THIBAUT, *Monuments*, p. 23; text: *Appendix* pp. 3*-11* cited and discussed below, pp. 100-1). See also MATEOS, *De Liturgia*, pp. 78 ff.; SCHULZ, *Liturgie*, pp. 73-74; JANERAS, *Trisagion christologique*, pp. 484 ff. *Introductio* IV, pp. 35 ff.

Jerusalem Sources

1. The Georgian Lectionary of Jerusalem

Further evidence of an antiphonal chant with Ps. 23 is provided by the Georgian lectionary of Jerusalem.¹⁷⁴ Just as the euchology is the celebrant's book, and contains only the prayers he has to say, so the lectionary contains — or at least indicates — what we would call the propers: the readings and chants for the office, and for mass on days when it was celebrated. H. Leeb has reconstructed the *lavabo* and Great-Entrance chants of the Georgian lectionary, showing that they were once antiphonal psalmody in the Byzantine manner already described.¹⁷⁵ On some days of the year the mass texts show the old antiphonal structure unmistakably.

This is especially true of the mass of the Easter Vigil and Easter Sunday in codex *Sinai Georg. 37* (AD 982), where the *Sanctificationum (cantus)* is indicated as follows (we translate from Leeb, who went back to the MSS and corrects the text misread by Tarchnišvili¹⁷⁶):

They should bring in the holy gifts with alleluia:
Alleluia, Tone I:
Alleluia.
Verse: Lift up your gates (Ps. 23:7)
Alleluia.
Doxology.
Alleluia.

The initial repetition of the alleluia can be attributed to the fact that the refrain was first intoned by the soloist, then repeated by the people, before the first psalm verse of the antiphon. And we

¹⁷⁴ Among the ancient documents only the Georgian lectionary (TARCHNIŠVILI, *Lectionnaire*) indicates the chants. The Armenian lectionary (AD 417-439) gives us no useful information on the point under discussion (cf. RENOUX, *Lectionnaire arménien*, pp. 361-385; *Addenda*, pp. 385-398 and the recent study: A. RENOUX, *Jérusalem 121*).

¹⁷⁵ LEEB, *Gesänge von Jerusalem*, pp. 102 ff., 115 ff.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 115 and 115-116 n. 157; cf. TARCHNIŠVILI *Lectionnaire*, 751¹, 739². This reading occurs only in *Sinai Georg. 37*. The base MS used for the edition, *Paris Bibl. Nat. Codex Georg. 3* (10-11th c.) has "Quis est sicut dominus" (*Lect.* 751). But note that this MS forms the basis of the edition because of its completeness, not because it necessarily represents a better or older reading. Cf. also LEEB, *Gesänge des Weihnachtsfestes*, p. 239.

can take Ps. 23:7 as the *incipit* only, indicating to the psalmist, who knew the psalter by heart, that he was to begin the psalm here rather than with verse 1, and then continue on to the end of the psalm.

It is not impossible that this paschal usage is the relic of a more general employment of Ps. 23 with alleluia — perhaps every Sunday.¹⁷⁷ We have already seen alleluia (with no psalm indicated) as *Santificatorum* for Palm Sunday and Pentecost in the lectionary. And its use on September 13th, feast of the Dedication of the Anastasis, is easily explained by the paschal nature of this church as well as by the prominent place of this psalm in the rites of the consecration of a church in the Byzantine tradition.¹⁷⁸ Finally, the heavily paschal content of the Byzantine Sunday offices is well known, and as we shall see, Ps. 23 with alleluia is found at the Great Entrance in three Sunday propers of *Leningrad 44*, all strongly resurrectional in character.¹⁷⁹

This tradition could be very ancient. Ps. 23 was the proper psalm for Sunday in Jewish synagogue worship in the period of the primitive church, a usage reflected in the heading the psalm bears in the LXX:

Ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυὶδ· τῆς μιᾶς σαββάτων¹⁸⁰

2. *Leningrad Codex Greek 44* (= *Sinai Gr. 50*)

Even more explicit testimony to the use of Ps. 23:7 at the Great Entrance of the Sunday liturgy is given by the 9th century codex *Leningrad Gr. 44*, which witnesses to the uses of Greek JAS in the church of Jerusalem. The codex contains the proper of 16 masses for the Liturgy of the Word of JAS: (1) martyrs, (2) pro-

¹⁷⁷ LEEB (*Gesänge von Jerusalem*, p. 119) believes that Ps. 23 with alleluia was the original Jerusalem chant for the transfer of gifts. We discuss the early Christian interpretation of Ps. 23 in a paschal context, and the consequent suitability of this psalm for the Sunday liturgy, in *Psalm 24 at the Transfer of Gifts*.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. below, pp. 109 ff.

¹⁷⁹ THIBAUT, *Monuments, Appendix*, pp. 7*-10*; cf. also p. 26.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Mk 16:2. However, THEODORE OF CYRUS († c. 466) explaining this very heading, does not say a word about the use of Ps. 23 in the liturgy (*In ps. 23*, PG 80, 1029). On the use of this psalm in Jewish synagogue worship, see E. KÄHLER, *Studien zum Te Deum und zur Geschichte des 24. Psalms in der alten Kirche* (= *Veröffentlichungen der evangelischen Gesellschaft für Liturgieforschung*, 10) Göttingen, 1958, pp. 44-46; A. CABANISS, *The Harrowing of Hell, Psalm 24, and Pliny the Younger: A Note*, *Vigiliae Christianae* 7, 1953, pp. 69 ff.

phets, (3) abbots (St. Anthony), (4) pontiffs, (5) apostles, (6) virgins, (7) consecration of a church, (16) archangels (St. Michael). Mass-formularies 8-15 are Sunday propers according to the eight tones of the *Octoichos*.¹⁸¹

These propers include enough rubrics so that the *ordo* of the Liturgy of the Word of JAS at that time, an *ordo* confirmed by what we have already seen in the *Typicon of the Anastasis* (*Stavrou 43*) and other Jerusalem documents of the same period,¹⁸² can be easily discerned. We will outline only that part of the liturgy that interests us here:

— Gospel	(Cf. MERCIER, p. 172, 20.)
— Litany	(<i>ibid.</i> , pp. 172, 25 ff.)
— στιχηρὸν εἰς σὺναξιν	(<i>ibid.</i> , p. 176, 13)
— Dismissals	(<i>ibid.</i> , p. 176, 15-16.)
— Great-Entrance chant	(<i>ibid.</i> , p. 176, 20 ff.)
— “ἐν σοφίᾳ Θεοῦ πρόσχωμεν”	(<i>ibid.</i> , p. 182, 18)
— Creed	(<i>ibid.</i> , p. 182, 20)

Now in the Sunday propers for tones 1, 2 and 3 the Great-Entrance chant is:

Alleluia
 Alleluia
 Lift up your gates, O princes, and be lifted up O everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in (Ps. 23:7).
 Alleluia
 Glory be to the Father.
 Alleluia.¹⁸³

In other words, exactly what we saw in the lectionary, and both texts can be interpreted in the same way.

3. *Conclusions from the Jerusalem Sources*

What conclusions can we draw from the evidence in these Jerusalem sources?

1. The Great-Entrance chant of Jerusalem was once an antiphonal psalm.
2. On some occasions, this antiphon was Ps. 23:7-10 with alleluia as refrain.

¹⁸¹ THIBAUT, *Monuments, Appendix*, pp. 3*-11*.

¹⁸² Cf. above, pp. 71 ff.

¹⁸³ THIBAUT, *Monuments, Appendix*, pp. 7*-10*.

3. Evidence indicates that this usage may be ancient, and may once have extended at least to the masses of Sundays and great feasts.
4. Even if Leeb is correct in judging Ps. 23 with alleluia to be the original Jerusalem Great-Entrance antiphon,¹⁸⁴ the usage may still be of Constantinopolitan origin for the following reasons:
 - a) The mid-5th century Armenian lectionary of Jerusalem contains only responsorial chant and makes no mention of our antiphon at all.¹⁸⁵
 - b) But a century later we have Eutyechius' evidence for it in Constantinople, whereas
 - c) in the later Georgian lectionary of Jerusalem, Ps. 23 with alleluia appears only in codex *Sinai Georg.* 37,¹⁸⁶ and hence is only a variant reading in the codices of the lectionary, indicating that the variant may of foreign, perhaps Byzantine origin.

True enough, these witnesses are from the Jerusalem tradition, and Jerusalem is not Constantinople. However, comparative liturgy can help indicate the path we must follow in clarifying obscure evidence from our own tradition. It is not improbable, then, that Patriarch Eutyechius' complaint is directed against the use of Ps. 23: 7-10, with alleluia as its refrain, as the original Great-Entrance antiphon of the Great Church. A further argument in favor of this hypothesis can be drawn from the Armenian rite.

The Armenian Usage Compared to the Byzantine

A liturgy closely related to the Byzantine is that of Armenia. In fact if we prescind from later Latinisms, we can consider it as in some ways representative of Byzantine practice at an earlier stage of evolution. For it would appear that certain Byzantine elements entered the Armenian liturgy and, as often happens in the history of liturgy, retained the form they had when borrowed, while in the church where these elements originated they continued

¹⁸⁴ *Gesänge von Jerusalem*, p. 119.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. A. RENOUX, *Liturgie de Jérusalem et lectionnaires arméniens, vigiles et année liturgique*, in CASSIEN-BOTTE, ed., *La prière des heures* (= *Lesz Orandi* 35) Paris, 1963, p. 178; LEEB, *Gesänge von Jerusalem*, p. 35; and note 174 above.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. above p. 99 and note 176.

to evolve. Now in the *textus receptus* of the Armenian liturgy at the Entrance of the Gifts we find after the native Armenian Great-Entrance chant or "Hagiology" the following:

Deacon: "In the sun has he set his tabernacle; and he comes forth as a bridegroom out of his chamber. (Ps. 18[19]: 5-6a).

Clerks: And he rejoices as a giant to run his course". (6b)

Deacon: WE, WHO THE CHERUBIM

Clerks: MYSTICALLY REPRESENT,

Then coming towards the east, the deacon says:

"Cast up a highway", "for him that rides upon the heaven of heavens towards the east." (Is. 62: 10; Ps. 67[68]: 34).

Clerks: AND SING THE THRICE-HOLY HYMN TO THE LIFE-GIVING TRINITY

Then coming towards the south, the deacon says:

"God shall come from the south and the Holy One from Mount Pharan". (Hab. 3: 3).

Clerks: LET US LAY ASIDE ALL WORLDLY CARE.

Coming to the steps of the altar with the gifts, the deacon:

"Lift up your gates, O princes, and be lifted up, O everlasting doors, and the king of glory shall come in." (Ps. 23: 7)

The celebrant censes and says: "Who is the king of glory? The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle." (Ps. 23: 8).

Clerks: SO THAT WE MAY RECEIVE THE KING OF ALL.

Deacon: "Lift up your gates" (Ps. 23: 9)

Priest: "Who is the king of glory? The Lord of Hosts." (Ps. 23:10a).

Clerks: AND OFFERING, WE SOLEMNLY REPRESENT THE ORDER OF ANGELS.

Deacon: This is the king of glory. (Ps. 23:10b)

Then the celebrant takes the gifts from the deacon and with them makes the sign of the cross over the congregation, saying:

"Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord." (Ps. 117: 26; Mt. 21:9).

Clerks: ALLELUIA!¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁷ We are following the *ordo* as given in *LEW*, pp. 431, 16-432, 29, and in several other editions (e. g. *The Divine Liturgy of the Holy Apostolic Church of Armenia*, translated by two Armenian priests, London, 1908, pp. 66-69; and the Greek version of TZOLAKIDES [cf. above, note 34], pp. 31-32). But we use our own translation of the Armenian Cherubicon. Note also that the Armenian version of Ps. 23 follows the LXX ("Lift up your gates, O princes") not the Hebrew ("Lift up your heads, O gates"). In this we have corrected the version in *LEW*. In contemporary usage, as far as we have been able to determine, only the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople has retained the Cherubicon, with the accom-

Then the gifts are put on the altar and incensed by the priest, and he washes his hands.

Since these verses and the Cherubicon reduplicate a native Armenian Great-Entrance hymn or Hagiology,¹⁸⁸ we can conclude that the Cherubicon is a borrowed addition to the Armenian liturgy. And because of the affinity between this liturgy and that of Constantinople, and because the Cherubicon is a native Byzantine hymn, it is reasonable to suppose that the Armenians borrowed it from Constantinople. Can we also suppose that, according to the normal course of such things, it was taken over from Constantinople more or less as it was found there? This would seem to be confirmed by the fact that the Armenians have kept the alleluia at the end of the Cherubicon instead of replacing it with the traditional *sanctus* which has given the Armenian Hagiology its name. Hence at one time in Constantinople the Cherubicon with alleluia was probably used in connection with Ps. 23:7-10. And since what we have here would be, presumably, simply the débris of a former antiphonal chant, it would already have been debased in the liturgy of Constantinople when it was borrowed by the Armenians.

Admittedly, however, this argument is not entirely convincing, especially since the most ancient Armenian sources extant provide no evidence concerning Ps. 23 at the Great Entrance. The oldest MSS of our earliest Armenian liturgical commentary, that of Chosrov, bishop of Antzevatsiq, written about 950 AD, does not even mention the entrance of the gifts or any chant — though of course from this one cannot argue that there was none. Later codices of this commentary mention the Cherubicon but say nothing of Ps. 23.¹⁸⁹ In the commentary of Nerses of Lampron, archbishop of Tarsus in Cilicia from 1176-1198, we also find the Cherubicon

panying verses said in a low voice by the deacon. In the Catholicates of Etchmiadzin and Sis, and in the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, the Cherubicon and the odd verses that precede Ps. 23:7 are either dropped or said inaudibly by the deacon. At more solemn or pontifical liturgies, the Hagiology is interrupted after "church" and Ps. 23:7-10, Ps. 18:26a, with the alleluia, is said aloud by deacon and priest, much as in later medieval Byzantine usage (cf. below, pp. 105 ff.). Cf. *Divine Liturgy of the Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Church*, New York, 1950, pp. 57, 280.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. text above, pp. 90-91, and BAUMSTARK, *Cherubhymnus*, p. 14.

¹⁸⁹ *Commentarius de orationibus missae* (in Armenian), CATERGIAN-DASHIAN, p. 274 and apparatus 28. Cf. also the Latin translation of P. VETTER, *Chosroae Magni explicatio precum missae*, Freiburg-B., 1880, pp. 7 and note 1; 11 and note 1. On Chosrov († c. 972) and his commentary, see S. SALAVILLE, *L'Explication de la Messe de l'arménien*

but no mention of Ps. 23.¹⁹⁰ Nor do we find Ps. 23 in the ancient *Missae ordo* attributed to St. Athanasius¹⁹¹ nor in the 13th century commentary of John Arēišec'i sometimes attributed to Nerses IV, although the *incipit* of the verses before Ps. 23 in today's liturgy (= Ps. 18[19]:5) is given in some MSS of the commentary, and this may be our earliest indication of the practice.¹⁹²

By that time, however, we know from our Byzantine documents that at Constantinople the Cherubicon was sung unaccompanied by any psalmody. So from this evidence it is more than possible that contemporary Armenian practice stems from the later usage of Ps. 23:7 and Ps. 117:26a at the Great Entrance in some medieval Byzantine codices, to which we shall now devote a few words.

Other Evidence: Psalm 23:7 and 117:28-27 at the Great Entrance in Some Late Codices

In many late MSS of the Byzantine Liturgy we find Ps. 23:7 and Ps. 117:26a, 27a used at the Great Entrance in a brief dialogue between priest and deacon. For example in codex *Sinai Gr. 1919* (AD 1564) (f. 33v) we read:

The deacon, upon entering, puts the holy discos on the holy altar, and turning [to the priest at the doors, about to enter the sanctuary], incenses the priest. And the priest, coming in, says: *Lift up your gates, O princes ...* (Ps. 23:7)

And the first priest receives the gifts. But the deacon says: *Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. The Lord is God and has appeared to us.* (Ps. 117:26a, 27a).

Then, interestingly enough, the scribe adds:

One should know that in the Great Church they do not say the ἀρατε πύλας but the priest or priests on entering the holy bema say to themselves: *Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord.* (Ps. 117:26a)

Chosrov (950). *Théologie et liturgie, Echoes d'Orient*, 39, 1940-42, 349-382. A list of the Armenian sources for the history of the mass can be found in HANSSSENS, *Institutiones* III, pp. 584-587.

¹⁹⁰ CATERGIAN-DASHIAN, p. 539. This commentary shows very strong Byzantine influence.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 564 line 12, and apparatus 12. This source is edited from several medieval MSS (cf. HANSSSENS, *Institutiones* III, p. 585 n. 1).

¹⁹² CATERGIAN-DASHIAN, p. 515b and 515 apparatus 21.

Note the practice of concluding with Ps. 117: 26a just as in the Armenian tradition. This probably stems from the apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus*¹⁹³ (424-425) and certain dependent patristic homilies,¹⁹⁴ in which Ps. 23: 7-10 and Ps. 117: 26a are worked into a dramatic dialogue in the scene of Christ's "Harrowing of Hell." Here is the scene, for example, as presented in Pseudo-Chrysostom's *Homily in sancta et magna Parasceve*:

Hades cried out and closed the gates and shot the iron bolts. And behold, the Lord comes into hell chasing the devil, with the angelic Powers joining the pursuit. And behold, the doors

¹⁹³ The Greek text with the ancient Latin version can be found in C. TISCHENDORF, *Evangelia apocrypha*, Leipzig, 1876². See also the English version of E. HENNECKE, *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. by W. SCHNEEMELCHER (Edg. ed. by R. McL. WILSON) London, 1963, I, pp. 473-5. About the original text, versions, dating, etc. see A. VAILLANT, *L'Évangile de Nicodème. Texte slave et texte latin (= Hautes Etudes Orientales 1)*, Paris, 1968, pp. VIII-IX. According to VAILLANT there is no reason for doubting the date given in the preface of the document itself: AD 424-425. The original "gospel" consisted in two parts, the *Gesta Pilati* and the *Descensus Christi ad inferos*. In the actual Greek text, the original *Descensus ad inferos* has been corrupted by borrowing from the 7th century Holy Saturday homily on the burial of Christ by Ps.-Epiphanius of Cyprus (PG 43, 438-464). A more primitive recension of the *Descensus* has survived in the ancient (5th century) Latin version. A convenient translation of the various versions is given in parallel columns in *The Apocryphal New Testament*, trans. M. R. JAMES, Oxford, 1960, pp. 132 ff. For the text of Ps.-Epiphanius' homily and a complete discussion of the influence of the apocryphal *Descensus* in the Byzantine homiletic and liturgical tradition, cf. A. VAILLANT, *L'homélie d'Épiphanie sur l'ensevelissement du Christ. Texte vieux-slave, texte grec et traduction française (= Radovi Staroslavenskog Instituta, knjiga 3)*, Zagreb, 1958, pp. 5-101. On the application of Ps. 23: 7 ff to the *descensus* and other Christian themes, see KÄHLER, *Studien zum Te Deum und zur Geschichte des 24. Psalms*, pp. 55 ff; A. ROSE, "Attolite portas, principes, vestras ..." *Aperçus sur la lecture chrétienne du Ps. 24(23) B*, in *Miscellanea liturgica in onore di S. E. Cardinale G. Lercaro*, Roma, 1966, I, pp. 457 ff, esp. 464 ff; O. ROUSSEAU, *La descente aux enfers dans le cadre des liturgies chrétiennes, La Maison-Dieu* 43, 1955, pp. 104 ff; J. DANIÉLOU, *Les psaumes dans la liturgie de l'Ascension, La Maison-Dieu* 21, 1950, pp. 41 ff; J. KROLL, *Gott und Hölle. Der Mythos vom Descensuskampfe (= Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, 20)*, Leipzig, 1932, pp. 47 n. 2, 48, 156-157; CABANISS, *The Harrowing of Hell, passim*; TAFT, *Psalm 23 (24) at the Transfer of Gifts, passim*.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. The homily of Epiphanius mentioned in the previous note; also the 7th (?) century *Explanatio psalmodum* attributed to HESYCHIUS OF JERUSALEM (ed. V. JAGIĆ, *Supplementum Psalterii Bononensis. Inediti auctoris explanatio psalmodum graeca*, Vienna, 1917, pp. 40-41). We are grateful to S. JANERAS (cf. *Introductio* IV, p. 35) who introduced us to this line of enquiry and personally provided us with extremely helpful bibliographical information.

were closed, and the Powers shout out saying: *Lift up your gates, O princes, and be lifted up, O everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in.* (Ps. 23: 7 LXX) And Hades answers from within: *Who is this King of glory?* (23: 8a) Then the Powers: *The Lord of hosts, he is he King of glory.* (23: 10b) Hades replies: *Who is this to whom you refer, and what does he want here? ...* The Powers kept on repeating: *Lift up your gates, O princes, and be lifted up, O everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in.* And the prophets hearing the voice of the King of glory rejoiced and exulted ... All rejoiced and said to Hades: "Open your doors so that the King of glory can enter!" ... And straightway the Lord came up and burst in the doors and broke the bolts and trampled underfoot the powers of hell ... The prophets came to meet him, rejoicing ... and saying: *Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord! Hosanna in the highest!* (Ps. 117: 26; Mt. 21: 9)¹⁹⁵

Because of the late appearance of this dialogue in the euchology manuscripts¹⁹⁶ is it safe to see in it the remains of an old antiphonal Great-Entrance psalm, once chanted aloud by the psalmists but later degenerating into a dialogue between priest and deacon? This hypothesis seems to us dubious, though not without precedent. We have already seen how the verses of the antiphonal psalm at the beginning of the paschal offices, once chanted by the soloists, came to be taken over by the priest, and how today the bishop chants the psalmic verses once chanted by the soloists at the antiphon of the Trisagion.

But it is equally possible that what we have here is the influence on the liturgy of the use of Ps. 23 in the apocrypho-homiletic tradition. Another possibility — supported by the rubric cited above excluding Ps. 23 in the usage of the Great Church — would be that the interpretation of the Great Entrance as signifying the triumphal entry of Christ into Jerusalem¹⁹⁷ attracted to the Great

¹⁹⁵ PG 62, 722-723

¹⁹⁶ Codex Patmos 719 (13th c.), DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 173 is the earliest MS in which we have found Ps. 23: 7 (said by priest and deacon) and Ps. 117: 26a (said by the priest). In the *Codex Palascae* (Grott. Gb III, 14th c., GOAR², pp. 87-88) the priest and deacon say both verses together. The dialogue form is found in the diataxis of Philotheus (TREMPELAS, p. 10) — at least in some MSS — and in later codices of the liturgy. However Ps. 117: 26a alone appears earlier, in several MSS of the 12th century — e.g. *Barberini Gr. 316*, *Chigi Gr. 2* (R. IV.2) (cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 167-168). We treat this whole matter at greater length in chapter VI.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. *Protheoria*, PG 140, 441, interpolated into GERMANUS, *HE*, PG 98, 420. See also NARSAI, *Homily 17*, ed. CONNOLLY, p. 5.

Entrance Ps. 117: 26a, "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord," found in the gospel accounts of this event. And Ps. 23: 7 could later have been added in some areas, perhaps as a result of the apocryphal and homiletic tradition already mentioned.

At any rate we prefer to consider this use of Ps. 23 as a phenomenon too late to be dependent on the earlier practice that we have attempted to trace. Hence we reserve discussion of it to chapter VI where we shall treat the numerous lesser formulae introduced in later MSS into this part of the liturgy.

But in spite of our reserve with respect to this medieval evidence, it does seem quite probable that Ps. 23 was the primitive Constantinopolitan Great-Entrance psalm.

Toward the Origins of Psalm 23 at the Great Entrance

The remote origins of the use of Ps 23: 7-10 at the Great Entrance, especially on Sundays, are perhaps to be traced to the paschal context — especially the Harrowing of Hell and the Ascension — in which almost all patristic interpretations place the dialogue of the LXX version of Ps. 23.¹⁹⁸ More proximately, it may

¹⁹⁸ In addition to the apocryphal and homiletic sources already mentioned, see the early 2d century apocryphal *Apocalypse of Peter*, (S. GRÉBAUT, *Littérature éthiopienne Pseudo-Clémentine. Texte et traduction du traité: "La seconde venue du Christ et la résurrection des morts," Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 15, 1910, p. 317; there is an English version in JAMES, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 519); JUSTIN, *Apol.* I, 51, 6-7 (PG 6, 404) and *Dialogue with Trypho* 36, 4-6 (PG 6, 553-556); IRENAEUS, *Demonstratio praed. apost.* 84 (ed. *Sources chrét.* 62, pp. 150-151) and *Adv. haer.* 4, 13 (PG 7, 1081-1082); TERTULLIAN, *De corona* 14, 4 (*Corpus Script. ser. latina* II, 2, p. 1064 = PL 2, 100-101) and *De fuga* 12, 2-3 (*Corpus Scr. ser. lat.* II, 2, p. 1150 = PL 2, 114-115); HIPPOLYTUS, *In ps. 23* (PG 10, 609); ORIGEN, *Comment. in ps. 23* (PG 12, 1268-1269); *Comment. in Johannem* 6, 56(36) (*CGS, Origines*, Bd. 4, pp. 164-165 = PG 14, 297); *In Mat.* 16, 19 (*CGS, Or.* Bd. 10, pp. 539-540 = PG 13, 1437); *In Isaiam hom.* I, 3 (*CGS, Or.* Bd. 8, p. 246 = PG 13, 221); ATHANASIUS, *Oratio I contra Arianos*, 41 (PG 26, 97) as well as his commentary (PG 27, 141); JULIUS FIRMICUS MATERNUS, *Liber de errore profanarum religionum* (c. 346-348), 24 (*CSEL* 2, p. 115); the commentary of EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA (PG 23, 221-224); GREGORY OF NYSSA, *Oratio in Christi Ascensionem* (PG 46, 692-693); P. NAUTIN, éd., *Homélies pascales, I. Une homélie inspirée du traité sur la Pâque d'Hippolyte* (*Sources chrét.* 27, Paris, 1950, pp. 189-191); Ps.-HESYCHIUS OF JERUSALEM, *De titulis psalmorum*, attributed to Athanasius (PG 27, 732-733); Ps.-EPIPHANIUS OF SALAMIS, *Homilia II in sabbato magno* (PG 43, 456-457); and, finally, the apocryphal *Questions of Bartholomew* (JAMES, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 168. The pertinent passage is found only in the Latin 2 [6-7th c.] and Slavonic versions).

have been attracted to the Great Entrance in the ancient Byzantine ritual for the consecration of a church.

In this service, on the day after the consecration of the new altar, the bishop and clergy go in procession to a neighboring church to fetch the relics that are to be placed in the newly consecrated sanctuary.¹⁹⁹ When the procession bearing the relics arrives before the closed doors of the newly dedicated church, the following dialogue occurs:

Bishop: Blessed are you, Christ our God, always, now and forever ...

Cantors (within the church): Amen.

Bishop: "Lift up your gates, O princes, and be lifted up, O everlasting doors, so that the king of glory may enter. (Ps. 23: 9)

Cantors: "Who is the king of glory?" (Ps. 23: 10a)

Meanwhile the bishop incenses the relics, and the above dialogue is repeated. Then the bishop says a long prayer, followed by the introit prayer of the liturgy. Then, making the sign of the cross on the doors with the relics, the bishop again takes up the dialogue with the cantors within: *Bishop*: "The Lord of hosts, He is the king of glory!" (Ps 23: 10b). The cantors repeat this response, as if affirming their agreement, the doors are opened, and the cortège is allowed to enter.

The ready adaptability of Ps. 23 to any rite concerning "doors" or a processional "entrance" is obvious. And in fact this usage described above is very ancient in the Byzantine tradition. It is found in the ritual for the dedication of a church in codex *Barberini 336*, our oldest euchology.²⁰⁰ And in the 10th century

Note also that Ps. 23 is applied to the Ascension in Byzantine vespers of that feast (cf. E. MERCENIER, *La prière des Eglises de rite byzantin*, Chevotogne, 1948, II, 2, pp. 336-340), and in the Armenian liturgy of the Ascension (cf. *The Divine Liturgy of the Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Church*, p. 161). These sources are studied more completely in the works mentioned in note 193 above. Finally, this psalm is used in connection with the *descensus* motif in the Gallican rite (cf. GAMBER, *Ordo antiquus gallicanus*, p. 18; PL 72, 91).

¹⁹⁹ Nowadays it is all done on the same day. For the text, cf. GOAR², 662.

²⁰⁰ GOAR², p. 665 (cf. p. 662). On the Oriental rites of dedication, cf. R. COQUIN, *La consécration des églises dans le rite copte: ses relations avec le rite syrien et byzantin*, *OrSyr* 9, 1964, 149-188. For parallels in the West, cf. M. ANDRIEU, *Les Ordines Romani du haut-moyen-âge* IV, Louvain,

Typicon of Great Church, for the feasts of the dedication of a church Psalm 23: 7 is used as the introit troparion of the mass. E. g. December 22, vigil of the dedication of Hagia Sophia:

When the procession arrives at the narthex, near the great doors, and the troparion has been ended, the patriarch gives the blessing, and the orphans intone: "ἀρατε πόλας". And the psalmists open the doors, and after the entrance, immediately the Trisagion...²⁰¹

This usage is undoubtedly a result of the influence of the ritual of the dedication in the rite of the Great Church. John Malalas, a contemporary of Justinian and future patriarch of Constantinople (565-577), recounted that on December 24, 562, when the Patriarch Eutychius, surrounded by the people, came before the doors of Hagia Sophia for the second dedication after the earthquake of May 7, 558, there was chanted Ps. 23: 7-10.²⁰² Now our friend Eutychius, it will be remembered, is the one who had previously complained about the use of this psalm at the Great Entrance.

The frequency of this usage in the Greek tradition is further illustrated by a story in the *Vita S. Basilii apocrypha* attributed to St. Amphilochius of Iconium, a contemporary of St. Basil. The story seems based in at least some of its aspects on a ritual similar to the one cited above, with imaginative details added from the apocryphal *Descensus ad inferos*. The Arians and Orthodox were disputing the possession of a church, and Basil proposed a trial of faith to resolve the conflict: the disputed church, locked and sealed, would be given to whichever group succeeded in opening it by the power of prayer alone. The Arians of course failed. The Orthodox then held vigil, and the *Vita* continues:

Expleta nocte pervigili, ac matutinis precibus absolutis, [Basilus] populum reducit, cantans illud: "Sanctus Deus, sanctus fortis,

1956, pp. 316-318, where he describes a ritual remarkably like the Byzantine, including the use of Ps. 23.

²⁰¹ MATEOS, *Typicon* I, p. 144. For the *Commune dedicationis*, cf. *ibid.*, II, p. 186; for Dec. 23, I, p. 146. The psalm is also used as an introit troparion on July 9 and 31. Cf. *Index biblique* II, 215 ff for other uses of the psalm in the 10th c. liturgy of the Great Church.

²⁰² The earthquake caved in part of the dome, which fell on and destroyed the altar, ciborium, and ambo. Cf. JOANNIS MALALAE *Chronographia* 18, PG 97, 716. THEOPHANES' *Chronographia* recounts the same story (PG 108, 520).

sanctus immortalis, miserere nobis:" ingrediturque sanctae ecclesiae ferulam, qua etiam Ariani intraverunt. Atque populo: "Tollite manus vestras in sublime coeli, contentoque animo clamate: Domine, miserere." Tum consignato populo, silentiam indicit; terque sanctae ecclesiae portas signat, et ait: "Benedictus Deus Christianorum in saecula saeculorum, Amen." Hac porro oratione contriti sunt vectes, et claves confractae cum pessulis: apertaeque sunt januae forti aura, et ad muros illisae: ipsique deiloquus in illa verba: *Tollite portas, principes, vestras, et elevamini, portae aeternales* [Ps. 23: 7], orthodoxo populo comite, ingressus est in sanctam Dei ecclesiam: expletoque missae officio, dimisit populum cum laetitia et pace...²⁰³

We are unable to prove whether this rite influenced that of the Great Entrance or vice-versa. But at any rate we can see that the Byzantines were quick to employ Ps. 23 for the various entrance ceremonies in which their ritual abounds. Even today, at the entrance ceremony of Easter matins, before the closed doors of the church, the Melkites use this psalm in a ceremony remarkably like that in the ceremony of the dedication.²⁰⁴ This usage is noted in the *De officiis* as the practice "in many churches" but not in the Great Church.²⁰⁵

In fact, this business of "doors" and "entrances" is a common phenomenon in the liturgical — and especially paschal — cycle in both East and West.²⁰⁶ And at least one other rite, the

²⁰³ *Vita* 4, PG 29, cccxii.

²⁰⁴ JANERAS, *Introductio* IV, p. 36. All Byzantines have the rite of the door, but only the Melkites use Ps. 23. This practice is indicated by several of the MS typica studied by BERTONIERE (*Easter Vigil*, pp. 201, 227, 241, 245, 251, 254, 258, 271, 274). See for example codex *Sabas 311* (DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 358). Other typica, however, explicitly forbid the practice (cf. codex *Sinai Gr. 1108*, DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 250). For similar rites in the West, cf. G. MALHERBE, *L'attolite portas du drame liturgique de la résurrection*, *Bulletin paroissial liturgique*, April, 1933, pp. 121 ff (cited in ROSE, *Attolite portas*, p. 471). MALHERBE describes the uses of the dioceses of Trier and Augsburg, which also had a dramatic Easter entrance employing the dialogue of Ps. 23.

²⁰⁵ Ed. VERPEAUX, pp. 233-234.

²⁰⁶ Cf. A. ROSE, *Attolite portas*, pp. 453-478. ROSE indicates those rites in East and West which use Ps. 23. Further literature can be found in his article. But to the information he gives one should add also the ceremony, carried out usually on Palm Sunday or Monday of Holy Week in certain churches, in which two ideas have become more or less intermingled: the ceremony of the "arrival in port" and of the "Ten Virgins". The latter is a dramatization of the parable, with the church representing the bridal chamber. The procession knocks at the door of the church and asks the Master to open it. In the former, the "port" is the haven of

Syrian, has the same theme in one of its chants formerly used at the transfer of gifts.

You who are preparing to receive the body and blood ... of the Word of God, drive away from your spirit all foreign thoughts. Open the doors of your understanding to spiritual matters. Sing with the angelic hosts:

"Lift up your heads, O gates!
And be lifted up, O ancient doors!
That the king of glory may enter." (Ps. 23:7)
Because he is the one who has lifted us up again and placed us with him in heaven...²⁰⁷

The Disappearance of the Antiphonal Psalmody at the Great Entrance

We have no direct evidence whatever as to when, why, or how the corruption of the ancient antiphon came about. One thing is certain, however: the process whereby an ecclesiastical composition (here, the refrain) encroaches upon and eventually suffocates the scriptural element of a liturgical piece is an extremely common phenomenon in liturgical history. We see it in the odes of Byzantine orthros,²⁰⁸ in the psalmody of *Lelyo* and other pieces

the saving passion of Christ, an idea that goes back at least as far as Chrysostom's Holy Week Hom. in ps. 145, 2, PG 55, 519-526 (see also the homily edited by P. KRÜGER, *Eine bisher unbekannte Homilie des hl. Johannes Chrysostomus in syrischer Übersetzung*, OC 51, 1967, 78-96 and the remarks of J.-M. SAUGET, *Rémarques à propos de la récente édition d'une homélie syriaque attribuée à S. Jean Chrysostome*, OCP 34, 1968, 133-140). For the liturgical use of this theme cf. A. RÜCKER, *Die Ankunft im Hafen des syrischen-jakobitischen Festivals*, JLV 3, 1923, 78-92; MATEOS, *Lelya Şapra* (OCA 156), Roma, 1959, pp. 206-211; KHOURI-SARKIS, *La semaine sainte dans l'Église syrienne*, LMD 41, 1955, 99-103 and *La passion dans la liturgie syrienne occidentale*, OrSyr 2, 1957, pp. 195 and 199-200; E. HAMBYE, *The Symbol of the "Coming to the Harbour" in the Syriac Liturgical Tradition*, in *Symposium Syriacum 1972* (= OCA, 197) Roma, 1974, 401-411; *Rito armeno: Funzione dell'apertura della porta dopo i vesperi della Domenica delle Palme* (Roma, 1910). On the port theme in classical and patristic sources, see H. RAHNER, *Symbole der Kirche. Die Ekklesiologie der Väter* (Salzburg, 1964): IX, *Die Ankunft im Hafen*, pp. 548-564; C. BONNER, *Desired Haven*, *Harvard Theological Review* 34, 1941, 49-67. Note too that the Roman rite employs Ps. 23 in the Palm-Sunday procession (cf. A. ROSE, *La bénédiction des rameaux*, *La Vie Spirituelle*, avril 1950, pp. 341 ff.)

²⁰⁷ *Diaconal*, ed. RAHMANI, Charfeh, 1905, p. 113, cited from KHOURI-SARKIS, *Les saints mystères*, p. 311.

²⁰⁸ J. MATEOS, *Quelques problèmes de l'orthros byzantin*, POC 11, 1961, p. 32.

of the Syrian office.²⁰⁹ We see it in the Trisagion and *koinonicon*, our antiphon's two sister chants of the Byzantine mass.²¹⁰ In chants parallel to our Great-Entrance antiphon, we see it in the Roman *offertorium*,²¹¹ the Chaldean 'ōnītā d-rāzē and the now defunct Syrian ma'nitho d-rāzē.²¹²

The Jerusalem documents show us this process of degeneration underway. In the Armenian lectionary, representing a stage of liturgical development before the middle of the 5th century, we find mention only of the more primitive responsorial chant.²¹³ But in the Georgian lectionary which presents a liturgy formed during the 5-8th centuries, we find antiphonal psalmody in places — e. g. the *lavabo* chant — where by the following century the accompanying psalmody has already almost completely disappeared.²¹⁴ As we have seen, only a few great feasts show certain evidence for the primitive Great-Entrance chant, Ps. 23 with alleluia, in its original antiphonal form. On other days one or more refrains are given, and though it is probable that at this time the psalmody was still in use, we cannot be sure that the decline had not already begun. At any rate Leeb reconstructs the history of the antiphon as follows: at a second stage in the evolution of the chant poetic strophes were added to the antiphonal psalmody as refrains, either replacing the alleluia entirely or displacing it only at the end of the psalm as *perisse*. In a final step, the psalmody and alleluia are suppressed, leaving only the poetic refrain.²¹⁵

It seems that this corruption of the Great-Entrance chant occurred in Constantinople earlier than in Jerusalem. Leeb has already noted that *Stavrou 43* always gives a psalm verse (though only one) for the native Jerusalem εὐχὰ τὰ ἅγια chant, but never provides one for the chant ἀντί τοῦ χερουβικού, a piece we believe

²⁰⁹ J. MATEOS, *Les matines chaldéennes, maronites et syriennes*, OCP 26, 1960, pp. 57, 61 ff.; J. PUYADE, *Composition interne de l'office syrien*, OrSyr 2, 1957, p. 85; 3, 1958, pp. 35 n. 9, 53 ff, and *passim*.

²¹⁰ For the Trisagion, cf. MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 106-114; for the *koinonicon*, cf. *Chronicon Paschale* for AD 624 (PG 92, 1001) and LEEB, *Gesänge von Jerusalem*, pp. 129-132.

²¹¹ JUNGMANN, *Missarum Sollemnia* II, pp. 28 ff.; DIX, *Shape*, pp. 493 ff.; RIGHETTI, *Storia liturgica* (3d ed.) III, pp. 319 ff.

²¹² See note 133 above.

²¹³ See note 185 above.

²¹⁴ E. g. in the Typicon of the Anastasis of codex *Stavrou 43* (PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Analekta* II, pp. 25, 106-107, 187, 201-202, 212) and in the mass propers of JAS in codex *Leningrad 44* (THIBAUT, *Monuments*, pp. 3*-11*). Cf. LEEB, *Gesänge von Jerusalem*, p. 104.

²¹⁵ LEEB, *Gesänge von Jerusalem*, p. 119.

to be of Constantinopolitan origin.²¹⁶ Similarly, the 9th century Georgian PRES of codex *Graz Georg. 4* (985 AD) still gives the complete antiphon for the *lavabo* chant, but for the *Sanctificationum* gives only the *Nunc virtutes caelorum* without psalmody. Since Leeb corrects the version of Tarchnišvili, we give his reconstruction here:

They should say the Lotionem manuum [cantus] that should be said every Sunday: Let us bless the Lord at all [times] (Ps. 33:2), which he should say, and this should follow [or: and he should continue] — the people sing —:

The Angelic hosts cry out continuously in a glorious voice, saying: Holy, holy is [the Lord] Sabaoth. Heaven and earth are full of his glory.

Bless the Lord in all times up to free us (Ps. 33:2-5).

The same: The Angelic hosts.

Come to the Lord up to who hopes in the Lord (Ps. 33:6-9).

*And they should continue with the Sanctificationum [cantus]: Tone 2 plag: Now the heavenly powers ...*²¹⁷

As Leeb has theorized, this disappearance of the psalmody of the *Sanctificationum* chant may have resulted from the proximity of this chant to the *lavabo* antiphon.²¹⁸ But it may also be because in Constantinople, where the *Nunc virtutes caelorum* seems to have originated, the psalmody had already disappeared.

When might this have taken place? We have already noted that the psalmody was still extant, though in decline, when the Cherubicon entered the Armenian mass. It is difficult to build an argument from this tradition, for the Armenian rite is a field of liturgiology almost totally untouched by trustworthy scientific studies. But the presence of numerous Byzantine elements — elements of the enarxis such as the antiphon prayers; the Cherubicon, the *Nemo dignus* prayer, etc. — show that the Armenian mass underwent considerable Byzantine influence. Historically this could have occurred at any time during the 6-10th centuries. In spite of her rejection of the Council of Chalcedon (451) the

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 103-104, 117; PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Analekta*, loc. cit. in note 214.

²¹⁷ LEEB, *Gesänge von Jerusalem*, pp. 102-103 (= TARCHNIŠVILI, *Liturgiae ibericae*, p. 71). On the date of this liturgy and of the codex that contains it, see M. TARCHNIŠVILI, *Die "Missa Praesanctificationum" und ihre Feier am Karfreitag nach georgischen Quellen*, *ALW* 2, 1952, pp. 76-77, and *Id.* *Jakobusliturgie*, pp. 50-51.

²¹⁸ LEEB, *Gesänge von Jerusalem*, pp. 103-104, 117.

Church of Armenia was in "intermittent union" with Constantinople from 590 until 971.²¹⁹ This latter date corresponds with the *terminus post quem non* imposed by Byzantine liturgical evidence for the developments we are discussing. For in the 10th century Typicon of the Great Church there is no evidence of any psalm verses with the Cherubicon at the Great Entrance, so by that time the practice had fallen into disuse. Can liturgical evidence provide us also with a more precise *terminus a quo*? If we can presume that the Cherubicon was borrowed at the same time as other Byzantine elements such as the antiphon prayers, this could not have occurred before the turn of the 8th century. For the three antiphons were added to the Byzantine liturgy in the period between the *Mystagogia* of Maximus the Confessor (628-630), which does not mention the antiphons as part of the mass, and the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Germanus († 733) which does.²²⁰ If the Cherubicon came into the Armenian liturgy during the same period of liturgical influence, which is not unlikely, we may conclude that Ps. 23 was still used with the Cherubicon at Constantinople when it was borrowed by the Armenians around the beginning of the 8th century, and had disappeared by the time of the Typicon of the Great Church towards the end of the 10th century.

In fact the structure of the Cherubicon with psalm verses as taken over by the Armenians shows that the old antiphonal psalmody in 8th century Constantinople was already in an advanced stage of decomposition. The psalm verses are no longer intoned by the soloist, but are recited by priest and deacon, and the refrain (Cherubicon) is not repeated after each verse, but is sung only

²¹⁹ G. EVERY, *The Byzantine Patriarchate, 451-1204*, London, 1947, pp. 71-72. In 969-971 a serious schism broke out again between the Greek and Armenian churches. But the Armenians were never so anti-Chalcedonian as the Jacobites, and there were frequent attempts to heal the breach with the Greek Church right up until the end of the 12th century. Cf. L. PETIT, *Arménie: histoire religieuse*, *DTC* I^o, 1896-1897, 1899, 1901-1903; J. KARST, *Nerses IV*, *DTC* XI^o, 70-71, and *Nerses de Lampron*, *ibid.*, 72 ff. On the whole problem of the influence of Greek liturgies on the Armenian tradition, see G. WINKLER, *Zur Geschichte des armenischen Gottesdienstes im Hinblick auf den in mehreren Wellen erfolgten griechischen Einfluss* (Vortrag gehalten bei der Generalversammlung der Gorresgesellschaft in Würzburg vom 3.-7. x, 1973), *OC* 58, 1974, 154-172.

²²⁰ MAXIMUS, *Mystagogia* 3, PG 91, 688-689; GERMANUS, *HE*, ed. BORGIA, p. 21. By the time of the 10th century Typicon of the Great Church the antiphons were not yet a permanent part of every Byzantine eucharist. Cf. MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 27-44.

once. The next step will be for the choir to sing the troparion without interruption (three times at first as in our 10th century typicon, then later only once) while the clergy say the psalm verses *sotto voce*. Then eventually even this will disappear.

If our hypothesis is correct, it is a perfect parallel to Mateos' reconstruction of the evolution of the Trisagion antiphon in the Byzantine liturgy. In the pontifical liturgy the psalm verses of the original antiphon are said by the bishop instead of by a soloist, while the choir sings the refrain. In the ordinary liturgy the psalmody has entirely disappeared.²²¹ We do not know what caused these developments, but it is possible that later liturgical changes, which shortened the time necessary for the Great-Entrance procession, were responsible. These changes will be treated fully later.

CONCLUSION

If we now pull together all the threads of evidence — some admittedly rather thin — that we have adduced in our attempt to trace the history of the Great-Entrance chant, the following hypothesis seems not unreasonable. The Byzantine Great-Entrance hymn was once a true antiphonal psalm that appears to have evolved as follows:

1. In the first stage of its history, the antiphon comprised Psalm 23: 7-10 (plus Ps. 117: 26a?) with alleluia as its refrain.
2. In the second half of the 6th century the Cherubic Hymn and other troparia were added to the alleluia, and the psalmody was executed in the traditional Constantinopolitan manner: triple repetition of the whole troparion twice at the beginning of the antiphon; repetition then of only the ἀκροτελεσώτιον or final versicle (in this case alleluia) after the psalm verses and *gloria patri*; then a final repe-

²²¹ Cf. MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 106 ff. In the Byzantine liturgy the Trisagion is sung three times, then comes the *gloria patri* and repetition of the versicle ("Holy Immortal One, have mercy on us"), then a final repetition of the whole Trisagion. According to Mateos this is simply a relic, abridged by dropping the psalm verses, of the way in which this troparion was once used antiphonally. At a pontifical liturgy the psalm verses recited at this point by the bishop, and the alternate singing of the Trisagion by choir and clergy, are further relics of the older manner of executing this antiphon.

tion of the whole troparion by the psalmists, and again by the people (*perisse*).

3. In smaller churches the whole gamut of deacons, soloists, psalmists, etc. could not be supported, and so the psalm verses came to be said by the priest and deacon, as can be seen in the Armenian version of the Cherubicon with its psalm verses, or in the opening psalm of the paschal offices among the Slavs.
4. As we shall show in chapter VI, the abandonment of the traditional skeuophylakion in favor of a prothesis chamber beside the sanctuary diminished the time necessary for the procession with the gifts, and led inevitably to an abbreviation of the accompanying chant. Gradually the troparion begins to choke-off the psalm verses completely. By the time of the 10th century Typicon of the Great Church the psalm has disappeared, and only at Easter is the troparion repeated three times, a final relic of the old manner in which the antiphon was once begun.

This hypothesis is based on the following evidence:

1. *A priori*, on the basis of comparison with other liturgies and with the two parallel antiphonal chants in the Byzantine liturgy itself, it is probable that the Great-Entrance chant was once an antiphonal psalm.
2. Our first evidence for a Great-Entrance chant in Constantinople, the sermon of Eutychius, speaks of it as a "psalmic chant" and refers, it seems, to Ps. 23.
3. Evidence from other Byzantine sources such as the 10th century Typicon of the Great Church and from a study of Byzantine antiphonal psalmody seems to indicate that the Great-Entrance chant may once have been an antiphonal psalm.
4. It is highly improbable that Constantinople had no Great-Entrance chant at all before the introduction of the troparion known as the Cherubicon in the year 573-4. Because the alleluia is attached to some of our present-day Byzantine Entrance troparia, and because we have indisputable evidence from the liturgy of Jerusalem for the alleluia as the refrain of Ps. 23 at the Great-Entrance, we conclude that Ps. 23 with the alleluia was probably once a Byzantine Great-Entrance antiphon.

5. That the Cherubicon seems a later addition to the alleluia has been argued from the text of the chant in itself, and confirmed by showing that Baumstark's theory, based on parallel Oriental chants that normally conclude with the Trisagion, cannot be applied to the native Byzantine Great-Entrance chants. This argument is confirmed by the presence of the single alleluia in the Armenian Cherubicon, where one would expect to find the Trisagion.
6. Our arguments for the later history of this antiphon are admittedly inconclusive, but not totally without foundation. A similar stifling of the psalmody occurred in most other rites. And the parallels we have adduced from the Byzantine tradition, plus the undeniable fact that Ps. 23 keeps persistently popping up in the Great-Entrance procession of Byzantium and other churches, demands at least some explanation. Ours is perhaps as good as any to have surfaced so far.

CHAPTER III

THE PRAYER OF THE CHERUBIC HYMN¹

On completing the synapte, the deacon enters the sanctuary by the south (right) door of the iconostasis. When the priest has finished the ephonesis of the second prayer of the faithful, the deacon opens the central sanctuary doors, and the choir begins the Cherubic Hymn. Meanwhile the priest, still in his place before the altar, says quietly the following prayer:

No one bound down by the desires and pleasures of the flesh is worthy to come to you, to approach you, to minister unto you, O King of glory. For to serve you is grand and awesome even for the heavenly powers themselves. And yet because of your ineffable and boundless love for mankind, you became man without undergoing change or alteration, and were named our high priest, and as master of all you bestowed on us the holy celebration of this liturgical and unbloody sacrifice. For you alone, O Lord our God, are master of the things of heaven and earth, you who are borne upon the throne of the Cherubim, you who are the lord of the Seraphim and king of Israel, you alone who are holy and take your rest among the saints.

It is you, then, that I implore, you who alone are good and ready to hear me. Look down upon me your sinful and worthless servant, and cleanse my soul and heart from a bad conscience. By the power of the Holy Spirit enable me, clothed as I am with the grace of the priesthood, to stand before this your holy table and offer your sacred and immaculate body and precious blood.

It is to you, then, that I come with my head bowed low, and I pray to you: do not turn away your face from me, nor reject me from among your children, but rather allow these gifts to be offered to you by me, your sinful and unworthy servant.

¹ The best study on this prayer is E. LANNE, *La prière de la Grande Entrée*, in *Miscellanea Liturgica in onore di S. E. il Cardinale G. Lercaro* (Roma, 1967) II, 303-312. We are indebted to this article for many of the ideas below, though we disagree with L. on some points.

For you are the one who offers and is offered, who accepts and is distributed, Christ our God, and to you we send up glory with your eternal Father and your all-holy, good, and life-giving Spirit, always, now and forever, and unto ages of ages. Amen.

Today this prayer is common to BAS and CHR, and is also found, probably as a result of Byzantinization, in the Greek liturgies of James and Gregory the Theologian.²

The Title of the Prayer

Although the prayer is generally referred to as "Εὐχή τοῦ Χερουβικοῦ ὕμνου", and the text of the prayer has some points of similarity with the hymn ("King of glory ... bound down by the desires and pleasures of the flesh ... borne upon the throne of the Cherubim"), it is recited even when the Cherubicon is replaced by another chant, and there is no essential connection between the prayer and the hymn. The title, in fact, is simply the result of physical juxtaposition, as can be seen in our earliest euchology, codex *Barberini Gr. 336* (BAS) where the prayer is entitled: "Εὐχή ἣν ποιεῖ ὁ ἱερεὺς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ τῶν χερουβικῶν λεγομένων."³ And the vast majority of MSS give a similar title in the slightly modified version of the new Constantinopolitan recension: "Εὐχή ἣν ποιεῖ ὁ ἱερεὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν τοῦ χερουβικοῦ ἁδομένου."⁴

More interesting liturgically are the titles with the rubric for the priest to say the prayer while the gifts are being brought in, perhaps an indication that the priest himself had not yet begun to take part in the procession: "Εὐχή ἣν ποιεῖ ὁ ἱερεὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν

² JAS: MERCIER, pp. 178, 26 - 180, 12; GREG: RENAUDOT I, pp. 88-89, *oratio veli*.

³ LEW, p. 318, 2-3. Similarly, BAS of *Grottaferrata Gb VII* (10th c.) f. 121r (but with λέγων loco λεγομένων). BAS of *Grottaferrata Gb IV* (10th c.) has (f. 6v): "Εὐχή ἣν λέγει ὁ ἱερεὺς τῶν χερουβικῶν λεγομένων. Liturgical titles that come from physical juxtaposition are a common phenomenon. The Jerusalem *Manuum lotionis (cantis)* has nothing whatever to do with the *lavabo*. The same is true of the so-called "entrance prayer" of Byzantine vespers. And the so-called "Prayer of the Lachumara" of the East-Syrian mass (LEW, p. 254, 19 ff) is really the prayer of incense. The examples could be multiplied.

⁴ Cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 282, and the same title in the Slavonic version (e. g. *Vatican Slav. Služebnik 14*, KRASNOCEL'CEV, *Svedenijsa*, p. 164). Some MSS of the new recension omit from the title καθ' ἑαυτὸν; others do not refer to the hymn (e. g. *Stavrou 109*, *Oxford Bodleian Add. E. 12*). Others give a variant title: Εὐχή τοῦ χερουβικοῦ (*Sinai Gr. 966*, f. 29r; *Sin. Gr. 1047*, f. 11v; *Seymour Euchology*, f. 22r; *British Museum Harl. 5561*, f. 11v) or Εὐχή εἰς τὸ χερουβίον (*Modena 19*).

εἰσερχομένων τῶν ἁγίων δώρων."⁵ Other rubrics add that the priest is to say the prayer bowed.⁶ But there is nothing unusual about that. It was the common posture of the priest *whenever* reciting a prayer in the rite of Constantinople, as we see in the rubrics of innumerable MSS.

The Late Appearance of The Prayer in The Byzantine Liturgy

Is this prayer an original part the liturgy of the Great Church? Probably not, for the following reasons: 1) internal signs of late composition show that the prayer could be a later addition to the original formularies of BAS and CHR; 2) the prayer is missing from several early Constantinopolitan texts of the liturgy, and the fact that it is common to both CHR and BAS proves that it was either inserted contemporaneously into both already existing formularies, or at least that it can be original to only one of the two liturgies; 3) some uncertainty in the rubrics as to just where the prayer should be inserted into the liturgical formulary can also be taken as a sign of its later introduction into an already fixed liturgical *ordo*. Let us study these arguments more in detail.

1. Internal Signs of Late Composition

The Signs of late composition are several:

- a. The prayer is addressed not to God the Father, but to Christ.⁷
- b. Except for the *orate fratres* dialogue⁸ it is the only prayer in the liturgy in which the celebrant speaks in his own

⁵ Cf. *Sevastianov 474* (BAS, KRASNOCEL'CEV, *Svedenijsa*, p. 245); *Sinai Gr. 1036* (f. 33r) and *1020* (DMITRIEVSKIJ II, pp. 141-142); BAS of *Paris Coislin Gr. 214* (12th c.) f. 21v; five MSS of BAS edited by ORLOV (*Liturgia*, p. 126, apparatus); JAS of *Paris Suppl. Gr. 476* (MERCIER, p. 179). See also the Latin translation of PERLAROUS: "Oratio quae dicitur dum ingreditur (offerre) sancta dona" (*Liturgia*, f. C1v).

⁶ Cf. *Sinai Gr. 1049*, f. 13v. Among the Melkites at a pontifical liturgy the deacon kneels beside the bishop during this prayer with his head resting on the altar as in the rite of ordination (cf. CHARON *Rite byzantin*, p. 686).

⁷ Only four prayers in the Byzantine liturgy are addressed to Christ: the prayer of the third antiphon (LEW, p. 311, 24 ff); the prayer before the gospel, a later addition from orthros (LEW, p. 371, 24 ff); the *Nemo dignus*; and the elevation prayer (LEW, p. 341, 7-11). On the general question of prayers addressed to Christ in the history of worship, the reader can refer to JUNGMANN, *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer*.

⁸ LEW, p. 380, 3 ff. Cf. below, chapter VIII.

name, using the first person singular, and not the plural as *porte-parole* of the people of God or of his fellow celebrants and clergy.

- c. The prayer contains many phrases from Scripture cited more or less literally.
- d. The theology of the priesthood expressed in the prayer is highly clerical.
- e. The text of the prayer is more unstable than that of any other prayer of CHR.

A glance at the text of the prayer given at the end of the chapter will suffice to support these observations.

2. *The Absence of the Prayer in Some Early Sources*

Although our earliest euchology, *Barberini Gr. 336* of the ancient *Italian* recension, gives the *Nemo dignus* prayer in BAS, it is missing in two 10th century *Constantinopolitan* witnesses of BAS, as Brightman pointed out.⁹ They are the Greek codex of Isidore Pyromalus published in Goar, and the closely related Latin version of the lost MS of Johannisberg.¹⁰ Our first *Constantinopolitan* euchology to contain the prayer is the 10th century codex *Sevastianov 474* (BAS).¹¹ But the 11-12th century codex *Sinai Gr. 962*, a euchology of the old *Constantinopolitan* tradition in which BAS precedes CHR, gives the prayer only in CHR.¹² In addition, as A. Jacob has demonstrated, the prayer is not found in the 10th

⁹ LEW, p. lxxxiv. Cf. JACOB, *Concélébration*, pp. 251-252, note 2.

¹⁰ *Codex Pyromalus* is in GOAR², p. 155; for the Johannisberg version cf. COCHLAEUS, *Speculum*, p. 124.

¹¹ KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, pp. 245-246.

¹² Cf. f. 10v and DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 64. Whenever possible we have studied microfilms of the MSS edited by DMITRIEVSKIJ, because his edition is often unreliable. Unlike the four earlier witnesses of CHR in the MS tradition, this codex gives the Cherubicon prayer in full. (Cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 230). But by the time of this MS, BAS had already given way to CHR as first liturgy of the rite of Constantinople (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 49-56; 254), and so it is CHR that has the more complete formulary. We must bear this in mind with respect to JACOB's assertion: "En réalité, on ne connaît, semble-t-il, que deux témoins de la liturgie de S. Basile dont la prière de la grande entrée soit absente" (*Concélébration*, p. 251 n. 2). Jacob was arguing against Lanne who cited *Leningrad 226* as a MS of BAS that lacked the prayer. As Jacob indicates, the codex is defective and BAS begins in the middle of the intercessions in the anaphora. Hence it quite possibly did contain the prayer. Cf. LANNE, *La prière de la Grande Entrée*, p. 309 n. 22; JACOB, *Uspenski*, p. 181.

century diataxis used by Leo Tuscan in his Latin version of CHR (1173-1178).¹³

3. *The Place Assigned to the Prayer in the Rubrics*

We do not learn much from the early euchologies, because their rubrics are absolutely minimal — usually no more than prayer-titles that occasionally contain a bit of rubrical direction. For example in BAS of *Barberini 336*, the ephonesis of the second prayer of the faithful is followed immediately by:

Prayer which the priest says to himself while the Cherubica are being sung:

No one bound down ...

Prayer of the proskomide of St. Basil, after the people have completed the mystic hymn:

O Lord our God ...¹⁴

This tells us no more than that the prayer was said sometime between the second prayer of the faithful and the proskomide prayer. Today's rubrics, following the diataxis of Philotheus,¹⁵ prescribe that the priest say the prayer immediately after the ephonesis of the second prayer of the faithful, before proceeding to the other actions involved in the transfer of the gifts.

But some early witnesses of CHR and BAS that give more detailed rubrics show some uncertainty as to just where the prayer should be inserted. The ancient Georgian version of CHR in the 11th century codex *Sinai Georg. 89*, for example, gives the following *ordo*:

Et tollant diaconi thuribulum et flabellum et lucernam, et sacerdos calicem et patenam, et sanctificata introducant. Et cantores dicant voce (alta): Qui Cherubim mysterium.

Sacerdos hanc orationem dicat sancti Basilii: Nemo est dignus...

¹³ JACOB, *Concélébration*, pp. 250 ff. The prayer is not mentioned in some later diataxeis, but probably this is to be explained by the fact that they are concerned chiefly with the visible and audible déroulement of the liturgy, and often make no reference to the silent prayers of the priest. Cf. *Athens Ethnike bibl. 662* (12-13th c.), TREMPERAS, p. 9; *Moscow Synod 381* (13-14th c.), KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 25; and the 15th century *Vat. Gr. 573* (*ibid.*, p. 107) and *Paris Gr. 2509* (GOAR², pp. 80-81).

¹⁴ LEW, pp. 318, 1-319, ff.

¹⁵ Cf. ed. TREMPERAS, p. 9. The prayer is said in the same place according to the earlier diataxis *British Museum Add. 34060* (ARABATZOGLOU, *Bibliothèque*, p. 237).

*Post introductionem ponat sanctificata super altare, sublevata operiant. Diaconus incenset circum altare et sacerdotes incenset.*¹⁶

Then follows the *lavabo* with its psalm, and the litany. Here it would seem that the redactor inserted, more or less successfully, the *Nemo dignus* into an already coherent set of rubrics that made no mention of the prayer — either that or the prayer was to be said during the entrance of the gifts, which would indicate equally well the uncertain place of the prayer.

In a recent article A. Jacob has shown how Leo Tuscan in his Latin version of CHR (1173-1178) opted for a different solution when faced with a similar problem.¹⁷ We shall cite the passage in question from Jacob's critical edition, and then summarize his analysis of its genesis. The extract begins with the ephphesis of the second prayer of the faithful, just before the Cherubicon:

Eleuatio vocis: Vt sub potentia tua custoditi semper tibi gloriam referamus patri et filio et spiritui sancto, amen.

Dum oratio fit pro catecuminis, itur ad propositos panes, quos deferunt ad sanctum altare, praeunte archydiacono cum thuribulo et sancto peplo, quem secuntur diaconi discos cum panibus sanctis portantes ... et ex ordine reliqui portantes sanctos calices. Hii autem omnes hunc ymnus concinunt:

Qui cherubym mystice ...

Cumque uentum est ad sanctas ianuas cancellorum, ingreditur archydiaconus et dato incenso sancto altari, dat et sacerdotibus per ordinem. Et depositis sanctis panibus super sacram mensam ... dicit archypresbyter: Orate pro me, sacerdotes sancti.

Qui respondent: Spiritus sanctus superueniat ...

Et cursus illi dicunt ad eum: Memento nostri, domine.

Et ipse respondet: Memor sit nostri dominus deus in regno suo.

Tunc secedunt et stantes pro ianuis cancellorum a dextris et a sinistris, unusquisque dicit orationes mysteriorum in silentio intuentes ad sanctam mensam.

Oratio quam facit pro se sacerdos, dum cherubicus ymnus a populo decantatur, secreta: Nullus carnalibus concupiscentiis et desideriis irretitus dignus est accedere ... amen.

*Quo peracto, dicit diaconus, stantibus singulis presbyteris in locis suis: Impleamus orationem nostram deo.*¹⁸

¹⁶ JACOB, *Version géorgienne*, pp. 100-102.

¹⁷ *Concélébration*, pp. 250 ff.

¹⁸ JACOB, *Toscan*, pp. 149-151.

A glance at the text shows that the *Nemo dignus* prayer is out of place. Its preceding rubric states clearly that it is to be recited during the singing of the Cherubicon, but here it appears after the dialogue that follows the entrance. According to Jacob, this misplacement of the prayer is to be explained by the fact that Tuscan used several sources in preparing his version, and did not always succeed in integrating them perfectly. The basis for his version was a typical Constantinopolitan euchology containing only the prayers of the liturgy with their titles and an occasional brief rubric. To make the déroulement of the liturgy more intelligible, Tuscan fills out this euchology by the addition of a prothesis ritual, a series of apolytikia and prokeimena, diptychs, etc., and various rubrics from a diataxis of the Great Church. It is with this latter source that we are concerned here.

It will be obvious what Tuscan has done if we compare his version with a typically laconic early euchology such as the codex *Barberini 336* cited at the beginning of this section. The translator has simply taken the whole description of the Great Entrance from his diataxis source and inserted it between ephphesis of the second prayer of the faithful and the *Nemo dignus* prayer. And the absence of any mention of the latter prayer in the diataxis shows that this source comes from an earlier stage in the liturgy of Constantinople before the *Nemo dignus* prayer had been introduced into BAS. When the redactor resumed his euchology source with the *Nemo dignus* prayer there resulted a disconcerting misplacement of the latter, and Jacob has shown how various copyists and editors of Tuscan's version attempted to reduce this anomaly by modifying the original text, thus confusing the issue even more.¹⁹

Once the *Nemo dignus* prayer is restored to its proper place, it becomes clear that the "*orationes mysteriorum*" can refer only to the prayers that follow the entrance — i. e. the prayer of the proscomidie or *accessus* and the anaphora itself. This interpretation Jacob confirms by the fact that the same term "*mysteria*" is used by Tuscan to translate "*anaphora*" in the diaconal admonition that precedes the eucharistic prayer:

*Stemus honeste, stemus cum timore, intentionem prestemus diuinis mysteriis (πρόσχωμεν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἀναφορᾷ) et in pace offeramus.*²⁰

¹⁹ JACOB, *Concélébration*, pp. 252-253.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 253 and *Toscan*, p. 152.

A similar displacement of the *Nemo dignus* prayer occurs in Nicholas of Otranto's Latin translation of BAS (13-14th century), which closely follows the version of Tuscan for the parts common to both BAS and CHR.²¹

After the second prayer of the faithful and its ephonesis there follows immediately:

Ipsa oratione dicta, sacerdos et diaconus eunt ad propositos panes, quos deferunt ad sanctum altare. Sacerdotes uel diaconi plures secuntur. Clerus autem et populus hunc ymnum concinunt:

Qui cherubim ...

Cum deposita uero sunt sancta misteria, dato incenso, cum turibulo incensantur et tunc (dicit) qui primus est inter alios inclinans caput ante sanctum altare dicit aliis: Orate pro me, fratres.

then (after the *orate fratres* dialogue):

*Sed hic qui portat patenam et calicem sacerdos ad sanctum altare dicit inter se hanc orationem. Oratio quam facit pro se sacerdos, dum hymnus cherubicus decantatur a populo: Nullus carnalibus concupiscentiis ...*²²

There follows the litany after the Great Entrance.

Finally, we have come across six euchology MSS that insert the *Nemo dignus* after the second prayer of the faithful, as follows:²³

Deacon: "Again and again in peace let us pray to the Lord."

Priest: Second prayer of the faithful and the *Nemo dignus* prayer.

Deacon: "Help and save us, have mercy on us ... Wisdom!"

Priest: ephonesis of the second prayer of the faithful.

It would seem, then, that it took a bit of time for the prayer to settle into its now customary place everywhere — a sure indication that it was a later addition to an already complete formu-

²¹ Cf. JACOB, *Otrante*, p. 56.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 69 sigl. P. But the revised version in *Karlsruhe EM 6* (*ibid.*, p. 69, XIV (1) sigl. K) puts the prayer in its usual place. On the relationship between these two recensions, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 54-56. P is the earlier reading.

²³ *Sinai Gr. 1037* (13th c.) ff. 25v-29v; *British Museum Codex Harl. 5561* (13th c.) ff. 11v (CHR), 25r (BAS); *Milan Bibl. Ambrosiana 1090* (Z 257 sup) (parchment roll, 14th c.); *Esphigmenou 34* (AD 1306), DMITRIEVSKIĬ II, p. 266 — the latter adds Ps. 50 after *Nemo dignus*; Athens codices *Byz. Museum 6* and *Ethn. bibl. 802* (17th c.), TREMPÉLAS, p. 76.

lary. This conclusion is supported by the history of the prayer in the MS tradition of BAS and CHR.

The History of the Prayer in the Byzantine Euchology

The *Nemo dignus* prayer is found originally only for the formulary of BAS — probably at first as a private, devotional addition that gradually crept into the text — not because it is in any way proper to BAS, but simply because BAS was the commonly used formulary of the time, and hence the one most subject to devotional modifications.

However, the fact that the prayer does not appear in the earliest MSS of CHR does not mean necessarily that it was not said when CHR was celebrated. As Jacob has shown in his study of the MS tradition of CHR, the earliest euchologies in which BAS precedes CHR give the complete text of BAS, but for CHR they provide only those prayers in which the latter differs from BAS — omitting therefore the three prayers of the antiphons, the *Nemo dignus* and the prayer of the elevation that precedes the manual acts just before communion.²⁴ Since the text of CHR appears in this form at a time when the antiphons and their prayers were certainly used in the celebration of CHR,²⁵ the same was probably true of at least some of the other prayers now common to both liturgies. No doubt the *Nemo dignus* prayer soon became a favorite one of the Byzantine priests and came to be said by them whichever liturgy they were celebrating, until eventually it was included in both formularies. This seems to be supported by the evidence of the early euchologies. Eventually the prayer even worked its way into PRES.²⁶

Let us study this process more in detail.

1. The Ancient Italian Recension

In the ancient Italo-Greek recension of CHR two of the oldest codices, *Barberini 336* (8th c.)²⁷ and *Leningrad 226* (10th c.)²⁸

²⁴ Cf. JACOB, *Version géorgienne*, pp. 72 ff; *Tradition manuscrite; Formulaire*, part I *passim*, esp. pp. 56 ff and *Conclusion*, pp. 499 ff, and our description of the early formulary of CHR in the *Introduction*.

²⁵ Cf. MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 34-45.

²⁶ This is evident from the rubrics that became necessary to stop the abuse: e.g. *Sinai Gr. 968* (1426 AD) PRES: "ὁ λέγεται δὲ εὐχή χερουβικῆ" (DMITRIEVSKIĬ, II, p. 395). Cf. also the variant Cherubicon prayers of PRES in some MSS (TREMPÉLAS, pp. 213-214).

²⁷ LEW, p. 318.

²⁸ KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 288.

have no Cherubicon prayer at all. CHR of *Grottaferrata Gb IV* (10th c.) replaces the *Nemo dignus* with another prayer from JAS, which we will discuss later.²⁹ Hence the oldest extant MS of CHR to contain the *Nemo dignus* is the 10th century codex *Grottaferrata Gb VII* (ff. 5v-6r). BAS, which follows CHR in the MS, gives only the title and *incipit* of the prayer (f. 171r). Jacob indicates the presence of the *Nemo dignus* in CHR of the 11th century codex *Messina Greek 160*.³⁰ Finally, CHR in *Grottaferrata Zd II* (AD 1090) gives the *incipit* of the prayer (f. 64v).

2. The Ancient Recension of Constantinople

All our extant Constantinopolitan codices of BAS contain the *Nemo dignus*, but there is no Cherubicon prayer at all in the five oldest MSS of the ancient Constantinopolitan recension of CHR:³¹

Sevastianov 474 (10th c.)
Sinai Greek 958 (11th c.)
Sinai Greek 959 (11th c.)
Sinai Greek 961 (11-12th c.)
Vatican Greek 1970 (12th c.)

But *Nemo dignus* is at least indicated for CHR in the other five extant MSS of this tradition:

Sinai Greek 962 (11-12th c.)
Paris Nouv. Acquis. lat. 1791 (12th c.) (*incipit* only)
Sinai Greek 1036 (12-13th c.) (*incipit* only)
Ottoboni Greek 434 (13th c.) (*incipit* only)
Paris Greek 324 (14th c.)

Hence there is more consistent early evidence for the presence of this prayer in the ancient Italian redaction of CHR than in that of Constantinople. This is explained by the history of the formulary of CHR. The primitive Constantinopolitan redaction

²⁹ F. 21r. Cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 176-178 and below, p. 141.

³⁰ JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 186, 191.

³¹ See the tables of these MSS in JACOB, *Formulaire*, which give the prayers of CHR contained in each MS, thereby correcting the assertion in *Version géorgienne* (p. 78) that the *Nemo dignus* is missing in CHR of *Sinai Gr. 962* and *Paris Gr. 324*. The latter article also fails to note the *incipit* of the prayer in the 3 MSS listed below as having it, an omission also corrected in *Formulaire*.

of CHR followed BAS in the euchology and usually contained, besides the anaphora proper, only the prayer of the catechumens, the two prayers of the faithful, the prayer of the proscomite, the prayer before the Our Father, the inclination prayer before communion, and the thanksgiving prayer after communion.³²

The originality of the ancient Italian recension consisted precisely in its adopting Syro-Palestinian and Egyptian formulae, along with certain Constantinopolitan formulae from BAS, to fill in the gaps in this primitive formulary of CHR.³³ We see this, for example, in *Barberini 336*, which has not only the Oriental additions peculiar to the ancient Italo-Greek recension (prayers of the prothesis, introit, Trisagion and the so-called "prayer of the throne") but also the prayers of the ektene and elevation from BAS.³⁴ However it was not until CHR became the principal liturgy at Constantinople at the turn of the 10-11th century that the Constantinopolitan redaction of CHR is fleshed out with the corresponding formulae from BAS.³⁵

3. Adoption of the "Nemo Dignus" into the Formulary of CHR

In the MSS we can observe the following steps by which this prayer progressively assumed its place in the text of CHR:

- 1) In the oldest euchologies, BAS precedes CHR. The earliest MSS give the prayer in question for BAS, but there is no mention of it in CHR.
- 2) Then, still in the euchologies in which BAS has precedence, rubrics begin to appear in CHR giving only the *incipit* of *Nemo dignus* and referring the priest back to the text of the prayer in BAS.³⁶ Other MSS give the text of the prayer in full.
- 3) Finally, in the new recension of the euchology, CHR takes over first place from BAS, and the complete formulary of CHR, including the whole text of *Nemo dignus*, comes before BAS.³⁷

³² JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 61, 499, and Part I, chapter II, *passim*; *Tradition manuscrite*.

³³ JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 499-500.

³⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 500 and 74-199 (text in LEW, pp. 309 ff.)

³⁵ JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 500; 256 ff. *passim*.

³⁶ To the codices listed on pp. 127-8 can be added several MSS of the new recension of CHR in which, however, BAS still precedes CHR in the codex (cf. the MSS listed in JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 57-60, excepting those of the old recension).

³⁷ The prayer is often missing in BAS in later euchologies in which

Hence in the earliest euchology MSS of both traditions, the prayer is generally found in BAS and is missing in CHR. It first appears in CHR in the 10th century codex *Grottaferrata Gb VII*, a MS of the primitive Italian recension, and gradually gains a firm foothold there. But it would seem that even in the 12th century this evolution had not yet come to term in Constantinople, at least, and the prayer was not yet a universally accepted part of CHR in that recension. And even though the prayer forms part of CHR by the middle of the 12th century in Constantinople — cf. the version of Tuscan and other Constantinopolitan sources already mentioned above — its origin is attributed to St. Basil.³⁹ So the real question is, where did BAS get it?

The Origin of the Prayer

The evidence already adduced seems to exclude the possibility that our prayer formed part of the original formulary of BAS. In fact it is but one of the many *apologiae* that entered all liturgies in East and West, following the law of emphasis through duplication that we mentioned above. All Oriental mass formularies contain one or more such prayers immediately before the anaphora. As we shall see later, the so called "Prayer of the Proscomidie" is the primitive *apologia* in the Byzantine rite, and the *Nemo dignus*, or its variant prayers, is a duplication and consequently a secondary addition to the original formulary of both BAS and CHR.

True, our earliest MSS of BAS in both the Italian and Constantinopolitan traditions contain the prayer. But its absence in the two Constantinopolitan witnesses of 10th century BAS (*Codex Pyromalus*, the version of Johannisberg) that represent the oldest known Constantinopolitan *ordo* of the patriarchal liturgy has led

CHR occupies first place and contains the prayer. Cf. the five MSS listed in ORLOV's apparatus (*Liturgija*, p. 124); *Paris Gr. 328*, p. 98; *Paris Gr. 391*, f. 39r, and several MSS of BAS that give only the *incipit* of the prayer: *Grottaferrata Gb VII* (10th c.), f. 121v, and *Gb VIII* (12th c.) f. 40r; *Sinai Gr. 966* (11-12th c.), f. 36r; *Paris Coislin Gr. 214* (12th c.), f. 21v; *Oxford Cromwell II* (AD 1225), p. 51; *Oxford Bodleian Auct. E.5.13* (*Misc. 78*), 12th c., f. 25r; etc. Some codices without the prayer refer the celebrant back to the text in CHR.

³⁹ NICETUS CHONIATES, *Thesaurus* I, 24 (PG 140, 145, 165; cf. below on the 12th c. dispute that gave rise to this literature). But the prayer was already in CHR as the same witness testifies, saying that CHR got in from BAS (PG 140, 184). See also the 11th c. Georgian version of CHR cited on p. 123.

Jacob to conclude that "it is quite possible that the Οὐδεις ἕξιος prayer was not officially adopted at Constantinople, at least in the patriarchal mass, before the second half of the 10th century."³⁹ Since the prayer is also missing in the diataxis used by Leo Tuscan, another post-*Barberini 336* Constantinopolitan source, is it possible that the prayer is not of Constantinopolitan origin? And if not, where did it originate? Lanne adduces arguments in favor of Jerusalem from both liturgical and patristic sources.⁴⁰

1. The Liturgical Argument

From the liturgies he argues as follows: the prayer is found in BAS, Greek JAS, and Alexandrine Greek GREG. It is not original in BAS, where it represents a duplication of ideas already expressed in the earlier two prayers of the faithful. As for JAS and GREG, the latter is of Syrian origin, and it is JAS that influenced the other Eastern liturgies rather than the reverse. In JAS the prayer is in conjunction with an incensation, and *apologiae* with the offering of incense are a liturgical tradition in the non-chalcedonian churches.⁴¹ Also, some passages of our prayer are found *verbatim* in other prayers of JAS.⁴²

What Lanne does not mention, however, is the extreme Byzantinization of all Melkite liturgies, and the absence of this prayer in Syriac JAS or in the Coptic liturgies. This would seem to favor a Byzantine if not Constantinopolitan origin for the prayer. True, many elements that are peculiar to the Italo-Greek MS tradition are of "Oriental" origin. But as Jacob has said, the most ancient MS of JAS, codex *Vatican Greek 2282* of the 9th century, as well as other MSS of JAS, attributes the prayer to Saint Basil, which shows beyond doubt that Greek JAS borrowed it from the

³⁹ JACOB, *Concélébration*, p. 281 n. 2.

⁴⁰ *La prière de la Grande Entrée*, pp. 309 ff.

⁴¹ See for example the West Syrian *sedro* which has been thoroughly analysed by J. MATROS, "Sedre" et prières connexes dans quelques anciennes collections, *OCP* 28, 1962, 239-287. But we cannot agree with Lanne's argument here. As we shall see in the next chapter, there was no incensation before the Great Entrance until the 13th century, long after the *Nemo dignus* had been introduced into the Byzantine liturgy. Hence the prayer and incensation are physically juxtaposed without any intrinsic connection. The penitential formula that now accompanies the incensation in the Byzantine rite is Ps. 50, but even this is a later addition, as can be seen from the chart in chapter IV.

⁴² E. g. MERCIER, pp. 162, 13-15; 170, 6; 190, 23-28; 192, 2. But these parallelisms are stock phrases derived in large part from biblical texts.

liturgy bearing Basil's name.⁴³ Hence the prayer did not come to Constantinople via JAS, and it probably originated in Constantinople in spite of the fact that it first appears in MSS of the Italian recension. For it is hardly likely that Constantinople adopted a usage of Italian origin at such an early date. Furthermore, codex *Paris Gr. 325* of Alexandrine Greek GREG containing the prayer dates from the 14th century, long after the prayer is found in both BAS, CHR, and JAS.⁴⁴

2. The Patristic Argument

Because of a citation from a homily of Theophilus of Alexandria found in the prayer (cf. below), and several other parallelisms between the prayer and certain formulae of Cyril of Alexandria, Lanne admits that one might be tempted to seek the origins of the prayer in the ancient rite of Alexandria.⁴⁵ But he feels that the "remarkable" verbal resemblances to the *Barberini 336* reading that are found in the homily on the Presentation attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem tip the scales toward the Holy City and the Liturgy of James as the original source of the prayer.⁴⁶

The passage in question does in fact read like a commentary on the section of the prayer under discussion.⁴⁷ But does the

⁴³ Cf. JACOB, *Concélébration*, pp. 251-252, n. 2. The text of JAS from *Vat. Gr. 2282* is in MERCIER, p. 178, 25. It is also in *Messina Gr. 177* and other later MSS of JAS (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 178-179, apparatus).

⁴⁴ *Paris Gr. 325*, 14th c. (= *Cod. Reg. 3023*), RENAUDOT I, p. 57. Cf. OMONT, *Manuscrits grecs I*, p. 33.

⁴⁵ *La prière de la Grande Entrée*, p. 310. The particular phrases of Cyril which LANNE cites are γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος and κερημίτις καὶ ἀρχιερεύς, and in general he argues from the whole context of the passage (*Apologeticus pro xii capitibus*, PG 76, 368, and cf. *Ad reginas oratio II*, PG 76, 1381). The former is also cited in the dossier against Panteugenes (PG 140, 168). The similarities are true, but they are common enough expressions of Christian doctrine and do not seem to us a conclusive proof of interdependence.

⁴⁶ LANNE, *La prière de la Grande Entrée*, p. 307. For the homily in question cf. PG 33, 1148-1204.

⁴⁷ PG 33, 1192-1193: "Βρέφος βλέπω... θυσίαν προσάγον ἐπὶ γῆς· ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὰς... θυσίας δεχόμενον ἐν οὐρανοῖς· αὐτὸν ἐν ἀγκάλαις τοῦ πρεσβύτου οἰκονομικῶς, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν θρόνοις χειροβυκτοῖς θεοπροπῶς· αὐτὸν προσφερόμενον καὶ ἀναγιζόμενον, καὶ αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα ἀγνίζοντα καὶ καθαίροντα... αὐτὸς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον... καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ προσφέρων, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ὑπὲρ κόσμου θυσία προσφερόμενος... αὐτὸς ὁ θύτης, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ θυόμενος· αὐτὸς ὁ ἀναφερόμενος, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τῆν θυσίαν δεχόμενος..."

homily itself really come from Jerusalem? The citing of passages from the writings of Gregory Nazianzen disproves the attribution to Cyril, as Toutée noted in his preface to the homily in Migne.⁴⁸ But he argues on other grounds that the homily comes from Jerusalem, and Lanne, as well as most others, accepts this opinion.⁴⁹ We believe, however, that it is open to question. First, contrary to what Toutée says, the *sanctus* is not cited "Ut in Ecclesiae Hierosolymitanae liturgia canitur,"⁵⁰ but rather as it is found in the liturgy of Alexandria, i. e. without *benedictus qui venit...* and the homily is then subsumed in the manner that is characteristic of the Alexandrine *oratio post sanctus*: "Ἄγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος Κύριος Σαβαώθ,

Homily: (PG 33, 1189)

πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ
ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ.
Πλήρη τὰ πέρατα
τοῦ κόσμου τῆς ἀγαθότητος
αὐτοῦ etc."

Egyptian Greek MARK: (LEW,
p. 132, 8-12)

πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ
ἡ γῆ τῆς ἀγίας σου δόξης.
Πλήρης γὰρ (ἐστὶν ὡς) ἀληθῶς
ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς ἀγίας
σου δόξης etc."⁵¹

This is surely surprising, for what would be more suitable than the *Benedictus* in a sermon commemorating an entrance of Christ into Jerusalem?

Nor are Toutée's other arguments for a Jerusalem origin fully convincing. The preacher does address himself rhetorically to Sion, Jerusalem, Israel, the Jews,⁵² but when he refers more specifically to his audience, he says: "μετὰ τῆς Σιών, οἱ τῶν ἐθνῶν λαοὶ φωτοφοροῦντες ὑπαντήσωμεν."⁵³ And besides, it is hardly likely that he was preaching to Jews in Jerusalem or anywhere else.

But even if the homily does originate in Jerusalem it proves nothing definitively, for the reading of *Barberini 336* from which

⁴⁸ PG 33, 1185 ff.

⁴⁹ *La prière de la Grande Entrée*, p. 307, n. 14.

⁵⁰ Toutée's introduction in PG 33, 1187. It is true that in Cyril of Jerusalem's *Mystagogical Catechesis 5* (PG 33, 1113), the *sanctus* ends at Σαβαώθ, but this seems to be only an *incipit*, as is clear from other formulae he quotes.

⁵¹ In his critical edition of this prayer, R. COQUIN notes that ἐστὶν ὡς is contained in three MSS (*L'Anaphore alexandrine de S. Marc*, Mu 82, 1969, p. 327).

⁵² PG 33, 1189, 1197, 1200, 1201, 1204.

⁵³ PG 33, 1189 (cf. 1204).

Lanne argues is a variant of unknown origin, as we shall see when we study the text of the prayer.

Conclusion

Hence, as there is no convincing argument for the Italian or Oriental origin of this prayer, its attribution to St. Basil seems to point to its first appearance in Constantinople in the liturgy that bears his name. More than this we cannot say — though from the length and tenor of the prayer we would suspect it to be a devotional addition of monastic origin that eventually was accepted in the Great Church.

The Text of the Prayer

In our study of this prayer in the MSS we found a far greater number of variant readings than for any other of today's prayers of CHR. However, if we exclude a few clearly aberrant peculiar textual meanderings, and those variants of no significance that are liable to crop up in all euchologic texts (transfer of epithets, inversions, inclusion or omission of transitional words and particles, etc.), we can see a certain pattern of consistency in the variants over against today's text, although the text of our contemporary printed editions is found *verbatim* already in the 11th century codices *Paris Greek 391* (ff. 12v-15v) and *Parma Gr. 1217/2*.⁵⁴

We have not attempted to establish a critical text of the prayer. It is beyond the scope of our study, and anyway we doubt that it would be possible, given the great number of MSS. In a note at the end of this chapter we give a list of the most significant variants we have found. Of these only one is of liturgical or theological interest: the four participles in the conclusion of the prayer: "σύ γὰρ εἶ ὁ προσφέρων, καὶ προσφερόμενος, καὶ προσδεχόμενος, καὶ διαδιδόμενος, Χριστέ..."

⁵⁴ The same is true of *Paris Gr. 328* (12th c.) p. 31; *British Museum codex Harl. 5561* (13th c.), CHR: ff. 11v-12r, BAS: ff. 25r-26v; *Taphou 517* (14th c.). Other MSS vary only in replacing ἀμέτρητον with ἕμετρον. E. g. *Stavrou 109*, *Munich Gr. 607*, *Iviron 373*, *Paris Gr. 347*, *Sinai Gr. 968* and *2037*, *Barberini Gr. 316* and *329*, *British Museum Add. 18070* (προσδεχόμενος καὶ is added in the margin), and the rolls *Geneva 26* (as far as the defective text goes: ὁ μόνος ἄγιος καὶ ἐν explicit) and *BAS of Geneva 25, 27* (partly damaged), 27a.

1. The 12th Century Dispute over (προσ)δεχόμενος

Around 1155 one Soterichos Panteugenos, deacon of the Church of Constantinople, expressed some heretical opinions on the eucharist.⁵⁵ As with everything theological in those days of heady speculation, the opinions which the good deacon felt compelled to air caused an uproar. In a synod of 26 January, 1156, under Patriarch Luke Chrysoberges, the case went against Soterichos. In a second round on May 12, 1157, he didn't fare much better, and was forced to submit. But Soterichos, by now Patriarch-elect of Antioch, had second thoughts. He retracted his submission and refused to appear for another session, so the synod condemned him *in absentia* and decided to refuse him episcopal consecration, thus effectively excluding him from his newly acquired see.

But Soterichos did not take all this quietly. After the first session of the synod he wrote a dialogue in support of his position, and after the second, an apology.⁵⁶ From these two documents we can glean some information concerning our prayer. The eucharistic opinions of Panteugenos and his fellow heretics Eustathius, Basilaces, Nicephoras, and Michael of Thessalonika, need not delay us. But part of the dispute concerned the question as to whether the second person of the Holy Trinity, offerer of the eucharistic oblation, can also be said to receive it — a position with which Soterichos had problems. Intimately linked to this was the question of the orthodoxy of the third participle, (προσ)δεχόμενος in the text of our prayer. The writings occasioned by the dispute witness to the existence of the first three participles of today's reading: "For you are the one who offers and is offered and who accepts..." at that time.

In his *Dialogue* Soterichos has his interlocutor object, "But the divine Basil is a witness for our side, for in the divine liturgy... he says: 'σύ εἶ ὁ προσφέρων καὶ προσφερόμενος καὶ προσδεχόμενος'."⁵⁷ Neither in Soterichos' reply to this argument, nor anywhere else in the literature of this dispute, is it objected that the prayer

⁵⁵ The ancient account of the affair is given in NICETAS CHONIATES, *Thesaurus orth. fidei* I, 24: *Synodus graecae ecclesiae de dogmate circa illa verba* "Tu es qui offers..." (PG 140, 137-202). For a summary of the story and the literature about it, see BECK, pp. 623-624. Cf. also DE MEESTER, *Origines*, p. 330, n. 3; KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 228 n. 1; LANNE, *La prière de la Grande Entrée*, pp. 304 ff.

⁵⁶ The Dialogue is in CHONIATES, *Thesaurus* I, 24 (PG 140, 140-148). For the Apology, cf. I. SAKKELION, *Πατριαρχική Βιβλιοθήκη*, Athens, 1890, pp. 328-331.

⁵⁷ PG 140, 145.

itself or this disputed reading is a novelty. Even its attribution to Basil himself is accepted without a murmur. Hence the prayer was well-known in Constantinople at the beginning of the 12th century, and the reading (προσ)δεχόμενος was already an accepted part of the text.

In the decision of January 26, 1156, against the heretics, the synod distinguished nicely, as synods must often do, declaring that Christ offers as man and receives the offering as God, and hence the prayer is orthodox as stands. But perhaps as a result of this dispute, the MS tradition is hesitant enough. The first three participles of today's text — hence including the critical (προσ)δεχόμενος — are found already in the 9th century JAS of *Vatican Greek 2282*, and in BAS of our oldest Constantinopolitan codex, *Sevastianov 474* (10th c.).⁵⁸ But an earlier Constantinopolitan source, the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Germanus († 733) mentions only the first two participles.⁵⁹ Of our three oldest witnesses to the *Nemo dignus* in the Italo-Greek MS tradition, *Barberini 336* (BAS) replaces participles 3 and 4 with a variant reading (cf. below), while the 10th century codices *Grottaferrata Gb IV* (f. 7r = BAS) and *VII* (f. 6r = CHR) simply omit them both, as does one later (AD 1147) codex of CHR, *Vatican Gr. 1811* (f. 79r.). The 11th century *Sinai Greek 959* (f. 5r = BAS), a MS of the old Constantinopolitan recension, omits προσδεχόμενος but does have participles 1, 2 and 4. To add to the confusion the 11th c. Italian codex *Grottaferrata Gb XV* has all four participles in CHR, but only 1, 2, 4 in BAS (f. 22r), and several contemporaneous sources of both the ancient Constantinopolitan and Italian recensions have all four participles (cf. the chart). Προσδεχόμενος is found in almost all other MSS, as can be seen from the chart.

2) The Barberini Reading and διαδιδόμενος

The peculiar reading of codex *Barberini 336*: σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ προσφέρων καὶ προσφερόμενος καὶ ἀγιάζων καὶ ἀγιαζόμενος,⁶⁰ is repeated in

⁵⁸ *Vatican Gr. 2282*, MERCIER, p. 180, 10. This is the oldest extant MS of JAS. For *Sevastianov*, cf. ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 130, 16-17; KRASNOSSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 246. The first three participles are also translated in the oldest Georgian version of CHR, the 11th c. codex *Sinai Georg. 89*: "Quia tu es qui offers et qui offeris et excipis, Christe ..." (JACOB, *Version géorgienne*, pp. 101-2), and in Georgian JAS of the 14th century *Borgia Georg. 7* (TARCHNISVILI, *Liturgiae ibericae*, p. 31). JAS of *Graz Georg. 4* (12th c.) and CHR of *Graz Georg. 5* (12th c.) translate all four participles, but with some peculiarities (see note 64 below).

⁵⁹ Ed. BORGIA, p. 12.

⁶⁰ LEW, p. 318, 34-35.

the *Nemo dignus* only in GREG, where it is added to the actual reading as follows:

σὺ γὰρ εἶ		
ἀγιάζων	καὶ	ἀγιαζόμενος
προσφέρων τε	καὶ	προσφερόμενος
ὁ δεχόμενος	καὶ	δεκτός
ὁ διδούς	καὶ	διαδιδόμενος. ⁶¹

This seems to be a combination of both traditions, plus a bit of classical *auxesis* and *dynasis*. In the prayer of incense of the introit found in two MSS of JAS we have a similar reading: σὺ γὰρ εἶ... ἀγιάζων καὶ ἀγιαζόμενος [the earlier of the two MSS, *Vat. Gr. 1970* (12th c.) adds: προσφέρων τε καὶ προσφερόμενος] καὶ τοῖς πιστοῖς μεταδιδόμενος.⁶²

As to the fourth participle, διαδιδόμενος, it is not in our oldest Constantinopolitan witness to the prayer, *Sevastianov 474* (BAS, 10th c.). But all our other Constantinopolitan sources have it (see the chart). It is missing, however, from the earliest Italian MSS *Barberini 336*, *Grottaferrata Gb IV* and *VII*; from our earliest witness to Georgian CHR, the 11th c. codex *Sinai Georg. 89* and from Georgian JAS of *Borgia Georg. 7* (14th c.),⁶³ though it is found in Georgian JAS of *Graz Georg. 4* and CHR of *Graz Georg. 5*, both MSS of the 12th century.⁶⁴

This final participle was probably adopted for rhetorical and stylistic balance, in imitation of a sermon of Theophilus of Alexandria, to which we are coming shortly. At any rate διαδιδόμενος played no part in the theological controversy: Soterichos did not deny that it is Christ whom we receive in the eucharist.⁶⁵

⁶¹ *Paris Gr. 325*, in RENAUDOT I, p. 89. Cf. LANNE, *La prière de la Grande Entrée*, p. 305 n. 6.

⁶² MERCIER, p. 162, 13-15. The prayer is not in our earliest MS of JAS, the 9th c. *Vat. Gr. 2282*.

⁶³ Cf. note 58 above.

⁶⁴ However the text in JAS is inverted: "Tu es enim offerens et accipiens et oblatas et te ipsum dans hominibus" (TARCHNISVILI, *Liturgiae ibericae*, p. 4), and CHR of *Graz Georg. 5* (12th c.) has this unique reading: "Tu enim es qui offers et offeris, assumis et es indivisibilis" (*ibid.*, p. 55). The reading *ganmqop'eli* (*ibid.*, p. 73 line 25), negative of *ganqop'ai* (= μριζω, *dividere*) is probably an error of transcription for the passive *ganqop'ili* (= *divisus*), rather than for *ganmqop'eli* (= *distributor*) as suggested by TARCHNISVILI, *Georgische Übersetzung*, p. 89 n. 29 (cf. J. MOLITOR, *Glossarium ibericum*, CSKO 228, subsidia 20, Louvain, 1962, p. 57). The author is indebted to G. Winkler for her suggestions with regard to the probable original reading of this text.

⁶⁵ According to our colleague John Baggarly, S. J., who is working on

Some have questioned whether or not the Eastern theology of the epiclesis, in which the Holy Spirit, not Christ, is seen as consecrator in the eucharist, could have led to the dropping of the *Barberini* reading.⁶⁶ But as we have seen, the reading in question is still found in a prayer of JAS. Furthermore, as Lanne has remarked, the reading of the *textus receptus* is a word-for-word citation from a homily of Theophilus of Alexandria, dated Holy Thursday, March 29, in the year 400, and hence hardly a result of the epiclesis dispute.⁶⁷ This idea becomes even more untenable when one considers that even as late as Nicholas Cabasilas (c. 1350) the idea of Christ as consecrator of the eucharist was not considered irreconcilable with the Byzantine theology of the epiclesis.⁶⁸ And in fact from one paragraph of Cabasilas' *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy* we can infer that he knew not only the first three participles of the *textus receptus*, but also the ἀγιάζων of *Barberini* 336.⁶⁹ Hence, for our part, we believe that the *Barberini* redaction represents simply that: a different redaction, and that the synodal decision in the doctrinal dispute drew attention to and tipped the scales in favor of the Constantinopolitan reading, which is the one we have today.

Apart from the sources already mentioned, most other witnesses to the *Nemo dignus* prayer, including the old Arabic, Armenian, and Slavonic versions, contain all four participles of the actual text.⁷⁰ Διαδιδόμενος is missing in some of the literature of the 12th century dispute either because it had not yet been added to the text, or simply because it falls outside the doctrinally

theology of this period in the Byzantine Church, this prayer was but one battleground in a much wider dispute about the hypostatic union and when one side lost ground in one field, they shifted to another. Baggarrly believes the fourth participle may have been omitted in some of the literature of this dispute because of theories in the air at that time that it is the Holy Spirit we receive in communion.

⁶⁶ Cf. the references in LANNE, *La prière de la Grande Entrée*, pp. 304-305, n. 4.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 206-207. See M. RICHARD, *Une homélie de Théophile d'Alexandrie sur l'institution de l'eucharistie*, *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 33, 1937, 46-56. MIGNÉ attributes the homily to Cyril, Theophilus' more famous nephew (PG 97, 1016-1029). CHONIATES (*Thesaurus* I, 24, PG 140, 165) gives the armory of texts used against the heretics by the synod in the 12th century dispute. There, too, the passage is attributed to Cyril.

⁶⁸ Cf. *Sacrae liturgiae interpretatio* 30, 31, 49 (PG 150, 436, 437, 477) and BORNERT, *Commentaries*, pp. 234 ff.

⁶⁹ 49, PG 150, 477.

⁷⁰ Cf. BACHA, *Versions arabes*, p. 260; AUCHER, *Versions arméniennes*, p. 358; ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 131, 18-19 (and apparatus).

critical passage.⁷¹ At any rate as late as the 18th century the codex *Athens Ethnike bibliothekē* 774 shows confusion and signs of a later reintroduction of the last two participles:

... σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ προσφέρων καὶ προσφερόμενος, Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ προσδεχόμενος καὶ διαδιδόμενος, Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν...⁷²

We can not determine precisely when the four-participle citation from Theophilus of Alexandria's Holy Thursday homily first came into the prayer. It is quite possible that προσφέρων καὶ προσφερόμενος, a common enough couplet in patristic literature, is, as Lanne proposes, the original reading that later attracted to itself the parallel couplet from the homily of Theophilus.⁷³

The following chart gives a view of the evolution of the text. From it we see that:

- 1) Our earliest sources in both traditions have only participles 1-2.
- 2) The reading with participles 1-2-3 appears in Constantinople by at least the 9th century. It is borrowed from BAS already in JAS of *Vatican Gr. 2282*.
- 3) All four participles appear in both Constantinopolitan and Italian sources from the 11th century on.
- 4) However, some 12-13th century MSS of both traditions omit προσδεχόμενος. It seems, then, that the text evolved from participles 1-2, to the addition first of 3, then 4, with the later exclusion of 3 from some sources because of the theological problems involved with it.

As for the final doxology of the prayer, although the actual reading appears already in *Barberini* 336 (i. e. in form, but without the later epithets) many other manuscripts give a straight trinitar-

⁷¹ CHONIATES, *Thesaurus* I, 24 (PG 140, 137, 145, and *passim*). But cf. note 65.

⁷² TREMPÉLAS, p. 76.

⁷³ Cf. the patristic texts cited in the dossier compiled against Panteu-
genos (CHONIATES, *Thesaurus* I, 24, PG 140, 165). See also GERMANUS, *HE* 6 and 36. The passages, part of the *Urtext* of GERMANUS, contain only the first two participles (cf. BRIGHTMAN's edition, *JTS* 9, 1908, pp. 258, 390; BORGIA, pp. 12, 29). The participles are also found in other prayers: JAS, incense prayer (MERCIER, p. 162, 9-15); the variant Cheru-
bicon prayer of PRES in *Athens Ethnike bibl. 2086* (14th c.) (TREMPÉLAS, p. 214). Cf. LANNE, *La prière de la Grande Entrée*, p. 308.

Table II

CHART OF THE FOUR PARTICIPLES IN THE NEMO DIGNUS PRAYER
(sources of the ancient Constantinopolitan recension of CHR are given in capitals, those of the ancient Italian recension in italics)

century	participles 1-2	1-2-3	1-2-3-4	1-2-4 only
8th	GERMANUS <i>Barberini</i> 336 (BAS)			
9th		Vat. Gr. 2282 (JAS)		
10th	<i>Grott. Gb IV</i> (BAS) <i>Grott. Gb VII</i> (CHR)	SEVAST. 474 (BAS)		
11th		Sinai Georg. 89 (CHR) Borgia Georg. 7 (JAS)	Prothectoria <i>Grott. Gb XV</i> (CHR) <i>Grott. Gb XX</i> (BAS) Stavrou 109 (CHR) SINAI GR. 958 (BAS) Parma 1217/2 Eth. Biblio- theke Suppl. 815	SINAI GR. 959 (BAS)
11-12th	Vatican Gr. 1811		Borgia Gr. 27 SINAI GR. 961 (BAS) SINAI GR. 962	
12th century on		Bodleian Add. E.12. (12th) (4th participle added in mar- gin) Eth. Bibl. 685 (15th)	all other MSS examined except for the exceptions no- ted in the other columns	<i>Grottaferrata</i> <i>Gb XV</i> (BAS) (12th c.) British Muse- um Add. 18070 (15th c.) (3d. participle add- ed in margin) four 17-18th c. MSS in TREM- PELAS (p. 76)

ian doxology ("... Christ our God, and to you we send up glory, to the Father and to the Son...") totally unsuitable and unintelligible in a prayer addressed to Christ.⁷⁴

Variant "Prayers of the Cherubicon"

Although most sources are constant in including the *Nemo dignus* prayer in the formularies of CHR and BAS, the manuscript tradition does occasionally replace it with a substitute prayer. This wavering, indicative of weakness in the tradition, is another sign that the prayer is a late devotional addition to the "second stratum" of the Byzantine mass.

As we have already seen, one MS of CHR, codex *Grottaferrata Gb IV* (10th century), one of the earliest and most important witnesses of the ancient Italian recension, has in place of *Nemo dignus* the prayer Δέσποτα ζωοποιέ (without ephonesis) from JAS, where it is the prayer of blessing at the end of the prayers of the faithful, just before the Great Entrance.⁷⁵ In CHR, this prayer is but one more example of the phenomenon already observed as characteristic of the ancient Italian recension of CHR: the tendency to fill the lacunae in the incomplete formulary with prayers of Oriental provenance. The prayer never appears in BAS, which already had the *Nemo dignus* as a stable part of its formulary, and only in *Grottaferrata Gb IV* is it part of the formulary of

⁷⁴ Cf. The Greek text at the end of the chapter. Regarding the ephonesis, ENGBERDING, *Angleichung*, pp. 108-109, points out various other prayers addressed to Christ, but which conclude in a non-Christological or at least an "uneven" doxology. According to him, it seems that the unsuitable doxologies are the older ones. This is undoubtedly because prayers addressed to Christ are late, coming after the Arian and pneumatological crises, which had led to a levelling in the Byzantine ephonesis of all three persons of the Holy Trinity. Cf. JUNGSMANN, *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer*, pp. 172 ff; and his study of a similar evolution in the West, *Die Abwehr des germanischen Arianismus und der Umbruch der religiösen Kultur im frühen Mittelalter*, in *Liturgisches Erbe und pastorale Gegenwart*, Innsbruck, 1960, 3-86.

⁷⁵ F. 21r. The text is edited by JACOB in *Version géorgienne*, p. 77 and *Formulaire*, pp. 176-178. The prayer, with a few variants, is found in JAS (MERCIER, 176, 7-12), its liturgy of origin, and part of it, much emended, is found worked into the text of a late prayer in Alexandrine Greek GREG made up wholly of phrases from prayers of JAS. JACOB (*Formulaire*, p. 178) analyzes the text, breaking it down into its various components and indicating their source. He also re-establishes the original text of our prayer in JAS-CHR (*ibid.*, p. 177).

CHR. But it did survive for a time in the southern Italian reduction of PRES and PETER as a Great-Entrance prayer.⁷⁵

Orlov lists four Slavonic MSS of BAS that omit the *Nemo dignus* prayer and replace it with another one of about the same tenor:

Dominator Domine (Deus noster), qui nos visitasti in benignitate et miserationibus et nobis dedisti humilibus et indignis servis tuis fiduciam ad stare nunc sancto altari tuo et offerre tibi hoc rationabile et incruentum sacrificium pro peccatis nostris, respice in me inutile servum tuum N. et absterge omnia peccata mea propter tuam misericordiam, et purifica labia mea et cor ab omni inquinamento carnis et spiritus ad hoc ministerium [= liturgiam] tuum, et accipe me propter bonitatem tuam appropinquantem ad sanctum altare. Et placeat, Domine, ut nos accepti simus (ut) servi novi testamenti tui et adstantes sancto tuo altari. Secundum multitudinem benignitatis tuae haec dona manibus nostris adducimus. Et propter indignitatem meam ne abjeceris me a facie tua, neve abominaveris indignitatem meam, sed miserere mei secundum magnam misericordiam tuam et non praetermitte precationem meam ut sine condemnatione dignus adiens ante faciem gloriae tuae, umbra filii tui unigeniti, neve ut servus peccati reprobus fiam. Ita, Domine omnipotens, exaudi orationem meam. Tu enim es qui das omnia, et (a te) ad omnia auxilium petimus. (sine ceponesis)⁷⁷

This same prayer occurs as "Prayer of the Cherubic Hymn" in PRES of the Athens codex *Ethnike bibliotheke* 802 (17th century).⁷⁸ It is basically, with variants, taken from the proskomide prayer of JAS, 'Ο ἐπισκεψάμενος ἡμᾶς, that seems to have a way of popping up in various places.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 204-205. The MS of PRES is *Ambrosiana Gr. 276 (E 20 sup)*, 13th c. (cf. TAFT, *A Note on some Manuscripts*, pp. 258). The text of the prayer in this MS is the same as in CHR of *Grott. Gb IV*. The text in three MSS of PETER (cf. COBRINGTON, *Peter*, p. 147) seems to have been revised "après coup sur JAC", according to JACOB (*Formulaire*, p. 205).

⁷⁷ Cf. ORLOV, *Liturgija*, pp. 133-135. The prayer is found in the following MSS: *Sofia 520*, 14th c.; *Sofia 530*, 15th c.; *Tipogr. bibl. 43*, 15th c.; *Sofia 617*, 16th c. Orlov's edition and our translation is based on *Sofia 530* though we have corrected in a few places the reading of this MS when other MSS are more faithful to the Greek original. For other peculiar Slavonic formulae at the Great Entrance, see chapter VI.

⁷⁸ TREMPERAS, pp. 213-214, has edited the Greek text.

⁷⁹ Text in MERCIER, pp. 119, 20-192, 11; LEW, pp. 45, 22-46, 19. The prayer is in all MSS of JAS, which is undoubtedly its liturgy of origin. It is found also as Cherubicon prayer in various codices of PRES, e.g.

* * *

The passage of the *Nemo dignus* prayer from BAS to CHR is but one of many of the levelling tendencies observable in most liturgical traditions, but especially visible in the Byzantine. It is a process — a sort of "liturgical law" again — by which euchologic and ritual elements are exchanged among various liturgies so that they end up looking very much alike to anyone assisting at their celebration, and contain parallel liturgical pieces. Among the euchologic elements that have gone from BAS to CHR are not only our Cherubicon prayer, but the three antiphon prayers, the entrance prayer, and the elevation prayer just before the fraction.

It is a "law", however, that needs to be contained, lest it run riot. It has led, for example, to the introduction of prothesis prayers into various codices of PRES, where they clearly have no business at all!⁸⁰ And when it leads to the doubling of an already existing euchologic piece, as is the case with our prayer and the so-called proskomide prayer, the unfortunate result (or perhaps cause would be the better word) of the doubling has been the loss of the true sense of the primitive piece that has been reduplicated, i. e. the proskomide prayer itself in both CHR and BAS.

Sinai Gr. 1037, 13th c. (cf. TAFT, *A Note on some Manuscripts*, p. 258); and *Philothous 177*, 14th c. (DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 270); *Grottaferrata Gb III* (= *Codex Falascae*, 14th c., GOAR², p. 171); *Paris Gr. 391* (STRITTMATTER, *Slavic Peculiarity*, p. 199); a parchment roll of *Voskres. Novoierusalinskaja Biblioteka* (MURETOV, *K Materialam*, p. 126); *Sinai Gr. 1040* (DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 135). It is also found in BAS of *Messina Gr. 100* (JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 189) and in GREG (RENAUDOT I, pp. 85-86), but not as a Cherubicon prayer.

⁸⁰ Eg. *Sinai Gr. 1037* (cf. TAFT, *A Note on some Manuscripts*, p. 258); *Milan Bibl. Ambrosiana Gr. 276* (= *E 20 sup.*) f. 39r; *Munich Gr. 540*, f. 52r (cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 201); *Sinai Gr. 973* (DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 86); and a parchment roll of the *Voskres. Novoierusalinskaja Biblioteka* edited in MURETOV, *K materialam*, p. 121. The prayer in *Munich Gr. 540* has been crossed out.

EXCURSUS: TEXTUS RECEPTUS AND MOST IMPORTANT VARIANTS
OF THE "NEMO DIGNUS" PRAYER

The following text with variant readings is in no way an attempt to give a critical edition of the *Nemo dignus* prayer. It is merely the *textus receptus* with a list of the principal variants encountered in a representative sampling from among the many MSS used in the preparation of this study. Aberrant variants found in only one or two sources are not included unless they have been judged of special interest (e. g. the variant participles in *Barberini Gr. 336*). The same is true of the numerous minor variants that consist only in the addition or omission of a particle or conjunction, etc. Hence the reader should not attempt, on the basis of the apparatus, to reconstitute *verbatim* the text of any one MS listed here.

The MSS are listed in chronological order. Those that contain the ancient Constantinopolitan recension of CHR are numbered in bold-face, those of the ancient Italian recension in italics, even when the variants in question are taken from BAS in the euchologies in which CHR lacks the prayer. All other MSS are of the new recension of CHR (unless they are indicated as containing only BAS). Numbers in parentheses () indicate a MS containing the *textus receptus*. Those in brackets [] vary only in having ἀμετρον in place of ἀμετρητόν (line 6). A glance at the apparatus will reveal that variants cannot be attributed exclusively to differences in Italian or Constantinopolitan MSS, nor to differences between the old and new recensions. The *textus receptus*, found in MSS from the 11th century on, was fixed by the *editio princeps* of 1526.

List of Manuscripts

NUMBER :	MANUSCRIPT :	EDITION :
8th century		
1	<i>Barberini Gr. 336</i>	(BAS)
10th century		
2	<i>Grottoferrata Gb IV</i>	(BAS)
3	<i>Grottoferrata Gb VII</i>	
4	<i>Sevastianov 474</i>	(BAS) KRASNOSEL'OEV

11th century

- [5] *Stavrou 109*
6 *Sinai Gr. 958* (BAS)
7 *Sinai Gr. 959* (BAS)
 (8) *Paris Gr. 391*
 (9) *Parma Gr. 1217|2 (H.H.I.I)*

11-12th century

- 10 *Vatican Gr. 1170*
11 *Sinai Gr. 961* (BAS)
12 *Sinai Gr. 962*

12th century

- 13 *Vatican Gr. 1811 (AD 1147)*
 14 *Sinai Gr. 973 (AD 1153)*
 15 *Ottoboni Gr. 344 (AD 1177)*
 16 *Athens Byz. Museum 6* TREMPÉLAS, sig. A
 [17] *Barberini Gr. 316*
 [18] *Munich Gr. 607*
 19 *Seymour Euchology*
 20 *Oxford Bodleian Add. E. 12.*
 21 *Oxford Bodleian Auct. E. 5. 13 (Misc. 78)*
 (22) *Paris Gr. 328*
 23 *Paris Gr. 330*
 [24] *Paris Gr. 347*
 25 *Paris Coislin Gr. 214*
 [26] *Barberini Gr. 329* (BAS)
 [27] *Geneva 27* (BAS)

12-13th century

- 28** *Sinai Gr. 1036* (BAS)

13th century

- 29 *Oxford Cromwell 11 (AD 1225)*
 30 *Karlsruhe EM 6* ENGD AHL
 (31) *British Museum Harl. 5561*
 32 *Sinai Gr. 1037*
 33 *Athens Byz. Museum 7* (BAS) TREMPÉLAS, sig. E

14th century

(34) *Taphou 517*

15th century

[35] *Ivion 373 [780] (AD 1400)*[36] *Sinai Gr. 968 (AD 1426)*37 *Athens Ethn. bibl. 685*38 *Athens Ethn. bibl. 769*39 *Geneva 24*[40] *Geneva 25* (BAS)[41] *Geneva 26*[42] *Geneva 27a* (BAS)[43] *British Museum Add. 18070*

15-16th century

44 *Sabas 382*

16th century

45 *Modena Gr. 19 (a.R.7.20; III. A.5)*46 *Petersburg Imperial Libr. 561 (AD 1532)* (BAS)[47] *Sinai Gr. 2037*48 *Sinai Gr. 1919*

49 GREG

50 JAS

TREMPELAS, sig. K

TREMPELAS, sig. Θ

ORLOV, *Liturgija*,
sig. Π⁷RENAUDOT
MERCIER

Textus Receptus and Most Common Variants

Οὐδείς ἄξιός τῶν συνδεδεμένων ταῖς σαρκικαῖς ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ ἡδοναῖς, προσέρχεσθαι, ἢ προσεγγίζειν, ἢ λειτουργεῖν σοι, βασιλεῦ τῆς δόξης· τὸ γὰρ διακονεῖν σοι μέγα καὶ φοβερόν, καὶ αὐταῖς ταῖς ἐπουρανίαις Δυνάμεσιν. Ἄλλοις δὲ, διὰ τὴν ἄφατον καὶ ἀμέτρητον σου φιλανθρωπίαν, ἀτρέπτως καὶ ἀναλλοιώτως γέγονας ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς ἡμῶν ἐχρημάτισας, καὶ τῆς λειτουργικῆς ταύτης καὶ ἀναιμάκτου θυσίας τὴν ἱερουργίαν παρέδωκας ἡμῖν, ὡς Δεσπότης τῶν ἀπάντων. Σὺ γὰρ μόνος, Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, δεσπόζεις τῶν ἐπουρανίων καὶ τῶν ἐπιγείων, ὁ ἐπὶ θρόνου χερουβικῶ ἐποχοῦμενος, ὁ τῶν Σεραφίμ Κύριος καὶ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, ὁ μόνος ἅγιος καὶ ἐν Ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος. Σὲ τοίνυν δυσωπῶ τὸν μόνον ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐήκοον ἐπιβλεψὼν ἐπ' ἐμὲ τὸν ἁμαρτωλὸν καὶ ἀρχεῖον δούλον σου· καὶ καθάρισόν μου τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἀπὸ συνειδήσεως πονηρᾶς, καὶ ἰκάνωσόν με τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ Ἁγίου σου Πνεύματος, ἐνδεδυμένον τὴν τῆς ἱερατείας χάριν, παραστῆναι τῇ ἀγίᾳ σου ταύτῃ Τραπέζῃ, καὶ ἱερουργῆσαι τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἄχραντόν σου Σῶμα καὶ τὸ τίμιον Αἷμα. Σοὶ γὰρ προσέρχομαι, κλίνας τὸν ἑμαυ-

1 Pet 2,11

Tit 3,3

Ps 23,7

cf. Heb 5,4-6

Job 5,8

1 Paral 29,11

Sophon 3,15; Jn 1,50

Is 57,15; Ps 24,66

Mt 25,30; Lk 17,10

Heb 10,22; 2 Cor 3,6

Heb 10,22; 2 Cor 3,3

Lk 4,14; Rom 15,13

5 Δυνάμεσιν *add.* ἀπόστολον 1, 2, 6, 7, 11, 12, 14, 16, 19, 25, 32, 37, 46, 48, 49, 50 || αὐταῖς *om.* 1, 2, 4, 13, 15, 206 ἄφατον καὶ *om.* 2, 4, 6, 7, 15, 21, 23, 28, 30; *add. in margine* 21 || [καὶ] ἀμέτρητόν [σου] *om.* 1, 11, 12, 14, 21, 23, 25, 29 || ἄμετρον *loco* ἀμέτρητον 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 17, 18, 20, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 30, 32, 35, 36, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 47, 48, 49, 50, *et* MSS in ORLOV, TREMPELAS7 ἀναλλοιώτως *add.* ὡν 14, 15, 19, 20, 2111 μόνος *usq.* ἡμῶν *om.* 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 11, 13, 14, 15, 19, 21, 25, 28, 30, 33, 37, 38; 50 (*cum* Κύριε), MSS in ORLOV; *add. in margine* 20.12 ἐπιγείων *add.* καὶ [τῶν] καταχθονίων 12, 14, 28, 49, 5015 τοίνυν *om.* 1, 2, 4 *etc.* (almost all MSS)18-19 καὶ καθάρισον *usq.* πονηρᾶς *om.* 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 11, 12, 15, 21, 25, 28, 37, 49, 50; *add. in margine* 20.23 ἅγιον καὶ *om.* 15, 30 || καὶ ἄχραντόν *om.* 1, 2, 4, 13, 14, 20, 32, 48 || *lege* ἄχραντόν καὶ ἅγιον 3924 προσέρχομαι *om.* 23, 32, 48; *add. in margine* 20 || προσέρχομαι

- 25 τοῦ αὐχένα, καὶ δέομαί σου · μὴ ἀποστρέψῃς τὸ
 πρόσωπόν σου ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, μηδὲ ἀποδοκιμάσῃς με
 ἐκ παίδων σου · ἀλλ' ἀξίωσον προσενεχθῆναί σοι
 ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ καὶ ἀναξίου δούλου σου
 τὰ δῶρα ταῦτα. Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ προσφέρων καὶ
 30 προσφερόμενος, καὶ προσδεχόμενος καὶ διαδιδό-
 μενος, Χριστέ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν · καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν
 ἀναπέμπομεν, σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ σου Πατρὶ, καὶ
 τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου Πνεύ-
 ματι, νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν
 35 αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

κλίνας *om. et lege κλίνω* 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 11, 13, 14, 15, 19, 21, 28
 37, 50, MSS in ORLOV

27-29 *post* σοὶ *lege* τὰ δῶρα ταῦτα *<καὶ add. 4>* ὑπ' ἐμοῦ *<ταπεινοῦ add. 1>*
 καὶ *<τοῦ loco καὶ 4>* ἁμαρτωλοῦ καὶ ἀναξίου δούλου σου 1, 2, 4, 11, 12,
 13, 15, 20, 21, 23, 30, 32, 48, 49, 50, MSS in ORLOV

30 δεχόμενος *loco* προσδεχόμενος in numerous MSS || προσδεχόμενος καὶ
om. 1, 2, 3, 7, 13, four 17-18th c. MSS in TREMPERAS; *add. in*
marginis 43 || καὶ διαδιδόμενος *om.* 1, 2, 3, 4, 13, 50; *add. in marginis*
 20 || *loco* προσδεχόμενος καὶ διαδιδόμενος *lege* ἀγιάζων καὶ ἀγιαζόμενος
 1 (cf. 49 *supra* p. 137) ||

32-33 *lege* ἀναπέμπομεν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι ... 1, 4, 6, 11,
 14, MSS in ORLOV || ἀνα τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι ...
 2, 7, 23, 28 || μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος 49

CHAPTER IV

THE INCENSATION AND LAVABO

I. THE INCENSATION

The use of incense for both domestic and cultic purposes was common in ancient paganism and in the Old Testament, and was taken for granted in the heavenly liturgy described by St. John in the New (*Apoc.* 5:8; 8:3-4, etc.)¹ The one place it certainly was not found, however, was in early Christian worship. The pre-gnostic Christian's aversion for ceremonial² grew into outright hostility, in the case of incense, during the persecutions.

Turificati, "incense-burners" without further description, became a technical name for the apostates who by obedience to the magistrate's command had forfeited not only the heavenly crown of martyrdom but all participation in the earthly worship of the church. Nothing can be more certain regarding the worship of the pre-Nicene church than that incense was not used at it in any way during the second and third centuries.³

But the use of incense did come in soon after the *Pax Constantiniana* and spread throughout the whole of Christendom, in spite of the fact that we see evidence of at least sporadic opposition to the practice in patristic testimony right up until the defeat of iconoclasm.⁴ There is no mention of incense in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, nor later in Theodore of Mopsuestia's writings, but a 4th century inventory of the furnishings of St. Peter's lists a jewelled, golden thurible,⁵ and St. Ephraem, Egeria

¹ On the use of incense in Christian worship, cf. E. ATCHLEY, *A History of the Use of Incense in Divine Worship*, London, 1909; C. SCHNEIDER, *Studien*, 149-190; DIX, *Shape*, pp. 425-430.

² Cf. JUNGMANN, *Missarum Sollemnia* II, pp. 2 ff; *Early Liturgy*, pp. 52 ff, 109-120.

³ DIX, *Shape*, p. 427; cf. SCHNEIDER, *Studien*, pp. 155 ff.

⁴ SCHNEIDER, *Studien*, pp. 155-171.

⁵ DIX, *Shape*, p. 310.

and Chrysostom all speak of the use of incense in Syria, Jerusalem and Antioch in their time.⁶ The *Didascalia arabica* mentions a portable censer,⁷ and there are thuribles in the 5th century mosaics of S. Apollinare in Classe and S. Vitale in Ravenna. And Christian art — for example the frescoes of S. Clemente in Rome or the two miniatures on the frontispiece (f. 3r) of the 12th century *Bible of St. Castor of Coblenz* in the Gräfllich-Schönborn'sche Schlossbibliothek — shows us that here, as in so many other matters, the Eastern way of censuring by swinging the thurible from the end of its short chains was the traditional one.

It would seem that the church's use of incense was secular rather than religious in origin. At meals and on public occasions, and especially at funerals for obvious reasons, it was common to burn incense simply to perfume the atmosphere.⁸ Incense was also used frequently at the court of Constantine, and even Christians used to burn incense before his portrait.⁹ St. Ephraem († 373), perhaps our first Christian witness to the liturgical use of incense, adds to this pattern of fumigatory and honorific use the Old Testament idea of incense as a propitiatory offering (*Numbers* 17: 11-13).¹⁰ This notion is emphasized especially in the Syrian tradition,¹¹ and is found also in the Alexandrine.¹² Byzantine matins and vespers both have an offering of incense symbolizing, in matins, prayer and intercession (cf. *Apoc.* 8: 3-4), in vespers, propitiation and penitence.¹³ But this idea is foreign to the Byzantine mass. The incense prayer in today's Byzantine prothesis rite expresses this sacrificial idea, but it is a later addition borrowed from another tradition.¹⁴ Hence the incensations in the Byzantine

⁶ EGERIA, *Journal*, 24 (ed. SC 21, p. 196); CHRYSOSTOM, *In Mt. hom.* 89, 4 (PG 58, 781). For St. Ephraem, cf. note 10 below.

⁷ 38, 18, ed. FUNK II, p. 132; LEW, p. 510.

⁸ DIX, *Shape*, pp. 427 ff.

⁹ SCHNEIDER, *Studien*, p. 161.

¹⁰ *Carmina Nisibensa*, 17, ed. E. BÆCK, *USCO* 218, *scr. syri* 92, p. 46 [55]. Cf. MATEOS, *Quelques anciens documents sur l'office du soir*, *OCP* 35, p. 371. See also THEODORET OF CYRUS († c. 466), *Quaestiones in Exodum* 28, PG 80, 284. On the notion of incense and propitiation, see also LIETZMANN, *Messe und Herrenmahl*, p. 86.

¹¹ Cf. MATEOS, *Sedre*.

¹² Cf. The Alexandrine penitential rites in the eucharistic liturgy before communion. On this subject, see L. LIGIER, S. J., *Pénitence et eucharistie en orient: théologie sur une interférence de prières et de rites*, *OCP* 29, 1963, 5-74.

¹³ Cf. MATEOS, *The Morning and Evening Office*, *Worship* 42, 1968, pp. 35-36, 43.

¹⁴ LEW, p. 359, 34-36. In the Italian recension the prayer first ap-

mass should be viewed as honorific — except perhaps for that at the beginning of the service, which was originally exorcistic and, perhaps, fumigatory in purpose.

The vast majority of Byzantine liturgical codices say nothing whatever about an incensation at the Great Entrance, or for that matter, anywhere else. This should be taken as but one more sign of their wonted rubrical laconism, rather than as an argument against the antiquity of this usage. For as early as the 8th century Germanus mentions that incense is carried in the entrance of the gifts, though he does not specify how it was used.¹⁵

The Minister of the Rite

As we have noted, there is some ambiguity in contemporary practice as to who does the censuring. Among the Russians, the deacon brings the thurible to the senior celebrant for his blessing, then incenses the altar "crosswise" in the usual manner (i. e. on all four sides), the prothesis, sanctuary, iconostasis, clergy and people, finishing up with the icons of Christ and the Theotokos beside the royal doors and the "high place" i. e. the bishop's throne in the apse. In the Greek sources there is some confusion as to just who executes this first incensation. Contemporary Greek rubrics assign the task now to the deacon, now to the priest — a reflection of the confusion in the MS tradition itself.¹⁶ Trempelas lists seven MSS which have the priest incense after the prayer of the Cherubicon. Seven others cast their vote for the deacon to incense while the priest is saying the prayer.¹⁷ Some Greek sources of the patriarchal liturgy assign the task to the *castrensis* (καυστήσιος), a Constantinopolitan church dignitary who assisted the patriarch in vesting, etc., and also incensed at the patriarchal liturgy.¹⁸

pears in *Leningrad 226* (10th c.). Our first witness for a prayer of incense at Constantinople is the translation of Leo Tuscán (JACOB, *Toscan*, p. 136). On the subject of incense prayers, cf. MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 137-139. The origin and evolution of the text of the incense prayer is traced by JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 141-145.

¹⁵ BORGIA, p. 30.

¹⁶ Cf. *Euchologion*, Athens, 1927, p. 41; *Diataxis*, Constantinople, 1876, pp. 28-29, 97.

¹⁷ TREMPÉLAS, p. 78.

¹⁸ Cf. The archieratikon of Gemistos (DMITRIEVSKIĬ II, p. 310); codex *Ethn. bibl.* 754 (17th c.), TREMPÉLAS, p. 78. However in the patriarchal diataxis of *British Museum Add. 34060* (12-13th c.) which also describes the role of the *castrensis*, the deacon and archdeacon cense (ARABATZOGLOU,

The weight of the early evidence would seem to favor an incensation by the deacon. It is thus in 11th century Georgian CHR and in the translation of Leo Tuscan (1173-1178),¹⁹ in the 12-13th century diataxeis of *British Museum Add. 34060*²⁰ and *Athens Ethnike biblioteke 662*; in the diataxis of Philotheus (14th century);²¹ in the Slavic sources;²² and in the majority of Greek MSS we have been able to examine. However, a number of later Greek MSS do assign the task to the priest.²³

Is there any solution to this seeming arbitrariness? In all these sources of the presbyteral liturgy except the 10th century diataxis used by Leo Tuscan in his version (1173-1178), the priest marched in the procession of the gifts. This diataxis describes the liturgy at Hagia Sophia where there were enough clergy for a distribution of roles, and at an earlier stage in the evolution of the liturgy when the priests, like the bishop today, took no part in the procession. So the deacons carried the gifts, and the archdeacon did the incensation.²⁴

It would seem then that initially the incensation was done by one of the ministers who took part in the procession but did not carry the gifts (the archdeacon, *castrensis*, or one of the deacons). If there was only one deacon and he was already occupied carrying the gifts, then the incensation was probably done by the priest.

At a second stage in the evolution of the entrance the priest marches in the procession, but without carrying the gifts. That was still done by the deacon alone, and it is the priest who censed the gifts upon entering the sanctuary. This is the practice we find in CHR of *Karlsruhe EM 6* (c. AD 1200):

Having said this prayer [= *Nemo dignus*], while the clergy are singing the prescribed hymn, the priest with the deacon who carries the thurible and censes the altar and gifts, and the lector

Bibliothèque, p. 237). On the *castrensis*, cf. J. DARROUZÈS, *Recherches sur les besoins de l'église byzantine* (= *Archives de l'orient chrétien*, 11) Paris, 1970, index, p. 602; DU CANGE, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis*, Lyons, 1688, 576.

¹⁹ JACOB, *Version géorgienne*, p. 102; *Toscan*, pp. 149-150.

²⁰ ARABATZOGLOU, *Bibliothèque*, p. 237.

²¹ TREMPÉLAS, p. 9.

²² Cf. for example ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 125. The same is true of all the Slavic rubrics we have examined.

²³ E. g. *Vat. Gr. 1213*; *Sinai Gr. 2017* and *2045*; *Ivion 878*; and other MSS in TREMPÉLAS, p. 78.

²⁴ For the text of Tuscan see p. 157.

who precedes with the lamps, go to the prothesis. And they bring the gifts to the altar, the deacon carrying them; the discos on the head, the chalice in the right hand. When they have arrived at the holy doors of the chancel the priest enters [the sanctuary] first, and taking the thurible from the lector, he incenses the gifts, and taking them, puts them on the altar, and after spreading the holy veil over them, says to the deacon and the others standing around: Pray for me, brothers ...²⁵

Almost the same rubric is found in the slightly revised recension of Nicholas of Otranto's translation of BAS contained in the same MS, though it should be noted that only the gifts are censed:

... sacerdos cum diacono tenente turibulum preeunte iacono (sic = gr. ἀναγνώστης) cum lampadis (sic) eunt ad propositionem et deferunt sancta dona ad altare magnum tenente ipsa diacono patenam quidem in capite calicem vero in dextro latere. Sacerdos uel sacerdotes et ceteri diaconi sequuntur retro. Cum uenerint uero ad sanctas ianuas cancellorum intrat ante sacerdos et accepto turibulo a manibus iaconi (sic: *cf. supra*) incensat sancta dona et accipiens ea ponit super sanctum altare et expandit super eis (sic) peplum et dicit aliis circumstantibus: Orate pro me fratres²⁶

Curiously, in the 11th century Georgian version of CHR in codex *Sinai Georg. 89*, we find the exact opposite; the priest carries the gifts, and the deacon censes:

Et tollant diaconi thuribulum et flabellum et lucernam, et sacerdos calicem et patenam, et sanctificata introducant

*Post introductionem ponat sanctificata super altare, sublevata operiant. Diaconus incenset circum altare et sacerdotes incenset.*²⁷

²⁵ Ed. ENGDahl, pp. 19-20. From the rubric it is not clear who did the incensation of the altar before the entrance. We hope to show that this initial incensation is a later addition. The Otrantan revision of Tuscan's translation of CHR contained in this MS gives the same rubric (JACOB, *Otrante*, p. 97).

²⁶ JACOB, *Otrante*, p. 69, XIV (1) sig. K. Cf. The Greek text in ENGDahl, p. 60. It is obvious here that the rubric of the older recension of Otranto (*Paris Latin 1002*, 13-14th c., JACOB, *Otrante*, p. 69, XIV cited in the previous chapter, p. 126) has been revised on the basis of the Greek text of *EM 6*. In P it is clear that the priests marched in the entrance procession, but the rubrics are contradictory as to who carried the gifts (compare p. 69, lines 2, 6-7, and 15). Only one incensation is mentioned, after the entrance, and it is not clear who did it: "Cum deposita uero sunt sancta misteria, dato incenso, cum turibulo incensantur ..."

²⁷ JACOB, *Version géorgienne*, pp. 100-102.

At best we can conclude that the incensation was originally done by the archdeacon or deacon, as described by Leo Tuscan. In smaller churches with fewer clergy it was sometimes necessary for the priest to assist in the entrance of the gifts, and the later solemnization of the Great Entrance made this a general practice even when there was no practical need for it. From this confusion of roles between deacon and priest there resulted various practices, as we see in the sources cited above.

The Place and Object of the Incensation

Since the *Nemo dignus* prayer is a later addition to the rite of the entrance, we can prescind from the confusion in contemporary rubrics as to whether the initial incensation precedes, accompanies, or follows the prayer. This is a problem only when the proper minister of the incensation, the deacon, is absent, and the priest must incense as well as recite the prayer. After the prayer and initial incensation, the priest and deacon standing before the altar make three metanies, saying the Cherubic Hymn three times quietly, then they go to the prothesis where the gifts are once more censed — today by the priest. Finally, after the entrance, when the gifts have been placed on the altar, the aer or great veil is censed and put over the gifts, and the gifts are censed a final time by the priest.

From the nature of the objects censed — altar, prothesis, sanctuary, etc. — and the absence of an oblation prayer or, for that matter, any formula at all in the early witnesses, it is clear that the incensation is not an oblation or a purification, but simply an act of reverence.²⁸ Hence the Byzantine Great-Entrance incensation should not be linked to the priestly *apologia* as an act of propitiation like that of the Syrian tradition.²⁹ The *Nemo dignus* prayer and the innumerable penitential formulae that have come to clutter up the Great-Entrance rite of so many MSS are

²⁸ Some priests recite the incense prayer of the prothesis (*LEW*, p. 359, 34-36) each time they bless the incense during the liturgy. This is an abuse. The blessing was originally given simply with the sign of the cross, and this later attracted the incense prayer to certain parts of the liturgy (cf. *MATEOS, Célébration*, pp. 137-139). But the only time that any source indicates the use of this formula at the Great Entrance is during the completion of the prothesis rite by the bishop at a pontifical liturgy, just before the procession. Even at the prothesis, the prayer is not primitive in BAS or CHR (cf. *supra*, n. 14).

²⁹ As *LANNE* tries to do (cf. *La prière de la Grande Entrée*, pp. 311-312).

simply one more sign of that inexorable and universally observable penchant of the clergy to add formulae to accompany nearly every action or chant, instead of letting it speak for itself as it was almost always originally intended to do.

The true meaning of our incensation, then, must be sought in its original object, and not from any of these late and tiresome additions. In today's Byzantine liturgy there has been a levelling out of almost all the various incensations in both mass and office, so that whatever is censed at one, is censed at all the others — a process which, again, is a common enough liturgical phenomenon. Of course this destroys totally the specific object and hence meaning of the individual rite, as *MATEOS* has shown with respect to the incensation of the gospel book on the altar before it is read.³⁰ In the earliest MSS this is done by the deacon during the alleluia. But gradually it turns into an incensation of the whole sanctuary, iconostasis, and people, as at the beginning of the liturgy.³¹ Hence it occupies more time and must be done earlier, during the reading of the epistle. This not only interferes with the latter but makes it impossible for the participants to perceive what is supposed to be censed and why.

The same process has been at work at the Great Entrance. Today there are three distinct incensations:

1. The deacon (or priest) censes the altar, prothesis, sanctuary, clergy, iconostasis and people.
2. Then both the priest and deacon go to the prothesis after the prayer, and the chief celebrant censes the gifts.
3. After the entrance with the gifts, the aer is censed, the gifts are covered with it, and the main celebrant censes the gifts once more.

Even in the later tradition, however, there are only four relatively constant objects of the incensation, mentioned in this order: altar, gifts on the prothesis table, the priest, then the gifts once more during the rite of putting them on the altar and covering them.³² Hence we can immediately reject the practice of cens-

³⁰ *MATEOS, Célébration*, pp. 137-139.

³¹ That is where it belongs. Cf. *Ps.-DENYS, EH 3, 2 (PG 3, 425)*; *DIX, Shape*, pp. 444 ff. *MAXIMUS* in his *Scholia* does not comment on this initial incensation (*PG 4, 136*). But *SYMEON OF THESSALONIKA* († 1429) explicitly states that all incensations are just like the initial one (*SL 96, PG 155, 288*).

³² Cf. the table below, pp. 160-162.

ing the iconostasis, etc. And in the earliest sources — in fact up until the end of the 12th century (see the chart below) — the only incensation mentioned is the final one of the gifts on the altar after the Great Entrance and, usually, of the clergy.

For example our earliest source to mention the incensation at the Great Entrance, the 10th century *Book of Ceremonies*, describing the patriarchal liturgy in the Great Church, has the archdeacon incense the emperor, patriarch and altar just before the gifts are brought into the sanctuary:

When the gifts have come to the soles, they halt there and the archdeacon comes and incenses the rulers and then likewise the patriarch, and after this the holy altar. And then all the gifts enter [the sanctuary] ...³³

No other incensation at the entrance is mentioned, but of course the *Book of Ceremonies* describes only the emperor's role in the liturgy.

Similarly, in our earliest euchology with rubrics for this incensation, the 10th century codex *Leningrad 226*, we read: "And after the gifts have been placed on the holy table the deacon incenses, saying: Let us complete our prayer ..." [i. e. the litany after the entrance]³⁴ Likewise in the ancient Georgian version of CHR (11th c.) already cited the only incensation is after the entrance:

*Post introductionem ponat sanctificata super altare, sublevata operiant. Diaconus incenset circum altare et sacerdotes incenset.*³⁵

This seems to be the primitive tradition, and the Armenian rite has preserved it right up to the present. The only incensation at the Great Entrance in the Armenian mass is at the end of the procession, just before the gifts are placed on the altar.³⁶

Although the earliest sources take no note of it, there was probably also an incensation of the gifts in the skeuophylakion before the entrance. Incensations in the skeuophylakion were a common enough Byzantine practice,³⁷ and this is probably why

³³ I, 1, ed. Voigt, I, p. 13.

³⁴ KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 289. In like manner, CHR of Paris Gr. 347 (12th c.) has a marginal note added later next to the *Nemo dignus* prayer: "και θυμια τα εγχα."

³⁵ JACOB, *Version georgienne* pp. 101-102.

³⁶ LEW, p. 432, 28. The *Činovník* or Slavic *Pontifical* still insists that after the entrance, the bishop is to incense "only the gifts."

³⁷ For example on Holy Saturday the emperor incensed the sacred vessels in the skeuophylakion (*De caerimoniis*, I, 1 and 44 [35] ed. Voigt

the deacon carried the thurible with him when he went to fetch the gifts, as we see in Georgian CHR, the version of Leo Tuscan, etc.

The Later Evolution of the Incensation Ritual: An Attempt at Reconstruction

In the later evolution of this incensation in the Byzantine tradition, we can see three easily discernable strata (see the table below):

1. As long as the Great Entrance retained its primitive form as a procession of the deacons from a skeuophylakion at some distance from the sanctuary, the *ordo* seen in the translation of Leo Tuscan (1173-1178) was followed:

Dum oratio fit pro cathecuminis, itur ad propositos panes, quos deferunt ad sanctum altare, praeunte archydiacono cum thuribulo et sacro peplo ...

*Cumque ventum est ad sanctas ianuas cancellorum, ingreditur archydiaconus et dato incenso sancto altare, dat et sacerdotibus per ordinem ...*³⁸

There could be no question of any incensation of the sanctuary before the entrance, at least not in the Great Church, since the deacons had to depart early enough to prepare the procession and they brought the thurible with them.³⁹ In the skeuophylakion there was probably an incensation of the gifts, though none is mentioned. After the procession had entered the sanctuary, the archdeacon incensed the altar, gifts, and priests, in preparation for the anaphora. A like incensation is found in the Roman mass.

Similarly, in our earliest diataxis, in codex *British Museum Add. 34060* (12-13th century), that describes the patriarchal rite of the Great Church, the deacon censes the patriarch, then the archdeacon censes the altar as the gifts are brought in.⁴⁰

2. Once the prothesis was moved to the sanctuary area at the east end of the church — or even to a side-altar in the sanctuary — it became the practice to begin this incensation, like the other incensations of the liturgy, with the altar itself. Thus we

I, pp. 27, 171); cf. *Vizantiskij vremennik* 24, 1923-26, pp. 139-140, and below, chapter V, pp. 186-187.

³⁸ JACOB, *Toscan*, pp. 149-150.

³⁹ For a reconstruction of the Great-Entrance procession in the Great Church, see the following chapter.

⁴⁰ ARABATZOGLOU, *Bibliothèque*, p. 237.

read in the 12-13th century diataxis of codex *Athens Ethnike bibl. 662*:

At the Great Entrance the deacon takes the incense, and after the priest has blessed it, incenses before the holy altar only (θυμιᾶ ἐμπροσθεν τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης καὶ μόνον). Then both of them exit to the holy prothesis and he incenses the holy gifts cross-wise ... [then they enter with the gifts] And the deacon enters first, putting the discs on the holy altar. Then turning, he incenses the priest, saying: "Master, remember me a sinner." And the priest says: "May the Lord God remember you in his kingdom." And thus he enters and puts the holy chalice on the altar and takes the veils off the holy gifts and incenses them [i. e. the gifts] ...⁴¹

The insistence of the rubric that the deacon is to cense before the altar and there alone is obviously meant to counteract an already incipient abuse.

3. In the final stage, as seen in the 14th century diataxis of Philotheus and the *editio princeps* of Doucas (Venice, 1526), before the entrance the deacon incenses the altar on all four sides, the whole sanctuary, the priest, and the gifts on the prothesis credence. After the procession, the deacon enters the sanctuary first, puts the discs on the altar, and then turns to incense the priest as he enters. After putting the chalice on the altar, the priest incenses the aer and covers the gifts with it, and then again incenses the gifts.⁴² A similar evolution in the patriarchal rite of the Great Church can be observed in the archieraticon of Gemistos.⁴³

Finally, in recent printed editions, the assimilation of this incensation to the others of the liturgy is completed by the addition of iconostasis, choir and people as objects of the rite.⁴⁴ This

⁴¹ TREMPERAS, p. 9. The same rubrics are found in the diataxis of *Moscow Synod 381* (13-14th. c.) KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 25. Note that this practice is also found in various Western rites: the deacon incenses the altar and then the celebrant, when the latter turns to say *Orate fratres* ... Cf. JUNGEMANN, *Missarum Sollemnia*, II, p. 75, n. 32.

⁴² TREMPERAS, pp. 9-10. The *ed. princeps* varies only slightly from Philotheus' diataxis: after the entrance the deacon does not incense the priest. Rather, the priest incenses the aer as is the practice today, but the deacon does the final incensation of the gifts.

⁴³ DMITRIEVSKIĬ II, pp. 310-311.

⁴⁴ This addition of iconostasis, choir, and people is missing even in some recent Slavic editions (e. g. *Služebnik*, Vienna, 1854, p. 62), but in SYMEON OF THESSALONIKA († 1429) this incensation has already been assim-

is not so, however, in PRES, where (at least in some editions) the first incensation remains confined to the sanctuary.⁴⁵ This has nothing about it that is peculiar to PRES. Rather, the rubrics of PRES illustrate Baumstark's law that more solemn or rare liturgical rites, from the more sacred seasons of the church year, remain more conservative and preserve older usages longer than do the every-day liturgical rites.

Formulae recited during the Incensation

Present-day rubrics instruct the deacon to recite Ps. 50 during the incensation. And, if he wishes, he may add the penitential troparia (τροπάρια κατανυκτικά). Some codices order that the *Miserere* be said only up to the end of verse 19 (ἀγάθυνον) — undoubtedly because by that time the final two verses of the psalm already figured in the formulae recited by the priest while censing the gifts after putting them on the altar.⁴⁶ These formulae are all medieval additions and are not found in any early MS. A glance at the table will show the variants that occasionally appear, and also prove that Ps. 50 is the most stable of the prayers that have been added at his point. It is also recited today during the first incensation of the liturgy, and it fits in with the penitential tone of the *apologiae* that are so common in the *accessus ad altare* rites in all the East.

ilated to the incensation of the whole church at the beginning of the liturgy (*SL* 96, *PG* 155, 288).

⁴⁵ Cf. *ed. princeps*; *Služebnik*, St. Petersburg, 1900, p. 292; and the modern Roman editions in both Greek and Slavonic.

⁴⁶ E. g. *Sinai Gr.* 2017 and 2045. On these formulae, cf. chapter VI.

INCENSATION TABLE

DATE	SOURCE	MINISTER	OBJECT	PLACE	FORMULAE
10th c.	<i>Leningrad 226</i>	deacon	gifts	after deposition of gifts	—
10th c.	<i>De caerimoniis</i>	archdeacon	emperor patriarch altar	end of entrance	—
11th c.	Georgian CHR (<i>Sinai Georg. 89</i>)	deacon	altar priests	after deposition	—
12th c.	Leo Tuscan	archdeacon	altar priests	end of entrance	—
12th c.	<i>Grottaf. Gb II</i>	priest	gifts	after deposition	—
12th c.	<i>Bodleian Auct. E. 5. 13.</i>	deacon	gifts	after deposition	—
end 12th c.	Nicholas of Otranto's BAS in: <i>Paris Latin 1002</i> <i>Karlsruhe EM 6</i>	?	gifts gifts	after deposition end of entrance	— —
1200	<i>Karlsruhe EM 6</i>	deacon	altar and gifts	before entrance	—
		priest	gifts	end of entrance	—
12-13th cent.	diataxis, <i>British Mus. Add. 34060</i>	deacon	bishop	end of entrance	—
		archdeacon	altar		—

INCENSATION TABLE (2)

DATE	SOURCE	MINISTER	OBJECT	PLACE	FORMULAE
12-13th cent.	diataxis, <i>Ethn. bibl. 662</i>	deacon	front of altar, prothesis	before entrance	—
		deacon	priest	as he enters	—
		priest	gifts	after deposition	—
13th c.	<i>British Museum Harl. 5561</i>	?	altar gifts in prothesis	before entrance	Ps. 50
14th c.	diataxis of Philotheus	deacon	around altar, sanctuary	before entrance	—
		deacon	priest	as he enters	—
		priest	prothesis	after deposition	Ps. 50 : 20-21
14th c.	archieration of Gemistos	castrensis	?	before entrance	Ps. 50
			gifts		Lord have mercy on me sinner
		deacon	gifts	as patriarch takes them at end of procession	—
		castrensis	gifts	after deposition	Ps. 50 : 20-21
14-15th cent.	<i>Sin. Gr. 2046</i>	deacon	altar sanctuary	before entrance	—
		priest	priest prothesis		—
			aer and gifts	after deposition	—

INCENSATION TABLE (3)

DATE	SOURCE	MINISTER	OBJECT	PLACE	FORMULAE
15th c.	<i>Moscow Synod</i> 280 (262)	deacon	altar prothesis	before entrance	priest: Ps. 50
15-16th cent.	<i>Sabas</i> 382 CHR BAS	priest priest	altar gifts and aer altar sanctuary aer gifts	before entrance after deposition before entrance after deposition	— — — —
1526	<i>editio</i> <i>princeps</i>	deacon	altar sanctuary priest gifts	before entrance	Lord have mercy ... (three times) Noble Joseph ... Ps. 50: 20-21
16th c.	<i>Vat. Gr. 1213</i>	priest	altar prothesis	before entrance	Ps. 50
1537	<i>Sabas</i> 48 BAS	deacon priest	altar prothesis gifts	before entrance before entrance after deposition	Cherubicon, Ps. 50 Lord have mercy ... (three times)

(NOTE: We have included only enough sources to give an indication of the evolution).

II. THE LAVABO

In contemporary Byzantine practice, at the pontifical liturgy the bishop says the *Nemo dignus* prayer, then goes out onto the solea before the royal doors, where the subdeacons meet him with a ewer of water and basin and wash his hands. This is basically the same *ordo* that we see in the archieraticon of Gemistos.⁴⁷ Then the bishop is vested in the small omophorion and returns to the altar for the threefold recitation of the Cherubicon, before proceeding to the prothesis. In the presbyteral liturgy, however, there is no *lavabo* at the Great Entrance. Rather, the priests wash their hands while saying Ps. 25[26]: 6-12, immediately on vesting, before the prothesis is begun. Should this be considered but one more example of a shifting forward of elements proper to the pre-anaphoral rites? What is the meaning of the *lavabo*, and what is its traditional place in the liturgy?

The Lavabo in the Ancient Sources

Cyril of Jerusalem (c. 348) is our first witness to many ceremonial innovations in the liturgy, including the *lavabo*, which he places just before the kiss of peace (no transfer of gifts is mentioned in Cyril's *Catecheses*).⁴⁸ Theodore of Mopsuestia has it during the kiss, that is, after the priest has given the *pax*, and while it is being exchanged by the people. *The Apostolic Constitutions* and Pseudo-Denys have it following the *pax*, just before the anaphora.⁴⁹ Lietzmann and Baumstark hold Cyril's arrangement to be the original one. They presume that the gifts were selected before the *pax*, and that this dirtied the presbyter's hands.⁵⁰ De Meester, in his study of the Byzantine liturgies, also sees a practical purpose as the origin of the rite.⁵¹

But as Dix has pointed out, this theory, unlike the *lavabo* itself, does not hold water.⁵² First, it is the deacons, not the

⁴⁷ DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 310.

⁴⁸ CYRIL, *Myst. Catechesis* 5, 2 (= 23), PG 33, 1109; ed. Cross, pp. 30 [71-72].

⁴⁹ See the table at the end of chapter I for the location of the *lavabo* in these early sources.

⁵⁰ LIETZMANN, *Liturgie des Theodor von Mopsuestia*, p. 18; BAUMSTARK, *Messe*, p. 119.

⁵¹ DE MEESTER, *Liturgies*, DACL VI², 1627.

⁵² DIX, *Shape*, pp. 124-5.

priests, who handled the gifts, but the priests are the ones who wash. Secondly, Cyril explicitly excluded any practical purpose in the washing of hands, "for we do not come into church covered with dirt."⁵² The action is simply a symbol of the purity required of those who serve at the altar. Pseudo-Denys and the *Apostolic Constitutions* also give the rite a symbolic meaning, and in the latter a practical end is excluded by the fact that the ablutions are made *before* the gifts are brought up.⁵⁴

Our first witness to the rite, Cyril of Jerusalem, was something of an innovator in matters liturgical,⁵³ so the *lavabo* may well have originated with him. If the rite is of Jerusalem origin, it may perhaps be traced to the innumerable symbolic ablutions common among the Jews before meals, before prayer, and especially before the thanksgiving at the end of meals which so obviously parallels our eucharist.⁵⁶ Ceremonial ablutions are a common enough phenomenon in religion, and early Church Fathers like Hippolytus and Tertullian note — the latter with disapproval — that it had become common for Christian laymen to wash even before private prayer.⁵⁷ In more recent times, both the Bernini fountains that grace St. Peter's Square and the holy water stoups of Roman rite churches are relics of the same phenomenon: they trace their origin to the fountains that were placed in the esonarthex of early Christian houses of worship so that the faithful could wash before entering church.⁵⁸

⁵² *Catechesis* 5, 2 (= 23) PG 33, 1109; ed. Cross, pp. 30 [71-72].

⁵³ Ps.-DENYS, *EH* 3, 10, PG 3, 440; *Ap. Const.* 8, 11, 12 and 8, 12, 3, ed. FUNK I, p. 494.

⁵⁴ Cyril is the first source we have for the *lavabo* and for a consecratory epiclesis to the Holy Spirit, is at least one of the first to mention commemorations in the anaphora, and much that is original to the Jerusalem liturgy in Egoria's *Journal* may have been the result of Cyril's pastorate (cf. DIX, *Shape*, pp. 124, 171, 199 ff, 348 ff, 499, 538 and *passim* on Cyril's originality).

⁵⁵ Cf. *Exodus* 30:20; *John* 13:4, for example.

⁵⁶ *Trad. Ap.* 41 (ed. BOTTE, p. 88); TERTULLIAN, *de Oratione* 13, *PL* I, 1167-1168; cf. DIX, *Shape*, pp. 124-25. Cf. also the *Arabic Canons of Hippolytus*, canons 25, 27 (ed. COQUIN, *Les canons d'Hippolyte*, PO 31, fasc. 2, pp. [125] 393-[129] 397. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *Stromata* III, 12 (82,6); IV, 22 (141, 4 and 142, 3) *GCS* 15 (*Clemens Alex.* II), pp. 234, 310-311 (= PG 8, 1184, 1352-1353); *Didascalia* 6, 22, 8 and *Apost. Const.* 6, 29, 4, ed. FUNK I, pp. 378-379; stress that such ablutions are unnecessary. In later times Christians also washed their hand before communion (cf. ABBOT DOROTHEUS, *Doctrina* 9, PG 88, 1717; ATHANASIUS OF SINAI, *Oratio de sacra synaxi*, PG 89, 832).

⁵⁷ Cf. PAULINUS OF TYRE († 331) *Oratio panegyrica de aedificatione*

The Lavabo in the Byzantine Liturgy

As we would expect, the almost rubricless early Byzantine euchologies usually make no mention of a *lavabo*. But there can be no doubt that both the pontifical and sacerdotal liturgies once included a hand-washing at the Great Entrance. Maximus in his *Mystagogia* does not speak of a *lavabo*. In his *Scholia* he comments on the *lavabo* as found in Ps.-Denys without stating one way or another whether it was in use in Constantinople in his time. He seems to imply that it was, however, by his remark that in spite of the more complicated ritual bathing in the Old Law, in our worship only the hands are washed.⁵⁹

Most early euchologies, spare in rubrical detail, are silent about the *lavabo*. It is not mentioned in the 8th century codex *Barberini 336*, nor in the 10th century *Sevastianov 474*, *Grottaferata Gb VII* and *Gb IV*.

It is found, however, in other 10th century witnesses. Our two Constantinopolitan sources of 10th century BAS, *Codex Pyromalus* and the version of Johannisberg, have it, but they both describe the pontifical mass.⁶⁰ So the first source for the *lavabo* in the presbyteral rite is *Leningrad 226*, a 10th century codex of the ancient Italian recension of CHR, which has it as follows, after the ephphesis of the second prayer of the faithful:

Καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς. Οἱ τὰ Χερουβὶμ μυστικῶς εἰκονίζοντες,
Καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ λέγοντος τὸν ὕμνον, καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς νίπεται τὰς χεῖρας
λέγων· Νίψομαι ἐν ἀθώοις τὰς χεῖρας.
Καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀποτεθῆναι τὰ δῶρα ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τραπέζῃ, ὁ διάκονος θυ-
μιῶν λέγει· Πληρώσομεν...⁶¹

The original recension of Germanus' commentary does not speak of the *lavabo*, but a 12-13th century interpolation in the longer recension of the commentary inserts it into the presbyteral liturgy after the Great Entrance, before the procomide prayer.⁶²

⁵⁹ *ecclesiarum* in EUSEBIUS, *Hist. Eccl.* 10, 4, PG 20, 865; CHRYSOSTOM, *In 2 Cor.* 4, 13 hom. 3, 11, PG 51, 300; PAULINUS OF NOLA († 431), *Ep.* 13, 13 and 32, 15, PL 61, 215, 357.

⁶⁰ PG 4, 145.

⁶¹ See the next section of this chapter.

⁶² The text is in KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedeniija*, p. 288-89; ORLOV, *Litur-gija*, pp. 134-44.

⁶³ PG 98, 424 C-D (compare with BORGIA, p. 32, lines 11 ff.) The oldest MS to contain this interpolation is *Ambros. Gr.* 380 (G.8. sup.), AD 1286. Cf. BORNERT, *Commentaires*, pp. 139-140.

The interpolated passage, taken from St. Athanasius' *De titulis psalmorum*, gives the rite a symbolic interpretation and cites Ps. 25: 6-8.⁶³ Symeon of Thessalonika places the *lavabo* before the Great Entrance of the pontifical liturgy just as in today's pontifical rite, and also interprets it symbolically.⁶⁴ In addition, we shall see numerous euchologies that mention the *lavabo* for both the pontifical and presbyteral mass.

Participants in the Rite

Who washed their hands at the *lavabo*? In Pseudo-Denys the bishop and all concelebrating priests did.⁶⁵ The same practice is found in an ancient Syriac manuscript edited by Rahmani, and in the ancient Chaldean rite.⁶⁶ In the concelebration described by Theodore of Mopsuestia, the bishop and all the concelebrating priests wash their hands.⁶⁷ Was this also the Byzantine practice?

1. The Pontifical Liturgy

In the pontifical rite as found in 10th century BAS in the version of Johannisberg and *Codex Pyromalus*, the rubric does not specify who took part in the *lavabo*.

Interea deportantur et proponuntur munera à presbyteris, et post lauationem manuum, petit [episcopus] ministros pro se orare ...⁶⁸

According to our earliest diataxis, the 12-13th century patriarchal *ordo* of the Great Church from *British Museum Add. 34060*, only the patriarch washes his hands, after the Great Entrance.⁶⁹ In the

⁶³ Cf. ATHANASIUS, *De titulis psalmorum*, PG 27, 740 and BORNERT, *Commentaires*, p. 139, n. 1. According to BORNERT (p. 142), the additions were made in the 12-13th century.

⁶⁴ ET 75, PG 155, 728.

⁶⁵ EH 3.2 PG 3, 425.

⁶⁶ Cf. *Ordo quo episcopus urbem inire debet*, ed. I. E. RAHMANI, *Studia Syriaca*, fasc. III, Charfeh, 1908, pp. 3-4 [22] cf. p. 41 above; JAMMO, *Messe chaldéenne*, p. 199.

⁶⁷ *Hom. 15*, 29 (TONNEAU-DEVRESSE, p. 463); the same in CYRIL OF JERUSALEM, *Myst. Catechesis* 5, 2 (= 23), PG 33, 1109; ed. CROSS, pp. 30 [71].

⁶⁸ COCHILAEUS, *Speculum*, p. 124; cf. the Greek text of *Codex Pyromalus*, GOAR², p. 155.

⁶⁹ ARABATZOGLOU, *Bibliothèque*, p. 238: Note that the *castrensis*, not the subdeacon, washes the bishop's hands.

archieratikon of Gemistos (c. 1380), all concelebrating bishops follow the patriarch in doing so, just before the procession begins.⁷⁰ The pontifical liturgy described by Symeon of Thessalonika half a century later has the rite performed by the bishop alone.⁷¹ The same is true in the 15th century pontifical diataxis in a codex of St. Andrews' Skote, Athos, edited by Dmitrievsky.⁷²

Nothing is said in these sources about the concelebrating presbyters. But in some Slavic sources such as the 16th century codices *Moscow Synod 366 (680)* and *367 (909)* as well as in the 1910 edition of the *Činovník* of the *edinovercy* based on these MSS, all concelebrating bishops and priests wash their hands before the Great Entrance.⁷³ It is surprising that the detailed rubrics of the pontifical rite decreed by the Moscow Sobor of 1666-1667 do not prescribe a *lavabo*,⁷⁴ but the omission seems insignificant, since the *lavabo* is found in Russian *Činovníki* just after this reform,⁷⁵ and is still in use today.

2. The Presbyteral Liturgy

In the Georgian version of CHR edited by Jacob, which describes a presbyteral concelebration, it seems that only the main celebrant washed his hands:

Post introductionem ... diaconus incenset circum altare et sacerdotes incenset.

*Sacerdos lavet manus et dicat. Lavabo sanctitate manus meas usque-ad Benedicam te, Domine.*⁷⁶

Nevertheless, some codices such as the 11-12th century *Sinai Gr. 961* (BAS) refer in the plural to those washing their hands.⁷⁷ And a couple of euchologies even let the deacon have a wash.⁷⁸ Also,

⁷⁰ DMITRIEVSKIĬ II, p. 310.

⁷¹ ET 75, PG 155, 728.

⁷² DMITRIEVSKIĬ I, p. 171.

⁷³ NEVOSTRUEV-GORSKIĬ, *Opisanie* III, 1, pp. 96, 104. The *Činovník* is cited below on p. 173. The *edinovercy* are the Russian Old-Ritualists that have entered into communion with the Orthodox Church.

⁷⁴ Cf. *Dejanija*, ff. 51r ff.

⁷⁵ E. g. The *Činovník* of the Spaso-Preobraženskij cathedral, Cholmogory (18th c.), GOLUBCOV, *Činovník of Cholmogory*, p. 21.

⁷⁶ JACOB, *Version géorgienne*, p. 102.

⁷⁷ DMITRIEVSKIĬ II, p. 76 (see below, note 85).

⁷⁸ CHR of *Sinai Gr. 1020* (12-13th c.), DMITRIEVSKIĬ II, p. 141 (deacon only); BAS of *Sinai Gr. 966* (13th c.), *ibid.*, pp. 205-206 (priest and dea-

both of the two oldest Slavic sources, the *Služebniki* of Antonij the Roman († 1147) and of Varlaam Chutynskij († 1192), have all concelebrating priests wash their hands after the Great Entrance of the presbyteral liturgy.⁷⁹

In this matter, then, the practice seems to have varied a bit, but the older Byzantine testimony is more consistent for a *lavabo* by the main celebrant alone. And the participation of the deacon is certainly a later innovation — or rather aberration — of only a few MSS.

The Place of the Lavabo in the Byzantine Liturgy

1. The Early Sources

As can be seen in the rubric already cited, our earliest source for the *lavabo*, the 10th century codex *Leningrad 226*, says that the priest washes his hands during the chanting of the Cherubicon. This could be before, during, or just after the transfer of gifts because the chant covers this entire ceremony, and at that time, as we shall show in the next chapter, the priest did not take part in the procession but remained in the sanctuary to await the arrival of the gifts.

Other early sources already cited — e.g. 10th century BAS of Pyromalus and of the Johannisberg version, and 11th century Georgian CHR — agree in putting the *lavabo* after the entrance of the gifts, before the *orate fratres* dialogue. It follows the entrance also in the 12th century codices *Oxford Bodleian Auct. E.5.13* (f. 14v) and *Grottaferrata Gb II* (CHR, f. 11r),⁸⁰ in the 12-13th century pontifical diataxis of *British Museum Add. 34060*⁸¹ and in the contemporaneous Armenian version of CHR.⁸² That is where it is still found in today's Armenian mass.⁸³

Some 11th century euchologies such as *Messina Gr. 160*⁸⁴ and *Grottaferrata Gb XV* (f. 2v) have the *lavabo* before the *Nemo*

con); *Vat. Gr. 573* (15th c. diataxis), KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 107 (deacon only).

⁷⁹ NEVOSTRUEV-GORSKIJ, *Opisanie III*, 1, p. 2 (= *Moscow Synod 343-605*); p. 6 (= *Synod 343-604*). Cf. also *Vat. Slav. 9*, KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenijsa*, p. 154, and some later MSS of BAS, ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 137.

⁸⁰ Cf. MURETOV, *K materialam*, p. 4.

⁸¹ ARABATZOGLOU, *Bibliothèque*, p. 238.

⁸² AUCHER, *Versione armena*, p. 385.

⁸³ LEW, p. 432, 29-31.

⁸⁴ JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 191.

dignus prayer. But these are just the first signs of a weakening in the tradition. For before the 12th century the evidence overwhelmingly shows the original place of the *lavabo* to have been after the entrance.⁸⁵

Originally the celebrant probably washed his hands during the procession. Then, with the addition of other formulae to the euchology before and during the Great Entrance, the *lavabo* remained where it always was, before the *orate fratres* dialogue, but no longer took place while the procession was under way.

As a matter of fact, the *lavabo* is a wandering element in more than one liturgy (e.g. Chaldean, Syrian).⁸⁶ This is to be explained by the impossibility of the priest doing everything at once when he had to celebrate, without the help of deacons and other ministers, a complex rite involving ideally the simultaneous performance of a multitude of tasks by different ministers.

2. Post-12th century Sources

The later Byzantine sources are divided as to when the priest washes his hands. Many codices leave it in its original place after the entrance, before the *orate fratres* dialogue.⁸⁷ But from the 12th century on it begins to appear before the entrance, usually after the *Nemo dignus* prayer, in MSS of the presbyteral liturgy.⁸⁸ And

⁸⁵ One exception in these earlier MSS is BAS of the 11-12th c. *Sinai Gr. 961*, a codex of the Constantinopolitan tradition, which places the *lavabo* after the kiss of peace, just before "Τὰς θύρας!" — and "all" participate in the rite (DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 76).

⁸⁶ Cf. the table in chapter I, and also HANSENS, *Institutiones*, III, pp. 8-11. For the Chaldean rite, cf. JAMMO, *Messe chaldéenne*, pp. 186 ff., 198 ff. KHOURI-SARKIS remarks with respect to the MS (*Ordo quo episcopus urbem inire debet*) edited by Rahmani (cf. above note 66): "Se serait-il [= l'évêque] lavé les mains ainsi que les prêtres qui l'entouraient, sur l'ambon? Ce serait contraire à toutes les traditions orientales anciennes" (*Réception d'un évêque syrien au VIIe siècle*, *OrSyr* 2, 1957, p. 184). However, in more than one tradition all concelebrants took part in the *lavabo* rite, and in the Chaldean rite it was always done on the bema until the latter fell into disuse (cf. JAMMO, *loc. cit.*).

⁸⁷ Eg. *Vatican Gr. 1554*, a 12th c. Calabrian euchology, (JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 406); several 12th c. Reggio-Messina MSS; *Grottaferrata Gb II* (f. 11r), *Oxford Bodl. Auct. E.5.13*, (*Misc.* 78) (f. 14v, cf. LEW, p. 543, 7-9), *Vat. Gr. 1811* (f. 79v); *Vat. Slav. 9*, 12th c. (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenijsa*, p. 154); *Barberini Gr. 329* (BAS), 12th c. (f. 3r); Georgian CHR of *Graz Georg. 5*, 13th c. (TARCHNIŠVILI, *Liturgiae ibericae*, p. 55); the interpolated text of GERMANUS, PG 98, 424; *Ambros. Gr. 167* (14th c.); the 14th c. *Služebnik of Nikon* of the Trinity-Sergius Lavra (MURETOV, *K materialam*, p. 88); etc.

⁸⁸ *Sinai Gr. 1020*, 12-13th c. BAS (DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 142); Armenian

by the time of the archieraticon of Gemistos (c. 1380) it has moved up to before the entrance in the patriarchal rite of the Great Church.⁸⁹ This is where we find it in the *Expositio de divino templo* of Symeon of Thessalonika († 1429).⁹⁰ This is where it has remained in the pontifical liturgy until today.

3. Peculiarities in Some Italian Euchologies

Jacob has pointed out some Otrantian peculiarities regarding the location of the *lavabo*. Two euchologies of this tradition, the 12-13th c. codex *Valllicelliana C 97*² (*Gr.* 7) and the 13th c. *Ambros. Gr.* 276, place it just before the anaphora, after "Στῶμεν καλῶς," "according to the diataxis of St. Denys the Areopagite."⁹¹ The copyist of *Ambros. Gr.* 276 seems to have realized the anomaly of this *ordo*, for in the margin of f. 18v, beside the rubric that precedes the *orate fratres* dialogue, Ps. 25 is indicated. And that is where it appears in PRES of the same MS, on f. 45r — again in the margin. Several other Otrantian euchologies make the same appeal to Ps.-Denys without taking him literally: they place the *lavabo* right after the *orate fratres* dialogue. This is found in codices *Ottoboni Gr.* 344 (AD 1177), *Borgia Gr.* 7 (AD 1353), *Corisini Gr.* 5 (AD 1579) and 7 (16th c.),⁹² as well in the 13th c. *Sinai Gr.* 966, an Italo-Greek MS of doubtful origin, but betraying certain Otrantian characteristics.⁹³

In another Italian euchology, codex *Grottaferrata Gb XVIII* (14th c.), it appears that the *lavabo* took place not after but in the midst of the *orate fratres* dialogue! After the entrance the main celebrant bows before the altar thrice and says (f. 17r):

Pray for me, brothers,
May the Holy Spirit come down upon you,

CHR (AUCHER, *Versione armena*, p. 385); *Codex Falascae*, 14th c. (= *Grott. Gb III*, GOAR², p. 87); the diataxis of *Vat. Gr.* 573, 15th c. (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 107). The *Euchology of Vladimir* (KOVALIK, *Molitovnik*, ff. 18v-19r); *Grottaferrata Gb XII* (BAS), 14th c. (f. 57v), *Gb IX*, 16th c. (f. 13v), and *Gb XIX*, AD 1591 (f. 8v); cf. also the MSS mentioned in MURETOV, *K materialam*, pp. 86 ff; PETROVSKIJ, *Rédaction slave*, pp. 875 ff; ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 137 (four MSS of Slavonic BAS); etc.

⁸⁹ DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 310.

⁹⁰ *ET* 75, *PG* 155, 728.

⁹¹ JACOB, *Fragments peu connus d'euchologies otrantais*, *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, fasc. 42, 1972, pp. 104-105. The text referred to is Ps.-DENYS, *EH* 3, 2, *PG* 3, 425.

⁹² JACOB, *loc. cit.*

⁹³ DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 205. Cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 372-373.

and the power of the most High overshadow you.

"I will wash my hands among the innocent
... of your glory." (Ps. 25 [26]: 6-8).

"I will go unto the altar of God, to God
who gives joy to my youth." (Ps. 42[43]: 4)⁹⁴

And the presiding priest turns and says to his concelebrants:
May the Lord God remember you in his kingdom now and
always.

Still another Italian source, the 14th c. roll *Ambros. Gr.* 1090, has shifted the *Nemo dignus* prayer and *lavabo* with Ps. 25 to before the ephonesis of the second prayer of the faithful, just before the Cherubicon — indicating, perhaps, that the *lavabo*, formerly a prelude to the *orate fratres* dialogue and hence the first element of the *accessus ad altare* rites, was now deemed an appendage of the *Nemo dignus* prayer and followed the latter when it shifted in some MSS to before the ephonesis preceding the Cherubic Hymn.⁹⁵

But in spite of this variety in the later sources, we believe our original contention to be true: the primitive place of the *lavabo* was during the transfer of gifts. Why it came to be placed after the Great-Entrance procession is clear enough: later developments so enhanced the importance of the transfer of gifts, formerly just the material preparation for the anaphora, that the participation of the presbyters was required, leaving them no time during the procession for the *accessus ad altare* rites, their spiritual preparation for the anaphora. So the *lavabo*, as first element of these preparatory rites, was quite properly left until after the Great-Entrance together with the rest of the ritual to which it pertains. Why it was later displaced to before the entrance, thus effectively cutting it off from the rest of the *accessus* rites, is unknown.

⁹⁴ Another Italian codex, *Ottoboni Gr.* 344 (AD 1177) contains a note to the effect that if there are no concelebrants, the priest is to recite Ps. 42: 4 in place of the *orate fratres* dialogue. (JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 359).

⁹⁵ This codex seems related to *Sinai Gr.* 1020 (BAS), 12-13th c. (DMITRIEVSKIJ II, 142). In both the deacon washes his hands during the *Nemo dignus*, and there is similar wording in the rubrics, similarity in peculiar formulae, etc.

Formulae at the Lavabo

Almost every MS that indicates any formula at all to accompany the *lavabo* has the traditional Ps. 25 [26]: 6-8 (or 6-12), or at least its *incipit*.⁹⁰ Where it is not mentioned, we can presume it was presupposed. One 13th century MS of Italo-Greek provenance, *Sinai Gr. 966*, adds to Ps. 25: 6-8 in CHR (but not in BAS) Ps. 131: 14b, 14a.⁹¹ Codices *Ambros. 167* and, as we have seen, *Grottaferrata Gb XVIII*, both of the 14th century, also add other verses. But these are exceptions in the Greek sources, which from the 10th century on consistently give the expected "I will wash my hands among the innocent ..." at this point of the liturgy.

In the vulgate recension of the Slavic *Činovník*, however, instead of reciting Ps. 25 during the *lavabo*, the bishop says the following prayer:

Domine Deus noster, qui per salutarem tuam epiphaniam Jordanis fluentia sanctificasti, ipse et nunc Spiritus tui sancti gratiam mitte, et aquam istam ad sanctificationem omnis populi tui benedic. Quia benedictus es in saecula saeculorum. Amen.⁹²

We have not found this prayer in any Greek source of the pontifical rite. In fact the only such source to give any formula, the diataxis of codex *British Museum Add. 34060* (12-13th c.) has Ps. 25: 6-8 to which has been added by way of conclusion Ps. 92 [93]: 5b and the usual finale: "Holiness befits your house, O Lord,

⁹⁰ 11th century: *Grottaferrata Gb XV*, f. 2v (Ps. 25: 6); 12th century: *Oxford Bodleian Auct. E.5.13* (Misc. 78), f. 14v (cf. LEW, p. 543, 7-9) (Ps. 25: 6), *Barberini Gr. 329* (BAS), f. 3r (Ps. 25: 6-7), *Grottaferrata Gb II*, f. 11r (Ps. 25: 6), *Vat. Slav 9*, KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 154 (Ps. 25: 6-12); 12-13th century: the interpolated text of GERMANOS, PG 98, 424 (Ps. 25: 6-8) and the pontifical diataxis of *British Mus. Add. 34060*, ARABATZOGLOU, *Bibliothèque*, p. 238 (Ps. 25: 6-8); 13th century: *Ambros. 276*, f. 18v (Ps. 25: 6), BAS of *Sinai Gr. 1020*, DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 142 (Ps. 25: 6-8); 14th century: *Grottaferrata Gb III* (Codex *Falasciae*), GOAR², p. 87 (Ps. 25: 6), *Gb XII* (BAS), f. 57v (Ps. 25: 6), *Gb XVIII*, f. 17v (Ps. 25: 6-8), *Ambros. 1090* roll (Ps. 25: 6? barely legible), the *Služebnik of Vladimir*, KOVALIV, *Molitovník*, ff. 18v-19r (Ps. 25: 6-12); four 14-15th c. Slavonic MSS of BAS in ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 137 (Ps. 25: 6 or 6-12); the 15th century diataxis of *Vat. Gr. 573*, KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 107 (Ps. 25: 6-12); 16th century: *Grottaferrata Gb IX*, f. 13v (Ps. 25: 6) and *Gb XIX* (AD 1591), f. 8v (Ps. 25: 6); etc.

⁹¹ DMITRIEVSKIJ II, pp. 205-206.

⁹² *Činovník*, Moscow, 1798, f. 31r; Warsaw, 1944, f. 9r.

unto lengths of days, always, now and forever, and unto ages of ages, amen."⁹³

The prayer of the *Činovník* is simply an adaptation of the prayer at the washing of the altar in the rite for the consecration of a church.¹⁰⁰ The Greek text goes back to *Barberini 336*, and the original ending reads: "... et aquam istam ad consecrationem et consummationem altaris tui benedic."¹⁰¹ In spite of its antiquity, however, the prayer is a late addition to the Slavic usage. It is not found in any MS we have examined, and the liturgical canons of the Synod of 1666-1667, which describe in detail the rites of the pontifical mass, mention no *lavabo* at all.¹⁰²

It must have been in use before the reforms of 1666-1667 however, since we find it in the 18th century *Činovník of Cholmogory* already mentioned.¹⁰³ The *Činovník* of the *edinovercy* or Russian Old-Ritualists in communion with the Orthodox Church has it along with Ps. 25. In fact this Pontifical has retained so many of the elements we have seen as once part of the *lavabo* rite, as well as some pious reflections ingeniously linking this ceremony and the incensation to the burial cortège motif of the Great Entrance, that it may be worth citing. After the *Nemo dignus* prayer and Ps. 50, we read:

... and after this the archbishop goes to the royal doors, and they bring him a basin and pitcher as before [i. e. after vesting, at the beginning of the liturgy], and the bishop says this prayer over the water: O Lord our God, who sanctified the waters of the Jordan ... And he makes the sign of the cross over the water. He washes his hands, saying: I will wash my hands among the innocent. And having washed his hands and dried them, he blesses those holding the towel. And if there are bishops with him, they wash their own hands themselves, in their own basins. And the priests also wash their hands. Like Joseph and Nicodim, just as they washed their hands with fear and trembling, and with much incense made a sweet odor. And thus they took down from the cross the most-pure and life-giving body of Christ, knowing Him to be truly the Son of God.¹⁰⁴

⁹³ Folio 513r. Here, as so often, the edition of ARABATZOGLOU, *Bibliothèque*, p. 238, is deficient.

¹⁰⁰ *Trebnik III*, Rome, 1951, p. 182.

¹⁰¹ GOAR², p. 659.

¹⁰² *Dejanija*, ff. 51r-53v.

¹⁰³ See note 75 above.

¹⁰⁴ Folia 46v-47v. This little-known work, published in Moscow, 1910, is based on the 16th century codices *Moscow Synod 366* (909) and *367* (680) (cf. f. 105r-v).

Another *lavabo* formula is found in the 13th century Georgian version of CHR edited by Tarchnišvili from codex *Graz Georg. 5*:

*Sacerdos lavat manus, et dicit orationem: Domine Deus meus, emitte in me virtutem de excelso et confirma me ad hoc ministerium tuum, ut inculcate sancto et tremendo et timendo adstans altari tuo incruentum sacrificium offeram tibi, quia tuum est regnum, potentia et gloria Patris et Filii.*¹⁰⁵

As is evident, this text has nothing to do with the *lavabo*. The same MS also has this prayer as the first formula of CHR, to be said by the deacon as he enters the diaconicon for the prothesis.¹⁰⁶ That is where it belongs. It is also the first prayer of CHR in the 11th century codex *Sinai Georg. 89*, to be said by the priest while vesting.¹⁰⁷

The prayer is a translation of the preparatory prayer Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἐξαπόστειλόν μοι δύνάμειν ἐξ ὕψους found in numerous Italo-Greek MSS from the 12th century on.¹⁰⁸ As Jacob has shown, the prayer — like so many other Italo-Greek peculiarities — is of Palestinian origin.¹⁰⁹ It appears in codex *Sinai Gr. 959* (11th century), together with the Palestinian incense prayer of *Leninograd 226* and *Sinai Georg. 89*, in a series of prayers found in the MS after the liturgies and some other rituals.¹¹⁰ *Sinai Gr. 959* is a codex of the old Constantinopolitan recension, and according to Jacob these prayers are later Palestinian additions inserted by the copyist after the Constantinopolitan formulary. For at this time and even later, the Constantinopolitan tradition had no vesting prayer

¹⁰⁵ TARCHNIŠVILI, *Liturgiae ibericae*, pp. 48 and 55.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

¹⁰⁷ JACOB, *Version géorgienne*, pp. 85-86.

¹⁰⁸ *Oxford Bodl. Auct. E.5.13. (Misc. 78)*, (*LEW*, p. 542, 28-30); *Grottaferrata Gb II* (MURETOV, *K materialam*, p. 2; reading of title corrected in JACOB, *Version géorgienne* p. 79, n. 66); *Vat. Gr. 1811* (f. 72r) — all 12th c. Reggio-Messina MSS. It is also in the 13th c. Otrantan MS *Karlsruhe EM 6* as the 7th of eight prayers added before CHR (MONE, *Messen*, p. 139). On these MSS cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 387-391 (he edits the text on pp. 390-391). In the 14th c. the prayer appears in *Codex Falscae* (*Grott. Gb III*, MURETOV, *K materialam*, p. 70; not in GOAR'S edition because the prayer precedes the title of CHR); in the 15th c. in *Moscow Synod 321 (428)* (MURETOV, *K materialam*, p. 17); and in *BAS of St. Petersburg Imperial Library 561*, AD 1532 (ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 8). A modified version is found in the 15th c. *Moscow Synod 381* (MURETOV, *K materialam*, p. 17 in the notes), and in a diataxis in the library of Dmitrievskij (DMITRIEVSKIJ III, p. 117).

¹⁰⁹ JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 220-221; 387-391.

¹¹⁰ DMITRIEVSKIJ II, pp. 51-52. Cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 220-221.

or prayer of preparation before the liturgy, as can be seen from the version of Leo Tuscan.¹¹¹ From Palestine, or perhaps from Italy — "vraisemblablement par les courants d'échanges monastiques," says Jacob — the prayer eventually made its way to Athos and into the monastic diataxeis.¹¹² It is found in the diataxis from which the rubrics of the roll *Esphigmenou 34* (AD 1306) were drawn, and in that of Philotheus, and from there it entered the *editio princeps* of 1526.¹¹³

Its presence at the *lavabo* in Georgian CHR of *Graz Georg. 5* is to be attributed to the later practice of inserting at the Great Entrance various preparatory prayers and *apologiae* taken from among the various formulae that some MSS provide for the priest to say before vesting for the liturgy. We discuss this development more at length in chapter VI.

The Disappearance of the Lavabo from the Presbyteral Liturgy

In spite of the evidence for a *lavabo* in the presbyteral liturgy, most euchologies do not mention it at all. Because of the slow evolution of Byzantine rubrics this would not surprise us were it not for the fact that the diataxeis are also silent on the point. Neither the 10th century diataxis used by Tuscan, nor the 12-13th century diataxis of codex *Ethnike bibl. 662* nor that of Philotheus, have a *lavabo*.¹¹⁴ And it is the rubrics of Philotheus that later entered the printed editions of the euchology and fixed Byzantine liturgical usage more or less in its present form.

These sources contain no *lavabo* at all in any part of the liturgy, but in the *editio princeps* of Doucas (1526), the priest and deacon wash their hands and recite Ps. 25: 6-12 after vesting, just before the prothesis. Is this but one more sign of the tendency observable in some Eastern traditions to develop the rite of preparation of the gifts before the liturgy by shifting to it ritual elements that once surrounded the transfer of the gifts before the anaphora?

Bornert in his recent study on the Byzantine liturgical commentaries has traced step by step the textual revisions undergone

¹¹¹ JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 217, 219 ff; *Toscan*, p. 135.

¹¹² JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 391.

¹¹³ *Esphigmenou 34*, DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 262. KRASNOSEL'CHV, *Materialy*, p. 10, has edited the diataxis in *Panteleimon 5924*, of the type from which the rubrics of the *Esphigmenou* roll were drawn; he gives the *Esphigmenou* variants in the notes. For Philotheus, cf. TREMPÉLAS, p. 1.

¹¹⁴ JACOB, *Toscan*, pp. 149-50; TREMPÉLAS, pp. 9-10.

by the commentary of Germanus, which describes the presbyteral liturgy. In this process, passages concerning the preparation of the gifts, etc., which in the primitive recensions are located just before the Great Entrance, are moved up to the newly developed prothesis rite. These changes are first attested by the codex *Vatican Gr. 1151* (13-14th c.), and by other MSS of the MS family Bornert labels "Da" that date from the end of the 13th century.¹¹⁵

But one passage not shifted to the prothesis is a commentary on Ps. 25: 6-8, based on Athanasius' *De titulis psalmorum*, that was interpolated into the text of Germanus after the Great Entrance.¹¹⁶ Since this section concerning the *lavabo* was not touched in the 13-14th century textual rearrangements of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* one can argue that the *lavabo* was still found after the Great Entrance in the presbyteral liturgy at least until the end of the 13th century. When was it added to the prothesis rite? On the basis of the evidence from certain medieval MSS Bornert locates this "déplacement" in the course of the 12-13th century: *Esphigmenou Roll 34* (1306 AD) has the priest wash his hands and recite Ps. 25 before vesting, and a 13th century diataxis in the library of Dmitrievskij prescribes the *lavabo* with Ps. 25 just before the prothesis.¹¹⁷ Actually, as we have seen, there are MSS right up until the end of the 16th century that still have the *lavabo* at the Great Entrance of the presbyteral liturgy.¹¹⁸ So it would be better to speak of a doubling rather than a displacement of the *lavabo*.

At any rate the *lavabo* is found today only before the prothesis in the printed editions of the presbyteral mass. We do not know from what source Doucas took his rubrics for this. Bornert is wrong in stating that the diataxis of Philotheus confirmed the practice.¹¹⁹ None of the MSS of this diataxis that we have been able to study contain any *lavabo* at all.¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ BORNERT, *Commentaires*, pp. 128 ff, especially pp. 139 and 165. On p. 139, n. 2, Bornert lists the shifted passages and indicates their original location in the *Urtext*.

¹¹⁶ GERMANUS, *HE*, PG 98, 424 C-D = ATHANASIUS, *De titulis psalmorum*, PG 27, 740 C-D.

¹¹⁷ BORNERT, *Commentaires*, pp. 167-168. For the two sources cited, cf. DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 262 and III, p. 117.

¹¹⁸ Cf. above, p. 170 and note 96 for examples of these late MSS.

¹¹⁹ BORNERT, *Commentaires*, p. 168 n. 1.

¹²⁰ Ed. TREMPÉLAS, pp. 1-16; ed. KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, pp. 36 ff. On the MSS of Philotheus' diataxis, cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 441 ff.

But the *lavabo* has remained at the Great Entrance in the Byzantine pontifical liturgy. And the prayer in the Slavic *Činovnik*, when the bishop blesses the water just before he washes his hands: "O Lord our God who blessed the waters of the Jordan..." adds a finishing touch to a rite found before the anaphora in almost every traditional eucharistic liturgy in Christendom.

CHAPTER V

THE PROCESSION OF THE GIFTS

We have shown in chapter I that in the earliest sources, the procession with the gifts was purely utilitarian in purpose: someone had to bring up bread and wine, so the deacons did it while the priest carried on with his own liturgy. It retains this practicality in the homily of Theodore of Mopsuestia cited in chapter I, although the commentator adds a symbolic interpretation. Even as late as the 14th century, Nicolas Cabasilas insists that some rites of the liturgy have no more than a practical purpose, among them the Great Entrance, which exists simply because one has to bring up the gifts.¹ By that time, however, Cabasilas is one of the rare commentators who does not stress typology at the expense of the true meaning and function of prayers and rites.² And the purely practical nature of this transfer of gifts is not so evident today because of later modifications in the liturgical disposition of the Byzantine church.

The Liturgical Disposition of the Early Churches of Constantinople

The way most Byzantine churches are now arranged, the gifts are already in the sanctuary, on a side-table to the north (left) of the main altar, and the procession makes a circle from sanctuary to sanctuary, usually going down the north aisle and returning up the central nave. The Russians do not descend from the solea at all, even though their rubrics say "they go through the church praying."³ In older, more properly arranged churches, the prothesis is at least in a side chapel, the northeast pastophorion. We have already discussed in chapter I the theories evolved to explain the appearance of this northeast prothesis chamber in mid-6th century as an innovation resulting from changes in the

¹ *Liturgiae expositio* 24, PG 150, 420.

² BORNERT, *Commentaires*, p. 239.

³ Cf. BULGAKOV, *Nastol'naja kniga*, p. 818 note 86; *Dejanija*, f. 52v.

offerings of the faithful and in the transfer of gifts. And these changes are supposed to signal the "introduction" of the Great Entrance into the liturgy of the Great Church.

But as T. Mathews has shown in his recent study of the early churches of Constantinople, we have evidence for the Great Entrance long before side-apses or pastophoria appear in Constantinopolitan churches.⁴ So one cannot argue from the archeological remains of churches in Greece and Macedonia. According to Mathews the difference between the churches of Greece and Constantinople is so great that to group them together produces more confusion than help. The liturgical disposition of the churches in Greece were characterized by the following elements, none of which are common in Constantinople:

- 1) The synthronon was complemented by seats for the clergy beside the altar.
- 2) The ambo was usually off-center, and often single-staired.
- 3) The central chancel entrance was emphasized by a portico.
- 4) Prothesis chambers were common either as pastophoria or as chambers by the narthex.
- 5) There was often a tripartite transept.
- 6) Often stylobates separated nave and aisles.

The Constantinople church was distinguished by the following features:

- 1) Extraordinary openness of design (numerous entrances, easy communication between various parts of the church).
- 2) The presence of an atrium and narthex.
- 3) No pastophoria or auxiliary chambers anywhere.
- 4) An outside skeuophylakion.
- 5) Galleries, accessible via outside entrances and stairways, that surrounded the nave on three sides (N-S-W).
- 6) A centrally located ambo.
- 7) No barriers between central nave and side naves; the central nave was also occupied by the laity during services.
- 8) The apse was filled by a very high synthronon of many steps; apart from this there were no other seats for the clergy.
- 9) The altar was not located in the apse, but before it.
- 10) The sanctuary was enclosed by a π -shaped chancel-barrier, originally low, later surmounted by colonnettes and an archi-

⁴ MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, *passim*, especially chapter 4. Unless otherwise noted, our discussion of the liturgical arrangement of the churches of Constantinople is based on this work.

trave; it did not block-off the sanctuary from the view of the congregation.

- 11) In some churches, the ambo was connected to the sanctuary by a solea or pathway similar to the Syrian *bēt-šqāqōnā*.⁵

These characteristics indicate a marked difference in the liturgies of these two areas. This should not surprise us. It was not until the Council of Chalcedon (451) that Thrace came officially under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Constantinople. All of the Prefecture of Illyricum except the diocese of Thrace was part of the Patriarchate of Rome — officially at least — although the whole of Greece and the Balkans remained a bone of contention between Old and New Rome until the Turks took Constantinople in 1453. True, the area was part of the Eastern Empire, so Byzantine influence cannot be excluded.⁶ But we have no basis for presuming that the rite of Constantinople was used generally in this area before the end of the iconoclast crisis.

The Byzantine rite is in origin the rite of the city of Constantinople, and it is there that we must seek a correspondence between our early literary and archeological evidence for the rite of the Great Church. Only after the 9th century do we see a uniformity of liturgical planning between Greece and Constantinople.⁷ Such a comparison of the archeological with the liturgical evidence is extremely important for the history of ritual, especially that of the Great Entrance which is the most complicated ritual act of the whole Constantinopolitan rite. To say, for example, that the procession proceeded from the skeuophylakion to the altar is to

⁵ On the Syrian *bēt-šqāqōnā*, consult TART, *Bema*, pp. 333-334.

⁶ The Patriarchate of Constantinople comprised the dioceses of Thrace, Asia and Pontus. In Europe this included roughly that part of the Balkans south of the Danube and east of Sofia. Ecclesiastical Illyricum, which included the dioceses of Illyricum, Dacia, and Macedonia, fell under the jurisdiction of Rome. The first Council of Constantinople (381) had confirmed the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Thrace over that diocese and accorded to Constantinople only a place of honor, after old Rome (canons 2, 3, MANSI 3, 560). An Imperial law of 421 gave Constantinople the right to judge disputes in the Prefecture of Illyricum (*Codex Justiniana* i, 2, 6; *Corpus Juris Civilis* II, Berlin, 1900, p. 12), but the Council of Chalcedon divided the diocese of Thrace from the prefecture of Illyricum and limited Constantinople's power in Illyricum to Thrace alone. For a summary of the Roman-Byzantine dispute over Illyricum, which became especially heated with the "Bulgarian question" in the 9th-10th centuries, cf. G. EVERY, *The Byzantine Patriarchate, 451-1204*, London, 1947, pp. 38 ff, 112 ff, 122 ff.

⁷ MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, p. 5.

say nothing whatever if one has no idea where skeuophylakion and altar were located, and how one could get from one to the other. So we must examine this question.

1. *The Sanctuary Area*

In his excellent and in some ways revolutionary study of the pre-iconoclast churches of Constantinople, Mathews has traced a pattern of liturgical planning as distinctive as it is consistent, and in many ways quite different from what has previously been supposed. The most startling conclusion for our purposes here, in studying the Great-Entrance procession, is the complete absence of pastophoria or side-chambers in the Constantinopolitan church plan. In none of the early Byzantine churches in Constantinople do we find flanking chambers north and south of the apse.⁸ This was noted by E. Freshfield a century ago, though he was unable to give any satisfactory interpretation of the data.⁹ Mathews has also shown how the early Constantinopolitan church was characterized by great openness: naves and aisles were entirely open to each other, and the churches abounded in entrances, even at the east end as a rule, thus excluding any prothesis and diaconicon chapels there.¹⁰

The early churches of Constantinople have, then, only a single apse, in the east end, filled by the synthronon and the numerous steps leading up to it.¹¹ Before this area the chancel enclosing the altar extends into the nave, where the altar is located. The chancel or sanctuary area was generally π -shaped, and had entrances at the front and on each side.¹² On both sides of the single apse, where one would expect side-apses serving as pastophoria, are two entrances to the outside — and these are not just "back doors" or "service entrances". They are among the principal entrances of the church. In Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirene, for example, they are "monumental in size."¹³

We see here the exact opposite of what we have always been

⁸ MATHEWS, *Early Churches* pp. 13, 18-19, 22, 30-31, 37-38, 51, 55, 61, 65-67, 72-73, 84, 87, 94, 105 ff.

⁹ FRESHFIELD, *On Byzantine Churches*. Cf. below, p. 183.

¹⁰ Cf. the references in note 8.

¹¹ MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, p. 109 and Part I *passim*.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 98, 109-110; and Part I *passim*. Exceptions are the Saray and Beyazit churches, and probably Hag. Sergios and Bacchos, which, it seems, had a rectilinear barrier straight across the front of the sanctuary.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

led to believe: the sanctuary plan of the early Byzantine church is characterized not by the tripartite sanctuary so common in Syria, but precisely by the absence of this arrangement. None of the early churches of Constantinople exhibits such a plan, and this is what sets the capital apart from other centers of liturgical *rayonnement*. In Northern Syria the tripartite sanctuary of main apse and flanking pastophoria is general. The same is true in Ravenna from the 5th century on. In Greece and Macedonia the problem is more complex. But in Constantinople such an arrangement first appears in the early 10th century Budrum Camii and the north church of the Fenari Isa Camii, and becomes general only thereafter. In the earlier churches, not only are there no side chambers at the east end; there are none at the narthex either, as are commonly found in Greece. *There are simply no auxiliary chambers whatsoever.*¹⁴

No clearer proof of this could be found than the example of the greatest church ever built to serve this cult: the new Hagia Sophia, dedicated December 24, 537. A knowledge of the layout of this church is absolutely essential for any understanding of the ritual of the Byzantine mass. As the cathedral church of this rite, it not only served the cult of the city; it formed it. Apart from the loss of its atrium and the addition of some Turkish outbuildings and minarets, Hagia Sophia still stands more or less as the architects Anthemius and Isidore left it.¹⁵

From his study of the liturgical planning of Hagia Sophia, Mathews comes to the following conclusion.

... It is quite clear that the sacristies or prothesis and diaconicon chapels that Lethaby and Antoniades proposed to reconstruct on either side of the church's main apse did not exist. As indicated in Van Nice's plan, the east wall of Justinian's church is complete and intact its entire length, following a straight line on either side of the apse. In the overall picture of Early Byzantine architecture no instance could be of greater weight than that of the cathedral church of the capital city, and here we find but a single apse flanked by eastern entrances, not by prothesis and diaconicon.¹⁶

It is not to Greece or Syria, then, but rather to the dioceses of Asia, perhaps, that one must look for the model of the Constantinopolitan-type sanctuary. According to Hoddinott,

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 105-107.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

in eastern Anatolia another form of church appeared. Related to the parochial churches of both northern Mesopotamia and northern Syria, this was basically a 'barn church' but it was distinguished by a single, protruding, eastern apse instead of an inscribed, tripartite sanctuary [as in Syria] and by a triple-chambered ... narthex This siting of what was, in substance, the chambers of diaconicon and prothesis in the narthex was a characteristic of Cappadocia and neighboring parts of eastern Anatolia ...¹⁷

In fact this same type of church arrangement is found in Greece and the Balkans until the 5th century, though the Syrian-type tripartite sanctuary begins to appear there in mid-6th century.¹⁸ And there is one church in Anatolia from the same period, church no. 32 of Bin Bir Kilisse, that has pastophoria of the Syrian type.¹⁹

According to Freshfield, a similar evolution is observable in Constantinople, but his explanation of the data is superficial. There were no pastophoria in churches built before the time of Justin II (565-578), he maintains, because until then there was no need for them. The Great Entrance had not yet been introduced into the liturgy. Further, he notes that according to Cedrenus' *Historiarum Compendium*, Justin in the seventh year of his reign "added two apses (*ἀψίδας*) to the church of the Blachernai, and made it cruciform."²⁰ Now as we know, this is the emperor who introduced the Cherubicon into the liturgy, and so Freshfield, putting these two bits of information together with the archeological data, draws his conclusions: the birth of the Great Entrance created the need for a triple-apse sanctuary arrangement in the Byzantine church.²¹ However, it is not at all clear that what Justin added to the church of Hag. Theotokos of Blachernes were two pastophoria at the east end of the church flanking the sanctuary. Rather, it seems that he added two vaults to the north and south sides of the church to form not a tripartite sanctuary but rather a trefoil transept, thus transforming the church — as the

¹⁷ HODDINOTT, *Early Byzantine Churches*, pp. 39-40. Cf. also pp. 175, 198 ff and fig. 18 and 120 ff.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 191, 198 ff, 228, 232, and fig. 120 ff. However, the early christian basilicas of Greece and Macedonia usually have no auxiliary chambers at all, or else they follow the Syrian system of pastophoria (*ibid.*, pp. 100-101).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 218 ff and fig. 147.

²⁰ FRESHFIELD, *On Byzantine Churches*, *passim*, esp. p. 389. The text of CEDRENUS is in PG 121, 748.

²¹ *On Byzantine Churches*, *loc. cit.*

text says — into the form of a cross. This is the opinion of Krautheimer;²² it seems to be shared by Janin, who refers to the added vaults as "bras",²³ and it is the only intelligible way to understand what "cruciform" in the text could mean. As for the Cherubicon, we have seen that it was not the earliest Byzantine Great-Entrance chant, and we have already dispensed in chapter I with the theory of a 6th century origin of the Great Entrance.

Furthermore we have seen that the archeological evidence is against this supposed 6th century change in the capital. It is not until the 10th century that the tripartite apse at the east end of Constantinopolitan churches becomes general.²⁴ Hagia Sophia, not completed until 563, shows the same traits that characterize the early Constantinopolitan church plan, including the single apse flanked by major entrances at the east end.²⁵ Because the other 5-6th century churches of Constantinople conform to the same plan, Mathews remarks that one cannot consider this style, as Jantzen does, "a victory of pure architectural logic over the practical needs of cult."²⁶ That would be odd in buildings constructed precisely for the needs of a specific cult! "Instead, we must begin to reconsider the liturgical forms that might have required chambers flanking the apse in Early Byzantine architecture."²⁷

For if there were no sacristies within the church building itself, then where and how were the functions served by such side-chambers in other rites, and in today's Byzantine liturgy, accommodated in the early churches of Constantinople?

We must establish where the vestments and scriptural texts were kept, where the clergy might have prepared for the liturgy, and how they would have entered their places in the sanctuary.

²² *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, p. 190.

²³ *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin. I: Le siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat Oecuménique. Tome III: Les églises et les monastères*, Paris, 1969², p. 162. JANIN (pp. 161 ff) gives all the pertinent data on this church, which we know only through the literary sources.

²⁴ MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, p. 107 and *supra*, p. 182.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 94-99. Some authors have presumed that the prothesis and diaconicon functions were carried out in the irregular corners of the NE and SE bays close to the sanctuary, but according to MATHEWS (*Early Churches*, p. 94) there is no archeological evidence whatever to show that these areas were ever separated from the rest of the church by any barrier. FRESHFIELD also mentions several who have held this opinion, which he also challenges (*On Byzantine Churches*, p. 387).

²⁶ H. JANTZEN, *Die Hagia Sophia des Kaisers Justinian in Konstantinopel*, Köln, 1967, p. 37. Cf. MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, p. 94.

²⁷ MATHEWS, *loc. cit.*

We must also discover where the prothesis ceremony might have taken place, where the bread and wine could have been prepared for the Eucharist, and how these elements would have been brought to the altar for the liturgy. In short, our present knowledge of the design of the church sanctuary requires that we reconsider the performance of the Entrance ceremonies of the early Byzantine liturgy. Archeological evidence indicates that we are dealing with a liturgical usage substantially different from that in other Early Christian centers, and one would hope to find in the liturgy itself some explanation for these differences.²⁸

2. *The Skeuophylakion*

Our main question, then, is already posed for us: where was the skeuophylakion which our literary sources clearly describe as the chamber from which the gifts were borne out in procession at the Great Entrance, and to which the sacred species were returned after communion? Old Hagia Sophia, the "Great Church" in which Chrysostom harangued the unruly factions of the capital, burned down in the year 404, only 44 years after its consecration, in the riots accompanying the final expulsion of Chrysostom from his see. But Palladius informs us that the skeuophylakion was spared in the fire, since it was a separate "little building (*οίκισκον*) in which the many sacred vessels were kept."²⁹ Now this skeuophylakion has been identified as the small rotunda that still stands by the northeast corner of the present church.³⁰ It did not burn down because it was not part of the main church building. We are not unacquainted with similar types of church construction in the West. Numerous churches in Italy, for example, have baptistry and campanile completely separate from the church proper. The "leaning tower of Pisa" is a stranger to no-one. We know that the baptistry of Hagia Sophia was a separate octagonal building beside the church,³¹ and it is not extraordinary for the skeuophylakion to have been located in a similar way.

Our next reference to the skeuophylakion is from the *Chronicon Paschale* under Patriarch Sergius I (610-638) where it is indicated as the starting point of the Great Entrance and the place

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

²⁹ *Dialogus de Vita S. Ioannis*, PG 47, 35-36; cf. SYMEON METAPHRASTES, *Vita S. I. Chrysostomi*, PG 114, 1188; MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, pp. 12 ff.

³⁰ Cf. F. DIRIMTEKIN, *Le skeuophylakion de Sainte-Sophie*, REB 19, 1961, pp. 397-400; MATHEWS, *Early churches*, pp. 16-18.

³¹ MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, pp. 90 and 92, figure 49.

to which the gifts and vessels are brought back in procession after mass.³² But nothing is said about its location. A century later Patriarch Germanus († 733), in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, writes that "the preparation of the gifts, which takes place in the [interpolation: sanctuary or in the] skeuophylakion, stands for the place of Calvary where Christ was crucified."³³ The later interpolation is further proof that the present place where the gifts are prepared is not the same as the original skeuophylakion, which must still have been in use when Germanus wrote his commentary. Finally, from the 9th century we have a fanciful account of who owned the property on which the various parts of the Hagia Sophia complex were built. According to the author of the account, the sanctuary and Holy Well to the south belonged to a certain Antiochus the eunuch, whereas the skeuophylakion — presumably to the north — was the property of the widow Anna.³⁴ It would seem then that the skeuophylakion, like the Holy Well,³⁵ was located outside the church.

Further confirmation of this is given by the 10th century *Book of Ceremonies*. We read that on Holy Saturday the sovereigns, after entering the sanctuary and incensing the altar, "cross through the left [i. e. north] side of the sanctuary and enter the skeuophylakion." When the rite to be performed there is over, "the sovereigns go out with the patriarch and cross through the left side of the sanctuary, and after going through the [passageway] of St. Nicholas, they go out by the great door leading to the Holy Well."³⁶ A description of the same rite in chapter 44 (35) is clearer: "... receiving a thurible from the patriarch, he [the emperor] incenses around the altar thrice and goes out through the left-hand side and goes away to the skeuophylakion." After entering it and performing various rites there,

³² PG 92, 989 (cited below, p. 194): AD 615; PG 92, 1001: AD 624.

³³ Ed. BORGIA, pp. 28-29.

³⁴ T. PREGER, ed. *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum* I, Leipzig, 1901, pp. 77-78; cf. MATHEWS, *Early churches*, p. 160.

³⁵ Cf. MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, pp. 93-94, 132.

³⁶ I, 1, ed. VOGT I, pp. 27-28. Vogt identifies this "great door" with the south door leading to the Augusteon (*Commentaire* I, p. 63). According to MATHEWS (*Early churches*, p. 94), in addition to the two main east entrances with vestibules there was also a smaller door in the northeast corner of the southeastern bay. Its doorframe is still in place and can be seen from inside the church. Outside it is now blocked by the buttress. This is most likely the "small door leading to Holy Well" in *De caerimoniis* I, 1 (VOGT I, p. 14).

he rises, and going out of the skeuophylakion, passes through the narthex of the gynaeceum, where the deaconesses of the Great Church have their customary place, and goes out by the left-hand door of the sanctuary and the patriarch gives him the eulogia. And going via the narrow passageway of St. Nicholas located behind the sanctuary, both of them go away, up to the Holy Well ...³⁷

The text is somewhat baffling, because what one usually calls the narthex is a courtyard along the front of Hagia Sophia. The gynaeceum or women's place was at that time in the north or left-hand aisle, so perhaps the narthex referred to is the vestibule that was before the entrance at the east end of this aisle, near the skeuophylakion.³⁸ At any rate it is clear that in order to go from the skeuophylakion back into the sanctuary the emperor had to go through the north aisle of the church. Hence the skeuophylakion could not have been there, nor in the two semi-circles on either side of the bema. After crossing into the sanctuary, the emperor then goes out by the left door of the chancel. How they went then to the "passageway of St. Nicholas" that apparently passed behind the apse, connecting the vestibules of the NE and SE entrances,³⁹ is not stated in either of the passages cited.

Finally we can adduce two other 10th century Constantinopolitan sources, BAS in the version of Johannsburg and in *Codex Pyromalus*, which can be best interpreted as referring to a skeuophylakion outside the church. Here is the opening passage of the Johannsburg translation according to the edition of Cochlaeus' *Speculum*:

Primum, Patriarchae cum sequentis ordinis Clero Ecclesiasticis uestimentis induto, offeruntur in Sacrario ab oblationarijs mundatae et compositae oblatae, à populis susceptae, quas ponit in patenis, & adolens super eas incensum dicit hanc orationem.

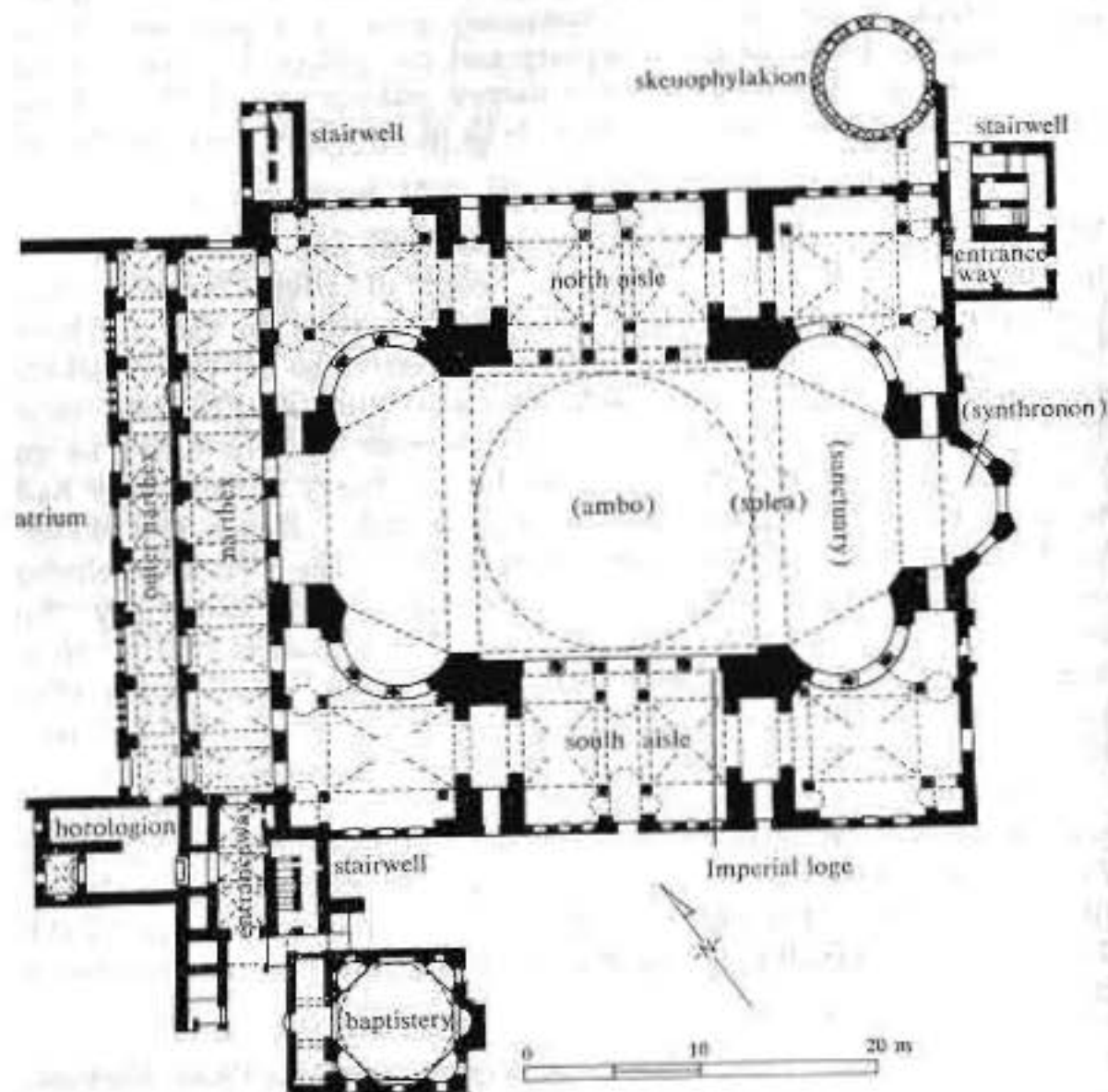
Domine Deus noster, qui coelestem panem escam omnis mundi ... Amen. [= prothesis prayer]

Tunc ante aduentum Pontificis intrant Ecclesiam Presbyter & Diaconus, et stantibus ante Cancellos, dicit Presbyter inclinato capite hanc orationem secreta.

³⁷ I, 44, ed. VOGT I, pp. 170-171.

³⁸ Cf. DIRIMTEKIN, *Skeuophylakion*, p. 396; MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, p. 132.

³⁹ Cf. DIRIMTEKIN, *loc. cit.*; MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, p. 94; VOGT, *Commentaire* I, p. 78.



PLAN OF HAGIA SOPHIA SHOWING THE LOCATION OF THE SKEUOPHYLAKION
 Courtesy of Thomas F. MATHEWS (*Early Churches*, figure 49)

Domine Deus noster cuius potestas est sine numero ... [= prayer of the first antiphon]⁴⁰

Since the text explicitly refers to the presence of the patriarch and clergy in the skeuophylakion *before they enter the church for the liturgy*, the skeuophylakion must have been outside.

All the functions mentioned in the sources as being accommodated in the skeuophylakion obviously go together. The gifts are borne out from the place in which they were prepared. And where they are prepared is the logical place for the vessels to be stored, and to which, therefore, they must be returned after communion. The procession was no mere march from sanctuary to sanctuary, as today. The vessels and other paraphernalia for the eucharistic synaxis were brought out because they were needed in the sanctuary, and up to this point of the liturgy they had not been in the sanctuary, nor for that matter in the church at all. The skeuophylakion, therefore, was the building where the liturgy begins and ends. It was there that ministers vested and prepared the gifts received from the people. The prothesis prayer in the early codices is entitled "Prayer that the priest says in the skeuophylakion after putting the bread on the discos."⁴¹ It was there, too, that the Great-Entrance procession began; it was there that the final prayer of the liturgy, the "Prayer said in the skeuophylakion" was recited following the exit procession at the end of mass.⁴²

From the *De caerimoniis* it is obvious that the skeuophylakion of Hagia Sophia was near the north side of the church, and as we have seen, Dirimtekin and Mathews, along with several of their predecessors in the study of Hagia Sophia, identify the still extant northeast rotunda with the skeuophylakion referred to in the sources cited above.⁴³

Was this arrangement true only for the Great Church or was it typical of Constantinople to have the sacristy located in a building apart from the main edifice of the church? Dirimtekin unearthed a circular edifice at the northeast corner of Hagia Eirene which he says was probably the skeuophylakion. This structure is later than the original 6th century church, and may date from

⁴⁰ COCHLAEUS, *Speculum*, p. 119. For *Codex Pyromalus* cf. GOAR², p. 153.

⁴¹ *Barberini 336* (BAS), LEW, p. 309, 5-7: "Εὐχή ἦν ποιεῖ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐν τῷ σκευοφυλακίῳ ἀποτιθεμένου τοῦ ἄρτου ἐν τῷ δισκῷ."

⁴² "Εὐχή λεγομένη ἐν τῷ σκευοφυλακίῳ." In *Barberini 336* (BAS) it is simply called "Εὐχή τοῦ σκευοφυλακίου" (LEW, p. 344, 21).

⁴³ Cf. MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, pp. 16 ff, 89, 160; and note 30 above.

the reconstruction of 740.⁴⁴ Mathews suggests that previously Hagia Eirene and Hagia Sophia, which are very close together within the same compound, may have used the same skeuophylakion.⁴⁵ This is quite plausible if we recall that the same clergy served both churches.⁴⁶ When there was a celebration in one of these churches, there would be none in the other.

We also have literary evidence for a skeuophylakion at the 5th century church of Hag. Theotokos of Blachernes, rebuilt under Justin I (518-27) and remodelled under Justin II (565-78). A passage of the *De caerimoniis* describes how the sovereigns, after performing their devotions in the sanctuary of Hag. Theotokos, "cross through the sanctuary by the right side to the east, and through the skeuophylakion, and enter the narthex of the [chapel of the] Holy Coffer."⁴⁷ The chapel of the Holy Coffer of the garments of the Theotokos was a distinct edifice within the complex of this most famous sanctuary of the Theotokos in the capital. It was located to the right (south) of the main church, and its narthex could be entered by going through the sanctuary and skeuophylakion of the latter. It is not certain — but not improbable — that the skeuophylakion was also outside and served both churches. At least it was accessible via two doors, as at Hagia Sophia,⁴⁸ and one of them was an outside door. And from its location we can see that the arrangement was quite different from the fixed place of the prothesis in the northeast (left) apse of later churches.

Nor was the outside skeuophylakion a peculiarity of the great patriarchal churches or other large sanctuaries. We have one witness for it in the small 5th century church of Hagios Theodoros Sphorakios. The *Chronicon Paschale*, speaking of the fire of the Nike riot in 532 that ravaged downtown Constantinople, informs

⁴⁴ F. DIRIMTEKIN, *Les fouilles faites en 1946-1947 et en 1958-1960 entre Sainte-Sophie et Sainte-Irène, Cahiers Archéologiques* 13, 1962, pp. 162 and 165, fig. 2. Cf. MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, pp. 84-85, 161 and Figure 44 (p. 84).

⁴⁵ *Early Churches*, p. 161.

⁴⁶ Cf. *Novella III, 1 (Corpus Juris Civilis III, Berlin 1899, p. 21).*

⁴⁷ II, 12, CONSTANTINUS PORPHYROGENITUS, *De caerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. J. J. REISKE (= *CSHB*) vol. I, Bonn, 1829, p. 552: "... διέρχονται διὰ τοῦ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν δεξιῶν μέρους τοῦ βήματος καὶ τοῦ σκευοφυλακίου, καὶ εἰσέρχονται εἰς τὸν νάρθηκα τῆς ἁγίας σοφοῦ..." On this church see above, note 23. Of course one could interpret "skeuophylakion" here as referring to the southeast diaconicon of the usual Middle and Late Byzantine triple-apse arrangement, but we have no evidence for such apses in this church (see above, pp. 183-4).

⁴⁸ Cf. below, p. 199.

us that "everything in the vicinity of Hagios Theodoros of Sphorakios was consumed in this fire, except the skeuophylakion of the oven of the church."⁴⁹ Hence the skeuophylakion of this church was also a separate building, and like that of Hagia Sophia, had an oven.

So we have evidence for four skeuophylakia, at least three of them separate buildings, and no evidence whatever for pastophoria. Furthermore, our sources are clear that the Great Entrance was a procession from skeuophylakion to sanctuary, for it was in the skeuophylakion that the vessels were stored and the bread and wine prepared.

We do not know whether a similar arrangement was ever in use outside of Constantinople. But the unpublished *Refutatio et eversio* of St. Nicephorus I (758-828), Patriarch of Constantinople, cites a passage of the *Vita Pancratii* or life of St. Pancratius of Taormina (Sicily) that refers to "the tower (τὸν πύργον) of the skeuophylakion."⁵⁰ Since πύργος can also be understood to mean "outbuilding", perhaps the same sort of skeuophylakion is referred to here. At any rate it was accessible to the faithful, for the text speaks of an icon of Christ placed "in the little tower" (ἐν τῷ πύργισκῳ) for their edification.

⁴⁹ *PG* 92, 880. This was a small ("dimensions restreintes") 5th century oratory erected by the senator Sphorakios somewhere between the Forum of Constantine and the Mese. Not far from Hagia Sophia, it was served by the latter's clergy and it was there that in 513, by order of the emperor Anastasius, the theopaschite clause of the Trisagion was chanted in Constantinople for the first time. Cf. JANIN, *Géographie (supra*, note 23), pp. 152-153. Note the reference to an oven. There was also a "Holy Oven" in the skeuophylakion of Hagia Sophia, and according to the evidence we have it was used to prepare the chrism, and to consume the eucharistic species that had spoiled. There is no evidence that it was ever used to bake the prophora. Cf. GEORGIOS PACHYMERES, *De Michaelis et Andronico Palaeologia libri tredecim*, ed. I. BEKKER (= *CSHB*), Bonn, 1835, II, p. 80; NICEPHORUS GREGORAS, *Historiae byzantinae*, ed. I. BEKKER (= *CSHB*) Bonn, 1855, III, pp. 247-248; A. DMITRIEVSKIĬ, 'Ο ἅγιος σοφὸς, *Vizantiskij vremennik* 24, 1923-26, pp. 139-140 (from an 11th cent. typicon); G. MERCATI, *Il santo forno, Studi e testi* 56, 1931, 295-296. The oven of Hagia Sophia still existed in the 14th century, because NICEPHORUS GREGORAS (*loc. cit.*) relates how Patriarch Philotheus, author of the diataxis, hid there on the sudden return of John Paleologus to the capital, November 22, 1354.

⁵⁰ The passage in question has been edited by P. O'CONNELL, *The Ecclesiology of St. Nicephorus I (758-828)*, (= *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 194), Rome, 1972, p. 161-162, note 3. We are grateful to our colleague Fr. O'Connell for drawing our attention to this passage.

The Procession a True "Entrance" in the Early Sources

But if the skeuophylakion was outside the church, then the Entrance of the Mysteries, like the First Entrance, is today an abbreviation of a former longer procession.⁵¹ Furthermore, it was also a real entrance, an εἰσοδος in the literal meaning of an introit into the church from without, and not just a procession within the church as today. In Maximus, where the first introit is a true one, the same term (εἰσοδος) is used for the Entrance of the Mysteries, and there is no reason to suppose he is using it equivocally. Further, he speaks of the "first introit", thereby implying the existence of a second.⁵²

⁵¹ The First or so-called "Little" Entrance, which is today an entrance into the sanctuary, was formerly the introit of the clergy and people into the church, as can be seen from MAXIMUS' *Mystagogia* and the introit prayer of the old Italian recension of CHR. (Cf. *Myst.* 8-9, PG 91, 688-689. The prayer is in LEW, p. 312, 15-21. It is also found in JAS, PETER, and two Georgian codices of CHR. On the entrance and this prayer, cf. MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 71 ff, 81 ff; JACOB, *Eisodosgebete*; ID., *Formulaire*, pp. 86 ff, 173, 186. The latter indicates all the MSS that contain the prayer, including *Grottaferrata Ob IV* and *Messina Gr. 160* which are not included in MATEOS' list.) The nature of this introit is the reason for some of the characteristics of Constantinopolitan church planning. Each church had a large atrium because it is there that the people awaited the arrival of the patriarch, and entered the church only after he had. Even today the Byzantine tradition follows this order in the pontifical liturgy as opposed to the "juniores priores" principle followed in Roman rite processions. Hence the Constantinopolitan churches were provided also with numerous principal entrances on all four sides, to allow the whole congregation to flood into the church after the dignitaries, as soon as the patriarch had finished the introit prayer before the Royal Doors. No wonder that Hagia Sophia had 100 *ostiaris* to regulate the flow! (cf. note 71 below). The shape of the Constantinopolitan introit is also the reason why there was no need for a diaconicon near the sanctuary to hold the vestments. The clergy entered from outside after vesting in the outside skeuophylakion (cf. *Codex Pyromalus* and the version of Johannisberg cited above, p. 187) or, on stational days, wherever the procession originated. EUSTRATIUS in his *Life of Eutychius*, Patriarch of Constantinople, recounts how the people liked to see the patriarch enter vested "in his apostolic stole" (*Vita Eutychii* 10, 94, PG 86², 2380). The mosaics of S. Vitale in Ravenna also show the clergy entering already vested. Cf. MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, pp. 138-147.

⁵² MAXIMUS, *Mystagogia* 8-9, 16, 24, PG 91, 688-689, 693, 704, 708. Cf. MATEOS, *Célébration*, p. 71; MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, pp. 157 ff. MAXIMUS' terminology of "First Entrance" and "Entrance of the Mysteries" is not used in the euhologies. Most MSS refer to the first introit as simply "the entrance" and give no special title to the entrance of the gifts. But the diataxis of *Ethnike bibl.* 662 (12-13th c.) uses the terms

Theodore of Mopsuestia does not speak of the gifts entering, but of them coming out (νεπεδοq).⁵³ A procession that comes out from a side-chapel or from the sanctuary itself corresponds exactly to the Syrian tripartite sanctuary arrangement that only later emigrated to Constantinople, and to what we know of the Syrian liturgy. Moses bar Kepha († 903), for example, comments on the 10th century Syrian procession of the gifts as follows:

*Concerning the going forth of the mysteries from the altar, and their going about the nave and their return to the altar. — That the mysteries go forth from the altar, and go about the nave in seemly order and return to the altar, makes known that God the Word came down and was made man, and went about in the world and fulfilled the dispensation for us and then ascended the cross, and afterwards ascended to His Father.*⁵⁴

Pseudo-Denys, also describing a Syrian rite, refers to the gifts being put on the altar but not to an entrance.⁵⁵

This was not the early Byzantine system. Maximus has an "entrance" (εἰσοδος), and other Byzantine sources use similar terminology.⁵⁶ In his *Sermo de paschate et de ss. eucharistia*, Pa-

"First" and "Great Entrance" (TREMPELAS, pp. 6 and 9). The same is found in the diataxis of *Moscow Synod 381* (13-14th c.), KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, pp. 23, 25. Today's nomenclature comes from the diataxis of Philotheus (ed. TREMPELAS, pp. 6, 9). Cf. MATEOS, *Célébration*, p. 72.

⁵³ Cf. *Homily 15*, 25 (ed. TONNEAU-DEVYBESSE, p. 502 line 19; cf. p. 503 line 19). Cf. MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, p. 157. For the Syrian church arrangement, see our article *Bema*. To the bibliography given there in note 1 should be added G. BANDMANN, *Über Pastophorien und verwandte Nebenräume im mittelalterlichen Kirchenbau*, in *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien für Hans Kauffmann*, Berlin, 1956, pp. 19-56.

⁵⁴ *Two Commentaries*, ed. CONNOLLY-CODRINGTON, p. 34. As JANERAS has pointed out, the Syriac word used here for altar (madbhā) can also mean sanctuary. He also shows how BAR KEPHA used a letter of SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH (512-518) (*Letter 105*, ed. BROOKS, *Letters*, PO 14, pp. 256-258) in which at that time the distinction between the transfer of gifts by the deacon and the *accessus ad altare* of the priest remains clear. Cf. JANERAS, *Une lettre de Sévère d'Antioche utilisée par Moïse bar Képha*, *Liturgica* (Montserrat) 3, 1966, 67-72, esp. pp. 70-72. By the time of DIONYSIUS BAR SALIBI († 1171) even this relic of the entrance of the gifts had disappeared, though perhaps within his memory, since he says that their ancestors still had it (*Bar Salibi Expositio Liturgiae* 5, p. 21 [47] quoted above, p. 92).

⁵⁵ *EH* 3, 1 and 9, PG 3, 425 and 437. Cf. MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, p. 157.

⁵⁶ One exception, however, is BAS of *Codex Pyromalus* and the related version of Johannisberg. These sources speak of the gifts being brought

patriarch Eutychius speaks of "the gifts that are carried in" (εἰσφερόμενα).⁵⁶ And the *Chronicon Paschale* recounts how in the year 615 Patriarch Sergius I, a contemporary of Maximus, introduced a new entrance chant into the Liturgy of the Presanctified:

In this year, under the patriarch Sergius of Constantinople, in the first week of Lent, the fourth indiction, there began to be sung [the following]: after the "May [our prayer] be directed..." (Ps. 140) at the time of the bringing in (εἰσαγέσθαι) of the presanctified gifts to the sanctuary from the skeuophylakion, after the priest has said "According to the gift of your Christ," [= ephonesis of the second prayer of the faithful] the people begin immediately: "Now the powers of heaven worship with us unseen, for behold the king of glory enters (εἰσπορεύεται) ... Alleluia." This is sung not only at the bringing in (εἰσαγόμενον) of the presanctified [gifts] during Lent, but also on other days, whenever the Presanctified occurs.⁵⁷

Three times the chronicler speaks of the procession of the gifts, and each time he says they are brought in from the skeuophylakion. It is most probable that the skeuophylakion referred to here is that of Hagia Sophia, but we have seen that other churches also had an outdoor skeuophylakion.

The Processional Route

But if the Great Entrance began in an outbuilding, outside the church, what route did it take? How did the procession enter the church? For we must remember that at this point in the liturgy the catechumens and penitents had been dismissed already, and the doors of the church — surely the principal doors at least — closed.⁵⁸ But we have seen that doors all over the place were characteristic of the Constantinopolitan church plan. One of them, guarded by a deacon or porter, must have been left open for the procession.

out: "ἐξέρχονται, deportantur" (GOAR², p. 155; COCHLAEUS, *Speculum*, p. 124). But as we have seen (above, p. 187), the initial rubrics of these same sources testify to the outside skeuophylakion.

⁵⁶ PG 86², 2400-2401 (text cited above, pp. 84-5).

⁵⁷ PG 92, 989.

⁵⁸ Cf. MAXIMUS, *Mystagogia* 14 and 24, PG 91, 692-693, 708. This was true at least in principle, though the custom must have fallen into disuse after the dismissal of penitents, etc. died out (cf. MAXIMUS, *Scholia* 3, 3, 4, PG 4, 141).

1. *The De caerimoniis* (10th century)

The processional route of a 10th century patriarchal liturgy of the Great Church, in the presence of the emperor, is described in the *De caerimoniis*. After entering Hagia Sophia for the liturgy, the emperor took his place in the metatorion in the southern aisle of the church.⁵⁹

When the holy gifts are to be brought in to the holy table, the *praepositi* enter and avert the sovereigns and vest them in their mantle. The sovereigns exit with their mantle, their heads bare, and cross over through the right side of the church itself, with the chamberlains and senators, preceded by the scepters and the other accoutrements, and go out to behind the ambo; for there the sacred vessels stand waiting for them, and there also wait the lamps of the sovereigns, already lighted. When the sovereigns have arrived there, the *praepositi* take the torches and give them over into the hands of the sovereigns, and the sovereigns with lamps in hand march in front of the gifts, with the senators and chamberlains. The sceptres and other accoutrements stand in their proper order and the sovereigns, going via the solea, stand outside the holy doors, the first sovereign to the right, the second to the left, and affix their lamps to the balusters of the holy doors. The holy things, having arrived on the solea, pause, and the archdeacon comes and incenses the sovereigns, then the patriarch, and after him, the holy table. And thus all the holy things enter, and after all have entered the sovereigns greet the patriarch and then go via the right side of the bema outside [the sanctuary barrier] and enter the metatorion ...⁶⁰

Book I, chapter 9 of the same source adds the precision that the patricians stand on each side (of the solea undoubtedly) during the procession, and the emperor passes between them along the solea accompanying (hence not bearing) the gifts.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Cf. VOLT, *Commentaire* I, p. 61: "Sur le coté droit de l'église l'empereur avait son salon, μητρώριον où il se rendait pour s'habiller ou se déshabiller... Devant ce salon se trouvait l'oratoire donnant directement sur l'église et dans lequel l'empereur se tenait pendant le service liturgique". See also MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, pp. 96, 133-134.

⁶⁰ *De caerimoniis* I, 1 (ed. VOLT I, pp. 12-13). Cf. MATHEWS, *Early churches*, pp. 161-162.

⁶¹ Ed. VOLT I, p. 59. It seems that the psalmists descended from the ambo and joined those lined up along the solea to do homage to the procession of the gifts, for the Typicon of the Great Church says that they sang the entrance chant from the soles and not, as one would have ex-

The imperial procession crosses from the right (i. e. south) side of the church to the ambo in the center to meet the gifts, and it seems, as Mathews says, that the deacons bearing the gifts and vessels came from the opposite side, i. e. the north side where the skeuophylakion is located, crossing the nave to a point in the center of the church just behind the ambo, where they were met by the emperor and his entourage. Then the procession, accompanied by the sovereigns, passed along the solea to the central doors of the chancel, where the patriarch was waiting to receive the gifts.⁶²

Less certain is Mathew's suggestion that the procession went from the skeuophylakion along the north side of the church and in the side-door in the center of the north aisle. Constantinople is not in the Bahamas, and such an outdoor processional route could present weather problems unless the courtyards that surrounded Hagia Sophia and other churches of the capital included cloisters along the wall of the church to provide cover.⁶³ On the other hand the same objection could be brought against the first introit, which was — at least on non-stational days — beyond any doubt a procession from the skeuophylakion through the atrium and in the main door at the front (west) of the church.

It is true that the emperor's attendance at the liturgy, at least publicly in his official capacity, was rare. The *Book of Ceremonies* assigns him an active role in worship on less than twenty occasions in the course of the year, most of them in Hagia Sophia.⁶⁴ Naturally, on these occasions the rite had more than usual splendor. Also we must remember that the *Book of Ceremonies* is a 10th century source combining various undistinguished strata.⁶⁵

pected, from their usual place on the ambo (cf. MATEOS, *Typicon* II, p. 6 and *supra*, chapter II, p. 79).

⁶² MATEWS, *Early Churches*, pp. 161-162. On the solea, see note 5 above. The so-called *schola cantorum* of some Roman churches was in reality a similar solea-type processional way (cf. T. MATEWS, *An Early Roman Chancel Arrangement and its Liturgical Functions*, *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 38, 1962, 73-95).

⁶³ Cf. MATEWS, *Early Churches*, pp. 71-72, 89-91.

⁶⁴ Actually in the 10th century period he played a fully active part in the liturgy on only a dozen occasions in the year, as can be seen from a reading of the *De caerimoniis*. He went to Hagia Sophia for the feasts of Nativity, Theophany, Presentation, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Transfiguration, Exaltation of the Cross, and the Feast of Orthodoxy. Cf. MATEWS, *Early Churches*, p. 113.

⁶⁵ The work, attributed to Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus († 959) was amplified considerably in the course of the 10th century, but the

Still, the entrance it describes, minus the imperial party and some of the splendor its presence entailed, was undoubtedly of the same sort in its essentials as the Great Entrance of any liturgy in the capital.

2. *The Version of Leo Tuscan (1173-1178)*

One of our earliest descriptions of the entrance at a non-pontifical liturgy bears this out. In the latin translation of the liturgy of John Chrysostom effected by Leo Tuscan between 1173-1178 on the basis of Constantinopolitan sources, we find the following rubrics immediately after the second prayer of the faithful:

Dum oratio fit pro catecuminis, itur ad propositos panes, quos deferunt ad sanctum altare, prœeunte archydiacono cum thuribulo et sancto peplo, quem secuntur diaconi discos cum panibus sanctis portantes, primus qui dixit euangelium, secundus qui fecit orationem sine intermissione, tercius qui postulauit pro catecuminis, et ex ordine reliqui portantes sanctos calices. Hi autem omnes hunc ymnum concinunt:

Qui cherubym mystice imaginamur et uiuificę trinitati ter sanctum ymnum canimus, omnem secularem sollicitudinem abiciamus ut regem omnium suscepturi angelicis inuisibiliter stipatum agminibus, alleluia.

Cumque uentum est ad sanctas ianuas cancellorum, ingreditur archydiaconus et dato incenso sancto altari, dat et sacerdotibus per ordinem. Et depositis sanctis panibus super sacram mensam in crucis figuram, expanso desuper peplo et astantiõus in circuitu sacerdotibus, dicit archypresbyter: Orate pro me, sacerdotes sancti.

Qui respondent: Spiritus sanctus superueniat in te et uirtus altissimi obumbret tibi.

Et rursus illi dicunt ad eum: Memento nostri, domine.

*Et ipse respondet: Memor sit nostri dominus deus in regno suo.*⁶⁶

As we saw in the previous chapter, the rubrics given here are from a diataxis that goes back at least as far as the 10th century. The following points should be noted regarding the rubrics of the entrance in this interesting text:

- 1) Only the deacons march in the procession. The priests stay in the sanctuary to receive the gifts.

sections concerning church services are considered authentic (cf. VOGT, *Commentaire* I, pp. xvii-xviii).

⁶⁶ JACOB, *Toscan*, pp. 149-150.

- 2) The thurible is borne in the procession to honor the gifts, but also because there was incensation in the skeuophylakion.
- 3) Breads and chalices are mentioned (i. e. in the plural).
- 4) The Cherubicon, surprisingly enough, is sung by the deacons in the procession, not by the psalmists on the ambo. As we mentioned in chapter II, this is easily understood if the procession is entering the church from outside: the deacons in the procession intone the chant to signal to those within that the procession is about to enter.
- 5) The archdeacon incenses the altar in preparation for receiving the gifts, and the priests who are about to begin the anaphora, similar to the practice described in the *Book of Ceremonies*.
- 6) The gifts are arranged on the altar in the form of a cross and then covered with the veil.

But what is most important:

- 7) While the priests, doubtlessly assisted by at least one of the deacons, remain in the sanctuary for the prayers of the faithful, the archdeacon and other deacons leave for the skeuophylakion right after the litany over the catechumens. (*Dum oratio fit pro catechuminis* must refer to the prayer of the priest after the litany, because the deacon who chants the litany — *tercius qui postulavit pro catechuminis* — goes with the procession.) This early departure would seem to indicate that the skeuophylakion was somewhat apart from the sanctuary, demanding more time to get there and form the procession than would be required in the later Byzantine churches with prothesis and diaconicon right beside the sanctuary. It could explain also why the eiliton is spread on the altar to receive the gifts as early as the end of the prayer for the catechumens. This was also the task of the deacons, and they had to do it before leaving to fetch the gifts: "*Vbi uero hec dicta fuerint, diaconi explicant corporale et sacerdos hanc dicit orationem que dicitur fidelium prima post explicationem corporalis.*"⁶⁷ This practice is still prescribed by the rubrics today.

We are not told what route the deacons took in going to the skeuophylakion, but they probably went out via the northeast entrance of the church — i. e. by the back way, without solemnity. After fetching the gifts they entered the church again by the same

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

door and processed down the north aisle, across to the ambo, and up the solea. Or the procession might have passed through the skeuophylakion (it had doors at the east and west) down the north side of church, entering by the door in the center of the north aisle as Mathews proposed.⁶⁸

Hence the pre-iconoclast Great Entrance, like so many other aspects of pre-iconoclast Byzantine liturgy, was quite different from the purely ceremonial sanctuary-to-sanctuary circle of today. Not only did the separate skeuophylakion facilitate the offering of the faithful and remove the material handling and selection of the gifts from the area of the church, but the distinct and proper liturgical roles of each order were not confused. The material service and ordering of the liturgy is the job of the deacons. The priest is there to pray as the spokesman of the people. The deacons bring up the matter; the priest is the one who blesses it.

3. Theodore Balsamon († 1214)

Balsamon provides us with another interesting text on the Great Entrance in his commentary on canon 2 *In epist. S. Dionysii Alexandrini ad Basilidem episcopum*. He interprets the canon as declaring that women in menstruation should not enter the church proper (*εἰς ναὸν Θεοῦ εἰσεύναι*), testifies that in his time one sees "such women in gynaecea and especially in monasteries standing in the vestibules (*προναοί*) ..." and comments:

They are not the common vestibules like the atria of the churches, but a section of those [vestibules] assigned to those women not prevented from attending church. And this vestibule is the place of second penance, called that of the hearers. And not even men excluded by penance from attending church are permitted to stand in it; they must do their weeping outside of it. It is fitting that such vestibules in which these unclean women are to stand should not occupy directly the place of the churches, so that even the priests with the divine sacraments may pass through during the Cherubic Hymn and incense the tombs

⁶⁸ By the shorter route, the distance to the skeuophylakion is only some 60 meters. The solemn entrance route down to the ambo and up the solea into the sanctuary, is twice as long. The present entrance of the skeuophylakion dates from the time of Mahmud I (1732), but the east and west walls of the rotunda are flattened as if they were meant to accommodate entrances. And one MS of the baptismal offices published by Gear speaks of the patriarch passing through the skeuophylakion to the vestibule of the great baptistry (GOAR², p. 291 [bis]). Cf. MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, pp. 18, 160. On the question of this skeuophylakion and its communication with the church, cf. DIRIMTEXIS, *Skeuophylakion*, pp. 396-7.

and saints that might be there, and say the last of the holy prayers; or that with the bishop's permission such places be set apart so that the unclean women may stand in them without condemnation.⁶⁹

Balsamon seems to be saying that the priests passed through the narthex during the Great Entrance and so the "unclean" women should stand not there but in a special section of the place set apart for the women.⁷⁰ Even if this can't be taken as evidence of the old outside-skeuophylakion arrangement, the text at least indicates that in the 12th century the entrance had preserved some of its character as an introit from outside — here, it would seem, passing through the narthex then into the nave via the main door of the church.

4. *The De officiis* (c. 1350-1360)

However, it was perhaps inevitable that this simplicity of structure should give way to more practical considerations. Not every village church was the size of Hagia Sophia, and served by a whole string of deacons.⁷¹ Syria was not far away, nor were

⁶⁹ PG 138, 465-468: "Οὐ γὰρ εἰσὶν οἱ πρόναοι κοῖνοι ὡς τὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προαύλια, ἀλλὰ μέρος αὐτῶν ἔσονται ταῖς γυναῖξι ταῖς μὴ κωλυμέναις ἐκκλησιάζειν. Ὅς δὲ πρόναος, τόπος δευτέρως ἐστὶ μετανοίας, ὁ τῶν ἀκροαμένων λεγόμενος. Καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ οὐδὲ ἀνδράσιν ἐφαίται ἵστασθαι, ἐπιτιμηθεῖσι μὴ ἐκκλησιάζειν, ἀλλὰ ἐξωθεν αὐτοῦ προσκλαίειν. Ἔδει γοῦν τοὺς τοιοῦτους πρόναους εἰς οὐς αἱ τοιαῦται ἀκάθαρτοι γυναῖκες ἐμελλον ἵστασθαι, μὴ ἀναπληροῦν τόπον ἐκκλησιῶν ἐξ ὁρθοῦ, ὥστε καὶ ἱερεῖς μετὰ τῶν θείων ἀγιασμάτων διέρχεσθαι κατὰ τὸν χειρουργικὸν ὕμνον, καὶ θυμῶν τοὺς ἐν τούτῳ ἰσως ὄντας τάρους καὶ ἀγίους, καὶ τελευτὰς ἀγίων εὐχῶν ποιεῖν ἢ καὶ μετὰ ἐπισκοπικῆς ἐπιτροπῆς τοὺς τοιοῦτους τόπους ἀφορίζεσθαι, ὥστε ἀποκριματίστως ἵστασθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς τὰς ἀκάθαρτους γυναῖκας." We are indebted to our colleague F. van de Pavard for bringing this text to our attention.

⁷⁰ In Early and Middle Byzantine sources the left (north) aisle of the church is often referred to as the women's place (γυναικίτης). Cf. MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, pp. 132 ff.

⁷¹ Hagia Sophia and the three other patriarchal churches served by the clergy of the Great Church (H. Eirene, Chalkoprataia and H. Theodoros of Sphorakios) had the number of clergy serving them limited by Justinian as follows (*Novella III*, 1, *Corpus Juris Civilis III*, Berlin, 1899, p. 21):

- no more than 60 presbyters
- 100 deacons
- 40 deaconesses
- 90 subdeacons
- 110 lectors
- 25 psalmists
- 100 ostiarii

Greece and Macedonia, and the convenience of the pastophoria arrangement soon won out. In the capital itself this was largely a post-iconoclast development, but from that time on this arrangement became universal.⁷²

The new liturgical disposition seems even to have influenced the liturgy in Hagia Sophia, although her outdoor skeuophylakion is still standing today. The *De officiis* of Pseudo-Codinus (c. 1350-1360) gives a description of the emperor's role in the Great Entrance during the mass of coronation which, when compared with the earlier description of the *De caerimoniis*, reveals that the rite was no longer carried out as before:

When the time comes to chant the hymn at the Great Entrance, the chief deacons of the church come and summon the emperor. He goes with them to the so-called prothesis where the holy things are kept. While standing outside the prothesis he puts on a golden mantle over the saccos and diadem. In the right hand he holds the cross ... in the left a staff. He holds at this time the ecclesiastical order called "deputy." [⁷³] Bearing both, i. e. the cross and staff, the emperor goes before the whole entrance, accompanied on each side by the Varangians, all bearing halberds, [⁷⁴] and by about a hundred young nobles bearing arms ... Right after him come the deacons and priests

There were probably more than this number of clergy when the decree was promulgated. For it had to be enacted precisely because there was a superfluity of clerics, especially at Hagia Sophia. The reverend gentlemen from other churches in the capital or in the provinces came to the Great Church under some patron or other in order to have a better benefice. *Novella III*, 2, orders them to stay and serve the churches in which they were ordained (*ibid.*, pp. 21-23). The abuse continued, for a century later another attempt to control the expanding number of clergy was made by Patriarch Sergius and confirmed by Heraclius in 612 (cf. F. DÖLGER, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565-1453* (= *Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit*, Reihe A, Abt. I) 1. Teil, p. 18.

⁷² Cf. MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, p. 107; KRAUTHHEIMER, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, pp. 260-263. That this represented a liturgical change is clear, because such pastophoria were added to earlier churches which originally had none (e. g. to H. Eirene. Cf. MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, pp. 81 fig. 41; 84, 87-88).

⁷³ The "deputy" was a minor cleric of the Great Church. His function was to accompany the entrances with candles, and to go before the patriarch in processions with a staff, etc. Cf. chapter I, p. 27, note 65.

⁷⁴ FRESHFIELD (*On Byzantine Churches*, pp. 390-391) makes note of the literal significance of "δερροφορούμενον" in the Cherubicon relative to the halberds and spears borne by those accompanying the Great Entrance in this text. The Varangians were an imperial bodyguard of foreign mercenaries.

carrying the other sacred vessels and especially the holy things. Going around the nave as is customary (περιελθόντες δὲ κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν τὸν ναόν) they come up to the solea. All the others remain standing without, while the emperor, traversing the solea, goes up to the patriarch standing at the holy doors. Both remain standing, the patriarch within, the emperor outside, and bow their heads in greeting. After this the second deacon comes up carrying in his right hand a thurible and in his left what is called the patriarch's omophorion.... The second deacon incenses the emperor and, bowing his head, cries in a loud voice: "May the Lord God remember in his kingdom the reign of your Majesty always, now and forever and unto ages of ages." Then he adds, "Amen". All the deacons who come after him say the same thing, as well as the priests following them. And all of them say the same to the patriarch too, as they approach the sanctuary, i. e. "May the Lord God remember your high-priesthood always, now and forever..." After this is finished, the emperor salutes the patriarch again and removes his golden mantle... and goes to take his seat once more...⁷⁶

From this description it is obvious that the prothesis was located inside the church. The emperor is said to vest while standing outside the prothesis, and one can hardly imagine him being forced to do this outside the old skeuophylakion in the open air! Further confirmation of this can be found in the reference in Book IV of the same source to a "diaconicon" in the Great Church. It is said that at vespers of Pentecost in Hagia Sophia the emperor stands near the diaconicon to hear the prayers.⁷⁶ This diaconicon must have been inside the church, and hence too the prothesis.⁷⁷ So it would seem that the whole procession took

⁷⁶ PSEUDO-KODINOS, *Traité des offices*, ed. VERPEAUX, pp. 263-267. For the dating of the treatise, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 30-31, 39.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

⁷⁸ Not much can be argued from the difference in terminology here. Byzantine sources almost never use the terms "prothesis" or "diaconicon" with respect to Hagia Sophia. The mid-11th century *Protheoria* (7 and 18, PG 140, 425 and 441) already uses the term prothesis instead of skeuophylakion for the chamber from which the Great-Entrance procession departs. But the euchologies often retain the term skeuophylakion long after this date. And some of them use interchangeably the terms diaconicon, skeuophylakion and prothesis where they clearly mean one and the same chamber. See, for example *Barberini 336* in the titles it gives to the skeuophylakion prayers (ff. 256r-257r): "Prayer said in the diaconicon... Prayer said in the skeuophylakion..." See also the title of the prothesis prayer in the new Constantinopolitan recension of CHR: "Prayer said in the skeuophylakion..." (JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 279, and cf. *Barberini 336*,

place within the building, and was simply a tour of the church from a side-chamber to the sanctuary. In the earlier *De caerimoniis*, however, the emperor did not go to the skeuophylakion because it was outside the church; he met the procession as it crossed from the side-entrance to the center of the nave.

The final stage in the evolution of the procession came about when the triple-door iconostasis barrier made it possible to reduce the prothesis sacristy to a mere credence table in the sanctuary, thus completely destroying any notion of an εἰσοδος except in name, in a procession that now begins where it is supposed to end, like the Syrian entrance (or "exit") described a millenium ago by Moses bar Kepha. The Byzantines can at least console themselves that it took them a few centuries longer to arrive at the same point.

Participants in the Procession of the Gifts

Similar factors were undoubtedly responsible for the confusion of liturgical roles, in today's Great Entrance. In contemporary practice, only the bishop does not take part in the procession itself, but awaits the gifts at the doors of the chancel, like the patriarch in the *De caerimoniis* and *De officiis*. The early Byzantine commentators are consistent in assigning to the deacon alone the task of bearing in the gifts and vessels.⁷⁸ The title of the *Nemo dignus* prayer in some of the earliest euchologies bears this out: "Εὐχὴ ἣν ποιᾷ ὁ ἱερεὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν εἰσερχομένων τῶν ἁγίων δώρων."⁷⁹ As we have already seen, Hippolytus, the *Didascalia*, *The Apostolic Constitutions*, the *Testamentum Domini* and other early sources all

LEW, p. 300), which *Leningrad 226*, however, calls "Prayer of the prothesis in the diaconicon." Hence MANDALÁ's lengthy discussion of the distinction between skeuophylakion-prothesis and diaconicon cannot be applied to the early Byzantine churches (cf. *Protesi*, pp. 49-59). Later, however, SYMEON OF THESSALONIKA explicitly states that skeuophylakion and prothesis are the same, but that the diaconicon is a distinct chamber (ST 101, 137, PG 155, 309, 348).

⁷⁹ *Canon 21* of the Council of Laodicea assigns the care of the vessels to the deacons (MANSI 2, 567). Eutychius in his *Sermo de paschate et ss. eucharistia* cites an unknown homily of Athanasius the Great: "You behold the Levites [= deacons] carrying the bread and the cup of wine and placing them on the table" (8, PG 862, 2401). Cf. also the *Scholia* of JOHN OF SCYTHOPOLIS attributed to MAXIMUS (3, 1, PG 4, 136); GERMANUS HE, ed. BORGIA, pp. 29-30. On the identification of the "Levites" as deacons, see CLEMENT OF ROME (AD 96), *Epist. ad Corinthios* I, 40, PG 1, 289.

⁸⁰ Cf. above, chapter III, pp. 120-1 and note 5.

testify that this was the practice in the early church. It was still the practice in 12th century Constantinople according to the passage of Leo Tuscan cited above. And the letter of metropolitan Elias of Crete on the prothesis rite (12th century) and codex *Sinai Gr. 966* (13th century) both witness to it in other areas of the Byzantine church.⁸⁰

However, one man can carry only so much, and since a multitude of vessels and instruments had to be transported from skeuophylakion or prothesis to sanctuary, it is likely that in smaller churches with few clergy, the priest perforce assisted the deacon in this task. At least that is how John of Seythopolis in the *Scholia* attributed to Maximus explains why Pseudo-Denys has both priests and deacons bring in the gifts: "This is done everywhere where there is a limited number of deacons."⁸¹ Similarly in the Great Entrance of the *Ordo antiquus gallicanus* edited by Klaus Gamber the main celebrant does not go in the procession to fetch the gifts, but other presbyters may accompany the deacons depending on the need:

Egrediuntur de sacerdotibus qui circumstant altare unus aut duo, uel quanti necessari fuerint. Cum diaconibus ingrediuntur sacrario et accipit sacerdos in manibus suis turrem (uel patena) cum [hostia] oblationis: similiter diaconus calicem it eleuant eos contra capita sua.⁸²

That may have been the original reason why the priests began to take part in the procession. But it cannot have been the only one, for in more than one source the priest is said to walk in the procession even when there was no practical reason for it. For example, in *Karlsruhe EM 6* (c. 1200) the priest follows the deacon in the procession, but only the deacon carries the gifts.⁸³ The same is true in the slightly revised versions of Nicholas of Otranto's translation of BAS, and of Leo Tuscan's CHR, in the same codex.⁸⁴ But the older recension of Otranto from codex *Paris Latin 1002* is contradictory — or at least confusing — on this point:

⁸⁰ LAURENT, *Le rituel de la proskomidie*, p. 135, 282-84; DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 206.

⁸¹ *Scholia* 3, 1, PG 4, 136.

⁸² P. 33.

⁸³ Ed. ENGBAHL, pp. 19-20 (= CHR, cited above in the previous chapter), p. 60 (= BAS).

⁸⁴ BAS: JACOB, *Otrante*, p. 69, XIV (1), cited above in the previous chapter; CHR: *ibid.*, p. 97.

Ipsa oratione dicta, sacerdos et diaconus eunt ad propositos panes, quos deferunt ad sanctum altare. Sacerdotes uel diaconi plures secuntur. Clerus autem et populus hunc ymnium concinunt: Qui cherubim mystice ...

*Cum deposita uero sunt sancta misteria, dato incenso, cum turibulo incensantur et tunc (dicit) qui primus est inter alios inclinans capud ante sanctum altare dicit aliis: Orate pro me, fratres ...*⁸⁵

After the completion of the *orate fratres* dialogue, we find the following rubric:

Sed hic qui portat patenam et calicem sacerdos ad sanctum altare dicit inter se hanc orationem.

Then follow the title and *incipit* of the *Nemo dignus* prayer.

Evidently, this last section is a later addition from another source. It clearly affirms that the priest carried both discos and chalice, but perhaps the source envisioned a liturgy without the assistance of a deacon. However, in the 11th century Georgian CHR of *Sinai Georg. 89* we find the priest carrying both discos and chalice even though there was a deacon who could have done it just as well alone:

*Et tollant diaconi thuribulum et flabellum et lucernam, et sacerdos calicem et patenam, et sanctificata introducant.*⁸⁶

The same is true in the commentary of Nicholas Cabasilas⁸⁷ and in the 15th century codex *Ambrosiana 637* (f. 12v), even though the service of a deacon is envisioned in this euchology.

Hence, although the original practice was to have the deacons carry the gifts, it was perhaps the later solemnization of the Great Entrance that led to the participation of the priests in the procession even when there was no practical need for it. A rubric in the diataxis of Philotheus lends support to the possibility that it had not only become customary for the priest to march in the procession, but also for him to carry both chalice and discos by himself, even if assisted by a deacon. Philotheus, attempting to rectify this usage, instructs the deacon to carry the discos, and emphasizes that the priest is to carry "only the holy chalice."⁸⁸

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 69, XIV.

⁸⁶ JACOB, *Version géorgienne*, p. 100.

⁸⁷ *Liturgiae expositio* 24-25, PG 150, 420-421.

⁸⁸ TREMPERAS, p. 9.

Another possible reason for the participation of presbyters in the procession may have been the usages of the patriarchal liturgy.⁸⁹ Leo Tuscan in the 12th century describes a concelebration of presbyters. But already the *Codex Pyromalus* and the version of Johannisberg, both witnesses to 10th century BAS, testify to priests carrying in the gifts at the pontifical liturgy: "...deportantur et proponuntur munera a presbyteris..."⁹⁰ However, Pseudo-Sophronius (12th c.) describes a pontifical liturgy in which only the deacons bring in the gifts.⁹¹

At any rate, it is clear in the presbyteral liturgy described by Cabasilas,⁹² and in the pontifical liturgy in the archieraticon of Gemistos⁹³ and in the commentary of Symeon of Thessalonika,⁹⁴ and in numerous codices including the 12th century diataxis of *Athens Ethn. bibl. 662*,⁹⁵ that in the medieval Byzantine liturgy the presbyters did march in the Entrance of the Mysteries. This is borne out by most medieval iconographical representations of the rite, which depict angels vested as presbyters and deacons bearing in the gifts.⁹⁶

The Objects Borne in the Procession

The confusion in the sources as to just who carried what was not resolved until the *editio princeps* of Doucas (1526) incorporated the practice ordered by the diataxis of Philotheus: the deacon

⁸⁹ Cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 323.

⁹⁰ COCHLAEUS, *Speculum*, p. 124 (Johannisberg version). For *Codex Pyromalus*, cf. GOAR³, p. 155.

⁹¹ PG 87³, 4000-4001. Also in the *Protheoria* (mid. 11th c.) only the deacons are mentioned as taking part in the procession (18, PG 140, 441), but the reference is only a passing one, and does not exclude the possibility that the priests carried the gifts.

⁹² *Liturgiae expositio* 24-25, PG 150, 420-421.

⁹³ DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 310.

⁹⁴ ET 77, PG 155, 728.

⁹⁵ TREMPÉLAS, pp. 9, 79 ff. Cf. also codices *Sinai Gr. 1020* (BAS) and *Patmos 719*, DMITRIEVSKIJ II, pp. 142, 173.

⁹⁶ Cf. pp. 212-213 and note 117 below. In the usual fresco, the main celebrant is Christ, vested as a bishop, and he is the only one who does not take part in the entrance procession—but of course it is always a pontifical liturgy that is being depicted. Some late 14th century frescoes, e.g. in the monastery of Marko in Serbia (AD 1370), have bishops marching in the procession, but these frescoes depict the epitaphios procession of Holy-Saturday orthros rather than the Great Entrance, or at least represent a confusion between the two rites. Cf. ȘTEFANESCU, *Illustration des liturgies*, pp. 75, 189-190.

carries the discos on his head, the priest carries the chalice.⁹⁷ In fact we find the same usage in 12-13th century sources like the diataxis of *Athens Ethn. bibl. 662* and the euchologies *Sinai Gr. 1020* (BAS) and *Patmos 719*.⁹⁸ But an anecdote from the autobiography of the Russian Old-Ritualist martyr Archpriest Avvakum († 1682) provides us with a possible explanation of why in some of the sources cited, both chalice and discos are carried by the same minister, be it priest or deacon:

After me, they seized Longin, Archpriest of Murom; he was shorn at Mass in the cathedral, in the Tsar's presence. During the procession of oblation, the Patriarch took the paten with Christ's body from the archdeacon's hand and placed it on the altar; meanwhile Therapon, Archimandrite of Chudov, was standing with the chalice outside the altar, near the royal doors. Alas, such a division of Christ's body was worse than the doing of the Jews! Having shorn him, they tore his cassock and his kaftan off his back. But Longin was incensed with the fire of holy wrath; reproving Nikon, he spat into his eyes across the threshold of the sanctuary; undoing his girdle, he tore off his shirt and hurled it into Nikon's face. O wonder! The shirt spread and covered the paten on the altar like an aer.⁹⁹

The scene is clear enough. The Old-Ritualist priests are being degraded (shorn) during the liturgy, at the same point at which they were ordained: the Great Entrance. Their schism was caused by their refusal to submit to the liturgical reforms introduced by Patriarch Nikon in order to bring the Russian liturgy into conformity with Greek practice.¹⁰⁰ Apparently it was customary in some places for the patriarch to put the discos and paten on the altar simultaneously, and not successively as in the liturgy celebrated by Nikon, and as is done today. The Old-Ritualist practice is still found in the 1910 Moscow edition of the *Činovnik* of the *edinovercy*.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Cf. TREMPÉLAS, p. 9, and the parallel rubric in Doucas, *editio princeps*.

⁹⁸ TREMPÉLAS, p. 9; DMITRIEVSKIJ II, pp. 142, 173.

⁹⁹ *The Life of Archpriest Avvakum by Himself*, in G. P. FEDOTOV, ed., *A Treasury of Russian Spirituality* (London, 1952), p. 145. FEDOTOV falsely translates *voduch* as "corporal". We have emended the text to "aer".

¹⁰⁰ On the history and background of the schism, see P. PASCAL, *Avvakum et les débuts du Raskol. La crise religieuse au xvii^e siècle en Russie*, Paris, 1938. For the liturgical reforms of the Moscow Sobor of 1667 cf. *Dejanija* ff. 42 ff.

¹⁰¹ F. 48v. However the *Činovnik* of *Cholmogory* has today's usage

The final step in this evolution is what we have now; all priests and deacons process even when it is unnecessary, usually carrying some implement or vessel even if it is not strictly needed for the service.

Numerous early sources speak of breads and chalices, i. e. in the plural.¹⁰² And Symeon of Thessalonika adds the precision that even empty vessels are carried in the Entrance of the Mysteries not, it seems, because they were to be used, but "in honor of the sacred gifts."¹⁰³

Today in Russia, where the restricted number of churches results in terribly overcrowded liturgies with hundreds of communicants, it is the practice not to multiply chalices and breads, but to consecrate one enormous chalice of 3-4 liter capacity and then ladle the precious blood into other empty vessels at communion time. The unity of the bread is also preserved, and only one "lamb" is consecrated, often a huge loaf of some 20 cubic cm, carried in on an enormous discos, together with the other discos containing the innumerable commemorative particles of the living and dead.

In addition to the bread and wine and other sacred vessels and paraphernalia (lance, spoon, etc.), the deacons carried in the thurible, ripidia, veils for the vessels and the great veil or aer.¹⁰⁴

(GOLUBCOV, *Činovniki*, pp. 21-22). We discuss the deposition and covering of the gifts in the next chapter.

¹⁰² MAXIMUS, *De variis scripturae sacrae quaestionibus ad Thalassum*, PG 90, 820; *Chronicon Paschale* ad ann. 624, PG 92, 1001; COCHLAEUS, *Speculum*, p. 119 (prothesis); Barberini 336 (LEW, p. 341, 19 = *commixtio*; similarly, *Vatican Gr. 1170* and other MSS); *Tuscan* (cf. *supra*, p. 197); The letter of the Patriarch of Constantinople to Paul of Gallipoli (end of the 11th c.) in COZZA-LUZZI, *Typicum Casulanum*. Cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 343 ff and DE MEESTER, *Liturgies*, 1627. *Codex Ottoboni Gr. 344* incorporates the rubric of this letter regarding the disposition on the prothesis of the chalices and discos (JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 351 [text] and 356; cf. below, pp. 243-4). See also the archieratikon of Gemistos, DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 310, HABERT, *Archieratikon*, p. 3; SYMEON OF THESSALONIKA, *SL* 96, PG 155, 288.

¹⁰³ *ET* 78-79, PG 155, 728.

¹⁰⁴ All these implements can be seen in iconographic representations of the Great Entrance (cf. *infra*, pp. 212-3, and the references in note 117). The commentators and euhologies consistently mention incense, lamps and of course the sacred vessels (cf. the passages cited above from Leo Tuscan, *Version géorgienne*, *EM* 6, Otranto, etc.), but the aer is usually referred to only in the later sources, though it has a permanent place in the iconography of the entrance (cf. the excursus on the aer below). GERMANUS mentions deacons, ripidia, incense, and the gifts in the procession (BORGIA,

These veils were considerably larger than those used today — large enough to evoke comment from Ulrich von Richental († 1437) in his often amusing chronicle of the Council of Constance. He relates how he and another Latin were allowed to watch the preparations made by the Russian delegation to celebrate the liturgy in a room that had been provided them for this purpose, and among the details he describes is the chalice veil, "a good golden cloth as wide and as long as half an ell."¹⁰⁵

The numerous medieval Byzantine eucharistic veils that have survived prove that Ulrich's eye was a good measuring rod. "Ain halby elen" (half an ell) is about 35 cm.¹⁰⁶ And in fact the chalice and discos veils measured generally about 0.50 by 0.50, and were decorated with the "Communion of the Apostles" or other eucharistic themes, e. g. the Christ-child as the "lamb" on the discos veil, with the verses of Isaiah 53: 7-8 recited during the preparation of the bread embroidered around the border, etc.¹⁰⁷

pp. 29 ff). The ripidia or fans appear early in the hands of the deacons at the entrance of the gifts and during the anaphora (cf. *Apost. Const.* 8, 12, 3, FUNK I, p. 491; MORSUESTIA, *Hom.* 15, 27, ed. TONNEAU-DEVRESSE, p. 509; J. MOSCHUS, *Pratum Spirituale* 196, PG 87^a, 3081). They were honorific, but also served the practical function of keeping flies away from the gifts after they had been uncovered for the anaphora. The ripidia usually bear a representation of the six-winged cherubim. Cf. *Flabellum*, *DACL* V², 1610-1625; J. BRAUN, *Fächer*, *LThK* 3, 1931, 936-937; and below, chapter XI, pp. 419 ff.

¹⁰⁵ M. R. BUCK, ed., *Ulrichs von Richental Chronik des Constanzer Concils, 1414 bis 1418*, Hildesheim, 1962, p. 138: "Do nun der ertzbischoff Kyvionensis sich an der herberg nider hett gelassen, do hiess er im in dem huss ain altar beraiten, da er und sin pfaffen mess uff woltend haben. Die mess und der altar warent also, als ich Uolrich Richental selbs hab gesehen und ain doctor in theoloya, dem es der ertzbischoff erlopt hett, zu sehen. Den hatt ich, das er mich mit im nem, das tett och er. Und also beraitend sy den altar als unsser pfaffen... Und satzend ain silbrin, vergulden kelch och daruff, der wol als gross was, als unsser kelch dry und leitend über den kelch ain dry eggoten steg, der was silbrin, und was bogen und uff den steg ain gut güldin tuch, das was als wyt und als brait, als ain halby elen. Der kelch was ii mässig. Nebend den kelch leitend sy ain vergülte baten, die wol als gross was, das man wol ain versotten hun daruff geleit hett. Und daruff och ain güldin tuch als da vor." The archbishop of Kiev mentioned was Gregory Tsamblak of Tir-novo (Bulgaria). Cf. J. GILL, *The Council of Florence*, Cambridge, 1959, pp. 25-26.

¹⁰⁶ An ell is an old measure of cloth. The English ell was 45 inches, the Flemish ell 27 inches (68.58 cm).

¹⁰⁷ Cf. MILLET, *Broderies*, pp. 82 ff and plates CLX, CLXVII, CLXIX, CLXXV; JOHNSTONE, *Church Embroidery*, p. 25 and plates 85-91; ȘTEFANESCU, *Illustration des liturgies*, Plates L, LV. In the Russian church of

The large veil or aer, bearing the image of the dead body of Christ, varied in size from about 1 by 1.50 m. to 1.50 by 2.50, the evolution being toward ever larger aers with more complicated scenes of the *threnos*.¹⁰⁸ Because of its size, the aer had to be carried by more than one person, or else draped over the deacon's head and down his back or tied about his shoulders with tapes as is still done in the Greek Church today.¹⁰⁹ This is undoubtedly the origin of the custom, still current at the ordination of a priest, of having the deacon-ordinandus carry the aer on his head, instead of carrying the discos on his head and the aer draped over his left shoulder, which is now the usual practice during the ordinary liturgy. It is also the origin of the Good-Friday burial procession in the Byzantine rite, when at Great Matins the epitaphion with the image of Christ in the tomb is borne like a baldachin above the head of the chief celebrant by the concelebrating priests.¹¹⁰ Today the aer is the only veil thus carried in the entrance, the lesser veils being brought in covering the discos and chalice. Maximus, as well as the iconographic evidence, proves that this was not so in his day, although it is in fact the more ancient practice: "Note that not only the sacred bread was formerly presented covered, but also the holy chalice, which is not done now."¹¹¹

The Order of the Procession

As for the procession itself, Symeon of Thessalonika gives a description of the actual line-up for a 14th century pontifical liturgy: everyone but the bishop (readers, deacons, priests) take part.¹¹² The procession is led by a deacon bearing the trikerion

St. Anthony in Rome there is a discos veil about 0.59 x 0.59 with an image of the Christ-child on a discos, and around the border, in Slavonic, the verses of Isaiah 53.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. the dimensions of various aers given in MILLET, *Broderies*, pp. 86 ff. For the evolution of the scene depicted on the aer, cf. the excursus on the aer at the end of this chapter.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. the codices cited in TREMPÉLAS, pp. 80-81, and DMITRIEVSKIĬ II, p. 609 (= *Sinai Gr. 936*); the iconographical representations of "The Divine Liturgy" which always show the aer being borne on the heads of the ministers (cf. below pp. 212-3 and the excursus on the aer); and the 15th c. pontifical diataxis from the Russian Andreas Skite, Athos, in DMITRIEVSKIĬ I, p. 171.

¹¹⁰ Cf. the excursus on the aer.

¹¹¹ MAXIMUS, *Scholía* 3, 7, PG 4, 144. For the iconographic evidence, see the references in note 117.

¹¹² ET 70, 76-79, PG 155, 724, 728-729; SL 98, PG 155, 296.

and omophorion; then come the deacons with candles and "spears"; then the discos and chalice carried, it seems, by the presbyters; then the rest of the clergy, some carrying empty vessels; and finally those carrying on their head the aer with the image of Christ in the tomb.

A fuller description of the Great Entrance according to the patriarchal *ordo* of the Great Church is found in the archieratikon of Demetrios Gemistos.¹¹³ Gemistos was notary under Philotheus, and later protonotary of the Great Church. The accession of Philotheus to the patriarchal throne was largely responsible for the definitive influence exercised by his diataxis throughout the whole Orthodox world, and the archieratikon of Gemistos, written about 1380, is the first witness to the influence of Philothean usages beyond the Holy Mountain, where Philotheus had been a monk and where his diataxis was written and first put into practice.¹¹⁴ Here is Gemistos' description of the patriarchal entrance of the gifts. Except for certain formulae that stem from Philotheus, it seems that for the rite of the Great Entrance Gemistos faithfully follows the traditional usages of the Great Church:¹¹⁵

... Having completed the prayer [= second prayer of the faithful], the patriarch exclaims: *So that by your might*. And saying the [*Nemo dignus*] prayer, he goes to the holy doors and has his hands washed by the subdeacons. Then he returns, stands before the holy altar, and says to himself the Cherubicon, bowing three times while saying it. Then he turns to the west [i. e. facing the people] to await the entrance of the gifts. The bishops, having washed their hands too, stand on each side of the sanctuary between the holy doors and the altar.

The castrens incenses saying: *Have mercy on me, O God*

¹¹³ On the background, MSS, editions, etc., of archieratikon of Gemistos, cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 443-445. According to Jacob "Une étude approfondie serait nécessaire pour déterminer exactement dans quelle mesure Gémistos reste fidèle à ces traditions [de Constantinople] et quelles sont éventuellement les innovations introduites dans le texte" (p. 455). For such a study, a critical edition of the text must first be prepared.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 443. Philotheus was born about 1300 and was a monk first on Sinai and later on Athos, where he became higoumen of the Great Lavra. In 1347 he was named archbishop of Heraclea in Thrace. He was elected patriarch in 1353, deposed the following year, restored in 1364, and retired in 1376 (V. LAURENT, *Philothee Kokkinos*, DTC XII^e, 1498-1509; F. CHIOVARO, *Philotheus Coccinus, Patriarch of Constantinople*, *New Catholic Encyclopedia* 11, pp. 324-325).

¹¹⁵ For example, the archieratikon does not employ Ps. 23 in the entrance formulae as do the non-Constantinopolitan sources, including Philotheus (cf. TREMPÉLAS, p. 9, and below, chapter VI).

[Ps. 50], and having censed the gifts saying: *O God, have mercy on me a sinner*, he says to the archpriest (ὁ πρωτοπρεσβύτερος): *Lift up our hands, master*. And he [the archpriest] lifts up the holy discos and puts it on the head of the deacon who chanted the gospel, saying: *Lift up your hands* [Ps. 133: 2].

And thus the entrance takes place, led by the master of ceremonies. Then comes the castrensis with the omophorion of the patriarch and the thurible, or the second deacon, then the deacons carrying the ripidia, with them the deacon carrying the holy bread, and behind him those carrying the other discoi. Then comes the archpriest with the holy chalice, and the other priests according to rank. After all the others come the deacons carrying the aer on their heads, and with them, in turn, the subdeacons bearing the *lavabo* basin.

When the one bearing the holy bread has arrived, the patriarch, coming down from the [altar] platform on which he was standing, meets him and takes the discos from his head and puts it on the holy altar, with him [the deacon] also holding on to it. He [the patriarch] does the same with the full holy chalices, after the deacon carrying the thurible has censed them.

All the bishops, priests, and deacons take hold of the aer saying: *Noble Joseph*. And the patriarch places the chalices on either side of the discos one by one, and the deacons remove their veils, and thus the aer is put on. And the castrensis censes and says: *Do good, Lord* [Ps. 50: 18] to the end of the psalm, with everyone bowing down before the gifts.

And bowing his head slightly to both sides, the patriarch turns and says: *Bless, saints*. And all bow to him and say: *May the Holy Spirit come down upon you ...*¹¹⁶

We shall return to this source in the following chapters, when we discuss the origin of the various formulae that now encumber the rites of the Great Entrance. The déroulement of the rite is clear enough, and requires no special comment.

The composition of the entrance procession provided us by the literary sources is confirmed by the medieval iconographical representations of the Great Entrance.¹¹⁷ For example at Docha-

¹¹⁶ DMITRIEVSKIĬ II, pp. 310-311. Almost exactly the same processional *ordo* is found in the 17th c. codex *Ethniké bibl. 754* (TREMPELAS, p. 81) including castrensis, *lavabo*, and also with the *lavabo* basin carried in the procession by the subdeacon. Today, according to TREMPELAS (*loc. cit.*), this symbol of the subdeacon's office is borne by him in the entrance only at the liturgy in which he is to be ordained to the diaconate. For an even more detailed description of the pontifical Great Entrance, see the *Činovnik of Cholmogory* (GOLURCOV, *Činovniki*, pp. 20-23).

¹¹⁷ Cf. MILLET, *Monuments d'Athos*, plates 64, 1; 118, 2-3; 218, 2; 219,

riou, Mt. Athos, a fresco (1568) depicts the procession as follows: two angel-deacons with thuribles and candles lead the procession, followed by an angel-deacon with two ripidia and with one of the small veils, embroidered with the image of Christ's dead body, tied about his shoulders. Then comes an angel-deacon carrying the discos on his head, with the discos veil, also embroidered with the image of Christ's body, around his shoulders. He is followed by three angel-presbyters, the first one carrying a chalice, the second a discos on his head and a chalice in his left hand, and the third, a chalice. Then comes another deacon with some unidentifiable vessel, a priest with a small veil, another priest with a covered vessel (chalice or discos), a priest with another chalice, and finally three priests carrying on their heads a large aer bearing the image of Christ in the tomb. All the chalices are covered with a small, purificator-like cloth, so small that the vessels almost appear to be uncovered. The discoi also have small veils. But these are in addition to the aer and the two kalymmata which can be clearly identified on the shoulders of the deacons.¹¹⁸

Thus we see that both literary and iconographic sources are relatively consistent in having the procession led by a minister (castrensis or deacon) with incense and candles, followed immediately by the deacon with the discos on his head. The aer is usually at the end of the file — which is logical enough, as can be seen from the archieratikon of Gemistos. It is the last object needed in the rite of deposition of the gifts, since they must first be put on the altar before being covered. There seems to have been no rigidly fixed order for the other objects borne in the procession.

The Great Entrance in Popular Piety

This procession is one of the most solemn and impressive moments of the Byzantine eucharist. Needless to say, this has had its effect on the piety of the people, who in some countries — Rumania for example — prostrate themselves before the priest and seek to have him touch them with the chalice. Nicholas Cabasilas and Symeon of Thessalonika both witness to this practice.¹¹⁹ Cabasilas recognized that it could lead to error:

3; 256, 2; 257, 2; 261, 1-2; 262, 1-2; ȘTEFANESCU, *Illustration des liturgies*, pp. 73 ff. 189-190, and plates XXIX, 1-2; XXX, 1-2; LV.

¹¹⁸ Cf. MILLET, *Monuments d'Athos*, plates 218, 2; 219, 3.

¹¹⁹ SYMEON, *ET* 77-78, PG 155, 728-729.

During this ceremony we must prostrate ourselves before the priest and entreat him to remember us in the prayers which he is about to say.... If any of those who prostrate themselves thus before the priest who is carrying the offerings adores them as if they were the Body and Blood of Christ and prays to them as such, he is led into error; he is confusing this ceremony with that of "the entry of the presanctified", not recognizing the differences between them. In this entry of the offerings, the gifts are not yet consecrated... in the liturgy of the Presanctified they are consecrated and sanctified, the true Body and Blood of Christ.¹²⁰

In Russia an attempt was made during the 17th-century liturgical reform to stamp out this custom, but it was not wholly successful at least in the South.¹²¹

Among the Greeks, Metropolitan Gabriel Severas of Philadelphia defended the custom in 1604,¹²² and our two meticulous English recorders of the beliefs and usages of the Greek Church, Paul Ricaut (1678) and John Covell (1722) both observed the practice in their day:

... the Priest returning takes the Bread and Wine, covers it... and goes in Procession with it through all the Church, at which time the people bow, worship and make the Sign of the Cross, casting the sick and infirm in the way, that the Priest striding over them, they may receive some miraculous benefit and remedy by the direct beams and influx of the Sacrament.¹²³

In some late Greek euchologies we still find rubrics attempting to restrain the more exuberant manifestations of this piety:

It should be observed that the priest does not touch with his foot, as some do, the sick prostrated on the ground during the entrance of the holy gifts, but they only pray over them.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ 24, PG 150, 420 (trans. J. M. HUSSEY and P. A. McNULTY, *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, London, 1960, pp. 65-66).

¹²¹ ČERNJAVSKIJ, *Ob izmenenijach*, pp. 258-264; Cf. BULGAKOV, *Nastol'naja kniga*, p. 818 note 86.

¹²² SOLOVEY, *The Byzantine Divine Liturgy*, p. 234.

¹²³ RICAUT, *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches, Anno Christi, 1678* (London, 1679), p. 196. Cf. COVELL, *Some Account of the Present Greek Church...* (Cambridge, 1722), p. 34.

¹²⁴ Cf. codices *Athens Ethnike bibl.* 752 (16th c.), 770 (17th c.) and 765 (18th c.), TREMPERAS, p. 82; and similar rubrics in *Sinai Gr.* 1919 (AD 1564), f. 33r-v; GOAR², p. 75; МУХOMOV, *K materialam*, p. 92.

The splendor of such a procession has quite naturally become a favorite iconographical theme, considered, in fact, to be characteristic of the whole eucharistic rite and entitled as such in the traditional border rubric describing for the faithful what the fresco signifies: "Ἡ Θεία Λειτουργία." But as Dix pointed out, we should not judge such ritual splendor a bit of post-Constantinian triumphalism, as the contemporary cliché would have it. A glance at the list of gold and silver plate and candelabra uncovered in the insignificant provincial church of Cirta in North Africa — the modern Constantine in Algeria — in 303 AD, at the beginning of the persecution of Diocletian, shows "that this conception of worship is something which goes back into what we like to think of as the 'simple' worship of the church 'in the catacombs.' All that Constantine provided was the opportunity and in some cases the means for its free development."¹²⁵

¹²⁵ DIX, *Shape*, p. 311. Dix (pp. 24-25) translates the official report of the raid on the Christian *domus ecclesiae*, May 19, 303, and the inventory of the goods seized:

	" 2 golden chalices
item	6 silver chalices
item	6 silver dishes
item	a silver bowl
item	7 silver lamps
item	2 torches
item	7 short bronze candlesticks with their lamps
item	11 bronze lamps with their chains."

There were also various tunics etc. for use in the rite of baptism, and a further search turned up a silver casket and candlestick that had been hidden under a jug. The "underground church" was better off then than today.

EXCURSUS: THE AER-EPITAPHION

Because of the connection between the aer and the epitaphion that is now carried in the procession of the "Burial of Christ" at Holy Saturday matins, and because of the existence of some confusion concerning the relation of this procession to the Great Entrance, it might be worthwhile to say a few words on the subject.¹²⁶

The Evolution of the Aer-Epitaphion and the Antimension

Originally the aer, also called "ἡ ἀγία νεφέλη,"¹²⁷ "ἡ ἀναφορά,"¹²⁸ "τὸ ἱερόν ἐπιπλόν,"¹²⁹ was simply the large veil used to cover both chalice and discos. The epitaphion did not exist. And we have no evidence that the aer was decorated in any way. The custom of using embroidered church vestments and cloths began in Constantinople during the Paleologus dynasty (13-15th c.).¹³⁰

Around the 14th century the embroidered aer appears — eventually it comes to be called epitaphion — bearing at first simply an image of the dead body of Christ. This decoration gradually becomes more complex, evolving into a scene including figures of the Virgin, then Joseph of Arimathea. Later additions include Mary Magdalene, Nicodemus, the "Myrrh-Bearing Women," etc., until we finally arrive at the full depiction of the "threnos" scene based, according to Johnstone, on the apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus*.¹³¹ This is the huge decorated aer that we

¹²⁶ We are following chiefly the recent study of PALLAS, *Passion und Bestattung Christi*. Cf. also the pioneering study of TROICKIJ, *Istorija Plaščanicy*; COTTAS, *Epitaphios*, pp. 87-102; CORBIN, *Déposition*, pp. 161 ff.; JOHNSTONE, *Church Embroidery*, pp. vii, 7, 19, 23 ff. and *passim*; JANERAS, *Viernes santo*, pp. 343-351; SOTERIOU, *Amphia*, pp. 603-614 plus 20 illustrations. See also the illustrations of aer-epitaphioi in MILLET, *Broderies*, plates CLXXVI-CCXVI; JOHNSTONE, *Church Embroidery*, plates 93-120; TAFFALI, *Le trésor byzantin et roumain du monastère de Poutna*, Paris, 1925, pp. 31 ff, nos. 64-68 and plates XXI-XXIV.

¹²⁷ *Codices Grottaferrata Gb II*, f. 11r (Cf. MURETOV, *K materialam*, p. 4); *Bodleian Auct. E.5.13 (Misc. 78)*, f. 14v; *Karlsruhe EM 6* (ed. ENGDÄHL, CHR, p. 20; BAS, p. 60).

¹²⁸ *Codex Ottoboni Gr. 344* (AD 1177), JACOB, *Formulaire* p. 357; *Istanbul Metochion Panagion Taphou Codex 182* (15th c.), DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 475.

¹²⁹ SYMEON OF THESSALONIKA, *ET* 76, *PG* 155, 728.

¹³⁰ JOHNSTONE, *Church Embroidery*, p. 10.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

see depicted in the medieval Great-Entrance frescoes of "The Divine Liturgy."¹³²

Today the same scene is also depicted on the antimension, a cloth "portable altar" that gradually came to replace the corporal or eiliton as the liturgical cloth unfolded on the altar to receive the eucharistic gifts at the Great Entrance.¹³³ The earliest example of any decoration on this cloth is the simple cross found on a Russian antimension dating from 1149.¹³⁴

But from the very beginnings of the mystagogic interpretation of the liturgy, the cloths used at the eucharist were interpreted as elements in the historical passion of Christ: the eiliton as the winding sheet or shroud in which Christ's body was buried; the aer as the stone rolled over the mouth of the tomb.¹³⁵

The Great Entrance and the Burial of Christ Procession

The development of the aer is based on the symbolism of the Great Entrance as the burial procession of Christ, and preceded the evolution of the "Burial of Christ" procession with the epitaphion at Holy Saturday matins. There is no evidence for any such rite in the Byzantine tradition before the middle ages. It becomes an important ceremony only in the 14th century. Those who might wish to take the trouble to trace roughly the history of this rite can consult the following sources, mostly typica, listed by Pallas:¹³⁶

- *Evergetes*, 12th century (DMITRIEVSKIJ I, 554)
- *Vatican Gr. 1877*, AD 1292 (*ibid.*, I, 881)
- *Sinai Gr. 1097*, AD 1214 (*ibid.*, III, 405)
- Six letters of Patriarch Athanasius I (AD 1289-1293 and 1303-1310) from *Paris Suppl. Gr. 516*, 15th c. (ed. PALLAS, *Passion u. Bestattung Christi*, Anhang I, pp. 299-307)
- *Athos Vatoped. 1199* (old 954), AD 1346 (DMITRIEVSKIJ III, 451-453 under the code 320 (931))

¹³² Cf. above, pp. 212-213.

¹³³ Cf. A. RAES, *Antimension, Tablit, Tabot, POC* 1, 1951, pp. 59-65; S. PETRIDES, *Antimension, DAOL* 1², 2319-2326. The use of the antimension became common during the iconoclast persecutions when it was difficult for the Orthodox to maintain stable houses of worship. A reference to the antimension earlier than those cited by Raes is in THEOPHONES CONFESSOR, *Chronographia ad annum 768* (*PG* 108, 908-909).

¹³⁴ JOHNSTONE, *Church Embroidery*, p. 24. See also the illustrations in COTTAS, *Epitaphios*.

¹³⁵ GERMANUS, *EH* 34, 37-41, ed. BORGIA, pp. 28, 30-32.

¹³⁶ Cf. PALLAS, *Passion und Bestattung Christi*, pp. 31 ff.

- *Paris Coislín Gr.* 215, AD 1360
 — *Athens Ethn. bibl.* 2670, 15th c.

From these documents it appears that the burial ritual was a monastic element which gradually evolved from a simple singing of the troparion "Noble Joseph" after *apodeipnon* on Good Friday into a procession with the gospel book, the symbol of Christ, wrapped in the aer and borne on the shoulder of the priest. Our first witness for today's type of procession, in which the epitaphion is carried over the gospel like a baldachin, is a Slavic typicon of the 16th century.¹³⁷

We do not know at what precise date the aer and epitaphion become two distinct liturgical cloths. But the later custom of placing the epitaphion on the altar during the Easter season shows that by that time, at least, it had become a cloth distinct from the aer. This usage, in turn, led to depicting the "threnos" on the antimimension — a custom which began in the 16th century.

We know of no evidence for the assertion of Pallas that the aer was once carried as a baldachin over the gifts in the Great Entrance, and that this influenced the Holy Saturday rite.¹³⁸ The same can be said for the statement of Johnstone that by the end of the 14th century the aer was so large and cumbersome that it could no longer be used as a veil, but was still carried in the Great Entrance and then put on the altar or hung on the sanctuary wall.¹³⁹ Neither of these theories, however, is in itself implausible. Goar claims that from Easter to Ascension it was the custom in many monasteries to carry the epitaphion in the Great-Entrance procession.¹⁴⁰ Trepelas says the exact opposite: the epitaphion was *not* carried in the Great-Entrance procession during the very same period, from Holy Saturday until the end of the Easter season, because it was on the altar and the liturgy was celebrated on it.¹⁴¹ Our own tendency is to consider the large decorated veil depicted in the frescoes of the Great Entrance as the true aer that was used to cover the gifts.

¹³⁷ *Trebnič Cod. Moscow Synod 377 (310)*. Cf. M. LISIČYN, *Pervonačal'nyj slavjano-ruskij tipikon. Istoriko-archeologičeskoe issledovanie*, St. Petersburg, 1911, pp. 150-151; PALLAS, *Passion und Bestattung Christi*, p. 42. The early Greek printed books make no mention of this ceremony at all (cf. JANERAS, *Viernes santo*, p. 349).

¹³⁸ PALLAS, *Passion und Bestattung Christi*, pp. 45 and 51.

¹³⁹ JOHNSTONE, *Church Embroidery*, p. 26.

¹⁴⁰ GOAR², p. 113.

¹⁴¹ TREPELAS, p. 81.

Those who wish to study the question further can refer to the works already cited, and the bibliographies they contain. Troickij's work was the first serious study on the topic, and since his time all agree that the aer evolved into the epitaphion, and not vice-versa: i. e. it is the Great Entrance that influenced Holy Saturday matins rather than the reverse. A simple study of the chronology involved in the evolution of both rites makes this conclusion inescapable. Pallas' recent book, *Passion und Bestattung Christi*, is the best complete study from a liturgical point of view, and Janeras gives a good brief summary of the available evidence.

Other studies have been less fortunate, at least from a liturgist's viewpoint. Cottas is more than a bit muddled on the whole subject. She speaks of the epitaphion carried "en oblation", and of "messes à grande sortie" that usually took place at night, though now, she claims, we have a Great Entrance only at morning masses, and refers in support of this idea to Symeon of Thessalonika.¹⁴² Actually Symeon is referring to vespers in the passage adduced; it has nothing whatever to do with the entrance of the gifts. Cottas also suggests that by the time of Symeon the aer and the epitaphion were distinct, but the epitaphion was often still carried in the entrance.¹⁴³ However Symeon in describing the prothesis speaks of the aer as the veil that symbolizes the shroud and is called "epitaphios".¹⁴⁴

The strangest thing in the whole evolution of these veils is that the eiliton-antimimension, which has consistently been interpreted by the commentators as the shroud, was the last cloth (in the form of the antimimension) to receive the image of the "threnos."

¹⁴² COTTAS, *Epitaphios*, pp. 92, 96 note 3. The passage in SYMEON referred to is from *De sacra precatone* 333-334 (PG 155, 605, 608). CORBIN (*Déposition*, p. 167) also has expressed some bizarre ideas. He informs us that the "Grande Entrée" is a "solennité décrite dans peu de documents car elle n'avait lieu que dans les grandes cathédrales".

¹⁴³ COTTAS, *Epitaphios*, pp. 92 ff.

¹⁴⁴ SL 96, PG 155, 288. In ET 76, PG 155, 728 SYMEON refers to the veil carried on the heads of the ministers in the Great Entrance as "τὸ ἐπὶ τὸν ἐπιπλον". We do not believe much weight can be given to the arguments of those who hold for the existence of a second, smaller aer (COTTAS, *Epitaphios*, pp. 93 ff discusses this theory, advanced by Soteriou.)

CHAPTER VI

SECONDARY FORMULAE IN THE RITE OF THE GREAT ENTRANCE

We have seen that in the most primitive recensions of BAS and CHR, the only formula at the transfer of gifts was the Cherubicon sung by the choir. To this at a relatively early period was added the *Nemo dignus* prayer. In addition, we have assumed that Ps. 25: 6-12 was recited during the *lavabo* — at least facultatively — even though there is no mention of it in most codices.

But the later evolution of the rite has encumbered this primitive simplicity with a multitude of formulae about which a few words must be said, but only because they are found in the liturgy under study. In themselves they are largely secondary additions of rather dubious value.

The Formulae in Contemporary Greek Euchologies

In today's Greek editions of CHR (we find the same in BAS), after the *Nemo dignus* prayer the clergy, still before the altar, recite the Cherubicon three times. During the incensation by the deacon or priest, Ps. 50 is recited by the one censuring.¹ To this, the rubrics advise, he may add the τροπάρια κατανοκτικά if he wishes.

After the incensation, the priest and deacon go to the prothesis, and the deacon incenses the gifts three times, saying each time: "Lord cleanse me a sinner and have mercy on me." Then he says to the priest, "Ἐπαρον, δέσποτα." The priest takes the aer and drapes it over the deacon's shoulder, replying, "Ἐπάρατε τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν εἰς τὰ ἅγια, καὶ εὐλογεῖτε τὸν κύριον" (Ps. 133: 2), and they make the entrance, with the usual commemorations.

¹ *Ieratikon*, Athens, 1951 (p. 80) has Ps. 50 preceded by Ἀνάστασον Χριστὸς θεοτάμενοι for Sundays or Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν (three times) for weekdays.

While putting the gifts on the altar, the priest recites the following troparia (though some editions indicate that some priests say only the first):²

Ὁ εὐσχήμων Ἰωσήφ
Ἐν τάφῳ σωματικῶς
Ὡς ζωηφόρος

When incensing the aer and covering the gifts with it, Ὁ εὐσχήμων Ἰωσήφ is repeated by the priest. Then he incenses the gifts three times. During this the deacon says: "Ἀγάθυνον, δέσποτα" (cf. Ps. 50: 20) and the priest: "Τότε ἀνοίσουσιν..." (Ps. 50: 21c). Some rubrics indicate that this verse is said three times. A note in other editions informs us that some priests say "Ἀγάθυνον, κύριε..." straight through to the end of the psalm (i. e. Ps. 50: 20-21).³

Formulae in the Russian Books

Today's Slavic books that follow the Muscovite usage are simply a translation of the longer Greek recension with four exceptions:⁴

1. At a pontifical liturgy, the bishop adds the words, "In peace" (*V mire*) before Ps. 133: 2 ("Lift up your hands...").
2. When the ministers arrive at the doors the bishop says "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord." (Ps. 117: 26a).
3. The rubrics specify that the troparion "Noble Joseph" is first said when the bishop puts the discos on the altar; the other two troparia are said by him when he deposits the chalice.
4. The diaconal invitatory phrase before the incensation verses (Ps. 50: 20-21) is omitted.

We can be grateful to Philotheus' diataxis and to the *editio princeps* of Doucas for the relative sobriety of these formulae. The latter source has the clergy say the *Nemo dignus*, the Che-

² *Euchologion*, Athens, 1927, p. 42. CORBIN says, erroneously, that "Le tropaire de Joseph est normalement chanté dans la liturgie après la grande entrée, au moment où l'on apporte les Dons couverts du voile (*épi-taphios*); ce voile est alors important, le tropaire semble être lié à sa présence" (*Déposition*, p. 166). The troparion is linked to the burial symbolism of the entrance, but there is no evidence that it was ever sung there.

³ *Euchologion*, Athens, 1927, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Cf. *Činovnik*, Moscow, 1897; Warsaw, 1944.

rubric Hymn once, Ps. 50, and "Lord have mercy ..." But Ps. 50 is not what it appears to be today, a formula to accompany the incensation; it is just one of the various formulae recited by the priest. This was its original function, and its connection with the incensation seems to be the result of physical juxtaposition, when in the later Greek usage the incensation was assigned to the priest after the *Nemo dignus* prayer.⁴

The "in peace" of the Slavic *Činovnik*, also found in Doucas, is obviously a replacement for the unsuitable "in the nights" with which Ps. 133:2 begins. And Doucas carries the formula through to the final verse of the psalm (v. 3), to which he adds the conventional ending "always, now and forever and unto ages of ages, amen." In Doucas, both priest and deacon say "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord ..." as they enter. For the deposition and covering of the gifts he gives only the one troparion, "Noble Joseph", and it is the deacon who incenses the gifts, saying Ps. 50:20-21. Here too the diaconal invitatory phrase is omitted.⁵

Doucas is more or less in agreement with our contemporary editions, based for the most part on the rubrics of Philotheus, though inevitably minor variations have crept in because of the taste of various editors or because of misunderstandings. In fact Doucas differs from Philotheus only in that he gives a larger section of Ps. 133, preceded by "In peace", and Philotheus has the priest say "Lift up your gates ..." (Ps. 23:7) at the doors, to which the deacon responds: "Blessed is he ..." (Ps. 117:26a, 27a).⁷

But if we turn to other, non-Philothean sources of the liturgy, we see such an uncontrolled riot of formulae rush in to fill the euchologic vacuum at the entrance rite in the oldest euchologies, that one hardly knows where to begin in cataloguing them. In fact we will content ourselves with describing enough of the variants to give an idea of their content and value.

⁴ *Esphigmenou* 120 (AD 1602), DMITRIEVSKIĬ II, p. 959.

⁵ Codex *Ambros.* 84 has at the entrance exactly the same formulae as DOUCAS.

⁷ Ed. TREMPÉLAS, pp. 9-10.

The Individual Formulae

1. *The Cherubic Hymn*

The Cherubicon, recited by the clergy while the choir sings it, is the earliest of these formulae to appear. In *Leningrad 226* (10th c.) right after the ephonesis of the second prayer of the faithful, we read: "Καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς. Οἱ τὰ χερουβὶμ μυστικῶς εἰκονίζοντες."⁸ The vast majority of MSS, including all the early ones except for *Leningrad 226*, do not mention this practice. It is found in only one of the 12-13th century diataxeis,⁹ but Philotheus and Gemistos have it a century later,¹⁰ and by the 15-16th century it has taken a firm foothold in the euchology text. As Trempeles has noted, the practice of reciting it three times seems to have resulted from a misreading of the Philothean rubric instructing the priest and deacon to bow three times while saying the Cherubicon to themselves.¹¹

2. *Psalm 133:2*

The second verse of Ps. 133, "Lift up your hands toward the sanctuary, and bless the Lord!", recited at the prothesis when putting the aer on the deacon's shoulder and handing him the discos, is also among the older of these secondary additions to the entrance rite. It alone is found in the diataxeis of *Ethnike bibl.* 662 and *Moscow Synod 381*.¹² Said by the priest to the deacon as he puts out his hands to receive the discos, this verse was inserted because of the obvious adaptation to the holy gifts (τὰ ἅγια) of the LXX text "toward the holy (of holies), εἰς τὰ ἅγια".

3. *Psalm 50 and Accompanying Formulae Preceding the Entrance*

As for the other formulae that precede or accompany the procession, Ps. 50 is not found in the diataxeis of *Ethnike bibl.*

⁸ KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenijsa*, p. 288.

⁹ *Brit. Mus. Add 34060* (ARABATZOGLOU, *Bibliothèque*, p. 237); but not in *Ethn. bibl.* 662 (TREMPÉLAS, p. 9) nor *Moscow Synod 381* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy* p. 25).

¹⁰ TREMPÉLAS, p. 9 and DMITRIEVSKIĬ II, p. 310 (cited above, pp. 211-212).

¹¹ TREMPÉLAS, p. 78. The rubric reads: "... εὐχονται τὸ χερουβικὸν λέγοντες καὶ ἑαυτοὺς. Καὶ τρεῖς ἐν τῷ λέγειν αὐτοὺς προσκυνῶντες ἀπέρχονται ἐν τῇ προθέσει..." (*ibid.*, p. 9).

¹² TREMPÉLAS, p. 9; KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy* p. 25.

662, *Moscow Synod 381*, nor Philotheus, but almost all the medieval MSS that contain any formulae at all have it — for example, the 12-13th century *Sinai Gr. 1020*¹² (BAS), *Patmos 709* (AD 1260),¹³ several 13th century Slavic MSS,¹⁴ and the archieratikon of Gemistos.¹⁵ Other codices indicate variant formulae — e. g. *Paris Gr. 324* (early 14th c.) has the priest recite Ps. 8 ("Domine, domine noster, quam admirabile...") at the entrance.¹⁷ But Ps. 50 eventually won out and was included in the printed editions.

Some MSS have the priest recite Ps. 50 during the procession.¹⁸ Others have the deacon recite it.¹⁹ Usually there is no mention of any troparia to accompany Ps. 50, but already in the 12-13th century, BAS of *Sinai Gr. 1020* has the deacon say before Ps. 50 the troparion Ἀνάστασιν Χριστοῦ if it is a Sunday.²⁰ If not, he says Ps. 23: 1, which is also found in codex *Sabas Gr. 53* (f. 19v), but without Ps. 50.

So it would seem that gradually the clergy had begun to introduce a varying number of formulae according to their devotion, and the scribes in turn followed their own taste in selecting this or that psalm or psalm verse for their codex. At least we have been unable to untangle the threads found in various combinations in the MS tradition and see any consistent line of development. We doubt in fact that there is one. Even in the same euchology, CHR and BAS will contain different formulae, and this at a time when the prayers peculiar to each had become fixed, and future additions were common to both.²¹

¹² DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 142.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

¹⁴ Cf. PETROVSKIJ, *Rédaction slave*, p. 875.

¹⁵ DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 310.

¹⁷ JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 252.

¹⁸ E. g. *Patmos 709* (DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 157); *Vat. Gr. 1213* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 134) during the incensation; *Ambros. 637*, with the rubric "If he has time". Other MSS just indicate the psalm without saying who recites it.

¹⁹ BAS of *Sinai Gr. 1020* (DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 142); during the incensation in BAS of *Sabas Gr. 48*. In the archieratikon of Gemistos it is the castrensian who says it while incensing (DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 310, cited on pp. 211-212).

²⁰ DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 142. Similarly, *Vat. Gr. 1213* (16th c.), KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 134; *Vat. Gr. 573* (15th c. diataxis), KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 107.

²¹ For example in *Sabas 382* (15-16th c.) CHR has the Cherubicon, "Noble Joseph", and Ps. 50: 20; BAS contains only Ps. 133: 2 with its introduction. In *Ambros 167*, CHR introduces Ps. 23: 7 with "Bless, saints," which is absent in BAS.

Esphigmenou Roll 34 (AD 1306), a 15th (?) century diataxis in the library of Dmitrievskij, and some later sources, have a rubric instructing the priest to say Ps. 23: 1-6 ("up until *Lift up your gates*") while incensing before the procession — probably an indication that the widespread practice of reciting Ps. 23: 7 when the procession had arrived at the doors (cf. *infra*) attracted verses 1-6 of the psalm to the entrance in certain areas.²²

Could a similar process have been at the origin of the more common practice of reciting Ps. 50 at the entrance? We have seen that the last verse or two of Ps. 50 is commonly recited when incensing the gifts after they have been put on the altar and covered with the aer. And some sources indicate that before the entrance one should recite the psalm only up to verse 19, the last two verses being left until the incensation.²³ However, these sources are all late, and it would seem better to interpret this practice as a result of later reflection showing the pointlessness of saying verses 20-21 both before and after the procession.

4. *The Trisagion, Sanctus, Penitential Troparia, etc.*

As for the penitential troparia and other formulae recited immediately after Ps. 50, various later codices add the Trisagion or *sanctus*, creed, Lord's Prayer, and in some MSS up to a dozen or more troparia — all this before the procession has even begun! A glance at the apparatus in Trepel's edition of the liturgy, or at the examples we give below, will be enough to show how encumbered with repetitious formulae the Great Entrance became with these additions, most of them undoubtedly of monastic origin and introduced into MSS in monasteries even after the advent of printing.²⁴

Numerous MSS mention the recitation of the Trisagion, usually at the uncovering of the gifts on the prothesis before the proces-

²² DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 266; III, p. 120; cf. also *Sabas 305* (15th c. diataxis) KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 89; *Vat. Gr. 573* (15th c. diataxis) *ibid.*, p. 107 (recited by the deacon). DMITRIEVSKIJ (III, p. 116) dates the MS in his library as 13th c. but the diataxis it contains is very similar to the 15th c. *Sabas 305*.

²³ *Sinai Gr. 2017* (AD 1570), *2045* (AD 1572); *Esphigmenou 120* (AD 1602) in DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 959. *Sabas 305* (15th c. diataxis; KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 89) has both Ps. 50 and Ps. 23 up to verse 7.

²⁴ Cf. TREPPEL, pp. 78 ff and below, pp. 250 ff. For the Slavic MSS, see PETROVSKIJ, *Rédaction slave*, *passim*, and MURETOV, *K materialam*.

sion.²⁵ In the Slavic MSS, the biblical *sanctus* is more usual there.²⁶ The Trisagion or *sanctus* may have been introduced as a result of the reference to "the thrice-holy hymn" ("τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον") in the Cherubicon, or, more probably, because of the burial of Christ symbolism that has permeated the Great Entrance, and because of the place of the Trisagion in the Holy-Saturday burial procession.²⁷

In the Byzantine rite during the burial procession of Good-Friday vespers, the troparion "Noble Joseph" is sung.²⁸ At Holy-Saturday matins, during the second stanza of the "Office of the Myrrhophores", one of the troparia sung with the verses of Ps. 118 reads: "Joseph and Nicodemus now sing to the dead Christ their funeral chants (ὕμνους ἐπιταφίους), and with them sing the Seraphim."²⁹ The chant referred to is probably the Trisagion. For according to the Syrian tradition the Trisagion is the chant of the angels at the death and burial of Christ, and Joseph and Nicodemus, hearing this chant, responded with the so called "Theopaschite clause" ("Who was crucified for us, have mercy on us").³⁰ At the procession with the epitaphion near the end of Holy-Saturday orthros, the Trisagion is sung along with the troparion "Noble Joseph".³¹ And even in the Roman rite, the Trisagion has its place during the adoration of the cross on Good Friday.

Hence it is not surprising that the Trisagion has entered the Byzantine liturgy as a formula to be recited in various rites involving the epitaphion or aer. It is found not only at the Great Entrance, when the aer is removed at the prothesis, but

²⁵ *Sabas 382, Sabas 48* (BAS), *Ambros. 637, Pius II Gr. 35* (JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 330), *Sinai Gr. 986* (DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 610), *Esphigmenou 120* (DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 959).

²⁶ PETROVSKIJ, *Rédaction slave*, pp. 883-884. It is also found in the *Codex Falascae* (see p. 251 below).

²⁷ The *Protheoria*, interpreting the entrance as the entry of Christ into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, speaks of the people singing "Blessed is he ..." while the angels sing the Trisagion hymn (18, *PG* 140, 441). On the Trisagion at the Great Entrance see chapter II, pp. 90 ff, the excursus on the epitaphion at the end of the preceding chapter, and JANERAS, *Trisagion christologique*, pp. 479-485.

²⁸ *Triodion*, Rome, 1879, p. 708.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 719. Cf. JANERAS, *Trisagion christologique*, p. 480.

³⁰ JANERAS, *Trisagion christologique*, p. 479 ff. Cf. also CORBIX, *Déposition*, p. 166. On the Trisagion and the symbolism of the bema in the Syrian tradition, cf. JANERAS, *Vestiges du béma*, p. 128.

³¹ *Triodion*, Rome, 1879, p. 734.

also when the aer is removed before the anaphora.³² And it is not uncommon to find the Trisagion or *sanctus* embroidered on medieval epitaphia.³³ The Trisagion is also sung at funeral processions according to the Byzantine ritual.

However, the connection between the Trisagion and the burial of Christ is not primitive in the Byzantine tradition. The Trisagion, always sung after the Great Doxology of Byzantine matins, has in itself nothing to do with the burial procession that was later added at this point.³⁴ It was sung there before the procession with the gospel became a burial procession at Holy Saturday orthros, and the juxtaposition of the two is more fortuitous than purposeful.

5. *The Commemorations chanted during the Great-Entrance Procession*

In contemporary practice, during the Entrance of the Mysteries the Cherubicon is interrupted and the deacons and priests chant commemorations for the hierarchy, civil authorities, etc., depending on the usage of the local church.³⁵ The final commemoration is the following: "Πάντων ἡμῶν μνησθεῖη Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ, πάντοτε ..." which is common to all traditions and is the earliest stratum of this liturgical custom. Even today many editions of the liturgy give only this general commemoration, though others may be added in actual practice.

To what must we attribute these commemorations that so illogically interrupt the Cherubic Hymn? One notion we must first and firmly lay to rest is that the commemorations have anything to do with the diptychs that are chanted before the anaphora in

³² Cf. below, pp. 424-425. The Trisagion is also found after the elevation before communion ("Holy things to the holy") in *Sinai Gr. 1020* (BAS), DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 144.

³³ Trisagion: MILLET, *Broderies*, pl. CXCIX, CLXXXIII; *sanctus*: *ibid.*, pl. CLXXVII, JOHNSTONE, *Church Embroidery*, pl. 93, 94, 105; Other epitaphia have the liturgical introduction to the *sanctus* embroidered on them ("ἔδοντα, βοῶντα ..."): JOHNSTONE, pl. 102, 106, 108; MILLET, pl. CLXXXVIII-IX. It was also common to have the word *ἐγὼς* on the ripidia.

³⁴ The gospel procession began to evolve into the cortège in the 14th century (cf. the excursus on the epitaphion).

³⁵ For example in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and among the Arabic-speaking Orthodox, it is also customary to commemorate those for whom the faithful have requested a remembrance. If there are many names, the priest first deposits the gifts on the altar, takes the list of names, and comes out again to read it. On Greek usage cf. ΜΥΡΕΤΟΥ, *Proskomidiya*, pp. 266-8.

some Eastern liturgies. Brightman, in his outline of the Byzantine liturgy before the 7th century, tentatively puts the diptychs after the creed, just before the introductory dialogue of the anaphora.³⁶ For the liturgy of the 7th century, based largely on the Mystagogy of Maximus, he inserts them right after the Great Entrance, before the *pax*.³⁷ It is true that the diptychs are found before the anaphora in some liturgical traditions. But in the Byzantine rite the diptychs were always read during in the anaphora. They are found in their present place in the Byzantine anaphoras long before the first appearance of the commemorations at the Great Entrance.³⁸

a) *The Sources:*

As far as we know, the commemoration first appears in the 12-13th century diataxeis in *Moscow Synod 381* and *Ethnike bibl. 662*: the priest and deacon enter "λέγοντες πρὸς τὸν λαὸν καὶ οἱ δύο· Μνησθεὶς ὑμῶν Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ."³⁹

No commemorations are noted in any earlier source of the Byzantine tradition, and some other 12-13th century sources seem clearly to exclude them. For instance, in the version of Leo Tuscan, only the deacons took part in the procession, and they sang the Cherubicon, but made no commemorations.⁴⁰ So the entrance of PRES, which has no commemorations, reflects the ancient usage of CHR and BAS in this matter.⁴¹

In the rite of the Great Church the commemorations appear in the 14th century. The oldest MSS of the archieratikon of Gemistos (c. 1380) have no commemoration.⁴² But the *De officiis* of Pseudo-Codinus (c. 1350-1360) has commemorations of the emperor and of the patriarch at the liturgy of the coronation of the emperor.⁴³ And at least two later codices of Gemistos' diataxis, *Cairo 371*

³⁶ LEW, p. 528, 28 ff.

³⁷ LEW, p. 535, 35-536, 7.

³⁸ Cf. BAS of *Barberini Gr. 336* (LEW, p. 336, 9) and MAXIMUS, *Scholia*, 3, PG 4, 136 (= JOHN OF SCYTHOPOLIS? Cf. VON BALTHASAR, *Scholienwerk*, p. 26).

³⁹ KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 25; TREMPÉLAS, p. 9.

⁴⁰ JACOB, *Toscan*, pp. 149-150. There are also no commemorations in Nicholas of Otranto's Latin version of BAS (AD 1174-1198), JACOB, *Otrante*, p. 69, nor in *Karlsruhe EM 6* (sigl. K), a 13th. c. MS of the translation, retouched in various places by the redactor according to local usages (*ibid.*, p. 55). These texts have been cited above, pp. 153, 197, 205.

⁴¹ The rubric in some 16-18th c. MSS of PRES are a later imitation of BAS-CHR (cf. TREMPÉLAS, p. 214).

⁴² E. g. *Sabas 607 (362)*, 14th c., in DMITRIEVSKIĬ II, p. 316.

⁴³ Ed. VERPEAUX, p. 266, cited above, pp. 201-202.

(AD 1407)⁴⁴ and the MS used by Habert for his edition — probably *Paris Gr. 1362* (15th c.) according to Jacob — contain the usual general commemoration of all, followed by a commemoration of the patriarch by each of the ministers as he enters the sanctuary.⁴⁵

The first euchology in which we have found a commemoration at the Great Entrance is the 13th century *British Museum Harl. 5561*. As the priest enters he says to himself ("καθ' ἑαυτὸν"): "May the Lord God remember us in his kingdom and all Christians" (f. 12r-v). The Latin translation of CHR by Janus Lascaris in *Modena Biblioteca Estense Cod. Gr. 19* (a.R.7.20: III.A.5) is another one of the earliest euchologies with commemorations (we cite the text below, p. 231). *Modena 19* dates from the beginning of the 16th c., but according to Jacob the translation of Lascaris was done before 1500 on the basis of a Calabrian-type codex which Jacob dates as not earlier than the 13th century, but may be as late as the first half of the 15th century.⁴⁶ *Sinai Gr. 2046* (14-15th c.) has the general commemoration, as do the diataxeis of Philotheus (*ante* 1347), of codex *Munich Gr. 540* (AD 1416) f. 26r, and of codex *Paris Gr. 2509* (15th c.);⁴⁷ the *editio princeps* of Doucas (1526); etc. But only from the 15th century on does it begin to appear in the MSS with any regularity.⁴⁸

b) *Probable Origin and Evolution of the Commemorations:*

In the previous chapter we noted that in some churches it is the custom for the people to gather around the clergy during the entrance procession, hoping to be touched by the sacred vessels, thereby receiving a blessing. To see that they are not overlooked they will even prostrate themselves in the path of the procession so that the clergy have literally to watch their step to avoid trampling on them. We also cited a homely rubric in some late Greek codices of CHR that evokes a similar practice.

Symeon of Thessalonika († 1429) in his *Expositio de divino templo* also witnesses to this custom. The people prostrate themselves before the priests and beg a remembrance in the liturgy, and the priests pray that the Lord remember them in his kingdom.

⁴⁴ DMITRIEVSKIĬ II, p. 310, apparatus n. 5.

⁴⁵ HABERT, p. 76. On the MS of this edition cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 444.

⁴⁶ *Formulaire*, pp. 454-465.

⁴⁷ TREMPÉLAS, p. 9; GOAR², p. 81.

⁴⁸ Cf. the MSS cited in TREMPÉLAS, p. 81, and other sources cited below.

And when the priests enter the sanctuary, they pray for the bishop.⁴⁸ Nicholas Cabasilas (c. 1350) is even more explicit:

The faithful chant during this procession, kneeling down reverently and devoutly, and praying that they may be remembered when the offering is made During this ceremony we must prostrate ourselves before the priest and entreat him to remember us in the prayers which he is about to say.⁴⁹

From the above commentaries we can draw the following points:

1. The people asked the priests to pray for them during the eucharistic sacrifice; hence the custom postdates the period when only the deacons took part in the entrance.
2. The priests replied, assuring the people of their prayers.
3. There is no indication that the Great-Entrance chant was interrupted.
4. Symeon refers to the prayers for the people in the same way as he speaks of the commemoration of the bishop which still today is spoken *quietly* by the priests as they enter the sanctuary: "May the Lord God remember your episcopate in His kingdom, always, now and forever and unto ages of ages."⁵¹

Initially the Cherubicon was sung without interruption during the procession. At the same time, the people quietly asked for and were assured of a remembrance at mass. We see this in the Latin translation of CHR by Janus Lascaris (*ante* 1500) in codex *Modena Gr. 19*. The text of the hymn is given without a break. But during the procession we have the following (f. 33r):

⁴⁸ 77-78, PG 155, 728-29. SYMEON explicitly mentions the prayer of the good thief "Remember me, when you come into your kingdom" (Lk 23: 42), and S. JANERAS has pointed out the possible connection between the presence of this phrase in the Holy-Thursday entrance chant (*Cenae tuae*) and the commemorations at the entrance (cf. *Viernes santos*, pp. 154-157 and ch. IV note 78).

⁴⁹ 24, PG 150, 420 (trans. J. M. HUSSEY and P. A. McNULTY, *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, London, 1960, p. 65).

⁵¹ *Činovnik*, Moscow, 1798, f. 36r; Warsaw, 1944, f. 10r. See also the presbyteral liturgy, *Ieratikon*, Rome, 1950, p. 125; *Služebnik*, Rome, 1956, p. 241. The *Edinovercy Činovnik* (Moscow, 1910, ff. 49r-v) shows a similar mingling of silent and loud commemorations: the people and bishop are commemorated aloud, and then the bishop responds quietly to this greeting with the commemoration which the bishop in the Orthodox usage chants aloud: "May the Lord God remember all of you..."

... egrediuntur [diaconus et sacerdos] e parvo hostio dicente sacerdote cum iam aliquantulum progressus sit: Meminerit dominus deus vestri in regno suo nunc et semper.

Quod si sit aliquis Prelatus dicit: Sancte sacerdos Memento Mei.

Et sacerdos dicit: Memmerit tui dominus deus noster in regno suo.

Et iterum ac tertio: Memmerit vestri dominus deus noster in regno suo.

Fere eadem dicit at populus secum: Memmeris mei domine in regno tuo iterum ac sepius.⁵²

Some other MSS and editions, including the *editio princeps*, also indicate that the ministers repeat the commemorations several times:

Going through the nave both of them pray over all, saying: May the Lord God ... And they say this several times until the Great Entrance is completed.⁵³

That the commemorations were once made quietly can be seen in the 13th century codex *British Museum Harl. 5561* already cited ("καθ' ἑαυτὸν", f. 12r), and in the following rubric from a 15th (?) century diataxis contained in a Jerusalem typicon in the library of Dmitrievskij:

And taking the gifts with the incense he makes the entrance and commemorates to himself: For this holy monastery and every country place, the emperor, the patriarch, and all Christians.⁵⁴

These silent commemorations are the only ones at the Great Entrance in these MSS.

Gradually, the practice arose of commemorating aloud the emperor and patriarch if they were present at the liturgy. This is what we saw in the *De officiis* (c. 1350-1360).⁵⁵ These commem-

⁵² We take "iterum ac sepius" to be part of the rubric. The same phrase is used in this MS to translate πάλιν καὶ πολλάκις, the *incipit* of the second prayer of the faithful of CHR (= LEW, p. 317,9). Some modern editions indicate a similar petition to be repeated by the congregation (*Ieratikon*, Athens, 1951, p. 81).

⁵³ *Sinai Gr. 1919* (AD 1564) f. 33r. Cf. also codex *Cairo 371* of the archieraticon of Gemistos, DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 310, n. 5; *Sinai Gr. 986*, *ibid.*, p. 610; Slavie BAS of *Sofia bibl. 875* (16th c.), ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 141, sigl. C²; GOAR² p. 59; etc.

⁵⁴ DMITRIEVSKIJ III, p. 120.

⁵⁵ Ed. VERPEAUX, p. 266, cited above, p. 202. See also the diataxis of codex *Vatican Gr. 573* (14-15th c.), KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 108.

orations were gradually multiplied to include other orders in the church, but initially they were done silently unless those in question were actually present.⁵⁶ We see this for example in the 15th century diataxis of *Sabas 305* and *Leningrad 423*, where the emperor, patriarch, etc. are commemorated silently, but it seems that the general commemoration of all was chanted aloud:

*And taking the gifts ... he enters, commemorating to himself: For the holy monastery, for this and every city and country place, the emperor, the patriarch. When he comes outside he says to the people: May the Lord God remember all of us ...*⁵⁷

Many Slavic MSS of the 16th century indicate a similar practice of several silent commemorations followed by the general commemoration aloud, as for example in BAS of *Sofia bibl. 875*:

*And he [= the priest] goes to the prothesis altar and incenses the gifts saying "Holy God" thrice. Also this: Remember, Lord, this holy monastery and every city and all the faithful Christians dwelling therein in faith. Remember, Lord, our pious Tsar, the Great Prince N., and all Orthodox princes. Remember, Lord, our Archbishop N. and the whole order of priests. Remember, Lord, our father, Higoumen N. and the brothers in Christ. Remember, Lord, our benefactors and all Orthodox Christians and my spiritual children and their wives and children. And he commemorates whomever he wishes.*⁵⁸

Then the aer is removed, and the entrance begins.

Finally it became customary to pray aloud for the ruler, bishop and other classes even if they were not present at the liturgy. A more significant result of this multiplication of commemorations was the custom of cutting out commemorative particles for the living and dead — a sort of continuation of the prothesis — that came to be introduced into the liturgy in some areas and still remains in the pontifical rite (see the next chapter). Since this custom postdates the commemorations we have been discussing by a couple of centuries, this seems to be how the evolution took place. We shall see more of this in the next chapter.

⁵⁶ See for example the rubrics of the first Moscow *Sluzebnik* (1602), MURETOV, *K materialam*, p. 91; of the Sobor of 1666-7, *Dejanija*, f. 52v; and of *Moscow Synod 368* (17th c.), NEVOSTRUEV-GORSKIJ, *Opisanie III*, I, p. 107.

⁵⁷ KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 89.

⁵⁸ ORLOV, *Liturgija* p. 139 sigl. C². Cf. PETROVSKIJ, *Rédaction slave*, p. 920.

As for the variety in the shape and number of the commemorations, and the rubrics as to how and where and by whom they are to be chanted, they are not worth cataloguing in detail. This lack of conformity is an indication of late development and reflects local usages. So by way of conclusion we shall simply state in summary form what the reader, if he wishes, can find abundantly documented in *Trepelas*, *Orlov* or *Dmitrievskij*, or in the codices themselves.⁵⁹

1. Originally, when only the deacons brought in the gifts, there was no commemoration at all.
2. Then one commemoration, probably said in a low voice repeatedly by the priest, was introduced. This was not contained in the euchologies. It was simply a spontaneous response to the petitions of the faithful during the procession. Eventually other silent commemorations were added.
3. This single commemoration, along with the commemoration of any dignitaries present, came eventually to be said aloud. Its text is found in various recensions, but none of them differ substantially except in regard to the word order, iotacisms (*ὁμῶν, ἡμῶν*), and the addition of "*πάντοτε, νῦν ...*" De Meester's remark that the commemoration was "naturally accompanied by the usual *πάντοτε*" is unwarranted.⁶⁰ The tendency to add this conclusion to absolutely everything is a later development.
4. The rubrics order the commemoration to be said: a) by deacon and priest together; b) or first by the deacon, and then repeated by the priest; c) or (in one MS) by the deacon, and then completed by the priest who says "*πάντοτε ...*"⁶¹. d) In some sources the deacon and priest alternate various commemorations between themselves.
5. The multiplication of the commemorations comes only later. The earliest MSS have no commemoration, then only the single general commemoration.⁶²

⁵⁹ TREPELAS, pp. 81-82; ORLOV, *Liturgija*, pp. 140-141; DMITRIEVSKIJ II, *passim*.

⁶⁰ DE MEESTER, *Origines*, p. 332.

⁶¹ *Ethn. bibl.* 782 (17th c.) TREPELAS, p. 82. In codex *British Museum Harl. 5561* (13th c.) it is not clear who said the commemorations (f. 12r-v).

⁶² In addition to the Greek sources already cited, cf. the following Slavic witnesses: *Sinai Slav. 14*, f. 20v; *Sinai Slav. 15*, f. 27r; *Vat. Slav.*

6. Even in the Greek and Slavic MSS which contain more than one commemoration, it seems that the additions were to be made only when a prince or bishop was present at the liturgy. The commemorations refer uniquely to the worshipping congregation in attendance,⁶³ and are not, as now, a general prayer for the civil authorities, hierarchy, etc.
7. There are even some late MSS which do not contain any commemorations at all.⁶⁴ So the practice did not gain a firm foothold in the euchology text until the printed editions came into general use.

In any future liturgical reform it would certainly be desirable to shift such commemorations to their proper place in the diptychs, and avoid this illogical interruption of the entrance antiphon.

6. *Psalm 23: 7 and 117: 26a (27a)*

In today's Slavic *Činovník* it is customary for the bishop to say, after incensing the discos at the holy doors, "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord!" (Ps. 117: 26a).⁶⁵ This usage first appears in Greek MSS in the 12th century, and since the practice was approved by the Moscow Sobor of 1666-1667 which revised the Russian books to conform them to Greek usage, we can presume that the practice had eventually become general among the Greeks.⁶⁶

14 (Philotheus' diataxis), KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenijsa* p. 184; MSS of Slavic BAS in ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 141. According to PETROVSKIJ (*Rédaction slave*, pp. 867, 888, 904-905) there were no commemorations in the 12th, the single commemoration in the 14th, and multiple commemorations in the 15th century Slavic redactions of the liturgy.

⁶³ Cf. the commentaries and the translation of Janus Lascaris (*Modena 19*, f. 33r) cited above, pp. 229-231; ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 141; TREMPÉLAS, pp. 81-82.

⁶⁴ E. g. *Oxford Cromwell 11* (AD 1225); *Milan Ambros. Gr.* 276 (*E 20 sup.*) and 709 (*R 24 sup.*), (13th c.); *Moscow Synod 261* (14th c.), KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenijsa*, p. 299; *Taphou 517* (14th c.); *The Prayer Book of Vladimir* (14th c.), KOVALIV, *Molitovník*, f. 19r; *Ivion 373 (780)* (AD 1400); *Ambros. 637 (P 112 sup.)* (15th c.); *Sinai Gr.* 968 (AD 1426) and 2037 (16th c.); *Vat. Gr.* 1213 (16th c.), KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenijsa*, p. 134; *Taphou 334* (17th c.); etc.

⁶⁵ *Činovník*, Moscow, 1798, f. 34r; Warsaw, 1944, f. 9v; *Edinovercy Činovník*, Moscow, 1910, ff. 49r, 50r.

⁶⁶ *Dejanija*, f. 52v. Also MURETOV, *Proskomidijsa*, p. 28, and cf. the Greek sources listed below as giving this verse (notes 68-71, 73, 75, 77, 95).

As we saw in chapter II, this verse and the "*Attolite portas*" (Ps. 23: 7) that often precedes it in the MSS may well have had a long tradition in the evolution of the Great Entrance. But those MSS that do contain a psalm verse here, though reasonably consistent in giving Ps. 117: 26a, show considerable variety with respect to the addition of verse 27a ("The Lord is God and has appeared to us"),⁶⁷ or with respect to what, if anything, introduces these verses. In the Philothean tradition, the priest says Ps. 23: 7 ("*Attolite portas ...*") as he enters, and the deacon, having gone into the sanctuary already and put the discos on the altar, turns and incenses the priest as he comes in, and says "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord, the Lord is God and has appeared to us."⁶⁸ But in some MSS, the roles are reversed;⁶⁹ in others, the priest says both versicles;⁷⁰ and in *Patmos 719* (13th c.) both priest and deacon say the "*Attolite portas*", and the priest alone says "Blessed ..." as he enters.⁷¹ In the *Edinovercy Činovník* the senior priest in the procession says Ps. 23: 9-10 and 117: 26a, and the bishop, on receiving the gifts, says Ps. 23: 7, 117: 26a, followed by a paraphrase of the second half of the Cherubicon, to which is added the last sentence of the *Nemo dignus* prayer: "For you are the one that offers and is offered..."⁷²

Finally, a number of codices give the "*Attolite portas*", and "Blessed ..." but include a note which indicates the "*Attolite*" to be a local tradition, and usually it adds that the "*Attolite*" is

⁶⁷ Two 17th c. MSS, *Ethn. bibl.* 778 and *Byz. Museum 90* (TREMPÉLAS, p. 82) add after Ps. 117: 26a: Εὐλογημένη ἡ δόξα Κυρίου ἐκ τοῦ τόπου (τοῦ ἁγίου τούτου) (= Ezech. 3: 12).

⁶⁸ Philotheus' diataxis, ed. TREMPÉLAS, pp. 9-10. Similarly, *Sabas 53* (AD 1577-78); *Sinai Gr.* 1919 (AD 1564); *Vat. Gr.* 573 (15th c. diataxis), KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 108; *Sinai Slav.* 14, 15 (17th c.); and eight 16-18th c. MSS in TREMPÉLAS, p. 82. However the recension of Philotheus' diataxis in *Sinai Gr.* 2046 omits "*Attolite*" and Ps. 117 (f. 151).

⁶⁹ E. g. *Sinai Gr.* 986 (15th c.), DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 610; some 15th c. Slavic MSS studied by PETROVSKIJ (*Rédaction slave*, p. 905); and *Ethnike bibl.* 776, TREMPÉLAS, p. 83.

⁷⁰ *Esphigmenou 120*, DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 959; a diataxis in *ibid.* III, p. 120 (but these MSS makes no provision for the service of a deacon); *Byz. Museum 13* (16th c.), TREMPÉLAS, p. 83; *Sabas 305* (15th c. diataxis), KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 89; *Grottaferrata Gb XIX* (AD 1591) f. 9r; and many Slavic MSS of BAS (cf. ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 141). In the *Codex Falascae* (*Grott. Gb III*, 14th c.) both priest and deacon say both verses together (GOAR³, pp. 87-88).

⁷¹ DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 173.

⁷² Ff. 49r-50r.

not said in the Great Church, but the priest says "Blessed ..." as he enters.⁷³

To complete the confusion, some MSS give only "Attolite",⁷⁴ others only "Blessed ...".⁷⁵ The Kiev *Služebnik* of 1639 (p. 290) and the Lvov *Služebnik* of 1666 (f. 138v) give the verses in reverse order, *Vatican Gr. 1213* (16th c.) has "Blessed ..." during the incensation of the gifts on the altar in place of "Noble Joseph," which was said while entering,⁷⁶ and one can find every possible combination as to who said what. But in spite of this variety, the general practice in later Greek MSS seems to have been either to follow Philotheus (priest: "Attolite portas ..."; deacon: "Blessed ...") or else to omit the "Attolite" and have the priest say "Blessed ..." as he enters.⁷⁷

7. "Bless, saints"

a) The Meaning of this Injunction:

Another series of MSS of diverse provenance, the earliest dating from the 12th century, omit the "Attolite portas" and introduce "Blessed is he ..." by the injunction "Εὐλογεῖτε ἄγιοι."⁷⁸

⁷³ *Sinai Gr. 1919*; a euchology (AD 1556) in the library of A. C. Pavlov (ΜΥΡΕΤΟΝ, *K materialam* p. 93); *Ethnike bibl.* 751, 766, 770 (ΤΡΕΜΠΕΛΑΣ, pp. 82-83). Cf. also the note in *Dmitrievskij II*, p. 610 n. 5 from *Alexandria Codex Gr. 1070* (16th c.): "Lift up your gates is not said here, as the blessed Kyr Joasaph wrote, but only *The Lord is God, and has appeared to us, blessed is he ... and Noble Joseph.*" The heading of this MS (*ibid.* p. 602) says that it gives the *ordo* of the Great Lavra on Athos — which is where Philotheus wrote his diataxis. So even in one and the same monastery we see no consistency in these secondary formulae.

⁷⁴ *Munich 540* (diataxis, AD 1416) f. 26r; *Sabas 48*, BAS (AD 1537); *Sabas 382*; *Sinai Gr. 2045*; several Slavic MSS of BAS (cf. *Orlov, Liturgija*, p. 141); and KRASNOSEL'CEV's edition of Philotheus' diataxis (*Materialy*, p. 60).

⁷⁵ Cf. the MSS listed in note 95 below.

⁷⁶ KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedeniija*, p. 134.

⁷⁷ But according to *Petrovskij (Rédação slave*, pp. 888-889) it is precisely in the Philothean redaction of CHR in the 14th c. Slavic MSS that Ps. 23:7 is missing, and the priest says Ps. 117:26a, 27a as he enters. In the recension of Philotheus' diataxis in *Vat. Slav. 14* and *Moscow Synod 344 (601)*, only Ps. 117:26a, 27a is given, but the preceding rubric is in the plural ("Glagoljut = they say"). (Cf. KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedeniija*, p. 185; *Materialy*, p. 61).

⁷⁸ JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 166-167. JACOB (*ibid.*, p. 166) lists the following sources that have this formula somewhere in the Great-Entrance rite: *Oriental MSS*: *Sinai Gr. 1020* (12-13th c. diaconicon of BAS, *Dmitrievskij II*, p. 142), *Paris Gr. 324*; *Italo-Greek MSS* (Otranto): *Barberini Gr.*

In CHR the formula "Bless, saints" appears for the first time in *Leningrad 226* (f. 29r), after the skeuophylakion prayer, just before the final blessing of the liturgy. Here is how Jacob reconstructs the text:

... now and [always and unto ages of ages].

[Deacon]: Bless, saints. Lord, bless.

[Priest]: May our Lord and God ...⁷⁹

Krasnosel'cev's reconstruction differs only in that he divides the line differently, joining "and" to the diaconal admonition ("And bless, saints") rather than to the preceding finale of the skeuophylakion prayer.⁸⁰ Strittmatter divides the line like Krasnosel'cev, but refers the marginal rubric "ὁ δ" to "Lord, bless" and assigns "And bless, saints" to the people, thus:

... now [and always ...]

[People]: And bless, saints,

[Deacon]: Lord, bless

[Priest]: May our Lord and God ...⁸¹

Strittmatter came to this solution by comparing this text with the Latin version of BAS that he edited from codex *Paris nouv. acquis. lat. 1791* (12th c.). There, before the same final blessing of the liturgy as in *Leningrad 226*, we find the rubric: "*Populus benedicit deum.*" Strittmatter believed this to be an erroneous translation of some such phrase as the one in *Leningrad 226*. So in his Greek retroversion he interprets it as follows:

Ὁ λαός· Εὐλογεῖτε τὸν θεόν.⁸²

Jacob, rather than postulate an unlikely error in translating so simple a text — especially since we know of no Greek text that has εὐλογεῖτε τὸν θεόν — believes that the passage must be interpreted so as to agree with the sense of the related text in

443 (13th c.), *Sinai Gr. 966* (BAS, 13th c., *Dmitrievskij II*, p. 206), *Borgia Gr. 7* (AD 1353), *Corsini 41. E. 29* (16th c.), *Corsini 41. E. 31* (16th c.); the Constantinopolitan archieraticon of Gemistos (*Dmitrievskij II*, p. 311); and some Slavic MSS of the Philothean redaction (cf. *Petrovskij, Rédação slave*, p. 889). To the list we can add *Ambros. 167* (CHR, f. 19v; but not in BAS, cf. f. 69v) and *Ambros. 276* (f. 18v in the upper margin).

⁷⁹ *Formulaire*, p. 163.

⁸⁰ *Svedeniija*, p. 295.

⁸¹ STRITTMATTER, *Missa graecorum*, p. 134 note H.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117 and 134 note H.

Leningrad 226. The two texts are complementary, reflecting two successive moments of the same liturgical action. In *Leningrad 226* the deacon says "Bless, saints!", enjoining the people to bless God silently, which they do as in the Latin text (*Populus benedicit deum*). Then in both sources the priest gives the blessing. And Jacob sees this silent prayer of the faithful confirmed by the incipit of the "prayer behind the ambo" or ancient prayer of final benediction in the Byzantine liturgy: "O Lord who bless those that bless you ..." (Gen. 13: 3).⁸³

Some Italo-Greek euchologies support Strittmatter's interpretation of "Bless, saints" as an acclamation of the people. Jacob mentions two 12th century euchologies, the codices *Vatican Gr. 1554* and *Ottoboni Gr. 344*, to which we can add *Messina Gr. 115* (AD 1131) recently published by M. Arranz, S. J., all of which contain the formula "Bless, saints" (or "Bless, saints, bless") as an exclamation of the people just before the final blessing of vespers, matins, and some other offices.⁸⁴ These 12th century MSS are contemporary to *Paris nouv. acq. lat. 1791*, and so "*Populus benedicit deum*" could be a statement of fact: at this point, the people exclaimed "Bless, saints."

But in the codex *Vatican Gr. 1833*, of the 10th century and hence contemporaneous with *Leningrad 226*, the formula "Bless, saints," appears, three times, at the end of vespers (f. 23r), matins (f. 29r) and the "Kneeling Office" at vespers on Whitsunday (f. 39v).⁸⁵ In all three instances the structure is as follows:

Deacon: Σοφία.

Priest: Εὐλογεῖτε ἅγιοι.

Priest: Final prayer of blessing.

On Whitsunday the "Bless, saints," is assigned to the deacon, but that does not modify the basic structure.

These final rites that have the same structure as those of CHR in *Leningrad 226* represent, it seems to us, the older tradition: "Bless, saints" is addressed by deacon or priest to the people, not by the people to the clergy. The "saints" here are the baptized Christians, just as in the call to communion ("Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις"). Hence it is not the priest about to read the

⁸³ *Formulaire*, p. 164-165.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 165-166, and ARRANZ, *Typicon du S.-Sauveur*, pp. 200, 202, 282, and *Appendice de Luc*, p. 11; cf. *Index liturgique*, p. 401. Cf. also the *Typicon of Evergetes*, DMITRIEVSKI I, p. 621.

⁸⁵ JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 166.

prayer of blessing that is enjoined by the deacon to bless, but rather the people whose blessing — we would say "permission" — is asked for the action the priest is about to perform.

The following passage of R. A. Dawkins, *The Monks of Athos*, describes a similar, non-liturgical usage on the Holy Mountain:

Panayiōtis was ... so polite that he always prefixed his questions with *Eulōgison* (Εὐλόγησον), "Give your blessing." This is the formula used when a junior addresses a senior monk: the senior answers with *O Theos* (ὁ Θεός), "God", which stands for "May God bless you," and then the conversation proper may begin. Laymen addressing a monk will often begin with *Euloyite* (Εὐλογεῖτε) which equally means "Give your blessing," but is a more conversational, less ritual form of the verb.⁸⁶

However, "ὁ Θεός" does not stand for "May God bless you" but for "Εὐλογητός ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν, πάντοτε ..." which is the common response to the request for permission "Bless."⁸⁷

Today among Russian priests it is still common practice even outside the liturgy to ask a bishop's permission for something with the expression "*Blagoslovi, Vladyko* (Bless, master)". So "Bless" means "With your permission," and is parallel to the Syriac "*barrek mār(y)*" or the Latin "*Benedicite*" of the table blessing, which means "May I begin the prayer?" and the response, "*Benedicite*": "Yes you may." A clear example of this use of "Bless" in the Byzantine tradition is found in codex *Patmos 719* (13th c.). When the priest enters the sanctuary to vest, he addresses the others within: "Bless, fathers and brothers, forgive me the sinner." Then he takes his vestments and blesses the sticharion: "Blessed is our God always, now ..." and vests.⁸⁸

But we do not believe that this "blessing" of the people refers to a moment of silent recollection. Today in the Greek usage, the conclusion of vespers and matins begins with the diaconal injunction: "Σοφία. Εὐλόγησον." In some earlier sources there is no *Εὐλόγησον*.⁸⁹ But in the Slavic usage it is sung by

⁸⁶ London, 1939, p. 193.

⁸⁷ For example at the end of vespers and matins, at the beginning of the liturgy and throughout it at practically every blessing (of the vestments, at the beginning of the prothesis, of the wine and water, of the introit, etc.). Cf. the diataxis of codex *British Museum Add. 34060*, ARABATZOGLOU, *Bibliothèque*, pp. 235-240 *passim*; LEW, pp. 353, 9-11; 355, 3-6; 356, 22-26; 357, 23-26; 362, 4-7, 22-26; 368, 15-18; etc.

⁸⁸ DMITRIEVSKI I, p. 171.

⁸⁹ E. g. Philotheus' diaconal diataxis of vespers and matins (GOAR², p. 7).

the people. Similarly at the end of the liturgy in some recensions, just before the post-ambo prayer or ancient final blessing the people cry "Bless, holy master."⁹⁰ So it is not at all foreign to the Byzantine tradition for the people to chant such an injunction before the priest's blessing. And perhaps they did so in response to our "Bless, saints," just as in the other instances mentioned where they give the injunction to bless without first having been invited to, or in response to "Σοφία."

b) "Bless, saints" at the Great Entrance:

A variety of Greek sources of diverse origin — Constantinopolitan, Italian, Oriental, — have "Bless saints" somewhere in the rites of the Great Entrance.⁹¹ It is also found in Slavic sources from the 14th century.⁹²

But the invocation was not always used in the same way. In the 14th century Slavic MSS as well as in the Oriental MS *Paris Gr. 324* and the Constantinopolitan archieratikon of Gemistos, both 14th c. sources too, "Bless, saints," introduces the *orate fratres* dialogue after the gifts have been put on the altar.⁹³ In the older Italo-Greek witnesses it occurs during the entrance, as a diaconal invocation before Ps. 117:26a said by the priest as he enters — though there is a certain amount of variety in the practices.⁹⁴

Which formula or invocation is traditional at this point of the liturgy, "Attolite portas" or "Bless, saints"? Probably neither. Numerous MSS have at the Great Entrance only Ps. 117:26a (27a) with no diaconal invitatory at all.⁹⁵ And the reform of the Slavic books effected by the sobor of 1666-1667 shows that at that

⁹⁰ Cf. LEW, p. 397, 27 and the "Domine, nos-benedic" of ancient Georgian CHR (JACOB, *Version géorgienne*, pp. 84, 118).

⁹¹ See note 78 above.

⁹² PETROVSKIJ, *Rédaction slave*, p. 889.

⁹³ *Loc. cit.*; JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 167; DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 311; HABERT, p. 17. See also chapter VIII below.

⁹⁴ Cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 167.

⁹⁵ JACOB (*Formulaire*, pp. 167-168) lists the following MSS: *Barberini Gr. 316* (12th c.); *Chigi Gr. 2 (R.IV.2)* (12th c.); *Vat. Gr. 2005* (12-13 c. CHR and BAS); *Pius II Gr. 35* (13th c.); some 14th c. Slavonic versions (PETROVSKIJ, *Rédaction slave*, pp. 888-889); *Vat. Gr. 573* (14-15th c. diataxis, KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 108); *Vat. Gr. 2012* (15th c.); *Vat. Gr. 1557* and *1213* (16th c.); *Vat. Gr. 2032* (AD 1549); to which we can add the Slavic recension of Philotheus' diataxis in *Vat. Slav. 14* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 185); *Vat. Gr. 1213* (*ibid.*, p. 134); *Ambros. 167* (BAS, 14th c.); *Grottaferrata Gb XVIII*, (14th c.) f. 17r; *Ambros. 84* (15th c.); and three MSS of Slavic BAS in Orlov, *Liturgija*, p. 141.

time, at least, Ps. 117:26a without invitatory or Ps. 23:7 was the accepted Greek usage.⁹⁶ As Jacob points out, Ps. 117:26a is used in various places in the liturgy, with no invitatory, to accompany a "coming or going" in the name of the Lord.⁹⁷ The double injunction of *Sinai Gr. 1020* as reconstructed by Jacob (Εὐλογεῖτε, ἅγιοι. Εὐλόγησον) is parallel to that of *Leningrad 226*, but the second member (Εὐλόγησον) is out of place at the Great Entrance, where there is no question of a formula of blessing.⁹⁸

Jacob has suggested that "Bless, saints" may have been adopted at the Great Entrance when it fell into disuse in the final rites of the liturgy.⁹⁹ But the tradition for this formula at the end of the liturgy is by no means constant enough to prove any more than a transitory, perhaps local Italo-Greek usage. In fact there is more evidence for the use of the formula in the office or at the Great Entrance. It would seem that this invocation, meant to request permission or to introduce a prayer of blessing, was attracted to the Great Entrance by the presence there of Ps. 117:26a, the *incipit* of which (εὐλογημένος...) lends itself well to the traditional format of Byzantine blessings: an injunction (Εὐλόγησον) followed by a formula beginning with the verb εὐλογεῖν.¹⁰⁰

8. The Commemorations of the Ministers as they Enter the Sanctuary

In the diataxeis of *Ethnike bibl. 662* and Philotheus,¹⁰¹ the deacon says to priest upon entering: "Master, remember me a sinner." And the priest replies: "May the Lord God remember you in his kingdom." In some MSS of the archieratikon of Gemistos the ministers say to the main celebrant: "May the Lord God remember your episcopate in his kingdom."¹⁰² In today's Slavic *Činovnik* this greeting is addressed to the bishop by the ministers from whom he takes the discos and chalice, and once again by all the ministers as they enter the sanctuary.¹⁰³ We find it also in the presbyteral liturgy, addressed by the deacon to the main celebrant, who replies: "May the Lord God remember your

⁹⁶ *Dejanija*, f. 52v.

⁹⁷ JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 168.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. note 87, above.

¹⁰¹ Ed. TREMPÉLAS, pp. 9-10.

¹⁰² DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 310 n. 5; HABERT, p. 76.

¹⁰³ *Činovnik*, Moscow, 1798, ff. 34r-36r; Warsaw, 1944, ff. 9v-10r.

diaconate ...".¹⁰⁴ If there are concelebrants, they similarly commemorate one another. It seems to be just a reverential greeting that was originally used freely and then became stylized at this part of the liturgy.

9. *The Deposition, Covering and Censing of the Gifts*

a) *The Presentation of the Gifts:*

In today's pontifical rite, following the archieratikon of Gemistos and the Russian reform of 1667, the bishop takes first the discos, then the chalice from the ministers carrying them in the procession, and puts them on the altar.¹⁰⁵ That this is not accidental but rather a deliberate part of the ritual can be seen from the *Činovník* of Moscow, 1798. The rubric is quite explicit. After taking the discos from the deacon and making the usual commemorations,

The bishop, going into the holy sanctuary, does not hand the discos to the archimandrites, but goes himself from the holy doors to the holy altar with the holy discos ... and puts it on the holy altar, saying: Noble Joseph ... (f. 35r).

And we saw what problems this rite caused for the fiery Avvakum.¹⁰⁶

But this solemnization of the deposition of the gifts is a later development. Our two sources for the 10th century pontifical rite of the great church, BAS in *Codex Pyromalus* and the version of Johannisberg, state explicitly that the gifts are fetched and deposited by the presbyters.¹⁰⁷ And our earliest pontifical diataxis in codex *British Museum Add. 34060* (12-13th c.) just says that the gifts are put on the altar and covered, presumably by the ministers that brought them in. At any rate the patriarch didn't do it. The MS tells us his hands were hidden under his phelonion during this time, until the castrensium uncovered them for the *lavabo*.¹⁰⁸

A similar solemnizing process is observable in the presbyteral mass. Most sources are silent on the question. Leo Tuscan's very detailed Great-Entrance rubrics from a 10th century Constan-

¹⁰⁴ *Ieratikon*, Athens, 1951, p. 82.

¹⁰⁵ DMITRIEVSKIĬ II, p. 310; *Dejanija*, ff. 52v-53r; GOLUBCOV, *Činovník*, pp. 22-23.

¹⁰⁶ See the *Life of Avvakum* cited in the previous chapter, p. 207.

¹⁰⁷ GOAR², p. 155; COCHLAËUS, *Speculum*, p. 124.

¹⁰⁸ ARABATZOGLOU, *Bibliothèque*, pp. 237-238.

tinopolitan diataxis do not say who put the gifts on the altar, but it was probably done by the deacons who carried them in.¹⁰⁹ According to the diataxeis of *Ethnike bibl. 662* (12-13th century), Philotheus (*ante* 1347), and codex *Vatican Gr. 573* (14-15th century) the deacon puts the discos on the altar himself, then incenses the priest as he enters and deposits the chalice.¹¹⁰ But in the 13th century euchology codex *Sinai Gr. 966* the priest takes the gifts from the deacon and places them on the altar.¹¹¹ The 15th century diataxis in codex *Paris Gr. 2509* states explicitly that the deacon is to wait for the priest to take the discos from his deak, and is not to put it on the altar himself.¹¹² This is the practice in later recensions of Philotheus' diataxis,¹¹³ and it is generally followed today.¹¹⁴

b) *The Arrangement of the Gifts on the Altar:*

Since it was the custom to carry many sacred vessels in the entrance procession, some sources give instructions as to their arrangement on the altar. Gemistos just says that the patriarch puts the discos on the altar and then ranges the chalices on either side of it, "one by one".¹¹⁵ But in the rubrics borrowed by Leo Tuscan from a 10th century diataxis we have the following:

*Et depositis sanctis panibus super sacram mensam in crucis figuram, expanso desuper peplo ... (then follows the orate fratres).*¹¹⁶

An even more detailed rubric of the same genre is found in the description of the prothesis rites in the letter of the Patriarch of Constantinople to Paul, bishop of Gallipoli, at the end of the 11th century. The patriarch ordains that if the number of communicants demands the use of several vessels, the discoi should be arranged on the prothesis and also on the altar in the form of a cross, with the chalices set in the angles of the arms of the cross.¹¹⁷

¹⁰⁹ JACOB, *Toscan*, p. 150.

¹¹⁰ TREMPÉLAS, p. 9; KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 108.

¹¹¹ DMITRIEVSKIĬ II, p. 206.

¹¹² GOAR², p. 81.

¹¹³ E. g. the 14-15th c. codex *Sinai Gr. 2046* (f. 15r-v); the 16th c. codices *Panteleimon 421* and *435*, and *Vatopedi 133 (744)* in KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 60.

¹¹⁴ *Ieratikon*, Athens, 1951, p. 82.

¹¹⁵ DMITRIEVSKIĬ II, p. 310.

¹¹⁶ JACOB, *Toscan*, p. 150.

¹¹⁷ COZZA-LUZI, *Typicum Casulanum*, pp. 168-169. On the history of this document see JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 343 ff.

These rubrics are all of Constantinopolitan origin, but those from the letter to Paul of Gallipoli were inserted into some MSS of the Italian tradition of Otranto from the 12th century on.¹¹⁸

c) *The Covering of the Gifts:*

The rubric cited above from Leo Tuscan just states that the gifts are covered with aer (*peplum*). The patriarchal diataxis of *British Museum Add. 34060* (12-13th c.) is equally laconic.¹¹⁹ The diataxis of codex *Ethnikē bibl. 662* (12-13th c.) does not so much as mention the aer.¹²⁰ But the rubric in the archieratikon of Gemistos (c. 1380) shows that the handling of the huge aer was an operation involving the participation of all the ministers:

All the bishops, priests and deacons take hold of the aer, saying: *Noble Joseph*. And the patriarch places the chalices on either side of the discos one by one, and the deacons remove their veils, and thus the aer is put on. And the castrensensis censes and says: *Do good, Lord* [Ps. 50:20] to the end of the psalm, with everyone bowing down before the gifts.¹²¹

Today, with veils of more modest dimensions, the aer is taken from the deacon's shoulder and put over the gifts by the main celebrant alone, as in Philotheus and in several other diataxeis of the non-concelebrated presbyteral liturgy.¹²²

d) *Formulae at the Deposition and Covering of the Gifts:*

Today, as we saw at the beginning of the chapter, the celebrant recites various troparia as he puts the gifts on the altar, "Noble Joseph" as he censes the aer and covers the gifts, and Ps. 50:20-21 as he censes them.

Our first witness to any such troparia is the patriarchal diataxis of the 12-13th century codex *British Museum Add. 34060*, which has the patriarch say the Whitsun troparion, Βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε, and

¹¹⁸ JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 348 ff. For the influence of this letter in Otrantan eucharologies cf. *ibid.*, pp. 348-380 *passim*.

¹¹⁹ ARABATZOGLOU, *Bibliothēke*, p. 238.

¹²⁰ TREMPÉLAS, p. 9.

¹²¹ DMITRIEVSKIJ II, pp. 310-311.

¹²² Philotheus, TREMPÉLAS, p. 10; also codices *Moscow Synod 381* (13-14th c.), *Vatican Gr. 573* (14-15th c.) and *Leningrad Gr. 423-Sabas 305* (15th c.), KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, pp. 25, 89, 108. Philotheus and *Moscow Synod 381* specify that the priest is to remove the discos and chalice veils himself, contrary to the practice in the passage of Gemistos just cited.

the kontakion of Cheese-fare Sunday, Τῆς σοφίας ὁδηγέ, as the gifts are brought in.¹²³ These troparia have no perceptible relation to the deposition and covering of the gifts. No other sources anterior to the diataxis of Philotheus — not even those with highly developed rubrics — give any formulae at all to accompany the deposition, covering and censing of the gifts.¹²⁴ And there are many medieval codices, and some quite late ones, that have no troparia at all.¹²⁵ But by the time of Philotheus and Gemistos, the importance of the aer and its symbolism as the stone rolled over the tomb of Christ had led to the introduction of the troparion "Noble Joseph" to accompany the covering of the gifts.¹²⁶

The Eastern traditions were quick to associate this symbolism with the ministry of Joseph of Arimathea. St. Isidore of Pelusium († c. 435), Alexandrine in origin and a pupil or at least admirer of Chrysostom, shows the beginnings of this allegorical mystagogy: "The spreading of the clean sindon under the sacred gifts signifies the ministry of Joseph of Arimathea."¹²⁷ According to Egeria (381-384), the gospel pericope concerning Joseph was read at Good-Friday vespers in Jerusalem.¹²⁸ A prayer said at the preparation of the gifts in the Ethiopian liturgy, when the priest wraps the bread in the māchfad, has the same theme:

Just as Joseph and Nicodemus wrapped you in linen cloth and spices and you were well pleased with them, in like manner be well pleased with us.¹²⁹

We saw in chapter II that Byzantine commentators offer multiple interpretations of the mystagogic significance of the Great Entrance.¹³⁰ From the time of Germanus († 733) the burial cortège

¹²³ ARABATZOGLOU, *Bibliothēke*, p. 237.

¹²⁴ Cf. the versions of Leo Tuscan and Nicholas of Otranto (JACOB, *Toscan*, p. 150, *Otranto*, pp. 69, 97); codex *Karlsruhe EM 6* (ENGDARL, pp. 19-20, 60); and the diataxeis of *Ethn. bibl. 662* (TREMPÉLAS, p. 9) and *Moscow Synod 381* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 25); etc.

¹²⁵ This is true of most of the MS we have consulted. And there are no troparia in the 17th century codex *Ethn. bibl. 778* (TREMPÉLAS, p. 83).

¹²⁶ TREMPÉLAS, p. 10; DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 310 (Gemistos, cited above in the previous section). On the symbolism of the aer, cf. GERMANUS, *HE*, 37-41 (BORCIA, pp. 31-32), and the excursus at the end of the preceding chapter.

¹²⁷ *Epist.* 1, 123 (PG 78, 264-265). Cf. BORNERT, *Commentaires*, pp. 79-80.

¹²⁸ *Journal de voyage* 37, ed. PÉTRÉ, *Sources chrétiennes* 21, p. 238.

¹²⁹ LEW, p. 199, 10-11.

¹³⁰ The entry of Christ into Jerusalem (*Prothectoria* 18, PG 140, 441; CABASILAS, *Liturgiae expositio* 24, PG 150, 420); the King of Glory on his

of Christ — often with explicit reference to the ministry of Joseph — is almost always one of their themes.¹³¹ But curiously enough the troparion "Noble Joseph" was introduced into the Great-Entrance rites only in the 14th century, and then not as the direct result of the mystagogic interpretations of the Great Entrance, but as a retro-influence of the Holy-Week ritual of the burial procession of Christ to which this troparion is proper. That is, the symbolism of the Great Entrance as the burial procession of Christ, and of the aer as the stone over the tomb, preceded and influenced the development of the Holy-Week processions, but it was in the latter that "Noble Joseph" and other formulae now found in the Great Entrance (troparia, Trisagion) first appeared.¹³² As we saw in the excursus at the end of the previous chapter there was at the end of Holy-Saturday matins an exit with the gospel during which the Trisagion after the Great Doxology and the troparion "Noble Joseph" were sung, but it was not until the 14th century that the gospel in this procession is covered with the aer and the procession begins to be interpreted as the burial cortège of Christ.

With the exception of *British Museum Add. 34060* all MSS that have any troparia at all at the Great Entrance agree on "Noble Joseph". In fact as we saw in the archieratikon of Gemistos just cited, the earliest sources with troparia give only this one, to be said at the covering of the gifts.¹³³ As late as the 17th century we still find MSS, especially of BAS, generally less subject to developments than CHR after the latter assumed first place in

way to be sacrificed, the descent into hell, the resurrection and ascension (GERMANUS, *HE* 37, ed. BORGIA, p. 30); the second coming of Christ (SYMEON OF THESSALONIKA, *ET* 76-77, *PG* 155, 728); etc.

¹³¹ Cf. *Protheoria* 18, *PG* 140, 441; Ps.-SOPHRONIUS, *PG* 87^a, 4000; GERMANUS *HE* 37-41, ed. BORGIA, pp. 30-32; SYMEON OF THESSALONIKA, *ET* 77, *PG* 155, 728. Cf. BORNERT, *Commentaires*, pp. 171 ff. *Sinai Gr.* 1047 (CHR) has the title of the *Nemo dignus* illuminated with angels carrying the body of Christ — another proof that this symbolism has invaded the Great-Entrance rite in the euchology text itself.

¹³² See the excursus on the epitaphion, pp. 217-218, and the codices cited there, especially the typicon of *Vatopedi 1199 (954)* (AD 1346), DMITRIEVSKIJ III, p. 452, listed as *Vatopedi 320 (931)*.

¹³³ DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 310. See also the distaxeis of Philotheus, TREMPÉLAS, p. 10; *Vat. Gr.* 573 and *Leningrad 423 - Sabas 305* (this source reverses the order of these formulae, putting Ps. 50:21 at the covering of the gifts and "Noble Joseph" at the incensation), KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, pp. 89-90, 108; various MSS cited in TREMPÉLAS pp. 83-84, 169; ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 143; etc.

the euchology, in which "Noble Joseph" is the only troparion at the entrance.¹³⁴

Later MSS (16-18th c.) added various other troparia to the original one, all of them concerned with the same general theme: Christ's passion and burial, his stay in the tomb, and his resurrection.¹³⁵

- 1) Ὁ εὐσχήμων Ἰωσήφ
- 2) Ἐν τάφῳ σωματικῶς
- 3) Ὡς ζωηφόρος
- 4) Τὸ τοῦ ὕψιστου
- 5) Ὅτε κατήλθε
- 6) Ταῖς μυροφόροις γυναιξί
- 7) Ἐξ ὕψους κατήλθε

Three of these troparia are still found in the Slavic recension of CHR, in the following order: 1, 2, 3, then again 1. The *Služebnik* of Kiev, 1639 (pp. 291-293) and of Lvov, 1666 (ff. 140-141) give before "Noble Joseph" troparia 2, 3 and then the pericope of John 20:6-7 about Simon Peter's discovery of the empty tomb, with a note that this is an Old Slavic tradition not followed by the Greeks. Greek codices also show the greatest variety in the ordering of these troparia.¹³⁶

Of these troparia "Noble Joseph" and that of the Myrrhophores are the only two that were used in the cathedral office of the Great Church.¹³⁷ The others are found only in the office of the Sabaitic tradition, which replaced the proper office of the Great Church after the fall of Constantinople to the Latins in the Fourth Crusade (1204) so disrupted the life of the patriarchate — a Latin was in fact put on the throne — that, as so often in the history of this church, only the monks managed to preserve their traditions.¹³⁸ "Noble Joseph" is also the original element in the

¹³⁴ E. g. CHR in codices *Ethn. bibl.* 750, 771, 780, 754 (TREMPÉLAS, pp. 83-84); Greek BAS (*ibid.*, p. 169); Slavic BAS (ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 141), and the Russian reform of 1666 (*Dejanija*, f. 53r).

¹³⁵ Cf. the 16-18th century MSS in TREMPÉLAS, pp. 83-84.

¹³⁶ *Ethn. bibl.* 749: 2, 3, 7, 1; 757: 2, 5, 1; 779: 1, 2, 5; 751: 1, 5, 6; 776: 1, 5, 6; 668: 3, 4, 1 (TREMPÉLAS, pp. 83-84); *Iviron* 878: 1, 2, 3; *Sabas* 382 (BAS): 7, 1.

¹³⁷ MATEOS, *Typicon*, II pp. 100, 104, 114 (text, and apparatus 19), 115 n. 3.

¹³⁸ SYMEON OF THESSALONIKA attributed the decadence of the rite of the Great Church to the fall of Constantinople to the Latins and to the great number of singers demanded by the rite (*De sacra precatone* 301,

Sabaitic tradition that will eventually evolve into the burial procession of Holy-Saturday matins.¹³⁹

The five later troparia also hark back to the burial cortège theme attributed to the entrance procession by the Byzantine commentators following Theodore of Mopsuestia and Narsai. Ταῖς μυροφόροις γυναιξί is found with "Noble Joseph" among the troparia of Good-Friday vespers,¹⁴⁰ and both are found, together with Ὅτε κατήλθες, as the troparia of Holy-Saturday orthros and of the Sunday of the Myrrhbearers.¹⁴¹ Their use in those parts of the passion office from which the burial procession of Christ developed probably attracted them into the eucharistic liturgy. Ἐν τάφῳ σωματικῶς, Ὡς ζωφόρος and Τὸ τοῦ ὑψιστοῦ are from the paschal hours; Ἐξ ὑψους κατήλθες is the apolytikion of the First Sunday after Pentecost (All Saints).¹⁴²

In the *Pentecostarion* and *Octoichos*, "Noble Joseph" and the troparion of the Myrrhophores have a final phrase that is lacking, for obvious reasons, in the *Triodion* recension.¹⁴³

Noble Joseph: "ἀλλὰ τριήμερος ἀνέστης, Κύριε, παρέχων τῷ κόσμῳ τὸ μέγα ἔλεος."

Myrrhophores: "ἀλλὰ κραυγάζατε· Ἀνέστη ὁ Κύριος, παρέχων τῷ κόσμῳ τὸ μέγα ἔλεος."

The Greek and Slavonic *textus receptus* follows Philotheus' diataxis¹⁴⁴ in giving only the *Triodion* recension of "Noble Joseph" at the Great Entrance. But some Slavic recensions anterior to the reform

347, PG 155, 553, 625). The Palestinian office began to exert its influence in Constantinople after the victory over Iconoclasm, but this influence was limited to the monastic office (MATEOS, *Typicon* I, p. xii).

¹³⁹ Cf. PAPAIOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Analekta* II, pp. 161-162. In the Byzantine monastic office, "Noble Joseph" first appears as the apolytikion of Good-Friday compline and as the troparion of Holy-Saturday matins before the introduction of the burial cortège. (Cf. ARRANZ, *Typicon du S.-Sauveur* (AD 1131), p. 242, and the typica cited in our excursus on the epitaphion at the end of the preceding chapter.

¹⁴⁰ *Triodion*, Rome, 1879, p. 708-709.

¹⁴¹ *Loc. cit.*; *Pentecostarion*, Rome, 1883, p. 87. Ὅτε κατήλθες is also found in Holy-Saturday matins in *Stavrou 43* (AD 1122) in PAPAIOPOULOS-KERAMEUS (*Analekta* II, p. 162), and at Easter matins and vespers (*ibid.*, pp. 190, 205).

¹⁴² *Pentecostarion*, Rome, 1883, pp. 17, 447. Cf. ARRANZ, *Typicon du S.-Sauveur*, *Index hymnographique*, p. 348, for the place of Ἐξ ὑψους κατήλθες in the more ancient tradition.

¹⁴³ *Pentecostarion*, Rome, 1883, p. 87; *Octoichos*, Rome, 1886, tone 2 at orthros, p. 23.

¹⁴⁴ Ed. TREMPÉLAS, p. 10.

of Nikon in 1666 give the longer text of "Noble Joseph".¹⁴⁵ And rubrics in some later Greek codices order the resurrectional conclusions to be added on Sundays.¹⁴⁶

e) *Other Formulae at the Deposition of the Gifts:*

In addition to these troparia, some MSS offer various other formulae, according to the local tradition or the whims of the copyist. For example, three 13-14th century Italian MSS have the priest cite a passage of Germanus' commentary while putting the gifts on the altar:

Ἴδοῦ, ἐσταύρωται ὁ Χριστός, τέθαιπται ἡ ζωὴ, ἐσφαλίσθη ὁ τάφος.¹⁴⁷

Examples of other peculiarities are found in the codices *Patmos Gr. 719* and *709*, the *Codex Falascae* cited below, and in the excursus at the end of the chapter.

f) *Psalm 50: 20-21 at the Censing of the Gifts:*

The introduction of the last or last two verses of Ps. 50 at the incensation of the gifts on the altar is undoubtedly due to the reference to sacrifices and offerings in verse 21. The verse — more usually both verses — is found in most sources that contain any formulae at all.¹⁴⁸ The earliest reference to them that we have found is in the 12th century *Paris Gr. 347*. The codex presents an almost rubricless, simple rite on the style of typical Constantinopolitan euchologies, but in the left-hand margin of page 84, toward the end of the *Nemo dignus* prayer and the beginning of the litany which follows it, the *incipit agáθ(ων)*

¹⁴⁵ ČERNJAVSKIJ, *Ob izmenenijach*, pp. 265 ff.

¹⁴⁶ E. g. *Ephigmenou 120* (AD 1602) DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 959. Cf. also TREMPÉLAS, p. 83.

¹⁴⁷ HE 41 (ed. BORGIA, p. 32). It is found in *Ambros. 276* (13th c.) CHR, ff. 18v and 19v (i. e. twice, in the margin of f. 18v when the gifts are deposited, and again on f. 19v, after the dialogue) and PRES, f. 45r; *Ambros. 167* (14th c.) CHR, f. 19v. Both these MSS have similar rites and formulae at the entrance ("Bless, saints; Blessed is he who comes..."; *lavabo* after the entrance, etc.) A third MS, *Grottaferrata Gb XVIII* (14th c.), continues the passage of Germanus "ἐσφαλίσθη ὁ λίθος" (f. 17r).

¹⁴⁸ Cf. The diataxis of Philotheus (TREMPÉLAS, p. 10), Gemistos (DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 311), *Vat. Gr. 573*, *Leningrad 423-Sabas 305* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, pp. 89-90, 108), *Paris Gr. 2509* (GOAR, p. 81), *Manich Gr. 540* (f. 26r); the euchologies *British Museum Harl. 5561*, *Ambros. Gr. 84*, *Sinai Gr. 2017*, *1919*, *2045*, *2046*, *Sabas 382*, *Vat. Gr. 1213* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 134), *Sinai Slav. 14*, etc.

has been added. However, we do not know the date of this addition. As is usual with such late, secondary formulae, numerous variations can be found.

The invitatory of the deacon that is found in the contemporary Greek editions (*ἀγάθυνον, δέσποτα*) is not given in any of the MSS. According to Trempelas, it is an 18-19th century addition.¹⁴⁹

* * *

CONCLUSION

What is to be said about this variety and multiplicity of formulae? It would probably be impossible — and would certainly be useless — to attempt to separate all this matter into various "traditions". Even in one and the same codex, as we have already noted, CHR and BAS present variant practices, and this in secondary matters having nothing about them peculiar to one or the other liturgy. Hence both geographically and chronologically no consistent patterns seem to emerge. We will conclude by presenting in full the *ordo* of formulae at the Great Entrance in a few of the more developed codices, so that the reader can view as a whole the great variety in the MS tradition before the general spread of the printed editions brought some unity into the secondary formulae of the Great-Entrance rite.

1. *Patmos Codices 719 and 709 (13th century)*

The earliest Greek MS to bring together a large number of the secondary formulae is the parchment roll *Patmos 719* (13th c.).¹⁵⁰

- After the *Nemo dignus* prayer, the priest goes to the prothesis and says Ps. 25.
- Incensing the gifts three times, he says the Whitsun troparion (*Βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε*) and the kontakion of Cheese-fare Sunday (*Τῆς σοφίας ὁδηγέ*).
- Taking the gifts, he says "Υψώσω σε, Κύριε ὁ Θεός μου" (Ps. 29: 2a and 3b or 144: 1a).¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ TREMPELAS, p. 84.

¹⁵⁰ DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 173.

¹⁵¹ See also codex *Byz. Museum 13* (16th c.) in TREMPELAS, p. 81 (sigl. Σ).

- On entering the sanctuary, both deacon and priest say "*Attolite portas ...*"; the priest says "*Benedictus qui venit ...*" (Ps. 117: 26a, 27a); then both say "*Magnificate dominum mecum ...*" (Ps. 33: 4) and a kathisma tone plag. 2 of Thursday matins in the Triodion (*Ὡς ἐν μέσῳ τῶν μαθητῶν*).¹⁵²

The contemporary MS *Patmos 709* (AD 1260) is very sparing in its formulae, as is usual with liturgical parchment rolls.¹⁵³ It gives only Psalm 50, and afterwards, while covering the gifts and censuring, the priest says the *commixtio* formula: "The fullness of the Holy Spirit. Amen." Then he bows three times, praying to himself.

2. *The Codex Falascae (14th century)*

The *Codex Falascae* (= *Grottaferrata Gb III*, 14th c.) also contains a large number of these secondary formulae.¹⁵⁴ After the *Nemo dignus*, we find:

- *Lavabo* with Ps. 25: 6ff
- The Whitsun troparion
- When putting the veil on the deacon's shoulder: "*Ne projicias me a facie tua ...*" (Ps. 50: 13), to which the deacon replies: "*Redde mihi laetitiam ...*" (Ps. 50: 14).
- Priest: "Holy, holy, holy ..."
- Priest and deacon: "*Attolite portas ...*" and "*Benedictus qui venit ...*"
- When uncovering the gifts the priest says: "*Dominus regnavit ...*" (Ps. 92: 1).

3. *Esphigmenou 120*

A good example of the cluttered state of the later MSS is codex *Esphigmenou 120* (AD 1602). It contains the following formulae:¹⁵⁵

- Cherubicon (said by the priest while the choir sings it)
- *Nemo dignus*
- Ps. 50: 1-19
- Creed
- "Ανεξ, εἰς ..."¹⁵⁶

¹⁵² *Triodion*, Rome, 1879, p. 807.

¹⁵³ DMITRIEVSKIJ II, pp. 157-158.

¹⁵⁴ GOAR², pp. 87-88.

¹⁵⁵ DMITRIEVSKIJ II, pp. 959-960.

¹⁵⁶ On this ancient penitential formula, the first part of which is in

- Our Father
- The penitential troparia
- Commemoration of the living and dead
- "Lord, cleanse me a sinner and have mercy on me" (three times).
- The troparion Τὸν νεφέωνά σου βλέπω from the Holy-Week office.¹⁸⁷
- Trisagion
- The usual commemoration at the entrance
- "Attolite, portas"
- "Benedictus qui venit..."
- "Noble Joseph"
- Ὅτε κατήλθε
- Ταῖς μυροφόροις γυναιξί
- Ὡς ζωφόρος
- Ps. 50: 20-21.
- "Alleluia, alleluia, alleluia, Glory to you O Lord" (three times).

the liturgy of JAS (MERCIER, p. 222, 2-3), the Syrian liturgy, Alexandrine Greek GREG (RENAUDOT I, pp. 33, 104), and which is now used in the typika of the Byzantine office (cf. *Horologion*, Rome, 1937, p. 187) and in the communion prayers of the Byzantine liturgy in some MSS, cf. L. LIGIER, *Pénitence et eucharistie en Orient: théologie sur une interférence de prières et de rites*, OCP 29, 1963, pp. 16 ff, 34, 37 and *passim*.

¹⁸⁷ *Triodion*, Rome, 1879, pp. 622, 633, 643, 656. This troparion appears in the entrance in *Ethn. bibl.* 752, 757, 766, 751, 770, 773, 763, 767, 765 (cf. TREMPERAS, p. 79).

EXCURSUS: FORMULAE IN THE GEORGIAN AND SLAVONIC VERSIONS

Codex Graz Georg. 5

In the 12-13th century Georgian version of CHR in codex *Graz Georg. 5* we find after the *Nemo dignus* prayer the following:

*Et incipit sacerdos Miserere et postea orationem: Rex caelestis, dux sapientiae et in antecessum largiens cognitionem, doctor insipientium et auxiliator pauperum, confirma et instrue cor meum, Domine. Da mihi verbum, Verbum Patris, quoniam ecce labia mea non reddidi tacita ab invocando te, Dominator. Suscipe me tibi supplicentem.*¹⁸⁸

Then follows the *lavabo*, with the prayer we have already discussed in chapter IV.

The prayer given above is simply the kontakion of Cheese-fare Sunday, Τῆς σοφίας ὁδηγέ, which we have already seen in the entrance formulae of *British Museum Add. 34060* and *Patmos 719*. The copyist has added the *incipit* Βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε to the kontakion most likely because he misunderstood the Greek source he was copying. For example in *British Museum Add. 34060* we find that as the gifts are brought in the bishop says Ps. 117: 26a, 27a, then "βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε. τῆς σοφίας ὁδηγέ."¹⁸⁹ This undoubtedly means that he says the Whitsun troparion Βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε, Παράκλητε and then the kontakion Τῆς σοφίας ὁδηγέ.

The Slavic Manuscripts

Many of the formulae seen in the Greek MSS are found even more commonly in the Slavic sources. Some Slavic copyists, in fact, seemed to have a passion for including every possible scrap of verse that might in any way fit at this part of the liturgy.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ TARCHENIŠVILI, *Liturgiae ibericae*, p. 55. For the date of this MS, see JACOB, *Version géorgienne*, p. 66.

¹⁸⁹ ARABATZOGLOU, *Bibliothèque*, p. 237, omits the punctuation between the two *incipits*, though it is clear in the MS itself (f. 513r).

¹⁹⁰ For Slavic liturgical practices see the studies of PETROVSKIJ, *Rédaction slave, passim*; A. DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Bogosluženie v russkoj cerkvi za pervie pjat' vekov*, *Pravoslavnyj sobesednik*, 1882, III, pp. 375 ff.; and the MSS in NEVOSTRUJEV-GORSKIJ, *Opisanie* III, 1; ORLOV, *Liturgija*, pp. 125ff; MURETOV, *K materialam*, pp. 86 ff. There are some Slavic MSS, however, that present no peculiarities not found in contemporary Greek texts, e. g. the 12th century *Služebniki* of Antony the Roman and of Varlaam Chu-

Many Slavic MSS include before the entrance a somewhat mangled version of the introit or "First Entrance" prayer peculiar to the ancient Italo-Greek recension of CHR.¹⁶¹ Here is a translation of the prayer as it is still found before the Great Entrance in the *Edinovercy Činovnik* (f. 48v):

Benefactor omnium et omnis creaturae opifex, suscipe hos sacerdotes tuos entrantes in ecclesiam tuam et ministrantes tibi unicuique quod utile est ex eis. Et promove eos omnia ad perfectionem et dignos officii regno tuo. Gratia et miserationibus et philanthropia unigeniti filii tui, cum quo benedictus es, et cum omnino sancta et bono et vivificatore spiritu tuo, nunc et semper ...

This is an adaptation — not always successful grammatically — of the Slavonic recension of the same prayer found in some MSS as a prayer of preparation before the liturgy.¹⁶² The original Greek prayer has been studied by A. Jacob, who has found it at the introit of CHR in *Barberini 336* (8th c.), *Grottaferrata Gb VII* (9th c.), *Leningrad 226* (10th c.), *Grottaferrata Gb IV* (10th c.) and *Messina Gr. 160* (11th c.).¹⁶³ There is a longer recension of the prayer in Greek and Georgian JAS,¹⁶⁴ and in PETER.¹⁶⁵ It should be noted that the Slavonic translator has amended the Greek text, which reads "πρόσδεξαι προσιοῦσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν," "receive the church that approaches" (i. e. enters), and refers not to the church building but to the congregation entering the church at the beginning of the liturgy.¹⁶⁶

tynskij (NEVOSTRUEV-GORSKIJ, *Opisanie III*, 1, pp. 2, 6; PETROVSKIJ, *Rédaction slave*, p. 867); *Sinai Slav. 14* and *15*; etc. And some Slavic MSS — e. g. *Sinai Slav. 40* — give no more rubrics than the earliest Constantinopolitan euchologies.

¹⁶¹ The Greek text from *Barberini 336* is given in LEW, p. 312, 16-22. The Slavonic version is found before the Great Entrance in codices *Moscow Synod 345* (14th c.) and *366* (17th c.), NEVOSTRUEV-GORSKIJ, *Opisanie III*, 1, pp. 21, 96; *Petersburg Academy 526* (14th c.), MURETOV, *K materialam*, p. 87; *Petersburg Academy 520*, *Kazan 712*, and some printed editions (MURETOV, *Proskomidija*, pp. 23, 25; PETROVSKIJ, *Rédaction slave*, p. 920).

¹⁶² See the recensions in the *Služebnik of Antony the Roman* († 1147), *Moscow Synod 342* (605), MURETOV, *K materialam*, pp. 59-60; and in the *Edinovercy Činovnik*, f. 9v.

¹⁶³ *Formulaire*, pp. 85-93, 123, 139, 175, 186.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 86 ff. For the text see MERCIER, p. 162; LEW, p. 32, 15-23; *Graz Georg. 4* (AD 985), JEDLIČKA, *Prager Fragment*, p. 193 n. 6; *Tiflis A 86*, CONYBEARE-WARDROP, *Georgian Version*, p. 399 (Prayer I).

¹⁶⁵ JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 88-89, 203; text in CODRINGTON, *Peter*, pp. 145-146.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. above, chapter V, p. 192 note 51.

Other MSS have a prayer to accompany the placing of the gifts on the altar (*Molitva utaj postavja dary*) in place of the other formulae.¹⁶⁷ It is found in several MSS with numerous variants. Here is a 14th century recension from codex *Moscow Synod 345* (598) with an indication of the not always perfectly grammatical variants in several other sources:¹⁶⁸

Magister [domine,¹ vivificator, [bonorum largitor,² qui dedisti [nobis³ [spem⁴ vitae aeternae,⁵ et fac nos dignos, in sanctitate hac, [divinam liturgiam perficere⁶ in fruitionem [divinae liturgiae et⁷ [futuram⁸ beatitudinis [Christi.⁹ [Quoniam bonum et philanthropus deus¹⁰ tibi gloriam.¹¹

¹ om. O/ deus noster add. V — ² om. O/ bonis largitor V, P 520, 523, 526 — ³ om. O — ⁴ fruitionem P 520, 526, O — ⁵ per <hominem add. O > dominum nostrum Iesum Christum add. O, P 520, 523, 526 — ⁶ divinam perficere liturgiam O — ⁷ om. V, P 520, 523, 526, O — ⁸ om. V — ⁹ om. P 520, 523, 526 / Christi bonus (sic) V/ Christus bonus (sic) O — ¹⁰ om. V, O — ¹¹ referimus, patri et filio ... add. O/ et tibi ... referimus habetur in V.

The prayer is a rather poor Slavonic translation of the "inclination prayer" Δέσποτα ζωοποιε just before the dismissal of the catechumens and the transfer of gifts in Greek JAS.¹⁶⁹ In JAS of *Borgia Georg. 7* (13-14th century) it is found in the same place, but with the title: *Oratio introitus sanctorum (donorum)*.¹⁷⁰ As we

¹⁶⁷ This prayer is found at the Great Entrance in numerous Slavic MSS of CHR and BAS from the 14th century on. Cf. for example codices *Sofia 520, 522, 523, 526*; *Tołstoj bibl. 274*, *Soloveckij 1023* and *920*; *Moscow Synod 345* (598) and *366* (680); *Petersburg Academy 520* and *526*; *Tipogr. bibl. 127*; *Kazan 712*; *Rumjancev 399* (PETROVSKIJ, *Rédaction slave*, pp. 883-884; MURETOV, *K materialam*, pp. 69, 87-89; ID., *Proskomidija*, p. 23; NEVOSTRUEV-GORSKIJ, *Opisanie III*, 1, pp. 21, 96) and BAS of *Sofia 530* and *Tipogr. bibl. 43* (ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 143). In some MSS the prayer occurs at the deposition and covering of the gifts; in the others, after the *orate fratres* dialogue.

¹⁶⁸ In this MS the prayer occurs in CHR at the Great Entrance and in BAS as a prayer of preparation before the liturgy (NEVOSTRUEV-GORSKIJ, *Opisanie III*, 1, pp. 21, 23). MURETOV (*K materialam*, p. 69) edits the latter which we translate above with variants from O = *Sofia 530* in ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 143; V = the *Prayer Book of Vladimir*, KOVALIV, *Molitovnik*, f. 19r-v; P = *Petersburg Acad. 520, 523, 526* from MURETOV, *loc. cit.*

¹⁶⁹ MERCIER, p. 176, 7-12.

¹⁷⁰ TARCHNIŠVILI, *Liturgiae ibericae*, p. 30, n. 16. JAS of *Graz Georg. 4* (AD 985) has the prayer as prothesis prayer (!) (JEDLIČKA, *Prager Fragment*, p. 194 n. 2) as well as in the customary place (TARCHNIŠVILI, *Litur-*

saw in chapter III, this prayer replaces the *Nemo dignus* of CHR in codex *Grottaferrata Gb IV*, and is also used as a Great-Entrance prayer in some MSS of PRES and PETER. In CHR it has survived only in unreformed Russian Old-Ritualist books such as the *Činovnik* of the *edinovercy* edited in Moscow in 1910, where it occurs between "Noble Joseph" and Ps. 50:20-21 (f. 50r).

Both of these prayers in the Slavic *Služebnik* are found originally among the preparatory prayers before the beginning of the liturgy.¹⁷¹ Together with the "lavabo prayer" of *Graz Georg. 5*, they show a tendency to introduce into the Great-Entrance rites prayers that originally belonged to the introit or to the prayers of preparation before mass.

For the rest, Petrovskij summarizes the evolution of the Slavic Great-Entrance formulae as follows.¹⁷² The earliest MSS (12th c.) have simply *Nemo dignus*, entrance, *lavabo*, and the *orate fratres* dialogue. — i. e. there is no Cherubicon said by the ministers, no Ps. 50, no commemorations or troparia.

In some 13th century MSS Ps. 50 is introduced before the entrance, others put the *lavabo* before the *orate fratres* dialogue. With the 14th century the variant prayers for *Nemo dignus* appear, the *lavabo* generally precedes the entrance, Ps. 50 is recited during the entrance, and the prayer from JAS or the *sanctus* is said when putting the gifts on the altar and incensing them, followed by the Whitsun troparion "Heavenly king". There is also a 14th century Philothean recension that follows more or less the *ordo* prescribed by his diataxis.

In the 15th century some of the above formulae are suppressed or replaced, and we find the Cherubicon recited three times by the ministers, as well as *Nemo dignus*, the "*Attolite portas*", "Blessed is he ...", and the commemorations said during the procession are multiplied. Of course in such late MSS a mixture of old and new usages is found. The reform of 1666-1667 corrected the Russian books to bring them into conformity with the Greek usage, and from then on they have no independent development of significance as far as the eucharistic liturgy is concerned.

giae ibericae, p. 3, 9-13). The Prague fragment discovered by Jedlička is the missing section of the *Graz* codex in the edition of Tarchnišvili.

¹⁷¹ Cf. for example the 12th century *Služebnik* of Antony the Roman in codex *Moscow Synod 342 (605)* NEVOSTRUEV-GORSKIJ, *Opisanie III*, 1, p. 2; MURETOV, *K materialam*, pp. 59-60) and numerous other MSS mentioned in MURETOV, *Proskomidiya*, p. 13 note 2.

¹⁷² *Rédaction slave*, pp. 867 ff.; *Vchod v altar velikij i malij*, *Prosvolavnaja Bogoslovskaja Enciklopedija III*, Petrograd, 1902, 1071 ff.

CHAPTER VII

AN "OFFERTORY PRAYER" AT THE GREAT ENTRANCE?

We have already concluded our study of the various rites and formulae surrounding the transfer of gifts in the Byzantine liturgy. The next element to be examined is the "*accessus ad altare*" — i. e. the prayers and rites immediately preparatory to the eucharistic prayer itself, together with later additions such as the creed.

But before we turn to the *accessus*, one final point concerning the transfer of gifts must be studied. The reader will perhaps have been surprised to find no mention of an offertory prayer, no parallel piece to the Latin *secretum* or *oratio super oblata*, in our whole discussion of the Great Entrance.¹ The surprise would be caused, however, not by the nature of the transfer of gifts in itself, but by our modern prejudice in considering the transfer of gifts an "offertory" rite which should manifest its nature thus defined in some eucharistic formula of offering.

There is such a prayer in both BAS and CHR. However, it is not found at what the westerner, at least, has come to look upon as the "offertory", but at the very beginning of the liturgy, or rather before the liturgy proper has even begun. It is well known that the Byzantine eucharist, like many other Oriental liturgies, contains a sort of "fore-mass", the rite of the prothesis in which the eucharistic elements are prepared either at a credence on the north side of the sanctuary itself, or in a northeast pastophorion beside the sanctuary.

We have no intention of studying the evolution of this rite. The "offertory" prayer of which we are speaking is its principal and only original element, as can be seen in the early eucharologies.² It is with this prayer only that we are concerned. And in our earliest eucharologies, even those in which the prayer alone still

¹ The prayer of the proskomide, often considered an offertory prayer, is actually the prayer of *accessus ad altare* as we shall see in Chapter X.

² Cf. *Barberini 336* (LEW, p. 309); *Sebastianov 474* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedeniya*, p. 237); etc.

constitutes the only element of this ritual, the prayer is found where it is today, before the Liturgy of the Word, as the first prayer of the liturgical formulary. But does this prayer belong where it is? Or is its original place to be sought somewhere in the rite of the Great Entrance?

The arguments in favor of considering the prayer as originally forming part of the transfer rites may be summarized as follows:

- 1) The nature of the rite itself
- 2) Evidence from a passage in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Germanus
- 3) The place of the same prayer in Greek JAS
- 4) Textual evidence in some MSS of a prothesis rite at the Great Entrance
- 5) Remnants of a prothesis rite at the entrance in the liturgy today
- 6) Evidence in literary sources that antedate the earliest euchologies.

We shall treat these arguments one by one.

1. *The Nature of the Rite Itself*

The argument from the nature of the transfer of gifts is both theological and ritual. The theological argument is not so much an argument as a presupposition that the eucharistic synaxis should contain an "offertory", and that the transfer of gifts is to be interpreted as such. The synaxis does have an offertory, but it is the anaphora, the eucharistic prayer itself. We have dealt with this problem already.³ Suffice it to say here that none of the earliest liturgical sources gives evidence of any other prayer over the gifts apart from the eucharistic prayer.⁴

But even if there is no reason why we must have an offertory prayer apart from the anaphora, the Byzantine rite does in fact have such a prayer. Hence our question is: is it out of place? In itself the idea is not implausible. If you are going to have any offertory prayer at all, its logical place would seem to be before the anaphora. But this is no solution to the concrete question, to be solved only by concrete evidence, whether the

³ TAFT, *Offertory*; cf. also chapter I.

⁴ E. g. Justin's *Apology*, the *Apostolic Tradition*, *The Apostolic Constitutions*, the *Catecheses* of Cyril of Jerusalem, *The Euchologion of Serapion*. Cf. DIX, *Shape*, pp. 495 ff on the later introduction of offertory prayers into the liturgy.

prayer was as a matter of fact ever anywhere but where it is today.

The liturgical arguments that have actually been brought forward to support this thesis are basically two, both equally valueless. The first, based upon the *disciplina arcani* and the discipline of the catechumenate, we have already discussed in chapter I. It goes as follows: because the offering of bread and wine by the faithful pertains to the eucharistic part of the liturgy, and hence to the *arcanum*, this offering could not have been made — and hence the gifts could not have been prepared — before the dismissal of the catechumens. Thus, until the abolition of the catechumenate the offering of gifts by the faithful and the "preparation of the gifts" (if there was any such thing) could not have taken place before the "Liturgy of the Faithful" had begun.

We have shown that this argument, though by no means implausible theoretically, does not correspond to what the documents tell us about the offering of the faithful in the East. All the evidence points to the fact that in the East there was no ritual offering — i. e. no offertory procession — of the faithful. They simply handed in their gifts to the deacons when they arrived at church for the service. And the deacons are warned to watch over the offerings precisely so that no one but the faithful in good standing would be able to offer their prosphora. Such canons would be meaningless if the offering took place only after everyone not permitted to offer had been dismissed.

Mandalà also held that the preparation of gifts once took place at the beginning of the eucharistic part of the liturgy, but not because of the *disciplina arcani*.⁵ He thought that the preparation is a normal first step in the liturgy, and so was once done at the beginning of the eucharistic synaxis because at one time this was not so closely linked to the Liturgy of the Word. Later, when the latter became a fixed part of the whole mass, it was normal for the preparation of gifts to be moved up to before this new beginning. Such an argument, however, takes us a bit far afield. The Liturgy of the Word was always a fixed part of the eucharist in the Byzantine sources we are studying. So even on the basis of Mandalà's argument we would have to say that the preparation of gifts in the Byzantine tradition was always where it is today — which is by no means so evident.

⁵ MANDALÀ, *Protesi*, pp. 60 ff. Somewhat the same idea was also suggested by PETROVSKIJ, *Drevnij akt prinošenija*, p. 418.

2. *The Historia Ecclesiastica of Germanus*

Maximus the Confessor in his *Quaestiones et dubia* 41 (ante 626) mentions the prothesis of the bread and wine, but he gives no indication as to where this occurs in the liturgy.⁶ And our earliest euchology, the 8th century codex *Barberini Gr. 336*, has the prothesis prayer at the beginning of the liturgy.⁷ The primitive recension of Germanus' *Historia Ecclesiastica* also describes a prothesis rite at the beginning of the liturgy.⁸ But in addition, Germanus speaks of another preparation, the "προσκομιδῆ" that takes place in the skeuophylakion just before the Great Entrance.⁹

How are we to understand this? The passage certainly does not refer to the prothesis rite because the commentary already has the prothesis at the beginning of the liturgy. The same is true of all other more or less contemporaneous sources.¹⁰ Besides, any prayer of offering would have to be said by a presbyter, and at this period they did not go to the skeuophylakion with the deacons to fetch the gifts (cf. chapter V). So it seems that Germanus is referring just to the immediate preparation of the gifts for their transfer to the altar — incensing and uncovering them, etc. — that we still have today.

3. *The Place of the Prothesis Prayer in Greek JAS*

A more serious argument could be drawn from the liturgy of St. James.¹¹ In the text of Greek JAS, even in the oldest MS, the 9th century *Vatican Gr. 2282*, the Constantinopolitan prothesis prayer is said after the Great Entrance, before the creed.¹² The order of the many prayers in this part of JAS varies in the MSS,

⁶ PG 90, 820.

⁷ LEW, p. 309.

⁸ Ed. BORGIA, pp. 19-20. On this question cf. BORNERT, *Commentaires*, pp. 148-150.

⁹ Ed. BORGIA, pp. 28-29.

¹⁰ They are listed in BORNERT, *Commentaires*, p. 150.

¹¹ This argument is advanced by PETROVSKIJ, *Drevnij akt prinošenijsa*, p. 419. He also argues from the fact that the prothesis prayer peculiar to CHR in the Italo-Greek recension (cf. *Barb. 336*, LEW, p. 309) is found at the Great Entrance of MARK in the 12th century codex *Vat. Gr. 1970* (ed. SWAINSON, *Greek Liturgies*, pp. 26-28, col. 1). We do not know the original place of the prayer in MARK. But it is found at the beginning of the liturgy in MS *Vat. Gr. 2281*, AD 1207 (*ibid.*, pp. 26-28, col. 2). And in the Sahidic fragment of the eucharistic liturgy edited by QUECKE from *Berlin Ms. or. fol. 1609a* there is no such prothesis prayer before the anaphora but rather a recension of the proskomide prayer of Byzantine BAS (*Eucharistic fragment*, pp. 115 ff).

¹² MERCIER, p. 180, 15-22.

but the prayer in question always comes before the creed, somewhere in the pre-anaphoral rites.¹³

This argument might be persuasive were it not for the extreme Byzantinization found in all MSS of Greek JAS. This Byzantine influence is especially marked in precisely this part of the liturgy. For example, both the *Nemo dignus* prayer and the prayer of the proskomide of Byzantine BAS have been interpolated into this part of JAS, and bear titles that refer explicitly to their source in BAS.¹⁴ True, the rubric preceding the prothesis prayer in the MSS of JAS does not mention CHR or BAS as its source, but they do refer to it as Εὐχή τῆς προθέσεως which is the traditional Byzantine title of the prayer, and in our opinion betrays its heredity.¹⁵ A similar importation of this foreign title is seen at the beginning of JAS in *Vatican Gr. 2282*,¹⁶ where it is completely out of place. There is no true prothesis rite at the beginning of Greek JAS.

Hence it seems probable that the prayer went from CHR-BAS to JAS rather than *vice-versa*. And because there is no prothesis rite at the beginning of Greek JAS, the prayer was introduced after the Great Entrance. This, of course, cannot be proved. The Byzantine tradition has also borrowed prayers from JAS, but in general JAS suffered more influence than it exerted, at least with respect to CHR and BAS. So one can at least say that the presence of this prayer in the very eclectic pre-anaphoral rites of JAS is not a persuasive argument for seeing this as its original place in BAS and CHR.

In addition, the text of the prayer in JAS presents some additions indicative of a more recent recension than that found in BAS of *Barberini Gr. 336*.¹⁷ Furthermore, the early Georgian versions of JAS in *Graz Georg. 4* (AD 985)¹⁸ and *Tiflis A 86* (10-11th c.),¹⁹ both of which present an archaic liturgy based on an earlier 7-8th century archetype of Greek JAS,²⁰ have the prayer

¹³ Cf. the table, *ibid.*, p. 159.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 178, 25 - 180, 12; 192, 24 - 194, 20.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 180, 14 and apparatus. On this title in the Byzantine tradition, cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 279.

¹⁶ MERCIER, p. 160, apparatus.

¹⁷ Compare *ibid.*, p. 180, 19-20 with LEW, p. 309, 21 ff.

¹⁸ JEDLIČKA, *Prager Fragment*, p. 194, no. 4. Jedlička found in Prague and edited the folia, missing from the beginning of this codex, that contain the prothesis prayer.

¹⁹ CONYBEARE-WARDROP, *Georgian Version*, p. 398.

²⁰ On this MS, cf. *ibid.*, p. 397; MERCIER, p. 129; TARCHINIŠVILI, *Jakobsliturgie*, p. 53; JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 86; *id.*, *Variantes*, pp. 292-293.

at the beginning of the liturgy, not at the Great Entrance. In *Graz Georg. 4*, however, it is not used as a prothesis prayer, but as a prayer of the veil (*Cum velum operit, hanc orationem recitat*)!²¹ This confusion is but one more reason to be sceptical about the prayer being original to JAS. Also, in the Georgian version of JAS the prayer has no ecphonesis at all; in most MSS of Greek JAS it has the Byzantine ecphonesis. But *Vatican Gr. 2282* gives a variant ecphonesis native to JAS, since it occurs in the prayer *Domine vivificator* just before the transfer of gifts.²²

All these elements, when combined with the instability of the place of the prayer in JAS, show that in JAS the prayer presents a weaker and hence more recent tradition than in BAS. We would conclude, then, that it is a later addition to JAS, and so one cannot argue from JAS back to BAS or CHR.

4. Textual Evidence in Some Sources of a Prothesis Rite at the Great Entrance

In 1850 F. J. Mone, in his *Lateinische und griechische Messen*, gave a description of codex *Karlsruhe Eltenheimmünster 6* (13th c.) and edited, among other things, the Greek text, along with the Latin version of Nicholas of Otranto, of the following rubric from BAS:

Peractis igitur a diacono vel a sacerdote omnibus, quae in missa s. Joh. Chrysostomi de propositione et quomodo pane accepto cum lanceola immolatur, sicut seriatim omnia scribuntur a magistro Leone [= Tuscan] in dicta missa Chrysostomi, et opertis sacris donis dicit diaconus vel sacerdos in absentia diaconi: *Stemus bene*, etc.²³

Unfortunately our editor neglected to describe fully the context of the rubric, and so Muretov and Petrovskij, presuming the "*Stemus bene*, etc. (*Στώμεν καλῶς, κ.τ.λ.*)" to be the diaconal admo-

²¹ JEDLIČKA, *Prager Fragment*, p. 194, no. 4. As prothesis prayer this MS gives the traditional inclination prayer after the gospel in JAS (!) (*ibid.*, p. 194, no. 2 = MERCIER, p. 176, 7-12; TARCHNISVILI, *Liturgiae ibericae*, p. 3, 9-13).

²² MERCIER, p. 181, apparatus, and p. 176, 10-12. The 13-14th century Georgian version of JAS in *Borgia Georg. 7* has the prothesis prayer with ecphonesis after the *oratio post evangelium* (TARCHNISVILI, *Liturgiae ibericae*, p. 29 n. 14).

²³ MONE, *Messen*, pp. 140-141. On this MS cf. JACOB, *Otrante*, p. 54, and p. 60, K in the apparatus for the critical edition of this rubric.

nition that opens the anaphora, seized on the text as a proof that the prothesis was once just before the anaphora.²⁴

But in both the Latin and Greek versions of BAS in *Karlsruhe EM 6* this rubric immediately precedes the prothesis prayer in its present location at the beginning of the liturgy, as can be seen in the editions of Engdahl and Jacob.²⁵ What Mone gives as *Στώμεν καλῶς, κ.τ.λ.* continues: "... καλῶς · Ἐπί τῇ προθέσει τῶν τιμίων δώρων τοῦ κυρίου δευθώμεν. Ὁ ἱερεὺς τὴν εὐχὴν · Ὁ θεὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν..."²⁶

The admonition *Stemus bene* is found at this point in other Italo-Greek euchologies, e. g. *Ambros. 276* (f. 5r) and *167* (f. 4r), and at the beginning of JAS.²⁷ It clearly has nothing to do with the anaphora. Muretov and Petrovskij were simply misled by the incomplete information given by Mone, about which Muretov in fact complained.²⁸

In the same study of the prothesis in which he tried to argue from Mone, Muretov wrote:

A direct and positive proof of the existence of the proskomidija [i. e. prothesis] at the Great Entrance is still found in one ancient X-XI century Barberini codex of the liturgy of Chrysostom (III, 35). Professor A. A. Dmitrievskij of the Academy of Kiev saw this codex, but most unfortunately did not make a detailed description of this *ordo*, but only indicated in his notebook: "Barber. III, 35. XI-X century *ordo* of the liturgy, remarkable for its composition. Proskomidija during the Cherubicon..."²⁹

No one can guess what Dmitrievskij had in mind, but *Barberini III, 35* is the present *Barberini 316*, a small 12th century parchment codex from Calabria or Sicily.³⁰ The MSS opens with a short diataxis in which it is clear that the prothesis precedes the liturgy (ff. 1v-2r). The Great-Entrance ritual begins on f. 15v with the *Nemo dignus* prayer right after the ecphonesis of the second prayer of the faithful. Towards the end of the prayer the priest incenses before the altar, goes to the prothesis where he washes his hands saying "*Lavabo inter innocentes...*" then takes the gifts and proceeds with them to the altar. There he deposits,

²⁴ MURETOV, *Proskomidija*, p. 25; PETROVSKIJ, *Drevnij akt prinošenija*, p. 409.

²⁵ ENGDahl, p. 44; JACOB, *Otrante*, p. 60.

²⁶ ENGDahl, p. 44, 6. However, CHR in the same MS does not have "*Stemus bene*" (*ibid.* p. 2, 21).

²⁷ MERCIER, p. 160, 25.

²⁸ *Proskomidija*, p. 26.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 265-266.

³⁰ For a description of the MS, see JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 389.

incenses, and covers them, saying various formulae. The *orate fratres* dialogue follows immediately. There is not a whisper of a prothesis rite at the entrance in this or any other Greek codex we have ever seen.

Finally, Muretov also sees in the rubric of Pyromalus' BAS a reference to the prothesis.³¹ But it obviously refers to the transfer of gifts: "Οἱ τὰ Χερουβίμ... Ἐνταῦθα ἐξάγονται, καὶ προτίθενται τὰ ἅγια δῶρα, ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων."³² Then follows the *lavabo* and the *orate fratres* dialogue. Besides, in this MS the prothesis prayer is said by the patriarch at the beginning of the liturgy.³³

5. Remnants of the Prothesis Rite in the Ritual of the Great Entrance Today?

a) Commemorations at the Presbyteral Liturgy:

In his study on the Melkite liturgy A. Couturier describes a local usage according to which the priest cuts out commemorative particles for the intentions of the faithful at the prothesis table just before the Great Entrance:

Il existe une pratique assez commune qui semble une réminiscence de ce qui se faisait dans les premiers siècles: lorsque le prêtre, à la prothèse, a enlevé le grande voile (Aër) de dessus les oblats, certains fidèles s'approchent du prêtre et lui demande de placer sur le disque saint une parcelle à leur intention; le prêtre, prenant la lance, extrait de la prosphora une parcelle assez grande, dont il met une partie sur le disque saint... et donne le reste au fidèle, qui a fait cette demande. Elle lui sert d'eulogie.³⁴

We have never seen this practice mentioned in any literary source of the liturgy. In other usages of the Byzantine rite (Greek, Russian, Rumanian) it is customary for the faithful to request their remembrances not only at the Great Entrance but at any time before the transfer of gifts. As we said in chapter I, the practice, if ancient, is to be traced back to the custom of offer-

³¹ *Proskomidiya*, p. 26.

³² GOAR², p. 155. Cf. the related version of Johannisberg, COCHLAUS, *Speculum*, p. 124.

³³ GOAR², p. 153. Cf. the version of Johannisberg, COCHLAUS, *Speculum*, p. 119.

³⁴ A. COUTURIER, *Cours de liturgie grecque-melkite*, III: *La sainte liturgie*, Jérusalem, 1930, p. 132. Cf. also MURETOV, *Proskomidiya*; p. 267. *Ieratikon*, Athens, 1951 (p. 170) has the concelebrating presbyters say the prothesis prayer right after the Great Entrance even though the prothesis rite was done in its usual place. No MS supports this innovation.

ing prosphorai upon arriving in church, rather than to a prothesis rite at the Great Entrance.

b) The Pontifical Rite:

But in today's pontifical rite we do find elements of the prothesis at the Great Entrance. Although the rubrics are contradictory, and there is considerable variety in actual practice, this rite has been viewed as a relic of an ancient prothesis just before the anaphora.³⁵ Let us look at the facts.

In the solemn pontifical mass the bishop does not enter the sanctuary until the Little Entrance. The preceding *enarxis* is celebrated by the concelebrating presbyters while the bishop awaits the Little Entrance at his throne in the nave. So there is no question of his participating in the prothesis rite. That is performed in the sanctuary before the liturgy by one of the junior presbyters.

How he does it is not uniformly fixed: the practice is still developing. According to the rubrics at the end of the prothesis in some modern editions of the *Ieratikon* and *Služebnik*, at a pontifical liturgy the priest does the prothesis rite only up to the end of the commemorations of the saints,³⁶ then covers the gifts with the aër. The rest of the rite — i. e. the commemorations of the living and dead, the covering and incensation of the gifts, and the prothesis or offertory prayer, are done by the bishop just before the Great Entrance.³⁷

This is in direct contradiction to the rubrics of the modern *archieratica*, which have the bishop say the prothesis prayer on his throne in the nave before the initial blessing at the very beginning of mass.³⁸ The Greek *Arkhieratikon*, very sparing in rubrics, says nothing about what the bishop does — if anything — at the prothesis credence before the Great Entrance.³⁹ The Slavic

³⁵ MURETOV, *Proskomidiya*, pp. 26 ff.

³⁶ I. e. up to LEW, p. 359, 3.

³⁷ *Ieratikon*, Athens, 1951, pp. 64-65; Rome, 1950, p. 106; *Služebnik*, Sofia, 1924, p. 66; Rome, 1942, p. 202 (Ruthenian recension, p. 193). We have not found this rubric in any Russian Orthodox edition. COUTURIER (*Cours de liturgie* III, pp. 63-64) testifies to this practice among the Melkites.

³⁸ Cf. *Arkhieratikon*, Venice, 1714; Constantinople, 1820; Athens, 1902; and the Slavic sources in note 40.

³⁹ On the feast of the Transfiguration, 1973, we attended a Greek Orthodox pontifical liturgy in the Peloponnese at which the bishop was at the prothesis for so short a time before the Great Entrance that he could not possibly have finished the prothesis rite. But various inquiries

sources of the pontifical rite, which also give the prothesis prayer at the beginning of mass, have the bishop go to the prothesis before the Great Entrance, cut out commemorative particles from the prosphora for the living and dead, and put them on the discos. But the rubrics do not have him complete the rest of the prothesis rite.⁴⁰

This is the older tradition and it was observed by the Russians and some others up until recent times.⁴¹ But gradually the practice arose of the bishop not only making his commemorations at the Great Entrance, but also finishing the rest of the prothesis rite in spite of the fact that the priest had done the whole rite before the liturgy.⁴² Indeed according to Cyril Korolevskij it became a common abuse for the bishop to recommence the entire prothesis rite before the Great Entrance.⁴³ So the new rubric ordering the presbyter not to finish the prothesis sanctions the innovation of having the bishop finish the prothesis rite, while preventing duplication by ordering the priest not to complete the rite before mass and by suppressing the above mentioned abuse.

we have made concerning actual Greek usage have not resulted in any helpful information.

⁴⁰ *Činovník*, Moscow, 1798, ff. 10r-v, 31v-32v; Warsaw, 1944, ff. 3v, 9r-v; *Dejanija*, ff. 45r, 51v-52r; *Čin archierejskago dejstva*, Moscow, 1668, ff. 6r, 16r-v; GOLUBCOV, *Činovníki*, p. 21. Note that the Slavic sources put the prothesis prayer after the initial blessing of the liturgy.

⁴¹ Cf. *Obozrenie uniatskich bogoslužebnich knig, Christianskoe čtenie*, 1866, I, p. 378; NIKOL'SKIJ, *Ustav*, pp. 382, 387, 435-436 n. 1; BULGAKOV, *Nastol'naja kniga*, p. 806 n. 27; C. CHARON (= C. Korolevskij), *Les saintes et divines liturgies de nos saints pères Jean Chrysostome, Basile le grand et Grégoire le grand (liturgie des présanctifiés) en usage dans l'église grecque catholique orientale*, Beyrouth-Paris, 1904, pp. 171-172, 183. According to Korolevskij the priest does the prothesis to the end of the commemorations of the living and dead, then covers the gifts without saying the accompanying formulae (= LEW, p. 360, 6-26), which are said by the bishop at the Great Entrance. Before the beginning of the liturgy the bishop and concelebrating presbyters say the prothesis prayer (= *ibid.*, pp. 360, 30-361, 5).

⁴² Cf. I. E. MESOLORAS, *Ἐγκυκλίδιον λειτουργικῆς τῆς Ὁρθόδοξου Ἀνατολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας*, Athens, 1895, p. 142 n. 2. This was also common practice in Russia, but in recent years it has become customary in some dioceses (Moscow, Leningrad, etc.) for the priest to stop the prothesis after the commemorations of the living and dead, leaving the gifts uncovered for the bishop to complete the rite at the Great Entrance.

⁴³ From Korolevskij's unpublished remarks on the pertinent rubrics for the proposed Roman edition of the *Ieratikon* (Rome, 1950, p. 106) when he was a member of the commission preparing this edition. It was precisely to counteract this abuse that Korolevskij insisted on the inclusion of this rubric. These notes were kindly shown us by A. Raes, S. J. who was also a member of the commission.

Hence contemporary practice is not a relic of an ancient tradition in which the prothesis was once at the Great Entrance. On the contrary it represents a quite recent displacement of elements of the prothesis from their proper place before the liturgy to just before the Great Entrance.

All the available evidence supports this conclusion. It is true that some 14th century Slavic MSS have commemorations of the saints at the pontifical Great Entrance.⁴⁴ One *Činovník*, codex *Moscow Synod 370 (271)* (AD 1665), has the bishop commemorate the orders of saints according to the ritual of the prothesis.⁴⁵ And according to two 18th century Uniate pontificals the bishop at the Great Entrance does the entire prothesis from beginning to end.⁴⁶ However both of them are so late, and with no known source in the MS tradition, that they cannot be used as a basis for arguing that the prothesis rite was originally at the Great Entrance. They represent not the first but rather the final stage in the evolution of the pontifical liturgy, in which the bishop not only made his commemorations at the entrance, but eventually, at least in some places, took over the whole prothesis rite.

All these Slavic witnesses postdate by centuries our earliest sources of the pontifical liturgy in Constantinople. And in these sources one finds no mention of any prothesis rite or commemorations by the bishop at the transfer of gifts. Our first witnesses, 10th century BAS in the Latin version of *Johannisberg* and in the MS of *Pyromalus*, provide us with what may be the key to the original shape of the prothesis in the patriarchal rite of the Great Church. The version of *Johannisberg* has these rubrics before the beginning of the liturgy proper:

Primum, Patriarchae cum sequentis ordinis Clero Ecclesiasticis uestimentis induto, offeruntur in Sacrario ab oblationarijs mundatae et compositae oblatae, à populis susceptae, quas ponit in patenis, & adolens super eas incensum dicit hanc orationem.

Domine deus noster, qui coelestem panem... [= prothesis prayer].

Tunc ante aduentum Pontificis intrant Ecclesiam Presbyter & Diaconus, & stantibus ante Cancellis, dicit Presbyter inclinato capite hanc orationem secreta.

Domine deus noster... [= prayer of the first antiphon].⁴⁷

⁴⁴ MURETOV, *Proskomidiya*, p. 27.

⁴⁵ NEVOSTRUKOV-GORSKIJ, *Opisanie* III, 1, p. 114.

⁴⁶ *Služebnik sojatitel'skij*, Suprasl', 1716, and *Služebnik archierejskij*, Uniev, 1740. Cf. *Obozrenie uniatskich bogoslužebnych knig, Christianskoe čtenie*, 1866, I, pp. 364-365, 378; MURETOV, *Proskomidiya*, p. 25.

⁴⁷ COCHLAEUS, *Speculum*, p. 119.

Codex Pyromalus gives basically the same ritual. Right after the title of the liturgy, we read:

Prayer which the patriarch says for the prothesis of the holy bread:

O God our God ... [= prothesis prayer]

Before the arrival of the patriarch the priests and concelebrating deacons enter the church and while all of them are standing before the holy doors the first priest, bowing, says this prayer secretly:

O Lord our God ... [= prayer of the first antiphon].⁴⁸

From these texts we learn that:

- 1) the prothesis came at the beginning the liturgy;
- 2) it concerned only the offering of the bread;
- 3) the only formula was the usual prothesis prayer, accompanied by an incensation;
- 4) only the patriarch said the prothesis prayer, but it is probable that the concelebrating presbyters and deacons also offered their prosthora. This is probably how we should interpret the response of the Council of Constantinople in 1276 to one of the questions sent to it by Theognostes, archbishop of Sarai, regarding who should do the prothesis if a bishop is concelebrating. "Let all do it", was the answer (*da proskomisajut vsi*).⁴⁹
- 5) The rite was accomplished in the skeuophylakion before the patriarch had made his entrance into the cathedral. At Hagia Sophia the skeuophylakion was outside the church, and the clergy on their way to the liturgy paused there to vest and offer a prosthora.
- 6) Since it had become customary to add the three antiphons before the introit of every liturgy, some of the lesser clergy would precede the patriarch into the church and perform this rite while awaiting his arrival.

In the Arabic version of CHR published by Bacha, which describes — for the Liturgy of the Word at least — an 11th century pontifical liturgy, the prothesis prayer is also found at the very beginning of the liturgy, said however by the priest and not by the bishop.⁵⁰ But the bishop does not wait until the third antiphon to enter the church. He is there from the beginning, remain-

⁴⁸ GOAR², p. 153.

⁴⁹ *Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka* VI (S. Petersburg, 1908), p. 134, question 14.

⁵⁰ BACHA, *Versions arabes*, p. 442. This MS is dated AD 1260, but according to JACOB the archetype on which it is based has the characteristics of the liturgy of the 11th century (*Formulaire*, pp. 297 ff).

ing at his throne in the nave during the rite of the antiphons as today and entering the sanctuary only at the First or "Little" Entrance, which was formerly his entrance into the church itself.

This latter development does not appear until later in the Constantinopolitan documents. The 11th century *Stavrou 109*, a Constantinopolitan parchment roll written for episcopal use, represents an intermediate stage in the evolution of the pontifical rite.⁵¹ In its original form the MS had no prothesis prayer so this prayer was no longer said by the bishop. But the MS also lacked the three antiphon prayers, so the bishop probably was not present during the enarxis, as in our 10th century witnesses to BAS. In the 12-13th century patriarchal diataxis of the Great Church in codex *British Museum Add. 34060* the patriarch remains seated in the narthex "before the beautiful doors (*πρὸ τῶν ὡραίων πυλῶν*)" until the introit, when he enters the church.⁵² Nothing is said of the prothesis, which, like the enarxis, must have been done by a presbyter.

In the later archieratikon of Gemistos (c. 1380) the entire prothesis rite is performed by one of the concelebrating priests at the beginning of the liturgy.⁵³ The same is true of the 15th century archieratikon in a MS from the Russian Andreas Skite on Athos.⁵⁴

And none of these documents says a word about any commemorative particles offered by the patriarch or bishops at the Great Entrance. Indeed the last-mentioned source states explicitly that bishops do not even go to the prothesis before the Great Entrance:

Εἰς δὲ τὴν εἰσοδὸν τῶν ἁγίων δώρων ... ἀπέρχονται ἅπαντες, ἄνευ μόνου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων, εἰς τὴν πρόθεσιν ...⁵⁵

The same can be seen in two 16th century Slavic *Činovniki* of codices *Moscow Synod 366 (680)* and *367 (909)*.⁵⁶ Even today in the *Edinovercy Činovnik*, representing Russian usage previous to the reform of 1666, the whole prothesis rite including the prayer

⁵¹ On this MS cf. A. GRABAR, *Un rouleau liturgique constantinopolitain et ses peintures*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 8, 1954, pp. 163 ff; JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 257-263.

⁵² ARABATZOGLOU, *Bibliothèque*, p. 235. The ὡραία πύλαι are not to be confused with the ἅγια πύλαι (θύραι) of the chancel. The MS distinguishes the two quite clearly, as do other sources (cf. DU CANGE, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis*, Lyon, 1688 (Graz, 1958), 1272-1274.

⁵³ DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 304.

⁵⁴ DMITRIEVSKIJ I, pp. 168-169.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

⁵⁶ NEVOSTRUEV-GORSKIJ, *Opisanie* III, 1, pp. 93, 96, 104.

is performed by a priest at the beginning of the pontifical liturgy, and at the Great Entrance no commemorative particles are offered by the bishop (ff. 15r-21v, 45r ff).

Hence the present custom of the bishop offering particles for the living and dead just before the Great Entrance is not a relic of some prothesis rite that formerly took place at this point in the liturgy. Rather, it probably stems from the more recent practice of the priests and deacons commemorating the living and dead as a later development of the rite of the prothesis preceding the liturgy.⁵⁷ The bishop does it just before the entrance because this is the first occasion during the pontifical liturgy that he has the opportunity to do so. With the disappearance of the outside skeuophylakion, the prothesis was moved to its present place in the sanctuary area, but the bishop is vested at his throne in the nave and does not enter the sanctuary until the Little Entrance. The presence of the prothesis prayer at the beginning of mass in the modern *Arkhieratikon* is a relic of the earlier rite as seen in *Codex Pyromalus* and the version of Johannibserg, when the patriarch vested, offered his prosphora, and said the prothesis prayer in the outside skeuophylakion before entering the church at the introit.

The rite at the prothesis in the pontifical liturgy might also have originated from the custom of making commemorations, silently or aloud, before and during the procession with the gifts. At any rate it has nothing to do with a primitive prothesis rite at the Great Entrance.

e) *The Diaconal Invocations:*

One final argument in favor of a prothesis at the Great Entrance might be drawn from today's liturgy. When we first turned our attention to this problem, we were struck by the similarity between the diaconal invocations before the prothesis prayer preceding the liturgy, and before the so-called prayer of the procomide after the entrance.

In CHR and BAS the diaconal "oremus" before the prothesis prayer is:

Ἐπί τῇ προθέσει τῶν τιμίων δώρων, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

⁵⁷ The first euchology to incorporate this practice is the 11th century Georgian CHR (JACOB, *Version géorgienne*, p. 86). Commemorations of the living and dead are also referred to in the 10-11th century canonical writings attributed to Nicophoras I, Patriarch of Constantinople (806-815). Cf. canon 11, PITRA, *Spicilegium Solesmense* 4, p. 396 (= PG 100, 856). On these canons cf. V. GRUMEL, *Les registres des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. I: *Les actes des patriarches*, fasc. II: *Les registres de 715 à 1043*, Kadiköy, 1936, pp. 35 ff.

This is remarkably like the following petition of the litany accompanying the procomide prayer:

Ἵπὲρ τῶν προτεθέντων τιμίων δώρων, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

In fact in the Slavic version, the two are exactly the same:

O predloženných čestných darech Gospodu pomolimsja!

This led us to suspect that they were once the same in the Greek text. And one might then argue that since the prayer of the procomide is an *accessus* prayer, not an offertory prayer, as we shall see in chapter X, then the invocation must be the primitive introduction to the prothesis prayer which was once said with this "oremus" after the Great Entrance. The invocation in the Greek recension could have been modified later, when the prothesis prayer was moved up to before the liturgy and evolved into the prothesis rite.

There are two problems with this theory. First, the two invocations were not always identical in the early Slavic books.⁵⁸ Secondly, the Greek MSS show considerable variety in the diaconal introduction to the prothesis prayer. Some codices have no introduction at all;⁵⁹ others simply: "Τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν";⁶⁰ *Leninograd* 226 has: "Ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν";⁶¹ others add "Στῶμεν καλῶς."⁶²

Today's introduction to the prothesis prayer first appears in the 12th century,⁶³ and we believe it is simply a misinterpretation of the rubric meant to precede the prayer. The *editio princeps*

⁵⁸ Cf. for example KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, pp. 178 and 185 (= the Slavic recension of Philotheus' diataxis in *Vatican Slav.* 14).

⁵⁹ For example: *Barberini Gr.* 336 (LEW, p. 309); *Paris Gr.* 328; *Vat. Gr.* 1170, 1213, 1228, *Vat. Slav.* 14, *Moscow Synod Slav.* 261 (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, pp. 132, 140, 145-146, 163, 296); *Vat. Gr.* 1554 (JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 404); *Parma* 1217/2; *Ambros.* 1090 and 637; *Paris Gr.* 391 and 322 (LEW, p. 542, 5); *Seymour Euchology*; *Sinai Gr.* 961 (DMITRIEVSKIĪ II, p. 75), 973 (*ibid.*, p. 83), 966 (*ibid.*, p. 205), 962 (BAS), 1036 (BAS), 1037, 1046, 1047, 1049, 2111, 2037, 2045; *Sabas* 48 and 53; *Iviron* 373; etc.

⁶⁰ For example: *Paris Coislin Gr.* 211; Leo Tuscan's version (JACOB, *Toscan*, p. 135); *Barberini Gr.* 316 (JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 393); *Modena Gr.* 19; *Athens Ethn. bibl.* 662 (diataxis, TREMPERAS, p. 5).

⁶¹ KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 283 (cf. the photograph in ORLOV, *Liturgija*, following p. LXXXVII).

⁶² Cf. number 4 above, pp. 262-263; also ENGDAL, pp. 113-114.

⁶³ *Vat. Gr.* 2005 (c. 1197-1211); *Vat. Gr.* 1863 (2d half of the 12th c.) in JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 408, 413.

of CHR gives in red print the rubric: "Ὁ διάκονος ἐπὶ τῇ προθέσει τῶν τιμίων δώρων." then in black print the "oremus": "Τοῦ κυρίου δεηθῶμεν." The diataxis of Philotheus is even more explicit in dividing rubric and text: "Ἐπὶ τῇ προθέσει τῶν τιμίων δώρων. Ὁ διάκονος τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν."⁶⁴ The roll *Esphigmenou* 34 (AD 1306) has: "Ἐπειτα λέγει ἐπὶ τῇ προθέσει τῶν τιμίων δώρων, τὸ Ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν..."⁶⁵ Hence the "ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεθέντων τιμίων δώρων" before the proscomidic prayer has nothing to do with the prothesis.

6. Evidence in the Sources that Antedate the Earliest Euchologies

Our first commentator on the Byzantine liturgy, Maximus the Confessor, does not mention any prothesis prayer or rite. In his *Mystagogia* (628-630) he explains the symbolism but not the rite of the "Entrance of the Mysteries" just before the *pax*.⁶⁶ In the *Scholia* attributed to him he simply comments on Pseudo-Denys' text that priests and deacons bring up (προτιθέασι) the gifts before the creed, without making any special comment on Constantinopolitan practice.⁶⁷

Brightman remarks on these passages of Maximus:

There seems to be no evidence as to whether the oblation was as yet prepared before the liturgy or only immediately before the great entrance: but the use of προτιθέναι above perhaps rather suggests the latter.⁶⁸

Brightman is right about the lack of evidence, though how the verb "suggests the latter" escapes us.

Much stronger evidence could be drawn from an earlier text, the *Sermo de paschate et de ss. eucharistia* of Patriarch Eutychius (552-65, 577-82). There is no question but that the author is referring to the Great Entrance. Here is the pertinent passage:

They act stupidly, who have taught the people to sing a certain psalmic chant when the ministers are about to bring up to the altar the bread of oblation and the recently mixed chalice (τὸν τῆς προθέσεως ἄρτον, καὶ τὸ κερασθὲν ἄρτίως ποτήριον).⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Ed. TREMPERAS, p. 5.

⁶⁵ DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 265. Cf. also codex *Panteleimon* 5924 (19th c.), KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 14. On the relation between these two MSS, see JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 439.

⁶⁶ *Myst.* 16, PG 91, 693, cited above, pp. 44-45.

⁶⁷ *Scholia* 3, 1 and 7, PG 4, 136 and 144. According to VON BALTHASAR (*Scholienwerk*, p. 26) the first of these passages is borrowed from John of Scythopolis.

⁶⁸ LEW, p. 538, note 12.

⁶⁹ PG 86, 2400-2401.

Nothing can be argued from the phrase ὁ τῆς προθέσεως ἄρτος. This is simply the LXX "showbread" (I Kings [Sam.] 21:7) and should not be interpreted as referring to a "prothesis" rite. The crucial phrase is the "recently (ἄρτίως) mixed chalice." There can be no escaping the meaning of ἄρτίως: the chalice was prepared just before the transfer of gifts in the 6th century.

But from the time of Germanus on, every Byzantine commentator places the prothesis at the beginning of the liturgy.⁷⁰ And every extant Byzantine euchology or diataxis or archieratikon places it there too, or doesn't mention it at all. How are we to resolve this problem? By resorting to the popular theory according to which there was once a prothesis just before the entrance that was later — around the 7th century — moved up to the beginning of the liturgy?

An Attempt at a Synthesis:

Let us review the evidence. We have no indication that the prothesis prayer was ever anywhere than in its present place in BAS and CHR. This means that it was never at the Great Entrance. *It does not mean, however, that it was always in its present place.* We believe that in the time of Maximus there was no such prayer in the liturgy at all. In itself, the very idea of an "offertory" or "offertory prayer" in the modern understanding of the term is foreign to the primitive structure of the Byzantine liturgy, and is in fact a redundancy in all liturgies. The gifts are offered in the anaphora, and anything else is superfluous.

CHR in a more primitive stage preserved this ancient form. J. Mateos has already shown that the proscomidic prayer of CHR is not an offertory prayer, but a prayer of *accessus ad altare*.⁷¹ And the prothesis prayer can be judged a later addition to the beginning of both BAS and CHR because the one prayer is common to the Constantinopolitan recension of both liturgies. This is not true of any of the ancient prayers peculiar to each formulary. Elements that are common to both are always the result of the influence of one liturgy on the other, or of a third source on both. And Jacob in his recent study of the euchology tradition of CHR has demonstrated that the prothesis prayer proper

⁷⁰ Ed. BORGIA, pp. 19 ff. References to the other commentators can be found in MANDALÀ, *Protesi*, pp. 68 ff. Cf. also BORNERT, *Commentaires*, pp. 148 ff.

⁷¹ MATEOS, *Deux problèmes*, pp. 248-253; *Célébration*, pp. 174-179. Cf. below, chapter X.

to CHR in *Barberini Gr. 336* and some other Italo-Greek MSS is a prayer of Oriental origin not found in the Constantinopolitan recension of CHR.⁷²

Thus the so-called "prothesis" or "offertory" rite in primitive CHR consisted simply in having the deacons fetch the offerings brought by the faithful and transfer them to the altar to the singing of an antiphon, while the presbyters washed their hands and said an *accessus* prayer in preparation for the anaphora.

At Constantinople as elsewhere in the East, the people passed in their offerings to the deacons in the skeuophylakion as they came to church before mass. No "prothesis rite" was necessary to prepare these offerings: the bread had to be selected and put in the proper vessels, and the needed amount of wine and water poured into the chalices — a purely practical business. That is why we have considerable evidence for the fact that the prothesis was once within the competence of the deacons.⁷³

It was also customary for the patriarch to pause in the skeuophylakion on the way to church to vest and offer his personal prosphora. Sometime between the *Mystagogia* of Maximus (628-630) and our first euchology, the mid-8th century *Barberini Gr. 336*, a prayer "ἐν τῷ σκευοφυλακίῳ" as it was called,⁷⁴ was added to accompany this offering in the skeuophylakion before mass.

What then of the ἀρτίως of Eutychius, clearly implying that the chalice was prepared just before the Great Entrance? This presents no problem. As we saw in *Codex Pyromalus* and the version of *Johannisberg*, this offering before mass concerned the bread alone.⁷⁵ This may be why the traditional Constantinopolitan prothesis prayer is a prayer over the bread only,⁷⁶ and why canon 12 of the 10-11th century canonical writings attributed to Nice-

⁷² *Tradition*, pp. 116 ff, 135 ff; *Formulaire*, pp. 74-85, 139, 174, 185, 187-203. The text of the prayer from *Barberini Gr. 336* is in *LEW*, p. 309, 8-16 (right column).

⁷³ Cf. the references in MANDALÀ, *Protesi*, pp. 74 ff; PETROVSKIJ, *Rédaction slave*, p. 863; MANSVETOV, *Mitropolit Kiprian*, pp. 137 ff; the interpolated text of GERMANUS, *PG* 98, 397-400 (but cf. the Latin version of Anastasius, BORGIA, p. 20); *Protheoria* 9-10, *PG* 140, 429; the letter of Metropolitan Elias of Crete (c. 1120), LAURENT, *Proscomidie*, pp. 132, 135, 139, 141; etc. But the deacons are forbidden to do the prothesis by SYMEON OF THESSALONIKA, *SL* 96, *PG* 155, 290. Cf. GOAR², p. 102 (= 104).

⁷⁴ *Barberini Gr. 336*, (*LEW*, p. 309); *Sebastianov 474* (KLABNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 237); etc. On the title of this prayer cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 279. On the terms "prothesis", and "skeuophylakion", cf. above, chapter V, note 77.

⁷⁵ Cf. above, pp. 267-268.

⁷⁶ *LEW*, pp. 309-310 (BAS).

phoras I, Patriarch of Constantinople (806-815) states that the chalice is not blessed at the prothesis prayer:

"Ὅτι οὐ χρὴ σφραγίδα ποιεῖν ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ τοῦ σκευοφυλακίου, ἐπὶ τὸ ἅγιον ποτήριον."⁷⁷

It might be objected that the Oriental prothesis prayer in the ancient Italian recension of CHR is a prayer of blessing over the chalice too.⁷⁸ But this prayer is not native to the rite of Constantinople,⁷⁹ and anyway there is a gap of two centuries between the *Barberini* codex and the *Sermo* of Eutychius. So there is no problem in reconciling the text of Eutychius with our evidence for the preparation of the prosphora before the liturgy.

The mixing of the chalice may have been delayed so the chalice would not get cold before communion. There is some evidence that boiling water was added to the chalice not only before communion, as now, but when the wine and water were initially prepared.⁸⁰ But whatever the reason, the practice is no proof of a "prothesis" or "offertory" at the Great Entrance of the primitive Byzantine eucharist.

⁷⁷ *PG* 100, 856. On these canons see note 57.

⁷⁸ *LEW*, p. 309 (CHR).

⁷⁹ See note 72.

⁸⁰ Cf. HANSSSENS, *Institutiones* II, pp. 236 ff; LAURENT, *Proscomidie*, pp. 130 ff, 135 (139, 141).

Faint, illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. The text is arranged in several lines and appears to be a list or index of some kind.

PART II

THE "ACCESSUS AD ALTARE"

INTRODUCTION

Once the gifts have been covered and incensed, the rite of the transfer and deposition of the gifts has been completed. But this does not exhaust the pre-anaphoral preparatory rites. In fact the preparation of the gifts was formerly just a material act secondary in importance to the "*accessus ad altare*" rites whereby the ministers prepare themselves for the approaching anaphora.¹ The relative importance of these two preparations is reflected in the theme of the chants that accompany the pre-anaphoral rites in the Byzantine and Syrian traditions, as we saw in chapter II. They are not "offertory chants" but chants of preparation for the whole Liturgy of the Eucharist. We observe the same in the 10th century commentary on the Armenian liturgy by Bishop Chosroes († c. 972). He devotes page after page to the litany and prayer of the *accessus*, but does not say one word about the transfer of gifts by the deacons.²

As a matter of fact certain elements treated in part I on the transfer of gifts — the *Nemo dignus* prayer, the *lavabo* — should more properly be considered part of the *accessus ad altare*, which is the primitive central element at this point of the Eastern liturgies. The later ritualization of the transfer of gifts into a solemn procession in which all the clergy except the bishop take part, the transfer of the *lavabo* from its original place after the Great Entrance, and the addition of later elements (*Nemo dignus* prayer, troparia, etc.), have led to an intermingling and confusion of these two distinct rites of the pre-anaphora: the material handling of the gifts and the spiritual preparation of the ministers, which were once performed simultaneously by distinct orders. In addition the kiss of peace, which was originally the conclusion of the Liturgy of the Word rather than a prelude to the anaphora, became incor-

¹ On the *accessus ad altare*, cf. HANSENS, *Institutiones* III, pp. 308-317; JANERAS, *Introductio* IV, pp. 38-40; RAES, *Introductio*, pp. 82 ff. The elements of this rite in the liturgies still in use can be seen in the tables in RAES, pp. 84-85 and JANERAS, IV, pp. 6 and 44.

² *Chosroae magni explicatio precum missae*, trans. P. VETTER, Freiburg im B. (n. d.) pp. 11-17.

porated into — or rather, displaced by — the *accessus* rites when they were added to the primitive stratum of the liturgy.

If we prescind, then, from the *pax*, the most primitive ceremony proper to this ritual of preparation in the early sources is the *lavabo*, which the commentators explain as a symbolic preparation for the anaphora.³ By the time of the *Apostolic Constitutions* the *lavabo* is followed by private prayer, just before the dialogue that opens the anaphora. And it seems that this is when the bishop put on his "bright vestment" as part of the same preparation.⁴

Pseudo-Denys also mentions the *lavabo* in his discussion of the *accessus* of the mass, and later, when explaining the ordination ritual, he singles out the *accessus ad divinum altare* (ἡ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον θυσιαστήριον προσευχή) as one of its important elements.⁵ This ceremony in which the *ordinandus* is led to the altar for his ordination still exists in the Byzantine ritual of holy orders,⁶ and is possibly related to the *accessus ad altare* of the eucharistic liturgy.

The *accessus ad altare* is found today in all Eastern eucharists, but is especially important in the Syrian traditions, where we find a fully developed rite at a relatively early date. Theodore of Mopsuestia, for example, after describing the transfer of gifts, goes on to explain the *accessus ad altare*. After noting that prayer is always necessary, "But especially for this formidable liturgy, where we have need of divine help which alone is able to accomplish such things," he says that the priest gives thanks to God for the mysteries of salvation He has deigned to communicate to us. Then he continues:

He [the priest] gives thanks ... for himself, whom Christ has made minister of such a formidable sacrament, and then he petitions also that the grace of the Holy Spirit, through which he received the priesthood, be given him too, so that he might be equal to the grandeur of such a ministry and that freed from all evil intention he might fulfill this ministry without fear of any punishment for having drawn near to realities too sublime for him, so far removed as he is from the grandeur of this ministry.⁷

³ For the early sources, cf. the table in chapter I and in RAES, *Introductio*, pp. 53 ff. We have already discussed the *lavabo* in chapter IV.

⁴ *Ap. Const.* 8, 12, 4 (FUNK I, p. 496).

⁵ *EH* 3 and 5, *PG* 3, 437-440, 509.

⁶ Cf. GOAR², pp. 242, 244.

⁷ *Homily 15*, 31, 33 (ed. TONNEAU-DEVRESSE, pp. 511-513).

The same spirit — basically an elaboration of the *sursum corda* motif as we saw in chapter II with respect to the Great Entrance chants — can be seen in the ritual described by Narsai, who is our first explicit witness to a dialogue between the ministers as part of the *accessus* rites:

The priest now offers the mystery of the redemption of our life, full of awe and covered with fear and great dread. The priest is in awe and great fear and much trembling for his own debts and the debts of all the children of the Church ... Trembling and fear, for himself and for his people, lie upon the priest in that dread hour. In (his) awful character and office, an object of awe even to the seraphim, the son of dust stands in great fear as mediator ...

In this frame of mind stands the priest to officiate, reverent, and with great fear and trembling. Like Jacob he worships three times and three; and then he draws near to kiss the tomb of the Lord (i. e. the altar) ... He asks prayer of the deacons that are round about him, that by his humility he may receive mercy from the Merciful. He now prays with a contrite heart before God, and confesses his debts and the debts of the ecclesiastical body. The priest asks for hidden power together with (divine) help, that he may be performing his gift according to his desire; and in all that the priest says before God the people concur, and they seal his ministry with Amen.⁸

The importance given to this rite by the Syrian commentators is reflected in the Syrian liturgies today.⁹ In fact in the West-Syrian and Maronite liturgies only the *accessus* rites remain; the procession with the gifts before the anaphora has completely disappeared.¹⁰ The Armenian liturgy is more true to the primitive tradition, retaining the proper balance between the transfer of gifts, which is still left to the deacons, and the *lavabo*, litany and prayer of the *accessus* that follow. The Byzantine liturgy has gone to the opposite extreme, stressing the procession to the detriment of the rite of *accessus*.

This development is reflected in the Byzantine commentaries on the Divine Liturgy. They all contain explanations of the Great

⁸ *Homily 17* (CONNOLLY, *Narsai*, pp. 7-8).

⁹ In fact the West-Syrian and Maronite liturgies have prayers not only of *accessus* but also of "discessus" from the altar at the end of the liturgy (cf. LEW, p. 109, 7-16; JANERAS, *Note sur la prière syrienne des adieux à Pautel*, *OrSyr* 5, 1960, 476-478; HANSENS, *Institutiones* III, p. 533).

¹⁰ Cf. *supra*, p. 92. The same is true of the Coptic and Ethiopian traditions.

Entrance, *pax* and creed, but neither Maximus, Germanus, nor Pseudo-Sophronius says anything about the *accessus* dialogue or prayer.¹¹ Germanus merely states that after the covering of the gifts, "the priest then approaches with confidence the throne of God's grace".¹² The *Protheoria* mentions briefly the prayer in which the bishop prays for himself and the people that the sacrifice may be pleasing to God.¹³ One gets the impression from these commentaries that the Great Entrance, *pax* and creed are the only elements of importance in the pre-anaphoral rites.

But the later commentaries of Nicholas Cabasilas (c. 1350) and Symeon of Thessalonika (c. 1420) show that the spirit of the *accessus* rite was not entirely lost in the Byzantine tradition.¹⁴ Here is how Cabasilas explains "the prayers which follow the transference of the offerings, and the exhortations of the priest to the congregation:"

The priest places the offerings upon the altar. Then, finding himself on the threshold of the consecration, and about to begin the august sacrifice, he now thoroughly prepares himself, purifying himself by prayer and getting ready for the sacrifice; not only does he do this, but he also prepares all those present, and puts them in dispositions of grace by prayer, mutual charity, and a profession of faith.¹⁵

Thus for Cabasilas, all that follows the placing of the gifts on the altar, including the *pax* and creed, are part of the preparation for the anaphora.

Symeon's description of the pontifical liturgy brings out explicitly the purpose of the *orate fratres* dialogue in this preparation: after treating the covering of the gifts after the entrance, he poses the question, "Why does the bishop ask the prayers of all?" and then goes on to explain:

The Bishop, with head bowed, asks the prayer of all because he knows himself, and trembles and is seized with fear before the

¹¹ MAXIMUS, *Mystagogia* 16-18; 24, PG 91, 693-696; 704, 708. The commentary of Ps.-SOPHRONIUS as edited in MIGNE from the incomplete MS *Ottoboni Gr. 459* ends at the transfer of gifts (PG 87², 4001; cf. BORNERT, *Commentaires*, pp. 210-211).

¹² HE, ed. BORGIA, p. 33.

¹³ *Protheoria* 19, PG 140, 444.

¹⁴ Still, both NICHOLAS (*Liturgiae expositio* 25, PG 150, 421) and SYMEON (ET 84, PG 155, 732) barely mention the prayer of *accessus*.

¹⁵ TRANS. HUSSEY-McNULTY, *Commentary*, 25, p. 66 (PG 150, 420-422).

task [he is about to perform], and because he is fulfilling the precept of the apostle who says: "Confess your sins to one another," and "Pray for one another". For he does not put his trust in himself, since he too is a man.

And the following paragraph continues:

After having obtained the prayer of the priests, he blesses the people, praying for them at the same time that he himself asks the prayers of all. Hence the people don't say "Lord have mercy," but "Ad multos annos, Master," as if praying that he accomplish successfully his sacerdotal ministry and fulfill many years in this service.¹⁶

Since the bishop does not bless the people with the dikerion and trikerion until after the dialogue, that is what Symeon is commenting on. Hence, as Raes has pointed out, the Byzantine *orate fratres* dialogue should not be considered — as it appears to be — the end of the Great-Entrance rites. Rather, it is part of the spiritual preparation of the ministers for the coming anaphora.¹⁷ It is the next element in the liturgy, to which we must now turn our attention.

¹⁶ ET 81-82, PG 155, 729-732.

¹⁷ RAES, *Dialogue*, p. 38. That the dialogue is considered the beginning of the *accessus* rite can be observed in the rubric that precedes it in several MSS of the Reggio-Messina tradition (cf. below, p. 310).

CHAPTER VIII

THE DIALOGUE AFTER THE ENTRANCE OF THE GIFTS

After the final incensation of the gifts on the altar, the priest, putting aside the censer and letting his phelonion fall free,¹ bows his head and says to the deacon standing on his right:

- I. a. *Priest*: Remember me, brother and concelebrant.
b. *Deacon*: May the Lord God remember your priesthood in his kingdom.
- II. a. Pray for me, holy master.
b. *Priest*: May the Holy Spirit come down upon you, and the power of the Most High overshadow you.
c. *Deacon*: May the same Holy Spirit concelebrate with us all the days of our life.
- III. a. Remember me, holy master.
b. *Priest*: May the Lord God remember you in his kingdom, always, now and forever and unto ages of ages.

Deacon: Amen.²

¹The common rubric "χαλάσας τὸ φελόνιον," found in several sources, refers to the fact that the primitive, cone-shaped phelonion was not cut away in front, but hung to the ground evenly all around. Hence the celebrant had to gather it up in front in order to free his hands for ritual gestures. For this purpose sometimes buttons were provided across the front at breast-level, to which loops in the front hem were buttoned to hold it up, thus providing this freedom of movement when necessary (cf. plates 99 and 101 in tome I of *Drevnosti russijskago gosudarstva*, Moscow, in the reign of Nicholas I, n. d.).

²Cf. *LEW*, pp. 379-380. For convenience in referring to the text, we follow the divisions given by RAES, *Dialogue*, pp. 40-41. Note that the Greek and Slavic texts of II, b-c use the future indicative, following literally the gospel text of Luke 1:35. But the meaning in the dialogue is optative, like *ἔστω* in the blessing following the anaphora in BAS and CHR.

To date, the only serious study of this dialogue is a brief article by A. Raes, S. J.³ Using this pioneer study as a starting point, we hope to complete and — where necessary — modify somewhat Raes' conclusions on the basis of recent literature and of our own studies in the MS tradition.⁴

Parallel Formulae in Other Liturgies

A similar request of the celebrant for the prayers of his fellow ministers is common to several liturgies, both Eastern and Western. The Roman *orate fratres* is but one of many formulae formerly used in the West: "Pray, brethren, that my sacrifice and yours may be pleasing to God the Father almighty."⁵ Other Western texts no longer in use show even more clearly the similarity of this ritual in both traditions. For example *The Prayer-Book of Charles the Bald*, written about 870, contains under the rubric: *Quid orandum sit ad missam pro sacerdote, quando petit pro se orare*, our verse of Luke 1:35, but in the subjunctive: *Spiritus Sanctus superveniat in te et virtus altissimi obumbret te*, followed by Psalm 19:4-5: *Memor sit omnis sacrificii tui et holocaustum tuum pingue fiat. Tribuat tibi secundum cor tuum et omne consilium tuum confirmet*, to which then another brief prayer is added.⁶

In the Jacobite liturgy, right after the *lavabo* and before the

³ RAES, *Dialogue*, pp. 38-51. A more recent article is that of N. DESNOV, *Nedoumennyj vopros iz čina liturgii svjatago Ioanna Zlatousta, Bogoslovskie Trudy IV*, Moscow, 1968, pp. 181-189. Although Desnov comes to the right conclusion concerning the confusion in roles in part II of the *textus receptus*, his article is greatly limited by the sources he had at his disposal — he does not cite RAES and uses only the edited sources of CHR — and by a naïve approach to the sources. He cites the thoroughly discredited text of Pseudo-Proclus regarding the authenticity of the Byzantine liturgies, (p. 183), considers Pseudo-Sophronius' commentary an 8th century source (p. 183), and misunderstands that certain elements are not contained in the early euchology MSS of CHR not because they had not yet entered the liturgy, but because of the nature of the euchology as a book for the priest and the characteristics of the ancient recension of CHR (pp. 183-184).

⁴ JACOB, *Formulaire*, has been especially helpful in providing new material to complete RAES' study. We are also grateful to Gabriele Winkler for correcting certain errors concerning the evolution of the dialogue text in an earlier draft of this chapter.

⁵ The response "*Suscipiat...*" is a later addition according to JUNG-MANN, *Missarum Sollemnia II*, pp. 86-87.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II pp. 82 ff. For other Latin sources that employ this text, cf. *ibid.*, II, pp. 87 n. 37 and 88 n. 41; RAES, *Dialogue*, pp. 49-50.

pax, the priest says: "My brethren and my masters, pray for me that my sacrifice be accepted."⁷ In the East-Syrian tradition the ritual is more fully developed. There the rite takes on a special importance because the Nestorian tradition had a primitive form of concelebration in which only one priest read the eucharistic prayer.⁸ In the early church, this was done by the bishop surrounded by his presbyterium. The East-Syrian custom, however, was for the archdeacon to select just before the anaphora one of the presbyters, by turn, for this service.⁹ If there were a large number of presbyters, one's turn would occur rarely, and it is understandable that the chosen presbyter, covered with confusion by the great honor conferred on him, would be most effusive in his reverence, expression of unworthiness, and request for the prayers of his concelebrants as he approached the altar.¹⁰ So it is not surprising that the Nestorian liturgy has a highly evolved rite of departure from the bema and *accessus ad altare*, with numerous preparatory formulae, among which is a lengthy dialogue between the chosen priest and his concelebrants:

Priest: Bless, o my Lord. My brethren, pray for me that this offering be accomplished at my hands.

Concelebrants: God the Lord of all strengthen you to fulfill his will and receive your offering and be well pleased with your

⁷ LEW, p. 83, 2-3.

⁸ Cf. RAES, *Dialogue*, pp. 39-40 and *La concélébration eucharistique dans les rites orientaux*, LMD, 35, 1953, pp. 25-27; JAMMO, *Messe chaldéenne*, pp. 173 ff, 200 ff; W. F. MACOMBER, *Concelebration in the East Syrian Rite*, in J. VELLIAN, ed., *The Malabar Church (= OCA 186)*, Rome, 1970, pp. 17-22.

⁹ Cf. the following sources (cited by RAES, *Dialogue*, p. 39, n. 3): The Synod of Seleucia-Ctesiphon in 410 (J. CHABOT, *Syndicon Orientale*, Paris, 1902, p. 268); the Synod of 585 under the Catholicos Iso'yahb I (*ibid.*, p. 414); and canon 11 of the same Catholicos' reply to James, bishop of Darai: "He who is to consecrate is not designated for this office ahead of time, but only at the moment when the bishop and priests receive the *pax* from the altar and exchange it among themselves does the archdeacon designate the one who should consecrate..." (*ibid.*, p. 430).

¹⁰ This emotion would be all the more real because no one knew beforehand who was to be chosen (cf. the previous note). NARSAI speaks in very strong terms of the greatness of this honor: "The priest who is selected to be celebrating this sacrifice, bears in himself the image of the Lord in that hour [of His passion]... Hear, O priest, whither you have been advanced by reason of your order. Stand in awe of your Lord, and honour your order as it is fitting. See, you have been exalted above cherubim, above seraphim... be without blemish and without blame as it is commanded you. In this fashion the priest stands in that hour, nor can aught compare with the greatness to which he is advanced," (*Hom. 17*, ed. CONNOLLY, *Narsai*, p. 4).

sacrifice for us and for yourself and for the four corners of the world by the grace of his compassion forever, amen.

Then the priest repeats the prayer that preceded the dialogue, and continues:

Priest: Bless, o my Lord. Pray for me, my brethren and my beloved, that I be accounted worthy to offer before Our Lord Christ this sacrifice living and holy for myself and for all the body of the holy church by the grace of his compassion forever, amen.

And the concelebrants respond, and the priest repeats the prayer once again.¹¹

The *accessus* rites of these liturgies have in common the notion of preparation for the coming sacrifice, its acceptance by God, the confusion of the priest at his unworthiness and inability to accomplish unaided such a sacred ministry, and the consequent need of divine help.

The Meaning of the Dialogue in the Byzantine Liturgy

In the liturgy of Chrysostom, most of these elements are found expressed in the prayer of *accessus*,¹² but the dialogue limits itself to the theme of divine assistance. And in accord with Byzantine eucharistic theology as expressed in the prayers of the liturgy, this power is attributed to the Holy Spirit.¹³ As we shall see when we study the evolution of the text of the dialogue, the primitive kernel is precisely this prayer for the descent of the Spirit from Lk 1:35, a theme which John Damascene links to the eucharist:

Whatever God does, he does by the power of the Holy Spirit, and now too [in the eucharist] things that surpass nature and cannot be understood except by faith are done by the power of the Holy Spirit. "How can this be, said the holy Virgin, for I know not man." The archangel Gabriel replies, "The

¹¹ LEW, pp. 272-273.

¹² Cf. below, chapter X.

¹³ RAES, *Dialogue*, pp. 40-42; MATEOS, *L'action du Saint-Esprit*, pp. 193-208. Cf. also the anxiety expressed in the anaphora of BAS: "... Do not because of my sins withhold the grace of the Holy Spirit from the offered gifts" (LEW, p. 336, 19-22) — an anxiety sometimes incorporated into the text of the dialogue, so that the priest prays not only for the Spirit to descend but also to "remain with us and concelebrate with us all the days of our life" (*Paris Gr. 2509*, GOAR², p. 81).

Holy Spirit will come down upon you and the power of the Most High overshadow you." You also ask now how bread becomes the body of Christ and wine and water his blood. And I say to you that the Holy Spirit comes again, and accomplishes what is inconceivable and incomprehensible.¹⁴

At least in this text the patristic foundation for the use of Lk 1:35 in our dialogue is quite explicit.

But what does astonish us is that in our dialogue *these words are addressed to the deacon by the priest!* Petrus Arcudius (1563-1633) in his *De concordia* long ago pointed out this aberration in the *textus receptus*. After citing the same passage from *De fide orthodoxa* (which he mistakenly refers to as chapter 14), he goes on:

Ob eam causam Presbyter celebrans simul cum Diacono ... dicit ad Diaconum, ora pro me Diacone, qui respondens ait, Spiritus Sanctus superveniet ... Sic enim legendum est in liturgia, ut verum, et legitimum sensum habeat ... Quod autem ita fit corrigendum, et legendum, manifeste constat ex liturgia Iacobi, ubi eadem verba caeteri dicunt ad sacerdotem.¹⁵

Goar, too, argues against the text as found in the printed editions, though neither he nor Arcudius offers conclusive arguments from a thorough study of the MS tradition.¹⁶ Such a study does support their objections, however, as we hope to show.

¹⁴ *De fide orthodoxa* 4, 13, PG 94, 1141.

¹⁵ *De concordia ecclesiae occidentalis et orientalis in septem sacramentorum administratione*, Paris, 1626, III, 36, p. 270. (The dialogue in JAS from which Arcudius argues has the roles in their proper order. Cf. MERCIER, p. 190, 11 ff).

¹⁶ GOAR², p. 115 n. 113. The references given in this edition of Goar are to the pages as numbered in the first edition, Paris, 1647. We give in brackets the proper pages in the 2d edition (Venice, 1730). As RAES points out (*Dialogue*, p. 43 n. 2) Goar's arguments are not the best. He refers to *Venetia recentiora*, fol. 92 linea 9 [p. 75], *MS Regium*, fol. 106 linea 40 [p. 92], *Cryptof.* and *Codex Pyromalus*. But the "*Venetia recentiora*" follow the *textus receptus*, and fol. 106 [p. 92] contains the edition of Erasmus, which omits the dialogue entirely. Goar probably meant to refer to *Paris Gr. 2509* (15th c.) [p. 81], which gives parts II-III of the dialogue with the roles properly distributed. For *Pyromalus* and *Cryptof.* [= *Codex Falascae*] cf. below, pp. 291-2 and notes 44-45. BAS of *Codex Pyromalus* gives the dialogue in its most primitive form.

The Evolution of the Text of the Dialogue in the MS Tradition

1. Part I

The first part of the dialogue can be dispensed with quickly. Raes rightly points out that it is a later addition with no support in the MS tradition.¹⁷ It is not found in the MS of any Greek, Slavic or Oriental euchology, diataxis, or archieratikon with one single exception, the 18th century codex *Ethnike bibl.* 779.¹⁸ It is not in the *editio princeps* of 1526 nor the Venetian editions of 1558 or 1562.¹⁹ As far as we know it first appears in the Venetian edition of 1571, and even today it is not part of the text of the dialogue in the Slavic *Činovnik*.²⁰

Raes' theory on the origin of this part of the dialogue seems plausible. He believes it is just a repetition of what the deacon says to the priest as he enters the sanctuary at the Great Entrance: "May the Lord God remember your priesthood in his kingdom, always, now and forever, and unto ages of ages." To which the priest replies: "May the Lord God remember your diaconate in his kingdom, always..."²¹ Or perhaps one might consider it a response to this prayer. In the diataxeis of *Ethnike bibl.* 662, *Moscow Synod.* 381, and Philotheus, the deacon says to the priest as he enters: "Remember me, Lord, a sinner", to which the priest answers: "May the Lord God remember you in his kingdom."²² Thus, the priest, having prayed for the deacon, asks his prayer in turn, as in the *textus receptus*, part I:

Priest: Pray for me, brother and concelebrant.

Deacon: May the Lord God remember your priesthood in his kingdom.

At any rate, the MSS show that this was not a part of the original dialogue, and we think it belongs to the greetings exchanged at the entrance by the ministers with the people, as well as among themselves, from which the commemorations at the Great Entrance evolved.

¹⁷ *Dialogue*, p. 41.

¹⁸ TREMPÉLAS, p. 85 (z in the apparatus).

¹⁹ RAES, *Dialogue*, p. 41.

²⁰ *Činovnik*, Moscow, 1879, ff. 36v-37r, and Warsaw, 1944, f. 10r-v; cf. RAES, *Dialogue*, p. 41.

²¹ RAES, *loc. cit.*

²² Ed. TREMPÉLAS, pp. 9-10; KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 25.

One final remark on the text of part I. Raes has drawn attention to the application of the epithet "concelebrant (σουλ-λειτουργός)" to the deacon.²³ Though none of the early MSS of the dialogue gives this title to the deacon, the term is common enough in Greek theological literature and goes back at least to the Council of Neocaesaria (AD 315).²⁴ Pseudo-Denys also explains that the earthly hierarchy "concelebrates" with the celestial.²⁵ In the liturgy itself, the Constantinopolitan prayer of the introit refers to the concelebrating angels (σουλλειτουργοῦντες) who enter with the clergy.²⁶ Since Byzantine typology often presents the angels vested as deacons, and the commentators describe the deacons as performing the angelic ministry, it should not surprise us to see the term "concelebrant" applied to the deacon, as well as to bishops, presbyters, the celestial hierarchy and even the Holy Spirit. All participants in the liturgy concelebrate, each according to his rank.

2. Parts II-III

a) *The Old Recension of the Dialogue in Constantinople and Italy:*

In the earliest sources, part II, a-b, is seen to be the primitive element of our dialogue. BAS in the 10th century version of Johannisberg has the following rubric at the transfer of gifts:

Interea deportantur & proponuntur munera à presbyteris, & post lavationem manuum, petit [episcopus] ministros pro se orare, & respondent.

*Spiritus sanctus superueniat in te, & uirtus altissimi obumbret te & comministret tibi.*²⁷

The rubric in the contemporaneous *Codex Pyromalus* of BAS is almost exactly the same:

²³ *Dialogue*, pp. 41, 46-48.

²⁴ *Canon 14*, referring to chorbishops concelebrating with the bishops (MANSI 2, 542-3).

²⁵ *De coel. hier.* 1, PG 3, 124.

²⁶ LEW, p. 312, 21-22 (BAS). The same idea is found in the preparatory prayer before the liturgy in codex *Patmos 719* (13th c.) (DMITRIEV-SKIJ, II, pp. 170-171) and in *Codex Falascae* (Μυκητων, *K materialam*, p. 10). The prayer is omitted in Goar's edition of this codex, probably because it precedes the title of CHR (cf. GOAR², p. 85).

²⁷ COCHLAEUS, *Speculum*, p. 124.

... after the washing of the hands, the bishop asks the ministers (λειτουργοὺς) to pray for him. And they answer: May the Holy Spirit come down upon you...²⁸

Both these sources are witnesses to the 10th century patriarchal liturgy of Constantinople, and present the dialogue in its most primitive form extant in the rite of the Great Church.

In Italo-Greek sources we find the first indication of our formula in codex *Grottaferrata Gb IV* from the second half of the 10th century (BAS and CHR, ff. 7r, 21r). However in this MS, our earliest witness to the formula under discussion,²⁹ the prayer for the descent of the Holy Spirit is presented not as a dialogue, but as a prayer said by the priest:

And after the gifts have been placed [on the altar], the priest turns to the right and prays, saying: May the Holy Spirit come down upon me, and the power of the Most High overshadow me and concelebrate with me, the Lord God, the King of glory.

And he turns to the left and says: May the same most Holy Spirit come down upon me and the Power of the Most High overshadow me and concelebrate with me.³⁰

We shall discuss later the reasons for the non-dialogic form of the prayer in this MS. The important thing to note now is that this text proves the antiquity of the phrase "May the Holy Spirit concelebrate with you (me, us)" and its original connection with the preceding Lukan verse.³¹ This is confirmed by the Constantinopolitan *Codex Pyromalus* and version of Johannisberg already cited. The only difference is that *Grottaferrata Gb IV* repeats the whole formula, with the variant incipit *Αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα*.

Two other early Italo-Greek codices, *Grottaferrata Zd II* (AD 1090) f. 64v, and *Gb XV* (11th century) f. 3v, seem to agree with *Gb IV*. But since all the MSS give are the incipits of II, b-c, it is impossible to tell whether the text is the same as that of *Gb IV* or has already evolved toward the *textus receptus* in which the verse of Lk 1:35 is separated from the petition that the Holy Spirit concelebrate with the priest.

²⁸ GOAR², p. 155.

²⁹ And not the later 11-12th c. *Grott. Gb II* as Raes thought. Cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 180; RAES, *Dialogue*, p. 45.

³⁰ CHR, f. 21r. BAS (f. 7r) gives the same text except for some slight verbal variants in the rubrics and the absence of the phrase "Lord God the King of glory".

³¹ JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 180-181.

The pristine recension of the dialogue probably comprised a request by the senior celebrant for the prayers of the other ministers (II, a), but not necessarily expressed in the text as a fixed formula (cf. *Codex Pyromalus*, the version of Johannisberg, codex *British Museum Add. 34060*). In reply, the concelebrating ministers answered in the words of the angel to Mary in Lk 1:35 (II, b). Later, to the Lukan text was added the clause "et comministret tibi" first seen in codex *Grottaferrata Gb IV* and in the version of Johannisberg. A further — or perhaps parallel — development, possibly of Italo-Greek origin, was for the main celebrant then to repeat over his concelebrants the same prayer with the variant incipit *Αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα*. This is how we would interpret the original form of the text as it has come down to us in *Grottaferrata Gb IV*. The reason the latter codex has abandoned the dialogue form is that it describes a liturgy without concelebrating presbyters, but the rubrics instructing the priest to turn to the right and to the left betray the fact that it was once a dialogue with the concelebrants ranged along both sides of the altar.³²

One later source of the primitive recension of CHR, *Paris Gr. 321*, an early 14th century MS apparently of Oriental origin, preserves the text of the dialogue in its pristine form, i. e. the single petition from Lk 1:35, unrepeated and without the interpolation for the Holy Spirit to concelebrate:

Deacon: Bless, holy angels (εὐλογεῖτε ἅγιοι ἄγγελοι).

Priest: May the Holy Spirit come down upon us and the power of the Most High overshadow us always, now and forever and unto ages of ages.³³

As in *Grottaferrata Gb IV*, the dialogue has been accommodated to a liturgy without concelebrating presbyters, a phenomenon also observable in the 15th century diataxis in *Leningrad Gr. 423* and *Sabas Gr. 305*, in which the Lukan petition is said over the gifts.³⁴ This may explain its simplicity, i. e. the absence of the petition

³² *Loc. cit.* Jacob discovered remnants of the same type of rite in codex *Messina Gr. 160*, an 11th c. MS closely related to *Grott. Gb IV* (*ibid.*, pp. 184 ff, 191). See also below, p. 298.

³³ JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 252. Also the 16th c. codex *Grottaferrata Gb XIX* (f. 9r) has only II, a-b in the dialogue. Codex *Messina Gr. 160* has "Bless, saints" and the incipit of II, b (*ibid.*, p. 191).

³⁴ KRASNOSL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 90. Cf. also the Slavic MS *Petersburg Academy 566* (15th c.) in which the priest says Lk 1:35 while covering the gifts with the aer after the Great Entrance (МУКЕТОВ, *K materialam*, p. 89).

for the Holy Spirit to concelebrate and of part III. But it is equally possible — and we shall see this confirmed in the new redaction of the dialogue — that the interpolation for the concelebration of the Spirit had never won a permanent place in the old redaction.

As for the diaconal injunction "Bless holy angels," Jacob remarks that it seems to be a transformation of the original injunction "dans le sens de la liturgie céleste."³⁸ Perhaps the deacons are addressing the angels whose concelebration was requested in the prayer of the introit. At any rate in Byzantine typology of the celestial liturgy both priests and deacons are depicted as angels.³⁹

b) *The New Recensions of the Dialogue:*

These older usages soon give way before two newer, expanded forms of the dialogue, which appear from the 12th century on in all families of the MS tradition: Constantinopolitan, Otrantan, Calabrian and Sicilian, Oriental, as well as in the monastic diataxeis, and in the Georgian and Slavic versions.

(i) *The New Constantinopolitan Recension:*

The new recension of the dialogue first appears in Constantinople, in the version of Leo Tuscan. It is characterized by the absence of any petition for the Holy Spirit to concelebrate, and by the addition of part III.

Et depositis sanctis panibus super sacram mensam in crucis figuram, expanso desuper peplo et astantibus in circuitu sacerdotibus, dicit archyepiscopus: Orate pro me, sacerdotes sancti.

Qui respondent: Spiritus sanctus superueniat in te et uirtus altissimi obumbret tibi.

Et rursus illi dicunt ad eum: Memento nostri, domine.

Et ipse respondet: Memor sit nostri dominus deus in regno suo.

Tunc secedunt et stantes pro ianuis cancellorum a dextris et a sinistris, unusquisque dicit orationes mysteriorum in silentio intueutes ad sanctam mensam.⁴⁰

³⁸ *Formulaire*, p. 252.

³⁹ Cf. for example MILLET, *Monuments de l'Athos*, plates 218, 2; 219, 3; 256, 2; 257, 2; 261, 1-2; 262, 1-2; ȘTEFANESCU, *Illustration des liturgies*, plates XXIX, 1-2; XXX, 1-2.

⁴⁰ JACOB, *Toscan*, p. 150.

The 12-13th century patriarchal rite of the Great Church in *British Museum Add. 34060* is of the same tradition. The patriarch bows to the concelebrating priests and they say: "May the Holy Spirit come down upon you and the power of the Most High overshadow you. Remember us, master." And he responds: "May the Lord God remember us in his kingdom always, now..."⁴¹

The same recension of the dialogue is found in the later Greek monastic diataxeis including that of Philotheus,⁴² in numerous MSS of the Slavonic version,⁴³ and in the 12th century MSS of the liturgy of Otranto.⁴⁴ Located on the eastern coast of the heel of Italy, the church of Otranto remained in close contact with Constantinople until the Norman invasions, and its liturgical usages — purely local practices apart — are Constantinopolitan by comparison with the usages of Calabria and Sicily.⁴⁵ And thus the Otrantan dialogue is as in Tuscan except for II,a ("Pray for me, brothers") and the addition of γένοιτο at the end, after the customary ending πάντοτε, νῦν...⁴⁶ This "fiat", undoubtedly attracted to the dialogue by the use of the Lukan verse of the Annunciation in part II, is expanded in the Slavonic recension to include the rest of the Virgin's response: "Be it done unto me (us) according to your word" (Lk 1:38b).⁴⁷

⁴¹ Folio 512r. The edition of ARABATZOGLOU (*Bibliothèque*, p. 238) is very defective.

⁴² E. g. *Ethiopic bibl.* 662 (12-13th c.) and Philotheus (14th c.) in TREMPERAS, pp. 9-10; *Moscow Synod 381* (13-14th c.), *Vat. Gr.* 573 (14-15th c.) in KRASNOSELOV, *Materialy*, pp. 25-26, 108-109.

⁴³ Cf. for example *Sinai Slav.* 14 (f. 21r) and 15 (f. 29r).

⁴⁴ On Otrantan sources see JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 341-384.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 341-342.

⁴⁶ *Ottoboni Gr.* 344, AD 1177, (f. 152r); the 13th c. MSS *Karlsruhe EM 6* (ed. ENGDAL, CHR, p. 20; BAS, p. 60), *Ambros.* 276 (f. 13v), 709 (f. 92r), and 167 (CHR, f. 20r-v; BAS, f. 70r); the 14th century *Sinai Gr.* 966 (CHR, f. 29v; BAS, f. 36r; cf. DMITRIEVSKIY II, pp. 205-206); the Otrantan version of BAS, 13-14th c., and the Otrantan revision of Tuscan (JACOB, *Otrante*, pp. 69, 93).

⁴⁷ The "fiat" is found in *Ottoboni Gr.* 344, *Sinai Gr.* 966, *Ambros Gr.* 167, and the Otrantan version of BAS (cf. the previous note for these sources), as well as in the Slavonic version in the older MSS (cf. *infra*, p. 300). The *Codex Palascae* (GOAR², p. 88) has the main celebrant respond to the prayer of his concelebrants (= II,b) with: "Amen, amen, Be it done unto me according to your word. And may the Lord God remember all of us in the kingdom of heaven, always..." *Ambros. Gr.* 1090 has: "γένοιτο κύριε τὸ ἔλεόν σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς."

(ii) *The New Oriental Recension:*

Similar in structure to the Constantinopolitan dialogue, the recension found from the 12th century on in euchologies of Sicilian or Calabrian provenance,⁴⁵ as well as in two MSS of JAS and in Georgian CHR of codex *Graz Georg. 5* (13th c.), is characterised by the use of Ps. 33: 4 in place of the senior celebrant's request for prayers (II,a). Here is the text from *Graz Georg. 5*:

Sacerdos adoratur sanctam mensam et dicit: Magnificate Dominum mecum et exaltabo nomen eius in idipsum.

Illi respondent: Spiritus Sanctus superveniet in te et virtus altissimi obumbrabit tibi.

Memento nostri Domine.

*Sacerdos dicit: Recordetur vestri Dominus Deus in regno suo omni tempore, nunc et semper et in saecula.*⁴⁶

The presence of this variant in JAS and in the 13th century Georgian version of CHR should indicate that it, like so many other "Italo-Greek peculiarities", is of Oriental origin.⁴⁷ Almost all the MSS containing this variant describe a presbyteral concelebration, and the psalm verse is addressed by the senior presbyter to his fellow ministers, who reply as in the Georgian version.

c) *The Origin of Part III:*

Raes raises the question whether the *textus receptus* of part III should in fact be considered not as a part of the dialogue, but rather as the customary formula said by the deacon when he takes leave of the priest, as at the beginning of the liturgy or after the epiclesis.⁴⁸ The formulae are the same, but we agree with Raes in rejecting this theory. These formulae are already found in the diataxeis of *Ethnike bibl. 662* and Philotheus. But the one at the beginning of the liturgy is also part of a dialogue between priest

⁴⁵ Cf. the 12th century MSS of the Reggio-Messina family such as *Vat. Gr. 1811*, AD 1147, (CHR and BAS, ff. 79v, 90v), *Barberini Gr. 316* (ff. 17v-18r) and 329 (BAS, f. 3r), *Grottaferrata Gb II* (CHR and BAS, ff. 11v, 28v), *Oxford Bodleian Auct. E.5.13*, (CHR and BAS, ff. 14v-15r, 25r-v), and, with variants, the 14th c. Calabrian *Codex Falascae* (= *Grott. Gb III*, GOAR², p. 88).

⁴⁶ TARCHNISVILI, *Liturgiae ibericae*, p. 56.

⁴⁷ DE MEESTER called it an Italo-Greek peculiarity found only in the *Codex Falascae* (*Origines*, p. 333 n. 6). But in addition to the sources of CHR and BAS already mentioned it is also found in two MSS of JAS, *Vat. Gr. 1970* (13th c.) and *Paris Gr. 2509* (15th c.) (MERCIER, p. 190).

⁴⁸ RAES, *Dialogue*, p. 41.

and deacon.⁴⁹ And its use as a separate formula after the epiclesis is a later addition and not consistent even in the printed editions.⁵⁰ In the versions of Tuscan and Otranto (BAS) it is found at the beginning of the liturgy but not after the epiclesis.⁵¹ And in the Georgian version of *Graz Georg. 5* it is only in the Great-Entrance dialogue. At the beginning of the liturgy in this version there is a formula taken from part II:

Benedic, Domine.

Spiritus Sanctus concelebrat nobiscum.⁵²

But the strongest argument against considering part III as originally the dismissal of the deacon is the fact that our whole dialogue, including part III, is traditionally a dialogue between concelebrants, and not between the main celebrant and the deacon, as we hope to show. Besides, the rubric for the leave-taking of the deacon occurs after the dialogue is finished: "Then the deacon says 'Amen' and bowing, takes leave and goes out."⁵³

It is better, then to consider the request for the prayers of the priest by his concelebrants (or the deacon) as a natural response to the original element of part II, in which the senior celebrant has been prayed for by them. This is not clear in the *textus receptus* because the roles have been confused.

d) *The Completion of the Text: the Addition of the Petition for the Concelebration of the Spirit:*

The petition for the Holy Spirit to concelebrate with the ministers (II,c) appears to be a refinement of the primitive Italian recension of the dialogue, in which the one petition for the Holy Spirit to descend and concelebrate (version of *Johannisberg, Codex Pyromalus*) came first to be repeated (*Grott. Gb IV, Zd II, Gb XV*), then later separated into two separate petitions, the first containing only the Lukan text (II,b) as in the new recension, the second the petition for the Holy Spirit to concelebrate with the ministers (II,c).

The evidence is too sparse to permit us to trace this evolution.

⁴⁹ Ed. TREMPERAS, pp. 5-6; 11-12.

⁵⁰ E. g. *Ieratikon*, Athens, 1957, omits it; *Euchologion*, Athens, 1926, has it, but with no response by the priest, as in the *editio princeps*. But it is found with response in BAS of the 15th c. codex *St. Petersburg Imperial Library 558* (DMITRIEVSKIĬ II, p. 501. Cf. note 54 below).

⁵¹ JACOB, *Toscan*, pp. 137, 155; *Otranto*, pp. 61, 75.

⁵² TARCHNISVILI, *Liturgiae ibericae*, p. 49.

⁵³ Cf. for example the diataxis of Philotheus (ed. TREMPERAS, p. 10).

Long before the appearance of petition II,c in its present form (i. e. the petition for the concelebration of the Spirit without the Lukan text) we find in II,b the Lukan text purged of any interpolation (cf. *Paris Gr.* 324, and all sources with the new recension of the dialogue).

On the other hand we have two 15th century Jerusalem sources, the euchology *St. Petersburg Imperial Library Codex Gr.* 558⁵⁴ and the diataxis of *Vat. Gr.* 782 (f. 217v),⁵⁵ that give the old Italo-Greek structure of the dialogue where the Lukan text of II,b still contains the interpolation "and concelebrate with you," but with the Lukan text already eliminated from the second member (II,c). Here is the text of the dialogue from *St. Petersburg 558*. Note that, as in *Grott. Gb IV*, the priest says the whole dialogue himself even though there is a deacon present. Note also that part III of the dialogue is missing in these two sources just as in the primitive recension of the dialogue:

And after the holy gifts have been placed on the altar and covered, bowing to the left with incense he says: May the Holy Spirit come down upon you [singular] and the power of the Most High overshadow you and concelebrate with you [singular].

And in the same way to the right: May the same Holy Spirit concelebrate with us and with you [plural] all the days of our life, always, now and forever.⁵⁶

Though we are ignorant of just how the evolution came about, there was eventually a fusion of the two types. The petition for the Holy Spirit to concelebrate (II,c) was added to the text of the new recension that already contained both the uninterpolated Lukan text (II,b) and part III. The earliest sources in which we find this completed text — prescinding of course from minor variants — are the codices *Paris Gr.* 2509, a diataxis of Greek provenance,⁵⁷ and *Ambros. Gr.* 84 (f. 82), both of the 15th century.

⁵⁴ This MS is described by ORLOV as a 14-15th century codex that belonged formerly to Archimandrite Anthony, former superior of the Russian mission in Jerusalem (*Liturgija*, p. XII). The text of BAS is edited in DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 501.

⁵⁵ On the origin of this diataxis JACOB remarks: "comme elle fait suite dans le ms. à un typikon de Saint-Sabas, il est à peu près certain qu'elle représente les usages hiérosolymitains de l'époque" (*Formulaire*, p. 439 n. 6). The diataxis does not give the full text of the dialogue, but from the *incipit* we presume it corresponds to that of *St. Petersburg 558* which we cite.

⁵⁶ DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 501.

⁵⁷ GOAR³, p. 81.

But it was only the appearance of the printed editions that fixed the petition for the concelebration of the Spirit (II,c) as a member of the dialogue. Except for the two sources just mentioned all MSS in which we have found it are of the 16th century or later.⁵⁸ It is missing, notably, in the diataxis of Philotheus but is found in the *editio princeps* of 1526.

Variants in the Text of the Dialogue

Because the text of the dialogue was not fixed until so late, the sources contain innumerable variants, even in codices of the same tradition or even between the formularies of BAS and CHR in the same euchology.⁵⁹ But the vast majority of these are minor textual variants such as can be observed in the various texts already cited, and do not affect the basic structure of the dialogue. Often the variants are simply the result of a certain liberty already noted in II, a (*Orate pro me, sacerdotes sancti, Orate fratres; εὐχεσθε ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοί*);⁶⁰ more often they result from the necessity of adapting a text designed for concelebrating presbyters to a dialogue between priest and deacon (*μνήσθητί μου, δέσποτα; εὖξαι ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, δέσποτα* or *διάκονε* in II, a; the singular form throughout, etc.)⁶¹. There is no purpose to be served in listing all these variants. We shall limit our study to a few significant and common textual variants or to changes in the very structure of the dialogue.

In the archieraticon of Gemistos we find:

Bowing his head slightly, the patriarch turns to each side and says: Bless, saints.

And all bowing to him say: May the Holy Spirit come down upon you.

And then they say: Remember us, holy master.

And the patriarch says: May the same Holy Spirit remember you in his kingdom.⁶²

⁵⁸ E. g. *Sinai Gr.* 1919 (AD 1564), ff. 35r-v, and the MSS in TREMPPELAS, pp. 84-86.

⁵⁹ Cf. for example *Grott. Gb IV*, ff. 7r, 21r; *Sinai Gr.* 966, DMITRIEVSKIJ II, pp. 205-206; etc.

⁶⁰ Cf. for example JACOB, *Toscan*, p. 150; *Karlsruhe EM 6* (ed. ENGDALH, pp. 20, 60: CHR and BAS); *Ottoboni Gr.* 344 (f. 152r), *Ambros. Gr.* 167 (CHR and BAS, ff. 20r-v; 70r); JACOB, *Otrante* (BAS), p. 69; *Sinai Gr.* 966 (DMITRIEVSKIJ II, pp. 204-205: CHR and BAS), *Grottojerrata Gb XIX* (f. 9r).

⁶¹ Cf. the diataxeis *Ethnike bibl.* 662 or Philotheus (TREMPPELAS, pp. 9-10); *Moscow Synod 381* and *Vat. Gr.* 573 (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, pp. 25, 105); *Sinai Slav.* 14 (f. 21r) and 15 (f. 29r); etc.

⁶² DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 311; likewise in HABERT, p. 77, and the pon-

Here we have a curious fusion of parts II,c and III,b that can hardly be a traditional reading. The "kingdom of the Holy Spirit" is certainly an unwonted concept! Perhaps this joining of the *incipit* of II,c (Αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα) to III,b is a first sign that petition II,c for the Holy Spirit to concelebrate was beginning to exert its pressure on the new Constantinopolitan redaction.

As for the injunction "Bless, saints" we have already noted great liberty in the formula of II,a. In chapter VI we encountered this formula at the Great Entrance. It first appears in the *orate fratres* dialogue in codex *Messina Gr. 160*, which A. Jacob describes as an 11th century MS of the ancient Italian recension of CHR, closely related to *Grottaferrata GB IV*.⁶² But apart from this codex, the archieratikon of Gemistos and dependent texts, and the "Bless, holy angels" of *Paris Gr. 324*, we know of no other Greek source that has it in the dialogue. However, it is very common in the Slavonic version of the liturgy.

In fact a peculiar Slavic redaction of the dialogue is found rather consistently in the codices, including the oldest:

Priest: Bless, saints.
Response: *Ad multos annos*, holy father. May the Holy Spirit come down upon you and overshadow you.
 And pray for us, holy father.
Priest: May the Lord God remember you in his kingdom, always, now and forever ...
Response: Be it done unto us according to your word, holy father.⁶⁴

Variants in part III are rare. One later Italo-Greek MS, *Grottaferrata Gb XVIII* (14th c.), has the following (f. 17r):

- Part II, a-b
- Ps. 25: 6-8 ("Lavabo ...")
- Ps. 42: 4 ("Introibo ad altare dei ...")
- Part III, b

tifical rite of *Ethn. bibl. 754* (17th c.), ed. TREMPÉLAS, p. 84 (in the apparatus).

⁶² *Formulaire*, pp. 184 ff, 191.

⁶⁴ Cf. the 12th century *Služebniki* of Antony the Roman and of Varlaam Chutynskij (*Moscow Synod 342-605* and *343-604*, NEVOSTRUEV-GORSKIJ, *Opisanie III*, 1, pp. 2, 6); the six MSS edited by MURETOV, *K materialam*, pp. 86-89, the earliest of which is the *Petersburg Acad. 518* (12th c.); also *Vat. Slav. 9* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedeniĭa*, p. 154); *Vat. Slav. 14* (diataxis of Philotheus, *ibid.*, p. 185); various MSS cited by PETROVSKIJ, *Rédaction slave*, pp. 867, 880; ORLOV, *Liturgija*, pp. 143-145 (BAS); and DESNOV, *Nedoumennyĭ vopros*, p. 187.

Here the dialogue has been disturbed by the custom common to several Italian MSS of placing the *lavabo* after the dialogue. As for Ps. 42: 4, suffice it to note that one codex, the euchology of the cathedral of Otranto, *Ottoboni Gr 344* (AD 1177), has a rubric (f. 152v) indicating that the dialogue is to be replaced by this psalm verse if the priest is celebrating without concelebrants.⁶⁵

One MS, codex *Ambros. Gr. 276*, has part III of the dialogue take place between the people and the priest (f. 13v); *Grottaferrata Gb II* (f. 11v) has the people say the final "Amen" at the end of the dialogue between the concelebrants.⁶⁶ The 15th century diataxis of codex *Vat. Gr. 573* has the deacon add "*Ad multos annos, master*" at the end of the dialogue when the priest blesses him.⁶⁷ This is just an adoption of the acclamation of the people following the bishop's blessing after the dialogue in the pontifical rite. It is common Byzantine liturgical practice for the people to acclaim the bishop in this manner when he blesses them with the trikerion and dikerion.

The Original Scope of the Dialogue: the Distribution of Roles

One problem with respect to the *textus receptus* — the most important one from the practical point of view — still remains: what caused the confusion in the distribution of roles found in today's rubrics for the dialogue between priest and deacon? Of all the MSS we have studied, only four, all of them late, have the roles distributed as in the *textus receptus* so that the priest prays for the descent of the Spirit on the deacon, rather than vice-versa: *Ambros. Gr. 84* (15th c.) f. 82r; *Sinai Gr. 1919* (AD 1564), f. 34r; *Iviron 878* (AD 1642), f. 31r; and *Ethnike bibl. 779* (18th c.).⁶⁸ So there is no basis in the MS tradition for the contemporary practice. Why, then, did the *editio princeps* and other printed editions reverse the proper order in part II? Not in order to alternate the roles in harmony with part I because part I is not found in the early editions.

⁶⁵ JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 359. This may be the result of Latin influence, but the use of this psalm here at the *accessus ad altare* shows that the scribe had a sense for the *accessus* rite that begins here.

⁶⁶ Cf. MURETOV, *K materialam*, p. 4. In codex *Grott. Gb XIX* (AD 1591) the priest kisses the altar and turns to the people (f. 9r), an obvious Latinism.

⁶⁷ KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 109.

⁶⁸ TREMPÉLAS, p. 85. The roles are in their proper order in JAS (cf. MERCIER, p. 190, 11 ff).

Nor is the distribution of roles the only disturbing element in some redactions of the dialogue. In the diataxis of Philotheus, for example, where the roles are in proper order, the priest addresses the deacon with the disconcerting title "Master" (Ἐξῆα: ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, δέσποτα).⁶⁹

We believe that all these unsatisfactory readings are to be explained by the original scope of the dialogue. In most early sources that contain any dialogue at all, it is a dialogue between the bishop or main celebrant and his concelebrants.⁷⁰ These concelebrants were ranged about the altar.⁷¹ The main celebrant bows to the right, then to the left, and asks their prayers.⁷² They in turn respond with the traditional verse of Lk 1:35.

⁶⁹ TREMPÉLAS, p. 10. Cf. also *Moscow Synod 381* and *Vat. Gr. 573*, KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, pp. 25, 108; *Sinai Slav. 15* (f. 29r); etc.

⁷⁰ In addition to the MSS cited in the following note, cf. *Constantinopolitan sources*: BAS of *Codex Pyromalus* (GOAR², p. 155) and the version of Johannineberg (COCHLAEUS, *Speculum*, p. 124) cited above, pp. 291-2; the version of Leo Tuscan (JACOB, *Toscan*, p. 150) cited above, p. 294; the archieraticon of Gemistos (DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 311) cited above, p. 299; *Otrantan sources*: JACOB, *Otrante*, p. 69; codices *Ottoboni Gr. 344* (f. 152r), *Sinai Gr. 966* (BAS, DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 206), *Ambros. Gr. 167* (CHR, f. 20r-v; BAS, f. 70r) and *709* (f. 92r); *Reggio-Messina codices*: *Barberini Gr. 316* (ff. 17v-18r) and *329* (BAS, f. 3r). Cf. also the 16th c. codex *Ethn. bibl. 757* (TREMPÉLAS, pp. 85-86 in the apparatus). Other sources are vague, with rubrics in the plural that could refer to concelebrating presbyters or to the deacons and other ministers: e. g. the Otrantan codex *Karlsruhe EM 6* cited in the following note; *Codex Palascae* (cf. note 72); *Graz Georg. 5* (TARCHNISVILI, *Liturgiae ibericae*, p. 56) cited above, p. 296. The early Slavic sources almost always give the dialogue as between concelebrants: cf. the 12th century *Služebniki* of Antony the Roman and of Varlaam Chutynskij (= *Moscow Synod 342-605* and *343-604*, NEVOSTRUJEV-GORSKIJ, *Opisanie III*, 1, pp. 2, 6) and of *Vat. Slav 9* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 154); and several other Slavic MSS in DESNOV, *Nedoumenyj vopros*, p. 185-187; MURETOV, *K Materialam*, pp. 86 ff; and ORLOV, *Liturgija*, pp. 142-145. We have also seen remnants of this usage in the rubrics of other MSS (cf. pp. 292-293, 298).

⁷¹ Cf. for example the 13th century Otrantan codex *Karlsruhe EM 6* (CHR, ed. ENGDARL, p. 20; cf. BAS, p. 60): "He [the priest] says to the deacon and to the others standing around in a circle (κύκλω): Pray for me, brothers..." See also the 12th century Reggio-Messina rubric cited in the excursus, below, p. 310.

⁷² Cf. *Grottaferrata Gb IV*, the archieraticon of Gemistos, and *Petersburg Imperial Library Codex Gr. 558*, all cited above, pp. 292, 298-299. The *Codex Palascae* (GOAR², p. 88) has this rubric right after the gifts have been covered: "And [the priest] incenses, saying to those on his right and to those on his left: Magnificate..." It is undoubtedly the gifts he was incensing, but perhaps misinterpretations of such a rubric were at the origin of the rubric preceding the dialogue in the reformed Slavic pontifical:

At a liturgy celebrated by one presbyter with the assistance only of a deacon — or even without a deacon — a compromise had to be made. Either the dialogue had to be omitted as ordered by the rubrics of *Ottoboni Gr. 344*; or transformed into a prayer of the priest that the Holy Spirit "descend on me (or us)" as in *Grottaferrata Gb IV* and *Paris Gr. 324*; or on the gifts as in the 15th century diataxis in codices *Sabas 305* and *Leningrad 423*, and the Slavic MS *Petersburg Acad. 566* (15th c.);⁷³ or else the deacon or server had to take the part of the concelebrants and reply to the priest's request for prayers.

This would explain why the priest addresses the deacon as "Master" in Philotheus' diataxis and a few other codices: the deacon is simply receiving a request formerly addressed to the concelebrating ministers. This is confirmed by the fact that in the codex *Ambros. Gr. 709* (f. 92r) the senior presbyter addresses the concelebrating priests as δέσποτα in this opening injunction (I.a). At least this seems more plausible than the explanation of Trempélas, who took the epithet as an indication of the high esteem in which the diaconate was formerly held.⁷⁴ Another explanation might be that these sources are copies of a text in which the roles had already become confused, and the copyist corrected the *roles* but not the *text* of the dialogue, in which the deacon would have addressed the priest as "Master". At any rate, Byzantine practice is for lesser ministers to address presbyters or bishops as δέσποτα. We have never seen the title applied to any other order.

One MS of BAS, *Sinai Gr. 1021* (15th c.), compromises in the other direction by preserving the confusion of roles, but changing the text so that the bishop does not pray for the Holy Spirit to descend on the deacon:

Deacon: Pray for me, holy master.

Bishop: May the Lord direct your steps.

Deacon: Remember me, holy master.

Bishop: May the Lord God remember you...⁷⁵

⁷³ "i abie otlaet kadil'nice, nikogože kadja" ("and he [the bishop] puts aside the censor, incensing no one"; *Činovnik*, Moscow, 1879, f. 36v; Warsaw, 1944 f. 10r). For in one *Služebnik* (Moscow, 1651) the priest incenses the deacon while saying to him "May the Holy Spirit come down upon you..." (Cf. DESNOV, *Nedoumenyj vopros*, p. 187).

⁷⁴ Cf. above, pp. 292-3, 301.

⁷⁵ TREMPÉLAS, p. 85.

⁷⁶ DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 368.

This text, found also in the dialogue at the beginning of the liturgy,⁷⁶ brings us to our final textual problem: the recension of the dialogue in the Slavic *Činovník*.

The Dialogue in the Slavic *Činovník*

Since the reform of 1666-1667, the text of the dialogue in the Slavic pontifical liturgy is as follows:

The Bishop bows three times. And turning to the right side, he says to the concelebrants: Brothers and concelebrants, archimandrites and priests, pray for me.

And after letting down their phelonia, all answer, saying: May the Holy Spirit come down upon you and the power of the Most High overshadow you.

The Bishop says: May the same Holy Spirit concelebrate with us and you all the days of our life.

The Protodeacon says, and the others: Pray for us, holy master.

Bishop: May the Lord direct your steps.

Again they say: Remember us, holy master.

And the Bishop: May the Lord God remember you ... amen."

Here the bishop's response as in BAS of *Sinai Gr. 1021* is interpolated into the new Constantinopolitan recension of the dialogue. The absence of part I shows that this recension is more conservative than our Greek *textus receptus*. Since this redaction represents the dialogue according to the 17th century reform when the Slavic books were corrected to conform to contemporary Greek usage, at a council attended by the Orthodox patriarchs of the Greek Churches, we can probably take it as representative of the dialogue in the Greek archieratikon at that time.

The Origin of the Dialogue

Although the dialogue is found in JAS, PETER, and even in some Latin sources,⁷⁸ it seems certain that our text is native to

⁷⁶ LEW, p. 362, 8-16; TREMPERAS, pp. 20-21.

⁷⁷ *Dejanija*, f. 53r-v. Cf. *Činovník*, Moscow, 1879, ff. 36v-37r; Warsaw, f. 10r.

⁷⁸ For the Latin sources, see note 6; for JAS see MERCIER, p. 190, (*Vat. Gr. 1970* and *Paris Gr. 2509*); for two MSS of PETER in which the priest recites Lk 1:35 before the anaphora, cf. CODRINGTON, *Peter*, pp. 132, 13 and 135, 36 (= *Vat. Gr. 1970* and *Grott. Gb VII*, both of Italian provenance as regards PETER).

the Byzantine rite. As Raes points out, the dialogue is found only in two MSS of JAS, a liturgy that has been heavily Byzantinized.⁷⁹ And PETER contains little at all that is original.

But we do not agree with Raes that the dialogue is of Italo-Greek origin.⁸⁰ With the exception of *Grottaferrata Gb IV*, our earliest witnesses are Constantinopolitan (BAS of *Codex Pyromalus* and the version of *Johannisberg*). They show that the dialogue was known in the Great Church as early as the 10-11th century when, as Jacob notes, it would be unrealistic to suppose any Italian influence in the liturgy there.⁸¹ Rather, the dialogue appears in Italy and Constantinople at an early date and seems to be part of the common patrimony of the whole Byzantine tradition.⁸²

CONCLUSION

We have seen that the dialogue after the Great Entrance is a native element of the Byzantine liturgy, though it has its parallels in the liturgies of other churches. In its original form and scope it was a dialogue between concelebrants of at least presbyteral rank, and was the first element in the rite of *accessus ad altare* by which the concelebrants prepared themselves spiritually for the coming anaphora.

The primitive Constantinopolitan text comprised a freely formulated request for prayers by the principal celebrant. The response of his concelebrants was at first simply the words of the angel in Lk 1:35, to which the phrase "and concelebrate with you" was later added. A further development that first appears in the old Italo-Greek sources is the repetition of this response with the variant *incipit* *Αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα*. But Constantinopolitan, Italian, and Oriental sources retained the primitive reading of Lk 1:35 as the sole response in part II after adding part III to the dialogue to form the new recension. Eventually the two trends converge: the repetition of the one response in part II evolves into two distinct elements (II, b-c of the *textus receptus*); part III of the new recension becomes a permanent part of the dialogue; and with the printed editions part I, originally a repetition of or

⁷⁹ RAES, *Dialogue*, p. 48.

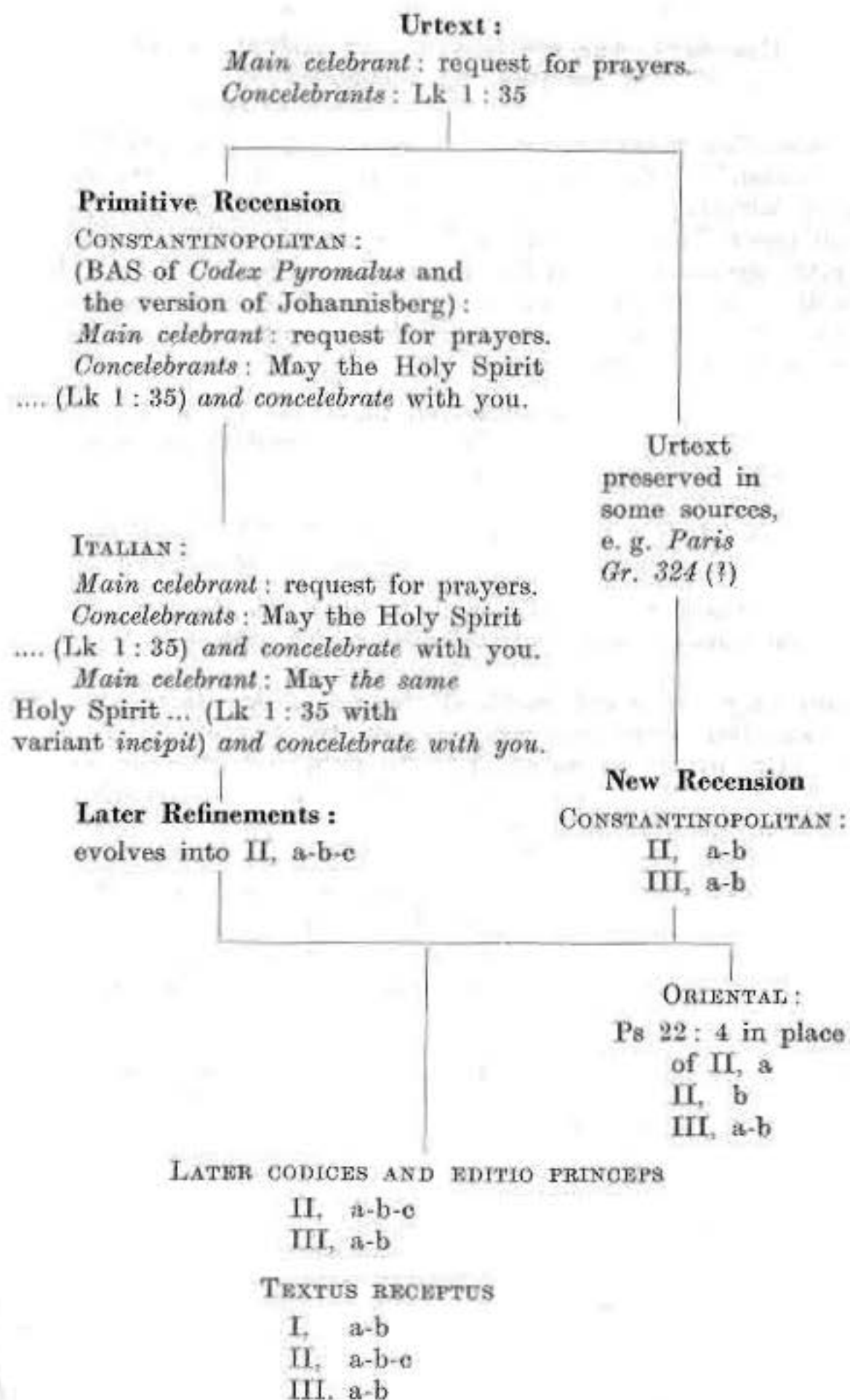
⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁸¹ JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 179 ff.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 180.

response to the greeting at the entrance becomes attached to the beginning of the dialogue to complete the evolution of the text as it stands today. Eventually the use of the dialogue in non-concelebrated liturgies led to a confusion of roles that still exists in the *textus receptus*, but that has been corrected in the recent Roman editions.⁸³

Schema of the Evolution of the Text of the Dialogue



⁸³ *Služebnik*, 1942, p. 243; *Liturgikon*, 1942, p. 234; *Ieratikon*, 1950, p. 126.

EXCURSUS: THE POSITION OF THE CONCELEBRANTS
DURING THE LITURGY

According to contemporary Byzantine usage, all concelebrating priests stand at the altar all during the eucharistic part of the liturgy following the Great Entrance. The bishop (or bishops) or senior concelebrant alone stands before the altar; the other concelebrants are ranged alongside the altar to the right and left. But this does not seem to have been the ancient custom. According to the rubrics in the version of Leo Tuscan, after the *orate fratres* dialogue the concelebrating priests

*Tunc secedunt et stantes pro ianuis cancellorum a dextris et a sinistris, unusquisque dicit orationes mysteriorum in silentio intuentes ad sanctam mensam.*¹

And a bit later, just after the diaconal admonition "*Stemus honeste ...*" that announces the anaphora, we find this rubric:

*Quo dicto, sacerdos qui solus assistit divinae mensae et qui secus illam diaconi contingentes venerabile peplum subleuant ...*²

Hence only one priest stood at the altar; the others who had been standing in the sanctuary "*in circuitu*"³ during the dialogue are said to withdraw and stand to the right and left "*pro ianuis cancellorum*." What does this mean? Can it be possible that during the anaphora the concelebrants stood outside the sanctuary before the chancel, especially since the doors were closed after the kiss of peace?⁴ The rubric that precedes the litany after the entrance is no help. It just says that the priests stand "*in locis suis*"⁵. And the language used by Tuscan in other rubrics throws no light on what he means by "*pro ianuis*."⁶ *Pro* can mean

¹ JACOB, *Toscan*, p. 150. As Jacob has demonstrated, "*orationes mysteriorum*" here means anaphora in the broad sense, i. e. the whole eucharistic formulary, including the procomide prayer (*Concélébration*, p. 253). Cf. above, chapter III, pp. 123 ff.

² JACOB, *Toscan*, p. 153.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 150 (cited in full above, p. 294).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

⁶ He always uses other expressions when the meaning is clearly "before the chancel" or "before the chancel entrance." E. g.: at the beginning of the liturgy "... *diaconus egreditur cancellos et stans coram sancto altari dicit ...*" (*ibid.*, p. 137); at the Little Entrance "... *diaconus ... egreditur*

"in", or "on", as well as "before", "in front of", "right opposite to".⁷ But Tuscan was probably translating "*πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν*" which in this phrase is hard to interpret in any way except "in front of, before".

Perhaps the key to Tuscan's enigmatic rubric is to be found in the shape of the chancel of Hagia Sophia. Justinian's second sanctuary, built after 558, lasted until the sack of Constantinople in 1204. According to Xydis' and Mathew's reconstruction the chancel was "π-shaped",⁸ and Paul the Silentiary clearly mentions doors on all three sides.⁹ Hence it is possible that the presbyters stood along the north and south sides of the chancel in front of the two smaller doors. But whether Tuscan's "*pro ianuis*" refers to these doors or to the central or "holy doors", we think he must be using *pro* from the viewpoint of one standing within.

It would seem that the concelebrants were alongside the main celebrant for the *orate fratres* dialogue, then withdrew when he approached the altar for the *accessus* prayer. Other sources support this hypothesis. In the 14th century archieratikon of Gemistos, during the Entrance of the Mysteries the concelebrating bishops stand in double file "on either side of the sanctuary from the holy doors up to the altar".¹⁰ This probably explains the rubric in the 12th century patriarchal diataxis of codex *British Museum Add. 34060*, which has the patriarch leave the altar after covering the gifts and stand near the concelebrants at the holy doors for the dialogue. We cite the MS (f. 513v) because the edition of Arabatzoglou (p. 238) is defective:

And he [the patriarch] leaves [the altar] and stands by the holy doors. The other priests [i. e. bishops] stand with him on the right and on the left, and he bows, praying. At the third short bow of the head the priests pray to him thus: May the Holy Spirit ... [dialogue]

And thus he withdraws to the holy table.

cum sacerdote. Quibus stantibus ante altare, dicunt lectores: Venite exultemus domino ..." (p. 141). Then they enter, the priest kisses the altar and stands "*iuxta ianuas cancellorum*" (p. 142). After the gospel the deacon puts the book on the altar "... *exitque cancellos et stans ante sanctum altare pronuntiat: Dicamus omnes [= ektene]*" (p. 147).

⁷ Cf. J. FACCIOLATI et al. *Lexicon totius latinitatis*, Padua, 1871, III, p. 869; LEWIS and SHORT, *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford, 1962, pp. 1447-1448.

⁸ XYDIS, *Chancel: MATHEWS, Early Churches*, pp. 97-98.

⁹ *Descriptio S. Sophiae* 717-719, PG 86², 2146-2147.

¹⁰ DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 310.

A similar positioning of the concelebrating presbyters is found in the rubrics of the 12th century Reggio-Messina codices *Vatican Gr. 1811* (ff. 79v-80r, BAS 90v), *Grottaferrata Gb II* (f. 11v), and *Oxford Bodleian Auct. E.5.13*, (ff. 14v-15r, BAS 25r-v):

And the priest who is about to approach the holy table to celebrate the holy mysteries bows three times before the altar and greets the priests, deacons, and clerics standing on either side, saying: Magnificate ... [Ps. 22:4]

And all, bowing, respond: May the Holy Spirit come down upon you ... Remember us, master.

Priest: May the Lord God remember you ...

People [sic]: Amen.

And the priest goes before the holy table; the other priests stand back towards the chancel (ιστανται ὀπισθεν εἰς τὰ δεξιότα) and the deacons stand on either side of the holy table ...¹¹

Hence it seems that the concelebrants were lined up by the doors during the dialogue. When it was over, they stepped back and stood along the chancel for the anaphora, probably because the sides of the altar were occupied by the coming and going of the deacons with their ripidia, etc.

¹¹ We cite the text of *Grottaferrata Gb II* from MURKOV, *K materia-lam*, p. 4. The pertinent section is also in HANSSSENS, *De concelebratione missae*, p. 33.

CHAPTER IX

THE LITANY AFTER THE GREAT ENTRANCE

Today, as soon as the dialogue after the Great Entrance is completed, the deacon takes leave of the priest and goes out as usual via the north door of the iconostasis to his customary place before the royal doors and intones a litany. During the litany the priest says silently the proskomide prayer. When the deacon has finished, the priest concludes the litany with the prayer's epho-nesis. Here is the *textus receptus* of the litany and prayer:

- (1) Πληρώσωμεν τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ.
Οἱ Χοροὶ ἐναλλάξ· Κύριε, ἐλέησον.
- (2) Ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεθέντων τιμίων δώρων, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
- (3) Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου Οἴκου τούτου, καὶ τῶν μετὰ πίστεως, εὐλαβείας, καὶ φόβου Θεοῦ εἰσιόντων ἐν αὐτῷ, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
- (4) Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ῥυσθῆναι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης θλίψεως, ὀργῆς, κινδύ-νου καὶ ἀνάγκης, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
Εὐχὴ τῆς Ποροσκομιδῆς, ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἱερέως λεγόμενη μυστικῶς, μετὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τραπέζης τῶν θείων δώρων ἀπόθεσιν.
Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ μόνος ἅγιος, ὁ δεχόμενος θυσίαν αἰνέσεως παρὰ τῶν ἐπικαλουμένων σε ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ, πρᾶσ-δεῖξαι καὶ ἡμῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν τὴν δέησιν, καὶ προσάγαγε τῷ ἁγίῳ σου Θυσιαστηρίῳ καὶ ἰκάνωσον ἡμᾶς προσενεργεῖν σοι δῶρά τε καὶ θυσίας πνευματικᾶς, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγνοημάτων. Καὶ καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς εὐρεῖν χάριν ἐνώπιόν σου, τοῦ γενέσθαι σοι εὐπρόσδεκτον τὴν θυσίαν ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐπισκηνώσαι τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτός σου τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα, καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα τὸν λαόν σου.
- (5) Ἀντιλαβοῦ, σῶσον, ἐλέησον, καὶ διαφύλαξον ἡμᾶς, ὁ Θεός, τῇ σῇ χάριτι.
Ὁ Χορὸς· Κύριε, ἐλέησον.

- (6) Τὴν ἡμέραν πᾶσαν τελείαν, ἀγίαν, εἰρηνικὴν καὶ ἀναμάρτητον, παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου αἰτησώμεθα.
Οἱ Χοροὶ ἐναλλάξ· Παράσχου Κύριε.
- (7) Ἄγγελον εἰρήνης, πιστὸν ὁδηγόν, φύλακα τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν, παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου αἰτησώμεθα.
- (8) Συγγνώμην, καὶ ἄφεσιν τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν καὶ τῶν πλημμελημάτων ἡμῶν, παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου αἰτησώμεθα.
- (9) Τὰ κατὰ καὶ συμφέροντα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν, καὶ εἰρήνην τῷ κόσμῳ, παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου αἰτησώμεθα.
- (10) Τὸν ὑπόλοιπον χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ μετάνοιᾳ ἐκτελέσαι, παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου αἰτησώμεθα.
- (11) Χριστιανὰ τὰ τέλη τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν, ἀνώδυνα, ἀνεπαίσχυντα, εἰρηνικά, καὶ καλὴν ἀπολογία τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ φοβεροῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ αἰτησώμεθα.
- (12) Τῆς παναγίας, ἀχράντου, ὑπερευλογημένης, ἐνδόξου Δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, μετὰ πάντων τῶν Ἁγίων μνημονεύσαντες, ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ ἀλλήλους, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ παραθώμεθα.
Ὁ Χορὸς· Σοί, Κύριε.
Ἐκφώνησις·
- (13) Διὰ τῶν οἰκτιρισμῶν τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου Υἱοῦ, μεθ' οὗ εὐλογητὸς εἶ, σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου Πνεύματι, νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.
Ὁ Χορὸς· Ἀμήν.

From the rubrics of earlier sources we know that for the litanies the deacon formerly mounted the ambo,¹ originally a huge structure located in the center of the nave amidst the people.² He undoubtedly faced east as he prayed, toward the sanctuary and clergy.³ This explains his customary position on the solea with his back to the people. When the ambo fell into disuse or

¹ Cf. *Codex Pyromalus* (BAS): "And behind them [= the psalmists] the deacon, mounting to the second step of the ambo, intones the eirenika" (GOAR², p. 153; cf. also p. 155. See also GERMANUS, *HE*, ed. BORGIA, p. 22; MATEOS, *Typicon* II, pp. 281, 328).

² Cf. PAUL SILENTIARUS, *Descriptio ambonis S. Sophiae*, PG 86², 2251-2256; GERMANUS, *HE*, ed. BORGIA, p. 14. The rubric in the 12-13th century diataxis of codex *Ethnike bibl.* 662 places the deacon ἐν τῷ μεσονείῳ for the litany after the Great Entrance (ed. TREMPERAS, p. 10). See also the reconstruction of the ambo in XYDIS, *Chancel*, and MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, pp. 110, 178, plate 56, and *passim*.

³ GERMANUS, *HE*, ed. BORGIA, p. 14: "To pray facing the East is a tradition handed down by the apostles".

evolved into a pulpit off to the side of the nave, the function (in part at least), and even the name of the ambo was transferred to that part of the solea that juts out in front of the central doors of the iconostasis.⁴

The litany in question is composed of the "angel of peace" petitions or "αἰτήσεις", as they are commonly known, that traditionally precede the final blessing or "inclination prayer" in the Byzantine office, but with the reference to "morning" or "evening" service dropped from (1), and with the addition of a petition relevant to the gifts (2) and two additional petitions of the synapte (3-4). The "angel of peace" litany has a long history, and we must look into this a bit in order to determine its original place, if any, in the pre-anaphoral rites of the Byzantine eucharist.

The Aiteseis in the Early Sources

The *Apostolic Constitutions* (c. 380) and the Antiochene homilies of Chrysostom (386-397), witnesses to the usages of Antioch and its environs towards the end of the 4th century, mention two elements in their description of the divine office: psalmody, and litanic prayers over the various classes present (catechumens, penitents, etc.).⁵

Book II of the *Constitutions* enjoins the faithful to congregate daily in the morning and evening for psalmody and prayer, but the nature of this prayer is not defined.⁶ In Book VIII, however, the "prayer" is described in detail:

(35.2): ... After the vespereal psalm has been said, let the deacon proclaim [the prayers] for the catechumens, *energoumenoi*, *illuminandi* and penitents, as described above.⁷

The reference is to Book VIII, 6-9 where the litanies after the gospel in the *Missa Clementina* are described as follows:

(6.1): *When the homily is finished ... (2) everyone stands; and the deacon, mounting an elevated place, shall proclaim: None of the hearers, none of the infidels. (3) And when it has become quiet,*

⁴ Cf. the later rubrics that have the deacon stand not on the ambo in the center of the church but "before the holy doors" (e.g. *Karlsruhe EM* 6, ed. ENGDAL, p. 60).

⁵ For a complete analysis of these documents, see MATKOS, *Documents*, pp. 351-356, which we are following here.

⁶ *Ap. Const.* II, 59, 2, (FUNK I, p. 171).

⁷ FUNK, I, pp. 544-546.

let him say: Pray, catechumens. (4) And let all the faithful pray for them attentively, saying: Kyrie eleison. And let the deacon perform his ministry, saying over them: (5) Let all intently call upon God for the catechumens... [there follows a series of petitions for the catechumens, then:]

- (8) Arise, catechumens,
ask for the peace of God through his Christ,
a day peaceful and without sin
and all the time of your life,
a Christian end,
a God propitious and benevolent,
the remission of offenses;
commend yourselves to the one unbegotten
God through his Christ.
Bow and receive the blessing.

(9) To each [intention] proclaimed by the deacon, as we said before, let the people, especially the children, answer: Kyrie eleison.

(10) While the catechumens bow their heads let the ordained bishop bless them with this benediction: (11) O God the pantocrator...

(14) After that, let the deacon say: Catechumens, depart in peace.*

In this text Mateos has noted the following elements:⁹

1. Since only the faithful respond to the initial petitions of the litany, it is clear that the command "Pray, catechumens" is to be interpreted "Pray in silence while the faithful pray for you." This corresponds to our present Byzantine litany over the catechumens, which is not a prayer by them but for them.
2. The deacon orders them to rise after the first litany. So they had been kneeling up until then.
3. Hence the prayer is clearly divided into two parts, one in which the faithful respond to the diaconal litany proclaimed in their name over the catechumens kneeling in silence; the second in which the catechumens rise and join the faithful in responding to a series of petitions obviously related to our "angel of peace" litany. This same system of litanic prayer is seen in several other ancient documents.¹⁰

* FUNK, I, pp. 478-480.

⁹ Cf. MATEOS, Documents, p. 355.

¹⁰ E. g. CHRYSOSTOM, In epist. II ad Cor. hom. 2, 5-8 (PG 61, 399-404); hom. 18, 3 (PG 61, 527) (cf. VAN DE PAVERD, Messliturgie, pp. 148-

In the *Missa Clementina* this same structure — but without the "angel of peace" litany — is followed for the other categories (*energoumenoi*, *illuminandi*, penitents), and they are blessed and dismissed.¹¹ Finally, after the dismissal of the penitents, the deacon gives a final warning against the presence of those excluded from the *oratio fidelium*. Then he gives the command for the faithful to kneel, and chants a litany similar to the Byzantine synapte. After this the faithful are bidden to rise, and the bishop says the collect, but there is no "angel of peace" litany and of course no final "prayer of inclination" or final benediction and dismissal, since the faithful did not leave.¹²

At vespers and orthros, however, the faithful are dismissed after the other grades because the office concludes with the orations. And to the usual litany corresponding to our synapte are added the "angel of peace" biddings, a second oration, the final benediction and dismissal, just as for the catechumens at mass (VIII, 36, vespers):

- (1) After the dismissal [of the other grades] the deacon shall say: All we who are believers, let us pray to the Lord.
And after reciting the first prayer [i. e. litany] he shall say:
(2) Save and raise us, O God, by your Christ.
(3) Rising let us ask for the mercies of the Lord and his compassion,
for the angel of peace,
for what is good and profitable,
for a Christian end,
for an evening and night peaceful and without sin,
and let us ask that all the time of our life may be without blame;

150; 155 ff); EGERIA, *Journal* 24, 5 (ed. *Sources chrét.* 21, p. 192; cf. MATEOS, Documents, pp. 363-364); *Test. Domini* (ed. RAHMANI, pp. 85-89); GABRIEL QATRAYA (c. 615) (= *Gabrielis Qatayensis Bar Lipah Interpretatio Officiorum*) cited in S. JAMMO, *L'office du soir chaldéen au temps de Gabriel Qatraya*, *OrSyr.* 12, 1967, pp. 192-193: "... Post hanc rogationem (bā'ūta) addimus proclamationem (kārōzūtā) ... Quod autem ipse (diaconus) solus recitat hanc proclamationem (kārōzūtā), toto populo silente et intra se orante ... Quod autem, postquam terminata est haec proclamatio (kārōzūtā), praeco Ecclesiae praecipit populum ut surgat a flectione genuum ... Quod autem post hanc (proclamationem) addit (praeco Ecclesiae) et dicit: 'Rogantes et supplicantes, angelum pacis et misericordiae petimus,' et populus respondit: 'A te Domine ...'" A relic of this custom of kneeling during the litany is seen in the Byzantine petition "Αντιλαβοῦ..." (cf. below, p. 341). For a convenient summary of this material see JANERAS, *Introductio, Appendix: Litaniae seu oratio fidelium*, pp. 52-70.

¹¹ *Ap. Const.* VIII, 7-9 (FUNK I, pp. 480-488).

¹² VIII, 9-11, 6 (FUNK I, pp. 488-494).

let us commend ourselves and one another to the living God through his Christ.¹³

Then the bishop recited the collect and the final prayer of blessing (37,1-6), and the deacon orders all to "Go in peace" (37,7).¹⁴ Here we find the same basic structure as in the prayer over the catechumens:

- 1) A first set of petitions during which all the faithful kneel;
- 2) The command to rise;
- 3) The "angel of peace" biddings;
- 4) Collect;
- 5) Final blessing and dismissal.

If we compare this with the *oratio fidelium* of the *Missa Clementina*, it would appear that the "angel of peace" litany is not appended to the *oratio fidelium* there only because the faithful are not dismissed.¹⁵

This use of the "angel of peace" as a final litany of dismissal is confirmed by Chrysostom's *Homily 2 in II Corinthians*. Speaking in Antioch of the litany of the catechumens at the eucharistic liturgy, he gives a long exposition of the various petitions, then adds:

... first we teach the children, then we order them [the catechumens] to let themselves be heard, saying: "Catechumens, ask for the angel of peace."

And he continues with a description of biddings of the "angel of peace" litany.¹⁶

According to Brightman, two other texts of Chrysostom show that the "angel of peace" biddings also concluded the litany of the faithful at the eucharistic liturgy in Antioch.¹⁷ In the first text, from his *Homily 1 on the Ascension*, Chrysostom tells his congregation:

¹³ FUNK I, p. 544.

¹⁴ FUNK I, pp. 544-546. For matins, cf. VIII, 38-39 (pp. 546-548).

¹⁵ MATEOS, *Célébration*, p. 158 and VAN DE PAVERD, *Messliturgie*, pp. 211-212.

¹⁶ *In ep. II ad Cor hom. 2, 8* (PG 61, 403). For a full analysis of the text and a reconstruction of its litany, see VAN DE PAVERD, *Messliturgie*, pp. 139-150, 155-164, esp. 148 ff. Cf. also ENGBERDING, *Aufforderungen*, pp. 9-13. We give the biddings in the chart below.

¹⁷ LEW, pp. 473, 9-10; 478, 36-40.

And so that you will learn that there is an angel of peace, hear how the deacons are always saying in the prayers: "Ask for the angel of peace."¹⁸

Chrysostom is clearly referring to a diaconal litany. But as van de Paverd points out, the litany must be addressed to the catechumens, not the faithful, because it is the catechumens whom the deacons address in the second person.¹⁹ When they address their own class, the faithful, they speak in the first person ("Let us...") as in the "angel of peace" biddings of the *oratio fidelium* in matins and vespers in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (cf. chart).

The second text, from the *Adversus Judaeos*, must also be taken as referring to the catechumens.

And when the deacon gives the order to pray with the others, he commands this too, according to the prayer: to ask for the angel of peace, and that all that lies before us may be peaceful; and dismissing you from this synaxis he requests this for you, saying: "Depart in peace..."²⁰

Those who "pray with the others" — i. e. with the faithful — must be the catechumens, who before the aiteseis were kneeling in silence while the faithful prayed for them.²¹ Then they rise and pray the "angel of peace" petitions with "the others". This argument is strengthened by the fact that Chrysostom in the whole context of this passage constantly addresses the faithful as "you" but here he explicitly omits the pronoun as the object of "gives the order to pray" (*καλεῖον εἰσεσθαι*).²² Note also that he speaks of the litany in the context of the dismissal.²³ Hence there is no Antiochene document of Chrysostom that includes the "angel of peace" litany at any place in the mass except at the end of the prayers for the catechumens.²⁴

His one Constantinopolitan homily that refers to the "angel

¹⁸ *In ascens. d. n. Jesu Christi, hom. I, 1* (PG 50, 444).

¹⁹ *Messliturgie*, p. 210.

²⁰ *Adv. Judaeos 3, 6* (PG 48, 870).

²¹ VAN DE PAVERD, *Messliturgie*, p. 211.

²² *Loc. cit.*

²³ BRIGHTMAN (*LEW*, pp. 475, 26 and 481 note 35) claims it is the dismissal of the faithful at the end of the liturgy. VAN DE PAVERD (*Messliturgie*, p. 154) holds this as probable, especially because in the context, as we have said, Chrysostom has been addressing only the faithful as "you". But van de Paverd says it may also refer to the dismissal in general.

²⁴ VAN DE PAVERD, *Messliturgie*, pp. 211-212.

of peace" biddings proves only that the litany had a place *somewhere* in the services of the Great Church, but gives no indication as to where. In his *Homily 3 on the Epistle to the Colossians* he says:

Every one of the faithful has an angel... And so if we have angels, we should behave decently, as if some teacher were with us, for a demon is also there. Because of this we pray and say, asking for the angel of peace, and we ask for peace everywhere. For there is nothing equal to this; in the churches, in the prayers, in the supplications, in the greetings: peace.²⁵

Thus all our evidence indicates that the aiteiseis were originally used only in combination with other litanies as a series of concluding biddings preceding the final blessing and dismissal of the catechumens or, at the office, of the faithful.

The Original Scope of the "Angel of Peace" Biddings

Who is this "angel of peace" for whom we pray, and what is the purpose of the aiteiseis? The epithet "angel of peace" is not found in the LXX or in the New Testament.²⁶ It does appear, however, in the apocryphal *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, Dan 6:5: "For the angel of peace himself shall strengthen Israel, lest it fall into the extremity of evil," and Asher 6:5-6: "For when the soul departs troubled, it is tormented by the evil spirit... but if peacefully, with joy, it has met the angel of peace..."²⁷ This source, which dates from about the second century B.C.,²⁸ was known to Origen²⁹ and may well have been familiar to the authors of the litanic text.

²⁵ In *ep. ad Col. hom. 3, 4* (PG 62, 322-323). Cf. VAN DE PAYERD, *Messliturgie*, p. 463. Van de Payerd's remark that the passage cannot refer to the litany of the catechumens because Chrysostom says "We pray and say..." seems beside the point. Both the faithful and the catechumens prayed together this part of the litany of the catechumens in Antioch (cf. the text of *Adversus Judaeos* cited above), so why not in Constantinople too? So Chrysostom could be addressing the faithful as "we" and still be referring to the prayer of the catechumens.

²⁶ Cf. P. GLAUE, *Der "Friedensengel," Monatschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst* (Göttingen), 22, 1917, p. 89.

²⁷ *Loc. cit.* For the texts see R. H. CHARLES, ed., *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, Oxford, 1908, pp. 140-141, 180; M. DE JONGE, ed., *Testamenta XII patriarcharum*, Leiden, 1970², pp. 51, 66.

²⁸ A. M. DENIS, *Introduction aux pseudoépigraphes grecs d'Ancien Testament*, Leiden, 1970, pp. 49-59.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59; cf. ORIGEN, *In lib. Jesu Nave, Hom.*, 15, 6 (GCS

More fruitful, perhaps, is the suggestion of P. Glaue that the angel of peace is reminiscent of the angelic herald at the birth of Christ, announcing the era of peace and good-will that only Christ can bring (Lk 2:8-14).³⁰ Also to be considered is the tradition of Christ as angel,³¹ especially as the "angel of great counsel (μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος)" of Isaiah 9:5.³² In icons of this type Christ, depicted as an angel, is usually labelled in the words of Isaiah "ἄρχων εἰρήνης," "prince of peace."³³ We have already seen in chapter II the use of ἄρχοντες in the LXX as a synonym for the angelic powers.³⁴ However we do not know of any father or liturgical commentator that understands the angel of peace in our litany as Christ.

Chrysostom at any rate interprets it as the guardian angel that according to an age-old tradition watches over each one of the faithful.³⁵ The same is true of the *Euchology of Serapion*.³⁶ And in the Western tradition, in the prayer *ad Orationem Dominicam* of the Mozarabic *Missa in diem sancti Michaelis*, we read:

... unaquaeque anima ad suum tutamentum custodem habeat Angelum pacis, procul efficiatur refuga ille quondam Angelus auctor iniquitatis...³⁷

Hence we prefer to interpret the litanic bidding in this sense.

As Engberding has pointed out, the aiteiseis are especially suitable for the litany of the catechumens, who during the period

30, p. 392, 5). The Greek text he uses dates from the first or second century AD.

³⁰ *Friedensengel*, p. 90.

³¹ Cf. JUSTIN, *Dial.* 56, 4 (PG 6, 597); ORIGEN, *Contra Cels.* 7, 25 (PG 11, 1458); *Apost. Const.* II, 30, 2 (FUNK I, p. 113); CYPRIAN, *Test.* 2, 5 (CSEL III, p. 67); etc. See J. BARBEL, *Christos Angelos*, Bonn, 1964².

³² JUSTIN, *Dial.* 126, 1 (PG 6, 768); ORIGEN, *Comm. in Joan.* I, 38 (PG 14, 100) and other references in LAMPE, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 302.

³³ Cf. DAWKINS, *The Monks of Athos*, p. 114; H. BROCKHAUS, *Die Kunst in den Athos-Klöstern*, Leipzig, 1924², p. 102; *The Painter's Guide*, trans. P. DURAND, in A. DIDRON, *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne*, Paris, 1845, pp. 140, 460, 462. MILLET, *Monuments de l'Athos*, plate 263, 2 shows a fresco of this image (upper right hand corner) from the Lavra. Cf. also A. M. AMMANN, *Slawische "Christus-Engel" Darstellungen*, OCP 6, 1940, 467-494, 4 Taf.

³⁴ See also LAMPE, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 241B.

³⁵ See above, p. 318, and the numerous references, pre-Christian and Christian, in *ibid.*, pp. 12B-13A. In the Byzantine liturgy this tradition finds expression in BAS (LEW, p. 325, 18-29).

³⁶ V, 8, FUNK II, p. 162.

³⁷ M. FÉROTIN, ed., *Le Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum et les manuscrits mozarabes (= Monumenta ecclesiae liturgica, VI)* Paris, 1912, no. 972, p. 453.

of their probation before baptism need extra help against the powers of darkness.³⁸ In this context of the catechuminate the aim of the petition for the angel of peace becomes clear. The early Christians believed that the angels had a special influence on the thought and imagination of man, and the influence of the good angels was needed above all by those who had not yet completed the baptismal exorcisms and were still locked in battle with the evil spirits.³⁹ Engberding also sees a reference to baptism in the "προκείμενα" of the "angel of peace" biddings in Chrysostom's *Homily in II Corinthians* ("ειρηνικά μὲν ὑμῖν πάντα τὰ προκείμενα"): what lies before (τὰ προκείμενα) the catechumens is baptism and by it, entrance into a whole new life.⁴⁰ This interpretation is fanciful. Τὰ προκείμενα means the *present*, not future circumstances, and so cannot be taken as a reference to baptism. But the homilies of Chrysostom support Engberding's idea that the original *Sitz im Leben* of the "angel of peace" biddings is the prayer for the catechumens.⁴¹ As we have seen, the homilies mention the "angel of peace" only in connection with the prayers over the catechumens.

Since the aiteseis later came to be considered a suitable concluding litany before the dismissal of the faithful at matins and vespers in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, one might ask why they were not said also before the dismissal of the *energoumenoi*, *illuminandi* and penitents. Van de Pavverd suggests it was because the *energoumenoi* were prayed for, but not themselves allowed to pray (recall the structure of the "angel of peace" litany in which the catechumens are ordered to rise and pray with the faithful), and because the penitents could be considered to have a part — temporarily restricted — in the prayers of the faithful.⁴² J. Mateos believes that perhaps it was said only once, after the litany of the catechumens, for all the classes to be dismissed in order to avoid excessive repetition.⁴³

It would seem, then, that the "angel of peace" litany was originally just for the catechumens. Later its appropriateness as

³⁸ *Aufforderungen*, p. 9.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 10. Cf. J. MICHL, *Engel (IV)*, in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 5, 109-200, and the interesting study of C. VAGAGGINI, *The Two Cities: The Struggle Against Satan in the Liturgy* (ch. 13 of his *Theological Dimensions of the Liturgy*, Collegeville Minnesota, 1959, pp. 200-242).

⁴⁰ *Aufforderungen*, p. 10.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁴² *Messliturgie*, p. 212.

⁴³ MATEOS, *Célébration*, p. 158.

a "passage from the liturgical celebration to ordinary life" became apparent; "that is why one prays for the angel who guides in peace and a tranquil day; the eschatological reminder that it contains helps to maintain the tension of Christian life."⁴⁴ It was omitted after the prayer of the faithful at mass because the service for the faithful was not yet over.

In this context one should also note that the synapte before the Great Entrance, which is the remains of the complete synapte, the primitive litany of the faithful, does not include the final exhortation Τῆς παναγίας.⁴⁵ This is true even in the oldest sources that had not yet abbreviated the synapte at this point, even though it had already been moved forward to the Trisagion or to the beginning of the liturgy.⁴⁶ It was omitted probably because, like the aiteseis, it was deferred to the end of the liturgy when the faithful were to be dismissed. In the final litany of the Byzantine eucharistic liturgy, the first petition of the angel of peace biddings (no. 6 in the text above) has been joined to the ancient exhortation εαυτοὺς καὶ ἀλλήλους that introduces the prayer of thanksgiving after communion:

Τὴν ἡμέραν πᾶσαν τελείαν, ἀγίαν, εἰρηνικὴν, καὶ ἀναμάρτητον αἰτησάμενοι, εαυτοὺς, καὶ ἀλλήλους, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ παραδώμεθα.

⁴⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁴⁵ Cf. LEW, p. 376; also the *editio princeps* and the diataxis of Philotheus cited below, pp. 327-328. On the history of the synapte, and how it was shifted forward from its primitive place, see MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 29-31, 159-160, and STRITTMATTER, *Synapte*, esp. pp. 65 ff.

⁴⁶ Cf. for example the 10th century codex *Leningrad 226* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenijsa*, p. 288); BAS of the *Johannisberg* version (COCHLAUS, *Speculum*, p. 123); the 11th century Arabic version of CHR (BACHA, *Versions arabes*, p. 455); the 11th century Georgian CHR of *Sinai Georg. 89* (JACOB, *Version géorgienne*, pp. 99-100); the later *Graz Georg. 5* (TARCHNISVILI, *Liturgiae*, p. 54); the 12th century *Paris Gr. 391* (f. 12v); BAS in the 12th century *Sinai Gr. 1020* (DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 141). In fact STRITTMATTER mentions that he has found the longer synapte in 24 Greek MSS, and only one relatively old Greek source, the 12th century *diakonikon Sinai Gr. 1040* (DMITRIEVSKIJ II, pp. 133-134, and *id.*, *Bogosluženie strastnoj i paschal'noj sedmicy vo sv. Ierusalime IX-Xv.*, Kazan, 1894, p. 265, note) and the diataxis of the 14-15th c. codex *Vat. Gr. 573* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 107) have the Τῆς παναγίας. It also appears in Armenian BAS. Finally, general rubrics prescribing the litany in the 16th century codex *Modena 19* and in the edition of Erasmus are sufficiently vague so that we can not exclude the exhortation with certainty. (STRITTMATTER, *Synapte*, pp. 65-85, esp. 69, 73-75; also MATEOS, *Célébration*, p. 159-160).

J. Mateos adds: "that is the only place where one should express this petition in the liturgy of the faithful."⁴⁷ The presence of *ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἀλλήλους* in other litanies such as the initial synapte of the liturgy is to be explained by the fact that they are all later additions dating from a period when the final exhortation had evolved into a commemoration of the Virgin (*Τῆς παναγίας*) and concluded almost every litany in the Byzantine tradition.⁴⁸

The Problem of the Aiteseis in CHR and BAS

If the early evidence seems to point to the litany of the catechumens as the original location of our aiteseis litany, how did it get where we find it today in CHR and BAS? Its adoption as a dismissal litany for the *oratio fidelium* in the office is easy to understand. The faithful too had to leave the synaxis and go out to continue the struggle against the evil one, and to persevere unto a Christian end.⁴⁹ Hence it is not surprising that we find the "angel of peace" just before the inclination prayer or former final blessing of Byzantine vespers and orthros.

But what is the origin of its present disconcerting position after the Great Entrance of the liturgy? There is no foundation for Baumstark's idea that our Byzantine litany is in some way connected with the diptychs.⁵⁰ Diptychs before the anaphora are a Syrian, not a Byzantine practice, as we have already mentioned apropos of the actual commemorations at the Great Entrance. Of the early liturgical sources only the homilies of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Book II of the *Apostolic Constitutions* indicate the presence of diaconal biddings just before the anaphora,⁵¹ and both documents present special problems. Neither gives the actual text of the diakonika in question, so we are not sure that they comprised a litany.

⁴⁷ *Célébration*, p. 159.

⁴⁸ The only litanies that belong to the primitive stratum of the Byzantine mass are those after the gospel in their original form (i. e. minus the *ektene* and with the synapte but once, in its entirety): some of the petitions — though none of the aiteseis — before the Our Father; and the litany after communion. And even these are not necessarily found today in their pristine state. (On the litanies of the Liturgy of the Word, see MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 29-33, 148-173; STRITTMATTER, *Synapte*.)

⁴⁹ Cf. the anaphora of the *Euchology of Serapion* (XIII, 16, FUNK II, p. 176), where the whole community prays for the help of the angels.

⁵⁰ *Messe*, p. 177; cf. TREMPERAS, p. 87 n. 21.

⁵¹ THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, *Hom. 15*, 30-31 (ed. TONNEAU-DEVRESSE, p. 511); *Ap. Const.* II, 57, 18 (FUNK I, pp. 165-167).

1. Evidence from Comparative Liturgy

Let us see if a comparison with other Oriental liturgies can throw any light on the problem. JAS is the only liturgy that might be thought to offer some justification for our litany.⁵² It has a long synapte after the *pax*, just before the anaphora dialogue. JAS has never been adequately studied, so we cannot pass any certain judgement on this litany, but its text is not without problems, it follows the creed and kiss of peace unlike our litany in CHR and BAS, and it does not contain the aiteseis. Hence we find it hard to see a valid parallel here.

But the angel of peace litany is found elsewhere in JAS, as well as in the Armenian mass and the East-Syrian mass.⁵³ All three present a remarkably similar structure: between the gospel and the final warning excluding all but the faithful just before the transfer of gifts, we find a litany that can be considered parallel to the Byzantine synapte, followed by the angel of peace biddings and a prayer of inclination. Whatever prayers and

⁵² MERCIER, pp. 186-190.

⁵³ JAS: MERCIER, pp. 172-176 and LEW, pp. 38-40; Armenian: LEW, pp. 428-430; Chaldean: LEW, pp. 262-267. The Chaldean litanies present special problems. Their threefold division into *bā'ūta* (= LEW, pp. 262, 1-263, 19), *kārōzūtā* (= LEW, pp. 263, 21-266, 11) and "angel of peace" with inclination prayer (= LEW pp. 266, 13-267, 22) is described by QATRAYA (cf. note 10, above), though BRIGHTMAN in his edition omits the commands to kneel during the *kārōzūtā* and rise after it. JANERAS gives a more accurate Latin translation with the proper divisions (*Introductio, Appendix*, pp. 65-70). According to JAMMO's reconstruction, the *kārōzūtā* is the native Chaldean litany to which the *bā'ūta*, (parallel to the Byzantine synapte) and the "angel of peace" were later added. Today's so-called inclination prayer is really a prayer *pro-clero*, but the oldest ritual MS known, *Diarbekir 57* (AD 1240) contains a true *syamidā* or inclination prayer, which is also found in the Chaldean Catholic missal (cf. JAMMO, *Messe Chaldéenne*, pp. 145-171). In the Syrian rite the former litanies and orations have disappeared, but DENYS BAR SALIBI († 1171) testifies to the fact that they once existed (*Bar Salibi Expositio Liturgiae*, p. 40 [60]). Bar Salibi says the litanies are in use only among the "Orientals" — probably meaning the Jacobites of Tikrit. The only relic before the anaphora in today's West-Syrian mass is the prayer of inclination after the *pax* (LEW, p. 84, 7-19). But our colleague W. Macomber, informs us that the older extant MSS of the West-Syrian diaconal (e. g. *Vat. Syr. 68*, AD 1465, f. 221r-v) have the "angel of peace" biddings at the fraction, right after the litany given in BRIGHTMAN before the Our Father ("Kathulikē," LEW, pp. 97-99). For this Jerusalem-type *oratio fidelium* in Latin sources, cf. B. CAPELLE, *Le kyrie de la messe et le pape Gélase*, in *Travaux liturgiques* II, Louvain, 1962, 116-134.

dismissals for the catechumens, etc., might once have existed have disappeared, and we have here the angel of peace litany and final blessing added to the synapte of the faithful as in matins and vespers of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. And the purpose is the same, to conclude the Synaxis of the Word, the only difference being that in the *Apostolic Constitutions* this conclusion is omitted in the mass.

On the basis of comparative liturgy we are immediately forced to ask if the angel of peace litany in CHR and BAS was once appended to the original litany of the faithful (i. e. the great synapte that once immediately preceded the transfer of gifts in unabridged form⁵⁴). If this were so, then the present position of the angel of peace biddings could have resulted from the later evolution of the procession with the gifts. As we have seen in chapter V, the primitive transfer of gifts was carried out by the deacons without solemnity while the presbyters continued their part of the service. During the final ceremonies before the anaphora (orations, *pax*, etc.) the deacons went to fetch the gifts and put them on the altar. As the procession became solemnized, it had to be given its own place in the pre-anaphoral rites, and in the various traditions it was inserted wherever was found convenient (cf. the chart in chapter I). In the Byzantine liturgy, according to this theory, it split the angel of peace litany off from the litany of the faithful, and eventually the latter was abridged at the entrance and sung at an earlier point in the liturgy.⁵⁵

In favor of this hypothesis could be adduced the theory of J. Mateos that the *oratio fidelium* of the Byzantine mass once had three prayers just as there were in the now defunct cathedral office of the Great Church.⁵⁶ One of the basic arguments for Mateos' thesis is the fact that the offices of the Great Church in our oldest euchology, codex *Barberini Gr. 366*, and in several other early MSS, unlike the present Byzantine office of Palestinian origin, conclude with two prayers of the faithful, and a third prayer, the apolysis, followed by a prayer of inclination or final

⁵⁴ Cf. STRITTMATTER, *Synapte*, pp. 65-85, esp. 83-85; MATROS, *Célébration*, pp. 159-160.

⁵⁵ JANERAS, *Introductio* II, p. 26, seems to lean toward this opinion when he says: "Synthetice hoc dicere possumus: elementa quae ex 'oratione fidelium' procedunt, conspersa apparent, in diversis ritibus, ante vel post ingressum donorum." And JUNGMANN holds that the synapte with aiteseis and the procomide prayer belong to the prayers of the faithful (*Missarum Sollemnia* I, p. 483 note 17).

⁵⁶ *Célébration*, pp. 57-61, 160-165.

blessing just before the dismissal.⁵⁷ Even today in the Byzantine eucharist we find such a prayer of inclination over the catechumens and, in the Lenten liturgy, over the *illuminandi* just before their dismissal.⁵⁸ Since the faithful are not dismissed after the Liturgy of the Word, we cannot expect to find this final prayer in the mass.⁵⁹ But we would expect to find the usual Constantinopolitan structure of two prayers of the faithful plus an apolysis, and not just the two prayers extant today. Furthermore, if we examine other sources of the office of the Great Church which indicate not only the prayers said by the priest, but also the diakonika, we find that the prayers in question were accompanied by the synapte with aiteseis — i. e. with the angel of peace biddings.

For example in the ancient Lenten office of terce-sext in the 9-10th century codex *Sinai Gr. 957*, we find the following *ordo* after the prayers over the catechumens and *illuminandi* and their dismissal:

Deacon: "All the faithful again and again ..."

Priest: *First prayer of the faithful.*

Deacon: "Help, save, have mercy ..." "Sophia."

Priest: *Ecphonesis of the first prayer,*
Second prayer of the faithful

Deacon: "Help, save, have mercy ..." "Sophia."

Priest: *Ecphonesis of the second prayer.*

Deacon: "On bended knees again and again ..."

Priest: *Third prayer: apolysis*

Deacon: "Help, save, have mercy ..."

"That this whole day ..." (i. e. the angel of peace biddings).

Priest: *Ecphonesis of the third prayer.*

"Peace to all,"

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 160-161. The prayers of the office from *Barberini 330* are found in GOAR², pp. 37 (vespers) and 45 (orthros). Other MSS are listed by M. ARRANZ, who has masterfully handled the extremely complex problem of the prayers of Byzantine vespers and matins in two recent articles: *Les prières sacerdotales des vespres byzantines*, *OCP* 37, 1971, pp. 106, 107; Table II; *Les prières presbytérales des matines byzantines* I, *ibid.*, Table II, part III, p. 410; II, *OCP* 38, 1971, p. 67; Schema A and p. 114. On the gradual disappearance of the prayers of the faithful at matins in the MSS cf. *ibid.*, pp. 68-71.

⁵⁸ Cf. LEW, p. 374. Today the litany and prayer over the *illuminandi* is found only in PRES, but it was once in BAS also, as can be seen in the MSS (cf. ORLOV, *Liturgija*, pp. 110-115).

⁵⁹ MATROS (*Célébration* p. 60 note 67) thought that the apolysis was of Palestinian origin and hence extraneous to the pristine cathedral rite of the Great Church, but Arranz's research in the MSS of the office (cf. note 57) does not bear this out.

Deacon: "Bow down our heads to the Lord."

Priest: *Prayer of Inclination*.⁶¹

So originally the offices of the Great Church ended with three prayers of the faithful accompanied by the great synapte with aiteiseis. (Mateos, following Strittmatter, has proven that the repetition of the little synapte to accompany the prayers of the faithful is the result of an abbreviation, beginning with PRES, of the great synapte formerly sung in its entirety, and only once, at this point.⁶¹ Hence we can ignore this repetition of the small synapte in the text above.) A fourth and final prayer of dismissal or prayer of inclination brought the service to a close.

We have also the witness of the 10th century Typicon of the Great Church that vespers and orthros in the rite of Hagia Sophia concluded with the synapte with aiteiseis.⁶² And on days when a special office of readings was celebrated, the gospel was followed by the ektene, synapte with aiteiseis, and the dismissal.⁶³ Can we argue from this to a similar structure after the gospel in the mass? In PRES in several MSS of the 11th-13th centuries we find the following *ordo* after the first prayer of the faithful with small synapte and ecphonesis:

Deacon: "On bended knees again and again ..."

Priest: *Second prayer of the faithful*.

Deacon: "Help, save, have mercy ..." "Sophia."

Priest: *Ecphonesis of the second prayer*.⁶⁴

By comparing this with *terce-sex* of *Sinai Gr. 957* cited above, we might argue that here, too, the aiteiseis were once included in the litany following the command to kneel, thus presenting a structure similar to the office of readings in the Typicon of the Great Church.

The *editio princeps* of PRES (though not in CHR or BAS), presents this *ordo* after the dismissals:

⁶¹ DMITRIEVSKIĬ II, pp. 11-12.

⁶² MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 159-160; STRITTMATTER, *Synapte*, pp. 65-85.

⁶³ Cf. MATEOS, *Typicon* II, p. 297: *εὐχὴ* VII.

⁶⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁶⁵ We are citing *Sinai Gr. 975* (AD 1153), DMITRIEVSKIĬ II, p. 87. Cf. also *Sinai Gr. 966* (13th c.), *ibid.*, p. 207; *959* (11th c.) and *1030* (12-13th c.), STRITTMATTER, *Slavic Peculiarity*, p. 200 note 17. See also PRES of St. James in *Sinai Gr. 1040* (12th c.), DMITRIEVSKIĬ II, pp. 128-129. We have observed a similar *ordo* in PRES in other MSS in the Sinai collection.

Deacon: "All the faithful again and again ..."

Priest: *First prayer of the faithful*.

Deacon: "The eirenika, as in the liturgies of Chrysostom and Basil."

"Help, save, have mercy ..."

"That this whole day ..." (*i. e. the aiteiseis*)

Priest: *Ecphonesis of the first prayer*,

Second prayer of the faithful.

Deacon: "The eirenika as in the others [liturgies]."

"Help, save, have mercy ..." "Sophia."

Priest: *Ecphonesis*.⁶⁵

The strange position of the "angel of peace" litany, attached to the first rather than to the final synapte, is explained by the redaction of CHR in the same source. Here is what Doucas gives us after the dismissal of the catechumens:

"All the faithful again and again ..."

First prayer of the faithful

Then, strangely, the synapte is announced a second time, and its final petitions are given:

"Again and again in peace ..."

"For this holy monastery, every city ..."

"For seasonable weather ..."

"For travellers by sea ..."

"For our deliverance ..."

"Help, save, have mercy ..."

"Sophia."

Ecphonesis of the first prayer

Second prayer of the faithful

"The eirenika" (*which petitions is not specified*)

Ecphonesis of the second prayer

We agree with Strittmatter that what Doucas has done here is provide us with "a maladjustment of the Philothean Constitution."⁶⁶ Philotheus, perhaps in an attempt to restore in part the great synapte that had been replaced by the two little synaptēs, prescribes in his diataxis the following *ordo*:

Deacon: "All the faithful again and again ..."

followed by the next three petitions of the synapte.

⁶⁶ The same is found in PRES in two other Venetian editions (C. Zanetti, 1558, 1562). Cf. STRITTMATTER, *Synapte*, p. 80.

⁶⁷ STRITTMATTER, *Synapte*, p. 77 (cf. pp. 76 ff).

- Priest:* First prayer of the faithful silently, during the synapte. When he is done he signals to the deacon, who immediately intones:
- Deacon:* "Sophia"
- Priest:* Ecphonesis
- Deacon:* "Again and again in peace..." followed by the remaining petitions of the synapte as above, in Doucas.
- "Help, save, have mercy..."
- Priest:* Second prayer of the faithful.
- Deacon:* "Sophia"
- Priest:* Ecphonesis.⁶⁷

Apparently Doucas just omitted the initial three petitions of Philotheus and moved up the last four to before the first ecphonesis. Applying the same reasoning to Doucas' edition of PRES, we could conclude that he was working from a source in which PRES contained an abridged synapte with aiteiseis accompanying the second prayer of the faithful, and that he moved it forward just as he had done in CHR.

Can this be taken as an indication that PRES, and perhaps also BAS and CHR, once had the aiteiseis before the Great Entrance? We do not think so. First, both sources of PRES that we have been discussing, the *editio princeps* and *Sinai Gr. 973*, have the aiteiseis in the usual place after the Great Entrance. Secondly, the *editio princeps* gives the reading τὴν ἡμέραν in the aiteiseis before the entrance, but the usual (for PRES) vespereal reading τὴν ἑσπέραν after the entrance. This is enough to make one sceptical of Doucas' *ordo*. Furthermore, Strittmatter has shown that the custom of reducing the synapte before the Entrance occurred first in PRES,⁶⁸ probably, we suppose, because of the tedious number of litanies in that liturgy especially in the later part of Lent when the litany for the *illuminandi* is added. Only later did CHR and BAS adopt the abbreviation, and the Philothean *ordo* is a later attempt to restore the great synapte to its original place. Hence the reading of the *editio princeps* of PRES, based on the Philothean *ordo*, cannot be considered primitive.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Ed. TREMPERAS, p. 9. Cf. MATEOS, *Célébration*, p. 160.

⁶⁸ STRITTMATTER, *Synapte*, p. 84.

⁶⁹ PRES in *Barberini 336* and *Leningrad 226*, two of our oldest sources, has no aiteiseis before the Great Entrance (*ibid.*, pp. 68-69).

2. Evidence from the Byzantine Liturgical Commentaries

In spite of the seemingly convincing arguments from this comparison of other Oriental liturgies with the Byzantine office, we have no direct evidence whatever that the "angel of peace" litany was once added to the great synapte at the end of the Byzantine Liturgy of the Word⁷⁰ — unless a phrase in the *Protheoria* (1055-1063) is to be interpreted in this way.

The author of the *Protheoria* makes no reference to any litany after the Great Entrance, but he does speak of "the prayers and aiteiseis after the reading of the gospel, before the Cherubic Hymn."⁷¹ This phrase is worthy of close study. It is true that in Byzantine usage αἰτήσεις is used in the broad sense for any prayer of petition including the synapte.⁷² And εὐχή can of course mean any prayer. In the context, however, it is not impossible that εὐχαὶ here means "litanies", and αἰτήσεις the "angel of peace" biddings. In the 10th century typicon of Hagia Sophia αἰτήσεις is used only in reference to the "angel of peace" litany, which is never chanted alone but only as an appendix to the synapte.⁷³ The synapte alone is referred to as συναπτὴ, εὐχὴ συναπτῆ, εὐχὴ συναπτῆ χωρὶς αἰτήσεων, while the synapte with aiteiseis is called εὐχὴ συναπτῆ μετὰ τῶν αἰτήσεων or simply εὐχὴ συναπτῆ.⁷⁴ If we recall that the *Protheoria*

⁷⁰ Our only explicit early source with respect to the prayers said during the Liturgy of the Word in Constantinople is a 6th century letter of some Monophysite bishops resident in the capital. But the document mentions no litanies, and is concerned exclusively with the prayers for and dismissals of the two grades of penitents mentioned in *canon II* of Nicaea (MANSI 2, 673). The source has been published in Syriac with a Latin version by RAHMANI, *Studia Syriaca* 3, pp. 5-23; 23-47 (cf. p. 46), and in French by NAU (*Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, 14, 1909, 39-49; cf. p. 47). BISHOP (*Liturgical Notes and Comments*, JTS 14, 1912-1913, p. 53 note 1) and BAUMSTARK (*Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, Bonn, 1922, p. 175) held that the document also concerns the dismissal of the catechumens — and in fact the prayer for the "hearers" seems clearly to be a prayer for the catechumens. The whole problem is discussed in VAN DE PAVERD, *Messliturgie*, pp. 456-459.

⁷¹ "Αἱ δὲ μετὰ τὴν τῶν θείων Εὐαγγελίων ἀνάγνωσιν εὐχαὶ τε καὶ αἰτήσεις ἕχρι τοῦ χειροβουῦ ὕμνου..." *Protheoria* 17, PG 140, 440 (and cf. 19, PG 140, 444).

⁷² Cf. DU CANGE, *Glossarium*, 37. See also GERMANUS, *HE*, PG 98, 401 (referring to the synapte) and CABASILAS, *Liturgiae expositio* 12, PG 150, 392, 441 (referring to the synapte and intercessions of the anaphora). In codex *Leningrad 226* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 285) the synapte is called "aiteisia of the Trisagion."

⁷³ MATEOS, *Typicon* II, p. 279 (αἰτήσεις).

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, II, p. 297 (εὐχὴ VI, VII). The diataxis of *Ethn. bibl.* 662

describes a pontifical liturgy at Andida in Pamphylia, and that the text shows evidence of the influence of the liturgy of Great Church,⁷⁵ it is not at all unreasonable to interpret the phrase εὐχαί τε καὶ αἰτήσεις as the εὐχὴ συναπτὴ μετὰ τῶν αἰτήσεων of the Typicon of the Great Church. But it is also quite possible that the phrase just means "prayers (of the priest) and litanies" in a general sense. This latter interpretation would seem more probable since the *Protheoria* was written between 1055-1063, and we have earlier evidence from the euchology tradition that the aiteseis at this time were not before the Great Entrance, but exactly where they are found today.⁷⁶ Furthermore, the typicon of Hagia Sophia never mentions the synapte with aiteseis as part of the Liturgy of the Word.

But if the aiteseis were never part of the Liturgy of the Word in CHR and BAS, must we conclude that they were an original part of the pre-anaphoral rites as we find them today? Neither Maximus nor Germanus says a word about any litany or prayer between the Great Entrance and the anaphora. But this proves nothing. Neither do they say anything about any litanies before the Great Entrance; both merely allude to the dismissal of the catechumens.⁷⁷ And the fact that they mention no procomide prayer could be because this is an *accessus ad altare* prayer for the clergy, and was probably said silently. Symeon of Thessalonika mentions the prayer,⁷⁸ but Cabasilas and the interpolated text of Germanus are the first commentators that refer explicitly to a litany.⁷⁹ Their witness, however, is unimportant, for our first euchologies to witness to the litany and prayer antedate these commentaries by centuries.

3. Evidence in the Euchologies

We are concerned here with diakonika, and since the early euchologies — especially those of the Constantinopolitan family —

(ed. TREMPERAS, p. 10) also calls the synapte with aiteseis simply "synapte".

⁷⁵ Cf. BORNERT, *Commentaires*, pp. 199-200.

⁷⁶ Cf. for example the 10th c. codex *Leningrad Gr. 226* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 289); BAS of *Codex Pyromolus* (GOAR³, p. 155) and of the Johannisberg version (COCHLAEUS, *Speculum*, pp. 124-125).

⁷⁷ MAXIMUS, *Myst.* 14-15, 23-24, PG 91, 693-696, 700-704, 708; GERMANUS, *HE*, ed. BORGIA, pp. 28, 32 ff, 40.

⁷⁸ *ET* 84, PG 155, 732.

⁷⁹ CABASILAS, *Liturgiae expositio*, PG 150, 321; GERMANUS, *HE*, PG 98, 425. On the interpolations in GERMANUS see BORNERT, *Commentaires*, pp. 138-140.

contained only a series of prayers said by the priest,⁸⁰ the diakonika being given separately in a διακονικόν or "diaconal" for the deacon,⁸¹ we cannot argue anything from the absence of our litany in a euchology that gives no litanies at all! But from the 10th century on we find our litany, including the aiteseis, in Constantinopolitan and Italian sources of both CHR and BAS.⁸² One of these, codex *Leningrad 226* of the old Italian recension of CHR, gives the *incipits* of our petitions as they are today, with a rubric after petition (3) indicating that the deacon can add whatever other petitions of the synapte he wants.⁸³ More complete is the litany as given in 10th century BAS in the version of Johannisberg, one of our earliest Constantinopolitan sources:

Iteremus postulationem nostram domino, [pro] propositis honorificis muneribus Domino Deo nostro, & pro commodis & bonis animarum nostrarum dominum postulemus. Pop. kyrieleyson.⁸⁴

Note how petitions (1), (2) from the synapte and part of (9) from the aiteseis have been run together into one petition. This is followed by (3), three more petitions of the synapte ("Pro civitate nostra", "Pro temperie bona aeris," "Pro navigantibus"), (4), (5), (6), (7), then (8)-(9) fused:

Indulgentiam & remissionem peccatorum nostrorum, & propiciationem delictorum nostrorum, bona & commoda animabus nostris, et pacem mundi à domino postulemus.

Since the aitesis "Bona et commoda" is also interpolated into the second petition of the parallel litany before the Our Father, and

⁸⁰ E. g. codex *Sevastianov 474* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, pp. 237-280); *Sinai Gr. 958, 959, 961, 962* and other later MSS (cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 206-240 and *passim*). *Paris Gr. 324* (14th c.), which does have diakonika, is an exception in the old Constantinopolitan recension (JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 251).

⁸¹ The diakonika could be included in the euchology as in *Barberini 336* (STRITTMATTER, *Barberinum*, nos. 124, 134, 163, 176, 180, 184, 188, 212, 249, 271, 272, 276, 313, 314, 315) or on a separate roll for the deacon as in *Sinai Gr. 1040* (12th c.), DMITRIEVSKII II, pp. 127-135; *Vat. Gr. 2285A* (12-13th c.).

⁸² Cf. BAS of *Codex Pyromolus* (GOAR³, p. 155) and the version of Johannisberg (COCHLAEUS, *Speculum*, p. 124); codices *Grottaferrata Gb IV* (ff. 7r-8r; 21r); *Gb VII* (ff. 6r-7r); *Leningrad 226* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 289).

⁸³ ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 146; KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 289.

⁸⁴ COCHLAEUS, *Speculum*, p. 124.

joined in the same manner with aitesis (8) ("Indulgentiam..."), the phenomena cannot be judged an accident or a whim of the translator. Could not such weaknesses in so early a Constantinopolitan source betray our litany as a later interpolation that had not yet become a stable part of the text of BAS?

Furthermore, our earliest euchology, codex *Barberini Gr. 336*, has before the Our Father in CHR the following diakonika *incipits*:

Ὁ διάκονος. Πάντων τῶν ἁγίων.
 Ὁ ἱερεὺς μυστικῶς. Σοὶ παρακατατιθέμεθα...
 Ὁ διάκονος. Ἀντιλαβοῦ. Τὴν ἡμέραν πάσαν.
 Ὁ ἱερεὺς. Καὶ καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς.⁸²

The inclusion of the litany is most unusual in this otherwise laconic euchology that indicates none of the other litanies of the mass, and in the text of the liturgy gives no diakonika at all except for the invocations preceding the *pax*, creed, and anaphora dialogue. Why, then, did the copyist include here — and only here — the synapte with aiteseis? Possibly because this litany was a parvenu that had not yet established its rights in this part of liturgy, and so the copyist felt the need to insist on it.

Since this is the earliest evidence we have of this litany in the mass, and since the MS does not indicate it after the Great Entrance but only before the Our Father, can we further infer that at that time the litany was said only there, and not after the Great Entrance too? This is not impossible, of course, but the *argumentum ex silentio* is at best always hazardous. For one could argue equally well that the MS does not indicate the litany after the Great Entrance because there it was already an unchallengeable part of the pre-anaphoral rites. The 11th century roll *Stavrou 109*, which, like *Barberini 336*, contains no diakonika, also gives the *incipit* of the litany before the Our Father but says nothing of it at the Great Entrance. And by that time there is no question but that the litany was found at both places in the Byzantine mass.

Toward the Origins of the Synapte with Aiteseis in the Eucharistic Liturgy

We have no real evidence as to how or whence our litany entered the mass, but we would like to propose a solution that best explains the evidence as we see it. Codex *Barberini Gr. 336* also includes, separate from the text of the liturgy of PRES, diakonika of PRES (f. 261v) containing the "angel of peace" biddings after the entrance of the presanctified gifts, and it seems to us that originally this was the only one of the liturgies to contain these aiteseis. Byzantine PRES is simply vespers plus a communion service, and since the aiteseis are the final petitions in Byzantine orthros and vespers, it is not surprising that we find them in PRES.⁸⁵

This theory that our "angel of peace" litany comes from the conclusion of the office and not from the Liturgy of the Word is confirmed by the fact that the introductory invocation of the litany is that of orthros and vespers, with the reference to "morning" or "evening" prayer suppressed:

Πληρώσωμεν τὴν ἐωθινήν (ἑσπερινήν) δέησιν ἡμῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ.
 "Let us complete (i. e. conclude) our morning (evening) prayer to the Lord."

The morning or evening prayer we are exhorted to conclude with the aiteseis is the litany at the end of the office. To the petitions of the synapte, the *oratio universalis* by which the priestly people intercedes for the needs of the world and church, the faithful add the aiteseis, more personal biddings for the immediate needs of their day-to-day lives as they prepare to leave the synaxis of the faithful. The aiteseis are followed by the prayer of inclination or final blessing and dismissal. This was the normal way of concluding services in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, the Byzantine and Chaldean offices, etc.

That this opening invocation was understood in this way is proven by the old Melkite Syriac MSS of the Byzantine office, which mistranslate δέησιν by *tešmešta*, the common term in the Syrian traditions for the office:

⁸² F. 36r (cf. LEW, pp. 338-339). Note that the folia numbered 35 and 38 are out of order; their proper order is: 34, 36, 35, 38, 37.

⁸⁵ They are not indicated in PRES of the 10th century codex *Sevastianov 474* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenijsa*, p. 282) but this source contains almost no diakonika so nothing can be argued from it.

"Compleamus officium (= tešmešta) nostrum vespertinum Domino."⁸⁷

It seems probable, then, that this litany followed the Great Entrance originally only in PRES, an office formed from vespers where the aiteiseis have their place. Later it was taken over into CHR and BAS. In favor of this hypothesis is the fact that the primitive text of the petitions from the synapte preceding the aiteiseis in PRES does not have the petition "Ὅπως ὁ φιλόανθρωπος" now found in the *textus receptus* of PRES.⁸⁸

That our God, the lover of man, receiving them [the gifts] on His holy and celestial and spiritual altar as a fragrance of spiritual sweetness, may send down upon us in return divine grace and the gift of the Holy Spirit, let us pray.⁸⁹

This petition is one of the primitive biddings of the litany before the Our Father, as can be seen from the *Apostolic Constitutions*, JAS, and the Armenian mass.⁹⁰ Had our litany entered PRES from CHR and not vice-versa, this petition would be found in the early diakonika of PRES — unless of course the litany of PRES is an imitation of the one after the Great Entrance in CHR-BAS, which does not contain this petition. But it does contain the petition Πληρώσωμεν which certainly comes from the office, and probably via PRES, so we can tentatively conclude that with regard to our litany it is PRES that influenced CHR-BAS, and not vice-versa.

Did the litany first appear in CHR-BAS after the Great Entrance or before the *Pater*? In favor of the former is, again, our petition Πληρώσωμεν, which certainly originated in vespers and matins — and vespers are part of PRES. In favor of the theory that the aiteiseis entered the liturgy first before the Our Father,

⁸⁷ Codex Borgia Syr. 13 (f. 117r) and Vat. Syr. 41 (f. 358r). We are grateful to J. Mateos for pointing this out to us.

⁸⁸ E. g. Barberini 336 (f. 291v; cf. STRITTMATTER, *Synapte*, p. 69):

" Ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεθέντων.
 Ὑπὲρ τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων.
 Ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.
 Ἀντιλαβῶ.
 Τὴν ἐσπέραν καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς."

Cf. also codex Burdett-Coudts III, 42 (SWAINSON, *Greek Liturgies*, p. 183).

⁸⁹ LEW, p. 390, 26 ff.

⁹⁰ *Ap. Const.* VIII, 13, 3 (FUNK I, p. 514); LEW, pp. 58, 29-59, 6; 444, 34-445, 6.

then came to be repeated after the Great Entrance, one could argue:

- 1) The litany before the Our Father in CHR and BAS is certainly older than the one after the Great Entrance. Its primitive elements (i. e. minus the aiteiseis) are found in JAS and the Armenian mass, neither of which have the aiteiseis litany after the Great Entrance. Hence a *locus liturgicus* was already prepared to receive the aiteiseis.
- 2) We have evidence for the aiteiseis before the Our Father in CHR and PRES of codex Barberini 336 before we first hear of any litany after the Great Entrance in CHR-BAS.
- 3) In the litany itself there is some textual evidence that the evolution occurred in the direction we have indicated, i. e. that the aiteiseis went from PRES to the already existing litany before the *Pater* in CHR-BAS, then to the Great Entrance in CHR-BAS. We have already seen the argument from petition (1). Petition (2) in some MSS also betrays the influence of the corresponding member in the parallel litany before the Our Father. For instance the 10th century Italo-Greek codex Grottaferrata Gb VII (f. 6r) does not give the present text (Ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεθέντων τιμίων δώρων...) but the text from the parallel litany before the *Pater* (Ὑπὲρ τῶν προσκομισθέντων καὶ ἀγιασθέντων τιμίων δώρων...). Other MSS give variants that show the same influence, as we shall see when we discuss the variants at the end of this chapter. The reading of PRES (Ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεθέντων, καὶ προγιασθέντων τιμίων δωρων...) in the *textus receptus* is of no help. Its προτιθέντων and προγιασθέντων have parallels in variant readings from the eucharistic liturgy. In the absence of a critical study of PRES we have no way of showing whether the PRES reading is the origin of or the result of the other two.

By way of summary, on the basis of what we have seen in CHR of Barberini 336, it would seem that the litany first entered CHR and BAS via PRES before the Our Father (note that the litany after the Entrance and before the Our Father in PRES is one and the same because there is no anaphora; the liturgy goes right from the Great Entrance to the communion rite). Later the litany came to be said after the Great Entrance in CHR and BAS. If we have to hazard a guess as to when this might have occurred, it was probably after 615. In that year, according to the *Chronicon Paschale*, the Great Entrance chant *Nunc virtutes coelorum* was introduced into PRES.⁹¹ So by that time PRES had devel-

⁹¹ PG 92, 989.

Apostolic Constitutions VIII.²²

Missa Clementina: Litany of the Catechumens (VIII, 6, 8, FUNK I, p. 480)	Vespers: Litany of the Faithful (VIII, 36, 3, FUNK I, p. 544)	Orthros: Litany of the Faithful (VIII, 38, 2, FUNK I, p. 546)
1. ἐγείρασθε, οἱ κατηχούμενοι	ἀναστάντες αἰτησώμεθα τὰ ἔλεη τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τοὺς οἰκτιρμοὺς αὐτοῦ	αἰτησώμεθα παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου τὰ ἔλεη αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς οἰκτιρμοὺς αὐτοῦ
2. τὴν εἰρήνην τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ αἰτήσασθε	τὸν ἄγγελον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης	Cf. no. 12
3. om.	τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα	om.
4. Cf. no. 8	χριστιανὰ τὰ τέλη	Cf. no. 13
5. om.	om.	om.
6. εἰρηνικὴν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ ἀναμάρτητον καὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν	τὴν ἑσπέραν καὶ τὴν νύκτα εἰρηνικὴν καὶ ἀναμάρτητον καὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν ἀκατάγνωστον αἰτησώμεθα	τὸν ὄρθρον τοῦτον καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν εἰρηνικὴν καὶ ἀναμάρτητον καὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον τῆς παρατιθῆμίας ἡμῶν
7. om.	om.	om.
8. χριστιανὰ ὑμῶν τὰ τέλη	Cf. no. 4	Cf. no. 13
9. om.	Cf. no. 3	om.
10. Ἰεω καὶ εὐμενῆ τὸν θεόν	om.	Cf. no. 14
11. ἄφρονι πλημμελημάτων	om.	om.
12. Cf. no. 2	Cf. no. 2	τὸν ἄγγελον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης
13. Cf. no. 8	Cf. no. 4	χριστιανὰ τὰ τέλη
14. Cf. no. 10	om.	Ἰεω καὶ εὐμενῆ τὸν θεόν
15. ἐκαστοὺς τῷ μόνῳ ἀγγελλήτῳ θεῷ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ παραθέσθαι	ἐκαστοὺς καὶ ἀλλήλους τῷ ζῶντι θεῷ διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ παραθέσθαι	ἐκαστοὺς καὶ ἀλλήλους τῷ ζῶντι θεῷ διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ παραθέσθαι

²² For the reconstruction of the litany from the *Ap. Const.* and the homilies of Chrysostom, cf. VAN DE PAVERD, *Messliturgie*, p. 160; ENGBERDING, *Aufforderungen*, pp. 8-9.

Chrysostom

Chaldean Mass ²³

In Ep. II ad Cor. Hom. 2, 5-8
(PG 61, 403-404)

(JANERAS, *Introductio* IV, pp. 69-70).

ἐγείρασθε, οἱ κατηχούμενοι

Erigite vos in virtute Dei

τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης αἰτήσατε, οἱ κατηχούμενοι

Prece et imploratione angelum pacis et misericordiae petimus

Cf. no. 9.

om. (but Cf. no. 11)

Cf. no. 8.

om.

εἰρηνικὰ ὑμῖν πάντα τὰ προκειμένα

om.

εἰρηνικὴν τὴν παροῦσαν ἡμέραν καὶ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν αἰτήσασθε

Nocte ac die, omnibus diebus vitae nostrae, pacem continuam Ecclesiae tuae et vitam sine peccato petimus

om.

Concordiam caritatis, quae est vinculum perfectionis in Sp. Sancto, petimus

χριστιανὰ ὑμῶν τὰ τέλη

om.

τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ συμφέρον

om. (but cf. no. 11)

om.

Cf. no. 14.

Cf. below, p. 341

Remissionem peccatorum et ea quae iuvant vitam nostram et placent divinitati tuae petimus

Cf. no. 2

Cf. no. 2.

Cf. no. 8.

om.

om.

Misericordiam Domini et elementiam eius perpetuo omni momento petimus

ἐκαστοὺς τῷ ζῶντι θεῷ καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ αὐτοῦ παραθέσθαι

Nosmetipsos et ad invicem Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto commendemus

²³ GABRIEL QATRAYA (circa 615) testifies to all the petitions except (6); PSEUDO-GEORGE OF ARBELA (9th c.) to all but (7) and (11) (*Anonymi Auctoris Expositio officiorum Ecclesiae Georgio Arbelensi vulgo adscripta*, CSCO 64, 71, Ser. Syri 25, 28 ser. 2, tom. 91, Paris-Leipzig, 1911-1915, I, 91, pp. 143-149 [versio]). Hence the whole litany was east of

oped its Great Entrance, probably in imitation of the eucharistic liturgy, and it is possible that the presence of the "angel of peace" biddings following this entrance in PRES exerted its influence on the ritual of the mass. We realize the conjectural nature of all this; nothing can be demonstrated from such skimpy evidence. But it does seem certain, at least, that our litany has no business being where we find it today.

The Composition of the Aiteseis

In the table above we give the text and sequence of the "angel of peace" litany in the ancient sources. A study of this table will reveal some of the developments undergone by the litany before its entrance into the rite of Constantinople.

The order of petitions 1, 2, 6 and 15 is fixed in almost all the sources. Other petitions that belong to the primitive stratum but appear in varying sequence are Τὰ καλὰ, Χριστιανὰ τὰ τέλη, Ἰησοῦ καὶ εὐμενῆ τὸν θεόν, and Ἀφρῶν πλημμελημάτων. Only petitions 5 and 7 are not found in the *Apostolic Constitutions*. Petition 6, divided into two in today's text, appears consistently as one in the early sources. On the other hand the Chaldean tradition has apparently combined Ἀφρῶν and Τὰ καλὰ (cf. no. 11, last column).

One final source, the Armenian liturgy, has before the transfer of gifts a composite litany comprising petitions from the synapte, aiteseis, and ektone. Here are the final biddings, beginning with what remains of the command to rise. The numbers in parenthesis refer to the corresponding petitions in the table:

- (1) May the almighty Lord save and have mercy.
Response: Lord have mercy.
- (6) That we may pass in peace this hour of holy sacrifice and the day now before us in faith, let us ask the Lord.
R: Grant, O Lord.
- (2) The angel of peace to guard our souls, let us ...
- (11) The remission and forgiveness of our transgressions, let us ...
- (5) † The great and mighty power of the holy cross to help our souls, let us ...
- (7) † Again in one accord by our true and holy faith, let us beseech the Lord.
R: Lord have mercy.
- (15) Let us commit ourselves and one another to the Lord God almighty.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ *Divine Liturgy of the Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Church*, New York, 1950, pp. 50-51; *LEW*, pp. 428-429.

From the response "Grant, O Lord,"⁹⁵ and from the sequence of the petitions, this litany appears to depend on the Byzantine model (cf. next page) with the addition of the petition on the cross peculiar to the Armenians. That may be a reworking of Τὰ καλὰ (table, petition 3). The petition before the final "Let us commend" is similar to the Chaldean petition "*Concordiam caritatis*" (table, no. 7). But it is not found in any of the ancient Greek sources so we have omitted it from column G on the next page. Note the striking similarity between this Armenian petition and the concluding petition of the aiteseis after the anaphora in the Byzantine liturgy:

Beseeching the unity of the faith and the communion of the Holy Spirit let us commend ourselves and one another and all our life to Christ our God.⁹⁶

In fact in the corresponding litany in the Armenian tradition — even in Armenian CHR⁹⁷ — this one Byzantine conclusion is replaced by:

Again in one accord by our true and holy faith let us beseech the Lord.

Let us commit ourselves and one another unto the Lord God almighty.

Have mercy on us, Our Lord God, according to your great mercy, let us all say with one accord.⁹⁸

But since this triplet forms the common finale of the Armenian litanies⁹⁹ it would be hazardous to argue that the first two petitions were originally formed by dividing in two the Byzantine text. In fact the present state of our knowledge of the Armenian tradition and the bewildering variety one finds in the sources make it hazardous to conclude anything definite from Armenian usage.

The following schema is an attempt to reconstruct the original sequence of the petitions common to the ancient Greek and modern sources. The numbers in parentheses refer to the petitions

⁹⁵ The response of the Armenian version also agrees with that of the Byzantine recension. In the *Apostolic Constitutions* the response is *Kyrie eleison* (VIII, 6, 9, FUNK I, p. 480); in the Chaldean recension, *A te, Domine* (*LEW*, p. 266).

⁹⁶ *LEW*, p. 391, 16-20.

⁹⁷ Cf. AUCHER, *Versions arméniennes*, p. 393.

⁹⁸ *Divine Liturgy*, pp. 82-83; *LEW*, p. 445.

⁹⁹ *Divine Liturgy*, pp. 42-43, 50-51, 82-83; *LEW*, pp. 425, 429, 445.

in the table on pp. 336-7. The other numbers refer to the sequence of each bidding in the various sources. The position of a bidding in each source is indicated by a number from 1 to 8 *even though some of the sources do not have all eight petitions*. Thus 7 means that the petition in question is the penultimate, even though the litany in that source may in fact have only 6 members.

Reconstructed sequence:		Sequence in the Sources:						
		A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1.	Command to rise (1)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2.	Angel of peace (2)	2	2	3	2	2	3	3
3.	A peaceful day and all the time of our life (6)	3	5	2	4	3	2,6	2
4.	Christian end (8)	4	4	4	5	om.	7	om.
5.	What is good and profitable (3)	om.	3	om.	6	[6?]	5	[5?]
6.	Remission of sins (11)	7	om.	om.	om.	6	4	4
7.	A merciful God (10)	6	om.	7	om.	7	om.	om.
8.	Let us commend (15)	8	8	8	8	8	8	8

A = *Missa Clementina*
 B = *Ap. Const. vespers*
 C = *Ap. Const. orthros*
 D = Homily of Chrysostom
 E = Chaldean liturgy
 F = Byzantine *textus receptus*
 G = Armenian Liturgy

The sources favor three petitions as the fixed opening of the litany, and the final "Let us commend ourselves..." as the universal conclusion. The evidence for the number and sequence of the other petitions inserted between these fixed points is considerably weaker, and probably indicates an early freedom in adding petitions *ad libitum* in the second part of the litany. The *Apostolic Constitutions* and Chrysostom's homily do not cite the petitions in full except, perhaps, for petitions 1, 2, 6 and 15. The angel of peace biddings later underwent some further developments, as can be seen in later sources, but the substance of the petitions has been left intact. And if what Engberding said about the original scope of the litany as a litany for the catechumens is true, the use of the second person is the *Urform*.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ ENGBERDING, *Aufforderungen*, pp. 9-10.

J. Mateos has shown how the petition 'Αντιλαβοῦ developed from the old command to rise at the end of a litany chanted over the kneeling people.¹⁰¹ Compare, for example, today's text with these texts from the *Apostolic Constitutions* VIII:

Today: Ἀντιλαβοῦ, σῶσον, ἐλέησον, καὶ διαφύλαξον ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός, τῇ σῆ χάριτι.

For the illuminandi (8, 3, FUNK I, p. 484): σῶσον καὶ ἀνάστησον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ σῆ χάριτι.

For the faithful at matins (38, 1, FUNK I, p. 546): σῶσον αὐτοὺς, ὁ θεός, καὶ ἀνάστησον ἐν τῇ χάριτι σου.

After the anaphora (13, 9, FUNK I, p. 516): ἀνάστησον ἡμᾶς, ὁ θεός, ἐν τῇ χάριτι σου.

Once the custom of kneeling during the litanies died out, the text of the command was rewritten into a petition, but it has retained its original position at the end of the synapte.

In the *Missae Clementina* the traditional petition for the angel of peace has been modified by the redactor, who probably based his revision on the customary ending of the diaconal petitions in other litanies of the same source: δεηθῶμεν τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ.¹⁰² In doing so he has destroyed the substance of the petition.

The petition for the forgiveness of sins (modern text, no. 8) is not found in the "angel of peace" biddings in Chrysostom's homily, but he gives it in the litany over the catechumens:

Ἴνα καταξιῶσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐν καιρῷ εὐθέτω τῆς τοῦ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας, τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν.¹⁰³

This is probably the pristine sense of the petition. In the *textus receptus* it has been taken out of its original context.

The petition for a peaceful day and life (table, no. 6) has been divided in the modern version (cf. modern text above, p. 312, nos. 6 and 10), the second part being expanded and placed before the petition for a Christian end, which in turn has developed to include the petition for a favorable sentence at the last judgement. These rearrangements in sequence were probably dictated by the desire to put the final petitions in climactic order:

¹⁰¹ *Célébration*, pp. 165-166.

¹⁰² Cf. *Ap. Const.* VII, 10, 2 (FUNK I, p. 488) and ENGBERDING, *Aufforderungen*, p. 11.

¹⁰³ PG 61, 402.

- the rest of our life in repentance,
- unto a Christian end,
- with a favorable last judgement.

The petition *Ὡρα καὶ κόμην τὸν θεόν* (table, no. 10) is found twice in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, and in the Chaldean recension, and so must be part of the *Urtext*. It is not in the modern redaction, but it has left traces in the diaconal petitions of the *λετή* of Byzantine vespers and in the rite of the blessing of the waters of the Nile.¹⁰⁴

The traditional concluding formula *ἐκρυτούς καὶ ἀλλήλους* (table, no. 10) has recently been studied by H. Engberding and J. Mateos.¹⁰⁵ According to Mateos the parallels he cites from Justin's *Apology* and the various formulae in the *Apostolic Constitutions* seem to indicate that we have to do here with a very ancient stereotyped formula perhaps originally connected with baptism.¹⁰⁶ This formula, expressing the dispositions of abandonment and confidence necessary for prayer, is a fitting exhortation before any oration, especially one to be said aloud for the people.¹⁰⁷ In the modern text this formula is always found appended to a commemoration of the Virgin and saints, or to some other petition as in the litanies after the anaphora and after communion. A glance at the table or at the parallel formula in the Armenian liturgy will suffice to show that these commemorations are later additions.

Variants in the Byzantine Litany after the Great Entrance¹⁰⁸

The variants found in various versions and redactions of the Byzantine text of the litany are relatively minor. Some are obviously errors of the copyist, as when he omits a word that is found in the same petition before the Our Father. These we shall ignore. The others we shall list according to our numeration in the *textus receptus* cited in full at the beginning of this chapter.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. ENGBERDING, *Aufforderungen*, p. 14, and the texts that he cites from GOAR², p. 33 and DMITRIEVSKIĬ II, p. 688.

¹⁰⁵ ENGBERDING, *Aufforderungen*, pp. 3 ff; MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 166-167.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 166-168 and the texts he cites from *Apol.* I, 14 (PG 6, 384), 25 (*ibid.*, 385), 49 (*ib.*, 401), 61 (*ib.*, 420); *Ap. Const.* VIII, 6, 8 (FUNK I, p. 480), 10, 22 (p. 492), 13, 9 (p. 516); 14, 3 (p. 518), 36, 3 (p. 544), 38, 2 (p. 546).

¹⁰⁷ MATEOS, *Célébration*, p. 167.

¹⁰⁸ For variants in the synapte, see STRITTMATTER, *Synapte*, pp. 54 ff.

1. Πληρώσωμεν:

The older Georgian version of CHR gives "*Perficiamus precationem nostram cum-pace*" (= *ἐν εἰρήνῃ* as in the first member of the synapte).¹⁰⁹ The more recent Georgian version of codex *Graz Georg. 5* has the usual "*Compleamus orationem nostram Domino*."¹¹⁰ The Armenian version of CHR inserts this petition after (1): "Because heaven and earth are filled with your glory (Is. 6:3) let us pray to the Lord."¹¹¹ The same reading is found appended to (1) in Georgian PRES.¹¹² BAS in the version of Johannisberg (cited above) joins petitions (1), (2), and (9).

2. Ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεθέντων τιμίων δώρων:

To *προτεθέντων* several MSS add *καὶ ἀγιαζομένων* probably inspired by *ἀγιασθέντων* in the corresponding petition of the synapte with *aiteiseis* before the Our Father.¹¹³ In fact the 10th century Italian codex *Grottaferrata Gb VII* has the reading of the litany before the Our Father (f. 6r): Ὑπὲρ τῶν προσκομισθέντων καὶ ἀγιασθέντων τιμίων δώρων, as does the version of Pelargus (*ante* 1030)¹¹⁴ and Georgian CHR of *Graz Georg. 5* (13th c.).¹¹⁵ Other codices read *προσενεχθέντων καὶ ἀγιαζομένων*,¹¹⁶ or simply *τεθέντων*.¹¹⁷

3. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου οἴκου:

10th century Constantinopolitan BAS in the version of Johannisberg omits petition (3) of the synapte but adds three others: "*Pro civitate nostra*," "*Pro temperie bona aeris*," "*Pro nauigantibus*."¹¹⁸ The version of Pelargus also

¹⁰⁹ JACOB, *Version géorgienne*, p. 102 (cf. p. 88).

¹¹⁰ TARCHNISVILI, *Liturgiae ibericae*, p. 56.

¹¹¹ AUCHER, *Versions arméniennes*, p. 385.

¹¹² TARCHNISVILI, *Liturgiae ibericae*, p. 73.

¹¹³ E. g. *Leningrad 226* (KRASNOSIEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 289); *Karlsruhe EM 6* (ENGELH., pp. 20, 60); and MSS in ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 144; TREMPÉLAS, pp. 86, 170. The *Seymour Euchology* and *Modena 9* have *καὶ ἁγίων*.

¹¹⁴ PELARGUS, *Liturgia*, f. C2v (cf. f. D2v).

¹¹⁵ TARCHNISVILI, *Liturgiae ibericae*, p. 56 (cf. p. 60).

¹¹⁶ *Grottaferrata Gb IV*, f. 21r; *Zd II*, f. 64v; *Barberini Gr. 316*, f. 17v (this codex also adds "... pray to the Lord our God" at the end of the petition); *Grottaferrata Codex Arsenii*, (AD 1001), GOAR², p. 151D (on this lost MS of BAS and Goar's error in dating it AD 1141, cf. STRITTMATTER, *Synapte*, pp. 89-90 and note 18); and other sources of BAS in ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 144. Compare also the reading in the (interpolated) text of GERMANUS, *HE*, PG 98, 425: "Ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεχθέντων τιμίων δώρων."

¹¹⁷ Cf. codices *Grottaferrata Gb XX* (11th c. BAS, f. 37v) and *Oxford Cromwell II* (p. 34). See also TREMPÉLAS, p. 170; ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 144.

¹¹⁸ COCHLARUS, *Speculum*, p. 124.

omits (3) and adds three: for the bishop, for the sovereigns, and for victory.¹¹⁹ But almost all sources with diakonika give at least petitions (3) and (4) from the synapte. Several early sources also insert between (3) and (4) some of the other petitions of the great synapte found today at the beginning of the liturgy. E. g. the 10th century *Grottaferrata Gb IV* (f. 21r) and the 12th century *Gb VIII* (f. 22v) add the two petitions for the bishop and sovereign; the 10th century *Gb VII* (f. 6r) the three for the sovereign, for victory, and for the city. The 11th century roll *Parma 1217/2* and BAS in the *Grottaferrata Codex Arsenii* (AD 1001) have all the usual petitions after (3) at this point of the great synapte except the one for the bishop.¹²⁰ *Lenin-grad Gr. 226* leaves it to the deacon to add these petitions if he wishes.¹²¹

4. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ βυσθῆσαι ἡμᾶς :

The ancient Arabic version of CHR omits (4) in the synapte with aiteseis both before and after the anaphora.¹²² The version of Leo Tuscan has it in our litany but not in the parallel litany after the anaphora.¹²³ Most codices omit κωνδόνου as does the Slavonic *textus receptus*. But it is found in the versions of Johannisberg, Pelargus and Leo Tuscan.¹²⁴

5. Ἀντιλαβὸς :

The old Arabic version also omits (5), but this must be an error of the copyist or translator, because it is included in the parallel synapte with aiteseis following the anaphora.¹²⁵ No other source omits it, and as we have seen, it is very ancient.

6. Τὴν ἡμέραν πᾶσαν :

Armenian CHR has borrowed the adaptation of this petition to the mass that is peculiar to that tradition: "That we may pass in peace the hour of this holy sacrifice

¹¹⁹ PELARGUS, *Liturgia*, f. C2v.

¹²⁰ For *Codex Arsenii*, cf. GOAR², p. 151D. For the petitions see LEW, p. 363, 4-16. Brightman does not include the petition for victory, which however is found in *Parma 1217-2. Codex Arsenii* omits (3).

¹²¹ KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 289.

¹²² BACHA, *Versions arabes*, pp. 458, 465.

¹²³ JACOB, *Toscan*, pp. 151, 157.

¹²⁴ COCHLAEUS, *Speculum*, p. 124 (but not after the anaphora); PELARGUS, *Liturgia*, f. C2v; JACOB, *Toscan*, p. 151.

¹²⁵ BACHA, *Versions arabes*, pp. 458, 465.

and the day now before us in faith."¹²⁶ The phrase "the day now before us" is comparable to the reading in Chrysostom's homily (table, no. 6).

7. Ἀγγελὸν εἰρήνης :

Armenian CHR follows the Armenian *textus receptus* in omitting καὶ τῶν σωμάτων.¹²⁷

8. Συγγνώμην καὶ ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν :

Sinai Gr. 973 (f. 7v) omits (8). So does BAS of *Geneva Gr. 27A* (15th century), though it does have aitesis (8) in the litany before the Our Father. Since this roll gives only the *incipits*, (8) may have been joined to (7) as in *Geneva Gr. 24*, a 15th century roll of CHR: "... σωμάτων καὶ ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ συγχώρησιν τῶν πλημμελημάτων." Here too, this reading appears only in the aiteseis after the Great Entrance, not in the corresponding aiteseis before the Our Father.

The reading καὶ συγχώρησιν τῶν πλημμελημάτων or similar variants occur in a few other sources.¹²⁸

Armenian CHR adds after (8) the petition for the power of the cross proper to the Armenian tradition.¹²⁹

9. Τὰ καλὰ καὶ συμφέροντα :

As we have seen in the text cited earlier in this chapter, BAS of the version of Johannisberg joins part of this aitesis to petitions (1)-(2) as well as here to petition (8).¹³⁰

Oriental variant :

Several Oriental MSS of CHR add after (4) a petition not found in this litany in sources of the other MS traditions. The earliest source in which we have found it is the version of Pelargus, from the *Sinaitic Codex S. Simeonis* (ante AD 1030):

*Pro omnibus quibus à domino auxilio opus est & defensione, dominum rogemus.*¹³¹

¹²⁶ AUCHER, *Versions armena*, p. 386; and cf. the Armenian aiteseis cited above p. 338.

¹²⁷ *Loc. cit.*

¹²⁸ *Grottaferrata Gb IV* (f. 8r: BAS); *Gb VII* (f. 6v); *British Museum Harl. 5561* (f. 13r); *St. Petersburg Imperial Library 563* (16th c.), ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 154; *Lenin-grad 226*, KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 289; PELARGUS, *Liturgia*, f. C3r. But the latter version omits (8) in the parallel litany after the anaphora (f. D3r).

¹²⁹ Cf. note 126.

¹³⁰ COCHLAEUS, *Speculum*, p. 124, cited above, p. 331.

¹³¹ PELARGUS, *Liturgia*, f. C2v.

Georgian CHR in the 11th century codex *Sinai Georg. 89* gives the *incipit* of this petition after (4) in our litany as well as in several others that include petitions from the great synapte: "*Et propter omnes qui petunt a Domino.*"¹³² In the ektene the *incipit* has the variant *a Deo*,¹³³ which agrees with the reading found in the great synapte of the later version in *Graz Georg. 5*: "*Et pro omnibus qui a Deo exposculant auxilium et susceptionem, Dominum (prececur).*"¹³⁴ In the litany after the Great Entrance Tarchnišvili in his edition joins the *incipit* of this petition to the *incipit* of the preceding one (4), but they are evidently two separate *incipits*.¹³⁵

The only Greek MS we have found with this petition after (4) in our litany is the 12th century roll *Oxford Bodleian Add. E. 12*, which gives the *incipit* in CHR: Ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν χρηζόντων. But in two 10th century MSS of the ancient Italian recension of CHR, *Leningrad Gr. 226*¹³⁶ and *Grottaferrata Gb VII* (f. 3v), and also in *Vatican Gr. 1970*,¹³⁷ it appears in the ektene, and the ancient Arabic version of CHR has it in the initial great synapte.¹³⁸

In spite of its relative infrequency in Greek sources of CHR it occurs commonly in other Byzantine services in the earliest Greek codices beginning with the office of the dedication of a church in *Barberini Gr. 336*:

Καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν χρηζόντων τῆς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ βοήθειας καὶ ἀντιλήψεως τοῦ κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.¹³⁹

It is also found among the diakonika of the Egyptian liturgical fragments edited by Giorgi — here too it comes after (4) — in almost the same redaction as in *Grottaferrata Gb VII* (f. 3v) except for the omission of the initial καί:

¹³² JACOB, *Version géorgienne*, p. 99; cf. pp. 89, 93, 96, 102, 111.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

¹³⁴ TARCHNIŠVILI, *Liturgias ibericas*, p. 49 [86].

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, Georgian text p. 74.

¹³⁶ KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 287.

¹³⁷ STRITTMATTER, *Synapte*, p. 71 note 27.

¹³⁸ BACHA, *Versions arabes*, p. 444: "Prions le Seigneur pour tous ceux qui ont besoin du secours et de la victoire [naṣr] divine." Bacha (p. 470, n. 4) mistakenly thought that this petition was not found in any other Byzantine liturgy. BRIGHTMAN (*JTS* 12¹, 1910-1911, p. 308) was the first to correct this error and to point out on the basis of the original Greek that "naṣr" should be translated "aide" not "victoire".

¹³⁹ STRITTMATTER, *Synapte*, p. 71 note 27. See also the rite of episcopal ordination, GOAR², p. 250 (misnumbered 244) and other references in STRITTMATTER *loc. cit.*

Ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν χρηζόντων τῆς σῆς, Κύριε, βοήθειας [καὶ] ἀντιλήψεως, δεόμεθά σου, ἐπάκουσον καὶ ἐλέησον.¹⁴⁰

Giorgi dates these fragments as early 5th century, which seems to us hardly probable although we have not had the opportunity to go into the question.

10. Τὸν ὑπόλοιπον χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν:

The Arabic version of Bacha has "in faith" instead of "in peace and repentance".¹⁴¹ The version of Johannisberg also omits "repentance" (μετανοία).¹⁴² Some sources give the reading of JAS: ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὑγείᾳ ἐκτελέσῃ ἡμᾶς παρὰ...¹⁴³

11. Χριστιανὰ τὰ τέλη τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν:

The version of Leo Tuscan has "bonum finem" and omits εἰρηανά,¹⁴⁴ as do many Greek MSS. And a few other sources vary and multiply the epithets in this petition.¹⁴⁵

12. Τῆς παναγίας:

In some MSS of CHR the commemoration of the saints includes a mention of St. John Chrysostom by name, probably because it is at this point in the liturgy that the anaphora attributed to him began, according to the old titles of the procomide prayer.¹⁴⁶ Codex *Grottaferrata Gb VII* (f. 7r), on the other hand, includes the heavenly powers. Most MSS omit ἐνδόξου, and the version of Johannisberg reduces the epithets to two: "Sanctae & intemeratae domiatricis nostrae..."

¹⁴⁰ A. A. GIORGI, *Fragmentum evangelii Johannis graeco-copto-thebaicum saeculi IV...*, Romae, 1780, p. 362, reprinted by C. E. HAMMOND, *The Ancient Liturgy of Antioch and other Liturgical Fragments*, Oxford, 1879, p. 38. Cf. STRITTMATTER, *loc. cit.* *Gb VII* repeats Κύριε after σου.

¹⁴¹ BACHA, *Versions arabes*, p. 458.

¹⁴² COCHLAEUS, *Speculum*, p. 124.

¹⁴³ *Grottaferrata Gb IV*, f. 8r (BAS); *Gb VII*, f. 6v; *Karlsruhe EM 6*, ENGDahl, p. 21 (but not in BAS, p. 61). Cf. JAS, MERCIER, p. 174, 16.

¹⁴⁴ JACOB, *Toscan*, p. 151.

¹⁴⁵ BAS in the version of Johannisberg (COCHLAEUS, *Speculum*, p. 125) and in codices *Grottaferrata Gb IV* (f. 8r) and *Gb VII* (f. 6v); PELARGUS, *Liturgia*, f. C3v; *Karlsruhe EM 6* (CHR and BAS, ENGDahl, pp. 21, 61); JAS (MERCIER, p. 174, 18); etc.

¹⁴⁶ *Grottaferrata Gb III* (*Gb XII* extends the practice to BAS; cf. STRITTMATTER, *Synapte*, p. 64); *Vat. Gr. 1863*; Georgian CHR of codex *Graz Georg. 5* (TARCHNIŠVILI, *Liturgias ibericas*, p. 57, and cf. pp. 50, 51). Such additions are commonplace in JAS (cf. MERCIER, p. 166, 26ff). For variants in this petition in other litanies, see STRITTMATTER, *Synapte*, pp. 55 ff.

From this rapid survey it is apparent that almost all the significant variants are Orientalisms found in the Oriental versions or in the Italo-Greek MSS. The only Constantinopolitan variants are Leo Tuscan's "*bonum finem*" (II) and the variants in BAS in the version of Johannisberg. The oldest sources of both the Constantinopolitan and Italian traditions show uncertainty regarding the number of petitions from the synapte to be included in our litany. In the only other two litanies of the liturgy that show this same phenomenon, the *ektene* and the great synapte just before the Great Entrance, it was indicative of a later change, in one case the addition, in another the disappearance of the litany.¹⁴⁷ Perhaps the same conclusion is to be drawn here. If so, it confirms what we have already tried to show: that the synapte with *aiteiseis* is a later addition to the mass.

CONCLUSION

In some ancient sources the *aiteiseis* appear as a litany of dismissal over the catechumens — apparently this was their *Sitz im Leben* — and, in the office at least, at the end of the litany of the faithful. Furthermore, some extant rites have the angel of peace biddings at the end of the Liturgy of the Word. In our mass the actual location of these biddings in a litany after the Great Entrance is an unusual liturgical phenomenon demanding explanation. So we were forced to consider whether or not the synapte with *aiteiseis* once came before the entrance, in the litanies that conclude the Liturgy of the Word. We found no evidence for it in the litany over the catechumens. An argument could be made from the fact that the *aiteiseis* did accompany the prayers of the faithful in the office of the Great Church, and may also have concluded the litany of the faithful in the mass. But the complete absence of any direct evidence, plus the testimony of the *Apostolic Constitutions* that the presence of the *aiteiseis* in the litany of the faithful of the office is no proof for the same usage at mass, induced us to reject this theory.

How, then, do we explain the presence of the *aiteiseis* in today's Byzantine eucharist? The evidence of codex *Barberini Gr. 336*, which indicates the *aiteiseis* before the Our Father but not after the Great Entrance, and a certain instability in the text of the litany itself, led us to surmise that the litany does not belong

¹⁴⁷ Cf. MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 148 ff. 159-160.

to the primitive rite of the mass. The introductory invocation of the litany betrays its place of origin as the end of the office. And since PRES is made up of vespers and a communion service, with the latter comprising a Great-Entrance and Our-Father rite modelled on the mass, we suggested PRES as the vehicle whereby the angel of peace biddings entered the mass, first before the Our Father, then after the Great Entrance. Certain variants in the litany in both CHR and PRES seem to support this idea.

A glance at the more significant variants in the text of the litany has confirmed what we have often observed already: that the Italo-Greek tradition is shot through with Orientalisms. Variants in the oldest Constantinopolitan text, on the other hand, have been taken as possible evidence that this litany was a late-comer to the formularies of BAS and CHR.

But in all this the absence of any direct, unambiguous evidence leaves us in the realm of conjecture, groping to reduce possibilities to probabilities, with little hope of arriving at any certainty.

CHAPTER X

THE PRAYER OF THE PROSCOMIDE

The prayer accompanying the litany just discussed reads as follows:

- 1 Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ μόνος ἁ-
γιος, ὁ δεχόμενος θυσίαν αἰνέσεως παρά τῶν
ἐπικαλουμένων σε ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ, πρόσδεξαι καὶ
ἡμῶν τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν τὴν δέησιν, καὶ προσ-
5 ἀγαγε τῷ ἁγίῳ σου Θυσιαστηρίῳ· καὶ ἱκάνω-
σον ἡμᾶς προσενεγκεῖν σοὶ δῶρά τε καὶ θυσίας
πνευματικὰς, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀμαρτημάτων
καὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγνοημάτων. Καὶ καταξίωσον
ἡμᾶς εὐρεῖν χάριν ἐνώπιόν σου, τοῦ γενέσθαι
10 σοὶ εὐπρόσδεκτον τὴν θυσίαν ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐπισκη-
νώσαι τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτός σου τὸ ἀγαθὸν
ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα,
καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα τὸν λαόν σου.
15 Ἐκφώνησις·
Διὰ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου Υἱοῦ,
μεθ' οὗ εὐλογητὸς εἶ, σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγα-
θῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου Πνεύματι, νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ,
καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Amos 4:13
Hebr. 13:15
Ps. 9:2

Hebr. 5:1; 1 Pet
2:5
Hebr. 9:7,
4:16
1 Pet. 2:5
Hebr. 10:29

The Text

Little need be said about the text of the prayer. It is extremely stable with very few exceptions. For example our earliest codices of the ancient Italian and Constantinopolitan recensions, *Barberini Gr. 336*, and *Sevastianov 474* differ from the *textus receptus* only in omitting τε (line 6) and σοί (line 10).¹ The omission of τε is surprising, since it is found in Hebr. 5:1 from which the phrase is taken. Most other earlier codices we have controlled

¹ Cf. LEW, p. 319, 14 and 19; KRASNOSSEL'CEV, *Svedenijsa*, pp. 247-8.

follow these MSS in omitting both,² or only one.³ We find the *textus receptus verbatim* in the 12th century *Paris Gr. 328* (pp. 37-39).

Isolated variants do appear especially at a later period when some medieval copyists began to exercise their fantasy in a few codices.⁴ None of the variants, however, except the omission of τε and σοί, represent any more than isolated aberrations.

The Proskomide Prayer an Offertory Prayer?

1. The Introductory Invocation of the Litany

The first member of the litany accompanying the proskomide prayer, "For the precious gifts offered (προτιθέντων) let us pray to the Lord," would appear to be the introductory invocation of an offertory prayer or rite. Actually, as Mateos points out,⁵ the verb in question, προτίθημι, is used by analogy with the LXX "bread of the prothesis" or "Shewbread" (Ex 25:30, cf. Mt 12:4, Mk 2:26, Lk 6:4, Hebr 9:2). The loaves are "set before" (προθήσεται) Jahweh" (Lev 24:8). So the verb in question does not necessarily mean "offered" in our modern sense of the liturgical "offertory", but rather "set-out," "exposed,"

² E. g. *Sinai Gr. 958*, 11th c., (f. 37r) and *962*, 11-12th c., (f. 18r); *Seymour Euchology*, 12th c. (f. 30v); *Oxford Bodleian Add. E.12*, 12th c. (roll), and *Cromwell II*, A. D. 1225, (p. 34); *Athens Ethn. bibl. 685* (15th c., TREMPPELAS, p. 87 sig. K).

³ τε: the 11th century MSS *Sinai Gr. 959*, *Stavrou 109*, *Paris Gr. 391*; *Sinai Gr. 973* (AD 1153); *Oxford Bodleian Auct. E.5.13*, (12th c.). There are also a few MSS that omit only σοί: *Paris Coislin Gr. 214*, (12th c.); *Sinai Gr. 1036*, (12-13th c.); *Athens Ethnikē bibl. 661*, (15th c.) and *776* (16-17th c.) in TREMPPELAS, p. 87, sig. I, N.

⁴ For example the 11th century *Sinai Gr. 959* (f. 24v.) omits τὸ ἀγαθὸν (line 11), and *Grottaferrata Gb XV* (f. 4r.) has ἱκάνωσον με (line 6); the 12-13th century *Sinai Gr. 961* (f. 21v) omits πνευματικὰς (line 7). The 13th century *British Museum Cod. Harl. 5561* (f. 13r) adds to the end of the prayer, before the ephonesis: τὸν ἀπεκδεχόμενον τὸ παρά σου πλοῦσιον ἔσος. And *Oxford Bodleian Cromwell II* (AD 1225) adds to line 2: ἅγιος καὶ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος (= Is. 57:15), as in the *Nemo dignus* prayer (= LEW, p. 318, 20). *Taphou 520* (13-14th century) adds προσάγαγε αὐτήν (l. 5), a variant we shall discuss below. *Modena 19* (f. 12r) omits ἡμᾶς (l. 9) and ἐφ' ἡμᾶς (l. 12). *Sabas 382* (15-16th c.) has after the title of the prayer: "Let us pray to the Lord. Kyrie eleison" (f. 24v). TREMPPELAS (p. 87) notes the variants of a few other MSS.

⁵ *L'action du Saint-Esprit dans la liturgie dite de S. Jean Chrysostome*, POC 9, 1959, pp. 194-195. Cf. the same article, (pp. 195-197, 199) for a study of the theology of the action of the Holy Spirit in the eucharist as expressed in the proskomide prayer.

"presented" and would better be translated "For the precious gifts here before us (or "here present") let us pray to the Lord."

2. The Title of the Prayer

But what of the title of the prayer itself? It is traditionally called $\text{Εὐχὴ τῆς προσκομιδῆς}$, which is generally understood to mean "offertory prayer," i. e. a "prayer of oblation" parallel to the old Latin *oratio super oblata* or *secrta*. For example de Meester, referring to our prayer, comments: "Avant l'introduction de celle de la Prothèse, elle [= la prière de la proskomidie] constituait l'oblation de la matière du sacrifice."⁶ And he offers in support of his view a rubric that follows the prayer in codex *Sinai Gr. 973* (AD 1153): $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \sigma\upsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\iota\zeta\omega\nu\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \delta\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha,\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\ \delta\ \delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\lambda\alpha\beta\omicron\upsilon\ \dots$ ⁷

However, since Mateos' study of the text of this prayer, and Jacob's confirmatory investigations into the meaning of its title, this opinion is no longer tenable.⁸

3. A Problem in the Text of the Prayer

As Mateos has shown, the problem arises from one brief clause in the Greek text: $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\upsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\ \tau\acute{\omega}\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omega\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha\sigma\tau\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\omega$ (lines 4-5). The crucial word is the verb $\pi\upsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$ in the second aorist imperative form without complement. Since the verb, being transitive, demands an object, almost all translators, ancient and modern, have opted for $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$ in the preceding clause, and translate the triplet more or less as follows:

Accept also the prayer of us sinners,
and bring it to your holy altar,
and make us worthy to offer you gifts and spiritual sacrifices.⁹

⁶ DE MEESTER, *Origines*, p. 334. Cf. also GOAR², p. 115 n. 115: "Huic similes secretas habent Latini." It is also held to be an offertory prayer by, among others, LIETZMANN, *Messe und Herrenmahl* pp. 81 ff; HANSSSENS, *Institutiones III*, p. 579; SCHULZ, *Liturgie*, p. 25; SOLOVEY, *The Byzantine Divine Liturgy*, pp. 242-243; KUCHAREK, *Byzantine-Slav Liturgy*, pp. 515 ff.

⁷ DE MEESTER, *Origines*, p. 334. For the rubric cf. DMPRIEVSKIJ II, p. 84.

⁸ MATEOS, *Deux problèmes*, pp. 248-253 (reprinted in *Célébration*, pp. 174-179, which we shall cite henceforth); JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 282, 472-475. Except for some complementary arguments drawn from JACOB or from our own research, this section is completely dependent on the article of MATEOS.

⁹ Cf. the following versions: *The Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*

The Arabic version of CHR edited by Bacha also translates the text in this way, as does the version of Pelargus ("suscipe ... hanc deprecationem, & adducito eam in sanctum altare tuum").¹⁰ The Slavonic *textus receptus* has "*primi i nas grešnych molenije, i prinesi ko svjatomu tvoemu žertvenniku*," in which "*prinesi*" can govern only "*molenija*."¹¹ For a personal object the verb "*priversti*" would have been used. But the old Armenian translation of CHR simply follows the Greek and provides no object for the aorist singular imperative *mato*.¹² The pronominal object added by Aucher in his Italian translation ("accetta pure le suppliche di noi peccatori, e le reca sull'altare...")¹³ is not found in the Armenian. The version of Leo Tuscan also translates the Greek text by not supplying any complement, but prejudices the issue all the same by using "offer" to translate $\pi\upsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon$.

Suscipe preces nostras
et offer sancto altari tuo
et fac nos dignos offerre tibi dona ...¹⁴

The earliest MS of Tuscan's version, codex *Admont 125* (late 12th c.), resolves the obscurity by simply omitting "et offer".¹⁵

H. Lietzmann, who also presumed the proskomide prayer to be an offertory prayer with $\pi\upsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon$ governing $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$, had the perspicacity to see that such a petition is foreign to a prayer that

(London, The Faith Press, n. d.), p. 31; *The Byzantine Liturgy* (New York, John XXIII Center, 1956), p. 40; J. RAYA and J. DE VINCK, *Byzantine Daily Worship* (Allendale, New Jersey, 1969), p. 280; MERCIER, *La prière des églises de rite byzantin* (Chevetogne, 1947) I, p. 248; V. I. GHICA, *La messe byzantine dite de S. Jean Chrysostome* (Lille, n. d.) p. 36; N. EDELBY, *Liturgicon* (Beyrouth, 1960), p. 442; K. ORT, S. J., *Die göttliche Liturgie unseres heiligen Vaters Johannes Chrysostomus* (München, 1955), p. 35; S. HEITZ, *Der orthodoxe Gottesdienst* (Mainz, n. d.) I, pp. 238-239; *Handbuch für rechtgläubige (orthodoxe) Christen* (Jordanville, N. Y., 1961), p. 115; DE MEESTER, *La santa liturgia di S. Giovanni Crisostomo* (Roma, 1958), p. 30; *La divina liturgia del santo nostro padre Giovanni Crisostomo* (Roma, 1967) pp. 93-94.

¹⁰ *Versions arabes*, p. 429; PELARGUS, *Liturgia*, f. C3r.

¹¹ It is thus in the *editio princeps* (Venice, 1519), but the Slavonic text in the MSS abounds in variants, and has been subject to constant revisions. For example the 14th century *Služebnik of Vladimir* has "*pričti*" in place of "*primi*" (cf. KOVALIV, *Molitvenik*, f. 20r).

¹² CATERGIAN-DASHIAN, p. 370, l. 286.

¹³ *Versions armene*, p. 386.

¹⁴ JACOB, *Toscan*, p. 152. The same translation is given by GOAR², p. 59.

¹⁵ JACOB, *Toscan*, p. 152, 29 A in the apparatus.

should be concerned with offering the concrete gifts presented by the community (i. e. bread and wine) and not their prayers.¹⁶

A solution preferred by others is to refer προσάγαγε not to δέξω in the preceding clause, but to ἡμᾶς — i. e. the celebrants — in the one that follows:

καὶ προσάγαγε τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ
καὶ ἰκάνωσον ἡμᾶς προσενηκεῖν σοι δῶρα ...

As far as we have been able to determine, R. Storf deserves credit for first interpreting the prayer in this sense:

... nimm die Bitte von uns Sündern auf und führe uns zu deinem heiligen Altare.¹⁷

The versions of Maximilian of Saxony and de Meester interpret the critical clause in the same way:

(Maximilian): ... suscipe et ex manu nostra, qui peccatores sumus, orationem et conduc nos ad tuum sanctum altare ...
(de Meester): ... recevez aussi notre prière, de nous pauvres pécheurs, et faites-nous approcher de votre saint autel ...¹⁸

Which interpretation is preferable? The incertitude is created by the fact that the text presents us with a series of coordinate clauses linked by καί, so that we have no basis in the text itself on which to select a complement to προσάγαγε.

a) *The Modern Solution via Punctuation:*

The modern editions solve the problem with punctuation, by putting a stop after θυσιαστηρίῳ, thus favoring the first interpretation by effectively preventing προσάγαγε from governing ἡμᾶς.

As is well known, punctuation in Greek MSS is usually so

¹⁶ "Am Beginn steht eine Bitte (a), welche als Opfer das Gebet bezeichnet und darum an dieser Stelle Fremdkörper ist, wo es sich um die realen Opfertgaben der Gemeinde handelt." (*Messe und Herrenmahl*, p. 84), cited also by MATEOS, *Célébration*, p. 177.

¹⁷ *Die griechischen Liturgien der heiligen Jakobus, Markus, Basilius und Chrysostomus*, nach dem Urtexte übersetzt von Remigius STORF (= *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*) Kempten, 1877, p. 170 (MATEOS, *Célébration*, p. 175, cites the edition of Kempten and München, 1912, p. 243).

¹⁸ MAXIMILIAN, *Missa graeca* (= *Ritus missae ecclesiarum orientalium s. romanae ecclesiae unitarum*, fasc. III) Regensburg, 1908, p. 39 (cf. *id.*, *Praelectiones de liturgiis orientalibus II*, Freiburg-B., 1913, p. 257); DE MEESTER, *La divine liturgie de notre père s. Jean Chrysostome*, Paris-Rome, 1925, p. 63 (cited by MATEOS, *Célébration*, p. 175).

haphazard and arbitrary — often senselessly so, with no correspondence whatever between it and the meaning of the text — that it would be fatuous to argue from it. But even if we were to try, no conclusion would be forthcoming. Some sources, including Barberini Gr. 336 (f. 28r), Sevastianov 474,¹⁹ and Grottaferrata Zd II, AD 1090 (f. 65r), favor the interpretation of the modern punctuators by separating προσάγαγε and ἡμᾶς by a full stop after θυσιαστηρίῳ or at least, as in our modern editions, by a stronger mark than that following δέξω (e. g. Sinai Gr. 959, Parma 1217/2, Paris Gr. 328, Paris Coislin Gr. 214, Sinai Gr. 1037 and 1919, British Museum Add. 18070, Sabas 48). Others favor the second solution either by having no punctuation after θυσιαστηρίῳ (Sinai Gr. 958, 11th century, f. 18r; the 14th century roll Taphou 517), or by a full stop after δέξω and only a weaker mark after θυσιαστηρίῳ (the 12th century Grottaferrata Gb VIII, f. 23v, and the 15th century roll Geneva 24). Still others — the majority in fact — simply straddle the issue, putting punctuation of equal value after both the crucial words (Grottaferrata Gb IV, VII, XV, XIII; Paris Gr. 347; Oxford Bodleian Add. E. 12, Auct. E. 5. 13, Cromwell 11; Munich Gr. 607, 540; the editio princeps of Doucas, etc.). But since copyists seem to have punctuated before every καί regardless of the sense, we simply have no argument here. To solve this problem Mateos has given us an exegesis of the text of the prayer, interpreting it in the light of evidence from other liturgies and prayers. We have found no evidence that would make us challenge his conclusions.

b) *Mateos' Interpretation of the Text:*²⁰

We have found only one MS, the 13-14th century parchment roll Taphou 520, in which the text of the prayer has been emended to clarify this obscure reading. The MS contains the following reading: καὶ προσάγαγε αὐτήν [i. e. δέξω]. This shows that προσάγαγε eventually came to be taken as governing δέξω. But one cannot take the unique reading of the single MS as an authoritative interpretation of the text without other, internal evidence to support it.

To discover what, exactly, is being prayed for here, one must examine the whole clause. First, to what altar, the heavenly altar or the concrete one before the celebrants in the church, does the petition "bring to your holy altar" refer? According to Mateos

¹⁹ KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 247.

²⁰ MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 175-176.

the phrase must refer to the concrete altar in the sanctuary. In Byzantine usage the heavenly altar is always accompanied by an epithet such as *ὑπερουράνιων*, "celestial" (prothesis prayer),²¹ or *ὑπερουράνιων καὶ νοερῶν*, "celestial and spiritual" (litany before the Our Father).²² But in the prayer of the Trisagion and in both prayers of the faithful in both CHR and BAS,²³ as well as in several *accessus*-rite prayers of JAS,²⁴ "the holy altar" (*τὸ ἅγιον θυσιαστήριον*) clearly refers to the earthly altar. It is likely, therefore, that the same can be said of the parallel phrase in our proscomide prayer, and hence *δέξιν* is not the object of *προσάγαγε*. As Mateos remarks, it would be meaningless for the celebrant to pray that his prayer be brought to an altar standing right in front of him as he is praying!²⁵ So the understood complement of *προσάγαγε* would be *ἡμεῖς*, i. e. the celebrants who are reciting the prayer.

Mateos offers several parallels to confirm his conclusion.²⁶

- 1) There is a Syriac translation of our prayer found among the "sedre" of the Entrance in the Syrian liturgy. And in this version the pronoun "us" is interpolated as object of the verb in question: "qarreb lan."²⁷
- 2) An *accessus* prayer found in JAS and Greek MARK contains our phrase with the complement added: *καὶ προσάγαγε ἡμεῖς τῷ ἁγίῳ θυσιαστηρίῳ*.²⁸
- 3) In the proscomide prayer of BAS and in another of the many prayers of *accessus* that encumber the *accessus* rites of Greek JAS, the same idea is expressed in almost the same terms: *πρόσδεξαι ἡμεῖς προσεγγίζοντας τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ*.²⁹

²¹ LEW, p. 360, 35.

²² LEW, p. 390, 28-29.

²³ LEW, pp. 313, 33 (BAS); 316, 14-15 (CHR); 316, 16 (BAS); 317, 15-16 (BAS); 317, 18 (CHR).

²⁴ MERCIER, pp. 190, 21-22, 27-28; 194, 28; 196, 25-26; 198, 5-6.

²⁵ *Célébration*, p. 176.

²⁶ *Loc. cit.* We add some additional examples to those adduced by Mateos.

²⁷ *Ktābā d-ṭaksā d-qurrābā ak'yādā d-'Edtā šliḥāytā d-Antyokya d-Suryāyē*, Charfeh, 1922, p. 22; cf. MATEOS, *loc. cit.*

²⁸ JAS: MERCIER, p. 198, 5-6; MK: LEW, p. 122, 31-32 (*τῷ ἁγίῳ* *loco* *ἁγίῳ*).

²⁹ BAS: LEW, p. 319, 18-19; cf. JAS: MERCIER, p. 190, 27-28.

It is reasonably certain, then, that *ἡμεῖς* is the understood object in our prayer too. So the phrase is to be translated "and bring us [not "it"] to your holy altar."

4. *The Scope of the Prayer*

With the problem of meaning solved, the scope of the prayer becomes clear:

O Lord God almighty
 who alone are holy
 who alone accept the sacrifices of praise from those that
 call upon you with [their] whole heart
 accept also the prayer of us sinners
 and bring us to your holy altar
 and enable us to present to you these gifts and spiritual sacrifices for our own sins
 and for the faults of the people
 and make us worthy to find favor in your sight
 that our sacrifice may be acceptable to you
 and that the good spirit of your grace may rest upon us
 and upon these present gifts
 and upon all your people.

The prayer is definitely not an offertory prayer. We ask God to accept our prayer for three intentions:

- 1) That the ministers be brought to the altar;
- 2) That they be enabled to offer;
- 3) That they be made worthy, so that the sacrifice will be accepted and the Spirit come upon them, upon the gifts, and upon the people.³⁰

The whole prayer is in intimate relation to the offering (anaphora) to come, but is not in itself an offering. That is, we do not offer now, but pray that the offering we are about to make in the anaphora will not be vitiated by our unworthiness to approach the altar. The direct object of the petition is worthiness to offer; the acceptance of the coming offering is a consequence of this.³¹

That the offering referred to in our prayer is the eucharistic offering itself and not any "offertory" is perfectly clear from the interpretation given the proscomide prayer by the *Prothectoria*:

³⁰ MATEOS, *Célébration*, p. 176.

³¹ *Loc. cit.*

After the deposition of the holy gifts, the bishop, saying the prayer for himself and for the people, asks that the sacrifice, offered to God the Father, of His immolated only-begotten Son, may be pleasing.³²

Hence Lietzmann, who shows that the central idea (*Kerngedanke*) of every offertory prayer is a petition: "*Respice propitius super haec dona*" or "*Suscipe oblationem propitius*"³³ should not have concluded that the actual petition central to our prayer is a "*Fremdkörper*" here, but rather that the prayer cannot be a prayer of offering. It is always more reasonable to revise one's hypothesis than to revise the evidence. So our prayer is a prayer *pro clero*, the main eucharistic formula of the *accessus ad altare* or pre-anaphoral rite in the Byzantine liturgy.³⁴ This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the proscomid prayers of both CHR and BAS are included in the anthology of *Prayers of Entrance to be said before the Anaphora* of the West-Syrian mass.³⁵

Parallel Pieces in Other Liturgies

We have already discussed the scope of the *accessus ad altare* as seen in the ancient sources.³⁶ The prayers that form the kernel of this rite are similar in almost all the Eastern liturgies, and Mateos cites several to confirm his interpretation of the proscomid prayer of the Byzantine tradition.³⁷

In the Chaldean liturgy, for example, after the "rite of the bema" is concluded the priest descends from the bema and approaches the sanctuary.

³² 19, PG 140, 444.

³³ *Messe und Herrenmahl*, p. 82; cf. MATEOS, *Célébration*, p. 177.

³⁴ Cf. MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 177-179. The earliest MSS — e. g. *Barberini 336* (LEW, pp. 319-321) — have only this prayer and the creed between the entrance of the gifts and the anaphora and, as we shall see in the next chapter, the creed is a later addition.

³⁵ The prayers are on pp. 22 (CHR), 23 (BAS) in the edition cited in note 27. Both prayers are used as "sedre" and are adapted to the incensation.

³⁶ Cf. the *Introduction* to Part II, above.

³⁷ Cf. MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 177-178. In the Syrian and Chaldean liturgies and in JAS, the pre-anaphoral rite is much more fully developed than in the Byzantine tradition. We cite a few pre-anaphoral formulae that express the spirit of the *accessus ad altare* in some of these liturgies without attempting to sort out which of the prayers are the most important, pristine formulae of the rite in question.

When he comes to the door of the sanctuary, i. e. of the altar, he worships [i. e. bows] and says:

*Having our hearts sprinkled and clean from an evil conscience [Pšitta Hebr. 10:22] may we be accounted worthy to enter into the holy of holies high and exalted in purity and circumspection and holiness to stand before your holy altar and offer you spiritual and reasonable sacrifices ...*³⁸

In the Syro-Antiochene tradition it is the *oratio veli* that (in principle at least) expresses the same sentiments:

*Dignos nos effice qui ... accedamus ad te ... ut possimus digni effici sacrificio hoc ... (Anaphora Severi Antiocheni).*³⁹

*... dignare nos intrare in "sancta sanctorum interiora" tua (Anaphora Gregorii Nazianzeni).*⁴⁰

*... deprecamur ut ... facias nos dignos, qui cum puritate cordis ... accedamus ad altare tuum sanctum (Anaphora Duodecim Apostolorum Secunda).*⁴¹

We have already referred to the parallel prayers in JAS and MARK.⁴² In the Coptic tradition the idea of *accessus ad altare* appears not only in the *oratio veli*,⁴³ but is integrated with the kiss of peace in the prayer that precedes it:

*Accept us ... as we draw near to your holy altar ... and vouchsafe us the peace of heaven ... that we may give it to one another in perfect love and greet one another with a holy kiss And cast us not away, your servants, by reason of the defilement of our sins Vouchsafe us therefore, O our master, with a pure heart and a soul full of your grace to stand before you and offer you this sacrifice ...*⁴⁴

This shows once again that the fundamental concept of the Eastern pre-anaphoral rites is *preparation* for the offering (i. e. anaphora), not an *anticipated* offering.⁴⁵ The offering is almost

³⁸ LEW, p. 270 B, 1-10. MATEOS (*Célébration*, p. 177, n. 2) observes that the phrase in italics is the Pšitta version of Hebr. 10:22, a text also used in our other Byzantine *accessus* prayer, the *Nemo dignus*.

³⁹ *Anaphorae Syriacae* I, Roma, 1939, pp. 60-61.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 108-109.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 242-243.

⁴² See note 28.

⁴³ LEW, p. 158, 13-19.

⁴⁴ LEW, p. 163, 14-34.

⁴⁵ The Armenian liturgy is an exception in that the prayer parallel to the Byzantine proscomid prayer is a prayer of offering, not of *accessus*.

always mentioned because the prayer exists only in function of the coming anaphora. But the preparation of the ministers for this coming offering, and not a prior offering now, is the central idea: *fac nos dignos stare coram te ad ministrandam et offerendam tibi oblationem hanc ... (Oratio veli, Anaphora Timothei Alexandrini)*.⁴⁶ Even in several MSS of PRES, in which there is no question of any offering, one or another of the *accessus* prayers of JAS has been added at the Entrance of the Presanctified Gifts.⁴⁷

The Meaning of the Title of the Prayer⁴⁸

But if our prayer is not an "offertory" prayer, what are we to make of its title, Ἐὐχὴ τῆς προσκομιδῆς, which clearly means "prayer of the offering"? Jacob lists eight MSS, almost all from the old Constantinopolitan recension of CHR, in which the full title is:

*Prayer of the Proscomide of St. John Chrysostom after placing the Holy Gifts on the Holy Altar and [after] the People have finished the Mystic Hymn [= the Cherubicon].*⁴⁹

Jacob also indicates five MSS in which the same sort of title, "Prayer of the Proscomide" with the name of the saint, is found before the proscomide prayer of BAS.⁵⁰

Now the word "proscomide" appears in several ancient sources as a synonym for the anaphora or eucharistic prayer.⁵¹ For

(LEW, pp. 432-433). However there is a borrowed prayer of *accessus*, the Byzantine *Nemo dignus* (*ibid.*, pp. 430-431).

⁴⁶ *Anaphorae Syriacae* I, pp. 12-13.

⁴⁷ Cf. above p. 142.

⁴⁸ This section on the title is based on MATEOS, *Célébration*, p. 179, and JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 282, 472-475, with confirmatory evidence and arguments from our own research.

⁴⁹ *Barberini Gr. 336*, 8th c. (LEW, p. 319 B, 1-5); *Sebastianov 474*, 10th c. (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 247 B); *Codex S. Simeonis, ante 1030*, (PELARGUS, *Liturgia*, f. C2v); *Sinai Gr. 958, 959, 961* (11th c.) and *1036* (11-12th c.); *Ottoboni Gr. 344* (AD 1177), in JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 472-473. The title usually found in the New Constantinopolitan recension of CHR omits the saint's name and the reference to the Cherubicon, but retains the basic appellation, "Prayer of Proscomide", without the article (*ibid.*, pp. 282-283).

⁵⁰ *Barberini Gr. 336* (LEW, p. 319 A, 1-3); *Sebastianov 474* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 247 A); *Ottoboni Gr. 344*; *Sinai Gr. 1020 and 1036* (DMITRIEVSKIJ II, pp. 142, 147), in JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 473.

⁵¹ See MATEOS, *Célébration*, p. 179, and JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 473. We give the sources they mention and add a few more.

example the *Shorter Rules* of St. Basil († 379);⁵² St. Nilus of An-cyra's († c. 430) *Letter to Bishop Anastasius*;⁵³ *novella 137* of Justinian's *Code*;⁵⁴ Cyril of Scythopolis' († c. 558) *Life of St. Euthymius*;⁵⁵ and John Moschus' († 619) *Pratum Spirituale*,⁵⁶ all use it in this sense.

The same usage is found in liturgical texts. In Alexandrine Greek BAS and GREG we find after "*Dignum et justum est.*" just before the anaphora, the heading "Beginning of the Proscomide" (Ἀρχὴ τῆς προσκομιδῆς).⁵⁷

In our oldest MS of Greek JAS, the 9th century *Vatican Gr. 2282*, the title "Beginning of the Proscomide of St. James, the God-Brother, and called the Apostle and Just One" comes not just before the eucharistic prayer, but before the *accessus ad altare* rites that immediately precede it.⁵⁸ Georgian JAS of *Borgia Georg. 7* (13-14th century) has in the same place: "*Initium oblationis sancti Iacobi, fratris Domini.*"⁵⁹ In all four instances the title has the same meaning: "Beginning of the Anaphora." But in the case of JAS it must be taken as referring to the anaphora in the broad sense of the term, as is common in Oriental usage: i. e. as including the whole formulary attributed to the saint, comprising, usually, the anaphora proper as well as some of the pre-anaphoral formulae immediately preceding it. This is especially common in the Syrian anaphoras, which put the title "anaphora" with the name of the saint to which it is attributed at the beginning of the whole formulary commencing, usually, with the *Oratio ante pacem*.⁶⁰

That the Byzantines also thought of the prayer of *accessus* or proscomide prayer as part of the whole anaphora formulary is proven by the rubrics of the Great Entrance in the 10th century diataxis used by Leo Tuscan. As we saw in chapter III when we summarized Jacob's breakdown of the text into its components, the passage in question from the diataxis ends with the following rubric:

⁵² *Interrogatio* 310, PG 31, 1304.

⁵³ *Epistularum liber II, epist. 294*, PG 79, 345-348.

⁵⁴ *Novella 137*, 2 and 6, ed. SCHOELL, *Corpus Iuris Civilis III*, Berlin, 1899, pp. 697, 699.

⁵⁵ Ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis (= Texte und Untersuchungen 49, 2)* Leipzig 1939, pp. 45, 23; 46, 3.

⁵⁶ *Pratum Spirituale*, 25 and 196, PG 87^a, 2869, 3080-3081.

⁵⁷ RENAUDOT I, pp. 64 and 93. Cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 473.

⁵⁸ MERCIER, p. 184, 23-24. Cf. MATEOS, *Célébration*, p. 179.

⁵⁹ TARCHNIŠVILI, *Liturgias ibericae*, p. 32.

⁶⁰ Cf. for example the titles in the MSS edited in *Anaphorae Syriacae*.

*Tunc secedunt [sacerdotes] et stantes pro ianuis cancellorum a dextris et a sinistris, unusquisque dicit orationes mysteriorum in silentio intuentes ad sanctam mensam.*⁶¹

Jacob's exegesis of the text shows 1) that "orationes mysteriorum" means "anaphora", 2) that the rubric was followed not by the anaphora proper but by the proskomide prayer that precedes it, and 3) that, consequently the "orationes mysteriorum" formulary was held to include that prayer.⁶² A few later Byzantine sources also seem to argue in favor of including the proskomide prayer in the anaphora. Symeon of Thessalonika († 1429) in his *Expositio de divino templo* calls it "the first prayer"⁶³ (i. e. of the anaphora, apparently). And in the 16th century Byzantine ritual for the ordination of a priest published by Goar, the newly ordained begins his presbyteral participation in the concelebration of the anaphora with the reading of this prayer.⁶⁴

Can this notion be applied to our title "Prayer of the Proskomide"? The most interesting use of the term "proskomide" in Byzantine liturgical MSS is found in the rubric preceding the Trisagion prayer in the 10th century codex *Leningrad 226*: "And immediately, the prayer of the Trisagion of the proskomide of Chrysostom."⁶⁵ As Jacob has pointed out, obviously, "proskomide" here cannot mean "offertory". Hence it must have the same meaning as in the examples from the other liturgies cited above: "Prayer of the Trisagion to be said when the Anaphora of Chrysostom is celebrated."⁶⁶ It is a title analogous to that of the prayer of the catechumens in codex *Barberini Gr. 336* and twenty-one other MSS of CHR listed by Jacob: "Prayer of the Catechumens before the Holy Anaphora of Chrysostom."⁶⁷ It would seem, then, that "proskomide" in the title before the *accessus* prayers of BAS and CHR, and in the other examples cited above, is a synonym for "anaphora".

However, some objections could be brought against this conclusion. First, in codex *Barberini Gr. 336*, which as we have seen

⁶¹ JACOB, *Toscan*, p. 150.

⁶² JACOB, *Concélébration*, p. 253, and above, pp. 124-5.

⁶³ 84, *PG* 155, 732.

⁶⁴ GOAR², p. 243. The same is true today, at least in the Russian usage.

⁶⁵ "Καὶ εὐθὺς εὐχὴ τοῦ τρισαγίου τῆς προσκομιδῆς τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου." KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenijsa*, p. 286; JACOB, *Uspenski*, no. 23.

⁶⁶ *Formulaire*, pp. 473-474.

⁶⁷ LEW, p. 315 B, 10-11. Cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 467-468, 474.

contains the title "Prayer of the Proskomide" before the *accessus* prayers of both BAS and CHR,⁶⁸ we find the following rubric just after the dialogue preceding the eucharistic prayer: "[BAS add: And] the priest begins the holy anaphora."⁶⁹ Secondly, a 10th century Sahidic fragment of the Alexandrine liturgy from *Berlin MS or. fol. 1609* published by H. Quecke, S. J. contains an earlier redaction of the proskomide prayer of BAS, preceded by the title "Prayer before the Anaphora," not prayer of the anaphora.⁷⁰ Similarly, the title in BAS of the 13th century codex *Grottaferrata Gb XIII* (f. 30v) is "Prayer before the Holy Anaphora." These sources seem to indicate that the anaphora was considered to begin not with the proskomide prayer but with eucharistic prayer that immediately follows it. But these objections are not unanswerable.

From Jacob's study of the evolution of the Byzantine euchology, we learn the following:⁷¹

- 1) In a more primitive stage of development the anaphoras attributed to Chrysostom and Basil comprised the proskomide or *accessus* prayer plus the anaphora in the strict sense. Hence the primitive title "Prayer of the Proskomide of Chrysostom (Basil)" was a general title that refers to both these elements as comprising one formulary or "anaphora" in the broad sense.
- 2) At a later stage of development other proper prayers were added to the original formularies, and were often given a title that would indicate with which liturgy they were to be said. We have already seen examples of this in the Trisagion prayer of *Leningrad 226* and in the prayer of the catechumens in several MSS of BAS and CHR.

But there were limits to how far the copyists were willing to expand their understanding of "anaphora", and so these later prayers are usually designated as prayers "before the holy anaphora" not simply "of the holy anaphora" or "of the proskomide." Eventually the original meaning of the title "Prayer of the Proskomide" was forgotten, and hence our rubric in codex *Barberini Gr. 336* and the title of the Berlin Sahidic fragment.

JAS and the liturgies of the Syro-Antiochene tradition faced

⁶⁸ LEW, p. 319, 1-5.

⁶⁹ LEW, p. 321, 27.

⁷⁰ QUECKE, *Eucharistiefragment*, pp. 115, 117, cf. 127 n. 39.

⁷¹ JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 471-475.

a similar problem, but opted for another solution. As we have seen, in these liturgies the general title before the anaphora was simply moved up to include the prayers progressively added to the pre-anaphoral rites. But as Jacob has pointed out, in Greek JAS, as well as later in the Byzantine tradition, the original meaning of "proscomidē" in this title was eventually forgotten.⁷² Thus in JAS of codex *Paris Gr. 2509* (15th c.) the title has been modified to refer to the various pre-anaphoral prayers that came to clutter up JAS: "Then he [= the priest] begins the prayers of the proscomidē of James."⁷³

We must agree with Mateos and Jacob, then, that our title "Prayer of the Proscomidē" in CHR is the ancient general title of the anaphora, and goes back to the period when this anaphora comprised only the eucharistic prayer preceded by a prayer of *accessus ad altare* that was itself considered part of the anaphora, and as such had no special title of its own.⁷⁴ Jacob has drawn attention to a perfect example of this ancient structure in our oldest known text (10-11th c.) of the Chaldean *Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari* edited recently by W. F. Macomber. Here is the opening rubric that precedes the *accessus* prayer immediately before the anaphora: *Et accedit sacerdos ad celebrandam Anaphoram Apostolorum*.⁷⁵ Our title, therefore, means simply "The Anaphora of St. John Chrysostom", has nothing to do with our modern idea of "offertory", and in fact does not pertain to our prayer alone, but to all that follows.⁷⁶

The Proscomidē Prayer of BAS

But this is not the end of our problems. For in spite of all this evidence, one could argue that the parallel prayer in BAS is a combined *accessus*-offertory prayer:

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 474-475.

⁷³ MERCIER p. 191, apparatus, line 19, E; LEW, p. 45, 20-21. Cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 475.

⁷⁴ JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 474-475; MATEOS, *Célébration*, p. 179.

⁷⁵ W. MACOMBER, *The Oldest known Text of the Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari*, OCP 32, 1966, pp. 358-359. Cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 474.

⁷⁶ MATEOS, *Célébration*, p. 179; JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 475. Some authors have proposed the theory that "Secreta" in the Roman Mass likewise refers to the whole canon, but JUNGSMANN rejects this explanation of the title (*Missarum sollemnia* II, pp. 90-91, note 6).

- (1) O Lord our God, who have created us and brought us to this life, who have shown us ways to salvation, who have granted us a revelation of heavenly mysteries; you are the one who has placed us in this ministry by the power of your Holy Spirit. Be pleased then, Lord, that we be ministers of your New Testament, servants of your holy mysteries. Out of the abundance of your mercy accept us who draw near to your holy altar, so that we may be worthy to offer you this spiritual and bloodless sacrifice for our own sins and for the faults of the people. Receiving it as a fragrant aroma on your holy and heavenly and spiritual altar, send down upon us in return the grace of your Holy Spirit.
- (2) Look with favor on us, O God, and behold this worship of ours and accept it as you accepted the gifts of Abel, the sacrifices of Noah, the holocausts of Abraham, the priestly services of Moses and Aaron, the peace-offerings of Samuel. Just as you accepted this true worship from your apostles, so now in your goodness, Lord, accept also these gifts from the hands of us sinners, so that being deemed worthy to serve at your holy altar without blame, we may find the reward of faithful and wise stewards on the terrible day of your just recompense.

Mateos has interpreted this prayer as being in reality a conjunction of two prayers, a prayer of *accessus* (1) joined to a true offertory prayer (2).⁷⁷ He argues from the fact that in the recension of the same prayer in JAS the two parts are joined by *vai*,⁷⁸ a device often used as a nexus in such situations, as in the prayer before the Our Father in BAS,⁷⁹ and in the seventh prayer of Byzantine vespers.⁸⁰ In a more recent study, Engberding has gone to the origins of the text of this prayer of BAS, and has concluded that, in fact, its components are multiple.⁸¹

We are not concerned here with the history of this text. One observation, however, may be in order. It would seem that such a composite piece as this prayer cannot be very ancient, and Engberding has shown that the Byzantine redaction is not the

⁷⁷ MATEOS, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁸ MERCIER p. 194, 9.

⁷⁹ LEW, p. 338 A, 27.

⁸⁰ GOAR², p. 29. All three examples are from MATEOS, *loc. cit.*

⁸¹ H. ENGBERDING, *EYXH*, pp. 287-313. Cf. also the article of QUECKE, *Eucharistiefragment*, that provoked ENGBERDING's study.

most primitive.⁸² We would tentatively propose, therefore, that this prayer is perhaps not the original proskomide prayer of BAS.

An analysis of the two prayers of the faithful in BAS will show that they are both prayers of *accessus* for the *clergy* that cannot be considered original prayers of the *faithful*, and hence are not primitive elements of BAS at least in their present position.

*First Prayer of the Faithful of BAS*⁸³

You, O Lord, have revealed to us
this great mystery of salvation.

You have judged us worthy, we
your lowly and unworthy
servants, to be ministers of your
holy altar;

authorize us for this ministry
by the power of your Holy
Spirit,

so that standing in the presence
of your sacred majesty uncon-
demned, we may offer you a sacri-
fice of praise. For it is you alone
who accomplish all things in all
men. Grant, Lord, that our sac-
rifice may be acceptable and wel-
come in your presence, for our
sins and the faults of the people.

Second Prayer

O God, who in mercy and com-
passion have visited our lowli-
ness,

who have appointed us
your lowly, sinful, and unworthy
servants to minister at your
holy altar
in the presence of your holy
majesty,

strengthen us for this ministry
by the power of your Holy
Spirit,

and grant us the right words
when we open our mouths to call
down the grace of the Holy Spirit
upon the gifts about to be of-
fered.

In fact a careful study of the text of both prayers, in com-
parison with a parallel prayer in JAS, (cf. the chart below) leads

⁸² By comparison with the Sahidic text edited by QUECKE (*loc. cit.*) one can at least say that before the 9th century the text of our prayer underwent important modifications. Cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 27.

⁸³ Greek text of both prayers in LEW, pp. 316 A, 11-29; 317 A, 9-24, and in the chart below.

one to suspect that the two prayers were originally one, and that in this *Urtext* we have the original *oratio accessus ad altare* of BAS. This hypothesis confirms Mateos' tentative reconstruction of the Liturgy of the Word in CHR and BAS.⁸⁴ Here are Mateos' conclusions:

- 1) The three antiphons at the beginning of the liturgy, and consequently the three accompanying prayers, are later additions. They are mentioned for the first time by Germanus († 733), and even as late as the 10th century do not have a fixed place in every liturgy.
- 2) Evidence indicates that there were once not two but three prayers of the faithful in the liturgy of Constantinople, or rather, two prayers of the faithful followed by a concluding prayer of benediction (we discussed this point in the previous chapter).
- 3) If we examine the text of the prayers of the three antiphons, (LEW, pp. 364-367), we see that prayers 3 and 1 refer to the common prayers of the faithful as do the two prayers of the faithful in CHR. Prayer 2, when compared to the opisthambon prayer or final blessing at the end of the liturgy, (LEW, p. 366, 11-15 = 397, 29-398, 9), is seen to be a prayer of benediction; the texts of the two prayers are almost identical.
- 4) The present two prayers of the faithful in BAS (LEW, pp. 316-317), when compared with those of CHR (*loc. cit.*), appear to be prayers of a completely different type. Those of CHR refer to the common prayers of faithful and clergy; those of BAS, which ought to have a similar content, refer exclusively to the eucharistic sacrifice and the descent of the Spirit on the gifts. This diversity demands an explanation.
- 5) It would seem, then, that the three antiphon prayers, in the order 3,1,2, are the original prayers of the faithful of BAS.

And if our own conclusion is correct, it fills in one of the remain-
ing gaps in Mateos' reconstruction: the original place of the present
two prayers of the faithful in BAS.

Be that as it may, the proskomide prayer of BAS is at least
problematic, as both Mateos and Engberding have shown, and
cannot be adduced as an argument against our conclusions con-
cerning the true nature and scope of the proskomide prayer of
CHR and the pre-anaphoral rites of the Eastern eucharistic litur-
gies.

⁸⁴ MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 34 ff, 57 ff, 168 ff.

JAS: *Oratio pro ipso sacerdote* (MERCIER, pp. 190-2)

BAS: *Oratio fidelium I* (LEW, pp. 400-1)

Ὁ ἐπισκεψάμενος ἡμᾶς
ἐν ἐλέει καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς ...
καὶ χαρισάμενος παρρησίαν ἡμῖν

τοῖς ταπεινοῖς καὶ ἁμαρτωλοῖς
καὶ ἀναξίους δούλους σου
παριστάναι

τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ

[καὶ ἰκάνωσόν με

τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ παναγίου σου
πνεύματος εἰς τὴν
λειτουργίαν ταύτην]

καὶ προσφέρειν σοὶ τὴν φοβερὰν
ταύτην καὶ ἀναιμάκτον θυσίαν

ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων
ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ τῶν τοῦ
λαοῦ σου ἀγνοημάτων ...

καὶ εὐδόκησον, κύριε, δεκτὰ γενέσθαι τὰ προσαγόμενά σοι δῶρον
παύτως ...

... σὺ κατηξίωσας ἡμᾶς

τοὺς ταπεινοὺς

καὶ ἀναξίους δούλους σου

γενέσθαι λειτουργοὺς

τοῦ ἁγίου σου θυσιαστηρίου

σὺ ἰκάνωσον ἡμᾶς

τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ἁγίου σου

πνεύματος εἰς τὴν

διακονίαν ταύτην

ἵνα ἀκατακρίτως στάντες

ἐνώπιον τῆς ἁγίας δόξης σου

προσάγωμέν σοι

θυσίαν αἰνέσεως· σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ

ἐνεργῶν τὰ

πάντα ἐν πᾶσι. Δός, κύριε,

καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων

ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ τῶν τοῦ

λαοῦ ἀγνοημάτων

δεκτὴν γενέσθαι τὴν θυσίαν ἡμῶν

καὶ εὐπρόσδεκτον ἐνώπιον σου.

[Note: texts enclosed in brackets have been displaced from the order in which they are found in the prayer. Many of the parallel passages are from the Bible (cf. LEW, pp. 316-17).]

BAS: *Oratio fidelium II* (LEW, p. 401)

CHR: *Oratio fidelium I* (LEW, p. 375)

Ὁ θεός, ὁ ἐπισκεψάμενος
ἐν ἐλέει καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς
τὴν ταπεινώσιν ἡμῶν·

ὁ στήσας ἡμᾶς

τοὺς ταπεινοὺς καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὺς

καὶ ἀναξίους δούλους σου

... λειτουργεῖν

τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ·

σὺ ἐνίσχυσον ἡμᾶς

τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ἁγίου σου

πνεύματος εἰς τὴν

διακονίαν ταύτην

[κατενώπιον τῆς ἁγίας δόξης σου
λειτουργεῖν τῷ ἁγίῳ
σου θυσιαστηρίῳ]

καὶ δός ἡμῖν λόγον ...

εἰς τὸ ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὴν χάριν τοῦ
ἁγίου σου πνεύματος ἐπὶ τῶν
μελλόντων προτίθεσθαι δῶρον.

Εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοὶ κύριε
... τῷ καταξιώσαντι ἡμᾶς

παραστῆναι καὶ νῦν

τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ,

[καὶ ἰκάνωσον ἡμᾶς οὖς ἔθου εἰς

τὴν διακονίαν σου ταύτην ἐν τῇ

δυνάμει τοῦ πνεύματος σου τοῦ

ἁγίου]

Πρόσδεξαι, ὁ θεός, τὴν δέησιν
ἡμῶν· ποιήσον ἡμᾶς ἀξίους γενέσθαι τοῦ προσφέρειν σοὶ δεήσεις
καὶ ἰκεσίας καὶ θυσίας ἀναιμάκτους
ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου·

[καὶ προσπεσεῖν τοῖς οἰκτιρμοῖς σου
ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων
ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ τῶν τοῦ
λαοῦ ἀγνοημάτων.]

The Origin of the Proskomide Prayer of CHR

A textual analysis of the proskomide prayer of CHR has not led us to any conclusions as to its probable origins. But an examination of the accompanying chart will show that in CHR, BAS and JAS several passages in the series of prayers immediately preceding the anaphora, be they prayers of the faithful or of *accessus ad altare*, are drawn from a common source. Furthermore, the proskomide prayer of CHR and the first part of the parallel prayer in BAS reiterate themes already expressed in the first prayer of the faithful of CHR and the two prayers of the faithful of BAS.⁸⁵

But from the chart, and from the study of Engberding,⁸⁶ it is apparent that the prayers of the faithful and proskomide prayer of CHR are far more independent and original, and hence more ancient, compositions than the three parallel prayers in BAS, all of which further confirms what we have said about the original place of these prayers in BAS.

The Ephonesis of the Proskomide Prayer

In the ephonesis of the proskomide prayer, as in those of the prayers of the catechumens and faithful, we find agreement between BAS and CHR. Engberding has drawn attention to the unusualness of the reading *διὰ τῶν οἰκτιρῶν τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ*.⁸⁷ He claims to have controlled over 350 ephoneseis and found only one other example of a prayer that concludes with this doxology, the post-communion prayer of JAS.⁸⁸ But 1) the ephonesis in JAS contains later additions, 2) the MSS give variant readings, and 3) the ephonesis is followed by a second doxology that is the only one designated "ephonesis" by the rubrics. From these weaknesses in the tradition, it does not seem that our

⁸⁵ JUNGSMANN, noting this similarity of themes in these prayers, concludes the exact opposite of our position. He proposes that the litany before the anaphora and accompanying prayer of the proskomide once pertained to the prayers of the faithful. We have already discussed this theory with respect to the litany in the previous chapter (p. 324). As for the prayers, it seems hardly probable that the original prayers of the faithful would have been prayers *pro clero*.

⁸⁶ EYXH.

⁸⁷ ENGBERDING, *Angleichung*, pp. 115-117. Cf. also *id.*, EYXH, pp. 311-312.

⁸⁸ MERCIER, p. 238, 14-16. Cf. ENGBERDING, *Angleichung*, p. 115.

ephonesis is native to JAS. In CHR and BAS however, the *textus receptus* of the ephonesis is found without variants in all the MSS we have examined. Hence it is probably of Byzantine origin.

This is further confirmed by the fact that it occurs with the proskomide prayer of BAS adopted (and adapted) as an *oratio osculi pacis* in Alexandrine Greek BAS⁸⁹ (we have already seen that in this tradition the prayer of the *pax* is also an *accessus* prayer). The title of the prayer attributing it to St. Basil, and even more so, the contrast of its ephonesis with that common to the other prayers of the *pax* of this liturgy,⁹⁰ betray once more the Byzantine origin of our doxology.

In Greek JAS, where the proskomide prayer of BAS also occurs, the ephonesis of the prayer has simply been omitted.⁹¹ But in the same prayer in Georgian JAS the following ephonesis has been substituted: "*Misericordia et philanthropia (Christi) unigeniti filii tui, cum quo benedictus es una cum sanctissimo bono ac vivificante Spiritu tuo Sancto, nunc...*"⁹² This is the common ephonesis *Χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπία τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, μεθ' οὗ εὐλογητὸς εἶ...* found after a great many prayers in the various Greek liturgies.⁹³

All this points to the fact that 1) our singular ephonesis *διὰ τῶν οἰκτιρῶν* is of Byzantine origin; 2) that it is most likely original to BAS; 3) that here, as in so many other instances during the latter's long reign as first liturgy in the Byzantine euchologies, CHR conformed to its more powerful sister to form a common Constantinopolitan framework of the liturgy, especially in regard to the ephoneseis and diakonika which were chanted aloud.⁹⁴

⁸⁹ RENAUDOT I, pp. 60-62; ENGBERDING, *loc. cit.*

⁹⁰ ENGBERDING, EYXH, p. 312. The usual ephonesis is *διὰ τοῦ καὶ μεθ' οὗ σοὶ δεῖξαι καὶ τιμῆ, κλ'.*: (RENAUDOT I, p. 63).

⁹¹ MERCIER, p. 194; ENGBERDING, *Angleichung*, p. 115.

⁹² *Codices Graecae Georg. 5*, TARCHNIŠVILI, *Liturgiae ibericae*, p. 7; *Borgia Georg. 7* [om. Christi], *ibid.*, p. 34.

⁹³ E. g. JAS: MERCIER, pp. 166, 4-6; 170, 1-3; 222, 5-7; Greek MARK: LEW, pp. 114, 7-11 and 29-33; 115, 17-21; 116, 15-20; 120, 24-30; 122, 2-7; etc.; CHR: (Italo-Greek introit prayer, *Barberini Gr. 336*, LEW, p. 312, 26-28); CHR-BAS: inclination prayer (LEW, p. 341, 1).

⁹⁴ Cf. ENGBERDING, *Angleichung*, p. 117; EYXH, p. 312. Additional examples of this conformity can be seen in several other ephoneseis and in the adoption by CHR of the *Nemo dignus* and elevation prayers of BAS. Some of the further instances mentioned by ENGBERDING (*Angleichung*), in which prayers peculiar to CHR give way to parallel pieces from

Furthermore, our ephonesis is one of two doxologies in the Byzantine eucharistic liturgy that has partially retained the ancient form expressive of the mediation of Christ.⁹⁵ In all others this has given way to the levelling process that resulted from the emphasis on the divinity of all three persons of the Holy Trinity in reaction to the early heresies ("... to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit...")⁹⁶ However, even in our text the original form has been weakened by the introduction of τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν. The *Urtext* was undoubtedly διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, similar to the doxologies in the Pauline epistles and other early sources.⁹⁷ This is confirmed by the Syriac version of our prayer, which has *Per Christum Iesum dominum nostrum, cum quo te decet gloria et honor et potentia cum Spiritu tuo sancto, nunc...*⁹⁸

The Original Place of the Prayer in the Liturgy

In today's euchology and in most MSS with diakonika, the text of the prayer is placed in the middle of the litany, just before Ἀντιλαβοῦ, with the ephonesis separated from the prayer and placed at the conclusion of the litany, as has become common in Byzantine practice.⁹⁹

BAS, are more a question of the Italo-Greek or Oriental tradition of CHR dropping the prayers peculiar to this recension in order to conform to the Constantinopolitan recension of CHR, which had a broader common fund with BAS and represents the true tradition of the Great Church (cf. JACOB, *Tradition, and Formulaire, passim*, esp. pp. 62-205; 206 ff.).

⁹⁵ The other one concludes the "inclination prayer" before communion (*LEW*, p. 341, 1-3).

⁹⁶ On this whole problem cf. JUNGSMANN, *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer*.

⁹⁷ Cf. for example Romans 1: 18; *Apostolic Constitutions* VIII, 5, 7; 8, 5; 16, 5 (*FUNK I*, pp. 477, 484, 523) and the numerous other references in JUNGSMANN, *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer*.

⁹⁸ P. 22 in the edition cited in note 27 (cf. note 35). On the evolution of the doxologies in the Syrian tradition, cf. MATEOS, *Sedre*, pp. 260-261; 277 and *passim*.

⁹⁹ This is true of practically all the sources with diakonika we have studied, the oldest being the 10th century Italian MSS *Grottaferrata Gb IV* and *VII*, and *Leningrad 226* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 289), and, for Constantinople, BAS of *Codex Pyromalus* (GOAR², p. 155) and the version of Johannisberg (COCHLAEUS, *Speculum*, pp. 124-125). But the 12th century codex *Grottaferrata Gb VIII* (f. 23) and the 17th century *Sinai Gr. 1046*, (ff. 11v-12v) have the whole litany before the prayer. Also some MSS have rubrics indicating that the priest is to say the prayer bowed (e.g. *Sinai Gr. 1047, 1049*). This seems to have been the customary posture of the Byzantine celebrant during prayers, as can be seen

From what we have seen, we can reconstruct original place of the proskomide prayer in the liturgy of Constantinople.¹⁰⁰ While the gifts were brought in and put on the altar by the deacons to the accompaniment of the antiphon, the presbyters washed their hands and said the *orate fratres* dialogue. As we saw in the *Excursus on the Position of the Concelebrants During the Liturgy* following Chapter VIII, the rubrics of this dialogue indicate that the concelebrating presbyters — or at least the chief concelebrant — approached the altar only after the dialogue was completed, i. e. just before the prayer of the proskomide. So the prayer of *accessus* accompanied the actual physical *accessus ad altare*, when the main celebrant approached the altar and said this prayer as the first eucharistic formula of the anaphora. And since all other eucharistic formulae in this part of the liturgy (*Nemo dignus*, troparia, creed) are later additions, the simplicity of the primitive pre-anaphoral rites of Constantinople — transfer of gifts, *lavabo*, *orate fratres* dialogue, *accessus* prayer, *pax* — is immediately apparent.

in the rubrics in the anaphora of innumerable sources. Cf. for example Ps.-SOPHRONTIUS, *Commentarius liturgicus* 20, PG 87³, 4000; *Codex Pyromalus*, GOAR², pp. 153-155; Johannisberg version, COCHLAEUS, *Speculum*, pp. 119, 128; *Leningrad 226*, KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 291; PELARGUS, *Liturgia*, ff. D1v, D2v; BACHA, *Versions arabes*, pp. 449, 462; TREMPÉLAS, pp. 105, 111, 114-115, 118, 124-125, 128; ORLOV, *Liturgija*, pp. 176 ff (cf. apparatus); etc.

¹⁰⁰ Note that nothing can be argued from the failure of several diataxeis to mention the proskomide prayer. This just proves that the prayer was said silently and did not affect the external ceremonial of the liturgy. Cf. the diataxeis of *Ethn. bibl. 662* and Philotheus (TREMPÉLAS, p. 10; cf. KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, pp. 62-63 for Slavonic Philotheus); *Moscow Synod. 381* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 26).

CHAPTER XI

THE KISS OF PEACE AND THE CREED

After the ephonesis of the procomide prayer, the main celebrant turns and greets the congregation: "Peace to all." They respond: "And to your spirit." Then the deacon gives the order to exchange the kiss of peace: "Let us love one another, so that in unanimity we may confess." And the choir sings in response: "Father, Son and Holy Spirit, Trinity consubstantial and indivisible." Meanwhile the main celebrant before the altar and the concelebrants ranged along either side of the altar bow three times, saying to themselves each time: "I love you O Lord, my strength, the Lord is my bastion and my refuge and my deliverer" (Ps. 17: 2-3a LXX). Then the main celebrant kisses the veiled discos and chalice, then the edge of the altar, and at a concelebration, moves to the right side of the sanctuary to exchange the kiss of peace. Each of the concelebrating presbyters approaches in turn the front of the altar from the north (left) side, in single file and in order of seniority. Those positioned along the south (right) side of the altar during the concelebration pass behind the altar to approach the gifts, for in Byzantine practice it is improper to cross in front of the altar. One by one they follow the main celebrant in kissing the gifts and altar, then go up to him for the *pax*.

The kiss is given among the Russians, for example, in the following way. The second concelebrant approaches the senior, and grasps his right hand. Then they kiss each other on the left and right shoulders, and each other's right hand. The senior says, "Christ is in our midst" (or at Easter time, "Christ is risen"), to which the junior responds, "He is and shall be" (or "Truly He is risen!"). Then the second concelebrant takes his place to the right of the senior and waits to exchange the kiss with the other concelebrants as they exchange it with the senior, with him, and in turn join the line beside him. At the same time the deacons kiss the cross on their orarion. At the *pax* on feast days the concelebrants usually take this occasion to congratulate one another

on the feast. If there are no concelebrating presbyters the kiss of peace is omitted. The celebrant just kisses the gifts and the altar and remains at his place for the creed.

Meanwhile as soon as the choir has finished singing "Father, Son and Holy Spirit ..." one of the deacons gives the final warning: "The doors! The doors! In wisdom, let us be attentive!" And the choir or people chant the creed. Having exchanged the kiss, the presbyters return to their places around the altar, remove the aer from the gifts, and wave it over them during the creed. If it is a pontifical liturgy the bishop bows and rests his head on the edge of the altar, and the veil is waved over his head by the concelebrants. At a presbyteral liturgy with no concelebrants, the priest alone removes the aer and waves it over the gifts. Towards the end of the creed, the aer is kissed, folded and put aside. The anaphora dialogue follows immediately after the conclusion of the creed.

The exact same ritual is found in the *editio princeps*, though Doucas gives no rubrics except the one for the priest to bow three times when saying the verses of psalm 17. In the earliest euchologies the ritual is much simpler. After the priest says "Peace to all" the deacon orders "Let us love one another" and the kiss of peace is exchanged. Then the deacon again cries "The doors, the doors! Let us be attentive!" the creed is sung, and then the aer is removed. Let us see if we can trace some of the pre-MS history and later evolution of this rite.

I. THE KISS OF PEACE

The kiss of peace is one of the most primitive rites of the Christian liturgy. Originally it seems to have been a common greeting, probably exchanged at every Christian synaxis.¹ Here, as with so much else, the Apostolic Church was following Jewish practice. Did not Christ reproach Simon the Pharisee for not giving him the customary kiss before the meal (Lk 7: 45)?

In fact the kiss is mentioned often in the New Testament,² and Hans Lietzmann draws a fanciful though striking picture, based on 1 Cor 16: 20 and 2 Cor 13: 12, of what the early Christian practice might have been:

¹ Cf. CABROL, *Baiser*, *DACL* 2, 125. The East Syrians still have the *pax* at the end of all offices (cf. MATEOS, *Letya Sapra*, p. 81).

² Cf. Rom 16: 16; 1 Cor 16: 20; 2 Cor 13: 12; 1 Thess 5: 26; 1 Peter 5: 14.

We are at Corinth at a meeting of the congregation. A letter from the apostle is being read out and draws near its end ... And then rings out the liturgical phrase, "Greet one another with the holy kiss. All the saints kiss you also in Christian communion" — and the Corinthians kiss one another — "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with you all"! — "And with thy spirit" answers the church. The letter is ended and the Lord's supper begins.³

The *pax* is mentioned in all the ancient liturgical sources, and forms part of what Dix calls the "first stratum" of the primitive eucharist.⁴ Its original place was immediately after the *preces* at the conclusion of the Liturgy of the Word, for its pristine purpose was to conclude the synaxis of readings and prayers, not to prepare for the eucharistic offering or, as in the Roman rite, for communion.⁵ It was the symbol of fraternal love that sealed the Christian service, the *signaculum orationis* in the words of Tertullian.⁶

The vision of Saturus told in his own words in *The Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* (202-203), probably edited by Tertullian, also witnesses to how common it was for Christians to exchange the *pax*, especially after prayers at the end of a gathering, before being dismissed: "et ceteri seniores dixerunt nobis: *Stemus. et stetimus et pacem fecimus. et dixerunt nobis seniores: Ite et iudite.*"⁷ The Greek translation, also attributed with probability to Tertullian's editorship, has: "And the other elders said to us, 'Let us stand and pray.' And after giving the *pax* we were dismissed by the elders, saying, 'Go and rejoice.'"⁸ Origen mentions the same practice, and traces it back to the apostles:

³ LIETZMANN, *Messe und Herrenmahl*, p. 229 (we are using the translation of DIX, *Shape*, p. 107). JANERAS (*Introductio* II, p. 42) also points out the striking similarity between our present *ordo* of the kiss followed by the biblical greeting, and the letters of St. Paul.

⁴ DIX, *Shape*, pp. 105 ff., 434 ff.

⁵ Cf. JUNGSMANN, *Missarum Sollemnia* II, p. 322, and also the discussion of VAN DE PAVERD on the question of the *pax* before communion in the East (*Messliturgie*, p. 224 ff.).

⁶ *De Oratione* 18, CSEL 20, 191.

⁷ Ed. J. A. ROBINSON, *Texts and Studies* I, 2 (Cambridge, 1891) ch. 12, p. 80.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 81. The *Passion* also recounts how the martyrs kissed each other before being exposed to the beasts: "ante iam osculati inuicem, ut martyrium per sollemnia pacis consummarent" (*ibid.*, ch. 21, p. 92).

"Greet one another with a holy kiss." From this and several other similar passages, the custom has been handed on to the church that after the prayers the brethren greet (*suscipiant*) one another with a kiss.⁹

This is the *ordo* we find in Justin and (with the addition of the *lavabo*) in the *Missa Clementina*: *preces, pax*, transfer of gifts, anaphora.¹⁰ But in Book II of the *Apostolic Constitutions* and several other early sources, and in every extant Oriental mass, the *pax* follows the transfer of gifts and the *accessus* rites.¹¹

We have already explained in chapter I the possible reasons for this discrepancy. There we argued that the early documents show the *pax* and transfer of gifts to be the original elements in the pre-anaphoral rites. Further additions to the ritual (*lavabo, accessus* prayer, creed, etc.) were inserted before, after, or between the two elements of the primitive stratum.

The *pax* was left proximate to the anaphora because of its interpretation by almost all commentators as a preparation for offering at the altar according to the text of Matthew 5: 23-24: "If you are offering your gift at the altar, and there remember that your brother has something against you, leave your gift there before the altar and go; first be reconciled to your brother, and then come and offer your gift."¹² This patristic interpretation of the *pax* is in perfect conformity with the earliest Christian tradition, as can be seen in the following passage of the *Didache* (14: 2):

Everyone that has a dispute with his companion shall not come together with you [to break bread and give thanks] until they be reconciled, that your sacrifice be not defiled.¹³

⁹ *Comment. in ep. ad Rom.* 10, 33, PG 14, 1282-1283. Cf. also HIP-POLYTUS, *Apostolic Tradition* 18 (ed. BOTTE, p. 40, cited below, p. 389) and 21: "Et cum orauerint, de ore pacem offerant" (*ibid.*, p. 54).

¹⁰ JUSTIN, *Apologia* 1, 65, PG 6, 428; I, 67, PG 6, 429; *Apost. Const.* VIII, 11, 9, FUNK, I, p. 494.

¹¹ Cf. the chart at the end of chapter I.

¹² Cf. BAUMSTARK, *Comparative Liturgy*, Westminster Maryland, 1958, p. 135, and the references given in chapter I, note 115.

¹³ *Doctrina duodecim apostolorum, Barnabae epistula*, ed. TH. KLAUSER (= *Florilegium Patristicum*, fasc. 1) Bonn, 1940, p. 28 (cf. DIX, *Shape*, pp. 91, 105-106). See also *Didascalia* and *Apost. Const.* II, 53-54 (ed. FUNK I, pp. 150-155; CONNOLLY, pp. 115-117.)

The Place of the Pax in the Byzantine Tradition

In the Byzantine euchology tradition and all the Constantinopolitan sources that precede the earliest euchologies the *pax* is found where it is today, just before the anaphora, and there seems to be no reason for supposing it was ever anywhere else.¹⁴ True, Chrysostom in his Constantinopolitan homilies does not mention the transfer of gifts, so we cannot tell from him whether it came before or after the kiss.¹⁵

According to Dix, who has a penchant for tracing almost everything back to Cyril of Jerusalem, Chrysostom's *de Compunctione* proves that the *pax* was still in its original place before the "offertory" (we have adequately dispensed with that idea already) during the preacher's days in Antioch.¹⁶ Dix argues that the *pax* immediately before the anaphora appears first in Jerusalem (cf. Cyril) and was later adopted in the Antiochene liturgy (cf. Theodore of Mopsuestia) and in Constantinople at some point in the 5th or 6th century. But there is no evidence whatever for this as far as Constantinople is concerned.

The Evolution of the Formulae and Rubrics of the Kiss of Peace in the Byzantine Euchology

Two of our earliest complete Constantinopolitan witnesses to the rite of the kiss and creed in the liturgy of the Great Church, 10th century BAS in the *Codex Pyromalus* and in the version of Johannisberg, give it as follows:

The bishop: Peace to all.

The deacon: Let us love one another.

And all kiss one another.

The deacon: The doors, the doors.

And the doors are closed.

The deacon: Let us be attentive, and let us chant (ψάλλωμεν) the symbol.

And after the archdeacon has begun [it], everyone chants the

¹⁴ The earliest source is the homilies of Chrysostom. Cf. *In ep. ad Col. hom. 3, 4*, PG 62, 323, and VAN DE PAVERD, *Messliturgie*, pp. 465 ff.

¹⁵ Cf. VAN DE PAVERD, *Messliturgie*, pp. 466, 468 ff.

¹⁶ DIX, *Shape*, p. 109. He is referring to *De Compunctione ad Demetrium* 1, 3, PG 47, 397-398. On this text cf. VAN DE PAVERD, *Messliturgie*, pp. 221 ff.

symbol. After the symbol the veil is thrice raised (αίρεται) and thrice removed (ἀφαίρεται) from the holy gifts.

And the deacon says: Let us stand aright...¹⁷

The 11th century Georgian version of CHR gives a similar ritual:

Sacerdos: Pax omnibus.

Populus: Cum spiritu tuo.

Diaconus: Diligamus invicem.

Et osculentur. Post osculationem, diaconus dicat voce (alta):
Portas, portas, respicite.

Populus "Credo" (dicat).

Post "Credo" diaconus velum sublevat et dicat voce (alta):

*Stemus bene...*¹⁸

Since both of these sources contain diakonika and rubrics, we can presume that they represent the complete early ritual, and this should be borne in mind in evaluating other, more laconic euchologies with few or no rubrics or diakonika and with numerous abbreviations.¹⁹

A century later the version of Leo Tuscan already shows signs of evolution. The concelebrating presbyters are instructed to kiss the altar before giving the *pax*, the deacons have a rubric to exchange the *pax* among those of their own order, the introduction to the creed is modified, and the Trisagion is said by the main concelebrant while he removes the aer:

Sacerdos: Pax omnibus.

Clerus et populus: Et cum spiritu tuo.

Diaconus: Diligamus ad invicem.

Et sacerdos deosculatur sanctum altare et reliqui similiter accedentes deosculantur sanctam mensam et sacerdotem et diaconum osculantur se invicem.

Et post datum pacis osculum innuit archydiaconus extra stanti diacono ut introitus cancellorum ianuas claudat, et dicit: Attenti simus.

Et clerus et populus dicunt: Credo in unum deum, patrem omnipotentem.

Quo completo, dicit diaconus: Stemus honeste...

¹⁷ GOAR², p. 155. The version of Johannisberg gives exactly the same ritual (COCHLAEUS, *Speculum*, p. 125).

¹⁸ JACOB, *Version géorgienne*, p. 104.

¹⁹ For example in CHR of the 10th century codex *Sevastianov 474* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, pp. 250-251) and of the 11th century codex *Sinai Gr. 958* (f. 18r) the text skips from the ephonesis of the proskomide prayer to the anaphora.

*Clerus et populus: Misericordiam ...
Quo dicto, sacerdos qui solus assistit divinae mensae et qui secus
illam diaconi contingentes venerabile peplum subleuant sedatissima
voce dicentes: Sanctus deus, sanctus fortis, sanctus et immortalis,
miserere nobis.
Et omnino tollunt.*²⁰

With the passing of another century, the Otrantan adaptation of this same version of Tuscan has still further elements of today's rite, though with local peculiarities:

*Sacerdos: Pax omnibus.
Clerus et populus: Et cum spiritu tuo.
Sacerdos: Diligamus ad inuicem.
Clerus et populus: Adoro et confiteor patrem et filium et
spiritum sanctum, trinitatem consubstantialiorem et indivisam re-
gnantem in secula seculorum.
Et inter hec sacerdos deosculatur sanctum altare, et circumstan-
tes, scilicet diaconus et ceteri, similiter osculantur sanctum altare
et sacerdotem et sic ad inuicem.
Tunc diaconus dicit: Ianuas, ianuas. In sapientia attenti-
simus.
Clerus et populus sanctum symbolum, id est "Credo in unum
deum".
Et post hoc sacerdos cum diacono et aliis comministri-
subleuant venerabile peplum, dicente diacono: Stemus honeste ..."*²¹

Let us study the elements of this rite in detail.

1. *The Greeting and Command before the Pax*

In his *Homily 3 on the Epistle to the Colossians*, delivered at Constantinople, Chrysostom explicitly mentions the greeting of the bishop before the command to exchange the kiss: "He says ... when he gives the order to kiss: *Peace to all*."²² A similar greeting is found in the *Apostolic Constitutions* and the *Catechetical Homilies* of Theodore of Mopsuestia, but not in the Antiochene homilies of Chrysostom.²³

What is surprising, however, is that Chrysostom has the bishop also give the command to exchange the kiss.²⁴ This is contrary

²⁰ JACOB, *Toscan*, pp. 152-153.

²¹ JACOB, *Otrante*, pp. 98-99.

²² 4, PG 62, 323. Cf. VAN DE PAVERD, *Messliturgie*, p. 465.

²³ VAN DE PAVERD, *Messliturgie*, pp. 221, 465, and cf. the chart above at the end of chapter I.

²⁴ Cf. note 22. It is said by the priest in codex *Karlsruhe EM 6* (ed.

to universal liturgical practice, which assigns all such proclamations to the deacon, and we agree with van de Paverd that the text is to be understood in the sense that the bishop's greeting is the signal for the deacon's command.²⁵

Chrysostom does not give the formula used for this command. The *Apostolic Constitutions* and the Antiochene homilies of Chrysostom have the Pauline text from 1 Cor 16:20, 2 Cor 13:12: "Greet one another with a holy kiss."²⁶ This is also the traditional formula of the Armenian rite and, hence, of the Armenian version of CHR.²⁷ But we have no evidence it was ever used in Byzantine CHR or BAS.

In all the earlier Byzantine liturgical MSS, and in most of the later ones, the command is simply: 'Αγαπήσωμεν ἀλλήλους, "Let us love one another."²⁸ The additional clause of the *textus receptus* (ἵνα ἐν ὁμοθυμίᾳ ὁμολογήσωμεν, "so that in unanimity we may confess") is apparently a later expansion of the command to make it seem an introduction to the creed, and probably was introduced after the custom of exchanging the *pax* among members of the congregation had died out. However, it is difficult to determine at what point this addition became common, because the codices constantly abbreviate formulae and omit diakonika.

For example several codices give only τὰς θύρας, τὰς θύρας be-

ENGDahl, p. 23) and in the above-cited Otrantan recension of the version of Tuscan in the same MS.

²⁵ VAN DE PAVERD, *Messliturgie*, p. 465.

²⁶ *Ap. Const.* VIII, 11, 7-9, FUNK I, p. 494, and VAN DE PAVERD, *Messliturgie*, p. 235. JAS combines the Byzantine formula with the Pauline text: "Let us love one another with a holy kiss" (MERCIER, p. 185, 12).

²⁷ LEW, p. 434, 6, and AUCHER, *Versions armenia*, p. 387.

²⁸ Cf. for example codices *Barberini Gr. 336* (LEW, p. 320, 27); *Leninograd 226*, *Sevastianov 474* (incipit only), *Vatican Gr. 1170* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, pp. 147, 250, 289); *Grottaferrata Gb IV* (f. 21v), *Gb XX* (BAS, f. 39v), *Gb XII* (BAS, f. 59r), *Gb III* (*Codex Falascae*, GOAR², p. 88); *Stavrou 109*; BACHA, *Versions arabes*, p. 459; *Paris Gr. 328* (p. 41) and *391* (f. 17v); *Paris Coislin Gr. 214* (f. 10r); *Sinai Gr. 959* (f. 25r), *1036* (f. 34r), *1037* (f. 34v), *2046* (f. 16v); the version of Leo Tuscan cited above, pp. 379-380 of this chapter; *Karlsruhe EM 6* (ENGDahl, pp. 22, 62); *Oxford Bodleian Add. E. 12* (roll), *Auct. E.5.13* (f. 15v), *Cromwell 11* (p. 35); *Vatican Gr. 782* (diataxis, f. 217v); *British Museum Harl. 5561* (f. 13v) and *Add. 18070* (roll); and BAS in the rolls *Geneva 27* and *27A*. Among the Slavic sources, cf. the *Služebnik of Antony the Roman*, codex *Moscow Synod. 342-605*, NEVOSTRUEV-GORSKIJ, *Opisanie III*, 1, p. 3; the *Služebnik of Vladimir*, KOVALIV, *Molitvenik*, f. 21v; *Sinai Slav 40*, *Vatican Slav 9* and *10* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, pp. 154, 160); and MSS of BAS in ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 159. See also the *Prothecoria* (PG 140, 444).

fore the creed,²⁹ thus omitting the customary *πρόσχωμεν*. But since we have evidence for *πρόσχωμεν* in our oldest sources (cf. Part II of this chapter), we take this to be an abbreviation giving just the *incipit* of the diaconal injunction. Can the same be said for *ἀγαπήσωμεν ἀλλήλους*? The earlier sources show it to have been the integral primitive formula. But whether or not it should be understood as such, or rather as an abbreviation of the longer *textus receptus*, is not always clear in MSS of the 12th century or later, such as *Paris Gr. 328* (p. 41). For by that date we already have evidence in other sources for the longer reading.

At any rate, the first witness we have found with this longer reading is the 12th century Constantinopolitan-type codex *Paris Gr. 347*. It has before the kiss (p. 85):

Ἀγαπήσωμεν ἀλλήλους ἵνα ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ.

Two other Constantinopolitan-type MSS, *Burdett-Coutts III, 42* (13th century?) and *University of Michigan 49* (= former *Burdett Coutts I, 10*, 13th century) also give the longer recension.³⁰ These are the only pre-14th century sources that we have found containing the addition. But in the 14-15th century MSS it becomes more and more common, especially in monastic euchologies,³¹ though it does not appear in any of the monastic diataxeis, including that of Philotheus. Still, most sources of this period give only the shorter pristine formula. The complete absence of the longer recension in Italian MSS anterior to the 16th century could indicate a Constantinopolitan or monastic origin for the addition.

It should be noted that none of these sources anterior to the *editio princeps* that have the longer reading with the addition "so that in unanimity we may confess" follow it with the Trinitarian confession, though in today's *ordo* its only function seems to be to introduce this very confession. This is not in itself surprising, since MSS often omit the responses of the people (cf. *infra*, 2, d). What

²⁹ Cf. *Leningrad 226*, BAS of *Sevastianov 474*, *Vatican Gr. 1170* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenijsa*, pp. 147, 250, 289); *Sinai Gr. 958* and *959*; *Stavrou 109*; *Paris Gr. 391* and *328*; *Geneva 27* (BAS).

³⁰ SWAINSON, *Greek Liturgies*, pp. 127, 158 (BAS).

³¹ Cf. the 14th century codices *Taphou 520, 517, 334*; *Moscow Synod 261-279* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenijsa*, p. 299, referred to as 279); *Vatican Slav 14* (*ibid.*, p. 165); and the 15th-16th century *Munich 540* (AD 1416, f. 15v); *Iviron 373* (780); *Geneva 24* and *25* (BAS); *Sinai Gr. 1919, 1046, 1047, 1049, 2017, 2037, 2045*; *Sabas 382* and *48*; *Sinai Slav 14* and *15*; and the Greek and Slavonic MSS of BAS in ORLOV, *Liturgija*, pp. 158-159.

is striking is that other Greek sources anterior to the *editio princeps* that do contain the Trinitarian confession all omit "so that in unanimity..." This consistency in giving one or the other but never both of these seemingly closely connected formulae can be explained plausibly (cf. *infra*, 2, a-d), but it also appears that the nexus between these two elements can be questioned, and that "so that in unanimity we may confess" referred originally to the creed, with today's Trinitarian confession being added later.

2. The Trinitarian Confession

Whereas we found the addition "so that in unanimity we may confess" first in Constantinopolitan-type MSS, the Trinitarian confession first appears in the 12th century in Greek euchologies of Oriental, monastic and Otrantan provenance, and in the Slavic sources. Prior to this, in Ambrose Pelargus' Latin version of CHR from the now lost *Codex Sancti Simeonis*, a Palestinian MS of the early 11th century (*ante* 1030), we find this unique reading:

Deaconus. Diligamus mutuo.
Populus. Dominum deum nostrum.³²

We know of no other source with this response.

a) The Greek MSS:

The earliest witness we have discovered for the Trinitarian confession "Father, Son and Holy Spirit, Trinity consubstantial and indivisible" is BAS in the 12-13th century roll *Sinai Gr. 1020*. The MS reads:

Ὁ διάκονος Ἀγαπήσωμεν ἀλλήλους. Πατέρα...³³

Note that the deacon introduces it with "Let us love one another," the pristine injunction without any addition. The same is true of the 13th century codex *British Museum Harl. 5561* (f. 13v) and the 15th century diataxis in codices *Sabas 305* and *Leningrad 423*.³⁴ We should probably take this to be just an *incipit*, with the later addition "so that in unanimity we may confess" understood. For "Father, Son and Holy Spirit" in the accusative must depend on *ὁμολογήσωμεν* — unless one wishes to understand it as originally

³² PELARGUS, *Liturgia*, f. C3v.

³³ DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 142.

³⁴ KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 90.

the object of ἀγαπήσωμεν: "Let us love one another [and] the Father, Son and Holy Spirit ..."

b) *Slavonic MSS:*

In the Slavic tradition too, the Trinitarian exclamation begins to appear in MSS from the 12th century on.³⁵ But its supposed introduction, "so that in unanimity we may confess," we find first in 14-15th century sources.³⁶ Thus the two pieces appear to be independent. This could indicate that the Slavs simply failed to realize that "Let us love one another" in the Greek books they copied had by that time become just an *incipit*.

c) *An Otrantan Peculiarity:*

Perhaps the same must be said of the Otrantan usage. Several 12-13th century Otrantan MSS give the Trinitarian exclamation in a redaction peculiar to that local tradition. Here is the text from the 13th century codex *Karlsruhe EM 6*:

Ὁ ἱερεὺς · Ἀγαπήσωμεν ἀλλήλους.
Ὁ κληρὸς καὶ ὁ λαός · Προσκυνῶ καὶ ὁμολογῶ πατέρα, υἱὸν
καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τριάδα ὁμοούσιον καὶ ἀχώριστον τὴν βασιλεύουσαν
εἰς αἰῶνα αἰῶνος.³⁷

The 13th century Otrantan adaptation of Leo Tuscan's Latin version of CHR, already cited at the beginning of this chapter from codex *Karlsruhe EM 6*, is the same, including the rubric assigning the diaconal injunction to the priest.³⁸ A fragment from another 12-13th century Otrantan euchology now found on f. 19 of the palimpsest codex *Vallicelliana C 97² Gr. 47*, recently described by A. Jacob, has the variant *incipit* Προσκυνοῦμεν πατέρα.³⁹ This is also found in one late MS, codex *Sinai Gr. 1919*, AD 1564

³⁵ Cf. the 12th century *Služebniki of Antony the Roman and of Varlaam Chutynakij* (codices *Moscow Synod 342-605* and *343-604*, NEVOSTRUEV-GORSKIJ, *Opisanie III*, 1 pp. 3,6); *Vatican Slav 9* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 154); and the later *Služebnik of Vladimir* (KOVALIV, *Molitovnik*, f. 21v); *Vatican Slav 14* and *10* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, pp. 160, 165); *Sinai Slav 14, 15, 40*; and several MSS of the Slavonic version of BAS in ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 159.

³⁶ Cf. ORLOV, *loc. cit.*

³⁷ ENGDAL, p. 22. BAS (p. 62) is the same except that the command "Let us love one another" is assigned to the deacon, as it should be.

³⁸ JACOB, *Otrante*, p. 98. Cf. above, p. 380.

³⁹ A. JACOB, *Fragments peu connus d'euchologes otrantais*, *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, 42, 1972, p. 104.

(f. 37v). Nicholas of Otranto's Latin version of BAS (circa 1178-1198) omits the Otrantan *incipit* entirely, but does have the finale "qui regnat in secula seculorum, amen."⁴⁰

As we have said, it seems impossible to justify the accusative of the exclamation "Father Son and Holy Spirit ..." unless we presume it to have been introduced later, as the object of the previously added "so that in unanimity we may confess," originally intended to refer to the confession of faith in the creed. But then how do we explain what we find in these Otrantan MSS? One can only speculate that perhaps the Otrantan copyists, like the Slavs, failed to realise that sometime in the 12-13th centuries the command "Let us love one another" was in the process of becoming just an *incipit*, with the addition "so that in unanimity we may confess" understood, even though the command long kept its pristine form in the MSS. So when confronted with MSS containing the Trinitarian exclamation the Otrantans saw the need for an introduction and added their verbs. However, this does not explain the peculiar Otrantan finale ("reigning unto ages of ages, amen").

One later Italian codex, *Grottaferrata Gb XIX*, AD 1591 (f.10v) combines both traditions, giving the *textus receptus* of the diaconal injunction followed by the usual Otrantan redaction of the Trinitarian exclamation as found in codex *Karlsruhe EM 6*.

d) *The Origins of the Trinitarian Confession:*

The pre-16th century MSS mentioned above are the only Greek sources anterior to the *editio princeps* we have found with the Trinitarian confession. This proves nothing, however, since liturgical MSS are notorious for omitting the responses of the people, and evidence in Slavic sources from the 12th century on shows that the Trinitarian confession was widely known.⁴¹

In fact the Slavonic MSS may provide the key to the origins of the Trinitarian confession. Our earliest Greek source, *Sinai Gr. 1020* cited above, does not indicate who recited it. But in our earliest extant Slavonic MS of CHR, the *Služebnik of Antony the Roman* (†1147), after "Let us love one another" the celebrating priests say "Father, Son and Holy Spirit, Trinity indivisible and consubstantial" [sic].⁴² The *Služebnik of Varlaam Chu-*

⁴⁰ JACOB, *Otrante*, p. 71.

⁴¹ Cf. note 35 above.

⁴² Codex *Moscow Synod 342 (605)* in NEVOSTRUEV-GORSKIJ, *Opisanie III*, 1, p. 3.

tynskij († 1192) gives the same exclamation in full without specifying who is to say it,⁴³ but the 12th century Serbian codex *Vat. Slav. 9* also assigns it to the presbyters.⁴⁴ This practice of having the Trinitarian phrase recited by the clergy is found in several other Slavic MSS of the 13-14th centuries,⁴⁵ though some *Služebniki* of the same period assign it to the people.⁴⁶ Another peculiarity found very commonly in the Slavic sources beginning with BAS of the 12th century codex *Moscow Synod 343* (604) is a short form of the Trinitarian confession: "Father, Son and Holy Spirit."⁴⁷ This is found regardless of whether the confession is said by the clergy or the people. In origin it may well have been meant as an *incipit*, an abbreviation to indicate the whole phrase, but a rubric in the 15-16th century *Vatican Slav. 10* shows that some considered it the whole response:

When the priest says: *Let us love one another*, the people [say]: *Father, Son and Holy Spirit*. But some also add: *Trinity, consubstantial and indivisible*.⁴⁸

It seems possible, then, that the Trinitarian confession was originally a variable devotional addition possibly of monastic provenance, recited only by the clergy. Later it was taken up by the people.

3. Psalm 17: 2-3a

In the right-hand margin of the 12th century *Paris Gr. 347* (p. 85) a later hand has added: ο νερες προσκη αγαπ. This seems to be an early indication of the practice that appears for the first time in the diataxis of Philotheus:

⁴³ Codex *Moscow Synod 343* (604), *ibid.*, p. 6.

⁴⁴ KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 154.

⁴⁵ Cf. 13th century BAS in codex *Sofia 525* (ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 159, C^o in the apparatus); the 14th century *Služebnik of Vladimir* (KOVALIV, *Molitovnik*, f. 21v); *Sofia 522* and *523* (PETROVSKIJ, *Rédaction slave*, p. 884); the 14-15th century *Vatican Slav 14*, which has a marginal note assigning the response to the deacon (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 165); and *Sinai Slav 40*.

⁴⁶ E. g. *Sinai Slav 14, 15*; *Vatican Slav 10* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 160). See also ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 159.

⁴⁷ ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 159 in the apparatus. Cf. also *Sofia 525* (13th c.), *loc. cit.*, C^o; *Vatican Slav 10* and *14* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, pp. 160, 165); and *Sinai Slav 40, 14, 15*. According to ORLOV (*loc. cit.* and p. X) this is a commonplace in the Slavic MSS. It is also found in one Greek source, perhaps intended as an *incipit*: the 15th century diataxis in *Leningrad Gr. 423* and *Sabas 305* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materials*, p. 90).

⁴⁸ KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 160.

Και ὁ ἱερεὺς ... προσκυνεῖ Γ' εὐχόμενος καὶ λέγων καθ' ἑαυτὸν: Ἀγαπήσω σέ, Κύριε ἡ ἰσχύς μου· Κύριος στερρώμα μου καὶ καταφυγή μου καὶ ῥύστης μου [Ps. 17: 2-3a].⁴⁹

There follows the rubric to kiss the gifts.

Although the Slavic *editio princeps* and the Greek *textus receptus* give all of verses 2-3a (LXX): "I love you, O Lord, my strength, the Lord is my bastion and my refuge and my deliverer," the Greek *editio princeps* of 1526 and the Slavic *textus receptus* omit "and my deliverer." But great diversity is found in the sources, both Greek and Slavonic, and some carry verse 3 further, adding "my God, my helper."⁵⁰

From a study of the diataxeis we can place this development as having gained a foothold in the course of the 14-15th centuries. The early, simple rite containing only the command "Let us love one another" and the rubric to give the kiss is found in the diataxeis of *Ethnike bibl. 662* (12-13th century),⁵¹ *Moscow Synod 381* (13-14th c.), *Vatican Gr. 573* (15th c.),⁵² and, though without the rubric regarding the *pax*, of *Paris Gr. 2509* (15th c.).⁵³ But the 12-13th century patriarchal diataxis of *British Museum Add. 34060* adds the rubric that the patriarch and concelebrants should bow twice and kiss the altar.⁵⁴ The archieratikon of Gemistos (c. 1380) adds only that the patriarch should say Psalm 17: 2 when kissing the altar.⁵⁵ But the somewhat earlier diataxis of Philotheus (before AD 1347) already has the complete rite, with Ps. 17: 2-3a (up to "... refuge") and the rubric to kiss the discos, chalice and altar.⁵⁶

This custom of kissing the vessels before the *pax* was a medieval practice in several Western traditions.⁵⁷ In the Byzantine tradition it seems to have been an innovation of Philotheus. The Greek MSS of Philotheus' diataxis have the practice,⁵⁸ as does the

⁴⁹ TREMPÉLAS, p. 10.

⁵⁰ See for example various MSS in TREMPÉLAS, pp. 89-90; ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 161; PETROVSKIJ, *Rédaction slave*, p. 907.

⁵¹ TREMPÉLAS, p. 10.

⁵² KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materials*, pp. 26, 109.

⁵³ GOAR³, p. 81.

⁵⁴ ARABATZOGLOU, *Bibliothèque*, p. 238.

⁵⁵ DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 311.

⁵⁶ TREMPÉLAS, pp. 10-11. Some euchologies give a rubric to kiss the gifts without any formula: e. g. *Sinai Gr. 1046, 1049*.

⁵⁷ JUNGSMANN, *Miss. Sollemnia* II, p. 327.

⁵⁸ TREMPÉLAS, pp. 10-11.

earliest Slavonic version by the Bulgarian Patriarch Euthymius of Tirnovo (1375-1393).⁵⁹ But the other Slavonic recension of Philotheus' diataxis attributed to Cyprian Tsamblak, Metropolitan of Kiev († 1406), adds the observation that some consider it sufficient to kiss only the altar, according to the usage of the Great Church.⁶⁰ So apparently the practice of kissing the gifts became general only after the rubrics of Philotheus had imposed themselves throughout the Byzantine Church.

Philotheus probably introduced the practice as a substitute for the *pax* at a presbyteral liturgy without concelebrants. By his time the *pax* was no longer exchanged among the people, and since the Byzantine custom was to exchange the *pax* among members of the same rank, a priest celebrating alone had no one with whom to exchange it, so the rite was simply omitted. A rubric in the diataxis of codex *Paris Gr. 2509* shows this evolution:

At the "Let us love one another" he [the deacon] does not introduce immediately "The doors, the doors," but first bows reverently three times, and after kissing his orarion, then introduces it.⁶¹

The *pax* had disappeared so completely that even the deacons were abandoning the kissing of the cross on the orarion, the last relic of the kiss they formerly exchanged with their fellow deacons.

In the tradition of Otranto, a more suitable solution was found. There the priest gave the kiss to the other ministers in the sanctuary even if there were no concelebrating presbyters.⁶²

⁵⁹ Cf. the edition of KALUŽNIACKI, *Werke des Euthymius*, p. 298.

⁶⁰ Cf. codices *Vatican Slav 14* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenja*, p. 186 and cf. pp. 171-172) and the *Služebnik of Metropolitan Kiprian (Moscow Synod 344-601)*, 14th century, KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, pp. 63-65 and cf. pp. 35-36 and NEVOSTRUEV-GORSKIJ, *Opisanie III*, 1, p. 15). Cyprian, also a Bulgarian from Tirnovo, was consecrated Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia by Philotheus at Constantinople in 1371, though he was hard put to establish his authority in Muscovy against a succession of Russian rivals. Cf. A. AMMANN, *Storia della Chiesa russa*, Torino, 1948, pp. 85 ff. One of Cyprian's relatives, Gregory Tsamblak, is the Metropolitan of Kiev whom we saw at the Council of Constance in 1418 in the *Chronicle of Ulrich von Richental* quoted above in chapter V (cf. *supra*, p. 209 note 105 and *ibid.*, p. 109).

⁶¹ GOAR², p. 81.

⁶² Cf. codex *Karlsruhe EM 6* (ed. ENGDAL, pp. 22-23, 62-63) and the Otrantan version of Leo Tuscan's translation of CHR from the same MS (JACOB, *Otranto*, p. 98, cited above, p. 380).

4. The Kiss

It is clear from the early sources that the *pax* was originally exchanged not merely among the bishops and presbyters as today, but among the deacons and people too. Origen, we saw, testifies to the tradition "ut post orationes osculo invicem suscipiant fratres".⁶³ Similarly, canon 19 of the Council of Laodicea (*circa* 363), after describing the prayers over the various classes, continues:

... then the *pax* is given. And after the presbyters give the *pax* to the bishop, then the laymen give it, and then the offering [= anaphora] is accomplished.⁶⁴

The *Apostolic Constitutions* are even more explicit:

And let the deacon say to all: "Greet one another with a holy kiss," and the members of the clergy kiss the bishop, the laymen [kiss] the laymen, the laywomen [kiss] the laywomen.⁶⁵

Hippolytus testifies that the same tradition existed in the West:

When they [the catechumens] have finished praying, however, they should not give the *pax*, because their kiss is not yet holy. But the faithful should kiss each other, the men the men, and women the women. But the men should not kiss the women.⁶⁶

There was an earlier period of innocence when the final remark was not in force and the sexes shared the *pax*, as we see in Tertullian's *Ad uxorem*⁶⁷ and Ps.-Sophronius' *Vita Sanctae Mariae Aegyptiacae*.⁶⁸ But the age of simplicity did not last long, and eventually the sexes were assigned physically separated places in the church itself, and were forbidden to share the kiss.⁶⁹

⁶³ Cf. note 9, above.

⁶⁴ MANSI, 2, 567. Cf. also Ps.-DENYS, *EH* 3, *PG* 3, 425; *Testamentum Domini* 1, 23 (ed. RAHMANI, p. 37); THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, *Hom.* 15, 39-40 (ed. TONNEAU-DEVRESSE, pp. 520 ff).

⁶⁵ *Apost. Const.* VIII, 11, 7-9, FUNK I, pp. 494.

⁶⁶ *Apostolic Tradition* 18, ed. BOTTE, p. 40.

⁶⁷ II, 4, *CSEL* 70, 117.

⁶⁸ Ch. 22, *PL* 73, 687. Cf. JUNGSMANN, *Miss. Sollemnia* II, pp. 323, 327-328.

⁶⁹ See for example *Apostolic Tradition* 18 just cited; *Apost. Const.* and *Didascalia*, II, 57, 4-5 (FUNK I, pp. 160-161); *Test. Domini* II, 4 (ed. RAHMANI, p. 117); *Didascalia arabica* 35 (FUNK II, pp. 124-125); canon 18 of the *Arabic Canons of Hippolytus* (ed. R. COQUIN, *PO* 31, 2, Paris, 1966, p. [107] 375). At the paschal kiss at Constantinople in *De*

Since it seems that the kiss was not continued from person to person until everyone had kissed everyone else in the congregation, but was exchanged only between neighboring worshippers at the service, the rite could have been accomplished with a minimum of time and confusion.⁷⁰ In most rites today the kiss is conceived of hierarchically, as being passed from altar and priest to deacon, lesser ministers, and laity, but according to Jungmann this is a later innovation.⁷¹ The Byzantine practice of sharing the kiss within each group is more primitive. It has remained in practice only among the concelebrants of presbyteral and episcopal rank, but until recently it was also customary for the deacons to exchange the kiss.⁷² Greek and Slavic sources as late as the 18th century have rubrics for the deacons to kiss the cross on their orarion and, if there is more than one deacon, one another.⁷³ But the practice has died out among the Greeks, and was not always in use everywhere among the Slavs,⁷⁴ except perhaps for the Old Ritualists.⁷⁵

Today the kiss is usually given on the shoulders, but Chrysostom in Antioch specifies that it was once given on the lips. In the *De compunctione ad Demetrium*, after commenting on Mt 5: 23-24, he goes on to say that the kiss of peace is only a symbol of the interior reconciliation spoken of in the gospel, and hence God does not want us to kiss with the lips and mouth only.⁷⁶ It should be a kiss of the soul, an embrace of the heart as well. Even more explicit is his *Homily 30 on II Corinthians*:

caerimoniis I, 9 (ed. Voort I, pp. 56-57, 61-62; *Commentaire* I, pp. 100-101) the same separation was in force. On the women's place in the churches of Constantinople, cf. MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, pp. 130 ff. For Syria, cf. TAFT, *Bema*, p. 332 and note 4.

⁷⁰ This seems to be implied in THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, *Hom. 15*, 39 (ed. TONNEAU-DEVRESSE, p. 521). See also JUNGMAN, *Miss. Sollemnia* II, pp. 325-326. On the rite of the *pax* in the various liturgies, cf. *ibid.*, p. 328; HANSENS, *Institutiones* III, pp. 317-321; KHOURI-SARKIS, *Notes sur l'anaphore syriaque de S. Jacques*, *OrSyr* 5, 1960, pp. 26-32.

⁷¹ JUNGMAN, *Miss. Sollemnia* II, pp. 326 ff.

⁷² See the version of Leo Tuscan and its Otrantan adaptation, both cited above, pp. 379-380, and codex Karlsruhe EM 6, ed. ENGDAL, pp. 22-23, 62-63.

⁷³ Cf. codices *Ethnike bibl.* 776 (16th century) and 765 (18th century) in TREMPERAS, p. 91, o and w in the apparatus, and the *Služebniki*, Strjatin, 1604 (p. 137); Kiev, 1629 (p. 51); Lvov, 1646 (f. 135v); Moscow 1780 (f. 79r); etc.

⁷⁴ E. g. in the *Činovnik of Cholmogory* the deacons kiss only their orarion, not one another (ed. GOLUBCOV, p. 24).

⁷⁵ Cf. the *Edinovercy Činovnik*, Moscow, 1910, f. 55r.

⁷⁶ I, 3, PG 47, 398.

Concerning this holy kiss we will give another reason ... We are the temple of Christ. It is then the entrance, the vestibule of this temple that we kiss when we kiss one another ... And it is through these doors [i. e. our mouths] that Christ enters us ... whenever we receive communion ... It is no ordinary honor that our mouth receives when we receive the body of the Lord. It is above all for this reason that we give the kiss here [i. e. on the mouth].⁷⁷

In his Constantinopolitan homilies Chrysostom mentions the kiss of peace but gives no details. However, this seems to have been the Byzantine practice too. And evidently they went at it with enthusiasm in those days, for towards the end of the 11th century the practice seems to have been judged too enjoyable for the penitential season! This is what we learn at any rate from the *Response* of Theophylact of Bulgaria to his brother Demetrius, who had asked why it was that in Lent the *pax* is given on the shoulders of the priest, and not on the mouth.⁷⁸ Slavic rubrics of the 14-15th centuries testify to how long the practice lasted: *i celujutsja v ousta, glagoljušče, Christos posrede nas* (and they kiss one another on the mouth, saying "Christ is among us").⁷⁹

But one does not need much imagination to understand why such practices eventually died out everywhere, and why "in all Christian liturgies in the course of time a certain stylizing was effected, in which only a discreet indication of the former kiss remained."⁸⁰ As usual in such matters, it is a question of the cultural context. The kiss was certainly not so frightfully embarrassing for the ancients as it would be for the average stodgy congregation in many Western countries today. It is said that among the ancients the kiss among non-relatives was more a sign

⁷⁷ 2, PG 61, 606-607.

⁷⁸ The work, unedited, is contained in codices *Sinai Gr. 1117* (f. 240r-v) and *Ethn. bibl.* 1431 (ff. 81r-82v), cited in BORNERT, *Commentaires*, p. 212.

⁷⁹ *Služebnik of Vladimir* (14th c.) ed. KOVALIK, *Molitovník*, f. 21v. Cf. also codex *Tipogr. bibl.* 43 (BAS, 15th century) in ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 161; *Služebnik*, Lvov, 1646, f. 145r-v. But the *Činovnik of Cholmogory* prescribes the kiss on the shoulders and right hand, as today (ed. GOLUBCOV, p. 29). For some unfathomable reason the *Služebnik of Vladimir* has been said to have a kiss of peace both before and after the Great Entrance (N. KORLIVA, *Un témoin du plus ancien manuscrit cyrillique, l'Euchologe du kniaz Vladimir le Grand* († 1015), *Echos d'Orient* 29, 1930, p. 346, citing a description of the MS by Oghienbo). There is no trace of this in the MS itself (cf. ff. 17r-20r).

⁸⁰ JUNGMAN, *Miss. Sollemnia* II, p. 328.

of respect than affection.⁸¹ But even that held true only up to a point. Tertullian remarks that a pagan husband would not tolerate his wife approaching a brother Christian for the kiss of peace, and his objection certainly had nothing to do with respect!⁸²

5. *Formulae Accompanying the Kiss*

a) "Christ is in our midst."

"He is and shall be."

In Mt 18:20 Christ told his disciples "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in their midst (ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν)." Confident in the fulfillment of this promise, when exchanging the kiss in the Byzantine liturgy it is customary for the senior to say "Ὁ Χριστός ἐν μέσῳ ἡμῶν", to which the junior responds "Καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἔσται". Gemistos is our first Greek witness to this exchange⁸³ though an earlier witness, codex *Bodleian Cromwell II*, AD 1225 (p. 53) has "Peace to us," with today's response "(It) is and shall be." Our present formula is rarely found in the Greek euchology MSS but is very common in the Slavic sources.⁸⁴ The variant formula "Mir o Christe ierejstvu tvoemu" ("The peace of Christ to your priesthood") used by the concelebrating presbyters is also found in Slavic sources, but today has been replaced by the formula of Gemistos.⁸⁵

b) *The Prayer of the Kiss of Peace:*

Another Slavic peculiarity in this part of the liturgy is the *molitva pred celovaniem* (Prayer before the Kiss) found in several MSS of BAS and CHR and even in some printed editions. The

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, II, p. 328 note 38, citing J. HORST, *Proskynein* (Gütersloh, 1932), pp. 50 ff.

⁸² *Ad. uxor.* II, 4, CSEL 70, 117.

⁸³ DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 311.

⁸⁴ Among the Greek sources, we have found it in codex *Sabas 48* and some later MSS in TREMPERAS (p. 91). *Ieratikon*, Rome, 1960, has "God" instead of "Christ" (p. 270); Athens, 1951 (p. 170) has no formula. The 15th century *Sinai Gr. 986* has almost the same exchange ("God is in the midst of us...") at the communion of the clergy (DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 613). Among the Slavic sources cf. the *Služebnik of Vladimir* (KOVALIV, *Molitovnik*, f. 21v); several MSS of Slavonic BAS in ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 161; *Služebnik*, Lvov, 1646, f. 135r-v; the *Činovnik of Cholmogory* (ed. GOLUBCOV, p. 24) the *Edinovercy Činovnik*, Moscow, 1910, f. 54r.

⁸⁵ *Vatican Slav. 9* (12th c.), KRASNOSEL'OKV, *Svedenija*, p. 154; the *Služebniki of Antony the Roman* († 1147) and *Varlaam Chutynskij* († 1192) (= *Cod. Synod. 342-605* and *343-604* in NEVOSTRUEV-GORSKIJ, *Opisanie III*, 1, pp. 3, 6). For other 12-15th c. MSS see PETROVSKIJ, *Rédaction slave*, pp. 868, 908; ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 161.

oratio ante pacem is common to other Oriental liturgies except the Armenian and East Syrian,⁸⁶ and probably entered the Slavic tradition as a result of the influence of JAS. We have found no such prayer in any Greek MS of BAS or CHR.

We give below a translation of what might be called the *textus receptus* from the *Edinovercy Činovnik*. In the MSS and other printed editions many variants, both textual and orthographic are to be found, but this is a commonplace in the unstable and often revised Slavonic version of the liturgy, and none of these variants affect the substance of the prayer. We indicate the major variants simply to give the non-Slavonic reader an indication of what one finds. The Slavonic text itself can easily be controlled in the published sources.⁸⁷

Oratio ante osculationem

Domine Iesu Christe,¹ dilectionis factor² et bonorum largitor, da nobis ¹servis tuis² ut nos invicem diligamus, sicut tu nos dilexisti, ¹ut fide et dilectione in unitate mentis et corporis et animae⁴ ¹tibi appropinquemus² ¹et tibi laudem referamus⁴ et

¹ *add.* Deus noster

² *add.* et largitor

³ *om.*

⁴ ut una dilectione uniti

⁵ Deum (*vel*: to) precemur

⁶ *om.*

⁸⁶ Cf. JAS (*LEW.*, p. 43, 11 ff); Jacobite liturgy (*ibid.*, p. 83, 22 ff); MARK (*ibid.*, p. 123, 16 ff); Coptic liturgy (*ibid.*, p. 162, 36 ff); Ethiopian liturgy (*ibid.*, p. 227, 10 ff).

⁸⁷ MURETOV (*K materialam*, p. 98) gives the text from the 14th century codex *Petersburg Academy 526* with variants from the 14th century MSS *Moscow Synod 345* (598), *Kazan Academy 707* (1026), 712 (1023), 713 (1029), and the Moscow *Služebnik* of 1602. ORLOV (*Liturgija*, p. 159) gives an edition of the 16th century codex *Sofia 603*, with variants from *Sofia 520* (14th c.), 526 (14th c.), 530 (15th c.), 899 (17th c.) and the Moscow *Služebniki* of 1602 and 1653. PETROVSKIJ, (*Rédaction slave*, pp. 884, 908, 928) also refers to these sources. We have translated the text of the *Edinovercy Činovnik*, Moscow, 1910, ff. 54v-55r, and give the most significant variants from the sources cited above. NEVOSTRUEV-GORSKIJ (*Opisanie III*, 1, p. 81) note that the prayer is also found in the 16th century codex *Moscow Synod 360* (616) but the text is not given.

sanctis tuis mysteriis participes simus et regno tuo coelesti digni simus.⁸

Et tibi gloriam referimus Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto...⁹

⁷ om. tuis; add. et purissimis

⁸ om.

⁹ om. et; add. Quia tu es sanctitas (vel: dilectio) nostra et tibi gloriam referimus cum tuo Patri aeterno (et) cum sanctissimo et bono et vivifico tuo spiritu, nunc.

The variations in the location of the prayer in the MSS — just before or after "I will love you, O Lord..."; during the creed, with hands elevated; even after the creed — are enough to betray it as a foreign body in the Byzantine liturgy.⁸⁸ As Petrovskij has pointed out,⁸⁹ it is simply a modification of a prayer for the reconciliation of enemies, obviously inspired by John 17, found in Slavonic in the 14th century Slavic *Trebnik* (*molitva v ljubov' eže est mir*), and in Greek in the *Euchologion* of Goar.⁹⁰ Here is the translation of the text from Goar, from which the adaptations to a Christological prayer for the kiss of peace at the eucharistic celebration will be apparent:

Oratio in pacem et concordiam post aliquam simultatem

Domine Deus noster, dilectionis factor, pacis mediator, et concordiae dator: pacem tuam, legis tuae complementum nobis largire. Da ut nos invicem in dilectione suscipiamus, sicut et unigenitus filius tuus nos suscepit. Da nobis alterum alterius onera portare, et cum studio invicem servire, et cum omni alacritate legem Christi tui adimplere, et ab innumeris malis, ab omnibus insidiis, et maligni machinamento nos libera. Quia tu es Deus pacis et concordiae: et tibi gloriam, etc.⁹¹

With this prayer we have once again an example of the freedom with which the Slavs adapted the text of the liturgy to their own devotional needs before the Grecizing spirit of Nikon swept local genius away in the interest of uniformity. The prayer first appears in the 14th century Slavic MSS of BAS and CHR.⁹² Already in

⁸⁸ PETROVSKIJ, *Rédaction slave*, p. 884; ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 159, notes ***** and *****.

⁸⁹ PETROVSKIJ, *Rédaction slave*, p. 884 note 2.

⁹⁰ Codex Synod. 371 (14th c.) in NEVOSTRUEV-GORSKIJ, *Opisanie III*, I, p. 130; Greek text in GOAR², p. 706.

⁹¹ GOAR, *loc. cit.*

⁹² PETROVSKIJ, *Rédaction slave*, pp. 884, 908.

the 15th century codices it begins to be omitted, but it is still found in some Muscovite printed editions of the 16th-17th centuries.⁹³

The Disappearance of the Kiss

Khouri-Sarkis' flat assertion "the kiss of peace has disappeared from the Byzantine liturgy"⁹⁴, like most over-generalizations, is false. As we have seen, the kiss is still exchanged among the concelebrating clergy. But when did the custom of exchanging the kiss among the people die out? In Anastasius Bibliothecarius' Latin version (AD 869-870) of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Germanus the kiss is still exchanged by all.⁹⁵ And in 10th century BAS of the version of Johannisberg the rubric reads: "et dant omnes pacem." This should be understood as including the people, for just afterwards the rubric for the creed, obviously including the people, is: "et cantant omnes Symbolum."⁹⁶ The *Protheoria* (1055-1063) is unclear,⁹⁷ but Theophylact of Bulgaria's *Response* (11th century) refers only to the clergy,⁹⁸ and the 13th century Georgian version of CHR of codex *Graz Georg. 5*, which describes a presbyteral liturgy without concelebrants, omits the kiss completely. After the ephonesis of the proskomide prayer, there follows immediately:

Diaconus: Portas, portas.

Populus: Credimus.

Diaconus: Stemus bene...⁹⁹

Two other sources that describe a presbyteral liturgy, the interpolated text of Germanus¹⁰⁰ (13-14th century) and the commentary of Cabasilas¹⁰¹ (c. 1350) mention the command "Let us love one

⁹³ Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 884, 908, 928; ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 159 (apparatus: Moscow *Služebniki* of 1602 and 1653); *Opisanie nachodjaščichsja v Imperatorskoj Publičnoj Biblioteki staropečatnych knig (1564-1640 gg.)*, *Christiankoe čtenie*, 1857, n. 2, pp. 99-172. We have seen the same prayer in a Lvov pontifical (no date — probably 18th century), p. 30.

⁹⁴ *Réception d'un évêque syrien au VIe siècle*, *OrSyr* 2, 1957, p. 181.

⁹⁵ BORGIA, p. 35.

⁹⁶ COCHLAEUS, *Speculum*, p. 125.

⁹⁷ PG 140, 444.

⁹⁸ Cf. note 78.

⁹⁹ TARCHNIŠVILI, *Liturgiae ibericae*, p. 57.

¹⁰⁰ PG 98, 425. On this 14-15th century addition cf. BORNERT, *Commentaires*, p. 139, n. 1.

¹⁰¹ PG 150, 420.

another", but interpret it in a purely spiritual sense and say nothing about the kiss. So at least by the middle ages the kiss among the faithful seems to have died out in the Byzantine tradition.

But in 10th century Constantinople the emperor still gave the *pax* to the patriarch, bishops, and certain secular dignitaries, at least on great feasts. In the *De caerimoniis* we find the following description of the *pax* for the festal liturgies that the emperor attended:

After this [i. e. after returning to the metatorion after the Great Entrance] the sovereigns go out again in the same way for the kiss of peace, and the patriarch stands within the chancel on the right side of the sanctuary, toward the metatorion, and the sovereigns, standing outside the chancel, give the kiss first of all to the patriarch, then after him to the syncellos and all the metropolitans and archbishops, and to the protopope of the Great Church, and to the dignitaries of the patriarch. All those who give the kiss of peace to the emperors the referendarius leads up by the hand. Then the emperors give the kiss of peace to the patriarch again, then going down a bit from the chancel they give the kiss of peace to all those of the senate, all of whom the master of ceremonies leads up by the hand. And after greeting the patriarch the sovereigns depart for the metatorion.¹⁰²

In the later *De officiis* of Pseudo-Codinus (c. 1350-1360), however, there is no mention of the emperor's participation in the kiss of peace at the eucharistic liturgy, so by that time it must have died out even in the imperial rites.

II. THE CREED

Today the so-called Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed is used, in one or another variant form, everywhere in the traditional eucharistic rites of both Eastern and Western Christendom.¹⁰³ We shall not enter into the disputed question of its origins.¹⁰⁴ It first

¹⁰² I. 1, ed. VOGT, I, p. 13.

¹⁰³ Cf. HANSENS, *Institutiones* III, pp. 293 ff.; J. N. D. KELLY, *Early Christian Creeds*, London, 1972², pp. 348 ff.; JUNGSMANN, *Missarum Sollemnia* I, pp. 487 ff.

¹⁰⁴ The best summary of the whole issue, with the *dramatis personae* and pertinent bibliography of the dispute, is found in KELLY, *Creeds*,

appears in the acts of the Council of Chalcedon (451) as the symbol of "the 150 holy fathers assembled in Constantinople,"¹⁰⁵ and was at that time certainly considered to reflect the faith professed at the first two ecumenical councils, Nicea I (325) and Constantinople I (381). But no source before Chalcedon, including the acts of Constantinople I itself, makes a clear, indisputable reference to the formulation of a profession of faith by the fathers of that council, so some hold that they formulated no creed at all, but simply confirmed the faith of Nicea.¹⁰⁶

Then where did our present creed originate? Before Chalcedon there were numerous local baptismal creeds in use, and our *Niceno-Constantinopolitanum*, with some slight differences, is found already in Epiphanius of Salamis' *Ancoratus* (374).¹⁰⁷ So some argue that the fathers of Chalcedon simply ratified the symbol that the imperial commissioners proposed to them as the faith of the 150 fathers of Constantinople I.¹⁰⁸ But the authenticity of the passage of the *Ancoratus* has been challenged, and no one has ever explained how the fathers of Chalcedon could have been duped into accepting a spurious formula. When it was presented to them in the first session the majority had obviously never heard of it, but something led them to overcome their reticence and recognize its authenticity.¹⁰⁹ So there are several prestigious scholars who still hold that the fathers of Constantinople I did formulate a new creed.¹¹⁰ But if their arguments are a convincing challenge to the more popular theory against the tradition, they do not succeed in demonstrating that Constantinople I did any more than ratify an already existing creed.

The truth of the matter probably lies in the *via media* proposed by J. N. D. Kelly.¹¹¹ As we have seen, descriptions like "the symbol of the 318 fathers" were applied quite flexibly not only to the Nicene Creed in its pure form but also to various formulae clearly Nicene *in faith* though not at all identical *in text*. Thus

pp. 296-331, whom we are following in the introduction to this section unless otherwise noted.

¹⁰⁵ E. SCHWARTZ, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1933, II, i, 2, p. 128 [324] (= MANSI 7, 112).

¹⁰⁶ Cf. the authors mentioned in KELLY, *Creeds*, pp. 305 ff.

¹⁰⁷ Text in DENZINGER-SCHÖNMETZER, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, 42-45. Cf. KELLY, *Creeds*, pp. 310 ff, 323-325.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. KELLY, *Creeds*, pp. 310-312.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 311-322, esp. 317-318.

¹¹⁰ Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 313-322, for those who sustain this view.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 322-331.

Chalcedon calls both creeds "the same faith."¹¹² So when the first canon of Constantinople I tells us that the fathers confirmed the faith of Nicea, it is most likely that they confirmed the version of the symbol later proposed again at Chalcedon. Historical sources make no special mention of it because such an action was not considered to be the formulation of a *new* creed. And if the fathers at Chalcedon had initial reservations about the symbol proposed to them as that of Constantinople I, this can be explained by "the extremely dubious status of the council of 381 in the eyes of many of the bishops."¹¹³

At any rate for our purposes it is enough to know that there were numerous symbols in circulation, and that the one sanctioned at Chalcedon was the one that became dominant in the 5th century and was eventually introduced into the mass.

The Introduction of the Creed into the Mass

As Edmund Bishop once remarked, "the introduction of the creed into the mass is involved in obscurities."¹¹⁴ The practice seems to have originated with the Monophysites at the end of the 5th century. A fragment of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Theodore the Lector (c. 528) claims that Peter the Fuller introduced at Antioch (c. 489) the practice of saying the creed "at every synaxis."¹¹⁵ But since the passage is considered an interpolation¹¹⁶ — that does not prove the story untrue, however —¹¹⁷ and since we doubt that Pseudo-Denys' "catholic laud" refers to the creed¹¹⁸ our earliest clearly authentic reference to the creed at mass is another passage of Theodore's *History* that relates how Patriarch Timothy of Constantinople (511-518) introduced the symbol of Nicea into the eucharistic liturgy of the Great Church:

Timothy ordered that the symbol of faith of the 318 fathers be recited at each synaxis out of disparagement for Macedonius, as

¹¹² SCHWARTZ, *Acta Conc. Oec.* II, i, 2, pp. 126-127 [322-323] (= MANSI 7, 109).

¹¹³ KELLY, *Creeds*, p. 117.

¹¹⁴ *Liturgical Comments and Memoranda*, JTS 12, 1911, p. 387 n. 2.

¹¹⁵ II, 48, PG 86¹, 209.

¹¹⁶ B. CAPELLE, *L'introduction du symbole à la messe*, in *Travaux liturgiques* III, Louvain, 1967, pp. 61-63.

¹¹⁷ Cf. KELLY, *Creeds*, p. 349 n. 2.

¹¹⁸ *EH* III, 2 and 3, 7, PG 3, 425, 436 and cf. the note in Table I, chapter I, above, on its interpretation as the creed.

if he did not accept the symbol. Formerly it was recited only once a year, on Good Friday, during the bishop's catechesis.¹¹⁹

There is general agreement that the creed was first introduced into the Constantinopolitan mass under Timothy.¹²⁰ But which creed? Because it was introduced as a Monophysite ploy to outdo the Chalcedonians, some, taking literally Timothy's reference to the 318 fathers of Nicea, hold that he introduced into the Constantinopolitan eucharist the pristine Nicene symbol, not the Niceo-Constantinopolitan text.¹²¹ But neither Theodore's text nor Timothy's Monophysite toadying proves that. Here is how Dix summarized the motives behind Timothy's move:

In the monophysite troubles of the fifth century which followed upon the Council of Chalcedon (A. D. 451) it became the policy of the monophysite or federalist party to cry up the Council of Nicea in order to slight 'the emperor's Council' of Chalcedon, which they rejected. With this end in view the monophysite patriarch of Antioch, Peter 'the Fuller' in A. D. 473 instituted the custom of publicly reciting the Nicene Creed at every offering of the liturgy, as an ostentatious act of deference towards the venerable Council of Nicea, whose teachings he declared that the Chalcedonians had abandoned. In A. D. 511, the patriarch Macedonius II of Constantinople — a pious but not very wise eunuch — was banished and deposed by the monophysite emperor Anastasius, after a series of diplomatic manoeuvres which has few equals for unsavouriness even in the annals of Levantine christianity. Macedonius' intruded successor, Timothy — a man who appears to have had as little real concern for Nicene theology as for the Ten Commandments — at once introduced the monophysite practice of reciting the Nicene Creed into the liturgy of Constantinople, in order to secure the political support of the monophysite emperor and the federalist party generally. When by the vicissitudes of political fortune the orthodox once more secured control of the see of Constantinople, they dared not incur the odium of seeming to attack the memory of Nicea by discontinuing this use of the creed; and so this originally heretical practice became a permanent feature of the Byzantine liturgy.¹²²

¹¹⁹ II, 32, PG 86¹, 201.

¹²⁰ Cf. E. BISHOP, *Liturgical Comments and Memoranda*, JTS 12, 1911, p. 387 n. 2; CAPELLE, *L'introduction du symbole à la messe*, pp. 60-63; KELLY, *Creeds*, p. 349; JUNGSMANN, *Missarum Sollemnia* I, pp. 467-468; DIX, *Shape*, p. 486; etc.

¹²¹ Cf. KELLY, *Creeds*, p. 350.

¹²² DIX, *Shape*, p. 486.

There is no need to doubt Theodore's affirmation that the Monophysites introduced the creed to show up the Chalcedonians (the Macedonius mentioned was Timothy's orthodox predecessor Macedonius II, deposed by Anastasius in favor of Timothy). But it is not necessary to hold that they introduced the pure Nicene Creed.

First, from what we have already seen, the mention of the 318 fathers of Nicea is not in itself probative. The creed approved at Chalcedon as the symbol of the 150 fathers of Constantinople was then, as now, referred to as the symbol of Nicea.¹²² Secondly, Theodore says that Timothy introduced the same creed that was formerly used once a year at the Good-Friday catechesis, and that was certainly not the pure Nicene formula, as Theodore, a lector of Hagia Sophia, well knew.¹²⁴ Today some form of the Chalcedonian text is in use everywhere, and we have no evidence that the earlier Nicene symbol was ever said at mass. Indeed, the later history of the Eastern liturgies seems to contradict the notion that the Monophysites first introduced the pure Nicene formula, which was later replaced by the Chalcedonian text. For even the Monophysites today use the Niceno-Constantinopolitan text,¹²⁵ and if Peter and Timothy had introduced the pure Nicene symbol the Monophysites surely would not have abandoned it later in imitation of the Chalcedonians.

As a matter of fact the Monophysites had nothing against Constantinople I, as can be seen in characteristic Monophysite documents such as the *Encyclical* of Basiliscus and the *Henoticon* of Zeno, and there is no solid reason why they could not have introduced our present creed.¹²⁶ In support of this we can adduce a passage from the acts of a synod held at Constantinople in 518 cited in the acts of the Council of Constantinople under Patriarch Mennas in 536.¹²⁷ On July 9, 518, Emperor Anastasius I, no great friend of Chalcedonianism, died and the orthodox Justin I was proclaimed his successor the same day. The following Monday, July 16, during a synod of bishops in the Great Church presided

¹²² KELLY, *Creeeds*, p. 351.

¹²³ *Loc. cit.* The Niceno-Constantinopolitanum, not the pure Nicene Creed, was the baptismal symbol in Constantinople after Chalcedon (*ibid.*, pp. 344 ff.).

¹²⁴ Cf. LEW, p. 82, and the references in note 103 above.

¹²⁵ KELLY, *Creeeds*, pp. 350-351.

¹²⁶ SCHWARTZ, *Acta Conc. Oec.* III, pp. 71-76 (= MANSI 8, 1058-1065). Cf. BISHOP, *Liturgical Comments and Memoranda*, pp. 386-388; JANERAS, *Trisagion christologique*, pp. 472-475; KELLY, *Creeeds*, pp. 349-350.

over by the Patriarch John (Timothy had died April 5), the pro-Chalcedonian populace shut the doors of the church and would not let the patriarch leave until he proclaimed the Council of Chalcedon, according to the promise they had extorted from him at the first session of the synod the day before. He of course capitulated, mass began with the Trisagion, etc., and "when the doors had been shut and the holy creed recited according to custom, at the time of the diptychs the whole crowd, in great silence, crowded around the sanctuary to hear ..." the proclamation of the four holy councils and the commemorations in the diptychs.¹²⁸ In such circumstances it is hard to imagine the people tolerating any profession of faith but that ratified at Chalcedon. Indeed, it has been suggested that the Constantinopolitan formula was introduced precisely at this mass,¹²⁹ but this is contradicted by the "according to custom (κατὰ τὸ συνήθη)" of the synodal acts, as well as by the arguments already adduced to show that the Constantinopolitan and not the pure Nicene symbol was the one Timothy introduced some years before.

This is not the end of the problem, unfortunately. For other sources refer to the introduction of the Constantinopolitan symbol into the eucharist of the Great Church at a later date. Abbot John of Biclaro († c. 621) relates in his *Chronicon* (590-591) that Justin II (565-578) ordered the symbol of Constantinople to be sung by the people in all churches "before the Lord's prayer is said":

Romanorum LIII regnavit IVSTINVS iunior annis XI. qui Iustinus anno primo regni sui ea, quae contra synodum Calchedonensem fuerant commentata, destruxit symbolumque sanctorum CL patrum Constantinopoli congregatorum et in synodo Calchedonensi laudabiliter receptum in omni catholica ecclesia a populo concinendum intromisit, priusquam dominica dicatur oratio.¹³⁰

In the face of the Oriental evidence already adduced, must we conclude that John, a Latin, was misinformed? As a young man he had spent sixteen years in Constantinople, returning to Spain probably around 576, so he should have known what he was talking about.¹³¹ He did not, however. His *Chronicon*, in fact,

¹²⁸ SCHWARTZ, *Acta Conc. Oec.* III, p. 76 (= MANSI 8, 1066).

¹²⁹ Cf. the authors cited by BISHOP, *Liturgical Comments and Memoranda*, p. 387 n. 2.

¹³⁰ T. MOMMSEN, *Mon. Germ. Hist., Auctorum antiq.* XI, *Chronica minora* II, Berlin, 1894, p. 211 (= PL 72, 863).

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 207-208; O. BARDENHEWER, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* V, Freiburg-B., 1932, pp. 396-398.

contains more than one serious error.¹³² And our earlier evidence for the creed in the mass at Constantinople is certain, so John must be wrong in saying Justin II *introduced* it into the mass.¹³³ Justin probably just confirmed by imperial decree a practice already existing at least in the capital, and perhaps extended to the whole *Oikoumene* what formerly may have been just a local custom of the Great Church. But this is not the end of our problems with John, for his remark about the creed *before the Lord's Prayer* is disconcerting, to say the least.

The Place of the Creed in the Liturgy of Constantinople

Some have taken at face value abbot John's assertion that Justin (565-578) put the creed before the Our Father of the mass.¹³⁴ But this must surely be wrong. The acts of the Council of Constantinople in 518, cited above from those of the council of 536, state explicitly that the customary place of the creed was sometime before the diptychs — i. e. in its present place. And in 662 Maximus the Confessor also testifies to it at its actual place in the rite of the Great Church.¹³⁵ Evagrius Scholasticus (c. 598) in his *Ecclesiastical History* reproduces Justin's edict on the creed in the mass, and it is concerned exclusively with the *faith* of the symbol.¹³⁶ There is nothing about *where* the creed was to be located in the mass. Had Justin decreed a change in the place of the creed, one would surely expect some mention of it. So in the absence of any other evidence it is hard to believe that between 536 and 662 the creed went from before the anaphora to before the Our Father, then back again.¹³⁷

In fact the whole passage of John of Biclaro's *Chronicon* is more than suspect. Its chronology is wrong, as Mommsen points out,¹³⁸ and what John says about the defense of Chalcedon and

¹³² MOMMSEN, *MGH Auct. ant. XI, Chronica minora II*, pp. 208-210.

¹³³ CAPELLE, *L'introduction du symbole à la messe*, p. 63, suggests that a misinterpretation of Justin's edict on the orthodox faith may have been at the origins of John's mistake. The edict, found in EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS (c. 598), *Historia Ecclesiastica V, 4, PG 86^a, 2793-2801*, says nothing about Justin introducing the creed into the mass.

¹³⁴ E. g. JUNGSMANN, *Missarum Sollemnia I*, p. 469. KELLY, *Creeds*, p. 350, accepts it as at least a possibility.

¹³⁵ *Myst.* 18, 19, 23, 24, *PG 91, 696, 700, 704, 708.*

¹³⁶ *V, 4, PG 86^a, 2793-2801.*

¹³⁷ HANSENS, *Institutiones III*, p. 301, shares this opinion.

¹³⁸ Cf. note 132 above.

the introduction of the creed into the mass is more true of Justin I (518-527) than of his namesake.¹³⁹ From the outset Justin I was strictly orthodox, and suppressed Monophysitism by force. It was his accession, it will be remembered, that made possible the Chalcedonian victory at the above-mentioned synod of 518, at which, the acts say explicitly, the creed was read.

So John of Biclaro's trustworthiness has enough against it to justify our not taking his testimony too seriously. John was probably writing under the influence of the second canon of the famous Third Council of Toledo (589), which states:

... consultu piissimi et gloriosissimi domini nostri Reccaredi regis, sancta constituit synodus, ut per omnes ecclesias Hispaniae, vel Gallaciae, secundum formam orientalium ecclesiarum, concilii Constantinopolitani, hoc est, centum quinquaginta episcoporum symbolum fidei recitetur: ut priusquam dominica dicatur oratio, voce clara a populo decantetur; quo et fides vera manifestatum testimonium habeat, et ad Christi corpus et sanguinem praelibandum pectora populorum fide purificata accedant.¹⁴⁰

John, it seems, just presumed that the Spaniards were following the Orientals even as to the *place* of the creed in the mass, although the canon does not say that at all. Writing as he was only a year after the council, he may have been trying to support the new practice by confirming its Oriental origin, perhaps in order to please Reccared. We know that John had the esteem of Reccared, converted Arian king of the Visigoths, and that he was elevated around 592 to the see of Gerunda (Gerona).¹⁴¹ At any rate the Mozarabic practice of a symbol of faith before the Our Father is totally foreign to the whole Oriental tradition before and after John. So he must have been wrong.

Hence we can conclude that Patriarch Timothy introduced the creed into the Byzantine mass at its actual place, and there it has remained ever since.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ Cf. *PG 86^a, 2800 note 35.*

¹⁴⁰ MANSI 9, 993. It has been proposed that John influenced the council and not vice-versa, but we find it hard to believe that John could have been so misinformed. On this point see HANSENS, *Institutiones III*, p. 300; KELLY, *Creeds*, p. 352.

¹⁴¹ Cf. note 131 above and KELLY, *loc. cit.*

¹⁴² The reader should not be misled by the *Prothectoria* 20 (*PG 140, 445*), which places the introductory exclamation to the creed ("In wisdom let us be attentive") in relation to the anaphora, and explains the creed

The Scope of the Creed in the Eucharistic Liturgy

The Byzantine commentators explain the scope of the creed variously to suit their own purposes. Maximus describes it as an act of thanksgiving for the economy of salvation;¹⁴² the *Protheoria* explains it kerygmatically as a proclamation of the faith for the benefit of the ignorant.¹⁴³ For Cabasilas it is just a profession of faith;¹⁴⁴ for Symeon of Thessalonika it manifests our unity with the angels, just as the kiss shows our unity with our fellow men.¹⁴⁵

But the real reason for the creed in the mass is somewhat more pragmatic. Creeds were originally used at baptism: they were a profession of faith for converts, not for baptized Christians.¹⁴⁷ We saw this at Constantinople in the text of Theodore the Lector cited above. But with the rise of the early heresies and the councils to combat them, creeds acquire a new function in the East after Nicea.

It was no longer to be only a test of belief for those entering the church from outside... the creed was to be made a test for those already within the church, by solemn affirmation of which they might prove that they believed what the church had always believed, and not some new private invention of their own.¹⁴⁸

C. H. Turner, speaking of the Nicene Creed, puts it more pithily: "the old creeds were creeds for catechumens, the new creed was a creed for bishops."¹⁴⁹ And we have already seen how later polemical considerations forced on the church by the early heresies led to the creed's becoming a permanent feature of the mass.

Like so many other later additions to the liturgy, the creed is really superfluous. The eucharistic prayer itself, with its ac-

only after speaking of the *sursum corda* and its response. The whole order of the commentary is rather loose at this point (see below, pp. 409-410). And in any case by this time we have the whole euchology tradition witnessing to the creed at its actual place.

¹⁴² *Myst.* 18, 23, 24, *PG* 91, 696, 700, 704, 707. The *Urtext* of GERMANUS does not mention it, but ANASTASIUS' version has interpolated the text of *Myst.* 18 (BORGIA, LVIII, p. 35).

¹⁴³ 20, *PG* 140, 445.

¹⁴⁴ 26, *PG* 150, 421.

¹⁴⁵ *SL* 98, *ET* 84, *PG* 155, 296, 732.

¹⁴⁶ KELLY, *Creeds*, pp. 30 ff, *Dix, Shape*, p. 485.

¹⁴⁷ *Dix, Shape*, pp. 485-486.

¹⁴⁸ *History and Use of Creeds and Anathemas*, London, 1910, p. 24, cited in KELLY, *Creeds*, p. 205.

count of salvation history and its repetition of the banquet of the New Covenant, is an entirely sufficient profession of faith. If the creed is to be a part of the mass, its logical place would be where it is found in the Roman rite, after the readings in the Liturgy of the Word. There its didactic purpose and suitability as a response to the kerygma heard in the scriptural readings and homily would be more apparent. But it was introduced into the Byzantine liturgy just after the reign of the *disciplina arcani*, and this may have influenced its location after the dismissals.¹⁵⁰

The original use of the creed as a baptismal profession of faith explains the singular form "I believe" that is found in most redactions of the Byzantine and in the Armenian and East-Syrian liturgies, even though the creed was sung by the whole congregation, as we shall see.¹⁵¹

The Command to Guard the Doors

The diaconal command to guard the doors is found, in one form or another, in all MSS that give any diakonika at all. According to the archieraticon of Gemistos it was proclaimed, like the other diakonika, from the ambo.¹⁵²

1. *The Text of the Command*: "Τὰς θύρας, τὰς θύρας· ἐν σοφίᾳ πρόσχωμεν"

In the Byzantine liturgy the exclamations "σοφία" and "πρόσχωμεν" have the same function: they are warnings to pay attention, and are interchangeable. They are varied simply to avoid monotony, as is seen in the alternating series preceding the epistle.¹⁵³ Our earliest euchology, codex *Barberini 336*, and several other sources of Constantinopolitan, Italian, and Oriental provenance, give only one such warning, πρόσχωμεν, with this command to watch the doors.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁰ Cf. JUNGSMANN, *Missarum Sollemnia* I, p. 468.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 463; HANSSSENS, *Institutiones* III, pp. 297-299. The Melkites, however, have it in the plural, as does Armenian CHR (AUCHER, *Versione armena*, p. 387).

¹⁵² DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 312.

¹⁵³ MATEOS, *Célébration*, pp. 83-85, 134; cf. CABASILAS, *Liturgiae expositio* 21, *PG* 150, 413.

¹⁵⁴ Constantinopolitan: BAS of *Codex Pyromalus* (GOAN², p. 155) and the Johannenberg version (COCHLAEUS, *Speculum*, p. 125); the Latin version of BAS in codex *Paris Nouv. Acq. lat. 1791*, made in Italy from a MS containing the old Constantinopolitan recension of CHR (STRITTMATTER,

The *textus receptus* with ἐν σοφίᾳ is found first in Ambrose Pelargus' version of CHR from the *Codex Sancti Simeonis*, a Palestinian MS of the early 11th century (*ante* 1030),¹⁵⁵ and appears in several Oriental and Italian sources from the 11th century on.¹⁵⁶ The *Protheoria* (c. 1055-1063) from Andida in Pamphylia Secunda, whose authors are ever solicitous to conform to the usages of the Great Church, also has it.¹⁵⁷ But it was apparently unknown in Constantinople before the 12th century, as we see in the version of Johannisberg, *Codex Pyromalus*, Nicetas Stethatos, and the version of Leo Tuscan.¹⁵⁸ In the usage of the Great Church it appears first in the 12th century, in codices *Paris Gr. 347* (p. 85), *Burdett-Coutts III, 42*,¹⁵⁹ and in the pontifical diataxis of *British Museum Add. 34060* (12-13th century).¹⁶⁰ But during the 10-12th centuries we find contemporary codices of the same MS tradition that differ in this practice,¹⁶¹ and so it appears that such diakonika were not absolutely fixed until the spread of the diataxeis in the 13-14th centuries.¹⁶²

Missae graecorum, p. 100. Cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 232 ff.); the version of Leo Tuscan (JACOB, *Toscan*, p. 152); codex *Paris Coislin Gr. 214* (ff. 10r, 22r); NICETAS STETHATOS, *Letter 8* and *De paradiso* 16 (ed. DARROUZÈS, *Sources chrét.* 81, pp. 172, 280, 286); Italian: *Barberini 336* (LEW, p. 321, 4); *Grottaferrata Gb IV* (ff. 8v, 21v) and *Gb II* (ff. 13r, 29v); *Barberini Gr. 316* (f. 18v); *Bodleian Auct. E.5.13* (f. 16r) and *Add. E.12* (roll); Oriental: early Georgian CHR (JACOB, *Version géorgienne*, p. 104) and Armenian CHR. (AUCHER, *Versions arméniennes*, p. 387). See also some MSS of Slavic BAS in ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 161. But some sources have both usages in one and the same MS. Cf. the 14th century *Sluzebnik of Vladimir*: CHR has only *vonmem* (KOVALIV, *Molitovnik*, f. 21v) whereas BAS has the more complete reading (f. 58r). Several of these sources are cited at the beginning of this chapter, pp. 378-80.

¹⁵⁵ PELARGUS, *Liturgia*, f. C3v.

¹⁵⁶ E. g. the 11th century *Grottaferrata Gb XX* (BAS, f. 39v), and the Old Arabic version of CHR (BACHA, *Versions arabes*, p. 459); the 11-12th century *Sinai Gr. 961* (DMITRIEVSKIĬ II, p. 76); *Bodleian Cromwell II*, AD 1225 (p. 35); 13-14th c. Otrantan BAS and the Otrantan revision of Leo Tuscan's version (JACOB, *Otrante*, pp. 71, 98); the 13th c. *British Museum Harl. 5561* (f. 13v) and 15th c. *British Museum Add. 18070* (roll); the 14th c. *Moscow Synod 261* (origin ? given in KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenijsa*, p. 299, under pressmark 279); the 15th c. rolls *Geneva 24* and *25*; *Munich 540* (f. 15v); etc.

¹⁵⁷ PG 140, 444.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. note 154.

¹⁵⁹ SWAINSON, *Greek Liturgies*, p. 127.

¹⁶⁰ Ed. ARABATZOOLOU, *Bibliothèque*, p. 238.

¹⁶¹ Compare the sources cited in notes 154, 155, 156.

¹⁶² Cf. the diataxeis of *Moscow Synod 381* (13-14th c., KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 26) and of Philotheus (TREMPELAS, p. 11).

The versions of Ambrose Pelargus and Leo Tuscan, and codices *British Museum Add. 34060* and *Sinai Gr. 961*, add the precision that the *archdeacon* gives the call to attention.

The uniqueness of the form ἐν σοφίᾳ should be noted. In all other instances where this warning is found in the Byzantine mass or office it is simply "σοφία". But the other form evidently has a long history. JAS introduces the creed with "ἐν σοφίᾳ Θεοῦ πρόσχωμεν",¹⁶³ and the Coptic mass has the same in transliteration.¹⁶⁴ The Ethiopian introduction to the creed belongs to the same tradition: "Speak we all in the wisdom of the Lord,"¹⁶⁵ though the West Syrians omit the preposition, giving only "Barek mor. Sofiya te'u. Proskomen."¹⁶⁶ Since the tradition is constant in Greek JAS from the 9th century on¹⁶⁷ we should probably look to Palestine for the origins of the Byzantine ἐν σοφίᾳ. This is confirmed by the fact that it appears first and most consistently in Byzantine sources of Italian and Oriental provenance in the 11-12th centuries, as we saw above.

The effect of this new formula was to change the warning into an introduction to the creed. This is how it is interpreted by the later commentators such as Cabasilas,¹⁶⁸ whereas previously πρόσχωμεν was considered of a piece with the warning to guard the doors. We see this clearly in *Letter 8* of Nicetas Stethatos: "... the exclamation *The doors! The doors! Let us be attentive!* exhorts the subdeacons to stand near the doors of the church and prevent, as was said, the entrance of the infidels and catechumens..."¹⁶⁹

Two other early Constantinopolitan sources, 10th century BAS in the version of Johannisberg and the *Codex Pyromalus*, do add an introduction to the creed: "Τὰς θύρας, τὰς θύρας, πρόσχωμεν καὶ τὸ σύμβολον ψάλλωμεν."¹⁷⁰ we have not found this reading elsewhere, though it may have been presumed in the numerous other early MSS that give only *incipits* of the diakonika.

¹⁶³ MERCIER, p. 182, 18.

¹⁶⁴ LEW, p. 161, 34; HANSSSENS, *Institutiones* III, p. 294.

¹⁶⁵ LEW, p. 225, 33; HANSSSENS, *Institutiones* III, p. 296.

¹⁶⁶ Hence LEW, p. 82, 3 is wrong. We are indebted to our colleague W. F. Macomber for this information on contemporary Syrian usage.

¹⁶⁷ MERCIER, p. 182, 18.

¹⁶⁸ *Liturgiae expositio* 21, PG 150, 413.

¹⁶⁹ Ed. DARROUZÈS, *Sources chrét.* 81, p. 286.

¹⁷⁰ GOAR², p. 155 (cited at the beginning of this chapter). The Johannisberg version is: "Diaconus. Ostia. Ostia. Et clauduntur ostia. Diac. Intendamus & canamus Symbolum." (COCHLAEUS, *Speculum*, p. 125).

2. *Which Doors?*

To what does this exclamation refer? Contemporary rubrics of a non-pontifical liturgy order the curtain of the sanctuary that had been closed after the Great Entrance to be opened at the command "*The doors! The doors!*" But the doors themselves, i. e. the central doors of the iconostasis that were closed, with the curtain, right after the Great Entrance, should remain closed until communion. In practice one finds considerable variety. For example the Greeks and Melkites usually ignore these rubrics and leave both doors and curtains open during the whole liturgy (some close them for the communion of the clergy).

But regardless of present custom, the doors referred to are those of the church, which had been closed after the dismissals. This is clear from Maximus. Before explaining the Great Entrance he remarks: "The closing of the doors of the church, which takes place after the reading of the gospel and the dismissal of the catechumens, signifies the passing of the material world."¹⁷¹ Were the doors of the church still closed in his time? Possibly, though there was surely no longer any actual expulsion of catechumens in spite of the fact that the dismissal was still announced just as today.¹⁷² But if they were closed, this was done after the dismissals, so our exclamation here should be understood as parallel to the final warning of the *Apostolic Constitutions* just before the anaphora. Even though the non-faithful had been previously dismissed, the deacon cries, "None of the catechumens, none of the heterodox [may remain]..."¹⁷³

3. "*The doors*" become the *Doors of the Chancel*

Eventually, however, the exclamation "*The doors! The doors!*" came to be applied to the doors of the chancel or iconostasis. The *Urtext* of Germanus ignores the question. The rubrics of 10th century BAS in the *Codex Pyromalus* and the version of Johannisberg order "the doors" to be closed at "τὰς θύρας" without indicating what doors.¹⁷⁴ But they undoubtedly refer to the doors of the sanctuary, for right after the anaphora the deacon

¹⁷¹ *Myst.* 15, PG 91, 693, and cf. 13, 23-24, *ibid.*, 692, 700, 704. However in the Syrian tradition according to the 6th century *Rahmani Codex* cited in chapter I, the doors referred to may well have been those of the sanctuary. Cf. above, pp. 40-41.

¹⁷² Cf. MAXIMUS (?) *Scholia* 3, 3, 4, PG 4, 141.

¹⁷³ *Apost. Const.* VIII, 12, 2, FUNK I, p. 494.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. note 170.

on theambo cries "Ἀνοιχθήτωσαν αἱ θύραι (*Aperiantur Ostia*). And the doors are opened."¹⁷⁵ This practice of opening the doors after the anaphora is found in the rubrics of the 12th century *Rossano Codex* (*Vatican Gr.* 1970, f. 23v)¹⁷⁶ and of some Slavic MSS as late as the 15th century.¹⁷⁷ The rubrics of Leo Tuscan's version of CHR also order the doors of the chancel to be closed just before the creed: "*Et post datum pacis osculum innuit archydiaconus extra stanti diacono ut introitus cancellorum ianuas claudat.*"¹⁷⁸ Note that the deacon is standing outside closed the doors; hence they probably opened out, not in as today.

Among the later commentaries, the *De sacra liturgia*, a medieval text attributed to John the Faster († 595), refers to the closing of the doors (of the chancel undoubtedly) right after the Great Entrance.¹⁷⁹

The mid-11th century *Protheoria* adds that the curtain over the central doors of the chancel is also closed, and refers to the whole business as a monastic custom:

The shutting of the doors and the drawing of the curtains over them, as is customary in monasteries, and the covering of the holy gifts with the so-called aer, signifies, I believe, the night on which took place the betrayal of the disciple.... But when the aer is removed and the curtain drawn back and the doors opened, this signifies the dawn when they led Him away and handed Him over to Pontius Pilate the governor.¹⁸⁰

The *Protheoria* does not always comment on ritual elements in proper sequence at this somewhat overcharged part of the liturgy,¹⁸¹ but it is clear from the context that the doors and curtains were shut after the Great Entrance and remained closed during the anaphora. When they were opened again is not so clear. Since the passage cited refers to the aer, curtains and doors together, it would seem that the curtains and doors were opened when the aer was removed after the creed. On the other hand the whole

¹⁷⁵ GOAR², p. 156; COCHLAEUS, *Speculum*, p. 130.

¹⁷⁶ SWAINSON, *Greek Liturgies*, p. 93 apparatus (b). Cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 243.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. PETROVSKIJ, *Rédaction slave*, p. 909. The custom is dropped in the 16th c. versions (*ibid.*, p. 921).

¹⁷⁸ JACOB, *Toscan*, p. 152, cited above pp. 379-80.

¹⁷⁹ In PITRA, *Spicilegium Solesmense* 4, Paris, 1858, p. 442. The mere fact that the text uses the term "the Great Entrance" is enough to betray it as not authentic. The term does not appear until the 12-13th century (cf. above, chapter V, p. 192, note 52).

¹⁸⁰ 21, PG 140, 445.

¹⁸¹ Cf. note 142 above.

period when the sanctuary is closed is likened to the first night of the passion, and it is "during this time when the doors and curtain are closed" that "the subdeacons standing outside in the nave as if in the atrium of the venerable altar" cry "Ὅσοι πιστοὶ" to warn the faithful in the church to be attentive lest they fall like Peter waiting outside in the atrium of the High Priest.¹⁸² Now the traditional place for this defunct exclamation was after the *sanctus*. That is where we find it in Leo Tuscan's version: "*His ita pronuntiatis, dicunt subdiaconi: Quicumque estis fideles, orate.*"¹⁸³ And the pontifical diataxis in a 15th century MS from the library of the Russian St. Andrew Skite, Athos, has the subdeacon cry "Ὅσοι πιστοὶ" three times after the *sanctus*, three times after the Words of Institution, and thrice again at the commemoration of the Theotokos.¹⁸⁴ The context of the warning is obviously the anaphora. After it the *Protheoria* adds that the deacons standing outside keep the faithful quiet so that the priests can participate in the sacred mysteries ("τῶν θείων μυστηρίων μεταλαμβάνουσι") undisturbed. Then it goes on to speak of the *ripidia* that the deacons wave over the gifts during the anaphora.¹⁸⁵

The next step in this curious evolution arose from this practice of closing the doors right after the Great Entrance. Thus closed, liturgical literalism soon demanded that they be opened again at the cry "*The doors! The doors!*" We see this for the first time in the commentary of Nicholas Cabasilas (c. 1350): the command to close has become a command to open:

Then the priest again commands everyone to proclaim what they have learned and believe about God: the true wisdom... In this wisdom he orders us to open all the doors, our mouths, our ears. Open in this wisdom, he says, proclaiming it and listening to it constantly... And they recite aloud the whole confession, the symbol of faith.¹⁸⁶

Cabasilas' application is purely spiritual, but Symeon of Thessalonika († 1425) shows us that this is but a reflection of the same

¹⁸² *Protheoria* 21-22, PG 140, 445, 448. Cf. BORNERT, *Commentaires*, p. 200.

¹⁸³ JACOB, *Toscan*, p. 154.

¹⁸⁴ DMITRIEVSKIĬ I, p. 171.

¹⁸⁵⁻²², PG 140, 448. The medieval interpolated text of GERMANUS cites the passages of the *Protheoria* on closing and opening the curtains and doors but omits the section on this warning, thus giving the clear impression that the curtains and doors were opened before the anaphora (PG 98, 425, 428).

¹⁸⁶ *Liturgiae expositio* 26, PG 150, 421.

turn-about on the practical level: the doors of the iconostasis are closed after the Great Entrance and opened again before the creed¹⁸⁷ — a practice that has been resumed today by some Orthodox priests in the United States.¹⁸⁸

Small wonder that the supercilious Dr. Covel, in tones usual to the polemics of a time contented with its own enlightenment, takes this as one of the occasions to express his exasperation at the poor unreformed Greeks: "They have so shuffled, and chopt, and chang'd their service, as they now understand it not themselves..."¹⁸⁹

4. *The Sanctuary Curtain*

Among the sources we have seen, only the *Protheoria* mentions the closing of the sanctuary curtain, undoubtedly because it was a monastic usage not practiced in the rite of the Great Church.¹⁹⁰ But eventually the practice caught on, and at least in Russian usage (though not in the rubrics) the cry "*The doors!*" is transferred to the curtain, which is opened at this command after having been closed, with the doors, after the Great Entrance. In the *Protheoria*, however, both curtain and doors may have remained closed during the anaphora, a practice still observed in Rumania (we have seen it at least in the monasteries of Putna and Piatra Neamt).

In fact it is around the time of the *Protheoria* that we first encounter in Byzantine literature a theological justification for the hidden sanctuary now considered a "typical" expression of the spirit of Byzantine Christianity. Nicetas Stethatos of Stoudios († circa 1090) in his *Letter 8* attacks his correspondent Gregory the Sophist for giving an exclusively spiritual interpretation to the command "*The doors! The doors!*" Rather, says Nicetas, it is addressed to the subdeacons who must guard the doors against the entrance of infidels and catechumens.¹⁹¹ However, he also admits a spiritual sense: the command warns us to guard the doors of our mind and close the doors of our senses and not let our eyes look upon the sacred mysteries accomplished by the

¹⁸⁷ ET 83, PG 155, 732; SL 98, *ibid.*, 296.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. A. SCHMEMMANN, *On the Question of Liturgical Practices*, *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 17, 1973, pp. 237-238.

¹⁸⁹ JOHN COVEL, *Some Account of the Present Greek Church*.... Cambridge, 1722, p. 37.

¹⁹⁰ Text cited above, p. 409.

¹⁹¹ 5, ed. DARROUZÈS, *Sources chrét.* 81, p. 286.

priests in the sanctuary.¹⁹² And he goes on to develop the classical Oriental approach to this matter: "For the contemplation and vision of these mysteries are consecrated by God and the apostles only to the offering priests..." To the laity it is forbidden even to cast their "unsanctified glance" at the sacred mysteries.

Know that the place of the laity in the assembly of the faithful during the anaphora is far from the divine altar. The interior of the sanctuary is reserved to the priests, deacons, and subdeacons; the area outside near the sanctuary to the monks and other ranks of our hierarchy; behind them and the platform, to the laity... How then from such a distance can the laymen, to whom it is not allowed, contemplate the mysteries of God accomplished with trembling by his priests?¹⁹³

Nicetas does not imply that the laity *could not* contemplate the mysteries because they were totally concealed: they *dare not* look on them, and were too far from the altar to do so anyway.

So the sanctuary curtain is a later refinement that began about this time but was not yet universal. This can be seen clearly in a letter of Nicetas the Chartophylax and Syncellus of the Great Church to our Nicetas apropos of his dispute with Gregory. He expresses his agreement with Nicetas Stethatos' views and adds further details about the sanctuary curtain. No one in his right mind, he says, could consider "*The doors! The doors!*" an exhortation to those outside the sanctuary to pay attention to the sacred mysteries. They are hidden and accomplished in silence, so how can one be attentive to them?

In other places I myself have seen even a curtain hung around the holy bema at the time of the mysteries. It is spread and conceals so that not even the priests themselves are seen by those outside. This is what Lord Eustathius, blessed among the patriarchs, did.¹⁹⁴

In the Great Church, therefore, the sanctuary was not hidden by a chancel curtain during the anaphora. It was a usage Nicetas had seen "in other places" — hence not at Constantinople — though his attributing the practice to Patriarch Eustathius of Constantinople (1019-1025) makes it difficult to see what "other

¹⁹² *Loc. cit.* and *De paradiso* 16, *ibid.*, p. 172.

¹⁹³ *Letter 8*, 5, *ibid.*, p. 286.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 232-235. On the two Nicetases see *Introduction*, *ibid.*, p. 17.

places" he could mean. At any rate in the Great Church the mysteries are said to be "hidden" not because they are invisible, but because they are performed in silence. Hence to hide the altar from the people by means of a solid sanctuary barrier and curtains, popularly considered to be "typical" of the Byzantine rite, appears to be a medieval monastic practice unheard of before the 11th century. This at least is the conclusion arrived at recently by Mathews after re-examining the evidence for the "concealment of the mysteries" in the tradition of the Great Church, and we have found nothing to challenge his reading of the evidence or his conclusions. Note however that we are speaking only of the Constantinopolitan tradition. The existence of the hidden sanctuary in Syria and elsewhere at a much earlier date is generally accepted.¹⁹⁵ But the evidence from Constantinople shows a quite different tradition, as we shall see.

5. *The "Concealment of the Mysteries" in the Rite of the Great Church*¹⁹⁶

The question is basically one of whether or not the early Byzantine sanctuary was hidden by curtains during certain parts of the mass, for it is well known that the pre-iconoclast Byzantine chancel was a barrier that impeded access, not visibility, just as in the West.¹⁹⁷ During the Middle Ages, after the definitive victory over iconoclasm, more and more icons were added to the chancel, but the solid iconostasis barrier does not appear until the 14th century.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁵ Cf. TAPP, *Bema*, pp. 347-348 and the references given there; also SCHNEIDER, *Studien*, 1: KATAHETAΣMA; VAN DE PAVERD, *Messliturgie*, pp. 42-47; G. KHOURI-SARKIS, *Notes sur l'anaphore syrienne: prière du voile*, *OrSyr* 5, 1960, 363-384; 7, 1962, 277-296; 8, 1963, 3-20; MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, pp. 169-170.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, pp. 162-171.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, *passim*, esp. pp. 23-27, 32-33, 37-39, 54, 96-99, 109-110, 178-179; fig. 32; pl. 95-98. To the illustrations of sanctuaries indicated by Mathews one can add "The Murder of Zacharias" (c. 1260) in *The Church of Hagia Sophia at Trebizond*, ed. D. TALBOT RICE, Edinburgh, 1968, p. 94, fig. 59. See also the references in the following note.

¹⁹⁸ We have as yet no definitive study on the iconostasis, but the pertinent information can be found in studies such as L. BRÉHIER, *Anciennes clôtures de chœur antérieures aux iconostases dans les monastères de l'Athos*, *Studi bizantini e neoellenici* 6, 1940, 48-56; A. GRABAR, *Deux notes sur l'histoire de l'iconostase d'après des monuments de Yougoslavie*, *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 7, 1961, 13-22; J. B. KONSTANTYNOWICZ, *Iconostasis*, *Studien und Forschungen*, Bd. I, Lwów, 1939; G. A.

As for the curtains, Mathews first dispenses with various references that are better interpreted as referring to decorative hangings, altar cloths, etc., then goes into the question of ciborium and templon (i. e. chancel) curtains that could have been used to conceal the altar and sanctuary.¹⁹⁹ The evidence, artistic, archeological, and literary, is slim. The majority of miniatures, frescoes, etc. representing early Byzantine sanctuaries show a low parapet-type chancel barrier and a curtainless ciborium.²⁰⁰ Artistic representations and literary references prove the existence of ciborium curtains in later Byzantine times.²⁰¹ However, they are not used to conceal the altar during services but are drawn back and fixed to the columns to reveal the altar.²⁰² There is even less evidence for chancel curtains. We know from the archeological evidence that some churches had only a low chancel barrier from which no curtain could possibly have been hung.²⁰³ There is no other useful archeological evidence, and in the pre-iconoclast literary sources "references to veils enclosing the sanctuary are numerous in Egypt, Syria, and Pontus from an early date, but in Constantinople not a single mention has been found."²⁰⁴ The oft-cited passage of Paul the Silentiary's *Descriptio Sanctae Sophiae* (lines 755-805) has more recently been interpreted as referring to altar cloths rather than ciborium curtains.²⁰⁵

So it would seem that ciborium or sanctuary curtains, like that other important development in the Byzantine sanctuary, the evolution from chancel to iconostasis, spring from that great watershed of Byzantine religious history, the iconoclast crisis. Theo-

SOTERIOU, *Χριστιανική και Βυζαντινή Αρχαιολογία* I, Athens, 1942, pp. 200-206; *id.*, *Αἱ Παλαιохριστιανικαὶ Βασιλικαὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, Athens, 1931, pp. 222-225; J. WALTER, *The Origins of the Iconostasis, Eastern Churches Review* 3, 1971, 251-267. In the text cited above from the *De caerimoniis* we saw that the patriarch gave the *pax* from within the chancel to the sovereigns outside, and as Walter notes (p. 225), this would hardly have been possible if the chancel were a solid barrier. Cf. above, p. 396.

¹⁹⁹ *Early Churches*, pp. 163 ff.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

²⁰¹ SYMEON OF THESSALONIKA, *ST* 133, 139, *PG* 155, 341, 348; *ET* 6, *ibid.*, 704; and ANTONY OF NOVGOROD'S (c. 1200) description of Hagia Sophia in B. DE KHITROWO, *Itinéraires russes en Orient*, Geneva, 1889, p. 92, cited in MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, pp. 167-168. On artistic representations cf. *ibid.*, p. 175 n. 60.

²⁰² MATHEWS, *Early Churches*, pp. 167-168.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 168 and the references in notes 197-198 above.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

²⁰⁵ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 166, and the authorities cited there. For the passage in question, see *PG* 86^a, 2148-2150.

phanes' *Chronographia* relates that the iconophile Michael I in the year 811 added to the altar of Hagia Sophia ciborium curtains embroidered with sacred images.²⁰⁶ As Mathews notes, they must have been short-lived, certainly not surviving the accession of Leo the Armenian in 813 or the iconoclast Synod of Hagia Sophia in 815.²⁰⁷ Furthermore there is no evidence that they remained closed to hide the altar during services.

No commentary previous to the *Protheoria* (c. 1055-1063) mentions curtains hiding the sanctuary. According to pre-iconoclast Byzantine writers such as Procopius, Maximus, and Germanus, the sanctuary is physically separated from the laity and inaccessible to them, but not invisible. Occupied as they were with explaining symbolically the external, visible ritual, they would hardly have restrained themselves from commenting on something so full of symbolic possibilities as a sanctuary completely hidden from view during the most sacred part of the mass.²⁰⁸ As Mathews rightly remarks,

It would be quite an anomaly if the commentators should have described in detail the sanctuary furnishings which were hidden from the laity while failing to explain the one feature that was most obvious to their lay public, a curtain hiding the sanctuary. And it seems most unlikely that Germanus, who is careful to explain the meaning of each of the veils covering the chalice, would have omitted veils that covered the entire templon.²⁰⁹

Mathews does not mention the important passage of Nicetas, Syncellus and Chartophylax of the Great Church, cited above. But even this text does not disprove his thesis. It is post-iconoclast, and furthermore it refers to the practice of hiding the sanctuary from the faithful by curtains as foreign to the Great Church. And as we have seen, the *Protheoria*, at pains whenever possible to justify a liturgical practice by ascribing it to the rite of the Great Church, calls the curtains a monastic practice and leaves it at that.

With the fall of Constantinople to the Latins in the fourth crusade (1204) and the resulting monastic influence in the rite of the capital,²¹⁰ or perhaps as a consequence of the spread of mo-

²⁰⁶ Ed. C. DE BOOR, Leipzig, 1883, I, p. 494 (= *PG* 108, 993).

²⁰⁷ *Early Churches*, p. 167.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 169-171.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

²¹⁰ Cf. SYMEON OF THESSALONIKA, *De sacra precatone* 301, 347, *PG* 155, 553, 625; MATEOS, *Typicon*, I, p. XII.

nastic usages in the Middle Ages, the fully developed medieval iconostasis, with its curtains, became general throughout the Byzantine Church.

6. *Icons in the Liturgy*

Since we are speaking of the sanctuary barrier and allied matters, it might be worthwhile to add, by way of an additional note, that in spite of all one hears concerning the place of icons in the Byzantine liturgy, we have never seen any Byzantine euchology or diataxis that makes the slightest mention of icons as having any place whatever in the ritual of the mass.²¹¹ Only in the later printed editions do we find rubrics indicating that the icons on the iconostasis are to be incensed. Icons, of course, have come to play an important role in Byzantine piety, but (apart from feasts of course) their supposed place in the liturgy cannot be documented by any liturgical text. Historically they play no role in the ritual of the Byzantine mass and their presence on an iconostasis or elsewhere cannot be deemed essential to the celebration of the liturgy of the Great Church.

Who said the Creed?

In contemporary Greek practice the creed is recited by a soloist or by the bishop or senior concelebrant while the congregation says it to themselves, or, in some churches, it is recited aloud by everyone. Among the Russians and other Slavs the choir or people sing it as a rule.

According to the rubrics of the *Ieratikon* of Athens, 1951 (p. 85), it should be recited "intelligibly and clearly" by the bishop or senior clergyman attending — i. e., not celebrating — the mass, while the others present say it to themselves, and both choirs respond "Amen." A similar practice is prescribed for the pontifical liturgy in the *Acts* of the Moscow Sobor of 1666-7: the superior (*predstojatel'*) says it outside the sanctuary while within the bishop says it with his concelebrants.²¹² The somewhat later *Činovník of Cholmogory* modifies this to "outside they say the

²¹¹ The two preparatory prayers said before the icons of Christ and the Theotokos are not even in the *editio princeps*. Some of the diataxeis have the priest kiss the icons before entering the sanctuary to vest (*Ethniko bibl. 662*, 12-13th c., TREMPPELAS, p. 1; *Moscow Synod 381*, 13-14th c., *Vat. Gr. 573*, 14-15th c., KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, pp. 19, 95).

²¹² *Dejanija*, f. 55v.

symbol" while the concelebrants do the same.²¹³ But every other source anterior to the printed editions that we have consulted, be it commentary, euchology, diataxis, archieratikon, or version, early or late, from whatever branch of the Byzantine tradition, assigns the creed to the people, or to the clergy and people, if it mentions it at all, with but one exception: the heavily latinized codex *Grottaferrata Gb XIX* (AD 1591) which has the priest say it, *filioque* and all (ff. 10v-11r).²¹⁴ The *editio princeps* of Doucas and numerous other editions in Greek and Slavonic (but not the Slavonic *editio princeps*) assign it to the choir.²¹⁵

So Jungmann is less than accurate in asserting with regard to the Oriental liturgies, that "the symbol is, as a rule, spoken by the people — thus in the Egyptian liturgies and mostly also in the Byzantine. Or it is spoken by a representative of the people. But it is never said by the priest, and it is never sung."²¹⁶ Among the Russians and some others it is *always* sung. Greek practice is not uniform, but one cannot argue from the use of

²¹³ Ed. GOLUBCOV, p. 24.

²¹⁴ By the "people": Our earliest Italian and Constantinopolitan codices *Barberini 336* (LEW, p. 321), *Sebastianov 474* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 250), *BAS of Karlsruhe EM 6* (ENGDahl, p. 62), and almost every other Greek or Slavonic euchology we have seen; both Georgian versions (JACOB, *Version géorgienne*, p. 104; TARCHNIŠVILI, *Liturgiae ibericae*, p. 57); the Arabic and Armenian versions (BACHA, *Versions arabes*, p. 459; AUCHER, *Versions arméniennes*, p. 387); and the diataxeis of *Ethniko bibl. 662*, Philotheus (TREMPPELAS, p. 11), and *Moscow Synod 381* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 26).

By "everyone": *BAS of Codex Pyromalus* and the version of Johannisberg (GOAR², p. 155; COCHLAUUS, *Speculum*, p. 125); the commentaries of MAXIMUS (*Myst. 18*, PG 91, 695, interpolated into GERMANUS, *HE*, ed. BORGIA, p. 35) and CABASILAS (*Liturgiae expositio 26*, PG 150, 421, cited above, p. 410).

By the "clergy and people": the version of Leo Tuscan (JACOB, *Toscan*, p. 153); Otrantan *BAS* (JACOB, *Otrante*, p. 71); the archieratikon of *British Museum Add. 34060* (ARABATZOGLOU, *Bibliothèque*, p. 238); *CHR of Karlsruhe EM 6* (ENGDahl, p. 22); the diataxis of *Leningrad 423 - Sabas 305* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 90); the *Činovník of Cholmogory* (ed. GOLUBCOV, p. 24).

By the "singers and people": the Slavonic version of Philotheus' diataxis in the *Služebnik of Metropolitan Kiprian* (codex *Moscow Synod 344-601*, KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 63).

Several of these sources are cited above, pp. 378-80.

²¹⁶ Cf. ORLOV, *Liturgija*, pp. 162-163, apparatus; GOAR², pp. 60, 141. The edition of ERASMUS (AD 1537) assigns it to the lector (GOAR², p. 91), a practice still followed in some churches today.

²¹⁷ *Missarum Sollemnia I*, p. 468, citing BAUMSTARK (*Messe*, p. 174) who should have known better.

"λέγει" in the rubrics, as Jungmann appears to by the references he gives. In Greek liturgical terminology λέγειν, like the Syriac *emar*, means "chant" as well as "say", as can be seen, for example, in the rubrics referring to the chanting of the litanies by the deacon.²¹⁷ Some few Constantinopolitan sources render this more explicit; BAS of *Codex Pyromalus* and the version of Johannisberg, and the archieratikon of codex *British Museum Add. 34060*, state that the symbol is "chanted" by all — *Codex Pyromalus* and the Johannisberg version add the precision that archdeacon begins the chant²¹⁸ — whereas the later *De officiis* of Pseudo-Codinus (1350-1360) speaks of the "reading" (ἀνάγνωσις) of the symbol at the mass of imperial coronation.²¹⁹

The Aer

What is the origin of the curious contemporary practice of removing the aer right after the *pax* and waving it over the gifts during the creed? In all the early sources the aer is not removed until after the creed, during the dialogue preceding the anaphora, and the same practice can be seen still in the diataxeis that mention the removal of the aer and in Greek and Slavic MSS and editions up until the 16th century.²²⁰

1. *The Origins of the Custom*

But the present practice has a long history that seems to have originated in Syria. Severus of Antioch († 538) in a letter (no. 105) to Caesaria the Hypatissa has the following to say about the veil in the Antiochene tradition:

[In] Palestine and in Jerusalem, while the priest says the said prayer, the deacons frequently and ceaselessly lift [the cover] up and let it down again, until the end of the prayer, and so after that the priest begins the petition over the offering of the sacrifice. Further what is done in this fashion reminds us of that veil or linen sheet which came down from heaven upon Peter ...

²¹⁷ E. g. the rubrics of *Codex Pyromalus*, GOAR², pp. 153, 155; also GOAR², p. 226, line 29; the archieratikon of Gemistos, DMITRIEVSKIĬ II, p. 312; etc. W. F. Macomber pointed out to us the Syriac parallel.

²¹⁸ See note 214, and above, pp. 378-9.

²¹⁹ Ed. VERPEAUX, p. 267, 9.

²²⁰ Cf. the sources cited above, pp. 378-80; TREMPÉLAS, p. 93; ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 163; and the sources given below in this section.

For this reason therefore the cloth that is laid upon what is set forth on the altar shows by being lifted and lowered the abundant and perfect gift of the divine Spirit, which was shown to Peter by the vision to have included all nations, which descends from heaven upon [all] that is set forth, and consecrates and hallows it²²¹

Moses bar Kepha († 903) later incorporated part of this passage into his commentary on the liturgy when he speaks of the removal of the veil at the warning "Let us stand aright" at the beginning of the anaphora.²²² He specifies that "they lift it up and let it down three times" ²²³

De Meester has even suggested that there was once an *oratio veli* in the Byzantine tradition as in the West Syrian, and that at this point the veil was waved over the gifts.²²⁴ The later introduction of the creed into the liturgy supposedly dislodged this prayer. But this is sheer speculation. In the first place the West-Syrian "prayer of the veil" is so named because it is said at the removal of the veil, but such titles from physical juxtaposition are a common liturgical phenomenon and do not necessarily indicate any organic connection between the liturgical elements in question.²²⁵ Secondly, the *oratio veli* is in reality a prayer of *accessus ad altare* and the Byzantine liturgy already has such a prayer, the prayer of the proscomidie. There is not the slightest bit of evidence to lead one to postulate the presence of a duplicate formula in the liturgy anterior to our extant euchology MSS. Even if there had been one, it disappeared centuries before our first evidence for the rite of the veil in the Byzantine sources. Trempélas relates the rite of the veil to the custom of waving the ripidia or, for want of a ripidion, a veil over the gifts during the anaphora, an opinion supported by Paul Ricaut's (1678) description of the mass:

The Creed ... is next repeated, and the Cover or Vail is taken off, called "Aερας, and then over the Bread the air is

²²¹ BROOKS, *Letters*, II, no. 105, pp. 257-258. The vision of Peter is in Acts 11: 5-10. The extant fragment of Severus' letter does not identify the "said prayer" by any previous reference.

²²² Ed. CONNOLLY-CODRINGTON, *Two Commentaries*, pp. 44-45. See S. JANERAS, *Une lettre de Sévère d'Antioche utilisée par Moïse bar Képha*, *Liturgica* (Montserrat) 3, 1966, pp. 67-72.

²²³ *Two Commentaries*, loc. cit.

²²⁴ *Origines*, p. 337.

²²⁵ Cf. above, chapter III, note 3.

moved with a Fan, signifying the wind and breath of the Spirit ...²²⁶

One might also see a possible relationship between the formula "Σπῶμεν καλῶς ... πρόσχωμεν τῇ ἁγίαν ἀναφορὰν ἐν εἰρήνῃ προσφέρειν" during which the veil was formerly waved, and the use of "anaphora" as the name of the great veil in several sources.²²⁷

2. Its Appearance in the Byzantine Sources

Whatever its remote origins, it is not until 10th century BAS of the *Codex Pyromalus* and the version of Johannisberg that we have what is perhaps our first witness to the beginnings of the rite of the aer in the liturgy of the Great Church:

Μετὰ τὸ σύμβολον, ἄρεται τρίτον, καὶ τρίτον ἀφαιρεῖται ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων δώρων τὸ κάλυμμα.²²⁸

In the 12th century MSS of Reggio-Messina there is a more elaborate rubric prescribing the same practice: when the deacon proclaims "Let us stand aright" (Σπῶμεν καλῶς) the priest and deacons raise the aer thrice, then fold it and place it behind the gifts. Then the deacon to the right of the altar incenses the gifts while the one on the left waves a ripidion over them.²²⁹ The custom of raising the veil thrice is also found in several Otrantan MSS of the 13th century.²³⁰ However, we have sources during all this

²²⁶ *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches, anno Christi 1678*, London, 1679, p. 197. Cf. TREMPÉLAS, p. 93 note 25. On the custom of waving ripidia see THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, *Hom. 15*, 27 (ed. TONNEAU-DEVRESSE, p. 509); *Ap. Const. VIII*, 12, 3 (FUNK I, p. 496); GERMANUS, *HE* (ed. BORGIA, p. 36); J. MOSCHUS, *Pratum spirituale* 196 (PG 87, 3081); *codex Grottaferrata Gb II* (МУРЭТОВ, *K materialam*, p. 5); the diataxis of *Ethn. bibl.* 662 and Philotheus (TREMPÉLAS, p. 11), etc. Relics of this practice are still found in today's rubrics (cf. *Ieratikon*, Athens, 1951, p. 85; *Služebnik*, St. Petersburg, 1900, p. 142; *Činovník*, Moscow, 1798, f. 41r, and Warsaw, 1944, f. 11v), though the Russians, at least, do not observe these rubrics except at the ordination of a deacon (cf. the ordination rite in GOAR², pp. 209-211).

²²⁷ Cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 470.

²²⁸ GOAR², p. 155. The Johannisberg version reads: "Post Symbolum leuatur tertio, & sic tertio tollitur linteum desuper muneribus" (COCHLAEUS, *Speculum*, p. 125).

²²⁹ *Codices Grottaferrata Gb II* (МУРЭТОВ, *K materialam*, p. 5); *Vat. Gr. 1811* (ff. 80v-81r); *Oxford Bodleian Auct. E.5.13*. (f. 16r).

²³⁰ *Vallie. Gr. 47*, *Ambros. Gr. 276*, *Borgia Gr. 7*, *Corsini Gr. 5* and *7*, in JACOB, *Fragments*, p. 104. In this same rubric there follows the *lavabo* "according to the *ordo* of St. Denys the Areopagite" (cf. above, p. 170).

period from Constantinople, Otranto, and elsewhere which speak simply of "lifting" the veil or of "holding" it over the gifts after the creed, sometimes while saying the Trisagion.²³¹

The practice of raising the aer thrice may have been suggested by the triple formula "Let us stand aright! Let us stand in fear! Let us be attentive ...!" At least one source, the *Činovník* of the *edinovercy*, has a rubric synchronizing the three elevations with this threefold exclamation.²³² Then the triple elevation later attracted to it the Trisagion.

3. The Holding or Waving the Aer during the Creed

Our first witness to the practice of holding the veil over the gifts during the creed is the *Expositio de divino templo* of Symeon of Thessalonika († 1429). The text is not very clear, but seems to imply that the ministers raised the aer and held it over the gifts during the creed, then removed it at the "Let us stand aright":

85. *Why the divine gifts remain covered until the creed is finished.*

They hold (κρατοῦσι) the sacred veil on the gifts until the creed is completed since it is necessary that everything concerning Jesus be clearly confessed, and in this way to see him uncovered.²³³

Here, as in so many other instances, Russian liturgical conservatism has preserved rubrics prescribing this usage described by Symeon. The aer is raised above the gifts and held over them horizontally, then removed after the *Stanem dobre* ("Let us stand aright"). The rubrics say nothing about raising and lowering the veil over the gifts during the creed though this is actually done.²³⁴

Our first witness to this practice of raising and lowering the veil over the gifts during the creed is the 15th century codex *Sinai*

²³¹ GERMANUS, *EH* (ed. BORGIA, p. 32); *Protheoria* 21 (PG 140, 445); the version of Leo Tuscan (JACOB, *Toscan*, p. 153) and the archieration of Gemistos (DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 312); Otrantan BAS (JACOB, *Otrante*, p. 71) and *codex Karlsruhe EM 6* (ENGDHAL, pp. 23, 63); the ancient Georgian CHR (JACOB, *Version géorgienne*, p. 104); and Philotheus' diataxis (TREMPÉLAS, p. 11); BAS of the 14th c. *Grottaferrata Gb XII* (f. 59v). Some of these sources are cited at the beginning of this chapter, pp. 378-80.

²³² Moscow, 1910, f. 56r.

²³³ *ET* 85, *PG* 155, 732.

²³⁴ Cf. *Služebnik*, St. Petersburg, 1900, pp. 140-142; Rome, 1942, pp. 250-252; or any modern edition of the Muscovite usage.

Gr. 986,²³⁵ so it was evidently once the Greek custom too (today the Greeks, Melkites, Ukrainians and others wave the aer vertically over and around the gifts²³⁶). The rubric is found in a few other 16th century codices,²³⁷ but other MSS and editions up until the 19th century preserve the older usage of not removing the veil until after the creed, or simply holding it over the gifts as in Symeon.²³⁸ We can see the practice evolving in the diataxis of Philotheus. According to the early Greek MSS and both Slavonic redactions, the priest raises the aer at "Let us stand aright" and holds it over the gifts while saying the Trisagion.²³⁹ But a later MS of the same diataxis, codex *Panteleimon* 421 (AD 1545), has the priest hold it over the gifts during the creed, then raise it three times while saying the Trisagion at the diaconal warning.²⁴⁰

Even in today's rubrics we see a remnant of the original practice. Before the creed a new rubric has been inserted:

Ὁ δε ἱερεὺς, ἀρας τὸν Ἀέρα ἐπάνω τῶν δώρων, κινεῖ αὐτὸν ἀνοικτόν.

But after the *Στῶμεν καλῶς* we find the original rubric representing the earlier usage:

Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἱερεὺς, ἐπάρας τὸν Ἀέρα ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων, ἀποτίθῃσιν αὐτὸν ἐν ἐνὶ τόπῳ λέγων τό, Ἡ χάρις ...²⁴¹

In older Venetian editions at least until the 19th century only this second rubric is found.²⁴²

²³⁵ DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 611.

²³⁶ Cf. The illustrations of the various Byzantine usages in N. LIESSEL, *The Eucharistic Liturgies of the Eastern Churches*, Collegeville, Minn., 1963, photos 553 (Russian); 404-8, 460, 630 (Greek, Melkite, Ukrainian); cf. also the West-Syrian rite, 161.

²³⁷ *Sinai Gr.* 2017 (f. 24r) and BAS of *Sabas* 48 (f. 66v) and 382 (f. 49v), and various MSS cited in TREMPÉLAS, p. 93. It is not in the early MSS of Philotheus' diataxis, which has the priest raise the aer at "Let us stand aright" and elevate it over the gifts while saying the Trisagion. But the later practice has been inserted in codex *Panteleimon* 421 (AD 1545) of the same diataxis (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 62 note 2).

²³⁸ Cf. for example the diataxis of *Leningrad Gr.* 423-*Sabas* 305 (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 90); codices *Sinai Gr.* 2045, AD 1572, (f. 20r), 2046, 16th c. ? (f. 17r); TREMPÉLAS, p. 93 (apparatus); MSS of BAS in ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 163; and the Venetian editions cited below, n. 242.

²³⁹ TREMPÉLAS, p. 11; KALUŽNIACKI, *Werke des Euthymius*, p. 298; KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 65.

²⁴⁰ KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 62 n. 1.

²⁴¹ *Euchologion*, Athens, 1927, p. 44.

²⁴² *Euchologion*, Venice, 1571, f. 27r; 1745, p. 44; 1776, p. 49. The edition of 1877 (p. 61) has both rubrics.

4. *The Rite of the Aer in the Pontifical Liturgy*

As for the practice of waving the aer over the head of the bishop at a pontifical liturgy, we have been unable to find any precise reason for this bizarre custom. None of the earlier archieratica mention it. But the rubric is contained in the liturgical canons of the Slavic reform of 1666-1667 and later Russian sources.²⁴³ At least one Greek and a few Slavic codices prescribe similar practices at the presbyteral liturgy. For example, codex *Barberini Gr.* 443, a 13th century Otrantan MS, has the priest put the chalice veil on his head at "Let us lift up our hearts!"²⁴⁴ Codex *Sofia Slav.* 530 (15th c.) has the priest put the aer on his head during the creed.²⁴⁵ After the creed he folds it, saying the Trisagion. Codex *Moscow Synod* 366 (680), of the 16th century is even more imaginative. After the creed the priest raises the veil to his head thrice, covering his face, and saying the Trisagion.²⁴⁶

Perhaps the original size of the aer explains the origin of this practice. The aer was so large that, as many sources indicate, several ministers had to assist in removing it from the gifts.²⁴⁷ Then they undoubtedly had to lift it over the head of the main celebrant and fold it behind him. This at least is what is prescribed in the rubrics of the Russian liturgical reform of 1666-1667, which state that the aer is removed over the head of the bishop and folded behind him (*sozadi ego*).²⁴⁸ The symbolism of the descent of the Holy Spirit that Severus of Antioch applied to the waving of the aer in the passage cited above may also have influenced this practice at the pontifical liturgy, but we have no evidence for this.

²⁴³ *Dejanija*, f. 55v. It is also in the *Čin archierejskago dejstva*, Moscow, 1668 (ff. 22r-23r) and the *Činovnik of Chalmogory*, AD 1682 (ed. GOLUBCOV, p. 24).

²⁴⁴ JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 367.

²⁴⁵ ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 163.

²⁴⁶ NEVOSTRUEV-GORSKIJ, *Opisanie* III, 1, p. 97. For similar practices in other 16th c. Slavic MSS cf. PETROVSKIJ, *Rédaction slave*, p. 921.

²⁴⁷ E. g. in the version of Leo Tuscan (JACOB, *Toscan*, p. 153); the 12th c. Reggio-Messina MSS (cf. above, n. 229); Otrantan BAS (JACOB, *Otrante*, p. 71 and cf. the Otrantan revision of Leo Tuscan's CHR, *ibid.*, pp. 98-99); the archieraticon of Gemistos (DMITRIEVSKIJ II, p. 312); etc. See also the discussion of the aer, pp. 210, 216 ff.

²⁴⁸ *Dejanija*, f. 55v.

The Trisagion

The earliest Constantinopolitan sources, *Codex Pyromalus* and the version of Johannisberg, give no formula to be said at the removal of the aer. But according to the rite of the Great Church as given in the version of Leo Tuscan, it was customary to recite the Trisagion when removing the aer from the gifts at the dialogue before the anaphora.²⁴⁹ The priest and deacons — or at a pontifical liturgy the concelebrating bishops and presbyters — lifted the aer and while holding it over the gifts, said the Trisagion. Then the aer was folded and put aside. Only the Ukrainians and the Old Ritualists preserved until modern times the custom of saying the Trisagion after the creed.²⁵⁰

However it was not the Italian custom to recite the Trisagion at the removal of the aer, and so the Otrantan revision of the version of Tuscan omits this rubric contained in the original Constantinopolitan recension.²⁵¹ But the use of the Trisagion at this part of the liturgy is very common in Slavic MSS from the 12th century on,²⁵² and eventually, it seems, it became general enough practice, at least in non-Italian MSS, to recite it either when kissing the gifts before the *pax*, when removing the aer, or when waving the aer over the gifts during the creed.²⁵³ A remnant of

²⁴⁹ JACOB, *Toscan*, p. 153, cited above, pp. 379-80.

²⁵⁰ For the Ukrainians, see BOCIAN, *De modificationibus*, p. 960. It is not included in the latest Roman editions but is still found in the *Leiturghikon sircē služebnik*, Peremyšl, 1840, p. 325. For the *staroobryadcy*, see the *Činovník* of the *edinovercy*, Moscow, 1910, f. 56r.

²⁵¹ JACOB, *Otrante*, pp. 98-99, cited above, p. 380.

²⁵² In fact the earliest witness to this practice is found in the Slavic tradition, in the *Služebnik of Antony the Roman* († 1147) in codex *Moscow Synod 342 (605)*, the earliest Slavic MS of CHR (NEVOSTRUJEV-GORSKIJ, *Opisanie* III, 1, p. 3; cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, p. 329). At the command "Let us stand aright" the priest kisses the altar and says "Holy God". At "Let us stand in awe" he says "Holy Mighty" etc. But as far as one can tell from the description of the MS there is nothing said about raising the aer. For other Slavic witnesses, see ORLOV, *Liturgija*, p. 163; PETROVSKIJ, *Rédaction slave*, pp. 868, 889, 921, 960.

²⁵³ The Trisagion at the raising of the aer is not found in the diataxis of *British Museum Add. 34060* (ARABATZOGLOU, *Bibliothèque*, p. 238) or *Ethn. bibl. 662* (TREMPELAS, p. 11), but it is found in other Constantinopolitan documents from the 12th c. on: *Paris Gr. 327*; diataxis of Philotheus (TREMPELAS, p. 11); archieration of Gemistos (DMITRIJEVSKIJ II, p. 312; HABERT, p. 111); the diataxis of *Vat. Gr. 573* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, p. 109). It is also found in later MSS such as *Sabas 382* (BAS, f. 49v); *Sinai Gr. 2046* (f. 17v); *Vat. Gr. 1213* (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*, p. 134); and the later MSS in TREMPELAS (p. 91). In these later sources it occurs

this practice is found in the Russian *Činovník*, which has the bishop say the Trisagion while kissing the gifts and altar before the *pax*.²⁵⁴

The introduction of the Trisagion here is undoubtedly connected with the burial symbolism that we have already discussed in chapters I, V and VI. In this symbolism both aer and Trisagion play a role.²⁵⁵

Except for the Ukrainian and Old Ritualist usages, the custom of saying the Trisagion after the creed eventually died out, perhaps because of a scarcity of deacons. With no deacon, the priest himself had to chant "Let us stand aright!" while putting away the veil.

in various places (during the creed, when kissing the gifts, etc.). Cf. JACOB, *Formulaire*, pp. 329-330.

²⁵⁴ *Činovník*, Moscow, 1798, f. 39r; Warsaw, 1944, f. 11r.

²⁵⁵ See above, pp. 35-9, 216 ff., 226-7, 245 ff.

CONCLUSION

We have seen the gradual evolution of the Byzantine pre-anaphoral rites from extreme simplicity to the jumbled complexity of some of the later MSS, a complexity cut back somewhat through prudent trimming by Philotheus and by the editors of the early printed editions. According to our reconstruction, the primitive rite of the Great Church before the 6th century consisted in the preparation of the altar and transfer of gifts from the skeuophylakion by the deacons, while the presbyters prepared themselves for the anaphora by saying the *accessus* prayer. The preparation of the altar may have included an incensation, and that of the clergy a *lavabo*. Then followed the deposition and covering of the gifts, probably with an incensation. The final warning to guard the doors and the kiss of peace concluded the preparation for the anaphora.

During the Monophysite crisis the creed was inserted into these rites at the position it still holds today. About the same time, it seems, an antiphon, Ps. 24 with alleluia, was introduced. In the latter half of the 6th century the Cherubicon was added to the antiphon and later, probably sometime before the 8th century, the psalmody was suppressed.

Further developments in the 7-10th centuries show signs of overburdening the rites with unnecessary elements. The *Nemo dignus* prayer first introduced into BAS duplicates an already existing *accessus* prayer. And the litany after the Great Entrance, in scope a litany of dismissal, is completely out of place. It is not only untraditional but also superfluous, coming so soon after the litanies that end the Liturgy of the Word. Furthermore it interrupts and delays the preparation for the anaphora, which is the scope of the rites and prayers of this part of the mass. On the other hand the *orate fratres* dialogue between concelebrants, in its uncorrupted form, provided a felicitous opening to the *accessus* rites. The post-iconoclast changes in the disposition of the church led to the disappearance of the outside skeuophylakion and the consequent weakening of the Great Entrance as a truly functional procession, though some change in this was inevitable because of

the impracticality of an outside skeuophylakion. More unfortunate was the suppression of the *pax* among the lesser clergy and faithful, and the later addition of rites and formulae in order to cover this omission.

Later medieval developments must be judged even more harshly. Most serious was the gradual loss of the true sense of the *accessus ad altare*, and the notion that these rites in some way constitute an "offertory". In addition, the evolution of the diaconal transfer of gifts into a procession of the presbyters, the corruption of the text and scope of the *orate fratres* dialogue, the interruption of the chant with commemorations, the obscuring of the true scope and object of the first incensation by extending it to the icons, people, etc. — to say nothing of the addition of the troparia and other lesser formulae — are signs of a liturgy in decline. This means the victory of allegory over sober practicality and symbolism rooted in the true meaning of the sacramental rites.

A certain restoration of the rite, however, could be accomplished with a few modest changes:

1. The first step would be to resist the inevitable tendency always to go up the hierarchical ladder for substitutes when the proper minister of a rite is wanting. Only the deacons should bear in the gifts. If there is no deacon then certainly at presbyteral concelebrations at least the main celebrant should not participate in the procession but, like the bishop, wait in the sanctuary to meet it on arrival.
2. The antiphonal chant should be restored, and should not be interrupted by commemorations or a blessing of the people with the gifts. With that done away with there would no longer be any need for the bishop or main celebrant to take the gifts from the deacons or presbyters before putting them on the altar. They can do this themselves, as was the case in the presbyteral rite at least until the 15th century.
3. The first incensation should be restricted to its proper objects, the altar and the gifts on the prothesis credence.
4. The procession should pass through the nave and not be abbreviated in the Russian manner. A better, though perhaps too radical, reform would be to place the prothesis chamber near the entrance of the church. This would not only restore the practical purpose of the Great

- Entrance but would facilitate the offerings of the faithful and make possible an eventual restoration of the Lesser Entrance as the true introit of the mass.
5. The *lavabo* could be restored in the presbyteral liturgy.
 6. At concelebrations, the *orate fratres* dialogue should be between the main celebrant and all concelebrants of at least presbyteral rank. If it is kept at non-concelebrated liturgies, its text must be revised along the lines already indicated.
 7. The litany should be suppressed completely.
 8. The procomide prayer should be punctuated so that its meaning is more apparent.
 9. The kiss of peace should be restored at all liturgies, and should be exchanged by the congregation as well as by the clergy. If there is only one presbyter, he can exchange it with the deacon or lesser ministers. Once the kiss is restored the later additions to the diaconal command "Let us love one another", which have nothing to do with the *pax*, should be suppressed.
 10. Since the dismissals and closing of the doors fell into disuse centuries ago, the warning to guard the doors must be suppressed, with "In wisdom, let us be attentive" retained to introduce the creed.
 11. The troparia and other lesser formulae could be left to the personal devotion of the celebrants if it is impossible to prevent their use. But they should not be allowed to disturb the flow or obscure the meaning of the rites, and since they clutter up the liturgical text they should be suppressed in new editions of the liturgical books.

* * *

All we have proposed is quite modest: *that the rites be restored to what they were always intended to be*. Nor has our guiding principle been archeological. Later additions that have some real purpose and meaning have all been retained. More could be done to reform these rites, but any such hope would be sanguine, and perhaps even pastorally imprudent. That is for others to decide. It is to be hoped, however, that if and when the competent authorities do introduce changes into the liturgy — and history has shown that they did so often in the past and are doing so, though unsystematically, even now — they will do so with some basis for their decisions in a true understanding of the meaning of the rites and their history. If so, the aim of this study will have been accomplished.

APPENDIX

THE GREEK TEXTUS RECEPTUS OF THE GREAT ENTRANCE AND OTHER PRE-ANAPHORAL RITES¹

(After the ecphonesis of the second prayer of the faithful:)

Καὶ ἀρχεται ὁ Πρωτοψάλτης τοῦ α' χοροῦ ψάλλειν τὸν Χερουβικὸν ὕμνον ἀργῶς καὶ μετὰ μέλους, εἰς τὸν κύριον ἦχον τῆς ἡμέρας, τῶν ἄλλων ἡρέμα ὑπάρχόντων καὶ ἰσοκρατούντων. Τοῦτου δὲ ἀδομένου, ὁ Ἱερεὺς πρὸ τῆς ἁγίας Τραπέζης ἀναγινώσκει μυστικῶς τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην.

Οὐδεὶς ἄξιός τῶν συνδεδεμένων ταῖς σαρκικαῖς ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ ἡδοναῖς, προσέρχεσθαι, ἢ προσεγγίζειν, ἢ λειτουργεῖν σοι, Βασιλεῦ τῆς δόξης· τὸ γὰρ διακονεῖν σοι μέγα καὶ φοβερόν, καὶ αὐταῖς ταῖς ἐπουρανίαις Δυνάμεσι. Ἄλλ' ἔμοις, διὰ τὴν ἄφατον καὶ ἀμέτρητόν σου φιλανθρωπίαν, ἀτρέπτως καὶ ἀναλλοιώτως γεγονόςας ἄνθρωπος, καὶ Ἀρχιερεὺς ἡμῶν ἐχρημάτισας, καὶ τῆς λειτουργικῆς ταύτης καὶ ἀναιμάκτου Θυσίας τὴν Ἱερουργίαν παρέδωκας ἡμῖν, ὡς Δεσπότης τῶν ἀπάντων· σὺ γὰρ ὁ μόνος, Κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, δεσπόζεις τῶν ἐπουρανίων καὶ τῶν ἐπιγείων, ὁ ἐπὶ Θρόνου Χερουβικοῦ ἐποχούμενος, ὁ τῶν Σεραφεὶμ Κύριος, καὶ Βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, ὁ μόνος Ἅγιος, καὶ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος. Σὲ τοίνυν δυσωπῶ τὸν μόνον ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐήκοον. Ἐπίβλεψον ἐπ' ἐμὲ τὸν ἁμαρτωλὸν καὶ ἀχρεῖον δοῦλόν σου, καὶ καθάρισόν μου τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἀπὸ συνειδήσεως πονηρᾶς· καὶ ἰκάνωσόν με τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ Ἁγίου σου Πνεύματος, ἐνδεδυμένον τὴν τῆς Ἱερατείας χάριν, παραστῆναι τῇ ἁγίᾳ σου ταύτῃ Τραπέζῃ, καὶ ἱερουργῆσαι τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἄχραντόν σου Σῶμα, καὶ τὸ τίμιον Αἷμα. Σοὶ γὰρ προσέρχομαι, κλίνας τὸν ἑμαυτοῦ ἀγκῆνα, καὶ δέομαι σου· Μὴ ἀποστρέψῃς τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, μηδὲ ἀποδοκιμάσῃς με ἐκ παιδῶν σου· ἀλλ' ἀξίωσον προσενεχθῆναι σοὶ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ καὶ ἀναξίου δούλου σου τὰ Δῶρα ταῦτα. Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ προσφέρων, καὶ προσφερόμενος, καὶ προσδεχόμενος, καὶ διαδιδόμενος, Χριστέ, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν, σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ σου Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ παναγίῳ, καὶ ἀγαθῷ, καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου Πνεύματι, νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν λέγουσιν αὐτὸς τε καὶ ὁ Διάκονος τὸν Χερουβικὸν ὕμνον. Ἐἶτα λαβὼν ὁ Ἱερεὺς τὸ θυμιατήριον, θυμιατῶν κύκλω τὴν ἁγίαν Τραπέζαν, τὸ Ἱερατεῖον, καὶ τὰς δεσποτικὰς εἰκόνας καὶ τὸν λαόν, μικρὸν προσελθὼν τῶν Βημοθύρων· λέγει δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὸν, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ Κυριακή, τὸ Ἀνάστασιν Χριστοῦ θεασάμενοι, καὶ

¹ *Ieratikon*, Athens, 1951, pp. 79-85. As we have seen, rubrics, minor usages and lesser formulae vary from edition to edition.

τόν Ν' φαλμόν· εἰ δ' οὐ, λέγει τὸ Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν, ἐκ γ'. Εἶτα τὸν Ν' φαλμόν. Ἐάν δὲ χοροστατῇ Ἀρχιερεὺς, προσελθὼν μικρὸν τῶν Βημοθόρων, θυμῶν πρώτων τὸν Ἀρχιερέα γ'· εἶτα τὰς δεσποτικὰς εἰκόνας, εἶτα αὖθις τὸν Ἀρχιερέα τρίς ἐκ τρίτου, καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀποτίθῃ τὸ Θυματήριον. Ἐλθὼν δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Διακόνου πρὸ τῆς ἁγίας Τραπέζης, ποιῶσι προσκυνήματα τρία, λέγοντες καθ' ἑαυτοὺς Κατακλιτικὰ Τροπάρια, καὶ ἀσπάζονται τὸ ἅγιον Ἀντιμήνσιον καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν Τραπέζαν· αὖθις δὲ ἐκ γ' προσκυνήσαντες, στρέφονται πρὸς τὸν λαὸν καὶ υποκλίνουσι τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν, καὶ οὕτως ἀπέρχονται εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Πρόθεσιν, καὶ προσκυνήσαντες ἀσπάζονται τὰ κεκαλυμμένα Ἅγια Δῶρα, λέγοντες ἐκάτερος τὸ, Ὁ Θεὸς Διάσθητί μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ. Τότε ὁ Διάκονος λέγει πρὸς τὸν Ἱερέα, Ἐπικρον, Δέσποτα, καὶ ὁ Ἱερεὺς, ἄρας τὸν Ἀέρα, ἐπιτίθῃ ἐπὶ τῶν ὄμων αὐτοῦ λέγων.

Ἐπάρατε τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν εἰς τὰ ἅγια καὶ εὐλογεῖτε τὸν Κύριον.

Εἶτα λαβὼν τὸν ἅγιον Δίσκον κεκαλυμμένον, ἐπιβάλλει μετὰ πίστεως προσοχῆς καὶ εὐλαθείας, τῇ τοῦ Διακόνου κεφαλῇ, αὐτὸς δὲ λαμβάνει ἀπὸ χεῖρας τοῦ ἁγίου Ποτήριον, ὁμοίως κεκαλυμμένον.

Ὅτε δὲ ὁ προεξάρχων τοῦ β' χοροῦ, ὁ τιλοφορούμενος Λαμπαδάριος, εἶπῃ τὸ, Ὡς τὸν βασιλέα, τότε, σιγήσαντος τοῦ χοροῦ, ὁ Διάκονος καὶ ὁ Ἱερεὺς ἐξέρχονται τῆς βορείου πύλης τοῦ Ἱεροῦ, προηγούμενοι ἐξαπτερόγων, λαμπάδων καὶ θυμιατηρίων, καὶ διέρχονται τὸ ἀριστερὸν κλίτος καὶ τὸ μέσον τοῦ Ναοῦ, ποιῶντες τὴν Μεγάλην Εἰσοδὸν, ἐκφωνοῦντες ἀλληλοδιαδόχως ἐκάτερος.

Πάντων ἡμῶν μνησθεῖν Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ Βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ, πάντοτε, νῦν, καὶ αἰεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Καὶ ἅπαντες οἱ ἐκκλησιαζόμενοι, κλίνοντες μετ' εὐλαθείας τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ προσκυνοῦντες, λέγουσι καθ' ἑαυτοὺς τρίς·

Ἀμήν. Μνήσθητι ἡμῶν, Κύριε, ὅταν ἔλθῃς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου.

Φθάσαντες δὲ ὁ Διάκονος καὶ ὁ Ἱερεὺς πρὸ τοῦ Θρόνου, εἰ ἔστιν Ἀρχιερεὺς χοροστατῶν, στραφέντες πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκφωνοῦσιν ἀλληλοδιαδόχως·

Τῆς Ἀρχιερωσύνης σου μνησθεῖν Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ Βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ, πάντοτε, νῦν, καὶ αἰεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Τούτων δὲ εἰσελθόντων ἐν τῷ Ἱερῷ ὁ Λαμπαδάριος συμπληροῖ τὸν Χερουβικὸν ὕμνον.

Εἰσελθὼν δὲ ὁ Διάκονος ἐν τῷ Ἱερῷ, ἵσταται ἐνώπιον τῆς ἁγίας Τραπέζης ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς, καὶ λέγει πρὸς τὸν Ἱερέα εἰσερχόμενον.

Μνησθεῖν Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τῆς Ἱερωσύνης σου ἐν τῇ Βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ, πάντοτε, νῦν, καὶ αἰεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Καὶ ὁ Ἱερεὺς εἰσελθὼν λέγει αὐτόν.

Μνησθεῖν Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τῆς Ἱεροδιακονίας σου ἐν τῇ Βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ, πάντοτε, νῦν, καὶ αἰεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Καὶ ἀποτίθῃ μὲν ὁ Ἱερεὺς τὸ ἅγιον Ποτήριον ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ Τραπέζῃ· λαβὼν δὲ καὶ τὸν ἅγιον Δίσκον ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Διακόνου ἀποτίθῃ καὶ αὐτὸν δεξιόθεν λέγων.

Ὁ εὐσχήμων Ἰωσήφ ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου καθελὼν τὸ ἀχραντὸν σου Σῶμα, σινδόνι καθαρῶ ἐβλήσας καὶ ἀρώμασιν, ἐν μνήματι καινῷ κηδεύσας ἀπέθετο.

Ἐν τάφῳ σωματικῶς, ἐν ἄδου δὲ μετὰ ψυχῆς, ὡς Θεός, ἐν Παραδείσῳ δὲ μετὰ Ληατοῦ, καὶ ἐν Θρόνῳ ὑπῆρχες, Χριστέ, μετὰ Πατρὸς καὶ Πνεύματος, πάντα πληρῶν ὁ ἀπερίγραπτος.

Ὡς ζωηφόρος, ὡς Παραδείσου ὠραιότερος, ὄντως καὶ παστάδος πάσης βασιλικῆς, ἀναδέδεικται λαμπρότερος, Χριστέ, ὁ τάφος σου, ἡ πηγὴ τῆς ἡμῶν ἀναστάσεως.

Εἶτα τὰ μὲν καλύμματα ἄρας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ Δίσκου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Ποτηρίου τιθῆσιν ἐν ἐνὶ μέρει τῆς ἁγίας Τραπέζης· τὸν δὲ Ἀέρα ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Διακόνου ὄμων λαβὼν καὶ θυμιάσας, σκεπάζει δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ Ἅγια. Εἶτα λαβὼν τὸν Θυματὸν, θυμῶν τρίς τὰ Ἅγια, ὅτε ὁ μὲν Διάκονος λέγει.

Ἀγάθυνον, Δέσποτα.

Ὁ δὲ Ἱερεὺς τρίς.

Τότε ἀνοίσουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ Θυσιαστήριόν σου μόσχους.

Ἀποδοῦς δὲ τὸν Θυματὸν, καὶ κλίνας τὴν κεφαλὴν, λέγει πρὸς τὸν Διάκονον.

Μνήσθητί μου, ἀδελφὲ καὶ συλλειτουργέ.

Καὶ ὁ Διάκονος πρὸς αὐτόν.

Μνησθεῖν Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τῆς Ἱερωσύνης σου ἐν τῇ Βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ, πάντοτε κτλ.

Εἶτα ὁ Διάκονος υποκλίνας καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν κεφαλὴν, κρατῶν ἅμα καὶ τὸ Ὄραριον τοῖς τρισὶ δακτύλοις τῆς δεξιᾶς, λέγει πρὸς τὸν Ἱερέα.

Εὖξαι ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, Δέσποτα ἅγιε.

Καὶ ὁ Ἱερεὺς.

Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ σέ, καὶ δύναμις Ὑψίστου ἐπισκιάσει σοι.

Καὶ ὁ Διάκονος.

Αὐτὸ τὸ Πνεῦμα συλλειτουργήσῃ ἡμῖν πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν.

Μνήσθητί μου, Δέσποτα ἅγιε.

Καὶ ὁ Ἱερεὺς.

Μνησθεῖν σου Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ Βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ, πάντοτε, κτλ.

Καὶ ὁ Διάκονος ἐπειπὼν τὸ Ἀμήν, καὶ τὴν δεξιάν τοῦ Ἱερέως ἀσπασάμενος, ἐξελθὼν ἵσταται ἐν τῷ συνῆθει τόπῳ.

Εἰ δὲ χοροστατεῖ Ἀρχιερεὺς, οὗτος μὲν εὐλογεῖ διὰ τοῦ τιμίου Σταυροῦ τὸν λαόν, ὁ δὲ α' χορὸς ψάλλει εἰς ἦχον β'· Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη, Δέσποτα· καὶ καταλήγει εἰς τὸν ἦχον τοῦ Χερουβικοῦ, ὁμοιομόρφως τῷ, Ἀλληλοῦδια.

Εἶτα ὁ Διάκονος λέγει τὴν Ἐκτενῆ.

Πληρώσωμεν τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ.

Οἱ χοροὶ ἐναλλάξ, Κύριε, ἐλέησον.

Ἵπὲρ τῶν προτεθέντων τιμίων Δώρων, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

Ἵπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου Οἴκου τούτου, καὶ τῶν μετὰ πίστεως, εὐλαθείας, καὶ φόβου Θεοῦ εἰσιόντων ἐν αὐτῷ, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

Ἵπὲρ τοῦ ρυθῆναι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης θλίψεως, ὀργῆς, κινδύνου καὶ ἀνάγκης, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

Τούτων δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Διακόνου λεγομένων, ὁ Ἱερεὺς ἀναγινώσκει μυστικῶς τὴν ἐξῆς εὐχὴν τῆς Προθέσεως, μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ Τραπέζῃ ἀπόθεσιν τῶν θείων Δώρων.

Κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Παντοκράτωρ, ὁ μόνος Ἅγιος, ὁ δεχόμενος θυσίαν αἰνέσεως παρὰ τῶν ἐπικαλουμένων σε ἐν ἅλῃ καρδίᾳ, πρόσδεξαι καὶ ἡμῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν τὴν δέησιν, καὶ προσάγαγε τῷ ἁγίῳ σου Θυσιαστηρίῳ καὶ ἱκάνωσον ἡμᾶς προσενεργεῖν σοι Δωρὰ τε καὶ Θυσίας πνευματικὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτημάτων, καὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγνοημάτων. Καὶ καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς εὐρεῖν χάριν ἐνώπιόν σου, τοῦ γενέσθαι σοι εὐπρόσδεκτον τὴν Θυσίαν ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐπισκηνώσαι τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτός σου τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα Δωρὰ ταῦτα, καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα τὸν λαόν σου.

Ὁ Διάκονος ἐξακολουθεῖ λέγων·

Ἄντ'λαβοῦ, σῶσον, ἐλέησον, καὶ διαφύλαξον ἡμᾶς, ὁ Θεός, τῇ σῇ χάριτι.

Τὴν ἡμέραν πᾶσαν, τελείαν, ἁγίαν, εἰρηνικὴν καὶ ἀναμάρτητον, παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου αἰτησώμεθα.

Οἱ χοροὶ ἐναλλάξ. Παράσχου, Κύριε.

Ἄγγελον εἰρήνης, πιστὸν ὁδηγόν, φύλακα τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν, παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου αἰτησώμεθα.

Συγγνώμην καὶ ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ τῶν πλημμελημάτων ἡμῶν, παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου αἰτησώμεθα.

Τὰ καλὰ καὶ συμφέροντα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν, καὶ εἰρήνην τῷ κόσμῳ, παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου αἰτησώμεθα.

Τὸν ὑπόλοιπον χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν, ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ μετανοίᾳ ἐκτελέσαι, παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου αἰτησώμεθα.

Χριστιανὰ τὰ τέλη τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν, ἀνώδυνα, ἀνεπαίσχυντα, εἰρηνικά, καὶ καλὴν ἀπολογίαν, τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ φοβεροῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, αἰτησώμεθα.

Τῆς Παναγίας, ἀχράντου, ὑπερευλογημένης, ἐνδόξου, Δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων μνημονεύσαντες, ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἀλλήλους, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν, Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ παραδώμεθα.

Ὁ α' χορὸς. Σοί, Κύριε.

Ὁ Ἱερεὺς ἐκφώνως.

Διὰ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν τοῦ Μονογενοῦς σου Υἱοῦ, μεθ' οὗ εὐλογητὸς εἶ, σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Ὁ β' χορὸς. Ἄμην.

Ὁ Ἱερεὺς, ἢ, ἐὰν χοροστατῇ, ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς.

Εἰρήνη πᾶσι.

Ὁ α' χορὸς.

Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου.

Ὁ Διάκονος.

Ἀγαπήσωμεν ἀλλήλους, ἵνα ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ ὁμολογήσωμεν.

Ὁ β' χορὸς.

Πατέρα, Υἱόν, καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, Τριάδα ὁμοούσιον καὶ ἀχώριστον.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἱερεὺς, προσκυνήσας τρίς, ἀσπάζεται τὰ Ἅγια οὕτως, ὡς εἰσι κεκαλυμμένα, λέγων μυστικῶς.

Ἀγαπήσω σε, Κύριε, ἡ ἰσχύς μου. Κύριος στερέωμά μου, καὶ καταφυγή μου καὶ βύστης μου (ἐκ γ').

Ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ Διάκονος συμπροσκυθεῖ, ἐν ᾧ ἴσταται τόπω· ἀσπάζεται δὲ καὶ τὸ Ὁράριον αὐτοῦ, ἐνθα ἐστὶ Σταυροῦ τύπος, καὶ οὕτως ἐκφωνεῖ·

Τὰς θύρας, τὰς θύρας· ἐν σοφίᾳ πρόσχωμεν.

Ὁ Ἱερεὺς ἔρας τὸν Ἄερα ἐπάνω τῶν Δώρων, κινεῖ αὐτὸν ἀνοικτόν, λέγων καθ' ἑαυτὸν τό, Πιστεύω.

Ὁ χοροστατῶν Ἀρχιερεὺς, ἢ ὁ προϊστάμενος τῶν Κληρικῶν, τρανῶς καὶ ἐκρινῶς, καὶ ἕκαστος τῶν ἐκκλησιαζομένων ἰδίᾳ καθ' ἑαυτὸν, ἀπαγγέλλει τὸ ἅγιον Σύμβολον τῆς Πίστεως, οὗ πληρωθέντος, ἀμφότεροι οἱ χοροὶ λέγουσι τό, Ἄμην.

(There follows the dialogue before the anaphora).

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS

The following list contains the Byzantine liturgical MSS and versions of CHR, BAS, diataxeis, and archieratica read in preparing this study. MSS marked with a cross (†) have been read in the original or in microfilm even where reference is made to an edition. All other MSS have been read in the editions, partial or complete, indicated. Byzantine liturgical MSS cited from descriptions in secondary sources, MSS of other liturgical books (typicon, prophetologion), and MSS that have no direct bearing on the history of the Byzantine Divine Liturgy, but that have been cited in our study for purposes of comparison (e. g. MSS of JAS, PETER, MARK, Georgian PRES, or of non-eucharistic services such as orthros), are not included in this list, but will be found in the *Index of Manuscripts* that follows. Where no contents are listed, the MS contains CHR (or CHR and BAS). MSS or the editions used that give BAS, a diataxis, etc., but not CHR, are so indicated even though, in the case of editions, the MS itself may contain CHR.

Apart from the *Euchology of Porfirij Uspenskij* (Leningrad Gr. 226), *Sinai Gr. 50* (Leningrad Gr. 44), and *Petersburg* (Leningrad Gr. 423), which are currently known by their present Leningrad pressmarks, we have deemed it more convenient to cite MSS in Russian collections by their old codes. In this way the reader can more easily find his way through the published sources, which refer to these MSS exclusively according to their pre-revolutionary pressmarks.

As far as we have been able to determine, the Russian collections referred to are now found in the following libraries in the USSR:¹

¹On Collections in the USSR, see RICHARD and RICHARD (S); GRANSTREM, *Grečeskie rukopisi*; ID., *Katalog grečeskich rukopisej leningradskih chranilišč, Vizantijskij vremennik* 16, 1959, 216-243; 18, 1961, 254-274; 19, 1961, 194-239; 23, 1963, 166-204; 24, 1964, 166-197; 25, 1964, 184-211; 27, 1967, 273-294; 28, 1968, 238-255; 31, 1971, 132-144; 32, 1971, 131-141; GRIMSTED, *Archives*; I. N. LEBEDEVA, *Opisanie rukopisnogo otdela Biblioteki Akademii Nauk SSSR*, tom 5; *Grečeskie rukopisi*, Leningrad, 1973; *Spisok*; and the MS lists and other literature they cite.

- I. GPB = *Gosudarstvennaja Ordena Trudovogo Krasnogo Znamenii Publičnaja Biblioteka imeni M. E. Saltykova-Ščedrina* (Saltykov-Ščedrin State Public Library, former Imperial Public Library), Leningrad :

Collections of the Imperial Public Library, St. Petersburg; of the Library of the Society of Friends of Ancient Literature (Obščestvo ljubitelej drevnej pis'mennosti), St. Petersburg; of the St. Petersburg Ecclesiastical Academy (except for 120 more recent MSS now in the Library of the Moscow Ecclesiastical Academy, Zagorsk), including the fonds of the Sophia Cathedral Library, Novgorod, and of the Alexander Nevskij Monastery, both formerly contained in the Library of the St. Petersburg Ecclesiastical Academy; of Porfirij Uspenskij; of F. A. Tol'stoj; of A. A. Dmitrievskij (except for some MSS now in the Library of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad); of A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus; of the Novgorod Seminary; of the Soloveckij Monastery; of the Kirillo-Belozerskij Monastery.

- II. GBL = *Gosudarstvennaja Ordena Lenina Biblioteka SSSR imeni V. I. Lenina* (Lenin State Library), Moscow :

Collections of the Rumjancev Museum, including the Sevastianov fond; of the Moscow Ecclesiastical Academy; of the Troice-Sergievskaia Lavra.

- III. GIM = *Gosudarstvennyj Istoričeskij Musej* (State Historical Museum), Moscow :

Most of the collection of the Library of the Holy Synod, Moscow, including the fonds of the Library of the Synodal Press (Moskovskaja Sinodal'naja Tipografičeskaja Biblioteka) and of the Voskresenskij Novoierusalimskij Monastery, Moscow.

- IV. *Gosudarstvennaja Publičnaja Biblioteka Akademii Nauk UkSSR v Kieve* (State Public Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR in Kiev).

The collection of the Kiev Ecclesiastical Academy.

PRESSMARK ABBREVIATIONS AND LOCATION OF MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

- Admont* = Stiftsbibliothek, Admont in Styria (Steiermark), Austria.
Alexandria = Library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Cairo.
Ambros. = Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan.
Athos: *Andrew Skete, Chilandarion, Esphigmenou, Iviron, Koutloumoussiou, Lavra, Panteleimon, Vatopedi* = Collections of monastic establishments on Mt. Athos.
Barberini = Bibliotheca Apostolica, Vatican.
Berlin = Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin; the MS in question is now in the Westdeutsche Bibliothek, Marburg.
Bodleian = Bodleian Library, Oxford.
Borgia = Bibliotheca Apostolica, Vatican.
Burdett-Coutts = former Burdett-Coutts collection, London.
Byz. Museum = Byzantinon Mouseion, Athens.
Cairo = Library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Cairo.
Chigi = Bibliotheca Apostolica, Vatican.
Corsini = Academia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome.
Cromwell = Bodleian Library, Oxford.
Diarbekir = Chaldean Archbishopric, Diarbekir, now at the Chaldean Bishopric in Mardin.²
Dmitrievskij = Library of A. A. Dmitrievskij, now mostly in GPB (I above).
Ethn. bibl. = Ethniko Bibliotheke (National Library), Athens.
Geneva = Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Geneva.
Graz = Universitätsbibliothek, Graz, Austria.
Grott. = Badia di San Nilo, Grottaferrata.
Karlsruhe EM 6 = Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe, codex *Ettenheimmünster 6*.
Kazan = Slavonic liturgical MSS of the Soloveckij Monastery fond formerly located in the Library of the Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy. Cf. *Opisanie rukopisej Soloveckago Monastyryja nachodjaščichsja v Biblioteke Kazanskoj Duchovnoj Akademii*, part III, 1, Kazan, 1898. The Soloveckij collection is now in GPB (I above).
Kiev Acad. = Kiev Ecclesiastical Academy, now in the State Public Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR in Kiev (IV above).

² W. F. MACOMBER, *The Oldest known Text of the Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari*, OUP 32, 1966, p. 344 n. 3.

- Leningrad* = GPB (I above).
Messina = Biblioteca Universitaria, Messina.
Michigan = University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
Modena = Biblioteca Estense, Modena.
Moscow = GBL (II above).
Moscow Synod = Moskovskaja Sinodal'naja Biblioteka (Library of the Holy Synod, Moscow) now in GIM (III above). Cf. NEVOSTRUEV, GORSKIJ, *Opisanie*; VLADIMIR (FILANTROPOV), *Sistematičeskoe opisanie rukopisej Moskovskoj Sinodal'noj (Patriaršej) Biblioteki*, I: *Rukopisi grečeskija*, Moscow, 1894.
Munich = Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.
Ottoboni = Bibliotheca Apostolica, Vatican.
Paris = Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
Parma = Biblioteca Palatina, Parma.
Patmos = Monastery of St. John, Patmos.
Pavlov = Library of A. S. Pavlov (USSR, present location unknown).
Petersburg = Imperial Public Library, St. Petersburg, now in GPB (I above).
Petersburg Acad. = St. Petersburg Ecclesiastical Academy, now in GPB (I above).
Pius II = Bibliotheca Apostolica, Vatican.
Rumjancev = Rumjancev Museum, Moscow, now in GBL (II above).
Sabas = Orthodox Patriarchate, Jerusalem.
Sevastianov = P. I. Sevast'janov collection, a Rumjancev fond now in GBL (II above).
Sinai = Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai.
Soloveckij = Soloveckij Monastery, now in GPB (I above).
Sofia = Sofijskij Sobor (Sophia Cathedral), Novgorod, in the Library of the St. Petersburg Ecclesiastical Academy now in GPB (I above).
Stavrou = Orthodox Patriarchate, Jerusalem.
Taphou = Orthodox Patriarchate, Jerusalem.
Tipograf. bibl. = Moskovskaja Sinodal'naja Tipografičeskaja Biblioteka (Library of the Press of the Holy Synod), Moscow, now in GIM (III above).
Tol'stoj = F. A. Tol'stoj collection now in GPB (I above).
Tiflis = Tiflis Ecclesiastical Museum of the Georgian Clergy, now in the K. S. Kekelidze Manuscript Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian SSR, Tiflis.
Turin = Biblioteca Nazionale, Turin.
Vallie. = Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Rome.
Vat. = Bibliotheca Apostolica, Vatican.

GREEK MANUSCRIPTS

8th century

†*Barberini 336*, (LEW)

10th century

†*Grott. Gb IV* (544)

†*Grott. Gb VII* (324)

†*Grott. Gb XXIX*² = *Gb VI*, ff. 89-94, 95-98

Leningrad 226 = *Euchology of Porfirij Uspenskij*, (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*; ORLOV, *Liturgija*)

Sevastianov 474 = *Rumjancev 15* (474), now *Moscow 27*, (*ibid.*)

11th century

†*Grott. Zd II* (593), AD 1090

†*Grott. Gb XV* (313)

†*Grott. Gb XX* (433)

†*Grott. Gb XLI* = *Ag VIII*

†*Stavrou 109*, roll

†*Sinai 958*

†*Sinai 959*

†*Paris 391*

†*Parma 1217/2* (H.H.I.I), roll

11-12th century

Ethn. bibl. suppl. 815, (TREMPELAS)

†*Borgia 27*, AD 1085-1111

†*Vat. 1170*, (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*)

†*Sinai 961*

†*Sinai 962*

Voskresenskaja Novoiherusalimskaja Biblioteka Roll, BAS, (MURETOV, *K materialam*) now in GIM (cf. III above, p. 436).

Codex Pyromulus, BAS, (GOAR)

12th century

- Grott. Codex Arsenii* = *Cryptof. Arsenii*, AD 1001, roll of BAS, (GOAR)
 †*Vat. 1811*, AD 1147
 †*Sinai 973*, AD 1153, (DMITRIEVSKIJ II)
 †*Ottoboni 344*, AD 1177
Ethn. bibl. 713, (TREMPELAS)
Ethn. bibl. suppl. 394, (*ibid.*)
Byz. Museum 6, roll, (*ibid.*)
 †*Barberini 316*, diataxis of the prothesis, CHR
 †*Barberini 329*, BAS
Vat. 1970 = *Rossano Codex*, (SWAINSON; KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*)
 †*Grott. Gb II (319)*, (MURETOV, *K materialam*)
 †*Grott. Gb VIII (419)*
 †*British Museum Add. 34060*, patriarchal diataxis (ARABATZOGLOU, *Bibliotheke*)
 †*Modena γ.M.1.19*, roll
Sinai 1040, diakonika, (DMITRIEVSKIJ II)
 †*Munich 607*, roll
 †*Seymour Euchology* = *Codex 139*, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University
 †*Bodleian Add. E. 12 (Graec. misc. 328)*, roll
 †*Bodleian Auct. E. 5. 13 (Graec. misc. 78)*
 †*Paris 328*
 †*Paris 330*
 †*Paris 347*
 †*Paris Coislin 214*
 †*Byz. Museum 5*, roll of BAS, (TREMPELAS)
 †*Geneva 27*, roll of BAS

12-13th century

- Ethn. bibl. 662*, diataxis, (*ibid.*)
 †*Sinai 1036*
Sinai 1020, roll of BAS, (DMITRIEVSKIJ II)
Petersburg 104, roll of BAS, (ORLOV, *Liturgija*)
St. Petersburg, Biblioteka Obščestva ljubitelej drevnej pis'mennosti Roll, BAS, (*ibid.*) now in GPB (cf. I above, p.436).

13th century

- †*Bodleian Cromwell 11*, AD 1225
Patmos 709, roll, AD 1260, (DMITRIEVSKIJ II)
 †*Michigan 49* = former *Burdett-Coutts I, 10*, (SWAINSON)

Vat. 1228, (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*)

†*Grott. Gb XIII (420)*

Karlsruhe EM 6, CHR, BAS, Otrantan revision of Leo Tuscan's version of CHR, Nicholas of Otranto's version of BAS, (ENGDAHL; JACOB, *Otrante*)

Burdett-Coutts III, 42, (SWAINSON)

†*British Museum Harl. 5561*

†*Ambros. 276 (E 20 sup.)*

†*Ambros. 709 (R 24 sup.)*

†*Sinai 1037*

†*Sinai 966*, (DMITRIEVSKIJ II)

Patmos 719, roll, (*ibid.*)

Codex Dmitrievskij, diataxis, (*ibid.* III, MS no. XV)

Byz. Museum 7, roll, (TREMPELAS)

†*Sabas 362*, diataxis

13-14th century

†*Vat. 782*, diataxis

†*Taphou 520*, roll

Moscow Synod 275 (381),² diataxis, (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*; MANSVETOV, *Mitropolit Kiprian*)

Ethn. bibl. suppl. 393, (TREMPELAS)

14th century

(*Athos*) *Esphigmenou 34*, roll, AD 1306, (DMITRIEVSKIJ II)

†*Grott. Gb III* = *Codex Basilii Falascae*, (GOAR)

†*Grott. Gb XII (567)*

†*Grott. Gb XVIII (435)*

Sabas 607 (362), archieratikon of Gemistos, (DMITRIEVSKIJ II)

†*Taphou 517*, roll

² Greek MSS of the Synodal collection are cited in the text according to the most recent pressmark listing in VLADIMIR, *Sistematičeskoe opisanie* (cit. above, p. 438). We give here in parentheses the older code numbers from the catalogue of Savva. However, since *Codex 275* is better known by the code of Savva used in the edition of Krasnosel'cev, in the text we have followed K. in citing this codex by its older pressmark (381). MANSVETOV in his partial edition of the diataxis (*Mitropolit Kiprian*, Priloženie I, pp. I-V) and in his description of the MS (*Cerkovnyj ustav [tipik]: ego obrazovanie i sud'ba v grečeskoj i russkoj cerkvi*, Moscow 1885, pp. 404-6) gives the pressmark as *Synod 381-369*, which should read 381-368 since 368 is the code number of this MS in the earlier catalogue of C. F. MATTEL, *Accurata codicum graecorum manuscriptorum Bibliothecarum Mosquensium Sanctissimae Synodi notitia et recensio*, 2 vols., Leipzig 1805 (see VLADIMIR, *Sistematičeskoe opisanie*, pp. 394, 872).

- †*Taphou* 518, roll of BAS
 †*Ambros.* 167 (*C 7 sup.*)
 †*Ambros.* 1090 (*Z 257 sup.*), roll
 (*Athos*) *Panteleimon* 770, diataxis of Philotheus, (TREMPELAS)
 (*Athos*) *Vatopedi* 133 (744), diataxis of Philotheus, (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*)
Moscow Synod 261 (279), (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*; ORLOV, *Liturgija*)
Moscow Synod 265 (231), roll of BAS, (ORLOV, *Liturgija*)
Ethn. bibl. 748, roll, (TREMPELAS)
Ethn. bibl. 2086, (*ibid.*)

14-15th century

- †*Vat.* 573, diataxis, (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*)
Petersburg 558, BAS, (ORLOV, *Liturgija*; DMITRIEVSKIJ II, MS no. LXVII)
Sevastianov 472 = *Rumjancev* 16 (472), BAS, (ORLOV, *Liturgija*)
 †*Sinai* 2046, diataxis of Philotheus

15th century

- †(*Athos*) *Iviron* 373 (780), AD 1400
Cairo 371, AD 1407, archieratikon of Gemistos, (DMITRIEVSKIJ II)
 †*Munich* 540, AD 1416, CHR, diataxis, BAS
 †*Sinai* 968, AD 1426
Ethn. bibl. 661, (TREMPELAS)
Ethn. bibl. 685, (*ibid.*)
Ethn. bibl. 769, (*ibid.*)
Ethn. bibl. 877, (*ibid.*)
Byz. Museum 137, (*ibid.*)
 †*Geneva* 24, roll
 †*Geneva* 25, roll of BAS
 †*Geneva* 26, roll
 †*Geneva* 27A, roll of BAS
Istanbul, Metochion Panagiou Taphou 182 (8), (DMITRIEVSKIJ II)
 †*British Museum Add.* 18070, roll
 †*Ambros.* 84 (*B 15 sup.*)
 †*Ambros.* 637 (*P 112 sup.*)
Sinai 986, diataxis of the prothesis, CHR, (*ibid.*)
Sinai 1021, roll of BAS, (*ibid.*)
Moscow Synod 262 (280), (VLADIMIR, *Sistematičeskoe opisanie* cit. above, p. 438; KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*; ORLOV, *Liturgija*)
Moscow Synod 263 (281), AD 1470, BAS, (ORLOV, *Liturgija*)

- Moscow Synod* 321 (428), diataxis of the prothesis, (MURETOV, *K materialam*)
Paris 1362, archieratikon of Gemistos, (HABERT)
Paris 2509, diataxis, (GOAR)
 (*Athos*) *St. Andrew Skete Codex*, pontifical diataxis, (DMITRIEVSKIJ I, MS B)
Petersburg 560, BAS, (ORLOV, *Liturgija*)

15-16th century

- †*Michigan* 17 = former *Burdett-Coutts* III, 29
 †*Sabas* 382
Sabas 305 - *Leningrad* 423,⁴ diataxis, (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*)
Sevastianov 473 = *Rumjancev* 17 (473), 15-17th c. BAS, (ORLOV, *Liturgija*)

16th century

- †*Modena* 19 (a. R. 7. 20; III. A. 5), CHR, Latin version of CHR by Janus Lascaris
Petersburg 561, AD 1532, BAS, (ORLOV, *Liturgija*)
Petersburg 562, BAS, (*ibid.*)
Petersburg 563, BAS, (*ibid.*)
 †*Sabas* 48, AD 1537
 (*Athos*) *Lavra E* 74, AD 1541, archieratikon of Gemistos, (DMITRIEVSKIJ II, MS no. CH under code *D 80* [74])
 (*Athos*) *Panteleimon* 421, AD 1545, diataxis of Philotheus, (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*)
 (*Athos*) *Esphigmenou* 162, AD 1545, diataxis of the prothesis (Philotheus), CHR, BAS, (P. SYRKU, *K istorii ispravlenija knig v Bolgarii v XIV veke. I, Liturgičeskie trudy Patriarcha Evfimija Ternovskago*, ii: *Teksty*, St. Petersburg, 1890)
 †*Sinai* 1919, AD 1564
Pavlov Euchology, AD 1566, (MURETOV, *K materialam*)
 †*Sinai* 2017, AD 1570
 †*Sinai* 2045, AD 1572
 †*Sabas* 53, AD 1577-78
 †*Grott. Gb* XIX (400), AD 1591
 †*Sinai* 2111, AD 1594
 †*Barberini* 300, chants
Vat. 1213, (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*)

⁴ Codex *Leningrad (Petersburg)* 423 contains the missing six initial folia of *Sabas* 305. These folia, comprising the prothesis rite of the diataxis, were removed from the original MS and brought to the St. Petersburg Imperial Public Library by Porfirij Uspenskij (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*, pp. 81-82).

- †Grott. Gb IX (590)
 †Grott. Gb XVII (305)
 (Athos) *Panteleimon* 435, diataxis of Philotheus, (KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*)
 (Athos) *Koulloumousiou* 341, (DMITRIEVSKIJ II)
Patmos 716, roll, diataxis and diaconicon, (*ibid.*)
 †Sinai 2037
Istanbul, Metochion Panagiou Taphou 425, (*ibid.*)
Byz. Museum 13, 14, 134, (TREMPELAS)
Ethn. bibl. 702, 703, 749, 752, 755, 757, 759, 766, 772, 775, 781, 784, 798, 878, 1910, (*ibid.*)

16-17th century

- Ethn. bibl.* 751, 756, 1909, (*ibid.*)

17th century

- (Athos) *Esphigmenou* 120, AD 1602, (DMITRIEVSKIJ II)
Moscow Synod 264 (454), AD 1602, BAS, (ORLOV, *Liturgija*)
Petersburg 236, AD 1633, BAS, (*ibid.*)
 †(Athos) *Iviron* 878 (826), AD 1642
 †Sinai 1049, circa 1650
 †Sinai 1046, AD 1654
 †Sinai 1047, AD 1685
 †Taphou 334

To this list can be added numerous 17-18th c. MSS in TREMPELAS.

SLAVONIC MANUSCRIPTS

12th century

- Moscow Synod* 342 (605)^a = *Služebnik of Antony the Roman*, (NEVOSTRUEV-GORSKIJ, *Opisanie* III, 1)
Moscow Synod 343 (604) = *Služebnik of Varlaam Chutynskij*, (*ibid.*; ORLOV, *Liturgija*)
Petersburg Acad. 518, (MURETOV, *K materialam*)

^a Slavonic Synodal MSS are cited according to the pressmarks of NEVOSTRUEV-GORSKIJ, *Opisanie*, followed by the earlier code number of the inventory list of 1823 (cf. *ibid.* III, 2, pp. 527-8).

13th century

- Petersburg Acad.* 524, (*ibid.*)
Sofia 519, BAS, (ORLOV, *Liturgija*)

13-14th century

- Sofia* 525, BAS, (*ibid.*)

14th century

- Petersburg* 274, (MURETOV, *K materialam*)
Rumjancev 399, (*ibid.*)
Petersburg Acad. 520, (*ibid.*)
Petersburg Acad. 522, (*ibid.*)
Petersburg Acad. 523, (*ibid.*)
Petersburg Acad. 526, (*ibid.*)
Služebnik of Nikon = *Troice-Sergievskaia Lavra III, 8/M 8670*, (*ibid.*)
 now in GBL (cf. II above, p. 436)
Sofia 520, BAS, (ORLOV, *Liturgija*)
Sofia 521, BAS, (*ibid.*)
Sofia 526, BAS, (*ibid.*)
Služebnik of Vladimir, (KOVALIV, *Molitovnik*)
Služebnik of Euthymius of Tirnovo in several 14-16th c. MSS, CHR, BAS, diataxis of Philotheus in the version of Euthymius, (P. SYRKU, *K istorii ispravlenija knig v Bolgarii v XIV veke. I, Liturgi-českie trudy Patriarcha Evfimija Ternovskago*, ii: *Teksty*, St. Petersburg, 1890; KALUŽNIACKI, *Euthymius Werke*; ORLOV, *Liturgija*)
Moscow Synod 344 (601) = *Služebnik of Metropolitan Kiprian*, (CHR; NEVOSTRUEV-GORSKIJ, *Opisanie* III, 1; diataxis of Philotheus in the version of Kiprian; KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Materialy*)
Moscow Synod 345 (598), (MURETOV, *K materialam*; NEVOSTRUEV-GORSKIJ, *Opisanie* III, 1)
Tipograf. bibl. 127, (MURETOV, *K materialam*)
Vat. 9, roll, (HORRATSCH, *De tribus textibus*; KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*)

14-15th century

- Tipograf. bibl.* 40, 42, BAS, (ORLOV, *Liturgija*)

15th century

- Tipograf. bibl.* 43, BAS, (*ibid.*)
Petersburg 1117, BAS, (*ibid.*)
Sofia 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 534, 539, BAS, (*ibid.*)
Petersburg Acad. 532, 566, (MURETOV, *K materialam*)
Vat. 14, CHR, BAS, diataxis of Philotheus, (HORRATSCH, *De tribus textibus*; KRASNOSEL'CEV, *Svedenija*)

15-16th century

Vat. 10, chants and responses of the liturgy, (*ibid.*)
Sofia 555, 573, BAS, (ORLOV, *Liturgija*)

16th century

Sofia 586, 603, 617, 875, BAS, (*ibid.*)
Moscow Synod 366 (680), *Činovník*, (*Edinovercy Činovník*, Moscow, 1910 ;
 NEVOSTRUEV-GORSKIĀ, *Opisanie III, 1*)

16-17th century

Moscow Synod 367 (909), *Činovník*, (*ibid.*)

17th century

Moscow Synod 368 (670), *Činovník*, (NEVOSTRUEV-GORSKIĀ, *Opisanie III, 1*)
 †*Sinai 15*, ante 1627
Nižgorodskij Seminary 3604, AD 1682-84, *Činovník*, (GOLUBCOV, *Činovník of Cholmogory*)
Sofia 899, BAS, (ORLOV, *Liturgija*)
 †*Sinai 14* (date ?)
 †*Sinai 40*, roll (date ?)

ORIENTAL VERSIONS

Sinai Georgian 89, 11th c. (JACOB, *Version géorgienne*)
Graz Georgian 5, 13th c. (TARCHNIŠVILI, *Liturgiae ibericae*)
Arabic CHR, AD 1260, (BACHA, *Versions arabes*)
Armenian CHR, Lyons, *Bibliothèque Municipale codex 17*, AD 1314 ;
 †*Munich Arm. 6*, AD 1427, (CATERGIAN-DASHIAN ; AUCHER, *Versione armena*)

LATIN VERSIONS

Codex Sancti Simeonis Siracusani, ante 1030, (PELAGOUS, *Liturgia*)
 Johannenberg version of BAS, 11th c. (COCHLAËUS, *Speculum*)
Paris Nouv. acq. lat. 1791, 12th c., BAS, CHR, (STRITTMATTER, *Missa grecorum*)
 Version of Leo Tuscan, AD 1173-78, (JACOB, *Toscan*)
 Nicholas of Otranto's version of BAS, 13-14th c. (JACOB, *Otrante*)

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