



THE PRESANCTIFIED LITURGY IN THE BYZANTINE RITE

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF ITS ORIGINS,
EVOLUTION, AND STRUCTURAL COMPONENTS



STEFANOS ALEXOPOULOS



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BYZANTINE RITE

LITURGIA CONDENDA

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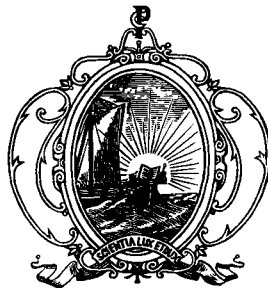
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To Eleni

φίλη, σύζυγος, συνοδοιπóρος

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLES	XI
ABBREVIATIONS	XIII
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	XV
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE: THE SEARCH FOR THE ORIGINS OF THE PRESANCTIFIED	7
1.1 Introduction	7
1.2 Private Reservation and Communion in the Early Church	8
1.3 Heretical Eucharists and the Presanctified	31
1.4 Days of Fasting, the Liturgy of the Word, and the Eucharist	34
1.5 Conclusions	39
CHAPTER TWO: THE PRESANCTIFIED IN CONTEXT	41
2.1 Introduction	41
2.2 The Earliest Witnesses to the Presanctified	41
2.2.1 Chronikon Paschale	41
2.2.2 The Miracles of the Holy Virgin Mary in Choziba	43
2.2.3 Canon 52 of the Synod in Trullo (692)	45
2.2.4 Barberini gr. 336	46
2.3 The Authorship of the Presanctified	47
2.4 The Title of the Presanctified in the Manuscript Tradition	55
2.5 The Frequency of the Presanctified	58
2.5.1 Wednesday and Friday of the Year	59
2.5.2 Wednesday and Friday of Cheesefare Week	60
2.5.3 First Week of Lent	62
2.5.4 Weekdays of Lent	63
2.5.5 Holy Monday/Tuesday/Wednesday	64
2.5.6 Holy Friday	64
2.5.7 September 14	65

2.5.8	February 2	65
2.5.9	February 24	66
2.5.10	March 9	66
2.5.11	March 20	67
2.5.12	March 25	67
2.6	The Presanctified in the Context of Other Services	77
2.6.1	At Coronations	77
2.6.2	At Appointments of Civil Servants	78
2.6.3	At Weddings	78
2.7	The Offices of Typika and Trithekti	80
2.7.1	The Office of the Typika	80
2.7.2	The Office of Trithekti	90
2.8	Conclusions	93

CHAPTER THREE: THE PRESANCTIFIED IN THE NON-BYZANTINE EAST
AND THE WEST 95

3.1	Introduction	95
3.2	The West-Syrian Tradition	95
3.3	The East-Syrian Tradition	102
3.4	The Maronite Tradition	107
3.5	The Hagiopolite Tradition	107
3.6	The Georgian Tradition	111
3.7	The Coptic and Ethiopian Traditions	113
3.8	The Armenian Tradition	117
3.9	The Roman Tradition	118
3.10	Conclusions	127

CHAPTER FOUR: THE VESPERAL PART OF THE PRESANCTIFIED 129

4.1	Introduction	129
4.2	Structures	129
4.3	Vespers	132
4.3.1	Enarxis	133
4.3.2	Ps 103	135
4.3.3	Eirenika	136
4.3.4	The Antiphon / Vespéral Prayers	142
4.3.5	Kathisma 18	146
4.3.6	Entrance Rites and the Phos Hilaron	149

4.4	Prothesis	153
4.4.1	Preparation from the Previous Sunday	153
4.4.2	Prothesis	157
4.5	Readings – Phos Christou – Ps 140.2	164
4.5.1	Readings	165
4.5.2	Phos Christou	167
4.5.3	Ps 140.2	183
4.5.4	Epistle and Gospel/Gospel only	193
4.6	The Litanies	196
4.6.1	Ektenes	197
4.6.2	Petitions, Prayer and Dismissal of the Catechumens .	202
4.6.3	Petitions, Prayer and Dismissal of the Photizomenoi	207
4.6.4	The Two Prayers of the Faithful	214
4.7	Conclusions	217
CHAPTER FIVE: THE COMMUNION PART OF THE PRESANCTIFIED ..		223
5.1	Introduction	223
5.2	Structures	224
5.3	The Great Entrance	225
5.3.1	The Great Entrance Hymn	225
5.3.2	The Great Entrance Rites	227
5.3.3	The Prayer of the Cherubic Hymn	232
5.3.4	Liturgical Posture during Great Entrance	235
5.4	Precommunion	236
5.4.1	The Litany	236
5.4.2	The Prayer	243
5.4.3	The Lord's Prayer	247
5.4.4	The Inclination Prayer	247
5.4.5	The Elevation Prayer and the Elevation	249
5.4.6	The Sancta Sanctis and its Response	253
5.4.7	The Koinonikon	253
5.4.8	The Manual Acts (Fraction, Commixture, Zeon) ..	257
5.5	Communion	264
5.5.1	Communion of the Clergy	264
5.5.2	Communion of the Faithful	265
5.6	Post-communion	266
5.7	Thanksgiving Litany and Prayer	269
5.8	Dismissal and Final Rites	271

5.8.1	The Original Dismissal	273
5.8.2	The Opisthambonos Prayer	274
5.8.3	Prayer of the Skeuophylakion	278
5.8.4	Psalms 33 and 144 and the Second Dismissal	281
5.9	Conclusions	283
CONCLUSION		287
APPENDIX ONE: THE TEXT OF THE PRESANCTIFIED.		297
APPENDIX TWO: CATHEDRAL AND MONASTIC PSALTER		319
APPENDIX THREE: THE PROTHESIS RITUAL OF THE PRESANCTIFIED IN THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION		325
APPENDIX FOUR: READINGS FOR TRITHEKTI AND VESPERS		329
APPENDIX FIVE: MANUSCRIPT TABLE		335
BIBLIOGRAPHY		341

TABLES

1.1 APOSTOLIC TRADITION 38A:1	18
1.2 PRIVATE RESERVATION AND COMMUNION	29
2.1 THE AUTHORS OF THE PRESANCTIFIED IN THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION	52
2.2 TITLES OF THE PRESANCTIFIED IN THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION	56
2.3 THE FREQUENCY OF THE PRESANCTIFIED	76
2.4 THE OFFICE OF THE TYPIKA, HAGPRES, AND JAS	87
3.1 THE BLESSING OF THE CHALICE	100
3.2 THE PRESANCTIFIED IN ROME	123
4.1 VESPERS IN THE BYZANTINE LITURGICAL TRADITION	130
4.2 CATHEDRAL VS MONASTIC PSALTER	147
4.3 EPISTLE AND GOSPEL READINGS OF WEDNESDAYS AND FRIDAYS OF THE YEAR	193
4.4 STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN PRES ON MARCH 9	195
4.5 LITANIES IN CHR, BAS AND PRES	196
4.6 PETITIONS OF PHOTIZOMENOI IN PRAYERS OF CATECHUMENS .	206
4.7 PETITIONS AND PRAYER OF THE PHOTIZOMENOI	212
4.8 A COMPARISON OF THE SECOND PRAYER OF THE FAITHFUL WITH THE GREAT ENTRANCE HYMN OF THE PRES	216
5.1 THE DISMISSAL AND COMMUNION LITANIES	241

ABBREVIATIONS

- BHG = F. HALKIN: *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca* (Bruxelles 1957³ = Subsidia hagiographica 8a)
- BM = Byzantine Museum (Athens)
- CCSL = Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
- CSCO = Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
- CSEL = Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
- DI-DIII = A. DMITRIEVSKIJ: *Opisanie litugičeskix rukopisej xranjaščixsja v bibliotekax pravoslavnago vostoka*, vol. I (Kiev 1895); vol. II (Kiev 1901); vol. III (Petrograd 1917)
- EBE = Ἐθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ἑλλάδος (= National Library of Greece, Athens)
- GCS = *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der erstern [drei] Jahrhunderte* (1897-)
- KS = N.F. KRASNOSEL'CEV: *Svedenija o nekotoryx liturgičeskix rukopisjax Vaticanskoj Biblioteki* (Kazan 1885)
- LC = Library of Congress (Washington DC)
- NPNF = SCHAFT, P. (ed.): *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church* (Grand Rapids 1994-1995)
- ODB = A. KAZHDAN, A.-M. TALBOT, A. CUTLER, T. GREGORY & N. ŠEVŠENKO (eds.): *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York / Oxford 1991)
- PG = J.-P. MIGNE (ed.): *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca* 1-167 (Paris 1857-1866; index 1-2 Paris 1928-1936)
- PK = A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS: 'Τυπικὸν τῆν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἐκκλησίας (Cod. XLIII S. Crucis)' in *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg 1891) 1-254
- PL = J.-P. MIGNE (ed.): *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina* 1-221 (Paris 1841-1864; supplement 1-5 Paris 1958-1974)
- Prophetologion* = G. ENGBERG, C. HØEG, & G. ZUNTZ (eds.): *Prophetologium* (Copenhagen 1939-1981 = Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Lectionaria)
- SC = *Sources chrétiennes*
- T = M. TARCHNISVILI: *Liturgiae Ibericae antiquiores* (Louvain 1950 = CSCO 122-123, Scriptorum Iberici 1-2, ser. I, vol. 1)
- TR = P. TREMPERAS: *Αἱ τρεῖς Λειτουργίαι κατὰ τοὺς ἐν Ἀθῆναις κώδικας* (Athens 1935 = Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechischen Philologie 15)

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INTRODUCTION

The Presanctified Liturgy (PRES), as it is celebrated today in the Byzantine liturgical tradition, is made up of seemingly two services connected together; the office of vespers and a communion rite in which the faithful commune from the Presanctified Gifts which have been sanctified on the preceding Sunday. In other words, the PRES is not a liturgy in the full sense of the word. It is celebrated in the evening, although in current practice it is celebrated in the morning in Greece.¹ It is a sober and solemn service maintaining several elements of early liturgy not found elsewhere in liturgical documents. The PRES in the Greek and Latin liturgical traditions share the same name; in Greek it is called *Θεία Λειτουργία τῶν Προηγιασμένων*, and in Latin *Missa Praesantificatorum*. The PRES is contained in the earliest Byzantine Euchologion, Barberini gr. 336 (end of the eighth century),² but the *Πασχάλιον Χρονικόν*, a Byzantine chronicle probably written in the 630s, provides us with our earliest direct reference to PRES.³

The first study of the PRES was published in the seventeenth century by Leo Allatius (1587/8-1669), a Greek member of the Vatican library staff and a known and respected scholar throughout Europe in his time.⁴ His study, 'De Missa Praesantificatorum apud Graecos, Dissertatio,'⁵ represents the first effort to examine the PRES in a systematic way both historically and textually. Although outdated, it is valuable because it is such an early contribution to Byzantine liturgical history and because it has many references to Byzantine authors and writings that deal with the PRES.

¹ Also celebrated in the morning in other Orthodox countries such as Russia, Romania, Serbia, and Bulgaria.

² P. CANART, A. JACOB, S. LUCA & L. PERRIA (eds.): *Facsimili di codici greci della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Vatican City 1998 = *Exempla scripturarum* 5) 1.

³ PG 92:1001.

⁴ See the Introduction in the photographic reprint of ALLATIUS: *De Ecclesiae Occidentalis atque Orientalis Perpetua Consensione Libri Tres* (Cologne 1648) by Gregg International in 1970.

⁵ Published as part of his *De Ecclesiae Occidentalis* (Cologne 1648) col. 1541-1600. It should be noted that he first dealt with the PRES in a letter published in *De Libris et Rebus Ecclesiasticis Graecorum, Dissertationes et Observationes Variæ* (Paris 1646) 20-33, republished two years later in his *De Ecclesiae Occidentalis* (Cologne 1648) col. 1531-1540. This letter is descriptive of the PRES.

The first quarter of the twentieth century saw a few significant studies on this topic. In a series of three articles in the *Journal of Theological Studies* H.W. Codrington published important documents regarding the history of the PRES in the Syrian tradition entitled 'The Signing of the Chalice.' These included a West-Syrian PRES attributed to Severus, the relevant portion from the *Nomocanon* or *Book of Directions* of Gregory Barhebraeus (d. 1286), and an East-Syrian PRES.⁶ These articles are valuable because Codrington provided significant Syrian sources both in the original language and in English translation. Codrington's contribution to the subject continued with another article two years later when he published a West-Syrian PRES attributed to Chrysostom.⁷ A few years later Michel Rajji also contributed to the study of the PRES in the Syrian tradition by publishing a Syrian PRES, dated to 1059, with a French translation.⁸

The first article on the PRES of encyclopedic nature was written by Zaidé and published in the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*.⁹ In this significant article Zaidé examined the use (or not) of the PRES in all Christian traditions and presented the state of the question at his time. Although outdated, it is a comprehensive article with valuable and in many instances anecdotal information.

The wide interest and research of liturgical topics in the early 1900s was not limited to the West. In 1936 Panayiotis Trempelas,¹⁰ professor at the School of Theology at the University of Athens, published a critical edition of the liturgies of Chrysostom (CHR), Basil (BAS) and PRES primarily based on the manuscripts housed in the National Library of

⁶ H.W. CODRINGTON: 'The Syrian Liturgies of the Presanctified' in *Journal of Theological Studies* 4 (1903) 69-82, 5 (1904) 369-377, 537-545.

⁷ Χρυσουστομικά: *Studi e Ricerche intorno a S. Giovanni Crisostomo* (Rome 1908) 719-729.

⁸ RAJJI: 'Une Anaphore Syriaque de Sévère pour la messe des Présanctifiés' in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 21 (1918-1919) 25-39.

⁹ I. ZAIDÉ: 'Présanctifiés, Messe des' in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* 13.1 (1936) 77-111. Other early articles would be J.B. THIBAUT: 'Origine de la messe des presanctifiés' in *Echos d'Orient* 19 (1920) 36-48; J. RAIBLE: 'Über Ursprung, Alter, und Entstehung der Missa Praesanctificatorum' in *Katholik* 81 (1901) 143-156, 250-266, 363-374.

¹⁰ For the contribution of Trempelas to the liturgical renewal in Greece, see M. MOJZES: *Il movimento liturgico nelle Chiesa bizantine. Analisi di alcune tendenze diriforma nel XX secolo* (Rome 2005 = Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae. Subsidia 132) 159-168.

Greece in Athens.¹¹ This significant and classic work was the result of an initiative taken by a special committee of the Ecumenical Patriarchate formed in 1932 to examine, review, and correct the liturgical books of the Greek Orthodox Church.¹² Unfortunately, with the events of World War II the work of the committee was interrupted and never resumed.

The second half of the twenty-first century saw two important studies on the PRES by two Orthodox liturgical scholars. In 1955, Demetrios Moraitis, a professor of liturgy at the School of Theology at the University of Thessalonica, published the only modern monograph on the PRES.¹³ Although outdated, it represents the first serious effort for a comprehensive review of the topic. The second study was written by Nicholas Uspensky, professor of liturgy at the St. Petersburg Theological Academy. This long article was first published in Russian in the journal issued by the Academy, and later appeared in English as part of a collection of articles dealing with vespereal services in the Orthodox Church.¹⁴ It is a valuable article, but needs to be used with caution.

The presence and function of the *Φῶς Χριστοῦ* and the *Κατευθυνθήτω* (Ps 140.2) in the PRES has dominated the more recent publications on this topic. In 1964 Sebastià Janeras published an important article examining the vespereal part of the PRES.¹⁵ In this article he argued that the vespereal part of the PRES is the result of the fusion of Sabaitic (monastic) vespers (including Ps 140 and *Φῶς ἰλαρόν*) and the old Constantinopolitan (cathedral) lucernarium (containing *Φῶς Χριστοῦ* and the *Κατευθυνθήτω*).¹⁶ Hieronymus Engberding challenged Janeras' position in a short but significant article.¹⁷ There he argued that the *Κατευθυνθήτω* is a *Προκείμενον* that follows the second reading, and that the *Φῶς Χριστοῦ* is not a lucernarium, but should be seen in association with the catechumens preparing for Baptism.

¹¹ P. TREMPERAS: *Αἱ τρεῖς Λειτουργίαι κατὰ τοὺς ἐν Ἀθήναις κώδικας* (Athens 1935).

¹² TR iii-iv.

¹³ D. MORAITIS: *Ἡ Λειτουργία τῶν Προηγιασμένων* (Thessaloniki 1955).

¹⁴ N. USPENSKY: *Evening Worship in the Orthodox Church* (Crestwood 1985) 111-190: Chapter II, 'The Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts'.

¹⁵ S. JANERAS: 'La Partie Vespéral de la Liturgie Byzantine des Présanctifiés' in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 30 (1964) 193-222.

¹⁶ JANERAS: 'La Partie Vespéral' (1964) 219.

¹⁷ H. ENGBERDING: 'Zur Geschichte der Liturgie der Vorgeweihten Gaben' in *Ostkirchliche Studien* 13 (1964) 310-314.

Gabriele Winkler, professor of liturgy at the University of Tübingen, entered the debate with a significant article¹⁸ that challenged the conclusions of Janeras and Engberding. She concluded that the PRES, as celebrated today, reflects the fusion of four different services: (1) The Sabaitic Vespers up to Φῶς Ἰλαρόν. (2) The Antiochian Lenten Liturgy of the Word with its Old Testament readings. (3) The early Antiochian vespers, from where the second lucernarium (Φῶς Χριστοῦ) and the Ps 140.2 came and (4) the Antiochian communion rite attached to the end of vespers.¹⁹ Janeras revisited the PRES again in 1988 his study of Holy Friday (where he argued that the celebration of PRES on Holy Friday was a Constantinopolitan, not a Hagiopolite practice, in the Byzantine liturgical tradition) and adopted Winkler's position.²⁰ Finally, mention should be made of Miguel Arranz, professor of liturgy at the Pontifical Oriental Institute, who in 1981 published a dossier of texts and comments on the PRES based on the euchological manuscript tradition.²¹

As can be seen from the above brief descriptions, the literature on the Presanctified Liturgy is neither extensive nor comprehensive. The works that may be considered comprehensive (Moraitis and Uspensky) are outdated, disagreements in later literature (i.e., Janeras, Engberding, and Winkler) need to be examined, and issues not studied before need to be addressed. The following are some unanswered questions: What are the origins of the PRES? Do they lie in the early Church, or is the PRES the product of the sixth century? What are the structural components of the Byzantine PRES? Does the structure tell us anything about its origins? What about the non-Lenten celebrations of the PRES? Do they reveal anything regarding the origins and initial structure of the PRES? Who is the author of the PRES, and if that cannot be discovered, why is it attributed to a variety of authors?

All these questions have to be examined drawing from of the significant work of Taft, Winkler, Janeras, Mateos, and Arranz in the field of Byzantine liturgy, and with the aid of the method of comparative liturgy

¹⁸ G. WINKLER: 'Der geschichtliche Hintergrund der Praesanktifikatenvesper' in *Oriens Christianus* 56 (1972) 184-206.

¹⁹ WINKLER: 'Der geschichtliche Hintergrund' (1972) 205-206.

²⁰ S. JANERAS: *Le Vendredi-Saint dans la Tradition Liturgique Byzantine. Structure et Histoire de ses offices* (Roma 1988 = Studia Anselmiana 99/Analecta Liturgica 13) 369-388.

²¹ M. ARRANZ: 'La Liturgie des Présanctifiés de l'ancien Euchologe Byzantine' in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 47 (1981) 332-388.

and structural analysis of liturgical units, following the school of Baumstark and Taft.²² It will involve reviewing primary sources (for the manuscript list see appendix five), and analyzing and reconstructing the texts and rituals of the Byzantines via the liturgical sources and reliable extant historical descriptions, informed by related secondary sources.

Comparative liturgy as a method is based on the fact that

knowledge is not the accumulation of data, not even new data, but the perception of relationships in the data, the creation of hypothetical frameworks to explain new data, or to explain in new ways the old. For the sources alone do not tell us how they got the way they are, nor do later ones tell us why they are not the same as earlier ones. ... The problems of liturgical history ... arise from the appearance of changes in the sources themselves, be they additions, omissions, or aberrations, which constitute a departure from previously established patterns. The only way these problems can be solved, if only hypothetically, is by sifting and analyzing, classifying and comparing, liturgical texts and units within and across the traditions. ... And since the evidence presents similarities and differences, its study is comparative.²³

The method of structural analysis of liturgical units first entails the collection of the initial data, and then the identification, isolation, and hypothetical reconstruction of individual liturgical structures. In the

²² A. BAUMSTARK: *Comparative Liturgy* (Westminster, Md. 1958). R. TAFT: *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* vol. VI: *The Dyptichs* (Rome 1991 = *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 238) xxix-xxxi; 'Reconstructing the History of the Byzantine Communion Ritual: Principles, Methods, Results' in *Ecclesia Orans* 9 (1994) 355-377; IDEM: 'The Structural Analysis of Liturgical Units: An Essay in Methodology' in IDEM: *Beyond East and West. Problems in Liturgical Understanding* second edition (Rome 1997) 187-202; IDEM: 'How Liturgies Grow: The Evolution of the Byzantine Divine Liturgy' in IDEM: *Beyond East and West. Problems in Liturgical Understanding* (Rome 1997²) 203-232; IDEM: 'Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years after Anton Baumstark (d. 1948): A Reply to Recent Critics' in *Worship* 73 (1999) 521-540, reprinted in IDEM: *Divine Liturgies – Human Problems in Byzantium, Armenia, Syria and Palestine* (Aldershot, Burlington USA, Singapore, Sydney 2001) article X; IDEM: *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* vol. V: *The Precommunion* (Rome 2000 = *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 261) 43-52; IDEM: 'The βῆμα τῆς εἰσεόδου in the 6/7th c. *Narration of the Abbots John and Sophronios*' in H.J. FEULNER, E. VELKOVSKA, R. & R. TAFT (eds.): *Crossroad of Cultures. Studies in the Liturgy and Patristics in Honor of Gabriele Winkler* (Rome 2000 = *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 260) 675-692, reprinted in IDEM: *Divine Liturgies – Human Problems in Byzantium, Armenia, Syria and Palestine* (Burlington USA, Singapore, Sydney 2001) article IX. F. WEST: *The Comparative Liturgy of Anton Baumstark* (Nottingham 1995).

²³ TAFT: 'Comparative Liturgy' (1999) 523.

next step the history of these liturgical structures is traced since 'liturgies do not grow evenly, like living organisms. Rather, their individual elements possess a life of their own'.²⁴

Through the comparative study and the structural analysis of liturgical units, I will try to discern stages in the process of evolution, and differences in the usage of the PRES in the Greek-speaking world.²⁵ The first step in employing the method of structural analysis would be to identify the different liturgical units of the PRES and then analyze them individually based on the manuscript evidence. In the context of this analysis the method of comparative liturgy will be employed.

I will use Robert Taft's division of the liturgical history of the Byzantine Rite as the framework for my study of the origins and the evolution of the Presanctified Liturgy. Taft, in his *The Byzantine Rite: A Short History*, divides the history of the Byzantine Liturgy in the following five phases: (1) The pre-Constantinian era. (2) The Imperial Phase, or the Patristic Period, up to the Latin Conquest (1204-1261), thus overlapping with phases three and four. (3) The Dark Ages, from 610 to ca. 850, culminating in the Studite reform. (4) The Studite era itself from ca. 850-1204 and (5) the neo-Sabaitic synthesis after the Latin conquest. This chronological framework will serve as a grid in my reconstruction of the different stages in the evolution of the PRES.

The emphasis of chapter one will be on the origins of PRES. I will look at the practice of private reservation and communion in the early church, 'heretical' Eucharists, and the relationship between days of fast and the Eucharist. In chapter two I will address issues such as the authorship, title, and frequency of the PRES. Chapter three is dedicated to a brief examination of the occurrence of the PRES in the other Christian traditions for comparative reasons. Chapters four and five are in a sense the second part of this study since they deal with the text of the PRES itself, drawing heavily upon the manuscript tradition. In chapter four I will examine the vespereal part of the PRES, while in chapter five I will continue with the communion part of the PRES.

²⁴ TAFT: 'The Structural Analysis' (1997) 192-193.

²⁵ *Ἱερατικόν* (Athens 1995) 200-222, edition of the *Ἀποστολικὴ Διακονία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος*.

CHAPTER ONE

THE SEARCH FOR THE ORIGINS OF THE PRESANCTIFIED

1.1 Introduction

The origins of the PRES remain an unresolved puzzle. Unfortunately we lack explicit and credible sources that would inform us regarding the time, place, and reason behind the institution of the PRES. The long-held view¹ has been that the PRES rose out of the demand of the faithful to commune in the weekdays of Lent, declared non-eucharistic by canon 49 of the Council of Laodicaea (380): ‘Bread should not be offered during Lent except on Saturday and Sunday’,² and the related canon 51: ‘The natalia of the martyrs should not take place in Lent, but the commemoration of the holy martyrs should take place on Saturdays and Sundays’.³ This view may be correct; I believe, however, that there are other reasons behind the appearance of the PRES, since our first explicit witnesses to it appear in the seventh century,⁴ almost two and a half centuries after Laodicaea.

In the effort to explore the possible origins of the PRES, instances of private reservation and communion in the early Church (which are very well documented and examined⁵) will be looked at. The focus,

¹ D. MORAITIS: *Ἡ Λειτουργία τῶν Προηγιασμένων* (Thessaloniki 1955) 12-19; I. PHOUNTOULIS: *Θεῖαι Λειτουργίαι* (Thessaloniki 1994 = *Κείμενα Λειτουργικῆς, Τεύχος Γ'*) 149.

² Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἄρτον προσφέρειν εἰ μὴ ἐν σαββάτῳ καὶ Κυριακῇ μόνον. MANSI: *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio* 1:571; G. RALLES & M. POTLES: *Σύνταγμα τῶν Θείων καὶ Ἱερῶν Κανόνων* 3:216; translation by the author.

³ Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν τεσσαρακοστῇ μαρτύρων γενέθλιον ἐπιτελεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων μνηεῖα ποιεῖν ἐν τοῖς σαββάτοις καὶ κυριακαῖς. MANSI: *Sacrorum Conciliorum* 1:571; RALLES & POTLES: *Σύνταγμα* 3:218; translation by the author.

⁴ See section 2.2.

⁵ W.H. FREESTONE: *The Sacrament Reserved* (Milwaukee 1917 = *Alcuin Club Collections* 21); O. NUSSBAUM: *Die Aufbewahrung der Eucharistie* (Bonn 1979 = *Theophaneia* 29); G. SNOEK: *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist* (Leiden, New York, Köln 1995); N. MITCHELL: *Cult and Controversy: The Worship of the Eucharist Outside Mass* (New York 1982 = *Studies in the Reformed Rites of the Catholic Church* IV) 10-19.

however, will not be on the reservation and communion *per se*, but the context in which they appear. Then, a possible connection between the rise of the PRES and the demise of 'heretical' Eucharistic practices will be suggested. Next, the relationship between Word and Communion in the context of days of fasting will be examined. Finally, the possibility that multiple reasons might lie behind the institution of the PRES will be addressed.

1.2 Private Reservation and Communion in the Early Church

As the different accounts of private reservation and communion in the early Church are explored, Western evidence (Rome, North Africa, Milan, Verona, Spain) will be examined before moving to the East (Cappadocia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt).

Novatian, born between 190 and 210, is the first Roman theologian to write in Latin and is thus considered the 'pioneer and founder of Roman Latin theology'.⁶ A conservative and a rigorist, he was very active in the Roman Church as a presbyter but fell into schism in 251 when, disappointed by the election of Cornelius as pope, he was ordained as an antipope.⁷ In his work, *The Spectacles*, which survived under Cyprian's name, he urges his flock to avoid public shows (e.g., the theater, the amphitheater, races, and fights). In it he describes a person leaving the Christian assembly:

He rushes over to the public display after dismissal from the Lord's sacrifice, and still bearing with him, as is the custom, the Eucharist, that faithless man has carried into the midst of the foul bodies of prostitutes the sacred Body of the Lord. He has brought down on his head greater damnation of the route by which he arrived at that public display than for the pleasure derived therefrom.⁸

What is condemned here is not the practice of taking a portion of the Eucharist home, a practice that seems accepted and established, but the

⁶ NOVATIAN: *The Trinity; The Spectacles; Jewish Foods; In Praise of Purity; Letters* (Washington DC 1973 = *The Fathers of the Church* 67) 1.

⁷ NOVATIAN: *The Trinity; The Spectacles; Jewish Foods; In Praise of Purity; Letters* 4.

⁸ NOVATIAN: *The Trinity; The Spectacles; Jewish Foods; In Praise of Purity; Letters* 128; for the Latin text, see CSEL 3.3,8 (cf. NUSSBAUM: *Die Aufbewahrung* 268, note 8).

place where one goes while carrying the Eucharist. Not only would Christians go to shows and pass through ill-reputed neighborhoods, but they would do so after the celebration of the Eucharist, and, as the greatest irreverence of all, they would carry the Eucharist with them. In this case the practice of private reservation of the Eucharist is mentioned in the context of abuse regarding the Eucharist.

A later witness to private reservation and communion in Rome is Jerome (d. 419), who notes in his *Letter* 49.15:

I know that in Rome it is customary for the faithful always to receive the body of Christ, a custom that I neither censure nor endorse. 'Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.' But I appeal to the consciences of those persons who after indulging in sexual intercourse on the same day receive the communion ... and I ask why they do not presume to approach the martyrs or to enter the churches. Is Christ of one mind in public and of another at home? What is unlawful in church cannot be lawful at home. Nothing is hidden from God.⁹

Jerome seems to be familiar with the apparent Roman practice of reserving and partaking of the Eucharist at home. Although he does not offer his opinion regarding this Roman practice, it is obvious from his phrasing that he is not in favor of it, since he witnesses an inconsistency regarding public and private reception of the Eucharist. In a sense, the question of the relationship between the reception of communion and sexual intercourse comes forth.¹⁰ One can only assume that in the practice of private reservation and communion Christians were less rigid regarding regulations and customs, a situation that would be addressed by the hierarchy of the Church, as in this case.

A native of Carthage, Tertullian (ca. 155-after 220) is a very important although controversial figure in the history of Christian thought. He converted to Christianity around 193, but after 207 he became a Montanist. Private reservation and communion appear twice in his works, both dated to his pre-Montanist years. In the first case, *On Prayer* 19.1-4, written between 198 and 200, private communion is described as a solution to a problem in North Africa:

⁹ Translation adapted from NPNF II.6; for the Latin text see CSEL 54 377.

¹⁰ On the issue see P. BROWN: *The Body and Society. Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York 1988) and R. TAFT: 'Woman and Church in Byzantium: Where, When – and Why' in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 51 (1998) 27-87, here 76-79.

Similarly, with regard to the station days, many do not think that there should be any attendance at the prayers of the sacrifice, because the station should be ended when the Body is received. Has the Eucharist, then, dispensed with a duty vowed to God or does it place upon us a greater obligation to God? Will not your station be more solemn if you stand at the altar of God? When the Body of our Lord is received and reserved, both are preserved: the participation in the sacrifice and the fulfillment of the duty. Since 'station' has taken its name from military procedure (for we are God's militia), certainly no joy nor sadness which befalls the camp releases the soldiers on guard from duty. For, in joy one will perform his duty more readily, and, in sadness, more conscientiously.¹¹

The Church in Carthage at the time of Tertullian had the practice of celebrating the Divine Liturgy on station days, traditionally fast days (i.e., Wednesdays and Fridays). A certain segment of the Christian population would not partake of the Eucharist, and as a result would not come to its celebration. They thought that partaking of the Eucharist would break the fast. Tertullian urges them to come to the Eucharist, receive the Eucharist, take it home, and partake of it when they found it appropriate (i.e., the time when they ended their fasting). This text touches upon the question as to when a fast ends and as to whether fasting and the celebration and/or reception of the Eucharist are mutually exclusive. Different answers have been given, giving rise to variant uses in the liturgical tradition of Christianity, even within each tradition.¹² Tertullian's testimony is valuable not only because he mentions private reservation and commu-

¹¹ TERTULLIAN: *Disciplinary, Moral and Ascetical Works*, translated by Rudolph Arbesmann et al. (New York 1959 = Fathers of the Church 40) 174-175. For the Latin text, see CCSL I.1 267-268. In his article 'Rethinking Agape and Eucharist in Early North African Christianity' in *Studia Liturgica* 34 (2004) 165-176, Andrew McGowan suggests that what is described here is not a morning Eucharist but a distribution of reserved consecrated bread from an evening celebration. If further research proves that this is the case, and the reserved Eucharist is not just distributed but consumed within this morning gathering, then this would be the earliest evidence of a PRES. The present state of research, however, does not yet allow for such a conclusion. I would like to thank Dr. McGowan for making this article available to me before its publication.

¹² See section 1.3. As far as variance in the practice of the same church, one needs to observe the Orthodox Church. Although the Orthodox Church does not celebrate the Divine Liturgy during the weekdays of Great Lent, it celebrates the Divine Liturgy on weekdays during Small Lent (Advent), during other shorter periods of fasting (Apostle's fast, 1-14 August fast), on Wednesdays and Fridays, and on strict fast days, such as September 14. For more information regarding the fasts, see J. HERBERT: *De ieiunio et abstinentia in ecclesia byzantina ab initiis usque ad saec. XI* (Rome 1969 = Corona Lateranensis 12).

nion, but also because he offers a theological foundation for this practice: 'When the Body of our Lord is received and reserved, both are preserved: the participation in the sacrifice and the fulfillment of the duty'.

In the second text, *To His Wife* II.5, written between 200 and 206, Tertullian addresses practical problems that may occur if a Christian woman is married to a pagan husband.

Do not, the Lord says, cast your pearls before swine, lest they trample them and, turning upon you, destroy you also. Among your 'pearls'¹³ count also the distinctive religious observances of your daily life. The more you attempt to conceal them, the more suspect they become and the more they arouse a pagan's curiosity. Do you think to escape notice while you make the Sign of the Cross on your bed or on your body? Or when you blow away, with a puff of your breath, some unclean thing? Or when you get up, as you do even at night, to say your prayers? In all this will it not seem that you observe some magical ritual? Will not your husband know what it is you take in secret before eating any other food? If he recognizes it as bread, will he not believe it to be what it is rumored to be?¹⁴

This text deals with Christian practices that might raise the suspicion of the pagan husband. Such a practice is the reservation and communion of the Eucharist. The Eucharist (consecrated bread) is reserved in the house, probably in a safe place. The reception of the Eucharist is listed among 'the distinctive religious observances' of a Christian's daily life, so we can assume that we are talking of a daily reception.

Another significant and influential North African Christian writer, Cyprian (d. 258), bishop of Carthage, mentions in his work *De lapsis* 26 of 'a woman who with impure hands tried to open the locket in which she was keeping our Lord's holy body, but fire flared up from it and she was too terrified to touch it.'¹⁵ This text provides evidence of a manner

¹³ The word 'pearl' or 'μαργαρίτης' (Mt 7:6) has come to mean in the Byzantine liturgical tradition small particles or crumbs of the consecrated bread, the Eucharistic body of Christ, and the phrase from Matthew 'Do not cast your pearls before swine' is found in references of unworthy reception of communion. See LAMPE: *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford 1961) 827.

¹⁴ TERTULLIAN: *Treatises on Marriage and Remarriage*, translated and annotated by William P. Le Saint (Westminster 1951 = Ancient Christian Writers 13) 30; for the Latin see CCSL I.1 389-390.

¹⁵ CYPRIAN: *The Lapsed: The Unity of the Catholic Church* translated by Maurice Benevot (Westminster, Md. 1957 = Ancient Christian Writers 25) 34. 'Et cum quaedam arcam suam, in qua domini sanctum fuit, manibus immundis temptasset aperire, igne inde surgente deterrita est ne auderet ad tingere' CSEL 3, 1, 256 (cf. NUSSBAUM: *Die Aufbewahrung* 268, note 9).

for private reservation of the Eucharist. The consecrated bread would be kept in a special box called an 'arca'. The person handling the 'arca' is a woman, verifying that the person was not ordained. Without a doubt, the emphasis of the text is on unworthy private reception, the earliest such case to my knowledge. Finally, it should also be noted that here as well as in the two texts from Tertullian cited above, private reservation and communion involves consecrated bread only. The cup is neither mentioned nor implied.

Problems with reserving the Eucharist in households with pagan members continued into the fourth century. Zeno, bishop of Verona (d. 371), held that since pagan and Christian feasts coincided, people of the household would bring sacrificial meat¹⁶ and the Eucharist into the house, posing the danger that the two might be mingled.¹⁷

There is also the account (c. 311) of Lucilla of Carthage, a widow, who venerated a relic before receiving communion at home. She is reprimanded because the authenticity of the relic is dubious.¹⁸ The apparent private reservation and communion is mentioned only in passing thus implying it was rather normal.

About a century later and in a totally different context, another North African, Augustine (d. 430), mentions the reservation of the Eucharist within the context of a healing miracle:

There was a certain Acatius among us, of honorable station among his own people, who said that he was born with his eyes closed. Since his eyes were healthy within, though the eyelids clung together, he said that a doctor wanted to open them with iron. His pious mother would not allow it but effected the same thing by placing the cataplasm from the Eucharist on them. He said that he remembered the event well since he was at least five years old when it happened.¹⁹

¹⁶ A. MCGOWAN: *Ascetic Eucharists. Food and Drink in Early Christian Ritual Meals* (Oxford 1999) 62-63. Dölger 'assumes that there was a link between the pagan religious custom of taking some part of the sacrificial meal home in order to gain protection and the practice of the reservation of the Host at home' (SNOEK: *Medieval Piety* 78).

¹⁷ SNOEK: *Medieval Piety* 78; NUSSBAUM: *Die Aufbewahrung* 268-269.

¹⁸ SNOEK: *Medieval Piety* 72; CSEL 26, 18-19.

¹⁹ *Erat apud nos Acatius quidam, honesto apud suos ortus loco: clausis oculis natum se esse dicebat; sed quia intus sani palpebris cohaerentibus non patebant, medicum eos ferro aperire voluisse, neque hoc permisisse religiosam matrem suam, sed id efficisse imposito ex eucharistia cataplasmate, cum iam puer quinque feret aut amplius esset annorum, unde hoc se satis meminisse narrabat. Opus imperf. contra Iulianum III 162, PL 45:1315. Translation provided by David Jenkins.*

Finally, there are two canons from synods held in what is today Spain that seem to put an end to the practice of private reservation and communion. The first canon is canon 3 of the Council of Saragossa (379-381) which states: 'If anyone is found guilty of not consuming in church [in ecclesia] the Eucharist he has received, let him be anathema.'²⁰ The second canon, canon 14 of the Council of Toledo (400), similarly states: 'If anyone does not consume the Eucharist that he receives from the priest, he is to be expelled as sacrilegious.'²¹

One ought to understand these two canons as a 'test of Orthodoxy' based on liturgical practice. The fear is that if the Eucharist is taken out of the church, it might fall into the hands of heretics (Priscillians).²² For our purpose, the canons indicate that receiving the Eucharist at church and then taking it home might have been an acceptable practice up until the councils. Because of these canons, promulgated to fight heresy, the old practice of private reservation and communion eventually ceased. It should be noted that the council of Toledo of 675 restated canon 14 of the council of Toledo of 400.²³

Shifting to the East, Gregory the Theologian provides us with a noteworthy instance of private reservation of the Eucharist in *Oration 8: Funeral Oration for His Sister Gorgonia*. In the context of giving us an account of her saintly life, Gregory mentions an instance where Gorgonia was seriously injured as a result of an accident. In the following excerpt, we are told how she was healed:

... Giving up on all other doctors, she took refuge in the universal Physician; waking up once in the dead of night, when her illness had receded a little, she threw herself with faith before the altar ... First she leaned her head against the altar, crying out as before ... Next, she anointed her whole body with this medicine, which she devised herself: it seems she had personally stored away some of the sacraments of the precious body and blood [of Christ], and she mingled them with her tears! ... She immediately sensed that she was healed.²⁴

²⁰ MITCHELL: *Cult and Controversy* 18-19.

²¹ FREESTONE: *The Sacrament Reserved* 48.

²² MITCHELL: *Cult and Controversy* 18-19; FREESTONE: *The Sacrament Reserved* 47-48; NUSSBAUM: *Die Aufbewahrung* 278-279; SNOEK: *Medieval Piety* 79-80.

²³ NUSSBAUM: *Die Aufbewahrung* 278, note 64.

²⁴ (BHG 704) PG 35:809C-812A. I would like to thank Prof. Brian Daley, S.J. for allowing me to use this translation.

Gorgonia seems to have had a chapel within her compound where she had both consecrated bread and wine reserved.²⁵ This reservation of both consecrated species, although rarely encountered, does not appear awkward or non-canonical in the text. After mingling the species with her tears, she anointed her whole body. Anointing of the senses with the moisture left on the lips after communion was not unknown in the early Church, as can be seen in *Mystagogical Catechesis* V.22 of Cyril of Jerusalem. In addition, it is a non-ordained woman that both stored and handled the reserved consecrated species of bread and wine. Finally, here we have an instance where the reservation of the Eucharist is associated with healing.

A valuable and often-cited source regarding private reservation and communion is *Epistle 93*, which was until recently, attributed to Basil the Great. This attribution has been challenged by Voicu²⁶ who has argued that it should be attributed to Severus of Antioch (d. 538).

To communicate every day, to be a sharer in the holy body and blood of Christ is, indeed, a good and beneficial practice. ... We, for our part, communicate four times in each week: on the Lord's Day, on the fourth day [Wednesday], on the day of preparation [Friday], and on the Sabbath [Saturday], also on other days, if there is a commemoration of a saint.

But as to a person's being compelled in times of persecution, in the absence of a priest or minister, to receive communion from his own hand – it is a waste of time to prove that this is no offense at all, since events themselves attest the long-standing, traditional character of this practice.

For all those living the solitary life in the wilderness, where there is no priest, reserve communion at home, and receive it from themselves.

In Alexandria, and in Egypt, each one, even of the laity, very commonly keeps communion in his house and receives it from himself when he wishes. For when once the priest has consecrated and imparted the sacrifice, he who has received it as complete, once and for all, ought rightly to

²⁵ It is also possible that people simply dropped a particle of consecrated bread into a cup of unconsecrated wine at home, within the context of private communion, and so, in effect, received from a cup consecrated by contact. On this issue, see sections 3.2, 3.3, 3.9, 4.5, and 5.4.8.

²⁶ 'Cesaria, Basilio (*Ep. 93/94*) e Severo' in *Augustinianum* 35 (1995) 697-703, cited in R. TAFT: 'Home Communion in the Late Antique East' in C. JOHNSON (ed.): *Ars Liturgiae: Worship, Aesthetics and Praxis. Essays in Honor of Nathan D. Mitchell* (Chicago 2003) 1-25, p. 17, note 8. I would like to thank Fr. Robert Taft for making this article available to me before its publication.

believe that he is partaking and receiving it from the hand of him who imparted it, even when he partakes of it everyday ...²⁷

Initially, reference is made to the celebration of the Eucharist, not self-communion. We should note that in Caesarea or Antioch in addition to Saturday, Sunday, and feast-days, Wednesday and Friday become days when the Divine Liturgy is celebrated. However, we have three cases of self-communion: in times of persecution, among monks and hermits, and among lay people in Alexandria and Egypt. The latter practice is described as common. In the first and second cases it is explicitly mentioned that the reason behind self-communion is the lack or inaccessibility of a priest for the celebration of the Eucharist. In the third case, however, where the issue is private reservation and communion of the Eucharist by lay people, no reason is given for the existence of the practice, but a theological justification is provided: 'For when once the priest has consecrated and imparted the sacrifice, he who has received it as complete, once and for all, ought rightly to believe that he is partaking and receiving it from the hand of him who imparted it, even when he partakes of it everyday.' Emphasis is placed on the fact that a person is to *receive* communion from the hand of a priest. If one participates of the Eucharist privately (i.e., taking the Eucharist with one's own hands) one does not do violence to the principle of receiving, because one indirectly receives it from the hand of the priest.

Epistle 3.III of Severus of Antioch is another valuable source. This epistle, written in the height of the Monophysite controversy, contains an indirect reference to self-communion. Since non-Chalcedonians were often in a situation where they were not close to a congregation of their own, the Eucharist would be sent to them in order for them to commune at home: 'For to those the oblation is of necessity sent who, while living in countries beyond the boundaries and being orthodox, are deprived of priests to offer the rational and heavenly sacrifice'.²⁸ In an incident in 519 Dorotheus, a disciple of Eutyches, distributed the Eucharist in baskets among the people when he thought persecution was imminent.²⁹ In three

²⁷ D. SHEERIN: *The Eucharist* (Wilmington 1986 = Message of the Fathers of the Church 7) 304-305.

²⁸ SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH: *The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of the Holy Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, in the Syriac Version of Athanasius of Nisibis*, edited and translated by E.W. Brooks (London 1904) volume 2.2, 237.

²⁹ Cited in SNOEK: *Medieval Piety* 80.

other cases of the same period cited by Robert Taft, the faithful themselves took the Eucharist home in order to commune privately and avoid the Chalcedonian Eucharist.³⁰ Here self-communion is the result of lack of accessibility to a priest of the same communion.

Taking the Eucharist to those not able to be present at the celebration of the Eucharist has been within the liturgical tradition of Christianity from very early. Our first testimony is Justin Martyr (ca. 150) who twice in his *First Apology* mentions that the deacons would take communion to 'those not present'.³¹ Roughly 250 years later canon 24 of a collection of canons attributed to Armenian metropolitan Sahak (d. 404) forbids the priest to take the Eucharist to houses of laity except in the case of illness ('excepto infirmitatis casu').³² It is difficult to speculate on the reasons for this. Was this a measure to make people come to church for communion or does it imply that priests brought the Eucharist to private dwellings and left it there for the inhabitants of the house to commune at their own leisure? Unfortunately, it is not clear. It is also from the fifth century onwards that private reservation and communion were no longer encouraged. Abbot Schenute of Atripe (d. 466) 'reserved some caustic remarks for communion in the home',³³ while Hesychios of Jerusalem (middle of fifth century) insisted that the body of the Lord should be received only in the church at the altar.³⁴

Two centuries later in his travel journal *Pratum Spirituale* (chapters 30 and 79) the monk John Moschos (+619) attests to the practice of private reservation and communion in the region of Seleucia, Mesopotamia. The first case he provides is an account of an ex-'non-Chalcedonian' who witnessed a private reservation and communion:

When I was in the world I had a wife. We were both followers of Severus. When I returned one day to my house, I did not find my wife, but I heard that she went to the neighbor to commune, for she [the neighbor] was in communion with the holy catholic church. ... Upon entering the

³⁰ JOHN RUFUS (JOHN OF ANTIOCH): *Plerophoriai* or *Convictions: Testimonies and Revelations against the Council of Chalcedon* (Patrologia Orientalis 8:24) 134-135; *Miracles of Saints Cyrus and John*, BHG 477-479, 36.15, cited in TAFT: 'Home-Communion' 3-4.

³¹ *Apology I*, 65.5 and 67.5. Translation from SHEERIN: *The Eucharist* 34-35.

³² Cited in SNOEK: *Medieval Piety* 80.

³³ SNOEK: *Medieval Piety* 80, citing J. LEIPOLDT: *Schenute von Atripe* (Leipzig 1903) 184.

³⁴ PG 93:886. Commentary in Lev. book II.8:31-36, cited in SNOEK: *Medieval Piety* 80.

house of the neighbor, I found my wife just having taken the holy portion and communed. Grabbing her from the neck I made her vomit the holy portion.³⁵

This is the only instance I have found attesting to some sort of private communal participation in receiving the reserved Sacrament among lay people, and here women. We can only assume that the women participating followed some kind of rite. Since we are dealing with a group of people assembled, someone must have taken a leading role, possibly initiating the rite, opening the box where the Eucharist was reserved, and signaling its end. The word λαβοῦσα (=taken) might indicate that the reserved Sacrament was not distributed, but that each person in attendance would take a portion of the reserved Sacrament on his or her own. Here the Eucharist is reserved by the Chalcedonian, and even more noteworthy, we have an instance of intercommunion.

The second case is the reception and private reservation of the Eucharist on Holy Thursday:

There was a tradesman here, very pious and rich. He was a heretic of the dogmas of Severus, but he had a servant who was in communion with the holy catholic and apostolic church. This servant, according to the custom of the place, received communion on Holy Thursday. And placing it in a receptacle he stored it in his private cupboard.³⁶

In the story narrated by Moschos, however, we are not told what the purpose of the reservation was. It is possible that here we are dealing with a private annual reservation of the Eucharist where the laity would reserve the Eucharist at home in case of serious illness or any other reason which would prohibit them from going to church, parallel to the annual reservation of the Eucharist on Holy Thursday for the communion of the sick, as in the Eastern Orthodox tradition.

Finally, in the famous church order, *The Apostolic Tradition*, traditionally attributed to Hippolytus of Rome (d. 215), but whose authorship, provenance, dating, and character is much discussed and debated,³⁷ we find a very important account of private reservation and communion. In chapter 37 we find a general admonition to take care of the Eucharist at home:

³⁵ (BHG 1440z) PG 87:2877. Translation by the author.

³⁶ PG 87:2936. Translation by the author.

³⁷ See the introduction and the bibliography in P. BRADSHAW, M. JOHNSON, E. PHILLIPS (eds.): *The Apostolic Tradition* (Minneapolis 2002) 1-17.

Let everyone **take** care that an unbeliever does not taste of the Eucharist, nor a mouse or any other animal, nor that any of it falls and is lost. For the body of Christ is to be eaten by believers and not be despised.³⁸

Once more the reservation of the Eucharist at home is mentioned in the context of admonition against careless handling, and the presence of non-Christians in a home is seen as a problem. Since chapters 37 and 38A are linked in subject matter,³⁹ the importance of this attestation to the private reservation and communion of the Eucharist lies in the fact that it is the first source that talks about an accompanying cup that is blessed and drank as an antitype of the Blood of Christ in 38A.⁴⁰ In addition, it is interesting to notice the different versions of *Apostolic Tradition* 38A.1:⁴¹

TABLE 1.1: APOSTOLIC TRADITION 38A:1

Latin	Sahidic	Arabic	Ethiopic
For blessing [the cup] in the name of God, you receive [it] <i>as the antitype</i> of the blood of Christ.	For when you bless the cup in the name of God and receive of it <i>as it is</i> the blood of Christ, watch yourself very much.	<i>If the chalice is blessed</i> in the name of the Lord and Communion is given from it, <i>it is</i> the blood of Christ.	For it is not proper that anything should be poured out from the cup, because the cup was blessed in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ so that you should receive from it, for <i>it is</i> the blood of Christ.

The cup is blessed in the name of God (Latin and Sahidic), the Lord (Arabic), or Jesus Christ (Ethiopic). The most important variant, however,

³⁸ BRADSHAW, JOHNSON & PHILLIPS: *The Apostolic Tradition* 182; translation from the Latin version.

³⁹ BRADSHAW, JOHNSON & PHILLIPS: *The Apostolic Tradition* 184.

⁴⁰ BRADSHAW, JOHNSON & PHILLIPS: *The Apostolic Tradition* 185 note that it cannot be entirely excluded that this text could also be interpreted as referring to 'individuals giving thanks over their own cup apparently at a common meal' (cf. *Apostolic Tradition* 26.1). I agree with them, however, that this text most likely refers to communion at home. See *Ibidem*.

⁴¹ BRADSHAW, JOHNSON & PHILLIPS; emphasis added.

is in the Arabic where the blessing of the chalice is seen as optional ('if the chalice is blessed'). After the blessing, the chalice is believed to contain the blood of Christ. It is noteworthy that where the wine is received 'as the antitype of the blood of Christ' (Latin) in the other variants 'it is the blood of Christ,' a great example of shifting sacramental vocabulary when talking about the elements of the Eucharist.

Paragraph two of the same chapter continues with admonishments against carelessness, an indication that private reservation was not without its problems: 'Therefore refrain from pouring out [any], as if you despised [it], so that an alien spirit may not lick it up. You will be guilty of blood, as one who scorned the price with which he has been bought'.⁴²

Gregory Dix has associated this description of private communion with the Roman PRES on Holy Fridays.⁴³ As we shall see, an argument for a stronger parallel between the description of private communion here and the Syrian PRES can be made.⁴⁴ In both cases the emphasis is on the blessing of the cup, and in the Syrian tradition the PRES is actually called, significantly, the 'Blessing of the Chalice.'

All the sources mentioned above, with the exception of *Epistle 93*, do not mention anything regarding private reservation and communion among monks; they deal with ordinary laymen and women. Within these sources we have seen many which deal with abuses regarding the reservation and handling of the Eucharist in private settings.

In shifting to monastic sources that mention private reservation and communion one observes a positive emphasis regarding the reservation and handling of the Eucharist in monastic settings. For most such sources of Egyptian,⁴⁵ Syrian, and Palestinian origin, the standard practice seems

⁴² BRADSHAW, JOHNSON & PHILLIPS 184; translation from the Latin version.

⁴³ G. DIX & H. CHADWICK: *The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of Saint Hippolytus of Rome* (London 1992) 58-59; For comments, see pages 84-85. This view is also referred to in BRADSHAW, JOHNSON & PHILLIPS: *The Apostolic Tradition* 185, who note that 'nothing in the text lends support to that particular theory.' For a discussion of the Roman PRES see section 3.9.

⁴⁴ For a discussion of the Syrian PRES see sections 3.2 and 3.3.

⁴⁵ 'la coutume exista durant les premiers siècles de l'Église, d'apporter à domicile l'Eucharistie pour se communier durant les jours de samaine. Les témoignages de cette pratique sont en définitive assez peu nombreux. Nous nous demandons donc si l'on n'a pas exagéré l'importance concrète qu'a pu avoir cette coutume dans la vie de l'Église. Si l'on en croyait saint Basile, dans toute l'Égypte et la Thébàide, ainsi que dans tous les centres monastiques, on avait coutume d'apporter à domicile l'Eucharistie. Saint Basile était-il vraiment bien renseigné? En fait, nous n'avons trouvé aucune mention directe et

to be communion once or twice a week (i.e., Sunday only or Saturday and Sunday) at either the monastery church or the village church. Relatively speaking, there are a few early cases where one may suppose they speak of private monastic reservation and communion.

Some such cases are accounted for in the *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*.⁴⁶ This document reflects a journey⁴⁷ through Egypt at the end of the fourth century. In its description of the ascetics of the Egyptian desert we find instances of monastic communion outside the context of a Eucharistic celebration:

Chapter II on Abba Or.

7. When the father [abba Or] saw us, he was filled with joy, and embraced us, and offered a prayer for us. Then, after washing our feet with his own hands, he turned to spiritual teaching. For he was very well versed in the Scriptures, having received this charism from God. He expounded many key passages in the Scriptures for us, and having taught us the orthodox faith, invited us to participate in the Eucharist [lit. 'to the prayers'].

8. For it is a custom among the great ascetics not to give food to the flesh before providing spiritual nourishment for the soul, that is, the Communion of Christ. When we had communicated and given thanks to God, he invited us to a meal. ...⁴⁸

certaine de cette coutume dans les sources du monachisme égyptien pour la quatrième siècle. En tout cas, il n'y en a aucune trace dans les sources pachômiennes.' A. VEILLEUX: *La Liturgie dans le cénobitisme Pachômien au quatrième siècle* (Rome 1968 = Studia Anselmiana 57) 235.

⁴⁶ (BHG 1433) A.J. FESTUGIÈRE: *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto. Édition critique du texte grec et traduction annotée* (Brussels 1971 = Subsidia Hagiographica 53). For an English translation see *The Lives of the Desert Fathers; The Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* (London / Oxford 1981) translated by Normal Russell, introduction by Benedicta Ward.

⁴⁷ Some scholars would disagree, such as O. CHADWICK: *John Cassian* (Cambridge 1968) 7-8.

⁴⁸ 7. Ἰδὼν οὖν ἡμᾶς ὁ ἀνὴρ {ἄββᾶς "Ὀρ} καὶ περιχαρὴς γενόμενος ἡσπάσατό τε καὶ ὑπερῆύξατο· νίψας τε τοὺς πόδας ἡμῶν χερσὶν οἰκείαις πρὸς διδασκαλίαν ἐτρέπετο. Ἐμπείρους γὰρ ἦν λίαν τῶν γραφῶν θεόθεν ταύτην τὴν χάριν κτησάμενος. Πολλὰ δὲ ἡμῖν τῶν γραφῶν λύσας κεφάλαια καὶ τὴν ὀρθόδοξον πίστιν παραδοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς εὐχὰς προετρέπετο. 8. Ἔθος γὰρ τοῖς μεγάλοις μὴ πρότερον τροφήν προσιέσθαι τῇ σαρκί, πρὶν ἢ τὴν πνευματικὴν τροφήν τῇ ψυχῇ παραδοῦναι, τοῦτο δὲ ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστὶν κοινωνία. Μεταλαβόντες οὖν ταύτης καὶ εὐχαριστήσαντας ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν προετρέπετο ... FESTUGIÈRE: *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* 37. Translation adapted from RUSSELL: *The Lives of the Desert Fathers* 64.

In this interesting passage we are given the outline of the ritualized welcome of another monk. We have here the following sequence: prayer, washing of feet, teaching, communion, and food. We notice that communion is preceded by the teaching of the Scriptures and followed by food. In another case, however, the teaching follows communion:

Chapter VIII on abba Apollo.

50. Those who lived with him did not take any food themselves until they communicated from the Eucharist of Christ. They did this daily at the ninth hour. Then, after having eaten, they sat and listened to the father's teaching on all the commandments until the first watch of the night. ...

51. Many of them only come down from the mountain at the ninth hour, and having taken part in the Eucharist leave right away, satisfied with spiritual food alone until the ninth hour of the following day. A large number of them do this for many days at a time.⁴⁹

Those around abba Apollo would daily receive communion at the ninth hour, what is considered to be the end of the day. Here we find the sequence: communion, food, and teaching. We are also told of some solitaries that apparently lived off the Eucharist for stretches of time since they did not eat anything but the Eucharist.

Abba Apollo also exhorted his monks to commune daily:

56. Monks, if possible, should communicate daily in the Mysteries of Christ. For he who separates himself from the Mysteries, separates himself from God. He who receives communion frequently, receives the Savior frequently. For the saving word says: He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me and I in him (Jn 6.56).

57. It is therefore useful for monks to keep the remembrance of the Savior's passion in their minds constantly, and to be ready every day, and to prepare themselves in such a way as to be worthy to receive the heavenly Mysteries at any time, because it is thus that we are also granted the forgiveness of sins.

⁴⁹ 50. οἱ γὰρ σὺν αὐτῷ ἀδελφοὶ οὐ πρότερον τῆς τροφῆς μετελάμβανον, πρὶν ἢ τῆς εὐχαριστίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ κοινωνήσωσιν. Τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίουν κατὰ τὴν ἐνάτην ὥραν ἡμέριον. Εἰθ' οὕτως διαιτηθέντες ἐκάθητο ἀκούοντες αὐτοῦ διδάσκοντος πάσας τὰς ἐντολάς ἄχρι τοῦ πρωθυπνίου. ... 51. πολλοὶ γοῦν αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐνάτην ὥραν μόνον κατήρχοντο ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους καὶ τῆς εὐχαριστίας μετελάμβανον καὶ πάλιν ἀνῆσαν ἀρκοῦμενοι τῇ πνευματικῇ μόνῃ τροφῇ ἄχρις ἄλλης ἐνάτης. Τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίουν πολλοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας. FESTUGIERE: *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* 66-67. Translation from RUSSELL: *The Lives of the Desert Fathers* 77.

58. The canonical fasts, he said, must not be broken except under extreme necessity. For the Savior was betrayed on a Wednesday and crucified on a Friday. He who does not keep these fast days participates in the betrayal and crucifixion of the Savior.⁵⁰

Here daily communion, proper preparation for it, and the weekly fasts of Wednesday and Friday are presented as an intrinsic unity. Such daily communion would only be possible if the monks reserved the Eucharist and communed privately. There is no indication that the full Eucharist is implied here.

Finally, in the account of Abba Ioannes, we have a case in which the Eucharist is brought to the monk once a week by a priest:

Chapter XIII on Ioannes

4. He began by standing under a rock for three years in uninterrupted prayer, not sitting at all or lying down to sleep, but simply snatching some sleep while standing. His only food was the Communion which the priest brought him on Sundays. His rule of life permitted nothing else.⁵¹

8. ... But on Sundays he was always at the same place to receive Communion.⁵²

Although this section does not speak about self-communion, it refers to the practice of the Eucharist being brought by a priest to ascetics to commune at the place of their cells.

⁵⁰ 56. Δεῖ, εἰ δυνατόν, τοὺς μοναχοὺς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν τῶν μυστηρίων τοῦ Χριστοῦ κοινωνεῖν. Ὁ γὰρ μακρύνων ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τούτων μακρύνεται ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ· ὁ δὲ συνεχῶς τοῦτο ποιῶν τὸν σωτῆρα συνεχῶς ὑποδέχεται. Ἡ γὰρ σωτήριος φωνὴ φησὶ· ὁ ἐσθίων μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἷμα μένει ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ γὼ ἐν αὐτῷ (Jn 6.56). 57. Τοῦτο οὖν συμφέρει τοῖς μοναχοῖς ὑπόμνησιν τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους συνεχῶς ποιουμένων καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐτοιμοὺς εἶναι καὶ παρασκευάζειν ἑαυτοὺς τοιοῦτους, ὡς ἀξίους εἶναι πάντοτε πρὸς τὴν τῶν οὐρανίων μυστηρίων ὑποδοχὴν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἀφέσεως ἀμαρτιῶν οὕτω καταξιούμεθα. 58. Τὰς δὲ καθολικὰς νηστείας, φησὶ, μὴ ἐξόν λυεῖν ἄνευ πάσης ἀνάγκης. Ἐν γὰρ τετράδι ὁ σωτὴρ παρεδόθη, ἐν δὲ τῇ παρασκευῇ σταυροῦται· ὁ οὖν ταύτας λύων συνπαραδίδωσι τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ συσταυροῦ. FESTUGIÈRE: *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* 69-70. Translation from RUSSELL: *The Lives of the Desert Fathers* 78.

⁵¹ 4. οὗτος τὸ πρῶτον ἐστῶς ἐπὶ τρισὶν ἔτεσι ὑπὸ πέτραν τινα πάντοτε προσευχόμενος διετέλεσεν, μὴ καθίσας ὅλως, μὴ κοιμηθεὶς, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐστῶς τοῦ ὕπνου μόνον ἀφήρπαζεν, τῇ κυριακῇ δὲ μόνης τῆς εὐχαριστίας μεταλαμβάνων τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου αὐτῷ ἀποφέροντος· ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν δαιτῆτο. FESTUGIÈRE: *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* 99. Translation from RUSSELL: *The Lives of the Desert Fathers* 93.

⁵² 8. ... τῇ κυριακῇ δὲ εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον εὕρισκετο τῆς κοινωνίας μεταλαμβάνων. FESTUGIÈRE: *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* 100. Translation from RUSSELL: *The Lives of the Desert Fathers* 94.

Another such example can be found in the *Life of Saint Mary of Egypt*. It is important to note that in this example the ritual of communion is dictated not by the clergy, but by the ascetic about to receive communion from the hands of the priest. The description of Saint Mary of Egypt receiving communion may give us insight into the ritual of private monastic communion.

After St. Mary asked abba Zosima to bring her the Eucharist so she could commune, he followed her request, and when

the evening of the Last Supper came, he did what he had been commanded. After placing the undefiled body and sacred blood of Christ our God in a small chalice, he put in a small basket dried figs, dates, and a small portion of lentils soaked in water, and departed late in the evening.⁵³

When they eventually met,

The woman asked him to recite the holy creed of our faith and to begin the prayer, *Our Father, Who art in heaven ...* When this was done and the prayer came to an end, according to custom she gave the monk the kiss of love on his mouth. And having received the life-giving sacraments, she raised her hands to heaven, sighed with tears in her eyes and cried aloud, '*Lord, now let Your servant depart in peace, according to Your word, for my eyes have seen Your salvation.*'⁵⁴

According to this source, the ritual of communion outside the formal setting of the Eucharist would be:

1. Creed
2. Lord's Prayer
3. Kiss of Peace
4. Communion
5. Now let ... [=Nunc dimittis]

The *Dialogue on the Life of St. John Chrysostom*, written between 406 and 408 by Palladius, provides us with some additional Egyptian evidence since it attests to the practice of ascetics privately reserving the Eucharist. In the description of the attack on the monasteries of Nitria in Egypt led by Patriarch Theophilus of Alexandria we read: '... [H]e set their cells on fire with faggots and burnt all the sacred books of

⁵³ (BHG 1042) A.M. TALBOT (ed.): *Holy Women of Byzantium. Ten Saint's Lives in English Translation* (Washington DC 1996) 88-89.

⁵⁴ TALBOT (ed.): *Holy Women of Byzantium* 89-90.

Scripture as well as other serious books. Some say they saw them burning up a boy and the symbols of the mysteries as well.⁵⁵ Such an action presupposes that the monks reserved the Eucharist in their cells.

The private reservation and communion of the Eucharist is also attested in Palestinian and Syrian sources. A valuable source of information for Palestinian monasticism is the *Lives of the Monks of Palestine* by Cyril of Scythopolis (d. 558). In this work it is noted that saint Euthymios, the teacher of saint Sabas, would retire in the desert 'from the day of the holy Theophanies till the Paschal festival, imitating the philosophy of Elijah and John'.⁵⁶ While saint Sabas was the disciple of Saint Euthymios, 'the great Euthymios used to take him with him on January 14 to the utter desert of Roubâ ... [where] they would remain till Palm Sunday.'⁵⁷ After the death of saint Eutymios, saint Sabas would continue the practice; 'he would celebrate the commemoration of the Great Euthymios, which is celebrated on 20 January, and then immediately retire to the utter desert, withdrawing from all human society until Palm Sunday. This he did almost every year'.⁵⁸ This practice continued in the eighth and ninth centuries.

Uspensky argues that monks following this practice would take the Eucharist with them, from which they would commune.⁵⁹ We may assume the existence of such a practice, but there is no hard evidence in the sources. That assumption also becomes weaker if we consider the infrequency of the Eucharist among ascetics in the fourth to seventh centuries, some of whom had an 'ambiguous, even indifferent attitude towards liturgy'.⁶⁰

The practice of private reservation and communion among monastics in Palestine seems more probable in one of the accounts provided by John Moschos (+619) in his *Pratum Spirituale*, chapter 17:

⁵⁵ (BHG 870) PALLADIUS: *Dialogue on the Life of St. John Chrysostom* (New York 1985 = Ancient Christian Writers 45) 46.

⁵⁶ 'Life of our Father Saint Euthymius' (BHG 647) §5, in CYRIL OF SCYTHOPOLIS: *Lives of the Monks of Palestine* (Kalamazoo 1991) 9.

⁵⁷ 'Life of our Pious Father Sabas' (BHG 1608) §11, in CYRIL OF SCYTHOPOLIS: *Lives of the Monks of Palestine* 103.

⁵⁸ 'Life of our Pious Father Sabas' §22, in CYRIL OF SCYTHOPOLIS: *Lives of the Monks of Palestine* 115.

⁵⁹ Cited in USPENSKY: *Evening Worship* 122-123.

⁶⁰ TAFT: 'Home-Communion' 4-7; see relevant notes for further references.

The same elder also told us about a certain great elder of the same lavra who spent fifty years in his cave. He never drank wine and the only bread he ate was made from bran. He received communion three times a week.⁶¹

It is most likely that this story of the elder from the lavra of Abba Peter, near the river Jordan in Palestine,⁶² is a case of private monastic reception of communion. Since we do not have any indication that he was an ordained hermit or that he ever left his cave, we can assume that the Eucharist, of which he communed three times a week, was brought to him together with food.⁶³

A series of canons are attributed to Rabbula of Edessa who became bishop of Edessa in 411. Canon 20 of *The Rules of Rabbula for the Monks* states that 'no one of the brothers, if he is not a priest or a deacon, shall dare to give the Eucharist'.⁶⁴ Canon 33 in the *Commands and Admonitions of Mar Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa to the Priests and the Benai Qeiyama* (ascetics within congregations) states that 'no one shall dare to celebrate the Eucharist and give communion if he is not a priest or deacon'.⁶⁵ In both these cases our sources not only imply that non-ordained people would distribute the Eucharist (presumably in private settings) but also that laity would celebrate the Eucharist! We know that among Syrian Orthodox monastic communities of women in the sixth century, women 'superiors shared the mysteries with those under their authority',⁶⁶ in other words the abbess would distribute communion to the nuns.

Another valuable Syrian source is Jacob of Edessa. Jacob was born in 640 in a village near Antioch. Around 684 he became bishop of Edessa, but four years later he resigned because of the 'laxity of the people toward his canons', and withdrew to a monastery. In 708 he returned as bishop of Edessa, where he died on June 5 of the same year.⁶⁷ Canons

⁶¹ (BHG 1440z) J. WORTLEY: *The Spiritual Meadow of John Moschos* (Kalamazoo 1992) 12.

⁶² WORTLEY: *The Spiritual Meadow* 12 (chapter 16).

⁶³ J. PATRICH: *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism. A Comparative Study in Eastern Monasticism, Fourth to Seventh Centuries* (Washington DC 1995) 245-246.

⁶⁴ A. VOÖBUS: *Syriac and Arabic Documents Regarding Legislation Relative to Syriac Asceticism* (Stockholm 1960) 31. His canons made it into the *Nomocanon* of Bar Hebraeus.

⁶⁵ A. VOÖBUS: *Syriac and Arabic Documents* 31.

⁶⁶ I. RAHMANI: *Studia Syriaca* 3 (Sharfé 1908) 33, cited in R. CABIÉ: *The Eucharist* (Colleville 1986) 240, note 24.

⁶⁷ A. VOÖBUS: *Syriac and Arabic Documents* 93-94.

2-4 from his *Rules* are relevant to our topic. According to canon 2, 'It is not lawful for the stylites to celebrate (lit. offer) the Eucharist on their columns.' Canon 3 states in a similar fashion that 'It is not lawful also for the recluses to celebrate (lit. offer) the Eucharist except in (case of) necessity'. And, finally, canon 4 notes that 'It also is not lawful that the sacred body shall be placed near the stylites on the column, if there is someone to offer to them the Eucharist'.⁶⁸ It is obvious that canons 2 and 3 refer to the private celebration of the Eucharist by an ascetic. We can assume that the ascetic referred to is ordained, but we cannot be completely sure, especially if we take into account the aforementioned canons of Rabbula of Edessa which speak against the celebration of the Eucharist by non-ordained people.

Canon 4 on the other hand explicitly talks about ascetical private communion. Apparently, the practice was for faithful to bring the Eucharist to the foot of the column of a stylite and the stylite would take it and commune on his own. However, questions arise from the qualifying phrase that ends canon 4, 'if there is *someone* to offer to them the Eucharist'. Was that *someone* necessarily clergy, or could it be anyone? Did Jacob of Edessa institute this canon in order to assert the role of the clergy as the administrators of the Eucharist, or did he do so in order to safeguard the notion of 'receiving' the Eucharist? Unfortunately, at this point, we cannot answer these questions.

In another instance, when the priest Addai Philoponus inquired whether people could take the Eucharist home, Jacob of Edessa replied that:

The Eucharist should not be worn around the neck, placed in the bed or the wall or buried in vineyards and other types of garden together with a crucifix or with the bones of a saint or with other consecrated object as a means of protection. Those following customs of this nature had lost sight of the fact that this holy Sacrament was given as food for the soul and not as a source of physical protection. Practices of this type placed the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ on the same level as any other object worthy of reverence.⁶⁹

The Eucharist referred to here is used as an amulet or talisman.⁷⁰ Private reservation and communion is banned in this case because the

⁶⁸ A. VÖÖBUS: *Syriac and Arabic Documents* 95.

⁶⁹ As paraphrased in SNOEK: *Medieval Piety* 77.

⁷⁰ Such a practice continued in the medieval West; see SNOEK: *Medieval Piety*.

people lost sight of the purpose of the sacrament and, as a result, in the eyes of the Church it is abused.

The practice of carrying the Eucharist on oneself in case of death is also attested to in the sources. In the *Dialogue on the Life of St. John Chrysostom*, Palladius tells us of Chrysostom receiving communion on his deathbed while in exile: 'Then having taken the communion of the Lord's dispensation, he offered his last prayer ...'⁷¹ Apparently he was carrying the Eucharist with him,⁷² a practice not unknown in early Christianity.⁷³

Theodore the Studite (†826) is a valuable witness for the end of the eighth, beginning of the ninth centuries. In a letter written during his second exile (809-811),⁷⁴ Theodore suggests that holy communion was his only source of consolation:

I found this the only consolation. ... Through the readings and the practice of the Easterners I learnt that it is necessary for the monks to receive communion every day if possible. I did so and I the wretched found help. ... And what could more rejoice and enlighten the soul other than Holy Communion? Having poured wine to a designated glass cup and having prayed the usual, I the unworthy one partake.⁷⁵

Theodore clearly speaks in favor of frequent and if possible daily communion for ascetics, but more importantly, he tells us that he learnt of this practice through the writings and practice of the Eastern Fathers. It is not clear whether this text refers to private reservation and communion,

⁷¹ (BHG 870) PALLADIUS: *Dialogue on the Life of St. John Chrysostom* 73.

⁷² (BHG 870) PALLADIUS: *Dialogue on the Life of St. John Chrysostom* 189, note 420.

⁷³ F.J. DÖLGER: 'Die Eucharistie als Reiseschutz. Die Eucharistie in den Händen der Laien' in *Antike und Christentum* 5 (1936) 232-247; SNOEK: *Medieval Piety* 90-101, 115-131.

⁷⁴ Letter 554, G. FATOUROS: *Theodori Studitae Epistulae* (Berlin / New York 1992 = Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 31.1-2) I:202, II:847-849. PG 99:1112D-1116B. Theodore the Studite was sent to exile three times: First, from 797 he was exiled to Thessalonica; second in 809 he was briefly exiled to the Prince's Islands, and third, in 815 he was initially to Metope in Bythinia, then to a remote fortress in the same area, and finally to Smyrna. He was recalled from this third exile in 821. Also see ODB 3:2045.

⁷⁵ Μίαν ταύτην παρηγορίαν εὑρηκα' ... ἐξ ἀναγνώσεως καὶ ἐρωτήσεως τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν μαθῶν τὸ χρῆναι τοὺς ἡσυχάζοντας εἰ δυνατόν καθ' ἑκάστην μεταλαμβάνειν τῆς θείας κοινωνίας. Ἐρησάμην οὕτως, καὶ εὔρον βοήθειαν ὁ ἄθλιος. ... Καὶ τί γὰρ μείζον εἰς ἀγαλλίασιν καὶ φωτισμὸν εἶη ἢ τῆ ψυχῆ πλέον τῆς θείας κοινωνίας; Ἐν ποτηρίῳ δὲ ὑαλίνῳ ἀφωρισμένῳ προβαλὼν οἶνον καὶ εὐξάμενος τὰ συνήθη, μετέχω ὁ ἀνάξιος τοῦ δώρου. FATOUROS: *Theodori Studitae Epistulae* II:849; PG 99:1116AB.

or private celebration of the Eucharist. We know that Theodore was ordained⁷⁶ so we may assume that the phrase εὐξάμενος τὰ συνήθη actually means the Eucharistic prayer.

Theodore, however, refers to private reservation and communion among lay monastics in another letter, possibly dating between 821 and 826.⁷⁷ The title and the opening of the letter are missing. Its provisional title, 'Λύσεις διαφόρων κεφαλαίων' or 'Solutions/Answers to Different Issues,' reflects its contents. Question 4 is the one that interests us here: 'Περὶ τοῦ ἄφ' ἑαυτῶν κοινωνεῖν ἢ μονάζοντας ἢ μοναζούσας τῶν ἁγιασμάτων' or 'Regarding self-communion of monks or nuns from the sanctifying elements'. The answer given is as follows:

It is not proper for anyone who does not have the priesthood to touch the holy offerings. It is only in case of necessity, and when a presbyter or a deacon cannot be found that one takes of the gift by his own. How does he do it? Placing the Bible and covering it with a clean fabric or holy vestment, you place the gift there and after the hymnody with fear the gift is received by the mouth through the hand. Then the one that receives washes his mouth with the wine.⁷⁸

Here Theodore makes it clear that only clergy are allowed to handle the Eucharist. However, room for exceptions is given if no priest is available. One should note that there is no distinction regarding the gender of the monastic receiving communion on his or her own; on the contrary, the title explicitly includes monks and nuns. Here the monastic reserves and communes only from the consecrated bread, while the wine is used to wash out the mouth. This source is also of value because it describes the ritual objects and rites associated with private monastic communion. It is not clear what ὑμνωδία (hymnody) refers to. It could refer to the Office of the Typika, since it contains some hymns,⁷⁹ or it could refer to private hymns.

⁷⁶ R. CHOLIJ: *Theodore the Studite. The Ordering of Holiness* (New York 2002) 28.

⁷⁷ Letter 552, FATOUROS: *Theodori Studitae Epistulae* I:488-490, II:840-846; PG 99:1660C-1668A.

⁷⁸ Οὐκ ἔξδὸν ἄπτεσθαι οὐδὲ τῶν θείων ἀναθημάτων τοὺς ἔξω ἱερωσύνης, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τι κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην, μὴ εὕρισκομένου πρεσβυτέρου ἢ διακόνου, ἄφ' ἑαυτὴν εἰ μὴ τι κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην, μὴ εὕρισκομένου πρεσβυτέρου ἢ διακόνου, ἄφ' ἑαυτῶν μετέχειν τοῦ δώρου. Τοῦτο δὲ πῶς; τιθεμένης βίβλου ἱερᾶς, καὶ ἐραπλουμένης ὀθόνης καθαρᾶς ἢ ἱερᾶς ἐπικαλυμματίδος, ἐκεῖσε δώρου ἀπὸ χειρὸς σὺν φόβῳ προτεθέντος, μετὰ τὴν ὑμνωδίας ἀπὸ στόματος ληπτέον, εἴθ' οὕτως διακλύσεως οἴνου γινομένης τῷ μεταλαμβάνοντι. FATOUROS: *Theodori Studitae Epistulae* II:841-842; PG 99:1661B.

⁷⁹ See section 2.7.1.

Related is a night chant of the midnight office from the private Horologion Sinai gr. 864 of the ninth century: 'We have received your flesh, O Christ, and we have been deemed worthy of your blood, we have run the course of the day, grant us the repose of the night ...'⁸⁰ The owner of this private Horologion would commune very frequently, perhaps daily, and unless he was to be ordained, the Eucharistic elements would have been brought and reserved in his or her cell.⁸¹

We may summarize the instances of private reservation and communion discussed above in the following table.⁸²

TABLE 1.2: PRIVATE RESERVATION AND COMMUNION

Key:

- A: Private Communion mentioned in a positive context
- B: Private Communion mentioned in a negative context
- C: Private Communion mentioned in the context of a miracle
- D: Private Communion mentioned in the context of persecution
- E: Private Communion among lay people
- F: Private Communion among monastics (non-ordained)
- G: Private Communion among ordained people
- H: Communion offered by clergy

Sources	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Novatian		√			√			
Ambrose		√			√			
Tertullian <i>On Prayer</i>	√				√			
Tertullian <i>To his Wife</i>		√			√			
Zeno		√			√			
Cyprian		√			√			
Lucilla		√			√			
Augustine			√		√			
Gorgonia			√		√			
<i>Ep. 93</i>	√			√	√	√		
Severus, <i>Ep 3.III</i>	√			√				
Dorotheus	√			√	√			

⁸⁰ M.L. AJJOUR: *Livre d'heures du Sinai (Sinaiticus Graecus 864)* (Paris 2004 = Sources Chrétiennes 486). English translation from TAFT: 'Home-Communion' 9 and 21, note 43.

⁸¹ TAFT: 'Home-Communion' 9.

⁸² For Western monastic sources see 3.9.

Sources	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Sahak		✓			✓			
Shenute		✓			✓			
Hesychios		✓			✓			
Moschos, <i>Spirituale Pratum</i> 30	✓				✓			
Moschos, <i>Spirituale Pratum</i> 79	✓				✓			
<i>Apostolic Tradition</i>	✓	✓			✓			
<i>Historia Monachorum in Aegypto</i> II	✓					✓		
<i>Historia Monachorum in Aegypto</i> VIII	✓					✓		
<i>Historia Monachorum in Aegypto</i> XIII	✓					✓		✓
<i>Life of Saint Mary of Egypt</i>								✓
<i>Dialogue on the Life of John Chrysostom</i>	✓					✓	✓	
<i>Lives of the Monks of Palestine</i>	✓					✓		
Moschos, <i>Spirituale Pratum</i> 17	✓					✓		
Rabbula of Edessa		✓			✓	✓		✓
Syrian Orthodox monasteries of women						✓		
Jacob of Edessa, <i>Canons</i>		✓				✓		✓
Idem, <i>Reply to Addai Philoponus</i>		✓			✓			
Theodore the Studite	✓					✓	✓	✓

There are nineteen cases of private reservation and communion among lay people, eleven among monastics. What is striking is that the majority of cases of lay private reservation and communion are mentioned in a negative context, usually talking about abuse, mishandling, disrespect, unworthiness, or heresy. This practice is mentioned in a positive context in only four cases. On the contrary, the majority of monastic private reservation and communion cases are mentioned in a positive context, and only two are negative.

Is it possible that the PRES reflects the institutionalization of the practice of private reservation and communion among lay people, not only to safeguard the Eucharist from abuse, but also in an effort to enforce liturgical uniformity? I believe so. The shift from private reservation and communion to the PRES may be another example of what Paul Bradshaw calls the 'conscious movement toward standardization'⁸³ that characterized the fourth century.

The fact that most cases of lay private reservation and communion are mentioned within the context of exhortations against the abuse of

⁸³ P. BRADSHAW: *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy* (New York 2002²) 222.

the Eucharist may also indicate an effort to limit the handling of the Eucharist to clergy only. I am not challenging the fact that abuses might have happened, but I believe that these abuses were an opportunity to clericalize the handling of the Eucharist. Although lay, non-monastic, private reservation and communion is strongly spoken against, clergy continued to handle the reserved Eucharist in private contexts.⁸⁴

1.3 Heretical Eucharists and the Presanctified

If we look at the sources mentioned above, all talk about communion from the reserved bread, while only two explicitly mention communion from the reserved bread and wine (*Life of Saint Gorgonia* and *Life of St. Mary of Egypt*) and only one speaks clearly of communion from the reserved bread accompanied by a blessed cup received as an antitype of Christ's blood (*Apostolic Tradition*). In other words, by far the most of the sources we have examined mention only the bread, and only some refer to a reserved cup or a cup blessed at the time of communion.

One cannot help but notice here a similarity with the bread only or bread-and-water Eucharists, a practice found in the early Church in Syria and Asia Minor.⁸⁵ As Andrew McGowan has demonstrated, ascetical groups that rejected wine (and meat) because of the association with pagan sacrifices⁸⁶ followed this practice. Among such groups as the Encratites, the Hydroparastatai, the Apostolics, the Valentinian Gnostics, the Marcionites, and the Montanists⁸⁷ only bread or bread and water would be used in their Eucharistic celebrations. Such practices were also known among Orthodox groups,⁸⁸ but by the fourth century the bread-and-wine tradition had clearly become 'the normative pattern of ritual practice.'⁸⁹

⁸⁴ FREESTONE: *The Sacrament Reserved* 61-65, NUSSBAUM: *Die Aufbewahrung* 288-291.

⁸⁵ MCGOWAN: *Ascetic Eucharists* 143-250. See also H. LIETZMANN: *Mass and Lord's Supper. A Study in the History of the Liturgy* (Leiden 1979) 195-203.

⁸⁶ MCGOWAN: *Ascetic Eucharists* 173-174, 197-198, 210, 214-217.

⁸⁷ For the Encratites, the Hydroparastatai, and the Apostolics see MCGOWAN: *Ascetic Eucharists* 160-162; for the Valentinian Gnostics see *Ibidem*, 162-164; for the Marcionites and the Montanists see *Ibidem*, 164-169; for the practice in 'radical pseudepigrapha' see *Ibidem*, 175-198.

⁸⁸ MCGOWAN: *Ascetic Eucharists* 199-217; for the New Testament evidence, see 219-250.

⁸⁹ MCGOWAN: *Ascetic Eucharists* 213.

Could the institution of the PRES have been a reaction to such practices and reflect an effort to enforce liturgical uniformity? I believe so. The link between these Eucharistic practices and the institution of the PRES might then lie in the Syrian liturgical tradition. The institution of the SyPRES took place according to the *Nomocanon* or *Book of Directions* IV.1 of Gregory Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286) under the following circumstances:

The occasion of the need of the Signing of the Chalice: In the Church it happened to the wise: that since the canons prescribe that the oblation be discontinued in the Great Fast, the faithful asked the blessed mar Severus that they might communicate: and he, as a wise physician, who would not transgress the canons, nor deny the faithful their requests, arranged that they should leave over of the oblation that had been perfected on the Sunday, and there-from communicate. And since the oblation, without the chalice accompanying it, is void, and if they were to leave over of that of the Sunday, it would be kept with difficulty, or might be corrupted, they arranged thus: that, when they wished, they should sign the chalice with the oblation, that had been perfected ...⁹⁰

The institution of the PRES according to the above text is the result of four factors: popular demand for communion, prohibition of the celebration of the Eucharist during Lent, the necessity of a consecrated chalice in communion and, finally practical difficulties regarding the reservation of the chalice. Two of these four factors are self-evident. First, the prohibition of the celebration of the Eucharist during Lent stems from canon 49 of the Council of Laodicea (ca. 380). Second, the danger of overturning a consecrated chalice and the danger of the wine going bad could be the possible practical difficulties implied in the text.

Another reason given for the institution of the PRES in the Syrian tradition is the necessity of the chalice 'since the oblation, without the chalice accompanying it, is void.' In other words, communion with only one element (i.e., the bread) is not valid. Such a view is also mentioned by Patriarch Michael III of Constantinople (1170-1178) who noted that the PRES takes place only for the sanctification (lit. perfection) of the chalice.⁹¹ So in the Syrian tradition the bread is reserved, but when the

⁹⁰ CODRINGTON: 'The Syrian Liturgies of the Presanctified' 5 (1904) 371.

⁹¹ ἡ γὰρ προηγιασμένη ὑπὲρ τῆς τελειώσεως μόνον τοῦ ἁγίου γίνεται ποτηρίου. See G. COZZA-LUZI: 'Excerpta e Typico Casulano' in *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca* 10.2:149-176, p. 169-170. On the dating and possible attributions see A. JACOB: 'La lettre patriarchale du Typikon de Casole et l'évêque Paul de Gallipoli' in *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* ns. 24 (1987) 141-163. See also section 4.4.1.

time for the PRES comes, a chalice is consecrated. Therefore, the SyrPRES is explicitly called 'The Service of the Signing of the Chalice' and the heart of this service is a prayer of sanctification of the chalice.⁹²

It may therefore be interpreted that the practice found in early Syria and Asia Minor of offering the Eucharist in only one kind, and the naming of the SyrPRES 'The Signing of the Chalice' which necessitates the cup, is more than just a coincidence. It may be possible that the SyrPRES was a reaction against these heretical Eucharistic practices and represents a move towards liturgical uniformity. As Bradshaw notes, in the fourth century 'any tendency to persist in what appeared to be idiosyncratic liturgical observances was likely to have been interpreted as a mark of heterodoxy, and hence this gave rise to a movement towards greater uniformity of practice.'⁹³ In this case, however, other than these later sources, we do not have conclusive evidence to prove this hypothesis.

In this context, brief notice should also be given to the hypothesis of a few Orthodox theologians who have argued that the PRES arose as a 'liturgical refutation of Nestorianism'.⁹⁴ They based their argument on Cyril of Alexandria:

I hear that some people say that the mystical blessing is no longer active to effect the sanctification when the Eucharist is left over to the next day. Those who reason this way are insane. For Christ does not become different, and his holy body does not undergo any change. On the contrary, the effectiveness of the blessing and the life-creating grace in it remains unchanged.⁹⁵

In other words, Cyril and his followers thought that the adherents of Nestorius believed only in the temporal presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and that after the Eucharist the elements reverted to regular bread and wine. The PRES would be understood as a refutation of Nestorius since one has to reserve the consecrated bread for a number of days. No supporting evidence, however, is provided.⁹⁶ The Church of the East

⁹² See sections 3.2 and 3.3.

⁹³ BRADSHAW: *The Search* 223.

⁹⁴ C. ANDROUTSOS: *Συμβολική* (Athens 1930²) 285-289ff, 339ff; G. BEBIS: *Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν περὶ τοῦ Νεστορίου Ἐργεναν (ἐξ Ἀπόψεως Ὁρθοδόξου)* (Athens 1964) 320-322; USPENSKY: *Evening Worship* 153-156.

⁹⁵ CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA: *A Letter to Calosirius*, as translated in USPENSKY: *Evening Worship* 154.

⁹⁶ See M. JOHNSON: 'Eucharistic Reservation and Lutheranism: An Extension of the Sunday Worship?' in JOHNSON (ed.): *Ars Liturgiae* 27-53, p. 41.

does not reserve the Eucharist in its present practice, but it does not believe in the temporal presence of Christ in the Eucharist.⁹⁷ As Mar Bawai Soro, Western California Bishop of the Assyrian Church of the East has said, 'the Church of the East official texts do not dispute or contradict the common orthodox, catholic faith of the real and permanent presence of Christ in the Qurbana.'⁹⁸

1.4 Days of Fasting, the Liturgy of the Word, and the Eucharist

Since the PRES appears only on days of fast, another relationship to be explored is that between days of fasting and communion (either with the celebration of the full Eucharist, or the celebration of the PRES) and the potential role of the Liturgy of the Word attracting communion on these days.

The Christian practice of fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays is attested to in the earliest Church Order, the *Didache*, dating between 110 and 120.⁹⁹ In chapter 8.1 this practice of fasting is juxtaposed to the Jewish one: 'Let your fasts not [take place] with [those of] the wicked. They fast on Monday and Thursday; you, though, should fast on Wednesday and Friday'.¹⁰⁰ In later sources, Wednesdays and Fridays were associated in Christian thought and practice with the betrayal and crucifixion of Christ respectively.¹⁰¹ Borrowing a Roman military term, these days were called 'stations',¹⁰² which Tertullian explains as the

⁹⁷ See 3.3.

⁹⁸ JOHNSON: Eucharistic Reservation and Lutheranism 41.

⁹⁹ K. NIEDERWIMMER: *The Didache* (Minneapolis 1998) 52-53.

¹⁰⁰ NIEDERWIMMER: *The Didache* 131. J. SCHÜMMER: *Die altchristliche Fastenpraxis* (Münster in Westf. 1933 = Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen 27) 98-99, referring to Clement of Alexandria, suggests that the Christian practice of fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays might be related to the importance of Wednesdays (day of Hermes) and Fridays (day of Aphrodite) in pagan astrology. On the other hand, A. JAUBERT: 'Jésus et le calendrier de Qumrân' in *New Testament Studies* 7 (1960) 1-30, has noted that Wednesdays and Fridays were given a certain prominence in the Qumran community, suggesting thus a connection between the Qumran and Christian practice.

¹⁰¹ *Didascalia Apostolorum* chapter 21: S. BROCK & M. VASEY (eds.): *The Liturgical Portions of the Didascalia* (Nottingham 1982 = Grove Liturgical Study 29) 27; A. VÖÖBUS: *The Didascalia Apostolorum in Syriac* (Louvain 1979 = Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 402, 408; Scriptorum Syri 176-180) 207-208. EPIPHANIUS OF SALAMIS: *Expos. Fidei* 22 (PG 42:825ff), cited in SCHÜMMER: *Die altchristliche Fastenpraxis* 97.

¹⁰² SHEPHERD OF HERMAS: *Simil* 5.1.

Christian's turn of duty as soldiers of God.¹⁰³ The days of fast would end at the ninth hour of the day (about 3 p.m.), the time of dinner in the ancient world.¹⁰⁴ The custom of fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays continued in the second and third centuries.¹⁰⁵

In all the rites of the Christian East, the liturgy of the Hours on ferial days usually does not have readings;¹⁰⁶ but that is not the case on days of fast. We have reliable evidence that by the fourth century Wednesdays and Fridays had acquired a Liturgy of the Word. Epiphanius of Salamis (d. 403) informs us that a Eucharistic synaxis would take place on Wednesdays and Fridays, a practice he believed was instituted by the Apostles. These would be held on every weekday during Lent.¹⁰⁷ A similar practice is attested to in Antioch, both at the time of John Chrysostom, who delivered his homilies on Genesis during the weekdays of Lent, and at the time of Severus. In neighboring Cappadocia there is indirect evidence that Basil delivered his homilies on the Hexaemeron during the weekdays of Lent.¹⁰⁸

Egeria too attests to a Liturgy of the Word on Wednesdays and Fridays:

At the ninth hour they assemble on Sion, because all through the year they regularly assemble on Sion at the ninth hour on Wednesdays and Fridays. On those days there is fasting even for catechumens, unless they coincide with a martyr's day and this is their reason for assembling on Sion at the ninth hour. But even on a martyr's day they still assemble on Sion at the ninth hour if it also happens to be a Wednesday or Friday in Lent. On Wednesdays in Lent then, they assemble, as during the rest of the year, at the ninth hour on Sion, and have all the things usual for that hour, except for the oblation. The bishop and the presbyter are at pains to preach, to

¹⁰³ TERTULLIAN: *On Prayer* 19.

¹⁰⁴ SCHÜMMER: *Die altchristliche Fastenpraxis* 102-105.

¹⁰⁵ P. BRADSHAW: *Daily Prayer in the Early Church: A Study of the Origin and Early Development of the Divine Office* (London 1981 = Alcuin Club Collections 63) 40-42, 66-68; A. CALIVAS [KALYBOPOULOS]: *Χρόνος Τελέσεως τῆς Θείας Λειτουργίας* (Thessalonike 1982 = *Analecta Vlatadon* 37) 158-161.

¹⁰⁶ WINKLER: 'Praesanktifikatenvesper' 188-189.

¹⁰⁷ *De Fide* 22, GCS 37, 522, PG 42:825B-828D.

¹⁰⁸ WINKLER: 'Praesanktifikatenvesper' 188-189. There is a curious note in SOCRATES: *Ecclesiastical History* V.22 that the presbyters and bishops would expound on the Scriptures every Saturday and Sunday evening in Cyprus and Caesarea, but such a practice is unique to these two places, and is of unknown origin. See WINKLER: 'Praesanktifikatenvesper' 188, note 12, and BRADSHAW: *Daily Prayer* 92.

ensure that the people will continue to learn God's law. And after the dismissal the people conduct the bishop with singing to the Anastasis, starting out in time to arrive at the Anastasis for Lucernare. They have hymns and antiphons recited, prayers said, and the Lucernare dismissal takes place at the Anastasis and the Cross, though during Lent it is later than at other times of the year.¹⁰⁹

Paul Bradshaw notes:

This service is not just an extension of the normal daily office at the ninth hour, but it takes place in an entirely different location, which implies that it has a separate history. Since Zion was the ancient center of the Jerusalem church, we may conjecture that the services held there were of long standing, while the public celebration of the daily offices, being of more recent origin, took place in a setting more in keeping with the character of fourth-century Christianity in Jerusalem.¹¹⁰

Egeria leaves us no room to speculate that this Liturgy of the Word was Eucharistic during Lent, but the question arises as to whether it was such outside of Lent. It is possible that this is precisely what Egeria means when she notes that during this Liturgy of the Word *in* Lent they 'have all the things usual for that hour, *except* for the oblation.' If there were no Eucharistic Liturgy associated with this Liturgy of the Word throughout the year, she would not need to mention this exception.¹¹¹

Another important source is the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates. In one case (V.22) he talks about Wednesdays and Fridays in the Alexandrian tradition, whose synaxis have a long history, possibly going back to Origen:

... [1] in Alexandria on the fourth day [Wednesday] and the day called the preparation [Friday], [2] the scriptures are read, [3] and the teachers explain these, [4] and everything of the synaxis takes place without the celebration of the mysteries. [5] And this is an ancient custom in Alexandria. For it appears that Origen taught much on such days regarding the church.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ Translation from: J. WILKINSON: *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land* (Jerusalem / Warminster 1981) 129.

¹¹⁰ BRADSHAW: *Daily Prayer* 91-92.

¹¹¹ One could also argue that Egeria here is comparing the Jerusalem practice with the practice of her motherland. But that is not clear, and I believe not applicable here.

¹¹² ... [1] δὲ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τῇ τετράδι καὶ τῇ λεγομένῃ παρασκευῇ [2] γραφαὶ τε ἀναγινώσκονται καὶ [3] οἱ διδάσκαλοι ταύτας ἐρμηνεύουσιν, [4] πάντα τε τὰ συνάξεως γίνεται δίχα τῆς τῶν μυστηρίων τελετῆς. [5] Καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἔθος ἀρχαῖον· καὶ γὰρ Ὠριγένης τὰ πολλὰ ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις φαίνεται ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διδάξας. Numbering added.

This passage is important since it is traditionally interpreted as referring to the PRES.¹¹³ This, however, is not clear from the text; whether one takes it to be such or not depends on the interpretation of phrase [4] above and especially the words ‘everything’ (πάντα) and ‘without’ (δίχα). Would the word ‘without’ (δίχα) imply the exclusion of the whole anaphora *and* communion, or *only* of the anaphora while all the rites related to the pre-anaphora and communion would be maintained? As we just saw in the text from Egeria, the same phrase appears when she described the services on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent. She mentions that on these two days they ‘have all the things usual for that hour, *except* for the oblation.’ Could this imply communion during Lent? I do not think so, and I do not know anyone that would argue so.

As Robert Taft has documented,¹¹⁴ Wednesdays and Fridays, traditionally fast days, acquire a full Eucharistic celebration in Africa, Rome, Jerusalem, Palestine, Cyprus, and Mesopotamia, while remaining without the celebration of the Eucharist in Constantinople and Asia Minor. Taft has summarized the increase in the frequency of the celebration of the Eucharist thus:¹¹⁵

1. *Saturday* and *Sunday* in Alexandria, N. Syria, Asia Minor, and Constantinople. *Wednesday*, *Friday* and *Sunday* in Palestine, Cyprus, Mesopotamia, North Africa and Rome.
2. *Wednesday*, *Friday*, *Saturday* and *Sunday* in Antioch.
3. *Every day* in Alexandria by the fifth century and in Rome by the sixth century.

What is striking is that *all* places eventually establish a relationship with the Eucharist during the fast days in Lent; most places acquire the full celebration of the Eucharist on fast days, and the places that do not eventually acquire the PRES. The Eucharist (or PRES) in all cases is preceded by a Liturgy of the Word. Here we may recall the instances of communion from the reserved sacrament in *Historia Monachorum in*

¹¹³ ‘The original Alexandrian usage as recounted in the fifth century by Socrates was a synaxis followed by communion from the presanctified gifts on Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays. But, as in Rome, these days eventually acquire a mass, and today the Coptic Church is the only Eastern tradition with daily Eucharist during periods of fast.’ TAFT: ‘The Frequency of the Eucharist’ 97.

¹¹⁴ TAFT: ‘The Frequency of the Eucharist’ 87-110.

¹¹⁵ TAFT: ‘The Frequency of the Eucharist’ 94.

Aegyptio where communion was intricately connected with the reading and exposition of the Word. I believe that the Liturgy of the Word may have attracted communion; one would first experience the Word through the readings and the exposition, and then one would experience the Word through the reception of the Eucharist. Unfortunately, however, there is no clear evidence.

Much later, Patriarch Michael Keroularios of Constantinople (1043-1058) attests to the integral connection of Word and Eucharist. Although he talks about Lent as a mourning period for our sins that does not allow the joyfulness of the celebration of the full liturgy, he states that 'this mystagogy [PRES] is by necessity attached to the kerygma, and tradition has attached it to the forty day fast'.¹¹⁶ In other words, the kerygma is the primary focus, to which the PRES is drawn, and then this unit of Word and Eucharist is placed in Lent.

Another reason for the institution of the PRES is mentioned in the *Nomocanon* or *Book of Directions* IV.1 of Gregory Barhebraeus (d. 1286)¹¹⁷ that places the institution of SyPRES in the time of Severus of Antioch (d. 538). The reason cited is the popular demand to commune during Lent. This, however, is striking because from the fourth century onwards we see throughout Christianity a dramatic decrease in frequency of communion.¹¹⁸ If that is the case, the following question then arises: Why would people, who would not commune frequently, want to commune during the weekdays of Lent? I believe that the reason for this is a romantization of the past by medieval commentators, in our case Bar Hebraeus of the thirteenth century, in their effort to explain the presence of the PRES in a period where the celebration of the Eucharist is prohibited. The pious notion of popular demand for communion during this period is, I think, historically inaccurate. As Robert Taft has many times pointed out, one has to distinguish between the frequency of the celebration of the Eucharist and the participation in the Eucharist.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ Ἡ τοιαύτη γοῦν μυσταγωγία ἐξ ἀνάγκης σύνδρομός ἐστι τῷ κηρύγματι. καὶ ἅμα ταῖς τῆς τεσσαρακονθήμερου νηστείας παράδοσις συνεξανθήσασα. ALLATIUS: 'Missa Praesancificatorum' 1572.

¹¹⁷ For a discussion of this source see 2.4 below.

¹¹⁸ TAFT: 'The Frequency of the Eucharist' 104; SNOEK: *Medieval Piety* 50-52.

¹¹⁹ TAFT: 'The Frequency of the Eucharist' 87-110; IDEM: 'The Frequency of the Celebration of the Eucharist' in M. JOHNSON (ed.): *Between Memory and Hope. Readings on the Liturgical Year* (Collegeville 2000) 77-96.

1.5 Conclusions

What then are the origins of the PRES? Although the restriction of Laodicea played a role, it is by no means the only reason behind the appearance of the PRES. In addition, we can safely challenge the assertion that the PRES rose out of popular demand for frequent communion during Lent, as it is well known that the frequency of participation in the Eucharist dramatically declined from the fourth century onwards. The origins of the PRES, therefore, have to be sought for in a wider context of time and place, allowing for a variety of causes, not just one.

1. Throughout the Christian world liturgical uniformity and standardization takes place from the fourth century on. In such a context it is only natural that varying practices of private reservation and communion were criticized and suppressed. It is also possible that the decline in communion frequency made home communion suspect because it was uncontrollable.
2. The rise of clericalism and incidents of abuse of the Eucharist in private contexts move private reservation and communion from the house to the church, thus institutionalizing it.
3. The strong admonitions against the practice of private reservation and communion in the fifth and sixth centuries indicate that the practice continued for some time.
4. One of the causes of the move towards liturgical uniformity and standardization was the fear of, and reaction to, heresy. The rise of the PRES, at least in Syria, may be a direct reaction to heretical practices of using bread only or bread and water in the Eucharist. This, however, remains hypothetical unless further evidence is brought forth.
5. It was on those fast days that many Churches had the practice of holding a Liturgy of the Word followed by a homily. It is possible that this Liturgy of the Word attracted communion. In places where the celebration of the Eucharist was not at odds with fasting the full Eucharist would take place. In places where the Eucharist was prohibited the PRES was used.
6. Here we might also be able to make a hypothesis regarding the possible geographical areas where the PRES could have been born. It is obvious that the candidate areas are the ones that *did not* develop a full Eucharist on fast days. Immediately our focus gets narrowed to Constantinople, Asia Minor, and Syria (but not Antioch). We cannot

conclusively argue for one single place of provenance. The fact that there are at least three types of PRES in the East (i.e., Byzantine, Syrian, and Hagiopolite) may suggest three different areas where the PRES developed independently, but until the relationship between the three is explored, no conclusive statement can be made.

7. Private reservation and communion existed in two different contexts: lay and monastic. In the first, private reservation and communion were replaced by the PRES and in the second, by the Service of the Typika. In other words, the PRES is the cathedral outgrowth of private lay reservation and communion, while the Typika is the monastic outgrowth of ascetical private reservation and communion. As we shall see in the rest of this study, this division does not exclude mutual influence, and is not limited to the Byzantine tradition.

Bradshaw notes that the process of liturgical evolution from the fourth century onwards

led to the disappearance or transformation of many worship practices that had safeguarded and given expression to important aspects of the primitive Christian faith, which were consequently lost to later generations of believers.¹²⁰

The PRES and the Office of Typika represent, I believe, the transformation of the lay and monastic private reservation and communion practices respectively in the post fourth-century Christian world.

¹²⁰ BRADSHAW: *Search* 229.

CHAPTER TWO

THE PRESANCTIFIED IN CONTEXT

2.1 Introduction

The emphasis in this chapter shifts to the first definite documentary and textual evidence of the PRES. The issues of authorship, titles, and frequency of the PRES are addressed, as well as instances of communion from presanctified gifts in the context of the coronation of emperors, the appointment of civil servants, and marriage. Finally, the Offices of the Typika and Trithekte are examined; the first because it initially served as a Palestinian PRES for monastics, the second because there are indications that it might have been celebrated at one time in conjunction with PRES.

2.2 The Earliest Witnesses to the Presanctified

2.2.1 *Chronikon Paschale*

The *Chronikon Paschale* is a Byzantine universal chronicle written in the 630s. In its present form it covers events from year 284 up to 628.¹ This document is of importance to the study of the PRES because it provides the first documentary evidence for the existence of the PRES, which it explicitly names. It also gives us information regarding the frequency of the celebration of the PRES and documents the addition of ritual components to the PRES.

In this year under Sergius patriarch of Constantinople, from the 1st week of Lent, in indiction 4 [615 or 616²], a chant was introduced after the 'Let [my prayer] rise', at the moment when the presanctified gifts are brought

¹ ODB 1:447; M. WHITBY & M. WHITBY (trs.): *Chronikon Paschale 284-628 AD* (Liverpool 1989 = Translated Texts for Historians 7) ix-xiv.

² WHITBY & WHITBY: *Chronikon Paschale* 158 note 439.

to the altar from the sacristy after the priest has said, 'Through the gift of your Christ', the congregation at once begins, 'Now the powers of heaven are invisibly worshipping with us: for behold, the king of glory enters in. Behold, the mystic and perfect sacrifice is being escorted. In faith and fear let us approach, so that we may become partakers in eternal life. Alleluia!' This is chanted not only during Lent as pre-sanctified offerings are brought in, but also on other days, whenever there are pre-sanctified offerings.³

The *Chronicon Paschale* attests to the addition of the great entrance hymn 'Now the powers of heaven ...' of which we are given the full text. Until that moment, the gifts would have been brought in the Church from the Skeuophylakion in silence. We are told that this addition took place in 615 or 616.⁴ This is worthy to note since it is the only instance where we have a precise date associated with the development of the PRES. It also means that the PRES must have existed in Constantinople for some time before this addition (i.e., before 615 or 616). Following is an outline of the ritual elements of the PRES as provided by the text:

1. Gifts were kept at the Skeuophylakion
2. 'Let my prayer rise' (Ps 140.2)
3. Priest's exclamation: 'Through the gift of Your Christ,'
4. People intone: 'Now the powers of heaven ...'
5. Great Entrance (Procession of the PRES gifts from the Skeuophylakion into the church to the altar.

³ English translation with minor changes from WHITBY & WHITBY: *Chronicon Paschale* 158. Τοῦτω τῷ ἔτει ἐπὶ Σεργίου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀπὸ τῆς α' ἑβδομάδος τῶν νηστειῶν ἰνδικτιῶνος δ' ἤρξατο ψάλλεσθαι μετὰ τὸ Κατευθυνθῆτω ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ εἰσαγεσθαι τὰ προηγιασμένα δῶρα εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἀπὸ τοῦ σκευοφυλακίου μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν τὸν ἱερέα, Κατὰ τὴν δωρεάν τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, εὐθέως ἄρχεται ὁ λαός, Νῦν αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν σὺν ἡμῖν ἀοράτως λατρεύουσιν· ἰδοὺ γὰρ εἰσπορεύεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης· ἰδοὺ θυσία μυστικὴ τετελειωμένη δορυφορεῖται· πίστει καὶ φόβῳ προσέλθωμεν, ἵνα μέτοχοι ζωῆς αἰωνίου γενώμεθα. ἀλληλούια. Τοῦτο δὲ οὐ μόνον ἐν ταῖς νηστείαις προηγιασμένων εἰσαγομένων ψάλλεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις ἡμέραις, ὡσάκις ἂν προηγιασμένα γίνηται. L. DINDORF: *Chronicon Paschale* (Bonn 1832) I:705-706; PG 92:989.

⁴ MORAITIS: *Ἡ Λειτουργία τῶν Προηγιασμένων* 6. Brightman wrongly dates this addition to 645. See F.E. BRIGHTMAN: *Liturgies Eastern and Western. I. Eastern Liturgies* (Oxford 1896) xciii.

2.2.2 *The Miracles of the Holy Virgin Mary in Choziba*⁵

Antonios the Chozibite (d. after 630),⁶ a disciple of Saint George the Chozibite, wrote *The Miracles of the Holy Virgin Mary in Choziba* and the *Vita* of Saint George the Chozibite (d. 625).⁷ These two works of Antonios provide valuable information on the history of monasticism in Palestine in the sixth and seventh centuries.

The Miracles of the Holy Virgin Mary in Choziba is a short collection of miracles associated with the Monastery of Chozeba in Palestine. The five Syrians mentioned in the story are the founders of the monastery. In other words, the author, the monk Antonios, situates this miracle at the foundation of the monastery in the fifth century.

At the beginning, five holy fathers who were Syrian lived on this spot, each succeeding the other, before our father John who is among the saints came here and built on that holy place and who also became metropolitan of Caesaria Stratonis. The first monk made a very small cell that is now the sacristy for the church of Saint Stephen, the small church below; they succeeded one another living in this cell. They also made the small oratory of Saint Stephen and the building in which their holy remains rest with God, and holy father John constructed the remainder of the holy monastery.

Now, when the fourth received the fifth, named Zenon, a beardless young man, something like this occurred: After the eucharistic service on the Lord's day, the teacher sent this youth to Jericho to bring back bread for the eucharist in case anyone might come to receive a blessing. One day the youth was standing near the apse of the church at the time

⁵ (BHG 1071) *Analecta Bollandiana* 7 (1888) 360-370. For more information on the Monastery of Choziba see H.G. BECK: *Kirche und Theologische Literatur in Byzantinischen Reich* (München 1959) 462; *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche* 4 (1960) 702; S. ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ: 'Γεώργιος ὁ Χοζεβίτης' in *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἡθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια* 4 (1964) 454-456; P. ΝΙΚΟΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ: 'Χωζιβᾶ, Μονή' in *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἡθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια* 12 (1968) 445; ANONYMOUS: 'Les Saints Kozebites' in *Échos d'Orient* 1 (1897-1898) 228-233. I found this reference in USPENSKY: *Evening Worship* 112. Apparently a misprint, Antonios' master is referred to here as Saint Gregory. In addition, the miracle is not part of the life of St. George nor is St. George mentioned in the miracle as is stated by Uspensky. St. George's name does not appear at all except for the concluding paragraph of the miracle stories, in which his intercessions together with those of the Virgin are asked.

⁶ BECK: *Kirche und Theologische Literatur* 462; *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche* 4 (1960) 702.

⁷ (BHG 669) *Analecta Bollandiana* 7 (1888) 97-114, 356-359; 8 (1889) 209-210.

of the eucharistic sacrifice when his spiritual guardian was making the offering, unguardedly, so that his voice could be heard; the youth heard certain words of the text recited at the eucharist and remembered them.

Now it happened that one Lord's day he was coming up from Jericho holding the offering and he remembered the words that he had heard and retained that day when the prior mentioned above celebrated the eucharist. He practiced saying these words over and over when suddenly the Holy Spirit descended and consecrated both the offerings and the youth. An angel of the Lord stood with his spiritual guardian while he was resting a little after the eucharistic liturgy and said to him: 'Arise, priest, and celebrate the liturgy of the Presanctified with the offering that the youth is bringing, for it has been sanctified'. ... From then on he no longer allowed him to approach the apse of the sanctuary while he was making the holy and bloodless sacrifice, for he knew that from this came the descent of the Holy Spirit and the sanctification of the holy offering.⁸

⁸ Translation adapted from T. VIVIAN & A. ATHANASAKIS (trs.): *The Life of George of Choziba and the Miracles of the Most Holy Mother of God at Choziba* (San Francisco / London 1994) 100-102. For the Greek text see C. HOUSE: 'Miracula beatae virginis Mariae in Chozibit' in *Analecta Bollandiana* 7 (1888) 366-368, Miracle 5. Πέντε ἐν πρώτοις κατέμειναν αὐτόθι ἅγιοι πατέρες Σύροι ὑπάρχοντες εἰς τὸν ἕνα διαδεξάμενοι πρὶν ἢ τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις πατέρα ἡμῶν Ἰωάννην ἐλθεῖν ἐκεῖσε, τὸν δημάμενον τὸν ἅγιον τόπον ἐκεῖνον, τὸν καὶ γεγονότα μητροπολίτην Καισαραίας τῆς Στρατώνος. Μικρὸν γὰρ πάνυ κελλίον ὁ πρῶτος ἐποίησεν, ὅπερ νῦν διακονικὸν τυγχάνει τῆς κάτω μικρᾶς ἐκκλησίας τῆς λεγομένης τοῦ ἁγίου Στεφάνου, εἰς ὅπερ καὶ κατὰ διαδοχὴν διεδέξαντο ἀλλήλους. Ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ τὸ μικρὸν εὐκτήριον τοῦ ἁγίου Στεφάνου καὶ τὸ οἶκημα ἐν ᾧ σὺν Θεῷ κατὰκεινται τὰ ἅγια αὐτῶν λείψανα· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τῆς ἁγίας μονῆς ὁ ἅγιος πατὴρ Ἰωάννης ἐπέκτησεν. Τοῦ δὲ τετάρτου δεξαμένου τὸν πέμπτον Ζήωνα λεγόμενον, παῖδα νέον ἀγένειον ὑπάρχοντα, συνέβη τι τοιοῦτον. Ἀπέλυεν οὖν τοῦτον τὸν παῖδα κυριακῆς μετὰ τὸν κανόνα εἰς Ἱεριχὼ κομίσει προσφορὰν ὁ διδάσκαλος εἰ ποῦ ἔτυχον τινες εὐχῆς χάριν πρὸς αὐτοὺς παραβαλόντες. Καὶ δὴ ἐν μιᾷ παρεστῶς ὁ παῖς πλησίον τῆς κόγχης τῆ ὥρα τῆς προσκομιδῆς, τοῦ ἐπιστάτου ἀφυλάκτως μετὰ φωνῆς ἀκουομένης τὴν προσένεξιν ποιῶντος, ὁ παῖς ἀκροώμενος λόγους τινὰς τῆς ἀναφορᾶς κατέσχευεν. Ἐγένετο δὲ ἀνερχομένου αὐτοῦ ἐν μιᾷ κυριακῇ ἀπὸ Ἱεριχῶ ἔχων τὰς προσφορὰς ἐλθεῖν εἰς ὑπόμνησιν τῶν λόγων ὧν κατέσχευεν ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπιστάτου προσφέροντος καὶ ἤρξατο συχῶς μελετᾶν αὐτοὺς καὶ εὐθὺς κατέπτη τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἠγάσασεν τὰς τε προσφορὰς καὶ τὸν παῖδα. Ἄγγελος δὲ Κυρίου ἐπέστη τῷ ἐπιστάτῃ αὐτοῦ μικρὸν ἀναπαυομένην μετὰ τὸν κανόνα τῆς κυριακῆς· καὶ ἔφη αὐτῷ· Ἀναστάς, πρεσβύτερε, προηγιασμένα ποιήσον ἐπὶ τῇ προσφορᾷ ἣ ὁ παῖς κομίζει· ἠγιασθη γάρ. ... Ἀπὸ τότε οὖν οὐκέτι εἴασεν αὐτὸν προσεγγίσει τῇ κόγχῃ τοῦ ἁγίου θυσιαστηρίου αὐτοῦ τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ ἀναίμακτον προσένεξιν ποιῶντος· ἔγω γὰρ ὅτι ἐκ τούτου γέγονεν ἡ κατάπτησις τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος καὶ ὁ ἁγιασμὸς τῆς ἁγίας προσφορᾶς.

There is another version of the same story in chapter 25 of the *Pratum Spirituale* of Moschos, written in approximately 600 AD.

Abba Gregory ... told us of a brother at the Community of Choziba who had learned by heart the words used at the offering of the holy gifts. One day he was sent to fetch the eucharistic oblations and, as he returned to the monastery, he said the offering prayer – as though he were reciting verses. The deacons placed the same oblations on the paten in the holy sanctuary. The priest at that time was abba John the Chozibite who later became Bishop of Caesarea in Palestine. When he offered the gifts, he did not perceive the coming of the Holy Spirit in the accustomed manner. He was distressed, thinking that it might be on account of some sin on his part that the Holy Spirit was absent. He withdrew into the sacristy in tears and flung himself face-down. An angel of the Lord appeared to him and said: 'Because the brother who was bringing the oblations here recited the holy prayer of offering on the way, they are already consecrated and made perfect.' The elder laid down a rule that from henceforth nobody was to learn the holy prayer of offering unless he had been ordained; nor was it ever to be recited at any time other than in a consecrated place.⁹

We have here two redactions of the same story. The latter document, written around 600, does not mention, nor imply the existence or celebration of the PRES, while the former, written around 630, explicitly mentions the PRES. Since we are dealing with the same story and the same monastery in two different redactions written approximately 30 years apart, it is possible to argue that the PRES, probably of the Hagiopolite type,¹⁰ was introduced in the monastery of Choziba, and possibly in the monasteries of Palestine between 600 and 630.

2.2.3 Canon 52 of the Synod in Trullo (692)

The canon states: 'On all days of the Lent ... except for Saturday and Sunday and the Holy day of the Annunciation, let the liturgy of the Presanctified gifts take place.'¹¹ This ecclesiastical legislation expands on

⁹ (BHG 1440z) For the original Greek see PG 87.3:2869D-2872A. The translation employed is from WORTLEY: *The Spiritual Meadow* 17.

¹⁰ On the Hagiopolite PRES see section 3.5.

¹¹ 'Ἐν πάσαις τῆς ἁγίας τεσσαρακοστῆς ἡμέραις ... παρεκτός σαββάτου καὶ κυριακῆς καὶ τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ εὐαγγελισμοῦ ἡμέρας γινέσθω ἡ τῶν προηγιασμένων ἱερὰ λειτουργία. MANSI: *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio* 11:967; RALLES & POTLES: *Σύνταγμα* 2:427. For the liturgical importance of the Synod of Trullo see A. CALIVAS: 'The Penthekte Synod and Liturgical Reform', in *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 40 (1995) 125-147.

canons 49 and 51 of Laodicaea in two respects: first, that the full Eucharistic liturgy is to be celebrated on the feast of the Annunciation, and second, that the PRES should be celebrated in the days designated as a-liturgical by Laodicaea (Monday through Friday of the weeks in Lent). This is the first explicit mention of the PRES in the corpus of canons of the Byzantine Church.

2.2.4 Barberini gr. 336

Barberini gr. 336, dated to the end of the eighth century and edited by Stefano Parenti and Elena Velkovska,¹² is the oldest surviving Byzantine liturgical Euchologion and our first manuscript witness to the PRES. The PRES¹³ follows the formularies of BAS and CHR, and is complemented by a series of five opisthambonos prayers¹⁴ and the relevant diaconal petitions for PRES¹⁵ placed as an appendix at the end of the manuscript.

The outline of PRES, as presented in Barberini gr. 336, is as follows:

1. In Vespers, Psalm 140 and the entrance of the Patriarch
2. Prokeimenon + Reading 1
3. Prokeimenon + Reading 2
4. Ps 140.2 (Κατευσθησθήτω)
5. Ektene + Prayer of Ektene
6. Petitions and Prayer for the Catechumens
7. Petitions and Prayer for the Photizomenoi (after Wednesday of the fourth week of Lent)
8. Small Synapte and Prayer 1 of the Faithful
9. Small Synapte and Prayer 2 of the Faithful
10. Cherubic Hymn: 'Now the powers...'
11. Plerotika petitions
12. Prayer after the hymn 'Now the powers...'
13. Lord's Prayer
14. Peace

¹² S. PARENTI & E. VELKOVSKA (eds.): *L'Euclologio Barberini gr. 336* (Rome 2000² = Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae. Subsidia 80).

¹³ PARENTI & VELKOVSKA (eds.): *L'Euclologio Barberini gr. 336* 83-87, sections 42.1-48.7.

¹⁴ PARENTI & VELKOVSKA (eds.): *L'Euclologio Barberini gr. 336* 243-246, sections 281.1-285.2.

¹⁵ PARENTI & VELKOVSKA (eds.): *L'Euclologio Barberini gr. 336* 246-247, sections 286.1-63. These diaconal petitions give a glimpse of how a patriarchal PRES would be celebrated, as the entrance of the Patriarch is mentioned on p. 246, section 286.2.

15. Diaconal command to bow the heads
16. Prayer of inclination
17. 'Let us be attentive' and 'The presanctified holy gifts for the holy people of God'
18. 'One is holy ...'
19. Prayer of thanksgiving after communion
20. Dismissal 'Let us depart in peace' with response 'In the name of the Lord'
21. Opisthambonos prayer

Each of these elements will be examined in chapters four and five of this text. It should be noted, however, that the PRES as given in Barberini gr. 336 is rather complete. In other words, the PRES was fully developed by the middle of the eighth century.

2.3 The Authorship of the Presanctified

We do not know who wrote or instituted the PRES. In looking at the various attributions regarding the origins and the authorship of the PRES, Byzantine opinion ranges all the way from the Apostles of Christ, James the brother of the Lord, Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis from 367 to 403,¹⁶ to Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople from 715 to 730.¹⁷ Some, albeit later manuscripts, also attribute it to Gregory the Great, Pope of Rome from 590 to 604, known among the Byzantines as Gregory Dialogos.¹⁸ In other words, the issue is both chronologically and geographically vague. The only attribution that one finds in printed editions today is that of Gregory the Great.¹⁹

The earliest attribution to Gregory seems to be in the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople, a collection of brief hagiographical notices, probably formed in the tenth century.²⁰ The hagiographical notice on Gregory

¹⁶ ODB 1:714; *De Sancti Epiphanius Liturgia Praesantificatorum* PG 43:533-538.

¹⁷ ODB 2:846-847.

¹⁸ Gregory spent seven years in Constantinople (579-586) as papal representative, and 'claimed ignorance of Greek'; ODB 2:875-876.

¹⁹ See, for example, *The Orthodox Liturgy being the Divine Liturgies of S. John Chrysostom and S. Basil the Great and the Divine Office of the Presanctified Gifts* (Oxford 1982) v, 209-210. The only exception would be *Byzantine Daily Worship* (Alleluia Press 1969) where the PRES is attributed to Gregory the Theologian, i.e. Gregory of Nazianzus, unless the editors meant Gregory the Great of Rome.

²⁰ ODB 3:1991.

concludes stating that 'they say that he is the one who instituted the liturgy celebrated by us on the days of fast.'²¹ Interestingly enough, however, there are manuscripts of the *Synaxarion* which alter this same statement in the following way: 'they say that he is the one that instituted the celebration of the full liturgy on the days of fast among the Romans.'²²

Gregory, however, does not appear as the author of the PRES in other Byzantine sources. The Byzantine liturgical commentary *Protheoria*, written between 1054 and 1067,²³ states regarding the authorship of the PRES: 'some say it was written by James, the one called the brother of the Lord, others say it was written by Peter the apostle ... and others say it was written by others.'²⁴ Almost the same exact phrase²⁵ appears in *Commentarius Liturgicus*,²⁶ attributed to Sophronius of Jerusalem (d. 638), but shown to belong to the twelfth century.²⁷

²¹ Φασὶ δὲ ὅτι τὴν ἐπιτελουμένην λειτουργίαν παρ' ἡμῶν ἐν ταῖς νηστίμοις ἡμέραις, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ νομοθετήσας· ὅπερ κρατεῖ μέχρι καὶ νῦν, παρ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἔφην, προτασσόμενον. H. DELEHAYE: *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi, adiectis synaxariis selectis* (Bruxelles 1902) 532, translation by the author. I owe this reference to Prof. Stefano Parenti.

²² Φασὶ δὲ ὅτι ἐπιτελεῖσθαι λειτουργίαν τελείαν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐν ταῖς νηστείας ἡμέραις, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ νομοθετήσας, ὅπερ κρατεῖ μέχρι νῦν παρ' αὐτοῖς. DELEHAYE: *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* 532 in notes, translation by the author.

²³ R. BORNERT: *Les Commentaires byzantins de la divine liturgie du XIIIe au XVe siècle* (Paris 1966) 191-196. This dating has been challenged by Jean DARROUZÉS who suggests that the *Protheoria* was written between the years 1085 and 1095. For his arguments see his article 'Nicolas d'Andida et les azymes' in *Revue des Études Byzantine* 32 (1974) 199-210. The point of contention is whether a poetical rendition of *Protheoria* was written by Michael Psellos (Bornert) or not (Darrouzès). For the poetical version of *Protheoria* see P. JOANNOU: 'Aus den unedierten Schriften des Psellos: Das Lehrgedicht zum Messopfer und der Traktat gegen die Vorbestimmung der Todesstunde' in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 51 (1958) 1-9, and A. JACOB: 'Un opuscule didactique otrantais sur la liturgie eucharistique. L'adaptation en vers, faussement attribuée à Psellos, de la "Protheoria" de Nicolas d'Andida' in *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neellenici* n.s. 14-16 (1977-1979) 161-178.

²⁴ ... τῶν προηγιασμένων, ἦν τινες μὲν εἶναι φασὶ τοῦ ὀνομασθέντος ἀδελφοῦ Κυρίου, ἕτεροι δὲ Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου καὶ κορυφαίου, καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλων. PG 140:460C. Translation by the author.

²⁵ ... τῶν προηγιασμένων, ἦν τινες μὲν εἶναι φασὶ τοῦ ὀνομασθέντος ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου, ἕτεροι δὲ Πέτρου τοῦ κορυφαίου, καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλως. PG 87.3:3981D.

²⁶ PG 87.3:3981B-4001B. The text is incomplete, reaching only up to the Great Entrance.

²⁷ BORNERT: *Les commentaires Byzantins* 210-211.

In answering a question regarding the origins of the PRES Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonica (d. 1429) notes that 'the PRES is God-inspired and [handed down] by the successors of the apostles, as the prayers witness; and this tradition is old, and we believe that this is truly from the apostles, from the beginning instituted for this fast.'²⁸

In the debates between East and West regarding the liturgical nature of the weekdays of Lent, the issue of the authorship of the PRES is discussed. John, Metropolitan of Klaudiopolis writing in the twelfth century,²⁹ notes that at the sixth hour, after the completion of vespers, 'having said the prescribed prayers of Basil the Great, we raise the holy gifts saying; 'Let us be attentive. The presanctified holy gifts for the holy people of God.'³⁰ Another reference to Basil in relation to the PRES is found in Niketas Stethatos' *Libellus Contra Latinos*.³¹ In this case the prayers attributed to Basil are different:

After the reading of the prophets, and having read the given prayers of Basil the Great, the gifts are brought from the Prothesis and are prayed upon. And after the Lord's Prayer is said, we elevate the bread saying, 'the presanctified holy gifts for the holy people of God.' And after we commingle the gifts, we commune.³²

²⁸ Ἡ προηγιασμένη λειτουργία ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐκ τῶν διαδόχων τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐστίν, ὡς καὶ αἱ εὐχαὶ μαρτυροῦσι, καὶ ἡ παράδοσις αὐτῆ ἀρχαία οὐσα, καὶ ἀληθῶς τῶν ἀποστόλων εἶναι ταύτην πιστεύομεν, ἐξ' ἀρχῆς γεγενημένην δι' αὐτὴν τὴν νηστείαν. Question 55, PG 155:904A, translation by author.

²⁹ The only thing we know about John, Metropolitan of Klaudiopolis, is that he participated in a synod held in Constantinople in 1166 and that he wrote an anti-Latin work dealing with the azymes and other matters of liturgical differences between East and West (BECK: *Kirche und Theologische Literatur* 627-628).

³⁰ Καὶ ἐν τῇ ἕκτη ὥρᾳ συμπεράναντες πᾶσαν ὑμολογίαν ἐν τῷ πληρώματι τοῦ λυχνικοῦ, εἰπόντες τὰς τυπωμένας παρὰ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλείου εὐχὰς ὑψοῦμεν τὰ ἅγια, λέγοντες· πρόσχωμεν τὰ προηγιασμένα ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις. Greek text from ALLATIUS: 'Missa Praesanctificatorum' 1544-1545.

³¹ PL 143:973B-984B // PG 120:1011B-1022B.

³² Καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τῶν προφητῶν τὰς τυπωθείσας εὐχὰς τοῦ Μεγάλου Βασιλείου ποιήσαντες, καὶ τὰ δῶρα προσκομίσαντες ἀπὸ τῆς προθέσεως, καὶ ἐπευξάμενοι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. Ἔτι καὶ τὴν παραδοθεῖσαν εὐχὴν ἡμῖν παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου εἰπόντες ὑψοῦμεν τὸν ἄρτον λέγοντες, τὰ προηγιασμένα ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις. Καὶ ἐνώσαντες μεταλαμβάνομεν. Greek text from ALLATIUS: 'Missa Praesanctificatorum' 1583. For the Latin text see PL 143:971A // PG 120:1019AB. A notable difference in the Latin text is that the ὑψοῦμεν τὸν ἄρτον is translated as 'exaltamus praesanctificatum panem'. In other words, it is noted in Latin that the bread is presanctified.

It is striking that the prayers referred to here and attributed to Basil are the ones between the readings and the Great Entrance, while in the case of John, Metropolitan of Klaudiopolis, the prayers attributed to BAS are the ones that precede the elevation. The only attributions of the PRES to Basil in the manuscript tradition are found in the twelfth-century Diakonikon Sinai gr. 1040,³³ in a marginal note in Ottoboni gr. 344 (1177), f. 20v,³⁴ and in the Armenian translation of the Byzantine PRES.³⁵ In addition, some Syriac manuscripts attribute the SyPRES to Basil.³⁶

Even more curious is an attribution of the PRES to Athanasius, Patriarch of Alexandria. After noting the antiquity of the PRES and placing it in a time 'even before the great mystagogues,' Basil and Chrysostom, Patriarch Michael Keroularios of Constantinople (1043-1058) notes that after the gifts are brought to the altar 'the secret prayer said is that of Athanasius ... This prayer is found in some ancient Euchologia with the name of saint Athanasius inscribed.'³⁷ He goes on to note that in many liturgical books that were contemporary to him, Gregory Dialogus was seen as the author of the PRES which was still celebrated in Rome.³⁸ I am not aware of a single attribution of the PRES to Athanasius in the manuscript tradition.

The attribution of the PRES varies in the manuscript tradition. The majority of the manuscripts, especially the older ones, do not have an attribution at all. For those that do, the attribution may be found either at the beginning of PRES or in the dismissal, where the author of PRES is commemorated. If the manuscript is a Typikon, the attribution, if any, is given when the PRES is discussed. We have the following groups based on authorship:

1. No attribution: Eighth century: Barberini gr. 336. Tenth century: Sevastianov 474; St. Petersburg 226; Eleventh century: Paris gr. 391; Grottaferrata Γ.β. XX; Sinai gr. 958; Sinai gr. 959; Benaki 27 (B56);

³³ DII:134-135.

³⁴ Ἰστέον ὅτι Νικήτας ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐν τῇ κατὰ τῶν λατίνων αὐτοῦ διαλέξει λέγει, ὅτι τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλείου αἱ εὐχαὶ τῶν προηγιασμένων.

³⁵ J. CATERGIAN: *Die Liturgie bei den Armeniern. Fünfzehn Texte und Untersuchungen* (Vienna 1897) 412-429 (in Armenian).

³⁶ See 3.2.

³⁷ ALLATIUS: 'Missae Praesantificatorum' 1577-1578.

³⁸ ALLATIUS: 'Missae Praesantificatorum' 1578.

Benaki 57 (TA 127); Eleventh/Twelfth centuries: Sinai 962; Twelfth century: Barberini gr. 345; Barberini gr. 393; Barberini gr. 431; Barberini gr. 443; Ottoboni gr. 344; Paris gr. 330; Paris gr. 328; Paris gr. 392; Grottaferrata Γ.β. II; Grottaferrata Γ.β. VIII; Sinai gr. 973; EBE 713; Bodleian Auct. E.5.13; Vatican gr. 1811; Vatican gr. 1863; Vatican gr. 1875; Vatican gr. 1970; Ottoboni gr. 434; Vatican gr. 2005; Twelfth/Thirteenth centuries: Sinai gr. 1036; EBE 662; Thirteenth century: Grottaferrata Γ.β. XIII; Sinai gr. 966; Sinai gr. 1037; Ambrosiana 709 (R24 Sup); Barberini gr. 443; Fourteenth century: Paris gr. 324; Vatopedi 133 (744); Vatican gr. 2324; Fourteenth/Fifteenth centuries: Benaki 90 (TA 246); Fifteenth century: Paris gr. 2509; Sinai gr. 968; EBE 685; EBE 769; EBE 2403; EBE 661; EBE 1910; EBE 877; Vatican gr. 1978; Panagia Kamariotissa 145 (142); Fifteenth/Sixteenth centuries: Paris gr. 326; EBE 756; Sixteenth century: Ottoboni gr. 288; Paris gr. 347; Sinai gr. 2017; Sinai gr. 2045; Sinai gr. 2111; Sabas 53; Sabas 48; Sinai gr. 2037; Benaki 10 (B16); Benaki 79 (TA 177); EBE 2400; EBE 878; EBE 755; EBE 772; EBE 749; EBE 759; EBE 781; Seventeenth century: Taphou 334

2. Epiphanius of Salamis: Fourteenth century: EBE 2086; Seventeenth century: EBE 802 (f. 38a, in title).
3. Germanus of Constantinople: Twelfth century: Barberini gr. 329 (f. 10r, in title); Biblioteca Angelica gr. 15 (f. 33r, in title); Thirteenth century: Ambrosiana 276 (f. 37r, in title) Fourteenth century: Grottaferrata Γ.β. III (f. 98r, in title); Fifteenth/Sixteenth centuries: Sabas 382 (f. 64r, in title, and f. 74r, in illumination); Sixteenth century: EBE 757 (f. 73v in troparion and 74r in dismissal); Vatican gr. 2007 (f. 35v in dismissal), Vatican gr. 2032 (f. 37v, in dismissal), Vatican gr. 2143 (p. 57)
4. Gregory of Rome: Fifteenth Century: Ambrosiana 84 (ff. 147r-v, in troparia in dismissal), Typikon Sinai gr. 1109 (f. 253r / DIII: 238); Sixteenth century: Paris gr. 393 (f. 45r, in title); EBE 775 (f. 114v, in dismissal), Dionysiou 469 (in title),³⁹ Taphou 134 (593) (in title),⁴⁰ Kouloumousiou 341 (in title)⁴¹; Seventeenth century: EBE 2202 (55r, in dismissal);

These can be summarized in the following table:

³⁹ DII: 798.

⁴⁰ DII: 802.

⁴¹ DII: 951.

TABLE 2.1
 THE AUTHORS OF THE PRESANCTIFIED
 IN THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

Century	No Attribution	Epiphanius	Germanus	Gregory
Eighth	1			
Ninth				
Tenth	2			
Eleventh	6			
Eleventh/Twelfth	1			
Twelfth	19		2	
Twelfth/Thirteenth	2			
Thirteenth	5		1	
Fourteenth	3	1	1	
Fourteenth/Fifteenth	1			
Fifteenth	10			2
Fifteenth/Sixteenth	2		1	
Sixteenth	17		4	5
Seventeenth	1	1		1

We can safely assume from the above that the author of the PRES is unknown. Gregory of Rome appears as the author in a small number of manuscripts that date from after the fourteenth century. The question, however, arises as to how he became associated with the PRES, and why his name appears that late in the manuscripts.

Demetrios Moraitis suggested that the association between Gregory of Rome and the PRES arose in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries in the context of the unification efforts between the Byzantine and the Roman churches. He noted that during this period,

a certain liturgy, different from that of the Presanctified, circulated in the East, which bore the name of Pope Gregory the Dialogue. This liturgy is a translation of the Roman liturgy from Latin into Greek. It is therefore not impossible that there was confusion in the East between these two liturgies since the author of the liturgy of the presanctified was unknown or disputed, and thus [the PRES] was attributed to Gregory from the title that the other [i.e. Roman] liturgy had: 'The Liturgy of our holy father Gregory the Dialogue'.⁴²

⁴² MORAITIS: *Ἡ Λειτουργία τῶν Προηγιασμένων* 26.

I would agree with Moraitis in attributing the PRES to Gregory of Rome in this period of dialogue and debate between East and West. I believe, however, that the attribution was more than a result of confusion between the PRES and the Roman liturgy.

The Roman Canon was indeed translated into Greek. In most cases, however, it was called 'The Liturgy of Saint Peter the Apostle' (Λειτουργία τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Πέτρου).⁴³ The earliest surviving example is in the ninth-century Grottaferrata Γ.β. VII.⁴⁴ Only in a handful of manuscripts, the earliest dating to the thirteenth century, is the Roman liturgy attributed to Gregory the Dialogus.⁴⁵ According to Codrington, these manuscripts reflect a new translation from the Latin which

was made at the instance of Byzantine controversialists after the conquest of Constantinople in 1204 on the assumption that the Greek was the original of the Mass. Such an assumption is by no means impossible, as the Byzantine Liturgy of the Presanctified passes under the name of St. Gregory Dialogus.⁴⁶

This is not the place to judge the accuracy of Codrington's last phrase. It is important, however, that he makes the connection between the translated Roman Canon and the Byzantine PRES. How could such a connection come about?

The answer might lie in the disputes between the Greeks and the Latins regarding the liturgical nature of weekdays in Lent. Cardinal Humbert (d. 1061) argued in favor of the Roman practice of celebrating the full liturgy on the weekdays of Lent, based on the contents of the Roman Missals.⁴⁷

It should be noted that the Gregorian Sacramentary is referred to in the disputes as the Roman Missal of 'Gregorio Dialogo,' the way Greeks

⁴³ On this Liturgy see H. CODRINGTON: *The Liturgy of Saint Peter* (Münster in Westfalen 1936 = Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen 30).

⁴⁴ G. PASSARELLI: *L'Euclologio Cryptense Γ.β. VII (sec. X)* (Thessalonica 1982 = *Analecta Vlatadon* 36) 167-174.

⁴⁵ CODRINGTON: *The Liturgy of Saint Peter* 26-28.

⁴⁶ CODRINGTON: *The Liturgy of Saint Peter* 27.

⁴⁷ ex Missalibus Romanorum libris, ab omni Ecclesia Occidentali antiquitus receptis, quam rationem jejunii, et Missae habuerunt sub reverendis suis Pontificibus, Sylvestro scilicet, auctore Nicaenae Synodi, Gelasio, damnatore Acacii, maximeque Gregorio Dialogo, compatre Imperatoris Mauritii, in cujus libris Missalibus omnes dies Quadragesimae habent specialis Missae plenarium officium, et, excepta Dominica, nullus dies ejus solvit susceptum jejunium; 'Missa Praesantificatorum' 1548; PG 120:1030B.

would refer to Gregory of Rome, and it is assumed that the Gregorian Sacramentary was actually authored by Gregory himself. I am aware of only two Gregorian Sacramentaries that contain the Roman PRES for Holy Friday: the *Sacramentary of Saint Eligius*, belonging to the second half of the tenth century,⁴⁸ and the eleventh/twelfth-century *Sacramentary of Köln*.⁴⁹ However, the use of the PRES in Rome was traditionally considered to exist by the time of Gregory the Great. According to the medieval *In Ordinem Romanum Commentarius Praevius*:

At first the solution is not easy. The tradition of the church has it that on two days, this is according to the witness of Innocent I, on Good Friday and Holy Saturday, the sacraments, that is the sacred mysteries of the Eucharist, are strictly not to be celebrated. But whether this testimony ought to be extended to the mass of the PRES it is not clear. If those things which we noted above from the common Gelasian Sacramentary had not been adopted, it is agreed that this custom had been acquired by the fifth century. There is no one who denied by law that this was in use by the lifetime of Gregory the Great.⁵⁰

We have seen that the authorship of the PRES among the Byzantines was disputed or unknown. On the other hand, if we consider that: (1) a couple of Gregorian Sacramentaries dating to around the eleventh century, when Humbert was writing, contain a PRES; (2) that the PRES in Rome was thought to be definitely in use by the time of Gregory of Rome; and (3) as seen above, that the Roman liturgical books and their contents were used in the arguments between East and West, it is plausible that Gregory came to be considered the author of the PRES in the context of the disputes between the Greeks and Latins, and was a way to justify the Byzantine practice of celebrating the PRES on weekdays in

⁴⁸ This Sacramentary belongs to the 'Gelazianized-Gregorian' type Sacramentaries. C. VOGEL: *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources* (Washington DC 1986) 104; H. SCHMIDT: *Hebdomada Sancta* (Rome 1956) 319, 798.

⁴⁹ SCHMIDT: *Hebdomada Sancta* 317, 798. This sacramentary is not discussed in VOGEL: *Medieval Liturgy*.

⁵⁰ Ad primum non facilis est solutio. Traditio ecclesiae habet, teste Innocentio I, isto biduo, Parasceves et Sabbati sancti, sacramenta, id est Eucharistiae mysteria, penitus non celebrari. Verum an hoc testimonium ad Missam praesantificatorum extendi debent, non liquet. Si ea quae superius ex vulgato Sacramentario Gelasiano notavimus ascititia non sunt, hunc morem saeculo quinto jam obtinuisse asserendum est. Saltem quin Gregorii Magni aevo in usu fuerit, nemo jure negaverit. *In Ordinem Romanum Commentarius Praevius* (auctor incertus) PL 78:892B. Date and authorship are not known. (Translation provided by Julia Schneider).

Lent. My suggestion, of course, remains hypothetical. Whatever the reason for the attribution, it became the standard one in the printed editions of the PRES.

Finally, there is a curious note in a Sabaitic Typikon, Sinai gr. 1109, dated to 1464, regarding the authorship of PRES by Gregory of Rome. After reiterating the medieval understanding that James the apostle composed the first Divine Liturgy, which Basil the Great and John Chrysostom successively abbreviated (giving us BAS and CHR respectively),⁵¹ the note adds that ‘similarly, Gregory the Dialogue, who was Pope of Rome, himself created in the same way (i.e., abbreviated the Divine Liturgy) and [his liturgy] was placed by the Fathers in Great Lent.’⁵²

2.4 The Title of the Presanctified in the Manuscript Tradition

The way we name things or actions many times reveals our understanding of that thing or action. Through our study of the PRES we have found the following four categories regarding the assigned title of the PRES.

1. No Title: Eighth century Barberini 336 (f. 38v). Tenth century St. Petersburg 226 (f. 66r); Sevastianov 474 (f. 34v).
2. Ἀκολουθία
 - i. Ἀκολουθία τῶν προηγιασμένων: Eleventh century Sinai gr. 959 (f. 36v); Eleventh/twelfth century Sinai gr. 962 (f. 48v)
 - ii. Ἀκολουθία τῶν προηγιασμένων τῆς ἁγίας τεσσαρακοστῆς: Eleventh century Sinai 958 (f. 22v); Twelfth/thirteenth century Sinai 1036 (f. 43r), Sixteenth century Philotheou 164 (in title, DII:660).
 - iii. Ἀκολουθία τῆς προηγιασμένης: Typikon Sinai gr. 1101 (f. 14r); Thirteenth century Typikon Sinai gr. 1097 (f. 15v).
3. Λειτουργία
 - i. Ἡ θεία λειτουργία τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς: Twelfth century Sinai gr. 973 (f. 21v), Paris gr. 392 (f. 36r), Paris gr. 330.
 - ii. Ἡ θεία λειτουργία τῶν προηγιασμένων: Eleventh century Benaki 27 (56) (f. 53r), Benaki 57 (TA 127) (f. 6r), Sinai 966 (f. 46v); Twelfth century: Roll BM 5, Vatican gr. 1970 (f. 47v), Vatican gr. 1811 (f. 102v), Vatican gr. 1863 (f. 89v), Vatican gr. 1875 (f. 31v),

⁵¹ F. LEROY: ‘Proclus, “de traditione divinae missae”: un faux de Constantin Palaeocappa’ in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 28 (1962) 288-299.

⁵² Folio 256v / DIII:239: “Ομοίως καὶ Γρηγόριος ὁ Διάλογος, ὃς ἦν πάπας Ῥώμης, ἐποίησε καὶ αὐτὸς τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ καὶ ἐτάχθη ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων ἐν τῇ θεῖα τεσσαρακοστῇ”.

Barberini gr. 345 (f. 19r), Barberini 393 (f. 36v), Barberini 431 (f. 24r), Ottoboni gr. 344 (f. 16v), EBE 713 (f. 40r); Ottoboni gr. 434 (f. 32r); Vatican gr. 2005 (f. 59v); Twelfth/Thirteenth century: EBE 662 (f. 61r); Thirteenth century: Barberini gr. 443 (f. 29v); Fourteenth century: Vatican gr. 2324 (f. 18r); Fourteenth/Fifteenth century Paris gr. 324 (f. 37r); Fifteenth century: Vatican gr. 1978 (f. 35r), EBE 685 (p. 35), EBE 661 (f. 16r), EBE 19190 (f. 40v), EBE 877 (p. 149), Fifteenth/Sixteenth century Paris gr. 326 (f. 55r), EBE 756 (f. 52r); Sixteenth century Vatican gr. 1557 (f. 93r), Vatican gr. 2007 (f. 42r), Vatican gr. 2032 (f. 34r), Vatican gr. 2052 (f. 34v), Vatican gr. 2143 (p. 57), Ottoboni gr. 288 (f. 67r), Paris gr. 393 (f. 45r), Benaki 10 (16) (f. 81r), Benaki 79 (TA 177) (f. 84r-v) EBE 757 (f. 59r), EBE 2400 (f. 82v), EBE 775 (f. 85r), EBE 878 (p. 132), EBE 772 (f. 90v), EBE 749 (f. 63r), EBE 759 (p. 104), EBE 781 (f. 36r).

4. Θεία μυσταγωγία των προηγιασμένων: Fourteenth century Vatopedi 133 (744),⁵³ Vatopedi 984 (f. 28v); Fifteenth century Paris gr. 2509 (f. 233v) EBE 2403 (f. 45r); Sixteenth century Karakalou 135,⁵⁴ Xiropotamou 41,⁵⁵ Sinai 2045 (f. 80r).

This evidence can be summarized in the following table:

TABLE 2.2

TITLES OF THE PRESANCTIFIED IN THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

Century	No Title	ἀκολουθία	λειτουργία	μυσταγωγία
Eighth	1			
Ninth				
Tenth	2			
Eleventh		2	3	
Eleventh/Twelfth		1		
Twelfth			12	
Twelfth/Thirteenth		1	1	
Thirteenth		1	1	
Fourteenth			1	2
Fourteenth/Fifteenth			1	
Fifteenth			5	2
Fifteenth/Sixteenth			2	
Sixteenth			18	3

⁵³ DII: 273.

⁵⁴ DII: 784.

⁵⁵ DII: 922.

These titles are the result of varying combinations of the adjective προηγιασμένος -η -ο (presanctified) and the given or implied nouns ἀκολουθία (office), λειτουργία (liturgy), μυσταγωγία (mystagogy), and δώρα (gifts).

In the first category, the PRES does not have a title. In these cases the word 'presanctified' appears for the first time as a title of the first prayer of the catechumens: 'Εὐχὴ κατηχομένων ἐπὶ τῶν προηγιασμένων' (Prayer of the catechumens on the presanctified [gifts]).

In the second category, the PRES is called an Ἀκολουθία (Office). The term Ἀκολουθία is used in the Byzantine liturgical tradition for almost every service or rite, 'sacramental' or not. In these cases we see the term used with the following variants. The first, Ἀκολουθία τῶν προηγιασμένων, or the Office of the Presanctified [Gifts], is a rather accurate and descriptive title. The second variant, Ἀκολουθία τῶν προηγιασμένων τῆς ἁγίας τεσσαρακοστῆς, or the Office of the Presanctified [Gifts] of the Holy Lent, introduces in the title a liturgical season associated with the celebration of the PRES. The third case, Ἀκολουθία τῆς προηγιασμένης or the Office of the Presanctified [Liturgy], is an anomalous one since the PRES is called both an Office and a Liturgy, documenting the transition between calling the PRES an Ἀκολουθία and a λειτουργία.

In the third category, the PRES is called a θεία λειτουργία or Divine Liturgy. Note that the term liturgy in the Byzantine tradition is used almost exclusively to denote the Eucharistic liturgy. In this case, the PRES is called a Divine Liturgy, but defined either by the season in which it is celebrated, 'Ἡ θεία λειτουργία τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς (the Divine Liturgy of Lent), or by the presanctified gifts used in it, 'Ἡ θεία λειτουργία τῶν προηγιασμένων (the Divine Liturgy of the Presanctified [Gifts]).

In the final category, the PRES is called a mystagogy: 'Ἡ θεία μυσταγωγία τῶν προηγιασμένων (the Divine Mystagogy of the Presanctified Gifts). Mystagogy or post-baptismal catechesis in the fourth and fifth centuries⁵⁶ centered upon the unfolding or the explanation of the meaning of Initiation and the Eucharist to the neophytes. With the demise of adult catechumenate the term shifted in use and was applied to commentaries on the Divine Liturgy⁵⁷ that continued the mystagogical tradition of the

⁵⁶ Ambrose of Milan, Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia.

⁵⁷ The first commentary on the Byzantine Divine Liturgy, written by Maximos the Confessor around 628-630, is titled *Μυσταγωγία*. BORNERT: *Les commentaires Byzantins* 83-124. See also LAMPE: *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* 890-891.

fourth and fifth centuries. Finally, from signifying the commentary of the Divine Liturgy, the term *mystagogy* was used to describe the Divine Liturgy itself,⁵⁸ and finally even the PRES.

In some of the *Typika* these terms seem to be interchangeable. For example, in the Sabaitic *Typikon Sinai* gr. 1094 the PRES is called *προηγιασμένη, ἀκολουθία τῶν προηγιασμένων, and τῶν προηγιασμένων λειτουργία.*

It should be noted that the term *λειτουργία* is used for the PRES in the Euchological tradition starting only in the eleventh century, while in documents of a different nature, such as canon 52 of Trullo (692), the PRES is already called a *λειτουργία*. The term entered the Euchology then, but initially not as a title to the PRES. The same observation applies for the term *μυσταγωγία*. For example, in the tenth century *Sevastianov 474* the PRES lacks a title. However, after the section where BAS, CHR, and PRES are given, we find the note: *Ἐσχληεν ὧδε θεῖαι μυσταγωγίαι τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος Χριστοῦ τέλος*⁵⁹ (Here is the end of the divine mystagogies of the body and blood of Christ) and we know it was used in reference to the PRES as early as the eleventh century.⁶⁰ The term *μυσταγωγία* as a title only appears in the Euchological tradition in the fourteenth century, an example of the conservatism of the Euchology.

In any case, I believe that the shift from *Ἀκολουθία* to *θεία λειτουργία* and *θεία μυσταγωγία* is significant. That is, there seems to be awareness in the earliest liturgical documents that the PRES is not a 'liturgy' per se but only a communion office. Because the PRES gets associated only with Lent and its sublime and sober atmosphere, this *Ἀκολουθία*, service, is now seen as a *θεία μυσταγωγία*, *mystagogy*.

2.5 The Frequency of the Presanctified

According to current practice, the PRES is celebrated every Wednesday and Friday of Great Lent, on the Thursday of the Great Canon (fifth week of Lent), on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of Holy Week, on

⁵⁸ As early as the ninth century. See Nikephoros' *Vita* written by his disciple Ignatios. PG 100:68D.

⁵⁹ KS 282.

⁶⁰ Michael Keroularios, Patriarch of Constantinople (1043-1058); ALLATIUS: 'Missa Praesanctificatorum' 1572.

the feast of the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia (March 9), and on any other feast-days during the weekdays of Lent. For this reason today, the PRES is viewed as one of the liturgical features of Great Lent.

Looking in the sources, however, we see two competing traditions: The Constantinopolitan cathedral tradition which makes extensive use of the PRES, and the Sabaitic tradition, which limits the PRES to the period of Great Lent and Holy Week. Finally, the Studite tradition stands in the middle, reflecting the fusion between the cathedral tradition and the Sabaitic tradition with the gradual but sure dominance of the latter.

In examining the frequency of the PRES in more detail, we will primarily use the following sources: (1) As representative examples of the Constantinopolitan / cathedral tradition, we will employ the ninth/tenth-century *Typikon of the Great Church*, the mid-eighth-century Euchologion Barberini gr. 336, and the *Chronikon Paschale*. (2) As representative examples of the Studite tradition we will employ the thirteenth-century Studite *Typikon of Patriarch Alexis the Studite: Novgorod-St. Sophia 1136*, the Evergetis *Typikon of the twelfth century*, and the *Typikon of the Monastery of the Holy Savior in Messine, Southern Italy, dated to 1131*.⁶¹ (3) Finally, as representative examples of the Sabaitic tradition, we will employ the twelfth-century *Typikon of Saint Sabas, Sinai gr. 1096*, the twelfth/thirteenth-century *Typikon of Saint Sabas, Sinai gr. 1094*, the thirteenth-century *Typikon of Saint Sabas Lavra 99A*, the *Typikon of Saint Sabas Sinai gr. 1097*, dated to 1214, and the *Typikon of Saint Sabas, Sinai gr. 1098*, dated to 1392.

2.5.1 *Wednesday and Friday of the Year*

The *Typikon of the Great Church* provides us with valuable evidence regarding the celebration of PRES on Wednesdays and Fridays of the year. In an appendix,⁶² it provides a list of Epistle and Gospel readings for Wednesdays and Fridays, where it mentions that the celebration of the PRES is optional for those days. Two things are important here: first,

⁶¹ The dating of the Messine *Typikon* has been challenged by M. RE: 'Considerazioni sullo stile di Reggio' in *Néa Pólyx: rivista di ricerche bizantinistiche* 2 (2005) 303-311, here 310-311. The date suggested is post 1149. I am indebted to Prof. Stefano Parenti for bringing this to my attention.

⁶² MATEOS: *Le typikon* II:188-190.

that the celebration of the PRES is associated with fasting days, not just Great Lent, and second, that by the tenth century Wednesdays and Fridays of the whole year had already become liturgical.

The eighth century Euchologion Barberini gr. 336 may also indicate a more frequent celebration of the PRES, other than during Great Lent, in that it provides us with a series of Opisthambonos prayers for the PRES. In fact, not all of these prayers make explicit reference to the period of Lent; some are generic enough to be used in any season.⁶³

The reference then in the *Chronikon Paschale*, according to which the PRES is not only celebrated on fast days, 'but also on the other days,' is important; it allows for the celebration of the PRES throughout the year. Does that mean on days other than Wednesday and Friday? That would depend on how we understand the phrase 'fast days.' If we take it to be Great Lent, then the 'other days, whenever the Presanctified is celebrated' can mean Wednesdays and Fridays of the year. If it means *all* the fast days of the year, then the phrase 'other days' opens the potential for an even more extensive use of the PRES. Finally, it should be noted that every reference to the celebration of the PRES on any day outside of Lent is associated with documents describing or regulating the cathedral use of Constantinople.

2.5.2 *Wednesday and Friday of Cheesefare Week*

Since the PRES would be celebrated every Wednesday and Friday of the year in the cathedral use, it would also be celebrated on Wednesday and Friday of this pre-Lenten season. The PRES celebrated in these two days differs in the following ways from the PRES celebrated during Lent. First, the readings from the Old Testament do not follow the cursus of the readings during Lent. Second, there is only one reading instead of two. Third, the Φῶς Χριστοῦ is omitted, and fourth, Ps 140.2 and its verses (the Κατευθυνθήτω) are replaced by Ps. 130.3 and its verses (the Ἐλπισάτω).⁶⁴ Symeon of Thessalonica attests to the celebration of the PRES on these two days.⁶⁵

⁶³ See section 5.8.2.

⁶⁴ ΜΑΤΕΟΣ: *Le typikon* II:4-9, 326; Evergetis Typikon DI:508. Discussion of these elements is reserved for chapters four and five.

⁶⁵ *Responsa ad Gabrielem Pentapolitanum* PG 155:905AC.

The earliest attestation to PRES on Wednesday and Friday of Cheesefare is in a canon attributed⁶⁶ to Nikephoros of Constantinople, patriarch from 806 to 815. There it is stated that 'the monks should not fast on Wednesday and Friday of Cheesefare week, but after the dismissal of the PRES they should eat cheese anywhere they might be.'⁶⁷ It is possible that the canon here is addressing the newly arrived monks at the Studios monastery, who, having come from Palestine, brought with them many Palestinian practices initiating the Studite liturgical reform. The use of the PRES on Wednesday and Friday of Cheesefare week initially survived in the Studite use, as seen in the Evergetis Typikon,⁶⁸ but not for long. Already in the Typikon of Messine the PRES is dropped on these two days.⁶⁹

In the Sabaitic tradition, celebrating the PRES on Wednesday and Friday of Cheesefare Week is explicitly prohibited: 'It should be known, that we have not received [the tradition] from the holy fathers of celebrating a full liturgy or a PRES on Wednesday and Friday of Cheesefare Week.' The frequency of this clarification in the Sabaitic documents⁷⁰ indicates that this difference in the cathedral and Sabaitic liturgical traditions may have been a point of contention as the two came into contact. In the same documents it is mentioned that the monks are to eat cheese and eggs after the dismissal of vespers.⁷¹

⁶⁶ The attribution to Nikephoros is seriously challenged. See V. GRUMEL: *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*. Vol.1: *Les Actes des Patriarches*, Fasc. II: *Les Regestes de 715 à 1043* (Paris 1936) #406, pp. 35-39. This reference was brought to my attention by Prof. Stefano Parenti.

⁶⁷ "Οτι οὐ δεῖ νηστεύειν τοὺς μοναχοὺς τῇ Τετράδι τῆς Τυροφάγου καὶ τῇ Παρασκευῇ καὶ μετὰ τὴν τῶν προηγιασμένων ἀπόλυσιν ἐσθίειν τυρὸν ἕπου ἂν εὐρεθῶσιν. Canon 1, PG 100:852A.

⁶⁸ DI:508-510.

⁶⁹ M. ARRANZ (ed.): *Le Typikon Du Monastère du Saint-Sauveur à Messine. Codex Messinensis GR 115 A.D. 1131* (Rome 1969 = *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 185) 192-193.

⁷⁰ Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ οὐ παρελάβομεν ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων τῶν ἁγίων ποιεῖν τῇ τετράδι καὶ παρασκευῇ τῆς τυροφάγου λειτουργίαν τελείαν οὔτε προηγιασμένων. Twelfth-century Typikon of Saint Sabas, Sinai 1096, twelfth/thirteenth-century Typikon of Saint Sabas, Sinai 1094, DIII:6; thirteenth-century Lavra 99 A. DIII:97.

⁷¹ Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν εἰσερχόμεθα ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ καὶ ἐσθίομεν καὶ τυρὸν καὶ ὠά, εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ Θεῷ, μεταλαμβάνομεν δὲ καὶ οἶνον, ὡς ἔθος ἐστίν. Twelfth-century Typikon of Saint Sabas, Sinai 1096, twelfth/thirteenth-century Typikon of Saint Sabas, Sinai 1094, DIII:6. Nevertheless, in a Typikon of the Sabas monastery dated to 1528, the eating of cheese and, presumably eggs, is seen more as an exception rather than the rule: Καταλύουσι τινὲς εἰς τυρὸν ἐν τῇ δ' καὶ παρασκευῇ τῆς τυροφάγου (some break the fast with cheese on Wednesday and Friday of Cheesefare week) DIII:323.

This is one case of the interchange of uses between the cathedral and Sabaitic traditions. The latter's use of not having a PRES on these days eventually wins out, but the former's use of eating cheese and eggs on these days is eventually adopted.

2.5.3 First Week of Lent

The PRES could be celebrated on every day of the first week of Lent in the cathedral use (as it would in every weekday of Lent). In the Sabaitic use, however, the PRES was explicitly forbidden on Mondays and Tuesdays, as in the Typikon of Sabas, Sinai gr. 1097 (1214), f. 15v, and in the Typikon of Sabas, Sinai gr. 1098 (1392), f. 153v.

The parallel existence of the two different uses is explicitly attested in the Typikon of Casole, near Otranto:

You have to know that the PRES is not chanted [celebrated] in the monasteries on the first two days of Lent, in other words on Monday and Tuesday. Only the bishops and the archbishops chant [celebrate] the PRES in their dioceses and in the big [cathedral] churches.⁷²

The Studite evidence witnesses a slow, albeit definite, adoption of the Sabaitic use. As witnessed in the Typikon of Patriarch Alexis the Studite, the thirteenth-century Novgorod – St. Sophia 1136, the Studite use initially continued the cathedral practice of celebrating the PRES everyday in Lent, including the first day of Lent.⁷³ In the next stage the PRES would not be celebrated on the first day of Lent, as in the Evergetis Typikon; then this practice expanded to Tuesday (Messine Typikon), and conformed their use to the Sabaitic tradition. In the Typikon of Casole we are told there is an untold reason for not celebrating the PRES on Monday and Tuesday of Lent:

Be attentive, oh priest, that you reserve three Presanctified [lambs] for the liturgy of the PRES, which you will celebrate on the three days of this week,

⁷² Χρῆ γινώσκειν, ὅτι εἰς τὰ μοναστήρια ἐν ταῖς δυσὶν ἡμέραις τῆς πρώτης ἑβδομάδος τῆς ἁγίας μ' ἤγουν τῆ β' καὶ γ' προηγιασμένα οὐ ψάλλονται, εἰ μὴ μόνον οἱ ἐπίσκοποι καὶ οἱ ἀρχιεπίσκοποι ψάλλουσι ταῦτα ἐν ταῖς ἐπισκοπαῖς αὐτῶν, καὶ μεγάλας ἐκκλησίαις. DI: 826.

⁷³ 'And here it is observed that during the whole Lent the Lenten liturgy [i.e. the PRES] is celebrated every day'. Emphasis added; D. PETRAS: *The Typikon of the Patriarch Alexis the Studite, the thirteenth century Novgorod – St. Sophia 1136* (Cleveland 1991) 42.

Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday. For we do not celebrate the PRES on Monday and Tuesday of the first week for some good reason.⁷⁴

The reason behind this practice is fasting. The non-celebration of PRES on Monday and Tuesday in the Sabas use and in the later Studite use is associated with total fasting on the first two days of Lent, a practice still held on Mount Athos today. In some documents it is indicated that a few monks, the strong in faith, would hold a total fast until the Friday of the first week of Lent: 'We did not receive to celebrate the PRES until Wednesday because traditionally the whole brotherhood fasts, and those who are able to continue to fast until Friday.'⁷⁵

2.5.4 Weekdays of Lent

In the cathedral use the PRES would be celebrated every day of the week, while in the Sabaitic use the PRES would be celebrated on Wednesdays and Fridays. In both cases, the PRES is not mandated on these days; rather, the PRES on these days is *possible*, but not mandatory. In the Typikon of the Great Church, for example, it is stated that 'when PRES takes place, the first, the last antiphons are sung, and Ps 140. *If the PRES is not celebrated*, twelve antiphons are to be chanted.'⁷⁶

In a similar fashion, there are some Sabaitic Typika which give the celebration of PRES on Fridays of Lent as optional. In one example, guidance is given on how to combine vespers and PRES *if* the PRES is to be celebrated.⁷⁷ The only other weekday of Lent when the PRES is prescribed in the Sabaitic use is on Thursday of the fifth week of Lent (Thursday of the Great Canon)⁷⁸ and on certain feasts briefly examined below.

⁷⁴ Πρόσχες, ὡ ἱερεῦ, ἵνα φυλάξης προηγιασμένα τρία διὰ τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν προηγιασμένων, ἣν μέλλεις λειτουργῆσαι ταῖς τρισὶ τῆς ἑβδομάδος ταύτης ἡμέραις, τετράδι, πέμπτη καὶ παρασκευῇ· τῇ γὰρ δευτέρᾳ καὶ τρίτῃ τῆς πρώτης τῶν νηστειῶν ἑβδομάδος οὐδόλως λειτουργοῦμεν προηγιασμένα διὰ τινὰ πρόφασιν ἀγαθὴν καὶ εὐάρμοστον. DI: 825.

⁷⁵ Sabaitic Typikon of the sixteenth century, DIII:368.

⁷⁶ Καὶ ὅτε μὲν γίνονται τὰ προηγιασμένα, ψάλλεται τὸ α' ἀντίφωνον καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ τὸ Κύριε, ἐκέκραξα. *Εἰ δὲ οὐ τελοῦνται προηγιασμένα, ψάλλονται β'.* (Emphasis added) ΜΑΤΕΟΣ: *Le typikon* II:10.

⁷⁷ Thirteenth-century Lavra 99 A. DIII:98: ἐν πάσῃ τῇ μ' εἰς τὸ λυχνικὸν τῇ παρασκευῇ, εἰ μέλλει γίνεσθαι προηγιασμένων.

⁷⁸ In the twelfth/thirteenth-century Sabas Typikon, Sinai gr. 1094, vespers is celebrated earlier in the day, and all monks are to receive communion at PRES: τὸ δὲ λυχνικὸν σημαίνει ταχύτερον διὰ τὸν κόπον. Γίνεται ἡ θεία λειτουργία τῶν προηγιασμένων καὶ μεταλαμβάνομεν ἅπαντες τῶν θείων μυστηρίων DIII:18; A similar prescription is found in Vatopedi 320 (931) dated to 1346, the monks are told to celebrate the service

2.5.5 Holy Monday/Tuesday/Wednesday

Holy Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday do not have special characteristics in the cathedral use; they are treated as any other weekday of Lent. The only difference is that in Vespers a Gospel reading is added after the Old Testament readings. The Typikon of the Great Church does not explicitly mention that a PRES is celebrated on these days,⁷⁹ but since Holy Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday follow the rhythm of any Lenten weekday, and since in the cathedral practice PRES can be celebrated on every weekday of Lent, we can safely assume that the PRES was celebrated in the Great Church on these first three days of Holy Week.

The PRES would be celebrated on Holy Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday in monastic use, both in the Studite and the Sabaitic tradition, and here too a Gospel reading would be added after the Old Testament readings. Since in the later Studite and in the Sabaitic traditions the PRES would only be celebrated on Wednesdays and Fridays of the week during Lent, the Typika make explicit note that the PRES is celebrated on Holy Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday.⁸⁰

2.5.6 Holy Friday

Sebastià Janeras has demonstrated the cathedral origins of the celebration of the PRES on Holy Friday in his classic study of Holy Friday in the Byzantine liturgical tradition.⁸¹ Its celebration survived in Constantinople until the twelfth century, when the Typikon of St Sabas gained predominance. When Antony of Novgorod visited Constantinople in 1200, he noted that no PRES was celebrated in Hagia Sophia.⁸² Although not used on Holy Friday, witness to this earlier practice survived in later documents. For example, the thirteenth-century Byzantine

in a faster pace because of the tiredness from the whole day, and monks are instructed to commune at the PRES. Τῇ δὲ τοιαύτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἡ πᾶσα ἀκολουθία ἐκτελεῖται ταχύτερον διὰ τὸν κόπον τῆς ἀγρυπνίας. Ἐκτελοῦνται δὲ καὶ προηγιασμένα, ἐν οἷς μεταλαμβάνομεν τῶν ἀγίων τοῦ Χριστοῦ μυστηρίων DIII:448-450. The same is found in the thirteenth-century Lavra 99 A DIII:100.

⁷⁹ MATEOS: *Le typikon* II:66-71. See also Sinai gr. 150 DI:190-191 where nothing is mentioned regarding Holy Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday. It jumps from Palm Sunday to Holy Thursday.

⁸⁰ PETRAS: *Novgorod – St. Sophia* 1136 66, 70, 72; ARRANZ (ed.): *Saint-Sauveur* 231, 232 (implied), 233; Evergetis DI:544, 545, 545-546.

⁸¹ JANERAS: *Le Vendredi-Saint* 369-388.

⁸² Cited in POTT: *La réforme*, 156-157, JANERAS: *Vendredi-Saint* 374-375.

music manuscript Kastoria 8 prescribes that the koinonikon of the PRES, Ps 33:9a, be chanted in tone IV on Holy Friday.⁸³ The practice varies among the Studite Typika, indicating the growing influence of the Sabaitic tradition. For example, while the Evergetis Typikon prescribes the PRES for Holy Friday,⁸⁴ following the cathedral use,⁸⁵ the Typikon of the Monastery of the Holy Savior in Messine, explicitly notes that that the monastery 'received [the tradition] of not celebrating on this day the PRES or a full liturgy.'⁸⁶

All these cases deal with the PRES in the context of the pre-lenten season, Lent and Holy Week. The PRES also occurs in the context of feasts of the liturgical year. With the exception of September 14, feast of the True Cross, the PRES becomes the means of celebration when a feast falls in the pre-lenten or Lenten period.

2.5.7 September 14

I am only aware of one explicit reference to the celebration of the PRES on September 14, the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross: 'on the fourteenth of September the PRES is celebrated in the Great Church.'⁸⁷ Although I have not found other evidence to corroborate this source, I believe it may hold true. September 14 is a strict fast day and on such strict fast days either the vespereal BAS (such as on the eve of Christmas, Epiphany, and Easter) or the PRES is celebrated. Since we do not have any information that would point to the celebration of the vespereal BAS on this day, we may assume that the PRES was celebrated.

2.5.8 February 2

If the feast of the Presentation of the Lord falls on a Wednesday or Friday of Cheesefare week, the Typikon of St. Sabas stipulates that vespereal CHR is to be celebrated.⁸⁸ In the rare occasion that the feast falls on the

⁸³ CONOMOS: *Late Byzantine and Slavonic Communion Cycle* 34, note 202.

⁸⁴ DI:553; also in PETRAS: *Novgorod-St. Sophia 1136* p. 83.

⁸⁵ Tenth-century MATEOS: *Le typikon* II:80-83; tenth/eleventh-century Kanonarium Sinai gr. 150, DI:191-192.

⁸⁶ Παρελάβομεν δὲ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν μὴ ποιεῖν προηγιασμένην λειτουργίαν ἢ τελεῖαν; ARRANZ (ed.): *Saint-Sauveur* 192.

⁸⁷ 'Ἐν τῇ ιδ' τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου μηνὸς προηγιασμένης γινομένης ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ ναῷ. In Sinai gr. 1109, DIII:238 and Ottoboni gr. 418, PITRA: *Iuris Ecclesiastici Graecorum Historia et Monumenta* (Rome 1869) II:321.

⁸⁸ DIII:97 note 3.

Monday of the first week of Lent, the PRES is celebrated connected to vespers. It appears, however, that in some instances vesperal CHR would be celebrated even in this case:

... and vespers together with PRES is attached [to the ninth hour] as usual. Among some practices, however, one may find the liturgy of Chrysostom [prescribed for this day].⁸⁹

In the same document, the option ('εἰ βούλει' – if one wishes) to celebrate a vesperal CHR follows, imitating the Annunciation feast.⁹⁰ Notwithstanding the option of celebrating CHR, the monks would only eat dry food with water in the evening of the Monday of the first week of Lent.

2.5.9 February 24

When the feast of the Finding of the Holy Head of the St. John the Baptist falls in Lent, the Studite Typika prescribe the celebration of PRES.⁹¹ According to a Sabaitic Typikon, however, if the feast falls on Monday or Tuesday of the first week of Lent, it is transferred to Cheese-fare Sunday (CHR), the Wednesday of the first week of Lent (PRES), or the following Saturday (CHR).⁹² The first and third case would be an application of canon 51 of Laodicaea; the second case is a good example of how this same canon lost its importance with the growth of the liturgical calendar.

2.5.10 March 9

The feast of the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia is a popular feast in the East and the PRES is prescribed.⁹³ There are indications that in churches

⁸⁹ ... και συνάπτεται δὲ και τὸν ἑσπερινόν, ὡς συνήθως, μετὰ προηγιασμένης λειτουργίας. Ἐν τισιν εὔρηται λειτουργία τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου. Fifteenth-century Fragment Typikon D Codex, DIII:289.

⁹⁰ Idiomelon twice, martyrikon, 3 prosomoia of the Triodion, and the 4 of the feast, Glory, now and ever, of the feast, readings of the day, Kateuthetheto, Small synapte, Trisagion, prokeimenon, apostolos, Alleluarion, Gospel of the day, or of the feast, koinonikon. Fifteenth-century Fragment Typikon D Codex, DIII:289.

⁹¹ Evergetis, DI:421; Messine 124.

⁹² Fifteenth-century Fragment Typikon, D Codex, DIII:295.

⁹³ Twelfth-century Typikon Sabas, Sinai gr. 1096, DIII:41. No stichologia, idiomelon of the day, stichera of Triodion, and of the saints, Δόξα of the saints, και νῦν, theotokion, entance with the Gospel, the readings of the day, Κατευθυνθήτω, Σοφία, prokeimenon of the epistle, Epistle, Alleluarion, Gospel, PRES, koinonikon: Εἰς μνημόσυνον.

named after the Forty Martyrs the vesperal CHR would be celebrated and not PRES.⁹⁴

2.5.11 March 20

This celebration, the feast day of the martyred monks of the Lavra of St. Sabas slaughtered by the Persians, is a local feast, peculiar to the Sabas monastery in Palestine. The PRES is prescribed both on the eve and on the feast-day.⁹⁵ Again, we see a limited application of canon 51 of Laodicea, when the feast falls in Holy Week. Then the feast is transferred to the Wednesday of the sixth week of Lent (PRES), or Lazarus Saturday (CHR), or Palm Sunday (CHR).⁹⁶

2.5.12 March 25

The celebration of the feast of the Annunciation on March 25 was introduced in Constantinople definitely by the middle of the sixth century (560).⁹⁷ Ritually, it is one of the most complex feasts in the Byzantine liturgical calendar since it may fall within the period of Lent, Holy Week, or Easter.⁹⁸ Although the history of the feast itself has been studied, the history of its ritual celebration remains unexplored. Here, I will

⁹⁴ Καὶ καθὼς παρελάβομεν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τεσσαρακοστῇ εἰς ἡμέρας νηστείας οὐ γίνεται λειτουργία τελεία, εἰ μὴ μόνον εἰς τὸν Εὐαγγελισμὸν ... καὶ εἰς τὴν μνήμην τῶν ἁγίων μ', εἰς τὸν ναὸν αὐτῶν καὶ μόνον. Kanonarium Sinai gr. 150, DI:186.

⁹⁵ Twelfth-century Typikon Sabas, Sinai gr. 1096, DIII:42-44. No stichologia, 12 stichera: idiomelon of the day (x2), prosomoia of Triodion, of the fathers and of the day from the Menaion, Glory ... of the feast, Now ... Theotokion, entrance, and the rest, Kateuthentheto, synapte, trisagion, prokeimenon, epistle, gospel, and PRES.

⁹⁶ Twelfth-century Typikon Sabas, Sinai gr. 1096, DIII:42.

⁹⁷ ODB 1:106-107. The first specific mention of a feast of the Annunciation and a sermon delivered on the theme within the feast is a homily by the sixth-century bishop Abraham of Ephesus. See M. FASSLER: 'The First Marian Feast in Constantinople and Jerusalem' in P. JEFFERY (ed.): *The Study of Medieval Chant: Paths and Bridges, East and West, in Honor of Kenneth Levy* (Cambridge 2001) 25-87; see here page 28, footnote 12 and Table 2.1d, p. 66, and all the pertinent bibliography provided in the footnotes. For the homily see PO 16/3:442-454 = *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 22 (1913) 37-59. See also R. FLETCHER: 'Three Early Byzantine Hymns and their Place in the Liturgy of the Church of Constantinople' in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 51 (1958) 53-65; A. SCHEER: 'Aux origins le la fête de l'Annonciation' in *Questions Liturgiques* 58 (1977) 97-169; M. VAN ESBROECK: 'La lettre de l'empereur Justinien sur l'Annonciation et la Noël en 561' in *Analecta Bollandiana* 86 (1968) 351-371.

⁹⁸ Twenty four different cases are discussed in G. VIOLAKIS: *Τυπικὸν τῆς τοῦ Χρῆστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας* (Athens n.d.) 205-238.

only deal with the feast of the Annunciation as regards to its potential relationship to the PRES during the weekdays of Lent and Holy Week.

Canons 49 and 51 of the Council of Laodicaea (380)⁹⁹ lay the grounds for the a-liturgical character of the weekdays of Great Lent and succinctly regulate what happens on weekdays in Lent if a feast of a saint happens to take place then. The introduction of the celebration of the feast of the Annunciation on March 25, however, must have brought confusion as to what to do if that day fell on a weekday in Lent or in Holy Week. Should the feast be transferred to the previous or following weekend following canon 51 of Laodicaea? Or should it be celebrated on the actual day it fell, a move pushed by the rising piety towards the person of the Theotokos in the sixth century, and if so, in what ritual context should it be celebrated? Canon 52 of the Synod in Trullo (692),¹⁰⁰ a century-and-a-half after the introduction of the feast, regulates once more the liturgical practice of Lent: The non-eucharistic character of weekdays in Lent is maintained,¹⁰¹ but an exception is introduced for the feast of the Annunciation.

The questions remain: How was the feast of the Annunciation celebrated between its introduction in the middle of the sixth century and

⁹⁹ For the text of the canons see section 1.1.

¹⁰⁰ For the text of the canon, see section 2.2.3.

¹⁰¹ We observe, however, that this principle is upheld only during Great Lent, and not during the other fasting seasons of the liturgical year, especially the Christmas fast (November 14-December 24) and the Apostles' fast (Monday after All Saints Sunday-June 28). When Symeon of Thessalonica was asked why the PRES is not used in other periods of fast, he answered that 'the PRES is not celebrated in the other fasts because compared with the others, this fast [Great Lent] is the first and the greatest and of the Lord' (Ὁὐ τελεῖται δὲ τὰ προηγησμένα καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις νηστεῖαις, ὅτι παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας πρῶτη ἐστὶ καὶ ἐξαιρετος καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου νηστεία PG 155:904C). The fasts of Christmas and the Apostles lost their a-liturgical character, to the point where the Lent of Christmas is also known today as the *σαρανταλείτουργον*, the forty-liturgical period, where the Eucharist is celebrated daily. I believe that this has happened for three reasons. First, there is no canonical legislation limiting the celebration of the Eucharist on the weekdays during these two fasts. Canons 49 and 51 of Laodicaea and canon 52 of Trullo make reference and legislate only regarding Great Lent, thus opening the door for the 'eucharistization' of the Christmas and Apostles' fast. Second, there are no regulations explicitly for the fast of Christmas and the Apostles, that are 'late-comers' anyway. And, third, related to the previous point, there was in existence a developed liturgical calendar by the time the Christmas and the Apostle's fasts were in place. (There is no indication of a Christmas fast other than Christmas Eve in the *Typikon* of the Great Church. See MATEOS: *Le typikon* I:148-154.)

691/692? Did canon 52 'canonize' an already existing practice, or did it introduce a new practice? Did the introduction of the feast of Annunciation immediately change the ritual practice of Lent as reflected in canon 52 of Trullo, or did changes take place gradually with canon 52 reflecting the result of an evolution in the ritual celebration of the feast? Was the feast of the Annunciation at some point connected to the PRES? Let us review the evidence.

If, according to the *Typikon* of the Great Church, the feast of the Annunciation falls on a weekday in Lent, it is to be celebrated in the following manner:

(After Orthros and Thrithekti, the *lite*,¹⁰² going through the forum, ends at the church of the Theotokos at Chalkoprateia).

Prokeimenon is not said.

First reading: Exodus 3:1-8.

Prokeimenon, mode 4, Ps. 95:2, verse 1.

Second reading: Proverbs 8:22-30.

Second prokeimenon: the Κατεσθυσθητω (Ps. 140.2).

Third reading: Hebrews 2:11-18 (cf. December 26).

Alleluia, mode 1: Ps 71:7-7.

Gospel reading: Luke 1:24-38.

Koinonikon: Ps. 115:4; another: Ps. 131:13.¹⁰³

Although it is not clearly stated, we can assume that the liturgy described above took place within the context of vespers, since it takes place in late afternoon, or early evening, and contains readings from the Old Testament. Ps 140.2 (a characteristic of PRES) is present here, but plays the role of the prokeimenon of the Epistle Reading.

In the case that the feast of the Annunciation falls on Holy Thursday, Friday, or Saturday, the *Typikon of the Great Church* is a unique witness to the celebration of the feast within the context of a Liturgy of the Word:

(After the *Trithekti* the *lite*, going through the forum, ending at the church of the Theotokos at Chalkoprateia).

Trisagion

Prokeimenon

¹⁰² For a detailed description of the *lite* to the church of the Theotokos at Chalkoprateia see CONSTANTINUS PORPHYROGENNETUS: *De Ceremoniis* Book 1, ch. 30, in the series *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn 1829) vol. 1, 162-170.

¹⁰³ MATEOS: *Le typikon* I: 254-255.

Epistle Reading
 Alleluia
 Gospel Reading
 Great Ektene
 Dismissal Litany and Prayer
 Dismissal (Let us depart in peace).¹⁰⁴

I believe that what we see here is the first stratum of the celebration of the feast; namely, that the feast was originally celebrated only within the context of a Liturgy of the Word if it fell on a weekday in Lent.

The *Prophetologion*, a musical lectionary of the Old Testament readings used in the Great Church, is valuable for our purposes since it contains abundant rubrical information. According to the *Prophetologion*, if the feast of the Annunciation falls on a weekday in Lent, it is to be celebrated as such:

The *lite* (procession) would start from the Great Church and proceed to the church of the Theotokos at Chalkoprateia through the forum. There, and after the *Kai vñv. Tῆ ὑπερμάχῳ* the following would take place:

Trisagion

Prokeimenon

Reading 1: Exodus 3:1-8

Prokeimenon Ps 95:2

Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι

Reading 2: Proverbs 8:22-30

The cantor goes up to the ambo and says: Psalm of David; and sings the *Dirigatur* (Καὶ ἀνέρχεται ψάλτης ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι λέγων ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυίδ· καὶ ψάλλει τὸ κατευθυνθήτω).

Epistle Reading: Hebrew 2:11-18

Alleluia Ps 71:6-7

Gospel Reading: Luke 1:24-38

And then the divine and full liturgy takes place according to order (καὶ εἴθ' οὕτως τελεῖται ἡ θεία καὶ τελεία λειτουργία κατὰ τάξιν)

Koinonikon Ps 131:13/115:4¹⁰⁵

The description here refers to a vesperal liturgy, but with evident elements of the PRES: the *Κατευθυνθήτω* and the *Φῶς Χριστοῦ*. The question arising from the presence of these elements is obvious: Why are the *Κατευθυνθήτω* and the *Φῶς Χριστοῦ* found here? What is their role?

¹⁰⁴ MATEOS: *Le typikon* 1: 256-257, and 257 note 3.

¹⁰⁵ *Prophetologion* vol. 1, part 2, fasc. 1: 89-94.

A curious note in some manuscripts of the *Prophetologion* may provide the answer: 'It should be known that at the Great Church *the office of Lent* takes place, and antiphons are not said.'¹⁰⁶

In other words, and parallel to the vesperal liturgy that would take place at the church of the Theotokos at Chalkoprateia, the *office of lent* (τῆς νηστείας ἡ ἀκολουθία) would be celebrated in the Great Church. But what is this *office of lent*? Is it the *trithekti*? That office is most unlikely as it would have already been celebrated in the Great Church on that same day, before the *lite* leading to the church of the Theotokos at Chalkoprateia. Is it a simple vespers? It could be, but then why call it *the office of lent*?

It seems to me that this *office of lent* refers to the PRES, as this is the lenten office in the liturgical practice of Constantinople (together with the *trithekti*). The note 'and antiphons are not said' also point towards the PRES. According to the *Typikon* of the Great Church, when the PRES is not celebrated in Lent, vespers has 12 antiphons, while when the PRES is celebrated there is a drastic reduction of the antiphons: the first (Ps 85), the *teleutaion*, and Ps 140.¹⁰⁷ The note 'and antiphons are not said' refers, I believe, not to the two fixed antiphons of vespers (psalms 85 and 140), but to the variable psalmody.¹⁰⁸ In other words, no variable psalmody was said on this day. It is quite possible then to assert that on March 25 the full liturgy was celebrated only in the church of the Theotokos at Chalkoprateia, while the PRES (=office of lent) was celebrated in the Great Church.¹⁰⁹

This would also explain the fact that there are no Lenten readings in the vesperal Divine Liturgy. They would be read within the context of the PRES celebrated in the Great Church, while the Divine Liturgy with the readings of the feast was celebrated only in the church dedicated to the Theotokos, in our case the church of the Theotokos at Chalkoprateia.

¹⁰⁶ *Prophetologion* vol. 1, part 2, fasc. 1:94: 'Ἐν δὲ τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ χρῆ γινώσκειν ὅτι τελεῖται τῆς νηστείας ἡ ἀκολουθία· καὶ ἀντίφωνα οὐ λέγονται.

¹⁰⁷ Καὶ ὅτε μὲν γίνονται προηγιασμένα, ψάλλεται τὸ α' ἀντίφωνον καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ τὸ Κύριε, ἐκέκραξα. Εἰ δὲ οὐ τελοῦνται προηγιασμένα, ψάλλονται ιβ'. MATEOS: *Le typikon* II:10.

¹⁰⁸ There are a number of manuscripts that contain the PRES, where other than the prayer of entrance (prayer of Ps 140) only one antiphon prayer is provided, that for Ps 85: See section 4.3.4.

¹⁰⁹ It should be noted that the church of the Theotokos at Chalkoprateia is situated very close to the Great Church (about 150 m) and was served by the clergy of the Great Church. See T. MATHEWS: *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park 1971) 28-33.

The next stage of evolution in the ritual celebration of the feast of the Annunciation is reflected in the Studite Typika. In these documents we observe that elements of the feast and elements of the day are integrated into one service, where hymns of the day and of the feast are chanted, and the two Old Testament readings of the feast are read after the two readings of the day.¹¹⁰ The Κατευθυνθήτω, an element from the PRES, is present, but in the Typikon of the Monastery of the Holy Savior in Messine it is called a Prokeimenon (ἐν τάξει προκειμένου).¹¹¹

We saw above that according to some manuscripts of the Prophetologion the Lenten office would take place in the Great Church and the feast would be celebrated in the church of the Theotokos at Chalkoprateia. The Typikon of the Holy Savior preserves a similar distribution of the services on Holy Thursday and Holy Friday, *if* there is a church dedicated to the Theotokos. In other words, the Typikon of the Holy Savior provides us with two options. If there is no church dedicated to the Theotokos, the elements of the day and of the feast are integrated into one service (as in the Evergetis Typikon). But if there is a church dedicated to the Theotokos, the synaxis takes place at a different church where the hymns and readings of the day (i.e., Holy Thursday or Friday) are said. Then there is a *lite* leading to the church dedicated to the Theotokos where only the hymns and readings of the feast are said, followed by the full liturgy (BAS on Holy Thursday, CHR on Holy Friday).¹¹² So, for example, on Holy Thursday:

If there is a church dedicated to the Holy Theotokos: Synaxis at a different church

Ps 103

At Κύριε ἐκέκραξα stichera of Holy Thursday

Entrance

Prokeimenon

Readings of Holy Thursday

Prokeimenon of the Epistle

Epistle of Holy Thursday

¹¹⁰ See Table 1 and 2.

¹¹¹ But curiously enough, a reading does not follow; rather the synapte and the trisagion. The Epistle reading has its own prokeimenon. See table 1, column three, item no. 14. ARRANZ (ed.): *Saint-Sauveur* 132.

¹¹² ARRANZ (ed.): *Saint-Sauveur* 139, 141. See tables 4 and 5, columns 2 and 3.

Alleluia

Gospel of Holy Thursday

Lite to the Church dedicated to the Holy Theotokos (apolytikion, *Doxa* upon entrance to the Church, Τῇ ὑπερμάχῳ)

At Κύριε ἐκέκραξα stichera of Annunciation

Readings of the feast

Synapte of Trisagion

Trisagion

Prokeimenon of the feast

Apostolos of the feast

Alleluia of the feast

Gospel of the feast

BAS. Koinonikon of the feast

In this case too we have the regular service of the day celebrated independently from the feast; the latter is celebrated in a church dedicated to the Theotokos just as it is stipulated in some manuscripts of the *Prophetologion*. In all instances, vesperal CHR is to be celebrated if March 25 falls on a weekday of Lent or Holy Week (BAS if it is Holy Thursday).

The Evergetis Typikon is in agreement with the Typikon of the Holy Savior,¹¹³ but provides us with information that allows us to argue that even on Holy Friday the PRES was originally celebrated. The compiler of the Evergetis Typikon offers the following explanation, in which the cathedral practice of Constantinople is summarized and revealed:

Concerning the fact that that a Eucharist takes place on Great Friday, if the Annunciation occurs, and the canons were prescribing otherwise,

¹¹³ R. JORDAN: *The Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis*. [I] September to February [II] March-August. *Moveable Cycle*. (Belfast 2000-2005 = Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations 6.6/6), here II:50-74. It should be noted that in DI:439-440 the following phrase is omitted: Ἐὰν δὲ φθάσῃ γενέσθαι ὁ Εὐαγγελισμὸς τῷ μεγάλῳ σαββάτῳ, τελεῖται πᾶσα ἡ ἀκολουθία κατὰ τὸν προγεγραμμένον τύπον τῇ μεγάλῃ ε΄ (JORDAN: *The Synaxarion of Evergetis* II:66 note 63). This omission gives the impression that if the Annunciation fell on Holy Friday, the PRES would be celebrated on that day. That, however, is not the case. The general rule is given in the Evergetis Typikon is: Δέον δὲ γινώσκειν, ὅτι, ἐν οἷα ἂν ἡμέρα τῆς μεγάλης ἐβδομάδος φθάσῃ ἢ τοῦ Εὐαγγελισμοῦ ἑορτῇ ... τελεῖται τελεία ἢ θεία λειτουργία τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου (JORDAN: *The Synaxarion of Evergetis* II:64 / DI:439), with Holy Thursday being the only exception, when BAS is celebrated, (JORDAN: *The Synaxarion of Evergetis* II:60 / DI:438).

yet in the Synaxarion of the Great Church we found that the Eucharist and a complete Liturgy are to take place in the oratories of the Theotokos. *But if there is no oratory of the Theotokos, a Eucharist does not take place either on that day or on any other when there is a fast, but the Liturgy of the Presanctified [Gifts] is celebrated, except on Great Thursday only.*¹¹⁴

In other words, the full liturgy is celebrated on March 25 *only* when a church is dedicated to the Theotokos. *In all other cases* the PRES is celebrated (with the exception of Holy Thursday). One could argue then that if the Evergetis Monastery was not dedicated the Virgin Mary, then the PRES would be celebrated on Holy Friday, if the Annunciation fell on that day.

The same note with important variables is preserved in a few Sabaitic *Typika*:¹¹⁵

Sinai gr. 1094

Lavra 99A

Vatopedi 1346

If there is no oratory of the Theotokos, the offering does not take place neither on this day, nor on any other day of the Fast of the Forty Days, but the PRES is celebrated, except for Holy Thursday.¹¹⁶

If there is no oratory of the Theotokos, the offering does not take place neither on this day, nor on any other day of the Fast of the Forty Days, but the PRES is celebrated, except for Holy Thursday.

The offering takes place, even if it falls on Holy Friday, even though the canons stipulate differently. But we also find stipulated in the Synaxarion of the Great Church that the offering and the full liturgy takes place only in the monasteries of the Theotokos.

¹¹⁴ English translation (*emphasis added*) by JORDAN: *The Synaxarion of Evergetis* II:75. For the Greek text, p. 74: Περὶ δὲ τοῦ γίνεσθαι τῇ μεγάλῃ παρασκευῇ προσκομιδῆν, εἰ τύχῃ ὁ Εὐαγγελισμὸς, καὶ οἱ κανόνες ἄλλως διηγόρευον, ἀλλ' οὖν εὗρομεν ἐν τῷ Συναξαρίῳ τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας, ἵνα εἰς τοὺς εὐκτήριους οἴκους τῆς Θεοτόκου γίνεται προσκομιδὴ καὶ τελεία λειτουργία. Εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν εὐκτήριος οἶκος τῆς Θεοτόκου, προσκομιδὴ οὐ γίνεται, οὔτε ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, οὔτε ἐν ἄλλῃ, νηστείας οὔσης, ἀλλ' ἢ τῶν προηγιασμένων τελεῖται λειτουργία, πληρὴ μόνῃς τῆς μεγάλης ε'. Also in DI:442.

¹¹⁵ All information and texts in the table are from DIII:94, text and notes.

¹¹⁶ Εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν εὐκτήριος οἶκος τῆς Θεοτόκου, προσκομιδὴ οὐ γίνεται, οὔτε ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὔτε ἐν ἄλλῃ τῆς μ', ἀλλ' ἢ τῶν προηγιασμένων τελεῖται λειτουργία, πληρὴ τῆς μεγάλης πέμπτης. DIII:94.

Sinai gr. 1094

Lavra 99A

Vatopedi 1346

But what happens today is different from what was just mentioned. For this practice was continued in this way, as given in the first place by the Great Church. And in the other oratories the offering takes place and the full liturgy.¹¹⁷

But since most of the oratories are dedicated to the Theotokos, and since the abundance of celebrations prevailed, [the full liturgy] has been stipulated to be celebrated by us and by all.¹¹⁸

In all three cases it is acknowledged that the full liturgy should only be celebrated when the church is dedicated to the Theotokos and that this practice originated in the Great Church. Lavra 99 A points to the fact that according to the current practice of the time the full liturgy was celebrated everywhere on March 25 while Vatopedi 1346 offers an explanation for this shift: Since there were so many churches dedicated to the Theotokos the abundance of celebrations eventually prevailed and it was ruled that the full liturgy be celebrated at all churches. Here we have a case where because of the rise of popular piety and devotion to the Theotokos, the exception to the rule eventually became the rule.

In examining the frequency of the PRES, we may summarize our findings in the following table:

¹¹⁷ Εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν εὐκτῆριος οἶκος τῆς Θεοτόκου, προσκομιδὴ οὐ γίνεται. Οὕτως ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὔτε ἐν ἄλλῃ τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς, ἀλλὰ τῆς προηγιασμένης τελεῖται λειτουργία, πλὴν τῆς μεγάλης πέμπτῃς. Ἄλλος ὁ προῤῥηθεὶς τύπος γίνεται νῦν· οὕτως γὰρ πάντως ἐξηκολούθησαν, ἐπεὶ πρῶτον παρὰ τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας δέδοται· καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς εὐκτῆριος προσκομιδὴ γίνεται καὶ τελεία λειτουργία. DIII:94

¹¹⁸ Γίνεσθαι δὲ τῇ μεγάλῃ παρασκευῇ καὶ προσκομιδῇ, εἰ τύχοι ἐν ταύτῃ ὁ Εὐαγγελισμός, κἄν γὰρ οἱ κανόνες ἄλλως διαγορεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐπεὶ δὴ εὕρομεν καὶ ἐν τῷ Συναξαρίῳ τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας διατεταγμένον εἰς τὰς μονὰς τῆς Θεοτόκου γίνεσθαι προσκομιδὴν καὶ τελείαν λειτουργίαν. Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ πλείους σχεδὸν τῶν εὐκτῆριων οἴκων τῆς Θεοτόκου εἰσὶν καὶ τοῦ πλεονάζοντος ἐπικρατήσας καὶ εἰς πάντας καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν διετάχθη. DIII:94. The first part of this note (up to καὶ τελείαν λειτουργίαν), with εἰς τοὺς εὐκτῆριος οἴκους τῆς Θεοτόκου instead of εἰς τὰς μονὰς τῆς Θεοτόκου, is attested in all printed *Typika* that I was able to examine: *Τυπικὸν καὶ τὰ Ἀπόρητα* (Venice 1545) f. 62r; *Τυπικὸν* 1577 (folia not numbered); *Τυπικὸν* 1643 (folia not numbered); *Τυπικὸν* 1685, f. 38v; *Τυπικὸν* 1691, p. 95; *Τυπικὸν* 1771, p. 82.

TABLE 2.3
THE FREQUENCY OF THE PRESANCTIFIED

	Cathedral Documents	Studite Documents			Sabaitic Documents
		Novgorod-St. Sophia 1136	Evergetis	Messine	
W and F of Year	√	-	-	-	-
W and F of Cheesefare Week	√	?	√	-	Explicitly Prohibited
1 st week of Great Lent	Every day	Every day	Every day except for Monday	W + F	Explicitly Prohibited on M + T
Weekdays of Great Lent	Every day	Every day	Every day	W + F	Only W + F (optional) + R of Fifth Week
Holy Monday	√	√	√	√	√
Holy Tuesday	√	√	√	√	√
Holy Wednesday	√	√	√	√	√
Holy Friday	√	√	√	PRES Prohibited	PRES Prohibited
September 14	√ (possibly)	Full Liturgy Prescribed	Full Liturgy Prescribed	Full Liturgy Prescribed	Full Liturgy Prescribed
February 2 (If in Lent)	Case not examined	?	Case not examined	Case not examined	√ (or Vesp CHR)
February 24 (If in Lent)	√	√	√	√	√ (or transferred)
March 9	√/Vesp CHR	√	√	√	√
March 20	-	√	√	√	√
March 25	√/Vesp CHR	?	Vesperal CHR	Vesperal CHR	Vesperal CHR

By looking at the above table, it immediately becomes clear that in the cathedral tradition of Constantinople the PRES is associated with the fasting days of the whole year and not just Great Lent. The PRES

is a **communion** service associated with days of fast in general, not just Lent.

The PRES was celebrated with much greater frequency in Constantinople. There the PRES was celebrated on Wednesdays and Fridays of the whole year, September 14, Wednesday and Friday of Cheesefare Week, the weekdays of Lent, and on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday of Holy Week.

2.6 The Presanctified in the Context of Other Services

Communion from presanctified gifts is not limited to the PRES in the Byzantine liturgical tradition. We have evidence in the manuscript tradition of communion from presanctified gifts at coronations, appointment of civil servants, and weddings. It is important for this study to look at these rites briefly and to examine the ritual context of the communion from the presanctified gifts.

2.6.1 At Coronations¹¹⁹

The rubrics regarding the communion from the presanctified gifts at coronations are minimal in our sources. The king or queen communes either before¹²⁰ or after the coronation,¹²¹ either at the Ambo (king) or the Augustalion (queen). The rubric referring to the communion in Barberini gr. 336 is 'Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ποιῶν προηγιασμένα, // μεταδίδωσιν αὐτῷ τῆς ζωοποιῶν κοινωνίας' (And after this [the patriarch] prepares the presanctified gifts and gives [the king] the life-giving communion). In the eleventh-century Coislin gr. 213 (1027) and in the thirteenth-

¹¹⁹ The two studies used here are M. ARRANZ: 'Couronnement royal et autres promotions de cour' in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 56 (1990) 83-133; and I. BILIARSKY: 'Le rite du couronnement des tsars dans les pays slaves et promotion d'autres axiai' in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 59 (1993) 91-139.

¹²⁰ As in Grottaferrata Γ.β. I and Coislin 213 (1027) in ARRANZ: *L'Euclologio Constantinopolitano* 99. Please note that up to now, Grottaferrata Γ.β. I was considered an eleventh-century manuscript. However, Prof. Stefano Parenti and Prof. Elena Velkovska presented a paper at the Society of Oriental Liturgy Congress in Eichstätt (23-28 July 2006) where they convincingly argued that Grottaferrata Γ.β. I is a thirteenth-century manuscript. The paper will be published in the proceedings of the congress.

¹²¹ As in Barberini gr. 336 (f. 179r-v) PARENTI & VELKOVSKA (eds.): *Barberini gr. 336* 197; ARRANZ: 'Couronnement' 101.

century Grottaferrata Γ.β. I the rubric is even shorter: 'Καὶ κοινωνεῖ προηγιασμένα' (and he communes from the presanctified gifts).

I have translated the verb 'ποιῶν' as 'prepares.' I can only assume that this refers to the manual acts of preparing communion. The expression ποιῶν προηγιασμένα, first attested to in the story of John Moschos quoted above¹²² seems to be very archaic.¹²³ It implies only the preparation of the presanctified gifts and communion, possibly putting, arranging, or placing the gifts on the holy table. It is possible that this could be the earliest way of saying that one is 'celebrating' the PRES, corresponding to a simple distribution of communion. Similar expressions, found in the Typikon of the Great Church, are γίνονται τὰ προηγιασμένα and τελοῦνται προηγιασμένα.¹²⁴

2.6.2 At Appointments of Civil Servants¹²⁵

Our two sources for appointments of civil servants here are again the eleventh-century Coislin gr. 213 (1027) and the thirteenth-century Grottaferrata Γ.β. I. A table, either at the solea or the catechumenate area of the Great Church, is clothed and the antimension is placed on it. Then the presanctified gifts are placed on the table.¹²⁶ After the prayer of appointment and the prayer of inclination the candidate is given the signs of his office and 'κοινωνεῖ,' receives communion.¹²⁷

2.6.3 At Weddings

Panagiotis Skaltses, professor of Liturgy at the University of Thessalonica, wrote his dissertation on the relationship between the Sacrament of Marriage and the Eucharist in the Byzantine liturgical tradition.¹²⁸ A section of his dissertation is devoted to the study of the Wedding

¹²² See section 2.2.2.

¹²³ Needs to be differentiated from the phrase: ποιῶν προηγιασμένην since in this case the word λειτουργίαν is implied.

¹²⁴ MATEOS: *Le typikon* II:10.

¹²⁵ ARRANZ: 'Couronnement' 83-133.

¹²⁶ Αὕτη γίνεται ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἀντιμηναίοις τῶν κατηχομένων τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας ἢ ἐν τῇ σωλῖα τιθεμένης τραπέζης καὶ ἐνδυτῆς καὶ προηγιασμένων τοῦ διακόνου λέγοντος συναπτὴν, [Coislin 213 adds: ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπέυχεται]. DUNCAN: *Coislin 213* 56-57; ARRANZ: *L'Euclologio Constantinopolitano* 340.

¹²⁷ DUNCAN: *Coislin 213* 56-57; ARRANZ: *L'Euclologio Constantinopolitano* 340.

¹²⁸ P. SKALTSSES: *Γάμος καὶ Θεία Λατρεία. Συμβολὴ στὴν Ἱστορία καὶ τὴ Θεολογία τῆς Λατρείας* (Thessalonica 1998).

Service that contains communion from presanctified gifts.¹²⁹ Employing over fifty Byzantine liturgical manuscripts ranging from the tenth to the seventeenth centuries,¹³⁰ he provides a collective outline of the Wedding Service in which the Presanctified gifts are used. Here I will only use the portion of the outline that is relevant to the PRES. After the coronation and the joining of hands, Skaltses lists the following elements:¹³¹

[The presanctified gifts are reserved from a previous liturgy, and placed on the holy table.]

1. Readings¹³²
 - a. Prokeimenon
 - b. Epistle
 - c. Alleluarion
 - d. Gospel
2. Ektene
3. Plerotika
4. Lord's Prayer
5. Inclination
6. Prayer of Preparation for Communion
7. Elevation
8. Communion
9. Communion Hymn

After the communion hymn, the common cup, the ritual dance,¹³³ and the lifting of the crowns, the dismissal takes place. It should be noted

¹²⁹ SKALTSSES: *Γάμος και Θεία Λατρεία* 194-265.

¹³⁰ SKALTSSES: *Γάμος και Θεία Λατρεία* 217-219.

¹³¹ See SKALTSSES: *Γάμος και Θεία Λατρεία* 252-265.

¹³² Readings were not part of the early Constantinopolitan Wedding Service with PRES. Readings begin to appear after the tenth century. See SKALTSSES: *Γάμος και Θεία Λατρεία* 256, note 471 for manuscript evidence. As presented in the eleventh-century Constantinopolitan manuscript Paris Coislin 213, the outline of the sacrament of marriage with PRES in the early Constantinopolitan practice would include: 1. Entrance of the couple in the church, 2. Placement of a chalice with the Presanctified on the altar table, 3. Synapte, 4. Prayer, 5. Crowning and joining of hands, 6. Inclination and Prayer of Inclination, 7. Lord's Prayer, 8. Elevation, 9. Communion, 10. Prayer of common cup, 11. Reception of common cup, 12. The couple exits the church, 13. Prayer of lifting of crowns. See SKALTSSES: *Γάμος και Θεία Λατρεία* 231-234, note 471 for manuscript evidence.

¹³³ This dance is a later ritualization of a procession from the Church to the home of the newly-weds. See SKALTSSES: *Γάμος και Θεία Λατρεία* 262, note 487 for manuscript evidence. See also S. PARENTI: 'The Christian Rite of Marriage in the East' in A. CHUPUNGO (ed.): *Handbook for Liturgical Studies*, Volume IV: *Sacraments and Sacramentals* (Collegeville 2000) 255-274, here 270.

that in all three cases (i.e., coronations, appointments of civil servants, and marriages) it is only a certain person or a specific group that receives communion, not the whole congregation.

The rite as outlined above is similar to the Eucharistic liturgy with the exception of the anaphora, which is, of course, omitted, since the gifts are presanctified. In the first two cases, the coronation of an emperor and appointment of civil servants, the communion from the presanctified gifts involves the following ritual aspects:

1. The gifts are reserved from a previous full liturgy.
2. The gifts are transferred to the table used for the rites – no ritual attached to the transfer.
3. Communion

In the case of weddings, we see additions to this ‘pristine’ ritual that imitate elements of the Divine Liturgy. Weddings would be celebrated much more frequently than appointments of civil servants and especially coronations of emperors, services associated with the capital of the Empire, and services associated with the Great Church. If that is the case, it may well be that what we see here is an indication of how the ritual of the PRES grew: from a simple reservation of presanctified gifts, transfer and placement on a table, and communion, to an elaborate rite imitating the ritual components of the Eucharistic liturgy.

2.7 The Offices of Typika and Trithekti

2.7.1 *The Office of the Typika*

We saw in chapter one that it would not be unusual for monastics to commune privately from the Eucharist that either they kept in their cell or was brought to them. This private communion from the reserved sacrament was eventually ritualized in monastic communities both in the East and the West. The Office of the Typika was originally a monastic Presanctified Communion Service of Palestinian origin.¹³⁴

According to Robert Taft, the only two manuscripts that indicate that the Typika contained therein were still used as a Presanctified

¹³⁴ The Service of the Typika however is not unique to Byzantium. Similar examples exist in Armenia and the West (see sections 3.8 and 3.9).

Communion Service are the ninth-century Horologion Sinai gr. 863¹³⁵ and the Horologion appended to the Psalter of Harvard University Houghton Library Ms. Greek 3, dated to 1105.¹³⁶

The first, the ninth-century Sinai gr. 863, is significantly enough titled 'Horologion according to the use of the Lavra of our father Sabas,'¹³⁷ thus associating this service with the monastic and liturgical tradition of the Sabas monastery in Palestine. It contains the Typika service under the title 'Εἰς τὴν μετάληψιν,' or 'At communion,' indicating that it was still operative as a communion service. In the second witness, the Horologion appended to the Psalter of Houghton Library (Harvard University) Ms. gr. 3 (dated to 1105) the Typika follow the same structure with some minor variants. As a third witness, I would add the Office of the Typika in the thirteenth-century Horologion Sinai gr. 870.

Sinai gr. 863	Houghton gr. 3	Sinai gr. 870
	(f. 247v) Trisagion	
	(f. 247v) Our Father	
	(f. 247v) Lord have Mercy	
	(f. 247v) Ps 102	(f. 60v) Ps 102
	(f. 247v) Glory to the Father ...	Glory to the Father ...
	(f. 247v) Ps 145	(f. 60v-62r) Ps 145
	(f. 247v) Now and Forever ...	
	(f. 247v) 'The only begotten Son ...'	(f. 62r) 'The only begotten Son ...'
	(f. 247v) Lord have mercy (x3)	
(f. 75r-76r) Beatitudes	(f. 247v-248r) Beatitudes	F. 62r-63r) Beatitudes
(f. 76v) 'The heavenly choir ...'	(f. 248r) 'The heavenly choir ...'	(f. 63r) 'The heavenly choir ...'

¹³⁵ J. MATEOS: 'Un Horologion inédit de Saint-Sabas: Le codex sinaitique grec 863 (IXe siècle)' in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant III* (Rome 1964 = Studi e Testi 233) 47-76; f. 75r-77v.

¹³⁶ R. TAFT: 'Byzantine Communion Rites II. Later Formulas and Rubrics in the Ritual of Clergy Communion' in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 68 (2002) 275-352, p. 301, 306. TAFT: 'Home-Communion' 11; ff. 247v-248v. I would like to thank Fr. Taft for making these articles available to me before their publication.

¹³⁷ 'Ωρολόγιον κατὰ τὸν κανόνα τῆς Λαύρας τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάβα' f. 1r. MATEOS: 'Un horologion inédit' 48.

Sinai gr. 863	Houghton gr. 3	Sinai gr. 870
(f. 76v) Ps 33:6	(f. 248r) Ps 33:6	(f. 63r) Ps 33:6
(f. 76v) 'The heavenly choir'	(f. 248v) 'The choir of holy angels and archangels ...'	(f. 63v) 'The choir of just angels and archangels ...' (f. 63v) 'The choir of the holy apostles...'
(f. 76v) Glory ...	(f. 248v) Glory ... Now and ever ...	
(f. 76v) Creed	(f. 248v) Creed	(f. 63v) Creed (f. 63v) Remit, forgive ...
(f. 76v) Our Father	(f. 248v) Our Father	(f. 63v) Our Father
(f. 76v) Lord have mercy (x3)	(f. 248v) Lord have mercy (x15)	(f. 63v) Lord have mercy (x45)
(f. 76v) 'One is holy ...'	(f. 248v) 'Blessed is the name of the Lord ...' (x3)	(f. 63v) 'Blessed is the name of the Lord ...' (x3)
(f. 76v) Ps 33:9	(f. 248v) Ps 33:1 ¹³⁹	(f. 63v) Ps 33:1
(f. 76v) Alleluia		
(f. 76v-77r) Ps 33:1	A series of preparatory prayers follow the rubric: 'Before the divine and holy reception of the mysteries.' ¹⁴⁰	(f. 64r-78r) Prayers for before and after communion follow.
(f. 77r) Ps 33:2		
(f. 77r) Glory		
(f. 77r-v) Post-communion Prayer		
(f. 77v) Prayer of Thanksgiving after communion ¹³⁸		

I believe that the thirteenth-century Horologion Sinai gr. 870 also preserves the Office of the Typika in a form that was used when it still operated as a monastic Presanctified, although most likely not in use when the manuscript was written in the thirteenth-century, for the following reason. Both in Sinai gr. 863 and Harvard Houghton gr. 3, the Office of the Typika is chanted *after* the Ninth Hour, with the rubric in Harvard Houghton indicating that if the liturgy is to be celebrated, then the Office of the Typika is to be chanted appended to the Sixth Hour:

¹³⁸ MATEOS: 'Un horologion inédit' 54-55.

¹³⁹ Ps 33:9, according to TAFT: 'Home-Communion' 11. Apparently a typographical error, since upon examining the microfilm of the manuscript, it is Ps 33:1 (folio 248v, lines 5-6).

¹⁴⁰ πρὸ τῆς θείας καὶ ἁγίας μυστηρίων μεταλήψεως (f. 248v). For the prayers see 249v-251v.

Εἶτα τὰ τυπικὰ ἑορτῆς οὔσης· εἰ δ' οὐκ, Then the Typika (are to be chanted) if
μετὰ τὴν θ' ἔνθα καὶ ἐγράφησαν it is a feast. If not, (they are to be
chanted) after the Ninth Hour, where
they have been written.

In Sinai gr. 870 the Office of the Typika is placed before the Ninth Hour. I group, however, the Office of the Typika in Sinai gr. 870 together with the Office of Typika in Sinai gr. 863 and Harvard Houghton gr. 3 for the following reasons. First, the Office of the Typika in Sinai gr. 870 is short, simple, and similar to the other two examples, betraying its archaic character. Second, as the other two are, it is related to private communion prayers. For example, the Office of the Typika in Sinai gr. 863 is concluded by two prayers (f. 77r-v; see outline above); in Harvard Houghton gr. 3 a rubric guides the reader to the private communion prayers (f. 249v-251v). In Sinai gr. 870 the Office of the Typika is immediately followed by a short series of private communion prayers (f. 64r-78r) titled 'Hymns/Psalms before holy/divine communion' with the rubric 'say' (εἰπέ) immediately following (f. 64r).¹⁴¹ Other than the usual introductory psalms and prayers, this section contains only one prayer to be recited before, one during, and one after receiving communion, a rather short selection for the thirteenth century.¹⁴²

Third, and finally, the incipit of the prayer of absolution 'Remit, forgive ...' appears in Sinai gr. 870 (f. 63v) between the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. The same prayer appears in Harvard Houghton gr. 3 in the prayers following the Office of the Typika (f. 250v-251r) and Mateos suggested that the same prayer was probably recited in the Office of the Typika in Sinai gr. 863 either between the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, as in our case, or after the Lord's prayer. Thus, Sinai gr. 863, Houghton gr. 3 and Sinai gr. 870 share the characteristic of preserving the Office of the Typika in a still operative form as a monastic PRES.

Another important witness to the Office of the Typika in operation is the *Life of Saint Luke the Younger* (d. 953).¹⁴³ Saint Luke was the founder

¹⁴¹ Ψαλμοὶ πρὸ τῆς θείας μεταλήψεως.

¹⁴² The limited number of private communion prayers in the Office of the Typika may be explained by the fact that they ceased to exist as a Presanctified service before the multiplication of the communion prayers.

¹⁴³ (BHG 994) C. CONNOR & R. CONNOR (eds.): *The Life and Miracles of Saint Luke of Steiris* (Brookline 1994 = The Archbishop Iakovos Library of Ecclesiastical and

of the famous monastery of Hosios Loukas in Phokis, Greece. Written shortly after his death, his *vita* has an important reference to the rite of communion of solitaries (i.e., the Office of the Typika). In an incident placed shortly after 927, St. Luke, during a visit by the Archbishop of Corinth, posed the following question:

Tell me, O master, how those of us who settle in the mountains and deserts on account of the great number of our sins – how may we participate in the divine and awesome mysteries? For you see that we lack not only a congregation but even a priest?

The archbishop responded in the following manner:

Father, you do well to inquire about this good and important matter, 'for the good is not good unless the outcome is good.' Now to begin with, a priest should be present, but if he is unavoidably absent, place the vessel with the presanctified [gifts] on the holy table if it is a chapel, but if it is a cell, [put it] on a very clean bench. Then, spreading out a small veil, place the holy particles on it, and, lighting the incense, sing the psalms of the typika or the Trisagion along with the Creed. After three genuflections, fold your hands and take with your mouth the venerable Body of Christ our God, saying the Amen. In place of the eucharistic wine you may drink a cup of ordinary wine, but this cup should not be shared afterwards for the use of another. Next, put the remaining particles with the veil in the vessel taking all care lest a pearl fall out and be trampled.¹⁴⁴

Within this description of an ascetic private communion Taft has identified the Service of the Typika. He argues that the phrase 'sing the psalms of the typika or the Trisagion along with the Creed' has the intended sense of 'say the Typika service, comprising the psalms, the Trisagion, and Creed, etc.'¹⁴⁵ Slavonic sources through the nineteenth

Historical Sources 18). Also cited in TAFT: 'Home-Communion' 11-12. See also R. TAFT: 'Changing Rythms of Eucharistic Frequency in Byzantine Monasticism' in M. BILAWSKI & D. HOMBERGEN (eds.): *Il monachesimo tra eredità e aperture. Atti del Simposio "Testi e temi nella tradizione del monachesimo cristiano" per il 50° Anniversario dell'Istituto Monastico di Sant'Anselmo* (Rome 2004 = *Studia Anselmiana* 140) 419-458. I would like to thank Fr. Taft for making these articles available to me before their publication.

¹⁴⁴ CONNOR & CONNOR (eds.): *The Life and Miracles of Saint Luke of Steiris* 62-65. I am using Taft's amended translation from TAFT: 'Home-Communion' 11-12.

¹⁴⁵ TAFT: 'Home-Communion' 11-12.

century allow for the possibility of a hermit receiving communion on his or her own, some of which cite this account in order to justify the practice.¹⁴⁶

The Office of the Typika would originally have taken place after the Ninth Hour, as reflected in the Ninth Hour troparion from the ninth-century Horologion Sinai gr. 863:

You who committed your soul to the Father while hanged on the tree at the ninth hour, and who prepared an entrance into Paradise for the thief who was crucified with you; you do not forsake me nor reject me, O good one, but sanctify my soul and illumine my mind, *and make me a communicant of the immortal nourishment of your mysteries, so that having tasted your sweetness*, I will bring unto you never ending praise, having desired your beauty above everything else, O Christ our God, glory to you.¹⁴⁷

The same prayer is found in the Syriac Palestinian Christian Horologion Berlin Or. Oct. 1019 (1187-1188 AD) used by the Melkites, the only Syrians to embrace Chalcedon. The above prayer is also part of the Ninth Hour service here,¹⁴⁸ but the Office of the Typika does not follow the Ninth Hour. It is set between the sixth and the ninth hours, thus indicating that it was not in use as a monastic PRES communion any longer. The reference to communion, however, remained in the troparion.

A third occurrence of the same troparion appears in a Coptic-Arabic Horologion (Coptic Museum Serial number 144, Call number 361) of the thirteenth/fourteenth centuries in the context of the Ninth Hour.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ TAFT: 'Home-Communion' 12.

¹⁴⁷ Ὁ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπὶ ξύλου κρεμάμενος ἐνάτη ὥρα παραδούς τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ συσταυρωθέντι σοι ληστῇ ὁδοποιήσας τὴν εἰς τὸν παράδεισον εἴσοδον, μὴ με παρίδης, μὴ με ἀποδοκιμάσης, ἀγαθὲ, ἀλλ' ἀγιάσον τὴν ψυχὴν μου καὶ φώτισον τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ τῆς ἀθανάτου τροφῆς κοινωνὸν με ἀνάδειξον τῶν μυστηρίων σου, ἵνα γευσάμενός σου τῆς χρησιμότητος, ἕμνον ἀσίγητον προσάγω σοι, ὑπὲρ πάντα ποθήσας σοῦ τὴν ὠραιότητα· Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, δόξα σοι. MATEOS: 'Un horologion inédit' 53-54, emphasis added.

¹⁴⁸ M. BLACK (ed.): *A Christian Palestinian Syriac Horologion* (Berlin MS. Or. Oct. 1019) (Cambridge 1954) 83.

¹⁴⁹ O.H.E. BURMESTER (ed.): *The Horologion of the Egyptian Church. Coptic and Arabic Text from a Medieval Manuscript* (Cairo 1973) 184-185. With some exceptions, the troparia and the theotokia of the Horologion of the Coptic Church are the same as the troparia and theotokia of the Horologion of the Byzantine Church (xxviii).

What is unique here is that the Office of the Typika is not present in this Horologion, something natural since the Coptic Church does not currently have a PRES, but might have had (see section 3.7).

It is striking to note that the same prayer appears in four different languages, Greek, Arabic, Syrian, and Coptic, and in two different liturgical traditions: the Byzantine and the Coptic. One also observes that the hour of communion would be after the ninth hour, the time that one would break the fast.

We are not certain of the origins of the Office of the Typika. Unfortunately, the Office of the Typika has not been sufficiently studied, so anything I state here remains hypothetical. The current hypothesis on the origins is conveniently summarized by Taft in a recent article; he states that the Office of the Typika is

obviously modeled on the communion rite of the hagiopolite cathedral PRES,¹⁵⁰ with elements like [the antiphon troparion ‘The Heavenly choir,’ the Lord’s Prayer], the communion call ‘Holy things for the holy’¹⁵¹ and its response, the hagiopolite koinonikon or communion responsory (Ps 33 + Alleluia), plus a post-communion thanksgiving.¹⁵²

An alternative approach would suggest, however, that both the Office of the Typika and the Hagiopolite cathedral PRES borrowed these elements from the Hagiopolite Liturgy of James (JAS). Although I will reserve discussion on the Hagiopolite PRES for chapter three, a brief comparison between the pertinent sections of the Office of the Typika, the Hagiopolite PRES, and JAS indicates that all the elements are common except for the antiphon troparion ‘The Heavenly choir,’ as shown in the following table:

These were translated from the Greek into Coptic at a time when the Greek text was current in Egypt. The Coptic presents interesting variants, preserving older variants (xxxiii).

¹⁵⁰ For our discussion on the Hagiopolite PRES see 3.5.

¹⁵¹ Although it may be implied, the communion call ‘Holy things for the holy’ does not actually appear in Sinai gr. 863 (f. 76v), MATEOS: ‘Un horologion inédit’ 55.

¹⁵² TAFT: ‘Home-Communion’ 10.

TABLE 2.4
THE OFFICE OF THE TYPIKA, HAGPRES, AND JAS

Office of the Typika (Sinai gr. 863)	Hagiopolite PRES	JAS
Beatitudes		
Antiphon: 'The Heavenly Choirs ... / Ps 33:6 / 'The Heavenly Choir ...' / Glory ...	✓	
Creed	[✓] ¹⁵³	✓ ¹⁵⁴
Our Father	✓	✓ ¹⁵⁵
Lord have mercy (x3)		
['The holy things for the holy']	✓	✓ ¹⁵⁶
'One is holy ...'	✓	✓ ¹⁵⁷
Koinonikon Ps 33:9 / Alleluia / Ps 33:1 / Ps 33:2 / Glory ...	✓	✓ ¹⁵⁸
Post-communion Prayer	✓	✓ ¹⁵⁹
Prayer of Thanksgiving after communion	✓	✓ ¹⁶⁰

The Prayer of Thanksgiving after Communion differs from JAS in two points: first, the prayer in JAS is to be recited by the deacon after another Prayer of Thanksgiving said by the priest; and second, the prayer in JAS is not identical to that of Sinai gr. 863 or the Hagiopolite PRES, but it is similar enough that it does not disqualify my argument: Part (1) in both prayers offers thanksgiving for communion, part (2) in both prayers notes that communion is for the forgiveness of sins, and part (3) concludes with a petition, not entirely different in the two prayers, as the pleas for 'protection' (διαφύλαξον) invoked in JAS and 'mercy' (ἐλέους) in Sinai gr. 863 are not dissimilar in meaning.

¹⁵³ Explicitly excluded in the Georgian PRES (Γ 71) but included in the description of the Hagiopolite PRES in the Typikon of the Anastasis Church (PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS: 'Τυπικὸν τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἐκκλησίας [Cod. XLIII S. Crucis]' in *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμητικῆς Σταχυολογίας* (St. Petersburg 1891) II:49, 65, 82).

¹⁵⁴ B.-CH. MERCIER: *La Liturgie de Saint Jacques. Édition critique du texte grec avec traduction latine* (Paris 1946 = *Patrologia Orientalis* 26.2) 182.

¹⁵⁵ MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 224.

¹⁵⁶ MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 228.

¹⁵⁷ MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 228.

¹⁵⁸ MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 232.

¹⁵⁹ MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 234.

¹⁶⁰ MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 236.

Sinai gr. 863

JAS

(1) Εὐχαριστοῦμέν, σοι, Κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὅτι ἤξιώσας ἡμᾶς μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἀχράντων σου μυστηρίων

(1) Εὐχαριστοῦμέν, σοι, Χριστέ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὅτι ἤξιώσας ἡμᾶς μετασχεῖν τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἱματός σου

(2) ἐπὶ ἀφέσει καὶ ἰλασμῷ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν·

(2) εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ εἰς ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον,

(3) ἀξίωσον ἡμᾶς τυχεῖν τοῦ ἐλέους σου μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων σου, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.¹⁶¹

(3) ἀκατακρίτους ἡμᾶς διαφύλαξον, δεόμεθα, ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος.¹⁶²

(1) We thank you, Lord our God, for you made us worthy to partake of your immaculate mysteries

(1) We thank you, Christ our God, that you deemed us worthy to partake of your body and blood

(2) unto forgiveness and mercy of our sins.

(2) unto forgiveness of sins and eternal life.

(3) Deign us to be recipients of your mercy, together with all your saints, unto the ages of ages.

(3) We ask you that you keep us blameless, as you are good and you love humankind.

Mateos actually notes that the occurrence of this prayer in Sinai gr. 863 is strange because a post-communion prayer would normally be recited by a priest; as such, it would not be included in the Horologion. The comparison with JAS sheds light on this issue since in JAS it is the deacon, not the priest, who recites this in the form of a petition.

By examining the above tables, we see that what the Office of the Typika has in common with the Hagiopolite PRES, it also shares with JAS. Based on this observation, I would suggest that the *common* source for *both* the Office of the Typika and the Hagiopolite PRES is JAS.

Robert Taft summarizes the next stage in the history of the Office of the Typika:

When the monks in Constantinople ... adopted the Sabaitic Horologion in the course of the Studite reform, this Palestinian duplicate for PRES was apparently used as a communion service for a-liturgical days during the

¹⁶¹ MATEOS: 'Un horologion inédit' 55.

¹⁶² MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 236.

minor Lents preceding Christmas and Holy Apostles (Sts. Peter and Paul, June 29), but was reduced to a service for the distribution of the antidoron during Great Lent, when the cathedral Presanctified Liturgy of Constantinople served as the communion rite.¹⁶³

We can witness the further disintegration of the use of the Office of the Typika in the Synaxarion/Typikon of the Evergetis Monastery. John Klentos noted that days when the celebration of the Eucharist is optional or prohibited, 'occur only in the months of November and December, suggesting a correlation with Christmas and its lent from November 15 until December 24.'¹⁶⁴ In other words the only instances that explicitly prohibit the celebration of the Eucharist (other than Great Lent) in the Evergetis Typikon can be found in November and December, relics of an initially a-liturgical Christmas fast.

According to the Evergetis Typikon, whenever the full liturgy was to be celebrated during the Christmas fast, it would take place after the recitation of the Sixth Hour.¹⁶⁵ However, when no Eucharist was to be celebrated, the Office of the Typika would be chanted as an independent service after the ninth hour.

After the ninth hour, when no Liturgy is celebrated, we immediately add the Office of the Typika Then, after the Office of the Typika is over, the bells are rung, and we start Vespers, and after the dismissal from Vespers we go the refectory, for we eat once a day.¹⁶⁶

Here, at least in theory, we see the Office of the Typika celebrated in its proper place, after the Ninth Hour, on a-liturgical days. In the same document, however, we notice that during the Apostle's fast the Office of the Typika has lost its function:

It must be known, that the other monasteries that follow the Typikon of the famous Studios monastery, do not chant the Office of the Typika in the Liturgies, but after the dismissal of the Ninth Hour. It is at that point

¹⁶³ TAFT: 'Changing Rhythms' 451.

¹⁶⁴ J. KLENTOS: *Byzantine Liturgy in Twelfth-Century Constantinople: An Analysis of the Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis (codex Athens Ethnike Bibliothekē 788)* (unpublished dissertation, University of Notre Dame 1995) 213.

¹⁶⁵ DI:315.

¹⁶⁶ Μετὰ δὲ τὴν θ' ὥραν, εἴπερ οὐ γίνεται λειτουργία, εὐθὺς ἐπισυνάπτομεν καὶ τὰ τυπικά Ἐπειτα, μετὰ τὸ τέλος αὐτῶν, σημαίνει καὶ ἀρχόμεθα τοῦ ἑσπερινοῦ, καὶ μετὰ τὴν τούτου ἀπόλυσιν, ἀπερχόμεθα ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ· ἅπαξ γὰρ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐσθίομεν ... DI:314.

that they chant the Office of the Typika, and receive the antidoron. As for us, since we all receive communion almost daily, we deemed it better that the brothers chant the Office of the Typika in their cells and that they wash themselves swiftly after the completion of the Divine Liturgy. Then we chant the Ninth Hour, as has been said already.¹⁶⁷

What is striking in the Studite tradition, as reflected in the Evergetis Typikon, is that it kept the Office of the Typika attached to its original place, the Ninth Hour,¹⁶⁸ and antidoron would be distributed, even when they celebrated the Divine Liturgy. On the other hand, there are obvious signs of disintegration: the Office of the Typika loses its original function as a communion service on a-liturgical days and eventually loses its relationship to the Ninth Hour. The Office of the Typika remains in use but out of context and with no purpose.

2.7.2 *The Office of Trithekti*¹⁶⁹

The Trithekti is an office of the minor hours celebrated as its name indicates between the third and the sixth hour of the day during the weekdays of Lent, including Wednesday and Friday of Cheesefare Week and Holy Week. It was celebrated in Constantinople until 1204, and survived in Hagia Sophia of Thessalonica up until the fall of the city to the Turks in 1430.

¹⁶⁷ Δεῖ δὲ γινώσκειν, ὅτι τὰ λοιπὰ μοναστήρια, ὅσα τὸ τυπικὸν κρατοῦσι τῆς περιωνόμευ μονῆς τῶν Στουδίου, οὐ ψάλλουσι τὰ τυπικὰ ἐν ταῖς λειτουργίαις, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τῆς θ' ὥρας, τότε ψάλλουσι τὰ τυπικὰ λαμβάνειν τὸ ἀντίδωρον. Ἡμεῖς δέ, διὰ τὸ καθεκᾶσθην σχεδὸν πάντας μεταλαμβάνειν τῶν θεῶν μυστηρίων, δεόν ἐκρίναμεν ψάλλειν τὰ τυπικὰ ἐν τοῖς κελλίαις αὐτῶν καὶ διακλύεσθαι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς μετὰ τὴν τῆς θείας ἱεροουργίας συμπλήρωσιν, πλὴν συντόμως καὶ ἔπειτα ψάλλειν τὴν θ' ὥραν, ὡς ἤδη ῥηθῆσεται. DI:603.

¹⁶⁸ The end of the day's fast, and possibly a remnant of the a-liturgical character of the fast of the Apostles.

¹⁶⁹ Two are the important studies thus far of the Trithekti: M. ARRANZ: 'Les prières presbytérales de la Trithekti de l'ancien Euchologe byzantin' in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 43 (1977) 70-93, 335-354; I. PHOUNTOULIS: *Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Νυθημέρου* (Thessalonica 1994 = *Κείμενα Λειτουργικῆς, Τεύχος Α'*) 11-44. The following sources are useful for the study of the Trithekti: (1). *Euchologia: the eighth-century Barberini gr. 336, the tenth-century Sinai gr. 956, Sinai gr. 957, Sinai gr. 961, St. Petersburg 226, Sevastianov 474, Grottaferrata Γ.β.VII, the eleventh-century Grottaferrata Γ.β. I, and the twelfth-century Vatican gr. 1970*; (2). the tenth-century Typikon of the Great Church (Patmos 226 and Holy Cross 40), the fifteenth-century Typikon of St. Sophia of Thessalonica (EBE 2047); (3). the description of the Trithekti as given by Symeon of Thessalonica.

Symeon, archbishop of Thessalonica (d. 1429), who is well known for his efforts to preserve the cathedral liturgical tradition in the church of Hagia Sophia in his city, notes about the Trithekti:

(1) Regarding the Office of the Trithekti (Tersext) that takes place in the days of fast we will say that is necessarily adjoined to the Liturgy during Great Lent, celebrated in the cathedral churches by the non-monastic priests. (2) This Office preserves the type of the great cathedral Divine Liturgy, up to the great entrance. (3) The ancient Fathers put this together because a full Liturgy may not be celebrated during Great Lent.¹⁷⁰

The above text talks about the function of the Trithekti (1 and 3) and offers an interpretation of this function based on the Trithekti's apparent similarity to the Divine Liturgy (2). I will first deal with the interpretation and then with the function.

The view that the Office of the Trithekti has been modeled on the first part of the Divine Liturgy up until the Great Entrance, obviously based on Symeon of Thessalonica,¹⁷¹ has been put to rest. Arranz has demonstrated that even if there is some resemblance to the first part of the liturgy, that is not because the Trithekti copied or imitated the first part of the liturgy, but because the structure of the Trithekti is common to the various offices of the cathedral Liturgy of the Hours.¹⁷² A structural outline of the Trithekti is as follows:¹⁷³

1. Antiphon 1 + refrain
2. Antiphon 2 + refrain
3. Antiphon 3 + refrain
4. Entrance of the Patriarch
5. Synapte + Prayer after the **Entrance**
6. Troparion (x3 + Glory ...)

¹⁷⁰ Νῦν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἐν ταῖς νηστείαις τριτοέκτης ἐροῦμεν ἥτις ἀναγκαιοτάτως ἠνωμένη ἐστὶ τῆς λειτουργίας κατὰ τὴν ἁγίαν Τεσσαρακοστὴν γινομένη ἐν ταῖς καθολικαῖς ἐκκλησίαις παρὰ τῶν κοσμικῶν ἱερέων ἢ καὶ τὸν τύπον ἀποσώζει τῆς καθολικῆς μεγάλης ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας ἄχρι καὶ τῆς μεγάλης εἰσόδου. Τοῦτο δὲ ἐπενοήθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις Πατράσι διὰ τὸ μὴ τελείαν λειτουργίαν ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ γίνεσθαι Τεσσαρακοστῆ. SYMEON OF THESSALONIKE: *De Sacra Precatione* in PG 155:649D-652A (division and numbers added).

¹⁷¹ PHOUNTOULIS: *Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Νυχθημέρου* 11; and initially by MATEOS: *Le Typikon* II: 323.

¹⁷² ARRANZ: 'Tritoekti' 352.

¹⁷³ Adapting ARRANZ: 'Tritoekti' 73-82 and 84-85.

7. Prokeimenon + reading from the Prophets
8. Great Ektene + prayer
9. Petitions and Prayer for the catechumens
10. Petitions and Prayer for the Photizomenoi (after Wednesday of the fourth week of Lent)
11. Petitions and Prayer 1 for the Faithful
12. Petitions and Prayer 2 for the Faithful
13. Plerotika petitions
14. Prayer of dismissal
15. Prayer of inclination
16. Opisthambonos prayer (only in two manuscripts and in Symeon)

In the colophon of a Euchologion, copied for private use,¹⁷⁴ the Strategios Euchology, Paris Coislin 213 (1027 CE),¹⁷⁵ the Trithekti is listed among the liturgies:

This euchology book was written and finished in the month of August, the tenth Indiction, in 6535 [=1027 CE], and was acquired by Strategios, presbyter of the Great Church and of its patriarchal chapels. It contains every service and order exactly as indicated in the Table of Contents at the beginning, *except for the Liturgies of St. Basil and of Chrysostom, of the Tercesext, and of the Presanctified*, according to the wish of the purchaser and owner, because those things are found in the liturgical scrolls with which one celebrates, and in another book he has the prayers of the antiphons of the Psalter as in the psalmody of the Great Church, to the number of seventy-four, and the eight prayers of the Odes, and various other prayers recited at different times, before going to bed, after rising, for communion, for confession, unto the good of the soul and for compunction, and the rest, fifty-four in all, and a selection of diverse texts on the Holy Trinity. These things, then, are not written here.¹⁷⁶

Admittedly a *hapax legomenon*, it is very striking to see the Trithekti listed among the liturgies.

As we have already seen in the cases of coronations of emperors, appointment of civil servants, and weddings, communion from the presanctified gifts is not necessarily annexed to Vespers; Trithekti might have also been associated with PRES, if we read into the fact that the PRES is placed after the Trithekte in the tenth-century Euchologion

¹⁷⁴ TAFT: 'Byzantine Communion Rites II' 301.

¹⁷⁵ DUNCAN: *Coislin 213*.

¹⁷⁶ Emphasis added. Translation that of TAFT: 'Byzantine Communion Rites II' 301. For the Greek see DUNCAN: *Coislin 213* vii, f. 211r.

St. Petersburg 226.¹⁷⁷ However, until more evidence is found, this proposition remains hypothetical.

2.8 Conclusions

Through the examination of the background and the frequency of occurrence of the PRES in a variety of contexts we may draw the following conclusions:

1. The earliest documentary evidence regarding the existence of the PRES comes from the seventh century, a time when the PRES was still in development. Our first liturgical manuscript witness to the PRES dates from the middle of the eighth century (Barberini gr. 336), a witness to an already developed PRES. The evidence allows us to conjecture that the PRES was in existence in the Byzantine world in the sixth century, if not earlier, albeit in a simple form.
2. Attributions regarding the authorship of the PRES abound, but cannot be confirmed. Most manuscripts do not have an attribution.
3. We observe a shift in the naming of the PRES from Ἀκολουθία (Office) to Λειτουργία (Liturgy) to Μυσταγωγία (Mystagogy), revealing a shift in the understanding of PRES and its function.
4. The PRES was not limited to Wednesdays and Fridays of Lent, and Holy Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday as it is today. Rather, it could be celebrated on Wednesday and Friday of Cheesefare Week, all weekdays of Lent, and Holy Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday. Neither was it limited to Lent. The PRES could be celebrated on all Wednesdays and Fridays of the year, and possibly September 14.
5. With the Studite synthesis, and eventually with the domination of the Sabaitic tradition, the use of the PRES was curtailed, limiting it to Wednesdays and Fridays of Lent and the first three days of Holy Week.
6. Before canon 52 of Trullo the PRES was celebrated on March 25 if it fell in Lent. The exception was the celebration of vesperal CHR in churches dedicated to the Theotokos.
7. The PRES could also be celebrated in conjunction with the coronation of emperors, appointment of civil servants, and weddings. The

¹⁷⁷ A. JACOB: 'L'Euchologe de Porphyre Uspensky. Cod. Leningr. gr. 226 (Xe siècle)' in *Le Muséon* 78 (1965) 190.

earliest ritual elements of the PRES can be seen in the **communion** from presanctified gifts in the first two cases:

- a. The reservation of the gifts from a previous full liturgy
 - b. The transfer of the gift to the altar
 - c. Communion
8. This simple and pristine rite grew, imitating the ritual aspects of the Divine Liturgy, as can be seen in the Sacrament of Marriage with PRES.
 9. The Office of the Typika was originally a monastic PRES of Palestinian origin. In an operative form as a communion service, it may be seen in Sinai gr. 863, Houghton gr. 3, and Sinai gr. 870. It came to Constantinople during the Studite synthesis and is attested to in Studite monastic documents, but did not function anymore as a communion service. Rather, it was incorporated into the daily office.
 10. There are hints that the Office of the Trithekte might have also functioned at some point as a communion service, but there is no evidence.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PRESANCTIFIED IN THE NON-BYZANTINE EAST AND THE WEST

3.1 Introduction

The PRES is not a service unique to the Byzantine liturgical tradition. Forms of the PRES exist in most of the liturgical traditions of the East and the Latin Rite of the West. In this chapter we will briefly examine these traditions for comparative purposes. This endeavor by no means claims to be comprehensive or exhaustive; each of these cases can be a full-length study of its own. I will first examine the PRES in the non-Byzantine Eastern liturgical traditions, and then in the Western liturgical traditions.

3.2 The West-Syrian Tradition

The West Syrian Presanctified (WSyrPRES) bears the title 'The Blessing/Signing of the Chalice.'¹ This service is not currently in use among the Syrian Orthodox, but it appears in the Syrian Catholic Missal of Sharfeh (1922).² The institution of the WSyrPRES is attributed, according to the *Nomocanon* or *Book of Directions* IV.1 of Gregory Barhebraeus (d. 1286), to Severus of Antioch (elected in 512, deposed in 518, died in 537).³ This source has been cited as adequate evidence for the Syrian provenance of PRES in general and for Severan authorship in particular.⁴

¹ CODRINGTON: 'Syrian Liturgies of the Presanctified'.

² TAFT: 'The Frequency of the Eucharist' 98-99.

³ CODRINGTON: 'Syrian Liturgies of the Presanctified' 5 (1904) 371.

⁴ MORAITIS: *Ἡ Λειτουργία τῶν Προηγιασμένων* 28; it should be noted that Moraitis argues that Severus introduced the rite but did not actually compose the PRES. WINKLER: 'Praesanktifikenvesper' 203; USPENSKY: *Evening Worship* 252. Uspensky even argues that the PRES entered Constantinopolitan use sometime between 531-536 and notes that Severus was in Constantinople between 533-536 protected by Justinian and Theodora (p. 152). Moraitis rejects this argument on the grounds that Severus was not Orthodox and hence his work (the PRES) could not be so greatly accepted among the Orthodox (28).

Earlier attributions to Severus, from the tenth century, can be found in the manuscript tradition; indeed, Severus is explicitly mentioned as the author of the WSyrPRES in the majority of the liturgical manuscripts.⁵ However, attributions to Basil⁶ and Chrysostom⁷ are also known in the manuscript tradition, some also from the tenth century. It is possible that the attribution of the WSyrPRES to Severus reflects an effort to assign certain liturgical practices to a well-known figure in the Syrian tradition, a way in a sense to give added authority to the text. In other words, the attribution of WSyrPRES to Severus can only be seen as a possible, but unproven hypothesis.

Directions attributed to James of Edessa (640-708) regarding WSyrPRES can be found in the *Nomocanon* IV.2.

If an anchorite priest be alone, and there be other anchorites near him, if he wish to sign for himself or for them, when the faithful people are not present, it is left to his discretion to do so, and he is without blame in both. And if he wish to say one of the prayers, that are set down, or all, or if he wish to sign without prayers secretly as time allows, it is permitted to him.

It is not right that the chalice be allowed to remain over night, lest it be turned and he who allows it be guilty. ... And the chalice is allowed to remain, either for the sick that are hard pressed and ought to receive the viaticum (sic) before they die or for fasters that fast till late evening. But apart from these cases, it is not at all right that the chalice should remain. When the holy Body is present, it is permitted to him to sign the chalice, and if a man wish, thrice in one week, when necessary causes require it.

The deacon is not allowed, when he signs the chalice, to say any prayer or even to say anything great or small.⁸

⁵ Attributed to Severus: British Museum Add. 14,493 (f. 21r), 14496 (f. 18v), 14525 (f. 67r), all of the tenth century; British Museum Add. 14667 (f. 15r), 14495 (f. 41r), 14522 (f. 27v), 17128 (f. 41r), all of the tenth-eleventh centuries; British Museum Add. 14500 (f. 2v), of the eleventh century; British Museum Add. 14498 (f. 40r), dated to 1133; cited in CODRINGTON: 'Syrian Liturgies of the Presanctified' 4 (1903) 69; Paris syr. 70 (ff. 33v-36v) dated to 1059, published by RAJJI: 'Une Anaphore Syriaque' 25-39.

⁶ Attributed to Basil: British Museum Add. 14496 (f. 21r), of the tenth century and 14522 (f. 27v) of the tenth-eleventh centuries. CODRINGTON: 'Syrian Liturgies of the Presanctified' 4 (1903) 69.

⁷ Attributed to Chrysostom: British Museum Add. 17128 (f. 41v) of the tenth-eleventh centuries. Cited in CODRINGTON: 'Syrian Liturgies of the Presanctified' 4 (1903) 69. For the text of SyrPRES of Chrysostom (British Museum Add. 17128), see CODRINGTON: 'Liturgia Praesanctificatorum' 719-729.

⁸ CODRINGTON: 'Syrian Liturgies of the Presanctified' 5 (1904) 371.

There are a few important points here where I would like to draw attention. First, the WSyrPRES described here is within an ascetical context. Second, only an ordained person is able to perform the service. Third, the essential aspect of the rite is the signing of the chalice, *with or without any prayer*. If a deacon is to perform the rite, *no prayer* is to be said. It is noteworthy that he is allowed to sign the chalice, albeit in silence. This may preserve the oldest way of signing the chalice, a manual act with no words. A well-known fact in the history of liturgy is that liturgical action originally done in silence, is almost always eventually covered with a hymn and concluded by a prayer.⁹ This signing of the chalice in silence may then be the oldest way of consecrating the chalice in PRES. In addition, James of Edessa allows for the celebration of the WSyrPRES three times a week, but without limiting it to a certain liturgical period (i.e., Lent), thus implying that, as in the Byzantine rite, the PRES was not confined to Lent. Finally, we have manuscript evidence that the WSyrPRES could also be celebrated on Epiphany eve¹⁰ and after baptism for the communion of the newly baptized.¹¹

A much more developed outline of the WSyrPRES is given in *Nomocanon* IV.4, putting the description in the mouth of Severus:

Severus. When the priest has said the sedro, and set on incense, let the people say *We believe in one God*. Then he prays, standing upright, and gives the peace, and seals the people with three crosses saying: *And the mercies of the [great] God*. Then he takes the coal and signs therewith the chalice with three crosses saying: *That He may unite and hallow and change the mixture that is in this chalice into His saving Blood, even Christ our God, for the pardon of offenses* and the rest. Then he prays the prayer of the *Our Father who art in heaven*, and again a prayer; and he gives the peace. Then the Prayer over the people. Then the peace; and he seals the people with *May the grace*. Then the deacon: *Look we in trembling*. The priest *The presanctified holies to the holy*, and he lifts up the mysteries. The people: *One is the [holy] Father*. Then he communicates himself, and gives communion: and he returns and prays the Prayer of Thanksgiving. Then the prayer over the people. Then he seals with *Bless us all*.

⁹ One of Robert Taft's liturgical laws; see for example, TAFT: *Precommunion* 261.

¹⁰ British Museum Add. 17128, f. 60v; cited in CODRINGTON: 'Syrian Liturgies of the Presanctified' 4 (1903) 70.

¹¹ British Museum Add. 14,496, f. 69r; cited in CODRINGTON: 'Syrian Liturgies of the Presanctified' 4 (1903) 70.

Direction. Know that in the kurbho he makes a cross with the coal over the chalice, when he breaks: and here he touches the Blood by means of the coal, making the crosses.¹²

In this outline, the sequence of a regular Divine Liturgy is followed. After the sedro and the incense, the people recite the Creed, the two elements that precede the anaphora. Next, we are told that the presider gives the blessing: 'And the mercies ...' which is the blessing after the conclusion of the anaphora. We are told that the priest 'prays' (item 3 below) where one would expect to find the anaphora. The sequence is outlined here:

1. Sedro and incense
2. Creed
3. The Priest 'prays'
4. Peace, blessing with three crosses 'And may the mercies ...'
5. Signing of chalice with 'coal:' 'That He may unite and hallow and change the mixture that is in this chalice into His saving Blood, even Christ our God, for the pardon of offenses ...'
6. Lord's Prayer
7. Prayer
8. Peace
9. Prayer over the people
10. Peace
11. Seal over people with 'May the grace ...'
12. 'Look we in trembling' 'The presanctified holies to the holy' and elevation, with response: 'One is the [holy] Father ...'
13. Communion
14. Prayer of Thanksgiving
15. Prayer over the people
16. Dismissal blessing.

It is rather obvious that the rite described here is very developed and follows the ritual unfolding of the Divine Liturgy. Here the manual act of the signing of the chalice is accompanied by an actual formula by which the chalice is sanctified. The celebrant blesses the cup of mixed wine with a portion of the consecrated bread by saying: 'That He may unite and hallow and change the mixture that is in this chalice into His saving Blood, even Christ our God, for the pardon of offenses ...' The directions that follow this make it clear that the consecrated bread is to touch the mixed wine.

¹² CODRINGTON: 'Syrian Liturgies of the Presanctified' 5 (1904) 373.

In later documents there is a multiplication of instances where the chalice is blessed. For example, there are three different instances found in a WSyrPRES manuscript of the year 1235 published by Codrington and attributed to Severus:¹³

1. In the sedro: '... O merciful Lord, change also the mixture in this chalice that is set before us ...' with a list of the fruits of communion following;
2. In the 'anaphora': 'O Christ our God, ... hallow this chalice, which is set with wine and water, and unite it to thy venerable body, that it may be ...' with a list of the fruits of communion following;
3. Before the Lord's Prayer the rubrics guide the priest to take the consecrated bread ('coal') and sign the chalice three times in the form of a cross saying: 'The chalice of thanksgiving and salvation is signed with the propitiatory coal for ...' with a short list of the fruits of communion.

What was referred to in *Nomocanon* IV.4 mentioned earlier as 'the priest prays' is replaced here by what has some similarity to a eucharistic prayer, whose purpose is to sanctify the chalice only. The themes of this 'anaphora' in the WSyrPRES of Severus are: the incarnation, the sanctification of the chalice, and the fruits of communion. The same themes, but with different wording, appear in the WSyrPRES, attributed to Chrysostom this time, in British Museum Add. 17128 of the tenth/eleventh-centuries.¹⁴ The formula for the sanctification of the chalice, if compared with number (2) above, is more elaborate: 'You Lord, ... bless and sanctify, complete and perfect this chalice of wine mixed with water and place it on your mystical table, and only with this life-giving body of your only begotten Son, through the operation of your Holy Spirit, make this your life-giving blood'.¹⁵ In addition, the formula for signing the chalice before the Lord's Prayer in WSyrPRES of Chrysostom is the following: 'And then the priest takes the coal with his hand and signs the chalice with it saying: The chalice of thanksgiving is signed in the name of the Father, Amen; and of the Son, Amen; and of the Holy

¹³ CODRINGTON: 'Syrian Liturgies of the Presanctified' 4 (1903) 73, 75, 77.

¹⁴ CODRINGTON: 'Liturgia Praesantificatorum' 719-729.

¹⁵ tu Domine, ... benedic et sanctifica, comple et perfice calicem hunc vino et aqua mistum et super mensam hanc mysticam positum, et uni eum vivifico corpori unigeniti Filii tui, operatione sancti tui Spiritus, facque eum sanguinem vivificum. CODRINGTON: 'Liturgia Praesantificatorum' 726.

Spirit, for life from age to age, and casts it duly in the chalice'.¹⁶ This prayer is similar but not identical to the one in *WSyRPRES* of Severus, if compared with number (3) above. A prayer for the sanctification of the chalice is not given in the Sedro, unlike the *WSyRPRES* of Severus.¹⁷ We can safely assume then that the Sedro would not contain anything peculiar to the *WSyRPRES*; otherwise it would be mentioned. We can summarize the instances of the blessing of the chalice in the *WSyRPRES* in the following table:

TABLE 3.1
THE BLESSING OF THE CHALICE

	Nomocanon IV.4	<i>WSyRPRES</i> of Chrysostom	<i>WSyRPRES</i> of Severus
In the Sedro			√
In the 'Anaphora'		√	√
Before the Lord's Prayer	√	√	√

In other words, the *WSyRPRES* seems to have developed in the following stages: Initially, there would only be a simple, manual act of blessing the chalice with the reserved sacrament. Next a formula was added to cover this manual act. After that, the blessing of the chalice was placed within the structural context of the Divine Liturgy, and finally, the blessing of the chalice multiplied. However, it is only in the blessing that occurs before the Lord's Prayer that the 'coal' is actually placed in the chalice.

There is an interesting, albeit a hapax, parallel in the Greek manuscript tradition of the Byzantine *PRES*. In the thirteenth-century Ambrosiana gr. 276 (E20 sup), folio 39r, one stumbles upon the following prayer, which appears crossed out in the manuscript:

The Prayer of the Cup

Lord our God, you who placed yourself nude and stainless for the life and salvation of the world, *look down upon us your unworthy servants and upon*

¹⁶ Et deinde accipit sacerdos carbonem manu, signatque eo calicem, dicens: Calix gratiarum actionis consignatur in nomine Patris, Amen; et Filii, Amen; et Spiritus Sancti, in vitam saeculi saeculorum. Et proiicit eum in calicem recte. CODRINGTON: 'Liturgia Praesantificatorum' 726.

¹⁷ CODRINGTON: 'Liturgia Praesantificatorum' 725.

*this cup; and make this your precious and holy blood, unto sanctification of souls and bodies; for you are the one who blesses the whole world Christ our God, and to you we give glory*¹⁸

A prayer of the sanctification of the chalice is also to be found in a Syrian/Arabic codex, Berlin syr. 317 (Sachau 58), dating from the fifteenth century and written in Damascus. This manuscript is a Melchite (Chalcedonian Syrian) Euchologion.

O only begotten of the Father, Jesus Christ our God; You who became incarnate for our sake without change; Word of God who suffered in the body without suffering in your essence;¹⁹ You are God who gave to us a guilt-free nature for the sake of our lives. We ask and beseech from you, o lover of mankind, send upon us your Holy Spirit and upon this mixed cup and make it your holy blood, mixed with your life-giving body, which is offered for its sanctification; so that whoever receives it will sanctify his soul and body and will receive forgiveness of his sins so that he may praise your holy name which is so worthy of praise with the Father and the Holy Spirit now and forever and for ages of ages. Amen.²⁰

Georg Graf, who published this text, noticed its similarity to the prayers in the WSyrPRES,²¹ but suggested that this prayer might have been used in the context of communion of the sick²² that, in the Melchite setting, would necessitate a consecrated chalice.²³

¹⁸ ἡ εὐχὴ τοῦ ποτηρίου: Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ προθεὶς ἑαυτὸν ἀμὼν ἄμωμον ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς καὶ σωτηρίας, ἐπιθε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀναξίους δούλους σου καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο· καὶ ποιήσον αὐτὸ τίμιόν σου καὶ ἅγιον αἷμα, εἰς ἀγιασμὸν ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων· ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ ἀγιάζων τὰ σύμπαντα χριστὲ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν. Emphasis added. Also published by S. PARENTI: 'Influsi italo-greci nei testi eucaristici byzantini dei 'Fogli Slavi' del Sinai (XI sec.)' in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 57 (1991) 145-177, p. 164.

¹⁹ This phrase is of anti-Chalcedonian provenance and seems to challenge the Melchite (Chalcedonian Syrian) attribution of G. GRAF: 'Konsekration ausserhalb der Messe. Ein arabisches Gebetsformular mitgeteilt und liturgiegeschichtliche erläutert' in *Oriens Christianus* n.s. 6 (1916) 44-48.

²⁰ GRAF: 'Konsekration ausserhalb der Messe' (1916) 44. I would like to thank Prof. Joseph Amar of the University of Notre Dame for the translation of the prayer from the Arabic. For a German translation see GRAF: 'Konsekration ausserhalb der Messe' 45. Prof. Amar noted that the text is in unidiomatic Arabic and that it is clearly a poor translation of a prayer originally in Syriac.

²¹ GRAF: 'Konsekration ausserhalb der Messe' (1916) 46-48.

²² GRAF: 'Konsekration ausserhalb der Messe' (1916) 46-48.

²³ The fourteenth-century Vatican syr. 41 has the title 'Blessing of the Chalice' (Bezeichnung des Kelches) but it is a translation of the Byzantine PRES into Syrian for the Melkites (Chalcedonian Syrians). GRAF: 'Konsekration ausserhalb der Messe' (1916) 46 note 14.

3.3 The East-Syrian Tradition

The East-Syrian tradition is one of contrasts regarding the use of a PRES. In its present practice, the Church of the East, according to Mar Bawai Soro, Western California Bishop of the Assyrian Church of the East, does not reserve the Eucharist:

Concerning the practice of eucharistic preservation and the Presanctified: at present, we certainly do not preserve the Eucharist, nor am I aware of any such practice in the past. Yet, as recently as the early 1990s, the Holy Synod (not the Patriarch) allowed priests to take the consecrated Holy Qurbana to the sick out in hospitals and homes. Sometimes, it may be through the overnight that the patient receives the Eucharist. But there is still definitively no practice of preserving the Qurbana in our churches.²⁴

The bishop's statement is faithful to the East Syrian Patristic tradition. In his response to a question regarding the reservation of the Eucharist for one day, Timothy I (780-832) also gives us a reason for the practice of non-reservation:

It is never right to leave it [i.e. the sacrament]. It must be consumed the day itself. For it was not allowed to leave anything from the Manna or from the Paschal lamb which were types of the body of our Lord.²⁵

Although the non-reservation seems to have been the standard practice in the East Syrian tradition, there are cases where the contrary is attested. For example, the ninth-century Patriarch Isho bar Nun notes: 'Most of the doctors do not approve the reservation; but some admit to keep it for three days in case of necessity'.²⁶ The tenth-century Patriarch John IV bar Abgar also reaffirms the practice of non-reservation, but he too notes that there is one exception:

If by urgent circumstances or without the will of the priest the urgent case arises in which the Holy Sacrament is kept overnight on the altar, because there is nobody to consume it, let him do one of the two following things with the sacrament. If a believer, male or female, is found let them consume

²⁴ Quoted in M. JOHNSON: 'Eucharistic Reservation and Lutheranism: An Extension of the Sunday Worship?' in C. JOHNSON (ed.): *Ars Liturgiae: Worship, Aesthetics and Praxis. Essays in Honor of Nathan D. Mitchell* (Chicago 2003) 27-53, p. 41.

²⁵ As quoted in J. VELLIAN: *East Syrian Evening Services* (Kottayam 1971) 28, note 51.

²⁶ As cited in VELLIAN: *East Syrian Evening Services* note 51; T. PARAYADAY: *A Communion Service in the East Syrian Church* (unpublished dissertation, Rome 1980) 57. I would like to thank Fr. Taft for lending me his personal copy of this dissertation.

among themselves the chalice ... Because of its abundance the Eucharistic bread may stay overnight on the altar, if sufficient care is displayed towards it through the burning of lamps and the service of the night. But if it happens that there are no persons who can consume the two elements of the sacrament, the man who is in charge of them shall stand on his feet till the moment they consume it, be it night or day; and he should never leave this service without someone to replace them.²⁷

The Metropolitan of Nisibis Elias bar Shinays (975-c.1049) condemns in his *Liber demonstrationis de vera fide* the Byzantine and Syrian Orthodox lenten practice of the reservation and communion of the Eucharist in the PRES:

In Lent they celebrate the liturgy on the first day for the whole week and from that Eucharist they bring forth each successive day what they receive, against the sacred canons which have ruled, that the Eucharist should not remain even one night.²⁸

There is, however, evidence of not just one, but three types of East Syrian Presanctified (ESyRPRES) in the East Syrian liturgical tradition. The ninth-century *Expositio officiorum* provides evidence for its existence,²⁹ and this evidence is supported by the liturgical manuscript tradition. Thomas Parayaday completed a dissertation³⁰ at the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome in which he examined the three different types of ESyRPRES present in East-Syrian liturgical documents: a parochial ESyRPRES, a monastic ESyRPRES, and a vespereal ESyRPRES.³¹

Titled *The Signing of the Chalice*, the parochial ESyRPRES³² is strikingly similar in structure to the WSyRPRES. There are four manuscripts that preserve this type of ESyRPRES:³³ Cambridge Add. 1988, dated to

²⁷ As cited in VELLIAN: *East Syrian Evening Services* 28-29, note 51; PARAYADAY: *A Communion Service* 56-57; cf. W.C. VAN UNNIK: *Nestorian Questions on the Administration of the Eucharist* (Harlem 1937) 208-209.

²⁸ Latin as cited in PARAYADAY: *A Communion Service* 54. In jejunis liturgiam celebrant feria prima pro tota hebdomada et ex eucharistia illa singulis diebus proferunt quod sumant, contra sacros canones quibus praecipitur, ne eucharistia vel una nocte maneat. Translated by the author.

²⁹ TAFT: 'The Frequency of the Eucharist' 99; PARAYADAY: *A Communion Service* 52-53.

³⁰ PARAYADAY: *A Communion Service*, completed in 1980.

³¹ PARAYADAY: *A Communion Service* 208-254.

³² PARAYADAY: *A Communion Service* 62-112.

³³ PARAYADAY: *A Communion Service* 85; CODRINGTON: 'Syrian Liturgies of the Presanctified' 5 (1904) 535.

1559; Cambridge Add. 1984, dated to 1707; British Museum Add. 7181, dated to 1570; and Paris syr. 283. The ESyrPRES contained in Cambridge Add. 1988 is attributed to Israel (d. 877), bishop of Kashkar in Seleucia,³⁴ while in Cambridge Add. 1984 and British Museum Add. 7181 it is attributed to 'Abhdisho, Metropolitan of Elam (thirteenth century).³⁵ The ESyrPRES in Cambridge Add. 1988 contains an important note placed right after the title:

First, it is not right, that the treasure should stay the night, except from necessity: and when it happens to stay the night, let there not be therein anything that is kneaded at all, except the true bukhre or perisatha;³⁶ (but let not the chalice stay in any way) a light not departing from before it.³⁷

The monastic ESyrPRES³⁸ is represented by only one manuscript, Mingana 564, copied in 1931, but internal evidence points to a sixteenth-century date for the original.³⁹ In both its introductory and concluding phrases it is made clear that the rite described is for monastics.⁴⁰ Private monastic communion is attested to in East Syrian sources. For example, the monk Rabbab Youssef Bousnaya (928) gave the following instructions to a novice:

For your first year, my son, receive every day the vivifying mysteries; unless something prevents you from doing that. Go to the church during the Sunday assemblies for the office with the brothers. This will be your guide in your cell during the first year. You should not do anything without order or advice.⁴¹

This could only refer to the private communion of the novice, most likely not ordained, in his cell.

The introductory notes in the manuscript indicate that the 318 Fathers of Nicaea (325) apparently gave permission 'to the weak and to those who are in mountains away from habitation, (who) dwell alone

³⁴ CODRINGTON: 'Syrian Liturgies of the Presanctified' 5 (1904) 535.

³⁵ CODRINGTON: 'Syrian Liturgies of the Presanctified' 5 (1904) 535; PARAYADAY: *A Communion Service* 99.

³⁶ Different names for the consecrated bread; CODRINGTON: 'Syrian Liturgies of the Presanctified' 5 (1904) 536.

³⁷ CODRINGTON: 'Syrian Liturgies of the Presanctified' 5 (1904) 539.

³⁸ PARAYADAY: *A Communion Service* 113-189.

³⁹ PARAYADAY: *A Communion Service* 113-114.

⁴⁰ PARAYADAY: *A Communion Service* 115, 157.

⁴¹ PARAYADAY: *A Communion Service* 59.

because of necessity⁴² to celebrate this service. Here too an argument is made for the necessity of the chalice in the context of anti-Latin polemic since the Roman priest 'receives the Holy (Communion) and also gives the body to the people without the blood. It is not allowed that anyone receives the body without the blood, nor the blood without the body.'⁴³

This is a lengthy service, full of intercessory and penitential prayers. After these prayers comes a reading from the Gospel of John (Jn 1:1-5, 6:16-60) followed by more prayers. It should be noted that this is in contrast to the parochial ESyrPRES that has no readings.⁴⁴ After three supplicatory prayers, a prayer is said while holding the lamb, and then the prayer of signing and the signing follow. What is noteworthy here is that at the signing of the chalice the consecrated bread does not touch the wine in the chalice. The prayer of signing, however, is the same prayer as that of the full Divine Liturgy.⁴⁵ Two prayers, hymns, the Lord's Prayer, and the final seal follow. The service concludes with communion.

The third type of PRES discussed by Parayaday is the vesperal ESyrPRES. By examining vespers of Lent he noticed the following: First, that vespers of the first, the fourth, and the seventh (i.e., Holy Week) weeks of Lent have readings; two from the Old Testament and two from the New Testament.⁴⁶ Second, after the readings and the *karozuta* (litany) three items would follow: the *onita d-raze*,⁴⁷ the *onita d-bem*,⁴⁸ and *batte*.⁴⁹ The last two are a peculiarity of Lenten *ramsa* and are eucharistic in character.⁵⁰ For example, the hymns are for the *ramsa* of Wednesday of the seventh week of Lent, celebrated on Holy Tuesday evening:⁵¹

⁴² PARAYADAY: *A Communion Service* 117. See also 115-116.

⁴³ MINGANA 564, ff. 172r-v, PARAYADAY: *A Communion Service* 117-118.

⁴⁴ MINGANA 564, ff. 183r-186r, PARAYADAY: *A Communion Service* 139-145, 181.

⁴⁵ PARAYADAY: *A Communion Service* 185.

⁴⁶ For the first and the fourth weeks the two Old Testament readings would be Genesis and Joshua, and the two New Testament readings would be Romans and a Gospel reading; PARAYADAY: *A Communion Service* 236.

⁴⁷ Antiphon / anthem of the mysteries, comparable to the great entrance chant.

⁴⁸ Anthem of bema, sung during the communion of the people.

⁴⁹ Sung at the end of services.

⁵⁰ PARAYADAY: *A Communion Service* 249-250. See 237-239 for examples from the first week of Lent.

⁵¹ PARAYADAY: *A Communion Service* 242.

Onita d-raze: Come, let us praise the Lord. Let us go before him in thanksgiving. The Lord protects the faithful.

Let us run and take refuge in the one incomprehensible Trinity with faith, fasting and psalms and let us expect to greet the resurrection of the Christ the King.

Onita d-bem: With repentance let us receive the body and blood of the Son Christ, who suffered for us.

Batte: Let the divinity enter and dwell in your pure mansions.

According to Parayaday, the presanctified gifts would be brought in during the *onita d-raze*, and the *onita d-bem* and *batte* would follow the distribution of Holy Communion to the people.⁵² The anaphora of Nestorius would be used on Holy Friday placed after the *onita d-raze*.⁵³ Holy Saturday would be the only day with no celebration of Eucharist or communion.⁵⁴

It is also interesting to note that the ferial days of the second, third, fifth, and sixth weeks do not have any readings. However, Parayaday argues, the presence and the contents of the *onita d-bem* and *batte* hymns indicate that a communion service was part of *ramsa* even on those days.⁵⁵ He also notes that all *ramsa* of Saturdays in Lent (celebrated Friday evening) 'have the same structure as that of the first, fourth, and seventh weeks',⁵⁶ and he points out that this is so because 'originally Fridays were the feasts of the Redemption of Our Lord. But later the commemoration of the saints was added on Fridays'.⁵⁷

⁵² PARAYADAY: *A Communion Service* 237.

⁵³ PARAYADAY: *A Communion Service* 244.

⁵⁴ PARAYADAY: *A Communion Service* 244.

⁵⁵ PARAYADAY: *A Communion Service* 246-248.

⁵⁶ The fact that the weekdays of the first, fourth and seventh week (i.e., Holy Week) have readings and presuppose the celebration of the vesperal ESYTPRES has led to the hypothesis that they reflect an original lenten period of three non-successive weeks before Easter. See J. MATEOS: 'Les 'semaines de mystères' du Carême Chaldéen' in *L'Orient Syrien* 4 (1959) 457-458 (whole article: 449-458); PARAYADAY: *A Communion Service* 251-254. For the question of a three-week long Lent in the early Church see M. JOHNSON: 'From Three Weeks to Forty Days: Baptismal Preparation and the Origins of Lent' in M. JOHNSON (ed.): *Living Water, Sealing Spirit* (Collegeville 1995) 118-136.

⁵⁷ PARAYADAY: *A Communion Service* 246.

3.4 The Maronite Tradition

The Maronite liturgical tradition celebrated the PRES on weekdays of Lent but abandoned its 'tradition in favor of the Latin usage of mass during Lent except on Good Friday'.⁵⁸ This shift officially took place in 1736 at the Synod of Mount Lebanon:

The mass of the presanctified, which was celebrated once by us throughout the period of the forty day fast (except on Saturdays and Sundays) and is even now celebrated by the Greeks, ... has been restricted by our elders to only Holy Friday, as in the holy Roman church.⁵⁹

This shift should be seen in the broader context of latinization that took place after the crusades, but especially from the end of the sixteenth century on, that even resulted in the destruction of valuable Maronite liturgical manuscripts. The present text of the Maronite PRES⁶⁰ used on Holy Friday is clearly modeled on the WSyrPRES.

3.5 The Hagiopolite Tradition

Two Byzantine liturgical commentaries, the *Protheoria*⁶¹ and the *Commentarius Liturgicus*,⁶² mention James as a possible author of the PRES. Although such an attribution of the Byzantine PRES does not seem plausible, it is of value if we consider the existence of a Hagiopolite PRES (HagPRES). Such a PRES, different from the Byzantine PRES, is attested to in the following sources:

⁵⁸ TAFT: 'The Frequency of the Eucharist' 98.

⁵⁹ Praesantificatorum missa, quae toto ieiunii quadragesimalis tempore (sabbato et dominicis exceptis) olim a nostris fiebat et nunc etiam fit a Graecis ... a maioribus nostris ad solam feriam sextam in parasceve, sicut et in sancta Romana ecclesia, restricta est. J.M. HANSSSENS: *Institutiones Liturgicae de Ritibus Orientalibus* (Rome 1930) II:92; cf. MANSI: *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio* 38:125.

⁶⁰ For a French translation of the service see M. HAYEK: *Liturgie Maronite: Histoire et textes eucharistiques* (Paris 1964) 319-333; for an English translation of the service see *The Maronite Liturgical Year*. Volume II: *Season of Great Lent, Passion Week* (Diocese of Saint Maron 1982) 149-172.

⁶¹ PG 140:460C.

⁶² PG 87:3981D.

1. Diakonikon Sinai 1040 (middle of twelfth century) 19r-32r.⁶³
2. Typikon Stavrou 43 (1122); cathedral Typikon of the Anastasis Church in Jerusalem. Contains the HagPRES for Holy Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday.⁶⁴
3. Georgian PRES⁶⁵

It is through these three sources that a reconstruction of the HagPRES is possible. Sinai gr. 1040 provides us with the diaconal petitions. The Typikon of the Anastasis, reflecting the tenth-century Hagiopolite liturgy,⁶⁶ provides us with the *deroulement* of the rite together with some hymns, petitions and prayers. Lastly, the Georgian PRES provides us with the priestly prayers and some hymns and petitions.⁶⁷

The study of HagPRES is a project unto itself and this is not the place for an extensive analysis of this rite.⁶⁸ However, I would like to note a few notable features. The HagPRES is clearly attached to the end of vespers⁶⁹ after the dismissal of the catechumens and the illuminandi (pho-tizomenoi).⁷⁰ These dismissals are clearly part of vespers and not of the HagPRES. According to the Typikon of the Anastasis the HagPRES would take place in a different church from that of vespers. For example, vespers on Holy Monday, and possibly Wednesday, would take place at the

⁶³ DII: 128-133; MORAITIS: *Ἡ Λειτουργία τῶν Προηγησάμενων* 101-105; F.E. BRIGHTMAN: *Liturgies Eastern and Western. I. Eastern Liturgies* (Oxford 1896) 494-501. The manuscript itself is of the fourteenth century, but according to Jacob it is a copy of a twelfth-century original since it names Manuel Comnenos (1143-1180) as the emperor; cf. A. JACOB: 'Une version Géorgienne inédite de la Liturgie de Saint Jean Chrysostome' in *Le Muséon* 77 (1964) 65-117, p. 71. Moraitis further limits the dating to around 1166; cf. MORAITIS: *Ἡ Λειτουργία τῶν Προηγησάμενων* 101. Phountoulis argues for the parallel use of HagPRES and Byzantine PRES in Sinai in the twelfth century since Sinai gr. 1040 contains the diaconal petitions for both and since an archbishop of Sinai is mentioned in the same manuscript; cf. PHOUNTOULIS: *Θεῖαι Λειτουργίαι* 431.

⁶⁴ PK 49-50, 65-66, 81-82.

⁶⁵ T 71-77. See section 3.6 for more details.

⁶⁶ JANERAS: *Le vendredi-saint* 40. Although copied in 1122, its liturgy necessitates the existence of the Martyrium, destroyed by Hakim in 1009. Janeras identifies 886 as the terminus post quem of this document, since there is a hymn in it that is attributed to Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople.

⁶⁷ See S. VERHELST: 'Les Présanctifiés de saint Jacques' in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 61 (1995) 381-405. Professor Phountoulis' reconstruction employs sources 1 and 2 but ignores 3. He used prayers from JAS for the missing priestly prayers in 1 and 2. See PHOUNTOULIS: *Θεῖαι Λειτουργίαι* 429-503.

⁶⁸ VERHELST: 'Les Présanctifiés de saint Jacques' 381-405.

⁶⁹ T 71; PK 48, 65, 80.

⁷⁰ PK 47-48, 64-65, 79-80.

Martyrium, while on Holy Tuesday vespers would take place at the Elaion.⁷¹ At the conclusion of vespers on each of these days, a procession would take place leading to the Anastasis where the HagPRES would be celebrated.⁷²

According to the Typikon of the Anastasis, right before the hymn of the Great Entrance, Ps 140.2 is chanted. We are not given any verses or told how it was chanted. What is striking is that Ps 140.2, together with *nunc dimittis*, the *trisagion*, and the forty *Kyrie eleison*, is out of place here, sandwiched between the procession to the Anastasis and the Great Entrance. Is this the debris of another vespers, or is it there through Constantinopolitan influence? This remains to be seen. In addition, the Great Entrance hymn is the Constantinopolitan *Nῦν αἱ δυνάμεις* with an important variant (see section 5.3.1).

More importantly, the HagPRES follows the structure of JAS, but replaces the anaphora with a prayer unique to HagPRES. This will become more evident in the following outline of HagPRES:⁷³

1. Great Entrance with *Nῦν αἱ δυνάμεις* hymn.
2. Creed⁷⁴
3. Prayer before the kiss of peace⁷⁵
4. No kiss of peace⁷⁶
5. Prayer of inclination⁷⁷
6. Catholic synapte⁷⁸
7. Preparatory verses⁷⁹
8. Private prayer of the priest⁸⁰

⁷¹ PK 43 for Holy Monday, 76 for Holy Tuesday; no place is mentioned for Holy Wednesday, but according to the Armenian Lectionary, vespers would take place on Holy Wednesday at the Martyrium.

⁷² PK 48, 65, 80.

⁷³ For a comparative table, see VERHELST: 'Les Présanctifiés' 390-392.

⁷⁴ B.-CH. MERCIER: *La Liturgie de Saint Jacques. Édition critique du texte grec avec traduction latine* (Paris 1946 = Patrologia Orientalis 26.2) 182. Explicitly excluded in the Georgian PRES (T 71: 'non dicitur credo') but explicitly in the Typikon of the Anastasis: PK 49, 65, 82).

⁷⁵ T 71 = MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 182-184.

⁷⁶ Non fit osculum pacis T 72; cf. MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 184.

⁷⁷ T 72 = MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 184.

⁷⁸ T 72 = MORAITIS: *Ἡ Λειτουργία τῶν Προηγησάμενων* 103-104 = MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 186-188 (petitions relative to Lent and PRES added).

⁷⁹ T 72 = MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 190.

⁸⁰ T 72-73 = MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 190-192. This prayer also appears in some Byzantine mss of the PRES as prayer of the Cherubic Hymn; see section 5.3.3.

9. Second Prayer. Domine omnipotens, ineffabilis, inenarrabilis, inaccessibleis, incognitus et incomprehensibilis Domine, qui solus habes immortalitatem et dominationem et inhabitas lucem inaccessibleem, accipe obsecrationem nostram et petitionem atque supplicationem omnium sanctorum tuorum et largire, ut perficiamus praeconsecratam hanc oblationem nominis tui hac hora per adventum Spiritus Sancti tui, non in damnationem aut in iudicium neve in reprehensionem peccatorum nostrorum, sed ad sanationem et vitam aeternam, in vigiliam et sanctitatem, et ad dignitatem et auxilium a te, Domine, per Christum Iesum Dominum nostrum, cum quo tibi gloriam offerimus.⁸¹
10. Peace⁸²
11. Precommunion litany⁸³
12. Prayer⁸⁴
13. Our Father⁸⁵
14. Embolism⁸⁶
15. Peace⁸⁷
16. Prayer of Inclination⁸⁸
17. Elevation: Μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ πρόσχωμεν. Τὰ προηγιασμένα δῶρα, τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις⁸⁹
18. Prayer accompanying elevation⁹⁰
19. Response: One is Holy⁹¹
20. Ektene litany⁹²
21. Communion chant and hymn⁹³
22. Postcommunion litany⁹⁴

⁸¹ T 73.

⁸² T 73 = MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 222.

⁸³ T 73-74 = MORAÏTIS: *Ἡ Λειτουργία τῶν Προηγιασμένων* 104 = MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 222 (reference to pre-consecrated gifts added).

⁸⁴ T 74; cf. MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 222-224 = PK 49, 65, 82.

⁸⁵ T 74 = MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 224 = 49, 65,

⁸⁶ T 74; cf. MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 224 (second half of prayer identical, starting with 'sed libera nos ...').

⁸⁷ T 74 = MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 226.

⁸⁸ T 74-75 = MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 226 = PK 49-50, 65, 82.

⁸⁹ T 75 = PK 50, 65, 82; cf. MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 228.

⁹⁰ T 75 = MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 226-228.

⁹¹ T 75 = MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 228.

⁹² PK 50, 65 = MORAÏTIS: *Ἡ Λειτουργία τῶν Προηγιασμένων* 104-105 = MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 228. It is implied in T 75 because it provides the response of the people: Kyrie eleison.

⁹³ T 75 = PK 50, 65, 82.

⁹⁴ T 76 = MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 236 = PK 50, 65.

23. Thanksgiving prayer⁹⁵
24. Peace⁹⁶
25. Prayer of inclination⁹⁷
26. 'Blessed be the name of the Lord ...' x3⁹⁸
27. Dismissal and Opisthambonos prayer⁹⁹

If we compare JAS with the above outline, it is obvious that the prayer *Domine omnipotens ...* (item 9) not only replaces the anaphora of JAS but also functions as an anaphora. One cannot help but notice that a similar feature is present in the WSyrPRES. There a prayer that asks for the sanctification of the chalice replaces the anaphora and functions as such. Here, the prayer *Domine omnipotens ...* (item 9) implies a consecration of the chalice, as the Holy Spirit is called to 'perfect the pre-consecrated oblation,' as it is the chalice that needs 'perfection;' the oblation (i.e., the bread) is already consecrated. I find the similarity of structure and content striking. Could the HagPRES be the result of Syrian influence in Jerusalem? This remains to be seen since the examination of this relationship is beyond the scope of this work.

Finally, the presence of the HagPRES in the Typikon of the Anastasis church in Jerusalem indicates that it is service a belonging to the cathedral type, which was nevertheless also practiced in the monasteries of Palestine.¹⁰⁰

3.6 The Georgian Tradition

The Georgian tradition does not have its own unique type of PRES, but separate mention should be made of it because of its importance in the history of Byzantine liturgy. Through the study of Georgian liturgical manuscripts, Michael Tarchnišvili¹⁰¹ has identified two different types of PRES in Georgian use: the HagPRES and the Byzantine PRES. In fact, the

⁹⁵ T 75 = MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 236.

⁹⁶ T 76 = MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 238.

⁹⁷ T 76 = MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 238-240.

⁹⁸ T 77 = MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 234.

⁹⁹ T 77 = MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 240.

¹⁰⁰ VERHELST: 'Les Présanctifiés 404. See section 2.2.2. The Office of the Typika was also a monastic PRES of the Hagiopolite tradition. See section 2.7.1.

¹⁰¹ T; M. TARCHNIŠVILI: 'Die Missa Praesanctificatorum und ihre Reier am Karfreitag nach Georgischen Quellen' in *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 2 (1952) 75-80.

Georgian translation of HagPRES is the only complete example of the HagPRES.

The Georgian HagPRES is titled 'Ordo sanctificationis sancti apostoli Iacobi.' To my knowledge, it is found only in four Georgian liturgical manuscripts: Gratz georg. 4 (985) (96r-110v), published by Tarchnišvili;¹⁰² the tenth-century Sinai georg. 54 (10v-13v); the tenth/eleventh-century Sinai georg. 12 (7v-11r); and the eleventh-century Sinai georg. 89 (88r-93v).¹⁰³ As Jacob notes, the testimony of these four manuscripts designates without a doubt the ecclesiastical region where this original form of the PRES was developed: the Patriarchate of Jerusalem.¹⁰⁴

The Byzantine PRES also appears in the Georgian liturgical tradition. I am aware of two translations of the Byzantine PRES: the eleventh-century Sinai georg. 89 (71r-86v)¹⁰⁵ and the thirteenth/fourteenth-century Borgia georg. 7 (33r-35v).¹⁰⁶ According to Tarchnišvili, the Georgian translation of the Byzantine PRES came from the Georgian diaspora.¹⁰⁷ Janeras, however, convincingly argues that the existence and use of the two different versions of the PRES in the Georgian liturgical tradition is an indicator of the liturgical history of this tradition. In other words, up until the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century the Georgian liturgical tradition was under the influence of Jerusalem. As a result, it used the HagPRES, and faithful to this tradition, it did not celebrate the PRES on Holy Friday. Then, falling under Byzantine influence and with the diffusion of the Studite Typikon, the Georgian liturgical tradition adopted the Byzantine PRES and celebrated the PRES on Holy Friday.¹⁰⁸ Finally, with the expansion and domination of the Sabaitic Typikon in Byzantine liturgy, the Georgian liturgical tradition again ceased to celebrate the PRES on Holy Friday.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰² T 71-77. For details on this manuscript see M. TARCHNIŠVILI: 'Eine neue georgische Jacobsliturgie' in *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 62 (1948) 49-82.

¹⁰³ JACOB: 'Une version Géorgienne' 70-72.

¹⁰⁴ JACOB: 'Une version Géorgienne' 71.

¹⁰⁵ JACOB: 'Une version Géorgienne' 70.

¹⁰⁶ T 78-80.

¹⁰⁷ TARCHNIŠVILI: 'Missa Praesanctificationis' 77.

¹⁰⁸ There are two manuscripts of the Georgian Kanonarion which prescribe the PRES for Holy Friday; see M. TARCHNIŠVILI: *Le Grand Lectionnaire de l'Église de Jérusalem (Ve-VIIIe Siècle)* apparatus on pages 104-105; R. ZERFASS: *Die Schrifilesung im Kathedralesfizium Jerusalems* (Münster 1968 = Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 48) 81, 83 note 245.

¹⁰⁹ JANERAS: *Le vendredi-saint* 379-383; TARCHNIŠVILI: 'Missa Praesanctificationis'.

3.7 The Coptic and Ethiopian Traditions

There is no indication in the current Coptic and Ethiopian liturgical traditions that they ever had any form of a PRES. Today, the full liturgy is celebrated daily during Great Lent in the Coptic Church,¹¹⁰ while the practice of the Ethiopian Church is, in a sense, closer to that of the early church since the full liturgy is celebrated during fast periods in the afternoon, marking the end of the fast for the day.¹¹¹ Gérard Viaud mentions that there was a PRES on Holy Tuesday in the Coptic tradition, but he provides no references.¹¹²

The only well-known textual evidence of a PRES in the Egyptian context is a prayer published by Renaudot within BAS as an alternative prayer of inclination after the Lord's Prayer, 'from the Presanctified of the Apostle Mark':

Another prayer from the Egyptians, from the Presanctified of the Apostle Mark, after the communion of the holy mysteries.

The gifts of your benefits have been perfected, that are the awesome and most blessed mysteries of your only begotten son, our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ. We confessed his salvific Passion, we proclaimed his life-giving death; we believed his holy third-day resurrection from the dead. The mystery has been completed. We thank you Lord, God, the Father, all-sovereign, for your mercy is great among us, and fashion us in what angels wish to obtain insight into. We implore and ask your goodness, lover of mankind, that you purify us all who fall before you, and unite us with you through the communion of your divine mysteries. May we be filled with your Holy Spirit and founded on your straight faith. May we be filled with the desire of your true love, and may we always glorify you, in Christ Jesus our Lord through him and with him.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ O.H.E. BURMESTER: *The Egyptian or Coptic Church* (Cairo 1967) 14.

¹¹¹ H. KIDANE: 'La celebrazione della Settimana Santa nella Chiesa Etiopica' in A.G. KOLLAMPARAMPIL (ed.): *Hebdomadae sanctae celebratio* (Rome 1997 = Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae. Subsidia 93) 93-134, p. 98-99; H. KIDANE: 'Ethiopian (or Ge'ez) Worship' in P. BRADSHAW (ed.): *The New Westminster Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship* (Louisville / London 2002) 169-172, p. 171.

¹¹² G. VIAUD: *La Liturgie des Coptes d'Égypte* (Paris 1978) 52 and 53.

¹¹³ Ἄλλο παρ' Αἰγυπτίους ἀπὸ τῶν προηγιασμένων τοῦ ἀποστόλου Μάρκου μετὰ τὴν μετάλληψιν τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων. Τελειωθέντα τῆς εὐεργεσίας τὰ χαρίσματα, ἅτινα ἐστὶν φοβερὰ καὶ ὑπερευλογημένα μυστήρια τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, κυρίου δὲ καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Τὰ σωτηριώδη αὐτοῦ παθήματα ὡμολογήσαμεν τὸν ζωοποιὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον ἐκηρύξαμεν· τὴν ἁγίαν τριήμερον αὐτοῦ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν

Evidence from the Nubian liturgical tradition may shed some light as to what this 'Presanctified of the Apostle Mark' might be. Excavations in Christian Nubia have revealed that there was indeed the tradition of a PRES in the Coptic liturgical tradition of Nubia.¹¹⁴ One manuscript leaf¹¹⁵ and two inscriptions¹¹⁶ that have survived the destruction of Nubian Christianity give witness to such a PRES.

Among the almost 100 manuscript fragments found on the floor of the cathedral of Q'asr Ibrim, located roughly halfway between the first and second waterfalls of the river Nile, lay a manuscript leaf written on both sides in Nubian style uncials. This manuscript leaf contains three prayers of which only the second prayer is complete. The end of the first prayer survives, while we only have the beginning of the third prayer.¹¹⁷

ἐπιστεύσαμεν. Τὸ μυστήριον τετέλεσται. Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι κύριε, ὁ θεός, ὁ πατήρ, ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὅτι τὸ ἔλεός σου μέγα ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ κατηρτίσω ἡμῖν εἰς ἃ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακύψαι. Ἰκετεύομεν καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν τὴν σὴν ἀγαθότητα, φιλόανθρωπε, ἵνα ἀγνίσης ἡμᾶς πάντας τοὺς προσπίπτοντάς σοι, καὶ ἐνώσης σαυτῶ διὰ τῆς μεταλήψεως τῶν θείων σου μυστηρίων· γενώμεθα πεπληρωμένοι τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος, καὶ ἐστηριγμένοι ἐν τῇ σῇ εὐθείᾳ πίστει. Πληθησώμεθα ἐν ἐπιποθήσει τῆς σῆς ἀγαπήσεως ἀληθοῦς, καὶ δοξολογοῦντές σε πάντοτε, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ. MORAITIS: *Ἡ Λειτουργία τῶν Προηγιασμένων* 105-106 (cf. Paris gr. 325, f. 38, 49).

Quotes a prayer from the Presanctified of St. Mark, and mentions the existence of an opisthambonos prayer for the Presanctified Liturgy. On this manuscript and prayer see H. BRAKMANN: 'Zur Stellung des Parisinus graecus 325 in der Geschichte der alexandrinisch-ägyptischen Liturgie' in *Studi sull'Oriente Cristiano* 3.1 (1999) 97-110.

¹¹⁴ I first became aware of the Nubian evidence by Prof. Heinzgerd Brakmann's plenary session talk on July 25, 2006 at the First International Congress of the Society for Oriental Liturgy (23-28 July, 2006) held at the Collegium Orientale in Eichstätt, Germany. Prof. Brakmann's talk was titled: 'Alexandrien in Nubien? Erforschung und Bedeutung der nubischen Liturgie.' I would like to thank Prof. Brakmann for our subsequent discussions, for making available to me articles on the topic, and for sharing with me unpublished results of his research. Most references in the subsequent notes are due to Prof. Brakmann.

¹¹⁵ W.H.C. FRENDE & I.A. MUIRHEAD: 'The Greek Manuscripts from the Cathedral of Q'asr Ibrim' in *Le Muséon* 89 (1976) 43-49. I would like to thank Prof. Brakmann for bringing this article to my attention.

¹¹⁶ A. ŁAJTAR: 'Greek Inscriptions from the Monastery on Kom H in Old Dongola' in *The Spirituality of Ancient Monasticism: Acts of the International Colloquium Cracow-Tyniec, 16-19.11.1994* (Cracow 1995) 47-61, p. 55-61; J. KUBIŃSKA: 'Prothesis de la Cathédrale de Faras. Documents et recherches' in *Revue des Archéologues et Historiens d'Art de Louvain* 9 (1976) 7-37, p. 18-26. I would like to thank Prof. Brakmann for bringing these articles to my attention.

¹¹⁷ FRENDE & MUIRHEAD: 'The Greek Manuscripts' 43-47.

Two inscriptions, however, complete the missing texts and help us make sense of the purpose of these texts. One inscription came from the Monastery in Old Donglola, located approximately halfway between the third and the fourth waterfalls of the river Nile. A second came from the Prothesis of the Faras Cathedral, located south-west of Q'asr Ibrim before the second waterfall of the river Nile.

PRAYER 1

O Lord our God, You who have accepted the offering of Your Saints our fathers Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, just like you have accepted the offering of your righteous Abel, the gifts of Noah, the offerings of all your servants, accept these offerings in order that they multiply according to the proclamation sixty-fold and hundred-fold for our Lord, for He is blessed.¹¹⁸

PRAYER 2

O Lord Jesus Christ, Word incomprehensible and without beginning, together with your immaculate Father and the Holy Spirit, you are the holy bread of life that came down out of heaven and did aforetime make yourself a lamb without spot for the life of the world, make your face shine on this bread and on this cup which are supplied on this table in order to change them through the apostolic service and priestly chant into your immaculate body and precious blood for preservation and refreshment of souls and bodies, for you are blessed.¹¹⁹

PRAYER 3

O Lord our God, you are without beginning together with your immaculate Father and the Holy Spirit. You who have sprung for us as a source of

¹¹⁸ Text as provided and translated by ŁAJTAR: 'Greek Inscriptions' 56 (with minimal stylistic editing by the author). The original Greek is not provided. In the manuscript leaf from the Q'asr Ibrim Cathedral, only the final phrase 'to the proclamation ...' survives. See FRENDE & MUIRHEAD: 'The Greek Manuscripts' 45, recto, lines 1-5; ŁAJTAR: 'Greek Inscriptions' 59.

¹¹⁹ Text as provided and translated by ŁAJTAR: 'Greek Inscriptions' 57 (with minimal stylistic editing by the author). The original Greek is not provided. This prayer is found complete in the manuscript leaf from the Q'asr Ibrim Cathedral. Its editors have translated it in the following way: 'O Lord, Son (of God) Jesus Christ Word incomprehensible and without beginning, of the immaculate Father and of the Holy Spirit, thou (art) the holy Bread of life that came down out of heaven and did make thyself a lamb without spot for the life of the world, make thy face to shine on this bread and on this cup and change them into thy immaculate body, in these things which are supplied for thee on this table, apostolic service and priestly chant. May they preserve and refresh our souls and bodies.' FRENDE & MUIRHEAD: 'The Greek Manuscripts' 47. For the Greek, see 45-46, recto, lines 5-13 and verso, lines 1-12. For the Greek text of the Faras cathedral see KUBIŃSKA: 'Prothesis de la Cathédrale de Faras' 20, lines 1-10.

holiness, send down the power of your Holy Spirit on the mixture (κρᾶμα) which is in this cup and make it to change through this previously sacrificed piece (διὰ τῆς προηγιασμένης μερίδος ταύτης), for the source of life is with you and we sing glory to you together with your immaculate Father.¹²⁰

PRAYER 4

O Lord Jesus Christ our God, You who were present in Cana of Galilee and who blessed the wedding and made the water wine, bless this cup and offer it for the soundness of soul and body, for you are blessed.¹²¹

PRAYER 5

What shall I give back to you, O Lord the King, from all of mine, for all those things you have given to me. [...] You have made through your holy and immaculate sacraments but we beseech you, Savior the only good one, release me from my affairs in order that with chaste heart and unashamed mouth I greet and glorify the only merciful one.¹²²

The fact that these prayers appear in the same sequence in our three sources indicates that they are part of a particular service. The question, however, is what kind of service that might be. Prayer (1) is a prayer of offering, but other than the word ‘multiply’ it does not tell us what is to be multiplied. Prayer (2) is a version of the Prothesis Prayer of MARK.¹²³ The key to Prayer (3) is its phrase: ‘send down the power of your Holy Spirit on the mixture (κρᾶμα) which is in this cup and make it to change through the previously sacrificed piece (προηγιασμένη μερίς).’ Here we have the sanctification of the chalice by the pre-consecrated host and the invocation of the Holy Spirit. It is

¹²⁰ Text as provided and translated by ŁAJTAR: ‘Greek Inscriptions’ 57 (with minimal stylistic editing by the author). For ŁAJTAR’s comments on the prayer (see pages 59-60). In the manuscript leaf from the Q’asr Ibrim Cathedral, only the beginning phrase of the prayer survives. See FREND & MUIRHEAD: ‘The Greek Manuscripts’ 46, verso, lines 13-14; ŁAJTAR: ‘Greek Inscriptions’ 59. For the Greek text of the prayer in the inscription of the Faras cathedral, see KUBIŃSKA: ‘Prothesis de la Cathédrale de Faras’ 20-21, lines 10-15. The phrase διὰ τῆς προηγιασμένης μερίδος ταύτης is in lines 14-15.

¹²¹ Text as provided and translated by ŁAJTAR: ‘Greek Inscriptions’ 57 (with minimal stylistic editing by the author). The original Greek is not provided. For the inscription in the Faras cathedral, see KUBIŃSKA: ‘Prothesis de la Cathédrale de Faras’ 21, lines 16-20.

¹²² Text as provided and translated by ŁAJTAR: ‘Greek Inscriptions’ 57-58 (with minimal stylistic editing by the author). The original Greek is not provided.

¹²³ G. CUMMINGS: *The Liturgy of St Mark* (Rome 1990 = *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 234) 4, lines 15-23.

obvious that we are dealing with a PRES, where Prayer (3) is the heart of this PRES, a sort of mini-anaphora as in the SyrPRES. Prayer (4) is a second blessing of the cup, similar to the multiple blessings of the cup in the SyrPRES, while prayer (5), beginning with a paraphrase of Ps 115:3 (LXX), seems to be a thanksgiving prayer. So, the outline of this PRES is:

Prayer 1: Prayer of Offering (?)

Prayer 2: Prothesis Prayer

Prayer 3: Consecration Prayer

Prayer 4: Blessing of the Cup

Prayer 5: Thanksgiving Prayer (?)

The evidence points rather clearly to the existence of a PRES in the Coptic tradition, at least among the Nubian Christians. The geographical expansion of the evidence indicates that it was not just a local peculiarity. Furthermore, the fact that the evidence comes both from cathedral churches (i.e., Q'asr Ibrim and Faras cathedrals) and one monastery (in Old Dongola) indicates that this PRES was celebrated in both cathedral and monastic contexts.

3.8 The Armenian Tradition

During the weekdays of Lent and the first week of the three-week pre-lenten 'Fast of the Catechumens' no Eucharistic liturgy is allowed in the Armenian tradition.¹²⁴ There is evidence of the Byzantine PRES in Armenian translation in the Armenian manuscript tradition,¹²⁵ but we do not know the reality and the extent of its use.

Robert Taft has also hypothesized that the *Chashu zham*¹²⁶ Word service once served as a PRES service similar to the Service of the Typika. He notes:

Though today the *Chashu zham* is celebrated without Holy Communion on days when there is no Patarag, it seems originally to have been a pre-sanctified communion service for non-eucharistic days. This is obvious

¹²⁴ TAFT: 'The Frequency of the Eucharist' 99.

¹²⁵ See texts in CATERGIAN: *Die Liturgie bei den Armeniern* 412-429.

¹²⁶ This is the 'mid-day hour' office in the Armenian Liturgy of the Hours. See TAFT: *The Liturgy of the Hours* 220.

from its structure, which, like the Byzantine *Typika*, comprises the *Enarxis* or opening part of the full eucharist. The Armenian service follows this with the lections and intercessions, and then jumps to the communion service: the Lord's Prayer and its doxology, the *Sancta Sanctis* and its response, the psalm, the *Skeuophylakion* Prayer of the Byzantine Chrysostom Liturgy – i.e. the communion and dismissal rites of the *Patarag*, but, today, omitting the manual acts and communion.¹²⁷

The *Chashu zham* came to serve in the beginning of the eighth century as the Armenian Liturgy of the Word. By the time of Step'anos Siwnets'i (ca. 680-735) it is seen before the *Patarag*.¹²⁸ Taft is the only scholar to my knowledge that has advanced this hypothesis.

3.9 The Roman Tradition

The Roman rite is the only one in the Western liturgical tradition that has a *PRES*, and only within the context of Holy Friday. The Medieval Latin Holy Friday liturgy consisted of three parts: the *Synaxis* with the solemn prayers, the Adoration of the Cross, and the *Presanctified Communion* (*RompRES*). By the fifth century in Rome, as in Egypt, traditional days and periods of fasting, such as Wednesdays and Fridays and the weekdays of Lent, had already acquired the full liturgy with the exception of Holy Friday and Holy Saturday.

The letter of Innocent I, Pope of Rome from 401 to 417, to Decentius of Gubbio, dated to March 19, 416, attests to the non-eucharistic nature of Holy Friday and Saturday in Rome: 'Let there be no doubt, then, about commemorating by fasting during these two days, because the tradition of the Church maintains that the sacraments are strictly

¹²⁷ R. TAFT: 'The 'Holy Sacrifice (Surb Patarag)' as a Mirror of Armenian Liturgical History' in R. TAFT (ed.): *The Armenian Christian Tradition. Scholarly Symposium in Honor of the Visit to the Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome, of His Holiness Karekin I, Supreme Patriarch and Catholicos of All Armenians, December 12, 1996* (Rome 1997 = *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 254) 175-197, p. 187. Reprinted in R. TAFT: *Divine Liturgies – Human Problems in Byzantium, Armenia, Syria and Palestine* (Aldershot 2001) article III; R. TAFT: 'The Armenian Liturgy. Its Origins and Characteristics' in *Treasures in Heaven. Armenian Art, Religion, and Society. Papers delivered at the Pierpont Morgan Library at the Symposium Organized by Thomas F. Mathews and Roger S. Wieck, 21-22 May 1994* (New York 1998) 13-30, p. 19.

¹²⁸ TAFT: 'The Armenian Liturgy' 19.

not to be celebrated in this two-day span.¹²⁹ This tradition, however, 'was not or would not be observed readily by the community under Decentius's guide.'¹³⁰ Innocent I is presumably talking about the celebration of a full liturgy, not a PRES.

The Holy Friday liturgy originally had only a synaxis that in its most ancient Roman form consisted of:

1. Prostratio pontificis ad orandum sub silentio
2. Lectio
3. Tractus
4. Lectio
5. Tractus
6. Orationes solemnes¹³¹

Two elements were added to this Roman core of Holy Friday liturgy: the Adoration of the Cross, between 700-750 through Eastern influence,¹³² and the RomPRES.¹³³

The Old Gelasian Sacramentary, copied around 750,¹³⁴ contains the oldest description of the RomPRES:

¹²⁹ M. CONNELL: *Church and Worship in Fifth-Century Rome: The Letter of Innocent I to Decentius of Gubbio* (Cambridge 2002 = Joint Liturgical Studies 52) 34. For the Latin see R. CABIÉ: *La lettre du Pape Innocent Ier a Décentius de Gubbio (19 Mars 416). Texte critique, traduction et commentaire.* (Louvain 1973 = Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique 58) 24, lines 74-77: 'Quod utique non dubium est in tatum eos ieiunasse biduo memoratur, ut traditio ecclesiae habeat, isto biduo sacramenta penitus non celebrari.' Cabié's translation of the last phrase, in agreement with Connell: 'on ne célèbre pas les sacrements pendant ces deux jours' (page 25).

¹³⁰ CONNELL: *The Letter of Innocent I* 36.

¹³¹ H. SCHMIDT: *Hebdomada Sancta* (Rome 1957) 2:779; see pages 778-790 for a detailed account of this part of the Roman Holy Friday liturgy.

¹³² SCHMIDT: *Hebdomada Sancta* 2:791-796; here 791. Schmidt argues that the Adoration of the Cross entered during the reign of one of several Popes of either Greek or Syriac provenance. Louis van Tongeren has suggested the possibility that 'in Rome the veneration of the Cross on September 14 is older than that on Good Friday, and possibly even served as a model for the ritual of the Cross on Good Friday.' L. VAN TONGEREN: *Exaltation of the Cross; Towards the Origins of the Feast of the Cross and the Meaning of the Cross in Early Medieval Liturgy* (Leuven 2000 = Liturgia condenda 11) 120.

¹³³ M. ANDRIEU: *Immixtio et Consecratio: La consécration par contact dans les documents du moyen âge* (Paris 1924) 21; P. JOUNEL: 'Le vendredi saint II: La tradition de l'Eglise' in *La Maison-Dieu* 67 (1961) 199-214, p. 209.

¹³⁴ See VOGEL: *Medieval Liturgy* 65.

The deacons go the sacristy. They come forth with the body and blood of Christ that were reserved from the previous day and place them on the altar. The priest then goes before the altar venerating and kissing the cross of the Lord. Then he says, *Let us pray* followed by *Praeceptis salutaribus moniti*, and the Lord's Prayer. After that we pray *Free us Lord*. Everything completed, all venerate the holy cross and commune.¹³⁵

A very similar Holy Friday presbyteral liturgy is described in *Ordines Romani* 16 and 17:¹³⁶

the presbyter says: *Let us pray*, and says the prayer *Praeceptis salutaribus* with the Lord's Prayer, followed by *Free us Lord, we ask, from every evil*. And the deacon takes the body and the blood of the Lord that was reserved from the previous day, the Lord's Supper, indeed consecrated, and places them on the altar. And all commune from the body and blood of the Lord in silence, chanting nothing.¹³⁷

The two descriptions above clearly refer to a presbyteral liturgy of the titular churches of Rome.¹³⁸ In this context not only consecrated bread but also consecrated wine is reserved from Holy Thursday.¹³⁹ In addition, it is not the priest but the deacons that bring in the consecrated elements and place them on the altar. Finally, communion and the veneration of the cross seem to be conflated into one service.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁵ ... ingrediuntur diaconi in sacrario. Procedunt cum corpore et sanguinis Domini quod ante die remansit: et ponunt super altare. Et venit sacerdos ante altare, adorans crucem Domini et osculans. Et dicit, *Oremus*. Et sequitur *Praeceptis salutaribus moniti*, et oratio Dominica. Inde *Libera nos Domine* quaesumus. Haec omnia expleta, adorant omnes sanctam crucem et communicant. SCHMIDT: *Hebdomada Sancta* 2:593. H.A. WILSON (ed.): *The Gelasian Sacramentary. Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae* (Oxford 1894) 77.

¹³⁶ Ordo 16, dated to 775-780, is part of a number of OR which formed a collection (15, 16, 18, 19). 'The four ordines ... are little works of propaganda designed to facilitate the Romanization of worship in the homeland of the Gallican liturgy and to promote liturgical unity by the adoption of usages which came from Rome.' VOGEL: *Medieval Liturgy* 153. Ordo 17 is made up of elements of Ordo 15 and 16 (*Ibidem* 169).

¹³⁷ ... dicit presbyter: *Oremus*, et dicit orationem *Praeceptis salutaribus*, cum oratione Dominica, et sequitur oratio *Libera nos, quesumus, domine, ab omnibus malis*. Et accipit diaconus corpus domini et sanguinem quod ante diem, cena domini, remansit vel consecratum fuit, et ponit super altare et communicant omnes corpus et sanguinem domini cum silencio, nihil cantantes. SCHMIDT: *Hebdomada Sancta* 2:507-509.

¹³⁸ H. MCMURRAY: *The Liturgies for the Sacred Triduum of Holy Week* (unpublished dissertation, Berkeley 1982) 60.

¹³⁹ ANDRIEU: *Immixtio et Consecratio* 23-25.

¹⁴⁰ MCMURRAY: 'The Liturgies for the Sacred Triduum' 59-60; J. TYRER: *Historical Survey of Holy Week* (London 1932) 129, 134-135.

The papal liturgy, however, did not initially include a RomPRES. According to *Ordo Romanus* 23, composed between 700 and 750,¹⁴¹ after the veneration of the cross at Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, the Pope returned in procession to the Lateran. It is made clear that neither he nor his deacons would commune, and the people willing to commune would go to the tituli churches to do so.¹⁴²

Here the veneration of the cross and RomPRES are not conflated; they are kept very distinct. The RomPRES appears to be a well-established practice in the tituli church of Rome, in contrast to the Papal liturgy which acquired the RomPRES only in the twelfth century. It is also striking that as soon as the RomPRES became part of the papal liturgy, communion very quickly became limited to the pope and his entourage. For example, while according to the Roman Pontifical of the twelfth century 'all who want receive communion in silence' (et omnes qui volunt communicent in silentio),¹⁴³ the Pontifical of the Roman Curia of the thirteenth century states that 'only the pontifex with his ministers commune' (Communicat autem solus pontifex sine ministries).¹⁴⁴

Another difference between the tituli RomPRES and the papal RomPRES is that in the former both consecrated bread and wine are reserved, while in the latter only consecrated bread is reserved. Thus in the papal RomPRES 'the non-consecrated wine is consecrated by the immersion of the body of the Lord' (satisficatur vinum non consecratum per corpus domini immissum).¹⁴⁵

The question then arises: How and from where did the papal RomPRES come? The RomPRES is present neither in the Hadrianum nor in the vast majority of the Gregorian type Sacramentaries.¹⁴⁶ I believe

¹⁴¹ VOGEL: *Medieval Liturgy* 170.

¹⁴² 'Et procedent iterum ad Lateranis, psalendo *Beati immaculati*. Attamen apostolicus, ibi non communicat nec diaconi. Qui vero communicare voluerit, communicat de capsis de sacrificio quod V feria servatum est. Et qui noluerit ibi communicare vadit per alias ecclesias Romae seu per titulos et communicat'. SCHMIDT: *Hebdomada Sancta* 2:512.

¹⁴³ JOUNEL: 'Le vendredi saint' 209; ANDRIEU: *Le pontifical romain du 12e* 237.

¹⁴⁴ JOUNEL: 'Le vendredi saint' 209; ANDRIEU: *Le pontifical de la Curie romain au 13e* 469.

¹⁴⁵ JOUNEL: 'Le vendredi saint' 209; ANDRIEU: *Le pontifical romain du 12e* 237.

¹⁴⁶ One can find a RomPRES in the *Sacramentary of Saint Eligius*, belonging to the second half of the tenth century. This Sacramentary belongs to the 'Gelazianized-Gregorian' type Sacramentaries. VOGEL: *Medieval Liturgy* 104; SCHMIDT: *Hebdomada Sancta* 319, 798. The RomPRES here is identical that of *Ordo Romanus* 24; see SCHMIDT: *Hebdomada Sancta* 441-442. The RomPRES is also found in the eleventh/twelfth-century *Sacramentary of Köln*. SCHMIDT: *Hebdomada Sancta* 2:317, 798. This sacramentary is not discussed in Vogel.

the answer lies in *Ordo Romanus* 24 and the Romano-Germanic Pontifical. *Ordo Romanus* 24, dated to ca. 754, 'has no direct connection with Rome and could have served as a directory for any bishop.'¹⁴⁷ In other words, 'Pontifex' in the text *does not* refer to the bishop of Rome. According to this document, only the consecrated bread is reserved, and *unconsecrated* wine is brought to the altar.¹⁴⁸ The wine in the chalice is consecrated by contact (i.e., placing in it a piece of the host); this is done in silence. The Romano-Germanic Pontifical of the tenth century¹⁴⁹ which took over *Ordo Romanus* 24, describes the RomPRES in a similar fashion.¹⁵⁰

As in *Ordo Romanus* 24, only the consecrated bread is reserved in the Romano-Germanic Pontifical, while a chalice with unconsecrated wine is brought and is consecrated when a portion of the consecrated bread is

¹⁴⁷ JOUNEL: 'Le vendredi saint' 171.

¹⁴⁸ ... Pontifex vero redit in sedem usquedem omnes salutant. Presbyteri vero duo priores, mox ut salutaverint, intrant in sacrario, vel ubi positum fuerit corpus domini, quod pridie remansit, ponentes eum in patena, et subdiaconus teneat ante ipsos calicem cum vino non consecrato et alter subdiaconus patenam cum corpore domini. Quibus tenentibus, accipit unus presbyter patenam et alter calicem et deferunt super altare nudatum. Pontifex vero sedet dum persalutat populum crucem. Nam, salutante pontifice vel populo crucem, canitur semper antiphona: *Ecce lignum crucis, in quo salus mundi pependit. Venite, adoremus.* Dicitur psalmus CXVIII. Qua salutata et reposita in loco suo, descendit pontifex ante altare et dicit: *Oremus. Praeceptis salutaribus. Pater Noster.* Sequitur *Libera nos, quesumus, domine.* Cum dixerint *Amen*, sumit de Sancta et ponit in calicem nihil dicens. Et communicant omnes cum silentio et expleta sunt universa. *In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Pax tibi.* Resp.: *Et sum spiritu tuo.* Finit; SCHMIDT: *Hebdomada Sancta* 2:513 and MCMURRAY: 'The Liturgies for the Sacred Triduum' 71-72.

¹⁴⁹ VOGEL: *Medieval Liturgy* 230-239.

¹⁵⁰ Istis vero versiculis in finem perductis, et cruce salutata, et in suo loco reposita, duo subdiaconi et Presbyteri duo priores intrant in sacrarium, vel ubi positum fuerint Corpus Domini, quod pridie remansit, ponentes illud in patenam. Et subdiaconus teneat ante ipsos calicem cum vino non consecrato, et alter subdiaconus patenam cum corpore Domini. Quibus tenentibus, accipit unus Presbyteri prior patenam, et alter calicem, et defertur super altare nudatum. Tunc descendens pontifex ante altare, inclinat se, et iterum elevans, dicit: *Oremus. Praeceptis salutaribus moniti.* Finita in antea, *Pater noster.* Sequitur, *Libera nos, quaesumus Domine usq. Per omnia saecula saeculorum.* Cum vero dixerint, *Amen:* sumit de sancta, et ponit in calicem nihil dicens, nisi forte aliquid secreta dicere voluerit. *Pax Domini,* non dicit: quia non sequuntur oscula circumadstantium. Sactificatur autem vinum non consecratum, per sanctificatum panem, et communicant omnes cum silentio. Et sic expleta sunt universa. Et post paululum, vesperos dicit unisquisque privatim, et sic vadunt ad mensam. SCHMIDT: *Hebdomada Sancta* 2:593.

placed in it. The Romano-Germanic Pontifical has played a very important role in the history of Roman liturgy since it was rapidly disseminated and established in Rome, inaugurating an important stage in the liturgical development of the Latin Church.¹⁵¹ My argument is that while in the tituli churches the RomPRES was already established by the seventh century, the papal liturgy adopted the RomPRES later, not through the tituli, but through the establishment of the Romano-Germanic Pontifical in Rome. The differences between the tituli and the papal RomPRES can be summarized in the following table:

TABLE 3.2
THE PRESANCTIFIED IN ROME

Tituli RomPRES	Papal RomPRES
Both consecrated bread and wine are reserved.	Only consecrated bread is reserved.
The consecrated bread and wine are brought forth from the sacristy.	The consecrated bread and a cup with unconsecrated wine are brought from the sacristy. The unconsecrated cup is consecrated by contact (by placing in it a portion of the consecrated bread).

The RomPRES in its earliest form consisted of the following elements. The *italics* refer to the papal RomPRES, where different:

1. Procession with the reserved consecrated bread and wine (*consecrated bread only and unconsecrated chalice*) to the altar.
2. Oremus. Praeceptis. Lord's Prayer. Libera nos.
3. *Commixture*
4. of all (*initially all but the pope and his ministers, then all, then only the pope and his ministers*)
5. Communion in silence
6. People leave

What are the origins of the RomPRES? The consensus is that its origins lie in the East,¹⁵² possibly through the Greek colony in

¹⁵¹ See VOGEL: *Medieval Liturgy* 227-239.

¹⁵² ANDRIEU: *Immixtio et Consecratio* 20.

Rome.¹⁵³ Hermanus Schmidt, however, correctly notes that there is no evidence of Eastern influence in the RomPRES; the formulae used are that of the Roman Mass. I tend to agree with Schmidt, especially since the reservation of both the consecrated bread and wine in the tituli is unique to the RomPRES. The PRES does not appear in the Gallican, Ambrosian, and Mozarabic liturgies.¹⁵⁴

There also seems to have existed another type of PRES, this time monastic, in the West. I have come across this in three instances. The earliest and most detailed is from *The Rule of the Master* (ca. 500-525),¹⁵⁵ written for a monastic community in the southeast of Rome.¹⁵⁶ According to the practice of this monastic community, the celebration of the Eucharist would take place only on Sundays, but not in the monastery, the feast-day of the patron saint, and on other days chosen by the abbot.¹⁵⁷ The monks, however, communed daily in a special service, a lay rite, in which the members of the community communed from the reserved sacrament in *both* species. In other words, we are not dealing with private communion, but a monastic communion rite, similar to the Palestinian Office of Typika.

Details of this communion service are given in chapters 21 and 22. It should be noted that all the monks, including the abbot who distributes communion, are not ordained.

XXI

1 When the brothers are standing before the abbot in the oratory for Communion, after all have been given the sign of peace and the abbot has received Communion, no one may as yet communicate after him, 2 but the deans of the weekly servers immediately ask leave to go out to summon these servers of theirs for Communion. 3 Outside, finishing their work for them, one of the deans who have gone out takes charge of the kitchen and the other one sets table.

4 When these have come out, the weekly servers, after promptly washing their hands, enter, pray briefly, and after their prayer give the sign of peace only to the abbot; 5 to him only, lest if they give it to all they cause the community meal to be delayed, 6 and lest after leaving late they will not

¹⁵³ JOUNEL: 'Le vendredi saint' 209.

¹⁵⁴ TYRER: *Holy Week* 137; ANDRIEU: *Immixtio et Consecratio* 21.

¹⁵⁵ SC 105. For an English translation, see L. EBERLE (trans.): *The Rule of the Master* (Kalamazoo 1977 = Cistercian Studies Series 6). For pertinent text see 171-175.

¹⁵⁶ EBERLE (trans.): *The Rule of the Master* 78-79.

¹⁵⁷ SC 105: 63-64. EBERLE (trans.): *The Rule of the Master* 31.

have made the necessary preparations, causing the abbot when he leaves with the community to give in to the vice of anger because they have not yet prepared what is required. 7 Therefore after a short prayer they at once communicate under both species, and after again praying briefly, say the verse in a low voice, the abbot concluding it, so that they may leave and send their deans back to the oratory.¹⁵⁸

XXII

1 After the abbot's Communion the dean whose turn is to stand next to the abbot communicates, and each member of his deanery follows him. 2 After these are finished, the other dean communicates, and in the same manner each member of his deanery follows him. 3 If, by the grace of God, the community is larger, the rest then do likewise. 4 In the oratory all are to stand in the place and communicate in the order assigned.¹⁵⁹

This is the earliest detailed account of a monastic PRES. Several items are noteworthy. First, it is a rite in which the whole community participates; it is not private. Second, communion is provided in both kinds, and the implication is that both species are reserved; there is absolutely no discussion of consecrating an unconsecrated chalice in this otherwise very detailed document. Third, the abbot distributes communion, himself not ordained. Fourth, the only ritual action mentioned is the kiss of peace. The only prayers mentioned are prayers that the monks would say privately, one before and one after communion, both explicitly prescribed to be short and brief. A verse, most likely from the psalms, would conclude communion. The washing of hands in the beginning of the rite is done for practical purposes since the monks would come to commune with hands dirty from work. This washing of hands does not seem to be ritualized in any fashion.

Another interesting point is that this communion service would take place after the ninth hour, which in this context has all the characteristics of a Liturgy of the Word. The outline of the ninth hour in the *Rule of the Master* is as follows:

- Two antiphons without alleluia
- One antiphon with alleluia
- Response
- Reading from the Apostle

¹⁵⁸ EBERLE (trans.): *The Rule of the Master* 171.

¹⁵⁹ EBERLE (trans.): *The Rule of the Master* 172-173.

Reading from the Gospel

Verse

Rogus Dei¹⁶⁰

This is significant for two reasons. First, communion takes place after the ninth hour of the day (i.e., 3:00 pm) which as we have seen is considered to be the end of the fast day. It seems that this community would fast until this time because there is a lot of stipulation regarding the timely preparation of dinner in the document. Second, we have seen a relationship between communion and the Liturgy of the Word. It is important to note that in this community communion is distributed after such an office.

Another example of a monastic PRES in the West is attested to in Aurelian's, bishop of Arles (546-551), *Rule for Monks* 57:11-12, composed between 534 and 542. The Divine Liturgy was not celebrated regularly on Sunday and feasts; the monks would receive communion from the reserved sacrament(s) at the end of the third hour:

Every Sunday ... after terce, however, say the Our Father and, chanting psalmody, let all communicate. Do the same on feast days. But when it seems suitable to the holy abbot, let then be there masses.¹⁶¹

A third such example also from the sixth century is found in the *Rule of Paul and Stephanus*,¹⁶² whose origins are thought to be in Italy.

In this case communion is again explicitly from both species (corpus et sanguinem domini communicaturi sumus). We are also told of an important ritual element, the embolism to the Lord's Prayer ('libera nos a malo') that implies that the Lord's Prayer was also used. The communion would follow the recitation of the Lord's Prayer and its embolism.

¹⁶⁰ EBERLE (trans.): *The Rule of the Master* 28.

¹⁶¹ PL 68:396B = Règles monastiques d'occident, IVe-VIe siècle, d'Augustin à Ferrière, introd. et notes par V. Deprez, préface par A. de Vogüé. *Vie monastique* 9, Bégrolle-en-Mauges (Abbaye de Bellefontaine 1980) 248-249, cited in TAFT: 'Home-Communion' note 52.

¹⁶² XIII [UT QUAE HORA COMMUNICANDUM EST OMNES QUI INTRA CELLAM SUNT STUDEANT ESSE PRAESENTES] 1. In hora qua sanctum corpus et sanguinem domini communicaturi sumus, praesentes esse festinemus ad dicendum: libera nos a malo; 2. praeter quos certa causa, cum notitia senioris, non sinet esse praesentes. 3. Omnimodo cauendum [est] ne sanctum corpus et sanguinem indigne ad iudicium sumamus. E. VILANOVA: *Regula Pauli et Stephani. Edició Crítica i Comentari* (Barcelona 1959 = Scripta et Documenta 11) 113.

3.10 Conclusions

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter the coverage of each of these traditions is by no means exhaustive. The PRES in each of these traditions remains to be examined thoroughly. For our purposes though, the coverage has been adequate enough to demonstrate the following:

1. The PRES is not unique to the Byzantine liturgical tradition. Without a doubt it appears in the West Syrian, East Syrian, Maronite, Hagiopolite, Georgian, Nubian, and Roman traditions. There is textual evidence of a PRES in Armenia, but its use is uncertain. There is no evidence regarding Ethiopia and the non-Roman West.
2. There are five distinct types of PRES: Byzantine, Syrian, Hagiopolite, Nubian, and Roman. Each has its own characteristics, and therefore one cannot argue of a single source of origin.
3. Each of these distinct types, with the exception of the Nubian, can be further divided into two categories: cathedral and monastic. In the Byzantine tradition we have the PRES (cathedral) and the Office of the Typika (monastic); in the Syrian tradition we have the parochial (ESyRPRES = WSyRPRES) and vesperal (ESyTPRES), both cathedral, and the signing of the chalice for monastics (WSyRPRES) and monastic ESyTPRES; in the Hagiopolite tradition we have the HagPRES (cathedral) and the Office of the Typika (monastic); in the Roman tradition we have the tituli and papal PRES (cathedral) and PRES in monastic orders. Finally, if the Armenian translation of the Byzantine PRES was actually used, and the Chasu zham is proven to be a service parallel to the Office of the Typika, then we have the same distinction here.
4. The oldest textual evidence of a PRES is found in the *Rule of the Master* (500-525) which implies its existence in the fifth century.
5. In most traditions only the sanctified bread is reserved; in the Roman PRES of the tituli churches and in the monastic RomPRES both elements are reserved.
6. As seen in the monastic PRES the oldest ritual elements of the PRES seem to be the reservation of the gift(s), the transfer of the gifts to the altar, the signing of the chalice/commingling, and communion.
7. This simple communion rite is attached to either vespers and/or a Liturgy of the Word, and grows imitating the regular liturgy with the Lord's Prayer and its embolism being one of the first added elements. It is only in the Roman tradition that the pristine form of this rite is still preserved.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE VESPERAL PART OF THE PRESANCTIFIED

4.1 Introduction

I have examined up to this point the origins of the PRES, the context and frequency of its celebration in the Byzantine liturgical tradition, and the different expressions of the PRES in the various liturgical traditions of the East and the West. The focus in this and the following chapter shifts to the text of the Byzantine PRES and the way it appears in Byzantine euchological manuscripts spanning from the eighth to the sixteenth centuries. In this chapter, the vesperal part of PRES will be examined. I will first provide a structural outline of this part of the PRES and then discuss each section individually.

4.2 Structures

The vesperal portion of the PRES may be outlined as follows:

A. Vespers

1. Enarxis – Εὐλογημένη ...
2. Ps 103
3. Priest recites Prayers 5-7 of the Lychnikon
4. Eirenika
5. First Antiphon Prayer
6. Kathisma 18

B. Prothesis

7. Prothesis during the first stasis of Kathisma 18
8. Small Synapte and Antiphon Prayers 2-4 after each stasis
9. Pss 140, 141, 129, 116 with troparia
10. Entrance
11. Entrance Prayer
12. Φῶς ἱλαρόν

C. Readings – Φῶς Χριστοῦ – Ps 140.2

13. Prokeimenon 1
14. Reading 1

15. Prokeimenon 2
16. Φῶς Χριστοῦ
17. Reading 2
18. Ps 140.2 (Κατευσθηθητω)
19. [Epistle and/or only Gospel]

D. Litanies

20. Ektene Litany and Prayer of Ektene
21. Litany, Prayer, and Dismissal of Catechumens
22. Litany, Prayer, and Dismissal of Photizomenoi
23. Small Litany
24. First Prayer of the Faithful
25. Small Litany
26. Second Prayer of the Faithful

In order to discuss all these items, one needs to compare this outline with the different forms of vespers in the Byzantine liturgical tradition: the Sabaitic tradition,¹ the cathedral tradition,² the use that resulted from the Studite synthesis,³ and the use that resulted from the neo-Sabaitic synthesis.⁴

TABLE 4.1

VESPERS IN THE BYZANTINE LITURGICAL TRADITION

1. Sabaitic Tradition	2. Cathedral Tradition	3. Studite Synthesis	4. Neo-Sabaitic Synthesis
1. Ps 103	1. Ps 85	1. Initial Blessing: Blessed is the Kingdom ... <i>or</i> Blessed is our God. + prayers 2. Ps 103 3. Great Synapte	1. Initial Blessing and prayers 2. Ps 103 3. Seven vespereal prayers said silently by priest during Ps 103 4. Great Synapte

¹ Based on the ninth-century Horologion Sinai gr. 863, f. 77v-102r (MATEOS: 'Un Horologion inédit' 56-58).

² Eighth-century Barberini gr. 336, PARENTI & VELKOVSKA: *Barberini gr. 336* 87-95; tenth-century Typikon of the Great Church, MATEOS: *Le Typikon* I:xxii; ARRANZ: 'Asmatikos Hesperinos'.

³ Based on JORDAN: *The Synaxarion of Evergetis I and II*; DI:256-655.

⁴ Present use.

1. Sabaitic Tradition	2. Cathedral Tradition	3. Studite Synthesis	4. Neo-Sabaitic Synthesis
2. Kathisma 18	2. Variable Psalmody (up to six psalms)	4. Psalmody	5. Psalmody
3. Ps 140, 141, 129, 116, Glory	3. Ps 140 with troparia	5. Psalms 140, 141, 129, 116 with either fixed refrain or intercalated strophes	6. Psalms 140, 141, 129, 116, with intercalated strophes and Incensation.
4. Φῶς ἱλαρόν	4. Entrance of the Patriarch	6. Entrance	7. Entrance
5. Psalmic verses + Alleluia	5. Peace	7. Φῶς ἱλαρόν	8. Introit Prayer
6. Kataxioson	6. Prokeimenon	8. Peace	9. Φῶς ἱλαρόν
	7. Small Antiphon 1	9. Prokeimenon	10. Prokeimenon
	8. Small Antiphon 2	10. [Readings]	11. [Readings]
	9. Small Antiphon 3	11. Kataxioson	12. [Ektene]
	10. [Readings]		13. Kataxioson
	11. troparion x3		
	12. Litany, Prayer of the Catechumens		
	13. [Litany, Prayer of the Photizomenoi (Illuminandi), said after W of Fourth Week of Lent]	12. Litanies	14. Synapte meta ton aiteseon
	14. Litany and Prayer of Faithful I	13. Inclination Prayer	15. Peace to all
	15. Litany and Prayer of Faithful II		16. Inclination Prayer
	16. Synapte meta ton aiteseon		On the vigil of some feasts: rogation
9. Nunc dimittis	17. Prayer of Dismissal	14. Stichera	17. Aposticha
10. Trisagion	17. Inclination Prayer	15. Nunc dimittis	18. Nunc dimittis
		16. Trisagion	19. Trisagion
		17. Troparion	20. Troparia
		18. Dismissal	21. Dismissal

One would expect that the vespertal portion of PRES in today's practice would be identical to the current Byzantine vespers (see Table 4.1, column four above). However, this is not the case:

1. Items 1, 2, 4, 6, 9, 10, 11 and 12 of the vespertal portion of PRES reflect current vespers (neo-Sabaitic synthesis).
2. Items that are altered are 3, 5, and 8 (the division of the priestly prayers, their title, and the time of their recitation).
3. Items that are new are 7, 13-19, 20-26.
 - a. The Prothesis (item 7).
 - b. The readings, Φῶς Χριστοῦ, and Ps. 140.2 (items 13-19).
 - c. The litanies and prayers of the catechumens, photizomenoi, and faithful (items 20-26).

4.3 Vespers

In the earlier manuscripts, the PRES is not an independent service, but an appendix to vespers, reflecting the cathedral use. This is the reason why in these same early manuscripts the PRES does not have its own beginning; the rubrics indicate the connecting point between vespers and the communion service, such as in the eighth-century Barberini gr. 336, our earliest Euchology that contains the PRES.⁵

When the PRES was attached to vespers in the cathedral use, psalmody was limited; only two or three antiphons were chanted: the

⁵ The eighth-century Barberini gr. 336 (PARENTI & VELKOVSKA: *Barberini gr. 336* 83): Ἐν δὲ τῷ λυχνικῷ. μετὰ τὰ ἀναγνώσματα καὶ τὸ Κατευθυνθῆτω καὶ τὸ Κύριε ἐλέησον. γίνεται εὐχὴ κατηργουμένων ἐπὶ τῶν προηγουμένων. See also the tenth-century St. Petersburg 226 (JACOB: 'St. Petersburg 226' 190): Ἐν δὲ τῷ λυχνικῷ τῶν νηστειῶν μετὰ τὰ ἀναγνώσματα καὶ τὸ Κατευθυνθῆτω καὶ τὸ Κύριε ἐλέησον. γίνεται εὐχὴ κατηργουμένων ἐπὶ τῶν προηγουμένων οὕτως. The eleventh-century Sinai gr. 958, f. 22v: Μετὰ τὰ ἀναγνώσματα λέγεται τὸ Κατευθυνθῆτω καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο λιτανεύει ὁ διάκονος. The eleventh-century Sinai gr. 959, f. 36v: Μετὰ τὸ ῥηθῆναι τὰ ἀναγνώσματα ἐν τῷ λυχνικῷ καὶ τὸ κατευθυνθῆτω, λέγει ὁ διάκονος. Paris gr. 391, f. 79v: Μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἀναγνώσματα καὶ τὸ Κατευθυνθῆτω λέγει ὁ διάκονος τὸ Εἰπώμεν The eleventh/twelfth-century Sinai gr. 962, f. 48r: ἀκολουθία τῶν προηγουμένων ὅτε μετὰ τὸ λυχνικὸν λέγονται αἱ προφητεῖαι καὶ εἰθ' οὕτως τὸ κατευθυνθῆτω καὶ μετὰ τὸ κατευθυνθῆτω λέγεται ἐκτενή. The twelfth-century Paris gr. 330, pages 63-64: Ἐσπέρας καὶ πρῶτὴ καὶ μετὰ τὴν εἴσοδον καὶ τὰ ἀναγνώσματα καὶ τὸ κατευθυνθῆτω λέγει Εἰπώμεν ... Biblioteca Angelica gr. 15, f. 33r: μετὰ τὸ προκείμενον τὰ ἀναγνώσματα καὶ τὸ κατευθυνθῆτω λέγει ὁ διάκονος. The sixteenth-century Vatican gr. 2143: Μετὰ τὸ προκείμενον καὶ τὰ ἀναγνώσματα καὶ τὸ κατευθυνθῆτω λέγει ὁ διάκονος (probably a copy of an older manuscript).

two fixed antiphons, Ps 85 and Ps 140, and in the case where there was a third, the *teleutaion* (i.e., variable antiphon, before Ps 140). In addition, the three small antiphons (see Table 4.1, column 2, items 7, 8, 9) were omitted. In other words, the readings took place after Ps 140 and the entrance. The outline then of the vesperal part of PRES in the cathedral documents⁶ is as follows:

Ps 85
 Teleutaion
 Ps 140 with troparia
 Entrance
 Readings – Φῶς Χριστοῦ – Ps 140.2
 Ektene Litany and Prayer of Ektene
 Litany, Prayer and Dismissal of the Catechumens
 Litany, Prayer and Dismissal of the Photizomenoi
 Two prayers of the Faithful
 PRES

We will now proceed to examine item by item all the elements, both cathedral and monastic, of the vesperal part of the PRES (see section 4.2), and conclude with a suggested reconstruction of the evolution of this part of the PRES.

4.3.1 *Enarxis*

The earliest manuscripts that indicate an opening blessing for the PRES are the eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 3v, and Benaki 57 (TA 127), f. 6v. The first manuscript only indicates that the priest blesses (εὐλογεῖ ὁ ἱερεὺς). This rubric also functions as an incipit to the blessing of the priest, which could be both Εὐλογημένη ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων,⁷ and Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν πάντοτε, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων,⁸ the two different opening blessings of the PRES encountered in the manuscript tradition.⁹ The second manuscript, however, clearly gives the incipit of the initial blessing: Εὐλογημένη ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ. The earliest manuscript that has the

⁶ Barberini gr. 336; Typikon of the Great Church; *Prophetologion*.

⁷ Blessed be the Kingdom of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, now and ever and to the ages of ages.

⁸ Blessed is our God always, now and ever and to the ages of ages.

⁹ Esphigmenou 120 (1602 AD) gives both options; DI I:962-963.

‘Εὐλόγητός ὁ Θεός’ enarxis is the twelfth-century Ottoboni gr. 344 (1177), f. 16v. When present, the deacon says Εὐλόγησον, Δέσποτα (Bless, Master) before the opening blessing. The manuscript evidence can be summarized as follows:

1. Εὐλογημένη ἡ βασιλεία: eleventh-century Benaki 57 (TA 127), f. 6v; twelfth-century Oxford Bodleian Auct. E.5.13, f. 37v; Vatican gr. 1811, f. 103r Vatican gr. 1875; f. 32r; Γ.β. II, f. 43r; Sinai gr. 973, f. 21v; Paris gr. 392, f. 36v (in top margin); Vatican gr. 1554, f. 39r; Barberini gr. 329, f. 10v; Barberini gr. 431, f. 24r; EBE 713, f. 40r; Vatican gr. 2005, f. 60r; twelfth/thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 1036, f. 43r; thirteenth-century Ambrosiana 276 (E20 sup), f. 37r;¹⁰ Sinai gr. 966, f. 46v; Barberini gr. 443, f. 30r; Γ.β. XIII, f. 49r; Ambrosiana 709 (R24 sup) f. 105r; Γ.β. III, f. 99r; fifteenth-century Sinai gr. 968, f. 56r; Panagia Kamariotissa 145 (142); Vatican gr. 1978, f. 35r; EBE 877, p. 149; EBE 1910, f. 41v; fifteenth/sixteenth century Sabas 382, f. 64r; EBE 756, 52r; Ann Arbor 17, f. 50v; sixteenth-century Panagia Kamariotissa 143 (140), f. 33r; Sinai gr. 2111, f. 121r-v; Sabas 53, f. 82; Sinai gr. 2045, f. 80; Sinai gr. 2017, f. 88v; Vatican gr. 2032, f. 34r; Vatican gr. 2007, f. 42r; Vatican gr. 1557, f. 93v; Ottoboni gr. 288, f. 67r (later hand); Benaki 10 (16), f. 81r; EBE 781, f. 36r; EBE 759, p. 104; EBE 749, f. 63r; EBE 772, f. 90v; EBE 755, f. 95a; EBE 775, f. 87a; EBE 757, f. 59v; Benaki 79 (TA 177), f. 84v; Vatican gr. 2051, f. 69r; Vatican gr. 2052, f. 34v; seventeenth-century Taphou 334, f. 99v.
2. Εὐλόγητός ὁ Θεός: twelfth-century Ottoboni gr. 344 (1177), f. 16v; twelfth/thirteenth-century EBE 662, f. 61r; thirteenth-century Ann Arbor gr. 49, f. 45a; Sinai gr. 1037, f. 63r; fourteenth-century Vatopedi 984, f. 28v; Vatopedi 133 (744), DII:273; Vatican gr. 2324, f. 18r; EBE 2403, f. 45r; Ambrosiana 84 (B15 sup), f. 132v; the fifteenth/sixteenth century Paris gr. 326, f. 55r; the sixteenth-century Sinai gr. 2037, f. 71r; Sabas 48, f. 1r; EBE 878, p. 132; EBE 2400, f. 82v.

From the evidence provided above, it is obvious that ‘Εὐλογημένη ἡ βασιλεία ...’ is the dominant opening blessing in the manuscript tradition. The question arises as to what is the difference between the two. One explanation is given in the twelfth/thirteenth-century *Hermeneia* of

¹⁰ Before the Enarxis, the priest says: Εὐξασθαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἀδελφοί (pray for me brothers). In the thirteenth-century Barberini gr. 443, f. 30r, the priest turns towards the people and says: Εὐχεσθαι (pray for me).

Pseudo-Theodore the Studite. He comments that standing in front of the altar with the censor, and having said the prayer of incense, the priest:

οὐχὶ τὸ Εὐλόγημένη ἡ βασιλεία ἀνακηρύττει, ὡς νίκης τρόπαιον καὶ αὐθεντίας ἀπροσωπολήπτου, ἀλλ' Εὐλόγητός ὁ Θεὸς λέγων, ὡς ταπεινότητος σύμβολον καὶ ἱκετηρίας ἀπαρθραύστου.¹¹ does not proclaim the 'Blessed be the Kingdom,' as [it is] a trophy of victory and unbridled boldness, but by saying 'Blessed is our God' as [it is] a symbol of humility and of fervent supplication.

Here we have a 'theological' reasoning regarding the difference between the two opening phrases of PRES which ties in with the notion that the PRES is a sober service. On the other hand, according to modern Orthodox popular piety, the PRES opens with the 'Εὐλόγημένη ἡ βασιλεία ...' because it is considered a Divine Liturgy, and all Divine Liturgies begin with this opening blessing. The sobriety, however, of the PRES is not due to its 'Lenten' character, but due to its cathedral origins and archaic character. In addition, the PRES is, technically speaking, not a Divine Liturgy, but a vespers service with a communion rite attached to it. The opening blessing 'Εὐλόγημένη ἡ βασιλεία,' with which the PRES opens, is a remnant of the cathedral vespers to which the PRES was attached. All vespers in the Great Church would start with Εὐλόγημένη, whether or not a PRES was attached to it.¹²

4.3.2 Ps 103

Ps 103 is the opening or introductory psalm, thus called in Greek προοιμιακός, characteristic of Sabaitic or monastic vespers.¹³ The respective cathedral or Constantinopolitan psalm is Ps 85, the first of the two fixed antiphons of cathedral vespers, the other one being Ps 140. Ps 103 is first mentioned in the context of vespers in the *Great Catechesis* of

¹¹ PG 99:1688BC; MORAITIS: *Ἡ Λειτουργία τῶν Προηγιασμένων* 83; translation by the author.

¹² See for example the beginning of Vespers at Grottaferrata Γ.β. XXXV (59v), cited in STRUNK: *Essays* 137, 149. See also PASSARELLI: 'Osservazioni' 75-85.

¹³ For example, see the earliest surviving ninth-century Horologion Sinai gr. 863, f. 78r, MATEOS: 'Un Horologion inédit' 56.

Theodore the Studite (759-826)¹⁴ and appears in the ninth-century Horologion Sinai gr. 863.¹⁵

The opening psalm appears in manuscripts of the PRES only when the vespers part is given. The earliest manuscripts do not give us the vespers part of the PRES but presume the celebration of cathedral vespers. The twelfth-century Vatican gr. 1554, f. 39v, is the only manuscript I am aware of that contains a complete cathedral PRES (i.e. starting from the *enarxis*) and thus indicating Ps 85 as the opening psalm.¹⁶ The earliest manuscripts in which Ps 103 appears are the eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 3v, Benaki 27 (56), f. 53v, and Benaki 57 (TA 127) 7v. In current use, Ps 103 is introduced by three invitatory verses adapted from Ps 94.6.¹⁷

4.3.3 *Eirenika*

The first set of petitions is called ‘μεγάλη συναπτή,’ great synapte, or ‘εἰρηνικά,’ litany of peace, named after the first petition. The petitions in current Greek use are:

¹⁴ MATEOS: ‘La synaxe monastique des vêpres byzantines’ in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 36 (1972) 248-272, here 260-261. Cf. Theodore the Studite, Sermon 73 in MAI (ed.): *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca* IX, Rome 1888, 206.

¹⁵ See Table 4.1, column 1.

¹⁶ In the same manuscript, however, (ff. 54v-56r) the ferial vespers is according to the monastic-Studite tradition. I owe this observation to Prof. Parenti.

¹⁷ Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν καὶ προσπέσωμεν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἡμῶν Θεῷ. Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν καὶ προσπέσωμεν Χριστῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἡμῶν Θεῷ. Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν καὶ προσπέσωμεν αὐτῷ, Χριστῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ Θεῷ ἡμῶν (Come, let us bow down and worship God our king. Come, let us bow down and worship Christ, our king and God. Come, let us bow down and worship himself, Christ our king and God). Only the incipits of the verses are given in the *Ἱερατικόν*, as this part does not belong to the priest. In the PRES manuscripts, Ps 103 may be introduced by these invitatory verses (only incipits given) as in the current use, such as the twelfth-century Barberini gr. 329, f. 10v. In the *Typikon* of the Holy Savior (1131 AD), ARRANZ: *Saint-Sauveur* 20, the incipit is given (Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν) with the indication that it is repeated not thrice, but twice (β'). A few examples of other introductions to Ps 103 that I have encountered in the manuscript tradition are: (1) Trisagion, Ps 103: The eleventh-century Benaki 27 (56) 53v; (2) Lord's Prayer, Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν, Ps 103: The twelfth-century *Typikon* of the Holy Savior, ARRANZ: *Saint-Sauveur* 209; Vatican gr. 2005 (1194/1195), f. 60r; the fourteenth-century Γ.β. III, f. 99r; sixteenth-century Vatican gr. 2051, f. 69r; (3) The trisagion, Panagia Trias, Lord's Prayer, Ps 103: The eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 3v; the twelfth-century Ottoboni gr. 344, f. 16v; Vatican gr. 2324, f. 18r; (4) The trisagion, Panagia Trias, Lord's Prayer, Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν, Ps 103: The thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 966, f. 46v.

1. Ἐν εἰρήνῃ, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
 2. Ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀνωθεν εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
 3. Ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου, εὐσταθείας τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησιῶν, καὶ τῆς τῶν πάντων ἐνώσεως, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
 4. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου οἴκου τούτου, καὶ τῶν μετὰ πίστεως, εὐλαβείας καὶ φόβου Θεοῦ εἰσιόντων ἐν αὐτῷ, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
 5. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἡμῶν (τοῦ δεῖνος), τοῦ τιμίου πρεσβυτερίου, τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ διακονίας, παντὸς τοῦ Κλήρου καὶ τοῦ Λαοῦ, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
 6. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς ἡμῶν Ἔθνους, πάσης Ἀρχῆς καὶ Ἐξουσίας ἐν αὐτῷ, τοῦ κατὰ ξηράν, θάλασσαν καὶ ἀέρα φιλοχρίστου ἡμῶν Στρατοῦ, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
 7. [Ὑπὲρ τοῦ συμπολεμῆσαι καὶ ὑποτάξαι ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ, πάντα ἐχθρὸν καὶ πολέμιον, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.]
 8. Ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως (ἢ τῆς κώμης, ἢ τῆς χώρας, ἢ τῆς νήσου, ἢ τῆς ἁγίας Μονῆς) ταύτης, πάσης πόλεως, χώρας, καὶ τῶν πιστεὶ οἰκούντων ἐν αὐταῖς, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
 9. Ὑπὲρ εὐκρασίας ἀέρων, εὐφορίας τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς, καὶ καιρῶν εἰρηνικῶν, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
 10. Ὑπὲρ πλεόντων, ὁδοιπορούντων, νοσοῦντων, καμνόντων, αἰχμαλώτων, καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
 11. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ῥυσθῆναι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης θλίψεως, ὀργῆς, κινδύνου καὶ ἀνάγκης, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
1. In peace let us pray to the Lord.
 2. For the heavenly peace and the salvation of our souls, let us pray to the Lord.
 3. For the peace of the whole world, the stability of the holy Churches of God, and for the unity of all, let us pray to the Lord.
 4. For this holy house, and for those who enter it with faith, reverence, and the fear of God, let us pray to the Lord.
 5. For our Archbishop _____, the worthy priesthood, the deacons in Christ, for all the clergy and the people, let us pray to the Lord.
 6. For our pious nation, every power and authority in it, for the Christ-loving Army, Navy, and Air force, let us pray to the Lord.
 7. [That he may fight and conquer under his feet every enemy and adversary, let us pray to the Lord.]
 8. For this city (or town, or country, or island, or holy monastery), for every city and land, and for the faithful who live in them, let us pray to the Lord.
 9. For temperate weather, abundance of the fruits of the earth, and for peaceful times, let us pray to the Lord.
 10. For those who travel by land and sea, for the sick, the suffering, and the captives, and for their salvation, let us pray to the Lord.
 11. That we may be spared from all affliction, violence, danger, and want, let us pray to the Lord.

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|---|--|
| <p>12. Ἀντιλαβοῦ, σῶσον, ἐλέησον, καὶ διαφύλαξον ἡμᾶς, ὁ Θεός, τῆ σῆ χάριτι.</p> <p>13. 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.</p> <p>14. Εὐχὴ α' ἀντιφώνου</p> <p>15. Ἐκφώνησις</p> | <p>12. Help us, save us, have mercy upon us, and protect us, O God, by your grace.</p> <p>13. Remembering our most holy, pure, blessed, and glorious Lady, the Theotokos and ever-virgin Mary, with all the saints, let us commend ourselves and one another and our whole life to Christ our God.</p> <p>14. Prayer of first antiphon</p> <p>15. Ekphonesis</p> |
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Juan Mateos pointed out that litanies are a characteristic of the cathedral office, and thus it is there that the origins of the synapte should be sought. He also mentioned that in the ancient office of vespers in Antioch and Jerusalem the litanies were placed at the end of vespers. He argued that the great synapte at the beginning of vespers is the evolution of a simple 'Let us pray,' which would precede the first vesperal prayer, and grew in order to give the priest time to recite the prayer silently.¹⁸ Mateos also noted that the ἀντιλαβοῦ petition (number 12) in its original form was a call for the faithful to rise after the prayer.¹⁹ Taft built upon Mateos' theory and reconstructed the evolution of the litany in the following way:

Stage 1:

- i. Let us pray
- ii. Prayer in silence
- iii. Prayer

Stage 2:

- i. Let us pray for ... (intentions)
- ii. All kneel
- iii. Silent prayer while kneeling
- iv. All rise
- v. Prayer-Collect

¹⁸ MATEOS: 'La synaxe monastique' 268. For the great synapte in the beginning of CHR and BAS MATEOS: *La célébration* 29-31. For example, in the tenth/eleventh-century Γ.β. X, f. 26r, the whole set of eirenika is placed before the first prayer of vespers. The second and third prayers are accompanied by the small synapte (f. 26v).

¹⁹ MATEOS: *La célébration* 165-166; More such examples from manuscripts of the PRES in section 5.6.7.

According to Taft, 'a litany is no more than a further development of this basic liturgical unit by filling in the period of silent prayer with bid-dings proclaimed by the deacon.'²⁰ One could add another stage characterizing the evolution of the litany in the Byzantine liturgical tradition. We note the following structure in some cases:²¹

- i. Call to kneel and pray
- ii. [Additional petitions]
- iii. Prayer
- iv. Help us, save us, have mercy upon us, and raise us up o God by your grace.
- v. Through the intercessions ...
- vi. Ekphonesis

What is characteristic about this structure is that the priestly prayer does not follow the call to rise, but is framed between the calls to kneel and rise. In other words, the priestly prayer is said while everyone is kneeling. The ekphonesis (item iv above) is only the doxological conclusion of the prayer just said. Such examples are not only encountered in the prayers of the faithful in some manuscripts of the PRES (see section 4.6.4) but even in the current use in the Vespers of Γονυκλισία (of Kneeling) celebrated on Pentecost Sunday. There, we see the same structure:²²

- i. Ἔπι καὶ ἔπι κλίναντες τὰ γόνατα, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
- ii. Prayers said audibly by the celebrant²³
- iii. Ἀντιλαβοῦ, σῶσον, ἐλέησον, ἀνάστησον, καὶ διαφύλαξον ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεός,
τῆ σῆ χάριτι.
- iv. Τῆς παναγίας, ἀχράντου ...
- v. Ekphonesis

Since the Ἀντιλαβοῦ petition is a reworking of the ancient 'levate' command, it is significant to note that the Ἀντιλαβοῦ petition almost always

²⁰ TAFI: *Precommunion* 92.

²¹ For example, see the eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 9r-10r, Sinai gr. 959, ff. 38v-39r, the eleventh/twelfth-century Sinai gr. 962, ff. 50v-52v, the twelfth-century Sinai gr. 973, ff. 24r-v, Paris gr. 392, 39v-40v, and the twelfth/thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 1036, ff. 47v-49v. For more examples and discussion, see section 4.6.4.

²² *Ἱερατικόν* 262-270.

²³ On the prayers of this service see M. ARRANZ: 'Les prières de la Gonyklisia ou de la Génuflexion du jour de la Pentecôte dans l'ancien Euchologe byzantin' in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 48 (1982) 92-123.

follows the priestly prayer in those manuscripts, where the priestly prayers are placed within diaconal petitions.

We can then understand some unusual occurrences in the manuscript tradition of the PRES. First, the great synapte in the eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 4r, opens with the following variation of petition number (1): Κλίνοντες τὰ γόνατα ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν, the only occurrence of the call to kneel in the great synapte, more often seen, however, in the litanies accompanying the two prayers of the faithful.²⁴ In the same manuscript petitions (9) and (10) are omitted. Second, petitions (5)-(10) are omitted in the eleventh-century Benaki 57 (TA 127), ff. 6v-7v, and petitions (4)-(11) are omitted in the twelfth/thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 1036, ff. 43r-v. These omissions are potentially significant in that they might indicate a middle stage in the migration of the synapte to the beginning of vespers and the evolution of the primitive 'Let us pray' preceding the first prayer of vespers. Finally, we observe that in some manuscripts the prayer of the first antiphon is placed before petition (12),²⁵ where in the vast majority of manuscripts the prayer is placed after *all* of the petitions of the synapte.

Petition (6) is a reflection of the political situation from the place and time of the manuscript. For example, petition (6) of the eirenika in current Greek practice reflects a referendum that took place in Greece on December 8, 1974 when the monarchy was rejected. The original petition was 'Ἵπὲρ τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων καὶ θεοφυλάκτων βασιλέων ἡμῶν· τοῦ παλατιοῦ καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου αὐτῶν, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν'.²⁶ The abol-

²⁴ See in section 4.7.

²⁵ In the eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 4r; Benaki 57 (TA 127), ff. 6v-7v; the twelfth-century Sinai gr. 973, f. 22v (prayer 2); Vatican gr. 1554, f. 39r; Ottoboni gr. 344, f. 17v; the twelfth/thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 1036, ff. 43r-v; the thirteenth-century Ambrosiana 276 (E20 sup), f. 38r; Sinai gr. 966, f. 46v-47r; fourteenth-century Vatican gr. 2324, 18v; the fourteenth/fifteenth-century Benaki 90 (TA 246), f. 59v-60r; the fifteenth-century EBE 1910, f. 41v; the sixteenth-century EBE 781, f. 36r; EBE 772, f. 91v.

²⁶ See, for example, the eleventh-century Benaki 27 (56), f. 55v; the twelfth-century Vatican gr. 1811, f. 103v; Sinai gr. 973, f. 22r; Vatican gr. 1863, f. 90r; Vatican gr. 1554, f. 39r; Barberini gr. 431, f. 24v; Barberini gr. 393, f. 36v; Barberini gr. 345, f. 19r; Barberini gr. 329, f. 11v; EBE 713, f. 41r; Γ.β. II, f. 43v; Γ.β. VIII, f. 70v; scroll BM 5; the twelfth/thirteenth-century EBE 662, f. 61r; the thirteenth-century Ann Arbor 49, f. 47r; Ambrosiana 276 (E20 sup), f. 37v; Sinai gr. 1037, f. 68v; Γ.β. XIII, f. 49r; fourteenth-century Paris gr. 324, f. 39r; Vatican gr. 2324, f. 18v; the fourteenth/fifteenth-century Benaki 90 (TA 246), f. 59v; the fifteenth-century Sinai gr. 968, f. 56v; Paris gr. 2509, f. 233v; Vatican gr. 1978, f. 35v; EBE 877, p. 150; EBE 1910, f. 41v;

ishment of the monarchy led to the replacement of the petition for the king and his court by petition (6). Petition (7), although in the books, is not said either. In current Greek American practice, petition (6) reflects the American reality and reads as follows: 'For our country, our president, and all those in public service, let us pray to the Lord.' Such changes in the petitions, reflecting changes in the government, are not uncommon in the manuscripts. In later manuscripts of the PRES the two petitions for the king and his court, the original petition (6) and (7), are dropped. The earliest such example I have found is in the fifteenth/sixteenth-century EBE 756, f. 52v.²⁷ Such an occurrence, also seen in CHR,²⁸ coincides with the fall of Constantinople in 1453 to the Ottoman Turks and the end of the Byzantine Empire.

Another notable variant to be found is in petition (8), where in some manuscripts 'Υπερ της πόλεως'²⁹ is replaced by "Υπερ της άγίας

EBE 685, p. 37; Ambrosiana 84 (B14 sup), f. 133r; the fifteenth/sixteenth-century Paris gr. 326, 56v. In some manuscripts the following variant petition occurs: 'Υπερ του εϋσεβεστατου και θεοφυλακτου ημων ρηγος παντος του παλατιου και του στρατοπεδου αυτου. In the eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 4r; twelfth-century Ottoboni gr. 344, f. 17v; Vatican gr. 2005 (1194/1195), f. 62v; thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 966, f. 46v; Barberini gr. 443, f. 30v; Ambrosiana 709 (E20 sup), f. 105r; and the fourteenth-century Γ.β. III, f. 101r. The word ρηγος is the Greek genitive of the Latin word rex, used instead of βασιλευς for the Normand King. See V. VON FALKENHAUSEN: 'Komes, doux, pinkips, rex, basileus. Zu den griechischen Titeln der normannischen Herrscher in Süditalien und Sizilien' in *Palaeoslavica* 10/I (2002) 79-93. I owe this reference to Prof. Stefano Parenti.

²⁷ Other such cases in the manuscripts I had the opportunity to examine are the sixteenth-century Panagia Kamariotissa 143 (140), f. 34r; Sinai gr. 2037, f. 73v (petition number 6 is missing, but it has petition number 7); Sinai gr. 2111, f. 126r-v; Sinai gr. 2045, f. 83r; Ottoboni gr. 288, f. 69v; EBE 781, f. 36r; EBE 759, p. 108; EBE 749, f. 65r; EBE 772, f. 91r; EBE 878, p. 134; EBE 775, f. 87v-88r; EBE 2400, f. 85r; EBE 757, f. 61r; Benaki 10 (16), f. 81v.

²⁸ STRITTMATTER: 'Synapte' 57-59; TR 25.

²⁹ The petition "Υπερ της πόλεως" appears in the following manuscripts: the eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 4v; Benaki 27 (56), f. 55v; the twelfth-century Ottoboni gr. 434, f. 26r; Vatican gr. 1811, f. 103v; Sinai gr. 973, f. 22r, Vatican gr. 1863, f. 90v; Vatican gr. 1554, f. 39r; Ottoboni gr. 344, f. 17v; Barberini gr. 431, f. 24v, Barberini gr. 393, f. 36v; Barberini gr. 329, f. 11v; EBE 713, f. 41r; Γ.β. II, 42v; the thirteenth-century Ambrosiana 276 (E20 sup), f. 37v; Sinai gr. 966, f. 46v; Barberini gr. 443, f. 30v; Ambrosiana 709 (R24 sup), f. 105v; the fourteenth-century Paris gr. 324, f. 39r; Vatican gr. 2324, f. 18v (υπερ της κώμης); Γ.β. III, f. 101r; the fifteenth-century Paris gr. 2509, f. 233v; EBE 877, p. 150; the fifteenth/sixteenth-century Paris gr. 326, f. 56v; Ann Arbor 17, f. 51v; the sixteenth-century Vatican gr. 2051, f. 70r; Paris gr. 393, f. 46v.

μονῆς³⁰ reflecting the monastic provenance of the respective manuscript. What is striking is that before the fifteenth-century the majority of manuscripts use “Ἰπὲρ τῆς πόλεως³¹” while after the fifteenth century the vast majority of manuscripts use “Ἰπὲρ τῆς ἀγίας μονῆς”.³² This shift in the manuscripts possibly points to the fact that with the fall of the Byzantine Empire the monasteries become the centers of liturgical life, activity, and learning. This process, of course, started much earlier with the end of Iconoclasm, but especially after the fall of the Constantinople in 1204 to the Crusaders.³³

Finally, some manuscripts do not give the text of the synapte but only the directive that the deacon recites the synapte after the end of Ps 103.³⁴ These manuscripts, intended for the priest, presume the presence of a deacon.

4.3.4 *The Antiphon / Vespertal Prayers*

The following prayers are currently employed in Byzantine vespers:

³⁰ The petition “Ἰπὲρ τῆς ἀγίας μονῆς” appears in the following manuscripts: the twelfth-century Barberini gr. 345, f. 19r; scroll BM 5; twelfth/thirteenth-century EBE 662, f. 61r; thirteenth-century Γ.β. XIII, f. 49r; Ann Arbor 49, f. 47r, Sinai gr. 1037, 69r; the fourteenth/fifteenth-century Benaki 90 (TA 246), f. 59v; the fifteenth-century Sinai gr. 968, f. 56v; Vatican gr. 1978, f. 35v; EBE 1910, f. 41v; Ambrosiana 84 (B15 sup), f. 133r; the fifteenth/sixteenth-century EBE 756, f. 52v; the sixteenth-century Kamariotissa 143 (140), f. 43r; Sinai gr. 2037, f. 73v; Sinai gr. 2111, f. 126r-v; Sabas 53, f. 83r; Sinai gr. 2045, f. 83r; Sinai gr. 2017, f. 89r; Vatican gr. 2032, f. 34r; Vatican gr. 2007, f. 28r; Vatican gr. 1571, f. 24r; Vatican gr. 1557, f. 94r; Ottoboni gr. 288, f. 69v; EBE 781, f. 36r; EBE 759, p. 108; EBE 749, f. 65r; EBE 772, f. 91r; EBE 755, f. 95v; EBE 878, p. 134; EBE 775, f. 88r, EBE 2400, f. 85r; EBE 757, f. 161r, Vatican gr. 2052, f. 34v, Benaki 10 (16), f. 81v.

³¹ Up to and including the fifteenth-century 22 manuscripts mention “Ἰπὲρ τῆς πόλεως” while only 10 mention “Ἰπὲρ τῆς ἀγίας μονῆς”. Vatican gr. 2005 (1194/95), f. 62v, has the unique “Ἰπὲρ τῆς πσίμνης ἡμῶν” which refers to a monastery, since this manuscript is a euchologion from the monastery of St. Anastasius and Elias of Carbone in Lucania region. I owe this comment on the meaning of πσίμνη in this particular case to Prof. Stefano Parenti.

³² After the fifteenth century only 4 manuscripts mention “Ἰπὲρ τῆς πόλεως” while 22 manuscripts mention “Ἰπὲρ τῆς ἀγίας μονῆς”.

³³ See TAFT: *A Short History* 52ff.

³⁴ See, for example, the twelfth-century Oxford Bodleian Auct. E.5.13, f. 37v, JACOB: ‘E.5.13’ 307: Καὶ μετὰ τὸ τέλος τοῦ Εὐλόγιου ἡ ψυχὴ μου λέγει ὁ διάκονος τὴν συναπτὴν: Ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου. The same holds true for the twelfth-century Vatican gr. 1875, f. 32v and fourteenth-century Vatopedi 984, f. 29v.

1. Κύριε οἰκτιρῶν καὶ ἐλεήμων, μακρόθυμε καὶ πολυέλεε
2. Κύριε μὴ τῷ θυμῷ σου ἐλέγξῃς ἡμᾶς
3. Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν μνησθήτι ἡμῶν
4. Ὁ τοῖς ἀσιγίτοις ὕμνοις καὶ ἀπαύστοις δοξολογίαις
5. Κύριε Κύριε ὁ τῇ ἀχράντῳ σου παλάμῃ
6. Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ μέγας καὶ θαυμαστός ὁ ἀνεκδιηγήτῳ ἀγαθοσύνη
7. Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ μέγας καὶ ὕψιστος ὁ μόνος ἔχων ἀθανασίαν
8. Ἐσπέρας καὶ πρωὶ καὶ μεσημβρίας αἰνοῦμεν
9. Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ κλίνας οὐρανοὺς καὶ καταβάς

Another prayer, which appears in the Russian euchologies between prayers (4) and (5), is the prayer *Εὐλογητὸς εἶ Κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ*, also one of the antiphon prayers of cathedral vespers. This is the prayer of antiphon five and following Arranz, we will call it prayer V.³⁵ In regular vespers, prayers (1) - (7) are read by the priest silently while the reader recites Ps 103, prayer (8) maintains its place as the prayer of entrance (after the vesperal psalmody), as does prayer (9), the vesperal prayer of inclination. Prayers (1) - (8) are the prayers that corresponded to the antiphons in cathedral vespers.³⁶ In the current Greek use of the PRES, as the rubrics indicate, prayers (5) - (7) are to be read during the recitation of Ps 103, and prayer (8) is to be said at the entrance of vespers (at the conclusion of the vesperal psalmody). Prayer (1), called Prayer of the First Antiphon, is said after the synapte, and prayers (2) - (4), called Prayers of the Second, Third, and Fourth Antiphon respectively, are recited at the end of each stasis of the Kathisma.

The first important inconsistency one observes among the manuscripts of the PRES regards the number of vesperal prayers; there are manuscripts that have one, two, three, four or seven prayers. This is in addition to prayer (8) above, as all manuscripts have an Entrance prayer. The evidence may be summarized as follows:

1. Manuscripts with one prayer (prayer 1): the eleventh-century Benaki 57 (TA 127), f. 7r-v; the twelfth-century Oxford Bodleian Auct. E.5.13, f. 37v-38r; Vatican gr. 1811, f. 103r-v; Vatican gr. 1875, f. 32r-v; Vatican gr. 1863, f. 91r-v; Barberini gr. 431, f. 24r-v; Barberini gr. 393, f. 36v-37r; Barberini gr. 345, f. 19r-v; Γ.β. II, f. 43v-44r; Γ.β. VIII, f. 69v-70v; Sinai gr. 1036, f. 43v-44r; the thirteenth-century Γ.β. XIII, f. 49v-50r; the sixteenth-century Vatican gr. 2032, f. 34v; Vatican gr. 2051, f. 70v; Vatican gr. 2052, f. 35r.

³⁵ ARRANZ: 'Les prières sacerdotales' 87.

³⁶ See ARRANZ: 'Les prières sacerdotales' 102.

2. Manuscripts with two prayers (prayers 1 and 2): The eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 4v-5v; the twelfth-century Barberini gr. 329, f. 10v-11v; Vatican gr. 1554, f. 39r-40r; the thirteenth-century Ambrosiana 276 (E20 sup), f. 37v-38v; Sinai gr. 966, f. 46v-47v; Barberini gr. 443, 30r-v; the fourteenth-century Vatican gr. 2324, f. 18v-19r; the sixteenth-century Paris gr. 393, f. 47r-48r.
3. Manuscripts with three prayers (prayers 1, 2, and 3): the eleventh-century Benaki 27 (56), f. 53v-55a; the twelfth-century EBE 713, f. 40r-41r; Paris gr. 392, f. 36r-37v; scroll BM 5; the thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 1037, f. 63r-67r; the fourteenth-century Vatopedi 984, f. 29r-v; Vatopedi 133 (744), DII:273; Paris gr. 324, f. 37v-38v; the fourteenth/fifteenth-century Benaki 90 (TA 246), f. 59v-60v; the fifteenth-century Vatican gr. 1978, f. 35v-36v; EBE 877, p. 151-156; EBE 1910, f. 41v-42v; EBE 661, f. 16v-17r; EBE 2403, f. 45r-46v; EBE 685, p. 35-38; Ambrosiana 84 (B15 sup), f. 133v-135r; the fifteenth-sixteenth-century Paris gr. 326, f. 55r-56v; Sabas 382, f. 64r-65r; EBE 756, f. 52v-54v; Ann Arbor 17, f. 50v-52v; the sixteenth-century Kamariotissa 143 (140), f. 33r-34r; Sinai gr. 2037, f. 71v-73r; Sabas 48, f. 1v-3r; Sabas 53, f. 83v-86r; Sinai gr. 2045, f. 80r-82v; Sinai gr. 2017, f. 89v-92r; Vatican gr. 2032, f. 28v-29v; Vatican gr. 1557, f. 95r-97r; Ottoboni gr. 288, f. 67r-69r; Benaki 10 (16) 81v-84r; EBE 759, p. 104-107; EBE 749, 63r-64v; EBE 772, f. 91v-93v; EBE 755, 96r-98v; EBE 787, p. 132-139; EBE 775, f. 87a-92a; EBE 757, f. 59r-61r; Benaki 79 (TA 177), f. 85r-v.
4. Manuscripts with four prayers (prayers 1, 2, 3, and 4): the twelfth-century Sinai gr. 973, f. 21v-22v;³⁷ the thirteenth-century Archimedes Palimpsest, f. 7r-v; Ann Arbor 37, f. 41r-42v; Ann Arbor 47, f. 45r-47r; the fourteenth-century Γ.β. III, f. 99r-102r;³⁸ the sixteenth-century Sinai gr. 2111, 121r-125v; EBE 2400, 82v-84v.
5. Manuscripts with seven prayers: The twelfth-century Vatican gr. 2005, f. 60r-62v.³⁹

The questions that immediately arise have to do with the provenance of these prayers, and the reason there is such a variety regarding the number of prayers said. In order to answer these questions, we need to

³⁷ We see the following sequence: prayer 1, titled Prothesis Prayer, synapte, 2, 3, 4.

³⁸ We see the following sequence: prayers 2, 6, 8, synapte, 1. Here prayer 1 has preserved its proper place, but the other prayers are lumped together.

³⁹ We see the following sequence: prayers 2, 3, 4, V, 5, 6, synapte, 1. Here prayer 1 has preserved its proper place, but the other prayers are lumped together.

look back at the structure of Byzantine vespers in the cathedral office (see Table 4.1, column 2). In the first part of vespers we see that there are two fixed antiphons (Ps. 85 and Ps 140) and up to six variable antiphons. Each antiphon would also have a prayer which would be called prayer of the respective antiphon. Prayer (1) above, called in the cathedral documents the prayer of antiphon one, is the prayer for Ps 85 (upon which it is actually based). Prayer (8) above is the prayer for Ps 140 (upon which it is also based), and is also called the Prayer of Entrance as it is at this point that the officiating clergy would enter the nave from the narthex. Prayers (2) to (7) above would accompany the other antiphons of vespers, said between the first and the eighth. Beginning, however, with the Studite synthesis, the monastic cursus of the Psalter replaced the cathedral psalmody. As a result, prayers (1) through (7) above were gradually lumped together and were said silently by the priest one after the other. The only prayers that kept their position were prayer (8) of the Entrance and prayer (9) of the Inclination.

When the PRES was attached to vespers in the cathedral office, psalmody was reduced and thus only two or three antiphons were said: Ps 85, Ps 140, and in some cases, the teleutaion. As a result, only the respective prayers would be said. However, when the PRES was attached to vespers in the monastic office, the monastic cursus of the Psalter was said and the vesperal prayers, being lumped together, were all recited silently at the beginning of vespers. The manuscripts of the PRES give evidence for this shift. In other words, the manuscripts that provide prayer (1) or prayers (1) and (2) only, in addition to prayer (8), still preserve the cathedral principle of the reduction of psalmody when the PRES was attached to vespers. As we shall see in the following section, the majority of these manuscripts make no mention of Kathisma 18. We see in the PRES in these manuscripts evidence of the intermediate phase of this shift (i.e., the Studite synthesis).

The second divergence among the manuscripts of the PRES concerns where the prayers are placed. Some manuscripts place the prayer(s) before the synapte while others place them after the synapte. The evidence may be summarized as follows:⁴⁰

⁴⁰ The folio numbers refer to the place of the synapte, since the folio numbers of the prayers have been given above.

- a. Before the synapte: the eleventh-century Benaki 27 (56), f. 55v-56r; the twelfth-century EBE 713, f. 41r; Oxford Bodleian Auct. E.5.13, f. 38r (JACOB, 'E.5.13' 307); Vatican gr. 1811, f. 103v; Vatican gr. 1875, f. 32v; Barberini gr. 431, f. 24v; Barberini gr. 329, f. 11v; I'.β. II, f. 43v; I'.β. VIII, f. 70v; Ottoboni gr. 434, f. 26r; scroll BM 5; twelfth/thirteenth-century EBE 662, f. 61r; thirteenth-century Ann Arbor 49, f. 47r-v; Sinai gr. 1037, f. 67v-70v; Barberini gr. 443, f. 30v; the fourteenth-century Vatopedi 984, f. 29v; Vatopedi 133 (744), DII:273; Paris gr. 324, f. 38v-39r; the fifteenth-century EBE 2403, f. 47r; EBE 685, p. 37-38; the fifteenth/sixteenth-century Paris gr. 326, f. 56v-57r; Ann Arbor 17, f. 51v-52r; the sixteenth-century Kamariotissa 143 (140), f. 34r; Sinai gr. 2037, f. 73r-74r; Sinai gr. 2111, f. 125v-127r; Sinai gr. 2045, f. 82v-84r; Ottoboni gr. 288, f. 69v-70r; EBE 759, p. 107-109; EBE 749, f. 65r-v; EBE 2400, f. 84v-85r; EBE 757, f. 61r-v.
- b. After the synapte: the eleventh-century I'.β. XX, f. 4r-v; Benaki 57 (TA 127), f. 6v-7r; the twelfth-century Vatican gr. 1863, f. 89v-91r; Vatican gr. 1554, f. 39r; Ottoboni gr. 344, f. 17v-18r; Barberini gr. 393, f. 36v; Barberini gr. 345, f. 19r; the twelfth/thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 1036, f. 43v; the thirteenth-century Ambrosiana 276 (E20 sup), f. 37v, Sinai gr. 966, f. 46v, I'.β. XIII, f. 49r-v; Ambrosiana 709 (R24 sup) 105r-v; the fourteenth-century Vatican gr. 2324, f. 18v; the fourteenth/fifteenth-century Benaki 90 (TA 246), f. 59r-v; the fifteenth-century Sinai gr. 968, f. 56r-v; Vatican gr. 1978, f. 35r-v; EBE 877, p. 149-151; EBE 1910, f. 41v-42r; Ambrosiana 84 (B15 sup), 132v-133v; the fifteenth/sixteenth-century EBE 756, f. 52r-v; the sixteenth-century Paris gr. 393, f. 46v; Sabas 53, f. 82r-83v; Sinai gr. 2017, f. 88v-89v; Vatican gr. 2032, f. 34r-v; Vatican gr. 2007, 28r-v; Vatican gr. 1571, f. 23v-24r; Vatican gr. 1557, f. 94r-v; EBE 781; f. 36r-v; Benaki 10 (16), f. 81r-v; EBE 772, f. 90v-91v; EBE 755, f. 95v; Benaki 79 (TA 177), f. 84v; Vatican gr. 2051, f. 69v; Vatican gr. 2052, f. 34v-35r.

As we saw in the previous section on the synapte, the proper place for prayer (1) is before petition twelve, since its ekphonesis follows the synapte. However, with the lumping of the vespereal prayers in the beginning of vespers, the celebrant needs to find time to read them. As a result, they are read either before the synapte, while the reader recites Ps 103, or after the synapte, while the reader recites Kathisma 18.

4.3.5 *Kathisma 18*

Kathisma 18, comprised of the gradual psalms divided into three staseis (first stasis, Pss 119-123; second stasis, Pss 124-128; third stasis, Pss

129-133), is part of the monastic cursus of the Psalter. Kathisma 18 appears in the oldest surviving Horologion, Sinai gr. 863, within vespers, after Ps 103. In the current use, the deacon (or in his absence the priest) says a small synapte at the end of each stasis and the priest says the ekphonesis. The monastic Psalter is compared and contrasted to the cathedral Psalter in the following way:⁴¹

TABLE 4.2

CATHEDRAL VS MONASTIC PSALTER

Monastic Psalter	Cathedral Psalter
1. Divided into twenty sessions (καθίσματα) and sixty stations (στάσεις), three to each καθίσμα.	1. Divided into 68 antiphons.
2. The division of all 150 psalms.	2. A division of 140 psalms: 10 Psalms are not included since they have their own positions in services: Pss 3, 62, 133 (orthros); Ps 118 (divided into three antiphons for Saturday orthros); Pss 50, 148, 149, 150 (at the morning office); Pss 85 and 140 (at vespers).
3. The whole Psalter is recited once a week, twice during Lent. Total number of verses: 4,782 or 4,784; arranged by short distinctions of half verses.	3. The recitation of the 68 antiphons does not coincide with any predetermined period; there are only two starting points: Lauds of first Monday of Lent, and again at Vespers of Easter Sunday, when the Typikon directs a beginning from Psalm 1. Total number of verses in Cathedral Psalter: 2,542; arranged by whole verses.
4. Choirs alternate more frequently; Chanted only on Saturday Vespers, Sunday Lauds, and Vespers of great feasts.	4. Difference in execution: Choirs alternate less frequently; always chanted.

Kathisma 18 is recited in the current use every time the PRES is celebrated, since it is the standard Kathisma for weekday vespers of fasting

⁴¹ The information in the table is from STRUNK: 'The Byzantine Office' 129-130.

periods.⁴² When looking at the Psalter tables provided in appendix two, one notes that the whole Psalter is recited twice each week, and that Kathisma 18 is prescribed for vespers of all weekdays of Lent.⁴³

There are a number of manuscripts of the PRES that make no mention of monastic psalmody.⁴⁴ The absence of Kathisma 18 in these manuscripts may be understood if we consider the practice of the Studite monasteries in which Kathisma 18 was not recited when the PRES was attached to vespers.⁴⁵ For example, in the Typikon of the Evergetis Monastery of Constantinople, dating to the twelfth century, we read:

So then on Monday of the First Week at Vespers we recite the continuous psalmody Πρὸς Κύριον [kath. 18] and a Liturgy does not take place on this day only; but from Tuesday and through the whole of Great Lent we do not recite the continuous psalmody during the services of Vespers, apart from Vespers on Saturday, but each day we celebrate the Divine Liturgy of the Presanctified [Gifts].⁴⁶

⁴² MATEOS: 'La psalmodie variable' 334.

⁴³ Even during the fifth week of Lent, during which according to the current distribution of the Psalter, vespers have varying Kathismata (see Appendix Two), when the PRES is celebrated, Kathisma 18 is read. Phountoulis argues that Kathisma prescribed for the day should be read, and not Kathisma 18. PHOUNTOULIS: *Ἀπαντήσεις* No. 599. But if according to Mateos, the ancient practice is to recite Kathisma 18 on fast days, then this rule should be followed for all weekdays of Lent. Phountoulis is correct in his comment that Kathisma 18 does not belong to the PRES, but the PRES is celebrated on a fast day, and Kathisma 18 belongs to the fast days. We must, however, keep in mind that the older practice is for Kathisma 18 not to be read when the PRES is to be celebrated.

⁴⁴ The eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 5v; Benaki 27 (56), f. 56r; Benaki 57, (TA 127); the twelfth-century Oxford Bodleian Auct. E.5.13 (JACOB 'E.5.13' 307); Vatican gr. 1811, f. 103v; Vatican gr. 1875, f. 32v; Vatican gr. 1863; Barberini gr. 431, f. 24v; Barberini gr. 393, f. 37r; Barberini gr. 345, f. 19v; Barberini gr. 329, f. 11v; Γ.β. II, f. 44r; Γ.β. VIII, f. 71r; Sinai gr. 1036, f. 44r; Vatican gr. 2005 (1194/1195), f. 63r; the thirteenth-century Barberini gr. 443, f. 31v; Γ.β. XIII, f. 50r; the fourteenth-century Paris gr. 324, f. 39r; Γ.β. III, f. 102v; the sixteenth-century Vatican gr. 2032, f. 20v; Vatican gr. 2051, f. 71r. The twelfth-century Vatican gr. 1554 does not make mention of Kathisma 18, but that is expected in this manuscript the PRES is attached to cathedral vespers.

⁴⁵ MATEOS: 'La psalmodie variable' 334; see KLENTOS: *Evergetis* 196-197.

⁴⁶ Τῇ δευτέρᾳ τοῖνον τῆς πρώτης ἐβδομάδος ἐσπέρας στιχολογοῦμεν τὰ Πρὸς Κύριον καὶ λειτουργία οὐ γίνεται ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ μόνῃ. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς γ', καὶ δι' ὅλης τῆς μεγάλης τεσσαρακοστῆς, οὐ στιχολογοῦμεν ἐν τοῖς ἐσπερινοῖς. ἐκτὸς τῆς τοῦ σαββάτου ἐσπέρας, λειτουργοῦμεν δὲ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν τὴν θείαν λειτουργίαν τῶν προηγουμένων.' Text and translation from JORDAN: *The Synaxarion of Evergetis* II:364-365; DI:515. The phrase 'οὐ στιχολογοῦμεν' denoting the absence of Kathisma 18, is also used in the rubrics for Wednesday and Friday vespers of Cheesefare week, which prescribed the celebration of the PRES; see JORDAN: *The Synaxarion of Evergetis* II:340-342 (DI:508) and II:344-346 (DI:510).

According to the Typikon of Patriarch Alexis the Studite, Novgorod-St. Sophia 1136, Kathisma 18 was not said when the PRES was to be celebrated.⁴⁷ The Typikon of the Holy Savior is not as consistent as the two Typika mentioned above, betraying the growing Sabaitic influence. So, for example, Kathisma 18 is said on the Wednesday of Week 1 of Great Lent, a day on which PRES is prescribed,⁴⁸ but Kathisma 18 is not said on all Fridays of Lent, days on which PRES is also prescribed.⁴⁹ The earliest manuscripts of the PRES that explicitly mention Kathisma 18 are the twelfth-century Ottoboni gr. 344, f. 18r; EBE 713, f. 41v; and the twelfth/thirteenth-century EBE 662, f. 61r.

4.3.6 Entrance Rites and the Phos Hilaron

Vesperal Psalmody follows the recitation of Kathisma 18. In the current use Psalms 140, 141, 129, and 116 are chanted with intercalated troparia. This is clearly a Sabaitic practice.⁵⁰ The cathedral office in Constantinople followed the Antiochian practice according to which Ps 140 was the only vesperal psalm and had no incensation associated with it.⁵¹ According to Strunk, at Hagia Sophia, the successive verses of the evening psalm, or Κύριε ἐκέκραζα, were sung with a refrain which varied from day to day and from week to week. This leaves no appropriate place for further intercalation, and none is called for in the Typikon of the Great Church.⁵²

An example of this cathedral practice has been preserved in the tenth-century Γ.β. VII, f. 116v. The refrains are titled 'Troparia of Great Lent sung in the liturgy at Ps 140,'⁵³ one for each week-day:

⁴⁷ PETRAS: *Novgorod – St. Sophia 1136* 43 (Friday of first week of Lent), 66 (Holy Monday), 70 (Holy Tuesday), 83 (Holy Friday).

⁴⁸ ARRANZ: *Saint-Sauveur* 201.

⁴⁹ ARRANZ: *Saint-Sauveur* 210, 216. It is interesting to note that the Kathisma 18 is not said on Monday of Week 2 of Great Lent, a day on which the Office of the Typika is to be said (215).

⁵⁰ See the ninth-century Horologion Sinai gr. 863, f. 99r-v, MATEOS: 'Un Horologion inédit' 56.

⁵¹ TAFT: *Hours*, 42-48.

⁵² STRUNK: 'The Byzantine Office' 134, and appendix II page 141.

⁵³ Τροπάρια τῆς ἀγίας τεσσαρακοστῆς, ψαλλόμενα εἰς τὴν Λειτουργίαν εἰς τὸ Κύριε ἐκέκραζα. See also PASSARELLI: *Γ.β. VII* 153-154.

Monday:	Κατευθυνθήτω ἡ προσευχή μου ἐνώπιόν σου σωτήρ τοῦ κόσμου.	Let my prayer rise before you , savior of the world
Tuesday:	Ἐκέκραξά σοι, σωτήρ τοῦ κόσμου, εἰσάκουσον καὶ σῶσόν με δέομαι.	I cried out to you, savior of the world, hear me and save me, I pray
Wednesday:	Σαρκὶ παθῶν ἐσταυρώθης, Κύριε, καὶ θάνατον πατήσας, τὸν κόσμον ἔσωσας, ὡς μόνος πολυέλεος.	Having suffered in the flesh you were crucified, and having trodded death you saved the world, as the only merciful.
Thursday:	Τὴν ἔπαρσιν τῶν χειρῶν μου, Κύριε, θυσίαν πρόσδεξαι ἐσπερινὴν καὶ σῶσόν με, φιλόανθρωπε.	The raising up of my hands, Lord, accept as an evening sacrifice and save me, lover of humankind
Friday:	Σαρκὶ παθῶν ἐσταυρώθης, Κύριε, καὶ θάνατον πατήσας, τὸν κόσμον ἔσωσας, ὡς μόνος πολυέλεος.	Having suffered in the flesh you were crucified, and having trodded death you saved the world, as the only merciful.

Another such example is the twelfth-century Vatican gr. 1554, f. 40r-v, which preserves a PRES attached to cathedral vespers. Here, the following refrains are provided for Ps 140:

Monday:	Κύριε ἐκέκραξα πρὸς σέ εἰσάκουσόν μου ...	Lord, I cried out to you, hear me ...
Tuesday:	Ἐν τῷ κεκραγένοι με Κύριε τῆς φωνῆς μου ἄκουσον καὶ σῶσον με.	At the crying out of my voice, Lord, hear me and save me.
Wednesday:	Κατευθυνθήτω ἡ προσευχή μου ἐνώπιόν σου σωτήρ τοῦ κόσμου.	Let my prayer rise before you, savior of the world.
Thursday:	Δέσποτα Κύριε, σοὶ μόνω ἀναπέμπομεν ἐσπερινὸν ὕμνον· ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.	Lord God, to you only to we offer evening hymn; have mercy on us
Friday:	Σαρκὶ παθῶν ἐσταυρώθης κύριε· καὶ θάνατον πατήσας· τὸν κόσμον ἔσωσας ὡς μόνος πολυέλεος.	Having suffered in the flesh you were crucified, and having trodded death you saved the world, as the only merciful.

In both cases we observe that whenever 140.2 is used as a refrain (on Monday in tenth-century Γ.β. VII, on Wednesday in twelfth-century

Vatican gr. 1554) the reference to incense is taken out of the verse. In addition, the Antiphonaria EBE 2061, dated between 1410 and 1425, and EBE 2062, dated between 1382 and 1385, attest to the use of Ps 140.2 as a refrain to Ps 140 as given above: Κατευθυνθήτω ἡ προσευχή μου ἐνώπιόν σου σωτήρ τοῦ κόσμου.⁵⁴ All these examples demonstrate that the cathedral office in Constantinople remained faithful to its Antiochian origins. It was during the singing of Ps 140 that the Patriarch and the clergy entered the nave from the narthex in the cathedral vespers. The procession of the clergy today at vespers is a relic of this older procession. The procession starts at the altar, moves through the north altar door to the solea, and from there again into the altar. Some manuscripts of the PRES indicate that the celebrant would give the peace before the beginning of the vesperal psalmody,⁵⁵ possibly a remnant of an initial greeting of peace upon the entrance of the clergy in the nave. As Arranz has demonstrated, the Prayer of Entrance, i.e., prayer (8) is the prayer of the eighth antiphon, i.e., Ps 140 in cathedral vespers, from where the prayer draws its contents. There are three other Entrance prayers that I have found in the manuscript tradition within the context of the PRES:

a. In the thirteenth-century Archimedes Palimpsest, f. 7v.⁵⁶

Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν τὴν σὴν εἰρήνην δὸς ἡμῖν· πάντα γὰρ ἀπέδωκας ἡμῖν Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν εὐλόγησον ἡμᾶς· καὶ ἐν τῷ εἰσπορεύεσθαι ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ· ἐν εἰρήνῃ κατεύθυνον τὰ διαβήματα ἡμῶν. Ὅτι ἡγίασται καὶ δεδόξασται τὸ πάντιμον.

Lord our God, give us your peace. You who have granted us everything, bless us. And as we enter in your holy altar, guide our footsteps in peace. For your holy [name] is sanctified and glorified.

⁵⁴ Refrain for Wednesday of the Second Week; cf. ARRANZ: 'Asmatikos Hesperinos' 391, 396; STRUNK: 'The Byzantine Office' 139, 141.

⁵⁵ The eleventh-century Γ.β. II, f. 5v; the twelfth-century Vatican gr. 1863, f. 92r; Ottoboni gr. 344, f. 19r; Barberini gr. 431, f. 24v; Barberini gr. 393, f. 37r; Barberini gr. 345, f. 19v; Barberini gr. 329, f. 11v; the Vatican gr. 2005 (1194/1195), f. 62v; the thirteenth-century Ambrosiana 276 (E20 sup), f. 38v; Sinai gr. 966, f. 47v; the fourteenth-century Γ.β. III, f. 9v; and the sixteenth-century Vatican gr. 2051, f. 71r. The fourteenth-century Vatican gr. 2324, f. 19r, has the peace before Kathisma 18.

⁵⁶ Regarding this precious manuscript, see S. PARENTI: 'The Liturgical Tradition of the Euchologion of Archimedes' in *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 2 (2005) 69-87.

b. In the fourteenth-century EBE 2086, (TR 205); Γ.β. III, f. 102v; (cf. GOAR 170).

Τὴν εἴσοδον ἡμῶν, Χριστέ, τὴν πρὸς τὸ ἱλαστήριόν σου ῥύπου παντὸς ἀπαλλαγθῆναι εὐδόκησον τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν ἀπὸ συνειδήσεως πονηρᾶς· καὶ ἀξιώσον τὴν εὐχὴν ἡμῶν ἀνελεῖν ὡς θυμίαμα ἐνώπιόν σου. Πρεσβεΐαις τῆς ἁγίας δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων σου.

Christ, as we enter into your altar, deign that our hearts be delivered from every iniquity and evil conscience. And grant that our prayer rise before you as incense. Through the intercessions of our holy Lady the Theotokos and ever-virgin Mary and all your saints.

c. In the fifteenth-century Kostamonitou 19 (20), DII:490. This prayer is the Entrance prayer in CHR and BAS

Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ καταστήσας ἐν οὐρανοῖς τάγματα καὶ στρατιάς ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων εἰς λειτουργίαν τῆς σῆς δόξης, ποιήσον σὺν τῇ εἰσόδῳ ἡμῶν εἴσοδον ἁγίων ἀγγέλων γενέσθαι συλλειτουργούντων ἡμῖν καὶ συνδοξολογούντων τὴν σὴν ἀγαθότητα. Ὅτι πρέπει σοὶ πᾶσα δόξα.

Master and Lord our God, You have established in heaven the orders and hosts of angels and archangels to minister to Your glory. Grant that the holy angels may enter with us that together we may serve and glorify Your goodness. For to You belong all glory.

The ancient Constantinopolitan liturgy did not have a lucernarium; the Φῶς ἱλαρόν is the Lucernarium of the Hagiopolite liturgy and entered Constantinopolitan use with the Studite reforms.⁵⁷ The Φῶς ἱλαρόν is one of the most ancient Christian hymns still in use, already attested to in Saint Basil's *On the Holy Spirit* as being of 'great antiquity.'⁵⁸

⁵⁷ See Table 5.1 and compare columns 1, 2, and 3. For more on the Φῶς ἱλαρόν, see J. DÖLGER: 'Lumen Christi' in *Antike und Christentum* 5 (1936), 1-44; S. EFSTRATI-ADES: 'Ἀποκαλυπτικά' in *Θεολογία* 2 (1924), 51-54; A. KORAKIDES: *Ἀρχαῖοι Ὕμνοι: I. Ἡ Ἐπιλήχνος Εὐχριστία Φῶς ἱλαρόν ἁγίας δόξης ...* (Athens 1979); MATEOS: 'Un Horologion inédit' 70-75; E. SMOTHER: 'Φῶς ἱλαρόν' in *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 19 (1929) 266-283; A. TRIPOLITIS: 'Ancient Hymn and Modern Enigma' in *Vigiliae Christianae* 24 (1970) 189-196; P. PLANCK: *Phos hilaron. Christushymnus und Lichtdanksagung der frühen Christenheit* (Bonn 2001 = Hereditas 20); for more on the lucernarium and its origins see section 4.5.2.

⁵⁸ SC 17bis, Paris 1968, §73, p. 510. For a translation, see D. ANDERSON (tr.): *Saint Basil the Great: On the Holy Spirit* (New York 1997) §73, p. 110.

4.4 Prothesis

4.4.1 Preparation at the Previous Sunday

In the current use, the priest extracts additional lambs to be consecrated, their number depending on the number of PRES to be celebrated on the following weekdays. After the consecration and the elevation of the liturgy on Sunday, the priest holds the lamb(s) for the PRES upside down, pours some consecrated wine with the communion spoon on the lamb(s), and places it (them) in a designated box⁵⁹ to be reserved for the day the PRES is to be celebrated.

Information regarding the manner of reservation is not given in the text of the PRES in the Euchological tradition, but does appear in texts called, Ἐρμηνεῖα τῆς θείας λειτουργίας τῶν προσηγιασμένων (Explanation of the divine liturgy of the Presanctified) which usually date to the fifteenth century and later.⁶⁰ In these texts, directives are given to the priest to make sure the necessary numbers of lambs are consecrated and reserved, based on the number of PRES he will celebrate the week following that Sunday. The only instance I know of with an implicit reference to the preparation and reservation of the consecrated bread to be used in a PRES is in the twelfth-century Barberini gr. 329, ff. 10r: μερίδα ἡ δύο ἐν τῷ δίσκῳ· βεβραχμένην μιᾶς ῥανίδος ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου ποτήριον⁶¹ τῆς Κυριακῆς (the priest places on the paten one or two portions moistened by a drop from the holy chalice of Sunday).

Information, however, on how the consecrated lamb was reserved, and more specifically on whether consecrated wine was poured on it, is given to us through other documents. These questions are important because they are related to the issue of reservation (one or both elements are reserved?) and the issue of the consecration of the cup in the PRES (cup consecrated by contact with the consecrated lamb or by the consecrated wine with which the lamb was intincted at the time of the reservation?).

⁵⁹ Patriarch Manouel of Constantinople (1215-1222) notes that the presanctified gifts would be kept in the ἀποφύριον. PG 119:809A, 809D-812A. The ἀποφύριον is used for the reserved sacrament designated for emergencies, reserved in the Orthodox Church once a year, on the vesperal liturgy of BAS on Holy Thursday.

⁶⁰ TR 195-196. These texts are not commentaries to the PRES, but rather fall in the category of the Typikon as they give an outline of the rite.

⁶¹ The expression ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου ποτήριον is a correct form for the medio-Byzantine times. N. JANNARIS: *An Historical Greek Grammar Chiefly of the Attic Dialect* (London 1897) §1570. I would like to thank Prof. Stefano Parenti for pointing this out to me.

The first document to be examined on these questions is a letter from Patriarch Michael III of Constantinople (1170-1178) to bishop Paul of Gallipoli in 1174, titled 'Περὶ τῶν Προηγιασμένων,' incorporated in the twelfth-century *Typikon* of Casole.⁶²

On the last Sunday, of Cheesefare, when the perfect (full) mystagogy is celebrated, prepare more holy breads than usual. After communion, the breads are kept in a specially designated box up to Friday. Holy blood is not dropped on them, because a chalice is on each of the fast days prepared and sanctified by the celebration of the presanctified, during which the pre-perfected bread, being elevated and fractioned, is placed in the chalice. And what is the use of pre-mingling the holy blood with the divine bread? For the presanctified is celebrated only for the perfection of the holy chalice.

And in this way [the presanctified] is celebrated on the five days of the week. On Saturdays the full liturgy of Chrysostom is celebrated.

On Sunday, [the full liturgy] of Basil [is celebrated], when the bread is again reserved. And this is the practice throughout the Great Lent, at the end of which the celebration of the presanctified ceases.

Only then is the divine bread dipped in blood, when an anchorite is hidden in the mountains ... and he wants to partake of the holies more often, for the sanctification of his soul and body there. In such a way is the divine bread dipped in the divine blood and brought to him in a clean box.

Or again for the possible coming death of someone during the length of Great Lent, many times bread dipped in blood is reserved, if there is the need for communion of someone dying, day or night.

When a mystagogy is not celebrated, a piece of the bread is placed in the chalice; and a few drops of something liquid are placed in, so that the dying person may partake. The liquid that is placed in it is also sanctified by the holy bread.

On other times, when a perfect liturgy takes place, portions of the holies are reserved in the holy chalice every day for those that will possibly die.⁶³

⁶² JACOB: 'Lettre' and TAFT: *Precommunion* 335-336.

⁶³ Τῇ τελευταίᾳ τοῦ τυροφάγου κυριακῆ, τελείας τελουμένης μυσταγωγίας, καὶ ἄρτων ἁγίων οὐ κατὰ τὸ σύννηθες, ἀλλὰ πλειόνων ἐτοιμαζομένων· μετὰ δὲ τὴν μετάληψιν καὶ οἱ μέχρι τῆς παρασκευῆς ἄρτοι φυλλάττονται ἐν πυξίῳ ἀφοσμένῳ τινί· οὐ κατασταλαζομένου τιμίου αἵματος ἐν ἐκείνοις· διότι περ ποτήριον καθεκάστην τῶν νηστῶν ἡμερῶν ἐτοιμάζεται καὶ ἀγιάζεται προηγιασμένης ἐπιτελουμένης· εἰς ὃ καὶ ὁ προτέλειος ἄρτος ὑψούμενός τε καὶ κατακλώμενος ἐμβάλλεται. Καὶ τίς ἢ χρεῖα αἶμα προεμιγῆναι ἄγιον τῶ θεῖῳ ἄρτῳ; ἢ γὰρ προηγιασμένη ὑπὲρ τῆς τελειώσεως μόνον τοῦ ἁγίου γίνεται πατηρίου. Καὶ οὕτω καθ' ἐξῆς ἐν ταῖς πέντε τῆς ἐβδομάδος τελείται ἡμέραις. Τῷ δὲ σαββάτῳ τελεία

This document describes four different modes of reservation: (1) reservation for the PRES, (2) reservation for private communion of hermits, (3) reservation for emergencies during periods in which the liturgy is not celebrated, and (4) reservation for emergencies during periods in which the liturgy is celebrated. In the first case, reservation for the PRES is only in one element, that of the consecrated bread, since the cup is consecrated in the PRES by the consecrated bread that is dropped in it. In the second case, reservation for the private communion of hermits is in both elements: at the time of reservation, the consecrated bread is anointed with consecrated wine. This practice safeguards the principle of communion under both elements in the context of private ascetic communion. In the third case, reservation for emergencies during periods when the liturgy is not celebrated is only of consecrated bread. When its use is necessitated, a portion of the consecrated bread is placed in a chalice and is moistened by a liquid, possibly water, to enable the communicant to receive it. Finally, in the fourth case, reservation for emergencies during periods when the liturgy is celebrated is of both elements. They are reserved in the chalice for the length of the day. This mode of reservation presupposes daily liturgies.

The practice of reserving only consecrated bread for the PRES is attested to in additional documents. Patriarch Michael Keroularios of Constantinople notes:

On each of the Sundays of the pure days of Lent dedicated to fasting, the presanctified breads are prepared according to the traditional service and teaching. From the perfected holy breads, so many are stored as need be and as time demands ... which we believe are this the life-giving body of

τοῦ Χρισσοτόμου τελεῖται λειτουργία. Τῇ δὲ κυριακῇ, τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου, ὅτε καὶ ἄρτος πάλιν φυλάττεται. Καὶ τοῦτο καθίσταται μέχρι καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς Μεγάλης Τεσσαρακοστῆς, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τὰ προηγησάμενα λήγουσι. Τότε δὲ βάπτεται θεῖος ἄρτος ἐν αἵματι· ὅταν τις τῶν ἀναχωρητῶν ἐν ὄρεσι κατακρύπτεται ... ἐθέλει δὲ συνεχέστερον τῶν ἁγιασμάτων μετασχεῖν διὰ τὸν ἐκεῖθεν ἁγιασμόν τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος. Οὕτως ἐν πυξίῳ τινι καθαρῷ ὁ θεὸς κομιζόμενος ἄρτος ἐμβεβαμμένος ἐστὶ καὶ τῷ θεῷ αἵματι. Ἡ πάλιν ἴσως διὰ τὸν τισὶ ἐπισυμβαίνοντα θάνατον ἐντὸς ὅλου τοῦ τῆς ἁγίας Τεσσαρακοστῆς καιροῦ, φυλάττεται πολλάκις ἄρτος βεβαμμένος ἐν αἵματι, καὶ εἰ χρεῖα μεταλήψεως, ἢ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἢ ἐν νυκτὶ, τινὸς θνήσκοντος. "Ὅτε μὴ τελεῖται μυσταγωγία, ἐντίθεται μερὶς ἄρτου ἐπὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου· κατασταλάζεται δὲ καὶ τι ὑγρὸν, ἵνα δυναθῆι ὁ θνήσκων μετασχεῖν ἁγιάζεται γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἐμβαλλόμενον ὑγρὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου ἄρτου. Ἐν ἄλλῳ δὲ καιρῷ, ὅτε τελείας λειτουργίας γινομένης, φυλλάττονται ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ποτηρίῳ καθεκάστην μερίδες ἁγιασμάτων διὰ τοὺς ἴσως ἐπιθανατίους· COZZA-LUZI: 'Excerpta e Typico Casulano' 169-170. Translation and division into paragraphs by the author.

our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ. No drop of the divine blood is poured on these and they are not sprinkled (with it).⁶⁴

Constantinos Armenopoulos, a fourteenth-century Byzantine author, gives witness to the practice of the Great Church in this matter. After reiterating canon 52 of Trullo, he writes:

The blessed John says that it is more accurate not to anoint the presanctified gifts with the communion spoon by the Lord's blood, when they are to be reserved, as is the practice in our Great Church.⁶⁵

An anonymous Byzantine writer of uncertain dating observes two varying practices:

Many times have I seen priests who are about to reserve the presanctified [bread], anoint [it] with the dominical blood by means of the communion spoon and thus put it away. [I have also seen other priests] who do nothing of the like.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Καθ' ἐκάστην κυριακὴν τῶν ἀφιερωμένων ἡμῖν εἰς νηστειῶν ἀγνῶν ἡμερῶν τελουμένων οἱ προηγιασμένοι ἄρτοι κατὰ τὴν ἱεροπαράδοτον ἀκολουθίαν τε καὶ διδασκαλίαν. Ἐκ γούτων τῶν οὕτω τελειωθέντων ἀγίων ἄρτων ἀποταμιεύονται ἄρτοι, ὑπόστους ἢ χρεῖα καὶ ὁ καιρὸς ἀπαιτεῖ... οἷς καὶ πιστευομένοις καὶ οὖσιν αὐτὸ τὸ ζωοποιὸν σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐκ ἐπιχέεται τις ῥανίς τοῦ θεοῦ αἵματος ἀποτιθεμένων οὕτως καὶ τοῦ ἐπιρραντισμοῦ τούτου χωρὶς. ANDRIEU: *Commixtio et Consecratio* 202; Uspensky cites the same text but attributes it to Patriarch Michael Oxeitis of Constantinople (1143-1146); cf. N. USPENSKY: *Evening Worship in the Orthodox Church* (Crestwood 1985) 191-240: Chapter III, 'The Collision of Two Theologies in the Revision of Russian Liturgical Books in the Seventeenth Century', here 211-212. However, the Greek text provided by GEDEON: *Λογιόν Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Ἱστορίας* 1.1 (Constantinople 1911) 32 is slightly but importantly different regarding our topic. The last phrase reads as follows in Gedeon: οἷς κ' ἐπιχεῖται τις ῥανίς σταυραειδῶς τοῦ θεοῦ αἵματος ἀποτιθεμένων οὕτως καὶ τοῦ ἐπιρραντισμοῦ τούτου οὐ χωρὶς. Emphasis added. Gedeon considers Michael Oxeitis to be the author of this text (*Λογιόν Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Ἱστορίας* 30). Obviously we are dealing with a text that has been edited to fit the practice current at the time of the editor. Only a personal examination of the manuscript from which Gedeon copied the text could provide us with answers. Gedeon informs us that the text was copied from a manuscript at the Hagios Panteleimon Monastery on Mount Athos, but does not give us more information.

⁶⁵ Τὸ μὴ χρεῖν τὰ προηγιασμένα διὰ τῆς λαβίδος ἐν τῷ Δεσποτικῷ αἵματι, ἐν τῷ μέλλειν ταῦτα φυλλάτειν, ἀκριβέστερόν φησιν ὁ μακάριος Ἰωάννης, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς Μεγάλῃ Ἐκκλησίᾳ γινόμενον. *Epitome Canonum* II.6, PG 150:97C. Translation by the author.

⁶⁶ Ἐώρακα πολλάκις τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἱερέων ἐν τῷ μέλλειν τὰ προηγιασμένα φυλλάτειν τῷ δεσποτικῷ διὰ τῆς λαβίδος αἵματι χρίοντας οὕτως ἀποτιθέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ μηδὲν τοιοῦτον ποιούντας. MORAITIS: *Ἡ Λειτουργία τῶν Προηγιασμένων* 46; ANDRIEU: *Immixtio et Consecratio* 204. Translation by the author.

This author goes on to say that although he finds both practices acceptable, he prefers the reservation of the consecrated bread alone, without it being anointed or sprinkled by the blood, as this was the practice of the Great Church.⁶⁷ From these sources we may infer that the older Constantinopolitan practice was to reserve the consecrated bread for the PRES without anointing it with consecrated wine. The anointing of the consecrated bread with consecrated wine must be a later practice. As Robert Taft notes, 'this would ultimately become general usage in spite of earlier Byzantine texts ordering that the lamb for PRES be reserved without consignation, which most authorities agree to have been the ancient custom everywhere.'⁶⁸ Taft further points out that some later Greek and Slavonic manuscripts of BAS mention the consignation of the consecrated bread prepared for PRES during Lent, and even provide some formulae of consignation:

1. Fifteenth-century Athens 775 and Esphigmenou roll 120 (1602): The precious and life-giving blood of our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ is united to His precious and life-giving body. Amen.⁶⁹
2. Fifteenth-century Sofia Slav. 529: Priest: The fullness of the Holy Spirit, always, both now and ever, and unto the ages of ages. Deacon: Amen.
3. Fifteenth-century Sofia Slav. 530 and sixteenth-century Sofia Slav. 603: For in the hand of the Lord there is a cup of strong will full of mixture, and he has poured it out from this to that (Ps 74/75:8a, Slavonic redaction).
4. Seventeenth-century Sofia Slav. 899 and two editions, the 1602 Moscow Sluzebnik/Trebnik, and the Trebnik of Nikon, Moscow 1653: There is given to drink the Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the whole world, for the life and salvation of the world.⁷⁰

4.4.2 Prothesis

In the current practice, the Prothesis ritual takes place during Kathisma 18 at the Prothesis niche, on the left side of the altar. After the consecrated bread is placed on the paten, the priest prepares a mixed chalice

⁶⁷ MORAITIS: *Ἡ Λειτουργία τῶν Προηγιασμένων* 46.

⁶⁸ TAFT: *Precommunion* 439; cf. ANDRIEU: *Immixtio et Consecratio* 202ff; FREE-STONE: *The Sacrament Reserved* 45ff, 252; NUSSBAUM: *Die Aufbewahrung* 211-233.

⁶⁹ Ἐνοῦται τὸ τίμιον καὶ πανάγιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν αἶμα τοῦ κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῷ τιμίῳ καὶ ζωοποιῷ αὐτοῦ σώματι. Ἀμήν.

⁷⁰ TAFT: *Precommunion* 438-439.

and covers the gifts, only saying: ‘Through the prayers of our Holy Fathers, Lord Jesus Christ have mercy on us and save us’. Looking in the manuscript tradition, one observes that there is a great variety of practices preserved,⁷¹ from simple to complex, the latter usually imitating the Prothesis ritual of the full liturgy. The earliest manuscript that contains a Prothesis ritual for the PRES is the eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 4r. We can summarize the evidence by answering the following questions: (1) When does the Prothesis take place? (2) Who is responsible for the Prothesis? (3) What is said at the Prothesis?

Regarding the first question, there is much variety in the manuscript tradition:

1. Before the anarxis

The twelfth-century Oxford Bodleian E.5.13, f. 37v (JACOB ‘E.5.13’ 307); Vatican gr. 1811, f. 103r; Vatican gr. 1875, f. 32r; Barberini 329 10r-v (during the ninth hour); Barberini 431, f. 24r (only mentioned in rubrics); Γ.β II, f. 43r; Vatican gr. 2005, ff. 59v-60r; thirteenth-century Ambrosiana gr. 276 (E20 sup), f. 37a; Sinai gr. 1037, f. 61v-62; Barberini 443, f. 29v; fourteenth-century Γ.β. III, f. 98r; fifteenth-century Panagia Kamariotissa 145 (142); Ambrosiana gr. 84 (B15 sup), f. 132r-v; fifteenth/sixteenth-century Ann Arbor 17, f. 50r; sixteenth-century Sinai gr. 2017, f. 88r; Vatican gr. 1571, f. 23r; Vatican gr. 1557, f. 93r-v; EBE 757, f. 59r. We can place in the same category PRES manuscripts that begin with a Prothesis Prayer: The eleventh-century Benaki 27 (56) 53r; twelfth-century Sinai gr. 973, f. 21v (DII:86); fourteenth-century Paris gr. 324, f. 37; fifteenth-century EBE 661, f. 16v; seventeenth-century EBE 802, f. 38r.

2. During the Synapte

Thirteenth-century Ambrosiana gr. 709 (R24 sup), f. 105r.

3. During Psalm 103

Eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 4r-v; twelfth-century Ottoboni gr. 344 (1177), ff. 16v-17v; thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 966, f. 46v; fourteenth-century Vatican gr. 2324, f. 18r; sixteenth-century Paris gr. 393, f. 45r.

4. During the Pros Kyria (Kathisma 18)

Twelfth-century EBE 713, f. 41v; scroll BM 5; twelfth/thirteenth-century EBE 662, f. 61r; fourteenth-century Vatopedi 984, f. 29v;

⁷¹ In appendix three I provide the Prothesis texts I have encountered in the manuscript tradition. The authoritative study of the Prothesis ritual and its history is waiting to be done.

Vatopedi 133 (744) (DII:273); fourteenth/fifteenth-century Benaki 90 (TA 246) 59r; fifteenth-century Esphigmenou 208 (DII:273); Sinai gr. 968, f. 60v (DII:394); EBE 2403, f. 47r; fifteenth/sixteenth-century Paris gr. 326, f. 57r; sixteenth-century Sinai gr. 1037, f. 74v; Sinai gr. 2111, f. 127v-128r; Ottoboni gr. 288, f. 70r; EBE 759; EBE 775, f. 89r; EBE 749, f. 66r; EBE 878, p. 133; EBE 775, f. 89r; EBE 2400, f. 85r-v.

5. During the chanting of Ps. 140 and troparia
Thirteenth-century Typikon Sinai gr. 1097, f. 15v; fourteenth-century Typikon Sinai gr. 1101, f. 14r.

The majority of the sources indicate that the Prothesis took place before the beginning of the PRES. In this case, the PRES manuscripts preserve the ancient place of the Prothesis in the Byzantine liturgical formularies, before the liturgy.⁷² The gifts would be preserved and prepared in the skeuophylakion, originally a separate structure from that of the church itself. The gifts would return there at the end of the liturgy, as the title of the prayer 'at the Skeuophylakion' indicates.⁷³ The Prothesis ritual possibly moved to within the PRES when the preparation place of the gifts moved within the church structure, in the Prothesis niche. The proximity to the gifts gave the priest the opportunity to prepare the gifts during the PRES. Kathisma 18 proved to be the best choice because it provided ample time for the growing Prothesis ritual. We see that there were experimentations in placing the Prothesis ritual in other positions, as in cases (2), (3) and (5), but apparently they were not successful.

In the current practice the priest is the one responsible for preparing the elements. The Prothesis ritual of the full liturgy, which the PRES imitates, was initially very simple:

No 'prothesis rite' was necessary to prepare the 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 deacon.⁷⁴

There are indeed four Salentan manuscripts that contain the PRES, the eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 4r; the twelfth-century Ottoboni gr. 344,

⁷² TAFT: *Great Entrance* 268, 274.

⁷³ See section 5.8.3.

⁷⁴ TAFT: *Great Entrance* 274 and footnote 73 on the same page.

f. 16v-17r; the thirteenth-century Ambrosiana 276 (E20 sup), f. 37r; and the fourteenth-century Vatican gr. 2324, f. 18r, in which it is the deacon that prepares the gifts at the Prothesis. In these documents the priest only blesses the incense and recites the prayer of incense.

A small number of manuscripts of the PRES contain a very simple Prothesis rite. Although it is the priest that is responsible for the Prothesis ritual, the directives are very simple and short, betraying its early character.

τίθει ὁ ἱερεὺς μερίδα ἐν τῷ δίσκῳ ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων δώρων καὶ οἶνον καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ καὶ θυμιάσας καλύπτει τὰ ἅγια.⁷⁵ The priest places a portion of the holy gifts in the paten and wine and water in the chalice; and after censuring he covers the holy [gifts].

The Prothesis ritual of the PRES grew imitating that of the full liturgy. Two traditions grew out of this tendency. One tradition, possibly in an effort to differentiate the Prothesis ritual of the PRES from that of the full liturgy, by prescribing the ritual actions of the latter while omitting the words:

Τότε λαμβάνει ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸν ἅγιον ἄρτον καὶ τίθεισιν ἐπὶ τὸν ἅγιον δίσκον· εἶτα θυμιᾷ τὸν ἀστέρα τίθεισιν πάνω· Ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ κάλυμμα. Ἐν δὲ τῷ ἁγίῳ ποτηρίῳ, ἐκχέει οἶνον καὶ ὕδωρ, ὅσον ἀρκεῖ· οὐδέν τι λέγων, μόνον τὸ δι' εὐχῶν τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων καὶ καλύψας ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ, εἰσέρχονται ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τραπέζῃ.⁷⁶ Then the priest takes the holy bread and places it on the holy paten. Then he censes and placed the star on. He does the same with the cover. He pours wine and water in the holy chalice (as much as necessary), and he says nothing, except 'through the prayers of our fathers,' and covering [the gifts] as usual, they come to the holy table.

In another group of manuscripts one finds the following explanation as to why the words are omitted:

⁷⁵ The twelfth-century Oxford Bodleian E.5.13, f. 37v (JACOB: 'E.5.13' 307); Vatican gr. 1811, f. 103r; Vatican gr. 1875, f. 32r; Γ. β. II, f. 43r; similar in Vatican gr. 2005 (1194/1195), ff. 59v-60r; and the sixteenth-century EBE 757, f. 59r.

⁷⁶ The fifteenth-century Panagia Kamariotissa 145 (142); Ambrosiana gr. 84 (B15 sup), f. 132r-v; the sixteenth-century Sinai gr. 2017, f. 88r; Vatican gr. 1571, f. 23r; Vatican gr. 1557, f. 93r-v; are similar, with the notable addition of the preparatory prayer 'Πιστεύω Κύριε καὶ ἠμολογῶ' in the Prothesis ritual when the priest places the consecrated bread on the paten.

Οὐ μέντοι λέγων τι τῶν ἐν τῇ προθέσῃ συνήθων, οὔτε μετὰ εὐχῆς προθέσεως. Προρηγασμένη γὰρ καὶ προτετελειωμένη καὶ προεισδεδεγμένη θυσία ἐστίν, ἅν' ἐν τισὶ τῶν κοντακίων⁷⁷ εὐχῆ προθέσεως εὔρηται.⁷⁸

He does not say anything of what is usually said at the Prothesis, nor does he say a Prothesis Prayer. For this is a sacrifice already sanctified, perfected and accepted, even though in some scrolls one may find a Prothesis prayer.

According to the second tradition of PRES Prothesis ritual, not only the motions of the Prothesis ritual of the full liturgy are prescribed, but also accompanying psalmic verses are said.⁷⁹ There are even a number of manuscripts that contain a Prothesis prayer. The presence of such a prayer in the PRES is the result of:

the leveling tendencies ... a sort of liturgical law ... 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. ... It has led ... to the introduction of prothesis prayers into various codices of PRES, where they clearly have no business at all!⁸⁰

The PRES Prothesis prayers found in the manuscripts are:

1. Δέσποτα κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν⁸¹ ὁ ὑποδείξας ἡμῖν τὸ μέγα τοῦτο τῆς σωτηρίας μυστήριον, σὺ ἐκάνωσον ἡμᾶς προσενεγγεῖν⁸² σοὶ θυσίαν

⁷⁷ The word *κοντάκιον* here does not refer to the well-known genre of hymnody but to the liturgical scroll that contains CHR, BAS, or as in our case the PRES.

⁷⁸ The twelfth-century EBE 713, f. 41v. With minor variations in the twelfth/thirteenth-century EBE 662, f. 61r; thirteenth-century Ann Arbor 49, f. 47v; fourteenth-century Vatopedi 984, f. 29v; Vatopedi 133 (744), DII:273; fourteenth/fifteenth-century Benaki 90 (TA 246) 59r; fifteenth-century Sinai gr. 968, f. 60v / DII:394 (This manuscript gives the priest the option to say Δι' εὐχῶν τῶν ἀγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν ... or Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ Ἰῆ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐλέησον με τὸν ἀμαρτωλόν.); EBE 2403, f. 47r; the fifteenth-century Esphigmenou 208, DII:273; fifteenth/sixteenth-century Paris gr. 326, f. 57r; sixteenth-century Sinai gr. 1037, f. 74v; Sinai gr. 2111, f. 127v-128r; Ottoboni gr. 288, f. 70r; EBE 759; EBE 749, f. 66r; EBE 878, p. 133; EBE 775, f. 89r; EBE 2400, f. 85r-v; Benaki 79 (TA 177), f. 84r-v.

⁷⁹ The eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 4r; the twelfth-century Ottoboni gr. 344 (1177) 16v-17r; Barberini gr. 329, ff. 10r-v the fourteenth-century Vatican gr. 2324, f. 18r.

⁸⁰ TAFT: *Great Entrance* 143.

⁸¹ Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ αἰώνιος instead of Δέσποτα κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν. Thirteenth-century Ambrosiana gr. 709 (R24 sup) 105r; Δέσποτα omit fourteenth-century Paris gr. 324, f. 37r; Γ.β. III, f. 98r.

⁸² προσφέρειν instead of προσενεγγεῖν. Thirteenth-century Ambrosiana gr. 709 (R24 sup) 105r; fourteenth-century Paris gr. 324, f. 37r.

ἀναίμακτον.⁸³ θυσίαν προηγιασμένην εἰς δόξαν καὶ αἶνον⁸⁴ τοῦ χριστοῦ σου· ὅτι ἡγιασθαι καὶ δεδῶξασθαι τὸ πάντιμον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς ὄνομά σου, τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν. With variables in the eleventh-century Benaki 27 (56) f. 53a; With minor variances in the thirteenth-century Ambrosiana gr. 709 (R24 sup) 105r; Sinai gr. 1037, f. 61v-62v; Patmos 709 (DII:159); fourteenth-century Paris gr. 324, f. 37r; Philotheou 177 (1332) (DII:270); fifteenth-century EBE 661, f. 16v; fifteenth/sixteenth-century Ann Arbor 17, f. 50r; sixteenth-century EBE 757, f. 59r; seventeenth-century EBE 802, f. 38r.

2. Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἐξαπόστειλον ἡμῖν δύναμιν ἐξ ὕψους ἁγίου σου, καὶ ἐνίσχυσον ἡμᾶς τοῦ προσφέρειν σοὶ θυσίαν ἀναίμακτον, θυσίαν προηγιασμένην· εἰς δόξαν καὶ αἶνον τοῦ χριστοῦ σου· πάντοτε. νῦν (καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν.) Fourteenth-century Γ.β. III, f. 98r. This is similar to prayer 1 but simpler.
3. Κύριε Κύριε, νῦν δεόμεθά σου ὁ Θεός, ὁ σωτήρ ἡμῶν. μὴ κατασχύνῃς ἡμᾶς τῆς εἰς σέ πίστεως, ἐλπίδος καὶ ἀγάπης· ἰδοὺ γὰρ διὰ παντὸς σέ ὑμνοῦμεν, Κύριε, ὅτι πρέπει σοὶ πᾶσα δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις In the fourteenth-century Philotheou 177 (DII:270); the fifteenth/sixteenth-century Philotheou 164 (DII:660). Text taken from Moraitis 44 = Skeuophylakion Prayer (2); see section 5.8.3.
4. Κύριε οἰκτιρῶν καὶ ἐλεήμων ... in the twelfth-century Sinai gr. 973, f. 21v = First Antiphon Prayer.

The placement of a Prothesis prayer in the Prothesis ritual of the PRES is obviously an imitation of the Prothesis ritual of the full liturgy. There is, however, a difference. The Prothesis Prayer in CHR and BAS has the offering as its center, with the petition that God bless and accept the offering. The emphasis, however in the Prothesis Prayers of the PRES is not on the offering but on the the celebrants, that they be enabled (Prayer (1): *ικάνωσον*) or strengthened (Prayer (2): *ἐνίσχυσον*) to offer this pre-sanctified sacrifice, thus bearing strong similarities with the *accessus ad altare* prayers of BAS and CHR.⁸⁵

There is a curious ‘henosis’ rite in a very small number of manuscripts, according to which particles of the consecrated bread are placed in the cup at the Prothesis ritual, sanctifying the cup. For example, we read in the

⁸³ ἐσπερινὴν instead of ἀναίμακτον. Fourteenth-century Paris gr. 324, f. 37r.

⁸⁴ εἰς δόξαν καὶ αἶνον. Inverted in fourteenth-century Paris gr. 324, f. 37r.

⁸⁵ TAFT: *Great Entrance* 350-373.

eleventh-century Praxapostolos Dresden A 104, a liturgical manuscript with detailed Lenten and Easter rubrics for the rite of the Great Church:

At the henosis one of the priests enters the skeuophylakion and puts the particles into the chalices. Likewise the domestikos of the deacons, saying, 'Bless, master,' pours in the wine and thermon, while the priest says, 'Union of the Holy Spirit.'⁸⁶

This PRES Prothesis ritual, which takes place in the skeuophylakion, is problematic since the priest 'puts the particles into the chalices' at this moment, thus consecrating the contents of the chalice. In almost all other sources the cup contains only unconsecrated mixed wine and the commixture takes place after the fraction. I have found only two manuscripts that would support such a practice, which also give a formula⁸⁷ to accompany the commixture at the Prothesis:

1. Fourteenth-century EBE 2086 (TR 199): "Ἐνωσις τοῦ ἀρχράντου σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος εἰς φυλακτήριον τοῖς μεταλαμβάνουσιν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. "(Ο)τι ἠὺλόγηται καὶ δεδύξασται.
2. Fifteenth/sixteenth-century Ann Arbor 17, f. 50r: "Ἐνωσις τοῦ ἀρχράντου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ χριστοῦ σου πάντοτε, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ.

Moraitis actually argues that, 'the most usual and dominant form of 'henosis' is that of preserving dry sanctified bread and its intinction in the holy chalice on the day of the celebration of the presanctified *at the time of the prothesis*.'⁸⁸ He continues, arguing that such a position is supported by most of the liturgical manuscripts and by Symeon of Thessalonica. He holds that the directive 'Ποιεῖ καὶ ἔνωσιν ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ ποτηρίῳ'⁸⁹ in the

⁸⁶ Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐνώσει εἰς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, προαπερχόμενος ἐν τῷ σκευοφυλακίῳ, βάλλει μερίδας εἰς τὰ ποτήρια. Ὡσπύτως καὶ ὁ δομέστικος τῶν ὑποδικακόνων, λέγων: Ἐὺλόγησον, δέσποτα, βάλλει οἶνον καὶ θερμὸν, λέγοντος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου: Ἐνωσις Πνεύματος Ἁγίου. Text and translation from TAFT: *Precommunion* 460.

⁸⁷ Both follow the Christological henosis formula. See A. JACOB: 'Deux formules d'immixtion syro-palestiniennes et leur utilisation dans le rite byzantin de l'Italie méridionale' in *Vetera Christianorum* 13 (1976) 30-64, p. 32-32. For the *henosis* rite (commixture) within the manual acts before communion, see section 5.4.8.

⁸⁸ MORAITIS: *Ἡ Λειτουργία τῶν Προηγιασμένων* 48; emphasis added.

⁸⁹ See MORAITIS: *Ἡ Λειτουργία τῶν Προηγιασμένων* 49, where in footnote 1 he refers us to page 67. Cf. the twelfth-century EBE 713, f. 41v; EBE 662, f. 61r; the thirteenth-century Ann Arbor 49, f. 47v; fourteenth-century Vatopedi 984, f. 29v; fourteenth/fifteenth-century Benaki 90 (TA 246) 59r; fifteenth-century Sinai gr. 968, f. 60v/DII394; EBE 2403, f. 47r; fifteenth/sixteenth-century Paris gr. 326, f. 57r;

Prothesis rituals orders the intinction of the consecrated and reserved bread in the chalice at the time of the prothesis; however, only the three sources cited above point to that direction. Furthermore, the term *henosis* at the Prothesis ritual refers to the union of wine and water of the mixed cup,⁹⁰ as do all the other PRES Prothesis rituals that provide us with adequate information.⁹¹

Moraitis' second argument is based on a quote from Saint Symeon of Thessalonica (d. 1429). In this text Symeon describes the proper posture at the time of the Great Entrance of the PRES, and notes that we must fall on the ground at this moment since the gifts are perfected and they are the Lord Himself. '*For it is the body of Christ united with His blood on the paten.*'⁹² The last phrase of this text tells us that the consecrated bread on the paten has been intincted with consecrated wine; but it does not tell us when. I believe that Symeon, a late source, is referring to the practice of consigning the consecrated bread with the consecrated wine at the time of its reservation, as today, and not at the Prothesis ritual of the PRES.

4.5 Readings – Phos Christou – Ps 140.2

This section of the PRES has attracted the most attention in recent scholarship. The reason is the apparent duplication of the lucernarium – Φῶς Ἰλαρόν in vespers, Φῶς Χριστοῦ here – and of the vespereal psalmody – Pss 140, 141, 129, 116 in vespers, Ps 140.2 here.

Sebastià Janeras addressed the issue in an article published in 1964. There he argued that the vespereal part of the PRES as we have it today is comprised of three parts: the Sabaitic lucernarium (up to Φῶς Ἰλαρόν), the readings, originating in the Hagiopolite catechesis, and a cathedral

sixteenth-century Sinai gr. 1037, f. 74v; Sinai gr. 2111, f. 127v-128r; Ottoboni gr. 288, f. 70r; EBE 759; EBE 749, f. 66r; EBE 878, p. 133; EBE 775, f. 89r; EBE 2400, f. 85r-v; Benaki 79 (TA 177), f. 84r-v.

⁹⁰ See the Prothesis ritual for the full liturgy in the *Ἱερατικόν* 96. For the *henosis* rite (commixture) within the manual acts before communion, see section 5.4.8.

⁹¹ See the PRES Prothesis rituals in Appendix Three.

⁹² The emphasis is of Moraitis. "Ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν ἁγίων εἰσόδῳ δεῖ ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον ὑποπίπτειν, ὡς τετελεσμένων ὄντων τῶν θείων δώρων καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀληθῶς ὄντως· αὐτὸ γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ κατεχόμενον ἐν τῷ δίσκῳ, τὸ πανάγιον αὐτοῦ σῶμα μετὰ τοῦ θειοτάτου αἵματος. PG 155:657D.

lucernarium, comprised of Φῶς Χριστοῦ, Ps 140.2, and the litanies.⁹³ Gabriele Winkler responded in an article published in 1972, in which she argued that the PRES is made up of four parts: the Sabaitic vespers (up to Φῶς ἱλαρόν), the Antiochian office of readings of Lent,⁹⁴ the early Antiochian vespers, comprised of the Φῶς Χριστοῦ, Ps 140.2, and the litanies, and, finally, the Antiochian communion rite attached to the end of vespers.⁹⁵

4.5.1 Readings

The presence of readings in vespers during Lent is important since the Byzantine liturgical tradition does not have readings on vespers except on the eves of important feasts.⁹⁶ The readings used in vespers of Lent are located today in the *Triodion*, the liturgical book used in the pre-Lenten and Lenten season. The readings, however, originally belonged to the Old Testament Lectionary called *Prophetologion*,⁹⁷ not in use today. According to the editors of the *Prophetologion*, Carsten Høeg and Günther Zuntz,

a very important reform took place at some given moment, which relegated the O.T. lessons to the Missa Praesantificatorum, which is celebrated

⁹³ JANERAS: 'La partie vésperale' 193-222.

⁹⁴ Janeras later accepted the Antiochian provenance of the readings. Cf. JANERAS: *Le Vendredi-Saint* 371.

⁹⁵ WINKLER: 'Praesanktifikatensvesper' 184-206, here 205.

⁹⁶ WINKLER: 'Praesanktifikatensvesper' 189-190; Taft notes in TAFT: *Hours* 32-33 that 'contrary to another popular misconception, there were no Scripture lessons in the normal cathedral office except in Egypt and Cappadocia. The readings found today in some offices result from the later development of the festive calendar, and are not part of the basic structure of the ordinary cathedral offices.'

⁹⁷ Carsten Høeg and Günther Zuntz, the editors of the critical edition of the *Prophetologion*, describe this Byzantine liturgical book in the following manner. 'The name [*Prophetologion*] indicates the great part played by the lessons taken from the prophets, among whom Isaiah is prominent, but there are also many lessons from the Octateuch and Proverbs and a few from other books of the O.T. The *Prophetologion* is divided into two parts. The first contains the lessons read, during Lent, on the first four days of the week at matins and at the Missa Praesantificatorum in the evening. To these are prefixed in many manuscripts lessons for Christmas eve and Epiphany Eve, and they are followed by lessons for Easter Eve and five or six other days, the last of which is Saturday before all Saints. The second part, beginning usually with September 1, contains lessons from some twenty-five fixed feasts.' HØEG & ZUNTZ: 'Remarks on the *Prophetologion*' 189.

chiefly during Lent. ... At a given moment, probably somewhere during the eighth-century, a comparatively fixed type of *Prophetologion* was created at one given place which ... cannot be but Constantinople.⁹⁸

They added that the most probable center for such a reform would have been the Studios monastery in Constantinople, and from there this new book was sent to churches around the empire. Høeg and Zuntz came to such a conclusion from their examination of manuscripts of the *Prophetologion* which are characterized by 'a very marked uniformity' in the distribution of the readings, in the lessons themselves, 'especially when a lesson is a veritable cento made up of verses separated in the original text,' and in the liturgical instructions which point to the use 'of the patriarchal church of Constantinople.'⁹⁹ Sysse Gudrun Engberg, also an editor of the *Prophetologion* after 1961, did not see the connection between the creation of the *Prophetologion* and the PRES; she argued that the creation of the *Prophetologion* was for practical reasons: 'To have all the O.T. readings written out in one volume. Another reason may have to do with the performance of the lessons ... A third reason ... may be the wish for uniformity in the liturgical practice.'¹⁰⁰

Opinions regarding the reasons behind the creation of the *Prophetologion* vary. The remarkable uniformity among the manuscripts and the credibility of its witness to the use of the Great Church, however, are beyond any doubt, thus making the *Prophetologion* extremely valuable for the study of the PRES, and especially for our discussion of Φῶς Χρῆ-στοῦ and Ps 140.2.

By comparing the present cycle of readings of Great Lent, as provided in the *Triodion*, with the cycle of readings for the same period in the *Prophetologion* and the *Typikon* of the Great Church, one is struck by the fact that they are virtually identical. Monday of the first week of Lent initiates the lectio continua of three Old Testament books: Isaiah in trithekti (1:1-20), Genesis (1:1-13) and Proverbs (1:1-20) in vespers. Rolf Zerfass has demonstrated that this system of readings has its roots in the fourth-century Antiochian practice.¹⁰¹ His analysis of patristic evidence (i.e., homilies of Chrysostom and Severus in Antioch, Basil in

⁹⁸ HØEG & ZUNTZ: 'Remarks on the Prophetologion' 221.

⁹⁹ HØEG & ZUNTZ: 'Remarks on the Prophetologion' 191-193.

¹⁰⁰ ENGBERG: 'The Greek Old Testament Lectionary' 40-41.

¹⁰¹ ZERFASS: *Schriftlesung* 132-137. Winkler accepts and adopts Zerfass' conclusions; see WINKLER: 'Praesanktifikatenvesper' 188-193.

Caesarea) has shown that the reading of Genesis started on the first Monday of Lent in Antioch and was read continuously throughout. Exodus and Job are read on Holy Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday. The Psalms of the prokeimena of the reading of the Tritheki and the readings of Vespers are also in sequence, starting from Ps 1 for the First Prokeimenon in the Trithekti and going up to Ps 137 (Holy Wednesday Vespers). The Psalms skipped are 81, 82, 94, 116, 136, and 138-150.¹⁰² Finally, whenever the PRES would be celebrated on a Wednesday or a Friday outside of Lent, or when the celebration of the PRES in Lent would coincide with a feast of a saint, an epistle and a gospel reading were said (see section 4.5.4).

The Armenian Lectionary of the fifth century, on the other hand, indicates that there was a different sequence of readings for vespers in Jerusalem, probably a combination of different reading cycles. For example, the *lectio continua* of Exodus begins on Wednesday of the first week and continues every Wednesday; the *lectio continua* of Deuteronomy, Job, and Isaiah begins on Friday of the first week and continues every Friday.¹⁰³

4.5.2 *Phos Christou*

After the completion of the first reading and the prokeimenon of the second reading, the reader says with a loud voice: Κέλευσον! (Order!). The priest, holding a lit candle and a censer in his right hand, stands before the Holy Table and he exclaims: Σοφία. Ὁρθοί (Wisdom. Stand) tracing the sign of the cross with the candle. He then turns around, exits the altar through the Beautiful Gates, and says: Φῶς Χριστοῦ (the light of Christ) looking towards the icon of Christ. He next turns toward the people and continues: φαίνει πᾶσι (illuminates all) blessing with the candle in the form of a cross and returns to the altar through the Beautiful Gates.

The exclamation Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι (the light of Christ illuminates all) is a lucernarium, indeed a brief one, and not in the form of a

¹⁰² See Appendix Four for a list of the readings.

¹⁰³ RENOUX: *Armenian Lectionary* 36:2, 239-253. It should also be noted that it is only the second week of Lent that has readings for vespers on every weekday (RENOUX: *Armenian Lectionary* 36:2, 184-185, 241-247). Genesis and Proverbs are read on Holy Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday in Jerusalem. The Psalms in general follow an ascending numerical sequence.

hymn as the Φῶς ἱλαρόν. In the East, lucernarium rites are attested to as early as the fourth century.¹⁰⁴ The Christian practice of greeting the evening light with words of thanksgiving is rooted in the pagan practice of receiving and greeting the evening light.¹⁰⁵ The evening light would be welcomed with acclamations such as ‘χαῖρε φίλον φῶς,’ ‘χαῖρε φῶς φίλον,’ and ‘χαῖρε νέον φῶς.’¹⁰⁶ In a papyrus dated to around 75 AD, the following appears, obviously a playing with words within the theme of welcoming the light: ‘φωσφόρε, φωσφορέουσα φίλον φῶς, φέρε λαμπάς.’¹⁰⁷

This custom was taken over by the Christians and the symbolism of Christ as light was added based on the many references in the New Testament¹⁰⁸ and in early Christian writings of Christ as light. For example, Clement of Alexandria recommends that the true God be greeted with ‘χαῖρε φῶς!’¹⁰⁹ Later, in the end of a poem written by Methodius of Olympus (†ca. 311), we find the phrase: ‘Ζωῆς χορηγός, Χριστέ. χαῖρε φῶς ἀνέσπερον.’¹¹⁰ The symbolism of Christ as light must have been so strong that the expression ‘Φῶς ἐκ Φωτός,’ referring to Christ, became part of the Nicene Creed.¹¹¹

The Mozarabic Rite has a Lucernarium similar to Φῶς Χριστοῦ in that it is short, simple, and involves the elevation of a candle in front of the altar with the proclamation: In the name of Our Lord, Jesus Christ, light and peace!, to which the people responded: Deo gratias.¹¹²

¹⁰⁴ K. CORRIGAN (tr.): *Gregory of Nyssa: The Life of Saint Macrina* (Toronto 1987) p. 49; D. ANDERSON (tr.): *Saint Basil the Great: On the Holy Spirit* (New York 1997), §73, p. 110; G. GINGRAS (tr.): *Egeria: Diary of a Pilgrimage* (New York 1970 = Ancient Christian Writers 38) ch. 24, p. 90. TAFT: *Hours* 36-39.

¹⁰⁵ TAFT: *Hours* 37; BRADSHAW, JOHNSON & PHILLIPS (eds.): *The Apostolic Tradition* 158. Winkler argues that the Christian practice of greeting the evening light has Jewish domestic origins; WINKLER: ‘Kathedralvesper’ 60-66. Korakides tends to favor a Jewish origin but leaves open the possibility of a pagan origin (KORAKIDES: *Φῶς ἱλαρόν* 27-32, 130-131).

¹⁰⁶ DÖLGER: ‘Lumen Christi’ 1-8. See also KORAKIDES: *Φῶς ἱλαρόν*, 27-32.

¹⁰⁷ DÖLGER: ‘Lumen Christi’ 1.

¹⁰⁸ Some would be: Jn. 1:4-9, 8:12, 9:5, 12:45-46; Col. 1:12-13; 1 Jn. 1:5-7, 2:8-11; Rev. 21:22-26.

¹⁰⁹ *Protrepticus* 11,114:1 cited by F.J. DÖLGER: ‘Χαίρε Φῶς Ἱερόν als antike Lichtsbegrüssung bei Nikarchos und Jesus als heiliges Licht bei Klemens von Alexandrien’ in *Antike und Christentum* 6 (1950) 147-151. See also KORAKIDES: *Φῶς ἱλαρόν* 33-37.

¹¹⁰ DÖLGER: ‘Lumen Christi’ 10. For other early Christian evening hymns see KORAKIDES: *Φῶς ἱλαρόν* 78-82.

¹¹¹ For more examples, see KORAKIDES: *Φῶς ἱλαρόν* 33-37.

¹¹² See TAFT: *Hours* 161.

When discussing the Φῶς Χριστοῦ we must deal with the following questions: When is it proclaimed? Where is it proclaimed? And who proclaims it? The first question is twofold; one has to deal not only with its presence or absence in certain days of Lent, but also with its place either between or after the readings. Let us take each case individually.

In the current Greek practice, whenever the PRES is celebrated, the Φῶς Χριστοῦ is always said. In seven manuscripts, however, there seem to be an association between the Φῶς Χριστοῦ with the photizomenoi and their petitions. According to these manuscripts,¹¹³ which are all Calabrian and represent a local tradition,¹¹⁴ the Φῶς Χριστοῦ is to be said after Wednesday of mid-Lent when the petitions for the photizomenoi are added. The Sabaitic Typikon Sinai gr. 1101, dated to 1312, ff. 14v-15r, notes: 'The diaconal petitions of the photizomenoi and the prayers are said from the Wednesday of mid-Lent; the Φῶς Χριστοῦ, however, is said throughout Lent'.¹¹⁵ This note implies that there might have been confusion regarding the use of Φῶς Χριστοῦ; apparently the association of the Φῶς Χριστοῦ with the petitions of the photizomenoi was not unknown.¹¹⁶

The Φῶς Χριστοῦ does not appear within the context of the PRES in the cathedral and Studite tradition for Wednesday and Friday of Cheese-fare Week.¹¹⁷ It has been argued that this was also the case when the PRES was celebrated on Holy Friday.¹¹⁸ There is, however, contradictory evidence. The presence of the Φῶς Χριστοῦ on this day is attested to in

¹¹³ The twelfth-century Barberini gr. 393, f. 37v; Barberini gr. 345, f. 20r; Vatican gr. 1863, f. 93r-v; Grottaferrata Γ.β. VIII, f. 71v; the thirteenth-century Grottaferrata Γ.β. XIII, f. 50v; the fourteenth-century Grottaferrata Γ.β. III, f. 103r (cf. Codex Basilii Falascae, Goar 170 note z); and the sixteenth-century Vatican gr. 2051, f. 71v.

¹¹⁴ I owe this comment to Prof. Stefano Parenti.

¹¹⁵ Τὰ δὲ διακονικὰ τῶν φωτιζομένων καὶ αἱ εὐχαὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τετράδι τῶν μεσονηστήμιων λέγονται: τὸ δὲ φῶς χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι, ὅλην τὴν μὲν λέγεται.

¹¹⁶ The apparent connection between the Φῶς Χριστοῦ and the litany of the photizomenoi in these manuscripts has led some scholars to suggest that there might be a link between two, namely that the Φῶς Χριστοῦ rite refers to the photizomenoi and their process of initiation. See, for example, H. ENGBERDING: 'Zur Geschichte der Liturgie der Vorgeweihten Gaben' in *Ostkirchliche Studien* 13 (1964) 310-314, p. 313-314. But as noted above, it is a local Calabrian tradition.

¹¹⁷ *Prophetologion* 1940:112-114, 118-119; MATEOS: *Le Typicon* II:6, 8; JORDAN: *The Synaxarion of Evergetis* II:352; DI: 508-510.

¹¹⁸ MATEOS: *Le Typicon* II: 80-82; JORDAN: *The Synaxarion of Evergetis* II:494; DI:553.

the ninth/tenth-century Synaxarion Patmos 226¹¹⁹ and in the *Prophetologion*¹²⁰ after the first Old Testament reading. There is even one occurrence of the Φῶς Χριστοῦ not in the context of the PRES; it appears in the *Prophetologion* after the first reading on vespertine liturgy of BAS on Holy Thursday.¹²¹ The fact that the Typikon of the Holy Savior forbids the use of Φῶς Χριστοῦ in vespertine BAS¹²² on Holy Thursday points to an awareness of the tradition of the *Prophetologion*.

The presence of the Φῶς Χριστοῦ after the first reading of the vespertine BAS on Holy Thursday points to the possibility that the Φῶς Χριστοῦ was originally connected to the Lenten cycle of readings from Genesis and Exodus and not to the PRES. In other words the Φῶς Χριστοῦ lucernarium came to Constantinople with the Lenten reading cursus, and found its place there, especially since cathedral vespers in Constantinople did not have a lucernarium. In addition, the fact that its use did not spread to vespers of the whole year, even though Constantinople did not have a lucernarium, might add to the strong connection between the Φῶς Χριστοῦ and the readings. The Φῶς Χριστοῦ was not used in the PRES of Wednesday and Friday of Cheesefare Week for the same reason, namely because the readings of those days are not from Genesis or Exodus. Furthermore, we can thus explain the fact that the Φῶς Χριστοῦ does not appear in the early euchologies of the PRES. Such an observation led Moraitis to consider the Φῶς Χριστοῦ an addition to the PRES of the twelfth century.¹²³ The reason why it does not appear is, however, not that it did not exist, but that it was associated with the cycle of Lenten readings from Genesis and Exodus. Thus, the origins of the Φῶς Χριστοῦ are to be sought with the origins of this Lenten cycle of readings.

Connected to this is the question of when the Φῶς Χριστοῦ is said in relation to the readings.¹²⁴ Because the Typikon of the Great Church

¹¹⁹ MATEOS: *Le Typicon* II: 80 in apparatus, DI:131: 'H δὲ εἴσοδος μετὰ θυμικτοῦ καὶ μονουαλίων σὺν κηρῶν ἰβ'. Note that on the same day, the entrance of the Patriarch is done κηρῶν θυμικτοῦ καὶ τῶν μονουαλίων MATEOS: *Le Typicon* II:80 in all mss, DI:131.

¹²⁰ *Prophetologion* 1960:404.

¹²¹ *Prophetologion* 1960:386.

¹²² Οὐ γὰρ λέγομεν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὔτε Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι. οὔτε Κατευθυνθήτω, οὔτε ἀντίφωνα, οὔτε τρισάγιον. ARRANZ: *Saint-Sauveur* 236.

¹²³ 'H Λειτουργία τῶν Προηγουμένων 70.

¹²⁴ One has to be careful in order to discern whether a source gives us a list of things said, or the sequence in which they are said. For example, in the Typikon of the Holy Savior Monastery, dated to 1131, we read regarding the PRES on Holy Monday, Tuesday

places the Φῶς Χριστοῦ at the end of the two readings on March 9,¹²⁵ scholars have argued that the pristine structure was Prokeimenon 1/Reading 1 – Prokeimenon 2/Reading 2 – Φῶς Χριστοῦ.¹²⁶

Let us review the evidence. The Typikon of the Great Church says that on the feast of the 40 Martyrs, celebrated on March 9, ‘at the end of the two readings the deacon takes the torch and enters saying The Light of Christ illumines all.’¹²⁷ However, according to the *Prophetologion*, another very important witness to the cathedral practice of Constantinople, the Φῶς Χριστοῦ is said after the first reading and not the second:

καὶ εὐθέως ἀνέρχεται ἀνάγνωσμα γενέσεως οἷον φθάσει τῆς ἡμέρας· καὶ εὐθεως τὸ προκείμενον τῶν ἁγίων· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο εἰσέρχεται τὴν εἴσοδον μετὰ μανουαλίων καὶ θυμιατοῦ· ὁ διάκονος κράζων· Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι· καὶ ἀνέρχεται β' ἀνάγνωσις· ἡ παροιμία.¹²⁸

And immediately the reading of the day from Genesis starts; and immediately the Prokeimenon of the saints; and then the deacon makes the entrance with torches and censor; and he cries ‘the light of Christ illumines all;’ and the second reading starts, that is Proverbs.

and Wednesday: (1) Holy Monday, after the entrance: Καὶ εὐθὺς τὸ προκείμενον. Τὰ ἀναγνώσματα. Τὸ Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι. Ἔϊτα, μετὰ τὰ ἀναγνώσματα, τὸ Κατευθυνθήτω. (2) Holy Tuesday, after the entrance: Τὰ ἀναγνώσματα. Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι. Κατευθυνθήτω. (3) Holy Wednesday, after the entrance: Προκείμενον καὶ αἱ προφητεῖαι. Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἀποδίδει· ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ Κατευθυνθήτω. Here we are given a list of what is said, not necessarily the sequence in which they are said, otherwise each day would have a different sequence.

¹²⁵ εἰς τὸ τέλος τῶν δύο ἀναγνωσμάτων λαμβάνει ὁ διάκονος τὸ μανουάλιον καὶ εἰσοδεύει λέγων τὸ Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι. MATEOS: *Le typicon* I:246.

¹²⁶ WINKLER: ‘Praesanktifikatenvesper’ 199-200; JANERAS: ‘La partie vésperal’ 195-196.

¹²⁷ MATEOS: *Le Typicon* I:246: εἰς τὸ τέλος τῶν δύο ἀναγνωσμάτων λαμβάνει ὁ διάκονος τὸ μανουάλιον καὶ εἰσοδεύει λέγων τὸ Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι. There is one manuscript of the fifteenth-century, Panagia Kamariotissa 145 (142) (folia not numbered) in which we read. ‘Ὁ ἀναγνώστης λέγει τὰς προφητείας καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς κρατῶν λαμπάδιον καὶ τὸ θυμιατὸν λέγει σοφία ὀρθοὶ φῶς χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι, καὶ ψάλλει ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸ κατευθυνθήτω ... If what we are given here reflects the sequence of things said, then we have the following outline: readings, φῶς χριστοῦ, Ps. 140.2. Given the fact, however, that this is a rather late manuscript (fifteenth-century) and is the *only* euchological witness to what Winkler argues is the earliest structure, I am inclined to argue that what the manuscript gives us here is not the sequence but the list of things said.

¹²⁸ *Prophetologion* 1980:81.

In addition, there is one instance in the *Prophetologion* where the Φῶς Χριστοῦ can be placed *before* the readings; on February 2, if it falls on Wednesday or Friday of Cheesefare week:

Ἐὰν δὲ γένηται εἰς νηστείαν ἢ ὑπαπαντή· εἰ μὲν τυρινὴ μετὰ τὴν εἴσοδον τοῦ κε ἐκέκραξα· σὺν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ· προκείμενον τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τὸ Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι· εἶτα ἀναγνώσματα προφητείας ...

If the feast of the Hypapante falls during the Fast; if it falls during Cheesefare Week, after the entrance (with the Gospel) of Ps 140, the Prokeimenon of the day and the 'Light of Christ illuminates all.' Then the readings, the prophecies ...

Εἰ δὲ τεσσαρακοστὴ φθάσει· μετὰ τὴν εἴσοδον εὐθὺς ἢ γένεσις εἶτα μεγαλύνει καὶ τὸ Φῶς Χριστοῦ· εἶτα ἢ παροιμίαι ...¹²⁹

If it falls during Great Lent; after the entrance immediately Genesis, then the 'magnify' and the 'Light of Christ' and the Proverbs.

Here we see two odd features. First, the Φῶς Χριστοῦ is said during Cheesefare week and, second, it is said *before* the readings. The only way to understand its presence there is in association with the first reading of the feast that happens to be from Exodus. I argued above that the Φῶς Χριστοῦ was strongly intertwined with the Lenten cycle of readings from Genesis and Exodus. It is possible that the Φῶς Χριστοῦ was placed there because of confusion and the proximity of Great Lent, the time of the cycle of readings from Genesis and Exodus, and the celebration of PRES. All indications point to the fact that the Φῶς Χριστοῦ always follows the readings from Genesis and Exodus. This connection allows us to understand its present position between the Genesis/Exodus readings and the reading from Proverbs.

In the present rite it is the priest who solemnly proclaims the Φῶς Χριστοῦ. There is, however, substantial evidence to suggest that originally this proclamation was made by a deacon. Such a practice was rooted in the tradition of the Great Church of Constantinople as the cathedral documents demonstrate.

The tenth-century *Typikon* of the Great Church is rather laconic in its description of the Φῶς Χριστοῦ rite. It gives us, however, two important pieces of information. It is the deacon who performs the rite and an entrance is involved:

¹²⁹ *Prophetologion* 1980:80.

March 9: Καὶ εἰς τὸ τέλος τῶν δύο ἀναγνωσμάτων λαμβάνει ὁ διάκονος τὸ μανουάλιν καὶ εἰσοδεύει λέγων τὸ Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι.¹³⁰

March 9: And at the end of the two readings, the *deacon* takes the candle and makes an entrance saying the Light of Christ illumines all.

The *Prophetologion* gives us some additional information. It indicates the destination of the deacon's entrance, that on a more solemn feast, such as the Annunciation (March 25), more candles are brought out in the procession, and that it is the archdeacon that proclaims the Φῶς Χριστοῦ:

March 9 and March 17: καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο εἰσέρχεται τὴν εἴσοδον μετὰ μανουαλίων καὶ θυμιατοῦ· ὁ διάκονος κράζων· Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι· καὶ ἀνέρχεται β' ἀνάγνωσμα.¹³¹

March 9 and 17: and then (the deacon) makes the entrance with candles and censer. The *deacon* cries out: The light of Christ illumines all. And the second reading starts.

March 25 if on a fast day: Καὶ λέγει ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος σοφία· καὶ εἰσέρχεται ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος τοὺς μέσους πυλώνας μετὰ δώδεκα μανουαλίων καὶ θυμιατοῦ κράζων· Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι· καὶ ὁ ἀναγνώστης ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι ἀναγνώσκων ἀνάγνωσμα δεύτερον.¹³²

March 25 if on a fast day: And the deacon says Wisdom and the *Archdeacon* makes an entrance through the middle gates with twelve candles and censer crying out: The light of Christ illumines all. And the reader on the ambo reads the second reading.

Holy Friday: Καὶ ὁ διάκονος· Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι.¹³³

Holy Friday: And the *deacon*: The light of Christ illumines all.

Symeon of Thessalonica (d. 1429) is the last witness to, and strong upholder of, the cathedral office that continued to be celebrated in St. Sophia of Thessalonica until the city fell to the Ottoman Turks in 1430. In his work *On Holy Prayer* (Περὶ τῆς Θείας Προσευχῆς – De Sacra Pre-catione) he described the Φῶς Χριστοῦ rite:

¹³⁰ MATEOS: *Le Typicon* I:246. See also the twelfth-century Paris gr. 1587: Λαμβάουσι οἱ διάκονοι τὰ μανουάλια καὶ εἰσοδεύουσι, λέγοντες ἐνός ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸ Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει (MATEOS: *Le Typicon* I:246 critical apparatus).

¹³¹ *Prophetologion* 1980:81, 85.

¹³² *Prophetologion* 1980:92.

¹³³ *Prophetologion* 1960:404.

... ὡς διακόνου συλλειτουργοῦντος ἱερεῖ, προσέρχεται αὐτῷ ἢ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ λειτουργοῦντι. Καὶ λαμπάδα ἀνάπτων, πρὸ τοῦ ἐξελεθεῖν, φησὶν· εὐλόγησον, δέσποτα τὸ φῶς. Καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἢ ὁ ἱερεὺς, εὐλόγων τὸ φῶς, φησὶν· "Ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ φωτισμὸς ἡμῶν, Χριστέ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν πάντοτε.¹³⁴

... ἀναγινώσκειται ἡ Γένεσις ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι· αὐτῆς δὲ ἀναγινωσκομένης, ἐν τῷ βῆματι εὐτρεπισθέντων μονουαλίων δύο, εἰ ἀρχιερεὺς εἴη, καὶ πλειόνων, καὶ τοῦ θυμιατηρίου, εἰ μὲν λειτουργεῖ καὶ διάκονος σὺν τῷ ἱερεῖ, αὐτὸς ἐξέρχεται μόνος ὁ διάκονος, κρατῶν τὸν θυμιατὸν καὶ λαμπάδα ἡμέμενη.

... διέρχεται τὴν πλαγίαν, καὶ εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ ναοῦ ἔρχεται. Καὶ πληρωθείσης τῆς Γενέσεως, φαίνεται εὐθὺς μετὰ τῶν φώτων, τὰς βασιλικὰς πύλας εἰσίων, ἀνισταμένων ἀπάντων. "Ὅς καὶ εἰς τὸ μέσον σταῆς τοῦ ναοῦ, ποιεῖται σταυροῦ τύπον τῷ θυμιατηρίῳ ἐκφώνως λέγων, Σοφία ὀρθοί· φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι. Καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον βῆμα ἀνέρχεται. Τότε τοῖνον ὁ μὲν ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι ἀναγνώστης ἀναγινώσκει τὴν Παροιμίαν· τὰ δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ συνήθη φῶτα ἀνάπτεται.¹³⁵

... When a *deacon* celebrates with a priest, he proceeds to the priest or to the bishop, if one is celebrating. And lighting a candle, before exiting, he says: Bless Master the Light. And the bishop or the priest blesses the light and says: For you are our illumination, Christ our God, always.

... While Genesis is read on the ambo, two candles, or more if there is a bishop, are prepared in the bema, and a censer. If a deacon celebrates with a priest, the *deacon alone* exits holding the censer and the lit candle.

... He goes through the side (isle of the church), and at the conclusion of Genesis he appears entering through the royal gates with the lights, while everyone stands.

Standing at the center of the church he traces the sign of the cross with the censer, saying aloud: Wisdom! Stand! The light of Christ illumines all.

Then he enters into the bema. Then the reader on the ambo reads the (reading from) Proverbs, and the usual lights are lit in the church.

In all three cases above it is very clear that an entrance is involved. The *Typikon* of the Great Church speaks of an entrance, but does not give us any details. The *Prophetologion* indicates that the archdeacon enters through the middle gates, while Symeon describes the complete route: the procession starts in the altar, goes West through the side isle and turns towards the East through the royal gates (i.e., the central gates of the nave), and stands in the middle of the church where he proclaims

¹³⁴ PG 155:657CD.

¹³⁵ PG 155:656D-657AB.

the Φῶς Χριστοῦ. Then he enters the altar and the lights of the church are lit. One cannot but notice the structural similarity of this entrance to the Great Entrance of the Divine Liturgy today:

<u>Great Entrance</u>	<u>Entrance of Light according to Symeon</u>
Originates in Altar	Originates in Altar
Paten Carried by a deacon in procession	Light Carried by a deacon in procession
Destination: Altar	Destination: Altar
Purpose: To bring gifts to altar	Purpose: To light the lamps of the Church

Taft has clearly demonstrated that the Great Entrance today (i.e., a circular procession of the gifts from the Prothesis niche out of and back into the altar) was originally a true entrance since the deacons would bring the gifts from the Skeuophylakion, an independent structure, through the nave to the altar. The purpose of this entrance was to bring the gifts, prepared by the deacons in the Skeuophylakion, to the altar table for the celebration of the Eucharist. In other words, this procession or entrance was done for practical reasons, originally very simple but gradually heavily ritualized.¹³⁶ I would like to argue that the Φῶς Χριστοῦ rites have a similar history. But let us see the evidence.

It is only by the end of the fourth century that elements of the domestic lucernarium appear in cathedral vespers in Cappadocia and Palestine, but not in Antioch.¹³⁷ The evidence points to a very simple ritual in Cappadocia and Palestine and no ritual at all in Antioch. In Cappadocia the light would be brought from outside.¹³⁸ On the other hand, Egeria points out that contrary to what she was accustomed to,

¹³⁶ TAFT: *Great Entrance* 3-256.

¹³⁷ TAFT: *Theology of Vespers* 178.

¹³⁸ In describing the death of his sister Macrina, Gregory of Nyssa gives us a glimpse of the lucernarium in Cappadocia: 'And when evening had arrived and the lamp was brought in, she opened her eyes that had been closed till then and looked at the light and made clear that she wished to say the thanksgiving for the light, but since her voice failed her, she fulfilled the offering with her heart and with the movement of her hands, while her lips moved in harmony with the inner impulse.' Chapter 22; P. MARAVAL (ed.): *Gregoire de Nysse: Vie de saint Macrine* (Paris 1971 = SC 178) 212. Translation from TAFT: *Towards a Theology of Vespers* 177. St. Basil provides textual evidence for the thanksgiving hymn for the light, the Φῶς ἱλαρόν, in *On the Holy Spirit* (Paris 1968 = SC 17bis) §73, p. 510. For a translation, see D. ANDERSON (tr.): *Saint Basil the Great: On the Holy Spirit* (New York 1997) §73, p. 110.

the light at the Anastasis church in Jerusalem was brought from the cave inside the screen,¹³⁹ the cave of the Holy Sepulcher, symbolizing the light of the risen Lord.

When Chrysostom was in Antioch at the end of the fourth century the lights were brought into the church without any ceremony or ritual. In his homily *On Genesis 4:3* he complains that the congregation paid 'less attention to the light of Sacred Scripture ... than to the lights in church and to the one who at that very moment was going through the church lighting the lamps.'¹⁴⁰ There was no ritual attached to bringing in of the lights, since the lighting the lamps was purely of practical nature and necessity. The *Apostolic Constitutions* (c. 380) from the environs of Antioch are not clear as to who would bring in the light; the description is rather simple: 'and after the recitation of the psalm at the lighting of the lamps (ἐπιλύχνησον ψαλμόν), the deacon shall ...'¹⁴¹ Most probably it was not the deacon that brought in the light since the roles of the clergy are very explicitly described in the *Apostolic Constitutions*. If it were the deacons that brought in the light, it is probable that the document would have mentioned it.

It is only logical that with the ritualization of the lamplighting the function took the form of an entrance and was relegated to the deacons. Some church orders of the early church provide evidence of such a shift. The Ethiopic translation of the *Apostolic Tradition*, a document itself of uncertain date and provenance,¹⁴² speaks of the bringing in of the lamps at the supper of the congregation, noting:

¹³⁹ Egeria, writing around 384, gives us precious witness regarding the lamplighting in Jerusalem: 'At four o'clock they have lychnicon, as they call it, or in our language, lucernare. All the people congregate once more in the Anastasis and the lamps and candles are all lit, which makes it very bright. The fire is brought not from outside, but from the cave – inside the screen – where a lamp is always burning night and day. For some time they have the lucernare psalms and antiphons; then they send for the bishop, who enters and sits in the chief seat.' *Itinerarium Egeriae* chapter 24:4. Translation from WILKINSON: *Egeria's Travels* (London 1971) 123-124.

¹⁴⁰ TAFT: *Hours* 43; cf. PG 54:597.

¹⁴¹ VIII:35.2. The psalm mentioned must be 140; cf. II:59.2: 'But assemble yourselves every day, morning and evening, ... saying ... in the evening the one hundred and fortieth.' Translation from J. GRISBROOKE: *The Liturgical Portions of the Apostolic Constitutions: A Text for Students* (Nottingham 1990 = Alcuin/Grow Liturgical Study 13-14) 54, 58.

¹⁴² BRADSHAW: *Search* 80-83; BRADSHAW, JOHNSON & PHILLIPS: *The Apostolic Tradition* 1-17.

With the bishop present, when evening has come, *a deacon is to bring in a lamp*, and, standing among all the faithful who are there, he is to give thanks. He is first to offer a greeting in this way, saying: 'The Lord be with you.' And the people are to say: 'With your spirit.' 'Let us give thanks to God.' And they are to say: 'It is right and just; greatness and exaltedness with glory are fitting for him.' But they are not to say the lifting up the hearts because it is said at the oblation. And he will pray in this way, saying: 'We give you thanks, O God, through your Son Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom you have enlightened us, revealing to us the light that does not perish ...'¹⁴³

The parallel text in the *Canons of Hippolytus* (c. 330),¹⁴⁴ canon 32, reads as follows:

If there is a meal or supper made by someone for the poor – it is a supper of the Lord – the bishop is to be present at the time when one lights a lamp. *The deacon is to light it*, and the bishop is to pray over them and over him who has invited them.¹⁴⁵

Another parallel text is in *Testamentum Domini* 2.11 from the second half of fourth century:¹⁴⁶ 'Let the lamp be offered in the temple by the deacon, saying: The grace of our Lord be with you all. And let all the people say: And with your spirit.'¹⁴⁷ In these texts we see the first evidence of the ritualization of the lucernarium, still in the domestic setting, in the context of a community meal.¹⁴⁸ It is the deacon who brings in the lamp, and in the case of the Ethiopic version of the *Apostolic Tradition*, the bishop offers a prayer relative to the theme of light.

The evidence in the documents of the cathedral office of Constantinople that assign the Φῶς Νεστοῦ to the deacon, who would bring the lit candle in procession into the church, is consistent with the evidence from the early church. There are at least eleven euchological manuscripts

¹⁴³ BRADSHAW, JOHNSON & PHILLIPS: *The Apostolic Tradition* 29C, p. 156; emphasis added.

¹⁴⁴ BRADSHAW: *Search* 83-84.

¹⁴⁵ BRADSHAW, JOHNSON & PHILLIPS: *The Apostolic Tradition* 157; emphasis added. See also, P. BRADSHAW: *The Canons of Hippolytus* (Nottingham 1987 = Alcuin/Grow Liturgical Study 2) 32; emphasis added. Bradshaw notes that 'the agape here has ceased to be a community supper and has become a meal given by an individual for the poor.'

¹⁴⁶ BRADSHAW: *Search* 86-87.

¹⁴⁷ BRADSHAW, JOHNSON & PHILLIPS: *The Apostolic Tradition* 157; emphasis added.

¹⁴⁸ BRADSHAW, JOHNSON & PHILLIPS: *The Apostolic Tradition* 158, note that 'the bringing in of the lamps at a Christian community supper is first attested by Tertullian' (*Apol* 39:15).

spanning from the eleventh to the seventeenth century that attest to the survival of this practice, as they assign the Φῶς Χριστοῦ to the deacon.¹⁴⁹ There are also at least fourteen euchological manuscripts spanning from the eleventh to the sixteenth century that explicitly point out that the Φῶς Χριστοῦ is said outside the altar area,¹⁵⁰ a relic of the entrance and original

¹⁴⁹ Eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 6v: λαμβάνει ὁ διάκονος τὸ θυμιατὸν καὶ μονουάλιον μετὰ κηρίου ... καὶ ἱστάμενος ἐξω τῶν ἁγίων θυρῶν λέγει ἐν ἔκφω(νήσει): Σοφία ὀρθοί: Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσιν, καὶ οὗτος μὲν εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὸ βῆμα· ὁ δὲ ἀναγνώστης λέγει· παροιμιῶν τὸ ἀνάγνωσμα. Twelfth-century Sinai gr. 1040 (DII:135): Ἀνίσταται ὁ διάκονος, καὶ λαβὼν τὸ θυμιατήριον τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ, βαλόντος τοῦ ἱερέως θυμιαμα ἐν αὐτῷ, λαμβάνει καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ μονουάλιον μετὰ κηροῦ ἄπτοντος, καὶ ἐξέρχεται ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἁγίων θυρῶν. καὶ πληρωθέντος τοῦ αὐτοῦ προκειμένου, θυμῆ σταυροειδῶς ὁ διάκονος τὰ ἅγια θυρία, λέγει· Σοφία ὀρθοί. Καὶ ὑψώσας τὴν ἀριστερὰν αὐτοῦ χεῖρα μετὰ τοῦ μονουαλίου, ἐπιδεικνύων τῷ λαῷ καὶ λέγει μεγαλοφώνως· Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσιν. Καὶ εἰσέρχεται καὶ θυμῆ τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν. Barberini gr. 393, f. 37v: καὶ λεγομένου τοῦ ἐτέρου προκειμένου τῆς παροιμίας, ἐξέρχεται ὁ διάκονος μετὰ θυμιατηρίου καὶ λαμπάδος ἐξω τῶν ἁγίων θυρῶν καὶ μεγαλοφώνως λέγει· Σοφία ὀρθοί: Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσιν. Similar in Barberini gr. 345, f. 20r. Γ.β. VIII, f. 71v: Καὶ τοῦ δευτέρου προκειμένου ρηθέντος (ms ρεθέντος) ὁ διάκονος· Σοφία Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι· θυμιῶν Thirteenth-century Ann Arbor 49, f. 48r-v: Μετὰ τὸ δεύτερον προκειμένου λαβὼν ὁ διάκονος τὸ μονουάλιον ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ μετὰ τοῦ θυμιατοῦ, ἵσταται ἐνώπιον τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης καὶ σφραγίζων σταυροειδῶς λέγει Σοφία ὀρθοί: φῶς χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἡ παροιμία· Barberini gr. 443, f. 31r: ψαλλομένου τοῦ προκειμένου λαμβάνει ὁ διάκονος τὸν θυμιατὸν· ἐξέρχεται λέγων· Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι. Γ.β. XIII, f. 50v: Ὁ διάκονος· Σοφία· Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι. Fourteenth-century Γ.β. III, f. 9v: Ἐξέρχεται ὁ διάκονος μετὰ κηρίου καὶ θυμιατοῦ. Καὶ ὁ ψάλλτης τὸ προκειμένον τῆς παροιμίας· Εἶτα λέγει Ὁ διάκονος· Σοφία ὀρθοί, Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσιν. Fifteenth-century Paris coislin gr. 38, DIII:209: *Ei δὲ ἴσως ἐστὶ καὶ διάκονος, συλλειτουργῶν μετὰ τοῦ ἱερέως, αὐτὸς χαράττει τὸν σταυρὸν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἁγίων θυρῶν μετὰ τοῦ μονουαλίου καὶ θυμιατοῦ καὶ ἔκφωνεῖ τὸ Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι. Kostamonitou 19 (20), DII:491: ἄψας κηρὸν ὁ διάκονος καὶ λαβὼν τὸ πυρίον, ἐξέρχεται ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἱερέως, λέγων· Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσιν. Seventeenth-century Library of Congress gr. 37, f. 111r: Ὁ διάκονος Σοφία Ὄρθοί, Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι καὶ ἡ παροιμία. EBE 776 (TR 206): Μετὰ τὸ δεύτερον προκειμένον λαβὼν ὁ διάκονος τὸ μονουάλιον ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ μετὰ τοῦ θυμιατοῦ, ἵσταται ἐνώπιον τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης· Κελεύσατε· Σφραγίζων λέγει Σοφία ὀρθοί. Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἡ παροιμία· Emphasis added.*

¹⁵⁰ Ἐξω τῶν ἁγίων θυρῶν: Eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 6v; twelfth-century Ottonboni gr. 344, f. 19v; Vatican gr. 2324, f. 20r; Barberini gr. 431, f. 22v; Barberini gr. 393, f. 37v; Barberini gr. 345, f. 20r; thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 966, f. 48r; ἐξωθεν τῶν ἁγίων θυρῶν: twelfth-century Vatican gr. 1863, f. 93r; sixteenth-century Vatican gr. 2051, f. 71v; ἐξέρχεται: Twelfth-century Sinai gr. 1040 (DII:135); thirteenth-century Barberini gr. 443, f. 31r; fourteenth-century Γ.β. III, f. 9v; fifteenth-century Kostamonitou 19 (20), DII:491; it is implied in the eleventh-century Benaki 27 (56), f. 56v-57r, since the priest goes behind the ambo to receive the censer (εὐρίσκει θυμιατὸν παρετοιμασμένον εἰς τὸν ὀπισθὰμβωνα).

location of the proclamation of the $\Phi\omega\varsigma$ $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$. That this procession of the light began in the skeuophylakion in Constantinople is hypothetical, since we lack any explicit evidence. However, it is a logical conjecture because it is at the skeuophylakion where all the liturgical objects were kept, and from there were taken into the church in procession. It is possible that when the manuscripts refer to preparing the candleholder and lighting the candle, this would originally take place in the Skeuophylakion as well.

Gradually, even the relics of the procession with the light were suppressed. We see the tendency in the manuscripts to move the rite from outside to within the altar area. Thus, the fifteenth-century Ambrosiana gr. 84 (B15 sup), f. 136, notes that the rite takes place in front of the altar doors ($\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\rho\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\pi\rho\acute{o}\theta\upsilon\rho\alpha$) as does the fifteenth-century Paris coislin gr. 38.¹⁵¹ The twelfth-century Barberini gr. 329, f. 12r, moves the rite to the central doors of the altar ($\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\delta\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\upsilon\lambda\alpha$). In the twelfth century we find explicit directions that the $\Phi\omega\varsigma$ $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ is said in the altar, in front of the holy table.¹⁵² Not only does the rite move to within the altar, but eventually the priest takes over the proclamation $\Phi\omega\varsigma$ $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$.¹⁵³ This transition is obvious in four manuscripts, in which the $\Phi\omega\varsigma$ $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ can be proclaimed either by a priest or a deacon.¹⁵⁴ The twelfth-century

¹⁵¹ $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\rho\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu$ $\tau\omega\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ $\theta\upsilon\rho\omega\nu$ DIII:209.

¹⁵² Twelfth-century EBE 713, f. 42r-v: $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\pi\iota\omega\nu$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ $\tau\rho\alpha\pi\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\eta\varsigma$ $\epsilon\iota\sigma\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\beta\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$. See also EBE suppl. 394 (TR206) and BM 5 (TR206).

¹⁵³ Eleventh-century Benaki 27 (56), f. 56v-57r; twelfth-century Oxford Bodleian Auct. E.5.13 (JACOB: 307-308); Vatican gr. 1811, f. 104; Vatican gr. 1875, f. 33v; I.β. II, f. 44v; Sinai gr. 973, f. 22v (DII:86); Vatican gr. 1554, f. 40v; Barberini gr. 431, f. 22v; Barberini gr. 329, f. 12r; EBE 713, f. 42r-v; EBE suppl. 394 (TR206); BM 5 (TR206); sixteenth-century EBE 2400, f. 86v; twelfth/thirteenth-century EBE 662, f. 61v; thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 1037, f. 72v-73v; Sinai gr. 966, f. 48r; fourteenth/fifteenth-century Benaki 90 (TA 246), f. 61r; Vatopedi 984, f. 30r; Vatopedi 133 (744) DII:274; fifteenth-century Sinai gr. 968, f. 61r; Panagia Kamariotissa 145 (142); Vatican gr. 1978, f. 37v; Ambrosiana gr. 84 (B15 sup), f. 136v; EBE 2403, f. 48r; fifteenth/sixteenth-century Sabas 682, f. 66r; EBE 756, f. 55r; Paris gr. 326, f. 58r; sixteenth-century Panagia Kamariotissa 142 (139) f. 31r; Sabas 48, f. 4r; Vatican gr. 2032, f. 35r; EBE 755, f. 100r; Vatican gr. 2052, f. 35v; EBE 878, p. 140; EBE 775, f. 94r; EBE 757, f. 62v; Vatican gr. 2051, f. 71v; Sinai gr. 2017, f. 93r; Vatican gr. 1557, f. 98r; Benaki 10 (16), f. 85r; Sinai gr. 2037, f. 76v; Sinai gr. 2111, f. 129v; Ottoboni gr. 288, f. 71r; EBE 759, p. 201; EBE 749, f. 66v; seventeenth-century EBE 776 (TR 206); Taphou 334, f. 107v.

¹⁵⁴ Twelfth-century Vatican gr. 1863, f. 93r: $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\tau\acute{o}$ $\pi\rho\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\pi\alpha\rho\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$: $\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\chi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ \acute{o} $\delta\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$ η \acute{o} $\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$ $\tau\omega\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ $\theta\upsilon\rho\omega\nu$: $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota$ $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\phi\omega\nu\omega\varsigma$ \acute{o} $\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$: $\Sigma\omicron\phi\acute{\iota}\alpha$ \acute{o} $\rho\theta\omicron\acute{o}\iota$: $\Phi\omega\varsigma$ $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\varphi\alpha\iota\nu\epsilon\iota$ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\nu$. $\text{K}\alpha\iota$ \acute{o} $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\gamma\eta\nu\acute{\omicron}\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\tau\eta\nu$ $\pi\alpha\rho\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$. Ottoboni gr. 344, f. 19v: $\text{K}\alpha\iota$ $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\acute{o}$ $\pi\rho\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$ \acute{o} $\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\tau\epsilon$ \acute{o} $\delta\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$: $\delta\epsilon\kappa\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota$ $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$

Ottoboni gr. 344, f. 19v, even justifies this possibility by stating: ‘both (i.e., either the priest or the deacon) are acceptable’ (δεκταῖοι γὰρ εἰσι καὶ ἀμφοτέροι).

There is no evidence in the manuscript tradition to suggest that a prayer accompanied the Φῶς Χριστοῦ rite, or that the light was blessed. There is only one case that I am aware of, and that is in Symeon of Thessalonica’s description of the PRES, according to which the deacon would take the candle to the bishop or priest and say ‘Bless Master the Light.’ Then the bishop or the priest would bless the light saying: ‘For you are our illumination, Christ our God, always.’¹⁵⁵ This seems to be a late addition, since this is not a prayer, but rather, looks like an ekphonesis, very similar to the ekphonesis of the prayer for the photizomenoi.¹⁵⁶

The earliest witnesses to the cathedral office of Constantinople (i.e., *Prophetologion* and the *Typikon* of the Great Church) note that the Φῶς Χριστοῦ rite included lights and censer, but make no mention of tracing the sign of the cross with the candle. Tracing the cross with the candle in the air starts to appear in the twelfth century, but not in all manuscripts;¹⁵⁷ there are a number of manuscripts in which this does not

εἰσι καὶ ἀμφοτέροι: ἰστάμενος ἔξω τῶν ἁγίων θυρῶν μετὰ θυμιατοῦ καὶ κηρίου ἄπτοντος, ἐκφωνεῖ: Σοφία ὀρθοί: Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσιν. Καὶ οὕτω εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὸ βῆμα. Similar in Vatican gr. 2324, f. 20r. Thirteenth-century Ambrosiana gr. 276 (E20 sup), f. 40r: ὁ ἱερεὺς ἢ ὁ διάκων, λαμβάνων τὸν θυμιατὸν καὶ τοῦ κηρίου εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα, ἴσταται πρὸ τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης ποιῶν τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ λέγει: Φῶς χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι καὶ οὕτως εἰσέρχεται. Emphasis added.

¹⁵⁵ PG 155:657CD.

¹⁵⁶ The Ethiopic version of the *Apostolic Tradition* attests to the blessing of the evening light by a bishop; see BRADSHAW, JOHNSON & PHILLIPS: *The Apostolic Tradition* 29C, p. 156. The Armenian Office knows of a prayer of blessing of the light (TAFT: *Hours* 223).

¹⁵⁷ Twelfth-century Oxford Bodleian Auct. E.5.13 (JACOB: ‘E.5.13’ 307-308); Vatican gr. 1811, f. 104; Vatican gr. 1875, f. 33v; Γ.β. II, f. 44v; Sinai gr. 973, f. 22v (DII:86); EBE 713, f. 42r-v; EBE suppl. 394 (TR206); BM 5 (TR206); twelfth/thirteenth-century EBE 662, f. 61v; thirteenth-century Ann Arbor 49, f. 48r-v; Ambrosiana gr. 276 (E20 sup), f. 40r; Sinai gr. 1037, f. 72v-73v; Sinai gr. 966, f. 48r; fourteenth-century Vatopedi 984, f. 61r; Vatopedi 133 (744) DII:274; fourteenth/fifteenth-century Benaki 90 (TA 246), f. 61r; fifteenth-century Sinai gr. 968, f. 61r; EBE 2403, f. 48r; Paris coislin gr. 38, DII:209; fifteenth/sixteenth-century Paris gr. 326, f. 58r; sixteenth-century Sinai gr. 2037, f. 76v; Sinai gr. 2111, f. 129v; Ottoboni gr. 288, f. 71r; EBE 759, p. 201; EBE 749, f. 66v; EBE 2400, f. 86v; EBE 769, f. 124r; Panagia Kamarionissa 142 (139) f. 31r; Sabas 48, f. 4r; EBE 878, p. 140; EBE 775, f. 94r; EBE 757, f. 62v; seventeenth-century EBE 776 (TR 206).

appear.¹⁵⁸ It is possible that originally the deacon raised the candle with the light as he proclaimed the Φῶς Χριστοῦ, as one source, the twelfth-century diakonikon Sinai gr. 1040 notes:

Ἀνίσταται ὁ διάκονος, καὶ λαβὼν τὸ θυμιατήριον τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ, βαλόντος τοῦ ἱερέως θυμίαμα ἐν αὐτῷ, λαμβάνει καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ μανουάλιον μετὰ κηροῦ ἄπτοντος, καὶ ἐξέρχεται ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἁγίων θυρῶν, καὶ πληρωθέντος τοῦ αὐτοῦ προκειμένου, θυμιᾷ σταυρωειδῶς ὁ διάκονος τὰ ἅγια θυρία, λέγει· Σοφία ὀρθοί. Καὶ ὑψώσας τὴν ἀριστερὰν αὐτοῦ χεῖρα μετὰ τοῦ μανουαλίου, ἐπιδεικνύων τῷ λαῷ καὶ λέγει μεγαλοφώνως· Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσιν. Καὶ εἰσέρχεται καὶ θυμιᾷ τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν.¹⁵⁹

The deacon gets up, receives the censer in his right hand, the priest placing incense in it, and receives a candleholder with a lit candle in his left hand. He exits and stands in front of the holy gates. When the prokeimenon is completed, the deacon censens the holy gates in the form of a cross and says: Wisdom! Stand! And rising his left hand with the candleholder, he shows it to the people and says in a loud voice: The Light of th Christ illumines all. And enters and censens the holy table.

The raising of the candle could easily evolve into the tracing of the sign of the cross. A parallel evolution can be seen in the Small Entrance of the Divine Liturgy in which the deacon carries the Gospel book. The deacon would elevate the Gospel while saying, ‘Wisdom! Stand!’ The elevation of the Gospel had the practical purpose of making it visible to the people. This elevation evolved into tracing the sign of the Cross with the Gospel.¹⁶⁰

There is evidence, however, that points to an association between the signing of the cross and the lighting of the candle in domestic lucernaria. Tertullian notes:

¹⁵⁸ Twelfth-century Vatican gr. 1863, f. 93r; Vatican gr. 1554, f. 40v; Ottoboni gr. 344, f. 19v; Vatican gr. 2324, f. 20r; Barberini gr. 431, f. 22v; Barberini gr. 393, f. 37v; Barberini gr. 345, f. 20r; Barberini gr. 329, f. 12r; Γ.β. VIII, f. 71v; thirteenth-century Barberini gr. 443, f. 31r; Γ.β. XIII, f. 50v; fourteenth-century Γ.β. III, f. 9v; fifteenth-century Panagia Kamariotissa 145 (142); Vatican gr. 1978, f. 37v; Ambrosiana gr. 84 (B15 sup), f. 136v; fifteenth/sixteenth-century Sabas 682, f. 66r; EBE 756, f. 55r; sixteenth-century Sinai gr. 2017, f. 93r; Vatican gr. 1557, f. 98r; Benaki 10 (16), f. 85r; Vatican gr. 2051, f. 71v; seventeenth-century Taphou 334, f. 107v; Vatican gr. 2032, f. 35r; EBE 755, f. 100r; Vatican gr. 2052, f. 35v; seventeenth-century Library of Congress gr. 37, f. 111r.

¹⁵⁹ DII:135.

¹⁶⁰ MATEOS: *La célébration* 83.

Ad omnem progressum atque promotum ad omnem aditum et exitum, ad vestitum et calciatum, ad lavacra, ad mensas, ad lumina, ad cibulia et sedilia ... frontem crucis signaculo terimus.¹⁶¹

At every progression and step, at every entrance and exit, when putting on clothes and shoes, in the washroom and at the dinner table, at the light [when the light is brought in], when we lie down and when we sit ... we sign our forehead with the sign of the cross.

In the East, Chrysostom talks about tracing the sign of the cross in every activity as being a Christian habit, including the lighting of the lamps. Here one traces the sign of the cross with the lamp in the context of a domestic lucernarium: 'Again, when the light is lit, even when many times the mind thinks something else, the hand traces the seal (of the cross).'¹⁶²

Among the documents I had the opportunity to examine, the detailed ritual in the twelfth-century diakonikon Sinai gr. 1040 is the first and only instance in which the deacon (or the priest), faces the people when proclaiming the Φῶς Χριστοῦ, as in the present practice. All of the euchological manuscripts that contain directions guide the deacon or the priest to face the East.

One aspect of the Φῶς Χριστοῦ rite that is present in all types of documents and in all centuries is incense. The *Prophetologion* mentions that incense is carried in procession,¹⁶³ although it is not clear whether by the deacon who would proclaim the Φῶς Χριστοῦ or not. The earliest euchologies of the PRES that mention the Φῶς Χριστοῦ rite point out that incense is carried out together with a lit candle by the one who proclaims Φῶς Χριστοῦ, whether deacon or priest.¹⁶⁴ A similar

¹⁶¹ Cited in KORAKIDES: *Φῶς ἱλαρόν* 39; cf. *De Corona* 3.

¹⁶² Πάλιν λόγῳ ἀφθέντος, πολλάκις τῆς διανοίας ἕτερόν τι σκεπτομένης, ἡ χεὶρ τὴν σφραγῖδα ποιεῖ. Cited in KORAKIDES: *Φῶς ἱλαρόν* 39; cf. Homily on the Acts 10:5, PG 60:91C.

¹⁶³ 1980:81, 85, 92.

¹⁶⁴ See, for example the eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 6v, in which it is the deacon who proclaims the Φῶς Χριστοῦ: λαμβάνει ὁ διάκονος τὸ θυμιατὸν καὶ μονουάλιον μετὰ κηρίου ... καὶ ἰστάμενος ἔξω τῶν ἀγίων θυρῶν λέγει ἐν ἄκρω(νήσει): Σοφία ἡρθοί· Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσιν. καὶ οὗτος μεν εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὸ βῆμα· ὁ δὲ ἀναγνώστης λέγει: παροιμιῶν τὸ ἀνάγνωσμα. On the other hand, it is the priest who does so in the eleventh-century Benaki 27 (56), f. 56v-57r: ἀναγιγνωσκόμενον δὲ τοῦ πρώτου ἀναγνώσματος ἐγείρεται ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ εὕρσκει θυμιατ(όν) παρετοιμασμένον εἰς τὸν ὀπισθάμβω(να), πληρουμένου δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου προκειμένου τῆς παροιμίας) ἐκφώνως ὁ ἱερεὺς· Σοφία· Φῶς Χ(ριστο)ῦ φαίνει πᾶσα· Καὶ λέγει ὁ ἀναγνώστης· Παροιμιῶν τὸ ἀνάγνωσμα. In both cases incense is used.

rite can be seen in East-Syrian vespers. After the lighting of the lamp there is censuring, each accompanied by a prayer. As in Jerusalem, the light is taken from within the altar. The vesperal psalmody that follows (Ps 140, 141, 118:105-112, 116) does not include censuring,¹⁶⁵ a common characteristic with the cathedral office in Constantinople that also did not know of censuring with psalm 140 in vespers. This evidence, together with the fact that the phrase Φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι has been found inscribed on oil lamps of the fourth and fifth centuries in Syria,¹⁶⁶ may point to the area of Syria as the place of origin of the lucernarium of the PRES.

4.5.3 Ps 140.2

After the readings, the priest gives the peace to the reader and the deacon proclaims, 'Wisdom.' The priest then stands in front of the Holy Table, facing East, holding a censer, and censuring lightly, chants Ps 140.2:

Κατευθυνθήτω ἡ προσευχή μου, ὡς θυμίαμα ἐνώπιόν σου· ἔπαρσις τῶν χειρῶν μου, θυσία ἑσπερινή.	Let my prayer rise as incense before You, the lifting up of my hands as an evening sacrifice.
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The choirs take turns in repeating Ps 140:2 four times, once after each verse and the final doxology that the priest intones. The priest censes all four sides of the Holy Table, one at each response. The verses that the priest intones are:

Verse 1: Κύριε, ἐκέκραξα πρὸς σέ, εἰσάκουσόν μου, εἰσάκουσόν μου, Κύριε. Κύριε, ἐκέκραξα πρὸς σέ, εἰσάκουσόν μου, πρόσχευε τῇ φωνῇ τῆς δεήσεώς μου ἐν τῷ κειραγέναι με πρὸς σέ.	Verse 1: O Lord, I have cried out to You: hear me; hear me our Lord. O Lord, I have cried out to You: hear me; hearken to the voice of my prayer as I cry out to You.
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¹⁶⁵ S.H. JAMMO: 'L'Office du Soir Chaldéen au Temps de Gabriel Qatraya' in *L'Orient Syrien* 12 (1967) 187-210, p. 188-191.

¹⁶⁶ W. BAUER: 'Inschriften auf frühchristlichen Tonlampen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Inschrift 'Das Licht Christi scheint allen' in *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* 4 (1923) 299.

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|---|---|
| <p>Verse 2: Θεῷ. Κύριε, φυλακὴν τῷ στόματί μου, καὶ θύραν περιοχῆς περὶ τὰ χεῖλη μου.</p> <p>Verse 3: Μὴ ἐκκλίνῃς τὴν καρδίαν μου εἰς λόγους πονηρίας τοῦ προφασίζεσθαι προφάσεις ἐν ἁμαρτίαις.</p> <p>Verse 4: Δόξα Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι. Καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.</p> | <p>Verse 2: Set a guard, O Lord, over my mouth, and a gate to contain my lips.</p> <p>Verse 3: Let not my heart incline to evil deeds, to finding excuses for sinful doings.</p> <p>Verse 4: Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit. Now and always and unto the ages of ages. Amen.</p> |
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Then the priest repeats Ps 140:2 in the following manner. He returns to the front side of the Holy Table, facing East, and starts to chant ‘Κατευθυνθήτω ἡ προσευχή μου;’ at the phrase ‘ὡς θυμιάμα ἐνώπιόν σου’ he exits the central altar doors and censes the icon of Christ. The choir then picks up the last part, ‘ἔπαρσις τῶν χειρῶν μου. Θυσία ἔσπερινή,’ while the priest censes the other icons, the church and the people.

The whole rite, with the alternation between priest and choirs, the censing, and the people either standing or kneeling, is a very solemn one, one that has come to be a characteristic and unique component of the PRES. But this was not always the case. Let us review the evidence.

There is no doubt that Ps 140.2 of the PRES was in its place of origin a vespéral psalm. By the fourth century psalm 140 was the vespéral psalm in the cathedral office¹⁶⁷ either by itself, as in Antioch,¹⁶⁸ or with other vespéral palms, as in Jerusalem.¹⁶⁹ Ps 140.2 appears as a responsory in Armenian Vespers.¹⁷⁰ In the sixth- or seventh-century account of the visit of Abbots John and Sophronius of Jerusalem to the anchorite Nilus of Sinai mention is made, among other things, of the absence of Ps 140.2 in the vespers that Nilus celebrated.¹⁷¹ In the ensuing dialogue it is made clear that the chanting of Ps 140.2 was considered to be a

¹⁶⁷ TAFT: *Hours* 33-34, 39, 42-43, 44-47, 51.

¹⁶⁸ TAFT: *Hours* 42-47.

¹⁶⁹ TAFT: *Hours* 51.

¹⁷⁰ TAFT: *Hours* 223.

¹⁷¹ Ἦως σὺ αὐτὸς, ἰψέ, εἰς τὰ ἔσπερινά τῆς ἁγίας Κυριακῆς, οὔτε εἰς τὸ Κύριε ἐκέκραξεν προπάριον, οὔτε εἰς τὸ Φῶς ἱλαρόν, οὔτε τὸ Κατευθυνθήτω ... εἴπας; LONGO: ‘Narration’ 253; TAFT: *Hours* 274-275.

component of cathedral worship, but not of monastic, sung by the order of cantors.¹⁷²

Ps 140.2 is also mentioned in the HagPRES, as described in the cathedral Typikon of the Anastasis Church in Jerusalem. No verses are noted. Its location is perplexing since it appears at the end of the litè (procession) from the Anastasis Church to the church where the HagPRES was to be celebrated. Right after the hymn accompanying the final doxology, the Typikon notes: 'Εὐθὺς Κατευθυνθήτω ἡ προσευχή μου.'¹⁷³ The 'Nunc dimittis' and forty 'Lord, have mercy's' follow, clearly dismissal elements, and then the Great Entrance hymn for the PRES is chanted.

Ps 140.2 also appears in Western evidence. It is sung in Ambrosian Vespers during Great Lent as part of the Lucernarium. Note that the response is made up of only the last two words of verse 2, 'evening sacrifice':

Dirigatur oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo; elevatio
manuum mearum

sacrificium vespertinum

v. Domine clamavi ad te, exaudi me, intende voci orationis meae.

sacrificium ...

v. Pone Domine custodiam ori meo.

sacrificium ...¹⁷⁴

How could the presence of Ps 140:2 in the PRES be explained? It is obvious that the Ps 140:2 of the PRES was originally part of vesperal psalmody, before it came to Constantinople. Constantinople, however, already had Ps 140 as one of its vesperal psalms, undoubtedly borrowed from Antioch. Thus, the cathedral tradition of Constantinople did not know of any incensation with Ps 140. As we have seen, any time verse 2

¹⁷² Ταῦτα γὰρ ἄπερ εἰρηκας, ψαλτῶν καὶ ἀναγνωστῶν εἰσι καὶ ὑποδιακόνων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν τὰς χειροτονίας ἐχόντων. Τῶν γὰρ χειροτονίας μὴ ἐχόντων ταῦτα κατατολμᾶν οὐ προσήκει. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ τάξις προχειρίζεται ψάλτας, ἀναγνώστας, ὑποδιακόνους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους· ψάλτας μὲν διὰ τὸ ψάλλειν καὶ ἄδειν μετὰ μέλους καὶ ἤχου καὶ ἄσματος καὶ προκαθηγεῖσθαι τοῦ λαοῦ εἰς τὸ Ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς καὶ εἰς τὰ προκείμενα καὶ προψάσματα καὶ τὰ βηματικά καὶ εἰς τὴν προέλευσιν τῶν Μυστηρίων τὸ Οἶ τὰ Χερουβὶμ καὶ τὰ κοινωνικά· ἀναγνώστας δὲ εἰς τὰς παροιμιακὰς καὶ προφητικὰς καὶ ἀποστολικὰς βίβλους· ὑποδιακόνους δὲ καὶ διακόνους διὰ τὸ διακονεῖν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ· πρεσβυτέρους δὲ διὰ τὸ ἱερουργεῖν καὶ τελειοποιεῖν καὶ βαπτίζειν. LONGO: 'Narration' 253-254.

¹⁷³ PK 49 (Holy Monday). Cf. 65 (Holy Tuesday) and 81 (Holy Wednesday). Ps 140.2 does not appear in the Georgian version of HagPRES; see T 71.

¹⁷⁴ PINELL: 'Vestigis' 112.

functioned as the refrain to Ps 140 it did so without reference to incense.¹⁷⁵ Earlier we also saw that the Φῶς Χριστοῦ rites were taken up in the PRES because the cathedral office of Constantinople did not know of a lucernarium. But why would it adopt a *second* vesperal psalm? I believe Ps 140:2 entered the PRES in the Constantinopolitan office not as a vesperal psalm, but as a Prokeimenon.

The highly ritualized execution of Ps 140:2 today, with the incensation and kneeling, can be seen in the Typika starting from the twelfth century. For example, the twelfth-century Typikon of the Holy Savior notes that when the cantor sings, all kneel and pray. One choir responds with Ps 140:2, the other makes prostrations.¹⁷⁶ In the same vein, the Sabaitic Typikon, Sinai gr. 1101, f. 14v, dated to 1312 AD, notes that when Ps 140:2 is sung, all kneel and pray. When the priest rises and sings, the cantor kneels and prays.¹⁷⁷ In other words, Ps 140:2 is seen as a high point in the celebration of the PRES. Such an approach to Ps 140:2, however, stands in stark contrast to the rubrics of the *Prophetologion*, according to which the priests sit during Ps 140.2. So, for example, after the reading from Proverbs on March 9 and March 17:

ἀνέρχεται ψάλτης λέγων ψαλμὸς τῷ
δαυιδ καὶ ψάλλει καθεζομένων τῶν
ιερέων ἐν τῷ συνθρόνῳ· τὸ κατευθυν-
θήτω.¹⁷⁸

The cantor ascends (on the ambo) and says: Psalm of David and sings Ps 140:2 while the priests *sit* on the synthronon.

The same posture during the singing of Ps 140:2 is even seen on solemn feasts in the presence of the Patriarch, such as March 25 eve:

καὶ ἀνέρχεται ψάλτης λέγων ψαλμὸς τῷ
δαυιδ καὶ ψάλλει τὸ κατευθυνθήτω
καθεζομένοι τοῦ πατριάρχου καὶ τῶν
ιερέων ἐν τῷ συνθρόνῳ.¹⁷⁹

The cantor ascends (on the ambo) and says: Psalm of David and sings Ps 140:2 while the patriarch and the priests *sit* on the synthronon.

¹⁷⁵ See section 5.3.6.

¹⁷⁶ Καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον ψάλλει ὁ ψάλτης, πάντες ἐπὶ γόνυ κεῖνται εὐχόμενοι· ὅταν δὲ ὁ εἰς χορὸς ἀντιφωνῇ, τὸ Κατευθυνθήτω, καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ποιεῖ τὰς μετανοίας. ARRANZ: *Saint-Sauveur* 209.

¹⁷⁷ Ἰστέον δὲ εἶτι ὅταν ψάλλωμεν τὸ κατευθυνθήτω, κείμεθα ἐπὶ γόνυ προσευχόμενοι. Καὶ ὅταν ἡμεῖς ἀναστῶμεν καὶ ψάλλωμεν, πίπτει ὁ ψάλτης καὶ αὐτὸς προσευχόμενος.

¹⁷⁸ *Prophetologion* 1960:81, 86.

¹⁷⁹ *Prophetologion* 1960:93; emphasis added.

I believe this is the case because Ps 140:2 was seen as a Prokeimenon, not a vesperal psalm. The documents of the cathedral office continue to provide us evidence in support of this hypothesis. There are instances where Ps 140.2 is not chanted though there is a PRES. But in these cases, a Prokeimenon replaces Ps 140.2; on Holy Friday Ps 140.2 is replaced by the Prokeimenon of the Epistle reading.¹⁸⁰ Directions are even more explicit on Wednesday and Friday of Cheesefare Week.¹⁸¹ In addition, whenever Ps 140.2 is chanted and an Epistle reading follows, that Epistle reading does not have a prokeimenon, since Ps 140:2 functions as one. Such cases can be seen on March 9,¹⁸² March 17,¹⁸³ and March 24 eve.¹⁸⁴ Ps 140:2 is even explicitly called Prokeimenon on March 25.¹⁸⁵ The thirteenth-century Ambrosiana 276 (E20 sup), f. 40v-41r, notes that if an epistle and a gospel reading are added on the feast of St. John the Baptist (February 24) or on the feast of the Forty Martyrs (March 9) 'the Κατευθυνθήτω is chanted in the place of the Prokeimenon.'¹⁸⁶ In a similar way the fifteenth-century Kostamonitou 19 (20) notes that if there is an epistle reading, it is to be recited after the Κατευθυνθήτω *without* a Prokeimenon,¹⁸⁷ since the Κατευθυνθήτω assumes its role.

A parallel use of Ps 140.2 appears in the Roman liturgical practice where it functions as a gradual in the Roman liturgy at least four times a year:

¹⁸⁰ *Prophetologion* 1960:408. See also MATEOS: *Le Typicon* II:80-82; tenth/eleventh-century Kanonarium Sinai gr. 150, DI:191-192; JORDAN: *The Synaxarion of Evergetis* II:494; DI:553.

¹⁸¹ Καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ Κατευθυνθήτω: Προκειμένον ... (ἐλπισάτω + 3 στίχοι); 1940:114, 119; MATEOS: *Le Typicon* II:6,8; JORDAN: *The Synaxarion of Evergetis* II:342, 346; DI: 508-510.

¹⁸² *Prophetologion* 1960:81.

¹⁸³ *Prophetologion* 1960:86.

¹⁸⁴ *Prophetologion* 1960:93.

¹⁸⁵ *Prophetologion* 1960:98. In some *Prophetologion* mss the following rubric is found: Εἰ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡμέραις τῶν νηστειῶν λέγονται τῇ παραμονῇ τὰ ἴδια τῆς ἐνισταμένης ἡμέρας, καὶ τῇ ἔωθεν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἑορτῆς λέγονται τὰ δύο ταῦτα· ἡ ἔξοδος· ἡ παροιμία· εἴθ' οὕτως ὡς προκειμένον· τὸ κατευθυνθήτω [τῶν ἱερέων καθεζομένων] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ ἀπόστολος καὶ τὰ λοιπά. See also MATEOS: *Le Typicon* I:254, where after the second reading and before the epistle reading we read: Προκειμένον β'. τὸ Κατευθυνθήτω.

¹⁸⁶ Εἰ δὲ θέλει λέγειν ἀπόστολον καὶ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ προδρόμου ἢ τῶν ἀγίων μ'. ψάλλεται τὸ κατευθυνθήτω ἐν τῇ θέσει προκειμένου.

¹⁸⁷ Εἴτα Κατευθυνθήτω καὶ εὐθὺς ἀπόστολος χωρὶς προκειμένου. DII:491; emphasis added.

1. On Tuesday after the First Sunday of Lent (FR III Statio ad sanctam Anastasia) where the full text is given.¹⁸⁸
2. On Saturday before the Second Sunday of Lent (Sabb. in. III. Tempora ad sanctum Petrum), Saturday of Ember days of spring; only the incipit is given.¹⁸⁹
3. Friday of the Ember days of the fall – September (FR VI ad apostolos).¹⁹⁰
4. Saturday of the Ember days of the fall – September (Sabbato ad sanctum Petrum).¹⁹¹

The text in the Graduale is given as follows: ‘Dirigatur oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectus tuo Domine.’ The verse is: ‘Elevatio manum mearum sacrificium vespertinum.’ The text follows the Vulgate with the addition of the word Domine. Here we see that the first part of Ps 140.2 functions as the response and the second part of Ps 140.2 as the verse. It is also important to note that Ps 140.2 here is a gradual, sung between the epistle and the gospel readings.¹⁹²

The gradual, named after the steps (gradus), of the ambo on or near which it was sung, was originally a psalm sung by a solo cantor to which the congregation responded with a brief interjection, such as ‘Alleluia,’ or a verse from the psalm itself. Later the gradual assumed its present form; a response for the choir, made up of one or two verses, followed by a florid verse for the cantor.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁸ In the eleventh/twelfth-century Vatican lat. 5319, f. 44v and thirteenth-century Vatican Archivio San Pietro F. 22, f. 22v, as outlined in B. STÄBLEIN & M. LANDWEHR-MELNICKI: *Die Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale* (Kassel etc. 1970 = Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 2) item 41, page 638.

¹⁸⁹ In the eleventh/twelfth-century Vatican lat. 5319, f. 48r and thirteenth-century Vatican Archivio San Pietro F. 22, f. 25r, as outlined in STÄBLEIN & LANDWEHR-MELNICKI: *Die Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale*, item 45, page 639; see also G. HINTZE: *Das byzantinische Prokeimena-Repertoire* (Hamburg 1973 = Hamburger Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 9) 17-18.

¹⁹⁰ In the eleventh/twelfth-century Vatican lat. 5319, f. 127v and thirteenth-century Vatican Archivio San Pietro F. 22, f. 70v, as outlined in STÄBLEIN & LANDWEHR-MELNICKI: *Die Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale*, item 175, page 672.

¹⁹¹ Does not appear in the eleventh/twelfth-century Vatican lat. 5319. It appears, however, in the thirteenth-century Vatican Archivio San Pietro F. 22, f. 70v; cf. STÄBLEIN & LANDWEHR-MELNICKI: *Die Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale*, item 176, page 672.

¹⁹² VOGEL: *Medieval Liturgy* 357.

¹⁹³ M. BERRY: ‘Chants of the Proper of the Mass’ in P. BRADSHAW (ed.): *The New Westminster Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship* (Louisville / London 2002) 105.

In addition, the placement of the ektenes litany might provide an indication to the role of the Κατεσθυθητόω in the PRES. The rubrics in the beginning of the PRES in the eighth-century Barberini gr. 336 note: 'At vespers, after the readings and the Κατεσθυθητόω (Ps 140.2) and the Kyrie eleison, the prayer of the catechumens of the PRES takes place.'¹⁹⁴ The Kyrie eleison here is the ektenes litany. Note the similarity to the rubrics in cathedral vespers, where the prokeimenon and the Kyrie eleison (i.e., the ektene) appear together: 'The prokeimenon and the Kyrie eleison and the prayer of the first antiphon.'¹⁹⁵ In cathedral orthros the ektene again follows the prokeimenon.¹⁹⁶ It has been argued that Ps 140.2 of the PRES cannot be called a prokeimenon since a prokeimenon always precedes a reading.¹⁹⁷ This, however, is not the case. In the appendix to the edition of the Typikon of the Great Church, Mateos has noted that a prokeimenon can occur without, before, in between, or after a reading.¹⁹⁸

Even the execution of Ps 140.2 reminds us of the prokeimena. Briefly, this is how it is sung today:

Response: Ps 140.2
 Verse: Ps 140.1
 Response: Ps 140.2
 Verse: Ps 140:3
 Response: Ps 140.2
 Verse: Ps 140:4
 Response: Ps 140.2
 Glory ...
 Response: Ps 140.2
 And again Response: Ps 140.2.

The doxology mentioned before the final response is a very late addition, attested to in only one manuscript, the sixteenth-century EBE

¹⁹⁴ Ἐν δὲ τῷ λυχνικῷ, μετὰ τὰ ἀναγνώσματα καὶ τὸ Κατεσθυθητόω καὶ τὸ Κύριε ἐλέησον, γίνεται εὐχὴ κατηχομένων ἐπὶ τῶν προηγιασμένων. PARENTI & VELKOVSKA: *Barberini gr. 336* 83.

¹⁹⁵ Καὶ μετὰ τὸ προκείμενον καὶ τὸ Κύριε ἐλέησον γίνεται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱερέως εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου α' ἐν ᾧ ψάλλεται: Ταῖς πρεσβείαις τῆς Θεοτόκου. PARENTI & VELKOVSKA: *Barberini gr. 336* 90.

¹⁹⁶ Εὐχὴ κατηχομένων γινομένης εἰσόδου μετὰ τὸ τρισάγιον, λεγομένου προκειμένου. Μετὰ τοῦτο λιτανεύει ὁ διάκονος. PARENTI & VELKOVSKA: *Barberini gr. 336* 103.

¹⁹⁷ WINKLER: 'Praesanktifikatenvesper' 196.

¹⁹⁸ MATEOS: *Le Typicon* II:316.

775, f. 95r. The seventeenth-century EBE 2202, f. 48v forbids the use of the small doxology in the chanting of Ps 140.2. If we then take out the small doxology, our outline fits the definition of responsorial psalmody:

Responsorial psalmody consists in the people repeating a 'respond' – a verse of the psalm or alleluia – after each psalm verse chanted aloud by a soloist (ψάλλτης). The psalmody opened with the soloist proclaiming the respond, thus instructing the people what they were to sing in response. The people repeated the respond after the soloist, who then proceeded to proclaim the psalm verses one by one, with the people repeating the respond after each, right up to the end of the psalm. This type of psalmody, still preserved between the Scripture lessons of the Liturgy of the Word (the Byzantine prokeimena and alleluia) goes back to the biblical text itself, as for example in the 'alleluia psalms' (Pss 104-106, 110-118, 134-135, 145-150), or LXX Ps 135 with its respond 'for his mercy is forever' (ἕτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ) after each verse.¹⁹⁹

Most manuscripts provide us with only the verses and do not describe the way Ps 140.2 was chanted. There are two fourteenth-century manuscripts, however, Vatican gr. 2324, f. 20r and Γ.β. III, f. 10r, that are detailed in their directions:

Vatican gr. 2324, f. 20r	Γ.β. III, f. 10r
Cantor in plagal second: Ps 140:2	Cantor in plagal second: Ps 140:2
People respond at every verse: Ps 140:2	People repeat Ps 140.2
[Cantor:] Verse 1: Ps 140.1	Cantor: Verse 1: Ps 140.1
[Cantor:] Verse 2: Ps 140.3	[People: Ps 140.2]
[Cantor:] Verse 3: Ps 140.4	[Cantor:] Verse 2: Ps 140.4
	People: Ps 140.2
	Cantor: Ps 140.2

In present practice it is the priest who sings the first response and intones the verses to which the choir responds. Thus, the priest is in effect taking the role of the cantor, and the choir the role of the people. The majority of manuscripts though, that give us such information, assign Ps 140.2 to the cantor or the choir; the priest does not participate in the execution of the psalmody. The evidence may be summarized as follows:

¹⁹⁹ TAFT: *Precommunion* 272. For a definition of antiphonal psalmody see TAFT: *Precommunion* 272-273. See also MATEOS: *La célébration* 7-26; TAFT: *Great Entrance* 83-108, 112-118.

1. Ps 140.2 with its verses executed by choir/cantor/people: The eighteenth-century Barberini gr. 336 (Parenti & Velkovska: *Barberini gr. 336* 311); eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, 6v; twelfth-century Barberini gr. 393, f. 37v-38r; Barberini gr. 345, f. 20r; EBE 713, f. 42v; Γ.β. VIII, 72r; Vatican gr. 1863, f. 93r; Γ.β. II, f. 44v; Barberini gr. 431, f. 22v; Ottoboni gr. 344, f. 19v-20r; Vatican gr. 1875, f. 33v; Sinai gr. 973, f. 22 v; Oxford Bodleian Auct. E.5.13 (JACOB: 'E.5.13' 308); Vatican gr. 181 1, f. 104r; Vatican gr. 2005, f. 63r; twelfth/thirteenth-century EBE 66 2, f. 61v; Sinai gr. 1036, f. 44v; thirteenth-century Ann Arbor 49, f. 48v; Barberini gr. 443, f. 31r; Γ.β. XIII, f. 50v; Sinai gr. 966, f. 48 r; Ambrosiana gr. 276 (E20 sup) f. 40v; fourteenth-century Vatopedi 984, f. 30r; Vatopedi 133 (744), DII:274; Γ.β. III, f. 10r; Vatican gr. 2324, f. 20r; fifteenth-century EBE 2403, f. 48r; Paris gr. 326, f. 57 r; fifteenth/sixteenth-century Sabas 382, f. 66r; sixteenth-century Ottoboni gr. 288, f. 71r-v; EBE 769, f. 124r; EBE 775, f. 94v-95r; Sinai gr. 2111, f. 130r; Panagia Kamariotissa 142 (139), f. 31r.
2. Ps 140.2 mentioned in passing: The tenth-century St. Petersburg 226, (JACOB, 'St. Petersburg 226' 190; eleventh-century Sinai gr. 958, f. 22v; Sinai gr. 959, f. 36v; Paris gr. 391, f. 79v; eleventh/twelfth-century Sinai gr. 962, f. 48r; twelfth-century Paris gr. 330, pages 63-64; Biblioteca Angelica gr. 15, f. 33r; scroll BM 5 (with verses in margins by a later hand); thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 1037, f. 73v; Ambrosiana gr. 709 (R24 sup), f. 105v; Archimedes Palimpsest, f. 7v; fourteenth-century Paris gr. 324, f. 39v fourteenth/fifteenth-century Benaki 90 (TA 246), f. 61r; fifteenth-century EBE 1910, f. 43r; sixteenth-century Sabas 53, f. 87r; Sinai gr. 2045, f. 85r (the ms has *καταξίωσον* instead of *καταεθυσθητω*, an obvious scribal error); EBE 781, f. 38r; EBE 772, f. 95r; Vatican gr. 2051, f. 71; Vatican gr. 2143, p. 57; seventeenth-century Library of Congress gr. 37, f. 111r; Taphou 334, f. 107v.
3. Priest participates in the execution of Ps 140.2 and its verses: Eleventh-century Benaki 27 (56), f. 57r; twelfth-century Barberini gr. 329, f. 12r-v; fifteenth-century Ambrosiana gr. 84 (B15 sup), f. 136v-137r; Panagia Kamariotissa 145 (142); Vatican gr. 1978, f. 37v-38r; sixteenth-century Vatican gr. 2007, f. 44r; Vatican gr. 2052, f. 35v; Vatican gr. 1557, f. 98r-v; Benaki 10 (16), f. 85r-v; EBE 755, f. 100v; EBE 878, p. 141; Vatican gr. 2032, f. 21r; Sinai gr. 2037, f. 76v-77r; Paris gr. 393, f. 49r.
4. Not clear whether priest participates or not: twelfth-century Vatican gr. 1554, f. 41; thirteenth-century Ann Arbor 37, f. 43r; fifteenth-century EBE 877, p. 158; fifteenth/sixteenth-century Ann Arbor 17, f. 53v.

The majority of the manuscripts assign the execution of Ps 140.2 with its verses to the cantor, while only a few, and of those most after the fifteenth century, assign it to the priest. In these manuscripts the priest chants the initial response and intones the verses, while the cantor chants the response after each verse intoned by the priest. The ones that mention Ps 140.2 in passing do so because it belonged to the repertory of the cantor and not the priest.

We have argued that Ps 140.2 in PRES functioned as a Prokeimenon, and we saw that originally the clergy sat while the cantor chanted it from the ambo. This is why a number of codices mention Ps 140.2 only in passing, since it was not said by the priest and was not a high point ritually; it was mentioned as a point of transition to the litanies that follow.²⁰⁰ It is only after the eleventh century there are indications of the gradual ritual amplification of Ps 140.2. The first such indication is that clergy and laity are directed by the rubrics²⁰¹ or by the diaconal command: 'Wisdom! Arise!'²⁰² to

²⁰⁰ See for example the eighth-century Barberini gr. 336 (PARENTI & VELKOVSKA: *Barberini gr. 336* 83): 'Ἐν δὲ τῷ λυχνικῷ, μετὰ τὰ ἀναγνώσματα καὶ τὸ Κατεθυσθῆτω καὶ τὸ Κύριε ἐλέησον, γίνεται εὐχὴ κατηχουμένων ἐπὶ τῶν προηγιασμένων. (PARENTI & VELKOVSKA: *Barberini gr. 336* 246): '(Ὁ) ψάλτης τὸ Κατεθυσθῆτω. Similar cases in the tenth-century St. Petersburg 226, (JACOB: 'St. Petersburg 226' 190); eleventh-century Sinai gr. 958, f. 22v; Sinai gr. 959, f. 36v; Paris gr. 391, f. 79v; eleventh/twelfth-century Sinai gr. 962, f. 48r; twelfth-century Paris gr. 330, pages 63-64; Biblioteca Angelica gr 15, f. 33r; sixteenth-century Vatican gr. 2143. Another example of the use of Ps 140:2 as transition is the phrase Μετὰ δὲ τὸ κατεθυσθῆτω, λέγει ὁ διάκονος found in the following codices: fifteenth-century EBE 1910, f. 43r; sixteenth-century Sabas 53, f. 87r; Sinai gr. 2045, f. 85r (the ms has καταζήωσον instead of κατεθυσθῆτω, an obvious scribal error); sixteenth-century EBE 781, f. 38r; EBE 772, f. 95r; Vatican gr. 2051, f. 71; seventeenth-century Library of Congress gr. 37, f. 111r; Taphou 334, f. 107v. Ps 140:2 is not even mentioned in a small number of later manuscripts such as the sixteenth-century Sinai gr. 2017, f. 93r; Vatican gr. 1571, f. 25r; and Benaki 79 (TA177), f. 85v-86r.

²⁰¹ For example, see the commands to rise in the rubrics: ἱσταμένων πάντων: eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 6v; twelfth-century Ottoboni gr. 344, f. 19v; fourteenth-century Vatican gr. 2324, f. 20r; ἐγείρεται: eleventh-century Benaki 27 (56), f. 57r; ἀνίσταμενοι: twelfth-century Oxford Bodleian Auct. E.5.13 (JACOB: 'E.5.13' 308); Γ.β. II, f. 44v; ἀνίσταται: twelfth-century Barberini gr. 329, f. 12r-v; ἀνίσταμενος: fifteenth-century Ambrosiana gr. 84 (B15 sup), f. 136v; ἵστανται: sixteenth-century Panagia Kamariotissa 142 (139), f. 31r.

²⁰² For example, see eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 6v; twelfth-century Ottoboni gr. 344, f. 19v; Sinai gr. 973, f. 22v; fourteenth-century Vatican gr. 2324, f. 20r.

stand while Ps 140.2 is chanted. The clergy would most likely stand in front of the holy table, although only two codices state that explicitly.²⁰³ We have already referred to the twelfth-century *Typikon* of the Holy Savior, and to the Sabaitic *Typikon*, Sinai gr. 1101, f. 14v, dated to 1312 AD, which direct the cantors to alternate kneeling and making prostrations while chanting Ps 140.2. The only such examples in the euchology manuscripts of the PRES are the twelfth-century Ottoboni gr. 344, f. 20r and the fourteenth-century Vatican gr. 2324, f. 20r.

Finally, the rite today is accompanied by a solemn incensation of the holy table, the icons, and the people. This too is a rather late addition, since only three codices note that the priest censes, without giving us any more details: the twelfth-century Barberini gr. 329, f. 12r-v; the fifteenth-century Ambrosiana gr. 84 (B15 sup), f. 136v; and the sixteenth-century Paris gr. 393, f. 49r. In all three cases the priest takes up the role of the cantor and the cantor the role of the people.

4.5.4 *Epistle and Gospel/Gospel only*

The Old Testament readings (see section 4.5.1) are a characteristic of the PRES. There are, however, some cases in which New Testament readings are also prescribed. In the *Typikon* of the Great Church a series of Epistle and Gospel readings is provided for Wednesdays and Fridays outside of Lent for ‘anyone that wants to celebrate a liturgy on a Wednesday or a Friday, either a full liturgy or a PRES’²⁰⁴ (see table 4.3). This statement is a witness to the older practice of celebrating the PRES on Wednesdays and Fridays throughout the year, and to the fact that this practice had withered by the tenth century, allowing the celebration of the full liturgy.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ The eleventh-century Benaki 27 (56), f. 57r: Ἐγείρεται καὶ ἵσταται ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης; sixteenth-century Panagia Kamariotissa 142 (139), f. 31r: ἵστανται ἐνώπιον τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης.

²⁰⁴ Εἰς τὸν θέλοντα τετράδα καὶ παρασκευὴν λειτουργίας ἐπιτελεῖν, εἴτε καὶ προηγιασμένην εἴτε καὶ τελείας.

²⁰⁵ MATEOS: *Le Typikon* II:189, note 1.

TABLE 4.3
EPISTLE AND GOSPEL READINGS
OF WEDNESDAYS AND FRIDAYS OF THE YEAR

Epistle Reading	Gospel Reading
1 Cor 1:10-17	Mt 27:27-31
1 Cor 2:6-9	Mt 27:35-42
Gal 2:19-3:16	Mk 15:1-15
Gal 6:12-16	Mk 15:15-20
Eph 2:14-18	Jn 18:28-37
Phil 2:5-11	Jn 19:25-37

On Holy Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, a Gospel reading is added. On Holy Friday the PRES has three, instead of two, Old Testament readings, an Epistle, and a Gospel reading.²⁰⁶ An epistle and a Gospel reading is also added on the feast-days of certain saints that fall during Lent, such as the 40 Martyrs of Sebasteia on March 9. On days that have a Gospel reading the deacon is to take the Gospel instead of the censer at the vesperal entrance.²⁰⁷

How does the addition of a Gospel reading or the addition of an Epistle and Gospel reading affect the structure of the PRES? For Holy Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, the Gospel reading is inserted between Ps 140.2 and the ektene litany.²⁰⁸ On days that an Epistle and a Gospel reading is added, Ps 140.2 plays the role of the prokeimenon of the Epistle, the Epistle and Gospel readings follow, and then the ektene. There is, however, one exception to this. On March 9, according to the Typikon of the Great Church, the trisagion with its prayer follows Ps 140.2, and then the Epistle reading with its prokeimenon and the Gospel reading. Column one in table 4.4 has the outline of the pertinent section of the PRES for March 9 according to the Typikon of the Great Church, column two according to the Evergetis Typikon, and column three according to the *Prophetologion*.

²⁰⁶ MATEOS: *Le Typicon* II:80-81. In the Evergetis Typikon the Φῶς Χριστοῦ and the Κατευθυνθῆτω is omitted.

²⁰⁷ As, for example, on Holy Monday; JORDAN: *The Synaxarion of Evergetis* II:464; DI:544.

²⁰⁸ MATEOS: *Le Typicon* II:68-70; JORDAN: *The Synaxarion of Evergetis* II:464, 466, 470; DI:544, 545.

TABLE 4.4
STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN PRES ON MARCH 9

Great Church	<i>Prophetologion</i>	Evergetis
Prokeimenon 1	Prokeimenon 1	[Prokeimenon 1
Old Testament Reading	Old Testament Reading	Old Testament Reading
Prokeimenon 2	Prokeimenon 2	Prokeimenon 2
Old Testament Reading	Φῶς Χριστοῦ	Φῶς Χριστοῦ
Φῶς Χριστοῦ	Old Testament Reading	Old Testament Reading]
Wisdom-Peace		
Ps 140.2	Ps 140.2	Ps 140.2
Let us pray to the Lord		Wisdom
Trisagion Prayer		
Trisagion		
Prokeimenon of Epistle		Prokeimenon of Epistle
Epistle	Epistle	Epistle
Alleluiarion	Alleluiarion	Alleluiarion
Gospel ²⁰⁹	Gospel ²¹⁰	Gospel ²¹¹

Comparing the three columns we observe that the unit 'Let us pray-Trisagion Prayer-Trisagion' is not present in the Evergetis Typikon and the *Prophetologion*, and that the *Prophetologion* does not provide a prokeimenon for the Epistle. If we accept that Ps 140.2 took up the role of the prokeimenon when it entered in Constantinopolitan use, as we argued in the previous section, then the structure of the *Prophetologion* seems to be the most accurate and pristine, that is Ps 140.2 functions as the prokeimenon, and the Epistle follows. I believe, the tenth-century Typikon of the Great Church reflects, an effort to imitate vesperal BAS, in which we see the following outline:

Old Testament Readings
[antiphons]
Trisagion
Prokeimenon of Epistle
Epistle

²⁰⁹ MATEOS: *Le Typicon* I:246.

²¹⁰ *Prophetologion* 1980:81.

²¹¹ JORDAN: *The Synaxarion of Evergetis* II:12; DI:425.

Alleluiarion
Gospel.²¹²

The presence, however, of the diaconal proclamation 'Wisdom' before Ps 140:2, the standard introduction to the prokeimenon as we saw above, points to the pristine structure as reflected in the *Prophetologion*. What we see in the Evergetis Typikon is a return to the archaic structure with one difference; Ps 140:2 is not seen any longer as a prokeimenon, and thus the Epistle reading carries its own prokeimenon, introduced with 'Wisdom' which has now moved to after Ps 140:2.

4.6 The Litanies

After the readings the litanies follow with their prayers: the ektene litany and its prayer, the litany of the catechumens and its prayer, the litany of the photizomenoi and its prayer (after the fourth week of Lent), and the two litanies and prayers of the faithful. Such a structure can still be seen today in the Byzantine rite at the end of the Liturgy of the Word in CHR and BAS.

TABLE 4.5
LITANIES CHR, BAS AND PRES

CHR/BAS	PRES
Ektene litany and Prayer	Ektene litany and Prayer
Litany of Catechumens and Prayer	Litany of Catechumens and Prayer
Small litany and Prayer of Faithful 1	Litany of Photizomenoi and Prayer
Small litany and Prayer of Faithful 2	Small litany and Prayer of Faithful 1
	Small litany and Prayer of Faithful 2

The structure of this schema points to its origins in the cathedral office of Constantinople. The sequence: litany of catechumens and prayer, small litany and prayer of faithful 1, small litany and prayer of faithful

²¹² See in the Typikon of the Great Church: Christmas Eve (MATEOS: *Le Typicon* I:150-152); Holy Thursday vesperal BAS: no antiphons, no trisagion (MATEOS: *Le Typicon* II:74); Holy Saturday Vesperal BAS: no antiphons, Gal 3:27 instead of trisagion (MATEOS: *Le Typicon* II:90).

2, can be seen in cathedral vespers²¹³ and orthros,²¹⁴ and, with the addition of the litany and prayer of photizomenoi after the fourth week of Lent, in the trithekti²¹⁵ and the PRES. In vespers, orthros, and trithekti, a dismissal prayer would follow.²¹⁶

4.6.1 Ektenes

The petitions of the ektenes in current Greek practice are:

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| <p>1. Εἰπώμεν πάντες ἐξ ὅλης ψυχῆς, καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας ἡμῶν, εἰπώμεν.</p> <p>2. Κύριε, Παντοκράτορ, ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, δεόμεθα σου, ἐπάκουσον, καὶ ἐλέησον.</p> <p>3. Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, ὁ Θεός, κατὰ τὸ μέγα ἔλεός σου, δεόμεθα σου, ἐπάκουσον, καὶ ἐλέησον.</p> <p>4. Ἔτι δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἡμῶν (τοῦ δεῖνος), [καὶ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν (τοῦ δεῖνος)].</p> <p>5. Ἔτι δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν, τῶν ἱερέων, ἱερομονάχων, ἱεροδιακόνων, μοναχῶν, καὶ πάσης τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ ἡμῶν ἀδελφότητος.</p> <p>6. Ἔτι δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ ἐλέους, ζωῆς, εἰρήνης, ὑγείας, σωτηρίας, ἐπισκέψεως, συγχωρήσεως καὶ ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τῶν δούλων τοῦ Θεοῦ, πάντων τῶν εὐσεβῶν καὶ ὀρθοδόξων Χριστιανῶν, τῶν κατοικούντων καὶ παρεπιδημούντων ἐν τῇ πόλει (ἢ τῇ χώρᾳ, ἢ τῇ κώμῃ, ἢ τῇ νήσῳ) ταύτῃ, τῶν ἐνοριτῶν, ἐπιτρόπων, συνδρομητῶν καὶ ἀφιερωτῶν τῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας (ἢ Μονῆς) ταύτης.</p> | <p>1. Let us say with our whole heart and our whole mind, let us say.</p> <p>2. Lord Almighty, God of our fathers, we pray to You, hear and have mercy.</p> <p>3. Have mercy on us, O God, in Your great goodness; we pray to You, hear us and have mercy.</p> <p>4. Again we pray for our Archbishop ____ [and our bishop ____].</p> <p>5. Again we pray for our brothers, priests, hieromonks, deacons, monks, and all our brotherhood in Christ.</p> <p>6. Again we pray for mercy, life, peace, health, visitation, forgiveness and remission of the sins of the servants of God, all the pious and orthodox Christians who live and dwell in this city (or country, or town, or island), the parishioners, members and contributors of this holy church (or Monastery).</p> |
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²¹³ ARRANZ: *L'Euclologio Constantinopolitano* 73-74.

²¹⁴ ARRANZ: *L'Euclologio Constantinopolitano* 96-98.

²¹⁵ ARRANZ: *L'Euclologio Constantinopolitano* 60-62.

²¹⁶ For Vespers see ARRANZ: *L'Euclologio Constantinopolitano* 74-75; for Orthros see id. 98-99; for Trithekti see id. 62-63. More on the dismissal prayer see section 5.4.4. Cf. MATEOS: *La célébration* 169-170, 173, 180-181; TAFT: *Precommunion* 163-197.

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| <p>7. [Ἔτι δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ τῶν μακαρίων καὶ ἀειμνήστων κτιτόρων τῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας (ἢ Μονῆς) ταύτης, καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν προαναπαυσασμένων πατέρων καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν, τῶν ἐνθάδε εὐσεβῶς κειμένων, καὶ ἀπανταχοῦ ὀρθοδόξων.]</p> <p>8. Ἔτι δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ τῶν καρποφορούντων καὶ καλλιεργούντων ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ πανσέπτῳ ναῷ τούτῳ, κοπιώντων, ψαλλόντων καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ περιεστῶτος λαοῦ, τοῦ ἀπεκδεχομένου τὸ παρά σοῦ μέγα καὶ πλούσιον ἔλεος.</p> <p>9. Ἐὐχὴ τῆς ἐκτενοῦς ἱεσείας</p> <p>10. Ἐκφώνησις</p> | <p>7. [Again we pray for the blessed and ever memorable founders of this church (or monastery), and for all our fathers and brothers who have gone before us, who lay here at rest, and for the orthodox everywhere.]</p> <p>8. Again we pray for those work and serve in this holy church, for those who toil, sing, and for all those present, who accept your great and rich mercy.</p> <p>9. Prayer of the fervent litany</p> <p>10. Ekphonesis</p> |
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The history of the ektene litany is summarized by Mateos:

At Constantinople, the ektene was the litanic prayer proper to penitential rogations; the deacon would recite it at each stop of the procession. In very solemn rogations, which were comprised of an office of readings at the Forum, there was one litany said after the Gospel and before the blessing that would follow, which would end the station. Towards the eighth century the ektene is introduced in the Liturgy of the Word, taking its place after the Gospel reading, as in the rogations, and is placed between the homily and the prayer of the catechumens. This happened in the same epoch as the transfer of the great synapte before the trisagion. The insertion of the ektene in its current place is not a successful liturgical evolution.²¹⁷

The presence of the ektene in the PRES in this position can be understood in relation to the reading of the Gospel on the days that have one. We must keep in mind that the celebration of the PRES was not limited to the weekdays of Great Lent, days on which there are no Gospel readings; the PRES could be celebrated on every Wednesday and Friday of the whole year. As a matter of fact, the Typikon of the Great Church provides a list of Gospel readings for such a case (see section 4.5.4). I believe it is the potential presence of the Gospel reading that brought the ektene to the PRES. It is possible that the rubric in the twelfth-century Paris gr. 392, f. 37v, Ἐμετὰ τὰ ἀναγνώσματα καὶ τὸ κατευθυνθήτω

²¹⁷ MATEOS: *La célébration* 155-156. For more on the ektene see 148-156.

γίνεται εὐχή τῶν κατηχομένων' in which the *ektene* is not mentioned, reflects an older stratum where the *ektene* had not yet taken this place.

In looking at the *ektene* in the manuscript evidence one realizes that in the earlier documents, the *ektene* and the prayer of the *ektene* are only mentioned in the rubrics,²¹⁸ and/or only the *ektene* prayer is given,²¹⁹ or some petitions are given but with the rubric 'and the rest as usual.'²²⁰ In addition, when all the petitions are given, the contents of this litany are quite fluid. This should not come as a great surprise since even today, an age of standard liturgical forms and the printing-press, the *ektene* is still a very fluid litany. I have witnessed bishops, priests, and deacons amending, adding, and/or subtracting petitions, depending on the context. The following list presents the petitions of the *ektene* found in the PRES in the manuscripts other than the ones in current use (the list does not reflect any sense of a 'proper' sequence):

- i. Ὁ πλοῦσιος ἐν ἐλέει καὶ ἀγαθοῖς
- ii. Ὁ μὴ βουλούμενος τὸν θάνατον
- iii. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου οἴκου τούτου
- iv. Ὑπὲρ τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων ἢ Ἐτι ὑπὲρ τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου
- v. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ συμπολεμῆσαι
- vi. Ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης
- vii. Ὑπὲρ εὐκρασίας ἀέρων
- viii. Ὑπὲρ πλεόντων
- ix. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ῥυσθῆναι
- x. Καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν χριζόντων
- xi. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ περιεστώτος λαοῦ
- xii. Ὁ πλοῦσιος ἐν ἐλέει
- xiii. Ἐτι ὑπὲρ συστάσεως, εἰρήνης, καὶ βοήθειας τῶν Χριστιανῶν
- xiv. Ἐτι ὑπὲρ τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ ... κοιμήσεως, ἀνέσεως καὶ μακαρίας

²¹⁸ The eighth-century Barberini gr. 336 (PARENTI & VELKOVSKA: *Barberini gr. 336* 246); The tenth-century St. Petersburg 226 ('St. Petersburg 226' 190); the eleventh-century Sinai gr. 958, f. 23r; Paris gr. 391, f. 79v-80r; Benaki 27 (56), f. 57v; the eleventh/twelfth-century Sinai gr. 962, f. 48r; also in later documents such as Sinai gr. 968, f. 61r.

²¹⁹ The tenth-century Sevastianov 474 (KS 281). Also in later documents, such as the twelfth-century Ottoboni gr. 434, f. 26r; thirteenth-century Ann Arbor 49, f. 48v; the fourteenth-century Vatopedi 984, f. 30r; the fourteenth/fifteenth-century Benaki 90 (TA 246), f. 61r; the fifteenth-century EBE 1910, f. 43r; fifteenth/sixteenth-century Paris gr. 326, f. 58r (they are called here *εἰρηγικά*; the petitions are added in the right margin by a later hand).

²²⁰ See, for example, the fifteenth-century EBE 2403, f. 48r; fifteenth/sixteenth-century EBE 756, f. 55v; sixteenth-century Sinai gr. 2045, f. 85r; Ottoboni gr. 288, f. 71v; EBE 781, f. 38r; EBE 772, f. 95r: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὡς συνήθως.

- xv. Ἐτι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔλαιον
 xvi. Ἐτι ὑπὲρ τοῦ εἰσακοῦσαι
 xvii. Ἐπὲρ τῶν προκοπιασάντων
 xviii. Ἐπὲρ (πάντων) τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν
 xix. Καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ὀρθοδόξων
 xx. Ἐπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἀειμνήστων
 xxi. Ἐπὲρ τοῦ πνευματικοῦ ἡμῶν πατρὸς
 xxii. Ἐπὲρ μνήμης, κοιμήσεως, καὶ μακαρίας ἀναπαύσεως
 xxiii. Ἐτι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐξομολουμένων καὶ ἐντειλαμένων
 xxiv. Ἐτι ὑπὲρ τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ ... ὑγείας, σωτηρίας, καὶ ἀφέσεως
 xxv. Καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν μετὰ πίστεως
 xxvi. Ἐπὲρ τῶν μακαριοτάτων καὶ ἀειμνήστων
 xxvii. Καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν προαπεθόντων
 xxviii. Ἐτι δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ τοῦ δούλου ... καὶ πάσης τῆς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἡμῶν ἀδελφότητος
 xxix. Καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν διακονούντων
 xxx. Ἐτι δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ τῶν κοπιώντων ψαλλόντων
 xxxi. Ἐτι ὑπὲρ παντὸς γένους χριστιανῶν
 xxxii. Ἐτι δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβεστάτης καὶ φιλοχρίστου δεσποίνης
 xxxiii. Ἐτι δὲ ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν
 xxxiv. Ἐπὲρ τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν
 xxxv. Ἐτι δὲ ὑπὲρ ἀναπαύσεως
 xxxvi. Ἐτι δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ πάσης ἐπισκοπῆς ὀρθοδόξου
 xxxvii. Καὶ ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ ἡμῶν ἀδελφότητος
 xxxviii. Ἐτι δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ τῶν εὐσεβῶν καὶ ὀρθοδόξων χριστιανῶν

The large variety of the contents of the ektene in the manuscript tradition can be seen in the following list that provides an outline of the petitions of the ektene in PRES in each of the manuscripts I had the opportunity to examine. The Arabic numerals refer to the petitions of the ektene in present use (see the list in the beginning of this section), the Roman numerals refer to the petitions listed above.

The eleventh-century Sinai gr. 959, f. 36v: 1a, 1b, 2, i-xi, 3; Γ.β. XX, f. 6v: 1a, 1b, 2, i, iii, ix, 3, iv, 8. The twelfth-century Sinai gr. 973, f. 22v: 1a, 1b, 2, ii, xii, 3, iv, xiii-xvi; Vatican gr. 1863, f. 93v: 1a, 1b, 2, 3, xv, iv, xvii-xx; Vatican gr. 1554, f. 41r: 1a, 1b, 2, iii, ix, 3, xv, iv, 4, 8; Ottoboni gr. 433, f. 20r: 1a, 1b, 2, iii, ix, 3, xv, iv, xi; Barberini gr. 431, f. 25v: 1a, 1b, ix, 3, iv, xiv; Barberini gr. 345, f. 20r: 1a, 1b, 2, 3, xv, iv, xxi, xvii, xviii, xiv, xxii; Γ.β. VIII, f. 72r: 1a, 1b, 2, ii, iii, ix; Vatican gr. 2005, f. 63r: 1a, 1b, 2, i, ii, iii, xxv, ix, 3, xvi, xv, iv, xxi, xviii, xxvi, xvii; The twelfth/thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 1036, f. 44v: 1a, 1b, 2, i, ii, ix, 3; EBE 662, f. 61r: 1a, 1b, 2, 3, iv, 4, xxviii, xxix. The thirteenth-century

Archimedes Palimpsest, f. 7v: 1a, 1b, 2, ii, i, 3, iv, xv, xiii, 8, xxiii, xiv, xxiv, xi; Ann Arbor 37, f. 43r: 1a, 1b, 2, 3, iv, 4, xxx, xi; Ambrosiana gr. 276 (E20 sup), f. 41r: 1a, 1b, 2, iii, ix, 3, xv, iv, xvii, xviii; Sinai gr. 1037, f. 73v: 1a, 1b, 2, ix, 3, iv, 5, xviii; Sinai gr. 966, f. 48r: 1a, 1b, 2, ii, iii, ix, 3, xv, iv, 4, xi; Barberini gr. 443, f. 31r: 1a, 1b, iii, ix, 3, iv, xi; Γ.β. XIII, f. 50v: 1a, 1b, 2, ii, iii, ix (more petitions added on the right margin in a later hand); Ambrosiana gr. 709 (R24 sup), f. 105v: 1a, 1b, 2, 3 (identifies the *ektene* as the beginning of PRES: Ἀρχεται αὐτοθεῖ ἡ θεία λειτουργία); The fourteenth-century Paris gr. 324, f. 39v: 1a, 1b, 2, 3, iv, 4 (more petitions added in the margins in a later hand); Vatican gr. 2324, f. 20r: 1a, 1b, 2, i, ii, iii, ix, 3, xv, iv, 4, xxx, xi. The fifteenth-century Paris gr. 2509, f. 234: 1a, 1b, 2, 3, iv, xxxii, 4, xi; Vatican gr. 1978, f. 38r: 1a, 1b, 2, 3, iv, xxxiii, xxxiv, 6, 5, 8, xxxv; EBE 877, p. 158: 1a, 1b, 2, 3, iv; EBE 685, p. 38: 1a, 1b, 2, i, ii, iii, ix, x, 3; Ambrosiana gr. 84 (B15 sup), f. 137r: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, xxiv, 6, xxii, xix. The fifteenth/sixteenth-century Sabas 682, f. 66r: 1, 2, 3, iv; Ann Arbor 17, f. 53v: 1, 2, 3, iv, xxxvi, 8, xi, xxxvii. The sixteenth-century Panagia Kamariotissa 142 (139) f. 31r: 1, 2, 3, iv, 4, xxvi, xxiv; Sinai gr. 2037, f. 77r: 1a, 1b, 2, 3, xxxvi, iv, 4, 8; Sinai gr. 2111, f. 130r: 1, 2, 7, xxxiv, xxix; Sabas 48, f. 4r: 1, 2, xxxviii, 7, 4, xxix; Sabas 53, f. 87r: 1, 2, iv; Sinai gr. 2017, f. 93r: 1, 2, 3, xxxvi, iv, 6, 7, xxix; Vatican gr. 2032, f. 35r: 1, 2, 3, xv, xix, 4, xxii; Vatican gr. 1557, f. 98r: 1, 2, iv; Benaki 10 (16), f. 85r: 1, 2, 3, 4, xxxviii, 7, 8; EBE 759, p. 201: 1, 2, 7, xxxiii, xxxiv, xxix; EBE 749, f. 66v: 1, 2, 3, 7, 4, xxxiv, xxix; EBE 878, p. 142: 1, 2, 3, xxxiii, 7, xxix; EBE 775, f. 95r: 1, 2, 3, 4, iv, 7, xviii; EBE 2400, f. 86v: 1, 2, 3, 7, xxxiii, xxix; EBE 757, f. 62v: 1, 2, 3, xxxviii, 4, 7, 8, xi; Vatican gr. 2051, f. 71v: 1, 2, 3, xv, xvii, xi; Vatican gr. 2052, f. 35v: 1, 2, 3, iv, 5, 8, 7; Vatican gr. 2143, f. 56v: 1a, 1b, 2, ix, 3; the seventeenth-century Library of Congress gr. 37, f. 111r: 1, 2, 3; Taphou 334, f. 107v: 1, 2, 3.

According to Parenti, the early structure of the *ektene* litany was:

Εἵπωμεν πάντες
 Ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς
 Κύριε παντοκράτωρ
 Ὅ μὴ βουλόμενος
 Ἐλέησον
*Ektene Prayer and doxology.*²²¹

A few manuscripts have a very short *ektene*. One example is the twelfth-century Bibl. Angelica gr. 15, f. 33r (with additional petitions, however, added in the margins in a later hand):

²²¹ Cited in TAFT: *Precommunion* 92.

Εἰπωμεν πάντες
 Ἐξ ὅλης ψυχῆς, καὶ ἐξ ὅλης
 Κύριε Παντοκράτορ
 Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς
 Prayer
 Ekphonesis.

The same short *ektene* is found in the eleventh-century Benaki 57 (TA 127), f. 8r, but the first two petitions have been collapsed into one:

Εἰπωμεν πάντες ἐξ ὅλης ψυχῆς, καὶ ἐξ ὅλης
 Κύριε, Παντοκράτορ ἐπουράνιε
 Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς
 Prayer
 Ekphonesis.

In other manuscripts we see one or two additional petitions added. For example, the twelfth-century Barberini gr. 393, f. 38r adds petition xv; the twelfth-century Oxford Bodleian Auct. E.5.13, f. 19r (JACOB 308); Vatican gr. 1811, f. 103r; Vatican gr. 1875, f. 33v; and Γ.β. II, f. 44v, add two petitions, ix and iv, as does the twelfth-century Paris gr. 330, f. 62v, which adds petitions iii and ix.

4.6.2 *Petitions, Prayer and Dismissal of the Catechumens*

The petitions, prayer, and dismissal of the catechumens are not characteristic of PRES, but standard elements of the cathedral Liturgy of the Hours²²² and of the Liturgy of the Word in the Eucharistic celebration in the Byzantine Rite.²²³

The petitions, prayer, and dismissal of the catechumens reflect an ‘organized prebaptismal catechumenate’²²⁴ characteristic of the fourth and fifth centuries. The catechumenate reflects the process of transition into the Christian life and faith, with the ultimate goal of being

²²² See, for example, the eighth-century Barberini gr. 336, PARENTI & VELKOVSKA: *Barberini gr. 336* 92 (Vespers), 103 (Orthros), and 114 (Trithekti).

²²³ It should be noted that although they are in the official liturgical books of the Greek Orthodox Church, they are usually omitted in the Eucharistic celebration (as a means to save time). The various English translations of the Divine Liturgy used by the Greek Orthodox parishes in the United States reflect this abridgement, and the petitions, prayer, and dismissal of the catechumens are completely omitted.

²²⁴ M. JOHNSON: *The Rites of Christian Initiation. Their Evolution and Interpretation* (Collegeville 1999) 92.

initiated in the Church. The length of this process varied from place to place and ideally depended on the catechumen's progress in accepting and making the principles of Christian life his or her own.²²⁵

I compare the petitions for the catechumens as they appear in the current PRES with those that appear in the Homilies of Chrysostom (HC), as collected and edited by Van de Paverd and in the *Apostolic Constitutions (ApCon)*:

1. Εὐξασθε οἱ Κατηχούμενοι τῷ Κυρίῳ.
ApCon: Εὐξασθαι οἱ κατηχούμενοι²²⁶
 Ὁ Χορός: Κύριε, ἐλέησον (ἄπαξ)
ApCon: Καὶ οἱ πιστοὶ κατὰ διάνοιαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν προσευχέσθωσαν λέγοντες: Κύριε ἐλέησον.²²⁷
2. Οἱ πιστοί, ὑπὲρ τῶν Κατηχομένων δεηθῶμεν.
 HC: Ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηχομένων ἐκτενωῶς δεηθῶμεν²²⁸
ApCon: Ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηχομένων πάντας ἐκτενωῶς τὸν Θεὸν παρακαλέσωμεν²²⁹
3. Ἴνα ὁ Κύριος αὐτοὺς ἐλέησῃ.
 HC: Ἴνα ὁ παντελεῖμων καὶ οὐκίρμων Θεὸς ἐπακούσῃ τῶν δεήσεων αὐτῶν²³⁰
ApCon: Ἴνα ὁ ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλόφρων εὐμενῶς εἰσακούσῃ τῶν δεήσεων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν παρακλήσεων, καὶ προσδεξάμενος αὐτῶν τὴν ἰκεσίαν ἀντιλάβηται αὐτῶν καὶ δῶ αὐτοῖς τὰ αἰτήματα τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον²³¹
4. Κατηχῆσῃ αὐτοὺς τὸν λόγον τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀληθείας.
 HC: Καὶ κατηχῆσῃ αὐτοὺς τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας²³²
5. Ἀποκαλύψῃ αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς δικαιοσύνης.
 HC: Ἴνα ἀποκαλύψῃ αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς δικαιοσύνης²³³
ApCon: ἀποκαλύψῃ αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ²³⁴

²²⁵ For a full account of the process of initiation in the fourth and fifth centuries see JOHNSON: *The Rites of Christian Initiation* 89-158. To compare with the pre-Nicene era see 33-88. See also A. KREIDER: *The Change of Conversion and the Origin of Christendom* (Harrisburg 1999) 21-32.

²²⁶ VIII.6.3, SC 336, p. 152.

²²⁷ VIII.6.4, SC 336, page 152.

²²⁸ VAN DE PAVERD: *Messliturgie* 140, I.f; 157, I.3.

²²⁹ VIII.6.5, SC 336, page 152.

²³⁰ VAN DE PAVERD: *Messliturgie* 157, II.1.

²³¹ VIII.6.5, SC 336, page 152.

²³² VAN DE PAVERD: *Messliturgie* 144, h.

²³³ VAN DE PAVERD: *Messliturgie* 144, k, m.

²³⁴ VIII.6.5, SC 336, page 152.

6. Ἐνώσῃ αὐτοὺς τῇ ἀγίᾳ αὐτοῦ, καθολικῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ.
ArCon: ἐνώσῃ καὶ ἐγκαταριθμήσῃ αὐτοὺς τῷ ἀγίῳ αὐτοῦ ποιμνίῳ²³⁵
7. Σῶσον, ἐλέησον, ἀντιλαβοῦ, καὶ διαφύλαξον αὐτοὺς, ὁ Θεὸς τῇ σῇ χάριτι.
ArCon: Ἐγείρεσθαι οἱ κατηχούμενοι²³⁶
8. Οἱ Κατηχούμενοι, τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑμῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ κλίνατε.
ArCon: Κλίνατε καὶ εὐλογεῖσθε²³⁷

PRAYER

9. Ὅσοι Κατηχούμενοι, προσέλθετε.
 10. Οἱ Κατηχούμενοι, προσέλθετε.
ArCon: Προέλθετε, οἱ κατηχούμενοι, ἐν εἰρήνῃ.²³⁸
11. Ὅσοι Κατηχούμενοι, προσέλθετε.
 12. μὴ τις τῶν Κατηχουμένων.

Based on the above comparison, one can safely assume the Antiochian origins of these petitions of the catechumens.²³⁹ The petitions outline the themes of the catechumenate. Note that the protagonist is not the catechizer, but God Himself; it is God the One who shows mercy, catechizes, reveals; it is God the One who unites, through Baptism, the catechumen with the Church. In addition, it is the faithful that pray for the catechumens with these explicit petitions, placed in the mouth of the deacon. Arranz noted that petition (7) of the litany of the catechumens in the eighth-century Barberini gr. 336 and the tenth-century St. Petersburg 226 does not have ἀντιλαβοῦ but read Σῶσον, ἐλέησον καὶ διαφύλαξον.²⁴⁰ Such an observation led Arranz to consider the possibility that this might have been because the catechumens are not yet incorporated in the body of the Church. For this reason they cannot receive something in exchange, the meaning of ἀντιλαβοῦ, from God, since they

²³⁵ VIII.6.5, SC 336, page 152.

²³⁶ VIII.6.8, SC 336, page 154.

²³⁷ VIII.6.8, SC 336, page 154.

²³⁸ VIII.6.14, SC 336, page 156.

²³⁹ Compare with the very brief petition in JAS: Μὴ τις τῶν κατηχουμένων, μὴ τις τῶν ἀμυήτων, μὴ τις τῶν μὴ δυναμένων ἡμῶν συνδεσθῆναι· ἀλλήλους ἐπίγνωτε· τὰς θύρας ὀρθοὶ πάντες. JAS has no prayer for the catechumens, no petition or prayer for the photizomenoi. MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 176.

²⁴⁰ Other such examples: the eleventh-century Benaki 27 (56), f. 58r; the twelfth-century Vatican gr. 1811, f. 104v; Vatican gr. 1875, f. 34r; Vatican gr. 1863, f. 95v; Ottoboni gr. 344, 20v; Barberini gr. 431, f. 26r; Barberini gr. 393, f. 38v; Barberini gr. 345, f. 20r; Biblioteca Angelica gr. 15, f. 34r; Γ.β. II, f. 45r; Vatican gr. 2005 (1194/1195), f. 64v; thirteenth-century Archimedes Palimpsest, f. 8r.

cannot offer God anything.²⁴¹ The opening petition of the litany of the catechumens, however, calls the catechumens to prayer; in other words, they can offer prayer. It is possible then that the absence of ἀντιλαβοῦ in petition (7) does not have theological connotations, but might point to a transition in the posture of the catechumens. The catechumens would originally kneel, as indicated in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (see reading for petition (7): ‘the catechumens be raised’)²⁴² and in the homilies of Chrysostom in Antioch.²⁴³ There are two manuscripts that point in this direction, the twelfth-century Paris gr. 330, f. 63r, and the twelfth/thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 1036, f. 45v. These do not have ἀντιλαβοῦ but ἀνάστησον in petition (7). The absence of ἀντιλαβοῦ in the cases mentioned above might reflect the period between the cessation of the use of ἀνάστησον and the adoption of ἀντιλαβοῦ to replace it. The prayer calls God to look down upon the catechumens and invite them to life eternal.

The prayer of the catechumens does not build upon the petitions of the catechumens, but actually paraphrases petition (8) of the photizomenoi.

Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ κτίστης καὶ δημιουργὸς τῶν ἀπάντων· ὁ πάντα θέλων σωθῆναι καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν, ἐπίβλεψον ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους σου τοὺς κατηγουμένους, καὶ λύτρωσε αὐτοὺς τῆς παλαιᾶς πλάνης καὶ τῆς μεθοδείας τοῦ ἀντικειμένου· καὶ προσκάλεσαι αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον, φωτίζων αὐτῶν τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σώματα, καὶ συγκαταριθμῶν αὐτοὺς τῇ λογικῇ σου ποίμνῃ, ἐφ’ ἣν τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον ἐπικέκληται.
 Ἰνα καὶ αὐτοὶ σὺν ἡμῖν δοξάζωσι τὸ πάντιμον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς ὄνομά σου, τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Cf. Sir 24:8

1 Tim 2:4

Cf. Petition 8 of the photizomenoi:

Συγκαταριθμῆση αὐτοὺς τῇ ἀγίᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκλεκτῇ ποίμνῃ

Jer 14:9; cf. Dan 9:18

²⁴¹ ARRANZ: ‘Présanctifiés’ 362.

²⁴² VIII.6.8, SC 336, page 154. See also MATEOS: *La célébration* 156.

²⁴³ VAN DE PAVERD: *Messliturgie* 157, I.2.

The same observation can be made regarding the prayer of the catechumens in CHR, BAS, PRES, and cathedral vespers, and trithekti.²⁴⁴

TABLE 4.6
PETITIONS OF PHOTIZOMENOI IN PRAYERS OF THE
CATECHUMENS

Prayer of Catechumens in	Uses petition
BAS	5 of photizomenoi
CHR ²⁴⁵	5 of photizomenoi 6 of catechumens
PRES	8 of photizomenoi (paraphrase)
Vespers	6 of photizomenoi
Orthros	—
Trithekti	5 of catechumens 8 of photizomenoi 5 of photizomenoi (paraphrase)

Furthermore, these prayers do not mention anything that would preclude them from being prayers of the photizomenoi. So, hypothetically speaking, simply by replacing the reference to the catechumens in the prayer of the catechumens in the PRES ἐπίβλεψον ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους σου τοὺς κατηχομένους (look down upon your servants the catechumens) with a reference to the photizomenoi ἐπίβλεψον ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους σου τοὺς φωτιζομένους (look down upon your servants the photizomenoi) the prayer would still make sense. It is only with the prayer of the catechumens in cathedral orthros that this cannot be done, since it makes explicit mention of the catechetical process²⁴⁶ and it is the only prayer that does not quote or paraphrase a petition of the photizomenoi. One should note, however, that the most frequently quoted petitions, (5)

²⁴⁴ The only case I have found in which a prayer of the catechumens does not employ petitions of the photizomenoi is in cathedral Orthros.

²⁴⁵ The prayer in CHR is a reworking and expansion of that in BAS. The prayer in the Trithekti also seems to be related but further reworked. Compare the prayer in BAS (PARENTI & VELKOVSKA: *Barberini gr.* 336 60) with the prayer in CHR (73-74) and the prayer in Trithekti (114). See also H. ENGBERDING: 'Die Angleichung der byzantinischen Chrysostomusliturgie an die byzantinische Basiliusliturgie' in *Ostkirchliche Studien* 13 (1964) 105-122, p. 113-114. I thank Prof. Stefano Parenti for bringing this reference to my attention.

²⁴⁶ Καὶ δὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπιγινῶναι περὶ ὧν κατήγγινται λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.

and (8) of the photizomenoi, appear among the petitions of the catechumens in *Apostolic Constitutions*.²⁴⁷

4.6.3 *Petitions, Prayer and Dismissal of the Photizomenoi*

In the final phase of the catechumenate, a select group among the catechumens deemed ready was prepared for Baptism. Hence their various names in the Christian tradition: electi, competentes, or illuminandi in the Western liturgical tradition, photizomenoi in the Byzantine liturgical tradition.

The photizomenoi are also called διπλοκατηχούμενοι,²⁴⁸ διπλοὶ κατηχούμενοι²⁴⁹ (the 'twice-catechumens') εὐτρεπιζόμενοι φωτισθῆναι,²⁵⁰ οἱ πρὸς τὸ (ἅγιον) φῶτισμα εὐτρεπιζόμενοι²⁵¹ (those who are being prepared for illumination). The latter two designations are more accurate as to who these people are and what they are to do. The first two terms show confusion about the identity of the φωτιζόμενοι, possibly reflecting their rarity in a time when adult initiation was the exception rather than the rule.

Here, I compare the petitions of the photizomenoi as they appear in the current PRES with those that appear in the Homilies of Chrysostom (HC), as collected and edited by Van de Paverd and in the *Apostolic Constitutions*:

1. "Ὅσοι Κατηχούμενοι, προσέλθετε. Οἱ Κατηχούμενοι, προσέλθετε. Ὅσοι πρὸς τὸ φῶτισμα, προσέλθετε. Εὐξασθαι οἱ πρὸς τὸ φῶτισμα. Τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
ApCon: Εὐξασθαι οἱ φωτιζόμενοι.²⁵²
2. Οἱ πιστοὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸς τὸ ἅγιον φῶτισμα εὐτρεπιζομένων ἀδελφῶν, καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
HC: Ἐτι ἐκτενέστερον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δεηθῶμεν.²⁵³
ApCon: Ἐκτενωῶς οἱ πιστοὶ πάντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν παρακαλέσωμεν.²⁵⁴

²⁴⁷ For more, see the following section.

²⁴⁸ In the rubrics of the *Prophetologion* 1960:391, 401, 409; twelfth-century Vatican gr. 1811, f. 105; Vatican gr. 1875, f. 34r; Vatican gr. 1970, f. 48r; Vatican gr. 1863, f. 97v; twelfth/thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 1036, f. 46r.

²⁴⁹ Oxford Bodleian E.5.13, f. 39v (JACOB: 'E.5.13' 308); I'.β. II, f. 45v.

²⁵⁰ Twelfth-century Paris gr. 392, f. 38r.

²⁵¹ Vatican gr. 1554, f. 41v; Ottoboni gr. 344, f. 21v; Barberini gr. 393, f. 39v; Barberini gr. 345, f. 21v; EBE 713, f. 44v; twelfth/thirteenth-century EBE 662, f. 63r.

²⁵² VIII.8.2, SC 336, page 160.

²⁵³ VAN DE PAVERD: *Messliturgie* 147, c; 159 III.1.

²⁵⁴ VIII.8.2, SC 336, page 160.

3. "Ὅπως Κύριος ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν στηρίξει αὐτούς καὶ ἐνδυναμώσει, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

ApCon: "Ὅπως Κύριος ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν ...²⁵⁵ The content of this petition is different than that of PRES, but the syntactical structure of the sentence is the same.

4. Φωτίση αὐτούς φωτισμῷ γνώσεως καὶ εὐσεβείας, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
5. Καταξιώσει αὐτούς ἐν καιρῷ εὐθέτῳ τοῦ λουτροῦ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας, τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, τοῦ ἐνδύματος τῆς ἀφθαρσίας, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

HC: "Ἴνα καταξιώσῃ αὐτούς ἐν καιρῷ εὐθέτῳ τῆς τοῦ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας, τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ τοῦ ἐνδύματος τῆς ἀφθαρσίας."²⁵⁶

ApCon: καταξιώσας αὐτούς τοῦ λουτροῦ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας, τοῦ ἐνδύματος τῆς ἀφθαρσίας, τῆς ὄντως ζωῆς.²⁵⁷ This petition is among the petitions for the catechumens in *ApCon*.

6. Ἀναγεννήσῃ αὐτούς δι' ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος, του Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
7. Χαρίσθηται αὐτοῖς τὴν τελειότητα τῆς πίστεως, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
8. Συγκαταριθμῆσῃ αὐτούς τῇ ἀγίᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκλεκτῇ ποιίμῳ, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

ApCon: ἐνώσῃ καὶ ἐγκαταριθμῆσῃ αὐτούς τῷ ἀγίῳ αὐτοῦ ποιμίῳ.²⁵⁸ This petition is among the petitions for the catechumens in *ApCon*.

9. Σῶσον, ἐλέησον, ἀντιλαβοῦ, καὶ διαφύλαξον αὐτούς, Ὁ Θεός, τῇ σῆι χάριτι.

ApCon: Σῶσον καὶ ἀνάστησον αὐτούς ἐν τῇ σῆι χάριτι.²⁵⁹

10. Οἱ πρὸς τὸ φῶτισμα, τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑμῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ κλίνετε.

ApCon: Κατασφραγισάμενοι τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, κλίνετε.²⁶⁰

PRAYER

11. "Ὅσοι πρὸς τὸ φῶτισμα, προέλθετε.
12. Οἱ πρὸς τὸ φῶτισμα προέλθετε.
ApCon: Προέλθετε οἱ πρὸς τὸ φῶτισμα²⁶¹
13. "Ὅσοι καταγγυόμενοι, προέλθετε.
14. μή τις τῶν καταγγυμένων.

²⁵⁵ VIII.8.2, SC 336, page 160.

²⁵⁶ VAN DE PAVERD: *Messliturgie* 147, h,k; 159 III.3-5.

²⁵⁷ VIII.6.6, SC 336, page 152.

²⁵⁸ VIII.6.5, SC 336, page 152.

²⁵⁹ VIII.8.3, SC 336, page 160.

²⁶⁰ VIII.8.4, SC 336, page 160.

²⁶¹ VIII.8.6, SC 336, page 160.

Here too, one can safely assume the Antiochian origins of these petitions for the photizomenoi. On one hand, these petitions outline the fruits of Baptism: illumination, rebirth, forgiveness of sins, incorruption, perfection of faith, and membership in the Church. The prayer, on the other hand, asks God to prepare them for Baptism that is soon to take place. Petitions (5) and (8) appear among the petitions for the catechumens in *Apostolic Constitutions*, and as we have seen, these two petitions are quoted in the prayers of the catechumens. It might be possible that initially there was only one set of petitions, that of the catechumens, but with the drastic increase in baptisms in the fourth and fifth centuries that set of petitions was split in two, that of the catechumens, and that of the photizomenoi, those among the former group deemed worthy of becoming members of the Church.

In current use the petitions and prayer of the photizomenoi are added on the Wednesday of mid-Lent and are said until Holy Wednesday, the last day the PRES is celebrated. Why they are introduced at this time may be answered by the Typikon of the Great Church. On the third Sunday of Lent the following announcement was read after the trisagion:

Προτρέπομαι τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην, φιλόχριστοι ἀδελφοὶ ὅσοι ἔχετε τινὰς ὀφείλοντας προσερχθῆναι τῷ ἁγίῳ βαπτίσματι, γινώσκοντες ἐπιφθάζειν τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀνάστασιν, τοὺτους ἀπὸ τῆς αὔριον προσαγάγετε τῇ ἁγιωτάτῃ ἡμῶν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπὶ τῷ λαμβάνειν αὐτοὺς τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σφραγίδα καὶ φυλάττεσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ κατηχεῖσθαι ὅσοι δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἑβδομάδα ἐπιτηδεύουσι προσάγεσθαι, ἔσεσθε γινώσκοντες ὡς ἀβασανίστω λογισμῷ, ἐὰν μὴ τις ἀνάγκη πρόκειται, τοὺτους προσδέξασθαι οὐκ ἀνεξέμεθα.²⁶²

I appeal to your love, Christ-loving brothers, those of you that have some people that ought to be brought to holy Baptism, knowing that Christ's resurrection is at hand, these bring to our most holy church from tomorrow, so that they may receive the seal in Christ, and that they may be kept and catechized. However, if some would like to join after this week, knowing that they have not thought about it, unless it is necessary, these we will not accept.

Apparently, this text was also read on the previous Sunday, as a rubric in the provisions for the Second Sunday of Lent in the Typikon of the Great Church indicates.²⁶³

²⁶² MATEOS: *Le Typicon* II:38.

²⁶³ Δεῖ δὲ εἰδέναι ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τούτου εὐθὺς ἀναγινώσκεται τὸ προσφωνητικὸν τῶν κατηγουμένων. MATEOS: *Le Typicon* II:30. For a French translation of the Greek text from Dresden A 104, see MATEOS: *Le Typicon* II:31 note 2.

In other words, those to be baptized at the Easter vigil should be enrolled by the Third Sunday of Lent.²⁶⁴ That same Sunday coincides with the celebration of the Exaltation of the Cross, a liturgical high point in Lent. It is also noteworthy that this feast affects the whole Fourth Week of Lent, that is, the week following the Third Sunday of Lent. The Fourth Week of Lent is also called 'μέση εβδομάς' (the middle week), as it is the middle-point between the beginning of Lent and Easter. The Wednesday of this week is also called τῆς 'μεσονηστίμου' (Wednesday of 'mid-fast').

Initially what emerges is a four-week preparation period of the elect, the φωτιζόμενοι, which would conclude with their catechesis from the Patriarch on Holy Friday and their Baptism at the Easter vigil. But if we consider different facts, we will find, as Maxwell Johnson argued, an earlier stratum of a three-week preparation period of the φωτιζόμενοι for their Baptism which would take place *not* on Easter, but on Lazarus Saturday.²⁶⁵ Notice that Lent ends on the Friday before Lazarus Saturday, that Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday act as a division between Lent and Holy Week, and more importantly that Constantinople knew the custom of baptizing on Lazarus Saturday.²⁶⁶ If this is the case, the early Constantinopolitan three-week final preparation for Baptism coincides in length and spirit with similar evidence from Rome, Jerusalem, North Africa, Naples, and Spain,²⁶⁷ and possibly then also reflects an earlier three-week Lent.²⁶⁸

According to the present rubrics, the petitions for the φωτιζόμενοι are to start on the Wednesday of the Fourth Week of Lent. This rubric

²⁶⁴ For the initiation process in the Constantinopolitan tradition see the series of articles by M. ARRANZ: 'Les Sacraments de l'ancien Euchologe constantinopolitain' I:1-10 in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 48 (1982) 284-335; 49 (1983) 42-90, 284-302; 50 (1984) 43-64, 372-397; 51 (1985) 60-86; 52 (1986) 145-178; 53 (1987) 59-106; 55 (1989) 33-62, 317-338. Also, see JANERAS: *Le Vendredi-Saint* 311-315.

²⁶⁵ M. JOHNSON: 'Preparation for Pascha? Lent in Christian Antiquity' in P. BRADSHAW & L. HOFFMAN (eds.): *Passover and Easter. The Symbolic Structuring of Sacred Seasons* (Notre Dame, Indiana 1999 = Two Liturgical Traditions 6) 36-54, here p. 42; TALLEY: *Origins* 189, 203-214.

²⁶⁶ TALLEY: *Origins* 194ff.

²⁶⁷ JOHNSON: 'From Three Weeks' 191-193; IDEM: 'Preparation for Pascha?' 41; IDEM: *The Rites of Christian Initiation* 163-169.

²⁶⁸ Could the East-Syrian emphasis on first, fourth and seventh weeks of Lent also reflect a primitive three-week Lent/preparation period for Baptism?

is consistent with the vast majority of the manuscripts. But if the φωτιζόμενοι would be enrolled on the Third Sunday of Lent, why would their petitions be introduced three days later on the Wednesday of mid-Lent? The Typikon of the Great Church allowed the *possibility* of the celebration of PRES on every weekday of Lent; it did not *necessitate* it. The emergence of the Studite, and especially the later Sabaitic Typika, limit the celebration of the PRES to Wednesdays and Fridays, thus making such a directive more meaningful. It is possible that the eighth century Barberini gr. 336, which indicates that the petitions for the φωτιζόμενοι are to be used 'ἀπὸ τῆς δ' ἐβδμάδος τῶν νηστειῶν,'²⁶⁹ thus not necessarily initiating the petitions on Wednesday, preserves an earlier practice according to which the petitions for the φωτιζόμενοι would be said at the first occasion when the PRES was celebrated in the Fourth Week of Lent.

Although the petitions, prayer and dismissal of the photizomenoi appear in the manuscript tradition associated only with Great Lent, evidence from the *Apostolic Constitutions* indicates that they were used throughout the year; petitions, prayers and dismissals for catechumens, energoumens, photizomenoi, and penitents are part of vespers, orthros, and the Divine Liturgy with no indication that they were limited to a certain liturgical period.²⁷⁰ By the eighth century, the date of the earliest surviving Byzantine Euchologion, most of these groups were not functional, and their relevant petitions were dropped from use. A small number of manuscripts mandate that the petitions of the photizomenoi are said from Wednesday of mid-Lent on, including Sundays.²⁷¹ Even an early printed typikon of the monastery of St. Saba notes that the petitions for the photizomenoi (τὰ διπλοκατηγόμενα) are to be said during the full liturgies celebrated on Saturdays and Sundays after Wednesday of mid-Lent.²⁷² The change in the usage of these petitions throughout history may be outlined in the following table:

²⁶⁹ PARENTI & VELKOVSKA: *Barberini gr. 336* 246.

²⁷⁰ For Vespers, see VIII.35.2, SC 336, page 246; for matins, see VIII.38.1, SC 336, page 250; for the Divine Liturgy, see VIII.6.1-9-11, SC 336, pages 150-166.

²⁷¹ The eleventh-century Benaki 27, f. 8r-v, 26r; the twelfth-century Barberini gr. 431, f. 5r-v, and the sixteenth-century Triodion Sinai gr. 746 (1519 AD) f. 63v, and in the printed Typikon of St. Sabas (Venice 1643) f. 69r.

²⁷² Venice 1643, f. 69r, column 1.

TABLE 4.7
 PETITIONS AND PRAYER OF THE PHOTIZOMENOI

Key:

C = Catechumens

E = Energoumens

PH = Photizomenoi

P = Penitents

V = Vespers

M = Matins

L = Divine Liturgy

TR = Trithekte celebrated during Great Lent. It has its own prayer for the photizomenoi

	<i>Apostolic Constitutions</i>			Byzantine Cathedral Rite				Current Rite		
	V	M	L	V	M	L	TR	V	M	L
C	√	√	√	√	√***	√	√	√**	-	√
E	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PH	√	√	√	√*	√*	√*	√*	√*	-	-
P	√	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

√* = Appears only during Lent, after the Wednesday of the Fourth Week. It quickly disappears from the Sunday Divine Liturgy. A few manuscripts, such as the eleventh-century Benaki 27, f. 8r-v, 26r; the twelfth-century Barberini gr. 431, f. 5r-v, and the sixteenth-century Triodion Sinai gr. 746 (1519 AD) f. 63v, and the printed Typikon of St. Sabas (Venice 1643) f. 69r, attest to this older practice.

√** = Appears only during Lent when the PRES is celebrated.

√*** = Omitted in practice except during the pre-lentened weeks.²⁷³

In the cathedral practice of Constantinople the petitions of the Photizomenoi were also said up to Holy Friday.²⁷⁴ The earliest manuscripts that

²⁷³ E. VELKOVSKA: 'I dodeci prokeimena del mattutino cattedrale bizantino' in H.-J. FEULNER, E. VELKOVSKA & R. TAFT (eds.): *Crossroad of Cultures. Studies in Liturgy and Pastoralism in Honor of Gabriele Winkler* (Rome 2000 = *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 260) 705-716. I would like to thank Prof. Stefano Parenti for bringing this article to my attention.

²⁷⁴ So, for example, we read in the tenth-century St. Petersburg 226, 67r: ἕως τῆς ἁγίας παρασκευῆς; (JACOB: 'St. Petersburg 226' 191) tenth-century Γ.β. VII, f. 116r (PASSARELLI: *Γ.β. VII* 153, since it presupposes the celebration of the PRES up to Holy Friday); the eleventh-century Sinai 959, f. 37v and 38r: μέχρι τῆς ἁγίας καὶ μεγάλης παρασκευῆς; Benaki 27 (56), f. 59r: μέχρι τῆς μεγάλης παρασκευῆς; the twelfth-century Vatican gr. 1970: μέχρι τῆς μεγάλης παρασκευῆς; EBE 713, f. 44r: μέχρι καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς μεγάλης παρασκευῆς; Vatican gr. 2005 (1194/1195), f. 63: ἕως τῆς μεγάλης

point to Holy Wednesday as the last day for the petitions of the photizomenoi are the eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 8r: μέχρι τῆς δ' τῆς μεγάλης ἐβδομάδος; and the eleventh/twelfth-century Sinai gr. 962, f. 49v: μέχρι τῆς μεγάλης Δ. As the catechumens, the photizomenoi would kneel for the duration of the petitions and the prayer. Such a practice is attested to in the twelfth-century Sinai gr. 973, f. 23v, where petition (9) reads: Σῶσον, ἐλέησον, ἀνάστησον, καὶ διαφύλαξον αὐτούς ὁ Θεός. In the eleventh-century Sinai gr. 959, f. 38r, petition (9) follows the prayer, as does in the diakonika of the eighth-century Barberini gr. 336,²⁷⁵ and reads: Φῶτισον, ἐλέησον, ἀνάστησον, καὶ διαφύλαξον αὐτούς (illumine, have mercy upon, raise and protect them). The existence of ἀνάστησον in petition (9) implies that petition (1) originally included a call for the catechumens to kneel.²⁷⁶ The latter manuscript might give us then an example of the earlier structure of the litany of the photizomenoi and in extension, of the catechumens:

<u>Present Use</u>	<u>Eleventh-century Sinai gr. 959, f. 38r-v.</u>
Petitions 1-9	Petitions 1-8 [Petition 1: call to kneel]
Petition 10	Prayer
Prayer	Petition 9: call to be raised
	Petition 10: call to bow the heads
	[Blessing]
Dismissal of Photizomenoi	Dismissal of Photizomenoi

Regarding the manner in which the photizomenoi and the catechumens were dismissed, one *Prophetologion* manuscript might give us a glimpse. During the trithekte of Holy Friday, after the reading, the rubrics that follow give the following directions:

παρασκευῆς: EBE 662, f. 62v: μέχρι καὶ τῆς μεγάλης παρασκευῆς (a marginal note on the same folio mentions that in the practice of monasteries these petitions cease on Holy Wednesday). The *Prophetologion* attests to the celebration of PRES not only on Holy Friday use of these petitions not only on Holy Friday PRES (1980:409) but also on Holy Thursday vesperal BAS (1980:391). The PRES in the eleventh-century Paris gr. 391 has no petitions or prayer for the photizomenoi, most likely a scribal error.

²⁷⁵ PARENTI & VELKOVSKA: *Barberini gr. 336* 247. The same takes place in the litany of the catechumens. See 246.

²⁷⁶ Here too, as in petition 7 of the catechumens, there is no ἀντιλαβῶν since we have ἀνάστησον. As in the litany the catechumens we have a number of manuscripts which have neither ἀντιλαβῶν nor ἀνάστησον. Such examples are: the eleventh-century Sinai gr. 958, f. 23r; Γ.β. XX, f. 7v; the eleventh/twelfth-century Sinai gr. 962, f. 80r; the twelfth-century Paris gr. 392, f. 39r; Vatican gr. 1970, f. 48v; Vatican gr. 1554, f. 42r; Ottoboni gr. 344, f. 22r; Barberini gr. 393, f. 39v; Barberini gr. 345, f. 21v; Barberini gr. 329, f. 13v; Biblioteca Angelica gr. 15, f. 36r; thirteenth-century Archimedes Palimpsest, f. 8v.

Καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως ἀνέρχεται ὁ πατριάρχης ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι· καὶ βάλλει γ' μετανοίας· καὶ ἐπαίρει ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος τὸ ὁμοφόριον καὶ ποιεῖ ὁ πατριάρχης τὴν κατήχησιν· καὶ μετὰ τὸ πληρῶσαι κατέρχεται καὶ ἵσταται ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης· καὶ λέγει ὁ διάκονος τοὺς διπλοκατηχομένους· καὶ ὅτε εἰπεῖ Οἱ κατηχομένοι προσέλθατε· προσφέρονται οἱ κατηχομένοι παρ' ἑνὸς τῶν διακόνων· ἐν τῷ ἀριστερῷ στιθέω τοῦ βήματος· καὶ ἐκεῖσε ἀκουμβίζων ὁ πατριάρχης σφραγίζει τοὺς κατηχομένους· τὸ μέτωπον· τὸ στόμα· τὸ στῆθος· καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως νίπτεται τὰς χεῖρας· καὶ λέγει: "Οτι σὺ εἶ ὁ φωτισμὸς ἡμῶς· καὶ λέγει ὁ διάκονος· 'Ἐν εἰρήνῃ προσέλθωμεν.²⁷⁷

And then the Patriarch ascends to the ambo, he makes three metanes, the archdeacon lifts the omophoron, and the patriarch does the catechesis. And after he finishes, he descends and stands in front of the holy table. The deacon then says the petitions for the photizomenoi. And when he says 'The catechumens depart' the catechumens are brought up (lit. offered) by one of the deacons to the left barrier of the bema. And leaning there, the patriarch blesses the catechumens; on the forehead, the mouth, the chest, and then washes his hands and says: 'For you are our illumination' and the deacons says: 'Let us depart in peace.'

4.6.4 *The Two Prayers of the Faithful*

The two prayers of the faithful are preceded by two small synapte litanies. In some manuscripts, however, the small synapte before each prayer of the faithful includes a command to kneel, and the petition after the prayer a command to rise.²⁷⁸ In other words we find the schema:

"Οσοι πιστοὶ ἔτι καὶ ἔτι κλίνοντες τὰ γόνατα ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

First Prayer of the Faithful

Ἀντιλαβοῦ σῶσον ἐλέησον ἀνάστησον καὶ διαφύλαξον ... Σοφία.

"Οτι πρέπει σοι πᾶσα ...

"Ἐτι καὶ ἔτι κλίνοντες τὰ γόνατα ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

Second Prayer of the Faithful

Ἀντιλαβοῦ σῶσον ἐλέησον ἀνάστησον καὶ διαφύλαξον ... Σοφία.

Κατὰ τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου ...

This occurs in the eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 9r-10r, Sinai gr. 959, ff. 38v-39r, the eleventh/twelfth-century Sinai gr. 962, ff. 50v-52v, the twelfth-century Sinai gr. 973, ff. 24r-v, Paris gr. 392, 39v-40v, and the twelfth/thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 1036, ff. 47v-49v. In the eleventh-century Sinai gr. 958, ff. 23r-24v, the call to kneel is only found before

²⁷⁷ *Prophetologion* 1960:401.

²⁷⁸ On this issue, see MATEOS: *La célébration* 163-166.

the first prayer of the faithful, and there is no command to rise after the prayer. In the twelfth-century Paris gr. 330, ff. 68r-70r, the command to kneel seems to have been scratched out before the second prayer of the faithful. The command, however, to rise follows both prayers of the faithful. In Benaki 57 (TA 127), f. 11r, only the command to kneel appears. Notice here too that the petition 'Ἀντιλαβοῦ ...' follows the prayer, indicating that the people knelt while the celebrant read the prayer.

In some manuscripts, the second prayer of the faithful is preceded by a synapte which is longer than the small one, but shorter than the one in the beginning of vespers:²⁷⁹

1. Ἐτι καὶ ἔτι ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ κυρίου δεηθῶμεν
 2. Ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀνωθεν εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας
 3. Ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου
 4. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου οἴκου τούτου καὶ τῶν
 5. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ῥυσθῆναι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης
- Second Prayer of the Faithful
6. Ἀντιλαβοῦ σῶσον· σοφία
- Κατὰ τὴν δωρεάν ...

This occurs in the eleventh-century Sinai gr. 959, f. 39r-v (number one opens with Οἱ κλίνοντες τὰ γόνατα ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν, and number four is not given), the twelfth-century Vatican gr. 1875, ff. 36v-37r, Vatican gr. 1554, ff. 42-43r, Barberini gr. 431, ff. 29r-v, Γ.β. II, ff. 46v-47v, Vatican gr. 2005, ff. 67r-v, the twelfth/thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 1036, ff. 48v-49v (number one opens with ἔτι καὶ ἔτι κλίνοντες τὰ γόνατα ...). According to Strittmatter's study of the synapte, the proper place for the synapte was before the second prayer of the faithful and the placement of the small synapte in this place, as in the current practice, is not original.²⁸⁰

In contrast to CHR and BAS, the first prayer of the faithful of the PRES makes no references to Eucharist or communion, nor is it a prayer of the clergy only. Rather, it is very similar to the prayers of the faithful in vespers and orthros in that it calls all faithful to a cleansing of self, to a renewal of faith, and to a change of the way of life.²⁸¹ There are no

²⁷⁹ On this issue, see MATEOS: *La célébration* 159-160.

²⁸⁰ STRITTMATTER: 'Synapte' 83.

²⁸¹ Compare and contrast the first prayer of the faithful in the PRES with the two prayers of the faithful in Vespers and in Orthros in the eighth-century Barberini gr. 336 (PARENTI & VELKOVSKA: *Barberini gr. 336* 93 and 103 respectively), the prayers of the faithful in CHR (pages 74-75), and in BAS (61).

distinctions between clergy and laity in the prayer. This is because the first prayer of the faithful in the PRES structurally belongs to vespers, to which the PRES was appended; it is not part of the PRES. In other words, when we celebrate the PRES today, we have a vestige of the Constantinopolitan cathedral office in the first prayer of the faithful.

This, however, is not the case with the second prayer of the faithful. A comparison between the text of the second prayer of the faithful and the great entrance hymn of the PRES reveals the dependency of the prayer on the hymn and allows us to date the prayer. We know from the *Chronicon Paschale* that this great entrance hymn was introduced in the PRES in 615 or 616. Up until that point the gifts were transferred from the skeuophylakion to the altar in silence. In comparing the prayer with the hymn we see that they not only share the same structure and themes, they also employ similar phrases. The relationship between the two can also be seen in the linguistic parallels put forth in the following table:

TABLE 4.8

A COMPARISON OF THE SECOND PRAYER OF THE FAITHFUL
WITH THE GREAT ENTRANCE HYMN OF THE PRES

Second Prayer of the Faithful	Great Entrance Hymn
Outline:	Outline:
1. Introductory petition to be made worthy to receive Christ 2. Description of Christ's entrance and His entourage 3. What is carried, is His Body and Blood 4. The purpose of it all is communion 5. Ekphonesis	1. Description of Christ's entrance and His entourage 2. What is carried, is His Body and Blood 3. Communion and its fruits
Text:	Text:
1. τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς δόξης 2. πλήθους στρατιᾶς οὐρανόυ 3. Ἴδού γάρ τὸ ἄχραντον αὐτοῦ σῶμα καὶ τὸ ζωοποιόν αἷμα, κατὰ τὴν παροῦσαν ὥραν εἰσπορευόμενα 4. τὸ ἄχραντον αὐτοῦ σῶμα καὶ τὸ ζωοποιόν αἷμα ... δορυφορούμενα 5. ἵνα ... υἱὸν φωτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας γενώμεθα	1. ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης 2. αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν 3. Ἴδού γάρ εἰσπορεύεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης. 4. Ἴδού θυσία μυστικὴ, τελειωμένη, δορυφορεῖται. 5. ἵνα μέτοχοι ζωῆς αἰώνιου γενώμεθα

If then the second prayer of the faithful entered the PRES in the seventh century, what, if anything, did it replace? In order to answer this question, we need to return to the first prayer of the faithful and remind ourselves that its content has nothing to do with the PRES; rather, its form represents a classic prayer of the faithful of the cathedral Byzantine Liturgy of the Hours. I am suggesting, therefore, that the original second vesperal prayer of the faithful was replaced by this new creation, based on the new great entrance hymn, when the new great entrance hymn entered the PRES.

This has implications for our search for the origins and evolution of the PRES. It is here that we see the seams of where vespers and the communion rite were connected. In writing the second prayer of the faithful the redactor of the PRES tried to imitate the prayers of the faithful in the Divine Liturgies. In other words, we see the footprint of a redactor trying to make the PRES look more like a regular liturgy.

4.7 Conclusions

The vesperal part of the PRES as celebrated today is a unique witness to the shifts and changes that the Byzantine liturgical tradition has undergone. These shifts and changes have left their marks on the PRES, marks that allow us to trace, in most cases, the history of this part of the PRES.

A. Vespers

1. The opening blessing *Εὐλογημένη ἡ βασιλεία* is the standard opening blessing of the cathedral rite.
2. Ps 103 is the opening psalm of the Sabaitic vespers that replaced Ps 85, the opening psalm (antiphon 1) of cathedral vespers.
3. Psalmody was greatly reduced in the cathedral use when the PRES was appended to vespers. Since the number of prayers recited in cathedral vespers corresponded to the number of antiphons of the Psalter said, the prayers were also limited.
4. The Studite use maintained the cathedral spirit according to which psalmody was greatly reduced, and thus the monastic psalmody was not said. This is not the case in the Sabaitic tradition, according to which not only monastic psalmody but also all the vesperal prayers are recited.

5. Constantinople, following the practice of Antioch, had only one vesperal psalm, Ps 140, which was not accompanied by an incensation. In fact, any time Ps 140.2 was used as a refrain, the mention of incense was omitted.

B. Prothesis

1. The Prothesis initially took place in the skeuophylakion before the beginning of the service. The deacons would prepare and bring the lamb and the unconsecrated mixed chalice to the altar. According to the ancient practice of Constantinople, the lamb was not intincted with consecrated wine when reserved on the previous Sunday. The anointing of the lamb with consecrated wine at the time of reservation is a later practice.
2. The initially very simple prothesis ritual gradually grew, imitating the prothesis ritual of the full Divine Liturgy; some manuscripts even have a prothesis prayer for the PRES. One can also see in some manuscripts a reaction to the growth of the prothesis rite in the PRES in that limits were placed on what was said and why.
3. As the place of the prothesis ritual moved from the skeuophylakion to the prothesis niche within the altar, the preparation of the gifts moved to within the PRES itself. The recitation of Kathisma 18 provided enough time for the prothesis ritual and so it was moved there.

C. Readings – Φῶς Χριστοῦ – Ps 140.2

1. The Old Testament Lectionary, the *Prophetologion*, proved to be a very valuable witness to the practice of the Great Church.
2. The system of readings has its roots in the fourth-century Antiochian Lenten practice and is different from that of Jerusalem.
3. The Φῶς Χριστοῦ came to Constantinople with the system of readings. There is evidence to suggest that this lucernarium was connected to the readings of Genesis and Exodus, and thus is proclaimed every time they were read on weekdays of Lent, originally even on days without a PRES (i.e., Holy Thursday Vespertal BAS). The connection between the readings from Genesis and Exodus and Φῶς Χριστοῦ also explains the placement of Φῶς Χριστοῦ between the first reading (Genesis or Exodus) and the second (Proverbs).

4. The Φῶς Χριστοῦ rites were originally relegated to the deacon and involved a procession to the center of the church where it was proclaimed. Gradually the rite was moved to within the altar and taken up by the priest.
5. Ps 140.2 did not come to Constantinople with the readings and the Φῶς Χριστοῦ, but independently. Although originally a vesperal psalm, the earliest evidence we have from Constantinople point to the fact that it assumed the role of a prokeimenon sung by the cantor, during which everyone sat. It gradually evolved into a ritual high point with everyone standing or prostrating and incensation.

D. Litanies

1. The litanies are keys to understanding the origins of the PRES. The structures of the litanies point to their cathedral origins in the office of Constantinople. The litany, prayer, and dismissal of the catechumens, the litany, prayer, and dismissal of the photizomenoi, and the two prayers of the faithful are relics of the cathedral office maintained today within the PRES.
2. The two prayers of the faithful provide evidence for the history of the PRES. While the first prayer is a classic office prayer of the cathedral rite of Constantinople, the second prayer bears the signs of a redactor who tried to imitate the prayers of the faithful in the full Divine Liturgy. We can also date the redaction of the second prayer of the faithful because it draws upon the Great Entrance hymn of the PRES which was introduced in 615 or 616 AD.
3. Structurally speaking, the connecting point between vespers and PRES is after the two prayers of the faithful, with the second prayer of the faithful functioning as a hinge between the two.

These conclusions can also be expressed schematically. We will begin with a brief outline of cathedral vespers:

1. Ps 85
2. Variable Psalmody (up to six psalms)
3. Ps 140 with troparia
4. Entrance
5. Prokeimenon

6. Small Antiphon 1
7. Small Antiphon 2
8. Small Antiphon 3
9. [Readings]
10. Troparion x3
11. Litany, Prayer of the Catechumens
12. Litany, Prayer of the Photizomenoi (after W of Fourth Week of Lent)
13. Litany and Prayer of Faithful I
14. Litany and Prayer of Faithful II
15. Dismissal Litany
16. Prayer of Dismissal
17. Inclination Prayer

When the PRES was appended to vespers, item (2) would be limited to only one psalm and items (6), (7), and (8) would be skipped. In other words, there would be an obvious limitation of psalmody. The readings, Φῶς Χριστοῦ, and Ps 140.2 replaced items (6)-(10), Ps 140.2 taking the place of the prokeimenon. Items (12)-(15) remained in place (we will discuss the fate of items (16)-(17) in the following chapter) and the PRES, with the transfer of the gifts would follow. So we have the following outline:

1. Ps 85
2. Teleutaion
3. Ps 140 with troparia
4. Entrance
5. **Readings – Φῶς Χριστοῦ – Ps 140.2**
6. Ektene Litany and Prayer of Ektene
7. Litany, Prayer and Dismissal of the Catechumens
8. Litany, Prayer and Dismissal of the Photizomenoi
9. Two prayers of the Faithful
10. **PRES**

With the Studite fusion and the Sabaitic synthesis vespers changed drastically: Ps 85 was replaced by Ps 103; the antiphons of the Psalter were replaced by the monastic Kathisma of the Psalter; the vesperal prayers were all lumped together and read silently; four vesperal psalms and incensation took the place of one; and finally, the lucernarium Φῶς ἰλαρόν was added. It should be noted that Sabaitic and Studite vespers did not know of the litanies and prayers of the catechumens, photizomenoi, and the faithful. With the PRES appended to it, it would look something like this:

1. Initial Blessing
2. Ps 103
3. Seven vesperal prayers said silently by priest during Ps 103
4. Great Synapte
5. Monastic Psalmody (skipped in the Studite use)
6. Psalms 140, 141, 129, 116, with intercalated strophes and Incensation.
7. Entrance
8. Introit Prayer
9. Φῶς ἱλαρόν
10. Readings – Φῶς Χριστοῦ – Ps 140.2
11. Ektene Litany and Prayer of Ektene
12. Litany, Prayer and Dismissal of the Catechumens
13. Litany, Prayer and Dismissal of the Photizomenoi
14. Two prayers of the Faithful
15. PRES

In other words, when the PRES was appended to the Sabaitic or Studite Sabas vespers, elements of vespers of the cathedral office (items 11-14) continued to be incorporated. These elements would otherwise not be used. So the vesperal part of the PRES today is made up of the following parts:

1. Sabas vespers, up to and including Φῶς ἱλαρόν
2. Readings – Φῶς Χριστοῦ – Ps 140.2
 - i. Genesis/Exodus – Φῶς Χριστοῦ – Proverbs from Antioch
 - ii. Ps 140.2 takes up the role of Prokeimenon
3. Elements of Cathedral Vespers of Constantinople

It is within the second prayer of the faithful that we see the editor of the PRES working, the old seams that connect the PRES to vespers.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE COMMUNION PART OF THE PRESANCTIFIED

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter we will examine the communion part of the PRES, which has been modeled after the respective parts of the regular liturgy. After the gifts are transferred to the holy table (great entrance) we move to precommunion, communion, postcommunion, thanksgiving, and dismissal. We will examine the great entrance and the precommunion with Robert Taft's authoritative books on these sections with the full liturgy in the background.¹ For the other sections, as we await the publication of Taft's volume VI of his *History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* dealing with communion, postcommunion, thanksgiving and dismissal, I will provide the data I have found and make occasional suggestions regarding the history of these parts of the liturgy, as related to the PRES. In an article published in 1994, Taft outlined the challenges to be faced when dealing with the communion ritual of CHR in the Byzantine rite:

There is a lot of debris, floating bits and pieces of flotsam and jetsam, single psalm verses ... free standing troparia not connected to anything ... a doxology hanging in mid-air. Then there is a prayer of inclination that does not conclude anything ... not one but two invitations to communion ... and not one but two conclusions to the entire rite ... For anyone who has spent a lifetime reading liturgical texts and recomposing their liturgical units, this will not do. There is no way this stuff could be original: it just screams for explanation. Why? Because it is not like anything we find in earlier liturgical sources, where things hang together in set frameworks or units. They do not just float around freely like pollen on a breezy spring day.²

What Taft says here is also relevant to the PRES since the communion part of the PRES grew, in most instances, by imitating the full liturgy.

¹ TAFT: *Great Entrance* and TAFT: *Precommunion*.

² TAFT: 'Reconstructing' 370.

5.2 Structures

The components of the communion part of the PRES may be outlined and organized structurally in the following way. This outline adds to the first four parts discussed in chapter 4:³

E. Great Entrance Rites

F. Precommunion

I. Spiritual Preparation for Communion

1. Precommunion Litany
2. Prayer
3. Introduction to the Lord's Prayer
4. Lord's Prayer with concluding doxology
5. Peace
6. Diaconal command to bow
7. Prayer of Inclination
8. Prayer of Elevation
9. Elevation
10. 'Let us be attentive!'
11. Invitation to communion I: 'The presanctified holy things for the holy' and its response
12. Communion psalm: Ps 33:9

II. Material Preparation for Communion / Manual Acts

13. Fraction
14. Commixture
15. Zeon

G. Communion

16. Communion of the clergy (with formulae)
17. Invitation to communion II: 'With fear of God ... approach'
18. 'Blessed is he who comes ...' (Ps 117:26a, 27a)
19. Communion of the people

H. Postcommunion

20. Ps 27:9: 'Save, O God, your people ...'
21. Refrain 'I will bless the Lord at all times ...' while the gifts are returned to the altar.
22. Doxology by the priest said silently: 'Blessed is our God' and aloud 'now and ever and unto the ages of ages.'
23. Troparion: 'Let our mouth be filled with your praise ...'
24. The priest and deacon return the vessels to the prothesis

³ The outline is from TAFT: 'Reconstructing' 336-337, adjusted to the PRES.

I. Thanksgiving

25. Litany

26. Prayer

J. Dismissal and Final Rites

27. 'Let us depart in peace'

28. Opisthambonos Prayer

29. 'May the name of the Lord ...' x3

30. Skeuophylakion Prayer

31. Blessing

32. Apolysis

33. Psalms 33 and 144

34. Through the prayers ...

5.3 The Great Entrance

The transfer of the gifts to the holy table is one of the 'soft points' in Byzantine liturgy. It was originally a simple transfer of practical nature; to bring the gifts to the holy table, to be consecrated in the regular liturgy, or to be distributed within the context of the PRES. Symeon of Thessalonica summarized it well saying that the great entrance takes place 'so that the gifts are brought to the holy table.'⁴ This simple transfer gradually became ritually embellished and has turned into a high point in the celebration of the liturgy. We will see in this section, however, that the Great entrance rites in the PRES resisted a complete ritualization.

5.3.1 The Great Entrance Hymn

The great entrance hymn⁵ of the PRES, one of the four great entrance hymns of the Byzantine Rite,⁶ is used exclusively in the PRES. The *Chronicon Paschale*, our earliest witness to the PRES, not only informs us that the great entrance hymn of the PRES was introduced in 615 or 616 AD but it also quotes the entire hymn for us:

⁴ Διὰ τὸ ἀπενεχθῆναι τὰ δῶρα ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ. PG 155:909C.

⁵ The term cherubic hymn came to denote the great entrance hymn, from the incipit of the most used great entrance hymn, Οἱ τὰ Χερουβὶμ.

⁶ TAFT: *Great Entrance* 54-55; they are: Οἱ τὰ Χερουβὶμ, Τοῦ δείπνου σου τοῦ μυστικοῦ (on Holy Thursday), Σιγησάτω πᾶσα σὰρξ βροτεία (on Holy Saturday), and Νῦν αἰ δυνάμεις (whenever PRES is celebrated).

In this year under Sergius patriarch of Constantinople, from the 1st week of Lent, in indiction 4 [615 or 616⁷], a chant was introduced after the 'Let [my prayer] rise', at the moment when the presanctified gifts are brought to the altar from the sacristy after the priest has said, 'Through the gift of your Christ', the congregation at once begins, '*Now the powers of heaven are invisibly worshipping with us: for behold, the king of glory enters in. Behold, the mystic and perfect sacrifice is being escorted. In faith and fear let us approach, so that we may become partakers in eternal life. Alleluia!*' This chanted not only during Lent as pre-sanctified offerings are brought in, but also on other days, whenever there are pre-sanctified offerings.⁸

The same great entrance hymn is chanted today with one change whenever the PRES is celebrated. The phrase *πίστει καὶ φόβῳ προσέλθωμεν* reads *πίστει καὶ πόθῳ προσέλθωμεν*.⁹

If we recall the evidence from the celebration of the PRES in connection with coronations, appointments of civil servants, and weddings,¹⁰ where the transfer of the gifts was not ceremonial at all, we could argue that originally the great entrance at the PRES was just a simple transfer of the elements from the *skeuophylakion*, the place of reservation, to the altar done in silence.¹¹ The description in the *Chronicon Paschale* leaves

⁷ WHITBY & WHITBY: *Chronicon Paschale* 158, note 439.

⁸ English translation with minor changes from WHITBY & WHITBY: *Chronicon Paschale* 158. Τοῦτω τῷ ἔτει ἐπὶ Σεργίου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀπὸ τῆς α' ἑβδομάδος τῶν νηστειῶν ἰνδικτιῶνος δ' ἔρξατο ψάλλεσθαι μετὰ τῷ Κατευθυνθῆτω ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ εἰσάγεσθαι τὰ προηγιασμένα δῶρα εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἀπὸ τοῦ σκευοφυλακίου μετὰ τῷ εἰπεῖν τὸν ἱερέα. Κατὰ τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου. εὐθέως ἄρχεται ὁ λαός, Νῦν αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν σὺν ἡμῖν ἀοράτως λατρεύουσιν· ἰδοὺ γὰρ εἰσπορεύεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης· ἰδοὺ θυσία μυστικὴ τετελειωμένη δορυφορεῖται· πίστει καὶ φόβῳ προσέλθωμεν, ἵνα μέτοχοι ζωῆς αἰωνίου γενώμεθα. ἀλληλοῦ. Τοῦτο δὲ οὐ μόνον ἐν ταῖς νηστειαῖς προηγιασμένων εἰσαγομένων ψάλλεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις ἡμέραις, ὅσας ἂν προηγιασμένα γίνηται. L. DINDORF: *Chronicon Paschale* (Bonn 1832) I:705-706; PG 92:989.

⁹ Of the formularies of the PRES that provide us with the full text of the great entrance hymn (most only give the incipit), the eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 10r-v, the twelfth-century Barberini gr. 431, f. 28v-29r; Barberini gr. 329, f. 15r; and Oxford Bodleian E.5.13 preserve the *Chronicon Paschale* reading (*πίστει καὶ φόβῳ προσέλθωμεν*) of the great entrance hymn of the PRES. The great entrance hymn of the PRES in the Georgian version of HagPRES also preserves the *Chronicon Paschale* reading (*Cum fide et timore accipiamus*); in addition, instead of 'Ἰδοὺ θυσία μυστικὴ. τετελειωμένη, δορυφορεῖται, reads 'ecce renovatur sacrificium mysticum praesantificatum'. See TARCH-NISVILI: 'Die georgische Missa praesantificatorum am Karfreitag' 76; IDEM, T 71.

¹⁰ See section 3.6.

¹¹ On totally hypothetical grounds, we could suggest that before the introduction of the PRES great entrance hymn, the PRES could have initially adopted Ps 23:7-10 since the

no doubt that the great entrance of the PRES was truly an entrance: it began at the skeuophylakion, where the gifts were reserved, and ended at the sanctuary.¹² Even today the great entrance of the PRES is done in silence. The chanting of the hymn stops when the priest comes out of the north door of the altar carrying the gifts and resumes after the priest enters the altar through the central altar gates.

5.3.2 *The Great Entrance Rites*

The description and guidelines for the great entrance of the PRES occupy a full page in the current Greek *Ἱερατικόν*.¹³ This is in contrast with the majority of the PRES formularies. In some, the great entrance is not mentioned at all or implied only by the title of the prayer that follows.¹⁴ In many, the great entrance is mentioned only as a point of transition from the prayers of the faithful to the diaconal petitions and the prayer after the great entrance.¹⁵ In others, only the incipit of the great entrance hymn is provided.¹⁶

growth of the communion part of the PRES is marked by its effort to imitate the full divine liturgy. We know that in 573-574 the great entrance hymns *Οἱ τὰ Χερουβιμ* and *Τοῦ δείπνου σου τοῦ μυστικοῦ* were introduced in the Great Church as refrains to a psalm, possibly Ps 23:7-10; see TAFT: *Great Entrance* 69, 108-118. The sixteenth-century Vatican gr. 2051, f. 78r, has the priest recite Ps 23:7-8a in the PRES, among other formulae. This use, however, is too late to be dependent on the early use of Ps 23:7-10 at the great entrance; for similar late appearances of Ps 23:7-10 in formularies of CHR see TAFT: *Great Entrance* 105-108.

¹² For more on the role of the skeuophylakion see TAFT: *Great Entrance* 185-103. See also TAFT: 'Skeuophylakion'.

¹³ See page 214: 43 lines of single space text.

¹⁴ Nothing mentioned: Twelfth-century Γ.β.VIII, f. 78v; Nothing mentioned but implied by the title to the prayer that follows: Eleventh-century Sinai gr. 958, f. 24r (*Εὐχὴ μετὰ τὸ ἀποτεθῆναι τὰ ἅγια δῶρα*); twelfth-century Vatican gr. 1970, f. 50 (*Εὐχὴ μετὰ τὸ ἀποτεθῆναι τὰ προηγιασμένα ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τραπέζῃ*); fourteenth/fifteenth-century, f. 64r (*Εὐχὴ μετὰ τὸ ἀποτεθῆναι τὰ ἅγια δῶρα ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τραπέζῃ*).

¹⁵ Eighth-century Barberini gr. 336 (PARENTI & VELKOVSKA: *Barberini gr. 336* 85, see also 247): *Καὶ μετὰ τὸ πληρωθῆναι τὸ Νῦν αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν, ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐπεύχεται*; tenth-century Sevestianov 474 (KS 281): *Εὐχὴ μετὰ Νῦν αἱ δυνάμεις*; eleventh-century Sinai gr. 959, f. 39v: *Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ρηθῆναι τὸ Νῦν αἱ δυνάμεις λέγει ὁ διάκονος*; Paris gr. 391, f. 84r: *Εὐχὴ μετὰ Νῦν αἱ δυνάμεις ἦν ποιεῖ ὁ ἱερεὺς*; Benaki 27 (56), f. 63r: *Πληρωθέντος τοῦ χερουβικοῦ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων δώρων τεθέντων ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τραπέζῃ λέγονται τὰ διακονικὰ ταῦτα*; Benaki 57 (TA 127), f. 11v: *Μετὰ τὸ Νῦν αἱ δυνάμεις λέγει*; eleventh/twelfth-century Sinai gr. 962, f. 52v: *Μετὰ δὲ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τοῦ χερουβικοῦ ὁ διάκονος λέγει*; twelfth-century Paris gr. 330, f. 69v: *Οἱ ψάλλται: Νῦν αἱ δυνάμεις*; Vatican gr. 1875, f. 37r: *Ὁ λαὸς τὸ Νῦν αἱ δυνάμεις*; thirteenth-century Ann Arbor 37,

The eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 10r-v, is the first case in which we are given a full text of the great entrance hymn in formularies of the PRES¹⁷ and brief guidelines on how to cover the gifts after their placement on the holy table.¹⁸ Still, a number of formularies even up to the sixteenth-century are extremely brief, giving us only the text of the great entrance hymn with the occasional rubric that it is said by the people.¹⁹ In other formularies, the priest is told to go to the Prothesis, lift the gifts, proceed as usual (ὡς ἔθος), and place the gifts on the altar table.²⁰

f. 45r: Καὶ μετὰ τὸ Νῦν αἱ δυνάμεις; fifteenth/sixteenth-century EBE 756, f. 59v: Καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀποτελῆναι τὰ ἅγια δῶρα ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τραπέζῃ, λέγει ὁ διάκονος; similar in Ann Arbor 17, f. 57r (great entrance hymn added in margin by a later hand); sixteenth-century Paris gr. 393, f. 54r; Sinai gr. 2037, f. 83v; Panagia Kamariotissa 142 (139), f. 33r; Panagia Kamariotissa 143 (140), f. 37v; Sinai gr. 2111, f. 140v; Sabas 53, f. 93v; Sinai gr. 2045, f. 91v; Sinai gr. 2017, f. 99v; EBE 781, f. 40r; EBE 759, p. 209; EBE 749, f. 72r; EBE 772, f. 101r. The tenth-century St. Petersburg 226 is a little more descriptive but still very simple: Καὶ εὐθέως Νῦν αἱ δυνάμεις. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ πληρῶσαι τὸν λαὸν τὸ Νῦν αἱ δυνάμεις καὶ τιθέναι τὸν ἱερέα τὰ ἅγια δῶρα ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τραπέζῃ, ὁ διάκων ἄρχεται ... ὁ ἱερεὺς τὴν εὐχὴν (JACOB: 191); similar in the thirteenth-century Barberini gr. 443, f. 33v: Ὁ λαὸς ψάλλει τὸ Νῦν αἱ δυνάμεις· μετὰ τὸ τελεῆναι τὰ ἅγια δῶρα ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ τραπέζῃ, λέγει ὁ διάκονος.

¹⁶ Twelfth-century EBE 713, f. 46r: Incipit of hymn given with indication that the people say it. Same in twelfth-century Biblioteca Angelica gr. 15, f. 40r; twelfth/thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 1036, f. 49v; thirteenth-century Ambrosiana gr. 709 (R24 sup), f. 107r; fourteenth-century Vatopedi 984, f. 32r; fifteenth-century EBE 877, p. 170; sixteenth-century Ottoboni gr. 288, f. 77r; Vatican gr. 2143, p. 61; Vatican gr. 2294, f. 18v; seventeenth-century Library of Congress 37, f. 119r.

¹⁷ The full text of the hymn 'Νῦν αἱ δυνάμεις' first appears in the manuscript tradition in the appendices of Psalters, such as the ninth-century Khudov Psalter, and EBE 7 and EBE 15. I owe this observation to Prof. Stefano Parenti.

¹⁸ Variants in hymn: φόβω instead of πόθω; guidelines: Εἰδέναι χρὴ ἕτι μετὰ τὴν πρόσδον τῶν ἁγίων δώρων πληρουμένου τοῦ Νῦν αἱ δυνάμεις, λαμβάνει ὁ ἱερεὺς τὰ καλύματα καὶ σκεπάζει τὰ ἅγια μετὰ τῆς ἀναφορᾶς. Also in the fourteenth-century Vatican gr. 2324, f. 22v (νεφέλης instead of ἀναφορᾶς).

¹⁹ Twelfth-century Oxford Bodleian E.5.13 (JACOB: 'E.5.13' 308) (φόβω instead of πόθω), hymn to be chanted by the people in plagal second; Vatican gr. 1811, f. 107r; Γ.β. II, 47v; Vatican gr. 1554, f. 43r (later hand?); Barberini gr. 431, f. 28v-29r (φόβω instead of πόθω), to be chanted by people (tone not indicated); Barberini gr. 329, f. 15r (φόβω instead of πόθω); twelfth/thirteenth-century Vatican gr. 2005, f. 67v-68r (φόβω instead of πόθω); thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 966, f. 50r; sixteenth-century Benaki 10 (16), f. 91r: only hymn is given.

²⁰ Twelfth-century Vatican gr. 1863, f. 100v: twelfth/thirteenth-century EBE 662, f. 64r; fifteenth-century Panagia Kamariotissa 145 (142); fifteenth/sixteenth-century Paris gr. 326, f. 61r-v; sixteenth-century Sabas 48, f. 10v-11r; fifteenth/sixteenth-century Paris gr. 326, f. 61r-v.

Some formularies either provide a cherubic prayer or direct the priest not to recite one while later manuscripts direct that Ps 50 be recited either after or in the place of a cherubic prayer;²¹ the fifteenth-century Vatican gr. 1978, f. 42r even allows the priest to add any other formulae he wishes (καὶ ἕτερα ὅσα βούλει). The trisagion is also prescribed in a few,²² as is the penitential troparion Ὡς ὁ ἄσωτος υἱός.²³ The sixteenth-century Vatican gr. 2051, f. 76v-78r has the most of these formularies in the PRES, with an interesting version of the trisagion:²⁴

1. Ἅγιος ὁ θεὸς τὸν κόσμον ἐλέησον· ἅγιος ἰσχυρὸς ἡμαρτηκότα συγχώρησον· ἅγιος ἀθάνατος ἐκ τῆς ἐπικειμένης ὀργῆς σῶσον τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν·
2. Ἄρατε πύλας· τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης (Ps 23:7-8a).
3. Ὁ εὐσχήμων·
4. Ἴδού ἐσταύρωται ὁ χριστός·
5. Μεγαλύνετε τὸν κύριον·
6. Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπελεύσεται.²⁵

The lavabo, Ps 25:6-8 or 6-12, still present in the pontifical liturgy, was moved in the presbyteral liturgy from the great entrance to the vesting rites.²⁶ There are two codices that mention the lavabo at the great entrance rites in the context of the PRES: the fifteenth-century Ambrosiana gr. 84 (B15 sup), f. 142r, and the sixteenth-century Vatican gr. 2051, f. 76v-78r. The second provides Ps 25:6-8, the standard text, while the first combines Ps 25:6a with an edited version of Ps 50:2: Νίψομαι ἐν ἀθώοις τὰς χεῖρας μου· καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον πλύνον με ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμαρτίας μου.

As in the full liturgy, there are today three distinct incensations within the great entrance rites. At the first the priest censens the holy table, the prothesis, the altar, the clergy, the iconostasis, and the people. At the second, the priest censens the gifts at the prothesis table right before the great entrance. At the third, the priest censens the gifts at the

²¹ See section 5.3.3.

²² Fifteenth-century Ambrosiana gr. 84 (B15 sup), f. 142r; sixteenth-century EBE 775, f. 102v-103v; sixteenth/seventeenth-century EBE 751 (TR 214); eighteenth-century EBE 765 (TR 214).

²³ Sixteenth-century Vatican gr. 1557, f. 103v; EBE 775, f. 102v-103v; sixteenth/seventeenth-century EBE 751 (TR 214); eighteenth-century EBE 765 (TR 214).

²⁴ On these and other secondary formulae see TAFT: *Great Entrance* 225-227.

²⁵ Items (5) and (6) belong to the dialogue after the entrance of the gifts; see TAFT: *Great Entrance* 285-307.

²⁶ On the lavabo, see TAFT: *Great Entrance* 163-177.

conclusion of the great entrance after they are placed on the holy table.²⁷ Only a few of the formularies of the PRES make any mention of incensation at the great entrance rites. The first incensation is the only one mentioned in the fifteenth-century Ambrosiana gr. 84 (B15 sup), f. 142r, and the sixteenth-century Vatican gr. 2051, f. 76v-78r; the second incensation is the only one mentioned in the sixteenth-century EBE 878, p. 151-152; and the third incensation is the only one mentioned in the fifteenth-century Vatican gr. 1978, f. 42r. The sixteenth-century EBE 775, f. 102v-103v mentions the first and second incensations, while the sixteenth-century Vatican gr. 1557, f. 103v, mention the second and the third incensation. Of the three incensations the oldest is the third, attested to in the full liturgy as early as the tenth century; in fact, it was the only incensation up the end of the twelfth century.²⁸

The original practice was for the deacons to carry the gifts at the great entrance, whether in the full liturgy or in the PRES.²⁹ There are two cases among the manuscript witnesses of the PRES in which this can be seen. According to a crossed-out rubric in the thirteenth-century Ambrosiana gr. 276 (E20 sup), f. 44v-45r:

Κατὰ τὸ [νῦν αἱ δυνάμεις] κομίζονται
τὰ ἅγια ὑπὸ τοῦ διακόνου τῆ ἁγία
τραπέζῃ καὶ λαμβάνει ὁ ἱερεὺς τὰ
καλύμματα καὶ σκεπάζει αὐτὰ τῆ
νεφέλῃ·

While the hymn 'Now the powers' is
chanted, the holy [gifts] are brought to
the holy table by the deacon; the priest
takes the covers and covers them with
the nefeli.

The thirteenth-century Archimedes Palimpsest, 9v-10r, titles its unique great entrance prayer, 'prayer while the holy gifts are brought to the holy table,'³⁰ an indication that the prayer was recited by the celebrating priest while the gifts would be brought in by the deacon.

At the great entrance of the PRES in the present Greek practice, the priest covers his head with the aer, holds the paten with his right hand, the chalice with his left, and in silence, proceeds out of the north altar door. Following the usual processional route, the priest brings the gifts

²⁷ Cf. TAFT: *Great Entrance* 155; on the incensation at the great entrance, see 149-159.

²⁸ TAFT: *Great Entrance* 156.

²⁹ TAFT: *Great Entrance* 203-206.

³⁰ Εὐχὴ ἐν τῷ εἰσέρχεσθαι τὰ ἅγια δῶρα ἐν τῆ ἁγία τραπέζῃ. For similar cases in the manuscript tradition of CHR see TAFT: *Great Entrance* 120-121, 203.

back in the altar and deposits them on the altar table. There he takes the individual covers off the gifts and covers them with the aer.³¹ The present Greek practice of the priest placing the aer over his head at the great entrance of the PRES does not appear in any of the manuscripts I have had the opportunity to examine. There are only three rather later manuscripts that I have examined which note that the aer is placed on the shoulders of the priest, or if present, the deacon,³² as in the full liturgy. No commemorations are recited at the great entrance, although the tendency to imitate the commemorations of the full liturgy³³ can be seen in some late manuscripts. For example, the fifteenth-century Ambrosiana gr. 84 (B15 sup), f. 142r notes:

ποιεῖ τὴν μεγάλην εἴσοδον· λέγει ἡσύχως· Ἄγιος ὁ Θεός· Καὶ ὅταν ἔλθῃ εἰς τὸ μέσον· λέγει· Πάντων ἡμῶν μνησθεῖη Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ· πάντοτε νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ³⁴	[The priest] proceeds with the great entrance. He quietly says the Trisagion. And when he comes to the middle he says: 'May the Lord God remember all of us in His Kingdom, always, now and ever and unto the ages of ages.' ³
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In two other codices, both of these formulae (i.e., the trisagion and the Πάντων ἡμῶν) are indicated, but they are to be said silently. The sixteenth-century EBE 775, f. 102v-103v, and EBE 775, f. 102v-103v, note:

³¹ See the eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 10v: λαμβάνει ὁ ἱερεὺς τὰ καλύμματα καὶ σκεπάζει τὰ ἅγια μετὰ τῆς ἀναφορᾶς; twelfth-century Ottoboni gr. 344, f. 23v-24r: λαμβάνει ὁ ἱερεὺς τὰ καλύμματα, καὶ ἀποσκεπάζει τὰ ἅγια, καὶ σκεπάζει αὐτὰ τῇ ὀθόνη, ἡγούον, τῇ νεφέλῃ; sixteenth-century EBE 2400, f. 91v: αἶρει ὁ ἱερεὺς τὰ καλύμματα καὶ σκεπάζει αὐτὰ διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος; EBE 775, f. 103v: Εἶτα αἶρει τὰ καλύμματα τῶν ἁγίων. Καὶ λαβῶν τὸν ἀέρα θυμιᾷ καὶ σκεπάζει τὰ ἅγια. Cf. Taft: *Great Entrance* 242-244; on the history of the aer, TAFT: *Great Entrance* 216-219.

³² Sixteenth-century EBE 775, f. 103r: Εἶτα λαβῶν [ὁ ἱερεὺς] τὸν ἀέρα ... τίθησι ἐν τῷ ὤμῳ; sixteenth/seventeenth-century EBE 751 and eighteenth-century EBE 765 (TR 214): λαβῶν τὸν ἀέρα τίθησι ἐν τῷ ὤμῳ τοῦ διακόνου. The practice of bearing the aer over the head at the great entrance of the regular liturgy is not unknown, but it is due to the large size of the aer; see TAFT: *Great Entrance* 210.

³³ For the history of the commemorations during the great entrance see TAFT: *Great Entrance* 227-234.

³⁴ Similarly, the sixteenth-century Vatican gr. 1557, f. 103v, notes: καὶ ἔρχεται, προπορευομένων λαμπάδων καὶ λέγει· μνησθεῖη πάντων ἡμῶν Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ πάντοτε νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

ποιεῖ τὴν μεγάλην εἴσοδον, λέγων [The priest] proceeds with the great
 μυστικῶς τὸ ἄγιος ὁ θεὸς ὡς συνήθως· entrance, saying the Trisagion silently
 οὐ λέγει δὲ τὸ μνησθείη ... as usual. He does not say the 'remem-
 μεγαλοφώνως, ἀλλὰ σιωπηρῶς καὶ ber ...' with a loud voice; but silently
 μυστικῶς λέγει· μνησθείη πάντων ὑμῶν and secretly he says: 'Remember all of
 ... Καθὼς ἐστὶ θυσία μυστικῆ· you ...' as it is a mystical sacrifice.

Not only do we see in these two manuscripts the resistance of the PRES to fully imitate the regular liturgy, we also see the effort of the scribes to understand this resistance. They develop the 'theological' explanation that the commemoration is not said aloud because the PRES is a *θυσία μυστικῆ*, a mystical sacrifice, whatever that might have meant to them.

5.3.3 *The Prayer of the Cherubic Hymn*

The cherubic hymn is the great entrance hymn of the regular liturgy, and thus the prayer *Ὁὔδεις ἄξιος* of the regular liturgy is by juxtaposition called prayer of the cherubic hymn. By extension, the great entrance hymn of the PRES is also sometimes called the cherubic hymn, and if there is a prayer, it is called prayer of the cherubic hymn. Most of the manuscripts of the PRES either do not have a prayer of the cherubic hymn or explicitly say that the prayer of the cherubic hymn is not to be said. However, there are some manuscripts that provide us with a prayer. The manuscript evidence may be summarized as follows:

1. Rubric: *Εὐχὴ χερουβικῶν οὐ λέγεται*
 Twelfth-century EBE 713, f. 46r; twelfth/thirteenth-century EBE 662, f. 64r; thirteenth-century Ann Arbor 49, f. 52r; fifteenth-century Sinai gr. 968, f. (DII:395); EBE 1910, f. 45v; EBE 2403, f. 52v; EBE 769, f. 131r; fifteenth/sixteenth-century Paris gr. 326, f. 61v; sixteenth-century EBE 781, f. 40r; EBE 772, f. 101r; EBE 749, f. 72r; EBE 775, f. 102v; EBE 759, p. 209; EBE 878, p. 151-152; EBE 2400, f. 91v; Benaki 79 (TA 177), f. 87v; Sabas 53, f. 93v; Sabas 48, f. 11r; Sinai 2111, f. 140v; Sinai gr. 2037, f. 83v; Sinai gr. 2045, f. 91v; Sinai gr. 2017, f. 99v; Panagia Kamariotissa 142 (139), f. 33r; Panagia Kamariotissa 143 (140), f. 37v.
2. Ps 50 in the place of *Εὐχὴ χερουβικῶν*
 Fifteenth-century EBE 661, f. 18v; Vatican gr. 1978, f. 42r; Ambrosiana gr. 84 (B15 sup), f. 142r; fifteenth/sixteenth-century Sabas 382, f. 69v; sixteenth-century Vatican gr. 2052, f. 22v; Vatican gr. 2007, f. 32r.

3. Ὁ ἐπισκεψάμενος ἡμᾶς ...
Twelfth-century Sinai gr. 973, f. 24v-25r; Vatican gr. 1554, f. 43v-44r; Vatican gr. 2051, ff. 76v-77v; Benaki 27 (56), f. 61v-63r: prayer attached to second prayer of faithful; Sinai 973 (1152/3) 24v-25a; thirteenth-century Sinai 1037, f. 86r-89r; fourteenth-century Γ.β. III, f. 109v-110v; Philotheou 177 (1332 AD), DII:270; Paris gr. 328, p. 143-145: prayer attached to second prayer of the faithful.
4. Ὁ ἐπισκεψάμενος ἡμᾶς ... and Ps 50
Fourteenth-century Paris gr. 324, f. 42r-43v; sixteenth-century EBE 757, f. 67r-68v (prayer attached to second prayer of the faithful, before its ekphonesis).
5. Ὁ ὄδεις ἄξιός ...
Twelfth-century Vatican gr. 1863, f. 100v (incipit only); Barberini gr. 393, f. 41r (incipit only); Barberini gr. 345, f. 23r (incipit only); thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 982 (DII: 233); Γ.β. XIII, f. 54v.
6. Θεὸς Πατέρα καὶ Κύριε τοῦ ἐλέους ...
Twelfth-century Ottoboni gr. 434, f. 27v, 30r; fourteenth-century EBE 2086 (TR 214).
7. Δέσποτα ζωοποιε καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν χορηγέ ...
Thirteenth-century Ambrosiana gr. 276, f. 44v.
8. Δέσποτα Κύριε, καὶ χαρησάμενος παρρησίαν ...
Seventeenth-century EBE 802, f. 43v.
9. Δόξα Χριστῷ ...
Thirteenth-century Archimedes Palimpsest, f. 10r; fifteenth-century EBE 685, p. 42-43.
10. Ὁ τῶν ἀρρήτων καὶ ἀθεάτων ...
Twelfth-century Paris gr. 392, f. 40v-42r.

The prayer Ὁ ἐπισκεψάμενος ἡμᾶς (numbers (3) and (4) above) is from JAS where it functions as a preparatory prayer for the priest before the anaphora,³⁵ while the prayer Δέσποτα Κύριε (number (8) above) is the same prayer with many variants.³⁶ Prayer Δέσποτα ζωοποιε (number (7) above) also comes from JAS, where it functions as the prayer of blessing at the end of the prayers of the faithful before the great entrance.³⁷ It

³⁵ MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 190-192; TAFT: *Great Entrance* 142-143, note 79.

³⁶ TAFT: *Great Entrance* 141-142; for the text see TR 213-214.

³⁷ MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 176.

appears in one southern Italian formulary of CHR in the tenth-century Γ.β. IV and in the southern Italian redaction of PETER.³⁸ Prayer Οὐδεις ἄξιος (number (5) above) is the prayer of the cherubic hymn of CHR and BAS.³⁹ An abridged version of Οὐδεις ἄξιος is prayer Θεε Πατέρων καὶ Κύριε τοῦ ἐλεύου⁴⁰ (number (6) above). The prayer Ὁ τῶν ἀρρήτων καὶ ἀθεάτων (number (10) above) is the prayer recited by the priest in the PRES after the deposition of the gifts on the holy table (see section 5.4.2). Only two manuscripts have the prayer Δόξα Χριστέ (number 9 above).⁴¹

The presence of a cherubic prayer in some formularies of the PRES is another example of

the leveling tendencies observable in most liturgical traditions, but especially visible in the Byzantine. It is a process – a sort of ‘liturgical law’ again – by which the 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.⁴²

Such tendencies are obvious throughout the communion portion of the PRES. Rubrics, such as Εὐχὴ χερουβικοῦ οὐ λέγεται (prayer of the cherubic hymn is not said, number (1) above), are evidence of reactions to such tendencies within the PRES. In this case the reaction seems to have been successful, as the PRES in the current use does not have a prayer of the cherubic hymn. The PRES, however, did not eventually acquire a prayer of the cherubic hymn not because it is not proper to the PRES, the cherubic hymn is a private devotional prayer that made its way in the formularies of BAS and then CHR⁴³ – but because the PRES displays a

³⁸ TAFT: *Great Entrance* 141-142. For more information on this prayer see footnote 75 on page 141 and footnote 76 on page 142.

³⁹ TAFT: *Great Entrance* 119-148.

⁴⁰ TR 214.

⁴¹ Trempelas has published the prayer from the fifteenth-century EBE 685; see TR 213. The text of the same prayer in the twelfth-century Archimedes Palimpsest has many variants: Δόξα Χριστέ τὰ ἐλέη σου· ὅτι τοὺς χρόνους σαφῶς εἰς τὰ ἐμπροσθεν προσαγόμενος εἰς τὴν μνηεῖαν τῆς νηστείας· ἀλλ’ ἵκετεύομεν τὴν ἀπέραντόν σου κυριότητα· δὸς ἡμῖν ἐπαξίως ποιοῦντας· ἀγάπην ζηλοῦντας· ἀμαρτίας ἀναχωροῦντας· πταισμάτων πλοκάς φεύγοντας· τὴν σάρκα ὑποπιάζοντας· καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐπουράνιόν σου βασιλείαν ἤρεμον καὶ ἀτάραχον τὸν φωστῆρα τῆς πολιτείας ἐξαστράπτοντες.

⁴² TAFT: *Great Entrance* 143.

⁴³ TAFT: *Great Entrance* 127.

certain conservatism since it is only celebrated a few times a year. The absence of a prayer of the cherubic hymn in the PRES reflects a period in which neither BAS nor CHR had such a prayer.⁴⁴

5.3.4 *Liturgical Posture during Great Entrance*

In the current practice, all kneel while the priest proceeds with the great entrance, transferring the gifts from the prothesis niche to the holy table. A sign of piety and reverence, people kneel because according to Symeon of Thessalonica (d. 1429):

ὡς τετελεσμένων ὄντων τῶν θείων δώρων, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀληθῶς ὄντος. Αὐτὸ γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ κατεχόμενον ἐν τῷ δίσκῳ, τὸ πανάγιον αὐτοῦ σῶμα μετὰ τοῦ θειοτάτου αἵματος. The divine gifts have been perfected, truly being of our Savior himself. For what is on the paten is his most holy body together with the most divine blood.

Nicholas Kabasilas also notes in his *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy* the practice of kneeling during the great entrance of the PRES in juxtaposition to the great entrance of the regular liturgy:

During this ceremony we must prostrate ourselves before the priest and entreat him to remember us in the prayers he is about to say. For there is no other means of supplication so powerful, so certain of acceptance, as that which takes place through this most holy sacrifice, which has freely cleansed us of our sins and iniquities. If any of those who prostrate themselves thus before the priest who is carrying the offerings adores them as if they are 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 for the sacrifice; in the liturgy of the Presanctified they are consecrated and sanctified, the true Body and Blood of Christ.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Although the earliest Italian and Constantinopolitan manuscripts of BAS contain such a prayer, it has been argued that it eventually made its way into in the Constantinopolitan patriarchal liturgy not before the second half of the tenth-century. See TAFT: *Great Entrance* 130-131.

⁴⁵ *De Sacra Precatione*, PG 155:657D.

⁴⁶ J.M. HUSSEY & P.A. MCNULTY (trs.): *Nicholas Cabasilas: A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy* with an Introduction by R.M. FRENCH (London 1983) 5-66.

5.4 Precommunion

5.4.1 *The Litany*

Today the precommunion litany is comprised of the following petitions (only the incipits are given):

1. Πληρώσωμεν ...
2. Ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεθέντων καὶ προαγιασθέντων τιμίων Δώρων...
3. Ὅπως ὁ φιλόανθρωπος Θεὸς ἡμῶν ...
4. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου οἴκου ...
5. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ῥυσθῆναι ...
6. Ἀντιλαβοῦ ...
7. Τὴν ἐσπέραν ...
8. Ἄγγελον ...
9. Συγγνώμην ...
10. Τὰ καλὰ ...
11. Τὸν ὑπόλοιπον ...
12. Χριστιανὰ ...
13. Τὴν ἐνότητα...

Prayer (=PR)

Ekphonesis (=E)

The manuscript evidence may be outlined as follows:

Eighth-century Barberini gr. 336 (PARENTI & VELKOVSKA: *Barberini gr. 336* 247): 1 (omit ἐσπερινήν), 2, Ὑπὲρ τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων ..., Ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, 6, 7, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς (PR and E given earlier, PARENTI & VELKOVSKA: *Barberini gr. 336* 45-46); tenth-century Γ.β. VII, f. 114v: PR, 6-13, E; eleventh-century Sinai gr. 958, f. 24r: 1, (προτεθέντων only), 2, 3 (in margin), 5 (in margin), PR, 7-13 (in margin), E; Sinai gr. 959, f. 39v: 1, 2 (προσκομισθέντων καὶ προαγιασθέντων), 3, 5, PR, 6-13, E; Γ.β. XX, f. 10v: 1, 2, 4, 5, PR, 6-13, E; Benaki 27 (56), f. 63r: 1, 2 (προτεθέντων καὶ ἀγιασθέντων), 3, 5, PR, 6-8, 10-13, E; Benaki 57 (TA 127), f. 11v: 1, (omit ἐσπερινήν), 2, 4, 5, PR, 6, 7, 13, E; eleventh/twelfth-century Sinai gr. 962, f. 52v: 1, 2 (προσκομισθέντων καὶ προαγιασθέντων), 3, PR, 6-13, E; twelfth-century Sinai gr. 973, f. 25r: 1 (omit ἐσπερινήν), 2 (προσκομισθέντων καὶ ἀγιασθέντων), 3, PR, 6-13, E; Paris gr. 330, p. 70: 1, 2 (προσκομισθέντων καὶ προαγιασθέντων), 3, PR, 6-13, E; Biblioteca Angelica gr. 15, f. 40r: 1, 2, 3, 5, PR, 6 (ἀνάστησον erased); 7-13, E; Γ.β. II, f. 47v: 1 (omit ἐσπερινήν), 2 (προσκομισθέντων καὶ προαγιασμένων), 3, 5, PR, 6-13, E; Γ.β. VIII, f. 78v: 1 (omit ἐσπερινήν), 2 (προσκομισθέντων καὶ προαγιασθέντων), 3, 5, PR, 6-13, E; Ottoboni gr. 344, f. 24r: 1, 2, 4, 5, PR, 6-13, E; Vatican gr. 1554, f. 44r: 1, 2, 3, 5, PR, 6-13, E; Vatican

gr. 1811, f. 107r: 1 (omit ἐσπερινήν), 2 (προσκομισθέντων καὶ προηγιασμένων), 3, 5, PR, 6-13, E; Vatican gr. 1863, f. 100v: 1 (omit ἐσπερινήν), 2 (προσκομισθέντων καὶ προηγιασθέντων), 3, 5, PR, 6-13, E; Vatican gr. 1875, f. 37r: 1 (omit ἐσπερινήν), 2 (προσκομισθέντων καὶ ἀγιασθέντων), 3, 5, PR, 6-13, E; EBE 713, f. 46r:1-5, PR, 6-13, E; Barberini gr. 329, f. 15r: 1, 2, 3, 5, PR, 6-13, E; Barberini gr. 345, f. 23r: 1, 2 (προσκομισθέντων καὶ προηγιασθέντων), 3, 5, PR, 6-13, E; Barberini gr. 393, f. 41r: 1, 2 (προσκομισθέντων καὶ προηγιασθέντων), 3, 5, PR, 6-13, E; Barberini gr. 431, f. 29r: 1, (προσκομισθέντων καὶ προηγιασθέντων), 3, PR, 6-9, 11-13, E; Vatican gr. 2005, f. 68r: 1 (omit ἐσπερινήν), 2 (προσενεχθέντων καὶ προηγιασμένων), 3, 5, PR, 6-13, E; BM 5 I (omit ἐσπερινήν), 2 (προσκομισθέντων καὶ προηγιασθέντων), 3, 5, PR, 6-13; twelfth/thirteenth-century EBE 662, f. 64r: 1, 2, 4, 5, PR, 6-13, E; Sinai gr. 1036, f. 49v: 1, 2, 3, 5, Καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν χριζόντων ..., PR, 6 (ἀνάστησον), 7-13, E; thirteenth-century Ambrosiana 276, f. 45r: 1, 2 (προτεθέντων καὶ ἀγιασθέντων), 4, 5, PR, 6-13, E; Barberini gr. 443, f. 33v: 1, 2, 4, 5, PR, 6-13, E; Ann Arbor 49, f. 52r: 1, 2, 4, 5, PR, 6-13, E; Ann Arbor 37, f. 45r: 1, 2, 3, PR, 6-13, E; thirteenth/fourteenth-century Borgia georg. 7 (T78): (starts with PR), 6 (eleva), 7-13, E; fourteenth-century Vatican gr. 2324, f. 23v: 1, 2, 4, Ὑπὲρ τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων ..., Ὑπὲρ τοῦ συμπολεμεῖσαι ..., Ὑπὲρ τῆς κόμης ἡμῶν ..., 5, PR, 6-13, E; fourteenth/fifteenth-century Benaki 90 (TA246), f. 63v: 1, 2, 4, 5, PR, 6-13, E; fifteenth-century Vatican gr. 1978, f. 42r: 1, 2, 3, 5, PR, 6-13, E; EBE 769, f. 131r: 1, 2, 4, 5, PR, 6-13, E; EBE 2403, f. 52v: 1, 2, 4, 5, PR, 6, 7, 8, 10-13, E; EBE 661, f. 18v: 1, 2 (προτεθέντων καὶ ἀγιαζομένων), 3, 4, 5, PR, 6-13, E; EBE 685, p. 43: 1, 2, 4, 5, PR, 6-13, E; EBE 877, p. 170: 1, 2, 3, 5, PR, 6-13, E; EBE 1910, f. 45v: 1, 2 (τεθέντων καὶ προηγιασθέντων), 4, 5, PR, 6-13, E; fifteenth/sixteenth-century EBE 756, f. 59v: 1, 2, PR, 6-13, E; sixteenth-century Vatican gr. 1557, f. 103v: 1 (omit ἐσπερινήν), 2, 4, 5, PR, 6-13, E; Vatican gr. 2143, p. 61: 1, 2 (προτεθέντων καὶ ἀγιασθέντων), 3, 5, PR, 6-13, E; Vatican gr. 2294, f. 18v: 1, 2 (προσκομισθέντων only), 3, 4, 5, PR, 6-13, E; Vatican gr. 2007, f. 33r: 1, 2, 3, 5, PR, 6-13, E; Vatican gr. 2032, f. 22v: 1, 2, 3, 5, PR, 6-13, E; Vatican gr. 2051, f. 77v: 1, 2 (προσκομισθέντων καὶ ἀγιασθέντων), 3, 5, PR, 6-13, E; Vatican gr. 2052, f. 37v: 1, 2, 3, 5, PR, 6-13, E; EBE 759, p. 209: 1-5, PR, 6-13, E; EBE 878, p. 152: 1, 2 (προτεθέντων καὶ ἀγιασθέντων), 4, 5, PR, 6-12, E; EBE 2400, f. 91v: 1, 2, 4, 5, PR, 6-13, E; EBE 781, f. 40r: 1, 2 (προτεθέντων καὶ ἀγιασθέντων), 3, 5, PR, 6-13, E; EBE 757, f. 68v: 1, 2 (τεθέντων καὶ προηγιασθέντων), 3, 4, 5, PR, 6-13, E; EBE 755, f. 108v: 1, 2 (προτεθέντων only), 3, 5, PR, 6-13, E; EBE 772, f. 101r: 1, 2, 3, 5, PR, 6-13, E; EBE 749, f. 72r: 1, 2, 3 (in margin), 4, 5, PR, 6-13, E; EBE 775, f. 103v: 1, 2 (προτεθέντων only), 4, 5, PR,

6-13, E; Ottoboni gr. 288, f. 77r: 1, 2, 3, 5, PR, 6-13, E; Benaki 10 (16), 91r:1, 2, 3, 5, PR, 6-13, E; Benaki 79 (TA 177), f. 87v: 1, 2, 4, 5, PR, 6-13, E; seventeenth-century Library of Congress gr. 37, f. 119r: 1, 2 (προσχομισθέντων καὶ προαγιασθέντων), 4, 5, PR, 6-13, E; Sabas 334, f. 115v: 1, 2, 3, 5, PR, 6-13, E.

Note that in all manuscripts the prayer is placed between petitions (5) and (6); in addition, petition (6) (Ἀντιλαβοῦ ...) includes the diaconal call to rise in three manuscripts: the twelfth-century Biblioteca Angelica gr. 15, f. 43r: ἀνάστησον (erased); twelfth/thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 1036, f. 51v: ἀνάστησον; thirteenth/fourteenth-century Borgia georg. 7 (T78): eleva (see sections 5.3.3 and 5.6.7).

The presence of the 'Angel of Peace' petitions, characteristic of the Byzantine dismissal litany, has attracted the attention of Robert Taft who has attempted to explain the presence of these biddings in the pre-communion litany of the Divine Liturgy. The issue at hand is the purpose of these dismissal biddings in a place where, presumably, no one would be dismissed.

The first theory he proposed implicated the PRES since he argued:

The original place of this litany in the Byzantine eucharistic services was ... PRES, a composite service comprising vespers, at the end of which one would expect to find the aiteseis, with a communion service appended. From PRES ... the litany would have first entered CHR – BAS before the Our Father, the only place we find it in PRES.⁴⁷

Taft later argued that:

in a period of infrequent communion at the end of the fourth century, incontestable evidence shows that the faithful who felt themselves unfit to receive the sacrament were leaving the church at communion time ... Around the same time, an inclination prayer, by nature a prayer of conclusion or final blessing at the end of a liturgical service or one of its constituent parts, is first added to the structure of the Antiochene-type communion ritual.⁴⁸

But, he noted that in CHR the inclination prayer is truly a dismissal prayer, as it makes no mention of communion. Therefore he proposed that 'the inclination prayer of CHR may have been added to the pre-communion rites as a prayer of dismissal for the departing non-communicants, in

⁴⁷ TAFT: *Precommunion* 87; TAFT: *Great Entrance* 333-338.

⁴⁸ TAFT: *Precommunion* 102.

order to give some ritual shape and liturgical control to this spontaneous and unforeseen new development.⁴⁹ At this point Taft suggested that the dismissal litany (i.e., the 'Angel of Peace' biddings) was appended to the pre-communion litany of the Divine Liturgy. In short, the 'Angel of Peace' biddings together with the inclination prayer were placed there to give a blessing to the departing non-communicants.

It is true that in CHR the inclination prayer is not a prayer of preparation for communion, but a dismissal prayer.⁵⁰ As Taft points out, it is a prayer 'with no special distinguishing characteristics, easily interchangeable with other similar prayers, like the prayer of inclination that concludes Byzantine vespers.'⁵¹ It is precisely this similarity to the generic Byzantine prayer of inclination that leads me to suggest an alternative hypothesis regarding its presence in PRES. If the inclination prayer and the 'Angel of Peace' biddings were placed in the precommunion rites to bestow a blessing to the departing non-communicants in an effort to 'give some ritual shape and liturgical control to this spontaneous and unforeseen new development,'⁵² should it not contain explicit reference to the non-communicants as a group, distinguishing them from the rest of the faithful? As Taft points out, in the Antiochian sphere of liturgical influence (i.e., Bithynia, Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia in Asia Minor, Constantinople, but not Antioch itself) there was a certain category of penitents called the *συστάντες* (bystanders) or *συνεστῶντες χωρὶς προσφορᾶς* (those attending without an offering) who were allowed to attend the eucharistic prayer, but not receive communion.⁵³

In prayers that are addressed to a specific group of people in the Byzantine rite, such as the prayers of the catechumens and the photizomenoi which we have already seen, the addressees are explicitly mentioned and the prayers in these cases state the goals and purpose of each group. One would expect that if a prayer would be used to dismiss

⁴⁹ TAFT: *Precommunion* 103; see also 183.

⁵⁰ TAFT: *Precommunion* 166-171. Regarding the presence of the inclination Prayer in CHR Mateos proposed that 'the CHR inclination prayer was just moved to before communion from the conclusion of the Liturgy of the Word, attracted to communion by the presence of τὰ προκείμενα in the text despite the fact that it was in this case misapplied to the eucharistic species.' TAFT: *Precommunion* 196.

⁵¹ TAFT: *Precommunion* 170.

⁵² TAFT: *Precommunion* 103; see also 183.

⁵³ TAFT: *Precommunion* 181-182.

non-communicants, first, they would be explicitly mentioned and, second, there would be a phrase in the prayer calling them to repentance and a change of ways so that they might again become communicants. One cannot deny the fact that non-communicants were dismissed at this point in other liturgical traditions. In the most clear examples to which Taft refers,⁵⁴ the non-communicants are explicitly mentioned, and in two cases the deacon would call for their dismissal.⁵⁵ In the Byzantine rite, however, this explicit naming of the non-communicants and their sanctioned departure from the liturgy does not occur.⁵⁶

While Taft's hypothesis may explain the presence of the dismissal litany and inclination prayer in CHR, another explanation seems at least equally plausible for the presence of the analogous unit in PRES. How can the presence of the dismissal litany and the inclination prayer in the PRES be explained when both are clearly dismissal elements? The answer might lie in the position of the dismissal litany *in relation to* the litanies and prayers of the catechumens and the faithful in the cathedral Byzantine office. Since more discussion on the inclination prayer of the PRES is reserved for section 5.4.4, I will deal here with the litany.

I believe the key to understanding and solving the question of the evolution of the PRES lies in this litany. The core structure of the cathedral services has been preserved in the PRES:

Litany – Prayer – Dismissal of the Catechumens
 Litany – Prayer – Dismissal of the Photizomenoi
 Two Prayers of the Faithful

⁵⁴ The sixth-century Gallic pontifical liturgy contains a dismissal of the non-communicants: *Deinde clamat diaconus: Si quis non communicat det locum* TAFT: *Precommunion* 186; there was a prayer and a laying on of hands on the penitents in North Africa, TAFT: *Precommunion* 189; finally, Gregory the Great in his *Dialogues* II 23:4 'also refers to the diaconal command for the non-communicants to depart: ... *ex more diaconus clamaret: Si quis non-communicat, det locum.*' TAFT: *Precommunion* 191.

⁵⁵ TAFT: *Precommunion* 184-192.

⁵⁶ In the earliest mss the post-communion litany starts: "Ὁρθοί: οἱ μεταλαβόντες τῶν ἁγίων ... ἀξίως εὐχαριστήσωμεν" (Stand; *the ones that partook of the holy* ... let us worthily give thanks ...) (see section 5.7). One might also argue that the use of the article in front of the past participle implies the presence of people among the congregation during and after communion who would not partake. This distinction does not exist in the current use "Ὁρθοί: μεταλαβόντες τῶν ἁγίων ... ἀξίως εὐχαριστήσωμεν" (Stand; *having partaken of the holy* ... let us worthily give thanks ...) which implies that all present commune (on the role of the article in the meaning of the participle see TR 152, note in the critical apparatus).

While dealing with the second prayer of the faithful we have already seen the redactor of the PRES adjusting its text to the newly arrived hymn sung during the transfer of the gifts (see section 4.6.4). What would follow in this structure is the dismissal litany. In the PRES the dismissal litany, or 'Angel of Peace' litany, is present, but with some additional precommunion petitions. In order to make this analysis easier, the following table compares the pre-anaphoral litany from CHR and BAS, the precommunion litany from CHR and BAS, the dismissal litany from Vespers, and the precommunion litany from PRES. Underlined in the second column is what Robert Taft considers to be the Urtext of the precommunion litany.⁵⁷

TABLE 5.1

THE DISMISSAL AND PRECOMMUNION LITANIES

Pre-anaphoral Litany	Precommunion	Vespers	PRES Precommunion
1. Πληρώσωμεν	1. <u>Πάντων τῶν</u>	1. Πληρώσωμεν	1. Πληρώσωμεν
2. Ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεθέντων	<u>ἀγίων</u>	2. Ἀντιλαβοῦ	2. Ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεθέντων
3. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου οἴκου τούτου	2. <u>Ὑπὲρ τῶν προ-σχυμισθέντων</u>	3. Τὴν ἐσπέραν	3. Ὅπως ὁ φιλόανθρωπος
4. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ῥυσθῆναι	3. <u>Ὅπως ὁ φιλόανθρωπος</u>	4. Ἄγγελον	4. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου οἴκου τούτου
5. Ἀντιλαβοῦ	4. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ῥυσθῆναι	5. Συγγνώμην	5. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ῥυσθῆναι
6. Τὴν ἡμέραν	5. <u>Ἀντιλαβοῦ</u>	6. Τὰ καλὰ	6. Ἀντιλαβοῦ
7. Ἄγγελον	6. Τὴν ἡμέραν	7. Τὸν ὑπόλοιπον	7. Τὴν ἐσπέραν
8. Συγγνώμην	7. Ἄγγελον	8. Χριστιανὰ	8. Ἄγγελον
9. Τὰ καλὰ	8. Συγγνώμην	9. Τῆς παναγίας	9. Συγγνώμην
10. Τὸν ὑπόλοιπον	9. Τὰ καλὰ		10. Τὰ καλὰ
11. Χριστιανὰ	10. Τὸν ὑπόλοιπον		11. Τὸν ὑπόλοιπον
12. Τῆς παναγίας	11. Χριστιανὰ		12. Χριστιανὰ
	12. <u>Τὴν ἐνότητα</u>		13. Τὴν ἐνότητα

The apparent similarity between the pre-anaphoral litany in CHR and BAS and the PRES precommunion led Robert Taft to his first hypothesis

⁵⁷ TAFT: *Precommunion* 94.

regarding the presence of the dismissal litany in CHR and BAS after the great entrance. I would, however, like to argue that soon after the communion of presanctified gifts was attached to the end of vespers, it attracted structural elements of the precommunion ritual of the full liturgy, amongst others, the precommunion litany. We can observe the reworking of the pristine cathedral structure to accommodate the necessary now pre-communion litany as the communion part of the PRES evolved. This is demonstrated below:

Vesperal Dismissal Litany

1. Πληρώσωμεν



2. Ἀντιλαβοῦ



3. Τὴν ἐσπέραν

4. Ἄγγελον

5. Συγγνώμην

6. Τὰ καλὰ

7. Τὸν ὑπόλοιπον

8. Χριστιανὰ

9. ~~Τῆς παναγίας~~

Urtext of Precommunion Litany

~~Ἡέντων τῶν ἁγίων~~

Ἵπὲρ τῶν προσκομισθέντων

Ὅπως ὁ φιλόανθρωπος

Ἀντιλαβοῦ

Τὴν ἐνόητα

Thus, what I believe happened is as follows:

1. Elements of the Urtext of the precommunion litany have been placed between the first and second petitions of the vesperal dismissal litany.
2. The first petition of the precommunion litany is not used since it contains a reference to the intercessions of the Eucharist, an aspect not present in the PRES.
3. The second petition describing what has happened to the gifts is altered to become relevant to the PRES. In other words, ‘Ἵπὲρ τῶν προσκομισθέντων καὶ ἁγιασθέντων τιμίων δώρων’ becomes ‘Ἵπὲρ τῶν προτεθέντων καὶ προαγιασθέντων τιμίων δώρων.’ The adaptation of the precommunion litany to the vesperal dismissal litany might also explain the fact that most variant readings in the precommunion litany of the PRES occur within the precommunion petitions (see the outline in the beginning of this section).
4. Finally, the last petition of the precommunion litany replaces the last petition of the vesperal dismissal litany. One should keep in mind that in CHR and BAS the last petition of the precommunion litany precedes the introduction to the Lord’s Prayer. The Lord’s Prayer is

also said in PRES at this point, so it is understandable that the last petition of the precommunion litany would replace the last petition of the vespers dismissal litany. The litany in Table 5.1, column 4 reflects the end result of this process, with petitions (4) and (5) added in the final stage of growth.

I suggest then that when communion from presanctified gifts was attached to the end of vespers, it attracted the precommunion litany which was added to the pre-existing 'Angel of Peace' litany of vespers. The fusion of the two gave rise to the precommunion litany of the PRES.

5.4.2 The Prayer

There are many significant parallels between the prayer of the PRES and the proskomide and precommunion prayers of BAS. I will argue below that the prayer of the PRES is based on the proskomide and precommunion prayers of BAS. The prayer can be divided into two parts. In the first part, part A, the emphasis is on the holy gifts just brought in the altar and laid on the holy table, and the unworthiness of the clergy standing around the altar. In the second part, part B, the emphasis is on reception of communion.

A.

Ὁ τῶν ἀρρήτων καὶ ἀθεάτων μυστηρίων Θεός,

παρ' ᾧ οἱ θησαυροὶ τῆς σοφίας καὶ Col. 2:3

τῆς γνώσεως, οἱ ἀπόκρυφοί

ὁ τὴν διακονίαν τῆς λειτουργίας 2 Cor. 9:12

ταύτης ἀποκαλύψας ἡμῖν

καὶ θέμενος ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἁμαρτω-
λοὺς διὰ τὴν πολλὴν σου φιλάν-
θρωπίαν.

BAS, prayer of proskomide: σὺ εἶ ὁ
θέμενος ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην
...

εἰς τὸ προσφέρειν σοι δῶρά τε καὶ
θυσίας ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίων ἁμαρτη-
μάτων, καὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἁγνο-
ημάτων

... λειτουργοὺς τῶν ἁγίων σου
μυστηρίων ...
... ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτημάτων,
καὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἁγνοημάτων

αὐτός, ἀόρατε βασιλεῦ,

ὁ ποιῶν μεγάλα καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστα, Job 5:9 / 9:10 / 34:24

ἔνδοξά τε καὶ ἐξαισία, ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν

ἀριθμὸς,

ἔπιθε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς

τοὺς τῷ ἁγίῳ σου τούτῳ Θουσιαστη-
ρίῳ, ὡς τῷ χειρῶν σου παριστα-
μένους θρόνῳ, ἐφ' ᾧ ὁ μονογενὴς σου
Υἱὸς καὶ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, διὰ τῶν προ-
κειμένων φρικτῶν ἐπαναπαύεται
μυστηρίων.

BAS prayer of proskomide: ἐπίβλεψον
ἐφ' ἡμᾶς

BAS precommunion prayer: φρικτῶν
σου τούτων, καὶ ἐπουρανίων μυστηρίων

B.

καὶ πάσης ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸν πιστὸν σου
λαὸν ἐλευθερώσας ἀκαθαρσίας,

ἁγίασον ἡμῶν πάντων τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ
σώματα, ἁγιασμῷ ἀναφαιρέτω.

BAS / CHR Trisagion prayer: ἁγίασον
ἡμῶν τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σώματα

ἵνα,

ἐν καθαρῷ συνειδότι,

ἀνεπαισχύντῳ προσώπῳ,
καὶ πεφωτισμένῃ καρδίᾳ,
τῶν θείων τούτων μεταλαμβάνοντες
ἁγιασμάτων,

καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ζωοποιούμενοι,
ἐνωθῶμεν αὐτῷ τῷ Χριστῷ σου,
τῷ ἀληθινῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν,

BAS Precommunion prayer: ἵνα ἐν
καθαρῷ τῷ μαρτυρίῳ τῆς συνειδήσεως
ἡμῶν

BAS Precommunion prayer: ἐνωθῶμεν
τῷ ἁγίῳ σώματι καὶ αἵματι τοῦ Χρι-
στοῦ σου

τῷ εἰπόντι· ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα
καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἷμα, ἐν ἐμοὶ μένει,
καὶ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ·

John 6:56

ὅπως

ἐνοικοῦντος ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ ἐμπεριπα-
τοῦντος τοῦ Λόγου σου, Κύριε,

γενώμεθα κατὰ τοῦ παναγίου καὶ προ-
σκυνητοῦ σου Ἡνεύματος,

Cf. 1 Cor 6:19

λελυτρωμένοι πάσης διαβολικῆς
μεθοδείας, ἐν πράξει ἢ λόγῳ ἢ κατὰ
διάνοιαν ἐνεργουμένης·

καὶ τύχωμεν τῶν ἐπηγγεμένων ἡμῖν
ἀγαθῶν, σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἁγίοις σου, τοῖς
ἅπ' αἰῶνός σοι εὐαρεστήσασιν.

BAS Precommunion prayer: μετὰ πάν-
των τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ἅπ' αἰῶνος σοι
εὐαρεστησάντων

Since there is no anaphora in PRES, the redactor combined aspects of the proskomide prayer of BAS, that is, the *accessus ad altare* prayer, which is after the great entrance, when the gifts have been placed on the holy table, with aspects of the precommunion prayer of BAS, which is before the Lord's Prayer, as in PRES. This prayer, then, combines *accessus ad altare* and precommunion elements. It is in this way that the Patriarch of Constantinople Michael Keroularios understood the presence of this prayer in the PRES:

On every day of fast, on which a full liturgy is not celebrated, [the holy gifts] are transferred from the place of the offerings [skeuophylakion] to the holy table that stands with the holy altar; the priest says none of the mystical and perfecting prayers on them [the gifts], but one and only prayer of supplication, that he may be worthy to receive the holy gifts that lay close by.⁵⁸

Although this prayer is considered to be the heart of the PRES, the titles of this prayer in the manuscript tradition refer more to its place within the structure of the PRES, rather than its contents or role in the PRES. So, for example, there are manuscripts that describe the prayer as the one said after the great entrance hymn is completed,⁵⁹ or as the one said after the gifts have been placed on the holy table.⁶⁰ There are also

⁵⁸ Ἐν δὲ μᾶ ἐκάστη τῶν νηστίμων ἡμερῶν, καθ' ἧς τελεία οὐ γίνεται, μετακομίζονται ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου τῶν προθέσεων εἰς τὴν ἐντὸς ἱσταμένην ἁγίαν τράπεζαν τοῦ ἁγίου θυσιαστηρίου, καὶ οὐδεμία τῶν μυστικῶν καὶ τελειοποιῶν εὐχῶν τούτοις ἐπάδεται, ἀλλ' εὐχεται ὁ ἱερεὺς μίαν καὶ μόνην εὐχὴν παρακλήσεως περὶ τοῦ γενέσθαι αὐτὸν ἄξιον ὑποδοχέα τῶν παρακειμένων ἁγίων. ANDRIEU: *Immixtio et Consecratio* 202. ALLATIUS: 'Missa Praesantificatorum' 1586-1587. Translation by the author.

⁵⁹ Eighth-century Barberini gr. 336, f. 40r (PARENTI & VELKOVSKA: *Barberini gr.* 336 85); tenth-century Sevastianov 474 (KS 281); eleventh-century Sinai gr. 959, f. 39v; Paris gr. 391, f. 86v.

⁶⁰ Eleventh-century Sinai gr. 958, f. 24r; twelfth-century Vatican gr. 1970, f. 50r; Vatican gr. 1863, f. 101r; Ottoboni gr. 344, f. 24r; Barberini gr. 393, f. 41v; twelfth/thirteenth-century EBE 662, f. 64r; thirteenth-century Ann Arbor 37, f. 45r; fourteenth-century Vatopedi 984, f. 32r; Vatopedi 133 (744) (DII:274); Paris gr. 324, f. 43v; Vatican gr. 2324, f. 23r; fourteenth/fifteenth-century Benaki 90 (TA 246), f. 64r; fifteenth-century Vatican gr. 1978, f. 42v; EBE 2403, f. 53r; Ambrosiana 84 (B15 sup), f. 142v; fifteenth/sixteenth-century Paris gr. 326, f. 61v; Sabas 382, f. 70r; EBE 756, f. 60r; Ann Arbor 17, f. 57r; sixteenth-century Paris gr. 393, f. 54v; Panagia Kamariotissa 142 (139), f. 33r; Sinai gr. 2037, f. 84r; Sinai gr. 2111, f. 141r; Sabas 53, f. 94v; Sinai gr. 2045, f. 91v; Sinai gr. 2017, f. 100v; Vatican gr. 2032, f. 23r; Vatican gr. 2007, f. 33r; EBE 759, p. 209; EBE 749, f. 72r; EBE 772, f. 101v; EBE 878, p. 152-153; EBE 775, f. 104r; EBE 2400, f. 92r; Benaki 79 (TA 177), f. 87v; Vatican gr. 2052, f. 38r; seventeenth-century Library of Congress gr. 37, f. 119v; EBE 2202, f. 52r.

some manuscripts that combine the two and describe the prayer as the one said after the great entrance hymn is completed and the gifts placed on the holy table.⁶¹ The more obvious title, ‘prayer of the PRES,’ is rather rare.⁶² Other manuscripts just call it ‘prayer,’⁶³ note that ‘the priest prays,’⁶⁴ or have no title at all.⁶⁵ The lack of a proper title for this prayer possibly indicates confusion regarding the role of this prayer in the PRES.

Every litany is accompanied by a prayer; in this case, it seems that the dismissal litany is accompanied by this prayer. But if we consider that the prayer of the dismissal litany originally was the inclination prayer (as we will argue in section 5.4.4), then from a structural point of view this prayer is an addition to the rite. If we also accept that this prayer draws its contents from two other prayers (proskomide and precommunion prayers of BAS) and that its titles vary from manuscript to manuscript, it leads me to suggest that this prayer is possibly a late addition to the PRES. This addition was made in an effort to make the PRES look more like a regular liturgy, creating a prayer to play the role of an anaphora which the PRES does not and cannot have.

5.4.3 *The Lord's Prayer*

The Lord's Prayer within the liturgy is attested to in Jerusalem after 380, in Antioch before 398, and in Constantinople between 397 and

⁶¹ Tenth-century St. Petersburg 226 (JACOB: ‘St. Petersburg 226’ 191); twelfth-century Paris gr. 330, f. 69v; Barberini gr. 329, f. 15v.

⁶² Twelfth/thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 1036, f. 49v.

⁶³ Twelfth-century Oxford Bodleian Auct. E.5.13 (JACOB: ‘E.5.13’ 309); Vatican gr. 1811, f. 107r; Vatican gr. 1554, f. 44v; Γ.β. II, f. 47v; Γ.β. VIII, f. 78v; Sinai gr. 973, f. 25v; Vatican gr. 2005, f. 68r; thirteenth-century Ambrosiana 276 (E20 sup), f. 45r; Sinai gr. 1037, f. 90v; fourteenth-century Γ.β. III, f. 111r; sixteenth-century Vatican gr. 2143, p. 62.

⁶⁴ Twelfth-century Barberini gr. 345, f. 23r; EBE 713, f. 46r; thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 966, f. 50v; Barberini gr. 443, f. 33v; fifteenth-century EBE 877, p. 171; sixteenth-century Sabas 48, f. 11r; Vatican gr. 1557, f. 104r (μυστικῶς ὁ ἱερεὺς λέγει); Ottoboni gr. 288, f. 77v; Benaki 10 (16), f. 91v; EBE 755, f. 108v; Vatican gr. 2051, f. 78v (λέγει ὁ ἱερεὺς μυστικῶς); seventeenth-century Taphou 334, f. 116v.

⁶⁵ Eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 10v; eleventh/twelfth-century Sinai gr. 962, f. 52v; twelfth-century Vatican gr. 1875, f. 37v; Barberini gr. 431, f. 29r; thirteenth-century Ann Arbor 49, f. 52v; Γ.β. XIII, f. 55r; Ambrosiana 709 (R24 sup), f. 107r; fifteenth-century EBE 1910, f. 45v; EBE 661, f. 18v; EBE 685, p. 43; sixteenth-century EBE 781, f. 41r; EBE 757, f. 68v; Vatican gr. 2294, f. 19r; the title in the twelfth-century Biblioteca Angelica gr. 15, f. 40v has been erased and cannot be seen.

404.⁶⁶ The introduction to the Lord's Prayer and the concluding doxology in the PRES follows that of CHR and BAS, and hence does not have an embolism.⁶⁷

5.4.4 *The Inclination Prayer*

The inclination is a standard liturgical unit comprised of three elements: a greeting, a diaconal command to bow, and a prayer said over the bowed heads of the congregation.⁶⁸ All three elements are present in the PRES.

The inclination prayer in the PRES reads as follows:⁶⁹

Ὁ Θεός, ὁ μόνος ἀγαθός καὶ εὐσπλαχνός, ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν, καὶ τὰ ταπεινὰ ἐφορῶν, ἔπιδε εὐσπλαχνικῶς ὄμματι ἐπὶ πάντα τὸν λαὸν σου, καὶ φύλαξον αὐτόν·

O God, You alone are compassionate and good, You dwell on high, and watch the lowly, look upon Your people with a compassionate eye and safeguard them.

καὶ ἀξίωσον πάντας ἡμᾶς, ἀκατακρίτως μετασχεῖν τῶν ζωοποιῶν σου τούτων Μυστηρίων· Σοὶ γὰρ τὰς ἐαυτῶν ὑπεκλίνμεν κεφαλὰς, ἀπεδεχόμενοι τὸ παρά σοῦ πλούσιον ἔλεος.

Count us all worthy to partake without condemnation of these Your life-giving Mysteries. For it is to You that we bow our heads, in the hope of Your rich mercy.

This inclination prayer is unique to the PRES. In fact, each one of the three Byzantine formularies, BAS, CHR, and PRES, has its own particular prayer of inclination; they all, however, share the same ekphonesis.⁷⁰ One could argue, although at this point on entirely hypothetical grounds, that the inclination prayer of the PRES originally had no reference to communion. Notice that the first part of the prayer is not inclusive of the priest praying the prayer, that is, the prayer is directed to God petitioning that He 'safeguard *them*' and there is no reference to communion. The second part is inclusive of the priest praying, as the

⁶⁶ TAFT: *Precommunion* 139.

⁶⁷ For more on the Lord's Prayer and its place in the Eucharistic liturgies of the Byzantine rite see TAFT: *Precommunion* 135-154.

⁶⁸ TAFT: *Precommunion* 157. On the greeting and the command to bow, see *Ibidem*, 158-162.

⁶⁹ Division of prayer of the author.

⁷⁰ Χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ ... (Through the grace, mercy and love for us ...).

prayer is directed to God to ‘make *us* worthy ... for *we* have bowed our heads.’⁷¹

If we compare this inclination prayer with the inclination prayers in the various offices of the Liturgy of the Hours in the Byzantine rite (i.e., Vespers, Midnight Office, Orthros, Third, Sixth, Ninth, and Tersext Hours) we note that all are laconic in their wording. They are comprised of an introduction, a petition,⁷² and a doxological ekphronesis unique to each prayer. The fact that the inclination prayers of CHR, BAS, and PRES share the same ekphronesis, might point to the hand of an editor. The strong similarity between the first part of the inclination prayer of PRES and the inclination prayers of the various offices of the Liturgy of the Hours in the Byzantine Rite leads me to suggest that the inclination prayer of the PRES was one such prayer, a vesperal prayer of inclination, that was edited when the PRES was attached to vespers.

5.4.5 *The Elevation Prayer and the Elevation*

PRES shares the same elevation prayer, Πρόσχες Κύριε, with CHR and BAS. There are some manuscripts that do not indicate the Πρόσχες prayer, but have the inclination prayer followed by the diaconal command Πρόσχωμεν as seen in the following examples: the eighth-century Barberini gr. 336, f. 43r-43v;⁷³ the tenth-century Γ.β. VII, f. 155r;⁷⁴ St. Petersburg 226, f. 70v;⁷⁵ Sevastianov 474;⁷⁶ the twelfth-century Paris gr. 330, p. 73; and Vatican gr. 1970, f. 51v. The Πρόσχες prayer is the most frequently found one, but not the only elevation prayer attested to in the manuscript tradition. Alternative prayers I have encountered are:

⁷¹ While in the inclination Prayer of CHR one can observe the same shifts in the language, the sole emphasis in the inclination Prayer of BAS is ‘on those that have bowed their heads’.

⁷² The petitions are brief and ask God either to safeguard (φύλαξον/διαφύλαξον), bless (εὐλόγησον), send your blessing (ἐξαπόστειλον τὴν εὐλογίαν σου), sanctify (ἀγίασον), or forgive (συγχώρησον) the people. All references are from PARENTI & VELKOVSKA: *Barberini gr. 336*: Vespers: διαφύλαξον, 95; Midnight Office: ἐξαπόστειλον τὴν εὐλογίαν σου, διαφύλαξον, 97; Orthros: εὐλόγησον, συγχώρησον, 105; Third Hour: εὐλόγησον, φύλαξον, ἀγίασον, 108; Sixth Hour: διαφύλαξον, 109; Ninth Hour: εὐλόγησον, ἀγίασον, 111; Tersext: εὐλόγησον, 117.

⁷³ PARENTI & VELKOVSKA: *Barberini gr. 336* 47.

⁷⁴ PASSARELLI: *Γ.β. VII* 151.

⁷⁵ JACOB: 191.

⁷⁶ KS 282.

1. Ἐπίβλεψον, Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ... In the twelfth-century Sinai gr. 973, f. 26r-v.⁷⁷
2. Ἀκατάληπτε λόγε ... In the tenth-century GeorgPRES in Gratz georg. 4.⁷⁸
3. Ἀγαθὲ καὶ φιλόανθρωπε· ὁ διὰ τῆς μεσιτείας τοῦ μονογενοῦς σοῦ υἱοῦ· καὶ διὰ τῆς παρακλήσεως τοῦ παντοδυνάμου καὶ προσκυνητοῦ σου πατρός· καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς παραστῆναι τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ λειτουργεῖν τοῖς ἀχράντοις σοῦ μυστηρίοις· ποιήσον μετ' ἐμοῦ σημεῖον εἰς ἀγαθόν· καὶ καταξίωσον ἐν καθαροῦ συνειδότῃ λατρεύειν σοι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν· πρεσβεῖαις τῆς τεκούσης σε δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων σου. Thirteenth-century Archimedes Palimpsest, ff. 11r-v;⁷⁹ fourteenth-century Philotheou 177 (1332) DII:270.

Rubrics regarding the elevation of the lamb are absent not only in the early manuscripts, as expected, but also in later manuscripts even up to the sixteenth century.⁸⁰ The first rubrics appear in the eleventh-century Benaki 27 (56), f. 66v, in which the priest is described as lifting the lamb, imitating the movements of the elevation in the regular liturgy: ὁ διάκονος· Πρόσχωμεν· Ὁ ἱερεὺς ὑψοῦ τὸν ἄρτον λέγων· Τὰ προηγιασμένα ἄγια τοῖς ἁγίοις,⁸¹ a pattern also attested to in the thirteenth/fourteenth-

⁷⁷ For the text, see TAFT: *Precommunion* 207-208.

⁷⁸ On this prayer, and for the text see TAFT: *Precommunion* 206-207.

⁷⁹ From JAS. See S. PARENTI: 'The Liturgical Tradition of the Euchologion of Archimedes' in *Bollettino Della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* Third Series 2 (2005) 69-87, p. 76.

⁸⁰ Eighth-century Barberini gr. 336 (PARENTI & VELKOVSKA: *Barberini gr. 336* 86); tenth-century Γ.β. VII, f. 115r; Sevastianov 474 (KS 282); St. Petersburg 226 (JACOB: 'St. Petersburg 226' 191); tenth/eleventh-century Γ.β. X, f. 23r; eleventh-century Sinai gr. 958, f. 25r-v; Sinai gr. 959, f. 41v; Paris gr. 391, f. 91v; twelfth-century BM 5, Paris gr. 392, f. 42v; Paris gr. 330, f. 71r; Vatican gr. 1875, f. 39v; Vatican gr. 1554, f. 46r; Barberini gr. 329, f. 17r; Γ.β. VIII, f. 82v; thirteenth-century Archimedes Palimpsest, f. 11v; Ann Arbor 49, f. 54v; Ann Arbor 37, f. 47r; Sinai gr. 1037, f. 98v; Γ.β. XIII, f. 57v; Ambrosiana gr. 709 (R24 sup), f. 108; fourteenth-century Paris gr. 324, f. 45v; Vatican gr. 2324, f. 24v; fourteenth/fifteenth-century Benaki 90 (TA 246), f. 65v; fifteenth-century EBE 1910, f. 47v; EBE 661, f. 19v; EBE 2403, f. 55v; EBE 685, p. 47; EBE 769, f. 137r; fifteenth/sixteenth-century Paris gr. 326, f. 63v; Sabas 382, f. 72r; sixteenth-century Sabas 48, f. 15; Sinai gr. 2017, f. 104v; Ottoboni gr. 288, f. 81r; Vatican gr. 2143, p. 65.

⁸¹ Similar in eleventh/twelfth-century Sinai gr. 962, f. 56; twelfth-century Biblioteca Angelica gr. 15, f. 45v; Oxford Bodleian Auct. E.5.13, JACOB: 309; twelfth-century Vatican gr. 1811, f. 109; Sinai gr. 973, f. 26v; Vatican gr. 1863, f. 105r; Barberini gr. 345, f. 25r; Barberini gr. 431, f. 31r; Barberini gr. 393, f. 43v; Γ.β. II, f. 49r; Vatican gr. 2005, f. 70v; twelfth/thirteenth-century EBE 662, f. 65v; Sinai gr. 1036, f. 53r; thirteenth-century Ambrosiana gr. 276 (E20 sup), f. 47r; fourteenth-century Vatopedi 984, f. 33v; Γ.β. III, f. 114r; Typikon Sinai gr. 1101 of Saba, 14v; fifteenth-century Paris

century Vatican Borgia georg. 7: 'Diaconus: Attendite! Sacerdos elevate panem sanctam et dicit: Preaconsecrata sancta sanctis.' The thirteenth-century Barberini gr. 443, f. 35r, notes that the priest not only elevates the lamb, but also traces the sign of the cross in the air with it three times: 'Ο διάκονος· πρόσχωμεν· ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐκφωνῶν· Τὰ προηγιασμένα ἅγια τοῖς ἀγίοις· ποιῶν μετὰ τοῦ ἄρτου τρεῖς σταυροὺς ἐν τῷ ἀέρι λέγοντος τοῦ λαοῦ· Εἷς ἅγιος ...

In the above cases the priest is directed to elevate the lamb, but we are not told whether he first uncovers the gifts or not. We can assume that he did, following the practice of the regular liturgy. Some codices actually tell the priest to do so before the elevation,⁸² such as in the eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 13r: 'Ο ἱερεὺς αἶρει τὴν νεφέλην τὴν καλύπτουσαν τὰ ἅγια καὶ ὑψοῖ τὸ ἅγιον σῶμα.'⁸³ There are only two cases that I have found in which the priest is directed to elevate the lamb with the paten covered; in the twelfth-century EBE 713, f. 48v,⁸⁴ and in the commentary on the PRES attributed to Theodore the Studite (d. 826), but shown by Moraitis to belong to the twelfth century.⁸⁵ The present practice to leave the gifts covered and only to touch the lamb is attested to in late manuscripts after the fifteenth century. There are some manuscripts which direct the priest just to touch the lamb, implying no lifting, for example, the fifteenth-century Vatican gr. 1978, f. 45r: κεκαλυμμένων ὄντων τῶν θεῶν δώρων, βάλων ὁ ἱερεὺς τὴν χειρα, ἄπτεται τοῦ ζωωποιοῦ ἄρτου μετ' εὐλαβείας καὶ φόβου πολλοῦ.⁸⁶ There are also manuscripts from the same late period

gr. 2509, f. 235v; Panagia Kamariotissa 145 (142); fifteenth/sixteenth-century Ann Arbor 17, f. 59v; sixteenth-century Vatican gr. 2294, f. 21v.

⁸² Phountoulis has argued that it was always the practice to have the gifts covered during the elevation (PHOUNTOULIS: *Μεταρρίσεις* No. 455). The evidence, however, suggests otherwise.

⁸³ Twelfth-century Ottoboni gr. 344, f. 26r: ὁ διάκονος· πρόσχωμεν· ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐπαίρει τὴν νεφέλην καὶ ὑψοῖ τὸν ἅγιον ἄρτον ἐν ἐκφωνήσει· Τὰ προηγιασμένα ἅγια τοῖς ἀγίοις. Typikon Sinai 1097 (1214) of Saba, 16r: ὅτε δὲ βούλει ὑψῶσαι τὸν ἄρτον, ἐπαίρει τὴν ἀναφορὰν καὶ λαβῶν τὸν ἄρτον ὑψοῖ λέγων· τὰ προηγιασμένα ἅγια τοῖς ἀγίοις. Triodion Sinai 746 (1519) 63r: ὅταν δὲ μέλλει ὑψῶσαι τὸν ἅγιον ἄρτον· ἐπαίρει τὸν ἀέρα καὶ ὑψῶν αὐτὸν· λέγει πρόσχωμεν τὰ προηγιασμένα ἅγια τοῖς ἀγίοις. Sixteenth-century EBE 757, f. 71v: εἶτα ἀποκαλύπτει τὰ ἅγια καὶ προσκυνήσας γ' ἐκφωνεῖ ὁ διάκονος Πρόσχωμεν· ὁ ἱερεὺς Τὰ προηγιασμένα ἅγια τοῖς ἀγίοις. No reference here to any manual acts of elevation or touching the lamb.

⁸⁴ Ἰστέον ὅτι ὅταν μέλλει ὑψῶσαι, κεκαλυμμένων ὄντων τῶν ἁγίων, εἰσάγει τὰς χειρας αὐτοῦ. ἐκφωνεῖ ...

⁸⁵ Ἐν δὲ γε τῆς ὑψώσεως ὥρα οὐ μέντοι αἶρει τὸ πέπλον, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κάτωθεν τοῦτου τὸν ἄρτον ὑψῶν λέγων ... See MORAITIS: *Ἡ Λειτουργία τῶν Προηγιασμένων* 82-87.

⁸⁶ See also fifteenth/sixteenth-century EBE 756 f. 62v; sixteenth-century EBE 755,

which explicitly note that the priest does not elevate the lamb, such as the fifteenth-century Sinai gr. 968, f. 61r-v: κεκαλλυμένων ὄντων τῶν θείων δώρων ... βαλὼν ὁ ἱερεὺς τὴν χεῖρα ἄπτεται τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ ἄρτου μετ' εὐλάβειας καὶ φόβου πολλοῦ ... Οὐ γὰρ ὑψοῖ ἄρτίως τὰ ἅγια.⁸⁷ The fifteenth-century Ambrosiana gr. 84 (B15 sup), f. 145r, is explicit enough not only to forbid the elevation of the lamb, but also to point out that the priest touches the lamb with two fingers only: Ὁ ἱερεὺς μετ' ἄλλο μόνον τὰς δύο δακτύλους ἀγγίζει τὸν ἅγιον ἄρτον· καὶ οὐδὲν τὸν σηκώνει.

We have seen that originally the gifts were uncovered and the lamb elevated, as in the regular liturgy. What is the reason for the replacement of this ancient practice with the present one where the gifts are not uncovered at this point, and the lamb is not elevated, but only touched? Such a shift in practice might be rooted in a tradition among some Byzantines according to which the Holy Spirit descended upon the gifts at the elevation. Robert Taft cites Patriarch Nicholas III Kirdiniates Grammaticus (1084-111), who when speaking of the elevation, referred to 'the descent of the Holy Spirit, which we believe happens at this time.' Taft continues:

Remarkable as such a seemingly unorthodox teaching about when the Holy Spirit comes upon the gifts in the eucharistic rite may seem, it is far from unique in the Byzantine Orthodox writing: the same tradition is found in further witnesses from the center as well as the periphery of the Orthodox world from the seventh through the twelfth centuries.⁸⁸

The PRES lacks an anaphora because the lamb has already been consecrated. If now the elevation has such a theological importance (i.e., it is when the Holy Spirit descends), it is logical to argue that the preconse-

f. 113v; Sinai gr. 2037, f. 88r; Vatican gr. 2032, f. 27r (notes that it is the right hand that touches the lamb: τὴν χεῖρα τὴν δεξιάν); Vatican gr. 2007, f. 34r (notes that it is the right hand that touches the lamb: τὴν χεῖρα τὴν δεξιάν); Vatican gr. 2052, f. 39r (notes that it is the right hand that touches the lamb: τὴν χεῖρα τὴν δεξιάν); Benaki 10 (16), f. 95r.

⁸⁷ The full text: κεκαλλυμένων ὄντων τῶν θείων δώρων μετὰ τῆς προσφορᾶς, ἦ-ται τοῦ ἀέρος, βαλὼν ὁ ἱερεὺς τὴν χεῖρα ἄπτεται τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ ἄρτου μετ' εὐλάβειας καὶ φόβου πολλοῦ καὶ ἐκφρωνεῖ πρόσωχμεν· Τὰ προηγιασμένα ἅγια, τοῖς ἁγίοις. Οὐ γὰρ ὑψοῖ ἄρτίως τὰ ἅγια. See also the fifteenth-century EBE 877, f. 47v; the sixteenth-century Paris gr. 393, f. 58r; EBE 878, p. 159; EBE 755, f. 114r; EBE 759, p. 306; EBE 775, f. 109v; EBE 749, f. 75v; EBE 772, f. 106v; EBE 781, f. 43r; EBE 2400, f. 94v-95r; Panagia Kamariotissa 143 (140), f. 39r; Sinai gr. 2111, f. 148r; Sabas 53, f. 98r; Sinai gr. 2045, f. 95v-96r; Vatican gr. 1571, f. 27r-v; Vatican gr. 1557, f. 107r-v; Benaki 79 (TA 177), f. 88v; Benaki 79 (TA 177), f. 88v.

⁸⁸ TAFT: *Precommunion* 227; for more on this issue see 227-229.

crated lamb should not be elevated at the PRES since it has already been elevated in the regular Divine Liturgy. It is possible that the lamb is not elevated in the PRES today due the theological view that the Holy Spirit descends at the elevation.

In some manuscripts there are interpolations between prayer and elevation. For example, in the thirteenth-century Ambrosiana gr. 709 (R24 sup), f. 108, before the elevation, the private preparatory prayers for communion are given: 'Ο Θεός ἄνες, ἄφες Βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε ... Ἰψούτε Κύριον τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν In the fourteenth-century Γ.β. III, f. 114r, the priest censes: καὶ θυμιῶν λέγει: ὑψώσω σε ὁ Θεός μου, ὁ βασιλεύς μου. The priest is told to do three prostrations in the sixteenth-century EBE 757 (1525) 71v. Three prostrations, but with the addition of 'Ο Θεός, ἰλάσθητί μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ. is requested in the sixteenth-century Paris gr. 393, f. 58r; EBE 759, p. 306; EBE 775, f. 109r; Vatican gr. 1557, f. 107r-v; Benaki 10 (16), f. 95r; and EBE 775, f. 109v. Three prostrations too, but with Ἰψώθητι ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ὁ Θεός καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἢ δόξα σου are requested in the sixteenth-century Vatican gr. 2051, f. 81r.

5.4.6 *The Sancta Sanctis and its Response*

When communion of the presanctified gifts was attached to vespers the ancient invitation to communion 'πρόσχωμεν τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις'⁸⁹ ('Let us be attentive! The holy things for the saints'), came with it, and soon was edited to reflect the new reality; the call became, 'πρόσχωμεν τὰ προηγιασμένα ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις,' ('Let us be attentive! The *presanctified* holy things for the saints'). Some sources omit the πρόσχωμεν,⁹⁰ but it can be presumed since, 'euchology manuscripts are notorious for omitting such customary and often-repeated diakonika.'⁹¹

The only variant reading I have found is 'πρόσχωμεν τὰ προηγιασμένα ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων' in the Typikon Sinai 1101 of Saba, f. 14v, dated

⁸⁹ On this call and its history, see M. ARRANZ: 'Le 'Sancta sanctis' dans la tradition liturgique des églises' in *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 15 (1973) 31-67; R. TAFT: 'Holy Things for the Saints: The Ancient Call to Communion and Its Response' in G. AUSTIN (ed.): *Fountain of Life. In Memory of Niels Rasmussen, O.P.* (Washington DC 1991 = NPM Studies in Church Music and Liturgy) 87-102; TAFT: *Precommunion* 230-240.

⁹⁰ Eleventh-century Sinai g. 962, f. 56r; twelfth-century Barberini gr. 431, f. 31r; thirteenth-century Typikon Sinai 1097 of Saba, f. 16r. The twelfth-century Oxford Bodleian Auct. E.5.13 (JACOB: 309), omits προηγιασμένα, an obvious scribal error.

⁹¹ TAFT: *Precommunion* 231. KS 282

to 1312.⁹² The response to the ancient communion call remains the same in the PRES as that of the full liturgy: 'One is holy ...'.⁹³

5.4.7 *The Koinonikon*

Today the koinonikon is a psalmic verse sung by the cantor while the clergy commune at the altar and prepare the chalice for the communion of the people. After the second communion call, and while the people receive communion, another hymn or psalm is sung. In the PRES it is Ps 117:26a, 27a, which is sung today while the people commune (see section 5.5.2). Originally, however, it was not sung during the communion of the people. According to the schematic description provided by Taft, the koinonikon was the chant that covered an action (i.e., the manual acts and communion itself) which was concluded by a prayer (i.e., the thanksgiving prayer).⁹⁴ In other words:

in the earlier period, the koinonikon, an 'antiphonalized' responsorial psalm with its concluding perisse, the Plerotheto troparion, formed a single unified structure, covering the whole communion rite from the invitation to communion ('Holy things for the holy') and its response until the post-communion thanksgiving after the return of the gifts to the skeuophylakion.⁹⁵

The koinonikon of the PRES in the current use is Ps 33:9a (LXX): 'Taste and see how good the Lord is. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia.'⁹⁶ This koinonikon is the dominant one in the manuscript tradition of the PRES, Ps 33 being one of four koinonika 'probably belonging to the earliest stratum of Constantinopolitan communion psalmody'.⁹⁷

⁹² The printed edition of the tenth-century Sevastianov 474 has 'πρόσχωμεν τὰ προηγασμένα ἄγια ἁγίους' but I was kindly indicated to me by Prof. Stefano Parenti that the actual manuscript (f. 39r) has the usual formula.

⁹³ TAFT: *Precommunion* 240-248.

⁹⁴ TAFT: *Precommunion* 261; for a thorough analysis of the history and use of the koinonikon see 261-318.

⁹⁵ SCHATTAUER: 'Koinonikon' 121.

⁹⁶ For an analysis of the musical settings of Ps 33:9a in the Byzantine musical manuscripts, see H. BRESLICH-ERICKSON: 'The Communion Hymn of the Byzantine Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts' in *Studies in Eastern Chant* 3 (1973) 51-72. See also D. CONOMOS: *Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Thessalonike 1974) 212-242; IDEM: *Late Byzantine and Slavonic Communion Cycle* (Washington 1985 = *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 21) 34-35.

⁹⁷ TAFT: *Precommunion* 305. See *Prophetologion* 1940: 114, 119; *Prophetologion* 1960: 409; MATEOS: *Le typicon* II:14, 82.

Ps 33:9a does not appear in all formularies of the PRES since it is part of the cantor's repertory.⁹⁸ Ps 33:1 appears as an alternate koinonikon,⁹⁹ as does the hymn 'I will bless the Lord ...'¹⁰⁰ There are additional koinonika for PRES in the manuscript tradition. The tenth-century St. Petersburg 226, f. 72r has the hymn 'Τῆς ἀγίας σου τραπέζης προκειμένης ...'¹⁰¹ under the title koinonikon of Lent (κοινωνικὸν τῆς ἀγίας τεσσαρακοστῆς),¹⁰² while in the tenth/eleventh-century Γ.β. X, f. 23r-v it clearly belongs to the PRES. The same hymn is designated in the tenth/eleventh-century Sinai gr. 150 as the koinonikon of the Sundays of Lent.¹⁰³

The tenth/eleventh-century Γ.β. X, f. 23r-v provides a list of hymns in addition to the standard koinonikon of PRES, Ps 33:9a.¹⁰⁴ These are:

1. Τῆς ἀγίας σου τραπέζης ...
2. Τὸ τοῦ δεσπότου σῶμα καὶ τὸ τῆς ζωῆς αἵμα ὑποδέχασθαι μέλλοντες· ἐν εὐκατανοίᾳ καρδίᾳ τῶ σωτῆρι βοήσωμεν· τῶν ἀγίων σου δώρων τὴν μετ'ἀληψὶν ἀκατακρίτως δὸς ἡμῖν ὡς φιλόανθρωπος.
3. Titled: Μετὰ τὸ κοινωνικόν: Ἐμετελάβαμεν τὸ σῶμα σου τὸ ἅγιον· ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ αἷμα σου τὸ τίμιον· γενέσθω ἡμῖν Κύριε εἰς ἄφεσιν· καὶ μὴ εἰς κατάκρισιν καὶ σῶσον ἡμᾶς.
4. Titled: Ἀντὶ τοῦ πληρωθῆτω: Εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοι, Χριστέ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ...

⁹⁸ Ps 33:9a appears in the following manuscripts: tenth-century Γ.β. VII, f. 115r; tenth/eleventh-century Γ.β. X, f. 23r; eleventh-century Benaki 27 (56), f. 66v; twelfth-century Oxford Bodleian Auct. E.5.13 (JACOB: 309); Vatican gr. 1811, f. 108v; Vatican gr. 1875, f. 39v; Vatican gr. 1554, f. 46r; Vatican gr. 1863, f. 105r; Barberini gr. 431, f. 31r; Barberini gr. 329, f. 17v; Γ.β. II, f. 49r; Biblioteca Angelica gr. 15, f. 46r; Vatican gr. 2005, f. 70v (Χριστὸς instead of χρηστὸς); thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 966, f. 52r; Barberini gr. 443, f. 35r; thirteenth/fourteenth-century Borgia georg. 7 (T79); fourteenth-century Paris gr. 324, f. 45v; Vatican gr. 2324, f. 24v (Χριστὸς instead of χρηστὸς); sixteenth-century Vatican gr. 2052, p. 65.

⁹⁹ Thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 966, f. 52r.

¹⁰⁰ Fourteenth-century Vatican gr. 2324, f. 25r; see section 5.6.

¹⁰¹ Τῆς ἀγίας σου τραπέζης προκειμένης καὶ τῶν ἀχράντων μυστηρίων μελιζομένον ἐνετείλω τοῖς ἀγίοις μαθηταῖς σου· λάβετε, φάγετέ μου τὸ Σῶμα, δέξασθαι· πίετέ μου τὸ αἷμα, ἐμπλήσθητε χαρᾶς, λάβετε Πνεῦμα ἅγιον. Δόξα σοι.

¹⁰² 'St. Petersburg 226' 191. Note that the koinonikon is given after the Opisthambonos Prayer.

¹⁰³ DI:187; cf. TAFT: *Precommunion* 315.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. TAFT: *Precommunion* 315-316.

The tenth-century Γ.β. VII, 115r¹⁰⁵ gives two *koinonika* for PRES:

1. Κοινωνικὸν ἤχος α΄ Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν (Ps 148:1b)
2. Κοινωνικὸν β΄ ἤχος α΄ Γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι Χριστὸς ὁ Κύριος.
Ἀλλελοῦια (Ps 33:9a)

Here one should note two things: first, that what is today the standard *koinonikon* for PRES (Ps 33:9) is given here as optional; and second, that the standard *koinonikon* for PRES in this manuscript is Ps 148:1b. There is another such case, the tenth-century Gratz georg. 4, which also provides Ps 148:1-2 with alleluia after each verse.¹⁰⁶ Although these are the only two examples of such a case in the PRES I have found, I do not believe they reflect ‘the expansion of the repertory [of the PRES] beyond Ps 33;’¹⁰⁷ rather, they might reflect the older Constantinopolitan tradition in which Ps 148:1 was the pristine *koinonikon*. As Taft has noted, Constantinople, unlike Palestine and Antioch, did not have Ps 33 ‘as its pristine fixed communion responsory. Stronger evidence has been advanced for Ps 148 as candidate for the original responsory, though this remains hypothetical.’¹⁰⁸ Second, note that in Ps 33:9 quoted above from the tenth-century Γ.β. VII, 115r, we have Χριστὸς instead of χρηστὸς (LXX). It could be argued that this is a simple scribal error, but it could also be a word-play, since the same spelling (Χριστὸς) appears in the Typikon of the Anastasis Church of Jerusalem¹⁰⁹ and in a couple formularies of the PRES.¹¹⁰ In other words, the *original* *koinonikon* of the PRES in Constantinople was the ancient *koinonikon* of Constantinople, that is, Ps 148. Ps 33 manifests an early Hagiopolite influence on the Constantinopolitan PRES. We must not forget that Ps 33:9a was the ancient communion chant in Jerusalem, ‘pure and simple,’¹¹¹ where psalm 33 would be chanted responsorially with verse 9a as its refrain.

Jerusalem also developed a whole repertory of *koinonika* for Hag-PRES. According to the twelfth-century Stavrou 43, the Typikon of the Anastasis Church in HagPRES had Ps 33:9 as the *koinonikon* on Holy

¹⁰⁵ PASSARELLI: Γ.β. VII 152.

¹⁰⁶ T 77, 98-99.

¹⁰⁷ TAFT: *Precommunion* 287.

¹⁰⁸ TAFT: *Precommunion* 317.

¹⁰⁹ PK 50.

¹¹⁰ Twelfth/thirteenth-century Vatican gr. 2005, f. 70v; fourteenth-century Vatican gr. 2324, f. 24v; also a variant reading in *Prophetologia* 1960: 409.

¹¹¹ LEEB: *Gesänge* 125; cited in TAFT: *Precommunion* 285.

Monday¹¹² and as one of three koinonika on Holy Thursday.¹¹³ Holy Tuesday had a koinonikon of which Ps 33:9 was part.¹¹⁴ Holy Wednesday HagPRES had a different koinonikon too, in the form of a hymn. Ps 33 was also used in the monastic tradition of Palestine. For example, in the Office of the Typika (see section 3.7.1) in the ninth-century Horologion Sinai gr. 863 we see the following outline:

1. One is holy ...
2. Ps 33:9a
3. Alleluia
4. Ps 33:2
5. Ps 33:3
6. Glory

Number (1) is the response to the ancient call to communion (see section 5.4.6); numbers (2)-(6) reflect the antiphonalized responsorial psalmody of the koinonikon where the psalms have not yet been added.¹¹⁵ The koinonikon is Ps 33, the refrain is Ps 33:9a, and it concludes with Glory. In other words, a reconstruction of the koinonikon psalmody here would produce the following schema:

Ps 33:9a + Alleluia (Refrain)
 Ps 33:1
 Ps 33:9a + Alleluia (Refrain)
 Ps 33:2
 Ps 33:9a + Alleluia (Refrain)
 Ps 33:3
 Ps 33:9a + Alleluia (Refrain)
 .
 .
 .
 Glory ...
 Ps 33:9a + Alleluia (Refrain)

The koinonikon today is the refrain Ps 33:9a with a triple Alleluia.

¹¹² PK 50.

¹¹³ PK 105f.

¹¹⁴ Ἄρτον οὐράνιον καὶ ποτήριον ζωῆς γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι Χριστὸς ὁ Κύριος. Στίχ. Μακάριος ἄνθρωπος, ὃς ἐλπίζει ἐπ' αὐτόν: ἄρτον ἀδαπάνητον καὶ αἷμα σωτήριον γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι Χριστὸς ὁ Κύριος (PK 65). Conomos comments that this is 'undoubtedly designed for post-Communion thanksgiving' (CONOMOS: *Late Byzantine and Slavonic Communion Cycle* 34) See section 6.6.

¹¹⁵ See TAFT: *Precommunion* 288-296.

5.4.8 *The Manual Acts (Fraction, Commixture, Zeon)*

The evidence from the manuscript tradition for this section of the PRES can be outlined as follows:

Eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 13r: ὁ ἱερεὺς κλῶν τὸ ἅγιον σῶμα τίθησι μερίδα ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ λέγων Ἐνωσις πνεύματος ἁγίου. Ὁ διάκονος Ἀμήν; twelfth-century Ottoboni gr. 344, f. 26r-v: ὁ ἱερεὺς κλῶν τὸν ἄρτον τίθησι μερίδα ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ποτηρίῳ λέγων Ἐνωσις ἁγίου. Ὁ διάκονος Ἀμήν. Καὶ βάλλει καὶ θερμόν; Barberini gr. 329, f. 17r: Καὶ λαμβάνει μερίδα ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος καὶ τίθησι εἰς τὸν κρατήρα λέγων Πλήρωμα πνεύματος ἁγίου πάντοτε ...; Biblioteca Angelica gr. 15, f. 46r: Πλήρωσον Δέσποτα· Εἶτα λαβὼν ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἄρτου μερίδα, τίθησι εἰς τὸ ποτήριον λέγων Πλήρωμα πνεύματος ἁγίου Ἀμήν; Vatican gr. 2005, f. 70v-71r: καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς κλᾶ τὰ δῶρα εἰς τέσσαρα καθὰ ἐπιχαραγμένα. Καὶ βαλὼν τὸ ἐν μέρος λέγει· πλήρωμα πνεύματος ἁγίου· ὁ διάκονος· πλήρωσον δέσποτα· τίθησι ἐν τῷ κρατήρα; thirteenth-century Archimedes Palimpsest, f. 11v: Εἶτα βάλλει ὁ ἱερεὺς μερίδας εἰς ποτήρια λέγων· πλήρωμα πνεύματος ἁγίου; Ambrosiana 276 (E20 sup), f. 47v: κλῶν τὸν ἄρτον τίθησι τὴν πρὸς δυσμὰς μερίδα ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ποτηρίῳ λέγων· Πλήρωσον δέσποτα τὰ ἅγια δῶρα. Πλήρωμα πίστεως ἁγίου ἀμήν; Sinai gr. 1037, f. 99r: ἀψάμενος δὲ ἄκροις τοῖς τρισὶν αὐτοῦ δακτύλοις τοῦ ποτηρίου δεικνύων τῷ ἱερεῖ λέγων· πλήρωσον δέσποτα. (Ὁ) δὲ ἱερεὺς λαβὼν μίαν μερίδα τίθησι εἰς τὸ ἅγιον ποτήριον χαράξας μετ' αὐτῆς σταυρὸν λέγων· Πλήρωμα πνεύματος ἁγίου πάντοτε; Sinai gr. 966, f. 52r: Λαβὼν μερίδα ἐκ τοῦ σώματος τίθησι εἰς τὸ ποτήριον λέγων πλήρωμα πνεύματος ἁγίου; Barberini gr. 443, f. 35r: Πλήρωσον Δέσποτα. Καὶ λαμβάνων ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος μερίδα βάλλει εἰς τὸ ποτήριον λέγων μυστικῶς· πλήρωμα πνεύματος ἁγίου; thirteenth/fourteenth-century Borgia georg. 7 (T79): Et cum dismembrat dicit: In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Et sumit particulam sancti corporis et immittit in calicem et dicit: Plenitudo Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Et perficit communionem; fourteenth-century Vatican gr. 2324, f. 24v: ὁ ἱερεὺς κλῶν τὸν θεῖον ἄρτον μερίδα τίθησι ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ λέγων ἔνωσις πνεύματος ἁγίου; Γ.β. III, f. 114r: Πλήρωσον Δέσποτα. ὁ ἱερεὺς λαβὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἄρτου μερίδα τίθησι εἰς τὸ ποτήριον λέγων Πλήρωμα πνεύματος ἁγίου; fifteenth-century Ambrosiana 84 (B15 sup), f. 145r: καὶ μελίξει τὸν τίμιον ἄρτον; Sinai gr. 968, f. 58v: μελίξει τὸν ἅγιον ἄρτον; fifteenth/sixteenth-century EBE 756, f. 62v: μελίξων τὸν ἅγιον ἄρτον; sixteenth-century EBE 759, p. 306: μελίξει τὸν ἅγιον ἄρτον καθὼς ἐστὶ σύνθητες; EBE 772, f. 106v: μελίσας τὸν ἅγιον ἄρτον; EBE 878, p. 159: μελίσας τὸν ἅγιον ἄρτον; EBE 775, f. 109v: μελίσας λέγων· μελίζεται καὶ διαμερίζεται· καὶ πληροῖ τὸ ποτήριον καὶ εὐλογεῖ τὴν ζῆσιν ὡς συνήθως; Vatican gr. 2143, p. 65: Πλήρωσον Δέσποτα. Εἶτα λαβὼν ὁ

ἱερεὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἄρτου μερίδα τίθησι εἰς τὸ ποτήριον λέγει· Πλήρωμα πνεύματος ἁγίου.

The manual acts consist of the necessary actions to prepare the elements for communion. The fraction, or what Taft calls ‘symbolic fraction’ should be distinguished from the ‘practical fraction’ or comminution, which ‘consisted in breaking off from the large consecrated loaf or loaves smaller pieces to be given in communion.’¹¹⁶ As in the formularies of the full liturgy, the formularies of the PRES pass the comminution in silence:

either because it was just presumed, or because the pieces of the Lamb for the communion of the laity were put into the chalice whole, and a portion was simply sliced off with the spoon as each communicant approached, as some priests do even today.¹¹⁷

Other priests, using the communion spoon, cut the portions of the lamb that have been placed in the chalice into smaller pieces before communing the people. Not much information is given to us in the PRES formularies regarding the fraction for obvious reasons, namely that the priest would do what he was accustomed to do in the full liturgy.

Describing the commixture in the full liturgy Taft notes: ‘The commixture ... consists in uniting Christ’s eucharistic Body to his Blood by dropping a single particle of the consecrated Lamb into the chalice of consecrated wine.’¹¹⁸ This is done because:

Though consecrated in the anaphora, the eucharistic chalice by itself remains somehow ‘incomplete,’ not yet ‘perfected’ or ‘finished.’ To achieve this plenitude, the fulfillment of its perfection, it needs to be ‘completed’ as a living symbol of the Risen Christ by being united to his Body.¹¹⁹

The difference with the PRES lies in the fact that *up to that point* the chalice contains unconsecrated wine. *After the commixture* in the PRES the chalice is treated and seen as being consecrated. There is *no* evidence in the manuscript tradition to indicate otherwise. More so, one could

¹¹⁶ TAFT: *Precommunion* 331; on the fraction and comminution see 319-379. See also JACOB: ‘Deux formules d’immixtion’ 54-57.

¹¹⁷ TAFT: *Precommunion* 360.

¹¹⁸ TAFT: *Precommunion* 381.

¹¹⁹ TAFT: *Precommunion* 382; on the commixture see 381-439.

even see the commixture formula Πλήρωμα πνεύματος ἁγίου (the fullness/completion/perfection of the Holy Spirit)¹²⁰ as a mini-epiclesis, accompanying the consecration of the contents of the chalice by the particle of the Lamb dropped in. Patriarch Michael Keroularios describes this process providing us, however, with a unique variant commixture formula:

Κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἁγίας μεταλήψεως, μικρὸν πρὸ τούτου ἐφάπτονται οἱ διάκονοι τῶν προκειμένων ἁγίων ποτηρίων,¹²¹ καὶ οὐκ ἐπιφωνοῦσιν, ὡς ἐν ταῖς τελείαις τὸ Πλήρωσον δέσποτα, ἀλλὰ τὸ Εὐλόγησον δέσποτα· καὶ τοῦ ἱερέως λέγοντος Εὐλόγητός ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν πάντοτε, ἐμβάλλεται ὁ προαγιασθεὶς καὶ προτελειωθεὶς ἅγιος ἄρτος εἰς τὸ μυστικὸν ποτήριον, καὶ οὕτως ὁ ἐν τούτῳ οἶνος εἰς ἅγιον αἷμα τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ μεταβάλλεται καὶ πιστεύεται μεταβάλλεσθαι, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα προβαίνει ἡ τῶν ἁγίων μετέληψις.¹²²

A little before the time of holy communion, the deacons touch the holy chalices lying in front of them; they do not say, as in the full [liturgies] ‘Fill, Master’ but ‘Bless, Master;’ and the priest says ‘Blessed is our Lord always;’

and the preconsecrated and perfected holy bread is dropped into the mystical cup, and in this way the wine therein is changed and believed to have been changed into the holy blood of the Lord; after this the holy communion takes place.

The notion that the chalice in PRES remains unconsecrated even after the commixture, as reflected in the practice of the Russian Orthodox tradition, is very late. This practice has been summarized by Karl Christian Felmy:

Nowadays the communion of the chalice in the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts is not seen in the [Russian] Orthodox Church as the communion of the Blood of Christ. The same applies to the communion of the lay people, at which the difference with the ‘normal’ reception of the Eucharist is not discernable, since both kinds are administered together. The fact that the mixed and warmed wine is not considered to be conse-

¹²⁰ This form of the formula, seen in all the manuscripts examined, is the ‘middle-recension pleroma formula’ (TAFT: *Precommunion* 384-386), shorter than the current formula: Πλήρωμα ποτηρίου πίστεως, Πνεύματος Ἁγίου. The formula “Ἐνωσις πνεύματος ἁγίου is a southern Italian variant; cf. TAFT: *Precommunion* 394-396; seen in the eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 13r; twelfth-century Ottoboni gr. 344, f. 26r-v.

¹²¹ Note here that more than one chalices are mentioned; such is also the case in the thirteenth-century Archimedes Palimpsest, f. 11v.

¹²² ANDRIEU: *Immixtio et Consecratio* 202-203; ALLATIUS: ‘Missa Praesantificatorum’ 1586-1587.

crated is the reason why children are excluded from communion at the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts.¹²³

According to Uspensky, 'the deacon – and the priest when he serves alone, without a deacon – is forbidden to drink from the chalice until the time when he consumes all the gifts.'¹²⁴ This approach appeared in Russia in the seventeenth century, a result of the influence of Western scholastic thought on Russian Orthodox theology, liturgy, and practice.¹²⁵ It was only in 1646 with the publication of the Euchologion of Peter Moghila that such an approach was made official. In an article entitled 'On Some Corrections in the Order of the Service of the Presanctified' it is made clear that the wine in the cup is not sanctified by the lamb placed within:

But when you are drinking from the Cup, or are giving it to the deacon, you should say nothing, for the Cup contains but ordinary wine and not the Master's Blood; it is used only for ceremonial reasons, as for the rinsing of the mouth.¹²⁶

Thirty years later, the wording of the above phrase changed, but its core remained the same: 'For while the wine has been sanctified by the placing into it of the Particle, it has not been transubstantiated into the Holy Blood.'¹²⁷ The Words of Institution were seen in the seventeenth-century Russian Orthodox theology as consecratory, and therefore, the content of the cup in the PRES was just wine since the Words of Institution were not said over it.¹²⁸

Such an approach, however, is not only in disagreement with the Byzantine evidence we have already examined within the context of the Prothesis rites of PRES (see section 4.4.1), and the formularies of the PRES itself

¹²³ K.C. FELMY: 'Customs and Practices Surrounding Holy Communion in the Eastern Orthodox Churches' in C. CASPERS, G. LUKKEN & G. ROUWHORST (eds.): *Bread of Heaven. Customs and Practices around Holy Communion. Essays in the History of Liturgy and Culture* (Kampen 1995 = *Liturgia condenda* 3) 41-59, here 52-53.

¹²⁴ *Evening Worship* 183, note 264.

¹²⁵ On this whole issue and on the reforms of the Russian Orthodox liturgy in the seventeenth-century see P. MEYENDORFF: *Russia, Ritual, and Reform. The Liturgical Reforms of Nikon in the 17th Century* (Crestwood NY 1991); See also USPENSKY: *Evening Worship* and A. RAES: 'La Communion au Chalice dans l'Office byzantin des Présanctifiés' in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 20 (1954) 166-174.

¹²⁶ USPENSKY: *Evening Worship* 221.

¹²⁷ Moscow Sluzhebnik of 1676, USPENSKY: *Evening Worship* 221.

¹²⁸ USPENSKY: *Evening Worship* 221-226.

which contain *no* rubrics indicating that the chalice is unconsecrated, but also against the evidence gleaned from comparative liturgy. In the Syrian liturgical tradition the SyrPRES is explicitly named ‘Signing of the Chalice,’ as the center of the whole service is the sanctification of the chalice by dropping in it a portion of the reserved consecrated Lamb (see sections 3.2 and 3.3).¹²⁹ Similar conclusions are reached looking at the RomPRES of Holy Friday (see section 3.9) and the *Apostolic Tradition* (see section 1.3). At the same time, the current Greek practice of anointing the consecrated Lamb at the time of its reservation with consecrated blood seems to be an effort to provide a solution to this problem. The logic behind this practice is that the chalice is not consecrated by the particle of Lamb dropped therein, but by the consecrated wine that this particle contains, anointed with it at the time of reservation. Consecration by contact, that is, by pouring some of consecrated blood into chalices of unconsecrated wine, is well-known and widely practiced.¹³⁰ However, the evidence that we have from the tradition of the Great Church is crystal clear and points to the fact that the consecrated Lamb reserved for the PRES *was not* anointed or sprinkled with consecrated wine (see section 4.4.1). Thus, consecrated wine was not reserved *in any form*. The origins of the practice of anointing the lamb with consecrated wine at the time of the reservation for the PRES probably lies in the practice of monastic self-communion, where the lamb was anointed with consecrated wine at the time of its reservation.¹³¹

The current Greek practice was not unknown among the Byzantines. An anonymous Byzantine commentator of uncertain dating notes:

<p>Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἕνα καὶ τοῦ προηγιασμένου καὶ εἰς αἷμα μεταβεβλημένου λείψανόν τι φυλάττονται, διὰ τῆς τῶν ἄρτων ἐπιγρίσεως τοῦτο οἰκονομοῦσι· οἱ δὲ ὡς ἀρκοῦντος τοῦ ἄρτου εἰς σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἤδη μεταβεβλημένου, καὶ τὸν συμμεταβαλλόμενον τούτῳ οἴνον ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς μεταλήψεως εἰς αἷμα</p>	<p>For some reserve a relic of the blood with the presanctified Lamb, and they do this by anointing the breads with it. Others, satisfied with the fact that the bread has been changed into the body of Christ, and that at the time of communion the wine is changed through it in blood, and sanctified the</p>
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¹²⁹ Cf. ANDRIEU: *Immixtio et Consecratio* 216-243.

¹³⁰ TAFT: *Precommunion* 399.

¹³¹ See the diataxis of PRES in the twelfth-century Typikon of Casole: ‘Only then is the divine bread dipped in blood, when an anchorite is hidden in the mountains ... and he wants to partake of the holies more often ... In such a way is the divine bread dipped in the divine blood and brought to him in a clean box’ (for the whole text see section 4.4.1).

μεταποιεῖν, καὶ τοὺς μεταλαμβάνοντας ἀγιάζειν, οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἀρκοῦνται τῇ τῶν προηγιασμένων ἄρτων φυλακῇ.

Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἡμῶν δοκεῖ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁρῶμεν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ τᾷ τῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῷ δεύτερον τούτων γενόμενον, δεῖ καὶ ἡμᾶς ὡς ἀκριβεστέρω τούτῳ μάλιστα κατακολουθεῖν.¹³²

communicants, they do nothing else, but are satisfied by the reservation of the bread.

This is what we think is right. Because we see the second taking place in the Great Church, it seems to us that we should follow [this practice] as more accurate.

It seems that by the time of Symeon of Thessalonica, the current Greek practice had already become dominant:

Τετελειωμένος ὁ ἄρτος ἱεροουργηθεὶς καὶ ἀνυψωθείς καὶ ἡνωμένος τῷ θείῳ αἵματι ... ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ποτηρίῳ εἰσάγεται διχα τινὲς εὐχῆς οἰνός τε καὶ ὕδωρ. Ἐνα μελισθέντος τοῦ θείου ἄρτου, καὶ ... εἰσαχθείσης τῆς ἄνω μερίδος, ἁγιασθῶσι τῇ μετοχῇ τὰ ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ, καὶ ...

... ἐκ τε τοῦ ἄρτου κοινωνήσῃ καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου ὁ ἱερεὺς, μεταδώσῃ τε τοῖς χρείαν ἔχουσι μετασχεῖν, εἴτε ἱερωμένους ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸ ἔθος, εἴτε λαϊκοὺς διὰ τῆς λαβίδος.

... Οὐ τῇ ἐπικλησεί τσίονου τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος καὶ σφραγιῶσι τὰ ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ ἐν τῇ προηγιασμένῃ λειτουργίᾳ καθ' ἁγιάζεται, ἀλλὰ τῇ μετοχῇ καὶ ἐνώσει τοῦ ζωοποιῦ ἄρτου, σώματος ἀληθῶς ὄντος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἡνωμένου τῷ αἵματι.¹³³

The bread [is] perfected and liturgized and elevated and united with the divine blood. ... Wine and water are placed in the holy chalice without saying any prayer, so that after the divine bread is broken [fraction] and after the upper portion [of the broken bread] is placed [in the chalice] the contents of the chalice will be sanctified through the bread. ... The priest will commune both from the bread and the cup, and will give communion to those who want to receive, either to clergy within [the altar] in the customary fashion, or laity with the spoon.¹³⁴

... For the chalice is not sanctified in the Presanctified Liturgy by the epiclesis of the Holy Spirit and the signing over the chalice, but through the participation and union with the life-giving bread, truly the body of Christ, united with the blood.

¹³² MORAITIS: *Ἡ Λειτουργία τῶν Προηγιασμένων* 46.

¹³³ 'Responsa as Gabrielem Pentapolitanum' Question 57, PG 155:909CD.

¹³⁴ On the communion spoons, see R. TAFT: 'Byzantine Communion Spoons: A Review of the Evidence' in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 50 (1996) 209-238.

From the evidence then it is clear that the practice of the Great Church was to reserve the consecrated Lamb for the PRES *neither anointed nor sprinkled* with consecrated wine, and that the chalice of the PRES was consecrated by contact with the particle of the Lamb placed in at commixture.¹³⁵

The Greek practice (i.e., reserving the consecrated Lamb anointed with consecrated wine) led to the question of whether the zeon¹³⁶ is necessary at the celebration of the PRES. In other words, if the consecrated wine, with which the consecrated and reserved Lamb had been anointed, already had zeon in it, would it not be a duplication to put zeon in the chalice again at the PRES?¹³⁷ Symeon of Thessalonica was faced with a similar question: 'Why is hot water added [in the chalice] at the PRES?' Symeon responded saying that the zeon is poured in the chalice at PRES for the same reason that it is used in the regular liturgy, namely to give a realistic feel to the now sanctified wine.¹³⁸

Even up until the eighteenth century this question was not settled. Between 1778 and 1792 bishop Theophilos wrote a letter to Metropolitan Nektarios responding to the latter's question, 'whether the zeon is necessary in the Presanctified liturgy ... since it was poured in the full liturgy, and thus it is not necessary to be poured again.' In his response, bishop Theophilos says that the zeon is placed in the chalice in order to make the consecrated wine warm 'as when the blood and water came out of Christ's side warm. ... The zeon is to facilitate this symbolism.'¹³⁹

¹³⁵ ANDRIEU: *Immixtio et Consecratio* 196-216.

¹³⁶ A unique aspect of the Byzantine rite, where hot water is placed in the chalice at the preparation of the gifts before communion; see TAFT: *Precommunion* 441-502. The zeon is only mentioned in the twelfth-century Ottoboni gr. 344, f. 26v: Καὶ βάλλει καὶ θερμόν; sixteenth-century EBE 775, f. 109v: καὶ εὐλογεῖ τὴν ζέσιν ὡς συνήθως, but we can safely presume it was used, as the whole communion ritual of the PRES follows that of the full liturgy. If it were not to be used, there would be explicit guidelines forbidding such use (as with the Cherubic Prayer; see section 5.3.3).

¹³⁷ We saw in the elevation of the PRES that fear of duplicating something important and essential led to the practice of not elevating the Lamb at the PRES; see section 5.4.5.

¹³⁸ ... εἰσάγεται τότε ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς μεταλήψεως, ὡς ἂν τὰ χεῖλη τῷ ποτηρίῳ προσψαύοντες καὶ κοινωνοῦντες τοῦ αἵματος, ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς ζωοποιοῦ πλεωρᾶς ἐκείνης πίνοντες διατιθώμεθα, τῆς θεότητος μὴ διαιρεθείσης, ἐκτυπούσης τοῦτο τῆς εἰσαγωγῆς καὶ προσψαύσεως τοῦ θερμοῦ. 'Expositio de Divino Templo' PG 155:741D-744A.

¹³⁹ Letter published by B. MYSTAKIDES: 'Λειτουργικά: Εἰ χρεῖα τοῦ ζέοντος καὶ ἐν τῇ Προσηγιασμένῃ Λειτουργίᾳ' in 'Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια 21 (1897/8) 78-80, 85-87.

5.5. Communion

5.5.1 Communion of the Clergy

There are not many rubrics in the formularies of the PRES guiding the priest through the communion ritual for obvious reasons; the priest follows the communion ritual of the full liturgy. In a number of manuscripts the communion ritual of the priest is summarized by the phrase ‘Καὶ (ἐκ)πληροῖ τὴν μετάληψιν’ (and he completes the communion).¹⁴⁰ In a few manuscripts the communion of the clergy is mentioned,¹⁴¹ while in others the priest is guided to look at the pertinent part of CHR.¹⁴² Others provide us with some private communion prayers:

Twelfth-century Vatican gr. 1863, f. 105r: Μὴ μοι δῶς ...

Twelfth/thirteenth-century Vatican gr. 2005, f. 71r-v: τὸ δὲ ἄλλο μέρος [τοῦ ἁγίου ἄρτου] λαβῶν μετ’ εὐλαβείας λέγει:

‘Ὁ Θεός, ἄνες, ἄφες· συγχώρησόν μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ· τὰ παραπτώματά μου ...¹⁴³

Τοῦ δείπνου σου τοῦ μυστικοῦ ...¹⁴⁴

After communion

Δόξα σοι Κύριε δόξα σοι· δόξα τῷ Θεῷ πάντων ἕνεκεν· τῆς σαρκός σου Χριστέ μετελάβομεν· καὶ τοῦ αἵματός σου ἠξιώθημεν· μὴ μοι δὸς δέσποτα τὰ ἄγια ταῦτα εἰς κρῖμα· ἢ εἰς κατάρκιμα· ἀλλ’ εἰς κάθαρσιν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος· σὺ γὰρ εἶπας Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν· ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἶμα· ἐν ἐμοὶ μένει καγὼ ἐν αὐτῷ· δόξα τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ...

Γένοιτό μοι κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ ...¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁰ Fifteenth-century Sinai gr. 968, f. 58v; EBE 877, p. 179; fifteenth/sixteenth-century EBE 756, f. 62v; sixteenth-century Paris gr. 393, f. 58r; Sinai gr. 2111, f. 148v; Sabas 48, f. 98r; Vatican gr. 1557, f. 107v; EBE 781, f. 43r; EBE 759, p. 306; EBE 878, p. 159; EBE 2400, f. 95r.

¹⁴¹ Twelfth-century Vatican gr. 1863, f. 105r: Καὶ λαβῶν ὁ ἱερεὺς μίαν μερίδα μεταλαμβάνει; thirteenth-century Barberini gr. 443, f. 35r: Εἶτα μεταλαμβάνει ὁ ἱερεὺς, ὁ διάκονος καὶ τοῖς ἔνδοθεν οὖσιν.

¹⁴² Fifteenth-century Vatican gr. 1978, f. 45r: Ζήτει εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τροπάρια τῆς ἁγίας μεταλήψεως; sixteenth-century EBE 775, f. 109v: Καὶ πληροῖ τὴν μετάληψιν καὶ λέγει ὡς ἐν τῇ τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου λειτουργίᾳ καὶ μετὰ τὴν μετάληψιν. Implicitly in the fifteenth-century Ambrosiana 84 (B15 sup), f. 145r: λέγων καὶ τὰ τροπάρια; since it does not provide us with any.

¹⁴³ TAFT: ‘Byzantine Communion Rites II’ 287, item 6.

¹⁴⁴ TAFT: ‘Byzantine Communion Rites II’ 286, item 4.

¹⁴⁵ TAFT: ‘Byzantine Communion Rites II’ 290, item 13.

Thirteenth-century Ambrosiana 276 (E20 sup), f. 47v: λαβῶν τὸν ἄρτον
κατέρχεται τὴν κρηπίδα.
Τοῦ δείπνου σου τοῦ μυστικοῦ ...
Βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε ...¹⁴⁶

In general, the communion ritual of the clergy in the PRES follows that of the full liturgy, with their customs and practices dependant on their time and place.

5.5.2 Communion of the Faithful

As we have said above, the ancient call for communion, adjusted to the PRES, was ‘πρόσχωμεν τὰ προηγιασμένα ἅγια τοῖς ἀγίοις.’ As a matter of fact, the ancient manuscripts move from the πρόσχωμεν, and its response and the koinonikon in some, to the thanksgiving after communion.¹⁴⁷ The second communion call asks the faithful to approach with fear of God, faith, and love (Μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης προσέλθετε). The second communion call first appears in the manuscript tradition of the PRES in the eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 13r, in its short version, Μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ προσέλθετε.¹⁴⁸ In some manuscripts this communion call is expanded with the addition of ‘faith,’ becoming Μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ καὶ πίστεως προσέλθετε.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ TAFT: ‘Byzantine Communion Rites II’ 290, item 12. See also S. PARENTI & E. VELKOVSKA: ‘*Re celeste, paraclito, Spirito di verità. Il Veni creator Spiritus della liturgia bizantina,*’ in E. CARR (ed.): *Spiritus spiritalia nobis dona potenter infundit. A proposito di tematiche liturgico-pneumatologiche* (Rome 2005 = Studia Anselmiana 139 = Analecta Liturgica 35) 387-404.

¹⁴⁷ See, for example, the eighth-century Barberini gr. 336 (PARENTI & VELKOVSKA: *Barberini gr. 336* 86); tenth-century Sevastianov 474 (KS 282); St. Petersburg 226 (‘St. Petersburg 226’ 191); eleventh-century Sinai gr. 958, f. 25r-v; Sinai gr. 959, f. 41v; Paris gr. 391, f. 91v; Sinai gr. 962, f. 56r-v; twelfth-century BM 5; Oxford Bodleian Auct. E.5.13 (JACOB: ‘E.5.13’ 309); Vatican gr. 1811, f. 108v-109r; Sinai gr. 973, f. 26v; Paris gr. 392, f. 42v-43r; Paris gr. 330, p. 73-74; Vatican gr. 1970, f. 51v; Γ.β. VIII, f. 82v-83r; twelfth/thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 1036, f. 53r-v; thirteenth-century Ann Arbor 49, f. 54v-55r; Ann Arbor 37, f. 47r-v.

¹⁴⁸ Also in the twelfth-century Ottoboni gr. 344, f. 26v; thirteenth-century Barberini gr. 443, f. 35r; thirteenth/fourteenth-century Vatican Borgia georg. 7 (Γ 79).

¹⁴⁹ Thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 1037, f. 99v; Sinai gr. 966, f. 52r; fourteenth-century Vatican gr. 2324, f. 24v; fifteenth/sixteenth-century Ann Arbor 17, f. 60r; sixteenth-century Sinai gr. 2045, f. 96v; Vatican gr. 2032, f. 27r; Vatican gr. 2007, f. 35r; EBE 878, p. 159; Vatican gr. 2052, f. 37r. In the twelfth-century Vatican gr. 2005, f. 71v, the following version occurs: ‘Μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης προσέλθατε Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ βασιλεῖ ἡμῶν.’

After the second communion call, and while the people commune, Ps 117:26a, 27a is recited by the cantor. This psalmic version used in this function is found in only six formularies of the PRES.¹⁵⁰ According to the tenth-century *Typikon* of the Great Church, Ps 117:26a, 27a is the *koinonikon* of Palm Sunday.¹⁵¹

5.6 Post-communion

After the completion of the communion of the people, the priest blesses the people with the chalice saying Ps 27:9: Σῶσον, ὁ Θεός, τὸν λαόν σου, καὶ εὐλόγησον τὴν κληρονομίαν σου (God, save your people and bless your inheritance). The people respond with the hymn Εὐλόγησω τὸν Κύριον (I will bless the Lord ...). The priest's blessing first appears in the manuscript tradition of the PRES in the thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 1037, f. 99v, with the rubric indicating that the priest blesses the people, most probably with the chalice. The Σῶσον, ὁ Θεός appears with greater frequency after the sixteenth century.¹⁵² Structurally, the presence of Ps 27:9, a single psalm verse recited by the priest at this point, is problematic.¹⁵³ It is possible that this verse and accompanying blessing entered at this point as a reaction to the decrease in the frequency of communion. Since the people would not receive the body and blood of the Lord, *the* utmost blessing, they were at least blessed by the chalice that contained the body and blood of Christ.

The hymn that follows this blessing functions as the response of the people to Σῶσον, ὁ Θεός and is made up of verses 1 and 9 of Ps 33:

Εὐλόγησω τὸν Κύριον ἐν παντί	Ps 33:1	I will bless the Lord at all times;
καὶ ἰσχύει διὰ παντός ἡ αἰνεσις αὐτοῦ		his praise shall always be on my
ἐν τῷ στόματί μου.		lips.

¹⁵⁰ Twelfth-century Ottoboni gr. 344, f. 26v; Vatican gr. 2005, f. 71v; thirteenth-century Ambrosiana 276 (E20 sup), f. 48v; sixteenth-century Vatican gr. 2032, f. 27r; Vatican gr. 2007, f. 35r; Vatican gr. 2052, f. 37r.

¹⁵¹ See TAFT: *Precommunion* 304; MATEOS: *Le Typikon* II:66.

¹⁵² Fifteenth/sixteenth-century Ann Arbor 17, f. 60r; sixteenth-century Sinai gr. 2045, f. 96v; Vatican gr. 2032, f. 27r; Vatican gr. 2007, f. 35r; EBE 759, p. 307; EBE 749, f. 76r; EBE 878, p. 159; EBE 775, f. 110v; EBE 2400, f. 95v; EBE 757, f. 71v; Vatican gr. 2052, f. 37r.

¹⁵³ TAFT: 'Reconstructing' 370.

Ἄρτον οὐράνιον, καὶ ποτήριον
ζωῆς

The heavenly bread and the cup of
life,

γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι χρηστός ὁ
Κύριος· Ἀλληλούια, Ἀλληλούια,
Ἀλληλούια.

Ps 33:9 taste and see how good the Lord
is. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia.

This response is a rather late addition to the PRES; it first appears in the fourteenth-century Vatican gr. 2324, f. 25r, as an alternate koinonikon. It is only in the seventeenth-century EBE 776 (TR 218) that it appears within the formularies of the PRES as a response to Σῶσον, ὁ Θεός. It is most likely of Hagiopolite origin, as it also appears, though without Ps 33:1, as the koinonikon of HagPRES of Holy Tuesday (see section 5.4.7).

Then, the priest says silently, ‘Εὐλόγητός ὁ Θεός’ (Blessed is our God), and completes proclaiming aloud, ‘Πάντοτε νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων’ (always, now and ever and unto the ages of ages). The people then respond with the Πληρωθήτω hymn.¹⁵⁴ The *Chronicon Paschale* informs us regarding the introduction of this hymn in the Divine Liturgy:

In this year [624] in the month of Artemisius – May, according to the Romans – on the 12th indiction, under Patriarch Sergius of Constantinople, it was then first introduced that after all have received the Holy Mysteries, when the clergy are about to return to the skeuophylakion the precious rhipidia, chalices and patens and the other sacred vessels; and after the distribution of communion from the side tables everything is brought back to the holy altar; and finally, after chanting the final verse of the koinonikon; this troparion be sung: May our mouth be filled with your praise, O Lord ...¹⁵⁵

In addition to informing us on the insertion of the Πληρωθήτω hymn in the liturgy, the above text allows us to infer two things; first, that even up to the seventh century a whole psalm was used as a koinonikon and not just one verse, and second, the Πληρωθήτω was introduced as a perisse or a concluding refrain of the communion psalmody. This concluding refrain would be preceded by a small doxology, whose remains we see in the exclamation ‘Πάντοτε νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ.’¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ More on the history of the Πληρωθήτω and its place in the full liturgy see TAFT: *Precommunion* 295-299.

¹⁵⁵ Translation from TAFT: ‘Reconstructing’ 371-372. For a slightly different translation, see WHITBY & WHITBY: *Chronicon Paschale* 167.

¹⁵⁶ TAFT: ‘Reconstructing’ 372.

With the decomposition of the final doxology, the addition of the phrase Εὐλόγητός ὁ Θεός reflects the effort to make some sense of the remaining Πάντοτε In some formularies the Εὐλόγητός ὁ Θεός is not said at all,¹⁵⁷ in others it is said silently,¹⁵⁸ while in others both the Εὐλόγητός ὁ Θεός and the Πάντοτε are said aloud.¹⁵⁹ The eleventh-century Benaki 27 (56), f. 67r-v, has the priest say ‘Ἰψώθητι ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐρανούς ὁ Θεός καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἡ δόξα’ and the deacon completes Πάντοτε ...;¹⁶⁰ the twelfth-century Barberini gr. 329, f. 17v, and the fourteenth-century Γ.β. III, f. 114r, preserve the doxology that originally preceded the perisse of the koinonikon. The priest in this case does not intone just the second part of the doxology (πάντοτε ...), but also the first. The rubrics guide the priest to cense and say after the prayer of thanksgiving, ‘Δόξα τῇ παναγίᾳ τριάδι πάντοτε νῦν’ (Glory to the most holy Trinity, always now).

There are some formularies of the PRES from Southern Italy that replace the Πληρωθήτω hymn with another variant hymn, ‘one more Italo-Greek ‘orientalism’ of Hagiopolite provenance:’¹⁶¹

<p>Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι Χριστέ ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν· ὅτι ἡξίωσας ἡμᾶς μετασχεῖν τοῦ ἀχράντου σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τῆς οἰκονομίας σου· ἀλλη- λούια.</p>	<p>We thank you Christ our God; for you deemed us worthy to partake of the immaculate body and holy blood of your Economy; alleluia.</p>
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¹⁵⁷ Thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 966, f. 52r; fifteenth-century EBE 661, f. 19v; fifteenth/sixteenth-century Ann Arbor 17, f. 60r; sixteenth-century EBE 878, p. 160.

¹⁵⁸ Eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 13v; twelfth-century BM 5; Ottoboni gr. 344, f. 27r; EBE 713, f. 49r; thirteenth-century Ambrosiana 276 (E20 sup), f. 48v; Barberini gr. 443, f. 35v; fourteenth-century Vatican gr. 2324, f. 25r; sixteenth-century Vatican gr. 2032, f. 27r; Vatican gr. 2007, f. 35r (has the deacon say Εὐλόγητός ... and the priest Πάντοτε ...); EBE 759, p. 307; EBE 749, f. 76r; EBE 755, f. 111r; EBE 2400, f. 95v; EBE 757, f. 72r; Vatican gr. 2052, f. 37r: (has the deacon say Εὐλόγητός ... and the priest Πάντοτε ...).

¹⁵⁹ Twelfth-century Oxford Bodleian Auct. E.5.13 (JACOB: ‘E.5.13’ 309); Vatican gr. 1875, f. 40r; Vatican gr. 1863, f. 106r; Barberini gr. 431, f. 31v; Barberini gr. 393, f. 43v; Barberini gr. 345, f. 25r; Biblioteca Angelica gr. 15, f. 47r; Γ.β. II, f. 49r; thirteenth-century Archimedes Palimpsest, f. 11v has Εὐλόγητός ὁ Θεός ὁ φωτίζων καὶ ἀγαθῶν; sixteenth-century Vatican gr. 2061, f. 81v (titled as ekphronesis to the thanksgiving prayer); Vatican gr. 2143, p. 66; Vatican gr. 2294, f. 22r.

¹⁶⁰ Same variant in the twelfth/thirteenth-century EBE 662, f. 66r.

¹⁶¹ TAFT: *Precommunion* 299.

Such is the case in the following sources: the tenth-century Grottaferrata Γ.β. VII, f. 115r (PASSARELLI: Γ.β. VII 152); the tenth/eleventh-century Γ.β. X, f. 23v; the eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 13v; the twelfth-century Barberini gr. 329, f. 17v; Vatican gr. 1811, f. 109r; Vatican gr. 1875, f. 40r; Vatican gr. 1554, f. 46r; Biblioteca Angelica gr. 15, f. 47r; Γ.β. II, f. 49v; thirteenth-century Barberini gr. 443, f. 35v; Archimedes Palimpsest, f. 11v; fourteenth-century Vatican gr. 2324, f. 25r; and the sixteenth-century Vatican gr. 2143, p. 66.

5.7 Thanksgiving Litany and Prayer

The earliest documents move from the ancient call to communion to the post-communion thanksgiving prayer, headed by the rubric: *Εὐχὴ μετὰ τὴν μετέληψιν*.¹⁶² A short rubric guides the priest to recite this prayer after communing the people. This short rubric echoes a period when the whole congregation would receive communion and not just a few among them. For example it is noted in the tenth-century Γ.β. VII, f. 115r: *Καὶ μετὰ τὸ κοινωνῆσαι πάντας* (and after he communes everyone) and in Sevastianov 474, *καὶ μετὰ τὸ μεταλαβεῖν* (and after communing).¹⁶³ The emphasis is even stronger in the tenth-century St. Petersburg 226, f. 71r, and the eleventh-century Sinai gr. 958, f. 25v, where *πάντας* is placed before *μεταλαβεῖν*, thus giving emphasis to the fact that *all* received communion: *καὶ μετὰ τὸ πάντας μεταλαβεῖν*. One can also observe a change in the language of the rubrics resulting from the shift to a lesser frequency of communion. For example, the eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 13r, notes *καὶ μετὰ τὸ μεταλαβεῖν τοὺς βουλομένους* (and after he communes the ones willing).

Another aspect worthy of note is that while in the older manuscripts the thanksgiving prayer is preceded by the thanksgiving litany,¹⁶⁴ the reverse takes place after the eleventh century. Not only does the thanksgiving prayer move before the litany,¹⁶⁵ but also in many formularies of

¹⁶² See, for example the eighth-century Barberini gr. 336 (f. 43r) PARENTI & VELKOVSKA: *Barberini gr. 336* 86.

¹⁶³ K 282.

¹⁶⁴ Tenth-century Γ.β. VII, f. 115r-v; Sevastianov 474 (KS 282); St. Petersburg 226 (JACOB: 'St. Petersburg 226' 191); tenth/eleventh-century Γ.β. X, f. 23v.

¹⁶⁵ Twelfth-century Sinai gr. 973, f. 26v; Paris gr. 330, p. 73-74; Γ.β. VIII, f. 83r;

the PRES the debris of the final doxology of the koinonikon with its perisse is found between them.¹⁶⁶ In others, the thanksgiving prayer even moves to before the second communion call (Μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ ...).¹⁶⁷ The tendency for the thanksgiving prayer to detach itself from its litany and to move to before the second communion call, after the communion of the clergy, might be the result of the drastic drop in the frequency of communion. If no-one or only a few people communed, it would make sense for the priest to read the prayer silently after his communion.

The thanksgiving litany appears to be very stable in the manuscript tradition of the PRES without any notable variants. There is, however, one small change in the first petition of the litany. In the current use the first petition of the thanksgiving litany reads “Ὁρθοί: μεταλαμβάντες τῶν ἀγίων ... ἀξίως εὐχαριστήσωμεν”¹⁶⁸ while the older reading, based

twelfth/thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 1036, f. 53r-v; thirteenth-century Ann Arbor 49, f. 54v-55r; Ann Arbor 37, f. 47r-v; Γ.β. XIII, f. 57v-58r; Ambrosiana 709 (R24 sup), f. 108r; Sinai gr. 1037, f. 100r-v; fourteenth-century Vatican Borgia georg. 7 (T 79); Vatopedi 984, f. 33v; Paris gr. 324, f. 45v-46r; fourteenth/fifteenth-century Benaki 90 (TA 246), f. 65v-66r; fifteenth-century Sinai gr. 968, f. 58v; Vatican gr. 1978, f. 45r-v; EBE 877, p. 180-181; EBE 1910, f. 47v; EBE 2403, f. 55v-56r; EBE 685, p. 47-48; EBE 769, f. 137v-138r; Ambrosiana 84 (B15 sup), f. 145v; fifteenth/sixteenth-century Paris gr. 326, f. 63v-64r; Sabas 382, f. 72r-v; EBE 756, f. 62v-63r; sixteenth-century Paris gr. 393, f. 58r-v; Panagia Kamariotissa 142 (139), f. 34r; Sinai gr. 2037, f. 88v-89r; Sinai gr. 2111, f. 148v-149r; Sabas 48, f. 98v-99r; Sinai gr. 2017, f. 104v-105r; Vatican gr. 1557, f. 107v-108r; Ottoboni gr. 288, f. 81v-82r; Benaki 10 (16), f. 95v-96r; EBE 781, f. 43r-v; EBE 772, f. 106v-107r; EBE 755, f. 114r-v; Benaki 79 (TA 177), f. 88v; Vatican gr. 2294, f. 21v-22r; seventeenth-century Library of Congress gr. 37, f. 124v-125v; Taphou 334, f. 122v-123v.

¹⁶⁶ Eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 13r-v; Benaki 27 (56), f. 66v-67v; twelfth-century BM 5; Vatican gr. 1811, f. 109r; Vatican gr. 1875, f. 40r-v; Vatican gr. 1554, f. 46r; Vatican gr. 1863, f. 105v-106v; Barberini gr. 431, f. 31v; Barberini gr. 393, f. 43v; Barberini gr. 345, f. 25r; Barberini gr. 329, f. 17v; EBE 713, f. 48v-49r; Biblioteca Angelica gr. 15, f. 46v-47r; Γ.β. II, f. 49v; Archimedes Palimpsest, f. 11v; twelfth/thirteenth-century EBE 662, f. 65v-66r; thirteenth-century Barberini gr. 443, f. 35v-36r; Sinai gr. 966, f. 52r-v; fourteenth-century Vatican gr. 2324, f. 25r; Γ.β. III, f. 114v; sixteenth-century EBE 878, p. 160-161; EBE 757, f. 72r-v; Vatican gr. 2051, f. 81r-v; Vatican gr. 2143, p. 65-66.

¹⁶⁷ Thirteenth-century Ambrosiana 276 (E20 sup), f. 48r-v; fifteenth/sixteenth-century Ann Arbor 17, f. 59v-60r; sixteenth-century Sinai gr. 2045, f. 96r-v; Vatican gr. 2032, f. 27r; Vatican gr. 2007, f. 43v-35r; EBE 759, p. 306-307; EBE 749, f. 75v; EBE 775, f. 110r-v; EBE 2400, f. 96r-v; Vatican gr. 2052, f. 37r.

¹⁶⁸ This reading first appears in the formularies of the PRES in the thirteenth-century, but with greater frequency after the fifteenth-century: Ann Arbor 49, f. 55r; Ann Arbor 37, f. 37; fourteenth/fifteenth-century Benaki 90 (TA 246), f. 66r; fif-

on the manuscript evidence, was, ‘Ὁρθοί· οἱ μεταλαμβάνοντες τῶν ἁγίων ... ἀξίως εὐχαριστήσωμεν’¹⁶⁹ In other words, the article preceding the participle is dropped.

5.8 Dismissal and Final Rites

All the elements of the dismissal and final rites in the PRES, as attested to in the manuscript tradition, are:

1. Ἐν εἰρήνῃ προσέλθωμεν
2. Ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου
3. Τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν
4. Κύριε ἐλέησον
5. Opisthambonos Prayer
6. Refrain
 - a. Εἶη τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου ...
 - b. Ὡς ἐμνήσθης ...
 - c. Δόξα τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις ...

teenth-century Sinai gr. 968, f. 58v; Vatican gr. 1978, f. 45r; EBE 877, p. 181; EBE 1910, f. 47v; EBE 2403, f. 56r; Ambrosiana 84 (B15 sup), f. 145v; fifteenth/sixteenth-century Sabas 382, f. 72v; EBE 756, f. 63r; Ann Arbor 17, f. 60r; sixteenth-century Paris gr. 393, f. 58v; Panagia Kamariotissa 142 (139), f. 34v; Sinai gr. 2037, f. 89r; Sinai gr. 2111, f. 149v; Sabas 48, f. 99r; Sabas 53, f. 99r; Sinai gr. 2045, f. 96v; Sinai gr. 2017, f. 105r; Vatican gr. 2032, f. 27r; Vatican gr. 2007, f. 35r; Vatican gr. 1557, f. 108r; Ottoboni gr. 288, f. 82r; Benaki 10 (16), f. 96r; EBE 781, f. 43v; EBE 759, p. 307; EBE 749, f. 76r; EBE 772, f. 107r; EBE 755, f. 114v; EBE 878, p. 161; EBE 775, f. 111r; EBE 2400, f. 96r; EBE 757, f. 72r; Benaki 79 (TA 177), f. 88v; Vatican gr. 2052, f. 37r; seventeenth-century Library of Congress gr. 37, f. 125v; Taphou 334, f. 123r.

¹⁶⁹ Tenth-century Γ.β. VII, f. 115r; St. Petersburg 226 (JACOB: ‘St. Petersburg 226’ 191); tenth/eleventh-century Γ.β. X, f. 23v; eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 13v; Benaki 27 (56), f. 67v; twelfth-century BM 5; Vatican gr. 1811, f. 109r; Sinai gr. 973, f. 26v; Paris gr. 330, p. 74; Vatican gr. 1875, f. 40v; Vatican gr. 1554, f. 46r; Vatican gr. 1863, f. 106v (also replaces ἀξίως with ἐπι πᾶσι; Ottoboni gr. 344, f. 27r; Barberini gr. 431, f. 31v; Barberini gr. 393, f. 43v; Barberini gr. 345, f. 25r; Barberini gr. 329, f. 17v; Bibliotheca Angelica gr. 15, f. 47r; Γ.β. II, f. 49v; Γ.β. VIII, f. 83r; Archimedes Palimpsest, f. 11v; twelfth/thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 1036, f. 53v; EBE 662, f. 66r; Ambrosiana 276 (E20 sup), f. 48v; Sinai gr. 1037, f. 100r; Sinai gr. 966, f. 52v; Barberini gr. 443, f. 36r; Γ.β. XIII, f. 58r; Ambrosiana 709 (R24 sup), f. 108r; fourteenth-century Vatopedi 984, f. 33v (the article has been erased); Paris gr. 324, f. 46r; Vatican gr. 2324, f. 25r; Γ.β. III, f. 114v; fifteenth-century EBE 661, f. 19v; EBE 685, p. 48; EBE 769, f. 138r; fifteenth/sixteenth-century Paris gr. 326, f. 64r; sixteenth-century Vatican gr. 2051, f. 81v; Vatican gr. 2143, p. 66; Vatican gr. 2294, f. 22r.

7. Skeuophylakion Prayer
8. Εὐλογημένοι ὑμεῖς τῷ Κυρίῳ πάντοτε ...
9. Ps 33 and Ps 144
10. Εὐλογία Κυρίου ...
11. Dismissal

The evidence can be outlined as follows:

The eighth-century Barberini gr. 336 (PARENTI & VELKOVSKA: *Barberini gr. 336* 48, 305): 1, 2, 5. The tenth-century Γ.β. VII, f. 115v-116r: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6b, 7; Sevastianov 474 (KS 282): 1, 5, 7; St. Petersburg 226 (JACOB: 'St. Petersburg 226' 191): 5, 7. The tenth/eleventh-century Γ.β. X, f. 24r-v: 1, 3, 5, 6c, 7. The eleventh-century Sinai gr. 958, f. 25v-26r: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7; Sinai gr. 959, f. 42r-v: 1, 3, 5, 7; Paris gr. 391, f. 92v: 5; Γ.β. XX, f. 14r-15r: 1 (προέλιθετε), 3, 5, 6c, 8, 7; Benaki 27 (56), f. 67v-69r: 1, 3, 5, 7. The eleventh/twelfth-century Sinai gr. 962, f. 56v-57v: 5. The twelfth-century BM 5: 1, 3, 5, 7; Oxford Bodleian Auct. E.5.13 (JACOB: 'E.5.13' 309): 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11; Vatican gr. 1811, f. 109r-110r: 1, 5, 6c, 7, 8, 9, 11; Sinai gr. 973, f. 26v-27r: 1, 3, 5, 7; Paris gr. 392, f. 43r-44v: 5, dismissal prayer 7 of vespers, 7; Paris gr. 330, p. 74-76: 1, 3, 5, 7; Vatican gr. 1875, f. 40v-41v: 1, 2, 5, 6c, 7, 8, 9 (Ps 33 only), 10; Vatican gr. 1970, f. 52r-v: 5, 7; Vatican gr. 1863, f. 107r-108v: 1, 3, 5, 6a, 10, 7, 11; Vatican gr. 1554, f. 46v-47r: 1, 3, 5, 7; Ottoboni gr. 344, f. 27r-28v: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6a, 8, 9 (only Ps 33), 10, Response: Ἀμήν. Γένουτο, 7 (has two prayers); Barberini gr. 431, f. 31v-32r: 1, 2, 3, 5, 6c, 7, 9 (Ps 33 only); Barberini gr. 393, f. 44r-v: 1, 3, 5, 6a, 7, 9, 11; Barberini gr. 345, f. 25v-26r: 1, 3, 5, 6a, 10, 9, 11; Barberini gr. 329, f. 18r-19r: 1, 3, 5, 6c, 9 (only Ps 33) 10; EBE 713, f. 49r-v: 1, 3, 5, 7; Biblioteca Angelica gr. 15, f. 47v-49r: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6c, 7; Γ.β. II, f. 49v-50r: 1, 3, 5, 6c, 7; Γ.β. VIII, f. 83v-84v: 1, 3, 5, 7; Vatican gr. 2005, f. 7, 10, and then the Hagiopolite vespers resumes.¹⁷⁰ Twelfth/thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 1036, f. 53v-55r: 1, 3, 5, 7; EBE 662, f. 66r-v: 1, 3, 5, 7. Thirteenth-century Archimedes Palimpsest, f. 11v-12r: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7; Ann Arbor 49, f. 55v-56v: 1, 3, 5, 7; Ann Arbor 37, f. 47v-48r: 1, 2, 3, 5; Ambrosiana 276 (E20 sup), f. 48v-50r: 1 (προέλιθετε), 2, 3, 4, 5, 6a, 8, 9 (Ps 33 only), 10, 7; Sinai gr. 1037, f. 101v-105r: 1, 3, 5, 6a, 8, 9 (Ps 33 only), 10, Δι' εὐχῶν ..., 7; Sinai gr. 966, f. 52v: 1, 3, 5, 6a, 8, 9 (Ps 33 only), 7; Barberini gr. 443, f. 36r-v: 1, 2, 5, 6c, 8, 7; Γ.β. XIII, f. 58r-59r: 1, 3, 5, 7; Ambrosiana 709 (R24 sup), f. 108r-v: 1, 2, 3, 5, 7. Thirteenth/fourteenth-century Borgia georg. 7 (T 80): 1, Amen, 5, 6a, Oremus – Sancta Trinitas

¹⁷⁰ Καὶ ὁ λαὸς λέγει. Καταξίωσον Κύριε· Καὶ ἡ ἀγιοπο[λίτικη] στιχολογία δόξα καὶ νῦν κατὰ τὸν ἦχον· εἶτα, νῦν ἀπολύεις τὸν δοῦλόν σου εἶτα τὰ ἀπολυτικά· καὶ ἡ ἀπόλυσις τῆς ἑσπερινῆς· τέλος.

cum misericordia, 9, 7, 6a (duplication?). Fourteenth-century Vatopedi 984, f. 34r-v: 1, 3, 5, 7; Paris gr. 324, f. 46r-47r: 1, 3, 5, 7; Vatican gr. 2324, f. 25v-26r: 1 (προέλθετε), 3, 5, 6c, 8, 7; Γ.β. III, f. 115r-116r: 1 (προέλθατε), 3, 5, 6a, 8, 7, 11. Fourteenth/fifteenth-century Benaki 90 (TA246), 66r-v: 1, 3, 5, 7. Fifteenth-century Sinai gr. 968, f. 59r-60r: 1, 2, 3, 5, 7; Vatican gr. 1978, f. 46r-47r: 1, 3, 5, 7; EBE 877, p. 182-184: 1, 3, 5, 7; EBE 1910, f. 47v-48v: 1, 3, 5, 7; EBE 661, f. 19v-20r: 1, 3, 5, 7; EBE 2403, f. 56r-57r: 1, 3, 5, 7; EBE 685, p. 48-50: 3, 5, 7; EBE 769, f. 138v-140v and Diataxis, f. 20v: 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, Δι' εὐχῶν ...; Ambrosiana 84 (B15 sup), f. 146r-147r: 1, 3, 5, 7, apolytikion and kontakion of Pope Gregory of Rome, Νῦν ἀπολύεις ... and Trisagion, kontakion of the saint of the monastery and of the day, 11. Fifteenth/Sixteenth-century Paris gr. 326, f. 64r-65r: 1, 3, 5, 7; Sabas 382, f. 72v-73v: 1, 3, 5, 7; EBE 756, f. 63r-64r: 1, 3, 5, 7; Ann Arbor 17, f. 60v-61r: 1, 3, 5, 7, Εὐχὴ τῆς θείας κοινωνίας: Ἰλάσθητι κύριε τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν χειρῶν σου Sixteenth-century Paris gr. 393, f. 59r-60v: 1, 3, 5, 7, 11; Panagia Kamariotissa 142 (139), f. 35r: 1, 3, 5, 7; Sinai gr. 2037, f. 89v-91r: 1, 3, 5, 7; Sinai gr. 2111, f. 150r-152v: 1, 3, 5, 7; Sabas 48, f. 16r: 1, 3, 5, 7; Sabas 53, f. 99r-101r: 1, 5, 7; Sinai gr. 2045, f. 97r-98v: 1, 3, 5, 7; Sinai gr. 2017, f. 105v-107r: 1, 3, 5, 7; Vatican gr. 2032, f. 24v: 1 (προσέλθετε), 5, 7, 11; Vatican gr. 2007, f. 35r-v: 1 (προσέλθετε), 3, 5, 7, 11; Vatican gr. 1557, f. 108v-109v: 5, 7; Ottoboni gr. 288, f. 82r-83v: 5, 7; Benaki 10 (16), f. 96r-97v: 5, 7, 11; EBE 781, f. 43v-44v: 1, 3, 5, 7; EBE 759, p. 308: 1, 3, 5, 7; EBE 749, f. 76v-78r: 1, 3, 5, 7; EBE 772, f. 108r-109v: 1, 3, 5, 7; EBE 755, f. 115r-117r: 1, 3, 5, 7; EBE 775, f. 112r-114r: 1, 3, 5, 6a, 7, 9, 10, 11; EBE 2400, f. 96r-97r: 1, 3, 5, 7; EBE 757, f. 72v-74r: 1, 3, 5, 7, Lavabo, Now and ever ... Trisagion, All Holy Trinity, Our Father, Troparion of Germanus of Constantinople, Τῆ ὑπερμάχῳ, 11; Benaki 79 (TA 177), f. 88v-89r: 1, 3, 5, 7; Vatican gr. 2051, f. 82r-83r: 1, 3, 5, 6a, 10, 7, 8, 11; Vatican gr. 2052, f. 37v: 1, 3, 5, 7; Vatican gr. 2143, p. 66-67: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6c, 7; Vatican gr. 2294, f. 22r-23r: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6a, 10, 7. Seventeenth-century Library of Congress gr. 37, f. 125v-127v: 1, 3, 5, 7; Taphou 334, f. 124r-125v: 5, 7.

5.8.1 *The Original Dismissal*

The call, 'Let us depart in peace,' and its response, 'in the name of the Lord,' was the original dismissal of the faithful at the end of the service. It was the function of the deacon to make this call,¹⁷¹ as part of his responsibilities were, as today, to indicate to the people the proper atti-

¹⁷¹ MATEOS: *Le Typicon* I:182; II:6, 285, 293.

tude towards different parts of the service. In reality, the deacon functioned in a way that we could describe as ‘crowd control.’¹⁷²

5.8.2 *The Opisthambonos Prayer*

On his way to the skeuophylakion the celebrant would stop at the ambo, located in the middle of the church, and recite the *opisthambonos* prayer. Originally the prayer was most likely recited on the ambo as indicated in the title of the prayer in some manuscripts indicates (i.e., ἐν γῆ ἐπιστάμβωνος¹⁷³ or ἐν γῆ ἐπισθάμβων¹⁷⁴). A hypothesis has been put forward that after the Iconoclastic controversy this prayer was no longer read on the ambo (ἐπιστάμβωνος), but behind the ambo in front of the icon of Christ hanging there (hence ὀπισθάμβωνος).¹⁷⁵ However, Robert Taft has conclusively argued that the use of the term ὀπισθάμβωνος does not mean that the prayer was recited behind the ambo; rather, that the celebrant recited the prayer and ‘gave the blessing from the back end of the raised ambo platform, facing westward, towards his flock.’¹⁷⁶ In current use, since today the ambo has been moved to the side and shrunk in size, the *opisthambonos* prayer is usually read by the priest facing the icon of Christ on the Iconscreen.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷² Some of the deacon’s calls to this effect are: ‘Let us bow our heads to the Lord’, ‘Stand’, ‘Let us bend our knees’, ‘Raise us up’, ‘Be attentive’. Characteristic are the directions given to the deacons right before the anaphora in the *Apostolic Constitutions* VIII:10: ‘Let the children stand near the bema, and let another deacon watch over them, so that they do not misbehave; let other deacons walk about and watch the men and the women, so that there may be no disturbance, and that none may nod, or whisper, or sleep’. Also note the unique diaconal call in the same document (VIII:12,2): ‘Mothers, take care of your children’ (Τὰ παιδιά προσλαμβάνεσθε αἱ μητέρες). The English translation is from GRISBROOKE: *The Liturgical Portions of the Apostolic Constitutions: A Text for Students* (Nottingham 1990 = Alcuin / GROW Liturgical Study 13-14) 30-31.

¹⁷³ Eighth-century Barberini gr. 336, title of prayer 1 (PARENTI & VELKOVSKA: *Barberini gr. 336* 243-244).

¹⁷⁴ Diataxis in the fifteenth-century EBE 769, f. 20v (ἐπισθάμβωνον ἐν γῆ); sixteenth-century Sabas 48, f. 16r; Vatican gr. 2032, f. 24r.

¹⁷⁵ PASSARELLI: ‘Osservazioni’ 90-91.

¹⁷⁶ R. TAFT: ‘Towards the Origins of the Opisthambonos Prayer’ in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 72 (2006) 5-39, 305-331, p. 22.

¹⁷⁷ On the history of this shift of the location of the Opisthambonos Prayer from the ambo to the doors of the Iconscreen see TAFT: ‘Towards the Origins of the Opisthambonos Prayer’ 24-30.

There are a number of opisthambonos prayers in the manuscripts:

1. Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Παντοκράτωρ· ὁ πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν ...¹⁷⁸
2. Ἡ ἐλπὶς πάντων τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς ὁ Θεός· ὁ προορίσας ...¹⁷⁹
3. Ἐπλήσθη γαρᾶς τὸ στόμα ἡμῶν καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα ἡμῶν ἀγαλλιᾶσεως ...¹⁸⁰
4. Ἐπιβλεψὼν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἁγίου σου, Δέσποτα Κύριε, ἐξ ἐτοίμου κατοικητηρίου σου ...¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ Eighth-century Barberini gr. 336, 257r-v (PARENTI & VELKOVSKA: *Barberini gr. 336* 243) titled *Εὐχὴ ἐπιστάμβωνος εἰς τὰ προηγιασμένα*; tenth-century St. Petersburg 226, f. 71v (JACOB: 'St. Petersburg 226' 191); Sevastianov 474 (KS 282); Γ.β. VII, 115v-116r (PASSARELLI: *I'.β.VII* 152-3); tenth/eleventh-century Γβ X, f. 24r; eleventh-century Sinai gr. 958, f. 25v-26r; Sinai gr. 959, f. 42r-v; Paris gr. 391, f. 92v-94v; Γβ XX, f. 14r-v; Benaki 27 (56), f. 67v-68v; eleventh/twelfth-century Sinai gr. 962, f. 56v-57v; twelfth-century BM 5; Oxford Bodleian Auct. E.5.13 (JACOB: 'E.5.13' 309); Vatican gr. 1811, f. 109r-v; Sinai gr. 973, f. 26v-27r; Paris gr. 392, f. 43r-44r; Paris gr. 330, f. 73v-74r; Vatican gr. 1875, f. 40v-41r; Vatican gr. 1970, f. 52r-v; Vatican gr. 1863, f. 107r-108r; Vatican gr. 1554, f. 46v-47r; Barberini gr. 431, f. 31v-32r; Barberini gr. 393, f. 44r-v; Barberini gr. 345, f. 25v-26r; Barberini gr. 329, f. 18r-v; EBE 713, f. 49r-v; Biblioteca Angelica gr. 15, f. 47v-49r; Γβ II, f. 49v-50r; Γβ VIII, f. 83v-84v; twelfth/thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 1036, f. 53v-55r; EBE 662, f. 66r-v; thirteenth-century Archimedes Palimpsest, f. 12r; Ann Arbor 49, f. 55v-56r; Ann Arbor 37, f. 47v-48r; Ambrosiana 276 (E20 sup), f. 49v-50r; Sinai gr. 1037, f. 102r-104r; Barberini gr. 443, f. 36r-v; Γβ XIII, f. 58r-59r; Ambrosiana 709 (R24 sup), f. 108r-v; thirteenth/fourteenth-century Borgia georg. 7 (T80); fourteenth-century Vatopedi 984, f. 34r; Paris gr. 324, f. 46r-47r; Γβ III, f. 115r-v; fourteenth/fifteenth-century, Benaki 90 (TA 246), f. 66r-v; fifteenth-century Sinai gr. 968, f. 59r-v; Vatican gr. 1978, f. 46r-v; EBE 877, p. 182-184; EBE 1910, f. 47v-48r; EBE 661, f. 19v-20r; EBE 2403, f. 56r-57r; EBE 685, p. 48-49; EBE 769, f. 138v-140r; Ambrosiana 84 (B15 sup), f. 146r-147r; fifteenth/sixteenth-century Paris gr. 326, f. 64r; Sabas 382, f. 72v-73r; EBE 756, f. 63v-64r; Ann Arbor 17, f. 60v; sixteenth-century Paris gr. 393, f. 59r-60r; Panagia Kamariotissa 143 (140), f. 35r; Sinai gr. 2037, f. 89v-90v; Sinai gr. 2111, f. 150r-153v; Sabas 48, f. 16r-17r; Sabas 53, f. 99v-101r; Sinai gr. 2045, f. 97r-98v; Sinai gr. 2017, f. 105v-106v; Vatican gr. 2032, f. 24v; Vatican gr. 2007, f. 35r-v; Vatican gr. 1557, f. 108v-109r; Ottoboni gr. 288, f. 82r-83r; Benaki 10 (16), f. 96r-97r; EBE 781, f. 43v-44r; EBE 759, p. 309; EBE 749, f. 76v-77v; EBE 772, f. 108r-109r; EBE 755, f. 115r-116r; EBE 878, p. 161-163; EBE 775, f. 112r-113r; EBE 2400, f. 96v-97r; EBE 757, f. 72v-73r; Benaki 79 (TA 177), f. 88v-89r; Vatican gr. 2051, f. 82r-v; Vatican gr. 2052, f. 39v; Vatican gr. 2143, p. 66; Vatican gr. 2294, f. 22r-23v; seventeenth-century Library of Congress gr. 37, f. 125v-126v; Taphou 334, f. 124r-125r.

¹⁷⁹ Tenth/eleventh-century Γβ X, f. 24v, titled *Εὐχὴ ἄλλη, ὀπισθάμβωνος τῆς ἁγίας Μ*; twelfth-century Barberini gr. 329, f. 18v-19r, titled *Εὐχὴ ἐτέρη ὀπισθάμβωνος*.

¹⁸⁰ Eighth-century Barberini gr. 336, f. 257v-258r (PARENTI & VELKOVSKA: *Barberini gr. 336* 243-244), titled *Εὐχὴ ἐπιστάμβωνος εἰς τὰ προηγιασμένα*.

¹⁸¹ Eighth-century Barberini gr. 336, f. 258r (PARENTI & VELKOVSKA: *Barberini gr. 336* 244), titled *Εὐχὴ ἐπιστάμβωνος τῶν προηγιασμένων*.

5. Ὁ Θυσίαν αἰνέσεως καὶ λατρείαν εὐάρεστον τὴν λογικὴν καὶ ἀνάιμακτον δεχόμενος παρὰ τῶν ἐπικαλουμένων σε ...¹⁸²
6. Χριστέ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, εὐσπλαγχε καὶ πολυέλεε, ὁ διὰ τῆς ἀγίας σου νηστείας ...¹⁸³
7. Εὐλόγητός εἰ Κύριε, ὑπερυψούμενος δεδοξασμένος ἀγαθὲ ὁ ...¹⁸⁴
8. Ὁ εὐλογῶν τοὺς εὐλογοῦντάς σε Κύριε ...¹⁸⁵
9. Ἐπίβλεψον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἀγίου σου, Κύριε ...¹⁸⁶

Taft has shown that the opisthambonos prayer was a 'foreign import into the liturgical ordo of the Byzantine Eucharist' of Hagiopolite provenance.¹⁸⁷ Thus in the eighth-century Barberini gr. 336 the PRES does not have an Opisthambonos prayer within its formulary. One has to go to the appendix to find one. In fact there are not one but five opisthambonos prayers for the PRES (numbers 1, 3, 4, 5 and 6 above). The eighth-century Barberini is not the only such case in which more than one prayer is provided for the PRES; this is also the case in the tenth/eleventh-century Γ.β. X that has four prayers (number 1, 2, 6 and 7 above) and the twelfth-century Barberini gr. 329 that has two prayers (numbers 1 and 2 above).

This multiplicity of opisthambonos prayers is not unique to the PRES. In fact, a number of opisthambonos prayers are provided both for BAS and CHR for various feasts and liturgical seasons.¹⁸⁸ Of the opisthambonos prayers of the PRES listed above, numbers (1), (2), (6) and (7)

¹⁸² Eighth-century Barberini gr. 336, f. 258v-259v (PARENTI & VELKOVSKA: *Barberini gr. 336* 244-245), titled Εὐχὴ ἄλλη τῶν προηγησμένων.

¹⁸³ Eighth-century Barberini gr. 336, f. 259v-260v (PARENTI & VELKOVSKA: *Barberini gr. 336* 245), titled Εὐχὴ ἐπιστάμβωνος τῶν προηγησμένων; tenth/eleventh-century Γβ X, f. 24v-25v, titled Εὐχὴ ἄλλη ὀπισθάμβωνος τῆς ἀγίας Μ.

¹⁸⁴ Tenth/eleventh-century Γβ X, f. 25v-26r titled Εὐχὴ ἄλλη ὀπισθάμβωνος τῆς ἀγίας Μ.

¹⁸⁵ Twelfth-century Ottoboni gr. 344, f. 27r-v; thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 966, f. 52v; fourteenth-century Vatican gr. 2324, f. 25v.

¹⁸⁶ Thirteenth-century Messanensis gr. 175, X, f. 24r; cited in A. JACOB: 'Rouleau liturgique' 328.

¹⁸⁷ TAFT: 'Towards the Origins of the Opisthambonos Prayer' 32-37, 322-323.

¹⁸⁸ ARRANZ: 'Présanctifies' 355; MINISCI: 'Le preghiere ὀπισθάμβωνοι dei codici criptensi' in *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* n.s. 2 (1948) 65-75, 117-126; 3 (1949) 3-10, 61-66, 121-132, 185-194; 4 (1950) 3-14; A. JACOB: 'Les prières de l'ambon du Barber. gr. 336 et du Vatican gr. 1833' in *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 37 (1966) 17-51; A. JACOB: 'Le prières de l'ambon du Leningr. gr. 226' in *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 42 (1972) 109-131.

have clear references to Lent,¹⁸⁹ the only liturgical period today that we celebrate the PRES. Prayer number (1) is the prayer in current use and the prayer that the vast majority of the manuscripts have. Prayers (3) and (4) have no reference to Lent or fasting; it is possible that these prayers reflect the period when the PRES was not limited to Lent, but was celebrated on Wednesdays and Fridays of the whole year. The wording of prayer (5) presupposes the celebration of the full liturgy. Prayer (8) is the opisthambonos prayer of BAS and CHR. Finally, prayer (9) is based on the elevation prayer *Πρόσχεσ*.¹⁹⁰

At the conclusion of the opisthambonos prayer the people sing the short refrain 'Εὐὴ τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου εὐλογημένον, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος' (Blessed is the name of the Lord, from this time forth and for ever) three times. The earliest witness to this hymn in the PRES is the tenth-century Γ.β. VII, f. 116r, where mention is made both of *Εὐὴ τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου* and its replacement during Lent:

Καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν· Εὐὴ τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου, λέγει πᾶς ὁ λαὸς τρίτον·

Ὡς ἐμνήσθης ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ ληστοῦ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ, μνήσθητι καὶ ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου.

Τοῦτο δὲ λέγεται ἀπὸ τῆν α' ἐβδομάδα τῶν νηστειῶν ἕως τῆς μεγάλῃ παρασκευῇ· σάββατον δὲ καὶ κυριακὴν λέγει· Εὐὴ τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου εὐλογημένον.

And instead of saying 'Blessed is the name of the Lord' the people say thrice:

'God, as you remembered the thief on the cross, remember us too in your kingdom.'

This is said from the first week of Lent until Holy Friday. On Saturdays and Sundays say 'Blessed is he name of the Lord.'

Among a few southern Italian manuscripts the refrain 'Δόξα τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις καὶ μεγαλοπρέπεια τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύμῳ·

¹⁸⁹ Prayer 1: ... ἀγαθῶν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὰς πανσέπτους ἡμέρας ταύτας, πρὸς καθαρισμὸν ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων, πρὸς ἐγκράτειαν παθῶν, πρὸς ἐλπίδα ἀναστάσεως· ὁ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν πλακας χειρίσας τὰ θεογράχατα γράμματα τῷ θεράποντί σου Μωσῆϊ, παράσχου καὶ ἡμῖν, Ἄγαθε, τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν καλὸν ἀγωνισασθαι, τὸν δρόμον τῆς νηστείας ἐκτελέσαι ... (textus receptus); prayer 2: ... ὁ προορίσας τὰς ἁγίας σου ταύτας ἡμέρας τῶν νηστειῶν διὰ τὸ νόμους προφητῶν καὶ εὐαγγελίων· καταξίωσον πάντας ἡμᾶς τὸν δρόμον αὐτὸν ἐπιτελέσαι ... προσδεχόμενος τὰς νηστείας καὶ γονυκλισίας τῶν θεραπόντων σου ... from the tenth/eleventh-century Γβ X, f. 24v; prayer 6: ... ὁ διὰ τῆς ἁγίας σου νηστείας ὁδὸν σωτηρίας ἡμῖν ὑποδείξας ... διὰ νηστείας καὶ μετανοίας ... διὰ νηστείας καὶ προσευχῆς ... διὰ νηστείας καὶ δακρύων ... prayer 7: ... ὅπως διὰ τῆς τεσσαρακονταήμερου νηστείας

¹⁹⁰ JACOB: 'Rouleau liturgique' 328.

ματι¹⁹¹ (Glory, honor, worship and greatness [is due] to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit) replaces 'Εἴη τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου.' For obvious reasons, this hymn is called a doxology in the eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 14v.¹⁹² The twelfth-century Biblioteca Angelica gr. 15, f. 49r, gives us a hint of how it was chanted: 'Ὁ λαὸς ἀμήν· Δόξα πνεύματι· τρίτον Νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς (The people: Amen [response to the opisthambonos prayer] Glory ... Spirit; the third, Now and ever and to the [ages]). In other words, at the third repetition, the people would add the conclusion to the doxology.

If we consider that after the recitation of the opisthambonos prayer, the priest would head to the skeuophylakion, not entering into the sanctuary again as he would today, it is possible that a psalm or a hymn was introduced to cover the silence for the duration of the priest's exit from the nave. If a psalm was originally introduced, the Δόξα ... πνεύματι above could be the relic of the final doxology of the psalm, and the hymns Εἴη τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου and Ὡς ἐμνήσθης ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ ληστοῦ could have been responses to that psalm. At this point this is only hypothetical.

5.8.3 Prayer of the Skeuophylakion

Describing the importance of the skeuophylakion in the Byzantine liturgy, Taft notes:

The skeuophylakion ... 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.' 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 procession¹⁹³ at the end of the mass.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹¹ Tenth/eleventh-century Γ.β. X, f. 24r; eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 14v; twelfth-century Vatican gr. 1811, f. 109v; Vatican gr. 1875, f. 41r; Barberini gr. 431, f. 32r; Barberini gr. 329, f. 19r; Biblioteca Angelica gr. 15, f. 47r; Γ.β. II, f. 50r; thirteenth-century Barberini gr. 443, f. 36v; fourteenth-century Vatican gr. 2324, f. 25v; sixteenth-century Vatican gr. 2143, p. 67.

¹⁹² 'Ὁ λαὸς ἀντὶ τοῦ Εἴη τὸ ὄνομα· Δόξα τιμῇ καὶ προσκύνησιν καὶ μεγαλοπρέπειαν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι· ἡ Δοξολογία ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ γ'.

¹⁹³ This exit procession is examined in R. TAFT: 'A Missing Procession in the Byzantine Divine Liturgy' in *L'image et la parole. Εἰκόνα καὶ λόγος. Recueil à l'occasion du 60e anniversaire du Prof. Axina Dzhurova* (Sofia 2004) 397-406. I would like to thank Prof. Stefano Parenti for bringing this article to my attention.

¹⁹⁴ TAFT: *Great Entrance* 189.

Imitating the regular liturgy, the PRES also acquired a skeuophylakion prayer. There is evidence, however, that indicates that this prayer was a late addition to the PRES. The earliest surviving euchology, the eighth-century Barberini gr. 336, provides a skeuophylakion prayer for BAS within the formulary itself,¹⁹⁵ and a series of optional skeuophylakion prayers in its appendix.¹⁹⁶ CHR and PRES do not have a skeuophylakion prayer, neither in their respective formularies nor in the appendix. Formularies of the PRES that do not have a skeuophylakion prayer are the eleventh-century Paris gr. 391, the eleventh/twelfth-century Sinai gr. 962, and the thirteenth-century Ann Arbor 37. The skeuophylakion prayer first appears in the PRES in the tenth-century.

The skeuophylakion prayer, the final prayer of the PRES, was originally said in the skeuophylakion. However, the fact that the functions of the skeuophylakion moved to within the church building after iconoclasm,¹⁹⁷ or even that the churches of the periphery did not have a skeuophylakion, is reflected in the various titles of this prayer in the manuscript tradition. These titles tell us either where the prayer was said (numbers 1, 2, 6, and 9 below), at what point in the PRES was this prayer said (3, 4, 5 and 10 below), or a combination of both (7):

1. Εὐχὴ λεγομένη ἐν τῷ σκευοφυλακίῳ¹⁹⁸
2. Εὐχὴ τοῦ σκευοφυλακίου¹⁹⁹
3. Εὐχὴ τῆς ἀπολύσεως²⁰⁰
4. Εὐχὴ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν²⁰¹
5. Εὐχὴν μετὰ τὴν πλήρωσιν τῆς λειτουργίας²⁰²

¹⁹⁵ PARENTI & VELKOVSKA: *Barberini gr. 336* 71.

¹⁹⁶ PARENTI & VELKOVSKA: *Barberini gr. 336* 242-243.

¹⁹⁷ TAFT: A Missing Procession 401-402.

¹⁹⁸ Tenth-century Sevastianov 474 (KS 282); eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 14v; Benaki 27 (56), f. 68v; twelfth-century Sinai gr. 973, f. 27r; Barberini gr. 393, f. 44v; thirteenth-century Barberini gr. 443, f. 36v; fourteenth-century Vatopedi 984, f. 34r; Vatican gr. 2324, f. 26r; fifteenth/sixteenth-century Paris gr. 326, f. 65r; sixteenth-century Sabas 48, f. 17r; EBE 781, f. 44r; Vatican gr. 2143, p. 67; EBE 772, f. 109r; Vatican gr. 2051, f. 83r.

¹⁹⁹ Twelfth-century Vatican gr. 1863, f. 108r; Vatican gr. 1554, f. 47r; Barberini gr. 431, f. 32r; fifteenth-century EBE 661, f. 20r; EBE 685, p. 50.

²⁰⁰ Tenth-century Γ.β. VII, f. 116r; twelfth-century Γ.β. VIII, f. 84v.

²⁰¹ Tenth-century St. Petersburg 226 (JACOB: 'St. Petersburg 226' 191).

²⁰² Twelfth/thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 1036, f. 54v.

6. Εὐχὴ λεγομένη ἐν τῷ διακονικῷ²⁰³
7. Εὐχὴ λεγομένη μετὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν ἐν τῷ διακονικῷ²⁰⁴
8. Στραφεὶς πρὸς τὴν πρόθεσιν²⁰⁵
9. Εὐχὴ λεγομένη ἐν τῇ προθέσει²⁰⁶
10. Ἐν τῷ συστειλαί τὰ ἄγια²⁰⁷

The dominant skeuophylakion prayer in the manuscript tradition is number (1) below Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ἀγαγὼν ἡμᾶς. Prayer (4) below, Ἐκ δυνάμεως εἰς δύναμιν, originally from JAS,²⁰⁸ comes down to us in different recensions.²⁰⁹ Prayer (5) below, Ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων εἰς τὰ ἄγια seems to be a reworking of the prayer Ἐκ δυνάμεως εἰς δύναμιν, Type C.

1. Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ἀγαγὼν ἡμᾶς ...²¹⁰

²⁰³ Eleventh-century Sinai gr. 958, f. 26r; thirteenth-century Ann Arbor 49, f. 56r; fifteenth-century EBE 769, f. 140r; sixteenth-century Sabas 53, f. 101r; Sinai gr. 2045, f. 98v; Benaki 79 (TA 177), f. 89r.

²⁰⁴ Eleventh-century Sinai gr. 959, f. 42v.

²⁰⁵ Twelfth-century Oxford Bodleian Auct. E.5.13 (JACOB: 'E.5.13' 309); Γ.β. II, f. 50r.

²⁰⁶ Fifteenth/sixteenth-century Sabas 382, f. 73r; Ann Arbor 17, f. 61r.

²⁰⁷ Twelfth-century Paris gr. 392, f. 45r; Vatican gr. 1970, f. 52v (δῶρα instead of ἄγια); twelfth/thirteenth-century EBE 662, f. 66v; thirteenth-century Archimedes Palimpsest, f. 12r; Sinai gr. 966, f. 52v; Paris gr. 324, f. 47r; fifteenth-century EBE 877, p. 184; Vatican gr. 1978, f. 47r; Sinai gr. 968, f. 60r; EBE 1910, f. 48r; EBE 2403, f. 57r; fifteenth/sixteenth-century EBE 756, f. 64r; sixteenth-century Paris gr. 393, f. 60r; Sinai gr. 2111, f. 152r; Sinai gr. 2017, f. 107r; Vatican gr. 2032, f. 24v; Panagia Kamariotissa 142 (139), f. 35r (Ἐὐχὴ συστειλλομένων τῶν ἁγίων); Vatican gr. 2007, f. 35v; Vatican gr. 1557, f. 109r; Ottoboni gr. 288, f. 83v; Benaki 10 (16), f. 97r; EBE 759, p. 401; EBE 749, f. 78r; EBE 755, f. 116v; EBE 878, p. 163; EBE 775, f. 113v; EBE 2400, f. 97r; EBE 757, f. 73v; Vatican gr. 2052, f. 37v; seventeenth-century Library of Congress gr. 37, f. 126v; Taphou 334, f. 125r.

²⁰⁸ MERCIER: *Saint Jacques* 240.

²⁰⁹ A. JACOB: 'Une prière du skeuophylakion de la Liturgie de saint Jacques et ses parallèles byzantins' in *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge* 37 (1966) 53-80; A. JACOB: 'Une prière du skeuophylakion de la Liturgie de saint Jacques et ses parallèles byzantins. Addenda' in *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge* 39 (1968) 327-331.

²¹⁰ Tenth-century Sevastianov 474 (KS 282); eleventh-century Sinai gr. 958, f. 26r; Γ.β. XX, f. 14v-15r; eleventh-century Benaki 27 (56), f. 68v-69r; twelfth-century Oxford Bodleian Auct. E.5.13 (JACOB: 'E.5.13' 309); Vatican gr. 1811, f. 110r; Sinai gr. 973, f. 27r; Paris gr. 392, f. 45r; Paris gr. 330, p. 36; Vatican gr. 1875, f. 41r-v; Vatican gr. 1863, f. 108r-v; Barberini gr. 431, f. 32r; Barberini gr. 393, f. 44v; Barberini gr. 345, f. 26r; EBE 713, f. 49v; Γ.β. II, f. 50r-v; Ottoboni gr. 344, f. 28r; BM 5; twelfth/thirteenth-century EBE 662, f. 66v-67r; thirteenth-century Ann Arbor 49, f. 56r-v; Sinai gr. 1037, f. 104v-105r; Sinai gr. 966, f. 52v; Ambrosiana 709 (R24 sup), f. 108v; four-

2. Καὶ νῦν δεόμεθα σου ...²¹¹
3. Τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν²¹²
4. Ἐκ δυνάμεως εἰς δύνανται ...
 - i. Type A3: Thirteenth-century Ambrosiana F3 sup, f. 17v.
 - ii. Type D: Tenth-century St. Petersburg 226, f. 72r-v; tenth/eleventh-century Γ.β. X, f. 24v; twelfth-century Vatican gr. 1554, f. 47r; twelfth/thirteenth-century Vatican gr. 2005, f. 72r; fourteenth-century Borgia georg. 7, (T80)
 - iii. Type E: Tenth-century Γ.β. IV, f. 42r; eleventh-century Sinai gr. 959, f. 42r; twelfth-century Ottoboni gr. 344, f. 28r; twelfth-century Archimedes Palimpsest, f. 12r (shorter version)
 - iv. Type F: Twelfth-century Biblioteca Angelica gr. 15, f. 49r-v; fourteenth-century Γ.β. III, f. 115v-116r; sixteenth-century Vatican gr. 2143, p. 67.
5. Ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων εἰς τὰ ἄγια πορευόμενοι ἡμεῖς οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀγαζόμενοι, δόξαν καὶ εὐχαριστίαν ἀναπέμπομεν ...²¹³

5.8.4 Psalms 33 and 144 and the Second Dismissal

As we have noted in section 5.8.1, the diaconal call, 'Let us depart in peace,' was the original dismissal of all services in the Great Church. With the Studite synthesis, two elements were added to the conclusion

tenth-century Vatopedi 984, f. 34r-v; Vatopedi 133 (744) DII:274; Paris gr. 324, f. 47r; Vatican gr. 2324, f. 26r; fourteenth/fifteenth-century Benaki 90 (TA 246), f. 66v (later hand); fifteenth-century Sinai gr. 968, f. 60r; Vatican gr. 1978, f. 47r; EBE 877, p. 184; EBE 1910, f. 48r-v; EBE 661, f. 20r; EBE 2403, f. 57r; EBE 769, f. 140r-v (later hand); Ambrosiana 84 (B15 sup), f. 147r; fifteenth/sixteenth-century Paris gr. 326, f. 65r; Sabas 382, f. 73r-v; EBE 756, f. 63v-64r; Ann Arbor 17, f. 61r; sixteenth-century Paris gr. 393, f. 60r-v; Panagia Kamariotissa 143 (140), f. 35r; Sinai gr. 2037, f. 91r; Sinai gr. 2111, f. 152r-v; Sabas 48, 17r-v; Sabas 53, f. 101r; Sinai gr. 2045, f. 98v; Sinai gr. 2017, f. 107r; Vatican gr. 2032, f. 24v; Vatican gr. 2007, f. 35v; Vatican gr. 1557, f. 109r; Ottoboni gr. 288, f. 83v; Benaki 10 (16), f. 97r-v; EBE 781, f. 44r-v; EBE 759, p. 401; EBE 749, 78r; EBE 772, f. 109r-v; EBE 755, f. 116v-117r; EBE 878, p. 163; EBE 775, f. 113v; EBE 2400, f. 97r (different hand); EBE 757, f. 73v; Benaki 79 (TA 177), f. 89r; Vatican gr. 2051, f. 83r; Vatican gr. 2052, f. 39v.

²¹¹ Twelfth-thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 1036, f. 54v-55r; Ottoboni gr. 344, f. 28; thirteenth-century Ambrosiana 276 (E20 sup), f. 49r; Barberini gr. 443, f. 36v; fourteenth-century EBE 2086 (TR 220); fifteenth-century EBE 685, p. 50. ARRANZ: *L'Eu-cologio Constantinopolitano* 17, 57.

²¹² Twelfth-century Γ.β. VIII, f. 84v; thirteenth-century Ambrosiana gr. 276 (E20 sup), f. 49r (incipit only); Γ.β. XIII, f. 59r.

²¹³ Tenth-century Γ.β. VII, f. 116r; for more on this prayer, see PASSARELLI: *Γ.β. VII* 46-48.

of PRES: the monastic dismissal and Psalms 33 and 144. The latter were part of the Office of the Typika, a monastic Palestinian PRES. When the Palestinian monks came to Constantinople, the PRES was already established, so the Office of the Typika lost its eucharistic character. However, Ps 33 and 144, elements of the Office of the Typika, were appended to the PRES (see section 3.7.1). Studite monastic documents attest to this change. For example, the twelfth-century Evergetis Typikon prescribes the following for the Monday of the first week of Lent:

Δεῖ δὲ γινώσκειν καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι ταύτη καὶ μόνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὐ λειτουργοῦμεν. Ψάλλομεν οὖν ἐν τοῖς τυπικοῖς καὶ τὸν ψαλμὸν τὸ Εὐλόγησω τὸν Κύριον. Ὅταν δὲ λειτουργοῦμεν ψάλλομεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ τέλει τῆς λειτουργίας.²¹⁴

It is necessary to realize this also, that only on this day we do not celebrate a Liturgy. So during Typika we also chant the psalm Εὐλόγησω τὸν Κύριον [Ps 33], but whenever we celebrate a Liturgy we chant it at the end of the Liturgy.

The same guidelines are given in the twelfth-century Typikon of the Holy Savior:

Δεῖ δὲ γινώσκειν, ὅτι ὅτε οὐ γίνεται λειτουργία, ψάλλεται τὸ Εὐλόγησω τὸν Κύριον ἐν τοῖς Τυπικοῖς, μετὰ τοῦ Ἰψώσω σε. Ὅτε δὲ τελεῖται αὕτη, ἤγουν τὰ προηγησάμενα, ψάλλεται ἐν τῷ τέλει τῆς λειτουργίας.²¹⁵

One should know this, that when there is no liturgy, Ps 33 is sung in the Typika, together with Ps 144. When the liturgy, i.e. the Presanctified, is celebrated, they are chanted at the end of the liturgy.

These monastic elements appear in the manuscript tradition of the PRES for the first time in the twelfth-century.²¹⁶ The fifteenth-century EBE 769 preserves both the cathedral and the monastic conclusions to the PRES. While within the text of the PRES the cathedral conclusion is given (f. 138v-140v), a note in the Diataxis in the beginning of the manuscript reads:

Ἐτέρα μέθοδος, μετὰ τὴν τελευταίαν ἐπισθάμβωνον εὐχὴν ἐπιστρέφει εἰς τὴν

Another practice: After the final episthambonos prayer the priest returns

²¹⁴ Text and translation from JORDAN: *The Synaxarion of Evergetis* II:364-365; DI:515.

²¹⁵ ARRANZ: *Saint-Sauveur* 204.

²¹⁶ See outline of evidence in the beginning of this (5.8) section.

πρόθεσιν κάκει πλοιοροῖ τὴν εὐχὴν τοῦ
σκευοφυλακίου· εἶτα ἐξελθὼν διαδίδωσι
τὸ ἀντίδωρον· λεγόμενον τὸ Εὐλογησὼ
τὸν κύριον· οὐ καὶ πληρωθέντος ἐκφωνεῖ
τὸ· Εὐλογία κυρίου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς· Εὐλογῶν
ἅμα τὸν λαόν· Καὶ τοῦτον τὸν στίχον δι'
εὐχῶν τῶν ἀγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν· Καὶ
οὕτως ἀπέρχεται τῇ προθέσει.
(f. 20v-21r).

to the prothesis and there he recites the
skeuophylakion prayer. Then exiting
[the altar] he distributes the antidoron
while Ps 33 is recited. At the comple-
tion of the psalm, he says aloud: 'May
the blessing of the Lord be upon us'
blessing the people in the same time.
And this verse: Through the prayers of
our fathers. And then he goes to the
Prothesis.

5.9 Conclusions

The communion part of the PRES, as celebrated today, is the product of a long evolution, of which the driving force was the effort to make the communion part of the PRES look more like the respective part of the full liturgy.

E. Great Entrance Rites

1. The transfer of the gifts from the place of reservation to the holy table was originally very simple with no ritual embellishments. It fulfilled the practical need to bring the gifts to be distributed to the communicants.
2. A cherubic hymn unique to the PRES, used to cover the transfer of the gifts, was added in 615 or 616.
3. The great entrance rites of the PRES grew by imitating the respective rites of the full liturgy.
4. By the twelfth-century some manuscripts had acquired a cherubic prayer. The rubric 'cherubic prayer is not said' also appeared in manuscripts of the same century, demonstrating a certain resistance of the PRES. This resistance eventually won out since today no cherubic prayer is said.

F. Precommunion

1. The precommunion litany of the PRES is made up of two elements: the dismissal litany of Vespers and the Ur-text of the precommunion litany. When communion was appended to vespers, it attracted the precommunion litany, which was incorporated into the dismissal litany of PRES.

2. The prayer Ὁ τῶν ἀρροτήτων ... is made up of the proskomide and precommunion prayers of BAS. It is an embolism to the rite structurally taking the place of the anaphora.
3. The inclination prayer of the PRES was originally a vesperal prayer reworked to include a reference to communion.
4. The earliest manuscripts of the PRES do not have an elevation prayer. It made its way in the PRES formularies after the tenth century.
5. The fifteenth century was a turning point for the elevation rites. Then the first rubrics appear that forbid the priest to elevate the Lamb, but guide him to leave the gifts covered and only touch the Lamb.
6. The ancient communion call, the sancta sanctis, adapted to the PRES, was possibly the first element to be added to the rite when communion from presanctified gifts was appended to Vespers.
7. Ps 33:9 is the standard koinonikon of the PRES, but there is some evidence to indicate that the ancient koinonikon of Constantinople, Ps 148:1, was also the koinonikon of the PRES in Constantinople.
8. There are two different approaches to consecration 'by contact' in the Orthodox liturgical tradition. On one hand, the Russian Orthodox tradition maintains that the chalice of the PRES is not consecrated by the particle of the Lamb dropped therein at commixion. On the other hand, the Greek Orthodox tradition holds that the wine in the chalice is consecrated by the Lamb dropped therein, since the Lamb, at the time of its reservation, was anointed with consecrated wine.
9. Both of these approaches may be challenged. The Russian tradition, which appeared in the seventeenth century, is the result of the influence of western scholastic thought, according to which the chalice is not consecrated because the Words of Institution are not recited in the PRES. Although today the reason behind this practice is not accepted, the practice itself continues. The Greek approach may also be problematic if the lamb is sprinkled with consecrated wine because it is deemed necessary for the consecration of the chalice. The evidence is clear that the early practice of the Great Church was to reserve the Lamb *not* anointed or sprinkled with consecrated wine; it was that same Lamb, containing no trace of consecrated wine, which sanctified the chalice.

G. Communion

1. The communion rites of clergy and laity follow that of the full liturgy.
2. Clergy in the Russian Orthodox tradition do not commune from the chalice since, as explained above, they hold that the chalice is not consecrated.

H. Postcommunion

1. The response *Εὐλογήσω τὸν Κύριον* is a late addition to the PRES appearing in this place only in the seventeenth century.
2. The perisse of the *koinonikon*, the *Ἰλληρωθήτω*, was added to the full liturgy in 624, and must have entered the PRES some time after this date. Some southern-Italian formularies provide an alternative hymn.

I. Thanksgiving

1. The thanksgiving litany and prayer must also have been one of the first elements drawn to the communion from presanctified gifts at the end of vespers.
2. Rubrics in this unit allow us to trace the changing frequency of communion among the people.

J. Dismissal and Final Rites

1. The *opisthambonos* prayer was most likely added to the PRES in the eighth century imitating the full liturgy.
2. In the same way, but a little later, the PRES also acquired a *skeuophylakion* prayer.
3. The PRES acquired a new conclusion, a second monastic dismissal, with the Studite synthesis.
4. When monks from Palestine came to Constantinople after Iconoclasm, they brought with them the Office of *Typika*, a Palestinian monastic PRES. Since, however, Constantinople already had a PRES, the Office of *Typika* lost its eucharistic character. Ps 33 and 144 though, elements of the Office of the *Typika*, were placed at the end of PRES.

CONCLUSION

The PRES is a post fourth-century development in the Christian Church in which lay private reservation and communion became institutionalized for a variety of reasons (e.g. abuse, heresy, control, clericalism, the celebration of the Eucharist versus fasting). The five types of PRES (i.e., Byzantine, Syrian, Hagiopolite, Nubian, and Roman) suggest that there was no one single place of origin or provenance. As lay private reservation and communion were institutionalized, the context of institutionalization gave rise to two different expressions of the PRES in each case: a monastic PRES and a cathedral PRES. The object of this study, the PRES in the Byzantine rite, reflects the cathedral PRES in this tradition.

The earliest documentary evidence of the PRES in the Byzantine tradition comes from the early seventh century. There is an account of the existence of a PRES in Palestine also from the early seventh century. However, the earliest witness to such a service comes from the West in the *Rule of the Master* (500-525). The eighth-century Barberini gr. 336, the first manuscript witness to the PRES in the Byzantine liturgical tradition, shows an already developed rite. There is no doubt that the PRES existed in the Byzantine tradition since the sixth century, possibly even the fifth century, albeit in a very simple form. This would include the reservation of the gifts from a previous full liturgy, the transfer of the gifts to the altar, and communion.

The PRES in the Byzantine rite was not limited to Wednesdays and Fridays of Lent and Holy Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday as it is today. Rather, it could be celebrated on Wednesday and Friday of Cheesefare Week, all weekdays of Lent, and Holy Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday. Nor was it limited to Lent. The PRES could be celebrated on all Wednesdays and Fridays of the year, and possibly also on September 14. With the Studite synthesis, and eventually with the domination of the Sabaitic Typikon, the use of the PRES was curtailed, limiting it to Wednesdays and Fridays of Lent and the first three days of Holy Week.

Chapters four and five have been dedicated to the examination of the vesperal and communion parts of the PRES. The fact that the PRES is essentially a communion service attached to vespers has been the guiding principle in this effort. It is upon this vesperal structure that the

communion part grew, imitating the communion part of the full liturgy. I have argued that we are still able to see traces of the cathedral vesperal structure (i.e., dismissal litany and prayer of inclination) even within the communion part of the PRES.

Putting together the two structures presented in the beginning of chapters four and five, we have an outline of the PRES as celebrated today:

A. Vespers

1. Enarxis – Εὐλογημένη ...
2. Ps 103
3. Priest recites Prayer 5-7
4. Eirenika
5. First Antiphon Prayer
6. Kathisma 18

B. Prothesis

7. Prothesis during the first stasis of Kathisma 18
8. Small Synapte and Antiphon Prayers 2-4 after each stasis.
9. Pss 140, 141, 129, 116 with troparia
10. Entrance
11. Entrance Prayer
12. Φῶς ἰλαρόν

C. Readings – Phos Christou – Ps 140.2

13. Prokeimenon 1
14. Reading 1
15. Prokeimenon 2
16. Φῶς Χριστοῦ
17. Reading 2
18. Ps 140.2
19. [Epistle and/or only Gospel]

D. Litanies

20. Ektene Litany and Prayer of Ektene
21. Litany, Prayer, and Dismissal of Catechumens
22. Litany, Prayer, and Dismissal of Photizomenoi
23. Small Litany
24. First Prayer of the Faithful
25. Small Litany
26. Second Prayer of the Faithful

E. Great Entrance Rites**F. Precommunion****I. Spiritual Preparation for Communion**

27. Precommunion Litany
28. Prayer
29. Introduction to the Lord's Prayer
30. Lord's Prayer with concluding doxology
31. Peace
32. Diaconal command to bow
33. Prayer of Inclination
34. Prayer of Elevation
35. Elevation
36. 'Let us be attentive!'
37. Invitation to communion I: 'The presanctified holy things for the holy' and its response
38. Communion psalm: Ps 33:9

II. Material Preparation for Communion / Manual Acts

39. Fraction
40. Commixture
41. Zeon

G. Communion

42. Communion of the clergy (with formulae)
43. Invitation to communion II: 'With fear of God ... **approach**'
44. 'Blessed is he who comes ...' (Ps 117:26a, 27a)
45. Communion of the people

H. Postcommunion

46. Ps 27:9: 'Save, O God, your people ...'
47. Refrain 'I will bless the Lord at all times ...' while the gifts are returned to the altar.
48. Doxology by the priest said silently: 'Blessed is our God' and aloud 'now and ever and unto the ages of ages.'
49. Troparion: 'Let our mouth be filled with your praise ...'
50. The priest and deacon return the vessels to the prothesis

I. Thanksgiving

51. Litany
52. Prayer

J. Dismissal and Final Rites

53. 'Let us depart in peace'
54. Opisthambonos Prayer
55. 'May the name of the Lord ...' x3
56. Skeuophylakion Prayer
57. Blessing
58. Apolysis
59. Psalms 33 and 144
60. Through the prayers...

This structure reflects a vesperal part that bears the marks of the Studite and neo-Sabaitic synthesis and a communion part that is fully developed and almost identical to that of the full liturgy. In the vesperal structure we see items that are cathedral or monastic in origin, and cathedral elements reorganized through monastic influence (i.e., Studite and Sabaitic). Dates given reflect first documented appearance.

1. Cathedral Elements: Items 1, 4, 5, 10, 11, 20-26, 27, 33.

- i. Item 26, the second prayer of the faithful, was rewritten after 615 or 616, when the hymn Νῶν αἰ δυνάμεις became the great entrance hymn of the PRES.
- ii. Item 27 was originally the dismissal (or 'Angel of Peace') litany of vespers, with which the precommunion litany, drawn to the PRES, merged.
- iii. Item 33 was originally a vesperal inclination prayer which was rewritten to reflect the communion that was taking place now in the PRES.

2. Monastic Elements: Items 2, 6, 9, 12:

- i. Item 2, Ps 103, replaced the opening psalm of the cathedral rite, Ps 85. The first appearance of Ps 103 in the PRES was in the eleventh century.
- ii. Item 6, Kathisma 18, is part of the monastic cursus of the Psalter. It replaced the cathedral antiphons of the Psalter. In the Studite use, in contrast to the Sabaitic tradition, the monastic Psalter was not recited when PRES was celebrated following the cathedral principle of limiting psalmody whenever the PRES was celebrated.

- iii. The vesperal Psalmody (Pss 140, 141, 129, 116 with troparia), of Hagiopolite provenance, came to Constantinople with the Studite reforms. The cathedral office of Constantinople had only one vesperal psalm, Ps 140, with no incensation associated with it, following the practice of Antioch.
 - iv. Item 12, the Φῶς ἱλαρόν, is the Hagiopolite lucernarium that came to Constantinople with the Studite reforms since Constantinople did not have a lucernarium.
3. Cathedral Elements Reorganized: 3 and 8 (vesperal prayers)
- i. As noted above, that psalmody was greatly reduced in the cathedral office when PRES was appended to vespers.
 - ii. Since the number of prayers recited in cathedral vespers corresponded to the number of antiphons of the Psalter said, the prayers were also limited.
 - iii. Beginning with the Studite synthesis the prayers lost their place and were gradually lumped together and read silently by the priest.
 - iv. Since in the Studite phase Kathisma 18 was not said when the PRES was celebrated, the prayers were read during Ps 103.
4. Prothesis: Item B
- i. The prothesis is the precursor to the communion part.
 - ii. It would originally take place before the beginning of the service at the skeuophylakion.
 - iii. When the skeuophylakion lost its function, the prothesis moved to within the altar (prothesis niche), and the prothesis rite of the PRES to within the PRES itself. The recitation of Kathisma 18 provided ample time for the prothesis ritual.
5. Items 13-18:
- i. Items 13-17 came as a unit, probably from Antioch. These readings were organized in the same form as in the eighth century when the *Prophetologion*, the Old Testament Lectionary, was put together.
 - ii. Item 16, the lucernarium Φῶς Χριστοῦ, shows a strong relationship with the readings of Genesis and Exodus.

- iii. Item 18, Ps 140.2, plays the role of a prokeimenon. Originally a vesperal psalm, its provenance is unknown; the presence of ‘incense’ in the verse seems to negate Constantinopolitan or Antiochian provenance.

When attached to the end of vespers, the first elements of the PRES must have been the transfer and communion of the Presanctified Gifts. Below, the new elements are noted in bold. Dates, when provided, reflect the first documented appearance of the respective item.

Stage 1:

Preparation of Presanctified Gifts – Prothesis (before the beginning of Vespers)

Vespers

Readings in Lent

Litany, Prayer and Dismissal of the Catechumens

Litany, Prayer and Dismissal of the Photizomenoi

Litany, and Prayer 1 of the Faithful

Litany, and Prayer 2 of the Faithful

Dismissal Litany

Prayer of Inclination

Transfer of Gifts

Communion from Presanctified Gifts (items 36, 37, 39, 40)

Dismissal (item 53)

Stage 2:

Preparation of Presanctified Gifts – Prothesis (before the beginning of Vespers)

Vespers

Readings in Lent

Litany, Prayer and Dismissal of the Catechumens

Litany, Prayer and Dismissal of the Photizomenoi

Litany, and Prayer 1 of the Faithful

Litany, and Prayer 2 of the Faithful

Transfer of Gifts

Dismissal Litany + **Precommunion Litany**

Lord’s Prayer (items 29, 30)

Prayer of Inclination (+ **references to communion**)

Peace (item 31)

Communion from Presanctified Gifts (items 36, 37, 39, 40)

Dismissal (item 53)

By 615-616:

Preparation of Presanctified Gifts – Prothesis (before the beginning of Vespers)

Vespers

Readings in Lent

Ps 140.2

Litany, Prayer and Dismissal of the Catechumens

Litany, Prayer and Dismissal of the Photizomenoi

Litany, and Prayer 1 of the Faithful

Litany, and **Prayer 2 of the Faithful (rewritten to reflect new great entrance prayer)**

Transfer of Gifts (**Νῦν αἱ δυνάμεις** great entrance hymn)

Dismissal Litany + Precommunion Litany

Prayer ('Ὁ τῶν ἀρρήτων ...)?

Lord's Prayer (items 29, 30)

Peace (item 31)

Prayer of Inclination (+ references to communion)

Communion from Presanctified Gifts (items 36, 37, 39, 40)

Communion Psalmody

Thanksgiving (items 51-52)

Dismissal (item 53)

By middle of eighth-century (Barberini gr. 336):

Preparation of Presanctified Gifts – Prothesis (before the beginning of Vespers)

Vespers

Readings – Phos Christou (items 13-17 organized in Prophetologion)

Ps 140.2

Litany, Prayer and Dismissal of the Catechumens

Litany, Prayer and Dismissal of the Photizomenoi

Litany, and Prayer 1 of the Faithful

Litany, and **Prayer 2 of the Faithful (rewritten to reflect new great entrance prayer)**

Transfer of Gifts (**Νῦν αἱ δυνάμεις** great entrance hymn)

Dismissal Litany + Precommunion Litany

Prayer ('Ὁ τῶν ἀρρήτων ...)

Lord's Prayer (items 29, 30)

Peace (item 31)

Prayer of Inclination (+ references to communion)

Communion from Presanctified Gifts (items 36, 37, 39, 40)

Communion Psalmody **with perisse (item 49) – added to full liturgy in 624**

Dismissal (item 53) **and Opisthambonos Prayer (item 54)**

Items added later (dates reflect first documented appearance in the PRES):

1. Item 34: Prayer of elevation: after tenth-century
2. Item 43: Invitation to communion II: eleventh-century
3. Item 46: 'Save, O God, your people ...' thirteenth-century
4. Item 47: 'I will bless the Lord ...' seventeenth-century
5. Item 56: Skeuophylakion prayer: tenth-century
6. Items 57-60: twelfth-century

Three dynamics can be discerned behind the evolution and growth of the PRES: imitation, conservatism, and differentiation.

1. Imitation: The communion part of the PRES grew copying the structures and actions of the precommunion, communion, post-communion, and dismissal parts of the full liturgy in each respective period.
2. Conservatism: The PRES has preserved elements of the cathedral office otherwise lost, such as the petitions, prayer and dismissal of the photizomenoi, the lucernarium Φῶς Χριστοῦ, Ps 140.2, and the actual transfer of the gifts in silence. In addition, it took some time for the PRES to adopt elements that had already made their way in the full liturgy (e.g., the elevation, opisthambonos, and skeuophylakion prayers). At the same time the PRES maintains elements that had been dropped from the full liturgy (Ἰληρωθῆτω hymn – Greek practice).
3. Differentiation: After growing by imitating the full liturgy, on the one hand we see an effort to halt that imitation (e.g., the prothesis and cherubic prayer did not eventually make it into the PRES). On the other hand, we see tendency to make certain aspects unique to the PRES (e.g., whether the Lamb is elevated or whether zeon is poured in the chalice).

It should also be noted that the history of the evolution of PRES corroborates Robert Taft's division of Byzantine liturgical history in its five phases. As we noted in the introduction to this study, these are (1) the pre-Constantinian era, (2) the Imperial phase, (3) the Dark Ages, (4) the Studite era, and (5) the neo-Sabaitic synthesis. An example, demonstrating Taft's division of Byzantine liturgical history, would be the frequency of the celebration of the PRES.¹ In the cathedral use, phases (2)

¹ See section 2.5.

and (3), the PRES could be celebrated on Wednesday and Friday of Cheesefare Week, all weekdays of Lent, and Holy Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday. The celebration of the PRES was not limited to Lent. The PRES could be celebrated on all Wednesdays and Fridays of the year, and possibly September 14. With the Studite synthesis, phase (4), and eventually with the domination of the Sabas Typikon, phase (5), the use of the PRES was gradually curtailed, limiting it to Wednesdays and Fridays of Lent and the first three days of Holy Week. This example is indicative of the cross-fertilization of Constantinopolitan cathedral and Sabaitic monastic use, which eventually resulted in the current neo-Sabaitic synthesis, something we have observed throughout this study.

It is in this historical context that any discussion of reforming the PRES in the Byzantine liturgical tradition should take place. Of course, such a decision lies within the authority of the Church hierarchy. If such a decision is taken, it should be done so keeping in mind that the PRES is a composite service comprised of vespers and communion. Therefore, any potential reform of the PRES should take place only after its constitutive parts (i.e., vespers and communion) are themselves reformed. And such reforms, of course, are well beyond the confines of this present work.

APPENDIX ONE

THE TEXT OF THE PRESANCTIFIED

It should be noted that what follows is a working text and translation, only for the purpose of providing the reader a handy text of the PRES. The Greek text is from *Ἱερατικὸν* (Athens 1995⁵) 202-221, Apostoliki Diakonia edition. The divisions observed in the text below are of the author and reflect the structural elements of the PRES as presented in sections 4.2 and 5.2. The English translation is of the author. The rubrics, when deemed necessary for our purposes, are only given in English and are freely translated (also by the author). For a good, easily accessible translation of the PRES in English, suitable for liturgical use, see www.anastasis.org.uk/presanctified.htm, translated and edited by Fr. Ephrem Lash.

A. *Vespers*

1.

Ὁ Διάκονος:

Εὐλόγησον, Δέσποτα.

Ὁ Ἱερεὺς:

Εὐλογημένη ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ
Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ
καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Ὁ Χορὸς: Ἀμήν

The deacon:

Bless, Master.

The priest:

Blessed is the Kingdom of the Father and
of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, now and
ever and unto the ages of ages.

The Choir: Amen

2.

Reader: Ps 103

3.

Priest: reads prayers 5-7 of the lychnikon while Ps 103 is recited.

4.

1. Ἐν εἰρήνῃ, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

2. Ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀνωθεν εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς σω-
τηρίας τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν, τοῦ Κυρίου
δεηθῶμεν.

3. Ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης τοῦ σύμπαντος κό-
σμου, ἐκκλησιᾶς τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ Θεοῦ
Ἐκκλησιῶν, καὶ τῆς τῶν πάντων ἐνώ-
σεως, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

4. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου οἴκου τούτου, καὶ τῶν
μετὰ πίστεως, εὐλαβείας καὶ φόβου

1. In peace let us pray to the Lord.

2. For the heavenly peace and the salva-
tion of our souls, let us pray to the
Lord.

3. For the peace of the whole world, the
stability of the holy Churches of God,
and for the unity of all, let us pray to
the Lord.

4. For this holy house, and for those
who enter it with faith, reverence, and

- Θεοῦ εἰσιόντων ἐν αὐτῷ, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
5. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἡμῶν (τοῦ δεινός), τοῦ τιμίου πρεσβυτερίου, τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ διακονίας, παντὸς τοῦ Κλήρου καὶ τοῦ Λαοῦ, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
 6. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς ἡμῶν Ἔθνους, πάσης Ἀρχῆς καὶ Ἐξουσίας ἐν αὐτῷ, τοῦ κατὰ ξηράν, θάλασσαν καὶ ἀέρα φιλοχρίστου ἡμῶν Στρατοῦ, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
 7. [Ὑπὲρ τοῦ συμπολεμῆσαι καὶ ὑποτάξαι ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ, πάντα ἐχθρόν καὶ πολέμιον, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.]
 8. Ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως (ἢ τῆς κώμης, ἢ τῆς χώρας, ἢ τῆς νήσου, ἢ τῆς ἀγίας Μονῆς) ταύτης, πάσης πόλεως, χώρας, καὶ τῶν πιστεῖ οἰκούντων ἐν αὐταῖς, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
 9. Ὑπὲρ εὐκρασίας ἀέρων, εὐφορίας τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς, καὶ καιρῶν εἰρηνικῶν, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
 10. Ὑπὲρ πλεόντων, ὕδριοπορούντων, νοσούντων, καμνόντων, ἀίχμαλώτων, καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
 11. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ῥυσθῆναι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης θλίψεως, ὀργῆς, κινδύνου καὶ ἀνάγκης, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
 12. Ἀντιλαβοῦ, σῶσον, ἐλέησον, καὶ διαφύλαξον ἡμᾶς, ὁ Θεός, τῇ σῇ χάριτι.
 13. 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.
- the fear of God, let us pray to the Lord.
5. For our Archbishop _____, the worthy priesthood, the deacons in Christ, for all the clergy and the people, let us pray to the Lord.
 6. For our pious nation, every power and authority in it, for the Christ-loving Army, Navy, and Air Force, let us pray to the Lord.
 7. [That he may fight and conquer under his feet every enemy and adversary, let us pray to the Lord.]
 8. For this city (or town, or country, or island, or holy monastery), for every city and country, and for the faithful who live in them, let us pray to the Lord.
 9. For temperate weather, abundance of the fruits of the earth, and for peaceful times, let us pray to the Lord.
 10. For those who travel by land and sea, for the sick, the suffering, and the captives, and for their salvation, let us pray to the Lord.
 11. That we may be spared from all affliction, wrath, danger, and distress, let us pray to the Lord.
 12. Help us, save us, have mercy upon us, and protect us, O God, by your grace.
 13. Remembering our most holy, pure, blessed, and glorious Lady, the Theotokos and ever-virgin Mary, with all the saints, let us commend ourselves and one another and our whole life to Christ our God.

Ὁ Χορὸς: Σοί, Κύριε.

The Choir: To You, O Lord.

5.

The priest says the following prayer:

Εὐχὴ Α' Ἀντιφώνου - Prayer of the first antiphon

Κύριε, οἰκτίρμων καὶ ἐλεήμων, μακρόθυμε καὶ πολυέλεε, ἐνώτισαι τὴν προσευχὴν ἡμῶν, καὶ πρόσχεε τῇ φωνῇ τῆς δεήσεως ἡμῶν. Ποίησον μεθ' ἡμῶν σημεῖον εἰς ἀγαθόν· ὁδήγησον ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἰδῶ σου, τοῦ πορεύεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σου· εὐφρανον τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν, εἰς τὸ φοβεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον, διότι μέγας εἶ σὺ καὶ ποιῶν θαυμάσια. Σὺ εἶ Θεὸς ὁ μόνος, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι ὁμοίός σοι ἐν θεοῖς, Κύριε· δυνατὸς ἐν ἐλέει, καὶ ἀγαθὸς ἐν ἰσχύι, εἰς τὸ βοηθεῖν, καὶ παρακαλεῖν, καὶ σώζειν πάντας τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας εἰς τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον.

“Ὅτι πρέπει πάντα δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις, τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων.

6.

Kathisma 18 in three staseis: Ps119-123, 124-128, 129-133.

B. Prothesis

7.

Deacon: Εὐλόγησον, Δέσποτα, τὸ θυμίαμα
The priest blesses it, saying the prayer of incense:
Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν πάντοτε· νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.
Θυμιάμα σοι προσφέρομεν, Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, εἰς ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας πνευματικῆς· ὁ προσδεξάμενος εἰς τὸ ὑπερουράνιον σου θυσιαστήριον, ἀντικατάπεμψον ἡμῖν τὴν χάριν τοῦ παναγίου σου Πνεύματος.

Gracious and merciful Lord, patient and merciful, hear our prayer and heed the voice of our supplication. Give us a sign of your favor. Lead us in Your way that we may walk in Your truth; gladden our hearts, that we may fear Your holy name, for You are great and You perform wonders. You alone are God, and among all gods none is like You, O Lord: powerful in mercy and kind in might, helping, comforting, and saving all who trust in Your holy name.

For all glory, honor, and worship are due to You, to the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, now and always and unto the ages of ages.

Bless, Master, the incense

Blessed is our God always, now and always and unto the ages of ages. Amen. We offer incense to You, Christ our God, as a spiritual fragrance. Accept it in your heavenly altar, and send in return to us the grace of your most holy Spirit.

During the recitation of kathisma 18, the priest unfolds the antimension on the Holy Table, and coming to the Prothesis he takes the paten, the star and the cloth cover, and brings them to the Holy Table. He removes the holy bread from the tabernacle and places it on the paten; then he places upon it the star saying: Δὲ εὐχῶν τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων ἡμῶν, Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἐλέησον καὶ σῶσον ἡμᾶς – ‘Through the prayers of our holy Fathers, Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy and save us’. He then covers it using the cloth cover saying the same. Then, taking the censor he censens thrice, and prostrating three times he lifts the paten, brings it to the Prothesis, and places it there. He then pours wine together with water in the holy chalice saying: ‘Through the prayers ...’. He then covers the chalice with its cover, then both the paten and chalice with the aer and again censens thrice saying ‘Through the prayers ...’. He then censens the Holy Table and the altar. The prothesis prayer is not said.

A. Vespers (cont.)

6. (cont.)

After the last verse of Psalm 123 of the first stasis the reader says:
 Ἀλληλοῦια, Ἀλληλοῦια, Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεός. Alleluia, Alleluia, Glory to You, O God
 Κύριε ἐλέησον (γ'). Δόξα Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῶ (x3). Glory to the Father and to the Son
 καὶ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι. and to the Holy Spirit.

8.

The deacon says the small synapte:

1. Ἔτι καὶ ἔτι, ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

Ὁ Χορὸς: Κύριε ἐλέησον.

2. Ἀντιλαβοῦ, σῶσον, ἐλέησον. καὶ διαφύλαξον ἡμᾶς, ὁ Θεός, τῆ σῆ χάριτι.

3. 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.

1. Again and again in peace let us pray to the Lord.

The Choir: Lord have mercy.

2. Help us, save us, have mercy upon us, and protect us, O God, by your grace.

3. Remembering our most holy, pure, blessed, and glorious Lady, the Theotokos and ever-virgin Mary, with all the saints, let us commend ourselves and one another and our whole life to Christ our God.

The Choir: To You, O Lord.

While the deacon says the small synapte, the priest recites the prayer:

Εὐχὴ Β' Ἀντιφώνου - Prayer of the second antiphon

Κύριε, μὴ τῷ θυμῷ σου ἐλέγξῃς ἡμᾶς, μηδὲ τῇ ὀργῇ σου παιδεύσῃς ἡμᾶς· ἀλλὰ ποίησον μεθ' ἡμῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιεικίαν σου, ἰατρὸς καὶ θεραπευτὰ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν, ὁδηγῶν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ λιμένα θελήματός σου. Φώτισον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῶν καρδιῶν ἡμῶν, εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς σῆς ἀληθείας· καὶ δώρησε ἡμῖν τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς παρουσίας ἡμέρας εἰρηγικῶν καὶ ἀναμάτητον, καὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν· πρεσβείαις τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων σου.

Ὅτι σὺν τῷ κράτος, καὶ σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία, καὶ ἡ δύναμις, καὶ ἡ δόξα, τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

O Lord, do not rebuke us in Your anger, do not chastise us in Your wrath; but deal with us according to Your loving kindness, as healer and physician of our souls. Guide us to the harbor of Your will; enlighten the eyes of our hearts that we may know Your truth; and grant that the rest of this day and our whole life may be peaceful and without sin, through the prayers of the Theotokos and of all the saints.

For Yours is the dominion, and Yours is the kingdom and the power and the glory, of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, now and always and to the ages of ages.

The reader intones, Amen.

Καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν

And he continues to read the second stasis of the kathisma of the Psalter.

Now and ever and unto the ages of ages, Amen.

After the Doxa of the second stasis the deacon recites the small synapte.

While the deacon says the small synapte, the priest reads the prayer:

Εὐχή Γ' Ἀντιφώνου - Prayer of the third antiphon

Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, μνήσθητι ἡμῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν καὶ ἀχρείων δούλων σου, ἐν τῷ ἐπικαλεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς τὸ ἅγιον καὶ προσκυνητὸν ὄνομά σου, καὶ μὴ κατασχύνης ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς προσδοκίας τοῦ ἐλέους σου· ἀλλὰ χάρισαι ἡμῖν, ὁ Θεός, πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὸ σωτηριάν αἰτήματα, καὶ ἀξιώσον ἡμᾶς ἀγαπᾶν, καὶ φοβεῖσθαι σε ἐξ' ὅλης τῆς καρδίας ἡμῶν, καὶ ποιεῖν ἐν πᾶσι τὸ θέλημά σου.

Ἔστι ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος Θεὸς ὑπάρχεις, καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν, τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Ἀμήν.

Lord our God, be mindful of us sinners and Your unfit servants, as we call upon Your holy name; and do not put us into shame for having placed our hope in Your mercy; but grant, O Lord, all that we ask for our salvation; and make us worthy to love and fear You with all our heart, and to do Your will in all things.

For You are a good and loving God, and to You we offer glory, to the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, now and always and to the ages of ages.

Amen.

The reader intones:

Καὶ νῦν ...

And he continues the third stasis. When the kathisma ends, he concludes: Δόξα, Καὶ νῦν. Ἀλληλούια, Ἀλληλούια, Ἀλληλούια, Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεός (γ'). Ἡ ἐλπὶς ἡμῶν, Κύριε, δόξα σοι.

The deacon recites the small synapte.

Now and ever ...

Glory ... Now and ever ... Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia, Glory to You, O God (x3). Our only hope, glory to You.

While the deacon recites the small synapte, the priest reads the prayer:

Εὐχή Δ' Ἀντιφώνου - Prayer of the fourth antiphon

Ὁ τοῖς ἀσιγήτοις ὕμνοις, καὶ ἀπαύστοις δοξολογίαις ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων δυνάμεων ἀνυμνούμενος, πλήρωσον τὸ στόμα ἡμῶν τῆς αἰνέσεώς σου, τοῦ δοῦναι μεγαλωσύνην τῷ ὀνόματί σου τῷ ἁγίῳ· καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν μερίδα καὶ κληῖρον μετὰ πάντων τῶν φοβουμένων σε ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ φυλασσόντων τὰς ἐντολάς σου· πρεσβείαις τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων σου.

Ἔστι σὺ εἶ ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν, Θεὸς τοῦ ἐλεεῖν καὶ σώζειν καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν, τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Ὁ Χορὸς: Ἀμήν.

Praised by the heavenly powers with unceasing hymns and doxologies, fill our lips with Your praise, that we may magnify Your holy name. And grant us a portion and share with all who fear You in truth and keep Your commandments; through the intercessions of the holy Theotokos and of all the saints.

For You are our God, a merciful and saving God, and to You we offer glory, to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, now and always and to the ages of ages.

The Choir: Amen.

9.

Then the choirs alternatively chant psalms 140, 141, 129, and 116 with the appropriate hymns of the day; and the deacon censens the whole church as usual.

10-12.

While the doxastikon is chanted, the vespereal entrance takes place (the deacon holds the censor, or the Gospel if it is the feastday of a saint). Coming to the solea, the deacon says in a low voice:

Τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν. Κύριε ἐλέησον.

Let us pray to the Lord. Lord have mercy.

Κλίναντες τὴν κεφαλὴν, λέγει ὁ Ἱερεὺς, μυστικῶς, τὴν Εὐχὴν·

Bowing the head, the priest recites the prayer silently:

Εὐχὴ τῆς Εἰσόδου

Entrance Prayer

Ἐσπέρας, καὶ πρωί, καὶ μεσημβρίας, αἰνούμεν, εὐλογοῦμεν, εὐχαριστοῦμεν καὶ δεόμεθά σου, Δέσποτα τῶν ἀπάντων, φιλόανθρωπε, Κύριε. Κατεύθυνον τὴν προσευχὴν ἡμῶν, ὡς θυμίαμα ἐνώπιόν σου· καὶ μὴ ἐκκλίνῃς τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν εἰς λόγους ἢ εἰς λογισμοὺς πονηρίας, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἐκ πάντων τῶν θηρευόντων τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν. Ὅτι πρὸς σέ, Κύριε, Κύριε, οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ σοὶ ἠλπίσασμεν· μὴ κατασχύνῃς ἡμᾶς, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν. Ὅτι πρέπει σοὶ πᾶσα δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις, τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων. Ἀμήν.

In the evening, at dawn and noon, we sing to You, we bless You, we give thanks to You, and we ask You, Master of all, Lord and lover of mankind: guide our prayers as incense before You. Let not our hearts be led to wicked words or thoughts, but deliver us all from those who pursue our souls. For it is towards You, Lord, Lord, that our eyes are turned, and we hope in You; do not put us to shame, our God. For all glory, honor and worship are due to You, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, now and always and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

Τῆς Εὐχῆς πληρωθείσης, ὁ Διάκονος λέγει μυστικῶς·

After the conclusion of the prayer, the deacon says in a low voice:

Εὐλόγησον, Δέσποτα, τὴν ἁγίαν εἴσοδον.

Bless, Master, the holy entrance.

Ὁ Ἱερεὺς εὐλογῶν, λέγει·

The priest blesses and says:

Εὐλογημένη ἡ εἴσοδος τῶν ἁγίων σου, πάντοτε· νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων.

Blessed is the entrance of the holy [people of God], now and always and unto the ages of ages.

Ὁ Διάκονος, θυμιάσας κατὰ ἀνατολὰς σταυροειδῶς, ἢ ἐν ἑορτῇ ὑψῶν τὸ ἅγιον Εὐαγγέλιον, λέγει ἐκφώνως·

The deacon, censing towards the East in the form of a Cross (or on a feast holding the holy Gospel) says aloud:

Σοφία. Ὁρθοί.

Wisdom. Stand.

Φῶς ἱλαρὸν ἁγίας δόξης ἀθανάτου Πατρὸς ...

Tranquil light of the holy glory of the immortal Father ...

C. Readings – Phos Christou – Ps. 140.2

13.

Then the deacon aloud:

Ἐσπέρας

The evening

The reader:

Προκείμενον. Ἦχος ... Ψαλμός ...

Prokeimenon. Tone ... Psalm ...

And he recites the prokeimenon and its verse

The deacon:

Σοφία

Wisdom

14.

The reader:

Γενέσεως (ἢ τῆς Ἐξόδου) τὸ Ἀνάγνωσμα

The reading is from Genesis (or Exodus).

The deacon:

Πρόσχωμεν

Let us be attentive

And the reader reads the whole first reading from Genesis (or Exodus).

15.

Then the prokeimenon and the second verse of the second reading are read.

16.

After the prokeimenon, the reader proclaims:

Κέλευσον!

Order!

The priest, holding with his right hand a lit candle and a censor, stands before the Holy Table, and tracing the sign of the cross with the candle exclaims:

Σοφία. Ὁρθοί.

Wisdom. Stand.

Then, standing in the solea and looking towards the icon of Christ exclaims:

Φῶς Χριστοῦ.

The Light of Christ.

And turning towards the people:

φαίνει πᾶσι.

Illumines all.

And blessing in the form of a cross with the candle, he re-enters the altar.

17.

Then the reader:

Ἠχοιμιῶν (ἢ Ἰώβ) τὸ Ἀνάγνωσμα

The reading is from Proverbs (or Job).

The deacon:

Σοφία. Πρόσχωμεν

Wisdom. Let us be attentive.

Then the reader reads the second reading from Proverbs (or Job).

After the completion of the second reading the priest, blessing the reader, says:

Εἰρήνη σοι.

Peace be to you.

18.

The deacon:

Σοφία

Wisdom

The priest stands in front of the Holy Table, censes, and sings:

Κατευθυνθήτω ἡ προσευχή μου, ὡς
θυμίαμα ἐνώπιόν σου· ἔπαρσις τῶν χειρῶν
μου, θυσία ἑσπερινή.

Let my prayer rise as incense before You,
the lifting up of my hands as an evening
sacrifice.

And the choirs alternatively repeat this four times. Each time the priest censens each of the sides of the Holy Table saying the following verses:

Verse 1: Κύριε, ἐκέκραξα πρὸς σέ, εἰσά-
κουσόν μου, εἰσάκουσόν μου,
Κύριε. Κύριε, ἐκέκραξα πρὸς σέ,
εἰσάκουσόν μου, πρὸς σέ, τῆ φωνῆ
τῆς δεήσεώς μου ἐν τῷ κεκραγέ-
ναι με πρὸς σέ.

Verse 1: O Lord, I have cried out to
You: hear me; hear me Lord.
O Lord, I have cried out to
You: hear me; hearken to the
voice of my prayer as I cry out
to You.

Verse 2: Θεοῦ, Κύριε, φυλακὴν τῷ στόματι
μου, καὶ θύραν περιοχῆς περὶ τὰ
χείλη μου.

Verse 2: Set guard, O Lord, over my
mouth, and a gate to contain my
lips.

Verse 3: Μὴ ἐκκλίνῃς τὴν καρδίαν μου εἰς
λόγους πονηρίας τοῦ προφασί-
ζεσθαι προφάσεις ἐν ἀμαρτίαις.

Verse 3: Let not my heart incline to evil
words, to finding excuses for sin-
ful doings.

4: Δόξα Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ Ἁγίῳ
Πνεύματι. Καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ
εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.
Ἀμήν.

4: Glory to the Father and to the
Son and to the Holy Spirit. Now
and always and unto the ages of
ages. Amen.

Then the priest, now standing in the front side of the Holy Table, chants:

Κατευθυνθήτω ἡ προσευχή μου,

Let my prayer rise.

And exiting the central altar doors, he censens the icon of Christ, chanting:

ὡς θυμίαμα ἐνώπιόν σου·

as incense before You.

He then censens the other icons, the church and the people, while the choir completes the rest:

ἔπαρσις τῶν χειρῶν μου, θυσία ἑσπερινή.

the lifting up of my hands as an evening
sacrifice.

19.

Then, if it's a saint's feast-day, the Epistle and the Gospel are read before the litanies in the usual manner. In the first three days of Holy Week only the Gospel is read.

The priest silently reads the prayer of the gospel

Ἐλλαμψον ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν ...

Shine in our hearts ... and the deacon
censens.

Then he says:

Εὐλόγησον, Δέσποτα, τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν ...
ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ Θεῆα Λειτουργίᾳ τοῦ Χρυ-
σοστόμου.

Bless, master, the evangelist ... as in the
Divine Liturgy of Chrysostom.

D. *Litanies*

20.

Ὁ Διάκονος ἐξεληθὼν (ἢ ὁ Ἱερεὺς ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἁγίας Τραπέζης ἱστάμενος), λέγει τὴν Ἐκτενὴν ταύτην.

Ὁ Χορὸς μεθ' ἐκάστην Αἴτησιν χῦμα· Κύριε, ἐλέησον (γ').

1. Εἰπόμεν πάντες ἐξ ὅλης ψυχῆς, καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας ἡμῶν, εἰπόμεν.
2. Κύριε, Παντοκράτορ, ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, δεόμεθά σου, ἐπάκουσον, καὶ ἐλέησον.
3. Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, ὁ Θεός, κατὰ τὸ μέγα ἔλεός σου, δεόμεθά σου, ἐπάκουσον, καὶ ἐλέησον.
4. Ἔτι δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἡμῶν (τοῦ δεῖνος), [καὶ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν (τοῦ δεῖνος)].
5. Ἔτι δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν, τῶν ἱερέων, ἱερομονάχων, ἱεροδικακόνων, μοναχῶν, καὶ πάσης τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ ἡμῶν ἀδελφότητος.
6. Ἔτι δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ ἐλέους, ζωῆς, εἰρήνης, υγείας, σωτηρίας, ἐπισκέψεως, συγχωρήσεως καὶ ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τῶν δούλων τοῦ Θεοῦ, πάντων τῶν εὐσεβῶν καὶ ὀρθοδόξων Χριστιανῶν, τῶν κατοικούντων καὶ παρεπιδημούντων ἐν τῇ πόλει (ἢ τῇ χωρᾷ, ἢ τῇ κώμῃ, ἢ τῇ νήσῳ) ταύτῃ, τῶν ἐνοριτῶν, ἐπιτρόπων, συνδρομητῶν καὶ ἀφιερωτῶν τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας (ἢ Μονῆς) ταύτης.
7. [Ἔτι δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ τῶν μακαρίων καὶ ἀειμνήστων κτιτόρων τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας (ἢ Μονῆς) ταύτης, καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν προαναπαυσασμένων πατέρων καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν, τῶν ἐνθάδε εὐσεβῶς κειμένων, καὶ ἀπανταχοῦ ὀρθοδόξων.]
8. Ἔτι δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ τῶν καρποφορούντων καὶ καλλιεργούντων ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ πανσέπτῳ ναῷ τούτῳ, κοπιώντων, ψαλλόντων καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ περισπῶτος λαοῦ, τοῦ ἀπεκδεχομένου τὸ παρὰ σοῦ μέγα καὶ πλούσιον ἔλεος.

The deacon exits (or the priest standing before the Holy Table) and says the Ektenē.

After each petition the choir says Lord, have mercy (x3).

1. Let us say with our whole heart and our whole mind, let us say.
2. Lord Almighty, God or our fathers, we pray to You, hear and have mercy.
3. Have mercy on us, O God, in Your great goodness; we pray to You, hear us and have mercy.
4. Again we pray for our Archbishop ____ [and our bishop ____].
5. Again we pray for our brothers, priests, hieromonks, deacons, monks, and all our brotherhood in Christ.
6. Again we pray for mercy, life, peace, health, visitation, forgiveness and remission of the sins of the servants of God, all the pious and orthodox Christians who live and dwell in this city (or country, or town, or island), the parishioners, members and contributors of this holy church (or Monastery).
7. [Again we pray for the blessed and ever memorable founders of this church (or monastery), and for all our fathers and brothers who have gone before us, who lay here at rest, and for the orthodox everywhere.]
8. Again we pray for those work and serve in this holy church, for those who toil, sing, and for all those present, who accept your great and abundant mercy.

While these are said, the priest reads the following prayer:

Εὐχὴ τῆς Ἐκτενοῦς Ἰκεσίας - Prayer of the fervent lityny

Κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, τὴν ἐκτενεῖ ταύτην ἰκεσίαν πρόσδεξαι παρὰ τῶν σῶν δούλων, καὶ ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς κατὰ τὸ πλήθος τοῦ ἐλέους σου· καὶ τοὺς οἰκτιρμούς σου καταπέψον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα τὸν λαόν σου, τὸν ἀπεκδεχόμενον τὸ παρὰ σοῦ πλοῦσιον ἔλεος.

Ἵτι ἐλεῆμων καὶ φιλόανθρωπος Θεὸς ὑπάρχεις, καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν, τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

21.

Ἵ Ο Διάκονος·

1. Εὐξασθε οἱ Κατηχούμενοι, τῷ Κυρίῳ.

Ἵ Χορός· Κύριε, ἐλέησον

2. Οἱ πιστοί, ὑπὲρ τῶν Κατηχομένων δεηθῶμεν.

3. Ἵνα ὁ Κύριος αὐτοὺς ἐλεήσῃ.

4. Κατηχήσῃ αὐτοὺς τὸν λόγον τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀληθείας.

5. Ἀποκαλύψῃ αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς δικαιοσύνης.

6. Ἵνωσῃ αὐτοὺς τῇ ἀγίᾳ αὐτοῦ, καθολικῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ.

7. Σώσον, ἐλέησον, ἀντιλαβού, καὶ διαφύλαξον αὐτοὺς, ὁ Θεὸς τῇ σῇ χάριτι.

8. Οἱ Κατηχούμενοι, τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑμῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ κλίνατε.

Εὐχὴ Κατηχομένων - Prayer for the Catechumens

Ἵ Ο Θεὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ κτίστης καὶ δημιουργὸς τῶν ἀπάντων· ὁ πάντας θέλων σωθῆναι καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν, ἐπίβλεψον ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους σου τοὺς Κατηχομένους, καὶ λύτρωσε αὐτοὺς τῆς παλαιᾶς πλάνης καὶ τῆς μεθοδείας τοῦ ἀντικειμένου· καὶ προσκάλεσαι αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον, φωτίζων αὐτῶν τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σώματα, καὶ συγκαταριθμῶν αὐτοὺς τῇ λογικῇ σου ποιμένῃ, ἐφ' ἣν τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον ἐπικέκληται.

Lord our God, accept this fervent supplication by Your servants, and have mercy on us, and in the abundance of Your mercy have pity on us and on all Your people, who await your rich mercy.

For You are a merciful and loving God, and to You we give glory: to the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, now and always and unto the ages of Ages. Amen.

The deacon:

1. The Catechumens, pray to the Lord.

The Choir: Lord, have mercy

2. The faithful, let us pray for the Catechumens.

3. That the Lord will show them mercy.

4. That He will instruct them the word of His truth.

5. That he will reveal to them the Gospel of righteousness.

6. That He will unite them to His Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church.

7. Save them, have mercy on them, help them and protect them, O God, by Your grace.

8. The Catechumens, bow your heads to the Lord.

God, our God, creator and maker of all things, who wishes all to be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth. Look upon Your servants the Catechumens, and free them from the ancient error and from the wiles of the enemy. Call them to eternal life, illuminating their souls and bodies, and numbering them among your rational flock, on which your holy name is invoked.

Ἴνα καὶ αὐτοὶ σὺν ἡμῖν δοξάζωσι τὸ πάντιμον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς ὄνομά σου, τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων.

Εἶθ' οὕτως ὁ Ἱερεὺς λαμβάνει τὸ ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον καὶ ποιεῖ σταυρὸν ἐπάνω τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀντιμηνσίου, ἐξαπλοῖ αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τραπεζῆς, τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον ἀποτίθῃσιν εἰς τὸ ἄνω μέρος.

Ὁ Χορὸς· Ἀμήν.

Ὁ Διάκονος·

9. Ὅσοι Κατηχούμενοι, προέλθετε.

10. Οἱ Κατηχούμενοι, προέλθετε.

11. Ὅσοι Κατηχούμενοι, προέλθετε·

12. μὴ τις τῶν Κατηχουμένων.

Ταῦτα λέγονται μόνον μέχρι τῆς Τρίτης τῆς δ' ἑβδομάδος, καὶ εὐθὺς ὁ Ἱερεὺς λέγει τὴν κατωτέρω Εὐχὴν τῶν Πιστῶν· Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ μέγας καὶ αἰνετός ...

22.

Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Τετάρτης τῆς δ' ἑβδομάδος τῶν Νηστειῶν, τῆς καὶ 'Μεσονηστίμου' καλουμένης, μέχρι τῆς ἁγίας καὶ Μεγάλης Τετάρτης, ἐν ταῖς Προηγουμέναις, μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν τὸ· Ἴνα καὶ αὐτοὶ σὺν ἡμῖν δοξάζωσι ...' προστίθεται καὶ ἡ Δέησις ὑπὲρ τῶν Κατηχουμένων, τῶν ἐτοιμαζομένων πρὸς τὸ θεῖον Βάπτισμα, ἔχουσα οὕτως·

Ὁ Διάκονος·

1. Ὅσοι Κατηχούμενοι, προέλθετε. Οἱ Κατηχούμενοι, προέλθετε. Ὅσοι πρὸς τὸ φῶτισμα, προέλθετε. Εὐξασθαὶ οἱ πρὸς τὸ φῶτισμα. Τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

2. Οἱ πιστοὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸς τὸ ἅγιον φῶτισμα εὐτρεπιζομένων ἀδελφῶν, καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

3. Ὅπως Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν στηρίξῃ αὐτούς καὶ ἐνδυναμώσῃ, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

4. Φωτίσῃ αὐτοὺς φωτισμῷ γνώσεως καὶ εὐσεβείας, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

That with us they may glorify Your most noble and majestic name, of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, now and always and unto the ages of ages.

Then the priest takes the Gospel and makes the sign of the Cross over the holy Antimension, unfolds it on the Holy Table, and places the Gospel at the top part [of the Antimension].

The Choir: Amen.

The deacon:

9. All Catechumens, depart.

10. The Catechumens, depart.

11. All Catechumens, depart.

12. Let none of the Catechumens remain.

These are said up to the Tuesday of the fourth week [of Lent], and the priest immediately says the Prayer of the Faithful: O God, great and praised ... (see below)

From the Wednesday of the Fourth Week of Lent, which is also called of Midlent, up to Holy and Great Wednesday, when the Presanctified is celebrated, after saying 'That with us they to may glorify' the petitions of the Catechumens preparing for Holy Baptism are added:

The deacon:

1. All Catechumens depart. The catechumens depart. All who are admitted for Illumination, depart. Pray, all of you who are preparing for Illumination. Let us pray to the Lord.

2. All you faithful, for our brethren preparing for Holy Illumination, and for their salvation, let us pray to the Lord.

3. That the Lord our God will sustain and strengthen them, let us pray to the Lord.

4. That He will enlighten them with the light of knowledge and piety, let us pray to the Lord.

5. Καταξιώση αὐτούς ἐν καιρῷ εὐθέτω τοῦ λουτροῦ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας, τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ τοῦ ἐνδύματος τῆς ἀφθαρσίας, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
6. Ἀναγεννήση αὐτούς δι' ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
7. Χαρίσθαι αὐτοῖς τὴν τελειότητα τῆς πίστεως, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
8. Συγκαταριθμῆση αὐτούς τῇ ἀγίᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκλεκτῇ ποίμνῃ, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
9. Σῶσον, ἐλέησον, ἀντιλαβοῦ, καὶ διαφύλαξον αὐτούς, ὁ Θεός, τῇ σῆ χάριτι.
10. Οἱ πρὸς τὸ φῶτισμα, τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑμῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ κλίνειτε.
5. That He will make them worthy, at a fitting time, of the bath of regeneration, of remission of their sins, and of the garment of incorruption, let us pray to the Lord.
6. That He will renew them by water and spirit, let us pray to the Lord.
7. That He will endow them with perfect faith, let us pray to the Lord.
8. That He will number them among His holy and chosen flock, let us pray to the Lord.
9. Save them, have mercy on them, help them, and protect them, O God, by Your grace.
10. You who are admitted for Illumination, bow your heads to the Lord.

Τοῦ Διακόνου ἐκφωνοῦντος τὰ Κατηχούμενα, ὁ Ἱερεὺς ἀναγινώσκει μυστικῶς τὴν Εὐχὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸς τὸ Φῶτισμα εὐτρεπιζομένων·

Ἐπίφανον, Δέσποτα, τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἐπὶ τοὺς πρὸς τὸ ἅγιον φῶτισμα εὐτρεπιζομένους καὶ ἐπιποθοῦντας τὸν τῆς ἁμαρτίας μολυσμὸν ἀποτινάξασθαι· καταύγασον αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν· βεβαίωσον αὐτούς ἐν τῇ πίστει· στήριξον ἐν ἐλπίδι, τελείωσον ἐν ἀγάπῃ· μέλη τιμίμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀνάδειξον· τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν.

Ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ φωτισμὸς ἡμῶν καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν, τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Ὁ Χορός· Ἀμήν.

Ὁ Διάκονος·

11. Ὅσοι πρὸς τὸ φῶτισμα, προέλθετε.
12. Οἱ πρὸς τὸ φῶτισμα προέλθετε.
13. Ὅσοι κατηχούμενοι, προέλθετε·
14. μὴ τις τῶν κατηχουμένων.

While the deacon recites the petitions for the catechumens, the priest silently reads the prayer for those admitted for Illumination.

Master, let the light of Your countenance shine on those preparing for Holy Illumination, and who yearn to shake off the defilement of sin. Illumine their minds; confirm them in the faith; sustain them in their hope; perfect them in love; make them precious members of Your Christ, who gave Himself as a ransom for our souls.

For You are our illumination, and to You we offer glory: Father, Son and Holy Spirit, now and always and unto the ages of ages.

The Choir: Amen.

The deacon:

11. All who are admitted for Illumination depart
12. Those who are for Illumination depart.
13. Catechumens depart.
14. Let none of the Catechumens remain.

23.

The deacon:

1. "Ὅσοι πιστοί, ἔτι καὶ ἔτι. ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
2. Ἀντιλαβοῦ, σῶσον, ἐλέησον καὶ διαφυλάξον ἡμᾶς, ὁ Θεός, τῇ σῇ χάριτι.
3. Σοφία.

1. All the faithful, in peace let us again pray to the Lord.
2. Help us, save us, have mercy on us, and protect us, O God, by Your grace.
3. Wisdom.

24.

Εὐχὴ Α' πιστῶν - First prayer of the faithful

Ὁ Θεός, ὁ μέγας καὶ αἰνετός, ὁ τῷ ζωοποιῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου θανάτῳ, εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν ἡμᾶς ἐκ φθορᾶς μεταστήσας, σὺ πάσας ἡμῶν τὰς αἰσθήσεις τῆς ἐμπαθοῦς νεκρώσεως ἐλευθέρωσον, ἀγαθὸν ταύταις ἡγεμόνα τὸν ἐνδοθεν λογισμὸν ἐπιστήσας· καὶ ὀφθαλμὸς μὲν ἀπέστω παντὸς πονηροῦ βλέμματος, ἀκοὴ δὲ λόγοις ἀργοῖς ἀνεπίβητος, ἡ δὲ γλῶττα καθαρῶς ἐρημάτων ἀπρεπῶν. Ἄγνισον ἡμῶν τὰ χεῖλη, τὰ αἰνοῦντά σε, Κύριε· τὰς χεῖρας ἡμῶν ποιήσον, τῶν μὲν φαύλων ἀπέχεσθαι πράξεων, ἐνεργεῖν δὲ μόνα τὰ σοὶ εὐάρεστα· πάντα ἡμῶν τὰ μέλη, καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν, τῇ σῇ κατασφαλιζόμενος χάριτι.

O God, great and praised, through the life-giving death of Your Christ, You have brought us from corruption to incorruption. Liberate all our senses from the death of the passions, setting over them as a benevolent sovereign our inner reason. Let the eye abstain from every evil sight, the ear be deaf to idle talk, the tongue be purged of unfitting speech. Purify our lips that praise You, O Lord. Make our hands abstain from wicked deeds, doing only such things as are pleasing to You, thus sealing with Your grace all our members, and our mind.

"Ὅτι πρέπει σοὶ πᾶσα δόξα, τιμὴ, καὶ προσκύνησις, τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

For all glory, honor and worship are due to You, the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, now and forever more. Amen.

25.

The deacon:

1. "Ἐτι καὶ ἔτι. ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.
2. Ἀντιλαβοῦ, σῶσον, ἐλέησον καὶ διαφυλάξον ἡμᾶς, ὁ Θεός, τῇ σῇ χάριτι.
3. Σοφία.

1. In peace let us again pray to the Lord.
2. Help us, save us, have mercy on us, and protect us, O God, by Your grace.
3. Wisdom.

26.

The priest reads this prayer silently:

Εὐχὴ Β' πιστῶν - Second prayer of the faithful

Δέσποτα ἅγιε, ὑπεράγαθε, δυσωποῦμέν σε, τὸν ἐν ἐλέει πλούσιον, ἵλεων γενέσθαι ἡμῖν τοῖς ἁμαρτωλοῖς, καὶ ἀξιῶς ἡμᾶς ποιῆσαι τῆς ὑποδοχῆς τοῦ μονογενοῦ σου Υἱοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς δόξης. Ἰδοῦ

Holy Master, infinitely good, we entreat You, rich in mercy, to be gracious to us sinners, and to make us worthy to receive Your only Son and our God, the King of Glory. For behold, His spotless body and

γὰρ τὸ ἄχραντον αὐτοῦ σῶμα καὶ τὸ ζωοποιὸν αἷμα, κατὰ τὴν παροῦσαν ὥραν εἰσπορευόμενα, τῇ μυστικῇ ταύτῃ προτίθεσθαι μέλλει τραπέζῃ, ὑπὸ πλήθους στρατιᾶς οὐρανοῦ ἀοράτως δορυφορούμενα, ὧν τὴν μετέληψιν ἀκατάκριτον ἡμῖν δώρησαι· ἵνα δι' αὐτῶν τὸ τῆς διανοίας ἡμῶν καταυγαζόμενοι, υἱοὶ φωτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας γενώμεθα.

Κατὰ τὴν δωρεάν τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, μεθ' οὗ εὐλογητὸς εἶ, σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ, καὶ ἀγαθῷ, καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων. Ἀμήν.

life-giving blood are about to make their entrance at this hour, to be laid on this mystical table, invisibly attended by a multitude of the heavenly host. Grant that we may receive them in blameless communion, so that as the eyes of our understanding see the light, we may become children of light and of day.

Through the gift of Your Christ and with Whom You are blessed, together with Your all-holy, good and life-giving Spirit, now and always and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

E. Great Entrance Rites

The prayer of the cherubic hymns is not said. The following hymn is sung in the place of the cherubic hymn: 'Now the powers of heaven minister invisibly with us. For, behold the King of Glory enters. Behold the mystical sacrifice, fully accomplished, is ushered in. Let us draw near in faith and love, that we may become sharers in everlasting life. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia.' While the above hymn is chanted by the choir, the priest censes the Holy Table, the altar, the iconscreen and the people, reciting Ps 50. He then (together with the deacon) asks pardon of the people, goes to the Prothesis, prostrates saying, 'God, be gracious to me the sinner and have mercy on me.' The priest then places the aer on his head, and takes the paten and chalice and makes the great entrance, saying 'Through the prayers of our Fathers, Lord Jesus Christ our God, have mercy on us and save us. Amen.' The deacon goes before him with a candle and censes the gifts. While the priest places the gifts on the Holy Table, the choir sings: 'Let us draw near in faith and love, that we may become sharers in everlasting life. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia.'

F. Precommunion

1.

The deacon then says the precommunion litany:

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| <p>1. Πληρώσωμεν τὴν ἑσπερινὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ.</p> <p>2. Ὑπερ τῶν προτεθέντων, καὶ προαγιασθέντων τιμίων Δώρων, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.</p> <p>3. Ὅπως ὁ φιλόθεος Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ προσδεξάμενος αὐτὰ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ ὑπερουράνιον, καὶ νοερὸν αὐτοῦ Θεοσαστήριον, εἰς ὄσμην εὐωδίας πνευματικῆς, ἀντικαταπέμψῃ ἡμῖν τὴν χάριν, καὶ τὴν δωρεάν τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, δεηθῶμεν.</p> | <p>1. Let us complete our evening prayer to the Lord</p> <p>2. For the precious gifts here presented and presanctified, let us pray to the Lord.</p> <p>3. That our loving God, having received them at His holy and mystical and celestial altar as a sweet spiritual fragrance, will in return send upon us divine grace and the gift of the Holy Spirit, let us pray.</p> |
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| <p>4. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου οἴκου τούτου καὶ τῶν μετὰ πίστεως, εὐλαβείας καὶ φόβου Θεοῦ εισιόντων ἐν αὐτῷ, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.</p> <p>5. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ρυσθῆναι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης θλίψεως, ὀργῆς, κινδύνου καὶ ἀνάγκης, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.</p> <p>6. Ἀντιλαβοῦ, σῶσον, ἐλέησον, καὶ διαφύλαξον ἡμᾶς, ὁ Θεός, τῇ σῇ χάριτι.</p> <p>7. Τὴν ἑσπέραν πᾶσαν, τελείαν, ἁγίαν, εἰρηνικὴν καὶ ἀναμάρτητον, παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου αἰτησώμεθα.</p> <p>8. Ἄγγελον εἰρήνης, πιστὸν ὁδηγόν, φύλακα τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν, παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου αἰτησώμεθα.</p> <p>9. Συγγνώμην καὶ ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ τῶν πλημμελημάτων ἡμῶν, παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου αἰτησώμεθα.</p> <p>10. Τὰ καλὰ καὶ συμφέροντα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν, καὶ εἰρήνην τῷ κόσμῳ παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου αἰτησώμεθα.</p> <p>11. Τὸν ὑπόλοιπον χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν, ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ μετανόῃ ἐκτελέσαι, παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου αἰτησώμεθα.</p> <p>12. Χριστιανὰ τὰ τέλη τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν, ἀνώδυνα, ἀνεπαίσχυντα, εἰρηνικά, καὶ καλὴν ἀπολογία τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ φοβεροῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ αἰτησώμεθα.</p> <p>13. Τὴν ἐνότητά τῆς πίστεως, καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος αἰτησόμενοι, ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἀλλήλους, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν, Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ παραθώμεθα.</p> | <p>4. For this holy house, and for those who enter it with faith, reverence, and the fear of God, let us pray to the Lord.</p> <p>5. That we may be spared all affliction, violence, danger and want, let us pray to the Lord.</p> <p>6. Help us, save us, have mercy on us and keep us, O God, in Your grace.</p> <p>7. That this whole evening may be perfect, holy, peaceful, and without sin, let us ask of the Lord.</p> <p>8. For an angel of peace, a faithful guide, a guardian of our souls and bodies, let us ask the Lord.</p> <p>9. For forgiveness of our sins and transgressions let us ask the Lord.</p> <p>10. For all that is good and profitable for our souls, and for peace in the world, let us ask the Lord.</p> <p>11. That we may live out our lives in peace and repentance, let us ask of the Lord.</p> <p>12. For a Christian end to our lives, peaceful, free of suffering and shame, and a good defense at the dread judgment seat of Christ, let us ask.</p> <p>13. Having prayed for the unity of the faith, and for the communion of the Holy Spirit, let us commend ourselves and one another, and our life to Christ our God</p> |
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Ἦ Χορός: Σοί, Κύριε

Choir: To You, O Lord.

2-4.

Εὐχὴ μετὰ τὸ ἀποτεθῆναι τὰ ἅγια ἐν τῇ Ἁγίᾳ Τραπέζῃ

Prayer after the Holy Gifts are placed on the Holy Table

Ὁ τῶν ἀρρήτων καὶ ἀθεάτων μυστηρίων Θεός, παρ' ᾧ οἱ θησαυροὶ τῆς σοφίας καὶ τῆς γνώσεως, οἱ ἀπόκρυφοὶ ὁ τὴν διακονίαν τῆς λειτουργίας ταύτης ἀποκαλύψας ἡμῖν καὶ θέμενος ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς διὰ τὴν πολλὴν σου φιλανθρωπίαν, εἰς τὸ προσφέρειν σοὶ δῶρά τε καὶ θυσίας ὑπὲρ τῶν

O God of ineffable and unseen mysteries, with whom are the hidden treasures of wisdom and knowledge, who have revealed to us this liturgy and, in Your great love for mankind, appointed us sinners to offer gifts and sacrifices to You, for our sins and for the failings of the people.

ἡμετέρων ἀμαρτημάτων, καὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀνομιμάτων· αὐτός, ἀόρατε βασιλεῦ, ὁ ποιῶν μεγάλα καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστα, ἐνδοξά τε καὶ ἐξάίσια, ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀριθμὸς, ἔπιδε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τοὺς τῷ ἁγίῳ τούτῳ Θεοσιστηρίῳ, ὡς τῷ χειρουργικῷ σου παρισταμένους θρόνῳ, ἐφ' ᾧ ὁ μονογενὴς σου Υἱὸς καὶ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, διὰ τῶν προκειμένων φρικτῶν ἐπαναπαύεται μυστηρίων· καὶ πάσης ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸν πιστὸν σου λαὸν ἐλευθερώσας ἀκαθαρσίας, ἁγιάσον πάντων ἡμῶν τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σώματα, ἁγιασμῷ ἀναφαιρέτω· ἵνα, ἐν καθαρῷ συνειδῶτι, ἀνεπισχύντῳ προσώπῳ, καὶ πεφωτισμένῃ καρδίᾳ, τῶν θείων τούτων μεταλαμβάνοντες ἁγιασμάτων, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ζωοποιούμενοι, ἐνωθῶμεν αὐτῷ τῷ Χριστῷ σου, τῷ ἀληθινῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν, τῷ εἰπόντι· ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἷμα, ἐν ἐμοὶ μένει, καὶ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ· ὅπως ἐνοικοῦντος ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ ἐμπεριπατοῦντος τοῦ Λόγου σου, Κύριε, γενώμεθα ναὸς τοῦ παναγίου καὶ προσκυνητοῦ σου Πνεύματος, λευκωμένοι πάσης διαβολικῆς μεθοδείας, ἐν πράξει ἢ λόγῳ ἢ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἐνεργουμένους· καὶ τύχωμεν τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν, σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἁγίοις σου, τοῖς ἀπ' αἰῶνός σου εὐαρεστήσασιν.

Καὶ καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς, Δέσποτα, μετὰ παρρησίας, ἀκατακρίτως, τολμᾶν ἐπικαλεῖσθαί σε, τὸν ἐπουράνιον Θεόν, Πατέρα, καὶ λέγειν.

The Lord's Prayer.

“Ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία, καὶ ἡ δύναμις, καὶ ἡ δόξα, τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων.
Ὁ Χορὸς· Ἀμήν.

5-7.

Ὁ Ἱερεύς· Εἰρήνη, πᾶσι.

Ὁ Χορὸς· Καὶ τῷ πνεύματι σου.

Ὁ Διάκονος· Τὰς κεφαλὰς ἡμῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ κλίνωμεν.

Ὁ Χορὸς· Σοί, Κύριε.

You, invisible King, who performs great and unfathomable works, glorious and extraordinary, beyond number, look upon us who stand before this altar, as before Your throne of the Cherubim, on which Your only begotten Son, our God, rests in the awesome mysteries here offered.

And having freed us all and Your faithful people from all uncleanness, sanctify the soul and body of us all, with a sanctification that cannot be taken away, so that, partaking of these divine blessings with pure conscience, unashamed face, enlightened heart, and being given life by them, we may be united to Your Christ Himself, our true God, who said: He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood, abides in me and I in him.

Having therefore, Lord, Your Word dwelling and moving within us, we may thus become the temple of Your all-holy and adorable Spirit, free of every wile of the evil one affecting our acts, our words, our thoughts, and so obtain the blessings promised to us, with all Your saints who have pleased You through the ages.

And make us worthy, Master, with confidence and without fear of reproach, to make bold to call You, the heavenly God, Father, and to say

For Yours is the kingdom and the power and the glory, of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, now and always and unto the ages of ages.

The Choir: Amen.

The priest: Peace be to all.

The Choir: And with your spirit.

The deacon: Let us bow our heads to the Lord.

The Choir: To You, O Lord.

Ὁ Ἱερεὺς κλινόμενος ἐπέυχεται μυστικῶς·
Ὁ Θεός, ὁ μόνος ἀγαθὸς καὶ εὐσπλαχνος, ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν, καὶ τὰ ταπεινὰ ἐφορῶν, ἐπίδε εὐσπλαχνικῶ ὄμματι ἐπὶ πάντα τὸν λαὸν σου, καὶ φύλαξον αὐτὸν· καὶ ἀξιώσων πάντας ἡμᾶς, ἀκατακρίτως μετασχεῖν τῶν ζωοποιῶν σου τούτων Μυστηρίων· Σοὶ γὰρ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ὑπεκλίναμεν κεφαλὰς, ἀπειδεχόμενοι τὸ παρὰ σοῦ πλούσιον ἔλεος.

Ὁ ἱερεὺς, ἐπαίρων τὸν Ἀστερίσκον, ἐκφωνεῖ.
Χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπία 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 αἰῶνων.

Ὁ Χορὸς· Ἀμήν.

8-11

Ὁ Ἱερεὺς κλινόμενος ἐπέυχεται·
Πρόσχε, Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἐξ ἀγίου κατοικητηρίου σου, καὶ ἀπὸ θρόνου δόξης τῆς βασιλείας σου, καὶ ἐλθέ εἰς τὸ ἀγιάσαι ἡμᾶς, ὁ ἄνω τῷ Πατρὶ συγκαθήμενος, καὶ ὦδε ἡμῖν ἀοράτως συνών· καὶ καταξιώσων τῇ κραταιᾷ σου χειρὶ, μεταδοῦναι ἡμῖν τοῦ ἀχράντου Σώματός σου, καὶ τοῦ τιμίου σου Αἵματος, καὶ δι' ἡμῶν παντὶ τῷ λαῷ.

Πρόσχωμεν

Ὁ Ἱερεὺς, ἐπικεκαλυμμένων ὄντων τῶν θείων Δώρων, βαλὼν τὰς χεῖρας, ἄπτειται τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ Ἄρτου μετ' εὐλαβείας καὶ φόβου πολλοῦ, καὶ ὑψῶν αὐτὸν, ἐκφωνεῖ.
Τὰ Προηγιασμένα ἅγια τοῖς ἀγίοις.

Ὁ Χορὸς· Εἷς Ἅγιος, εἷς Κύριος, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ Πατρός. Ἀμήν.

12.

Communion chant: Ps. 33:9.

13-15

The deacon enters that altar and says:

Μέλισον, Δέσποτα, τὸν ἅγιον Ἄρτον

The priest breaks the holy Lamb into four pieces saying:

The priest, bowing, prays silently:

O God, You alone are compassionate and good, You dwell on high, and watch the lowly, look upon Your people with a compassionate eye and safeguard them. Count us all worthy to partake without condemnation of these Your life-giving Mysteries. For it is to You that we bow our heads, in the hope of Your rich mercy.

The priest, raising the star, proclaims:

Through the grace, mercy and love for us of Your only-begotten Son, with Whom You are blessed, together with Your all-holy, good and life-giving Spirit, now and always and unto the ages of ages.

The Choir: Amen.

The priest, bowing, prays:

Lord Jesus Christ, hear us from Your holy dwelling place and from the throne of glory of Your kingdom and come to sanctify us. Though enthroned with the Father on high, yet present here in our midst, unseen, deign by Your mighty hand to give us a share of Your pure Body and precious Blood, and through us to all Your people.

Let us attend.

The priest, with the holy Gifts still covered, places his hands on the life-giving Bread and with much faith and fear he raises it and proclaims:

The Presanctified Holy Gifts for the Holy people of God.

The choir: One is Holy, One is Lord, Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father. Amen.

Break, Master, the Holy Bread.

Μελίζεται και διαμερίζεται ὁ Ἄμνος τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ μελιζόμενος, και μὴ διαιρούμενος, ὁ πάντοτε ἐσθιόμενος, και μηδέποτε δαπανώμενος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μετέχοντας ἀγιάζων.

The Lamb of God is broken and distributed, broken yet not divided, eaten yet never consumed, but sanctified those who partake of it.

And places the four pieces crosswise on the holy paten

IC
NI KA
XC

And the deacon, pointing with his Horarion the holy Chalice, says:

Πλήρωσον, Δέσποτα, τὸ ἅγιον Ποτήριον Fill, Master, the holy Cup.

The priest takes the peace inscribed with the letters IC, makes the sign of the cross with it over the holy Chalice, saying:

Πλήρωμα Πνεύματος Ἁγίου Fullness of the Holy Spirit

And thus drops it in the holy Chalice.

The deacon:

Ἀμήν Amen

The deacon then takes hot water (zeon) and says to the priest:

Εὐλόγησον, Δέσποτα, τὸ Ζέον Bless Master the hot water

The priest blesses it, saying:

Εὐλογημένη ἡ ζέσις τῶν Ἁγίων σου, πάντοτε· νῦν και ἀεὶ και εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. Blessed is the fervor of your holy things

always, now and ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

And the deacon pours the hot water in the Chalice saying

Ζέσις πίστεως, πλήρης Πνεύματος ἁγίου Fervor of faith, filled with the Holy Spirit

The deacon:

Ἀμήν Amen

G. Communion

16.

And they receive communion, as in the Liturgy of Chrysostom or Basil the Great.

After the Communion is completed, the priest takes the paten and places the particles of the holy body in the chalice saying:

Δι' εὐχῶν ... Through the prayers ...

17.

The deacons then, holding the holy Chalice covered, proclaims:

Μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ, πίστεως και ἀγάπης With the fear of God, faith and love, draw
προσέλθετε. near.

18.

The Choir:

Ps 117:26a, 27a

19.

Communion of the people

H. Postcommunion

20.

Blessing the people, the priest says:

Σώσον ὁ Θεός τὸν λαόν σου, καὶ εὐλόγησον τὴν κληρονομίαν σου

And he returns to the Holy Table.

God, save Your people and bless your inheritance.

21.

The Choir chants the following in the place of Εἰδομεν τὸ φῶς

Εὐλόγησάω τὸν Κύριον ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ διὰ παντός ἢ ἀνεσις αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ στόματί μου· Ἄρτον οὐράνιον, καὶ ποτήριον ζωῆς γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι χρηστός ὁ Κύριος· Ἄλληλούια· Ἄλληλούια· Ἄλληλούια.

I will bless the Lord at all times; his praise shall continuously be on my lips. Taste the heavenly bread and the cup of life, and see how good the Lord is. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia.

With a low voice the deacon says to the priest

Ἐψώσον, Δέσποτα Exalt, Master.

The priest censens the holies thrice, saying secretly

Ἐψώθητι ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, ὁ Θεός, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἢ δόξα σου (γ').

Be exalted, O God, above the heavens, and your glory all over the earth (x3).

22-24

The deacon receives the paten from the priest and takes it to the Prothesis. Then, he says to the priest:

Εὐλόγησον, Δέσποτα.

Bless, Master.

The priest, after making a prostration, he takes the Chalice, silently says

Εὐλογητός ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν.

Blessed be our God.

And turning towards the people, he pronounces:

Πάντοτε· νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Always, now and ever and unto the ages of ages.

Ὁ Χορός· Ἀμήν.

The Choir: Amen

[Item 23 would follow – not in current use].

The priest then takes the holy Chalice to the Prothesis.

I. Thanksgiving

25-26.

The deacon then exits the altar, and standing at his usual place, he says the following petitions:

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| <p>1. Ὁρθοί. Μεταλαβόντες τῶν θείων, ἁγίων, ἀχράντων, ἀθανάτων, ἐπουρανίων, καὶ ζωοποιῶν φρικτῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ μυστηρίων, ἀξίως, εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ.</p> <p>2. Ἀντιλαβοῦ, σῶσον, ἐλέησον, καὶ διαφύλαξον ἡμᾶς, ὁ Θεός, τῇ σῇ χάριτι.</p> <p>3. Τὴν ἐσπέραν πᾶσαν, τελείαν, ἁγίαν, εἰρηνικὴν καὶ ἀναμάρτητον αἰτησάμενοι, ἑαυτούς, καὶ ἀλλήλους καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ παραθώμεθα.</p> <p>Ἄ Χορὸς Σοὶ Κύριε.</p> | <p>1. Stand. Having received the divine, holy, pure, immortal, life-giving and awesome Mysteries of Christ, let us worthily give thanks to the Lord.</p> <p>2. Help us, save us, have mercy on us, and protect us, O God, by Your grace</p> <p>3. Having asked that this whole evening may be perfect, holy peaceful and free of sin, let us commend ourselves and one another, and our whole life to Christ our God.</p> <p>The Choir: To You, O Lord.</p> |
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The priest reads the prayer:

Εὐχὴ μετὰ τὴν θείαν Μετάληψιν – Prayer after holy Communion

Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι τῷ Σωτῆρι τῶν ὅλων Θεῷ, ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, οἷς παρέσχου ἡμῖν ἀγαθοῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ μεταλήψει τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου· καὶ δεόμεθά σου, Δέσποτα φιλόνηρωπε· Φύλαξον ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπη τῶν περυγῶν σου· καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης ἡμῶν ἀναπνοῆς, ἐπαξίως μετέχειν τῶν ἁγιασμάτων σου, εἰς φωτισμὸν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, εἰς βασιλείας οὐρανῶν κληρονομίαν.

Ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ ἁγιασμός ἡμῶν, καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν, τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Ἄ Χορὸς· Ἀμήν

We thank You, God and Savior of all, for all the blessings You have bestowed on us, and for the communion of the Holy Body and Blood of Your Christ. And we pray You, loving Lord, keep us in the shelter of Your wings, and grant that, to our very last breath, we make partake worthily of Your holy gifts, for the enlightenment of soul and body, for the inheritance of the heavenly kingdom.

For You are our sanctification, and to You we give the glory, to the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, now and always and unto the ages of ages.

Choir: Amen.

J. Dismissal and Final Rites

27.

The priest traces the sign of the cross with the Gospel on the Holy Table and places it over the already folded antimension, and turning towards the people he says:

Ἐν εἰρήνῃ προέλθωμεν

Ἄ Διάκονος· Τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν

Ἄ Χορὸς· Κύριε, ἐλέησον (γ')· Δέσποτα ἄγιε, εὐλόγησον.

Let us depart in peace

The Deacon: Let us pray to the Lord

The Choir: Lord have mercy (x3) Holy Master, give the blessing.

28.

The priest, looking towards the icon of Christ on the Iconostasis, reads the following *opisthambonos* prayer:

Δέσποτα Παντοκράτορ, ὁ πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν ἐν σοφίᾳ δημιουργήσας· ὁ διὰ τὴν ἄφατόν σου πρόνοιαν καὶ πολλὴν ἀγαθότητα ἀγαγὼν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὰς πανσέπτους ἡμέρας ταύτας, πρὸς καθαρισμόν ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων, πρὸς ἐγκράτειαν παθῶν, πρὸς ἐλπίδα ἀναστάσεως· ὁ διὰ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν πλάκας χειρίσας τὰ θεογράκτα γράμματα τῷ θεράποντί σου Μωσεῖ, παράσχου καὶ ἡμῖν, Ἀγαθὲ, τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν καλὸν ἀγωνίσασθαι, τὸν δρόμον τῆς νηστείας ἐκτελέσαι, τὴν πίστιν ἀδιαίρετον τηρῆσαι, τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν ἀοράτων δρακόντων συνθλάσαι, νικητάς τε τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἀναφανῆναι, καὶ ἀκατακρίτως φθάσαι προσκυνῆσαι καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν ἀνάστασιν.

Ἵτι ἡλόγηται καὶ δεδόξασται τὸ πάντιμον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς ὄνομά σου, τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων·

Ὁ Χορός· Ἀμήν.

Almighty Lord, You have created all things in wisdom. In Your inexpressible providence and great goodness You have brought us to these holy days, for the cleansing of our souls and bodies, for control of our passions, in the hope of the Resurrection. You who after forty days delivered the tablets of the law in characters divinely traced into the hands of Your servant Moses, also enable us, O benevolent One, to fight the good fight, to complete the course of the fast, to keep the faith undivided, to crush the heads of unseen tempters, to emerge victors over sin and to come, without condemnation, to worship Your Holy Resurrection.

For blessed and glorified is Your most honorable and majestic name, of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, now and always and unto the ages of ages.

The Choir: Amen.

The deacon bows towards the priest and goes to the Prothesis where he consumes the gifts, as usual.

29.

Then the two choirs alternatively say thrice:

Ἐἶτ' τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου εὐλογημένον, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος

Blessed be the name of the Lord, from now on and unto the ages.

30.

The priest then enters the Prothesis and says

Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ ἀγαγὼν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὰς πανσέπτους ἡμέρας ταύτας, καὶ κοινωνοὺς ἡμᾶς ποιήσας τῶν φρικτῶν σου Μυστηρίων, σύναψον τῇ λογικῇ ποιίμνῃ, καὶ κληρονόμους ἀνάδειξον τῆς βασιλείας σου, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων. Ἀμήν.

this prayer silently.

Lord our God, You have guided us to these most holy days, and admitted us as participants to Your awesome Mysteries. Unite us to Your spiritual flock and declare us heirs to Your kingdom, now and always and unto the ages of ages.

Amen.

31-32.

The priest blesses the people saying:

Εὐλογία Κυρίου καὶ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ ἔλθοι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, τῇ αὐτοῦ θεῖα χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ, πάντοτε· νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Ὁ Χορός· Ἀμήν.

Ὁ Ἱερεύς, ἐκφώνως·

Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεός, ἡ ἐλπίς ἡμῶν, δόξα σοι.

Ὁ Ἀναγνώστης·

Δόξα, Καὶ νῦν. Κύριε ἐλέησον (γ').

Δέσποτα, ἅγιε, εὐλόγησον.

Ὁ Ἱερεύς·

Χριστός, ὁ ἀληθινός Θεός ἡμῶν, ταῖς πρεσβείαις τῆς παναχράντου καὶ παναμώμου ἁγίας αὐτοῦ Μητρὸς· δυνάμει τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ Σταυροῦ· προστασίαις τῶν τιμίων Ἐπουρανίων δυνάμεων Ἀσωμάτων· ἰκεσίαις τοῦ τιμίου, ἐνδόξου προφήτου, Προδρόμου καὶ βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου· τῶν ἁγίων ἐνδόξων καὶ πανευφήμων Ἀποστόλων· τῶν ἁγίων ἐνδόξων καὶ καλλινίκων Μαρτύρων· τῶν Ὁσίων καὶ θεοφόρων Πατέρων ἡμῶν· τῶν ἁγίων καὶ δικαίων θεοπατόρων Ἰωακείμ καὶ Ἄννης, (τοῦ ἁγίου τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου τῆς ἡμέρας) καὶ πάντων τῶν Ἁγίων, ἐλέησαι καὶ σώσαι ἡμᾶς ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος καὶ ἐλεήμων Θεός.

33.

The reader reads Psalms 33 and 144. During the reading of the Psalms the priest distributes the antidoron.

34.

Ὁ Ἱερεύς· Δι' Εὐχῶν τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων ἡμῶν, Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν ἐλέησον καὶ σώσον ἡμᾶς.

Ὁ Χορός· Ἀμήν.

May the blessing of the Lord and His mercy come upon us, through His divine grace and love, always, now and ever and to the ages of ages.

The Choir: Amen

The priest aloud:

Glory to You, O God, our hope, Glory to You.

The reader

Glory ... Now ... Lord have mercy (x3)

Holy Master bless

The priest:

May Christ our true God, through the intercessions of His most pure and holy Mother; the power of the precious and life-giving Cross; the protection of the honorable, bodiless heavenly powers; the supplications of the honorable, glorious Prophet and Forerunner John the Baptist; the holy, glorious and victorious Martyrs; our venerable and godly Fathers; the holy and righteous Joachim and Anna (the saint of the church and the saint of the day) and of all the saints, have mercy upon us and save, for you are a good and merciful God who loves humankind.

The priest: Through the prayers of our holy fathers, Lord Jesus Christ our God, have mercy upon us and save us.

The Choir: Amen

And entering, the priest does in the Prothesis what we have said in the Divine Liturgy.

APPENDIX TWO

CATHEDRAL AND MONASTIC PSALTER

a. The Distributed/Cathedral/Constantinople Psalter¹

1	1-2: Ἀλληλούια	35	70: Ἀλληλούια
2	4-6: Οἰκτῆρησόν με, κύριε	36	71-72: Ἀντιλαβοῦ μου, κύριε
3	9: Ἀλληλούια	37	73-74: Ἀλληλούια
4	7-8: Σῶσον ἡμᾶς, κύριε	38	75-76: Φύλαξόν με, κύριε
5	10-13: Ἀλληλούια	39	77: Ἀλληλούια
6	14-16: Φύλαξόν με, κύριε	40	78-79: Ἰλάσθητί μου, κύριε
7	17: Ἀλληλούια	41	80-81: Ἀλληλούια
8	18-20: Ἐπάκουσόν μου, κύριε	42	82-83: Ἐπάκουσόν μου, κύριε
9	21: Ἀλληλούια	43	84: Ἀλληλούια
10	22-23: Ἐλέησόν με, κύριε	44	86-87: Μνήσθητί μου, κύριε
11	24-25: Ἀλληλούια	45	88: Ἀλληλούια
12	26-27: Βοήθησόν με, κύριε	46	89-90: Φύλαξόν με, κύριε
13	28-29: Ἀλληλούια	47	91-93: Ἀλληλούια
14	30: Ἀντιλαβοῦ μου, κύριε	48	94-96: Σῶσον ἡμᾶς, κύριε
15	31-32: Ἀλληλούια	49	97-100: Ἀλληλούια
16	33: Οἰκτῆρησόν με, κύριε	50	101: Εἰσάκουσόν με, κύριε
17	36: Ἀλληλούια	51	102: Ἀλληλούια
18	34-35: Ἐπάκουσόν μου, κύριε	52	103: Οἰκτῆρησόν με, κύριε
19	37-38: Ἀλληλούια	53	104: Ἀλληλούια
20	39-40: Εἰσάκουσόν με, κύριε	54	105: Ἀντιλαβοῦ μου, κύριε
21	41-42: Ἀλληλούια	55	106: Ἀλληλούια
22	43: Σῶσον ἡμᾶς, κύριε	56	107-108: Βοήθησόν με, κύριε
23	44-45: Ἀλληλούια	57	109-112: Ἀλληλούια
24	46-47: Ἰλάσθητί μου, κύριε	58	113-116: Ἐπάκουσόν μου, κύριε
25	48-49: Ἀλληλούια	59	117: Ἀλληλούια
26	51-53: Μνήσθητί μου, κύριε	60	119-124: Ἐλέησόν με, κύριε
27	54: Ἀλληλούια	61	125-130: Ἀλληλούια
28	55-56: Ἐλέησόν με, κύριε	62	131-132: Μνήσθητί μου, κύριε
29	57-58: Ἀλληλούια	63	134-135: Ἀλληλούια
30	59-61: Βοήθησόν με, κύριε	64	136-137: Ἰλάσθητί μου, κύριε
31	63-64: Ἀλληλούια	65	138-139: Ἀλληλούια
32	65-66: Οἰκτῆρησόν με, κύριε	66	141-142: Εἰσάκουσόν με, κύριε
33	67: Ἀλληλούια	67	143-144: Ἀλληλούια
34	68-69: Σῶσον ἡμᾶς, κύριε	68	145-147: Ἀντιλαβοῦ μου, κύριε

¹ O. STRUNK: 'The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia' in *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World* (New York 1977) 112-150, originally published in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 9-10 (1956) 175-202.

The Eight fixed Antiphons:

Ps 85

Ps 140

Vespers

Ps 3, 62, 133

Ps 50

Ps 148-150

Orthros

Ps 118 divided in three antiphons:

Antiphon 1: Ἀλληλούια

Antiphon 2: Συνέτισόν με, κύριε

Antiphon 3: Ἀλληλούια

At Sunday

Orthros

b. Jerusalem/Monastic/Current Psalter²

<u>Kathisma</u>	<u>Stasis</u>	<u>Psalms</u>
I	i	1, 2, 3
	ii	4, 5, 6
	iii	7, 8
II	i	9, 10
	ii	11, 12, 13
	iii	14, 15, 16
III	i	17
	ii	18, 19, 20
	iii	21, 22, 23
IV	i	24, 25, 26
	ii	27, 28, 29
	iii	30, 31
V	i	32, 33
	ii	34, 35
	iii	36
VI	i	37, 38, 39
	ii	40, 41, 42
	iii	43, 44, 45
VII	i	46, 47, 48
	ii	49, 50
	iii	51, 52, 53, 54

² K. WARE & MOTHER MARY: *The Festal Menaion* (London 1969) 530-534.

VIII	i	55, 56, 57
	ii	58, 59, 60
	iii	61, 62, 63
IX	i	64, 65, 66
	ii	67
	iii	68, 69
X	i	70, 71
	ii	72, 73
	iii	74, 75, 76
XI	i	77
	ii	78, 79, 80
	iii	81, 82, 83, 84
XII	i	85, 86, 87
	ii	88
	iii	89, 90
XIII	i	91, 92, 93
	ii	94, 95, 96
	iii	97, 98, 99, 100
XIV	i	101, 102
	ii	103
	iii	104
XV	i	105
	ii	106
	iii	107, 108
XVI	i	109, 110, 111
	ii	112, 113, 114
	iii	115, 116, 117
XVII	i	118:1-72
	ii	118:73-131
	iii	118:132-176
XVIII	i	119, 120, 121, 122, 123
	ii	124, 125, 126, 127, 128
	iii	129, 130, 131, 132, 133
XIX	i	134, 135, 136
	ii	137, 138, 139
	iii	140, 141, 142

XX	i	143, 144
	ii	145, 146, 147
	iii	148, 149, 150

Recitation of the Psalter

(Numbers refer to Kathismata)

1. From 22 September to 19 December, and from 15 January to the eve of the Sunday of the Prodigal Son.

	MATINS	VESPERS
Sunday	2, 3, 17 or Polyeleos	-
Monday	4, 5, 6	18
Tuesday	7, 8, 9	18
Wednesday	10, 11, 12	18
Thursday	13, 14, 15	18
Friday	19, 20	18
Saturday	16, 17	1

2. During Great Lent, in the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 6th weeks

	MATINS	1st HOUR	3rd HOUR	6th HOUR	9th HOUR	VESPERS
Sunday	2, 3, 17, or Polyeleos	-	-	-	-	-
Monday	4, 5, 6	-	7	8	9	18
Tuesday	10, 11, 12	13	14	15	16	18
Wednesday	19, 20, 1	2	3	4	5	18
Thursday	6, 7, 8	9	10	11	12	18
Friday	13, 14, 15	-	19	20	-	18
Saturday	16, 17	-	-	-	-	1

3. The 5th week of Lent: Only one kathisma is appointed for Thursday Mattins because the Great Canon of St. Andrew of Crete is read on that day.

	MATINS	1st HOUR	3rd HOUR	6th HOUR	9th HOUR	VESPERS
Sunday	2, 3, 17, or Polyeleos	-	-	-	-	-
Monday	4, 5, 6	-	7	8	9	10
Tuesday	11, 12, 13	14	15	16	18	19
Wednesday	20, 1, 2	3	4	5	6	7
Thursday	8	-	9	10	11	12
Friday	13, 14, 15	-	19	20	-	18
Saturday	16, 17	-	-	-	-	1

4. Holy Week: The psalms are read once in their entirety - apart from kathisma 17, during the first four days of Holy Week; all reading of the Psalter is then omitted - except at Matins on Holy Saturday - until Vespers on Saturday in Easter Week.

	MATINS	1st HOUR	3rd HOUR	6th HOUR	9th HOUR	VESPERS
Sunday	2, 3, Polyeleos	-	-	-	-	-
Monday	4, 5, 6	-	7	8	-	18
Tuesday	9, 10, 11	-	12	13	-	18
Wednesday	14, 15, 16	-	19	20	-	18
Saturday	17	-	-	-	-	-

5. From the Sunday of Thomas to 21 of September; from 20 December to 14 January; and during the two weeks immediately preceding Lent:

	MATINS	VESPERS
Sunday	2, 3, 17 or Polyeleos	-
Monday	4, 5	6
Tuesday	7, 8	9
Wednesday	10, 11	12
Thursday	13, 14	15
Friday	19, 20	18
Saturday	16, 17	1

APPENDIX THREE

THE PROTHESIS RITUAL OF THE PRESANCTIFIED IN THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

1. The earliest manuscript that contains a Prothesis ritual for the PRES is the eleventh-century Γ.β. XX, f. 4r: While the people chant Ps 103:

‘Ο διάκονος ποιεῖ τὴν πρόθ(εσιν) τῶν ἁγίων δώρ(ων). Ἐν τῷ δίσκῳ βάλλει καὶ αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ποτηρίῳ· εἰθ’ οὕτως βαλλὼν θυμιάμα εἰς τὸ θυμιατόν· λέγει· ἔτι καὶ ἔτι ἐπὶ τοῦ θυμιάματος τῆς προθέσεως τοῦ κυ(ρίου) δε(ηθῶμεν)· ὁ ἱερεὺς τὴν εὐχὴν τοῦ θυμιάματος· εἶτα ὁ διάκο(νος) βάλλει τὸν ἀστερίσκ(ον) καὶ τ(ὸ) β’ κάλυμμα λέγει· Ἐσκεπάσον ἡμᾶς τῇ σκέπῃ τῶν πετερυγῶν σου· Εἰς δὲ τὴν νεφέλην ἐπὶ τὸ ποτήριον καὶ τὸν δίσκον τίθησιν· σφραγίζων ἐπάνω τῶν καλυμμάτων λέγει· Ἐκάλυψεν οὐρανοὺς ἡ ἀρετὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς αἰνέσεως αὐτοῦ πλήρης ἡ γῆ· τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος· μετὰ οὖν τὸ σκεπᾶσαι τὰ ἅγια· θυμιᾷ αὐτὰ καὶ ἀπέρχεται καὶ θυμιᾷ τὸ ἱλαστήριον ... καὶ τὰ ἔνδοθεν πάντα· καὶ εἰθ’ οὕτως ποιεῖ συναπτὴν.

The twelfth-century Ottoboni gr. 344 (1177) 16v-17r contains a more complete version of this Prothesis ritual.

The fourteenth-century Vatican gr. 2324, f. 18r: ‘Ο διάκονος ποιεῖ τὴν πρόθεσιν τῶν τιμίων δώρων. Τίθησιν οὖν ἐν τῷ δίσκῳ τὸ τίμιον δῶρον· καὶ εὐθὺς οἶνον καὶ ὕδωρ τῷ ποτηρίῳ ἐπιχέει· εἰθ’ οὕτως βαλλὼν εἰς τὸ θυμιατόν θυμιάμα λέγει. Τοῦ κυρίου δεηθῶμεν· ὁ ἱερεὺς τὴν εὐχὴν τοῦ θυμιάματος· Θυμιάμα σοι προσφέρομεν ... εἶτα τίθησιν ὁ διάκονος τὸν ἀστερίσκον λέγων· τῷ λόγῳ κυρίου οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἐστερεώθησαν· καὶ τὰ δύο καλύμματα, εἰς μὲν τὸ πρῶτον λέγει· ὁ κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν εὐπρέπειαν ἐνεδύσατο· εἰς δὲ τὸ δεύτερον κάλυμμα λέγει· ἐσκεπάσον ἡμᾶς τῇ σκέπῃ τῶν πετερυγῶν σου· Εἰς δὲ τὴν νεφέλην ἣν ἐπὶ τὸ ποτήριον καὶ τὸν δίσκον τίθησιν· σφραγίζων ἐπάνω τῶν καλυμμάτων λέγει· Ἐκάλυψεν οὐρανοὺς ἡ ἀρετὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς αἰνέσεως αὐτοῦ πλήρης ἡ γῆ· μετὰ οὖν τὸ σκεπᾶσαι τὰ ἅγια· θυμιᾷ αὐτὰ καὶ ἀπέρχεται καὶ θυμιᾷ τὸ ἱλαστήριον ... καὶ πάντα τὸν λαόν.

2. A much simpler ritual is preserved in the twelfth-century Oxford Bodleian E.5.13, f. 37v:

τίθει ὁ ἱερεὺς μερίδα ἐν τῷ δίσκῳ ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων δώρων καὶ οἶνον καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ καὶ θυμιάσας καλύπτει τὰ ἅγια.

Also in the twelfth-century Vatican gr. 1811, f. 103r; Vatican gr. 1875, f. 32r; Γ. β. II, f. 43r. Similar in the sixteenth-century EBE 757, f. 59r.

In the twelfth/thirteenth-century Vatican gr. 2005, ff. 59v-60r we find a similar description of the brief preparation of the gifts:

καὶ βάλλει [ὁ ἱερεὺς] τὰ ἅγια δῶρα εἰς τὸν δίσκον τοῦ ἁγίου ποτηρίου· καὶ νόμα εἰς τὸ ἅγιον ποτήριον· καὶ σκεπάζει μετὰ τὰ καλύματα· καὶ θυμιάζει.

A similar description is also found in the thirteenth-century Ambrosiana gr. 276 (E20 sup), f. 37r, but in this case it is the deacon that prepares the elements:

Ἐν πρώτοις ποιεῖ ὁ διάκονος πρόθεσιν οὕτως: τίθησι τὸ τίμιον δῶρον ἐν τῷ δίσκῳ καὶ οἶνον καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ· εἶθ' οὕτως θυμιάμα εἰς τὸ θυμιατόν· λέγει· Τοῦ κυρίου δεηθῶμεν. Ὁ ἱερεὺς τὴν εὐχὴν τοῦ θυμιάματος· θυμιάμα σοι προσφέρωμεν Κύριε ...

3. In the twelfth-century Barberini gr. 329, ff. 10r-v:

προτίθησι [ὁ ἱερεὺς] μερίδα ἢ δύο ἐν τῷ δίσκῳ· βεβραχυμένην μιᾶς βράνιδος ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου ποτηρίου τῆς Κυριακῆς· καὶ βάλλων εἰς τὸν κρατῆρα αἶμα καὶ ὕδωρ, λέγει· Εἷς τῶν στρατιωτῶν λόγῃ τὴν πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ ἔνυξε· καὶ εὐθέως ἐξῆλθεν αἶμα καὶ ὕδωρ· καὶ ὁ ἑορακῶς μεμαρτήρηκε· καὶ ἀληθινὴ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ μαρτυρία. Καὶ θυμιᾷ λέγων τὴν εὐχὴν· θυμιάμα προσφερόμεν σοι·

4. In the twelfth-century EBE 713, f. 41v:

Καὶ ψαλλομένου συνήθως τοῦ καθίσματος τοῦ ψαλτηρίου ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀπέρχεται ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ προθέσῃ καὶ ἐξενεγκῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἀρτοφορίου τὸν ζωποιοὺν ἄρτον προτίθησιν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ δίσκῳ μετὰ πάσης προσοχῆς καὶ εὐλαβείας. Ποιεῖ καὶ ἔνωσιν ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ποτηρίῳ. Οὐ μέντοι λέγων τι τῶν ἐν τῇ προθέσῃ συνήθων, οὔτε μετὰ εὐχῆς προθέσεως. Προηγιασμένη γὰρ καὶ προτετελειωμένη καὶ προεισδεγμένη θυσία ἐστὶν, καὶ ἐν τισὶ τῶν κοντακίων εὐχὴ προθέσεως εὔρηται. Ἀλλὰ μόνον περικαλύπτων ταῦτα τῷ ἀστερίσκῳ καὶ τοῖς θείοις καλύμμασι θυμιᾷ συνήθως καὶ ἀπέρχεται.

With minor variations in the twelfth/thirteenth-century EBE 662, f. 61r; thirteenth-century Ann Arbor 49, f. 47v; fourteenth-century Vatopedi 984, f. 29v; fourteenth/fifteenth-century Benaki 90 (TA 246) 59r; fifteenth-century Sinai gr. 968, f. 60v/DII394;³ EBE 2403, f. 47r; fifteenth/sixteenth-century Paris gr. 326, f. 57r; sixteenth-century Sinai gr. 1037, f. 74v; Sinai gr. 2111, f. 127v-128r; Ottoboni gr. 288, f. 70r; EBE 759; EBE 749, f. 66r; EBE 878, p. 133; EBE 775, f. 89r; EBE 2400, f. 85r-v; Benaki 79 (TA 177), f. 84r-v (In eidesis).

³ This manuscript gives the priest the option to say Δι' εὐχῶν τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν ... or Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ Ὑἱε τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐλέησόν με τὸν ἁμαρτωλόν.

A simpler form in the fourteenth-century Vatopedi 984, f. 29v:

ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀπέρχεται ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ προθέσῃ καὶ ἐξενεγκῶν τὸν ζωοποιὸν ἄρτον προτίθῃσιν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ δίσκῳ ποιῶν καὶ ἔνωσιν οὐ μέντοι λέγων τι τῶν συνήθων τῇ προθέσῃ· ἀλλὰ μόνον περικαλύψας τὰ ἅγια, θυμιάσας ἀπέρχεται. Also in the fourteenth-century Vatopedi 133 (744), DII:273; fifteenth-century Esphigmenou 208, DII 273 (notes).⁴

5. Fifteenth-century Panagia Kamariotissa 145 (142):

Τότε λαμβάνει ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸν ἅγιον ἄρτον καὶ τίθῃσιν ἐπὶ τὸν ἅγιον δίσκον· εἶτα θυμιά τὸν ἀστέρα τίθῃσι πάνω· Ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ κάλυμμα. Ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀγίῳ ποτηρίῳ, ἐκχέει οἶνον καὶ ὕδωρ, ὅσον ἀρκεῖ· οὐδὲν τι λέγων, μόνον τὸ δι' εὐχῶν τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων καὶ καλύψας ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ, εἰσέρχονται ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ τραπέζῃ.

Also in the fifteenth-century Ambrosiana gr. 84 (B15 sup), f. 132r-v; the sixteenth-century Sinai gr. 2017, f. 88r; Vatican gr. 1571, f. 23r; Vatican gr. 1557, f. 93r-v; are similar, with the notable addition of the preparatory prayer 'Πιστεύω Κύριε καὶ ἡμολογῶ' in the Prothesis ritual when the priest places the consecrated bread on the paten.

6. Thirteenth-century Sinai gr. 966, f. 46v:

Ὁ ἱερεὺς τελεῖ τὴν πρόθεσιν· καὶ σκεπάζει καὶ θυμιάσας τὰ ἐνδοθεν καὶ τὸν ναὸν ὅλον.

7. Thirteenth-century Barberini 443, f. 29v:

Τίθῃσι τὰ προηγιασμένα εἰς τὴν πρόθεσιν κατὰ τὴν πρέπουσαν τάξιν· καὶ θυμιάσας αὐτὰ λέγει τὴν εὐχὴν τοῦ θυμιάματος.

8. Fourteenth-century Γ.β. III, f. 98r:

Λαμβάνει ὁ ἱερεὺς τὴν ἁγίαν δωρεάν· καὶ τίθῃσιν ἐν τῷ δίσκῳ, μηδὲν λέγων. Καὶ ὅταν τίθῃ τὸ νόμα λέγει· αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ, τῷ πηγάσαντι ἡμᾶς σωτηρίαν, πάντοτε. Ὁ διάκονος· Ἐπὶ τῇ προθέσῃ τῶν τιμίων δώρων· τοῦ κυρίου δεηθῶμεν. Ὁ ἱερεὺς τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην· Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ... Εἶτα ὁ διάκονος λέγει· Τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν. Καὶ θυμιῶν τὰ ἅγια ὁ ἱερεὺς λέγει τὴν εὐχὴν· Θυμιάμα προσφερόμέν σοι ...

9. Fifteenth/sixteenth-century Ann Arbor 17, f. 50r:

ὁ ἱερεὺς ... εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πρόθεσιν καὶ τίθῃσι τὸν ἅγιον ἄρτον ἄρτι εἰς τὸ δισκάριν· λέγει· εὐλογημένη ἡ δόξα τοῦ τύπου τοῦ ἁγίου τούτου· νῦν

⁴ Adds the admonition to the priest to handle the consecrated bread with care (μετὰ πάσης προσοχῆς καὶ εὐλαβείας) and notes that Prothesis prayer is not said even though it appears in some manuscripts (εἰ καὶ ἐν τισι εὑρηται εὐχὴ προθέσεως).

καὶ αἶι καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἰ καὶ εἰς τὸ ποτήριον λέγει· Ἐνωσις τοῦ ἀχράντου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ χριστοῦ σου· πάντοτε, νῦν καὶ αἶι. Καὶ λέγει εὐχὴ τῆς προθέσεως· Τοῦ κυρίου δεηθῶμεν. Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ ὑποδείξας ἡμῖν τὸ μέγα τοῦτο τῆς σωτηρίας μυστήριον· σὺ ἰκάνωσον ἡμᾶς προσφέρειν θυσίαν προηγιασμένη· εἰς δόξαν καὶ αἶνον τοῦ χριστοῦ σου. Ὅτι ἡγιασθαι τὸ πάντιμον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς ὄνομά σου τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.

Two prayers of incense occur in the manuscripts:

1. **Θυμίαμα** προσφερόμέν σοι ...⁵ This is the prayer of incense in current use. Two manuscripts give the incipit of the incense prayer: the twelfth-century Barberini gr. 329, f. 10v; the thirteenth-century Ambrosiana gr. 276 (E20 sup) f. 37r. The thirteenth-century Barberini gr. 443, f. 29v provides no incipit, but regulates that the prayer of incense be said, which should be the standard one. The fourteenth-century Γ.β. III, f. 98r, gives the prayer with interesting variants: **Θυμίαμα** προσφερόμέν σοι κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν εὐωδίας πνευματικῆς· ἦν πρόσδεξαι δέσποτα· εἰς τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ὑπερουράνιον σου θυσιαστήριον, εἰς ὄσμὴν εὐωδίας· καὶ ἀντικατάπεμψον ἡμῖν πλούσια τὰ ἐλέη σου καὶ τοὺς οἰκτιρισμοὺς σου· πρεσβείαις τῆς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων. Ὅτι ἡλόγηται καὶ δεδόξασται τὸ πάντιμον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς ὄνομά σου, τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος νῦν καὶ αἶι.
2. Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ὕψιστος, ὁ ἀράτος καὶ ἀχειροποίητος, ὁ προσδεζόμενος τὰ δῶρα ταῦτα, Νῶε τὰς θυσίας, Ἀβραὰμ τὰς ὀλοκαρπώσεις, πρόσδεξαι καὶ ἐκ χειρῶν ἡμῶν τὸ παρὸν θυμίαμα εἰς τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ὑπερουράνιον καὶ νοερὸν σου θυσιαστήριον εἰς ὄσμὴν εὐωδίας, εἰς πλοῦτον αἰώνιον, εἰς θυσίαν δεκτὴν. In the fourteenth-century Philotheou 177 (DII:270); the fifteenth/sixteenth-century Philotheou 164 (DII:660). Text taken from MORAITIS: *Ἡ Λειτουργία τῶν Προηγιασμένων* 45.

⁵ *Ἱερατικόν* 100.

APPENDIX FOUR

READINGS FOR TRITHEKTI AND VESPERS⁶

CHEESEFARE WEEK

	M	T	W	R	F
Trithekti					
Prokeimenon 1			Tone 6 Ps 27:9 vs 1		Tone 1 Ps 32:2 vs 1
Reading			Joel 2:12-17		Zech 8:7-17
Prokeimenon 2			Tone 7 Ps 28:11 vs 1		Tone 3 Ps 46:7 vs 2
Vespers					
Prokeimenon 1			Tone 5 Ps 53:3 vs 4		Tone 7 Ps 58:10b- 11a, vs 2
Reading			Joel 4:12-21		Zech 8:19-23
Prokeimenon 2			Tone 6 Ps 130:3 vs 1		Tone 6 Ps 130:3 vs 1

It is during the Cheesefare Week that most of the minor differences between the current Triodion on the one hand, and the Typikon of the Great Church and the Prophetologion on the other occur. One should note that the Typikon of the Great Church and the Prophetologion provide us with two or three verses for each Prokeimenon, while the Triodion provides us with only one verse, evidence of the breakdown of the psalmody of the Prokeimenon.

1. The reading of Trithekti of Wednesday in the Typikon of the Great Church and the Prophetologion is longer by about ten verses: Joel 2:12-26 (27).
2. The Prokeimenon 2 of Trithekti of Wednesday in the Prophetologion is Ps 28:11, vs 1-2 in tone 7. The Typikon of the Great Church has Ps 46:7, v 2 in tone 3; also in only one Prophetologion ms (Prophetologion 1940:112).

⁶ The readings are taken from *Τριώδιον* (Athens 1993).

3. The Prokeimenon 1 of Vespers of Wednesday is Ps 4:4, vs 2 in three Prophetologion mss.
4. The Prokeimenon 1 of Trithekti of Friday is Ps 46:7, vs 2, tone 3, in the Typikon of the Great Church. The Prophetologion also notes Ps 28:11, vs 1-2.
5. In some Prophetologion manuscripts the reading of the Trithekti is longer, adding Zach 1:3-6, 7:9-15, 8:1-3 in the beginning of the reading.
6. Ps 103:24, vs 1, tone 4, appears in some mss of the Prophetologion as Prokeimenon 2 of the Trithekti of Friday. The Typikon of the Great Church has Ps 75:12, vs 2, tone 8.

GREAT LENT

WEEK 1

	M	T	W	R	F
Trithekti					
Prokeimenon 1	Tone 4 Ps 1: 6 vs 1	Tone 4 Ps 5:3 vs 2a	Tone 4 Ps 9:1 vs 2	Tone 4 Ps 13:7b vs 1	Tone 4 Ps 17:2 vs 3
Reading	Isa 1:1-20	Isa 1:19-2:3	Isa 2:3-17	Isa 2:11-21	Isa 3:1-14
Prokeimenon 2	Tone 7 Ps 2:11 vs 1	Tone 4 Ps 6:2 vs 3	Tone 6 Ps 10:7 vs 1	Tone 4 Ps 14:1a vs 2	Tone 6 Ps 18:15 vs 2
Vespers					
Prokeimenon 1	Tone 6 Ps 3:9 vs 2	Tone 5 Ps 7:2a vs 2b	Tone 5 Ps 11:7 vs 2	Tone 4 Ps 15:7 vs 1	Tone 5 Ps 19:2a vs 2b
Reading	Gen 1:1-13	Gen 1:14-23	Gen 1:24-2:3	Gen 2:4-19	Gen 2:20-25 3:1-20
Prokeimenon 2	Tone 5 Ps 4:4b vs 2a	Tone 5 Ps 8:2 vs 4	Tone 6 Ps 12:3 vs 2	Tone 4 Ps 16:8 vs 1	Tone 6 Ps 20:14 vs 2
Reading	Prov 1:1-20	Prov 1:20-33	Prov 2:1-22	Prov 3:1-19	Prov 3:19-34

WEEK 2

	M	T	W	R	F
Trithekti					
Prokeimenon 1	Tone 6 Ps 21:24 vs 2a	Tone 4 Ps 25:8 vs 1	Tone 5 Ps 29:9 vs 2	Tone 6 Ps 33:5 vs 2	Tone 4 Ps 37:2 vs 3
Reading	Isa 4:1-6 5:1-7	Isa 5:7-16	Isa 5:16-25	Isa 6:1-12	Isa 7:1-14
Prokeimenon 2	Tone 2 Ps 22:4b vs 1	Tone 3 Ps 26:1a vs 1b	Tone 6 Ps 30:2 vs 2	Tone 6 Ps 34:23 vs 1	Tone 6 Ps 38:13 vs 2
Vespers					
Prokeimenon 1	Tone 1 Ps 23:8b vs 1	Tone 6 Ps 27:9 vs 1	Tone 6 Ps 31:11 vs 1	Tone 4 Ps 35:6 vs 7	Tone 4 Ps 39:12 vs 2
Reading	Gen 3:21-24 4:1-17	Gen 4:8-15	Gen 4:16-26	Gen 5:1-24	Gen 5:32 6:1-8
Prokeimenon 2	Tone 6 Ps 24:16a vs 1	Tone 7 Ps 28:11 vs 1	Tone 1 Ps 32:22 vs 1	Tone 6 Ps 36:34 vs 1	Tone 6 Ps 40:5a vs 2
Reading	Prov 3:34-35, 4:1-21	Prov 5:1-15	Prov 5:15-22	Prov 6:1-20	Prov 6:20-35, 7:1

WEEK 3

	M	T	W	R	F
Trithekti					
Prokeimenon 1	Tone 4 Ps 41:12 vs 2	Tone 4 Ps 45:12 vs 2	Tone 6 Ps 49:14 vs 1	Tone 4 Ps 53:3 vs 4	Tone 6 Ps 57:2 vs 11
Reading	Isa 8:13-22 9:1-7	Isa 9:9-21 10:1-4	Isa 10:12-20	Isa 11:10-16, 12:1-2	Isa 13:2-13
Prokeimenon 2	Tone 4 Ps 42:5 vs 4	Tone 3 Ps 46:7 vs 2	Tone 6 Ps 50:3 vs 12	Tone 4 Ps 54:2 vs 3	Tone 7 Ps 58:2 vs 18b
Vespers					
Prokeimenon 1	Tone 4 Ps 43:9 vs 2	Tone 3 Ps 47:2a vs 2b	Tone 4 Ps 51:10b vs 3	Tone 8 Ps 55:2 vs 3	Tone 4 Ps 59:13 vs 3
Reading	Gen 6:9-22	Gen 7:1-5	Gen 7:6-9	Gen 7:11-24, 8:1-3	Gen 8:3-21
Prokeimenon 2	Tone 6 Ps 44:18 vs 2	Tone 2 Ps 48:4 vs 2	Tone 4 Ps 52:7 vs 2	Tone 7 Ps 56:2a vs 2b	Tone 6 Ps 60:2 vs 9
Reading	Prov 8:1-21	Prov 8:31-36, 9:1-11	Prov 9:12-18	Prov 10:1-22	Prov 10:31, 11:1-12

WEEK 4

	M	T	W	R	F
Trithekti					
Prokeimenon 1	Tone 6 Ps 61:8 vs 2	Tone 8 Ps 65:1 vs 8	Tone 6 Ps 69:5 vs 2	Tone 4 Ps 73:12 vs 1	Tone 6 Ps 77:38 vs 1
Reading	Isa 14: 24-32	Isa 25:1-9	Isa 26:21 27:1-9	Isa 28:14-22	Isa 29:13-23
Prokeimenon 2	Tone 6 Ps 62:5 vs 2	Tone 6 Ps 66:8 vs 2a	Tone 6 Ps 70:1 vs 2	Tone 4 Ps 74:12 vs 2	Tone 5 Ps 78:9a vs 1
Vespers					
Prokeimenon 1	Tone 8 Ps 63:2a vs 2b	Tone 6 Ps 67:5a vs 5b	Tone 4 Ps 71:18 vs 1	Tone 4 Ps 75:12 vs 2	Tone 4 Ps 79:2b vs 2a
Reading	Gen 8:21-22 9:1-7	Gen 9:8-17	Gen 9:18-29 10:1	Gen 10:32 11:1-9	Gen 12:1-7
Prokeimenon 2	Tone 6 Ps 64:6 vs 2	Tone 6 Ps 68:30 vs 33	Tone 4 Ps 72:28 vs 1	Tone 7 Ps 76:2 vs 3	Tone 2 Ps 80:2 vs 3
Reading	Prov 11:19-31, 12:1-6	Prov 12:8-22	Prov 12:23-28, 13:1-9	Prov 13:19-25, 14:1-6	Prov 14:15-26

WEEK 5

	M	T	W	R	F
Trithekti					
Prokeimenon 1	Tone 8 Ps 83:4 vs 2	Tone 6 Ps 87:16 vs 2	Tone 4 Ps 91:2 vs 3	Tone 8 Ps 96:1 vs 7b	Tone 8 Ps 100:1 vs 2
Reading	Isa 37:33-38 38:1-6	Isa 40:18-31	Isa 41:4-14	Isa 42:5-16	Isa 45:11-17
Prokeimenon 2	Tone 8 Ps 84:8 vs 2	Tone 6 Ps 88:6 vs 2	Tone 4 Ps 92:1 vs 1	Tone 6 Ps 97:1 vs 4	Tone 6 Ps 101:2 vs 3
Vespers					
Prokeimenon 1	Tone 4 Ps 85:11 vs 1	Tone 4 Ps 89:1 vs 17	Tone 4 Ps 93:1 vs 2	Tone 7 Ps 98:5 vs 1	Tone 4 Ps 102:8 vs 1
Reading	Gen 13:12-18	Gen 15:1-15	Gen 17:1-8	Gen 18:20-33	Gen 22:1-18
Prokeimenon 2	Tone 4 Ps 86:2 vs 1	Tone 5 Ps 90:1 vs 2	Tone 6 Ps 95:1 vs 2	Tone 6 Ps 99:1 vs 2	Tone 4 Ps 103:24 vs 1
Reading	Prov 14:27-35, 15:1-4	Prov 15:7-19	Prov 15:20-34, 16:3-9	Prov 16:13-33, 17:1-17	Prov 17:17-28, 18:1-5

WEEK 6

	M	T	W	R	F
Trithekti					
Prokeimenon 1	Tone 6 Ps 104:3 vs 1	Tone 8 Ps 108:26 vs 1	Tone 4 Ps 112:1 vs 2	Tone 4 Ps 117:20 vs 1	Tone 4 Ps 121:1 vs 9
Reading	Isa 48:17-22 49:1-5	Isa 49:5-10	Isa 58:1-11	Isa 65:8-16	Isa 66:10-24
Prokeimenon 2	Tone 6 Ps 105: vs 1	Tone 4 Ps 109:4 vs 1	Tone 6 Ps 113:23 vs 1	Tone 4 Ps 118:32 vs 33	Tone 6 Psalm 122:3 vs 1
Vespers					
Prokeimenon 1	Tone 3 Ps 106:1 vs 2	Tone 4 Ps 110:10 vs 1	Tone 4 Ps 114:8 vs 1	Tone 6 Ps 119:1 vs 2	Tone 6 Ps 123:8 vs 1
Reading	Gen 27:1-41	Gen 31:3-16	Gen 43:26-30, 45:1-16	Gen 46:1-7	Gen 49:33 50:1-26
Prokeimenon 2	Tone 7 Ps 107:6 vs 2	Tone 4 Ps 111:4 vs 1	Tone 4 Ps 115:9 vs 1	Tone 4 Ps 120:7 vs 1	Tone 4 Ps 124:1a vs 1b
Reading	Prov 17:16-25	Prov 21:3-21	Prov 21:23-31, 22:1-4	Prov 23:15-35, 24:1-5	Prov 31:8-31

GREAT AND HOLY WEEK

	M	T	W	R	F
Trithekti					
Prokeimenon 1	Tone 4 Ps 125:1 vs 2	Tone 6 Ps 129:7 vs 1	Tone 6 Ps 133:3 vs 1	Tone 4 Ps 82:19 vs 2	
Reading	Ezek 1:1-21	Ezek 1:21-28	Ezek 2:3-10 3:1-3	Jer 11:18-23 12:1-15	
Prokeimenon 2	Tone 6 Ps 126:1 vs 2	Tone 4 Ps 130:3 vs 1	Tone 2 Ps 134:20 vs 1	Tone 6 Ps 75:12 vs 2	
Vespers					
Prokeimenon 1	Tone 6 Psalm 127:5 vs 1	Tone 6 Ps 131:8 vs 1	Tone 4 Ps 135:26 vs 2	Tone 1 Ps 139:2 vs 3	Tone 4 Ps 21:19 vs 2
Reading	Ex 1:1-21	Ex 2:5-10	Ex 2:11-23	Ex 19:10-19	Ex 33:11-23
Prokeimenon 2	Tone 8 Ps 128:8 vs 1	Tone 4 Ps 132:1 vs 2	Tone 4 Ps 137:8 vs 1	Tone 7 Ps 58:2 vs 3	Tone 4 Ps 34:1 vs 12
Reading	Job 1:1-12	Job 1:13-22	Job 2:1-10	Job 38:1-42:5	Job 42:12-22
				Isa 50:4-11	Isa 52:13-54:1
				1Cor 11:23-32	1Cor 1:18-31, 2:1-2

GREAT AND HOLY WEEK (contd.).

	M	T	W	R	F
Gospel	Mt 24:3-35	Mt 24:36-51 25:1-46 26:1-2*	Mt 26:6-16	Jn 13:3-17 Mt 26:21-39 Lk 22:43-44 Mt 26:40-75 27:2-20*	Mt 27:1-38 Lk 23:39-43 Mt 27:39-54 Jn 19:31-37 Mt 27:55-61*

* Read as one Gospel

APPENDIX FIVE

MANUSCRIPT TABLE

This table reflects the Byzantine liturgical manuscripts cited in this study of the PRES. These are Euchology manuscripts (unless noted) that contain the PRES and cover all the major manuscript collections. The chronology of the manuscripts presented here is based on the chronological list of manuscripts provided in R. TAFT: *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom vol. V: The Precommunion* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 261) Rome 2000, 527-538. Information on the dating and provenance of the manuscripts is from the above work. Folia numbers, when provided, reflect the location of the PRES in the manuscript (unless otherwise noted). Finally, a cross (†) indicates that I have read the manuscript in the original or in photographic reproduction. For the full citation of editions cited, see the Bibliography.⁷

MS	DATE	TYPE	ORIGIN	EDITOR	FOLIA	
Barberini 336	8 th c.	Euchologion	S. Italy	PARENTI & VELKOVSKA		
Sinai gr. 863	9 th c.	Horologion	Sabas	MATEOS: 'Un Horologion inédit'	Typika: 75r-77v	†
Patmos 266	9/10 th c.	Typikon	Con/ple	DI:1-152/TGC		
Stavrou 40	10 th c.	Typikon	Con/ple	TGC		
St. Petersburg 226	10 th c.	Euchologion	S. Italy	JACOB: 'St. Petersburg 226'		
Grottaferrata Γ.β. VII	10 th c.	Euchologion	S. Italy	PASSARELLI: Γ.β. VII	114r-116v	†
Sevastianov 474	10 th c.	Euchologion	Palest. copy of Con/ple	KS		
Paris Coislin gr. 213	1027	Euchologion	Con/ple	DUNKAN: Coislin 213		
Grottaferrata Γ.β. X	10/11 th c.	Euchologion	S. Italy		23r-26v	†
Sinai gr. 150	10/11 th c.	Kanonarion	Con/ple	DI:171-221		†

⁷ For further information for most of these manuscripts see TAFT: *Precommunion* 527-538, TAFT: *The Great Entrance* 438 and JACOB: 'Histoire de formulaire'.

MS	DATE	TYPE	ORIGIN	EDITOR	FOLIA	
Grottaferrata Γ.β. I	11 th c.	Euchologion	Con/ple	ARRANZ: <i>L'eucologio</i> ⁸		
Sinai 958	11 th c.	Euchologion	Palestine	DII:20-21	22v-26r	†
Sinai 959	11 th c.	Euchologion	Palestine	DII:44	36v-42v	†
Paris gr. 391	11 th c.	Euchologion			79v-94r	†
Grottaferrata Γ.β. XX	11 th c.	Euchologion			2r-15v	†
Benaki 27 (56)	11 th c.	Euchologion			53r-69r	†
Benaki 57 (TA 127)	11 th c.	Euchologion			6v-13v	†
Sinai 962	11/12 th c.	Euchologion		DII: 65	48r-57v	†
Harvard Houghton gr. 3	1105	Horologion appended to Psalter	Sabas		Typika: 247v-248v	†
Jerusalem Stavrou 43	1122	Typikon	Anastasis Jerusalem	PK		
Oxford Bodleian Auct. E.5.13	1132	Euchologion	Messina, Rossano style	JACOB: 'E.5.13'		
Vatican gr 1811	1147	Euchologion	Rossano		102v-110r	†
Sinai gr. 973	1152/3	Euchologion		DII:86-87	21v-27r	†
Biblioteca Angelica gr. 15	1165	Euchologion	Sicily		33r-49v	†
Sinai gr. 1040	1156-1169	Diakonikon	Palestine	DII:127-135; MORAITIS 100-105		
Ottoboni gr. 344	1177	Euchologion	Great Church of Otranto		16v-28v	†
Ottoboni gr. 434	12 th c.	Euchologion	Palestine		32rv, 26rv, 28rv, 27rv, 30rv, 29rv, 31rv, 25r	†
EBE 713	12 th c.	Euchologion		TR	40r-49v	†
BM 5	12 th c.	Euchologion		TR		
Barberini gr. 345	12 th c.	Euchologion			19r-26r	†
Barberini gr. 329	12 th c.	Euchologion	Calabria		10r-19r	†
Barberini gr. 393	12 th c.	Euchologion			36v-44v	†
Barberini gr. 431	12 th c.	Euchologion			24r-32r	†

⁸ Stefano Parenti and Elena Velkovska presented a paper at the First International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgy in Eichstätt (23-28 July, 2006) where they convincingly argued that Grottaferrata Γ.β. I is a thirteenth-century manuscript. The paper will be published in the proceedings of the congress.

MS	DATE	TYPE	ORIGIN	EDITOR	FOLIA	
Vatican gr. 1554	12 th c.	Euchologion	S. Calabria		39r-47r	†
Vatican gr. 1863	12 th c.	Euchologion			89v-108v	†
Vatican gr. 1875	12 th c.	Euchologion			31v-41v	†
Vatican gr. 1970	12 th c.	Euchologion	S. Italy from Palest. original		47v-52v	†
Grottaferrata Γ.β. II	12 th c.	Euchologion	Rossano		43r-50v	†
Grottaferrata Γ.β.VIII	12 th c.	Euchologion			69v-85v	†
Sinai gr. 1094	12 th c.	Typikon	Sabas	DIII:1-20		†
Sinai gr. 1096	12 th c.	Typikon	Sabas	DIII:20-65		
Paris gr. 330	12 th c.	Euchologion			p. 61-76	†
Paris gr. 392	12 th c.	Euchologion	Con/ple?		36r-45r	†
EBE 394 sup.	12 th c.	Euchologion		TR		
Vatican gr. 2005	12/13 th c.	Euchologion			59v-72r	†
Sinai gr.1036	12/13 th c.	Euchologion		DII:147	43r-55r	†
EBE 662	12/13 th c.	Euchologion		TR/ ARRANZ	61r-67r	†
Sinai gr. 1097	1214	Typikon	Sabas			†
Patmos 709	1260	Euchologion		DII: 159		
Sinai gr. 870	13 th c.	Horologion	Sabas		Typika: 60v-63v	†
Archimedes Palimpsest	13 th c.	Euchologion			7r-12r	†
Ann Arbor 37	13 th c.	Euchologion				†
Ann Arbor 49	13 th c.	Euchologion			45r-56v	†
Barberini 443	13 th c.	Euchologion			29v-36v	†
Grottaferrata Γ.β.XIII	13 th c.	Euchologion	Copied at Grottaferrata		49r-59r	†
Ambrosiana gr. 276 (E20 sup)	13 th c.	Euchologion	Salento		37r-50r	†
Ambrosiana gr. 709 (R24 sup)	13 th c.	Euchologion			105r-108v	†
Sinai gr. 966	13 th c.	Euchologion	Salento	DII:202-219	46v-52v	†
Sinai gr. 1037	13 th c.	Euchologion	Palestine		61v-105r	†
Messinensis gr. 175, X	13 th c.	Euchologion	Italo-Greek	JACOB: 'Le plus ancien'		
Lavra 99 A.	13 th c.	Typikon	Sabas	DIII:97		
Borgia georg. 7	13/14 th c.	Euchologion	Georgian	T78-80		
Sinai gr. 1101	1312	Typikon	Sabas			†
Philotheou 177	1332	Euchologion		DII:270		

MS	DATE	TYPE	ORIGIN	EDITOR	FOLIA	
Grottaferrata Γ.β. III	14 th c.	Euchologion	Calabria		98r-116v	†
Vatopediou 133 (744)	14 th c.	Euchologion		DII:273-274		
Vatopediou 984	14 th c.	Euchologion			28v-34v	†
Vatican gr. 2324	14 th c.	Euchologion	Salento		18r-26r	†
Paris gr. 324	14 th c.	Euchologion			37r-47r	†
Benaki 90 (TA 246)	14/15 th c.	Euchologion			59r-66v	†
EBE 2046	14/15 th c.	Euchologion		TR		
Sinai gr. 968	1426	Euchologion		DII:393-395	56r-61v	†
Paris coislin gr. 38	1432	Euchologion		DII: 209		
EBE 1910	1 st half of 15 th c.	Euchologion		TR	40v-48v	†
EBE 685	15 th c.	Euchologion		TR	p. 35-50	†
EBE 769	15 th c.	Euchologion		TR	117r-140v	†
EBE 877	15 th c.	Euchologion		TR	p. 149- 184	†
EBE 2403	15 th c.	Euchologion		TR	45r-57r	†
EBE 661	15 th c.	Euchologion		TR	16v-20r	†
Vatican gr. 1978	15 th c.	Euchologion			35r-47r	†
Ambrosiana gr. 84 (B15 sup)	15 th c.	Euchologion			132r-147v	†
Konstamonitou 19 (20)	15 th c.	Euchologion		DII:490-491		
Paris gr. 2509	15 th c.	Euchologion			233v-236v	†
Panagia Kamariotissa 145 (142)	15 th c.	Euchologion				†
Esphigmenou 208	15 th c.	Euchologion		DII: 273 notes		
Philotheou 164	15/16 th c.	Euchologion		DII: 660		
Ann Arbor 17	15/16 th c.	Euchologion			50r-61v	†
EBE 756	15/16 th c.	Euchologion			52r-64r	†
Paris gr. 326	15/16 th c.	Euchologion			55r-65r	†
Sabas 382	15/16 th c.	Euchologion			64r-74r	†
Paris gr. 393	1516	Euchologion			45r-60v	†
Vatican gr. 2007	1519	Euchologion			28r-35v	†
EBE 757	1525	Euchologion		TR	59r-74r	†
Sabas 48	1537	Euchologion			1r-17v	†
Lavra E74	1541	Euchologion				
EBE 2400	1548	Euchologion			82v-97v	†

MS	DATE	TYPE	ORIGIN	EDITOR	FOLIA	
Vatican gr. 2032	1549	Euchologion			20r-24v	†
EBE 775	1551	Euchologion		TR	85r-114v	†
Panagia Kamariotissa 142 (139)	1551	Euchologion			29r-40v	†
EBE 878	1559	Euchologion		TR	p. 132- 163	†
Vatican gr. 2052	1561	Euchologion			34r-39r	†
Sinai gr. 2017	1570	Euchologion			88r-107r	†
Sinai gr. 2045	1572	Euchologion			80r-98v	†
EBE 755	1577	Archieratikon		TR	95r-117r	†
Panagia Kamariotissa 143 (140)	1572	Euchologion			33r-41v	†
Sabas 53	1577/8	Euchologion			82r-102r	†
Vatican gr. 2259	1580	Euchologion				†
EBE 772	1582	Euchologion		TR	90v-108v	†
Sinai 2111	1594	Euchologion			121r-152v	†
Ottoboni gr. 288	16 th c.	Euchologion			67r-83r	†
Vatican gr. 1557	16 th c.	Euchologion			93r-109v	†
Vatican gr. 1571	16 th c.	Euchologion			23r-27v	†
Vatican gr. 2051	16 th c.	Euchologion			69r-83r	†
Vatican gr. 2143	16 th c.	Euchologion			p. 57-67	†
Vatican gr. 2294	16 th c.	Euchologion			16v-23r	†
EBE 749	16 th c.	Euchologion		TR	63r-78r	†
EBE 759	16 th c.	Euchologion		TR	p. 104ff	†
EBE 781	16 th c.	Euchologion		TR	36r-44v	†
Sinai gr. 2037	16 th c.	Euchologion			71r-91r	†
Benaki 10 (16)	16 th c.	Euchologion			81r-97v	†
Benaki 79 (TA 177)	16 th c.	Euchologion			84r-89r	†
EBE 751	16/17 th c.	Euchologion		TR		
LC ms gr. 37	1600	Archieratikon			106r-127v	†
EBE 2202	1639	Euchologion			47r-56r	†
EBE 802	17 th c.	Euchologion		TR	38r-47r	†
Taphou 334	17 th c.	Euchologion			99v-125v	†
EBE 776	17 th c.	Euchologion		TR		
EBE 765	18 th c.	Euchologion		TR		

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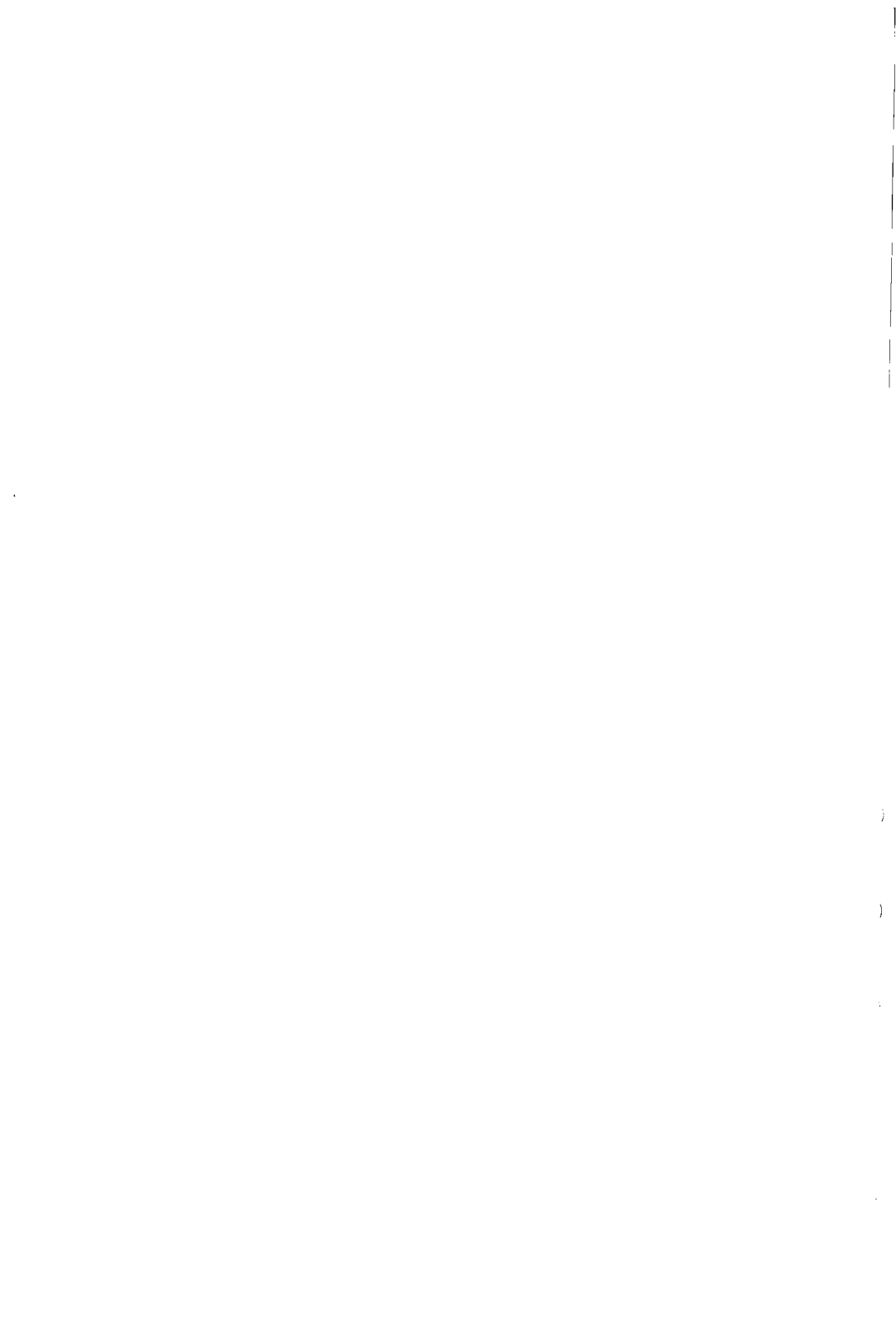
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The Presanctified Liturgy, essentially a communion service attached to vespers, is an office peculiar to the period of Great Lent in the Byzantine liturgical tradition. Although the Presanctified Liturgy is faithfully celebrated during this period of the liturgical year, not much of its origins, evolution, and history is known. It is the ambition of this study to trace the origins, the evolution and history of the Presanctified Liturgy in the Byzantine liturgical tradition. The method of comparative liturgy and structural analysis of liturgical units is followed. The book presents a thorough investigation of sources from the early Church that could point to the origins of Presanctified Liturgy. It addresses issues such as the authorship, title, and frequency of the Presanctified Liturgy, and examines the occurrence of the Presanctified Liturgy in the other Christian traditions. Heavily drawing upon the manuscript tradition it examines in depth the structures and the text of the Presanctified Liturgy itself, tracing its evolution throughout history. The fact that the Presanctified Liturgy is essentially a communion service attached to vespers has been the guiding principle in this effort. It is upon this vespereal structure that the communion part grew, imitating of course the communion part of the full liturgy. We are still able to see traces of the cathedral vespereal structure even within the communion part of the Presanctified Liturgy. The author argues that three dynamics have been behind the evolution and growth of the Presanctified Liturgy: imitation, conservatism, and differentiation.

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PEETERS

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