



The Pontifical Diataxis "According to the Rite of the Great Church" (London, British Library Add. 34060). A New Edition

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THE PONTIFICAL DIATAXIS "ACCORDING TO THE RITE OF THE GREAT CHURCH"

(London, British Library Add. 34060) A New Edition

ELENA VELKOVSKA

At the beginning of 2019, the Athonite monastery of Vatopedi published a prestigious edition of some important medieval διατάξεις of the Divine Liturgy which until then could only be consulted in editions of the 19th and 20th centuries¹ that were often defective. The reading of this volume led me to reopen an old file of observations and notes taken on the diataxis for the Pontifical Liturgy of the *British Library Add. 34060* when the manuscript became

AKENT'EV, Типикон Великой Церкви = K. K. AKENT'EV, Типикон Великой Церкви. Cod. Dresde A 104. Реконструкция текста по материалам архива А. А. Дмитриевского, Sankt-Peterburg 2008.

ARABATZOGLOU, Φωτίειος Βιβλιοθήκη = G. Μ. ARABATZOGLOU, Φωτίειος Βιβλιοθήκη ήτοι ἐπίσημα καὶ ἰδιωτικὰ ἔγγραφα καὶ ἄλλα μνημεῖα σχετικὰ πρὸς τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου μετὰ γενικῶν καὶ εἰδικῶν προλεγομένων, vol. 2, Istanbul 1935.

ARRANZ, Eucologio costantinopolitano = M. ARRANZ, L'eucologio costantinopolitano agli inizi del secolo XI. Hagiasmatarion & Archieratikon (Rituale & Pontificale) con l'aggiunta del Leiturgikon (Messale), Rome 1996.

BACHA, Versions arabes = C. BACHA, Notions générales sur les versions arabes de la liturgie de s. Jean Chrysostome suivies d'une ancienne version inédite, in XPYCOCTOMIKA. Studi e ricerche intorno a S. Giovanni Crisostomo a cura del Comitato per il XV° Centenario della sua morte, Rome 1908, 405-471.

Διατάξεις τῆς Θείας Λειτουργίας = Διατάξεις τῆς Θείας Λειτουργίας κατὰ τὰ Βατοπαιδινὰ χειρόγραφα τοῦ ιδ' αἰῶνα Ι: Κείμενα, Ἱερὰ Μεγίστη Μονὴ Βατοπαιδίου, Ἅγιον "Όρος 2019.

FLUSIN, Exaltation de la Croix = B. FLUSIN, Les cérémonies de l'exaltation de la Croix à Constantinople au XI siècle d'après le Dresdensis A 104, in Byzance et les reliquies du Christ (Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 17), Paris 2004, 61-89.

FOLLIERI, *Initia* I-V = H. FOLLIERI, *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiæ Græcæ*, I-V, (Studi e Testi 211-215), Città del Vaticano 1960-1966.

GOAR, Εύχολόγιον sive Rituale Grecorum = J. GOAR, Εύχολόγιον sive Rituale Grecorum ... editio secunda expurgata et accuratior..., Venezia 1730 (Graz 1960).

HABERT, Άρχιερατικόν = I. HABERT, Άρχιερατικόν. Liber Pontificalis Ecclesia Graca, Paris 1643.

^{*} Abbreviations:

accessible online² a few years ago. As with the texts republished on Athos, the London diataxis is not previously unpublished. A first edition by Gennadios Arabatzoglou (1883-1956), Metropolitan of Heliopolis and Theira of the Ecumenical Patriarchate³, appeared in 1935, which Robert Taft († 2018) judged "very defective"⁴ to the point of proposing his own edition of the document⁵. As he himself writes, Taft transcribed the text in 1972, but then shelved the project because he had heard that others were dealing with it. At the end of the 1970s, however, since no further work on the project could as yet be seen on the horizon, he decided return to the edition and publish it⁶.

JACOB, Le chandelier à trois branches = A. JACOB, Le chandelier à trois branches de l'évêque Pantoléon. À propos de l'inscription de Georges de Gallipoli, in Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata n.s. 53 (1999), 187-199.

LARIN, Dikerion and Trikerion = V. LARIN, The Dikerion and Trikerion of the Byzantine Pontifical Rite: Origins and Significance, in Orientalia Christiana Periodica 74 (2008), 417-430.

LBG = Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität, besonders des 9.-12. Jahrhunderts, ed. E. TRAPP, Wien 1994-2018.

LEW = F. E. Brightman, Liturgies Eastern and Western being the Texts Original or Translated of the Principal Liturgies of the Church, vol. I: Eastern Liturgies, Oxford 1896.

MATEOS, Célébration de la Parole = J. MATEOS, La célébration de la Parole dans la Liturgie byzantine. Étude historique, (OCA 191), Rome 1971.

Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court. = Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court. Offices and Ceremonies, edd. R. Macrides, J. A. Munitz and D. Angelov, (Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies 15), Burlington 2013.

PSEUDO-KODINOS, *Traité des offices* = PSEUDO-KODINOS, *Traité des offices*, ed. J. Verpeaux, (Le monde byzantin), Paris 1966.

OCA - Orientalia Christiana Analecta.

TAFT, History V = R. F. TAFT, A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. Volume V: The Precommunion Rites, (OCA 261), Rome 2000.

TAFT, History VI = F. TAFT, A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, volume VI: The Communion, Thanksgiving, and Concluding Rites, (OCA 281), Rome 2008.

TAFT, Pontifical Liturgy I-II = R. F. TAFT, The Pontifical Liturgy of the Great Church according to a Twelfth-Century Diataxis in Codex British Museum Add. 34060, I., in Orientalia Christiana Periodica 45 (1979), 279-307; II. Orientalia Christiana Periodica 46 (1980), 89-124.

TAFT - PARENTI, Grande Ingresso = R. F. TAFT - S. PARENTI, Storia della Liturgia di S. Giovanni Crisostomo. Volume II: Il Grande Ingresso. Edizione italiana rivista, ampliata e aggiornata, (Ἀνάλεκτα Κρυπτοφέρἡης 10), Grottaferrata 2014, 63.

- 1 Διατάξεις τῆς Θείας Λειτουργίας
- http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add ms 34060 f511r.
- ³ Arabatzoglou, Φωτίειος Βιβλιοθήκη, 91-105 (comment); 235-240 (text).
- ⁴ R. F. TAFT, The Great Entrance. A History of the Transfer of Gifts and Other Preanaphoral Rites, (OCA 200), Rome 1978, XXXVI.
- ⁵ Taft, Pontifical Liturgy I-II, reprinted in R. F. Taft, Liturgy in Byzantium and Beyond, Aldershot 1995, II.
- ⁶ TAFT, *Pontifical Liturgy I*, 280 note 6: "I left my work aside upon hearing that someone else was preparing an edition of the same document, but since nothing has appeared after several

Verification of the manuscript shows a certain convergence of Robert Taft's editorial choices with those of Arabatzoglou, and some rather daring interventions that compromised the understanding of the rite that the text was describing. These circumstances, together with the growing interest shown by the scientific community in the Byzantine Pontifical Liturgy, including the various Slavic textual recensions, lead me to propose a new edition with a commentary, limited to the points on which Robert Taft did not comment, or which in the meantime have been studied in greater depth.

1. Documents of the Pontifical Liturgy

As Taft wrote, "The liturgy described in the diataxis of codex *British Museum Add. 34060* can be studied in relation to the principal extant witnesses to the Byzantine pontifical eucharist". He listed 32 sources from the 8th to 19th century that fall into six categories: 1. Liturgical books, 2. Typika, 3. Diataxeis, 4. Commentaries on the Liturgy, 5. Imperial ceremonials, and 6. Eye-witness accounts. Obviously, this classification does not follow strict criteria because the typologies often overlap. After 40 years, it will not be useless to repeat the list of sources by integrating it with previously omitted material, indicating any editions published in the meantime and expunging superfluous sources. Unlike Taft's, this list does not take into account Slavic manuscripts.

1. The *Historia ecclesiastica* of the Patriarch St. Germanus I († c. 730) with the Latin translation of Anastasius Bibliothecarius (AD 875); the critical edition of both is in the process of publication by Christian Boudignon for the series *Sources Chrétiennes*¹⁰.

years, I decided to proceed with my own edition". As Robert Taft himself stated in a private conversation with myself, the scholar he alluded to in the note was André Jacob, who passed away on 28 February 2019.

⁷ Taft's edition is used by in *LBG*.

⁸ М. Zheltov, Архиерейский чин Божественной литургии: история, особенности, соотношение с ординарным («иерейским») чином, in Богословский сборник 11 (2003), 207-240; V. Larin, The Byzantine Hierarchal Divine Liturgy in Arsenij Suxanov's Proskinitarij. Text, Translation, and Analysis of the Entrance Rites (OCA 286), Rome 2010; N. Glibetić, The History of the Divine Liturgy Among the South Slavs: The Oldest Cyrillic Sources (13th - 14th c.), Rome 2013 (unpublished doctoral dissertation); T. I. Afan'aseva, Литургии Иоанна Златоуста и Василия Великого в славянской традиции (по служебникам XI-XV вв.), Moscow 2015.

⁹ TAFT, Pontifical Liturgy II, 89.

¹⁰ https://www.cpaf.cnrs.fr/spip.php?article21&lang=fr. The edition published by Nilo Borgia based on two late mss and reprinted with English translation by Paul Meyendorff should be used with caution: P. MEYENDORFF, St. Germanus of Constantinople on the Divine Liturgy. Translation, Introduction and Commentary, Crestwood NY, 1984; cfr. R. BORNERT, Les com-

- 2. The episcopal euchologion Barberini gr. 336 (post 787)11.
- 3. The synaxarion-kanonarion (alias "typikòn") of the Great Church according to the ms *Stavrou 40*, which can be dated between the 945 and 959¹².
- 4. BAS in *Codex Pyromalus*¹³ and the Latin version of Johannisberg¹⁴.
- 5. The *De cerimoniis* of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (945-959)¹⁵.
- 6. The description of the imperial procession to Hagia Sophia by Harun Ibn-Yahya (mid-10th century)¹⁶.
- 7. The euchologion Paris Coislin 213 (Constantinople AD 1027)17.
- 8. The scroll Jerusalem Stavrou 109 (c. AD 1070)18.
- 9. The praxapostolos Dresden A 104 (ante AD 1080)19.
- 10. An Arabic Melkite pontifical of CHR²⁰.
- 11. The *Protheoria* of Nicholas of Andida, later revised by Theodore of Andida (c. AD 1085-1095)²¹.

mentaires byzantins de la Divine Liturgie du VII^e au XV^e siècle, (Archives de l'Orient Chrétien 9), Paris 1966, 131.

¹¹ Евхологий Барберини гр. 336, edd. E. Velkovska – S. Parenti, Omsk 2011. A new edition with updated introduction in Greek is at the press at the Vatopedi monastery.

¹² Ed. J. MATEOS, Le Typicon de la Grande Église. Ms. Sainte-Croix Nº. 40. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes I: Le cycle des douze mois; II: Le cycle de fêtes mobiles (OCA 165-166), Rome 1962, 1963. On the dating of the text see A. LUZZI, Precisazioni sull'epoca di formazione del Sinassario di Costantinopoli, in Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici 36 (1999)[2000], 75-91: 87.

¹³ Il Codex Pyromali is published by GOAR, Εὐχολόγιον sive Rituale Græcorum, 153-156.

¹⁴ J. COCHLAEUS, Speculum antiquae deuotionis circa missam, et omnem alium cultum Dei: ex antiquis, et antea nunquam euulgatis per typographos auctoribus, à Ioanne Cochlaeo laboriose collectum ..., Mainz 1549, 119-132. According to TAFT, The Great Entrance, XXVII, in those years "A critical edition of this version is being prepared by A. Jacob". On the other datings see TAFT - PARENTI, Il Grande Ingresso. 63.

¹⁵ CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGÉNÈTE, Le Livre des Cérémonies, ed. A. Vogt, Texte I-II, Paris 1935, cfr. also the entry by M. McCormick, De Ceremoniis, in The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium 1, New York - Oxford 1991, 595-597.

¹⁶ A. VASILIEV, *Harun-Ibn-Yahya and his Description of Constantinople*, in *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 5 (1932), 158-160.

¹⁷ Edd. A. A. DMITRIEVSKIJ, Описание литургических рукописей, хранящихся в библиотеках православнаго Востока II: Εὐχολόγια, Kiev 1901 (Hildesheim 1965), 993-1052; ARRANZ, Eucologio costantinopolitano, sigla COI (apparatus).

¹⁸ A. Grabar, *Un rouleau liturgique constantinopolitain et ses peintures*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 8 (1954), 161-199; P. L. VOCOTOPOULOS, *Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem*, translated from the Greek by D. Withehouse, Athens and Jerusalem 2004.

¹⁹ Акент'еv, Типикон Великой Церкви.

²⁰ BACHA, Versions arabes, 405-471.

²¹ PG 140, 417-468. J. DARROUZÈS, Nicolas d'Andida et les azymes, in Revue des Études Byzantins 32 (1974), 199-210.

- 12. The Commentarius liturgicus of Pseudo-Sophronius²².
- 13. Two lesser commentaries of Nicholas Cabasilas On the Celebration of the Divine Liturgy and On the Priestly Vesture²³.
- 14. The De officiis of Pseudo-Codinus (c. 1350-60)²⁴.
- 15. The diataxis of deacon Demetrius Gemistos (AD 1386) describing the patriarchal liturgy of Hagia Sophia²⁵.
- The description by the Russian pilgrim Ignatius of Smolensk of the coronation liturgy of Manuel II Paleologus, celebrated by Patriarch Anthony IV in 1391²⁶.
- 17. The diataxis of the patriarchal rite of the Great Church in a MS of the Russian St. Andreas Skete on Mt. Athos, burned²⁷.
- 18. The *De sacra liturgia* and *Expositio de divino templo* of Symeon of Thessalonika († 1429)²⁸.
- 19. The scroll Sinai Gr. 1021 of BAS²⁹.
- 20. The diataxis of Theodore Agallianos (AD 1437)30.
- 21. Archdeacon Paul of Aleppo's account of the travels of Macarius III Za'īm, Patriarch of Antioch (1647-1672), with a description of the

²² PG 87³, 3981-4001.

²³ N. Cabasilas, *Explication de la Divine Liturgie*. Traduction et notes de S. Salaville, 2^e édition munie du texte grec revu et augmenté par R. Bornert - J. Gouillard - P. Perichon, (Sources Chrétiennes 4bis), Paris 1967.

²⁴ PSEUDO-KODINOS, Traité des offices.

²⁵ Διατάξεις τῆς Θείας Λειτουργίας, 91-136; A. RENTEL, The 14th Century Patriarchal Liturgical Diataxis of Dimitrios Gemistos. Edition and Commentary. Dissertatio ad Doctoratum PIO, Rome 2003.

²⁶ S. V. Arsen'ev, Хождение Игнатия Смольнянина, in Православный Палестинский Сборник IV/3, S. Peterburg 1887, 14-18. В. DE KHITROWO, Itinéraires russes en Orient, Genève 1889, 143-147; P. SHERRARD, Constantinople. Iconography of a Sacred City, London 1965, 50-52.

²⁷ А. А. DMITRIEVSKIJ, Описание литургических рукописей, хранящихся в библиотеках православнаго Востока I: Туліха́, Kiev 1895 (Hildesheim 1965), 164-172.

²⁸ St. Symeon of Thessalonika, *The Liturgical Commentaries*, edited and translated by S. Hawkes-Teeples, (Studies and Texts 168), Toronto 2011.

²⁹ The scroll can be attributed to the Constantinopolitan scriptorium of Hodegon. It is a presbyteral scroll subsequently adapted to the Pontifical Liturgy by transforming ἱερεὺς into ἀρχιερεὺς and adding in the margins the rubrics relating to the Trisagion, the dialogue before the Gospel, and the dialogue before the Great Entrance, as well as the prayer of the Gospel. Some texts are published by DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Onucanue* II, 367-368. The scroll is available for consultation on-line:

https://www.nli.org.il/en/manuscripts/NNL_ALEPH003865713/NLI#\$FL31472007

³⁰ Μ. Christopoulos, Τυπική διάταξις τῆς βασιλείου τάξεως τῆ Κυριακῆ τῆς Σταυ-ροπροσκυνήσεως, in Επετερίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών 11 (1935), 48-51.

- Patriarchal liturgy in the cathedral of St George at Phanar on 25th December 1652³¹.
- 22. Description of the Patriarchal Liturgy in Jerusalem in the mid-seventeenth century, written in the *Proskinitarij* by the Russian pilgrim Arsenij Suchanov³².
- 23. The autograph diataxis by the former Constantinopolitan Patriarch Athanasius III Patellaros (1595?-1654) in codex *Moscow Synod. gr.* 245 (AD 1653)³³.

To the list compiled by Robert Taft were added the *Barberini gr. 336* [2], the oldest Byzantine liturgical manuscript, which in the rite of dedication of the church describes the procession and rites of entrance³⁴, the ms *Paris Coislin 213* [7], which describes the same rites in a different recension³⁵ and various types of stational processions³⁶. Above all, the praxapostolos *Dresden A 104 (ante AD 1080)* [9], an authentic treasure of rubrics of the patriarchal liturgy dated before the coming to power of Alexius I Comnenus, has been included³⁷. I have instead deleted the *University of Michigan codex 55A* [n° 19 of Taft]³⁸ and *Athens EBE 754* (17th c.), witnesses – or at least the second ms – of the diataxis of Gemistos [15]³⁹ and the archieratikon *Vilna Public Library 202*

³¹ В. RADU, Voyage du patriarche Macaire d'Antioche. Texte arabe et traduction française, in Patrologia Orientalis 22/1, 24/4, 26/5, partial edition translated by F. C. Belfour, The Travels of Macarius, patriarch of Antioch, 2 vols., London 1829-1936). Full Russian translation by G. MURKOS, Путешествие антиохийского патриарха Макария в Россию в половине XVII века, описанное его сыном архидиаконом Павлом Алеппским, Moskow 1896-1900.

³² LARIN, The Byzantine Hierarchal Divine Liturgy.

³³ В. L. FONKIČ - F. B. POLJAKOV, *Греческие рукописи Московской синодальной* библиотеки. Палеографические, кодикологические и библиографические дополнения к каталогу архимандрита Владимира (Филантропова), Moskow 1993, 95 (under number 266).

³⁴ Евхологий Барберини гр. 336, § 156.1-5. V. RUGGIERI, Consacrazione e dedicazione di chiesa, secondo il Barberinianus graecus 336, in Orientalia Christiana Periodica 54 (1988), 79-118.

³⁵ Arranz, *Eucologio costantinopolitano*, 241-245; V. Ruggieri - K. Douramani, *Tempio e mensa*, in *Rivista di Teologia* 32 (1991), 279-300.

³⁶ Cfr. E. Velkovska, Rites and Prayers for New Years's Λιτή in the Euchologion Paris Coislin 213 (AD 1027), in Studies in Memory of Robert Taft (OCA), in press.

³⁷ On the dating: Flusin, *Exaltation de la Croix*, 61-89.

³⁸ Seymour DE RICCI with the assistance of W. J. WILSON, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* II, New York 1937 (1961), 1113.

³⁹ P. N. Trempelas, Αἱ τρεῖς λειτουργίαι κατὰ τοὺς ἐν Ἀθήναις κώδικας, (Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechischen Philologie 15), Athens 1935, siglum υ. Only the forthcoming Catalogue of the Greek mss of the University of Michigan will reveal what exactly the ms 55° contains: Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann with the collaboration of Pablo Alvarez, A Catalogue of Greek Manuscripts at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Volume 1: https://

(270) [n° 30 of Taft]⁴⁰. These archieratikà, often decorated with great care and elegance, numerous examples of which have been preserved⁴¹, in the Divine Liturgies do not differ in any respect from the presbyteral euchologies, and therefore are of no use for the history of episcopal liturgy. The oldest printed editions of the Greek archieratikon, whose editio princeps was published by Antonio Bortoli in Venice in 1714⁴², but without the rich iconographic apparatus, depend on this typology. The recent editions of the Church of Greece also show considerable differences and sometimes very questionable interventions, which it is not appropriate to dwell on here⁴³. Among the publications not intended for liturgical use, it is worth mentioning the Archieratikon edited by Isaac Habert and published in Paris in 1643 with the editio princeps of the diataxis of Demetrios Gemistos from the ms Paris gr. 1362⁴⁴.

2. The διάταξις in the codex British Library Add. 34060

The British Library Add. 34060 is a composite codex of more than 588 folios, which I will not discuss here. The interested reader will find a detailed description of its content on the British Library's web-site, and in the Pinakes database, together with an extensive bibliography⁴⁵. The $\delta i \dot{\alpha} \tau \alpha \xi i \zeta$ occupies the ff. 511^r - 515^r with which the first parchment section of the codex begins, and

 $www.press.umich.edu/7275146/catalogue_of_greek_manuscripts_at_the_university_of_michi-gan_ann_arbor$

 $^{^{40}}$ F. N. Dobrjanskij, Описание рукописей Виленской Публичной библиотеки, церковнославянских и русских, Vilna 1882, 309-310.

⁴¹ As an example, see the recent description of the archieratikà *Princeton University Library 11* (AD 1692-1702) and *Princeton University Art Museum y1946-11* (AD 1664): Sofia KOTZABASSI and Nancy PATTERSON ŠEVČENKO with the collaboration of Don C. SKEMER, *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton, Sixth to Nineteenth Century. A Descriptive Catalogue*, Princeton 2010, 68-78, 248-254; see also O. GRATZIOU, *Die dekorierten Handschriften des Schreibers Matthaios von Myra (1596-1624). Untersuchungen zur griechischen Buchmalerei um 1600*, (Sonderheft der Zeitschrift Mnemon 1), Athens 1982.

⁴² É. LEGRAND, Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au dix-huitième siècle I, Paris 1918, 117 n° 91.

⁴³ Άρχιερατικὸν περιέχον τὰς θείας καὶ ἱερὰς Λειτουργίας Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, Βασιλείου τοῦ Μεγάλου καὶ τὴν τῶν Προηγιασμένων, ἔτι καὶ τὰς τάξεις πασῶν τῶν χειροτονιῶν ..., Athens 1994; Αρχιερατικὸν συνταχθὲν ὑπὸ Μητροπολίτου Τύρολος καὶ Σερεντίου Παντελεήμονος Ροδοπούλου, ἐκδοθὲν δαπάναις τοῦ Μητροπολίτου Ἱεραπύτνης καὶ Σητείας Εὐγενίου (Λειτουργικὰ Βλατάδων 6), Thessaloni-ka 2004.

⁴⁴ HABERT, Άρχιερατικόν. On the author, see L. CEYSSENS, L'antijanséniste Isaac Habert (1598-1668), in Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome 42 (1972), 273-305.

⁴⁵ British Library: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_34060; Pinakes: https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/39106/

which also contains other materials, not only liturgical, that are found in euchologia, in particular in the ms *Paris Coislin 213*: a rite for the abjuration of the Manichees (ff. 517^r-518^r), the diataxis of Patriarch Methodius to readmit converts to Islam (ff. 518^r-520^v), a prayer to admit a pagan to the catechumenate (ff. 520^v-521^r), a rite to accept a convert from Judaism (ff. 520^v, 521^{rv}), another recension of the same rite (ff. 521^v-524^r), a rite for the conversion of a Muslim (ff. 531^r-533^v) and, in particular, the *Logos* of Gregory Asvestas († 880), given here without his name, on the need to not admit Jews too quickly to baptism (ff. 524^r-531^r)⁴⁶.

The dating of the parchment section is assigned to the 12th century, but the content of the diataxis itself is earlier. Robert Taft had listed 10 characteristic features that allowed it to be assigned to the 11th century: "later than that of *Codex Pyromalus* and the Johannisberg version, but earlier than the Arabic Melkite Pontifical – hence more or less contemporary to *Stavrou 109*"⁴⁷, written around 1070. Not all the traits cited are decisive for dating.

The practice of introducing the Trisagion by the ekphonesis of his prayer, as well as the prayer preceding the Gospel, appear in the 12th century, but in the peripheries⁴⁸. The presence or absence of the zeon is completely irrelevant, because it is recorded only if the infusion of boiling water is accompanied by a formula⁴⁹. One should note, however, the absence in the entrance rites of the blessing "Blessed is the entrance to your sanctuary (Εὐλογημένη ἡ εἴσοδος τῶν ἀγίων σου)" ⁵⁰ which we find in the praxapostolos A 104 of Dresden at the orthros of the pre-Lenten Monday of the Pharisee and Publican, at the Tritoekte on Cheesefare Wednesday, and in the stational procession on the first Friday of Lent⁵¹. The blessing is also missing in the accurate description of the entrance rites of the ms *Paris Coislin 213* (a. 1027); therefore, even though this is an *argumentum e silentio*, the diataxis would have to be assigned to the first half of the 11th century. Furthermore, the blessings of the *cathedra*, and of the

⁴⁶ Cfr. P. ELEUTERI - A. RIGO, Eretici, dissidenti ed Ebrei a Bisanzio. Una raccolta eresiologica del XII secolo, Venezia 1993, 31-32, G. DAGRON, Le traité de Grégoire de Nicée sur le baptême des Juifs, in Travaux et Mémoires 11 (1991), 317-339.

⁴⁷ TAFT, *Pontifical Liturgy II*, 98. In some more recent pubblications Taft moves the date to the 10th-11th century: TAFT, *History* V, 295, 317, 359, and even to the 10th century: R. F. TAFT, Quaestiones disputatae: *The Skeuophylakion of Hagia Sophia and the Entrances of the Liturgy Revisited. Part II*, in *Oriens Christianus* 82 (1998), 53-87: 76; TAFT, *History* VI, 542 note 202.

⁴⁸ MATEOS, Célébration de la Parole, 93 and note 9, 139-140.

⁴⁹ Taft, *History* V, 441-502.

⁵⁰ MATEOS, Célébration de la Parole, 82.

⁵¹ Акент'еv, Типикон Великой Церкви, 59, 61, 70.

deacon before the Gospel, are simpler than the versions found in Italo-Greek euchologia at the beginning of the 12th century⁵².

The reading of the text does not present any particular difficulties but the author's language shows some uncertainty. Note, for example, ἄδονται τὰ ἀντίφωνα [I.1] and ἀδόντων τελειωθέντος [X.17] instead of the more appropriate ψάλλονται and ψαλλόντων, but we also have a contrary example after communion, when the singers sing (ψάλλουσι) the troparion *Repleatur* [XI.25]. As Robert Taft had already noted, αὶ αἰτήσεις, which is a technical term for the "Angel of peace" litany, here also designates the intentions of the supplication after the Gospel and of the following litanies, including the final one [IV,4]⁵³.

With the sole exception of the patriarchal diataxis compiled by Demetrios Gemistos, the diataxeis never contain the text of the presidential prayers and merely give the incipit. Here too, the copyist – if not the editor – is apparently not very precise. The incipit of the incense prayer [III.9 and X.21] is always given in the first person singular, "Θυμίαμά σοι προσφέρω", instead of plural as in the whole manuscript tradition, "Θυμίαμά σοι προσφέρωμεν"⁵⁴. The incipit of the prayer introducing the Our Father is transcribed Σοὶ παρακατίθημαι (sic) instead of Σοὶ παρακατιθέμεθα [VIII.3], and the concluding doxology of the prayer of thanksgiving after communion [XI.4] is rendered with Οτι σὺ εἶ ἄγιος instead of ἄγιασμος. Obviously due to the copyist's distraction, the final monition of the deacon Έν εἰρήνη προέλθωμεν is written as ἐν εἰρήνη πᾶσι [XI.5], by the influence of the common formula of blessing Εἰρήνη πᾶσι.

3. Commentary: addenda et corrigenda

Robert Taft accompanied the edition with an extensive commentary that can easily be updated using the volumes of his history of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom published or republished after 1980⁵⁵. On three points, however, Taft's commentary needs some clarification: 1. τὰ πηνία, with true or assumed synonyms (τρικήριον, δικήριον, διβάμβουλον) [II.6], 2. κανστρίον / καμπτρίον [II.9] and 3. κιτατώριον [IV.1]. In addition to these three points, I

⁵² MATEOS, Célébration de la Parole, 120-122, 141-143.

⁵³ Taft, Pontifical Liturgy I, 243 note 40.

⁵⁴ On the incense prayer see E. VELKOVSKA, Una preghiera dell'incenso nell'eucologio slavo del Sinai, in Ephemerides Liturgicae 110 (1996), 257-261; S. PARENTI - E. VELKOVSKA, A Thirteenth Century Manuscript of the Constantinopolitan Euchology. Grottaferrata Γ.β. I, alias of Cardinal Bessarion, in Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata III s. 4 (2007), 175-196: 187-189; TAFT, History V, 95-98, 282 and note 89.

⁵⁵ Cfr. British Library 34060 in the volumes: TAFT, History V and TAFT, History VI; TAFT - PARENTI, Grande Ingresso, ad indicem.

will dwell briefly on an apparent incongruity, thus far unnoticed, concerning the reading of the Gospel [III.18].

Before moving on to the commentary, I point out *en passant* the fairly rare term ἀρμοσφήνιον [I.5] that previous editions had incorrectly emended as αρμο ηνί ω (*sic*) and ἀρμ ω ἐφ' ἡνίαν ⁵⁶. This word means the hinge of the sanctuary door, to which was attached an icon that the bishop kissed before entering⁵⁷.

3.1. Τὰ πηνία: not so mysterious a term

After the *Gloria Patri* of the Trisagion, the bishop performs a rite of veneration of the altar:

II.6. After the psalmists chant the doxology, the castrensis goes and gives the candles ($\tau \alpha \pi \eta \nu i \alpha$) to the bishop. 7. And he, holding them, bows thrice, saying to himself: Lord God of powers, look down from heaven and see, and look upon this vine and restore it, which your right hand has planted. And at the second bow, again the same. At the third bow he says: Holy Trinity, look down from heaven and see, and look upon this vine and restore it, which your right hand has planted. 8. And after the third bow, he blesses once in the center of the holy altar and gives back the candles ($\tau \alpha \pi \eta \nu i \alpha$), and joining his hands, stands there.

Following some comments by Jacques Goar in $E \dot{v} \chi o \lambda \dot{o} \gamma \iota o v$ sive Rituale Graecorum, Robert Taft identified $\tau \dot{\alpha}$ πηνία with the candles mounted on the two- and three-armed candlesticks (δικήριον and τρικήριον), those with which today the bishop traces the sign of the cross over the table of the altar and the Gospel placed upon it, and then blesses those present with both candlesticks (Greek usage) or with the dikiron and the cross (Russian usage), reciting Ps 79: 15-16a⁵⁸. Taft's hypothesis did not satisfy Vassa Larin⁵⁹; however neither she nor André Jacob explained what the mysterious πηνία were. To Jacob the question appeared complex, and he promised to return on it "à l'occasion" as a problem "qui ne pout être traité en quelques lignes"⁶⁰.

In point of fact, this is not really a problem at all. The etymology of this word is to be found in the neutral noun $\pi\eta\gamma$ lov, which is attested in classi-

⁵⁶ Arabatzoglou, Φωτίειος Βιβλιοθήκη, 235; Taft, Pontifical Liturgy I, 284.

⁵⁷ LBG, 201 with reference to P. GAUTIER, Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitôménè, in Revue des Études Byzantins 43 (1985), 5-165: 154 l. 65 and 76; F. MIKLOSICH – I. MÜLLER, Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi I-VI. Wien 1860-1890, III, 55.

⁵⁸ TAFT, *Pontifical Liturgy I*, 287 note 25.

⁵⁹ LARIN, Dikerion and Trikerion, 422 note 19.

⁶⁰ JACOB, Le chandelier a trois branches, 198 note 54.

cal times and recorded in the dictionary of Liddel and Scott⁶¹, meaning bobbin, spool, and by extension a tapered object. The plural form $\tau \alpha \pi \eta \nu i \alpha$ should therefore refer to several candles twisted together, as Metropolitan Gennadios Arabatzoglou explained in 1935 in the notes commenting on his edition of the British Library diataxis⁶², which Robert Taft and Vassa Larin do not take into consideration. As has been noted recently with regard to the studies of Francesco Arcudi of Soleto and Panagiotis Trempelas, being a native Greek-speaker can be a considerable advantage in resolving with certainty the difficulties raised by liturgical texts⁶³. But this is not always the case.

While preparing his edition of the Εὐχολόγιον, Jacques Goar had encountered τὰ πηνία in the rite of the ablution of the altar table on Holy Thursday, and, unable to understand its meaning, he asked his friend Leone Allacci, a Greek from Chios resident in Rome, for enlightenment. The letter, written from Paris on January 8, 1643, is kept in the Allacci collection of the Vallicelliana Library in Rome⁶⁴, while we know the answer from his Εὐχολόγιον published in Paris in 1646:

Leo Allatius ... asserit πηνία hic indicare *duos cereos*, quorum unum dikerion aliud trikerion a Graecis nuncupatur ... Biceps autem & triceps cerei πηνία, quasi *Pinnata* vocantur, quasi *Pinnarum* more gerant ramos acutos ... 65 .

As reported by Metropolitan Gennadios in his *Glossarium*, the Marquis of Du Cange considered the explanation given by Allaci to Goar uncertain⁶⁶; but there is another one, no less imaginative, by Isaac Habert, who translated $\tau \dot{\alpha} \pi \eta \nu i \alpha$ with $radij^{67}$.

⁶¹ H. G. LIDDELL - R. SCOTT, *A Greek-English Lexicon*. A new Edition, Revised and Augmented by H. S. JONES with the Assistance of R. McKenzie, Oxford 1940, *s.v.*

⁶² ARABATZOGLOU, Φωτίειος Βιβλιοθήκη, 96.

⁶³ Cf. S. PARENTI, Non debere addi verba illa. Francesco Arcudi di Soleto († 1641) e il comando di iterazione 'mancante' nell'anafora di s. Giovanni Crisostomo, in Ecclesia Orans 34 (2017), 165-183.

⁶⁴ Vallicelliana, Carte Allacci CXLVII, int. 18, f. 147^r.

⁶⁵ Goar, Εὐχολόγιον sive Rituale Græcorum, 500.

⁶⁶ Cfr. Arabatzoglou, Φωτίειος Βιβλιοθήκη, 96 and C. du Cange, Glossarium ad Scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis, Lugduni 1688 (Graz 1958), 1165: "nominis ratio saltem manet incerta".

⁶⁷ Habert, Άρχιερατικόν, 655 marginal note: "Radius, Licium, fusus glomus ... pannus".

3.1.1. From τὰ πηνία το τρικήριον

I dwelt on the false etymologies of Leo Allacci, Jacques Goar and of Isaac Habert because the three authors saw the words τὰ πηνία in the patriarchal rite of ablution of the altar on Holy Thursday transmitted by the textus receptus of the euchologion, although it has had been out of use for centuries⁶⁸. Apart some notes of mine⁶⁹, and a few pages in Mark M. Morozowich's still unpublished thesis⁷⁰, thus far there has been almost no interest in this rite⁷¹. Therefore, we can say that we know nothing of the recension in the textus receptus – and also in the oldest printed copies⁷², – except that it could probably belong to the XI century precisely because of the presence of the $\pi\eta\nu$ ia. In fact, the diataxis of the British Library and the *ordo* for the ablution of the altar in the printed euchologia are the only sources that speak about τὰ πηνία, at least as far as I know. The praxapostolos Dresden A 104 (before 1080) already uses two other terms, $\kappa\eta\rho io\nu/\kappa\eta\rho i\alpha$ and $\phi\alpha\tau\lambda io\nu/\phi\alpha\tau\lambda i\alpha^{73}$, i.e. candles and torches with which the patriarch blesses. In the same manuscript, the term τρικήριον is encountered for the first time in the lucernarium rite of the Liturgy of the Presanctified on the first Monday of Lent74. The evidence of Dresden A 104 allows us to date the appearance of the term τρικήριον before the writings of Theodor Balsamon († post 1195) - in our view problematic - which in two

⁶⁸ E.g. Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα σὺν Θεῷ ἀγίῳ, Rome 1873, 324; Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα τῆς κατὰ ἀνατολὰς ὁρθοδόξου καθολικῆς Εκκλησίας, ed. S. Zervos, Venice 1862² (Athens 1992), 334. Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα, Athens 1927, 249-250.

⁶⁹ E. VELKOVSKA, Lo studio dei lezionari bizantini, in Ecclesia Orans 13 (1996), 253-271: 268 and note 75: in fact, a rubric found in four lectionaries of the 11th and 12th centuries reserves to the Patriarch alone the ablution of the altar, together with the washing of the feet, the consacration of the myron, and the catechesis of Holy Friday: Moscow ΓΥΜ Vladimir 21, ff. 206°-207°; Florence, Laurenziana S. Marco 704, f. 9°; Paris gr. 306, p. 368 and Athos Panteleimon 86, f. 18°; cf. G. Andreou, Il Praxapostolos bizantino del secolo XI Vladimir 21 / Savva 4 del Museo Storico di Mosca. Edizione e commento, Tesi PIO, Roma 2008, 198.

⁷⁰ Cfr. M. MOROZOWICH, Holy Thursday in the Jerusalem and Constantinopolitan Traditions. The Liturgical Celebrations from Fourth to the Fourteenth Centuries, Excerpta ex Dissertatione ad Doctoratum, PIO, Rome 2002, 7.

 $^{^{71}}$ See recently M. Zheltov, Омовение престола, in Православная Энциклопедия, т. 52, Moscow 2018, 683.

⁷² E.g. in the edition of Venice 1602, f. 145^r.

⁷³ ΑΚΕΝΤ'ΕΥ, Τυπικομ Βελικού Церкви, 49, 79, 84, 85, 86 (κήριον), 44, 49, 77, 78, 110 (κηρία), 43-44, 54, 55, 98, 99 (φατλίον), 100, 103, 119 (φατλία).

⁷⁴ AKENT'EV, *Tunuкон Великой Церкви*, 67. On the *lucernarium* in the Presanctified Liturgy see S. ALEXOPOULOS, *The Presanctified Liturgy in the Byzantine Rite. A Comparative Analysis of its Origins, Evolution, and Structural Components*, (Liturgia Condenda 21), Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA 2009, 167-183. The author does not cite the Dresden praxapostolos.

places speak of an imperial custom of blessing with a trikirion or dikirion as bishops or priests do⁷⁵.

The Arabic version of the Chrysostomian Liturgy published by Constantin Bacha from a now-missing manuscript of the year 1260, seem to be a copy from an exemplar of the 11th century, in which we find this rubric at the end of Trisagion:

Pendant que l'on chante: Gloire au Père, au Fils et au Saint Esprit, le premier des sous diacres s'avance et remet au Pontife trois cierges allumés; le Pontife les prend, se prostrerne trois fois, d'après le nombre des doxologies adressées à la Trinité, et bénit avec [ces cierges] le sanctuaire au milieu, à droite et à gauche. L'archidiacre les lui reprend et les rend au premier des sous diacres, lequel le porte devant la siège presbytéral⁷⁶.

Given that I cannot judge the quality of the Bacha's translation, the expression "trois cierges allumés" excludes, it seems to me, a three-branched candlestick, and it is not immediately clear whether the three candles were separated or joined together in some way. Even the instruction to bring them before "la siège presbytéral" (σύνθρονον?) is not very clear. But now we leave the Middle East to return to the Capital.

The first true description of a trikirion is given towards the end of the 13th century in the Capita antirrhetica by George Moschampar, a Constantinopolitan writer and "great chartophylax" († post 1289). In dealing with Trinitarian questions he takes the trikirion as an example:

Οἱ τρεῖς ὁμοῦ καὶ κυκλοτερῶς συνεσχη- | The three candles together and held toκότες κηροί, ὃ καὶ τρικήριον ἐκ συνηθείας φασί μεθ'οὖ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς κατὰ τὴν θείαν ίερουργίαν άδομένου τοῦ τρισαγίου ύμνου κατασφραγίζει τὴν ἱερὰν τράπεζαν⁷⁷

gether in a circle, which are usually called trikirion, with which the bishop during the Divine Liturgy blesses the sacred table while the trisaghion hymn is being sung.

The text does not give the impression that the author is talking about three candles mounted on a candlestick, but rather about a direct heir of the πηνία. George Moschampar provides a precious chronological reference for a correct reading of contemporary witnesses. In fact, if in Constantinople before 1289 the trikirion was not a candlestick, it is unlikely that the cathedral of Gallipoli possessed one before 1268/9, donated to Bishop Pantoleon, as André

⁷⁵ See further, § 3.1.2, notes 80 and 81.

⁷⁶ BACHA, Versions arabes, 449.

⁷⁷ D. Ι. Μονίου, Γεώργιος Μοσχάμπαρ, ἕνας ἀνθενωτικός θεολόγος τῆς πρώιμης Παλαιολόγειας περιόδου, Athens 2011, 287-455, cap. 2 r. 231 and cap. 29 r. 164.

Jacob proposes. Again according to Jacob, the presence of the trikirion-candelier in Gallipoli would be further proof of the unbroken relations of post-Byzantine Salento with the mother-church on the Bosphorus (!)⁷⁸.

3.1.2. From διβάμβουλον το δικήριον?

According to a hypothesis of Vassa Larin about the origin of the dikirion, it could derive from the use of the "διβάμβουλον". In the historical work of George Pachimeres (1242 - c. 1310), it is said that on the day of his enthronement, the patriarch of Constantinople received from the emperor the crosier and a two-armed candlestick, the διβάμβουλον or the διβάμπουλον⁸³, an object that was carried before the emperor himself on certain feasts⁸⁴. Later,

⁷⁸ JACOB, *Le chandelier à trois branches*, 198-199. Jacob returned to the topic in a subsequent publication, continuing to support his point of view: A. JACOB, *Épigrammes byzantines de l'Italie méridionale gravées sur pierre. Quelques observations sur une ouvrage récent*, in *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* 51 (2014), 175-215: 183-188.

⁷⁹ Balsamon, *Meditata sive responsa*, *PG* 138, 1017A taken from G. A. Rhallis - M. Potlis, Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἰερῶν κανόνων IV, Athens 1854 (1992), 544: ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ οἱ πιστοὶ δεσπόται καὶ αὐτοκράτορες κατηχιτικῶς ὁμιλοῦσι τῷ χριστονὑμῳ λαῷ, ἢ θυμιῶσιν ὡς ἱερεῖς καὶ μετὰ δικηρίου σφραγίζουσι.

⁸⁰ BALSAMON, In can. LXIX Conc. in Trullo, PG 137, 753: Οἱ γὰρ πατριάρχας προβαλλόμενοι ὀρθόδοξοι βασιλεῖς διἐπικλήσεως τῆς ἀγίας Τριάδος, καὶ χριστοὶ ὄντες Κυρίου, ἀκωλούτως, ὅτε καὶ βούλονται, εἰς τὸ ἄγιον θυσιαστήριον εἰσέρχονται καὶ θυμιῶσι καὶ σφραγίζουσι μετὰ τρικηρίου καθὼς οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς.

⁸¹ Cf. Taft, History VI, 99 note 90.

⁸² V. TIFTIXOGLU, Zur Genese der Kommentare des Theodoros Balsamon. Mit einem Exkurs über die unbekannten Kommentare des Sinaiticus gr. 1117, in Byzantium in the 12th Century. Canon Law, State and Society, ed. N. Oikonomides, (Diptycha-Paraphylla 3) Athens 1991, 483-532.

⁸³ GEORGES PACHYMÉRÈS, *Relations historiques* III, ed. A. Failler, Paris 1999, 190-191, 206-207; I, 162-163.

⁸⁴ Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court, 118, 120, 132 = PSEUDO-KODINOS, Traité des offices, 190. 6, 191.10, 198.5.

the δικήριον, understood as a two-armed candlestick, would have made the διβάμβουλον obsolete. But this hypothesis does not seem to stand up to the test of fact because, unlike the δικήριον, the διβάμβουλον was not a liturgical object. The Diary of Sylvester Syropoulos at the Council of Florence tells that in 1439, the Patriarch insisted on being preceded by the διβάμβουλον when he first visited Pope Eugene IV85. The δικήριον was regularly used for the blessing of the Gospel in the Patriarchal Liturgy described in the diataxis of Demetrios Gemistos in 1386, as well as in the one described by Simeon of Thessalonica († 1429)86. The two objects performed different functions and were used independently of each other, even until our own times. But there is more. Larin's hypothesis is based on the erroneous definition of διβάμβουλον as "a two-branched candlestick" by Verpeaux and the LBG87. As explained by Maria Parani, followed by the recent editors of the Pseudo-Kodinos treatise, the διβάμβουλον was not a two-branched candlestick and "the 'δι' in διβάμβουλον refers to the two circles or wreaths embossed in the metal of the candlestick"88. The question to be asked would be another and it concerns the period when the candles of the dikirion and the trikirion were mounted on a candlestick.

3.2. Καμπτρίον and not κανστρίον

After having blessed the altar with the $\pi\eta\nu$ ia, which are then returned to the castrensis, the diataxis goes on to describe a rite that in Robert Taft's edition is understood as an offering of incense:

Then one of the archontes of the left side comes and gives him the thurible, and after bowing, withdraws. And while the bishop is holding this, the second deacon or the archdeacon comes immediately, and after bowing and kissing his hand, takes it⁸⁹.

⁸⁵ V. LAURENT, Les «Mémoires» du Grand Ecclésiarque de l'Église de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos sur le concile de Florence (1438-1439), Paris 1971, 188 r. 21, 238 r. 23 and 27.

⁸⁶ St. Symeon of Thessalonika, *The Liturgical Commentaries*, 116 and n° 51, 116/118 n° 53, 118 n° 54, 120 n° 57, 122 n° 58, 130 n° 69 (*De sacro templo*), 246 n° 129 (*De sacra Liturgia*).

⁸⁷ PSEUDO-KODINOS, Traité des offices, 191; LBG s.v.

⁸⁸ Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court, 119 note 283 with reference to M. Parani, "Rise like the sun, the God-inspired kingship": Light-symbolism and the Uses of Light in Middle and Late Byzantine Imperial ceremonial, in Иеротопия Огня и Света в культуре византийского мира / Hierotopy of Light and Fire in the Culture of the Byzantine World, edited by A. Lidov, Moskow 2013, 158-175: 172-173, with two photos of the διβάμβουλον taken during the Patriarchal Divine Liturgy at the Phanar on Pentecost Sunday of 2011.

⁸⁹ TAFT, Pontifical Liturgy I, 289.

The problem of the sequence of the incensation in relation to the Trisagion is not found in the text, but was created by the publishers who, without giving any information in the apparatus, read κανστρίον, where the ms reads καμπτρίον⁹⁴. This false reading was perhaps suggested by the role of the *castrensis*, which derives its name from being, among other things, minister of the censer, which is called κανστρίον⁹⁵ in some sources, including the diataxis of the Skete of St. Andrew on Athos, which Arabatzoglou had consulted through the Dmitrievsky edition⁹⁶. We note, however, that in the diataxis of the British Library, the object in question, whether or not it is a censer, is given to the bishop by one of the archons, and then taken back by the second of the deacons or the archdeacon.

The term καμπτρίον (or καπτρίον), discarded by the publishers, is also used in the liturgy. In the legendary martyrdom of St. Eudocia of Heliopolis [BHG 605] καμπτρίον is the container where the Eucharist is kept⁹⁷, and in the euchologion *Paris Coislin 213*, it indicates the container of the relics used in the rite of

⁹⁰ Διατάξεις τῆς Θείας Λειτουργίας, 105.

⁹¹ BACHA, Versions arabes, 449; MATEOS, Célébration de la Parole, 87.

⁹² АКЕНТ'ЕУ, Типикон Великой Церкви, 49.

⁹³ Ib., 55.

⁹⁴ Arabatzoglou, Φωτίειος Βιβλιοθήκη, 235 but with a question mark; Taft, Pontifical Liturgy I, 288.

⁹⁵ *LBG*, 760.

⁹⁶ DMITRIEVSKIJ, Onucahue I, 168.

⁹⁷ Acta Sanctorum Martii, tomus I, Antwerpen 1668 (Bruxelles 1966), 883: Παραγενόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀσκητηρίῳ οἱ ἀποσταλέντες στρατιῶται παρὰ τοῦ Ἡγεμόνος, καὶ βουλευσάμενοι διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπέβησαν τῷ ἀσκητηρίῳ, καὶ λαβόντες τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ἀμνάδα ἀθορύβως, ὑπέστρεψαν πρὸς τὸν ἀποστείλαντα αὐτούς. Ἑξιοῦσα δὲ σπουδαίως καὶ εἰσελθοῦσα ἐν τῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ, λεληθότως εὕρεν ἐν τῷ καμπτρίῳ τῆς θείας δωρεᾶς τῶν λειψάνων τοῦ ἀγίου σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ βαλοῦσα ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ, ἀπἡει σὺν τοῖς στρατιώταις.

dedication of the altar⁹⁸. Although a parallel can be found in the papal mass of the *Ordo Romanus I*⁹⁹, a presentation to the bishop of the reserved Eucharist at the beginning of the Liturgy seems unlikely, also because it was kept in the skeuophylakion, and it seems even less likely that this was done with relics.

The solution of the puzzle is made possible thanks to the praxapostolos Dresden A 104^{100} , which describes a rite identical to that of the diataxis of the British Library, although in a different context on which I will dwell in a moment:

British Library 34060

Τηνικαύτα δὲ ἔρχεται εἶς τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ εὐωνύμου μέρους

καὶ ἐπιδίδωσι
τοῦτο τὸ καμπτρίον
καὶ προσκυνήσας ὑποχωρεῖ.
Κατέχοντος δὲ τοῦτο
τοῦ ἀρχιερέως
ἔρχεται παραυτίκα
ὁ δευτερεὑων
ἢ ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος
καὶ προσκυνήσας
καὶ τὴν χεῖρα
ἀσπασάμενος,
ἀναλαμβάνεται τοῦτο.

Dresden A 104

... ό παριστάνεμος ἄρχων ἀπό τῶν δεξιῶν τῷ πατριάρχη, βαστάζων τὸ καμπτρίον, ἐπιδίδει αὐτό,

ό δὲ ἀρχιδιάκονος λαμβάνων αὐτὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀσπασάμενος τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ

έξέρχεται

The rite described in the diataxis of the British Library takes place towards the end of the Trisagion, just before the bishop's ascent to the chair to listen to the readings of the day. The rite of the praxapostolos of Dresden is instead part of a detailed instruction on the Liturgy of the Presanctified celebrated by the Patriarch on the first Monday of Lent. The presentation to the Patriarch of the $\kappa\alpha\mu\pi\rho$ lov – this is the form used in the source – takes place during the singing of the first verse of the second prokeimenon of the day, at the end of which there is a procession that reaches the central doors. The procession is led by the archdeacon carrying the smoking censer, followed by the second deacon

⁹⁸ Coislin 213, f. 9v.

⁹⁹ Cf. M. Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du haut Moyen Age*. II: *Le Textes (Ordines I-XIII)*, (Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense. Études et Documents 13), Louvain 1960, 82.

¹⁰⁰ Акент'еv, Типикон Великой Церкви, 64.

and twelve other deacons, and culminates with a solemn *lucernarium* at the singing of $\Phi \tilde{\omega} \zeta$ XPISTOÑ $\varphi \alpha lv \epsilon l$ $\pi \tilde{\alpha} \sigma l$ by the archdeacon. Since the $\kappa \alpha \mu \pi \rho lo \nu$ is withdrawn by the archdeacon, who immediately afterwards leaves the sanctuary for the procession with the censer, it is fair to assume that here it means the container of the incense, the same that in Western rites is called *navicula*.

This hypothesis seems to be confirmed by a passage from *Laudatio I in s. Zachariam* [BHG 1881q] by Cosma Vestitor (c. 730-850), in which John the Baptist's father is hailed as the "spiritual thurible of the Church", "incense boat" of the aromas of the altar, "alabaster vial of the carnal myron of Christ" (θυμιατήριον ἔμψυχον τῆς ἐκκλησίας, κάμπτρα τῶν ἀρωμάτων θυσιαστηρίου, ἀλάβαστρον τοῦ μύρου τοῦ Χριστοῦ)¹⁰¹. Further confirmation comes, for example, from the inventory of liturgical furnishings in Gregory Pakourianos' typikòn for the monastery of Bachkovo, in which we find three θυμιατοὶ ἀργυροῖ together with a καμπτρίον ἀργυροῦν, which the publisher Paul Gautier translates as "Trois encensoirs en argent, une *navette* en argent" ¹⁰².

3.3. The κιτατώριον

Another point needing clarification is the reading of the κιτατώριον (from the Latin *citatorium*) which takes place after the proclamation of the Gospel of the day. According to Robert Taft, this is the formula for promotion to holy orders "Divine grace ...", recited aloud by the bishop at the beginning of episcopal, presbyteral and diaconal ordinations (deacon and deaconess), although none of these are conferred after the Gospel¹⁰³. In point of fact, the term κιτατώριον in manuscript euchologia refers to the formula of promotion to orders only in the very rare rite of priestly ordination of the patriarchal archdeacon¹⁰⁴, while χάρτης and χαρτίον remain the most widely used terms.

¹⁰¹ F. HALKIN, Zacharie, père de Jean Baptiste. Trois panégyriques par Cosmas Vestitor, in Analecta Bollandiana 105 (1987), 252-263: 255 § 4.

¹⁰² P. Gautier, Le typikon du sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos, in Revue des Études Byzantins 42 (1984), 5-145: 120. In a previous edition of Michel Attaliates' diataxis, Gautier had translated καμπτρίον with the generic term "coffret", despite the fact that in the inventory the object is listed immediately after κατζίορ, an alternative form of κατζίον, i.e. a manual censer without chains: P. Gautier, La Diataxis de Michel Attaliate, in Revue des Études Byzantins 39 (1981), 5-143: 90. The two objects also appear together in a 13th century brebeion in Cyprus: A. Beihammer, Griechische Briefe und Urkunden aus dem Zypern der Kreuzfahrerzeit. Die Formularsammlung eines königlichen Sekretärs im Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus 367, (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte Zyperns, 57), Nicosia 2007, 149-240: document 8 r. 9.

¹⁰³ TAFT, Pontifical Liturgy I, 292-293 and note 39.

¹⁰⁴ ARRANZ, Eucologio costantinopolitano, 151-152; cfr. A. JACOB, L'euchologe de Sainte-Marie du Patir et ses sources, in Atti del Congresso Internazionale su S. Nilo di Rossano. 28 settembre

As is well known, Byzantine terminology, especially liturgical terminology, is polysemantic, and this is also true in this case: κιτατώριον can mean "proclamation", "decree" and even "announcement" ¹⁰⁵. To understand what it really means here, once again the praxapostolos Dresden A 104 comes to our aid. According to this precious document, on September 14, once the Gospel is finished, "the metropolitans [wearing] a black phenolion are called forward, since the patriarch also wears one like it"106. The κιτατώριον would therefore be an announcement that the same praxapostolos contains, again after the Gospel, also on the Monday of Easter week, All Saints' Sunday (first after Pentecost), Holy Thursday and for the Annunciation (25 March)¹⁰⁷. It is probably an invitation to the metropolitans to return to the sanctuary which they left before the anti-Trisagion "Όσοι είς Χριστόν, as indicated in the rubrics of the Monday of the Easter week¹⁰⁸. On some of the days mentioned above, the praxapostolos of Dresden adds to the unspecified invitation (πρόσκλησις) of the metropolitans the κλητόριον, i.e. a banquet¹⁰⁹. If this is not a mistaken reading for κιτατώριον, then we must simply conclude that the metropolitans were invited to lunch by the Patriarch.

3.4. "The deacons who read the Gospel"

In the description of the rites surrounding the proclamation of the Gospel, the diataxis always refers to only one deacon, but at the end of the section IV.18, it turns out that there was more than one deacon:

And when the deacons who read the Gospel have come from the right side and bowed on the platform, the bishop gives them a blessing.

From the synaxarion of the Great Church, the ms *Stauros 40* of the mid-10th century, we know that at the Divine Liturgy of Easter, the Gospel (Jn 1:1-17) was read first in Latin by the deacon and then in Greek by the patriarch, and repeated sentence by sentence in a louder voice by the deacon on the ambo¹¹⁰. The synaxarion does not clarify whether the deacon who read

^{- 1°} ottobre 1986, Rossano - Grottaferrata 1989, 75-118: 112-113.

¹⁰⁵ LBG, 834.

¹⁰⁶ FLUSIN, Exaltation de la Croix, 88 and 89.

¹⁰⁷ АКЕНТ'ЕV, Типикон Великой Церкви, 50, 57, 73, 81, 108-109, 121 and also 117.

¹⁰⁸ Акент'еу, Типикон Великой Церкви, 49-50.

¹⁰⁹ IRG 840

¹¹⁰ MATEOS, Le Typicon de la Grande Église II, 94. On the history of Latin in Constantinople, see L. SILVANO, Desuetudine longa... subeunt verba latina: The Transition From Late Antique to Medieval Byzantium and the Fall of Latin, in Latin in Byzantium I: Late Antiquity and Beyond,

the Gospel in Latin is the same one who then read it in Greek, nor does the praxapostolos of Dresden clarify this point¹¹¹. A rubric in the same Dresden codex suggests, however, that the Gospel in Latin was also foreseen on other occasions, for example, on September 14, the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, but only if it fell on a Sunday¹¹²; the rubric does not speak of any role of the patriarch in the reading. We can therefore suppose that "the deacons who read the Gospel" mentioned in our diataxis refers to this double reading in Latin and Greek, which is typical of the Patriarchal Liturgy.

4. Text edition and translation

The diataxis for the Pontifical Divine Liturgy in the Great Church is transmitted to us only by the 12th century *British Library Add. 34060* manuscript. For this reason, in this edition I respect the graphic conventions of the Byzantine era with regard to the use of the acute accent instead of the circumflex¹¹³, of the *iota subscriptum*, which I keep only in the inflection, and of the metaplasm of the declensions¹¹⁴. On the other hand, I normalize *in textu* the homophonies, the simplification of double consonants¹¹⁵ and the accidental omission of a consonant. Other interventions, noted in brackets, are based on parallel passages in the manuscript itself ¹¹⁶.

In the absence of a more updated reference book, for the texts of the presidential prayers I refer to Brightman's anthology *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (*LEW*), and for the hymnography to the *Initia* by Enrica Follieri. The English translation is that of Robert Taft, amended according to this new edition. For understandable practical reasons, Taft's numbering is preserved in the Greek text and in the translation, even if sometimes he breaks the sentences too much.

In the *apparatus* I will use the following abbreviations:

A = Arabatzoglou, Φωτίειος Βιβλιοθήκη, 235-240.

B = British Library 34060, ff. 511^r-515^r.

T = Taft, Pontifical Liturgy I, 284-306.

Edited by A. Garcea - M. Rosellini - L. Silvano, (Corpus Christianorum. *Lingua Patrum* XII), Turnhout 2019, 27-41.

¹¹¹ Акент'еу, Типикон Великой Церкви, 45.

¹¹² FLUSIN, Exaltation de la Croix, 89.

¹¹³ Cf. κρηπίδος [II.14.17.18; X.1.5] and σφραγίδος [VI.6 and 10].

¹¹⁴ Cf. διάκονα [IV. 7], χεῖραν [VII.3], τοῦ ἀρχιδιάκονος [XI.1], however, I correct καθέδρης [III.11] in καθέδρας.

¹¹⁵ Αληλούϊα [**III.**7 and 10], ἀπομάτονται [**X.**7], ψάλουσι [**X.**25], but ψάλλοντος [**III.**2] and ψάλλει [**VII.**2].

¹¹⁶ προσκυνών for προσΐων and <ἐπεύχεται ἐν> [V.2].

| Τάξις¹ τῆς άγιας λειτουργίας κατὰ τὸν τύπον τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας.

[I. Enarxis and Introit]

Ι. 1. Λαβόντος τοῦ ἀρχιδιακόνου καιρόν, γίνεται ἡ ἔναρξις καὶ ἄδονται τὰ ἀντίφωνα. 2. Καὶ ὅτε ἐπιστῆ ὁ καιρὸς τῆς εἰσόδου, καθήμενος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς πρὸ τῶν ὡραίων πυλῶν καὶ προσκυνεῖ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς τρίτον. 3. Εἴτα εἰπόντος τοῦ ἀρχιδιακόνου τοῦ τὸ ἄγιον εὐαγγέλιον κατέχοντος. Τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν καὶ τῶν περιεστηκότων εἰπόντων. Κύριε ἐλέησον, κλίνει μικρὸν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ‹έ>αυτὸν² καὶ ἐπεὐχεται τὴν εὐχὴν ταὐτην. Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν³. 4. Εἴτα ἀσπάζεται τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἄνευ προσκυνήσεως, καὶ χειροκρατούμενος ὑπὸ δύο ἀρχόντων, εἰσοδεὐων εἰσέρχεται ἄχρι τῶν άγίων θυρῶν. 5. Ἐκεῖσε τὲ προσκυνήσας καὶ ἀσπασάμενος τὴν ἐν τῷ ἀρμοσφηνίῳ⁴ άγίαν εἰκόνα, εἴσεισιν εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον. 6. Καὶ προσκυνήσας ἄπαξ τὴν ἀγίαν τράπεζαν, ἀσπάζεται τὴν ἐνδυτὴν ἀνέχοντος⁵ αὐτὴν τοῦ κανστρησίου, καὶ ἵσταται ἐνώπιον τῆς άγίας τραπέζης. 7. Καὶ λαβόντος τοῦ ἀρχιδιακόνου καιρόν, δοξάζουσιν οἱ ψάλται καὶ τελοῦσι τὴν ἀκολουθίαν κατὰ τύπον.

[II. Trisagion and Procession to the Throne]

ΙΙ. 1. Εἶτα πάλιν ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος ἀνέχων⁶ τὸ ὀράριον αὐτοῦ, λέγει Εὐλόγησον, δέσποτα. Καὶ σφραγίζων τοῦτον ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς εἰς ἐπήκοον τοῦ ἀρχιδιακόνου λέγει Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν πάντοτε, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Αμήν. 2. Καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιδιακόνου εἰπόντος τὸ Αμήν, ἀπάρχονται οἱ ψάλται τοῦ τρισαγίου. 3. Ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς προσκυνήσας λέγει τὴν εὐχὴν ταὐτην Ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἄγιος⁷. 4. Καὶ⁸ εἰ μὲν οὐκ ἔστι⁹ λιτή, γίνεται πρότερον συναπτή, εἰ δὲ ἔστι¹⁰ λιτή, οὐδ' ὅλως γίνεται συναπτή. 5. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν τὴν εὐχὴν δίδωσι τὸ κοντάκιν τῷ κανστρησίω¹¹. 6. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ δοξάσαι¹² τοὺς ψάλτας, ἔργεται ὁ κανστρήσιος¹³ καὶ δίδωσιν τῷ

¹ τάξεις Β.

² αὐτόν Β; ἑαυτόν Α

³ LEW, 368.

⁴ αρμο ηνίω Α ἀρμῷ ἐφ' ἡνίαν Τ

⁵ ἀμπέχοντος Α

⁶ ἀμπέγων Α

⁷ LEW, 369-370.

⁸ καὶ om. A

⁹ ἔτι A

¹⁰ ἔτι A

 $^{^{11}}$ τὸν κοντάκιν τῷ κανστρηνσίῳ A;τὸ κοντάκιον τῷ κανστρησίῳ T

 $^{^{12}}$ δοξᾶσαι T

¹³ κανστρήνσιος Α

άρχιερεῖ τὰ πηνία. 7. Ὁ δὲ κατέχων αὐτὰ προσκυνεῖ ἐκ τρίτου λέγων καθ' ἑαυτόν· Κύριε ο θεός τῶν δυνάμεων, ἐπίβλεψον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ 14 καὶ ἴδε καὶ ἐπίσκεψαι τὴν άμπελον ταύτην καὶ κατάρτισαι αὐτήν ήν ἐφύτευσεν ή δεξιά σου (Ps 79, 15-16). Καὶ εἰς τὴν δευτέραν προσκύνησιν πάλιν τὸ αὐτό. Εἰς δὲ τὴν τρίτην προσκύνησιν λέγει· Τριὰς άγία, ἐπίβλεψον έξ οὐρανοῦ¹⁵ καὶ ἴδε καὶ ἐπίσκεψον τὴν ἄμπελον ταύτην καί κατάρτισαι αὐτήν ήν ἐφύτευσεν ή δεξιά σου. 8. Καὶ μετὰ [511] τὴν τρίτην προσκύνησιν σφραγίζει ἄπαξ μέσον τῆς άγίας τραπέζης καὶ ἀποδίδωσι τὰ πηνία, καὶ δεσμήσας 16 τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, ἵσταται. 9. Τηνικαῦτα δὲ ἔρχεται εἶς τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ εὐωνύμου μέρους καὶ ἐπιδίδωσι $\{τοῦτο\}$ τὸ καμπτρίον 17 καὶ προσκυνήσας ύπογωρεῖ. 10. Κατέγοντος δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ ἀργιερέως ἔργεται παραυτίκα ὁ δευτερεύων η ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος καὶ προσκυνήσας καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἀσπασάμενος, ἀναλαμβάνεται τοῦτο. 11. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀρχιδιάκονος 18 καὶ ὁ κανστρήσιος ἀπέρχονται ἔμπροσθεν [[ται ἔμπροσθεν]] τῆς ἀγίας τραπέζης καὶ προσκυνήσαντες ἵστανται ἀναμένοντες. 12. Ὁ δὲ ἀρχιδιάκονος¹⁹ ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος τῶν κιονίων καὶ προσκυνήσας ἐκ τρίτου, ἵσταται. 13. Καὶ τοῦ τελευταίου τρισαγίου άδομένου παρὰ τῶν ψαλτῶν, καλεί τὸν ἀρχιερέα πρὸς τὴν καθέδραν διὰ προσκυνήσεως. 14. Ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς προσκυνήσας καὶ ἀνελθών²⁰ εἰς τὴν κρηπίδα καὶ ἀσπασάμενος, πορεύεται ἐπάνω τῆς κρηπίδος. 15. Καὶ πρὸς τὸ τέλει²¹ κατελθών ἀπ' αὐτῆς, εὑρίσκει τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ τὸν καστρήσιον 22 ἐκεῖσε ἑστῶτας, καὶ χειροκρατούμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀνέρχεται, τοῦ διακόνου προπορευομένου. 16. Ότε οὖν ἐγγίσει τῷ συνθρόνῳ, τοῦ ἀρχιδιακόνου εἰπόντος. Εὐλόγησον, δέσποτα, τὴν καθέδραν, λέγει ὁ ἀρχιερεύς. Εὐλογημένος εἶ ό καθήμενος ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης τῆς βασιλείας σου (Dan 3:54 [θ])²³, πάντοτε, νῦν και ἀεί και είς τους αίωνας. 17. Είτα ἀνελθών²⁴ ἐν τῷ συνθρόνῳ καὶ προσκυνήσας καὶ ἀσπασάμενος, ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς τὸν λαόν. 18. Καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ ἔτι τὸ τρισάγιον άδοντος, σφραγίζει αὐτὸν τρίτον, τοῦ ἀρχιδιακόνου σιγήσαντος πρότερον.

 $^{^{14}\,}$ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ | ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκόν σου A

¹⁵ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ | ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκόν σου Α

¹⁶ δεσμεύσας Α

 $^{^{17}}$ {τοῦτο} τὸ καμπτρίον | τοὑτῳ; τὸ κανστρίον; Α τοὑτῳ τὸ κανστρίον Τ. The proposed solution τοὑτῳ is indeed not suitable for the bishop: one would expect αὐτῷ. As to the content, see Ακεντ'εν, *Τυπικοн Βελικοῦ Церкви*, 66.

^{18 -}ων interlin; later hand: ἀρχιδιάκων Β.

¹⁹ ἀρχιδιάκων interlin. later hand.

²⁰ ἀπελθών Α

²¹ τέλος Α Τ

 $^{^{22}}$ κανστρήσιον $A\ T$

²³ Cf. LEW, 370.

 $^{^{24}}$ ἀπελθών A

[III. Scriptural Lessons and Psalmody]

ΙΙΙ. 1. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ σφραγίσαι, τοῦ ἀρχιδιακόνου εἰπόντος Πρόσχωμεν, λέγει ό ἀρχιερεύς. Εἰρήνη πᾶσι, καὶ οὕτως κάθηται. 2. Καὶ τοῦ ψάλτου ψάλλοντος τὸ προκείμενον, κατά τὸ τέλος τοῦ δευτέρου στίγου ἐπιζητεῖ καιρὸν ὁ ἀργιδιάκονος καὶ σφραγίζων αὐτὸν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς λέγει Εὐλογητός ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν πάντοτε²⁵. 3. Καὶ άναγινωσκομένου τοῦ ἀποστόλου, ἐπιζητεῖ καιρὸν καὶ εὐχὴν ὁ διάκονος εἰς τὸν όφείλοντα²⁶ | 512r εὐαγγελίσασθαι. 4. Ὁ δὲ <ἀρχιερεὺς> σφραγίζων αὐτὸν ἄπαξ σχολαιότερον ὅσον πληρῶσαι τὴν εὐχὴν τῆ σφραγίδι 27 , λέγει εἰς ἐπήκοον τοῦ άρχιδιακόνου· Κύριος δώη²⁸ ρημα τοῖς εὐαγγελιζομένοις δυνάμει πολλη, ὁ βασιλεύς τῶν δυνάμεων τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ (Ps 67,12-13), τῆ αὐτοῦ²⁹ γάριτι, πάντοτε, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καί είς τους αίωνας των αίωνων³⁰. 5. Μετά δὲ τὴν ἐξέλευσιν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ἐκ των συνκαθημένων ἀρχιερέων ἐγερθεὶς εἶς, ἀπέρχεται πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα τὸν πρῶτον καὶ προσκυνήσας ἀσπάζεται τούτου τὸ γόνυ καὶ οὕτως πάλιν προσκυνήσας, λέγει-Εύλόγησον δέσποτα. 6. Καὶ δίδωσιν καιρὸν αὐτῷ εἰρηνεῦσαι κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον, λέγων Εύλογητός ό θεός ήμῶν πάντοτε. 7. Άλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸν δεύτερον στίχον τοῦ ἀλ<λ>ηλούϊα ἐπιζητεῖ καιρὸν ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος λέγων Εὐλόγησον, δέσποτα, καὶ λέγει ὁ ἀρχιερεύς. Εὐλογητός ὁ Θεός ήμῶν. 8. Ἐπιζητεῖ δὲ τηνικαῦτα καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν τοῦ θυμιάματος τοῦ άγίου εὐαγγελίου. 9. Ὁ δέ γε ἀρχιερεὺς σφραγίζει τὸν ένώπιον της άγιας τραπέζης έστῶτα διάκονον καὶ ὑποδεικνύων τὸ θυμίαμα, λέγων Θυμίαμά σοι προσφέρω $(sic)^{31}$. 10. Τοῦ δὲ τελευταίου Άλ<λ>ηλούϊα λεγομένου, δ μὲν κανστρήσιος ἀφαιρεῖ τὸ ώμοφόριον τοῦ ἀρχιερέως. 11. Ὁ δὲ ἀνίσταται καὶ στρέφεται πρὸς ἀνατολὰς καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ κλίνων ἔως τῆς καθέδρας³² έπ' όλίγον ἕως ἄν ἐκφωνήση ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος. Σοφία, ὀρθοί, ἀκούσωμεν τοῦ άγίου εὐαγγελίου. 12. Οὖπερ ἔτι λεγομένου, ἀνίσταται κάτω ἔχων τὸ φαιλόνιου³³ αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς βλέπων. 13. Τοῦ δὲ λαοῦ τὸ Δόξα σοι, Κύριε λέγοντος καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦτο λέγει καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐντὸς 34 τοῦ φαιλονίου 35 τὰς χεῖρας αἴροντος. 14. Καὶ οὕτως ἐπιστραφεὶς πρὸς τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν μετὰ τὸ τελειωθῆναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, λέγει πρὸς τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν πραεία φωνῆ· Εἰρήνη σοι. 15. Καὶ τηνικαῦτα κάτεισι

²⁵ νῦν add. A T

²⁶ ὀφείλοντα om A

 $^{^{27}}$ τῆς σφραγίδος Α T

 $^{^{\}rm 28}\,$ σ oi add. T

²⁹ <υίοῦ> add. Τ

³⁰ Cf. LEW, 372.

³¹ Cf. LEW, 359.

³² καθέδρης B

³³ φαινόλιον Τ

 $^{^{34}}$ ἐκτὸς A

³⁵ φαινολίου T

διὰ τοῦ εὐωνύμου χειροκρατούμενος. 16. Καταλαβόντες³⁶ δὲ ἔγγιστα τῆς ἀγἰας τραπέζης ἐῶσι τοῦτον οἱ ἄρχοντες. 17. Ὁ δέ, προσκυνήσας καὶ ἀσπασάμενος ἔνα τῶν τιμίων σταυρῶν, ἄπεισι διὰ τοῦ εὐωνύμου μέρους κάτωθεν τῆς κρηπίδος ὁδεύων, δεδεμένας δὲ³⁷ τὰς χεῖρας ἔχων τοῦ φαιλονίου³⁸ ἄνωθεν ὄντος, ἔρχεται | ⁵¹²ν καὶ ἴσταται ἐνώπιον τῆς άγἰας τραπέζης. 18. Καὶ τῶν εὐαγγελισαμένων διακόνων ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ μέρους ἐλθόντων καὶ προσκυνησάντων ἐπὶ τῆς κρηπίδος, γίνεται σφραγὶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως.

[IV. The Litanies and Prayers]

ΙV. 1. Εἴτα ἀναγινώσκεται τὸ κιτατώριον³9 καὶ εἴτα λαβόντος καιρὸν τοῦ ἀρχιδιακόνου λέγονται παρὰ τοῦ διακόνου αἱ αἰτήσεις πᾶσαι πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐκτενή. 2. Καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ ἐκφωνοῦντος τὸ Κύριε ἐλέησον, εἴτα ἐκτεταμένας ἔχων ἐπὶ μικρὸν πρὸς δἑησιν τὰς χεῖρας, λέγει τρίτον τὸ Κύριε ἐλέησον. 3. Εἴτα λαμβάνει ἐκ τοῦ κανστρησίου τὸ κοντάκιον καὶ λέγει τὴν εὐχὴν ταὐτην· Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, τὴν ἐκτενῆ⁴0. 4. Καὶ λαβόντος καιρὸν τοῦ ἀρχιδιακόνου, λέγονται αἱ αἰτήσεις, εἰπόντος τοῦ διακόνου· Ὑπὲρ τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων καὶ θεοφυλάκτων, καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τὸ Κύριε ἐλέησον· 5. τοῦ μὲν πρώτου Κύριε ἐλέησον ἀδομένου προσκυνεῖ, καὶ εἰς τὸ δεὐτερον ἄνεισιν εἰς τὴν κρηπίδα καὶ ἀσπάζεται τὴν ἀγίαν τραπέζαν. 6. Εἰς δὲ τὸ τρίτον ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς τὸν λαὸν καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐπίλοιπα τρία σφραγίζει ἔν μέσον καὶ ἐξευωνύμων καὶ ἐκδεξιῶν· καὶ αὖθις ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς ἀνατολὰς καὶ λέγει τὴν ἐκφώνησιν πάντων εἰς ἐπήκοον· Ὅτι ἐλεήμων. 7. Καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιδιακόνου λαβόντος πάλιν καιρὸν καὶ προτρεψαμένου τὸν διάκονα⁴¹, ἐκφωνεῖ τὰς αἰτήσεις. 8. Ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπεύχεται καθ' ἑαυτὸν τὰς εὐχάς· Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι· Πάλιν καὶ πολλάκις σοι· Ὅπως ὑπό⁴².

[V. The "Great Entrance": Transfer and Deposition of Gifts]

V. 1. Καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ εἰπόντος· ἀμήν, ἄρχονται οἱ ψάλται τὸ χερουβικόν. 2. Ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς προσκυνῶν 43 ἄπαξ καὶ ποιἡσας ἐν ἑαυτῷ 44 δἑησιν τοῦ χερουβικοῦ

³⁶ καταλαβόντος Α

³⁷ δὲ sup. lin, om. A

 $^{^{38}}$ φαινολίου T

 $^{^{39}}$ κητατώριον $B\ A$

⁴⁰ LEW, 373.

⁴¹ διάκονον Α Τ

⁴² Cf. LEW, 374, 375, 376-377.

⁴³ προσΐων Β; προσιών Α Τ

⁴⁴ <την> add. Τ

άδομένου <ἐπεὐχεται ἐν> ἑαυτῷ⁴⁵ τὴν εὐχὴν τὸ Οὐδεἰς ἄξιος⁴⁶. 3. Πληρουμένης δὲ τῆς εὐχῆς, ἐπιδίδωσι τὸ κοντάκιν⁴⁷ τῷ κανστρησίῳ, καὶ χαλάσας τὸ φαινόλιον αὐτοῦ δεσμήσας τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ λέγει καθ' ἑαυτὸν τὸν χερουβικὸν ὕμνον. 4. Καὶ τοὐτου τελειωθέντος, εἰ μὲν τὰ ἄγια καταλάβοι καλεῖται πρὸς τοῦ κανστρησίου διὰ προσκυνήσεως. 5. ὁ δὲ προσκυνήσας ὑποχωρεῖ καὶ ἴσταται πλησίον τοῦ κίονος βλέπων πρὸς τὰ δεξιὰ. 6. Τηνικαῦτα ἔρχεται |^{513*} ὁ διὰκονος ἄντικρυς αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν ἔτερον κίονα. 7. Καὶ προσκυνῶν σφραγίζει ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς λέγων. Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν. 8. Καὶ μετ' ἐκείνων εἰσἑρχεται ὁ διὰκονος καὶ θυμιῶν τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ προσκυνῶν, σφραγίζεται παρ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος. Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν. 9. Τοῦ δὲ ἀρχιδιακόνου θυμιῶντος τὴν ἁγίαν τραπέζαν, εἰσἑρχονται τὰ ἄγια καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπικλιθεὶς επεὑχεται πρὸς ἑαυτὸν. Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίον, θεὸς Κύριος καὶ ἐπέφανεν ἡμῖν. (Ps 117:26,27) Βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε εθ. Τῆς σοφίας ὁδηγέ το.

[VI. The Accessus ad Altare: a. The Lavabo]

VI. 1. ἀποτεθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀγίων καὶ ἐπικαλυφθέντων, ἀποκαλύπτει τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ὁ κανστρήσιος. 2. Ὁ δὲ στρέφεται ἐπιδέξιος καὶ ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὸ εὐώνυμον μέρος ἀπονιψόμενος. 3. Καὶ τοῦ ὑποδιακόνου εἰπόντος. Εὐλόγησον δέσποτα· ἀπονιπτόμενος λέγει· Νίψομαι ἐν ἀθώοις τὰς χεῖράς μου καὶ κυκλώσω τὸ θυσιαστήριόν σου, Κύριε, τοῦ ἀκοῦσαί με φωνὴν αἰνέσεώς σου καὶ διηγήσασθαι πάντα τὰ θαυμάσιά σου. Κύριε⁵¹, ἡγάπησα εὐπρέπειαν οἴκου σου καὶ τόπον σκηνώματος δόξης σου. Τῷ οἴκῳ σου πρέπει ἀγίασμα, Κύριε, εἰς μακρότητα ἡμερῶν (Ps 25, 6-8; 92, 5), πάντοτε, νῦν καὶ⁵² ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰώνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

[b. The "Orate fratres"]

4. Καὶ ἐκμάξας τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ φαινόλιον χαλάσας, καλεῖται πρὸς τοῦ κανστρησίου διὰ προσκυνήσεως. 5. Καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἵσταται ἔγγιστα τῶν ἁγίων θυρῶν, τῶν ἄλλων ἱερέων ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ ἐξ εὐωνὑμων συνεστώτων αὐτῷ⁵³, καὶ βάλλει μετάνοιαν προσευχόμενος. 6. Εἰς δὲ τὴν τρίτην, κάτω νεὑων ὀλίγον τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τῶν ἱερέων ἐπευχομένων αὐτῷ οὕτως. Πνεῦμα ἄγιον ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ

⁴⁵ Blank space for 10-12 letters; (λέγει;) ἐν ἑαυτῷ Α; (λέγει ἐν) ἑαυτῷ Τ; marg. ζήτει Β

⁴⁶ LEW, 377-378.

⁴⁷ κοντάκιον Α Τ

 $^{^{48}}$ έπικληθεὶς B

⁴⁹ Follieri, *Initia* I, 223.

⁵⁰ Follieri, *Initia* IV, 129.

⁵¹ καὶ διηγήσασθαι ... Κύριε om. Α

⁵² Κύριε ... νῦν καὶ om. A

⁵³ ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ ἐξ εὐωνύμων συνεστώτων αὐτῷ om. Α

σὲ καὶ δύναμις ὑψίστου ἐπισκιάσει σοι· μνήσθητι ἡμῶν, δέσποτα· ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς λέγει ἄνευ σφραγίδος· Μνησθῆ ἡμῖν⁵⁴ Κύριος ἐν τῆ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ, πάντοτε, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

[c. Accessus Prayer and Litany]

7. Καὶ οὕτως ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὴν άγἰαν τράπεζαν. 8. Καὶ προσκυνήσας, δοὺς τὲ τῷ ἀρχιδιακόνῳ καιρὸν καὶ τοὑτου πάλιν τῷ διακόνῳ ἐπιτρέψαντος αὐτῷ 55 λέγειν τὰς αἰτήσεις, ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐπεὑχεται 56 τὴν εὐχὴν ταὑτην· Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ 57 . 9. Καὶ ἐκφωνεῖ ὁ ἀρχιερεὑς· Διὰ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου 58 .

[VII. The Kiss of Peace and Creed]

- **VII.** 1. Εἰρήνη πᾶσι· Άγαπήσωμεν ἀλλήλους. 2. Καὶ τοὐτου λεχθέντος προσκυνεῖ $|^{513\text{v}}$ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν καὶ ἀνελθών εἰς τὴν κρηπίδα ἀσπάζεται αὐτήν· κατελθών δὲ καὶ χαλάσας τὸ φαινόλιον αὐτοῦ, ἐπιστρέφει εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη 59 καὶ ἴσταται. 3. Ἐρχόμενοι δὲ οἱ ἱερεῖς ἀσπάζονται τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν πρῶτον, εἶτα τὴν χεῖραν 60 τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τὴν ἀριστερὰν παρειὰν καὶ ἐξῆς ἀλλήλους.
- 4. Καὶ τοῦ ἀσπασμοῦ πληρωθέντος ἐπιστρέφει πάλιν κατὰ ἀνατολὰς καὶ τοῦ διακόνου λέγοντος Τὰς θύρας, λέγει ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος Εν σοφία πρόσχωμεν. 5. Καὶ οὕτως ψάλλει τὸ ἱερατεῖον μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ τὸ Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα θεόν.

[VIII. Prayers before Communion]

VIII. 1. Καὶ ἔσται τὰ ἐλέη τοῦ μεγάλου⁶¹. 2. Ταὑτης δὲ τῆς ἐκφωνήσεως ἔτι τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ ἐκφωνουμένης πρόσεισιν ὁ ἀρχιδιἀκονος καὶ⁶² ἐπιζητεῖ καιρόν. 3. Σφραγίζων τοῦτον μόνον, ἔτι τὴν τοιαὑτην ὑπάδων ἐκφώνησιν, τοῦ δὲ ἀρχιδιακόνου τῷ διακόνῳ ἐπιτρέψαντος καὶ τῶν αἰτήσεων παρ' ἐκείνου ὑπαδομένων, ὁ ἱερεὺς

⁵⁴ Μνήσθητι ήμῶν Α; Μνησθείη ήμῶν Τ

 $^{^{55}}$ ἐπιτρέγαντος αὐτῷ B; ἐπιτρέποντος αὐτῷ A; <ἐπιτρέψαντος>, ἐπιτρέποντος αὐτῷ T

⁵⁶ λέγει Τ

⁵⁷ πανταχοῦ A; cfr. *LEW*, 380.

⁵⁸ *LEW*, 382.

⁵⁹ μέρει sic A

 $^{^{60}}$ χεῖρα T

⁶¹ LEW, 390.

⁶² καὶ om. A

ἐπεὐχεται· Σοὶ παρακα<τα>τιθέμεθα⁶³. 4. Καὶ ἐκφωνεῖ· Καὶ καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς⁶⁴. 5. Ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐκτείνει μικρὸν τὰς χεῖρας πρὸς δἑησιν, κατέχων ἐν τῆ λαιᾶ⁶⁵ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ κοντάκιον ἐκτετυλιγμένον, λέγων πρὸς ἑαυτόν· Πάτερ ἡμῶν. 6. Τὰ ἄγια τοῖς ἀγίοις. 7. Ὁ λαὸς· Εἰς ἄγιος⁶⁶.

[IX. Fraction and Commixture]

ΙΧ. 1. Καὶ τούτου λεγομένου, σφραγίζει ὁ ἀρχιερεύς τρὶς μετὰ τοῦ ἄρτου εἰς τὸν δίσκον μίαν μέσον, ἐτέραν ἐξ εὐωνύμων καὶ ἄλλην ἐκ δεξιῶν. 2. Εἶτα κλῷ τὸν άρτον είς δύο καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐν τῆ δεξιᾳ αὐτοῦ χειρὶ ἀποτίθησιν ἐν τῷ δίσκῳ, τὴν δὲ έν τῆ εὐωνύμω <σφραγίδα> τέμνει μέσον. 3. Πάλιν τὸν μὲν ἐν τῆ δεξιᾳ αὐτοῦ χειρὶ ἀποτίθησιν ἐν τῷ δίσκῳ. 4. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐν τῆ 67 εὐωνύμῳ κόπτει μίαν σφραγίδα 68 . 5. Καὶ λέγοντος τοῦ ἀρχιδιακόνου Πλήρωσον, δέσποτα ἄγιε, τὸ ποτήριον, {τοιαὑτην σφραγίδα⁶⁹} σφραγίζει δι' έαυτῆς τὸ ποτήριον λέγων· Πλήρωμα πνεύματος άγίου, καὶ ἐμβάλλει ἐν 70 αὐτῷ τὴν σφραγίδα. **6**. Ἀποτίθησι δὲ καὶ ὃν κατέχει ἐν τῆ εὐωνύμω χειρὶ ἄρτον ἐν τῷ δίσκω. 7. Καὶ ἀναλαμβάνεται τὸν ἔτερον τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς 71 ἀποτμηθέντα καὶ ἀφελόμενος ἐξ αὐτοῦ σφραγίδα, πληροῖ τὸ ἕτερον ποτήριον, καὶ ἀποτίθησι καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρτον ἐν τῷ δίσκῳ. 8. Καὶ αὖθις ἀναλαμβάνεται τὸν ἕτερον 72 ἄρτον ἡμίτμητον καὶ $|^{514r}$ κλᾶ αὐτὸν μέσον. 9. Καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐν τῆ δεξιᾶ χειρί ἀποτίθησιν ἐν τῷ δίσκῳ. 10. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἀφελόμενος μίαν μερίδα, ἀποτίθησιν ἐν τῷ περιχειλίσματι τοῦ δίσκου ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀποτίθησι πάλιν καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρτον ἐν τῷ δίσκῳ. 11. Εἶτα ἀναλαμβάνεται καὶ τὸν ἕτερον άρτον καὶ ἀφελόμενος ἐξ αὐτοῦ μίαν μερίδα ἀποτίθησιν ταύτην ἔγγιστα τῆς ἑτέρας μερίδος. 12. Καὶ οὕτω ποιεῖται τὸν ὅλον διαμερισμὸν τῶν ἄρτων.

[X. Communion]

Χ. 1. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ διαμερίσασθαι 73 τοὺς ἀρκοῦντας, ἀπομαξάμενος τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκτινάξας πρὸς τὸ μηδὲ τὸν τυχόντα μαργαρίτην ἀπολειφθῆναι

⁶³ Cf. LEW, 390 παρακατίθημαι Β παρακατίθημι Α Τ

⁶⁴ Cf. LEW, 391.

⁶⁵ ἐν τῆ λαιᾳ | τῆ δεξιᾳ A

⁶⁶ Cf. LEW, 393.

 $^{^{67}~\}tau\tilde{\omega}~B$

 $^{^{68}}$ τὴν δὲ ἐν τῇ εὐωνὑμῳ τέμνει μέσον ... σφραγίδα | ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐν τῷ εὐωνὑμου κόπτει μίαν σφραγίδα ${
m A}$

^{69 &}lt;ἀναλαβών> add. Τ

⁷⁰ ἐν om. A

^{71 &}lt;σφραγίδος> add. Τ

 $^{^{72}}$ ἱερὸν A

⁷³ διαμερίσθασθαι Α

ταύταις 74 , κατέργεται ἀπὸ τῆς κρηπίδος καὶ προσκυνεῖ τρίτον κατὰ ἀνατολὰς λέγων πρὸς ἑαυτόν· Τοῦ δείπνου σου τοῦ μυστικοῦ⁷⁵. 2. Σὺν αὐτῷ δὲ προσκυνεῖ καὶ ὁ ὀφείλων μεταδοῦναι αὐτῷ ἱερεύς· καὶ ἀνέρχονται ἀμφότεροι εἰς τὴν κρηπίδα καὶ ἀσπάζονται τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν. 3. Καὶ πρῶτα⁷⁶ μὲν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἁπλώσας τὰς χεῖρας μεταλαμβάνει. 4. Εἶτα συνέχων τὸν ἄρτον τοῖς δυσὶν ἐσχάτοις δακτύλοις, διὰ τῶν ἐτέρων τριῶν ἀναλαμβάνεται τὴν ἑτέραν μερίδα καὶ μεταδίδωσι τῷ μεταδόντι αὐτῷ. 5. Ὁ δὲ ταύτην δεξάμενος ἀσπάζεται τὴν γεῖρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν παρειάν. 6. Καὶ κατέρχονται ἀμφότεροι ἀπὸ τῆς κρηπίδος καὶ ἐπικλιθέντες, δαπανῶσι τοὺς θείους ἄρτους. 7. Εἶτα ἀπομάτ<τ>ονται τὰς χεῖρας ἐν τοῖς δίσκοις. 8. Ἐπιδίδωσι δὲ ό ἀρχιδιάκονος τὸ ποτήριον τῷ ἱερεῖ καὶ ἐπιστρέψας πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ προσκυνήσας μεταλαμβάνει. 9. Εἶτα ἐπιστρέφει κατὰ ἀνατολὰς καὶ ἀπομάττεται τὰ γείλη διὰ τοῦ ἄκρου είλητοῦ καὶ ποιεῖται προσκυνήσεις τρεῖς εὐγαριστηρίους. 10. Καὶ ἀσπασάμενος τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν ἐπιστρέφει καὶ ἀναλαμβάνεται τὸ ποτήριον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ μεταδίδωσιν αὐτῷ. 11. Ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς μετὰ τὸ μεταλαβεῖν προσκυνεί τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἀσπάζεται τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ χείρα καὶ ἀναλαμβάνεται τὸ ποτήριον. 12. Καὶ οὕτως ἀνέρχεται ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς εἰς τὴν κρηπίδα καὶ μεταδίδωσι τοῖς τοῦ βἡματος.

13. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ δοῦναι πᾶσιν ἀπέρχεται πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον ἀντιμίσιον⁷⁷, καὶ εἰπόντος τοῦ τὸν δίσκον διακομίζοντος διακόνου Εὐλόγησον δέσποτα, λέγει ὁ ἀρχιερεὑς· Εὐλογήσω | ⁵¹⁴ν τὸν Κύριον ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ (Ps 33:2) 14. Καὶ τελειοῦται παρὰ τῶν συνεστώτων ὁ ψαλμὸς ὅλως⁷⁸, τοῦ λαοῦ μεταλαμβάνοντος⁷⁹. 15. Καὶ ἐὰν ὧσι καὶ ἔτεροι μεταλαμβάνοντες, λέγει πάλιν ὁ διάκονος· Εὐλόγησον δέσποτα καὶ λέγει ὁ ἀρχιερεὑς· Εὐλογήσω τὸν Κύριον (Ps 33:2). 16. Τοῦτο δὲ δὶς καὶ τρὶς καὶ πολλάκις λέγεται, πολλῶν ὄντων τῶν μεταλαμβανόντων.

17. Τοῦ δὲ λαοῦ μεταλαβόντος καὶ τοῦ ψαλμοῦ παρὰ τῶν τοὑτων κα δόντων τελειωθέντος, λέγει ὁ ἀρχιδιἀκονος πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα. Κύριε εὐλόγησον. 18. Καὶ σφραγίζων ἄπαξ τὸν λαὸν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐ<κ>φωνεῖ. Εὐλογία Κυρίου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς πάντοτε καὶ ἀπελθών πρὸς τὸ εὐώνυμον μέρος καθέζεται. 19. Προσελθών δὲ ὁ ὑποδιἀκονος λέγει. Εὐλόγησον δέσποτα, καὶ λέγων ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν Νῦν ἀπολύεις τὸν δοῦλόν σου, δέσποτα (Lc 2:29), ἀπονίπτεται. 20. Καὶ προσέρχεται αὐτῷ ὁ ἀρχιδιὰκονος ζητῶν εὐχὴν τοῦ θυμιάματος. 21. Ὁ δὲ σφραγίζων ἔνδοθεν

 $^{^{74}}$ τούτοις BA

⁷⁵ Follieri, *Initia* IV, 267.

 $^{^{76}}$ πρῶτον A

⁷⁷ ἀντιμήσιον ΒΑΤ

⁷⁸ ὅλος Α Τ

 $^{^{79}}$ μεταλαβόντος B A. μεταλαμβάνοντος T

⁸⁰ μεταλαμβάνοντος Α; Τοῦ δὲ λαοῦ μεταλαβόντος om Α

⁸¹ τούτον **A**

⁸² Cf. LEW, 398.

τοῦ φαινολίου λέγει· Θυμίαμά σοι προσφέρω⁸³. **22**. Εἶτα θυμιᾳ ὁ ἀρχιδιἀκονος τὴν ἀγίαν τραπέζαν κυκλόθεν. **23**. Καὶ τελευταῖον ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ θυμιἀσας αὐτὸν τρίτον, κλίνων⁸⁴ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ λέγει· Εὐλόγησον δέσποτα. **24**. Ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς σφραγίζων αὐτὸν ἔνδοθεν τοῦ φαινολίου λέγει· Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν πάντοτε. **25**. Καὶ ὁ ἀρχιδιἀκονος εἰπὼν ἄμήν, δίδωσι καιρὸν τοῖς ψάλταις καὶ ψάλ<λ>ουσι τὸ Πληρωθήτω⁸⁵, καὶ ἐξέρχονται τὰ ἄγια.

[XI. Thanksgiving and Dismissal]

ΧΙ. 1. Έξερχομένων δὲ τοὐτων, ἵσταται ἐπικεκλιμένος ὁ ἱερεὑς, καὶ μετὰ τὴν⁸⁶ ἐξέλευσιν τῶν ἀγίων ἀνέχει τὸ φαινόλιον τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ὁ κανστρήσιος καὶ προσκαλεῖται τοῦτον εἰς τὴν ἀγὶαν τράπεζαν. 2. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀπελθεῖν καὶ παραστῆναι τῆ ἀγἰα τραπέζη λαμβάνει καιρὸν ὁ ἀρχιδιἀκονος καὶ λέγονται αἱ αἰτήσεις παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιδιἀκονος⁸⁷. 3. Ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς λέγει τὴν εὐχὴν Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, δέσποτα⁸⁸. 4. Ότι σὺ εἰ ὁ ἀγιασμός⁸⁹. 5. Ὁ διὰκονος· Εν εἰρήνη προέλθωμεν⁹⁰. 6. Ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος. 7. Καὶ κειμένου ἔμπροσθεν τῶν άγὶων θυρῶν τοῦ ἱερέως τὴν τοῦ ὀπισθάμβωνος εὐχὴν ὀφείλοντος εἰπεῖν, σφραγίζει τοῦτον ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς λέγων· Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν. 8. Εἶτα ἐπιτίθησιν αὐτῷ ὁ κανστρήσιος τὸ ἀμοφόριον καὶ στρέφεται κατὰ ἀνατολὰς καὶ προσκυνεῖ τρίτον εὐχαριστῶν. 9. Καὶ ἀνέρχεται εἰς τὴν κρηπίδα | 515τ καὶ ἀσπάζεται καὶ οὕτως κατέρχεται. 10. Καὶ ἐπιστρέφεται πρὸς τοὺς συλλειτουργοῦντας αὐτῷ καὶ ἀποχαιρετίζων τοὑτους ἐξέρχεται χειροκρατούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὸ μητατώριον διὰ τῶν <θυρῶν> εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν πλάγιον τῶν ἀγίων θυρῶν.

Order of the Holy Liturgy according to the Rite of the Great Church

[I. Enarxis and Introit]

I. 1. When the archdeacon has recived permission the enarxis begins and the antiphons are sung. 2. And when the time comes for the introit, the bishop is seated before the beautiful doors and bows three times to the east. 3. Then after the archdeacon who is carrying the holy Gospel says, *Let us pray to*

⁸³ Cf. LEW, 359.

⁸⁴ κλίνας Α

⁸⁵ Cf. Taft, History V, 297. The troparion is not counted in Follieri, Initia III, 327.

⁸⁶ τὴν om. A

⁸⁷ ἀρχιδιακόνου Α Τ

⁸⁸ Cf. LEW, 395.

⁸⁹ ἄγιος B cfr. LEW, 397.

⁹⁰ ἐν ηρήνη παση cod.; ἐν εἰρήνη πᾶσι Α

the Lord and those standing nearby say, Kyrie eleison, the bishop bows slightly and prays this prayer: O Master, Lord our God,.. 4. Then he kisses the Gospel without bowing, and supported by two archontes he enters and goes up to the holy doors. 5. And after bowing there and kissing the holy icon in the hinge of the door leaf, he goes into the sanctuary. 6. And after bowing once to the holy altar, he kisses the altar-cloth held up to him by the castrensis, and stands before the holy altar. 7. And when the archdeacon has received permission, the psalmists chant the doxology and conclude the office according to the ritual.

[II. Trisagion and Procession to the Throne]

II. 1. Then again the archdeacon, raising his orarion, says, *Bless, master.* And blessing him, the bishop says in the hearing of the archdeacon, Blessed is our God always, now and ever, and unto ages of ages, Amen. 2. And after the archdeacon says, Amen, the psalmists begin the Trisagion. 3. The bishop, bowing, says this prayer: Holy God ... 4. And if there is no rogation, there is first a synapté; but if there is a rogation, there is no synapté. 5. And after saying the prayer, he gives the scroll to the castrensis. **6.** After the psalmists chant the doxology, the castrensis comes and gives the candles to the bishop. 7. And he, holding them, bows thrice, saying to himself: Lord God of powers, look down from heaven and see, and look upon this vine and restore it, which your right hand has planted. And at the second bow, again the same. At the third bow he says: Holy Trinity, look down from heaven and see, and look upon this vine and restore it, which your right hand has planted. 8. And after the third bow, he blesses once in the center of the holy altar and gives back the candles, and joining his hands, stands there. 9. Then one of the archontes of the left side comes and gives the box [to the bishop], and after bowing, withdraws. 10. And while the bishop is holding this, the second deacon or the archdeacon comes immediately, and after bowing and kissing his hand, takes it. 11. And the archdeacon and the castrensis withdraw to in front of the holy altar, and after bowing, stand waiting. 12. But the archdeacon goes away to the right side of the columns, and after bowing three times, stands there. 13. And when the last Trisagion is being sung by the psalmists, he summons the bishop to the throne with a bow. 14. The bishop bows and mounts the platform, and after kissing [the altar] he goes on the platform. 15. And toward the conclusion [of the Trisagion] he descends from it, goes up to the archon and castrensis standing there, and supported by them he ascends [to the throne], preceded by the deacon. 16. When he approaches the synthronon, after the archdeacon says, Bless, master, this throne, the bishop says: Blessed are you, seated on the throne

of the glory of your kingdom, always, noiv and ever, and unto ages of ages. 17. Then he ascends the synthronon, and after bowing and kissing [the throne], he turns to the people. 18. And while the people are singing the Trisagion again, he blesses them thrice, after the archdeacon has first become silent.

[III. Scriptural Lessons and Psalmody]

III. 1. After the blessing, when the archdeacon has said, Let us be attentive, the bishop says, Peace to all, and then sits down. 2. And while the psalmist is chanting the prokeimenon, towards the end of the second verse, the archdeacon requests leave and the bishop, blessing him, says, Blessed is our God, always, now... 3. And while the Apostle is being read, the deacon requests leave and a prayer for the one about to read the Gospel. 4. And he [the bishop], blessing him once, very slowly, for as long as it takes to complete the prayer with the blessing, says in the hearing of the archdeacon: May the Lord the King of Powers grant you speech for announcing the Gospel with great power, by the grace of his beloved (Ps 67:12-13), always, now and ever, and unto ages of ages. 5. After the exit of the Gospel one of the seated bishops, having risen, goes to the first bishop and bowing, kisses [his] knee, and then bowing again, says, Bless, master. 6. And [the first bishop] grants him leave to give the greeting of peace after the Apostle, saying, Blessed is our God, always... 7. But at the second verse of the Alleluia the archdeacon also requests leave, saying. Bless, master. And the bishop says, Blessed is our God... 8. And he requests at the same time also the Prayer of Incense of the holy Gospel. 9. And the bishop blesses the deacon who is standing facing the holy altar and showing the incense, saying, I offer you incense... 10. While the last Alleluia is being sung, the castrensis takes off the bishop's omophorion. 11. And he stands and turns to the east and bows down his head to the throne for a short time until the archdeacon exclaims, Wisdom, arise, let its listen to the holy Gospel. 12. While the same is still being said, he stands with his phelonion down, and facing east. 13. And when the people say the Glory to you O Lord, he too says it to himself, raising [his] hands inside the phelonion. 14. And so, having turned to the evangelist after the completion of the Gospel, he says to the evangelist in a soft voice, Peace lo you. 15. And then he descends [from the throne] via the left [side], led by the hand. 16. And when they have come near to the holy altar the archontes leave him. 17. And he, after bowing and kissing one of the revered crosses, withdraws via the left side, going down the platform, with hands joined while the phelonion is up, [and] comes and stands facing the holy altar.

18. And when the deacons who read the Gospel have come from the right side and bowed on the platform, a blessing is given them by the bishop.

IV. The Litanies and Prayers

IV. 1. Then the *citatorium* is read, and then when the archdeacon has received permission, all the petitions as well as the ektené are said by the deacon. 2. And when the people exclaim the *Kyrie eleison*, then [the bishop], with hands raised slightly in prayer, says three times the Kyrie eleison. 3. Then he takes the scroll from the castrensis and reads this prayer: O Lord our God, the insistent... 4. And when the archdeacon has received permission, the petitions are said, after the deacon has said, For the most blessed and divinely-protected, ... and the people the Kyrie eleison. 5. At the singing of the first Kyrie eleison [the bishop] bows, and at the second he mounts the platform and kisses the holy altar. 6. At the third he turns to the people, and at the remaining three he blesses once in the center, and to the left and to the right, and turns once again to the east and says the ecphonesis in the hearing of all: For a merciful.. 7. And after the archdeacon has got permission again and urged the deacon on, he [the deacon] proclaims the petitions. 8. The bishop prays to himself the prayers: O Lord our... God We thank you... Again and repeatedly to you... So that under...

[V. The "Great Entrance": Transfer and Deposition of Gifts]

V. 1. And after the people say, Amen, the psalmists begin the Cherubicon. 2. And the bishop, bowing once and making within himself <the> supplication during the singing of the Cherubicon, (prays to) himself the prayer: No one is worthy. ... 3. When the prayer is finished he gives the scroll to the castrensis, and after letting down his phelonion [and] joining his hands, he says to himself the Cherubic Hymn. 4. And when this is done, if the gifts have arrived he is summoned by the castrensis with a bow. 5. After bowing, he withdraws and stands near the pillar, facing right. 6. At the same time the deacon goes opposite him to the other pillar. 7. And bowing, the bishop blesses saying, Blessed is our God. 8. And the deacon enters with them [the gifts], and incensing the bishop and bowing, is blessed by him saying, Blessed is our God... 9. While the archdeacon is incensing the holy altar, the gifts come in and the bishop, bowed, prays to himself: Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord, the Lord is God and has appeared to us; O Heavenly King..., Guide of wisdom...

[VI. The Accessus ad altare: a. The Lavabo]

VI. 1. And when the gifts have been deposited and covered, the castrensis uncovers the hands of the bishop. 2. And he turns to the right and withdraws to the left side to wash his hands. 3. And after the subdeacon says, Bless, master he washes his hands, saying: 7. I shall wash my hands among the innocent, and I shall go about your altar, O Lord, to hear the voice of your praise, and to describe all your wonders. O Lord, I have loved the majesty of your house, and the dwelling place of your glory. Holiness befits your house, O Lord, unto length of days, always, now and ever, and unto ages of ages. Amen.

[b. The "Orate fratres"]

4. And after drying his hands and letting down the phelonion, he is summoned by the castrensis with a bow. **5.** And after withdrawing, he stands near the holy doors, with the other priests joining hint on the right and on the left, and bowing down, he prays. **6.** And at the third [bow], while he bows down [his] head a little and the priests pray for him as follows: *May the Holy Spirit come down upon you, and the power of the Most- High overshadow you. Remember us, master* the bishop says without a blessing, *May the Lord remember us in his kingdom always, now and ever, and unto ages of ages.*

[c. Accessus Prayer and Litany]

7. And thus he withdraws to the holy altar. 8. And after bowing [and] giving the archdeacon leave, and when the latter has given leave again to the deacon, giving him permission to say the petitions, the priest says this prayer: Lord God, Pantocrator... 9. And the bishop chants aloud: By the mercies of your only begotten...

[VII. The Kiss of Peace and Creed]

VII. 1. Peace to all. Let us love one another. 2. And when that is said the bishop bows to the holy altar, and after mounting the platform, kisses it; then, after descending and letting down his phelonion, he turns to the right side and stands there. 3. And the priests come up, kiss first the holy altar, then the bishop's hand and right cheek, and one another in turn. 4. And when the kiss is finished, [the bishop] turns again to the east, and when the deacon says. The doors, the archdeacon says, In wisdom, let us be attentive. 5. And thus the clergy chant with the laity the I believe in one God...

[VIII. Prayers before Communion]

VIII. 1. And may the mercies of our great... **2.** While this ecphonesis is still being chanted by the bishop, the archdeacon comes up and requests permission. **3.** [The priest] blesses only him while still singing this same ecphonesis; and after the archdeacon has given leave to the deacon, and while the petitions are being sung by the latter, the priest prays, *To you we commend...* **4.** And he chants aloud, *And make us worthy...* **5.** And the bishop raises his hands a little in prayer, lidding in his left hand the unrolled scroll, saying to himself, *Our Father...* **6.** Holy things for the Holy. 7. The people: *One is holy...*

[IX. Fraction and Commixture]

IX. 1. And while this is being said, the bishop blesses three times with the bread on the discos, [making] one [sign of the cross] in the center, another to the left, and another to the right. 2. Then he breaks the bread in two, and the [bread] in his right hand he puts on the discos; the [seal] in his left he cuts in the middle. 3. Again he puts on the discos the [bread] in his right hand. **4.** From the [bread] in his left he cuts one seal. **5.** And when the archdeacon says, Make full, holy master, the chalice, [the bishop] blesses the chalice with it, saying, The fullness of the Holy Spirit, and drops the seal into it. 6. And the bread that he is holding in the left hand he puts on the discos. 7. And he takes the other [bread], the one cut from the same <seal>, and after taking from it a seal, fills the other chalice, and puts this bread on the discos too. 8. And again he takes the other bread cut in two, and breaks it in the middle. 9. And the [bread] in the right hand he puts on the discos. 10. After taking one particle from the left-side [bread], he puts it on the edge of the discos in front of him, and again places this bread on the discos. 11. Then he takes also the other bread, and having taken from it one particle, puts this next to the other particle. 12. And in this way the whole fraction of the bread is done.

[X. Communion]

X. 1. And after having divided enough and wiped and shaken his hands lest perchance a pearl be left on them, he descends from the platform and bows three times to the east, saying to himself, *Your mystical supper...* 2. With him bows the priest who is supposed to give him communion, and both mount the platform and kiss the holy altar. 3. And first the bishop, having stretched forth his hands, receives . 4. Then holding the bread in the last two fingers, with the other three he takes the other particle and gives it to the one that gave communion to him, 5. who, after

receiving it, kisses his hand and cheek. **6.** And both descend from the platform and after bowing down, consume the divine bread. **7.** Then they wipe the hands clean on the discoi. **8.** And the archdeacon gives the chalice to the priest, and the bishop, after turning to him and bowing, communicates. **9.** Then he turns to the east and wipes the lips clean with the edge of the eiliton, and makes three bows in thanksgiving. **10.** And after kissing the holy altar, he turns, and takes the chalice from the priest, and [the bishop] communicates him. **11.** The priest, after receiving, bows to the bishop and kisses his right hand and takes the chalice. **12.** And thus the bishop goes to the platform and gives communion to those in the sanctuary.

- 13. And after giving [communion] to everyone [in the sanctuary] he goes off to the first communion table, and when the deacon carrying the discos has said, *Bless, master*; the bishop says, *I will bless the Lord at all times...* 14. And the Psalm is done completely by those present while the people are receiving communion. 15. And if there are still other communicants, the deacon says again, *Bless, master*, and the bishop says, *I will bless the Lord.* 16. And this is said two and three and several times, for as long as there are communicants.
- 17. After the people have received communion and the Psalm has been completed by those singing, the archdeacon says to the bishop, Lord, bless. 18. And blessing the people once, the bishop chants aloud, The blessing of the Lord be upon us, always ... and after withdrawing to the left side he sits down. 19. And the subdeacon comes up and says. Bless, master, and the bishop washes his hands, saying to himself Master, now let your servant depart... 20. And the archdeacon comes up to him requesting the Prayer of Incense. 21. And he, blessing from under the phelonion, says, I offer you incense... 22. Then the archdeacon incenses around the holy altar. 23. And finally he goes to the bishop and after incensing him three times, bows his head [and] says, Bless, Master." 24. The bishop, blessing him from under the phelonion, says, Blessed is our God, ahvays... 25. And after saying, Amen the archdeacon grants permission to the psalmists, and they chant the Plérothéto, and the gifts go out.

[XI. Thanksgiving and Dismissal]

XI. 1. While they are going out the priest stands bowed, and after the exit of the gifts the castrensis lifts up the bishop's phelonion and summons him to the holy altar. 2. And after he withdraws and is standing before the holy altar, the archdeacon gets permission, and the petitions are said by the archdeacon. 3. And the bishop says the prayer, We thank you, master... 4. For you are the holy (!) ... 5. The deacon: "Let us depart in peace". 6. And the bishop

turns to the right side. 7. And while the priest who is to say the Prayer behind the Ambo is in position before the holy doors, the bishop blesses him saying, *Blessed is our God...* 8. Then the castrensis puts the omophorion on him, and he turns to the east and bows three times in thanksgiving. 9. And he mounts the platform and kisses [the altar], and thus descends. 10. And he turns to his concelebrants, and taking leave of them, goes out supported by the archontes, and departs to the métatorion via the <doors> on the right side of the holy doors.