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for June

by
Apostolos Spanos

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“The present thesis is an annotated critical edition of an unpublished collection of hymnographical texts, originally submitted as a doctoral thesis to the University of Bergen. The collection ... is preserved in the eleventh-century Greek manuscript 11 of the library of the Monastery of Leimon, on the island of Lesbos, Greece. This important codex is a menaion for June comprising thirty akolouthiai on saints celebrated by the Byzantine Church. Nineteen of these texts are hitherto unpublished” – Foreword.

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To Irina and Charalambos

To the soul of Julian Chrysostomides

Foreword

The present thesis is an annotated critical edition of an unpublished collection of hymnographical texts, originally submitted as a doctoral thesis to the University of Bergen. The collection, some of the texts of which were in use in the Byzantine and (later) the Greek Orthodox Church between the ninth and the seventeenth century, is preserved in the eleventh-century Greek manuscript 11 of the library of the Monastery of Leimon, on the island of Lesbos, Greece. This important codex is a *Menaion* for June comprising thirty *akolouthiai* on saints celebrated by the Byzantine Church. Nineteen of these texts are hitherto unpublished.

The introduction examines codex *Lesbiacus Leimonos* 11 and its importance from a liturgical, hymnographical, and palaeographical perspective. It is divided into four chapters.

Chapter 1 presents briefly the liturgical environment of the period from the ninth century, when most of the texts edited were composed, to the eleventh, when the production of the codex is placed. It also discusses the liturgical books used in the period, the structure of the *akolouthiai* and the festal calendar of the Byzantine Church. Chapter 2 deals with the content of the texts edited. The content of each of the *akolouthiai* is presented along with some information on the saints celebrated, hagiographical and liturgical texts related to them, and the composition of the *akolouthiai*. Chapter 3 presents briefly the life and the hymnographical work of the authors of the texts edited below, namely Joseph the Hymnographer, George of Nicomedia, Theophanes Graptos and Clement. Chapter 4 is devoted to the manuscript tradition of the texts. It comprises an analytical palaeographical and codicological description of codex *Lesbiacus Leimonos* 11, followed by the description of a closely related manuscript, codex *Hierosolymitanus Sabaiticus* 70, and a brief description of all manuscripts transmitting the texts edited, and an examination of their relationships. The chapter closes with a brief note on the principles and conventions adopted in the present edition.

The edition of the texts is preceded by a list of abbreviations and sigla and is accompanied by an *apparatus criticus* and an *apparatus fontium*. Unpublished hymns and stanzas preserved in manuscripts other than *Lesbiacus Leimonos* 11 are included in the *Appendices* following the Texts. The Commentary discusses liturgical, palaeographical, historical and hymnographical aspects of the edition.

I am deeply grateful to Professor Emeritus Demetrios Gonis, University of Athens, who offered me guidance and invaluable advice during the initial stages of my research, when the form of the book was taking shape and some of its basic principles were established. I am also indebted to Professor Tomas Hägg, University of Bergen, for his encouragement and advice during the last years.

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My warm thanks go to the Faculty of Humanities and Education at the University of Agder for a stipend that covered a small but meaningful part of the costs of my research. I would also like to thank the librarians of the University Library of Agder, and particularly Ellen Sejersted and Hilde Terese Daland, for their readiness to assist me.

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The completion of the thesis would have not been possible without the supporting love and understanding of my beloved wife Irina and the loving support of the late professor Julian Chrysostomides and my dear friend Dr. Charalambos Dendrinis of the Hellenic Institute, Royal Holloway, University of London. Having not enough words to thank them, I have the great honour of dedicating the book to Irina and Charalambos and to the soul of Julian, whom I can imagine turning over its pages among the angels.

Kristiansand, March 2010
Apostolos Spanos

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Abbreviations – Bibliography

I. Manuscripts

Alexandria	Codex Alexandrinus Patr. 114
Athens	Codex Atheniensis Benaki Museum 68 (TA 143) Codex Atheniensis Bibl. Nat. 551 Codex Atheniensis Bibl. Nat. 562
Athos	Codex Athonensis Iveron 857 Codex Athonensis Lavrae Δ45
Istanbul	Codex Chalcensis Panaghias 42
Jerusalem	Codex Hierosolymitanus Sabaiticus 70 Codex Hierosolymitanus Sabaiticus 72
Lesbos	Codex Lesbiacus Leimonos 11
Meteora	Codex Meteorensis Metamorphoseos 150
Oxford	Codex Oxoniensis Bodleianus graecus liturgicus e 6
Paris	Codex Parisinus graecus 245 Codex Parisinus graecus 1566 Codex Parisinus graecus 1575
Patmos	Codex Patmiacus 738 Codex Patmiacus 806A
Sinai	Codex Sinaiticus graecus 620 Codex Sinaiticus graecus 630 Codex Sinaiticus graecus 640
Sofia	Codex Sophia, Ivan Dujčev 28 Codex Sophia, Ivan Dujčev 69 Codex Eccl., Hist. and Archaival Institute, Patr. of Bulgaria 388 Codex Eccl., Hist. and Archaival Institute, Patr. of Bulgaria 400
Vatican	Codex Vaticanus graecus 33 Codex Vaticanus graecus 787 Codex Vaticanus graecus 1558
Wien	Codex Vindobonensis Theologicus Regius graecus 62

II. Primary Sources

AASS = *Acta Sanctorum*, Antverpiae / Bruxellis / Tongerloae / Parisiis 1643–1940
AHG = Ioseph Schirò (et al.), *Analecta Hymnica Graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae Inferioris*, vols. I–XII, Roma 1966–1980
AK = Amphilokhis (Sergievskis), arkhimandr., *Kondakarij u greceskom podlinnike XII–XIII u. po rukopisi Moskovskoj synodal'noj biblioteki* N. 437, Moskva 1879
Akolouthia Manuel, Savel and Ishmael 1803 = Ακολουθία τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἐνδόξων μεγάλων μαρτύρων Μανουήλ, Σαβέλ καὶ Ἰσμαήλ ψαλλομένη κατὰ τὴν ἱζ' τοῦ Ἰουνίου, ἐρανισθεῖσα μὲν φιλοπόνως παρὰ Μανουήλ Μάνου τοῦ Βυζαντίου χάριν εὐλαβείας· ἐπιμελῶς δὲ διορθωθεῖσα παρὰ τινων εὐλαβῶν καὶ τὰ θεῖα μεμνημένων ἀνδρῶν, καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἐπιθεωρηθεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ Πανοσιωτάτου καὶ σοφολογιω-

- τάτου διδασκάλου καὶ ἱεροκήρυκος τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας κυρίου Δωροθέου Βουλησμᾶ. Καὶ νῦν πρῶτον τύποις ἐκδοθεῖσα διὰ δαπάνης μὲν τοῦ Πανευγενεστάτου κυρίου Μανουὴλ Μπάλσα ἐπιμελείας δὲ καὶ ἐπιστάσις τοῦ ἀρχιμανδρίτου Ἀνθίμου Γαζῆ, Vienna 1803
- Akolouthia Manuel, Savel and Ishmael 1815 = Ἀκολουθία ἡ θεία ἱερὰ καὶ μαρτυρική τῶν ἁγίων καὶ πανενδόξων τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγίστων ἀθλοφόρων τε καὶ ἀταδέλφων Μανουὴλ, Σαβέλ, καὶ Ἰσμαὴλ ἀθλησάντων ἐν Ἑτεῖ Σωτηρίῳ ΤΕΒ· ἀναγινωσκομένη κατὰ τὴν ΙΖ΄ τοῦ Ἰουνίου. Ἦτις πρῶτον μὲν ἐρανισθεῖσα τε καὶ φιλοπονηθεῖσα παρὰ Μανουὴλ Μάνου τοῦ Βυζαντίου καὶ ἐπιδιορθωθεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ Πανοσιοσοφολογιωτάτου διδασκάλου καὶ ἱεροκήρυκος τῆς Ἀγίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας κυρίου Δωροθέου Βουλησμᾶ, εἰς φῶς ἤχθη διὰ δαπάνης τοῦ ἐν μακαρία τῇ λήξει Εὐγενεστάτου Ἀρχοντος Πολκοβνίκου καὶ Καβαλλιέρη κυρίου Μανουὴλ Μπάλσα. Νῦν δὲ αὐξηθεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ποιητοῦ χάριν εὐλαβείας τῇ προσθήκῃ τῶν τε ἐγκωμίων τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῶν ἁγίων ἐπιταφίου, εὐλογηταρίων, καὶ κδ΄ οἰκῶν, μετὰ τινων τροπαρίων ψαλλομένων ἐν τῇ ἀγρυπνίᾳ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐτησίου πανηγύρεως· ἔτι δὲ σὺν τέτταρσιν εὐχαῖς, μεγαλυναρίοις τισι, τυπικοῖς ἔξ, καὶ τοῖς δυοὶ σπανιωτάτοις πασχαλίοις, μετὰ καὶ τινων ἄλλων, ὡς ὁράται, ἅπερ ἅπαντα ἐθεωρήθησαν παρὰ τοῦ πανιερωτάτου ἐν Ἀρχιερεῦσιν Ἁγίου Συνάδων κυρίου κυρίου Νικοδήμου, καὶ τελευταῖον καλλωπισθεῖσα ταῖς τῶν χαριτοβρύτων εἰκόνων τέτταρσι χαλκογραφίαις τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ ὡς οἶόν τ' εἰς τὸ ἐντελεῖς ἀχθεῖσα. Ἦδη δεῦτερον σὺν Θεῷ ἁγίῳ τύποις καθαρωτέροις καὶ ἐρυθροῖς χαρακτῆρσιν ἐκδίδοται σπουδῇ μὲν καὶ ἀναλώμασι τοῦ ταπεινοῦ ποιητοῦ, ὅπως διανεμῆται δωρεὰν τοῖς τε θείοις ναοῖς τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, καὶ τοῖς φιλομάρτυσι χριστιανοῖς, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τοῖς ὁμωνύμοις τοῖς ἁγίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν πολλῶν αὐτοῦ πλημμελημάτων ἀφέσεως, καὶ τῆς μετὰ δικαίων τῶν ψυχῶν τῶν γονέων αὐτοῦ Σκαρλάτου καὶ Αἰκατερίνης αἰωνίου ἀναπάσεως. Ἐπιμελεία δὲ καὶ ἐπιστάσις τοῦ πανοσιωτάτου ἐν Ἱερομονάχοις ἁγίου Αρχιμανδρίτου κυρίου κυρίου Καλλινίκου τοῦ ἐκ Θεσσαλονίκης, Lipsiae 1815
- AMMSI = Acta Martyrii ss. Manuelis, Sabelis, et Ismaelis: *De sanctis fratribus Persis, Manuele, Sabele, et Ismaele, martyribus Constantinopoli*, AASS Iunii III, 289–296
- AMZ = Acta Martyrii [S. Zosimi militis mart.], AASS Iunii III, 813–816
- AMZZ = Acta Martyrii [SS. Zenonis et Zenae], AASS Iunii IV, 476–482
- ANM = Acta [Martyrii SS. Nicandri et Marciani], AASS Iunii III, 270–273
- ARRANZ, *Typicon Messine* = Miquel Arranz, *Le Typicon du Monastère du Saint Sauveur à Messine, Codex Messinensis gr 115 A.D. 1131*, Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum 1969
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- BASM = Christian Hannick – Peter Plank – Carolina Lutzka, *Das byzantinische Eigengut der neuzeitlichen slavischen Menäen und seine griechischen Originale – I. Vorwort, Einführung, Incipitium und Edition der Monate September bis Februar. II. Incipitium und Edition der Monate März bis August. III. Teil = Incipitium und Edition Theotokia, Index hymnorum graecorum, Index hymnorum slavicum, Epimetra tria* [Abhandlungen der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Bd. 112; Patristica Slavica, Bd. 12] Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh 2006
- BURKITT, The oldest manuscript = F. C. Burkitt, The oldest manuscript of St. Justin's martyrdom, *Journal of Theological Studies* 11 (1909–1910) 61–66
- CL = Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum, ed. Rudolf Riedinger, in: *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*. Series secunda, volumen primum, Berlin: De Gruyter, 1984
- CPC = Wilhelm von Christ – Matthaios Paranikas, *Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum*, Lipsiae: Teubner 1871 [repr. Hildesheim 1963]
- CUC = Concilium Universale Constantinopolitanum tertium, ed. Rudolf Riedinger, in: *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum, Pars 1–2, Series secunda, volumen secundum*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 1990, 1992

- CUCh = *Concilium universale Chalcedonense*, ed. Eduard Schwartz, *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*, Tom. 2.1.2, Berlin: De Gruyter 1962
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- DETORAKIS, Κανὼν ἁγίων δέκα μαρτύρων = Theocharis Detorakis, Γεωργίου Νικομηδείας Ἀνέκδοτος κανὼν τῶν ἁγίων δέκα μαρτύρων τῆς Κρήτης, in: Idem, *Ὑμνογραφία*, 270–279 [originally published in *Νέα Χριστιανικὴ Κρήτη* 1 (1989)]
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- PIβ = Μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγίων Ἰουστίνου, Χαρίτωνος, Χαριτοῦς, Εὐελπίστου, Τέρακος, Παίονος καὶ Λιβεριανῶν, in LAZZATI, Gli atti, 490–495, col. β΄
- PIRP = Passio SS. Innæ, Rimæ et Pinae (Ἀθλησις ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων Ἰννᾶ, Ῥημᾶ, Πινᾶ, παθόντων ἐν Γοτθίᾳ), in H. Delehay, Saints de Thrace et de Mésie, *AnBoll* 31 (1912) 215–216
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Introduction

Chapter 1

Codex *Lesbiacus Leimonos* 11

and the Byzantine Monastic Rite (9th–11th c.)

The complex liturgical practice of the Eastern Church, one of the most striking elements in Orthodox Liturgics, was already in Byzantine times a synthesis of various services performed every day. Their performance, as well as the voluminous and variant character of their contents, demanded the use of numerous liturgical books used simultaneously during the services.

Being one of the central composite parts of the Byzantine rite, the celebration of the saints found its natural place in the services of *Hesperinos* (Vespers)¹ and *Orthros* (Matins)². Egon Wellesz has pointed out that the main reason for this was that “the dramatic character of the Byzantine Mass ... did not permit the accumulation of too many chants, which would have clogged the liturgical action and introduced a static element. The less dramatic type of worship had its place in the Morning and Evening Service”³.

The main book used by the Church in the eleventh century for the celebration of saints is the book of *Menaion* [literally, *monthly* (book)]⁴, comprising, in its present form, twelve volumes, one for each month of the calendar year⁵. The hymnographic-poetic texts contained therein were performed by the choir on the feast-days of the saints and/or the feasts commemorated on a

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- 1 See ARRANZ, *Vêpres Byzantines*; ARRANZ, *Asmatikos Hesperinos*; MATEOS, *Vêpres byzantines*; WOOLFENDEN, *Daily Liturgical Prayer*, 93–106; FOUNTOULIS, *Ἀκολουθία νυχθημέρου*, 85–141; WILLIAMS & TROELSGÅRD, *Hesperinos*, in NGDMM 11, 459–461; bibliography in TAFT, *Bibliography of Hours*, 361–365.
 - 2 See TAFT, *Liturgy of the Hours*, 277–283; STUHLMAN, *Morning Offices*; ARRANZ, *Asmatikos Orthros*; ARRANZ, *Matines byzantines*; FOUNTOULIS, *Ἡ ἀκολουθία τοῦ Ὁρθρου*; WOOLFENDEN, *Daily Liturgical Prayer*, 107–113; FOUNTOULIS, *Ἀκολουθία νυχθημέρου*, 144–264; TROELSGÅRD, *Orthros*; bibliography in TAFT, *Bibliography of Hours*, 361–365.
 - 3 WELLESZ, *History*, 125.
 - 4 See LThK 7, 95; FOUNTOULIS, *Λειτουργική*, 85–86; NORET, *Ménologes, synaxaires, ménées*, 21–24; ODB 1338; bibliography in TAFT, *Bibliography of Hours*, 365–367. Particularly on the *Menaia* in the period from the eleventh to the thirteenth century see THEMELIS, *Μηναῖα*.
 - 5 Manuscript tradition shows that in the middle-Byzantine period there existed *Menaia* comprising two or more months in one volume; see for example below, codd. BGHaMPPaQVaW.

fixed date⁶. In this sense, the *Menaion* includes not the *ordinary*, or basic, unvarying part of the services, but the *proper* part, that varies according to the feast of the day.

The *Menaion* was the main but not the only book containing the poetical texts for the liturgical year at the time when codex *Lesbiacus Leimonos* 11 (L) was composed, as another book, the *Tropologion*, was still in use, even if on its way out. *Tropologion* was in older times the main book containing such hymns, but in the course of time it was divided up into an increasing number of smaller units. Towards the end of the middle-Byzantine period some of its content was included in other liturgical books (*Menaion*, *Triodion*, *Pentekostarion*, *Typika*, *Euchologion*, and *Horologion*), while the rest was neglected⁷.

At this point it should be mentioned that Alexandra Nikiforova, in a hitherto unpublished doctoral thesis⁸, opens the discussion on hymnographical schools of the *Menaion* in the period to which L belongs. Challenging the widespread view that it is Joseph the Hymnographer (d. 886) who originally authored *Menaia* as a hymnographical collection, she suggests the following chronological appearance of *Menaia*: (a) Palestino-Byzantine *Menaion*, (b) Constantinopolitan *Menaion* of Theophanes Graptos (d. 845) and George of Nicomedia (d. ca. 864?), and (c) Constantinopolitan *Menaion* of Joseph the Hymnographer.

Such a book, a *Menaion* for June, is the codex *Lesbiacus Leimonos* 11, a manuscript that can be dated to the second half of the eleventh century, preserved in the library of the monastery of Leimon⁹. L comprises thirty sections,

6 Apart from hymnography the Church also used texts from the Bible and hagiographical texts on the saints to celebrate their memory. To quote N. Patterson Ševčenko "the texts that together comprise the liturgical celebration of a saint are a varied combination of scriptural, hagiographic and poetic pieces" (PATTERSON-ŠEVČENKO, *Evergetis Synaxarion*, 386). A brief presentation of the various kinds of feasts celebrated all year round by the Orthodox Church today is found in CALIVAS, *Aspects of Orthodox Worship*, 59–60. A comparison of the present to the Byzantine feast days shows that most of the dates for the so-called Great Feasts and the most important saints have remained the same.

7 See HUSMANN, *Hymnus und Troparion*; KORAKIDIS, *Ἕμνογραφία* II, 226–230; WADE, *The oldest Iagdari*.

8 А.Ю. Никифорова, *Проблема происхождения служебной Минеи: структура, состав, месяцеслов греческих миней IX–XII вв. из монастыря Святой Екатерины на Синае* (=The Problem of the Development of the Liturgical Menaia: Structure, Content, Calendar of the Greek Menaia of the Monastery of St. Ecaterina in Sinai), (Институт Мировой Литературы им. А.М.Горького Российской Академии Наук) Moscow 2005. I would like to thank Prof. Stig Frøyshov, University of Oslo, who informed me about this thesis and particularly this new, and very important, element in the study of the history of Menaia.

9 On the monastery of Leimon, see SPANOS, *Ιστορία Λειμώνος*; particularly on the manuscript collection, see SPANOS, *Συλλογή χειρογράφων*; PKMB 17–131; CHARALAMPOUS, *Συμπληρωματικός κατάλογος Λειμώνος*; PAULOPOULOS, *Κατάλογος συμπληρωματικός Λειμώνος*. The Byzantine manuscripts of the collection are presented in an online database; see http://84.205.233.134/library/index_en.php.

one for each calendar day of June. Every day includes the text of one or two *akolouthiai*¹⁰ on saints celebrated on that date, with no musical notation and lacking liturgical instructions on when every part is to be sung and how¹¹. Each *akolouthia* consists mainly of a *kathisma*, a set of (usually three) *stichera* and a *kanon*, while some *akolouthiai* also include a set of *kontakion* and *oikos*, and very few an *exaposteilarion*.

Stichera, *kathisma* and *kanon* have been considered by the Church as the most important elements of an *akolouthia* on a saint¹². A. Papadopoulos–Kerameus, one of the pioneers in the study of the *Menaia*, writes about the tenth-century *Menaia* he had examined that the *akolouthiai* copied in them always start with a *kathisma*, followed by the *stichera* and the *kanon*, which is not interrupted by any other hymn or text, such as *kontakion*, or *staurotheotokion*, or *synaxarion*¹³. This explains why all the *akolouthiai* copied in L (which as a manuscript generally confirms the findings of Papadopoulos–Kerameus) include *stichera*, *kathisma* and *kanon*, while the presence of *exaposteilarion* is rare¹⁴, and that of *kontakion* and *oikos* inconsistent. The *akolouthiai* are transmitted in the form described by Papadopoulos–Kerameus in manuscript *Menaia* dated to the tenth and eleventh century, while from the twelfth onwards the book of *Menaion* starts taking its present form¹⁵.

10 The term *akolouthia* is used throughout the book for an individual total of hymnographic-poetic texts used by the church in the *proper* part of the services to celebrate a saint on his or her feast day; see ODB 46–47; LThK 1, 292–293, both presenting also other liturgical meanings of the term, and KORAKIDIS, *Υμνογραφία* II, 46.

11 There are only two exceptions to this: (a) The *akolouthia* on St. Theodore *Stratelates* includes four sets of *stichera*, which are preceded by the rubrics Στιχηρὰ εἰς τὸ Κύριε ἑκέκραξα (set 1), Τοῦ στίχου (set 2), and Ἄλλα εἰς τοὺς Αἰνους (sets 3–4). (b) The *akolouthia* on the apostles Peter and Paul has ten sets of *stichera*, the second of which is preceded by the instruction: Εἰς τὸ Κύριε ἑκέκραξα ἰστώμεν στίχους ἡ', ταῦτα ψάλλοντες.

12 See for example REGAS, *Τυπικόν*, 50: «Τὰ ἀπαραίτητα μέρη ἐκάστης ἀκολουθίας ἁγίου εἰσὶ: Τρία στιχηρὰ προσόμοια χρησιμεύοντα ὡς ἐσπέρια, καὶ εἰς κανῶν, μετὰ τὴν γ' ᾠδὴν τοῦ ὁποίου ἐν κάθισμα».

13 PAPADOPOULOS–KERAMEUS, *Σχεδιάσμα*, 360.

14 It appears only in the *akolouthia* on St. Theodore *Stratelates*, the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, St. Fevronia, St. Sampson *Xenodochos*, the translation of the relics of Sts. Kyros and John and the apostles Peter and Paul; we cannot be sure for the *akolouthiai* on St. Onouphrios, St. Leontios, St. Isauros and his fellow martyrs, and the 12 Apostles, because of their mutilated ending.

15 In the present *Menaion* each *akolouthia* is clearly divided into (mainly) what is sung at *Hesperinos* and what is sung at *Orthros*. The ferial *Hesperinos* includes *stichera* sung at Κύριε ἑκέκραξα, followed by *theotokion* and *staurotheotokion*, (sometimes) *stichera* sung at *Stichos* followed by *doxastikon* and *theotokion*, and *apolytikion*. In festal celebrations of saints and feasts *Menaion* presents two forms of *Hesperinos*, the Little and the Great *Hesperinos*. The Little *Hesperinos* has the same elements as the ferial, while the Great includes also *stichera* sung at *Lite* followed by *doxastikon* and *theotokion*. The ferial *Orthros* consists of *kanon*, one (sometimes more) *kathisma* sung after the third ode of the *kanon*, followed by *theotokion* and *staurotheotokion*, and

Concerning the use of *kontakion* and *oikos* in L, it should be noted that in the period the manuscript was produced the term *kontakion* had already taken in the monastic rite¹⁶ a different meaning than that of the days of Romanos the Melodist. Traditionally *kontakion* had been a whole hymn consisting of an opening stanza (the *prooimion* or *koukoulion*), followed by a varying number of stanzas (*oikoi*), some eighteen to thirty, which were sung according to the melody of the first one of them, i.e. their *heirmos*. In the monastic rite it was not the whole hymn that was used, but only the *prooimion*, now called *kontakion*, followed by one *oikos*, usually the *heirmos*. In a few cases more *oikoi* were sung, as in the *akolouthia* on the apostles Peter and Paul (below, Text 29)¹⁷. In the ninth-tenth century, when monastic *Orthros* was fused with the cathedral one, the performance of the *kontakion* was already reduced to the *prooimion* and the first *oikos*¹⁸. It is to this period the earliest surviving melodies on *kontakia* are dated; they consist of settings of exactly the *prooimion* and the first *oikos*¹⁹.

The contents of L, particularly the existence of *stichera* and *kanons*, show that the manuscript was produced to serve a monastic community, as the cathedral rite did not include these two main liturgical items contrary to the monastic rite, where these elements played — especially the *kanon* — a central role²⁰. O. Strunk, basing himself on the treatise *On Divine Prayer* by Symeon of Thessaloniki (15th c.)²¹, points out: “If the Great Church sang the canticles only once a week, choosing its own texts, ordering them in its own way, and interpolating its own refrains, what place can it have found for those unique

synaxarian notice(s) after the sixth ode. The festal *Orthros* has usually three kathismata, followed by *theotokia*, one or two *kanons*, *hypakoē* or *kathisma(ta)* after the third ode, followed by *theotokion*, *kontakion-oikos* and synaxarian notice(s) after the sixth, *exaposteilarion* and *theotokion*, *stichera* sung at *Ainoi*, followed by *doxastikon* and *theotokion*, and (sometimes) *stichera* sung after the Great Doxology, followed by *doxastikon* and *theotokion*. In some cases *Menaion* transmits also hymns for saints and feasts to be sung at the Liturgy. Another new element in this form of *Menaia* is that they also include liturgical instructions on what is to be sung and when, something not existing in the old *Menaia*.

16 The Byzantine rite developed in two different types, the cathedral and the monastic; see TAFT, *Cathedral vs. Monastic Liturgy*; BRADSHAW, *Cathedral vs. Monastery*; CALIVAS, *Aspects of Orthodox Worship*, 69–91; FOUNTOULIS, *Τελετουργικά Θέματα*, 11–24.

17 See FLOROS, *Kontakion*; MITSAKIS, *Υμνογραφία*, 525–530; GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, *Kontakion et Canon*; WELLESZ, *Kontakion and Canon*; TRYPANIS, *Greek Poetry*, 436–446; THODBERG, *Kontakion*.

18 THODBERG, *Kontakion*, 787.

19 TROELSGÅRD, *Byzantine Chant*, 743.

20 On the absence of *stichera* and *kanon* from the *Asmatikos Hesperinos* and the *Asmatikos Orthros* of the cathedral rite, see the texts published by TREMPERAS, *Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον*, 183–214. On *kanon* as a centrepeace of *Orthros*, see TAFT, *Liturgy of the Hours*, 281–283.

21 *Περὶ τῆς Θείας Προσευχῆς*, PG 155, 536–669.

expressions of the monastic spirit, the stanzas of the canons? Symeon tells us that at Hagia Sophia they formed no part of the original order. ... Like the stanzas of the canons, the *stichera* are fundamentally incompatible with the 'chanted' order, and if they were at length admitted to it, as Symeon tells us they were, it must have been reluctantly and as a drastic compromise"²².

As far as the structure and the contents of the *akolouthiai* copied in L are concerned, we may say that in dates on which two non-related saints (or group of saints) are celebrated together the manuscript contains a double *akolouthia* (Texts 1, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23, 25, 26, and 28), in the sense that there are two *akolouthiai* copied subsequently according to their composite parts: two *kathismata* (one on each saint), *kontakion* and *oikos* on the first, two sets of *stichera*, two *kanons* and (in some cases) *exaposteilarion* on the first saint. Most dates in which there is only one saint celebrated include a double *akolouthia* as well, i.e., two individual *akolouthiai* on the same saint copied in exactly the same structure described above²³.

L, as every Byzantine *Menaion*, was mainly used for the performance of the services of *Hesperinos* and *Orthros*, services established already by the year 528 when they became compulsory for all the clergy attached to a church by a decree of the emperor Justinian I²⁴. It was also used for the performance of *Pannychis*²⁵ and the Divine Liturgy. The texts included in the *Menaion* are just a part of what is sung in these services. The rest of the services was to be found in other liturgical books, including hymns and other texts representing

²² STRUNK, Byzantine Office, 195.

²³ On the commemoration of St. Nikephoros of Constantinople (June 2nd), St. Loukillianos (3rd), St. Metrophanes of Constantinople (4th), St. Dorotheos of Tyre (6th), the translation of relics of St. Theodore *Stratelates* (8th), St. Onouphrios (12th), St. Ioulianos (21st), the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (24th), St. Fevronia (25th; in this case the second *kanon* is dedicated not only to Fevronia but also to another not named female martyrs) and St. Sampson the *Xenodochos* (27th). There are only two exceptions where there is only a single *akolouthia* on the saint of the day, on June 13th and 19th, when St. Akylina and St. Zosimos are commemorated respectively; in the latter case we cannot be sure as to whether the *akolouthia* was originally single, since because of a lacuna in the manuscript (the gathering *ια'* is missing) there survives only a part of the *kanon*, which could be the second *kanon* of a double *akolouthia*.

²⁴ See *Corpus Iuris Civilis* (ed. P. KRÜGER), vol. II, Berlin 1900, 28 (Justinian, Code I, iii, 42, 24). The same law directs that the priests must sing every night the *nykterina* (nocturns), which most probably means the service of *Mesonyktikon*, that was later incorporated in *Orthros* (see also TAFT, *Liturgy of the Hours*, 186; and WELLESZ, *History*, 125). It has to be noted, though, that the form of *Orthros* and *Hesperinos* mentioned in *Corpus Iuris Civilis* is most probably not the same with that of the same services celebrated in the period reflected in L; this latter form, coming originally from Jerusalem, seems to have come to Byzantium later.

²⁵ On *Pannychis* and its various forms in Byzantine times, see DOSITHEOS, *Διάταξις Ἀγρυπνίας*; TAFT, *Liturgy of the Hours*, 283–291; ARRANZ, *Pannychis*; ARRANZ, *All-night Vigil*; FOUNTOLIS, *Ἀκολουθία νυχθημέρου*, 47–82; ODB 2166 (entry: Vigil); *LThK* 7, 1314; bibliography in TAFT, *Bibliography of Hours*, 358–370.

the three different liturgical cycles in which the Byzantine rite was (and as the rite of the Orthodox Church still is) divided: the daily, the weekly and the yearly²⁶.

The daily cycle included specific prayers and services performed at specific times, *Hesperinos* and *Orthros* being the most important ones. Every service had its own unvarying elements performed constantly (prayers, petitions, psalms, hymns), as well as parts referring to the weekly and the yearly cycle. The main books including the hymns performed by the choir in the offices of the daily cycle were the Psalter (*Psalterion*) and the *Horologion*²⁷.

In the weekly cycle every day was dedicated to a holy person or event: Monday was dedicated to the Archangels, Tuesday to John the Baptist, Wednesday and Friday to the Holy Cross, and the passion of Christ and the Mother of God, Thursday to the Apostles and St. Nicholas, Saturday to the deceased and the martyrs, and Sunday to Resurrection. The book of the weekly cycle used by the choir was the *Oktoechos*²⁸.

The yearly cycle had two parts, one movable and the other fixed. In the movable cycle, every day of the year was related to Easter. The main book used by the choir in the movable cycle was the *Triodion*, covering not only the ten weeks preceding Easter (as in its present form), but also the period from Easter Sunday to Pentecost, which by the late-Byzantine period was extracted and included in a separate book, the *Pentekostarion*²⁹. In the fixed cycle, of which the *Menaion* was the main book (according to A. Papadopoulos – Keraeus from the middle of the ninth century and according to R. Taft from the tenth³⁰), every day was dedicated to the Lord, the Mother of God, and/or one or more saints.

Every day the choir had to sing hymns from all cycles, using mainly the books of *Horologion*, *Oktoechos*, *Menaion*, and *Triodion*³¹. To perform the *akolouthia* on the feasts of the saints included in the *Menaion*, the eleventh-century

26 See SCHMEMANN, *Liturgical Theology*, 150–162; TALLEY, *Origins of Liturgical Year*; and ODB 2215. On the formation and the structure of the daily cycle see TAFT, *Liturgy of the Hours*, 273–291 and FOUNTOULIS, *Λογική Λατρεία*, 147–269.

27 See LThK 5, 280–281; ODB 947; KORAKIDIS, *Υμνογραφία* II, 285–286; FRØYSHOV, *L'Horologe "Géorgien"*; bibliography in TAFT, *Bibliography of Hours*, 361–365, and FRØYSHOV, *L'Horologe "Géorgien"*.

28 See LThK 7, 1016–1017; ODB 1520; KORAKIDIS, *Υμνογραφία* II, 197–199; bibliography in TAFT, *Bibliography of Hours*, 365–367. On *Oktoechos* as a liturgical and musical system see FRØYSHOV, *Eight-mode System in Jerusalem*; JEFFERY, *Oktoechos* (with bibliography).

29 On *Triodion* and *Pentekostarion*, see LThK 10, 262 and 8, 23–24; ODB 2118–2119 and 1627; KORAKIDIS, *Υμνογραφία* II, 221–224 and 202–203; QUINLAN, *Sin. Gr.* 734–735, 17–20; bibliography in TAFT, *Bibliography of Hours*, 365–367.

30 See PAPADOPOULOS–KERAMEUS, *Σχεδιάσμα*, 343, and TAFT, *Byzantine Rite*, 58.

31 PAPADOPOULOS–KERAMEUS, *Σχεδιάσμα*, 360, writes that apart from the *Menaion* “βιβλία ... ἕτερα, οἷον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ὁ ἀπόστολος, τὸ προφητολόγιον, τὸ εἰρημολόγιον, ἡ παρακλητικὴ, τὸ κονδακάριον, τὸ τριῶδιον καὶ τὸ συναξάριον, ἀνεπλήρουν τὸν λειτουργικὸν τῆς ἑορτῆς κύκλον”.

choir had to use other books as well, where the model-stanzas of the hymns sung were found, accompanied by their musical notation. These books were the *Kontakarion*³², where the choir would find the melodies for the *prooimion* of the *kontakion* and in some cases for the *oikos* of the *Menaion*, the *Sticherarion*³³ for the melodies of *stichera*, and the *Heirmologion*³⁴ for the melodies of the *heirmoi* of the *kanons*. Hagiographical readings on the celebrated feast or saint were to be found in the *Menologion* or the *Synaxarion*³⁵.

The performance of all the abovementioned composite elements of the offices was regulated by the book of *Typikon*³⁶. The *Typika* were calendars of the saints and feasts celebrated all year round, enriched with instructions to the choir on what must be sung and read, mainly at *Hesperinos* and *Orthros*, but also at *Pannychis* and the Divine Liturgy. The sections of the services performed by the choir are as follows:

Hesperinos: (a) *Prooimiakos*, i.e. Psalm 103 followed by a *kathisma* of psalmody. (b) *Κύριε ἐκέκραξα* (Lord, I have cried...), i.e. Psalms 140, 141, 129 and 116; to a number of the last verses the choir interpolates *stichera* from the *Oktoechos* and the *Menaion*. The *Menaion* usually has three *stichera* for each saint or feast. (c) The hymn *Φῶς ἱλαρὸν* (O Gladsome Light...) followed by *Prokeimenon* or *Alleluia*. (d) Only at festal *Hesperinos*, readings, mainly from the Old Testament. (e) The hymn *Καταξίωσον, Κύριε* (Lord, vouchsafe...). (f) *Stichos*, i.e. verses from the Psalms followed by *stichera* from the book of *Oktoechos* and in some instances an *idiomelon* on the saint or the feast of the day from the *Menaion*. (g) St. Symeon's canticle (Luke 2:29) and *Trisagion*. (h) *Apolytikion* (usually called *troparion* in the manuscripts) from the *Menaion*. If the saint or the feast of the day does not have an *apolytikion*, the choir sings the *apolytikion* of the day.

Pannychis: (a) *Kanon(s)* from *Oktoechos*, followed by *kanon(s)* on the saint, from the *Menaion*. (b) Poetic *kathisma(ta)* on the saint(s), from the *Menaion*, sung after the third ode of the *kanon*. (c) *Kontakion* and *oikos*, sung after the sixth ode, from the *Menaion*. (d) Reading of a biblical or hagiographical text. It should be noted that it is not every saint celebrated in a *Pannychis*. In June, for example, the *Typikon* of Evergetis include only two celebrations with *Pan-*

32 See FLOROS, *Kondakarien-Notation*; WELLESZ, *History*, 143–144 (*Psaltikon*).

33 See TROELSGÅRD, *Sticheraria*; ODB 1956; WOLFRAM, *Sticherarion*, 385–386.

34 See HARRIS, *Kanon and Heirmologion*; VELIMIROVIČ, *Heirmos and Heirmologion*; VELIMIROVIČ, *Heirmologion*; ODB 908; KORAKIDIS, *Ἑμνογραφία* II, 105.

35 On *Menologion* and *Synaxarion*, see LUZZI, *Sinassario*; DELEHAYE, *Synaxaires byzantins*; NORET, *Ménologes, synaxaires, ménées*; ODB 1991 and 1341 (with bibliography); *LThK* 7, 103 and 9, 1173–1174; KORAKIDIS, *Ἑμνογραφία* II, 194–195 and 216–217.

36 See KLENTOS, *Typology of Typikon*; KLENTOS, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 329–333; ODB 2131–2132; KORAKIDIS, *Ἑμνογραφία* II, 232–234; bibliography in KLENTOS, *Typology of Typikon*, and TAFT, *Bibliography of Hours*, 359–361.

nychis, those of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist and the apostles Peter and Paul.

Orthros: (a) *Hexapsalmos*, i.e. Psalms 3, 37, 62, 87, 102 and 142. (b) The hymn *Θεὸς Κύριος* intercalated with three verses of Psalm 117. On ferial days and during Lent it is replaced by the singing of a triple *Alleluia*³⁷. (c) *Troparion* (usually the *apolytikion* of *Hesperinos* is repeated here as *troparion*). (d) *Stichologia*: *kathismata* of psalmody intercalated with poetic *kathismata* from the *Menaion*, followed by hagiographical readings. (e) Psalm 50. (f) *Kanons*, usually two from the *Oktoechos* and/or one or two from the *Menaion*. The *kanons* are interrupted after the third and the sixth odes (to sing *kathismata* or *kontakia* from the *Oktoechos* or the *Menaion*). (g) *Exaposteilarion* of the day or the saint (in the last case from the *Menaion*). (h) *Ainoi*, i.e., Psalms 148–150; Ps. 150 and the last verse of Ps. 149 are sometimes intercalated with *stichera* from the *Oktoechos* and/or the *Menaion*. (i) Great doxology (*doxologia*). (j) *Stichos* of the *Ainoi*, i.e. verses from Psalms intercalated with *stichera* from *Oktoechos* and sometimes one of the *prosomoia* on the saint from the *Menaion*. (k) *Apolytikion* (the same as the one sung at *Hesperinos*).

Divine Liturgy: Its non-fixed part consists of: (a) *Typika* and *Makarismoi*. In some instances the third or the sixth ode of the *kanon* on the saint is sung after the *typika*³⁸. (b) *Troparion* (i.e. the *apolytikion* of *Hesperinos* and *Orthros*). (c) *Kontakion*, from the *Kontakarion* and/or the *Menaion*. (d) *Prokeimenon*. (e) *Apostle* (i.e. reading from the Acts and the Epistles of the New Testament). (f) *Koinonikon*, i.e. a response sung before communion; it usually comes from the Psalms.

To place the use of L more precisely in the eleventh to twelfth-century monastic liturgical practice we may consider contemporary *Typika*³⁹ and their instructions on where the parts of each *akolouthia* (i.e. *kathisma*, *kontakion* and *oikos*, *stichera*, *kanon*, and *exaposteilarion*) were to be used. We should bear in mind that the existence of double *akolouthiai* aims at the performance of both of them, either at the same or at different services. As an example of performance of one *akolouthia* at *Pannychis* and another at *Hesperinos* and *Orthros* we may refer to the *Typikon* of the Monastery of Petra in Constantinople, that

37 See GAUTIER, *Typikon Évergétis*, 27, v. 200: *ἐορτὴν δὲ λέγομεν τὴν «Θεὸς Κύριος» κατὰ τὸν ὀρθρὸν λέγουσαν.*

38 See for example the *akolouthia* on the apostles Peter and Paul on June 29th: *Εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν τυπικά καὶ ᾠδὴ τοῦ κανόνος τῆς παννυχίδος τοῦ <πρὸς τὸ> Αἰσομαί σοι Κύριε ἢ C' (JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 170). The same directive is given in the *Typikon* of San Salvatore of Messina (AD 1131): *«Εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν, ἢ [C' ᾠδὴ τοῦ κανόνος τοῦ ἀποδείπνου], τοῦ Αἰσομαί σοι Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς μου» (ARRANZ, *Typicon Messine*, 162).**

39 Particular emphasis will be placed on the *Typikon* of Evergetis, as it is “surely one of the most important medieval liturgical texts to come down to us from Byzantium” (TAFT, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 291), representing not only the patterns of the services in that monastery but generally the monastic rite of eleventh-century Constantinople, that is to say the rite of the time and most probably the place of the production of L.

celebrated on the 14th of September the Exaltation of the Holy Cross together with the memory of St. John Chrysostom: the *akolouthia* on St. John was sung at *Pannychis* while that on the Exaltation of the Holy Cross at *Hesperinos* and *Orthros*⁴⁰. The possibility of such a use may explain why L contains double *akolouthiai* on saints celebrated alone. Based on the rubrics of *Typika* we may present the use of the *akolouthiai*'s composite parts as follows:

The (poetic) *kathisma* (or *kathismata*) was sung at *Orthros*, either in *Stichologia* or in the interruptions of the *kanon*, usually after the third ode and in some cases after the sixth. In the double *akolouthiai*, the first *kathisma* was sung after the *Stichologia* and the second after the third ode⁴¹. If the *akolouthia* comprised only one *kathisma*, this was sung after ode 3, *kathismata* from *Oktoechos* being sung in the *Stichologia*⁴². There are also cases of two saints celebrated together, in which the *kathisma* of the first saint was sung after the third ode and the *kathisma* of the second after the sixth, most probably when the *akolouthiai* on the saints did not have a *kontakion* to be performed after the sixth ode⁴³. A *kathisma* was also included in *Pannychis*, after the third (and sometimes the sixth) ode of the *kanon*; most of the times it came from *Oktoechos*. The performance of the *kathisma* (or *kathismata*) in various sections of *Orthros* is most probably the reason why L includes more than one *kathisma* on the same saint or saints.

The *kontakion* was sung at *Pannychis* and at *Orthros*, after the sixth ode of the *kanon*, as well as at the Divine Liturgy, before the reading of *Apostolos*⁴⁴. At *Orthros* it was followed by one or more *oikoi*, the number of which was not fixed. L transmits one *oikos* after each *kathisma*, except for the *kathisma* on the apostles Peter and Paul that is followed by eleven. It seems though that the

40 See DMITRIEVSKY, *Opisanie* III, 229 (Sept. 14): Ἰστέον, ὅτι ὡς ὁ Πετρινὸς εἰς τὴν παννυχίδα ψάλλει τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, ὥστε, ὅτε δόξη ψάλλειν τὴν τοιαύτην ἀκολουθίαν εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ ἁγίου κατὰ τὴν ἰγ' τοῦ μηνὸς ἀντὶ μεσονυκτικοῦ, οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ γένηται ἢ διάκρισις.

41 See for example JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 148–150 (*akolouthia* on the apostles Bartholomew and Barnabas): μετὰ τὴν στιχολογίαν κάθισμα τοῦ ἁγίου Βαρθολομαίου ἤχος πλάγιος δ' καὶ θεοτοκίον. κανόνες γ'. τῆς ὀκτωήχου εἰς, καὶ β' τῶν ἀποστόλων εἰς ἤχον β' ἀνὰ δ' Θεοφάνους· ἀπὸ γ' ᾠδῆς κάθισμα τοῦ ἁγίου Βαρνάβα ἤχος πλάγιος δ' καὶ θεοτοκίον.

42 See JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 166 (*akolouthia* on the translation of the relics of Sts. Kyros and John): Εἰς τὸν ὄρθρον μετὰ τὴν στιχολογίαν καθίσματα τῆς ὀκτωήχου. κανόνες γ'. τῆς ὀκτωήχου οἱ β' εἰς ζ', καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ὁμοίως εἰς ζ' ἤχος β' Ἰωσήφ· ἀπὸ γ' ᾠδῆς κάθισμα τῶν ἁγίων ἤχος δ' καὶ θεοτοκίον.

43 See JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 226–228 (August 4th, *akolouthia* on St. John, abbot of Patalarea, and the 7 children of Ephesos): ἡ στιχολογία, καθίσματα τῆς ὀκτωήχου. κανόνες ... ἀπὸ γ' ᾠδῆς κάθισμα τοῦ ὁσίου ἤχος πλάγιος δ' καὶ θεοτοκίον· ἀπὸ ζ' κάθισμα τῶν ἁγίων ἤχος δ' καὶ θεοτοκίον.

44 See more in LINGAS, Liturgical Place.

choirs might have had access to more than one *oikos*, as we may assume from an instruction of the *Typikon* of Evergetis⁴⁵.

The *stichera* were mainly sung at *Hesperinos*, at the section of *Kýrie Ἐκέκραξα*. In some instances *stichera* were also sung at the *Ainoi* of *Orthros*⁴⁶ or the *Stichos* of the *Ainoi*⁴⁷. Whether the choir would sing the full set(s) of *stichera* at *Ainoi* or just one *sticheron* at the *Stichos* of the *Ainoi* depends on how important the saint was, and thence his celebration, for the local community.

The *kanons* were performed mainly at *Orthros*, but also at *Pannychis*⁴⁸. The study of the *Typikon* of Evergetis shows that *Orthros* included three *kanons*⁴⁹. If the day had only one celebrated saint the choir should sing two *kanons* from *Oktoechos* and the *kanon* on the saint or the feast⁵⁰. If the *Menaion* celebrated two non-related saints, the choir performed one *kanon* from *Oktoechos* and the

45 See JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis September – February*, 58 (September 14th, *akolouthia* on the Exaltation of the Holy Cross): ἀπὸς Ζ' (i.e. after ode 6) τὸ κοντάκιον ἡχος δ' Ὁ ὑψωθεὶς ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ, καὶ εἰ ἔχει ἡ ὥρα ψάλλομεν καὶ κἂν τρεῖς οἴκους, καὶ ἀνάγνωσις λόγος τῆς εὐρέσεως τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ.

46 PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Σχεδιάσμα*, 357, writes that in the older *Menaia* (as in L) "ὅταν ὑπὸ τὸν πρῶτον κανόνα συναντᾶται κανὼν ἕτερος εἰς ἕτερον ἅγιον ἢ μάρτυρα, προτάσσονται τοῦ προτέρου κανόνος ἕτερα στιχηρά, διακρινόμενα μὲν τῶν πρῶτων, ἐξυμνοῦντα δὲ τὸν δεῦτερον ἅγιον, εἰς ὃν ὁ κανὼν ὁ δεῦτερος ἀναφέρεται. ... Τὰ τοιαῦτα μέντοι στιχηρά προσόμοια μετετίθεντο πολυλάκις εἰς τοὺς αἶνους οἱ μεταγενέστεροι".

47 See below, the two last sets of *stichera* on St. Theodore *Stratelates* (Text 8); according to the rubric preceding them they are to be sung *εἰς τοὺς Αἶνους*. The *Typikon* of Evergetis also instructs that one of the last three ones (i.e. one sung in plagal first mode, according to *Χαίροις ἀσκητικῶν ἀληθῶς*) must be sung at the *Stichos* of the *Ainoi*, after two *stichera* from the *Oktoechos* (see JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 146: *εἰς τὸν στίχον τῶν αἰνῶν στιχηρά τῆς ὀκταήχου β' καὶ ἐν τοῦ ἁγίου ἡχος πλάγιος α' πρὸς τὸ Χαίροις, καὶ θεοτοκίον*).

48 On the performance of the *kanon* in the eleventh century, i.e. the period of L's production, see TROELSGÅRD, *Kanon performance*.

49 The study of the *Typikon* of San Salvatore in Messina and St. Bartolomeo in Trigona shows that South Italian choirs performed only two *kanons*, i.e. the *kanon* of the day from *Oktoechos* followed by the *kanon* on the saint or the feast. The usual rubrics are: *κανόνες β', ὁ τῆς ἡμέρας* (in some instances: *τῆς ὀκταήχου*) καὶ ὁ τοῦ ἁγίου (or τοῦ προφήτου, τοῦ ὁσίου etc.); see for example ARRANZ, *Typicon Messine*, 157, 159. The celebration of major saints and feasts included two *kanons* from the *Menaion*, dropping the *kanon(s)* from the weekly cycle; see for example the celebration of the apostles Peter and Paul in ARRANZ, *Typicon Messine*, 163: *Κανόνες δύο· ὁ πρῶτος, εἰς ἡχον δ'. Οὐκ ἔστι σοι ὁμοιος. Ὁ δεῦτερος, εἰς ἡχον πλ. δ'. Ἡ κεκομμένη τὴν ἄτομον*.

50 See the celebration of St. Theodore *Stratelates*: *κανόνες γ'. τῆς ὀκταήχου τοὺς β' εἰς Ζ', ἢ τῆς ἡμέρας, εἰ τύχη ἐσωθεν τοῦ πάσχα, εἰς δ', καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου εἰς Ζ' ἡχος δ' Θεοφάνους* (JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 146). There are however exceptions, as for example in the celebration of the Nativity of John the Baptist: *κανόνες β'. τῆς ὀκταήχου εἰ τύχη κατανυκτικὸς ἢ σταυρώσιμος ἢ τῆς Θεοτόκου εἰς δ', καὶ τοῦ προδρόμου εἰς ἡ' ἡχος δ' Ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ* (ibid., 160).

kanons on the saints from the *Menaion*⁵¹. The celebration of major saints and feasts included usually two *kanons* from the *Menaion*, not accompanied by a *kanon* from the weekly cycle⁵². Each stanza of the *kanon* was preceded by a verse from the Psalms. Usually each ode employed twelve verses in total; there were however cases in which fewer or more verses (and stanzas) were employed⁵³. The *kanon* performed at *Pannychis* came either from the book of *Oktoechos* or from the *Menaion* (this may be the reason why L includes double *kanons* on some saints: one was destined for *Pannychis* and the other for *Orthros*⁵⁴).

The *exaposteilarion* was sung at the last part of *Orthros*, after the end of the *kanons* and before the *Ainoi*.

Let us now turn to another complex topic, the festal calendar of the Byzantine Church. Comparing the dates of the feast-days between L and the festal calendar of the Greek Orthodox Church today, one realizes that there are some noteworthy differences: St. Attalos (present feast-day June 6) is celebrated in L on June 1st, St. Eustathios of Antiochia (February 21st) and St. Hilarion of Dalmaton (June 6th) on June 5th, St. Dorotheos of Tyre (June 5th) on June 6th, Sts. Nikandros and Markianos (June 8th) on June 7th, the apostle Phourtonatos (April 16th) on June 15th, St. Pagcharios (March 19th) on June 16th, Sts. Isauros, Basileios, Innokentios, Peregrinos, Ermeias and Philex (June 17th) on June 18th, the martyrs Innas, Pinnas and Rimmas (January 20th) on June 20th, St. Eustochios and his fellow martyrs (June 23th) on June 20th, St. Petros the Athonite (June 12th) on June 22nd, the martyrs Zenon and Zenas (June 22nd) on June 23rd, St. Ioseph and his fellow martyrs (not commemorated in today's liturgical books) on June 28th.

The picture becomes more complicated if we take into consideration the dates on which some of the saints celebrated in L were commemorated in

51 See the celebration of the apostles Bartholomew and Barnabas: κανόνες γ'· τῆς ὀκτωήχου εἰς, καὶ β' τῶν ἀποστόλων εἰς ἥχον β' ἀνὰ δ' Θεοφάνους (JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 148–150).

52 See for example the *Orthros* on the apostles Peter and Paul, including two *kanons* on the apostles without a *kanon* from *Oktoechos*: κανόνες β'· εἰς εἰς ἥχον δ' εἰς ζ' <πρὸς τὸ> Οὐκ ἔστι σοι ὁμοιος, καὶ ἕτερον [sic] εἰς ἥχον πλάγιον δ' <πρὸς τὸ> Ἡ κεκομμένη ψάλλομεν εἰς η', καὶ ἀμφοτέροι Ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ, ἰστώμεν γὰρ ἰδ' (JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 168–170).

53 See for example the rubric on the apostles Peter and Paul (previous note), where we have fourteen. The special mention that in this case the choir has to sing fourteen stanzas shows that this was exceptional.

54 See the instructions of the *Typikon* of San Salvatore for the *akolouthia* on the prophet Elissaios and St. Methodios the patriarch of Constantinople: Εἰς τὸν ὀρθρον, ἡ συνήθης στιχολογία. Κανόνες β', τῆς ὀκτ<α>ήχου καὶ τοῦ προφήτου· ὁ δὲ τοῦ ὁσίου ψάλλεται εἰς τὸ μεσονύκτιον (ARRANZ, *Typicon Messine*, 159). See also the instructions of the *Typikon* of Evergetis for the *akolouthia* on St. Demetrios (JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis September – February*, 150–152).

other liturgical sources of the same period. The following table gives a general picture of the comparison of the commemoration-dates of L to these of codex *Hierosolymitanus Sabaiticus* 70 (H; a manuscript closely related to L as presented below, pp. 131–134), the *Typikon* of Hagia Sophia (in the following table: S; 9th–10th c.)⁵⁵, the *Typikon* of the Great Church (G)⁵⁶, the *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (SEC)⁵⁷, the *Typikon* of Evergetis (TE), the *Menologion* of the emperor Basil II (MB), the calendar of Christopher of Mytilene (C)⁵⁸, the *Typikon* of St. Sabas in Jerusalem (SS), the *Typikon* of the monastery of Christ the Saviour of Messina (CS), the *Typikon* of the monastery of St. Bartholomew in Trigona (SB), and the printed *Menaion* (M). [Only saints with varying dates of commemoration appear in the table]:

Saint	L	H	S	G	SEC	TE	MB	C	SS	CS	SB	M
Attalos	1	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Eustathios	5	-	-	-	5	-	-	5	-	5	5	5
Hilarion	5	5	-	-	6	5	-	-	5	5	5	6
Dorotheos ⁵⁹	6	6	5	5	6	6	9/10	6	5	6	6	5
Nikandros - Markianos	7	8	8	8	8	-	7	-	-	-	-	8
Kyrillos	9	9	27	27	7	-	27	9	9	9	9	9
Orestes, Diomedes, Rodion ⁶⁰	9	9	-	-	9	9	-	-	9	9	9	
Alexandros - Antonina ⁶¹	10	10	9	9	9	-	10	10	-	-	-	10
Timotheos	10	-	10	10	10	-	10	-	10	10	10	10
Onouphrios	12	12	11	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
Methodios	14	14	14	14	14	-	14	-	14	14	14	14
Amos	15	15	17	16	15	15	16	15	15	15	15	15
Phourounatos	15	15	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pagcharios	16	-	-	-	25/5	-	25/5	-	-	-	-	19/3
Tychon	16	16	16	16	17	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
Hypatios	17	17	-	17	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	17

55 Published by DMITRIEVSKY, *Opisanie* I, 1–152; June in pp. 76–84.

56 Published by MATEOS, *Typicon*.

57 Published by DELEHAYE, *SynaxEC*.

58 Published by FOLLIERI, *Calendari*.

59 In the *Typikon* of the Great Church it is not clear whether the commemorated saint is Dorotheos of Tyre (which is the most probable) or another martyr Dorotheos. The saint is named Θεόδωρος in the *typikon* of Hagia Sophia published by DMITRIEVSKY, *Opisanie*, 78.

60 Only Sts. Orestes and Diomedes are mentioned in the *Typikon* of Evergetis, the *Typikon* of St. Sabas, the *Typikon* of San Salvatore and the *Typikon* of St. Bartholomew in Trigona.

61 Only Antonina is mentioned by Christopher of Mytilene.

Isauros	18	17	–	–	17	–	6/7	–	–	–	–	17
Zosimos ⁶²	19	19	19	19	20	20	19	19	20	–	–	19
Innas, Pinnas, Rimmas	20	20	–	–	20	–	20/1	–	20	20	20	20/1
Eustochios	20	20	23	23	23	–	23	–	–	–	–	–
Ioulianos ⁶³	21	21	–	–	21	21	21/3	21	21	21	21	21
Petros	22	22	–	–	12	–	–	–	–	–	–	12
Zenon – Zenas	23	23	22	22	22	–	23	–	–	–	–	22
Agripinne	23	23	23	–	23	23	–	23	23	23	23	23
David	26	26	26	26	26	26	27	26	26	26	26	26
John of Gothia	26	–	26	26	26	–	26	–	–	–	–	26
Joseph	28	28	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

This variety may be explained by the fact that the Byzantine Church did not have an official and common festal calendar⁶⁴, even though “a semi-uniform Byzantine calendar had been instituted throughout the entire *oikoumene* late in the seventh century”⁶⁵. The commemoration of saints was based on traditions expressed in the individual *typika* of monasteries and churches. The varying content of *typika* has been noted by N. D. Uspensky, who makes clear that the Byzantine *typikon* was not a uniform book but a number of books which differed, each one presenting “the general rule of liturgical prayer adhered to by a certain local church or monastic centre”⁶⁶. Monasteries and churches also had the right to transfer the celebration of a saint to another date in order to give it a more panegyric character⁶⁷ or in case the saints’ memory conflicted with the memory of another saint or feast, more important for the local church⁶⁸.

62 He is named as Ζωσιμᾶς in the *Typikon* of St. Sabas.

63 In the *Typikon* of San Salvatore and the *Typikon* of St. Bartholomew in Trigona it is not clear whether the saint commemorated is St. Ioulianos of Kilikia or of Egypt.

64 See GEDEON, *Εορτολόγιον*, 14–25; EUSTRATIADES, *Ἀγιολογικά*, 83.

65 KLENTOS, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 339; see also EHRHARD, *Überlieferung* I, 33; ODB 366.

66 USPENSKY, *Evening Worship*, 245; see also KLENTOS, *Typology of Typikon*, 297; SCHMEMANN, *Liturgical Theology*, 34–35; ARRANZ, *Les grandes étapes*, 43.

67 We know for example that in the Great Church they used to transfer the celebration of the Patriarchs of Constantinople to the Sunday after their calendar commemoration (see FOUNTOULIS, *Λειτουργική*, 127).

68 See GEDEON, *Εορτολόγιον*, 13–32; LIVADARAS, *Προβλήματα πατμιακῶν κοντακαρίων*, 340. GEDEON, *Εορτολόγιον*, 18, presents an example of an individual festal calendar, that of the monastery of Laura on Mount Athos; after having studied sixty of its liturgical manuscripts (listed in his text) he concluded that the monastery’s calendar did not correspond to any other known general or individual calendar. As an example of a commemoration transferred to another date because of a concurrent celebration let us see the instruction of the *Typikon* of Evergetis for the celebration of St. Loupos (from August 23rd to the previous day as the 23th is dedicated to the *Apodosi* of the Dormition of Theotokos): *Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ κβ’*.

This variation in the dates of commemorations and the content of *typika* was realized as a problem during the eleventh century at the latest as we may assume from what Nikon of the Black Mountain (ca.1025 – ca.1100) writes in his work *Ἐν τάξει διαθήκης*: “I came upon and collected different *typika*, of Stoudios and of Jerusalem, and one did not agree with the other, neither Studite with another Studite one, nor Jerusalem ones with Jerusalem ones...”⁶⁹.

The time of the establishment of the present dates of the celebration of feasts and saints is not easy to determine. We know that in the Palaiologan period canonisation by synodal decrees was established and the whole process of the recognition of sanctity became more bureaucratic⁷⁰, but there is no evidence of a parallel establishment of fixed dates. It is most probable that the dates devoted to the celebration of feasts and saints became more stabilized by the edition of the printed *Menaia* and the broad diffusion of their use.

μεθεόρτα, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Ἀγαθονίκου. προψάλλομεν δὲ σήμερον καὶ τὸν ἅγιον Λουῖπον διὰ τὸ ἀποδιδόναι τὴν ἑορτὴν εἰς τὰς κγ’ (JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 280).

69 Originally in V. N. BENEŠEVIČ (ed.), *Taktikon Nikona Černogorca: Grečeskij tekst po rukopisi No 441 Sinajskago monastyrja sv. Ekateriny*, Vypusk I, Zapiski Ist.-Filol. Fakul'teta Petrogradskago Universiteta, čast' 139, Petrograd 1917; quoted from R. TAFT, *Mount Athos*, 179.

70 See MACRIDES, *Saints and Sainthood*, 83–86.

Chapter 2

The Edited Byzantine Hymnographical Texts

As mentioned above, L comprises thirty sections, one for each calendar day of June, and fifty-nine individual *akolouthiai* on celebrated saints, without musical notation. The number of the individual *akolouthiai* is identical to that of the *kanons* that are copied in the manuscript, a number that in most cases corresponds to that of the *kathismata* and the sets of *stichera*, while for almost every day there is only one set of *kontakion* and *oikos*, irrespective of the number of the *kanons* or the saints commemorated.

The text of most of the *akolouthiai* edited below is complete, as the missing sections due to lacunae in L is complemented by the text in the rest of the extant manuscripts. There are only two *kanons*, that on Sts. John of Gothia and David of Thessalonike (Text 26) and the second *kanon* on the Holy Apostles (Text 30) that have survived only partially, L being *codex unicus*, unfortunately including a lacuna. To these we should add the double *akolouthia* of June 18th, celebrating the martyr Leontios and the martyrs Isauros, Vasileios, Innocentios, Peregrinos, Hermeias, and Philex; from this double *akolouthia* only the first four lines of the *kathisma* on St. Leontios survive in L, not enough to help us identify the rest of the text.

Twelve of the *akolouthiai* copied in the manuscript have already been edited critically (in some cases solely the *kanon*)⁷¹, twenty-four are published in the *Menaia* used by the Greek Orthodox Church⁷², one is published in a

71 On St. Eustathios of Antiochia (AHG VI 334–343), St. Theodore Stratelates (two *kanons* published in DubrM 28–59 and AHG VI 256–268), Sts. Orestes, Diomedes and Rhodion (AHG X 23–35), St. Timotheos of Proussa (AHG IX 256–269), the apostles Bartholomew and Barnabas (two *kanons*: DubrM 63–118 and 121–157), St. Methodios (BASM 890–895), the apostle Phourtoutatos (AHG X 117–128, 359–360), St. Eustochios and his fellow martyrs (AHG X 130–139), St. Petros the Athonite (POPA 27–41), and the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (AHG X 178–180, 184–196, 198–205, 209, 215, 217–218, 220–221, 234–235, 238–240, 387); to these we may add some parts of the *akolouthia* on the apostles Peter and Paul (AHG X 253–255, 273; RMH II, σκ'; RMHK, 12–26).

72 The *akolouthiai* on St. Nikephoros of Constantinople, the martyr Loukillianos, St. Metrophanes of Constantinople, St. Hilarion of Dalmaton, St. Dorotheos of Tyre, St. Theodotos of Ankara, St. Kyrillos of Alexandria, Sts. Alexandros and Antonina, St. Onouphrios, St. Akylina, the prophet Elissaios, the prophet Amos, St. Tychon of Amathous, St. Ioulianos, St. Eusevios of Samosata, St. Agrippina, the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, St. Fevronia, St. David of Thessaloniki, St. Sampson the

non-critical edition⁷³, two cannot be identified because of their mutilated text⁷⁴, and nineteen are edited below for the first time⁷⁵. For five of the latter, namely the *akolouthiai* on St. Nikephoros, St. Metrophanes, Sts. Fevronia and the other martyrs, Sts. John of Gothia and David of Thessalonike, and St. Sampson the *Xenodochos*, *Lesbiacus Leimonos* 11 so far remains *codex unicus*.

The reasons why the *akolouthiai* edited below were not included in the published *Menaion* are not easily detected. This discussion should be opened by referring to the process, which led to the basic editions of the *Menaia*, a process that lasted from the middle of the sixteenth century to the end of the nineteenth⁷⁶. As many historians and liturgists have noted, the first editions of Greek texts, including liturgical texts, were undertaken by not always qualified editors on the basis of the manuscripts then available to them no matter their quality; most of the subsequent editions simply followed the first ones including all their mistakes and omissions. This applies to the editions of *Menaion*. Even the edition by Bartholomaios Koutloumousianos (12 vols, Venice 1843) and the so-called edition of Rome (6 vols, 1888–1901), considered to be the best among all the extant ones, are far from satisfactory by modern standards⁷⁷. Thus, we may assume that some of the *akolouthiai* not included in the printed *Menaion* were simply not copied to the manuscripts available to the first editors of the *Menaion*. But why did that happen?

A main reason seems to have been the anonymity of the author, in cases of *kanons* without acrostic and attribution to a hymnographer, particularly if there existed another *kanon* on the same saint composed by an acknowledged hymnographer, as for example in the case of the *kanon* on St. Nikephoros, the patriarch of Constantinople. Any *kanon* without acrostic was a *kanon* without clear authorship, and hence a *kanon* not to be trusted by the Church.

Another possible reason may be found in a liturgical rubric dictating the choir which *kanon* to sing if more than one are composed on the same saint: *Ἰστέον δὲ*

Xenodochos, the translation of relics of Sts. John and Kyros, the apostles Peter and Paul (two), and the twelve apostles.

73 On the apostles Peter and Paul by Pitra in PHG c–cv.

74 On St. Leontios and on Sts. Isavros and his fellow martyrs.

75 On St. Ioustinos, St. Attalos, St. Nikephoros of Constantinople, St. Loukillianos, St. Metrophanes of Constantinople, St. Dorotheos of Tyre, Sts. Nikandros and Markianos, St. Onouphrios, St. Pagcharios, Sts. Manuel, Savel and Ishmael, St. Hypatios of Rouphinianai, St. Zosimos, Sts. Innas, Pinnas and Rimmas, St. Ioulianos, Sts. Zenon and Zenas, St. Fevronia, Sts. David of Thessaloniki and John of Gothia, St. Sampson *Xenodochos*, and St. Ioseph and his fellow martyrs. To this group we may include the last *akolouthia* of the manuscript on the twelve Apostles, of which only a small part survives.

76 The older extant printed *Menaion* is that for September published by Damiano di Santa Maria in 1526. For a full list of the extant *Menaia* printed in the sixteenth century in Italy see LAYTON, *Greek Book in Italy*, 150–153.

77 See TOMADAKIS, *Βυζαντινὴ Φιλολογία*, 66–70, 131–142; PAPADOPOULOS–KERAMEUS, *Σχεδιάσμα*, 343–366; KOURILAS, *Απόπειραι*; PANTELAKIS, *Λειτουργικά βιβλία*, 220–222.

καὶ τοῦτο, ὡς εἶπερ ἔχει τὸ μνηαῖον ἐν μνήμῃ ἁγίου τινὸς κανόνας, διαφόρων ποιητῶν, εἰ μὲν ἔστι κανὼν ὁ τοῦ κῦρ Κοσμᾶ [Kosmas the Melodist], προκριτέος· Εἰ δὲ τοῦ Κῦρ Ἰωάννου [John Damascene] καὶ ἐτέρων, τοῦ Ἰωάννου, προκρίνεται. Εἰ δὲ τοῦ Κῦρ Θεοφάνους [Theophanes Graptos] καὶ ἐτέρων, ὁ τοῦ Κῦρ Θεοφάνους προκρίνεται, προτιμητέος γάρ ἐστι τῶν ἄλλων. Εἰ δὲ τοῦ Κῦρ Ἰωσήφ [Joseph the Hymnographer], οὗτος τῶν λοιπῶν προτετίμηται ποιητῶν. Τούτων δὲ μὴ ὄντων οἱ τοῦ Κῦρ Ἰωάννου. Αὐτῶν δὲ μὴ τυγχανόντων, οἱ τοῦ Κῦρ Θεοφάνους. Ἀπάντων δὲ τούτων, οἱ τοῦ κῦρ Ἰωσήφ, τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπάντων προκρίνονται⁷⁸. Even though the history of this text is problematic⁷⁹, at this stage we may accept that this rubric, followed not only by choirs but probably also by copyists or composers of *Menaia*, could have caused the falling-out of *kanons* composed by hymnographers placed in a lower rank or not included in the rubric.

To these reasons we may add another, the narrow veneration of some saints, as for example Sts. Nikandros and Markianos, St. Pagcharios, St. Hypatios of Roushinianai, Sts. Innas Pinnas and Rimmas, and St. Ioseph and his fellow martyrs.

An additional criterion might be detected in the high didactic quality of some texts, which would normally prevail. Texts with high didactic quality, giving more information on the lives, the achievements and the martyrdoms of the saints would logically be chosen, as they supported the illumination of the faithful and the promotion of spiritual exemplars. Texts not presenting this specific quality would normally be neglected.

A probable reason that should be faced with scepticism has been pointed out by P. Trempelas. Basing himself on the work of J.P. Pitra, Trempelas claims that a huge abridgement of the liturgical books took place during the reign of the emperor Manuel I Comnenus (1143–1180), due to which a considerable number of hymns were removed and finally neglected⁸⁰. Even if this hypothesis should be ascertained on the basis of further evidence, it is reasonable to assume that such a process would not affect only hymns that were left out of the liturgical books, but also the *akolouthiai* of some saints, the celebration of which was not considered to be important enough.

Apart from whole *akolouthiai* that fell into oblivion, there are also instances of only some *troparia* which were not included in the *akolouthiai* edited in

78 *Typikon* Venice, 15. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, Σχεδιάσμα, 379, expresses the opinion that this liturgical rubric is composed in the eleventh century, as this is the time dividing the content of the *Menaia* in two periods; in the period prior to the eleventh century the *Menaia* have the form of L, while later they take the form which the printed *Menaia* have.

79 Apart from the identity of the hymnographers referred to, a main question on this text is whether it is originally Byzantine, as —to the limit of my knowledge— there is not any Byzantine manuscript witnessing to it.

80 TREMPELAS, Ἐκλογή, 35, referring to PHG 57–62. For the books of *Sticherarion* and *Heirmologion* this abridgement is earlier; see STRUNK, *Essays*, 98, 198–199; WOLFRAM, *Sticherarion*, 385–386.