Claudia Rapp – Eirini Afentoulidou – Daniel Galadza –
Ilias Nesseris – Giulia Rossetto – Elisabeth Schiffer

Byzantine Prayer Books as Sources for Social History and Daily Life*

Abstract: This multi-authored article presents a new project to study Byzantine prayer books (*euchologia*) by a team of scholars at the Austrian Academy of Sciences. The long-term aim of the project is to create a census of all extant prayer book manuscripts for the use of priests in Greek up to the year 1650, in order to facilitate the study of the 'occasional prayers' as sources for daily life and social history. After an extended introduction to the history of scholarship and the methodological challenges encountered in the first three years of the project, the first two individual contributions highlight the importance of manuscript study *in situ*, by addressing issues of codicology and the history of manuscripts as evidenced in the liturgical commemorations they contain. The following three contributions demonstrate the value of the 'small prayers' as a largely untapped historical source through the study of prayers for changing religious affiliation, prayers for female purity in conjunction with childbirth, and prayers in the context of primary education.

Methodological Observations and First Results (173–182) – Codicological Pathways in Search of Euchologia Palimpsest Manuscripts (183–191) – Customized Books: Names, Intercessions, and Commemorations in the Euchologion (192–195) – Returning to the Fold: Observations on Prayers for Muslim Apostates in Byzantine Euchologia (196–200) – The Childbed Prayers in the Byzantine Euchologia: Preliminary Notes (200–204) – Schooling Prayers: Some Preliminary Observations (204–210).

METHODOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS AND FIRST RESULTS

The search for the lived reality of the children, women and men of Byzantium, requires a closer look at sources that take us away from Constantinople and into the provinces, sources that do not perpetuate the perspective of a few well-to-do aristocrats in the orbit of the court, but reflect the everyday experience of the vast majority of the population. As Peregrine Horden observed: "...the notion that Byzantine society was articulated primarily in a 'vertical' direction is one of which we rid ourselves with difficulty. Evidence has after all adhered best to those who exercised authority. One traverses Byzantine society downwards from the top. ... The everyday religion of the laity remains comparably obscure; it can only be glimpsed indirectly through the media of sermon, icon and saint's life."[1]

To these media should be added the Euchologia, prayer books, which are the focus of a new research project at Vienna. This article is intended as an introduction to the Vienna Euchologia-Project, its methods and aims, exemplified by a presentation of selected first results, with a special focus on research trips to Patmos, Grottaferrata and the Vatican. A general introduction by Claudia Rapp (Project Leader) is followed by individual thematic contributions by team members Giulia Rossetto, Daniel Galadza, Elisabeth Schiffer, Eirini Afentoulidou, and Ilias Nesseris.

[1] P. Horden, The Confraternities of Byzantium, in: Voluntary Religion, ed. W. J. Shiels – D. Wood. Oxford 1986, 25–45, here 32.

Eᴜᴄʜᴏʟᴏɢɪᴀ ᴀɴᴅ 'Oᴄᴄᴀsɪᴏɴᴀʟ Pʀᴀʏᴇʀs'

Prayer books (Euchologia, sg.: Euchologion) usually contain the eucharistic liturgies of John Chrysostom and/or of Basil the Great, as well as (in varying combinations) the liturgies for baptism, marriage, and burial, ordination to various ranks in the clergy, and often also monastic initiation rites for men and women. For this reason, the study of Euchologia has largely been the domain of theologians and liturgical historians with a focus on Christian rituals and their development over time and in different regions.[2]

In addition to the sacramental liturgies, the prayer books also contain a large number of prayers for a wide array of everyday situations. These prayers are the focus of our ongoing research. They address matters of concern to children, women, and men, most of whom lived in agricultural communities. They have the potential to offer a treasure trove of information on perceptions of and approaches to daily life and social history. If this material was previously unknown, underused or not fully appreciated, this is for a good reason: gathering the material requires extensive and painstaking work with original manuscripts that are often poorly cataloged and scattered across libraries in many locations.

Prayer books were made for the use of the clergy, specifically for use by liturgists, i.e. priests and bishops. As utilitarian objects, the manuscripts tend to be of small or medium size, so that the priest can hold the codex in his left hand as he performs the prayers and uses his right hand for liturgical gestures. Depending on the occasion, these liturgical books were used in different spatial contexts with varying degrees of sacrality. The liturgist used the Euchologion at the altar behind the iconostasis for the celebration of the eucharist; in the congregational space of the church for baptisms, weddings and other rituals; in the private home when he prayed for a woman after childbirth; and outdoors, at the seaside, when he blessed departing ships.

The only pictorial representation of an Euchologion in use is, to the best of our knowledge, the depiction in the Madrid Skylitzes manuscript of the 12ᵗʰ c. that shows the future emperor Basil I in the nave of a church with John, the son of the wealthy widow Danelis, while a priest performs the prayers for ritual brotherhood (*adelphopoiesis*) (BNE, ms. gr. Vitr. 26-2, [*Diktyon* 40403], f. 85r). In front of the priest, on a small book stand, lies an open Euchologion.

Euchologia manuscripts are neither pretty to look at nor valuable. Their most common embellishment, if any, consists of decorative bars and elaborate initials underlaid with red, blue, green or yellow color or, rarely, gold. These elements also serve the practical purpose of helping the liturgist to find his place on the page. More often than not, they are written in a well-practiced—but not ornate or scholarly—hand in rather large letters relative to the size of the folio. Legibility, not luxury was the main concern. A significant portion of manuscripts also include palimpsest folios, as re-used parchment was more readily available and less costly than the newly prepared skins of goat, sheep and calf. This is further elucidated in Giulia Rossetto's contribution.

Euchologia manuscripts can display a specificity that calls for in-depth study. In some instances, colophons and other scribal notes as well as annotations by later users reveal the chronological and geographical coordinates of their production and use. Daniel Galadza's contribution on liturgical commemorations illustrates this issue. Palaeographical study may further identify the script style of a manuscript as typical for a particular period or region, whether Southern Italy, Constantinople, or elsewhere.

---

[2] For a helpful introduction, see E. Vᴇʟᴋᴏᴠsᴋᴀ, Byzantine Liturgical Books, in: Handbook for Liturgical Studies, ed. A. J. Chupungco. Collegeville, Minnesota, I 1997, 225–240, 227–228, 237.

The prayers for specific occasions occupy about half of the total folios of the Euchologia manuscripts, according to a rough estimate. The Byzantines had no single special word for these prayers.[3] The designation that we have found to be most suitable is 'occasional prayers' (analogous to 'occasional poetry,' i.e. poetry composed for a particular occasion) or, in German, 'Anlassgebete'. Another appropriate designation is 'small prayers.' Some manuscripts contain only the text of these prayers, while others specify in rubrics whether they are pronounced by a priest or by a deacon, at what moment the celebrants make the sign of the cross, and what liturgical objects—such as candles or censers—they should be using.

There is considerable variation in the content and sequence of the small prayers that may reveal the concerns of the communities in which they were first formulated or used. This may yield additional insights into the geographical or chronological origin of a manuscript. Some Euchologia show a focus on Constantinople and the imperial court, others are more concerned with fishing, pointing to communities by the seaside, yet others with animal husbandry, indicating an inland location. The occasional prayers also address concerns that may be particular to a historical period, for example those that express anxiety about interaction with heretics (including Western Crusaders) or conversion to Islam, a topic further elaborated by Elisabeth Schiffer. Often, the small prayers offer rare glimpses into social realities that are largely hidden from the view of other sources, such as a child's first day at school, discussed by Ilias Nesseris, or the entire sequence of events associated with childbirth, as elucidated by Eirini Afentoulidou.

Neither the number of extant Euchologia manuscripts, nor the number of the occasional prayers they contain is currently known. It may be assumed that throughout the centuries, each priest, each church, each monastery had at least one, and usually several, prayer books in their possession. The earliest extant Euchologion in codex form is the 'Barberini Euchologion' in the Vatican Library, Barb. gr. 336 (*Diktyon* 64879), from the late eighth century, probably of South Italian origin.[4] At the Council of Florence (1438–1439), Constantine XI Palaeologus estimated that there were about 2000 liturgies available for the use of Byzantine (Orthodox) Christians.[5] The actual number of extant Euchologia manuscripts is unknown, partly also due to the lack of sufficiently detailed catalogs, but it may well be in the thousands. From the Byzantine period, at least 300 are preserved on Mount Athos alone and about 140 at St. Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai. Even after the introduction of printing, Euchologia manuscripts were copied by hand, which would have facilitated the customization of the content for the needs of a liturgist and his community.

It is even more taxing to estimate the total number of occasional prayers, since multiple versions of the same prayer text may address the same specific concern either scattered across different manuscripts or even within the same manuscript. Moreover, the same prayer text was sometimes used, with no or only slight adaptations, for a different concern that is declared in the prayer title. The contribution by Ilias Nesseris offers some valuable examples for the multiple use of prayer texts that can be associated with schooling. The full extent of this issue has only become clear to us in the course of our work over the past two years. It will take many more years of research on the Euchologia manuscripts to establish a representative sample of prayer texts and a representative list of prayer concerns as expressed in their titles.

---

[3] The expressions we have so far encountered include εὐχαὶ διάφοραι εἰς πάντα ὄφελα (e.g. in Crypt. Γ.β.XI [*Diktyon* 17903], f. 5r) or εὐχαὶ διάφοραι ἀναγκαῖαι (e.g. in Vat. gr. 2032 [*Diktyon* 68661], f. 197r).

[4] The manuscript was edited by E. Velkovska and S. Parenti, originally in 1995. The most recent, updated edition is Velkovska – Parenti, Evkhologii Barberini.

[5] Les 'mémoires' du Grand Ecclésiarque de l'Église de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos sur le Concile de Florence (1438–1439), ed. V. Laurent. Rome 1971, 476.

History of Scholarship

Byzantine liturgical studies depend to a very large degree on manuscript work—a fate they share with Byzantine legal history. Both fields of research have much to contribute to the study of Byzantine social life and *mentalité*, and thus deserve greater attention among non-specialists. The reference edition of the Euchologion used for the study of the liturgy was published in Rome in 1873. Byzantinists tend to use the edition by the Dominican scholar Jacques Goar, which he compiled on the basis of manuscripts in Paris, Rome and Grottaferrata without, however, indicating the precise manuscript he consulted in each instance. Goar's edition of the Euchologion, intended as a book for study, not for liturgical use, was printed in 1647 in Paris. The revised 1730 version printed in Venice is widely available in a 1960 reprint (and on Google books).[6] The Russian scholar Aleksei Dmitrievskij undertook a similarly Herculean task when in 1901 he presented a catalog and partial transcription of Euchologia in chronological order, based on his manuscript studies in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Jerusalem, St. Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai, Patmos, Athos, Athens and Istanbul. In the second half of the 20th century, Miguel Arranz, André Jacob, Robert Taft, Stefano Parenti and Elena Velkovska have made significant contributions to the study of individual Euchologia manuscripts or certain rituals they contain, a tradition carried on by Robert Taft's students at the Pontificio Istituto Orientale in Rome. In recent years, a lively international network of scholars, regular conferences and a number of ongoing research projects are all working together to advance scholarship in the field of liturgical studies.[7]

Social and cultural historians, in their turn, have sometimes resorted to individual prayers and rituals, mostly on the basis of Goar's edition, to add spice and color to their studies of topics such as adoption, primary education, and dietary habits, to name but a few.[8] For example, Euchologia take center stage in a number of recent studies on the ritual of *adelphopoiesis* (ritual brotherhood).[9]

The Vienna Euchologia Project

Founded in October 2015, the Vienna Euchologia Project, located at the Division of Byzantine Research (Institute for Medieval Research) of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, is a collaboration of scholars of Byzantine manuscripts, liturgy, philology, and social history. The aim is to unlock the potential of Euchologia as sources for daily life and social history.[10] Studies on individual topics are designed to demonstrate the richness of this under-used source material. Current topics include historical events and conversion, women's purity, education, pious lay associations, palimpsest Euchologia and the history of liturgical commemorations.

---

[6] Goar only rarely identifies his manuscript sources, leaving this task to scholarly detective work. See, for example, Strittmatter, Barberinum S. Marci, and Parenti – Velkovska, Grottaferrata Γ.β. I.

[7] For example: Society of Oriental Liturgy: DFG Project: The Early Jerusalem Euchologion in Georgian Transmission. Comparative Edition, Translation and Commentary (C. Sode – H. Brakmann – J. Hammerstädt, Universität zu Köln); Research Project CBM: Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts in Liturgical Context (K. Spronk - S. Royé, Protestantse Theologische Universiteit Amsterdam): <https://www.pthu.nl/cbm/> (10.11.2017).

[8] R. J. Macrides, The Byzantine Godfather. *BMGS* 11 (1987) 139–162 (reprinted in: Eadem, Kinship and Justice in Byzantium, 11th–15th Centuries. Aldershot 2000); Eadem, Kinship by Arrangement: The Case of Adoption. *DOP* 44 (1990) 109–118 (reprinted in: Eadem, Kinship and Justice); Baun, Coming of Age; B. Caseau, Nourritures terrestres, nourritures célestes. La culture alimentaire à Byzance. Paris 2015.

[9] J. Boswell, Same-Sex Unions in Pre-Modern Europe. New York 1994; C. Panagou, Ἡ Ἀδελφοποίηση. Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Εὐχολογίου. Athens 2010; Rapp, Brother-Making.

[10] The project was presented at a session of the Oxford Patristic Congress in August 2015, and at the International Congress of Byzantine Studies in Belgrade, August 2016.

In order to lay the groundwork for their historical and social analysis, the project members are collaborating in the creation of an online database. The timeframe extends from the late 8th c.–beginning with the earliest extant liturgical manuscript, Vat., Barb. gr. 336–to 1650, about the time when Goar created the first printed edition. Once it is fully operative, the database will allow searches for the content and concern of the prayers in manuscripts, prayer titles and prayer texts, by century and by region of origin (or later use).[11] Particularly valuable in this initial phase are manuscripts of known date and provenance that can be firmly anchored in time and place as they can help to establish a matrix onto which other Euchologia can later be grafted, based on the content and perhaps also the sequence of their prayers.

Our first destinations for on-site study were libraries where manuscripts have remained in the same place since the Middle Ages. This decision was based on the assumption that the content of the occasional prayers varies according to local need. In October 2016, we spent a week in the library of the Holy Monastery of St. John the Theologian on the island of Patmos. The monastery was founded in 1088. Its library holdings, which are recorded in multiple lists from the 12th century onwards, now include about 1000 Greek manuscripts, in addition to important archival holdings and printed volumes. In March 2017, we worked for a week in the library of the Monumento Nazionale della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata. The monastery was founded in 1004, and today holds about 1200 manuscripts. Several days in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana gave us a first impression of the extensive material there, especially of South Italian provenance, that awaits further study.

In the following, I will present a number of important results from our first 18 months in the project. It is in the nature of collaborative work that individual contributions are no longer discernible in the end result, so it is important to note that the material presented here has benefited from the contributions of all members of the team. Some of the following remarks will not come as a big surprise to anyone who has looked at this manuscript material, but by way of introduction into the challenges and potential methodological pitfalls of the study of Euchologia, it may be helpful to present them in a combined and coherent fashion.

IDENTIFICATION OF EUCHOLOGIA

Not all manuscripts have a title, and there is great variety in phrasing even when they do. In Patm. 689 (*Diktyon* 54928), f. 9r, for example, the title "Euchologion" is followed by prayers for the monastic hours. In our data collection, we therefore make a distinction between 'ms. Euchologion' and 'catalog Euchologion', the former identified as such in the manuscript itself, the latter only by the printed catalog. We began filling our database with manuscripts based on printed catalogs of manuscript collections and libraries. This posed a first challenge, as catalogs differ in the amount of detail they offer, and most catalogers from past generations (usually trained in the tradition of classical philology) did not have the know-how or the inclination to invest time and effort in the identification of liturgical material. We decided early on in the project to err on the side of caution and to include in our preliminary list of manuscripts for future consultation all those that are labeled 'liturgical.' After consultation *in situ*, that label may be revised. Our collection of information for the database does

---

[11] The database is tailored to the requirements of the current project, but is flexible enough to accommodate future developments in scholarship. It is structured in such a way that information can be added by other scholars and can even be fed in through other projects. These future additions may take several forms: expansion of content (details about the eucharistic and other liturgies in the manuscripts, which are currently excluded), extension of the chronological range of the manuscripts of Greek Euchologia beyond 1650, additions of prayer books that follow the Byzantine rite but are written in languages other than Greek (e.g. Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, and the Slavonic languages), or other liturgical or linguistic information.

not include prayers that belong outside the Euchologion context, such as invocations in the margins or on fly leaves, or prayers and curses in colophons.[12]

The manuscripts display great variation in the presentation of these prayers. Prayers are usually introduced by a title (εὐχὴ εἰς or, in the case of a second prayer for the same purpose, εὐχὴ ἑτέρα or εὐχὴ ἄλλη), often in a different script or ink color, but usually not on a new line. Sometimes they are accompanied by liturgical instructions, for example for the chanting of psalms, or the use of candles. Sometimes the prayers are embedded in a larger liturgical context, which may carry the title of ἀκολουθία, or τάξις, or τάξις καὶ ἀκολουθία. The occasional prayers usually appear as a cluster, in the second half of an Euchologion manuscript. Investigating the context in which a prayer is mentioned can point towards its interpretation and use at the time of copying, although it is often difficult to discern a pattern in the sequence of prayers in a manuscript. It may also happen that a second prayer for a purpose that has already been addressed appears several folios later. Sometimes, a number of occasional prayers are added to manuscripts that are not Euchologia, often on fly leaves at the end of a codex.[13]

Up to three steps (each with its own data sheet) are involved in the study of a manuscript: 1. a brief codicological description of the entire object on the basis of a checklist; 2. a detailed list containing folio numbers, title/incipit/explicit or significant words, keywords in English denoting the content or concern of the prayer, and an indication of the relation of each prayer to previous printed editions,[14] and 3. transcriptions. We only transcribe prayers that are not previously attested in print or that are not found in our files.

<div align="center">Identification of prayer content and concern</div>

Identifying the content and concern of a prayer is crucial for its interpretation in the context of social and cultural history. In the database that is being built as part of the project, it will eventually be possible to search for a wide range of concerns from headaches and childbirth to fishing and wine-making. Consistency in terminology is essential for the searchability of a database. However, there is no standard nomenclature or classification of prayers in the Greek tradition. We therefore take the title of a prayer as our guide in identifying its concern.

This is particularly appropriate as prayers were often adapted to different purposes, so that the same prayer text may have a different meaning and application at different times and in different contexts. A fine example is the prayer for the first steps of a group of children (the plural is used), discussed by Gabriel Radle. The earliest attestation of this prayer is in Sin. gr. NF/MG 53 (*Diktyon* 61091), a manuscript only slightly younger than the Barberini Euchologion (Vat., Barb. gr. 336). Later manuscripts from the Greek-speaking regions of Southern Italy use the same prayer but under different titles: the first haircut of a child, name-giving on the eighth day or a child's first day at school. Even within the same manuscript, the interpretation of the prayer changes over time: an Arabic annotation to the Sinai manuscript in a later hand attests not only to the continued use of this manuscript among people for whom Arabic came more easily than Greek, but also a different social

---

[12] Such short texts would yield rich material for the linguistic and stylistic study of prayer texts. We note their existence during our on-site visits, but do not include them in the part of the database that is intended for public access.

[13] These are included in our study.

[14] To facilitate our work, we have created searchable digital texts of Goar, Arranz, L'eucologio costantinopolitano and Velkovska – Parenti, Evchologij Barberini that serve as our basis for comparison and transcription. Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II will soon be added. There are separate categories for 'slight differences', 'noticeable differences' and 'significant differences'. The last column notes if a transcription is made in the third document.

context: 'Prayer said for the boy after he (has started to) walk, who (may be of any age from) seven years to the very young.'[15]

Regional specificity

How can we be sure that a manuscript was really in use in a particular region? It is rare that regional origin is indicated in the manuscript itself. Patm. 743 (*Diktyon* 54981), for instance, was copied in the year 1180 to be deposited at the 'most famous Monastery of Patmos'. The scribe is probably identical with the 'sinful Neilos' who inscribed his request for prayers in two other locations in the manuscript.[16]

Sometimes, the prayer texts themselves contain clues. Patm. 786 ([*Diktyon* 55025], 16th c.), ff. 183v–184r contains two prayers for traveling by sea as well as a prayer for the blessing of fishing nets on ff. 114v–115r and one for the construction of a ship on f. 115rv. The presence of prayers connected to seafaring and nautical issues suggests that this manuscript was produced to cater to the specific needs of Patmos' island location. But, as will be shown shortly, prayer content does not always point to regional provenance.

The political history of Patmos is also present: the fact that the island had contact with the bishops of the Roman Catholic Church and that it was under Crusader rule left its traces in the names listed for commemoration in several manuscripts, as the contribution by Daniel Galadza shows.

Important references to historical people, especially benefactors, or local saints that reveal a certain specificity of time or place may well appear in the part of a manuscript that does not contain the occasional prayers. We have therefore determined that each manuscript must be examined folio by folio, as briefly or as extensively as needed, before our attention focuses on the occasional prayers. In the eucharistic liturgy, it always repays to read the diptycha for the commemoration of saints, as well as the commemoration of the dead, since the addition of names may indicate local cultic preferences on the basis of historical developments.

A good example is Patm. 105 (*Diktyon* 54349) from the first half of the 13th c. It contains, on f. 92v, prayers for the blessing of fishing nets and for a boat. At first glance, this would point to its use in an island location. But the names mentioned in the liturgical commemorations would indicate that the manuscript was destined for the monastery of St. Meletius of Myoupolis in Boeotia, about 30 kms from the nearest shore.[17]

Relevance of prayers

How can we be sure that a prayer that is preserved in a manuscript was of relevance at the time of copying and also in the later history of use of the manuscript? In our study of Euchologia manuscripts, we pay particular attention to 'traces of use': dark outer lower edges indicate that these pages

---

[15] Radle, Infants.

[16] Name of the scribe on f. 26v, f. 35r, date (without name) on f. 32v, lengthy note (without name) on f. 35v, quoted below.

[17] Taft – Parenti, Grande Ingresso 710, n. 109. The manuscript represents an example of the diffusion of the Southern Italian liturgical tradition even beyond its original geographical region: S. Parenti, L'Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μικρόν del 1931 e la riforma della Liturgia delle Ore di Grottaferrata. Tentativi del passato, situazione attuale e nuove proposte, in: Miscellanea di studi in onore di P. Marco Petta per il LXX compleanno (= *BollGrott* 46 [1992] 281–318), repr. and rev. in: Mille anni di "Rito Greco" alle porte di Roma (*Analekta Kryptopherres* 4), eds. S. Parenti – E. Velkovska. Grottaferrata 2004, 267–299, here 273–276. On the history of the Monastery of Saint Meletios, including its scriptorium, see J. Koder – F. Hild, Hellas und Thessalia (*TIB* 1). Wien 1976, 217–218. Could it be that this manuscript was copied in Patmos on the basis of a local *Vorlage* and never left the island? This would explain both the presence of nautical prayers and its current location.

were turned frequently, perhaps with fingers smudged with soot; wax drops on a page show that it was held open during a ceremony that involved candles. In Patm. 104 ([*Diktyon* 54348], 13th c.), ff. 27v–28r, a large red stain in the text of the wedding ritual suggests that some wine was spilled during the administration of the common cup.[18]

It is rare that we hear directly about the perceived usefulness of prayers. One such case is the scribal notice in Patm. 743, f. 35v, mentioned above.[19] It refers to the prayers for the monastic hours that are contained in this manuscript, but may equally well apply to other contexts where prayers are paramount:

Ἤδη πάλιν ὡς μωρὸ(ς) ἔγραψα κ(αὶ) τ(ὰς) εὐχ(ὰς) | οὐχ ὡς μὴ ἔχετε π(ατέ)ρες ἅγιοι· τίς | γὰρ ταύτας οὐκ ἔχει; εἰ γὰρ κ(αὶ) | ἔχουν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ καθ' ἡμέραν | οὐ λέγουν· κ(αὶ) ζημία ψυχικὴ πολ-λή. | ὑμεῖς δὲ Χ(ριστο)ῦ χάριτι, οὐ μόνον | αὐτοὶ λέγετε μετὰ κατανύξεως, | ἀλλὰ κ(αὶ) τ(ῶν) μετοχί-ων αἱ ἅγιαι ἐκκλη(σίαι). | ἐγὼ δὲ σκοπήσας μὴ παλαιω|θέντες ἠμβλύθησαν, θαρρήσ(ας) | ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ ἔγραψα ταύτας κἂν χω|ρικόγραφ(ας) κ(αὶ) σφαλτὰς ὡς ἀγράμματο(ς). | Καὶ μακάριοι εἰσὶν οἱ ταύτας | καθ' ἡμέραν ὡς ἀντιφάρμακα | τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τ(ῶν) σωμάτ(ων) εὐχόμενοι | ἀναγινώσκουσιν. ὁ δὲ στερήσ(ας) αὐτ(ὰς) τὴν ἐνδοξοτάτην μονὴν τῆς | Πάτμου, ἐπικατάρατος ἔστω. +

"Now I have yet again copied even the prayers, fool that I am, as if you holy fathers did not have them. Because there is nobody who does not have them. But even if they have them, many people do not recite them every day. And that does great damage to the soul. So for Christ's sake, not only should you recite them with great compunction, but also the holy churches of the metochia. As I am uneducated, I have written them out in rustic letters and with mistakes, trusting in (divine) love, because I wanted to make sure that they did not fade because of their age. And blessed are those who read them in prayer every day, as a protection for body and soul. But accursed shall be whoever removes them from the most famous monastery of Patmos."

Were prayers really used exactly as written?

It would be good to know more about the use of Euchologia in the Byzantine period. But evidence is scarce and—as yet—inconclusive, even when the prayer texts for one particular concern have been well studied, as in the case of ritual brotherhood (*adelphopoiesis*). 16 different prayer texts are preserved in 69 manuscripts. The two most popular prayers (attested 35 and 45 times, respectively) often appear in conjunction with each other or with additional prayers, while two prayers are attested only once. This suggests that variation in the creation and use of prayer texts was not unusual.[20] The rich manuscript tradition confirms the enduring popularity of the blessing of male-male relationships through *adelphopoiesis*, but does not permit firm conclusions on which prayer text was used at any given time.

Whether the liturgist felt free to improvise prayers, based on the written version in the Euchologion, remains an open question. The insertion of names, as necessary and appropriate, has already been noted. Explicit stage directions to the liturgist are rare. One example is Patm. 689 (15th–16th c.), f. 70v, where the prayer for illness is followed by a direct address to the liturgist, noting that, if desired, "you may use further prayers for demonic possession."

---

[18] Comparing the black and white images to on-site study shows how difficult it would be to make such an identification only through microfilm.
[19] The Greek text of this notice has already been published in Komines, Πίνακες 11–12.
[20] Rapp, Brother-Making, Appendix I and Appendix II.

We will never know the full degree of variation that came with oral performance, but it may not have been significant. Comparison with modern practice suggests that it is of the utmost importance for the perception of the validity of a ritual that it be performed every time in exactly the same way.[21]

<div align="center">

What additional information can Euchologia manuscripts convey?

</div>

True to their utilitarian nature, Euchologia may also contain other texts and even non-textual materials that are of interest to the social and cultural historian: lists of names of prayer communities, recipes, magical formulae, writing exercises, palimpsest leaves, or line drawings. The depiction of a small sailboat in Patm. 786, f. 86v, for instance, further underscores the specificity of the island location.[22] As they were used during the holy liturgy, Euchologia may also have had a special value as ritual objects that came alive during the liturgical performance. Stefan Royé and others have begun to apply this codico-liturgical approach in the Catalogue of Biblical Manuscripts project.[23]

A final set of questions relates to the origin of small prayers and their prescriptive or normative value. The value of these prayers for historical analysis ultimately hinges on these questions. To what degree did these prayers originate with the Church as an institution? Or is the opposite the case and they reflect the needs of the people which the church then aimed to control through liturgicization? The latter may have been more frequently the case than hitherto acknowledged. A fine example is the wedding ritual. In a seminal study, Gabriel Radle has shown that the nuptial prayers had their origin in private practice. The priest would be called to the private home, where the marital bed was sectioned off by a curtain. He would pronounce blessings on the couple and on their marital bed above which the marital crowns were hung. After seven days, when the curtain and the crowns were removed, this was marked by further prayers by the priest. This sequence later gave rise to the full wedding ritual. But as Radle points out, even after Emperor Leo VI (regn. 886–912) stipulated that the ecclesiastical wedding ritual had legal force, many people lived in socially and publicly recognized unions (perhaps even with priestly blessing), without undergoing the church ceremony.[24]

The mere fact of textual transmission at any given time does not necessarily reflect the lived reality of the people at that moment. This has been shown with regard to legal writing. Recent studies of the great legal codifications of late Antiquity, the Codex Theodosianus and the Codex Iustinianus urge great caution: some laws are included in these collections simply for the sake of antiquarianism or completeness, although the administrative realities they represent have long since vanished.[25] Nobody wants to be the first to break with tradition. By analogy, we cannot be entirely certain that a particular prayer concern was an issue merely because it is contained in a manuscript of a particular date. It may simply be transmitted as part of an established sequence.

We cannot be certain that a priest was called in to say the occasional prayers every time that a vessel of oil or wine was polluted, that a child had learning difficulties, or someone had a headache. Our best guide to the prayers that were most frequently employed is the traces of use or other indications in the manuscripts themselves.

The Euchologia made for (male) monasteries which contain small prayers for the needs of lay communities, for example for women's purity and other family matters, must also be considered in

---

[21] D. Krueger, Liturgical Subjects. Christian Ritual, Biblical Narrative, and the Formation of the Self in Byzantium. Philadelphia 2014.

[22] For this manuscript, see below, p. 185, 204.

[23] <https://www.pthu.nl/cbm/> (10.11.2017).

[24] G. Radle, The Development of Byzantine Marriage Rites as Evidenced by Sinai Gr. 957. *OCP* 78 (2012) 133–148.

[25] J. Harries, Law and Empire in Late Antiquity. Cambridge 1999, 22.

this context. Were these really relevant to the monks in their supposed life of seclusion? At least one manuscript seems to suggest this: in Lesbiacus Leimonos 85 ([*Diktyon* 45408], 16th c.), f. 16v, the prayer for the 8th day after birth begins as follows: Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν γέννησιν, προσάγεται ἐν τῷ ναῷ τὸ βρέφος παρὰ τῆς μαίας· καὶ ἵσταται πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν τοῦ ναοῦ. Ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς ποιεῖ εὐλογητόν· τρισάγιον· τὸ Παναγία· Πάτερ ἡμῶν· Ὅτι σοῦ· τὸ ἀπολυτίκιον τῆς ἡμέρας· ἢ τοῦ ἁγίου τῆς μονῆς. ("It must be noted that on the eighth day after birth, the infant is brought to the church by the midwife. And she stands before the doors of the church. The priest says the Invocation, Trisagion, Panagia, Our Father, the hymn of the day or of the saint of the monastery.") That 'the saint of the monastery' could be chosen as the topic of the short hymn (*apolytikion*) indicates that the liturgists who performed this initiation rite for a newborn child were in fact monks. This notice in an Euchologion manuscript offers important and otherwise unavailable insights into the close relations between a monastery and the families who lived around it.

As in the study of law, the presence of a normative or prescriptive text does not in and of itself imply that it was used in this manner, let alone that it was used with any kind of regularity. Legal disputes were settled in a myriad of extra-judicial ways, and by the same token, people's religious needs in dealing with higher powers could be addressed by other practices, including magic. Although the sources avoid drawing attention to this, it is well known that priests were involved in the production of amulets and magic charms. Ms. Patm. 689 (15th–16th c.), f. 114v includes a prayer for female breast pain, followed by instructions for writing a phylactery that the woman can wear on her chest.

Like legal codes, Euchologia should not be seen as photographic snapshots of lived reality. Modern scholars should regard them more like a mood board, conveying the general flavor of a period, the colors and textures—or, to use different terminology: the discourses – in which everyday life played itself out.

<div align="center">A CASE FOR BIG DATA</div>

The only way to draw meaningful conclusions from the occasional prayers as evidence for historical situations or developments is by studying their occurrence in a large number of manuscripts over a long period of time. If, for example, the same concern is addressed in new prayers (or adaptations of older prayers) in manuscripts from later centuries, this is a firm indication that it remains a lively issue. Another indication of actual relevance may be the appearance of new concerns at particular moments in time, for example in dealing with different non-Orthodox groups of people. Again, this can only be properly identified and evaluated once a very large number of Euchologia have been collected and analyzed.

As this overview has tried to demonstrate, the study of Euchologia has vast potential, but also poses practical and interpretive challenges. It is only through an extensive collaborative effort, sustained over a long period of time, that the study of these manuscripts, one by one, will eventually yield enough material to observe larger trends. This is a long and arduous road. Along the way, individual manuscripts, like those discussed here, offer their own reward through new insights into liturgical approaches to social and religious life, as articulated in the prayer books of the Byzantine people.

Claudia Rapp

CODICOLOGICAL PATHWAYS IN SEARCH OF EUCHOLOGIA PALIMPSEST MANUSCRIPTS

Leafing through the pages of manuscript catalogs in order to track down the Euchologia each library preserves, one can observe that a considerable number of these codices are—entirely or partially—written on recycled parchment. The most famous is the so-called Archimedes palimpsest (*Diktyon* 8838), a 13th c. prayer book currently preserved at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, which contains—among the erased texts—Archimedes' *Method* and *Stomachion*, speeches by the orator Hyperides, and a commentary on Aristotle's *Categories*.[26]

But there are many more. Here are a few examples of Euchologia extant as *scriptiones superiores* of palimpsest manuscripts: 10 out of 39 (26%) in the Library of St. Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai,[27] 9 out of 27 (33%) at the Vatican Library, 7 out of 18 (39%) at the Biblioteca Statale del Monumento Nazionale di Grottaferrata. Is this dictated by a particular reason or just the result of chance? On the one hand, as has already been stated,[28] Euchologia are utilitarian objects and this could well be one valid explanation for their being frequently written on re-used parchment. On the other hand, it would be easy to assume that Euchologia, because of their smallish size, would be preferred texts for reshaped palimpsest parchment sheets.

Further investigation is necessary to prove or to reject such preliminary assumptions. To this end, this paper presents a case study of the handwritten prayer books of the Libraries of Patmos and Grottaferrata. Because of the need to place the phenomenon of palimpsest Euchologia into a wider context, the analysis takes into account all relevant prayer books preserved in these libraries, including the paper and parchment manuscripts that are not palimpsest.

The questions to be pursued with regard to these Euchologia manuscripts are:

– Do Euchologia manuscripts have typical dimensions?
– What exactly do we mean when we state that Euchologia tend to be small in size?
– How frequently were Euchologia written on reused parchment?
– What kind of *scriptiones inferiores* do Euchologia manuscripts preserve?

These points are discussed below through a statistical analysis. Although this is a very limited sample, this investigation could be a first step towards identifying codicological characteristics that are typical of Euchologia manuscripts.

Case Study: Prayer Books at Patmos and Grottaferrata

The material collected by the team at the Library of the Holy Monastery of Saint John the Theologian in Patmos and at the Biblioteca Statale del Monumento Nazionale di Grottaferrata is displayed in tables. These aim to provide a general overview of the manuscripts the team inspected and classified as relevant for the purposes of the Euchologia-project, with a special focus on the palimpsests.

The tables' entries are arranged as hereinafter described.

---

[26] The Archimedes Palimpsest, I–II. Ed. R. Netz – W. Noel – N. Tcherneska – N. Wilson. Cambridge 2011; S. Lucà, On Dating and Provenance of the Euchologion of the Archimedes Palimpsest. *The Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 66–67 (2007 [2011]) 59–72.

[27] Regarding the Sinai Euchologia, see my forthcoming dissertation: "The Sinai Euchologia Written on Reused Parchment: Communities of Production and Use" (University of Vienna), which my association with the *Sinai Palimpsests Project* of EMEL (executive director M. Phelps, scholarly director C. Rapp) makes possible. The aim of the project is the creation of an open-access database of images of the palimpsest manuscripts preserved in the Monastery of St. Catherine. For more information, see: <http://sinaipalimpsests.org/> (10.11.2017).

[28] See C. Rapp above, p. 174

– *Shelfmark*. After the call number of each manuscript I indicate, in the footnotes, the bibliographical reference to the printed catalogs as well as to selected relevant editions or studies on the manuscripts. Reference to the publications of Velkovska–Parenti 2011 and Taft–Parenti 2014 is also given, where further bibliography on the manuscripts can be found.

– *Writing support and ff. number*. In composite manuscripts made up of paper and parchment, that is those codices containing more than one codicological unit, this is indicated for the relevant section(s) only. For parchment manuscripts, the total number of folios and the number of corresponding sides (recto and verso) are specified.

– *Presence of palimpsest folios and the content of their erased undertext.*

– *Dimensions*. Typical folio dimensions (height/width), in millimeters, are given. An overall quantitative study on the size of Euchologia manuscripts does not exist so far. André Jacob's study of the Southern Italian manuscripts identifies four sizes of Euchologia manuscripts: 1) large: ca. 250×200 mm; 2) medium: ca. 190×135 mm; 3) small: ca. 170×140 mm and 4) oblong in height (with a deviation of more than 70 mm between height and width): e.g. ca. 225×150 mm. [29] I use these four categories as a frame of reference in order to group the manuscripts from Patmos and Grottaferrata.

– *Date*. The catalogs of Patmos and Grottaferrata are not always reliable.[30] For this reason, dates proposed in the secondary literature are also indicated. Dates are arranged chronologically and are separated by the word *versus* (abbr. *vs*), which distinguishes scholars' discordant opinions (listed in the footnotes).[31]

– *Place of copying*. Once again, scholars' discordant opinions are divided by a *versus*.

PATMOS

Shelfmark	Writing support and ff. number	Palimpsest?	Typical folio dimensions (mm)	Date	Place of copying
		Content *scriptio inferior*			
Patm. 104[32]	Parchment *277 ff. = 554 sides*	• Yes: initial and final flyleaves (I and α) • Suspected: ff. 73v–74v *Tot.: 7 sides*	196×141	13th c. (Paschal tables start on 1234) *vs* 1234[33]	Unknown
		Unknown: not investigated yet			

[29] A. Jacob, La mise en forme de l'euchologe dans l'Italie méridionale. Quelques observations. *Estudios bizantinos* 3 (2015) 29–43, here 34–38.

[30] I refer to Sakkelion, Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, and Kallimachos, Πατμιακῆς βιβλιοθήκης συμπλήρωμα for Patmos; Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses for Grottaferrata.

[31] If the secondary literature is in accord with the dating in the catalogs, no footnote is present.

[32] *Diktyon* 54348, Sakkelion, Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 62; Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II 153–157; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 710, n. 113.

[33] Sakkelion, Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 62 *vs* Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II 153; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 710, n. 113.

[34] *Diktyon* 54349, Sakkelion, Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 62–63; Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II 159–170; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 710, n. 109.

Shelfmark	Writing support and ff. number	Palimpsest?		Typical folio dimensions (mm)	Date	Place of copying
		Content *scriptio inferior*				
Patm. 105[34]	Parchment + Paper (composite) *114 ff. = 228 sides*	• Yes: f. 4 *Tot.: 2 sides*		183×145	13th c. (after 1203)	Boiotia, Monastery of St. Meletius of Myoupolis
		Unknown: not investigated yet				
Patm. 647[35]	Paper	–		212×160	1583	Rome
Patm. 689[36]	Paper	–		210×140	15th–16th c. *vs* 16th c.[37]	Unknown
Patm. 690[38]	Paper (composite)	–		216×142	Late 15th c.	Unknown
Patm. 691[39]	Paper (composite)	–		215×145	15th–16th c.	Unknown
Patm. 703[40]	Parchment + Paper (composite) *101 ff. = 202 sides*	• Suspected (entire parchment section): 122r–162v and 179r–240v *Tot.: 202 sides*		197×142	12th to 15th c.	Unknown
		Unknown: not investigated yet				
Patm. 743[41]	Parchment *36 ff. = 72 sides*	No		166×123	1180	Patmos
Patm. 763[42]	Paper (composite). Only part 1 (ff. 1–38) is of interest	–		156×104	1613	Unknown
Patm. 776[43]	Paper	–		210×155	1572	Unknown
Patm. 786[44]	Paper	–		148×103	16th c.	Unknown
Patm. 795[45]	Paper	–		199×143	17th c.	Unknown
Patm. 811[46]	Paper	–		215×150	16th c.	Unknown
Patm. 837[47]	Paper (composite). Only part 1 (= f. 1) is of interest	–		220×145	14th–15th c.	Unknown

[35] *Diktyon* 54886, Sakkelion, Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 258; Ioannides, Κυπριακός λειτουργικός κώδικας; Komines, Πίνακες 34, pl. 63.

[36] *Diktyon* 54928, Sakkelion, Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 270; Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II 661–664.

[37] Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II 661 *vs* Sakkelion, Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 270.

[38] *Diktyon* 54929, Sakkelion, Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 270; Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II 650–655.

[39] *Diktyon* 54930, Sakkelion, Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 270; Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II 664–665.

[40] *Diktyon* 54942, Sakkelion, Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 274; Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II 920–921.

[41] *Diktyon* 54981, Kallimachos, Πατμιακῆς βιβλιοθήκης συμπλήρωμα 1, 312–315 (no. 8); Komines, Πίνακες 11–12, pl. 17.

[42] *Diktyon* 55002, Kallimachos, Πατμιακῆς βιβλιοθήκης συμπλήρωμα 2, 149–150 (no. 29); Komines, Πίνακες 37, pl. 71.

[43] *Diktyon* 55015, Kallimachos, Πατμιακῆς βιβλιοθήκης συμπλήρωμα 3, 394–396 (no. 41); Komines, Πίνακες 32, pl. 59.

[44] *Diktyon* 55025, Kallimachos, Πατμιακῆς βιβλιοθήκης συμπλήρωμα 4, 257–260 (no. 51).

[45] *Diktyon* 55034, Kallimachos, Πατμιακῆς βιβλιοθήκης συμπλήρωμα 4, 268–269 (no. 60).

[46] *Diktyon* 55050, Kallimachos, Πατμιακῆς βιβλιοθήκης συμπλήρωμα 6, 363–365 (no. 77).

[47] *Diktyon* 55076, Kallimachos, Πατμιακῆς βιβλιοθήκης συμπλήρωμα 7, 150–154 (no. 102).

GROTTAFERRATA

Shelfmark	Writing support and ff. number	Palimpsest?	Typical folio dimensions (mm)	Date	Place of copying
		Content *scriptio inferior*[48]			
Crypt. Γ.β.I (=gr. 89)[49]	Parchment + Paper (composite) *149 ff. = 298 sides*	No	245×185	11th c. *vs* 13th c.[50]	Unknown
Crypt. Γ.β.II (=gr. 332)[51]	Parchment *151 ff. = 302 sides*	No	170×140	11th c. *vs* early 12th c.[52]	S. Italy: Rossano? (Calabria)[53]
Crypt. Γ.β.III (=gr. 13)[54]	Parchment *211 ff. = 422 sides*	• Yes: ff. 1r–41v and 46r–211v *Tot: 414 sides* 1. Unidentified Latin text (1st half 14th c.) 2. Prophetologion (10th–11th c.) 3. Triodion (12th c.) 4. Prophetologion (11th–12th c.) 5. Unidentified text (1st half 12th c.) 6. Triodion (2nd half 11th c.) 7. Evangeliarion (2nd half 11th)	186×140	14th c. *vs* 2nd half 14th c. *vs* after June 1357[55]	S. Italy: Tropea (Calabria)

---

[48] As in Crisci, Palinsesti, if not indicated otherwise in the footnotes.

[49] *Diktyon* 17893, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 235–244; Parenti – Velkovska, Grottaferrata Γ.β. I; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 712, n. 132.

[50] Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 235; Arranz, L'eucologio costantinopolitano 7 *vs* Parenti – Velkovska, Grottaferrata Γ.β. I; P. Kalaitzidis, La disposition intérieure rédactionnelle des manuscrits liturgiques, Paris, Coislin 213; Grottaferrata Γ.B. I; Athènes, Ethnike Bibliothèke 662, in: Inquiries into Eastern Christian Worship. Selected Papers of the Second International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgy, Rome, 17–21 September 2008 (*Eastern Christian Studies* 12) ed. B. Groen – S. Hawkes-Teeples – S. Alexopoulos. Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA 2012, 279–291; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 712, n. 132.

[51] *Diktyon* 17894, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 244–249; S. Lucà, Manoscritti "Rossanesi" conservati a Grottaferrata. Mostra in occasione del Congresso internazionale su s. Nilo di Rossano (Rossano 28 sett. – 1 ott. 1986), Catalogo. Grottaferrata 1986; Velkovska – Parenti, Evchologij Barberini 465; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 707, n. 61.

[52] Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 244 *vs* Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 707, n. 61.

[53] Lucà, Origine e datazione 210.

[54] *Diktyon* 17895, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 249–251; Crisci, Palinsesti 27–28, 109–115; Parenti, Per la datazione 239–243; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 713, n. 150.

[55] Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 249 *vs* Crisci, Palinsesti 27 *vs* Parenti, Per la datazione; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 713, n. 150.

Shelfmark	Writing support and ff. number	Palimpsest?		Typical folio dimensions (mm)	Date	Place of copying
		Content *scriptio inferior*[48]				
Crypt. Γ.β.IV (=gr. 308)[56]	Parchment *141 ff. = 282 sides*	No		154×111	10th c. *vs* late 10th c. *vs* 11th c.[57]	S. Italy: Campania
Crypt. Γ.β.VI=Γ.β.XXIX (=gr. 152)[58]	Parchment *100 ff. = 200 sides*	• Yes: ff. 58–61 and 88–89 *Tot.: 10 sides*		185×130	11th–12th c. *vs* 1st half 13th c. *vs* 13th–14th c.[59]	S. Italy: Calabria / Basilicata
		1. Origen, *Commentary on Matthew* (late 5th c.) 2. BAS+CHR: frg. from a liturgical scroll (1st half 10th c.)				
Crypt. Γ.β.VII (=gr. 16)[60]	Parchment (composite: a+b+c. Only parts a+b are of interest to the project) *129 ff. = 258 sides*	No		a. 189×135 b. 174×138	Early 10th c. *vs* 10th–11th c.[61]	S. Italy: Calabria / Basilicata
Crypt. Γ.β.IX (=gr. 292)[62]	Parchment *95 ff. = 190 sides*	No		103×79	14th c. *vs* 16th c.[63]	S. Italy: Calabria[64]
Crypt. Γ.β.X (=gr. 153)[65]	Parchment *115 ff = 230 sides*	No		189×146	10th–11th c.	S. Italy: Calabria / Basilicata
Crypt. Γ.β.XI (=gr. 299)[66]	Parchment *20 ff. = 40 sides*	No		146×115	11th–12th c. *vs* 12th c.[67]	S. Italy: Calabria[68]

[56] *Diktyon* 17896, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 251–253; S. Parenti, L'eucologio manoscritto Γ.β. IV (X sec.) della Biblioteca di Grottaferrata. Excerpta ex Dissertatione ad Doctoratum. Rome 1994; Velkovska – Parenti, Evchologij Barberini 466; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 704, n. 20.

[57] Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 704, n. 20 *vs* A. Jacob, Les traductions de l'euchologe et des commentaires liturgiques byzantins dans Italie méridionale, in: L'heritage byzantin en Italie (VIIIᵉ–XIIᵉ siècle), III: Décor monumental, objets, tradition textuelle, ed. Sh. Brodbeck *et alii* (*Collection de l'École Française de Rome* 510). Rome 2015, 219–233, here 221 *vs* Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 251.

[58] *Diktyon* 17898, These are not two different manuscripts. Γ.β.XXIX is the shelfmark assigned by Rocchi to the *scriptio inferior* of ff. 88–89 (fragments from a liturgical scroll). Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 255–257, 277–278; Crisci, Palinsesti 28–29, 115–119; Velkovska – Parenti, Evchologij Barberini 466.

[59] Velkovska – Parenti, Evchologij Barberini 466 *vs* Crisci, Palinsesti 28 *vs* Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 255.

[60] *Diktyon* 17899, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 257–259; Passarelli, L'eucologio Cryptense Γ.β. VII; A. Jacob, Quelques observations sur l'euchologe Γ.β. VII de Grottaferrata. A propos d'une édition récente. *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 53–54 (1983–1984) 65–98; Velkovska – Parenti, Evchologij Barberini 466; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 704, n. 22.

[61] Passarelli, L'eucologio Cryptense Γ.β. VII *vs* Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 704, n. 22.

[62] *Diktyon* 17901, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 261–262; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 715, n. 173.

[63] S. Lucà, Il monastero di S. Maria di Polsi. Note storiche e manufatti librari. *BollGrott* 49–50 (1995–1996) 151–171, here 159; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 715 n. 173 *vs* Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 261.

[64] Lucà, Origine e datazione 246.

[65] *Diktyon* 17902, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 262–263; Velkovska – Parenti, Evchologij Barberini 467; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 704, n. 24.

[66] *Diktyon* 17903, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 263–264; Ruggieri, Cryptensis Euchology.

[67] Lucà, Origine e datazione 203 *vs* Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 263; Ruggieri, Cryptensis Euchology 333.

[68] Lucà, Origine e datazione 203.

Shelfmark	Writing support and ff. number	Palimpsest?	Typical folio dimensions (mm)	Date	Place of copying
		Content *scriptio inferior*[48]			
Crypt. Γ.β.XII (=gr. 326)[69]	Parchment 98 ff. = 196 sides	• Yes: entirely palimpsest *Tot.: 196 sides*	150×114	Late 13th c. *vs* 14th c.[70]	S. Italy: Calabria
		1. Anastasius Sinaita, *Viae dux* (early 12th c.) 2. Grammatical texts (early 12th c.) 3. New Testament Lectionary (1st half 12th c.) 4. Liturgical texts (early 12th c.) 5. Menaea (1st half 12th c.) 6. Hagiographical texts (2nd half 10th c.) 7. Unidentified Latin text (11th c.?) 8. Unidentified text (11th c.?)			
Crypt. Γ.β.XIII (=gr. 184)[71]	Parchment 188 ff. = 376 sides	• Yes: entirely palimpsest *Tot.: 376 sides*	225×160	1st half 13th c.	S. Italy: Grottaferrata *vs* Salento[72]
		1. Homiletical texts (9th c.)			
Crypt. Γ.β.XIV (=gr. 154)[73]	Parchment 54 ff. = 108 sides	• Yes: entirely palimpsest *Tot.: 108 sides*	180×140	1st half 13th c.	S. Italy: Salento[74]
		1. Paracletica (9th–10th c.)			
Crypt. Γ.β.XV (=gr. 6)[75]	Parchment (composite) 41 ff. = 82 sides	No	205×140	11th to 13th c.	S. Italy: Calabria / Campania
Crypt. Γ.β.XVII (=gr. 49)[76]	Paper	–	206×148	1565	S. Italy: Grottaferrata
Crypt. Γ.β.XVIII (=gr. 147)[77]	Paper	–	193×137	ca. 1360.	S. Italy
Crypt. Γ.β.XIX (=gr. 209)[78]	Paper	–	288×200	1591	S. Italy

---

[69] *Diktyon* 17904, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 264–265; Crisci, Palinsesti 30, 120–125; Velkovska – Parenti, Evchologij Barberini 467; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 711, n. 127.

[70] Crisci, Palinsesti 30; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 711, n. 127 *vs* Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 264.

[71] *Diktyon* 17905, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 265–267; Crisci, Palinsesti 30–31, 220–231; Parenti, Rito di confessione; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 711, n. 125.

[72] Parenti, Rito di confessione *vs* Lucà, Origine e datazione 210; Arnesano, Libri inutiles 199.

[73] *Diktyon* 17906, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 267–268; Crisci, Palinsesti 31, 126–130.

[74] Arnesano, Libri inutiles 199.

[75] *Diktyon* 17907, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 268–269; V. Polidori, L'eucologio criptense Γ.β. XV. *BollGrott* III s., 6 (2009) 215–239; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 705–706, n. 30 and 43.

[76] *Diktyon* 17909, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 269–270; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 720, n. 252.

[77] *Diktyon* 17910, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 270–271; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 713, n. 152.

[78] *Diktyon* 17911, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 271; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 721, n. 260.

| Shelfmark | Writing support and ff. number | Palimpsest? | Typical folio dimensions (mm) | Date | Place of copying |
		Content *scriptio inferior*[48]			
Crypt. Γ.β.XX (=gr. 145)[79]	Parchment (composite, a+b. Palimpsest is only part b) *64 ff. = 128 sides*	• Yes: ff. 20r–64v[80] *Tot.: 88 sides* 1. Astronomical and astrological texts (late 9th–early 10th c.) 2. John Chrysostom, *Ad Theodorum lapsum* (2nd half 11th c.)	195×145	a) 10th c. *vs* 1st half 12th c. *vs* late 12th–early 13th c. b) 11th c. *vs* 1st half 12th c. *vs* 1. half 14th c.[81]	S. Italy: Salento[82]
Crypt. Γ.β.XXI (=gr. 44)[83]	Parchment (composite, a+b. Only part a is palimpsest and of interest to the project) *18 ff. = 36 sides*	• Yes: ff. 1r–18v *Tot.: 36 sides* 1. Liturgical text (early 12th c.) 2. Praxapostolos (2nd half 11th c.)	207×155	a) Late 13th–early 14th c. (ff. 1–18) *vs* 14th–15th c.[84] b) 12th c. (ff. 19–23)	S. Italy: Salento
Crypt. Γ.β.XXIV (=gr. 240)[85]	Paper	–	320×230	1592–1597	S. Italy
Crypt. Γ.β.XXXVII (=gr. 79): parts II to V[86]	Parchment (composite) *153 ff. = 306 sides*	No	II.170×136 III.180×151 IV.160×142 V.195×142	10th to 13th c.	S. Italy
Crypt. Γ.β.XXXVIII (=gr. 200)[87]	Paper	–	290×222	1602	S. Italy: Salento[88]
Crypt. Γ.β.XLIII (=gr. 139)[89]	Parchment *241 ff. = 482 sides*	No	199×140	2nd half 10th c. *vs* 11th c.[90]	Constantinople *vs* S. Italy[91]
Crypt.Z.δ.II (=gr. 295)[92]	Parchment *136 ff. = 272 sides*	No	110×90	1090	S. Italy: Northern Calabria / Basilicata

[79] *Diktyon* 17912, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 272; Crisci, Palinsesti 32, 133–135; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 709, n. 101 and 712, n. 144.

[80] Lucà, Frammenti.

[81] Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 272 *vs* Crisci, Palinsesti 32 *vs* Lucà, Frammenti 524 and 528; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 709 and 712.

[82] Lucà, Frammenti 522.

[83] *Diktyon* 17913, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 272–273; Crisci, Palinsesti 32–33, 135–137; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 715, n. 184.

[84] Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 272; Crisci, Palinsesti 32; Arnesano, Repertorio 43 *vs* Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 715, n. 184.

[85] *Diktyon* 17916, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 274–275; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 721, n. 261.

[86] *Diktyon* 17930–32, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 281–282. Section II is part of Vat. gr. 1970 (*Diktyon* 68599). See about this last: A. Jacob, Cinq feuillets du «Codex Rossanensis» (Vat. gr.1970) retrouvés à Grottaferrata. *Le Muséon* 87 (1974) 45–57.

[87] *Diktyon* 17935, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 282–283.

[88] Lucà, Origine e datazione 203.

[89] *Diktyon* 17940, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 285–288; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 704, n. 25.

[90] Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 704, n. 25 *vs* Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 285.

[91] Lucà, Origine e datazione 207 *vs* Th. St. Christodoulou, Η νεκρώσιμη ακολουθία κατά τους χειρόγραφους κώδικες 10ου – 12ου αιώνος II: Εἰσαγωγικά, κωδικολογικὰ καὶ παλαιογραφικὰ κείμενα. Thera 2005, 17.

[92] *Diktyon* 17990, Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses 502–503; V. Polidori, L'eucologio criptense Z.δ. II. *BollGrott* III s., 7 (2010) 173–206; V. Polidori, Un lezionario italo-greco inedito: il Crypt. Z.δ.II. *Studi sull'Oriente Cristiano* 16 (2012) 19–27; Velkovska – Parenti, Evchologij Barberini 467; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 706, n. 45.

PRELIMINARY RESULTS

The 14 relevant Patmos manuscripts range in date from the 12th (a. 1180) to the 17th c. In most cases, their provenance is unknown. Ten are written on paper (71%), two exclusively on parchment (14.5%) and two are composite codices made up of both paper and parchment folios (14.5%). Parchment manuscripts are attested among the Euchologia until the 13th c., Euchologia on paper first appear in the 13th–14th c.

In general, the parchment manuscripts are smaller than those on paper.[93] According to Jacob's grouping, only three codices (21%) are of small size: Patm. 743, Patm. 763, and Patm. 786. The remaining 11 (79%) are of medium size. Three of the medium size manuscripts (Patm. 690, Patm. 691, Patm. 837) are oblong in height. The average dimensions of the small manuscripts are 156×110 mm; the average dimensions of the medium size manuscripts are 206×146 mm.

Three of the four manuscripts made up of parchment folios (75%) contain at least one palimpsest folio. They are all of medium size. Going further into detail, it is possible to observe that 211 out of the 1056 parchment sides are palimpsest: this means 20% of the total. The palimpsest manuscripts' date is well defined: 12th–13th c.

Patmos' palimpsest folios among the Euchologia are registered neither in catalogs nor in the secondary bibliography. They are listed here for the first time. Future study (with the support of multi-spectral imaging, given the poor legibility of the *scriptiones inferiores*) would be desirable.

In Grottaferrata, 23 of the manuscripts the team looked at *in situ* have been considered relevant for the project (date range: 10th c. to 1602). Their provenance is almost exclusively Southern Italian, with the exception of the renowned Crypt. Γ.β.I, an Euchologion which reflects the Constantinopolitan tradition in its content, but whose place of copying remains unknown, and of Crypt. Γ.β.XLIII that according to Lucà could have been copied in Constantinople.

Out of these 23 codices, 5 are written on paper (22%), 17 exclusively on parchment (74%) and 1 is a composite codex made up of parchment and paper folios (4%). Parchment manuscripts are attested among the Euchologia until the 16th c., paper manuscripts are extant from the 14th c.

Regarding the dimensions: in the Library of Grottaferrata, parchment manuscripts are smaller than the paper ones; only paper codices exceed 290 mm in height. One of the smaller manuscripts (Crypt. Γ.β.IX, mm 103×90, a. 1090) is also among the manuscripts of older date. According to Jacob's grouping we can divide the Grottaferrata manuscripts by size as follows:

- small = six complete and three parts of manuscripts (30%): Γ.β.II, Γ.β.IV, Γ.β.VII (part b), Γ.β.IX, Γ.β.XI, Γ.β.XII, Γ.β.XXXVII (parts II, IV), Z.δ.II.
- medium = ten complete and three parts of manuscripts (48%): Γ.β.III, Γ.β.VI, Γ.β.VII (part a), Γ.β.X, Γ.β.XIV, Γ.β.XV, Γ.β.XVII, Γ.β.XVIII, Γ.β.XX, Γ.β.XXI, Γ.β.XXXVII (parts III, V), Γ.β.XLIII.
- large not oblong = two manuscripts (9%): Γ.β.I, Γ.β.XXXVIII.
- large oblong = three manuscripts (13%): Γ.β.XIII, Γ.β.XIX, Γ.β.XXIV.

As in Patmos, medium manuscripts constitute the most significant group, followed by the small ones. The average dimensions of the small manuscripts are 148×118 mm; the average dimensions of medium size manuscripts are 193×142 mm.

Palimpsest codices are present in each size category (two small, five medium and one large size). Seven out of the 18 parchment manuscripts (39%) contain rewritten folios. They range in date from the 13th to the 14th c. and were all written in Southern Italy: two in Calabria, three in Salento, one

---

[93] Exceptions are Patm. 763 and Patm. 786, very similar in format. These two paper codices are the smallest investigated in Patmos.

in Salento or Grottaferrata.[94] The percentage ratio for palimpsest sides and total parchment sides is 29% (1228 out of 4208). Thanks to the text identifications of the *scriptiones inferiores* by Crisci, it is possible to assert that for the creation of seven Euchologia, 23 older manuscripts were reused.[95] They contain almost exclusively liturgical and theological works, with the exception of a grammatical and an astronomical/astrological text (Γ.β.XIII and Γ.β.XX). Most erased texts are written in Greek, but some are in Latin (in Γ.β.III and in Γ.β.XII). They range in date from the 5th to the 14th c., but the greatest part of the erased texts (15 out of 23) was copied between the 11th and the 12th c.

Crisci's studies,[96] the *Rinascimento Virtuale* project[97] and further individual studies, such as Lucà's on Crypt. Γ.β.XX, [98] only serve to underline that much further work remains to be done on Grottaferrata's palimpsests.

CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

As already noted, expecting to sketch out general results would certainly be too ambitious. However, at least for Patmos and Grottaferrata, some initial observations can be made. This case study has shown that:

– the parchment Euchologia are usually smaller than the paper ones;
– the average measurements of an Euchologion are approximately 155×115 mm for the small ones and 200×145 mm for the medium ones;
– in most cases, palimpsest Euchologia are medium size manuscripts;[99]
– the percentage of palimpsest parchment sides is around 25% of the total parchment sides, that is one quarter;
– palimpsest Euchologia were copied between the 12th and the 14th c.;
– liturgical and theological works are very often found as *scriptiones inferiores*.[100]

To confirm, disprove or refine these preliminary observations is the task of future research on this topic. We plan to establish similar data for material from other libraries, beginning with the Vatican Library and then continuing with those manuscripts the team will have the chance to inspect *in situ*. Although aware of the fact that to identify manuscripts of secure provenance will be a particular challenge, a *desideratum* would be that of creating a virtual map, which—thanks to the combined study of both layers of palimpsest manuscripts—allow the visualization of the Euchologia manuscripts in time and space.

Giulia Rossetto

---

[94] The correlation of palimpsest material in Euchologia and high incidence of recycled sheets in Southern Italy remains to be investigated.

[95] Crisci, Palinsesti.

[96] For example: Crisci, Palinsesti; E. Crisci, Codices Graeci rescripti fra antichità e medioevo bizantino. Il caso dei palinsesti di Grottaferrata, in: El palimpsesto grecolatino como fenómeno librario y textual, ed. D. Harlfinger – A. Escobar. Zaragoza 2006, 35–51.

[97] <http://palin.iccu.sbn.it/>(10.11.2017)

[98] Lucà, Frammenti.

[99] The Archimedes palimpsest, with its 195×146 mm, can be included in this category too.

[100] Even if not always of great philological interest, the erased text layers of these manuscripts and their codicological characteristics can provide information about the way of working and the interests of the communities that produced Euchologia manuscripts, reusing old parchment. Furthermore, their palaeographical value makes them worthy of attention.

CUSTOMIZED BOOKS: NAMES, INTERCESSIONS, AND COMMEMORATIONS IN THE EUCHOLOGION

Euchologia manuscripts reflect a variety of changing liturgical practices. Scribes and liturgical practitioners from the tenth to the twelfth centuries, such as the scribe Iovane Zosime of Sinai (d. ca. 986) or Nikon of the Black Mountain (ca. 1025–ca. 1100/1110) near Antioch, noted—sometimes with a degree of exasperation—divergences in liturgical practices.[101] This diversity was due primarily to various local and regional traditions. Because each Euchologion manuscript was destined for use by the clergy within a specific community, each manuscript was unique.[102] Thus, even the common rites and rituals contained in an Euchologion included a certain degree of "customization"—whether by the selection of texts to include in the codex, modifications to the text of prayers themselves, or through additional marginal notes.[103]

The customized character of Euchologia is most apparent in the Diptychs, commemorations of the living and the dead during the Eucharistic prayer or Anaphora, and Ektenes, petitions of litanies recited by the deacon, both within the Eucharistic liturgies, as well as through references to saints of particular importance to the local community where the manuscript was copied and used.

Names in the Diptychs

Apart from the names of people being prayed for during liturgical services, the name of the local bishop would also be commemorated in liturgical rites. The most ancient point of the Divine Liturgy where the clergy prayed for specific people were the Diptychs for the Living (τὰ δίπτυχα τῶν ζώντων) and the Diptychs for the Dead (τὰ δίπτυχα τῶν κοιμηθέντων), which the bishop, priest, and deacon would recite at the end of the Anaphora.[104] Most often, Euchologion manuscripts indicate in rubrics that the Diptychs should be recited at the appropriate point of the liturgy, without giving names,[105] while some manuscripts leave an empty space on the folio for names to be written in later.[106] Other points during which specific names would be inserted into the Divine Liturgy include the preparatory Prothesis Rite (πρόθεσις, προσκομιδή), and the petitions of the Great Ektene (ἡ μεγάλη ἐκτενή or τὰ εἰρηνικά) and the Ektene after the Gospel reading.[107] Here, the names of the church hierarchy would be mentioned, although civil authorities could also be commemorated by name.[108]

---

[101] See D. Galadza, Liturgy and Byzantinization in Jerusalem. Oxford 2018, esp. 100–103 and 350–359.

[102] S. Parenti, Towards a Regional History of the Byzantine Euchology of the Sacraments. *Ecclesia Orans* 27 (2010) 109–121.

[103] For example, the addition of local alternatives written in the margins of marriage prayers copied in Crypt. Γ.β. XI (12th c.): Ruggieri, Cryptensis Euchology, here 342–345.

[104] Here, the term "diptych" refers to the "liturgical unit" and list of names, rather than the material object on which these lists were written or fastened. See P. N. Trempelas, Δίπτυχα. *ThEE* 5: 107–113; G. Winkler, Die Interzessionen der Chrysostomusanaphora in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung. *OCP* 36 (1970) 301–336 (I. Teil) and *OCP* 37 (1971) 333–383 (II. Teil); R. F. Taft, A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, vol. 4: The Diptychs (*OCA* 238). Rome 1991.

[105] Such prescriptions are given in marginal notes in Crypt. Γ.β.III (14th c.), f. 111r and f. 113v during the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts (f. 98r–116r), and in Patm. gr. 811 (16th c.), f. 145v and f. 184v, which also include several names within the text of the Diptychs of the Anaphora.

[106] Vat. gr. 1554 ([*Diktyon* 68185], mid 11th c.), f. 16v; Patm. gr. 690 (late 15th c.), f. 4v–5r.

[107] See T. Pott, Byzantine Liturgical Reform: A Study of Liturgical Change in the Byzantine Tradition, trans. P. Meyendorff. Crestwood, NY 2010, 197–228 (Chapter 6: "The Prothesis Rite"); R. F. Taft, Prothesis. *ODB* III, 1743; Idem, The Great Entrance. A History of the Transfer of the Gifts and other Pre-Anaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom (*OCA* 200), Rome ⁴2004, 227–234; V. Larin, The Byzantine Hierarchal Divine Liturgy in Arsenij Suxanov's Prokinitarij: Text, Translation, and Analysis of the Entrance Rites (*OCA* 286), Rome 2010, 108–113.

[108] Vat. gr. 1554 (mid 11th c.), f. 34v, allows for the commemoration of civil authorities by name in the Anaphora of St. Basil the Great.

The liturgical texts of prayers and Ektenes in the manuscripts usually omit specific names, since these changed, and simply write "ὁ δ[εῖνα]" ("so-and-so" or "N.N."), allowing the clergy to insert the current name from memory.

Nevertheless, some manuscripts offer noteworthy exceptions. Euchologion codex Patm. gr. 703, a composite manuscript assembled from quires ranging in date from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, contains the Divine Liturgies of St. John Chrysostom and St. Basil the Great, along with various other rites, such as marriage and brother-making.[109] On the margins of the folios between the Diptychs for the Dead and for the Living, as well as in Ektenes from the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, one finds numerous names written in by the scribe and by later hands. Prayers to God "for the soul of" certain people (μνήσθητι Κύριε τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δούλου σου…) confirm the people mentioned were already deceased, but the names of the several bishops are listed near the Diptychs for the Living with their ecclesiastical titles and honorifics, suggesting they were mentioned here because they were commemorated among the living hierarchy during liturgical services. The names of Pope Pius II (d. 14 August 1464); Patriarch Bessarion (written as both Βησαρίονος and Βησσαρίωνος; d. 18 November 1472), Greek cardinal and titular Latin patriarch of Constantinople (1463–1472);[110] and Archbishop Hieronymus (Ἱερώνυμος), most likely Hieronymus Landus (d. 1497?), archbishop of Crete from 29 March 1458 and later titular Latin patriarch of Constantinople (29 March 1474–1497),[111] were to be mentioned in the general commemoration of the church hierarchy (Ἐν πρώτοις μνήσθητι Κύριε…) at the end of the Anaphora and during Ektenes of the liturgy. Reference signs *supra lineam* indicate where the names written in the margins were to be inserted.[112] Another marginal note with a list of names of fifteenth-century Popes of Rome includes two additional popes among the dead after Pius II, suggesting the manuscript was updated by additional marginal notes and continued to be used even after 1464.[113] Additional marginal notes include at least seventy names commemorated for the forgiveness of their sins,[114] some of them Latin or Italian names transliterated into Greek, such as Gerardus (Γεράρδιος), Barbara (Μπάρμπαρα), and Benedictus (Μπενέδικτος), and some with titles,

---

[109] Sakkelion, Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 274; Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II 920–921.

[110] A.-M. Talbot, Bessarion. *ODB* I, 285; Parenti, Rito di confessione, here 44–45.

[111] G. Fedalto, La Chiesa latina in Oriente, vol. 2: Hierarchia latina orientis (*Studi Religiosi* 3). Verona 1976, 92 and 108; D. I. Mureşan, Girolamo Lando, titulaire du Patriarcat de Constantinople (1474–1497), et son rôle dans la politique orientale du Saint-Siège. *Annuario dell'Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica di Venezia* 8 (2006) 153–258; Griechischer Biographischer Index, vol. 2: H–M, ed. H. Schmuck. Munich 2003, 410. It is unlikely that the Ἱερώνυμος in question should be identified with the acolyte of Pope Eugene IV, Hieronymus de Modoetia (*PLP* 8137), or the fifteenth-century scribe Ἱερώνυμος (*PLP* 8140).

[112] f. 103v: ὁ ἱερε[ύς]· ἐκφώ[νησις]· τοῦ μακαριωτάτου [later hand: καὶ ἁγιωτάτου] πατρὸς ἡμῶν Πίου πάπα Ῥώμης; f. 128r: Ἔτι δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου καὶ ἁγιωτάτου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Παύλου πάπα Ῥώμης…Ἔτι δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πατριάρχου ἡμῶν Βησαρίονος…† Ἱερώνυμος; f. 87v: Ἔτι δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ τοῦ […]τάτου καὶ ἁγιωτάτου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Παύλου, πάπα…Ἔτι δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πατριάρχου Βησσαρίονος; f. 88r: Ἔτι δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πατριάρχου ἡμῶν Βησσαρίωνος…[μακαριω]τάτου καὶ ἁγιωτάτου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Παύλου πάπα Ῥώμης.

[113] The names of Popes of Rome Εὐγένιος (Eugene IV, 3 March 1431–23 February 1447), Νικόλαος (Nicholas V, 6 March 1447–24 March 1455), Κάλλιστος (Callixtus III, 8 April 1455–6 August 1458), Πίος (Pius II, 19 August 1458–15 August 1464), Παῦλος (Paul II, 30 August 1464–26 July 1471), and Ξύστος (Sixtus IV, 9 August 1471–12 August 1484) are written in the margins of f. 103v.

[114] Other names written in the margins include: Μαργαρίτα, Μαρίνος, Καλή, Μιχαήλ, Μάρκος, Πέτρος, Παῦλος, Φλωρεντία, Γρηγόριος, Γεώργιος, Ἱερώνυμος (f. 88r); Νικόλαος, Ἀνδρέας, Μάρκος, Ἄννα, Ῥοδάμνη, Φλωρεντία (f. 102r); Ἑλένη πρεσβυτέρισσα, Γεώργιος, Κωνσταντῖνος, Μαρία, Ἀνέζα, Ἀντώνιος, Νικόλαος, Ἀνδρέας, Καλή, Χριστοδούλη μοναχή, Φιλίππα, Μαρία, Στέφανος ἱερεύς, Γεράρδιος ἱερομόναχος, Σωφρονία μοναχή, Ἀνδρίολα πρεσβυτέρισσα, Γεώργιος, Ἀντώνιος, Σοφία, Δανιήλ, Μαρία Κουμούλενα, Ἰωάννης (f. 102v); Στρατήγης (f. 103r); Λουκᾶς, Ἀρσένιος μοναχός, Μπάρμπαρα, Γεώργιος (?), Ἄννα, Ῥοδάμνη, Νικόλαος, Εἰρήνη καὶ τέκνων, Νικόλαος, Ἑλένη, Ἰωάννης ἅμα συμβίου, Μιχαὴλ καὶ συνοδείας αὐτοῦ, Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ τῆς συνοδείας αὐτοῦ, Γιράρδος Τάνταλος (?) δούκα Κριν (?), Μαρία, Μπενέδικτος (f. 104r); Εὐλογημένος (= Μπενέδικτος ?), Νικόλαος, Γεώργιος (?), Θεοδώρα (?), Θωμαῖς, Σοφία, […] Ἀνδρόνικος (f. 104v); Μάρκος ἱερεύς, Νικόλαος, Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἀνδρέας (f. 151v).

such as priest (ἰερεύς), hieromonk (ἰερομόναχος), monk (μοναχός), nun (μοναχή), and even the wife of a priest or a senior nun (πρεσβυτέρισσα).[115] The addition of names by later hands and the revision of titles given to bishops commemorated among the living points to the continued use of the manuscript in the community for the commemoration of people during liturgical services.[116]

In this way, Euchologia are sources of social and ecclesiastical history—not only from the content of prayers to be said, and what these prayers say about those praying them, but also as testimonies of the names of those *for whom* the prayers were said.[117]

Intercession and Commemoration of Saints

Equally as important as *for whom* one would pray, Euchologia manuscripts customized devotion towards saints *to whom* intercessory prayers were recited and whose commemorations were particularly significant to the local community.

Specific intercessory requests in some prayers were addressed to saints for help with certain problems, either by attributing the text of prayers to them or by singing hymns and saying prayers in their honor during liturgical rites.[118] Saints' names are particularly abundant in dismissal prayers of liturgical rites from about the twelfth century onward, although the saints' names mentioned seem to depend upon the devotion and discretion of the clergy.[119] Local patron saints or the attributed authors of liturgical rites, like St. John Chrysostom or St. Basil the Great, would more likely be mentioned at the conclusion of services attributed to their authorship. Names of saints with local importance could also be inserted into petitions of litanies at the Divine Liturgy, as can be seen in the Diakonikon, Sin. gr. 1040 (*Diktyon* 59415),[120] or during the Litē at Vespers, as attested in the twelfth-century liturgical Typikon from Mar Sabas Lavra, Sin. gr. 1096 (*Diktyon* 59471).[121] In Patm. gr. 743, the otherwise generic prayer for kollyba (κόλλυβα) dedicated to saints (Εὐχὴ εἰς τὰ κόλυβα τῶν ἑορτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐνδόξων ἁγίων, γινόμενα ἀνυπερθέτως) explicitly mentions St. John the Theologian, the patron of the Patmos monastery where Monk Neilos copied the manuscript in 1180.[122] Thus, mention of spe-

---

[115] *LBG* VI 1366–1367.

[116] As noted, such insertions of names are known in Euchologia manuscripts but are not altogether common. See S. Parenti, La commemorazione del Papa di Roma nella 'Divina Liturgia' bizantina, in: Idem, A Oriente e Occidente di Costantinopoli. Temi e problemi liturgici di ieri e di oggi (*Monumenta Studia Instrumenta Liturgica* 54). Vatican 2010, 237–269. Apart from liturgical codices, names may have been written on papyrus or loose parchment folios to be used by the clergy as supplements to Euchologia in the performance of liturgical rites. See Vat., Barb. gr. 336, 8th c.), f. 163r, where a bishop reads an ordination prayer from a separate papyrus page (ἐπιδίδοται τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ ὁ πρὸς συνήθειαν χάρτης ἐν τῷ γέγραπται· Ἡ θεία χάρις). For Byzantine views on commemorating Latins in the liturgy, see G. Avvakumov, Die Entstehung des Uniongedankens. Die lateinische Theologie des Hochmittelalters in der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Ritus der Ostkirche (*Veröffentlichungen des Grabmann-Institutes* 47). Berlin 2002, 324–336; P. D. Viscuso, Guide for a Church Under Islām: The Sixty-Six Canonical Questions Attributed to Theodōros Balsamōn. A Translation of the Ecumenical Patriarchate's Twelfth-Century Guidance to the Patriarchate of Alexandria. Brookline, MA 2014, 84–85 (Question 16 and Response).

[117] For other studies of names in Byzantine manuscripts, see G. Prinzing, Spuren einer religiösen Bruderschaft in Epiros um 1225? Zur Deutung der Memorialtexte im Codex Cromwell 11. *BZ* 101/2 (2008) 751–772; Parenti, Per la datazione.

[118] For specific cases of the intercession of David and Solomon in prayers for education, see the contribution by I. Nesseris below, p. 205.

[119] R. F. Taft, A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, vol. 6: The Communion, Thanksgiving, and Concluding Rites (*OCA* 281). Rome 2008, 781–783.

[120] Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II 129.

[121] A. Dmitrievskij, Opisanie liturgičeskich rukopisej, III: Τυπικά. Petrograd 1917, 34–35; Goar 32 and 37; M. Skaballanovič, Tolkovyj tipikon, vol. 2. Kiev 1913, 171–176.

[122] Patm. gr. 743 (a.1180), ff. 32v–33r; Kallimachos, Πατμιακῆς βιβλιοθήκης συμπλήρωμα, in: *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 10 (1912) 312–315. For more on kollyba and the text of the generic prayer, see Goar 524; F. R. Trombley – A. Kazhdan, Kollyba. *ODB* II 1137–1138.

cific saints other than the Theotokos or St. John the Baptist can provide more information on where a manuscript was used.

Alongside prayers, Euchologia manuscripts often contain scriptural readings from the lectionary of the liturgical year necessary for the Divine Liturgy or for other sacramental rites and blessings. Although Patm. gr. 104 (ca. A.D. 1234) bears the title "Euchologion" at the beginning of the manuscript (Εὐχολόγιον σὺν Θεῷ περιέχον τὴν ἅπασαν ἀκολουθίαν, f. 1r), 220 out of a total of 277 folios contain Gospel readings for the liturgical year. Among the standard commemorations from the life of Christ or the Theotokos and widely venerated saints, one also finds the commemorations of St. Mamas of Caesarea (2 September, f. 54r–55r), St. Eustathius (20 September; f. 62r), Sts. Constantine and Helen (21 May; f. 99v–101r), and St. Theodore Stratelates (8 June: f. 101r–102r)—saints whose commemorations are usually omitted in abbreviated liturgical calendars such as this one, suggesting the copyist had reason to include their names because of a local cult of veneration.[123] In the Southern Italian Euchologion Crypt. Γ.β. III (14th c.) the final folios (f. 205r–211v) contain a Latin liturgical calendar identical to that found in Western Sacramentaries, including numerous commemorations associated with Rome—but written in Greek (ἀρχὴ χρόνηου τῶν λατίνων καὶ ἡ μήνες αὐτῶν).[124] That the Grottaferrata manuscript would include a Western calendar is consistent with other "Latinized" liturgical practices in the manuscript, including the recitation of the Creed with the Filioque (τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός, Υἱοῦ τε ἐκπορευόμενον) during the Liturgy of St. Basil (f. 80r–80v) and by the godparents (οἱ ἀνάδοχοι) during Baptism (f. 141r–142r). Both the Patmos and Grottaferrata Euchologia show how the commemoration of saints in the liturgical calendar can reveal the local color of the community where the manuscripts were used.

Concluding Remarks

These are just a few examples of the variability and customization of the text found in Byzantine Euchologia, as necessitated by the clergy and community where the manuscript was used. Further systematic study of these manuscripts will reveal patterns in adaptations made to liturgical books and shed more light on the divergent liturgical practices of local communities. Future studies must be aware of the importance of all the liturgies in the manuscript—including the particular aspects of their customization—in order to understand the Euchologion's individual prayers for the community in which it was used.

Daniel Galadza

---

[123] Theodore Stratelates is commemorated on two dates in Byzantine liturgical calendars—his death on 8 February 319 (Synaxaria families Fa and Ox) and the transfer of his relics to Euchaita in Asia Minor on 8 June 319 (Synaxaria families H and P). The 8 June commemoration is more frequently celebrated in other Patmos manuscripts, such as the Synaxarion Patm. gr. 226 ([*Diktyon* 54470], 9th–10th c.) [siglum P]. See H. Delehaye, Propylaeum ad Acta sanctorum novembris. Synaxarium ecclesiae constantinopolitanae. Brussels 1902, 449–454 (8 February) and 735–740 (8 June); J. Mateos, Le Typicon de la Grande Église. Ms. Sainte-Croix nᵒ 40, Xe siècle (*OCA* 165–166). Rome 1962–1963, vol. 2:245 (Index).

[124] Liber Sacramentorum Gellonensis, ed. A. Dumas (*CCSL* 159). Turnhout 1981, 490–513. Some of the commemorations in the Grottaferrata calendar include: ἡ ἐπιστροφὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Παύλου ἀποστόλου (25 January, f. 205v), η πουριφικατζιω σαντα Μαρία ηγου η υποπαντι (2 February, f. 206r), τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Ἰωά(ννου) ἀντε πόρτα λατίνα (6 May, f. 208r), των αγίων μαρτυρων Ἰωαννου και Παύλου (25 June, f. 208v), βηνκουλα του αγίου Πέτρου (1 August, f. 209r), τα εγκαίνια αυτου αρχηστρατηγου Μιχαηλ (29 September, f. 210r), των αγίων πάντων (1 November, f. 210v).

RETURNING TO THE FOLD: OBSERVATIONS ON PRAYERS FOR MUSLIM APOSTATES IN BYZANTINE EUCHOLOGIA

Change of religious affiliation is not a phenomenon that is widely reflected in Byzantine sources. Nevertheless it is addressed for various reasons in different kinds of texts:[125] Imperial law and canon law provide a prescriptive framework for conversion, while documents of the patriarchal chancery, including patriarchal letters,[126] furnish supplementary details from legal practice, as their composition is owed to specific circumstances.[127] Chroniclers and historiographers refer to historical events that led people to abandon—voluntarily or under duress—their inherited or adopted belief.[128] Hagiographic texts offer further examples on the issue of conversion, likewise embedded in narrative form and with a particular agenda.

The *Life* of Nikon Metanoeite (*BHG*³ 1366, 1367), for example, reports—among other deeds of the saint—Nikon's efforts to convert the inhabitants of Crete to Christianity in the years after Nikephoros Phokas' reconquest of the island. When Nikon arrived there in 961, it had been under Arab control for more than four generations and a large percentage of its inhabitants had apparently converted to Islam. Reportedly, Nikon's *inspiring example eventually led to multiple conversions* to Orthodoxy.[129]

In view of the scarcity of evidence for the concrete circumstances of conversion, the evidence from the euchologia is particularly welcome. Some euchologia manuscripts also contain conversion prayers. Evidence from manuscripts at the libraries considered here shows that among conversion prayers, there is an emphasis on the re-admission of former Orthodox Christians who had embraced Islam. By contrast, apostasy from Islam of Muslims by birth seems to have been, on the whole, very rare.[130] Among the manuscripts under consideration, there is only one, Patm. 647, that transmits the order for conversion of Muslims by birth, entitled Τάξις γινομένη τοῖς ἀπὸ Σαρρακηνῶν ἐπιστρέφουσιν πρὸς τὴν καθαρὰν καὶ ἀληθινὴν πίστιν τῶν Χριστιανῶν (*Taxis for those who turn*

---

[125] For a study based on Greek and non-Greek sources for Muslim-Christian conversion see Sahner, Swimming Against the Current, for a study on Byzantine heresiological texts see Eleuteri – Rigo, Eretici. See also the volume Conversion in Late Antique Christianity, Islam, and beyond, ed. by A. Papaconstantinou *et alii.* Farnham – Burlington 2015, presenting a wide range of contributions related to the topic of religious affiliation.

[126] Patriarch Germanos II, e.g. sent a letter to a certain Nikolaos, a *grammatikos,* who on the occasion of his re-admission had to renounce his—otherwise unknown—tract against Orthodoxy, see E. Mitsiou – J. Preiser-Kapeller, Übertritte zur byzantinisch-orthodoxen Kirche in den Urkunden des Patriarchatsregisters von Konstantinopel, in: Sylloge Diplomatico-Palaeographica. Studien zur byzantinischen Diplomatik und Paläographie, ed. by Ch. Gastgeber – O. Kresten (*Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung* 19). Vienna 2010, 233–288., esp. 247–248 and no. 48.

[127] *Ibidem,* esp. 237–238, 247–248, 255, 261–262, 271. The majority of instances of conversion registered in the patriarchal chancery between 1315 and 1402 concern conversion from the Latin Church to Orthodoxy. There is only one documented instance of an Orthodox who converted to Islam and then sought re-admission (Nikolaos Bulgaris, a.1391; *ibidem* no.15). We note also one instance of a Muslim by birth, a certain Antonios (a.1374; *ibidem* no.6), who had converted to the Latin Church and afterwards requested admission by the Constantinopolitan patriarchate. See also J. Preiser-Kapeller, Webs of Conversion. An Analysis of Social Networks of Converts Across Islamic-Christian Borders in Anatolia, South-Eastern Europe and the Black Sea from the 13ᵗʰ to the 15ᵗʰ c., available at <https://www.academia.edu/1243539/ > (10.11.2017).

[128] One example is given in Theophanes, Chronographia, 300, 20–26 (ed. C. de Boor I. Leipzig 1883 [reprint Hildesheim 1980]): in 718, after an earthquake in the region of Syria Calif Umar II prohibited the consumption of wine in the cities and enforced conversion to Islam, see P. A. Hollingsworth in *ODB* s.v. Umar II; for further instances see Sahner, Swimming Against the Current, esp. 270–279.

[129] See The Life of Saint Nikon, ed. D. F. Sullivan. Brookline 1987, 82–86. It is not clear from the text whether these were instances of conversion or re-admission.

[130] The apostate would expect capital punishment according to Muslim law, see Sahner, Swimming Against the Current, esp. 269–270.

from the Saracens to the pure and true belief of the Christians).[131] The following seeks to shed some light on prayers for former Orthodox Christians who had apostatized to Islam and were striving for re-admission.[132]

The earliest prayers concerning the reconciliation of apostates occur in our sample in cod. Crypt. Γ.β.IV (10th c.).[133] The title of this section reads as follows:

Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μεθοδίου ἐπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως διαταγὴ πρὸς Χριστιανοὺς ὑπαχθέντας μὲν ἐθνικῇ πλάνη, ἐπιστρέψαντας (cod. ἐπιστρέψαντες) δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ προσδραμόντας (f. 139v; [D]).[134]

Diatage of our father among the saints, Methodios, bishop of Constantinople, addressed to Christians who were led astray by pagan deceit, but reverted and approached the church of God.

This heading is followed by a rubrical specification concerning the age of the candidates at the time of apostasy and the circumstances of apostasy (ff. 139v–140v; [Da–Dc1]). These are decisive factors for the kind of preparation required for re-admission. This rubric then leads to a prayer entitled εὐχὴ Αʹ ἱλασμοῦ ⟨εἰς⟩ τοὺς ἀπὸ ἀρνήσεως ἐπιστρέφοντας (ff. 140v–141v; [D1]; *First prayer of atonement for those reverting from denial*). This is followed by another prayer: Βʹ εἰς τὸ αὐτό inc.: Κύριε Κύριε, ὁ τῶν ἀπάντων ποιητὴς καὶ δεσπότης; (beginning on f. 141v and continuing on f. 101rv;[135] [D3]; *Second (prayer) on the same topic*, inc.: *Oh Lord, oh Lord, creator of all things and master*).

This earliest appearance of the *diatage/diataxis*[136] in our manuscripts is attributed to patriarch Methodios I (843–847). It aims at regulating the reconciliation of Christian apostates and features an intended sequence of prayers since they are marked by Aʹ and Bʹ. Muslims are not mentioned explicitly. As an official patriarchal document[137] the *diataxis* of Methodios I is also widely transmitted in non-liturgical contexts. For instance, the earliest legal witness of the *diataxis*, cod. Oxon. Bodl. Libr. Laud 39 (*Diktyon* 48261), is of Italo-Greek origin and dates to the beginning of the tenth century,[138] i.e. some decades before the Euchologion Crypt. Γ.β.IV. As far as I can see, the authorship of Methodios I has not been doubted. An exchange of prisoners in September 845 has been suggested as

---

[131] See Ioannides, Κυπριακός λειτουργικός κώδικας 529–531. The *taxis* was edited by J. Maj on the basis of the Constantinopolitan Euchologion Paris., Coisl. 213 ([*Diktyon* 49354], a.1027), see Maj, Coislin 213, 50–57. For the context of the *taxis*, see D. J. Sahas, Ritual of Conversion from Islam to the Byzantine Church. *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 36 (1991) 57–69, and Eleuteri – Rigo, Eretici 53–57.

[132] In a next step, more Euchologia manuscripts will be consulted, starting with the ones kept at Sinai and Mount Athos, and in libraries in Jerusalem and Russia, already studied by Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II.

[133] Bibliographical references for this manuscript are mentioned in the tables by G. Rossetto above, p. 187.

[134] The *diataxis* was edited in Arranz, Diataxis 289–315 (with translation into French) and in Idem, L'Eucologio Costantinopolitano 283–293. For our purposes the earlier edition (Arranz, Diataxis) is of a greater value since it is based on a variety of textual witnesses (including Crypt. Γ.β.IV). The later edition—due to its focus—is based on three manuscripts representing the Constantinopolitan tradition (Crypt. Γ.β.I [preference is given to this manuscript by the editor]; Paris., Coisl. 213; Athen., EBE 662 [*Diktyon* 2958]). The text of the *diataxis* is quoted hereafter according to Arranz' earlier edition following his numbering system [D, D1–D6]. (The text is also printed in Goar 689–694 and in Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα σὺν Θεῷ ἁγίῳ. Rome 1873, 473–478 [based on Crypt. Γ.β.I].). After the completion of this contribution, E.-M. Synek very kindly brought to my attention that the Diataxis is also studied by H. B. Kraienhorst, Buß- und Beichtordnungen des griechischen Euchologions und des slawischen Trebniks in ihrer Entwicklung zwischen Osten und Westen (*Das östliche Christentum N.F. 51*). Würzburg 2003, 102–165 (with translation into German).

[135] The continuation on f. 101rv is already referred to in a notice by a recent hand on the bottom of f. 141v. This is not mentioned in Arranz, Diataxis 301, but in Parenti, Crypt. Γ.β.IV 47.

[136] The usual designation is διάταξις, for διαταγή we have noted only one occurrence so far, in Crypt. Γ.β.IV, f. 139v.

[137] V. Grumel – J. Darrouzès, Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople, I/2. Paris ²1989, no. 430.

[138] My knowledge is based on the PINAKES database, see <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/oeuvre/id/2893> (10.11.2017), and on L. Burgmann *et alii*, Repertorium der Handschriften des byzantinischen Rechts. I: Die Handschriften des weltlichen Rechts (*Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte* 20). Frankfurt/Main 1995, no. 148, pos. 38–39.

the possible occasion for the composition of the text.[139] The appearance of the *diataxis* in Euchologia manuscripts may be connected with the liturgical reform that is also associated with Methodios I.[140]

The transmission of the *diataxis* and its prayers in the 13 manuscripts under consideration here[141] can be summed up as follows:

- A title is not always given, neither for the *diataxis* in longer form nor for single prayers.[142]
- The title of the *diataxis* in Γ.β.IV becomes the generic title of [D3] (with slight variations).
- [D3] and [D4] appear repeatedly as single prayers in Euchologia manuscripts, with and also without a title. In some manuscripts, both prayers bear a title that explicitly mentions Muslim apostates.[143]
- The complete sequence of the prayers in Arranz' edition ([D1]–[D5] and one prayer after unction [D6]) primarily reflects the transmission in two Euchologia representing the Constantinopolitan liturgical tradition, Paris., Coisl. 213, and Athen., EBE 662. Crypt. Γ.β.I, which follows that tradition, contains only [D1]–[D4].[144]
- In addition, there is one manuscript in the libraries under consideration that also transmits the *diataxis* in "complete" form: Patm. 647.[145] This manuscript occupies a rather special position, since it was written in Rome in 1583 by Ioannes Sanctamauras[146] on the basis of a Cypriote manuscript. It transmits ordination rites and the *diataxis* for re-admission of apostates as well as the *taxis* for the conversion of Muslims. Furthermore, it contains non-euchological content, i.e. the *metaphrasis* of the Acts of the Apostles by Ioannes Sanctamauras.[147] Because of two notes referring to the year 1591 concerning marriage and baptism ceremonies, it can be concluded that this manuscript was also located in Messina

---

[139] Grumel – Darrouzès, *loc. cit.*; Eleuteri – Rigo, Eretici 39. For an example of Muslim converts to Orthodoxy who refused to be repatriated on the occasion of a prisoner exchange in 859/860, see *PmbZ* 10 648. (I thank Andreas Rhoby for this reference.)

[140] For the liturgical reform of Methodios I, see e.g. R. F. Taft, The Byzantine Rite. A Short History. Collegeville 1992, 54. With regard to the eucharistic liturgies of St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom, cod. Crypt. Γ.β.IV is considered representative of a transitional period in the development of the Euchologion, see G. Radle, Sinai Greek NE / MG 22: Late 9th / early 10th century euchology testimony of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom and the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts in the Byzantine Tradition. *BollGrott* III s., 8 (2011) 169–221, 179–180 with n.39.

[141] Crypt. Γ.β.IV, ff. 139v–141v and 101rv; Crypt. Γ.β.II, ff. 136r–139v; Vat. gr. 1554, ff. 87v–88v (early 12th c.); Vat. gr. 1970, ff. 162r–162bisr (early 12th c.); Vat., Barb. gr. 329 (*Diktyon* 64872), ff. 109r–113v (12th c.); Vat., Barb. gr. 431 (*Diktyon* 64974), ff. 112r–115v (12th c.); Vat. gr. 1811 (*Diktyon* 68440), ff. 138v–142r (a.1147); Vat., Barb. gr. 393 (*Diktyon* 64936), ff. 111r–115r (12th c.); Crypt. Γ.β.XI, ff. 14r–15r; Patm. gr. 703, f. 188rv; Vat. gr. 1552 (*Diktyon* 68183), ff. 33r–34v (12th c.); Crypt. Γ.β.I, ff. 104v–108v; Patm. 647, ff. 31r–38r. (For the dates of the Patmian manuscripts and those at Grottaferrata, see the tables above in the section by G.Rossetto above, pp. 184–189.)

[142] Methodios is mentioned in the *diataxis'* title in the manuscripts Crypt. Γ.β.IV, Vat. gr. 1554 (early 12th c.), Vat., Barb. gr. 393, 1. half 12th c.) and in three manuscripts representing Constantinopolitan tradition: Paris., Coisl. 213, (a.1027), Athen., EBE 662 (13th c.) and Crypt. Γ.β.I. In Vat., Barb. gr. 393 Methodios is mentioned twice, in the title of the *diataxis* [D] on f. 111r, but also on f. 114r in the heading of [D3]: εὐχὴ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρνησαμένων καὶ ἐπιστρεφόντων· ποίημα τοῦ ἁγίου Μεθοδίου.

[143] This is the case for [D3] in Vat., Barb. gr. 393, f. 111r (12th c.), Crypt. Γ.β.XI, f. 14r, Patm. 703, f. 188r, Vat. gr. 1552, f. 33r (12th c.) and for [D4] in Crypt. Γ.β.II, f. 137v, Vat., Barb. gr. 431, f. 113r (12th c.), Vat. gr. 1811, f. 139v (a.1147).

[144] The title given in these three manuscripts differs slightly from all the other witnesses in focus: *Diataxis of our most holy patriarch Methodios regarding reverts of a different kind and age* (Μεθοδίου τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πατριάρχου διάταξις περὶ τῶν διαφόρῳ τρόπῳ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ ἐπιστρεφόντων).

[145] See the detailed study on the liturgical texts transmitted in this manuscript, Ioannides, Κυπριακός λειτουργικός κώδικας. For the location history of this manuscript, see A. D. Komines, Ἄγνωστον ἔργον τοῦ κυπρίου ἀντιγραφέα κωδίκων Ἰωάννου Σανκταμαύρα. *Diptycha* 1 (1979) 7–19, esp. 12–14.

[146] A few years later Ioannes Sanctamauras (<http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/copistepossesseur/id/1380> [10.11. 2017]) held the post of the *scriptor graecus* at the Vatican Library (1585–1612), see also Ioannides, Κυπριακός λειτουργικός κώδικας 511, no.3.

[147] E. Kakoulide-Panou, Ἰωάννης Σανκταμαύρας, Πράξεις τῶν Ἀποστόλων. *Epeteris Kentrou Epistemoniakou Ereunon Kyprou* 6 (2000) 205–240.

for some time. It is assumed that it reached Patmos at the beginning of the 17th c., under unknown circumstances. The question of the purpose and usage of this manuscript remains open.

– [D2] is not extant in our manuscripts, except for Crypt. Γ.β.I and Patm. 647. (It is, however part of the *diataxis* in Paris., Coisl. 213, Athen., EBE 662).

– Anathemata that would be pronounced in the process of re-admission are not constitutive elements of Methodios' *diataxis* (but they are part of the above-mentioned *taxis* for the conversion of Muslims by birth).

The introductory rubric to Methodios' *diataxis*[148] offers an idea of the re-admission process: the age of the reconvert at the time of apostasy was a decisive factor, as was the consideration of whether the conversion had occurred under duress or voluntarily. This determined the period preceding unction, which could last from seven days for children up to two years of fasting for adults to expiate voluntary apostasy.[149] Prayers [D3] and [D4] refer to the fact that the person seeking re-admission had already received baptism.[150]

Among the legal instructions concerning apostates,[151] we encounter general regulations for someone who *has renounced baptism* in *Basilica* LX 54,22, based on Cod. Iust. I.7.3: *An apostate would not be allowed to testify, to leave a last will and to become an heir.*[152] Apostates from Christianity to Islam, however, are mentioned explicitly in Ecloga tit.17,6 (περὶ τῶν μαγαρισάντων[153]): *Those who fall into the hands of the enemy and renounce our blameless Christian belief should at their return to the community be delivered to the church.*[154] Along these lines, Nomocanon 48 states that *if it happens that someone has been captured by pagans and has converted to Islam he/she should be blessed and ointed, but he/she should not be baptized.*[155] The latter regulation corresponds exactly to what has been observed about the re-admission process in the relevant prayers.

This preliminary assessment demonstrates that the Euchologia manuscripts in the three library collections under consideration here show some variation with regard to re-admission prayers for Muslim apostates. While the relevant texts are well represented in the Euchologia manuscripts in Grottaferrata and the Vatican, this concern is addressed only in two Patmian manuscripts.[156] It remains to be seen whether this reveals a historically significant regional pattern. The manuscripts at Grottaferrata and the Vatican transmit prayers that were also parts of patriarch Methodios' I *diataxis*. Regarding their transmission we note variation in sequence and in completeness, as even single prayers from the *diataxis* are used. Admittedly, however, all these observations are based on a relatively small percentage of Euchologia manuscripts. Therefore, the next steps will comprise expanding the base of manuscripts and the detailed study of the rubrical instructions, wherever extant,

---

[148] The rubric's incipit runs as follows: Εἰ μὲν παιδίον συνελήφθη καὶ ἠρνήσατο ἢ φόβῳ καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ καὶ ἀμαθείᾳ. It is contained in these manuscripts of the libraries studied here: Crypt. Γ.β.IV, ff. 139v–140v; Vat. gr. 1554, ff. 87v–88r (early 12th c.); Vat., Barb. gr. 393, ff. 111r–112r (1. half 12th c.) and in Crypt. Γ.β.I, 104v–105r. It is also transmitted in Coisl. 213, ff. 132r–133r (a.1027) and Athen. 662, ff. 235r–235v (13th c.)

[149] The various regulations were already pointed out by Arranz, see the commentary after each prayer in Arranz, Diataxis.

[150] [D3] l.16–21 and [D4] l.12–13.

[151] For further studies it should be noted that legal aspects involved in the issue of conversion and apostasy are particularly tangible when it comes to intermarriages, see E.-M. Synek, Islamisch-orthodoxe Mischehen. *Ostkirchliche Studien* 65 (2016) 42–63, esp. 44–63.

[152] Basilicorum libri LX, ed. H. J. Scheltema *et alii*. Ser. A VIII. Groningen 1988, 3105.

[153] This expression would become the usual denomination for Christians who had converted to Islam, see *LBG s.v.*

[154] See L. Burgmann, Ecloga. Das Gesetzbuch Leons III. und Konstantinos' V. (*Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte* 10). Frankfurt/Main 1983, 158 and 228.

[155] Nomocanon (ed. J. B. Cotelier, Monumenta Ecclesiae Graecae I. Paris 1677, 68–158), cn. 48.

[156] Patm. 703 [D3] on f. 188r, this section dates from the 12th c., (see also the tables by G. Rossetto above, p. 183, and the section by D. Galadza above, p. 193) and Patm. 647 (a.1583), which represents a special case due to its genesis.

in order to learn more about the ritual setting of these prayers. Further down the line, a comparative reading of the *diataxis* and other works attributed to Methodios I has to be undertaken, as well as the comparison of its textual transmission in legal and liturgical witnesses, in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the ecclesiastical practices, including prayers, concerning re-admission into the church.

Elisabeth Schiffer

THE CHILDBED PRAYERS IN THE BYZANTINE EUCHOLOGIA:
PRELIMINARY NOTES

In the year 1294 the newborn daughter of the emperor Andronikos II was in mortal danger. The emperor followed the advice of an "*experienced and venerable woman*" and lit candles in front of the icons of the twelve Apostles; the candle in front of Simon lasted longer, the girl survived and was named Simonis.[157] In Byzantine hagiography similar stories of women and men seeking divine assistance in various situations concerning pregnancy and childbirth abound; these practices are reported in positive terms.[158] In other cases, birth-related practices were condemned by the Byzantine Church as sorcery. Thus, Theodore the Stoudite praised his mother Theoktiste for not following the example of other women, who suspended amulets on their newborn children and revered the woman who guided them in such sorcery, but was satisfied simply by sealing her children with the sign of the cross.[159] In the narrations of Pachymeres and Theodore Studites all three persons performing birth-related ritual actions without clerical mediation are women: the anonymous "*experienced and venerable*" one at Simonis' birth, the equally anonymous "*author and guide and teacher*" rejected by Theoktiste, and Theoktiste herself, who sealed her children with the cross. The Euchologia, however, omit from their scope concerns such as conception, a safe delivery or infant mortality. They are not an accurate account of women's life in Byzantium, and to unlock their potential one should not take them as such. They rather represent the voice of ecclesiastic authorities on fields considered by the Byzantine Church to be the responsibility of the clergy, including childbirth which is the focus of this contribution.[160]

The prayers for the 40 days after birth in Goar's edition of the Euchologion are the following:[161]
 – four prayers for the accouchée (γυνὴ λεχώ) on the day of birth;
 – one prayer for the midwives;
 – one prayer for the accouchée on the 15th or 20th day;
 – one prayer for the eighth day, in which the child is "sealed" (i.e. by the sign of the cross) and given a name;
 – two prayers for the churching of the woman and three for the churching of the child on the 40th day;
 – one prayer in the case of a miscarriage.

---

[157] Georgios Pachymeres IX 32 (ed. A. Failler, Georges Pachymérès, Relations historiques. Vol. III [*CFHB* 24]. Paris 1999, 304–305).
[158] Ariantzi, Kindheit 51–91.
[159] S. Efthymiadis – J. M. Featherstone, Establishing a holy lineage. Theodore the Stoudite's funerary catechism for his mother (BHG 2422), in: Theatron. Rhetorische Kultur in Spätantike und Mittelalter, ed. M. Grünbart (*Millennium-Studien* 13). Berlin – New York 2007, 13–51, here 42–43.
[160] The ecclesiastic discourse on women, childbirth and purity are the object of analysis in the course of the Herta-Firnberg-Project "Female Identities at a Liminal State: An Analysis of Childbed Prayers in Byzantine Prayerbooks" (Eirini Afentoulidou, FWF T 884-G25, beginning 01.01.2018)
[161] Goar 261–272.

Although Goar does not identify his manuscripts, his edition represents a later stage in the development of Euchologia. Indeed, prayers on the topics just listed are found in more or less the same order in the manuscripts from the 15th c. onwards. Miguel Arranz was the first to examine childbed prayers with attention to chronological and geographical aspects. In his attempt to reconstruct the ancient Constantinopolitan Euchologion, he analysed and edited prayers for the admission of the child on the eighth and 40th day, and prayers for the churching of the mother.[162] Other childbed-related topics were outside Arranz' chronological scope, as they are not attested in extant Euchologia prior to the 15th c. Thanks to recent research trips, we are in a position to gain a clearer picture of the chronological development and the geographic distribution of the childbed prayers.

The prayers and their development

– Eighth c.: sealing and churching of the child in front of the church

The earliest extant Euchologia contain exclusively pre-baptismal prayers for the admission of the child to the church: one prayer for the *sealing of the child on the eighth day* (Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν σοῦ δεόμεθα καὶ σὲ ἱκετεύομεν σημειωθήτω) and one for the *churching of the child on the 40th day* (Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις).[163] Prayers for these occasions are found in nearly all Euchologia throughout the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine centuries. From the late 15th c. the prayer Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ πατὴρ ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ διὰ τοῦ μεγαλοφωνοτάτου τῶν προφητῶν Ἡσαΐου is attested.[164] The prayer Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἡ πηγὴ τῶν εὐλογιῶν, attested for various occasions in the life of a child since the 9th c., is occasionally transmitted in the context of childbed since the 13th c.[165]

– 10th–13th c.: churching of the woman

From the 10th c. onwards, the first prayers for the *churching of the woman* are attested in some Euchologia,[166] although it is from the 13th c. that practically every Euchologion transmitting prayers for the churching of the child also includes prayers for the churching of the woman. The earliest is Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ παραγενόμενος.[167] The second, Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν σοῦ δεόμεθα καὶ σε παρακαλοῦμεν καὶ ἱκετεύομεν αὐτὸς ὁ Πατήρ, is attested from the 12th c. onwards.[168]

– 15th c.: prayers for the day of birth said at home

At the beginning of the 15th c. Symeon of Thessaloniki wrote the treatise Περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τελετῶν in the form of questions and answers, one of which is the following:

Q. Why is a prayer said by the priest at the birth of an infant?

A. When an infant is born by a pious woman, the priest comes and praises God, giving thanks, because a human is born to the world. And he seals and blesses the newborn, and prays that it is preserved and receives the baptism and chrismation. For the mother he prays for what brings her salvation, and he administers her and the women who are with her grace and sanctification. And he gives them permission to pursue their work without being prohibited, or partaking of pollution, or

———————

[162] M. Arranz, Les Sacrements de l'ancien Eucologe constantinopolitain 3.II. Admission dans l'église des enfants des familles chrétiennes (premier catéchumenat). *OCP* 49 (1983) 284–302; Arranz, Preghiere parapenitenziali; Arranz, L'euchologio costantinopolitano 169–171.

[163] Arranz, Les Sacrements 3.II. B1:1 and B1:2; Arranz, L'euchologio costantinopolitano 169–171; Goar 267. A helpful overview of the development of baptismal (including pre-baptismal and postbaptismal) rites is provided by S. Parenti, Christian Initiation in the East, in: Handbook for Liturgical Studies. IV: Sacraments and Sacramentals, ed. A. J. Chupungco. Collegeville, MN 2000, 29–48.

[164] Goar 268; Patm. 690.

[165] Goar 265; Sin. gr. 961 (*Diktyon* 59336). See the contribution by I. Nesseris below, p. 206–209.

[166] Crypt. Γ.β.IV, Crypt. Γ.β.X, Sin. gr. 958 (*Diktyon* 59333).

[167] Three redactions are edited in Arranz, Preghiere parapenitenziali 447–449 as B9:2a–c. See Goar 267.

[168] Vat., Ottob. gr. 344 (*Diktyon* 65587). Arranz, Preghiere parapenitenziali 444–446, prayer B9:1. See Goar 267.

being insecure by the envious apparitions of the Evil one in any way; for they assisted the birth re-sulting from sin and voluptuousness, which some call, as it is, forerunner of corruption and death.[169]

Symeon testifies to the existence of such prayers as an established practice by his time. Prayers for the mother and midwives on the day of birth are first attested in manuscripts from the 15th c. However, the number of different prayers attested in the 15th–16th c. strengthens the hypothesis that such prayers must have existed for a while: so far, 17 prayers for the woman on the day of birth have been found on the basis of recent research (s. Appendix). The number of new prayers is explained by the high degree of intertextuality: they are a rearrangement of motifs and formulas found in other prayers, or are prayers usually said for another occasion, such as exorcisms or absolution prayers.

On the other hand, none of the almost one hundred South Italian manuscripts studied so far, a large part of which dates from the 10th–13th c., includes childbed prayers other than those said on the eighth or 40th day at the church, with one possible exception.[170] This is a manifestation of regional variation, but also suggests that childbed prayers said at home by the priest were a later development.

Some prayers are written specifically for the midwives, or are vague enough to be said for both midwives and the accouchée. The prayer Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ περὶ τῶν ζώων ἐν τῇ ὀθόνῃ is first attested in the 15th–16th c., Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ἀληθινὸς ἄρτος in the 16th c.[171] In other manuscripts, however, including those used by Goar, the latter is read for the accouchée sometime between birth and churching.[172]

  – 15th c.: miscarriage

From the 15th c. the prayer Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τεχθείς, an adaptation of the prayer for birth with this *incipit*, is transmitted occasionally. Another prayer, Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ἐλεήμων, is first attested in the 16th c.[173]

Concerns of Childbed-Prayers

The main concerns addressed in the prayers presented above are the following:

a) Admission into the Church

The full admission into the church through baptism was anticipated by the prayers for the child on the eighth and on the 40th day, in the context of which the child was referred to by his or her Christian name for the first time. The supplications mainly regard growth, a Christian life and the perspective of baptism. In this context it is important to draw attention to questions of the gendered language used in relation to the child.[174]

b) Ritual purity of the accouchée and the midwives

According to Byzantine canon law, a woman was barred from entering the church, touching sa-cred objects and receiving Holy Communion for 40 days after birth.[175] For the midwives the time of exclusion also lasted several days, depending on the source. Purification of the woman who had giv-en birth was the main concern in the prayers for the 40th day. Although these prayers are never titled "purification", the discourse is that of purity. In the prayers for the day of birth the emphasis is on the

---

[169] De sacramentis. *PG* 155, 208.
[170] Crypt. Γ.β.XII (Late 13th c. vs 14th c.) has an otherwise unknown prayer for the accouchée (Εὐχὴ εἰς λεχων, f. 2v). There is no indication as to whether the prayer was said on the day of birth, or the 40th day.
[171] Patm. 690 (Goar 263) and Patm. 786 respectively.
[172] On the 15th or 20th day in Goar. On the eighth in Patm. 689.
[173] Vindob. theol. gr. 286 (*Diktyon* 71953).
[174] E. Afentoulidou, Gendering the Baby in Byzantine Prayers on Child-Bed. Paper presented at the XVII International Con-ference on Patristic Studies, Oxford, 10–14 August 2015.
[175] E.-M. Synek, "Wer aber nicht völlig rein ist an Seele und Leib ...": Reinheitstabus im orthodoxen Kirchenrecht. Egling a.d. Paar 2006, 69–76.

sinful state shared by fallen humanity, reminiscent of the interpretation by Symeon of Thessaloniki. The wording is similar to that in the "recycled" miscarriage prayers.

c) Well-being of mother and child

The prayers attested from the 15th c. represent a shift from the church to the household, manifested not only in the space of their performance, but also in their topics. In some of the prayers for the day of birth, the health of mother and child becomes a central concern. Motifs are borrowed from early prayers for illness. The requests to guard and to protect mother and child from demonic influence address fears which were a major concern of other birth-related rituals and practices mentioned at the beginning of this section. Incidentally, texts in the grey zone between prayer and magic are often found in miscellanies alongside liturgical content or in Euchologia proper, none of which is earlier than 15th c.[176]

d) Household

Some prayers include a blessing of the house/household (οἶκος), in which the child was born. Thus, whereas in the earlier prayers said at church the community is almost exclusively the Church, in the later prayers said at home the emphasis is on the household and its network, i.e. the midwives.

Conclusions

This overview demonstrated the potential of analysing the prayers in their historical development based on manuscript tradition and in relation both to other Euchologion prayers and to texts beyond the Euchologion—which should include Slavonic and Latin texts at a future stage.[177] The changes in the concerns and the discourse of the prayers indicate changes in attitudes and perceptions. The Euchologion is a mirror of what people valued, feared and hoped for, and at the same time reveals which of the concerns the Church hierarchy regarded as being their responsibility.

Appendix: Prayers for the accouchée on the day of birth

Ms. of earliest occurrence[178]	Date	Incipit
Crypt. Γ.β.XII, 2v.	Late 13th c. *vs* 14th c.	Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης[179]
Sin. gr. 968 (*Diktyon* 59343), 74r	1426	Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ
Sin. gr. 968, 75v; Vindob. theol. gr. 286, 37v; Patm. 689, 79v-80r.	1426; middle of 15th c.; 15th–16th c.	Κύριε Σαβαὼθ ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ὁ ἰώμενος (also baptismal exorcism)
Sin. gr. 968, 75r; Patm. 690, 67v; also edited in Goar 263	1426; late 15th c.	Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τῷ ἐνυποστάτῳ σου λόγῳ (also for midwives)
Dresden A 151 (*Diktyon* 13475), f. 28v; Goar 261	15th c.	Δέσποτα Κύριε παντοκράτορ ὁ ἰώμενος
Dresden A 151, f. 29r; Goar 261	15th c.	Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τεχθεὶς
Dresden A 151, f. 30r; also edited in Goar 262	15th c.	Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ εὐδοκήσας κατελθεῖν

---

[176] Patm. 689 (15th-16th c.), Patm. 690 (Late 15th c.), Patm. 703 (15th c.), Vat., Barb. gr. 311 ([*Diktyon* 64854], 16th c.), Vat. gr. 1538 ([*Diktyon* 68169], 2nd half 15th c.), Vat. gr. 2032 (1549). See A. Vassiliev, Anecdota Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina, pars prior. Moskow 1893, 323–345.

[177] M. Dimitrova, Srednovekovni molitvi za rodilki. Sofia 2014; Franz, Benediktionen 176–245.

[178] For Patmos and Grottaferrata manuscripts, see the table above in the contribution by G. Rossetto, p. 183–189. The earliest occurrence is based on the dates given in catalogs, which are not always reliable. Whenever more than one of the manuscripts examined have the same date (which is not unusual, given that most datings are vague and approximate), I give all. Needless to say, this table is only of a provisional character and will be updated or revised, as the material grows and the tools get refined.

[179] It is not clear whether this prayer for the accouchée is said on the day of birth or on a later day.

Ms. of earliest occurrence[178]	Date	Incipit
Vat., Barb. gr. 410 (*Diktyon* 64953), 134r.	15th c.	Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ἐκ τοῦ χοὸς πλάσας
Vindob. theol. gr. 286, 37r.	Middle of 15th c.	Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τὴν διὰ μετανοίας ἄφεσιν (also absolution prayer)
Vindob. theol. gr. 286, 59v; Paris. gr. 330, p. 123.	Middle of 15th c.; 2nd half of 15th c.[180]	Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν
Patm. 690, 66r.	Late 15th c.	Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ πλάστης καὶ δημιουργός
Patm. 690, 66v.	Late 15th c.	Δέσποτα Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τεχθείς
Patm. 690, 66v.	Late 15th c.	Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ καὶ τῆς Εὕας συγχωρήσας
Patm. 690, 67v.	Late 15th c.	Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ μόνος ἀναμάρτητος (also absolution prayer)
Patm. 689, 79r.	15th–16th c. *vs* 16th c.	Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν οἶκον ἁγίασον
Patm. 786, 120r.	16th c.	Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν σοῦ δεόμεθα καὶ σὲ παρακαλοῦμεν (also for 40th day)
Patm. 811, 9r.	16th c.	Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ μὴ βουλόμενος τὸν θάνατον (also absolution prayer)

Eirini Afentoulidou

SCHOOLING PRAYERS: SOME PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

INTRODUCTION

It is a commonplace that in Byzantium the Church dominated many aspects of its political, social and cultural life.[181] It also exerted a strong influence over education, since it was the Church that usually provided the necessary space for the schools and many of the instructors themselves belonged to its ranks.[182] Therefore it does not come as a surprise that under the aegis of the Church and over the course of time certain prayers and rituals were developed for the blessing of this important life stage.[183] At the level of primary education, which is our focus here, these prayers concern the pupils' first day at school. Information on the higher levels of education, by contrast, is provided by sources other than liturgical manuscripts, for instance Byzantine textbooks for secondary education containing schedographies which include some prayers outside a liturgical context for the students who begin their instruction in this method.[184]

---

[180] The three folios containing the prayers for the day of birth (p. 123–128) were inserted into the 12th c. Euchologion Paris. gr. 330 (*Diktyon* 49902). I wish to thank Christian Förstel for suggesting a date for these folios (e-mail 2017-06-20).

[181] A. KAZHDAN – G. CONSTABLE, People and Power in Byzantium. An Introduction to Modern Byzantine Studies. Washington, D.C. 1982, 76.

[182] See NESSERIS, Παιδεία I 40.

[183] It has been shown that μάθησις (i.e. learning) was perceived by many authors of saints' lives as the decisive factor that distinguished infancy from childhood and signaled the passing from one to the other, see A. KIOUSOPOULOU, Χρόνος καὶ ἡλικίες στὴ Βυζαντινὴ κοινωνία. Ἡ κλίμακα τῶν ἡλικιῶν ἀπὸ τὰ ἁγιολογικὰ κείμενα τῆς μέσης ἐποχῆς (7ος – 11ος αἰ.). Athens 1997, 72. For children's education as depicted in saints' lives, see also ARIANTZI, Kindheit 168–181. For another important life stage, which came earlier in a child's life, see RADLE, Infants.

[184] These prayers eventually became an integral part of the *corpus* of schedographies they were initially attached to and were treated as didactic texts themselves, for instance in cod. Vat., Barb. gr. 102 ([*Diktyon* 64650], a. 1288/89), see J. J. KEANEY, Moschopulea. *BZ* 64 (1971) 303–321, esp. 305. For the teaching method of schedography, see F. NOUSIA, Byzantine Textbooks of the Palaeologan Period (*StT* 505). Vatican 2016, 49–92.

The prayers already known from Goar

Goar's edition of the Greek Euchologion includes, among other prayers for various needs and occasions, two individual prayers for a child that begins instruction at the primary school, namely (I) Εὐχὴ ὅταν ἀπέρχεται παιδίον μανθάνειν τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα (Prayer for when a child departs to begin instruction in the sacred letters), inc. Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ τῇ σῇ εἰκόνι τιμήσας … (Oh God, our God, who have honoured us with your own image…) and (II) Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ μαθεῖν παντοῖα ἱερὰ γράμματα (Prayer for the learning of all sorts of sacred letters), inc. Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐνοικήσας καὶ φωτίσας τὰς καρδίας τῶν εἴκοσι τεσσάρων πρεσβυτέρων… (Oh Lord Jesus Christ, our God, you who have dwelt in and enlightened the hearts of the twenty-four Elders…).[185] Goar, in his usual manner, does not indicate which manuscript was his exemplar for the first of these two prayers, but he mentions "*Cryptoferratensis Basilii Falascae codex*", i.e. Crypt. Γ.β.III from the second half of the 14th century, as his textual base for the second.[186] These prayers, which are laden with the usual references to enlightened and wise figures from the Bible, such as David and Solomon in I,[187] are rather generic in their formulation and wording and offer no *realia* of school life nor information as to how or where they were read.[188]

The various *vitae* of saints give the impression that most of the children in Byzantium were astute and overachieving students with precocious learning abilities, but this is, of course, a literary *topos*.[189] It is precisely in this context that we have to examine the Ἀκολουθία εἰς παῖδας κακοσκόπους, which, as Jane Baun has convincingly shown, refers to pupils with learning difficulties rather than misbehaving children.[190] The Akolouthia consists of the necessary *troparia* and two prayers (III.1 and III.2) which are variations of II (Goar printed the first of them without any title, while the second one is simply entitled Εὐχὴ ἑτέρα) and closes with a *synaptē*. Of some interest is the mention—in addition to some biblical figures, such as Moses (only in III.1) and the 24 Elders (in II and III.2)—of the names of the Apostle Matthias and saints Agapitos, Prokopios, Philetos (in II and III.2), probably simply due to the connotations created by their names (Ματθίας – μανθάνω, Προκόπιος – προκόπτω etc.).[191]

---

[185] Ed. Goar 572. See also Franz, Benediktionen II 257–259; P. De Meester, Liturgia Bizantina. Studi di Rito Bizantino alla luce della Teologia, del Diritto Ecclesiastico, della Storia, dell'Arte e dell'Archeologia, Libro II, parte VI: Rituale-Benedizionale Bizantino. Rome 1933, 353–355; Baun, Coming of Age 126–127. Roman numerals refer to the prayer texts mentioned in the table below.

[186] For this identification, see Strittmatter, Barberinum S. Marci, 331, n. 4.

[187] For David and Solomon as models of wisdom, see S. Tougher, The wisdom of Leo VI, in: New Constantines. The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries, ed. P. Magdalino. Aldershot 1994, 171–179. More enigmatic are the references to Enoch, Elijah and Job in Prayer II.

[188] G. Filias, Ὁ τρόπος ἀναγνώσεως τῶν εὐχῶν στη λατρεία τῆς Ορθοδόξου Εκκλησίας κατά τα χειρόγραφα ευχολόγια Η΄–ΙΔ΄ αιώνων. Athens 1997, 144, 356.

[189] T. Pratsch, Der hagiographische Topos. Griechische Heiligenviten in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit (*Millennium Studies* 6). Berlin – New York 2005, 92–105; B. Caseau, Childhood in Byzantine Saints' Lives, in: Becoming Byzantine. Children and Childhood in Byzantium, ed. A. Papaconstantinou – A.-M. Talbot. Washington, D.C. 2009, 127–166, at 154–156. This fact is also corroborated by evidence gleaned from other sources, for instance the correspondence of teachers who sometimes do not hesitate to talk about their students' shortcomings and inefficiency; for one such example originating from John Tzetzes, see Nesseris, Παιδεία I 388.

[190] The author was able to prove this point by examining the Akolouthia in conjunction with some quasi-magical formulas that exist in two post-Byzantine manuscripts, see Baun, Coming of Age 127–129. Two similar formulas are also found in cod. Dresden A.151 (15th c.), f. 2r, entitled: Ἑρμηνεία, πῶς ὀφείλεις ποιεῖν εἰς παῖδας κακοσκόπους and Ἕτερον εἰς ἀργόσκοπον παῖδα respectively. The fact that in the title of the second formula the adjective ἀργόσκοπος (obviously meaning 'slow on the uptake') is alternatively used here as a synonym for the term κακόσκοπος, strengthens further Baun's argument.

[191] See Goar, 575. Also I. Phountoules, Απαντήσεις σε λειτουργικές, κανονικές και άλλες απορίες. *Ephemerios* 43, no. 13 (Sept. 1994) 271–272, at 271. For a similar occurrence in liturgical poetry, see the article by H. Hunger, Byzantinische Namensdeutungen in jambischen Synaxarversen. *Byzantina* 13/1 (1985 = Dorema ston Ioanne Karagiannopoulo) 1–26.

Prayers I and II (and the aforementioned variants of Prayer II that form part of the Akolouthia) obviously attest to a later development of the schooling prayers within the framework of the liturgical tradition(s) of the Euchologion, as can be deduced by the fact that apart from a single occurrence in a manuscript of the 14th c. (Prayer II in the already mentioned Crypt. Γ.β.III, ff. 156v–157r), no other manuscript is earlier than the 15th c.[192]

But what about earlier traditions of prayers for learning? We have been able to locate four additional prayers which have remained hitherto unnoticed, significantly expanding our basis of known schooling prayers beyond the three texts edited by Goar. They are transmitted by more than 25 Euchologia manuscripts that we have been able to investigate so far on the basis of catalogs and through autopsy. We examined 15 of these manuscripts in the libraries of the Vatican and Grottaferrata during the second research trip of the Vienna Euchologia Project in March 2017.

Further prayers added from Euchologia manuscripts

The new prayers are the following four. They can be identified by their incipit, although, as can been seen in the table below, they appear under different titles in the various manuscripts:

- (IV) Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ πάσης κτίσεως δημιουργός, ὁ τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Δαβὶδ χαρισάμενος τῆς πνευματικῆς χάριτος… (Oh Lord our God, the Creator of all things, you who endowed your slave David with spiritual grace…)

- (V) Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ πλούσιος ἐν ταῖς εὐλογίαις σου, καὶ ἄφθονος ἐν ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις σου… (Oh Lord our God, you who are abundant with your blessings and profuse with your benefactions…)

- (VI) Ἁγία Τριὰς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, εὐλόγησον τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο ἐν πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ πνευματικῇ… (Oh Holy Trinity our God, bless this child with all spiritual blessings…)

- (VII) Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἡ πηγὴ τῶν εὐλογιῶν, ὁ φυλάσσων τὰ νήπια, καὶ φρουρῶν αὐτὰ διὰ τὴν ἀκακίαν… (Oh Lord our God, you who are the source of all blessings, you who guard infants and protect them on account of their innocence…)

Prayer Type	Title in Ms.	Date	Shelfmark
IV	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ παιδίου, διδομένου μαθητευθῆναι (Prayer for a child delivered [to a teacher] to begin instruction)	13th/14th c. (pace Dmit.) vs 14th (Gard.)	Sin. gr. 971, ff. 203r–205r [193]
IV	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ παιδίου διδομένου εἰς τὸ μαθητευθῆναι (Prayer for a child delivered [to a teacher] to begin instruction)	13th (Dmit.) vs 14th c. (Gard.)	Sin. gr. 982, f. 63v [194]

---

[192] Prayer I is found in the following manuscripts: **i.** Dresden A.151 (15th c.), f. 1v; **ii.** Lesb. Leimōnos 85 (first half of the 16th c.), ff. ρλν–ρλαr; **iii.** Leipzig Eing. 1966/356 ([*Diktyon* 38313], first half of the 16th c.), f. 207r; **iv.** Sin. gr. 996 ([*Diktyon* 59371], a. 1566), f. 97v; **v.** BN Matrit. gr. 241 (4793) ([*Diktyon* 40268], ca. 1580), ff. 101v–102r; **vi.** EBE, Metochion Panaghiou Taphou 134 ([*Diktyon* 6531], a. 1584), f. 100v; **vii.** Escor. gr. 53 (R.III.19) ([*Diktyon* 15324], 16th c.), f. 26v.
Prayer II is also transmitted by cod. Dresden A.151, f. 2v.
Prayers III.1 and III.2, which form part of the Akolouthia, are transmitted by all the manuscripts also containing I with the addition of Sin. gr. 996 (a. 1566) and Meteora, Hagias Triados 64 ([*Diktyon* 74075], a. 1623).
[193] *Diktyon* 59346, Gardthausen, Catalogus 208; Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II 249–262, at 257.
[194] *Diktyon* 59357, Gardthausen, Catalogus 213; Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II 232–245, at 238; for this date, see also Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 710, n. 114. A slightly earlier date in the 12th–13th c. had been proposed by S. Parenti, Un eucologio poco noto del Salento El Escorial X.IV.13. *Studi sull'Oriente Cristiano* 15.2 (2011) 157–197, at 168.

Prayer Type	Title in Ms.	Date	Shelfmark
IV	No Greek title given in catalog	1467	Marc. gr. III.12, f. 481r[195]
IV	Εὐχὴ ἑτέρα ἐπὶ παιδὸς διδομένου εἰς τὸ μαθεῖν τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα (Other prayer for a child delivered [to a teacher] to learn the sacred letters)	late 14th c.	Jerusalem, Patriarchikē Bibliothēkē, Hagiou Saba 377, f. ρνγ r[196]
IV	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ παιδὸς διδομένου, εἰς τὸ μαθεῖν τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα (Prayer for a child delivered [to a teacher] to learn the sacred letters)	1563	Karditsa, Monē Korones 8, ff. ρϞδv–ρϞεr[197]
IV	No Greek title given in catalog	16th c.	Marc. gr. XI.20, f. 302r[198]
V	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ παραδοῦναι παῖδα εἰς σχολίον (lege σχολεῖον) (Prayer for a child delivered to school)	11th c. vs early 12th c.	Crypt. Γ.β.II, f. 122r[199]
V	Εὐχὴ ἑτέρα (Other prayer)	1177	Vat., Ottob. gr. 344, ff. 197r–v[200]
VI	Εὐχὴ μετὰ τὸ κουρεῦσαι παιδίον β´ (Second prayer after the hair-clipping of a child)	late 8th c.	Vat., Barb. gr. 336, f. 203r–v[201]
VI	Εὐχὴ ἑτέρα εἰς τριχοκουρί<α>ν (Other prayer for hair-clipping)	9th c. (Koumarianos) vs 10th c. (Jacob, Parenti–Taft)	Leningr. gr. 226, ff. 121r[202]
VI	Εὐχὴ [εἰς τὸ κουρεῦσαι παιδίον] (Prayer for the hair-clipping of a child)	early 10th c. vs 10th–11th c.	Crypt. Γ.β.VII, ff. 57v–58r
VI	Εἰς καμπανισμὸν καὶ εἰς τὸ παραδοῦναι εἰς μ(αθήματα ?) (Prayer for kampanismos and for a child beginning instruction)	10th c.	Vat. gr. 1833, f. 29r[203]

[195] *Diktyon* 70380, E. Mioni, Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum codices graeci manuscripti I, Pars altera: Classis II, Codd. 121–198 – Classes III, IV, V. Indices. Rome 1972, 176–190, at 189.

[196] *Diktyon* 34633, A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, ἤτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις … τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων II. Saint Petersburg 1894 (reprint Brussels 1963) 503–508, at 508.

[197] *Diktyon* 36552, C. N. Constantinides – R. Browning, Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570 (*DOS* XXX & *Cyprus Research Centre, Texts and Studies* XVIII). Washington, D.C. – Nicosia 1993, 343–350, at 346. For this manuscript, see also G. Ioannides, Osservazioni liturgiche sull'eucologio cipriota Karditsa Korones 8. *BollGrott* III s., 1 (2004) 115–135.

[198] *Diktyon* 70656, E. Mioni, Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum codices graeci manuscripti III: Codices qui in classes IX, X, XI inclusos et supplementa duo continens. Rome 1972, 109–112, at 111.

[199] For the dates and bibliography on this and the rest of the Grottaferrata manuscripts mentioned here, see the section by G. Rossetto above, p. 186–189.

[200] E. Feron – F. Battaglini, Codices Manuscripti Graeci Ottoboniani Bibliothecae Vaticanae. Rome 1893, 181; Polidori, Liturgia 64; Arnesano, Repertorio 33; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 708, n. 87.

[201] Velkovska – Parenti, Evchologij Barberini 411–412.

[202] *Diktyon* 57298, E. E. Granstrem, Katalog grečeskih rukopisej leningraadskih hranilisc. I. rukopisi IV–IX vekov. *VV* 16 (1959) 216–243, at 243 (no. 112). A. Jacob, L'Euchologe de Porphyre Uspenski. Cod. Leningr. gr. 226 (Xᵉ siècle). *Le Muséon* 78 (1965) 173–204, at 198 (Nr. 204); P. Koumarianos, Ἡ Θεία Λειτουργία τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου κατὰ τὸ Πορφυριανὸ Εὐχολόγιο. *Theologia* 82.3 (2011), 93–121; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 704, n. 19.

[203] *Diktyon* 68462, Canart, Codices Vaticani 272–278, at 273; Jacob, Καμπανισμός 225; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 704, n. 23.

Prayer Type	Title in Ms.	Date	Shelfmark
VI	Εὐχὴ εἰς καμπανισμὸν παίδων (Prayer for *kampanismos* of children)	11th c. *vs* early 12th c.	Crypt. Γ.β.II, f. 121v[204]
VI	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ καμπανιζομένου· καὶ εἰς παῖδα παραδιδοῦσθαι εἰς τὰ μαθήματα (Prayer for *kampanismos* and for a child delivered [to a teacher] to begin instruction)	1147	Vat. gr. 1811, f. 67r[205]
VI	[Prayer comes after the prayer for the hair-clipping of a child] No title in ms.	1152/1153	Sin. gr. 973, f. 56v[206]
VI	[Prayer on *kampanismos*] No title in ms.	12th c. (Canart, Jacob) *vs* 1154–1189 (Re)	Vat. gr. 1863, f. 125r–v[207]
VI	No title in ms.	13th c.	Vat., Barb. gr. 293, ff. 55r–57v[208]
VI	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ καμπανιζομένων (Prayer for *kampanismos*)	13th c.	Vat., Barb. gr. 443, f. 69v[209]
VI	Εὐχὴ εἰς παῖδα ἢ εἰς παιδίσκην (Prayer for a boy or a girl)	1299/1300	Vat. gr. 2111, ff. 11v–13v[210]
VI	Ἑτέρα εὐχή (Other prayer)	1st quarter 14th c.	Vat. gr. 1228, f. 31v[211]
VI	Εὐχὴ εἰς καμπάνισμα (Prayer for *kampanismos*)	14th c. *vs* 2nd half 14th c. *vs* after June 1357	Crypt. Γ.β.III, f. 154v[212]
VI	Προσευχὴ εἰς καμπανισμὸν παιδός (Prayer for *kampanismos* of a child)	15th c.	Vat., Barb. gr. 303, f. 99r–v[213]
VI	Εὐχὴ εἰς καμπανισμόν (Prayer for *kampanismos*)	late 15th c.	Vat. gr. 1538, f. 173v[214]
VI	[Part of the Akolouthia for *kampanismos*]	16th c.	Corsinianus gr. 7 (41.E.31), ff. 19r–21v[215]

[204] Jacob, Καμπανισμός 226.

[205] Canart, Codices Vaticani 182–190, at 187; Jacob, Καμπανισμός 227. Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 707, n. 65.

[206] *Diktyon* 59348, Gardthausen, Catalogus 208–209; Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II 83–127, at 95 [prayer inc.: Παναγία Τριὰς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν…]; D. Harlfinger *et alii*, Specimina Sinaitica. Die datierten griechischen Handschriften des Katharinen-Klosters auf dem Berge Sinai, 9. bis 12. Jahrhundert. Berlin 1983, no. 27, p. 64, pl. 119–122; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 707, n. 71.

[207] *Diktyon* 68492, Canart, Codices Vaticani 384–387, at 385; Jacob, Καμπανισμός 229. The commemoration of the Norman king of Sicily William I or II in the *ektenē* of the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts (f. 94r: Ὑπὲρ τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ θεοφυ-λάκτου ἡμῶν Γουλιέλμου ῥηγός etc.) allows for a date between 1156 and 1189 (the regnal years of William I were 1154–1166 and those of his successor William II 1166–1189), see M. Re, Precisazioni sulla datazione del Vat. gr. 1863. *Biblos* 45 (1996) 45–47; Idem, I manoscritti in stile di Reggio vent'anni dopo, in: O Italiotes ellenismos apo ton Z´ston IB´ aiona, ed. N. Oiko-nomides. Athens 2001, 99–124, at 108 (here the author makes the supposition that the king mentioned in the manuscript is William II, thus opting for a date in the period 1166–1189); Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 707, n. 72.

[208] *Diktyon* 73381, Jacob, Καμπανισμός 231–232; Idem, Euchologes 143.

[209] *Diktyon* 64986, Jacob, Καμπανισμός 230; Idem, Euchologes 191; Arnesano, Repertorio 31; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 709, n. 99.

[210] *Diktyon* 68741, Jacob, Καμπανισμός 233–235.

[211] *Diktyon* 67859, Jacob, Καμπανισμός 237–238; Arnesano, Repertorio 34; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 712, n. 140.

[212] Jacob, Καμπανισμός 238.

[213] *Diktyon* 64846, Jacob, Euchologes 145.

[214] C. Giannelli, Codices Vaticani Graeci, Codices 1485–1683. Vatican 1950, 100–109, at 105; Jacob, Καμπανισμός 238.

[215] *Diktyon* 56110, M. L. Agati, Catalogo dei manoscritti greci di Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana (*Bollettino dei Classici Suppl.* 24). Rome 2007, 75–82, at 76; Jacob, Καμπανισμός 240.

Prayer Type	Title in Ms.	Date	Shelfmark
VII	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ παιδίοις ἀρχομένοις ὑπὸ χεῖρα (Prayer for a child who is led by the hand for the first time)	9th c.	Sin. NF/MG 53, ff. 75v–76r[216]
VII	Εὐχὴ εἰς τριχοκουρίαν (Prayer for hair-clipping)	early 10th c. *vs* 10th–11th c.	Crypt. Γ.β.VII, f. 77r[217]
VII	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ παιδίου λαμβάνοντος ὄνομα ὅτε εἰς τοὺς πυλῶνας ἔρχεται τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἡμέρᾳ (Prayer for a child receiving name when entering the [royal] doors on the eighth day)	late 10th c.	Vat. gr. 1833, f. 71v[218]
VII	No title in ms.	11th/12th (Dmit.) *vs* 13th c. (Gard.)	Sin. gr. 961, ff. 53v-54r[219]
VII	Εὐχὴ εἰς παῖδα λαμβάνοντα χεῖρας ὅτε εἰσέλθῃ εἰς τοὺς βασιλικοὺς πυλῶνας (Prayer for a child who is led by the hands entering the royal doors)	first quarter of the 12th c.	Vat., Barb. gr. 329, ff. 49v-50r[220]
VII	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ παιδὸς παραδιδομένου εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα (Prayer for a child delivered [to a teacher] to be instructed the sacred letters)	1177	Vat., Ottob. gr. 344, f. 197r[221]
VII	Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ παιδὸς παραδιδομένου εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα (Prayer for a child delivered [to a teacher] to learn the sacred letters)	1st half 13th c. (Jacob) *vs* 12th/13th (Taft-Parenti)	Vat., Barb. gr. 443, f. 54v[222]
VII	Εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ διδάξαι παιδίν· εἰς μάθησιν (Prayer for the instruction of a child; for learning)	late 13th c.	Ambros. gr. 709 (R 24 Sup.), f. 180v[223]

Similar to Prayers I and II in the printed edition of the Euchologion, these texts do not provide any tangible and concrete information about the circumstances under which they were read. It is reasonable to assume that IV and V (and likewise I–II) were composed *ad hoc* for the pupils' first day at school and read out by clergymen since, as we have mentioned before, at this elementary level they would probably have served in the capacity of instructors as well. However, this is an assumption that remains to be proven as additional manuscript evidence comes to light.

---

[216] The new finds of Sinai, ed. by P. Nikolopoulos *et alii*. Athens 1999, 150. For this manuscript, see also C. Kanavas, L'euco-logio MG 53 (sec. IX) del monastero di S. Caterina del Sinai (unpubl. doctoral diss.) Rome 2013; Radle, Infants.

[217] Passarelli, L'eucologio Cryptense Γ.β. VII 122.

[218] Canart, Codices Vaticani 277; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 704, n. 23.

[219] Gardthausen, Catalogus 205; Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II 75–83, at 78 [prayer inc.: Δέσποτα Παντοκράτωρ, ὁ φυλάσσων τὰ νήπια …]; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 706, n. 47.

[220] Jacob, Euchologes 151; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 708, n. 78.

[221] Polidori, Liturgia 64; Arnesano, Repertorio 33; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 708, n. 87.

[222] Jacob, Euchologes 190; Idem, Le cahier preliminaire du Codex Ettenheim-Münster 6 de la Badische Landesbibliothek de Karlsruhe, in: Συναξισ Καθολικη. Beiträge zu Gottesdienst und Geschichte der fünf altkirchlichen Patriarchate für Heinzgerd Brakmann zum 70. Geburtstag, Teilband 1, ed. D. Atanassova – T. Chronz (*Orientalia – Patristica – Oecumenica* 6.1). Münster 2014, 301–316, at 307 n. 12 (here the author mentions the beginning of the century: "Le Vat. Barber. gr. 443 est du début du XIIIᵉ siècle"); Arnesano, Repertorio 31; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 709, n. 99.

[223] *Diktyon* 43186, Ae. Martini – G. Bassi, Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae, vols. I–II. Milano 1906; reprint (2 vol. in one) Hildesheim – New York 1978, 820–824, at 824; Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso 711, n. 121.

Regarding their provenance and chronology, since all four prayers newly presented here are attested in manuscripts that are, on the whole, earlier than those that transmit the prayers edited by Goar, they must represent an earlier stage in the development. In fact, based on the titles of Prayers VI and VII in the manuscripts, we are faced with a complex manuscript tradition: these prayers were originally composed for entirely different events (i.e. child who starts walking/hair cutting/ καμπανισμός/naming a child on the eighth day),[224] and later appropriated (or re-appropriated) in the then-current liturgical praxis to serve another need, namely the blessing of the pupil's first day at school. Even so, they remained within the same larger context of denoting a rite of passage at a certain stage during infancy. Ordinarily in the manuscripts there is no distinction of gender made in the titles of the schooling prayers. A sole exception is the title of Prayer VI in cod. Vat. gr. 2111, where it is stated that the prayer may concern a male and/or a female child (παιδίσκη). This is highly unusual and one could hope that additional material with relevant information will come to light at some point.

Moreover, it would appear that the new prayers belong to different branches of the liturgical tradition: for instance, IV is mainly transmitted by Sinaitic, Jerusalem and Cypriot codices indicating perhaps a possible connection with the geographical area of the Eastern Mediterranean, while V is only attested in manuscripts from Southern Italy. A very strong South Italian connection can also be observed with Prayers VI and VII. Remarkably, none of the four new prayers seems to be connected with a manuscript belonging to the Constantinopolitan tradition.

In conclusion, the close examination of the schooling prayers illustrates that further investigation of the numerous Euchologia manuscripts is a *sine qua non* for better understanding the Byzantine liturgical tradition overall, since the material published up to the present day amounts to only a fraction of what really exists; furthermore that this tradition was multifaceted and not monolithic, but changed according to the needs of the local societies over the course of time.

Ilias Nesseris

ABBREVIATIONS

Ariantzi, Kindheit = D. Ariantzi, Kindheit in Byzanz. Emotionale, geistige und materielle Entwicklung im familiären Umfeld vom 6. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert (*Millennium Studies* 36). Berlin – Boston 2012.

Arnesano, Libri inutiles = D. Arnesano, Libri inutiles in Terra d'Otranto. Modalità di piegatura dei bifogli nella realizzazione del Laur. 87.21, in: Libri palinsesti greci: conservazione, restauro digitale, studio. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Villa Mondragone – Monte Porzio Catone – Università di Roma «Tor Vergata» – Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale di Grottaferrata, 21–24 aprile 2004), a cura di S. Lucà. Rome 2008, 191–200.

Arnesano, Repertorio = D. Arnesano, Il repertorio dei codici greci salentini di Oronzo Mazzotta. Aggiornamenti e integrazioni, in: Tracce di storia. Studi in onore di mons. Oronzo Mazzotta, a cura di M. Spedicato (*Società di storia patria – Sezione di Lecce, Quaderni de* l'Idomeneo, N. 1). Galatina 2005, 25–80.

Arranz, Diataxis = M. Arranz, La «Diataxis» du patriarche Méthode pour la réconciliation des apostats. *OCP* 56 (1990) 283–322.

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

Arranz, Preghiere parapenitenziali = M. Arranz, Preghiere parapenitenziali di purificazione e di liberazione nella tradizione bizantina. *OCP* 61 (1995) 425–494.

Baun, Coming of Age = J. Baun, Coming of Age in Byzantium: Agency and Authority in Rites of Passage from Infancy to Adulthood, in: Authority in Byzantium, ed. P. Armstrong. Farnham – Burlington 2013, 113–135.

Canart, Codices Vaticani = P. Canart, Codices Vaticani Graeci. Codices 1745–1962, vol. I. Vatican 1970.

Crisci, Palinsesti = E. Crisci, I palinsesti di Grottaferrata. Studio codicologico e paleografico, I–II (*Pubblicazioni dell'Università degli Studi di Cassino* 2). Naples 1990.

Dmitrievskij, Opisanie II = A. Dmitrievskij, Opisanie liturgičeskich rukopisej, II: Εὐχολόγια. Kiev 1895.

---

[224] Radle, Infants; Jacob, Καμπανισμός. See also the section of E. Afentoulidou above, pp. 200–201.

Eleuteri – Rigo, Eretici = P. Eleuteri – A. Rigo, Eretici, dissidenti, musulmani ed ebrei a Bisanzio. Una raccolta eresiologica del XII secolo. Venice 1993.

Franz, Benediktionen = A. Franz, Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter, vols. I–II. Freiburg im Breisgau 1909 (reprint Graz 1960).

Gardthausen, Catalogus = V. Gardthausen, Catalogus codicum graecorum sinaiticorum. Oxford 1886.

Goar = J. Goar, Εὐχολόγιον sive Rituale Graecorum complectens ritus et ordine Divinae Liturgiae, officiorum, sacramentorum, consecrationum, benedictionum, funerum, orationum … editio secunda expurgata et accuratior. Venice 1730; (reprint Graz 1960).

Ioannides, Κυπριακός λειτουργικός κώδικας = G. Ioannides, Ο κυπριακός λειτουργικός κώδικας της Βιβλιοθήκης της Ιεράς Μονής Αγίου Ιωάννου του Θεολόγου (Πάτμος) 647. *Epeteris Kentrou Meleton Ieras Mones Kykkou* 6 (2004) 509–540.

Jacob, Euchologes = A. Jacob, Les euchologes du fonds Barberini grec de la Bibliothèque Vaticane. *Didascalia* 4.1 (1974) 131–222.

Jacob, Καμπανισμός = A. Jacob, Le rite du καμπανισμός dans les euchologes italo-grecs, in: Mélanges liturgiques offerts au R.P. Dom Bernard Botte O.S.B. de l'Abbaye du Mont César. Louvain 1972, 223–244.

Kallimachos, Πατμιακῆς βιβλιοθήκης συμπλήρωμα = D. Kallimachos, Πατμιακῆς βιβλιοθήκης συμπλήρωμα. *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 10 (1912) 246–267, 309–334, 388–404 [1]; 11 (1913) 148–160, 244–253 [2]; 12 (1913) 385–398, 525–541 [3]; 13 (1914), 256–272 [4]; 14 (1915), 68–80 [5]; 15 (1916), 357–375 [6]; 16 (1917) 98–108, 145–161, 466–484 [7]; 17 (1918), 117–128, 214–233 [8].

Komines, Πίνακες = A. Komines, Πίνακες Χρονολογημένων Πατμιακῶν Κωδίκων. Athens 1968.

Lucà, Frammenti = S. Lucà, Frammenti dell' "Ad Theodorum lapsum" di Giovanni Crisostomo in un palinsesto di Grottaferrata: Crypt. Γ. β. XX, ora Gr. 145, in: Storie di cultura scritta. Studi per Francesco Magistrale (*Collectanea* 28). Spoleto 2012, 519–536.

Lucà, Origine e Datazione = S. Lucà, Su origine e datazione del Crypt. B. b. VI (ff. 1–9). Appunti sulla collezione manoscritta greca di Grottaferrata, in: Tra Oriente e Occidente. Scritture e libri greci fra le regioni orientali di Bisanzio e l'Italia, a cura di L. Perria (*Testi e Studi bizantino-neoellenici* 14). Rome 2003, 145–224.

Maj, Coislin 213 = J. M. Maj, Coislin 213. Eucologio della Grande Chiesa. Manoscritto greco della Biblioteca Nazionale di Parigi (ff. 101–211). Excerpta ex Dissertatione ad Doctoratum. Rome 1995.

Nesseris, Παιδεία = I. Nesseris, Η Παιδεία στην Κωνσταντινούπολη κατά τον 12ο αιώνα, 2 vols. (unpubl. doctoral diss.) Ioannina 2014.

Parenti, Per la datazione = S. Parenti, Per la datazione dell'eucologio Γ. B. III di Grottaferrata. *Segno e Testo* 7 (2009) 239–243.

Parenti, Rito di confessione = S. Parenti, Il rito di confessione dell'eucologio Γ.β. XIII di Grottaferrata. *Ecclesia Orans* 12 (1995) 103–125; repr. and rev. in: Mille anni di "Rito Greco" alle porte di Roma, ed. S. Parenti – E. Velkovska (*Analekta Kryptopherres* 4). Grottaferrata 2004, 43–62.

Parenti – Velkovska, Grottaferrata Γ.β. I = S. Parenti – E. Velkovska, A thirteenth century manuscript of the Constantinopolitan euchology: Grottaferrata Γ.β. I, alias of Cardinal Bessarion. *BollGrott* III s., 4 (2007) 175–196.

Passarelli, L'eucologio Cryptense Γ.β. VII = G. Passarelli, L'eucologio Cryptense Γ.β. VII (sec. X) (*Analekta Blatadon* 36). Thessaloniki 1982.

Polidori, Liturgia = V. Polidori, La Liturgia Bizantina nel Salento del XII secolo (unpubl. diss.). Rome 2013.

Radle, Infants = G. Radle, When Infants Begin to Toddle: A Liturgical Rite of Passage in the Greco-Arabic Manuscript Sinai NF/MG 53. *BollGrott* III s., 11 (2014) 159–168.

Rapp, Brother-Making = C. Rapp, Brother-Making in Late Antiquity and Byzantium. Oxford 2016.

Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses = A. Rocchi, Codices Cryptenses seu Abbatiae Cryptae Ferratae in Tusculano digesti et illustrati. Tusculani 1883.

Ruggieri, Cryptensis Euchology = V. Ruggieri, The Cryptensis Euchology Γ.β. XI. *OCP* 52 (1986) 325–360.

Sahner, Swimming Against the Current = C. C. Sahner, Swimming Against the Current: Muslim Conversion to Christianity in the Early Islamic Period. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 136/2 (2016) 265–284.

Sakkelion, Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη = I. Sakkelion, Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη ἤτοι ἀναγραφὴ τῶν ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ τῆς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον Πάτμον. Athens 1890.

Strittmatter, Barberinum S. Marci = A. Strittmatter, The 'Barberinum S. Marci' of Jacques Goar. *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 47 (1933) 329–367.

Taft – Parenti, Il Grande Ingresso = R. F. Taft Sj. – S. Parenti, Storia della liturgia di S. Giovanni Crisostomo. Volume II. Il Grande Ingresso (*Analekta Kryptopherres* 10). Grottaferrata 2014.

Velkovska – Parenti, Evchologij Barberini = E. Velkovska – S. Parenti, Evchologij Barberini Gr. 336. Omsk ³2011.