Volume I: Introduction – Commentary – Plates

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The text of the thesis has been slightly revised after the disputation. I would like to thank deeply my opponents Professor Tomas Hägg, University of Bergen, Professor Stig Frøyshov, University of Oslo, and Associate Professor Stephanos Efthymiadis, Open University of Cyprus, for their valuable comments and corrections. For reasons of time, only few of them have been included in this version of the thesis, while the rest are to be treasured in its final publication.

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The present thesis is an annotated critical edition of an unpublished collection of hymnographical texts. The collection, some of the texts of which was in use in the Byzantine and (later) the Orthodox Church between the 9th and the 17th c., is preserved in the 11th-12th-century Greek Manuscript 11 of the Library of Leimonos Monastery, on the island of Lesvos, Greece. This important codex is a *Menaion* for June comprising thirty *akolouthiai* on saints celebrated by the Orthodox Church. Twenty of these texts are hitherto unpublished.

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

Chapter 1 presents briefly the liturgical environment of the period from the 9th c., when most of the texts edited were composed, to the 11th-12th, when the production of the codex could be placed. It also discusses the liturgical books used in the period, the structure of the *akolouthiai* and the festal calendar of the Byzantine Church.

Chapter 2 deals with the content of the texts edited. The content of each of the *akolouthiai* is presented along with some information on the saints celebrated, hagiographical and liturgical texts related with them, and the composition of the *akolouthiai*.

Chapter 3 presents briefly the life and the hymnographical work of the authors of the texts edited below, namely Joseph the Hymnographer, George of Nicomedia, Theophanes Graptos and Clement.

Chapter 4 is devoted to the manuscript tradition of the texts. It comprises an analytical palaeographical and codicological description of codex *Lesb. Leimonos* 11, followed by the description of a closely related manuscript, codex *Hierosolymitanus Sabaiticus* 70, and a brief description of all manuscripts transmitting the texts edited, and an examination of their relations. The chapter closes with a brief note on the principles and conventions adopted in the present edition.

The *Commentary* discusses liturgical, palaeographical, and hymnographical aspects of the edition. The thesis closes with full *Bibliography* and *Plates* with facsimiles of selected folios of manuscripts cited.

The *edition* of the texts (Volume II) is preceded by a list of abbreviations and signs and is accompanied by an *apparatus criticus* and an *apparatus fontium*. Unpublished hymns and stanzas preserved in manuscripts other than *Lesb. Leimonos* 11 are included in the *Appendices* following the Texts.
# Table of Contents

## VOLUME I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aim and scope of the thesis</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Abbreviations</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Plates</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A note on transliteration</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INTRODUCTION</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1. Lesbiacus Leimonos 11 and Byzantine rite (9th-12th c.)</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liturgical books used by the Byzantine church</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure of the akolouthiai</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Festal calendar of the Byzantine church</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2. The edited Byzantine hymnographical texts</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akolouthia on St Iouistinos and his fellow martyrs (Text 1)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akolouthia on St Attalos (Text 1)</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akolouthia on St Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople (Text 2)</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akolouthia on the martyr Loukilianos (Text 3)</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akolouthia on St Metrophanes, Archbishop of Constantinople (Text 4)</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akolouthia on the martyr Dorotheos, Bishop of Tyre (Text 6)</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akolouthia on the martyrs Nikandros and Markianos (Text 7)</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akolouthia on St Onouphrios (Text 12)</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akolouthia on St Methodios, Patriarch of Constantinople (Text 14)</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akolouthia on the martyr Pagcharios (Text 16)</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akolouthia on the martyrs Manuel, Savel and Ishmael (Text 17)</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akolouthia on St Hypatios of Rouphinianai (Text 17)</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akolouthia on the martyr Zosimos (Text 19)</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akolouthia on the martyrs Innas, Pinnas and Rimmas (Text 20)</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akolouthia on the martyr Ioulianos of Kilikia (Text 21)</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akolouthia on the martyrs Zenon and Zenas (Text 23)</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akolouthia on St Fevronia and the Other Martyrs (Text 25)</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akolouthia on Sts David of Thessalonike and John of Gotthia (Text 26)</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akolouthia on St Sampson the Xenodochos (Text 27)</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akolouthia on St Josep and his Fellow Martyrs (Text 28)</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3. The hymnographers</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph the Hymnographer</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George of Nicomedia</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theophanes Graptos</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clement</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 4. The Manuscript Tradition</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The principal manuscript: Lesb. Leimonos 11</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Codex Hierosolymitanus Sabaiticus 70
Other extant manuscripts 118
Transmission of the text 132
Conventions employed in the present edition 148

COMMENTARY 150
Akolouthia on St Ioustinos and his fellow martyrs (Text 1) 150
Akolouthia on St Attalos (Text 1) 151
Akolouthia on St Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople (Text 2) 151
Akolouthia on the martyr Loukilianos (Text 3) 152
Akolouthia on St Metrophanes, Archbishop of Constantinople (Text 4) 154
Akolouthia on Eustathios of Antioch (Text 5) 155
Akolouthia on St Hilarion of Dalmatou (Text 5) 155
Akolouthia on the martyr Dorotheos, Bishop of Tyre (Text 6) 155
Akolouthia on the martyrs Nikandros and Markianos (Text 7) 156
Akolouthia on St Theodoros Stratelates (Text 8) 157
Akolouthia on St Cyril of Alexandria (Text 9) 158
Akolouthia on Sts Orestes, Diomedes and Rodion (Text 9) 158
Akolouthia on the martyrs Alexandros and Antonina (Text 10) 158
Akolouthia on St Timotheos, Bishop of Proussa (Text 10) 158
Akolouthia on the Apostles Bartholomew and Barnabas (Text 11) 158
Akolouthia on St Onouphrios (Text 12) 159
Akolouthia on St Tychon of Anathous (Text 16) 159
Akolouthia on the martyr Pagcharios (Text 16) 160
Akolouthia on the martyrs Manuel, Savel and Ishmael (Text 17) 160
Akolouthia on St Hypatios Abbot of Rouphinianai (Text 17) 161
Akolouthia on the martyr Zosimos (Text 19) 162
Akolouthia on the martyrs Innas, Pinnas and Riminas (Text 20) 162
Akolouthia on the martyr Ioulianos (Text 21) 163
Akolouthia on the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist (Text 24) 164
Akolouthia on the martyr Fevronia (Text 25) 164
Akolouthia on Sts David of Thessalonike and John of Gotthia (Text 26) 164
Akolouthia on St Sampson the Xenodochos (Text 27) 166
Akolouthia on St Ioseph and his Fellow Martyrs (Text 28) 167
Akolouthia on the Apostles Peter and Paul (Text 29) 167

Glossary of liturgical terms 168
Bibliography 171
Plates 192

VOLUME II

Conjectus siglorum 6

Texts 12
1. In s. Iustinum philosophum et martyrem - In s. Attalum thaumaturgum
2. In s. Nicephorum Patriarcham Constantinopolitanum 43
3. In s. Lucillianum martyrem 59
4. In s. Metrophanem Archiepiscopum Constantinopolitanum 81
5. In s. Eustathium Episcopum Antiochiae – In s. Hilarium abbatum Dalmati monasterii
6. In s. Dorotheum Episcopum Tyri et martyrem
7. In s. Theodotum Ancyrae martyrem – In ss. mm. Nikandrum and Markianum
8. In s. Theodorum Stratelatem martyrem
9. In s. St. Cyrillum Papam Alexandriæ – In ss. mm. Orestem, Diomedem and Rhodionem
10. In ss. mm. Alexandrum et Antoninam – In s. Timotheum Episcopum Proussae
11. In s. Bartolomeum apostolum – In s. Barnabam apostolum
12. In s. Onouphrium anachoretam in Aegypto
13. In s. Akylinam
15. In s. Amosem prophetam – In s. Fortunatum apostolum
16. In s. Tychnon thaumaturgum Episcopum Amathountis – In s. Pagchiarum martyrem
17. In ss. mm. Manueleum, Savelem and Ismæelem – In s. Hypatium abbatum monasterii Ruphiniani
18. In s. Leontium martyrem – In ss. mm. Isaurum, Basilium, Innocentium, Peregrinum, Ermeiam et Philexem
19. In s. Zosimum martyrem
20. In ss. mm. Innam, Pinnam et Rimmam – In s. Eustochium et socios martyres
21. In s. Iulianum Anazarbenum martyrem in Cilicia
22. In s. Eusevium Episcopum Samosatenum – In s. Petrum Athonensem
23. In s. Agrippinam martyrem – In ss. mm. Zenonem et Zenam
24. In Nativitatem s. Joannis Baptistae
25. In s. Febrioniam martyrem
26. In s. Davidem Thesalonicensem – In s. Davidem Thesalonicensem et s. Joannem Episcopum Gothiae
27. In s. Samsonem Xenodochum
28. In translationem reliquiarum ss. Cyri et Joannis – In s. Iosephum et socios martyres
29. In ss. Petrum et Paulum apostolos
30. In ss. XII apostolos

Appendices
I. In s. Iustinum philosophum et martyrem
II. In s. Attalum thaumaturgum
III. In s. Lucillianum martyrem
IV. In s. Dorotheum Episcopum Tyri et martyrem
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V. In s. Methodium confessorem Patriarcham Constantinopolitanum</td>
<td>470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. In ss. mm. Manuelem, Savelem and Ismaelem</td>
<td>476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. In s. Hypatium abbatum monasterii Ruphiniani</td>
<td>479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. In ss. mm. Innam, Pinnam et Rimmam</td>
<td>481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. In s. Iulianum Anazarbenum martyrem in Cilicia</td>
<td>482</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
AIM AND SCOPE OF THE THESIS

The present thesis is an annotated critical edition and study of twenty hitherto unpublished *akolouthiae* on saints celebrated by the Byzantine Church in June preserved in codex *Lesbiacus Leimonos* 11 (L). Unpublished sections of other published *akolouthiae* preserved in L are also included in the thesis; their edition is based solely on L.

The manuscript tradition of each *akolouthia* examined in the thesis is based on the corpus of unpublished Byzantine *kanons* by Eleni Papailiopoulou – Fotopoulou in *Ταμείων ἀνεκδότων Βυζαντινῶν Ἀσκιατικῶν Κανόνων*, seu *Analecta Hymnica Graeca e codicibus eruta Orientis Christiani. I. Κανόνες Μηναίων* (Athens, 1996). To this corpus a number of new codices should now be added.

The edition of these hitherto unknown texts sheds more light on the hymnographical work of four well-known Byzantine composers, namely Joseph the Hymnographer, Theophanes Graptos, George of Nicomedia, who were canonised by the Orthodox Church, and Clement. The study of L as well as the content and structure of the *akolouthiae* it transmits contribute to a better understanding of the structure of the Byzantine *akolouthiae* in the period from the 9th century, when the texts were composed, to the second half of the 11th or the first half of 12th when L was produced.

Further research on the texts, which goes beyond the scope of the thesis, should include the following: (a) an examination of manuscripts that were inaccessible to me or not listed by E. Papailiopoulou – Fotopoulou, and a collation of the texts in L with those in printed editions of the *Menaion* for June published between the 16th century and the 19th century, which will give us a clearer picture of the history of L and the texts it contains; (b) a study of the texts in the light of recent works on liturgical manuscripts or on Hagiology which were not available to me [for example, T. Pratsch’s, *Der Hagiographische Topos: Griechische Heiligenviten in Mittelbyzantinischer Zeit* (Berlin, 2005)].
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The composition of this thesis is a project that started in Mytilene, Greece, in 2001 and was continued from July 2003 in Kristiansand, Norway. I am deeply grateful to Professor Demetrios Vonis, University of Athens, who offered me guidance and invaluable advice at the initial stages of my research, when the form of the thesis was taking shape and some of its basic principles were established. I am also indebted to Professor Tomás Hägg, University of Bergen, for his encouragement and advice during the last four years.

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Professor Stig Froystov, University of Oslo, and Dr Alexandra Zervoudaki, University of Crete, kindly sent me copies of their hitherto unpublished Doctoral Theses; Associate Professor Christian Troeslgård, University of Copenhagen, Assistant Professor Stephanos Efthymiadis, University of Ioannina, Assistant Professor Theodora Antonopoulo, University of Patras, and Dr Theoni Kollyropoulou, University of Peloponnese, were also kind enough to send me offprints of their articles.

My warm thanks go to the Faculty of Humanities of Agder University College for a stipend that covered a small but meaningful part of the costs of my research.

I would also like to thank the librarians of the Agder University College Library, and particularly Ellen Sejersted, for her readiness to assist me.

The completion of the thesis would have not been possible without the support and understanding of my beloved wife Irina and my dear-loved daughter Alexandra. It is to them that this thesis is dedicated with gratitude and with apologies for all the times I was absent, even when being at home.
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AASS: Acta Sanctorum, Antverpiae / Bruxellis / Tongerloae / Parisiis 1643-1940.
AmphKond: Amplifikhis (Sergievskis), archimandr., Kondakarij u greceskom podlimnike XII-XIII u. po rukopisi Moskovskoj synodal’noj biblioteki N. 437, Moskva 1879.
AnBoll: Analecta Bollandiana.
BAG: Louis Petit, Bibliographie des Acolouthies Grecques, [Subsidia Hagiographica 16], Bruxelles 1926.
BHG: François Halkin, Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca, 3 vols., (Subsidia Hagiographica 8a), Brussels 1957.
BHGa: François Halkin, Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae, (Subsidia Hagiographica 47), Brussels 1969.
BZ: Byzantinische Zeitschrift.
Dmitrievsky, Opisanie: A. Dmitrievsky, Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisei, khramiashchikh sia v bibliotekakh Pravoslavnogo Vostoka, (=Description of the Liturgical Manuscripts in the Libraries of the Orthodox Orient), 3 vols., Kiev-
Petrograd, 1895-1917.

DOP: Dumbarton Oaks Papers.


DOUKAKIS, Συναξαριστής: Konstant. Ch. Doukakis, Μέγας Συναξαριστής σάρδιος τοῦ νοητοῦ παραδείσου ἢ Καλοκαιρική. Βιβλίον ψυχωφελέστατον μεγάλης συλλογῆς βίων ἀγίων τῶν καθ’ ἀπάντα τῶν μήνα Ιούνιου ἕορταζομένων, Athens 1893.

EE: Sophronios Efstratiadis, Εἰρμολόγιον (Μνημεία Αγιολογικά), [Ἀγιογειτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 9], Chennevières – sur – Marne 1932.

EEPhSPA: Επιστημονικὴ Ἑπετηρὶς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών.

EFSTRATIADIS, Αγιολόγιον: Sophronios Efstratiadis, Αγιολόγιον τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Εκκλησίας, [Αθῆναι 1961].

EFSTRATIADIS, Εὐρυτάτον: Sophronios (Efstratiadis), Τὸ ὘ρθοτόλογον τῆς Ορθοδόξου Εκκλησίας εἰς ἀπόφεως ἡμερολογικῆς, Theologia 15 (1937) 5-112.

EfstrTam: Sophronios Efstratiadis, Ταμείον Εκκλησιαστικῆς Ποίησεως, Ekklesiastikos Faros 35 (1936) - 51 (1952) passim.


GRBS: Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies.

GROSIDIER DE MATONS, Hymnes III: Romanos le Mélode Hymnes, préface de Paul Lemerle, introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes par Jose Grosdidier de


JÖB: Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik.


KORAKIDIS, Ύμνογραφία II: Alexandros S. Korakidis, Βυζαντινή Ύμνογραφία. Τόμος Β’. Λεξικό των ύμνολογικών και λειτουργικών όρων της Ορθοδοξίας έκκλησιάς (Ερευνητική άναπτυξη), Athens 2006.


LAKE: K. Lake & S. Lake, Monumenta Palaeographica Vetrica: Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200, 10 vols. (Boston, Mass., 1937-).


LATYŠE II: Basilius Latyšev, Menologii anonymi byzantini saeculi X quae supersunt. Fasciculus alter, menses Iunium, Iulium, Augustum continens. Sumptibus Caesareas Academiae scientiarum e codice Hierosolimitano S. Sepulcrei 17, St Petersburg 1912.

Laur: Spyridon Lauriotes, Απολτίκια καὶ κοντάκια τῶν ὀλίων ἐναντίων μὴ περιεχόμενα ἐν τοῖς Ὄρολογοις τοῖς ἐντύποις, [Αγιορειτικὸν Περιοδικὸν Αθῶς, Περιόδος Βα, Παραάρτημα], Athens 1929.
LaurSymb: Alex. E. Lauriotis, Συμβολαι εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν Μηναίων, Εκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια 20 (1900) 402-403.


LILIE, Patriarchen: Ralph-Johannes Lilie, Die Patriarchen der ikonoklasten Zeit. Germanos I. – Methodios I. (715-847), [Berliner Byzantinistische Studien, 5], Frankfurt am Mein; Berlin; Bern; New York; Paris; Wien; Lang, 1999.


MV: Μηναία ... διορθωθέντα τὸ πρὶν ὑπὸ Βαρθολομαίον Κοινλουμουσιανοῦ τῶν Ἰμβρίων, I-XII, Ἐν Βενετία, Ἐκ τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Τυπογρ. τοῦ Φοίνικος, 1863.

OCP: Orientalia Christiana Periodica.


PATTERSON-ŠEVČENKO, Canon and Calendar: Nancy Patterson – Ševčenko, Canon and calendar: the role of a ninth century hymnographer in shaping the


RSBN: Rivista di studi byzantini e neoellinici.


TRM III: Nikolaos Livadaras, Κονδακάρια τοῦ Σινά (Κωδικες 925, 926 καὶ 927), in Ρωμανοῦ τοῦ Μελαδὸν Έμνοι, Τόμος τρίτος. Μέρος A': Κονδακάρια τοῦ Σινά. Μέρος B': 'Εμνοι ΚΘ'-'ΛΣΤ', Athens 1957.

TRM IV: Nikolaos G. Kontopoulos, «ΔΖ' Κοντάκιον τῶν ἀγώνιν Αποστόλων», in Ρωμανοῦ τοῦ Μελαδὸν Έμνοι. Έκδοσις κριτική. Τόμος τέταρτος. Έμνοι ΔΖ'.


List of Plates

1. Codex Lesbiacus Leimonos 11, f. 1r.
2. Codex Lesbiacus Leimonos 11, f. 12r.
3. Codex Lesbiacus Leimonos 11, f. 19r.
4. Codex Lesbiacus Leimonos 11, f. 24r.
5. Codex Lesbiacus Leimonos 11, f. 35r.
6. Codex Lesbiacus Leimonos 11, f. 72r.
7. Codex Lesbiacus Leimonos 11, f. 96r.
8. Codex Hierosolymitanus Sabaiticus 70, f. 54r.
9. Codex Hierosolymitanus Sabaiticus 70, f. 84r.
10. Codex Hierosolymitanus Sabaiticus 70, f. 88v.

A Note on Transliteration

Byzantine principal names, names of places, titles of books and liturgical terms are transliterated as they appear in The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, e.g. kontakion and not kondakion, even if in L it appears as кονδάκιον and not κοντάκιον. When there is an accepted English form of a name, it is used, e.g. Barholomew and not Vartholomaios. The Greek letter βιτα (β) is represented by v and not as b, e.g. Savel not Sabel.
The complex liturgical practice of the Eastern Church, one of the most striking
elements in Orthodox Liturgics, was already in Byzantine times a synthesis of
various services performed every day. Their performance, as well as the voluminous
and variant character of their contents, demanded the use of numerous liturgical
books used in parallel during the services 1.

Being one of the central composite parts of the Byzantine rite, the celebration of
the saints found its natural place in the services of Hesperinos (Vespers) 2 and Orthros
(Matins) 3. Egon Wellesz has pointed out that the main reason for this was that «the
dramatic character of the Byzantine mass ... did not permit the accumulation of too
many chants, which would have clogged the liturgical action and introduced a static
element. The less dramatic type of worship had its place in the Morning and Evening
Services» 4. To this we may add that the Liturgy was not celebrated every day, while
the Hours, including Hesperinos and Orthros, was a daily task of the liturgical life,
particularly in monasteries.

The main book used by the Church for the celebration of saints is the book of
Menaion [literally, monthly (book)] 5, comprising, in its present form, twelve volumes,

1 A brief presentation of the service books used by the Orthodox Church today is given in
Mother MARY and KALLISTOS WARE, The festal Menaion..., 535-543.

2 On Hesperinos see M. ARRANZ, Les Prières Sacerdotales des Vêpres Byzantines, OCP 39
(1973) 29-82; M. ARRANZ, L’office de l’Asmatikos Hesperinos (“Vêpres chantées”) de l’ancien
Euchologue Byzantin, OCP 44 (1978) 107-130, 301-412; J. MATEOS, La synaxe monastique des
vêpres byzantines, OCP 36 (1970) 248-272; FOUNTOULIS, Ακολουθία νυχθημερον, 85-141;
OBD, 2161-2162; bibliography in TAFT, Bibliography of Hours, 361-365.

3 On Orthros see TAFT, Liturgy of the Hours, 277-283; B. D. STUHLMAN, The Morning Offices
of the Byzantine Rite: Mateos revisited, Studia Liturgica 19 (1989) 162-178; M. ARRANZ, L’office
presbytérales des matines byzantines, OCP 37 (1971) 406-436 and 38 (1972) 64-115; I. M.
FOUNTOULIS, Ἡ ἀκολουθία τοῦ Ορθρον, Thessaloniki 1966; FOUNTOULIS, Ακολουθία νυχθημερον, 144-264; ODB, 1539; bibliography in TAFT, Bibliography of Hours, 361-365.

4 WELLESZ, 125.

5 On the Menaion and its use see ODB, 1338 (with bibliography); WELLESZ, 135-136;
FOUNTOULIS, Λειτουργική, 85-86; J. NORET, Ménologes, synaxaires, ménées. Essai de
clarification d’une terminologie, AnBoll 86 (1968) 21-24; bibliography in TAFT, Bibliography of Hours, 365-367. Particularly on the Menaia in the period from the 11th to the 13th c. see T. P.
Themelis, Τὰ Μηναία ἀπὸ τοῦ ΙΑ’ μέχρι τοῦ ΙII’ αἰώνος, Εκκλησιαστικός Φράος 30 (1931)
287-312, 348-387, 520-566 (unfortunately this important article has not been accessible to me).
one for each month of the calendar year. The hymnographic-poetic texts contained therein were performed by the choir on the feastdays of the saints and/or the feasts commemorated on a fixed date. In this sense, the Menaion includes not the ordinary, or basic, unvarying part of the services, but the proper part, that varies according to the feast of the day. The importance of the Menaion is clearly reflected in the aphorism of the great liturgist Alexander Schmemann that «the Menaion can really be called the most frequently used of all the liturgical books».

Such a book, a Menaion for June, is the codex Lesbiacus Leimonos 11 (L), a manuscript that can be dated to the second half of the 11th or the first decades of the 12th century. L comprises thirty sections, one for each calendar day of June. Every day includes the text of one or two akolouthia on saints celebrated on that date, with no musical notation and without liturgical instructions on where every part is to be sung and how. Each akolouthia consists mainly of a kathisma, a set of (usually three) stichera and a kanon, while some akolouthia include also a set of kontakion and oikos, and very few an exapostilarion.

Stichera, kathisma and kanon have been considered by the Church as the most important elements of an akolouthia on a saint. A. Papadopoulos – Kerameus, one of the pioneers in the study of the Menaia, writes about the 10th-century Menaia he had

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6 Manuscript tradition shows that in the middle-Byzantine period there existed Menaia comprising two or more months in one volume. See for example codd. G, Ha, M and P.

7 Apart from hymnography the Church used also texts from the Bible and hagiographical texts on the saints to celebrate their memory. To quote N. Patterson Ševčenko «the texts that together comprise the liturgical celebration of a saint are a varied combination of scriptural, hagiographic and poetic texts» (N. PATTERSON ŠEVČENKO, The Evergetis Synaxarion and the Celebration of a Saint in Twelfth-century Art and Liturgy, in MULLET – KIRBY, Work and Worship, p. 386). A brief presentation of the various kinds of feasts celebrated all year round is found in CALIVAS, Aspects of Orthodox Worship, 59-60; the Great Feasts are presented in Mother Mary and KALLISTOS WARE, The festal Menaion…, 41-66.

8 SCHMEMANN, Liturgical Theology, 186.

9 The term akolouthia is used throughout the thesis for an individual total of hymnographic-poetic texts used by the church in the proper part of the services to celebrate a saint on his feastday (see ODB, 46-47, where other liturgical meanings of the term are also given, and KORAKIDIS, Τύμνομενα II, 46).

10 There are only two exceptions to that: (a) The akolouthia on St Theodore Stratelates includes four sets of stichera (Text 8, vv. 53-163), that are preceded by the rubrics Στίχομαι εἰς τὸ Κύριο ἐκέκραξα (set 1, vv. 53-79), Τοῦ στίχου (set 2, vv. 80-97), and ΑΛΛΑ εἰς τῶν Αἰώνων (sets 3-4, vv. 98-163; on Κύριο Εκέκραξα, Στίχος and Αἰών as parts of Hesperinos and Orthros see below, pp. 25-26). (b) The akolouthia on the apostles Peter and Paul has ten sets of stichera, the second of which is preceded by the instruction: Εἰς τὸ Κύριο ἐκέκραξα ἵσταμεν στίχους ή, ταντά φάλλοντες.

11 See for example G. REGAS, Τυπικοί, [Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies – Liturgica Vlatadon, 1], Thessaloniki 1994, p. 50: «ΤΑ ἀπαραίτητα μέρη ἐκάστης akolouthias αἰών εἰσὶν: Τρία στίχομα προσόμοια χρησιμεύοντα ὡς ἐσπέρα, καὶ εἰς κανόνων, μετὰ τὴν γ’ ὑδήν τοῦ ὅποιον ἐν κάθεσμα». 
examined that the *akolouthiai* copied in them start always with a *kathisma*, followed by the *stichera* and the *kanon*, which is not interrupted by any other hymn or text, such as *kontakion*, or *staurotheotokion*, or *synaxarion*12. This explains why all the *akolouthiai* copied in L (which as a manuscript confirms the findings of Papadopoulos-Kerameus) include *stichera*, *kathisma* and *kanon*, while the presence of *exaposteilarion* is rare13, and that of *kontakion* and *oikos* not constant. The *akolouthiai* are transmitted in the form described by Papadopoulos – Kerameus in manuscript *Menaia* dated to the 10th and 11th c., while from the 12th c. onwards the book of *Menaia* starts taking its present form.

Concerning the use of *kontakion* and *oikos* in L, it should be noted that in the period the manuscript was produced the term *kontakion* had already a different meaning than that of the days of Romanos the Melode. Traditionally *kontakion* had been a whole hymn consisting of an opening stanza (the *prooimion* or *koukoulion*), followed by a varying number of stanzas (*oikoi*) which were sung according to the melody of the first one of them, i.e. their *heirmos*. In the monastic rite it was not the whole hymn that was used, but only the *prooimion*, now called *kontakion*, followed by one *oikos*, usually the *heirmos*. In a few cases more *oikoi* were sung, as in the *akolouthia* on the apostles Peter and Paul (Text 29, vv. 62-200)14.

The contents of L, particularly the existence of *stichera* and *kanons*, prove that the manuscript was produced to serve a monastic community, as the cathedral rite did not include these two main liturgical items contrary to the monastic rite, where these elements play —especially the *kanon*— a central role15. O. Strunk, basing himself on the treatise *On Divine Prayer* by Symeon of Thessaloniki (15th c.)16, points out: «If the Great Church sang the canticles only once a week, choosing its own texts, ordering them in its own way, and interpolating its own refrains, what place can it have found for those unique expressions of the monastic spirit, the stanzas of the

12 Papadopoulos – Kerameus, Σχεδίασμα, 360.
13 It appears only in the *akolouthia* on St Theodore Stratelates, the Nativity of St John the Baptist, St Fevronia, St Sampson Xenodochos, the translation of the relics of Sts Kyros and John and the apostles Peter and Paul; we cannot be sure for the *akolouthia* on the 12 apostles, as the manuscript is mutilated.
14 On the decline of *kontakion* and its replacement by the *kanon* see Mitsakis, Υμνογραφία, 525-530; C. A. Trapanis, Greek Poetry from Homer to Seferis, Chicago 1981, pp. 436-446.
16 PG 155, 33-976.
canons? Symeon tells us that at Hagia Sophia they formed no part of the original order. ... Like the stanzas of the canons, the stichera are fundamentally incompatible with the “chanted” order, and if they were at length admitted to it, as Symeon tells us they were, it must have been reluctantly and as a drastic compromise."\(^{17}\)

Concerning the structure and the contents of the akolouthiai copied in L, in dates in which two non related saints (or group of saints) are celebrated together the manuscript contains a double akolouthia (Texts 1, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23, 25, 26, and 28), in the sense that there are two akolouthiai copied subsequently according to their composite parts: two kathismata (one on each saint), kontakion and oikos on the first, two sets of stichera, two kanons and (in some cases) exapostelariion on the first saint. Most dates in which there is only one saint celebrated include also a double akolouthia, i.e., two individual akolouthiai on the same saint copied in exactly the same way\(^{18}\). There are two exceptions where there is only a single akolouthia on the saint of the day\(^{19}\).

The study of L as a liturgical book contributes to the study of the Byzantine rite in both the period of the composition of the texts contained in L (9th c.) and that of the production of the manuscript (11th-12th c.) in three aspects: the service books used in the Byzantine rite, the structure of the akolouthiai on saints, and the dates of their commemoration.

**LITURGICAL BOOKS USED BY THE BYZANTINE CHURCH**

L, as every Byzantine Menaion, was used by the Orthodox Church mainly for the performance of the services of Hesperinos and Orthros, services established already by the year 528 when they became compulsory for all the clergy attached to a church by a decree of the emperor Justinian I\(^{20}\). It was also used for the performance of

\(^{17}\) O. STRUNK, The byzantine office at Hagia Sophia, *DOP* IX-X (1955-56) 133-134.

\(^{18}\) On the commemoration of St Nikephorus of Constantinople (June 2), St Loukillianos (3), St Metrophanes of Constantinople (4), St Dorotheos of Tyre (6), the translation of relics of St Theodore Strateletes (8), St Onouphrios (12), St Ioulianos (21), the Nativity of St John the Baptist (24), St Fevronia (25; in this case the second kanon is dedicated not only to Fevronia but also to other not named female martyrs) and St Sampson the Xenodochos (27).

\(^{19}\) On June 13 and 19, when St Akylina and St Zosimos are commemorated respectively; in the latter case we cannot be sure on whether the akolouthia was originally single, as because of a lacuna in the manuscript (the gathering θ’ is missing) there survives only a part of the kanon, which could be the second kanon of a double akolouthia.

\(^{20}\) See P. KRÜGER, *Corpus iuris civilis*, vol. II, Berlin 1900, p. 28 (Justinian, Code I, iii, 42, 24). The same law directs that the priests must sing every night the nycterina (nocturns), which most probably means the service of Mesonyktikon, that was later incorporated in Orthros (see also TAFT, *Liturgy of the Hours*, 186; and WELLESZ, 125). It has to be noted, though, that the form of Orthros and Hesperinos mentioned in *Corpus iuris civilis* is most probably not the same with that of the same services celebrated in the period reflected in L; this latter form, coming originally from Jerusalem, seems to have come to Byzantium later.
Pannychis and the Divine Liturgy. The texts included in the Menaion are just a part of what is sung in these services and must therefore be placed in a more general picture of the Byzantine monastic rite of the period. The rest of the services was (and still is) to be found in other liturgical books, including hymns and other texts representing the three different liturgical cycles in which the Orthodox rite is divided: the daily, the weekly and the yearly.

The daily cycle includes specific prayers and services performed at specific times, Hesperinos and Orthros being the most important ones. Every service has some unvarying elements performed every time (prayers, petitions, psalms, hymns) and some others referring to the weekly and the yearly cycle. The main books including the hymns performed by the choir in the offices of the daily cycle are the Psalter (Psalterion) and the Horologion.

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

The yearly cycle has two parts, the one movable and the other fixed. In the movable cycle, every day of the year is related to Easter. The main books used by the choir in the movable cycle are the Triodion, covering not only the ten weeks preceding Easter (as in its present form), the period from Easter Sunday to Pentecost, which by the late-Byzantine period was extracted and included in a separate book, the Pentekostarion. In the fixed cycle, of which the Menaion is the main book


24 On Parakletike see WELLESZ, 139-140; FOUNTOULIS, Λειτουργική, 84-85; ODB, 1520 (entry: Oktocchos); KORAKIDIS, Ύμνογραφία II, 197-199; bibliography in TAFT, Bibliography of Hours, 365-367.

25 On Triodion see WELLESZ, 141; FOUNTOULIS, Λειτουργική, 86-89; ODB, 2118-2119; KORAKIDIS, Ύμνογραφία II, 221-224; bibliography in TAFT, Bibliography of Hours, 365-367.
(according to A. Papadopoulos – Kerameus from the middle of the 9th century and according to R. Taft from the 10th\(^26\)), every day is dedicated to the Lord, the Mother of God, or/and one or more saints.

Actually, this means that every day the choir has to sing hymns from all cycles, using mainly the books of Horologion, Parakletike, Menaion, and Triodion or Pentekostarion\(^27\). What is to be sung and in which order is regulated by the Typikon\(^28\). To perform the akolouthia on the feasts of the saints included in the Menaion, the 11th-12th-century Byzantine choir had to use other books as well, where the modal-standas of the hymns sung were found, accompanied by their musical notation. These books were the Kontakarion\(^29\), where the choir would find the melodies for the kontakion and in some cases the oikos of the Menaion, the Sticherarion\(^30\) for the melodies of stichera, and the Heirmologion\(^31\) for the melodies of the heirmoi of the kanons. Hagiographical readings on the celebrated feast or saint were to be found in the Menologion or the Synaxarion\(^32\). Another book containing the poetical texts for the liturgical year was the Tropologion, still in use at the time when L was composed. In this period some of its contents were included in other liturgical books (Menaion, Pentekostarion see WELLESZ, 141; FOUNTOULIS, Λειτουργική, 89-90; ODB, 1627; KORAKIDIS, Ύμνογραφία II, 202-203.


\(^27\) Papadopoulos – Kerameus, Σχεδίασμα, 360, writes that apart from the Menaion «βιβλία ... ἐτερα, οἶνον τὸ ἐυαγγέλιον, ὁ ἀπόστολος, τὸ προφητιλόγιον, τὸ εἴμυλολόγιον, ἢ παρακλητικόν, τὸ κονδακάριον, τὸ τριώδιον καὶ τὸ συναξάριον, ἀνεπλήρους τῶν λειτουργικῶν τῆς ἐορτής κύκλων».


\(^29\) On Kontakarion see WELLESZ, 143 (under the title Psaltikon).

\(^30\) On Sticherarion see ODB, 1956 (with bibliography); WELLESZ, 142-143, 244-245.


\(^32\) On Menologion and Synaxarion see H. Delehaye, Synaxaires byzantins, ménologes, typika, London 1977; J. Noret, Ménologes, synaxaires, ménées. Essai de clarification d’une terminologie, AnnBoll 86 (1968) 21-24; WELLESZ, 135-136 (Menologion); ODB, 1991 and 1341 (with bibliography); KORAKIDIS, Ύμνογραφία II, 194-195 (Menologion) and 216-217 (Synaxarion).
Triodion, Pentekostarion, Typika, Euchologion, and Horologion), while the rest was neglected.

**STRUCTURE OF THE AKOLOUTHIAI**

To place the use of L more precisely in the Byzantine liturgical practice we may consider very briefly the rite of the middle of the 11th century when the codex was copied, as it is presented in the Typikon of the monastery of Evergetis in Constantinople, not only because this text comes from the beginning of the period in which the production of L can be dated, but also because it is the most detailed typikon that has come down to us, representing not only the patterns of the services in the monastery of Evergetis but the general rite of the period in which it was composed.

The Typikon of Evergetis is a calendar of the saints and feasts celebrated all year round enriched with instructions to the choir on what must be sung and read, mainly at Hesperinos and Orthros, but also at Pannychis and the Divine Liturgy. The sections of the services in Typikon of Evergetis which include instructions to the choir and the books used by the choir for each specific part, are as follows:

*Hesperinos:* (a) Psalm 103 followed by a kathisma of psalmody from the Psalter. (b) Κύριε ἐκεκράξα (Lord, I have cried...), i.e. Psalms 140, 141, 129 and 116; to a number of the last verses (varying from four to ten) the choir interpolates sticherà from the Parakletike and the Menaion. The Menaion usually has three sticherà for each saint or feast. (c) The hymn Φως Ιλαρῶν (O Hilarious Light...) followed by Prokeimenon or Alleluia, from Horologion. (d) Only on festal Vespers, readings, mainly from the Old Testament. (e) The hymn Καταξιωσον, Κύριε (Lord, vouchsafe...) from Horologion. (f) *Stichos,* i.e. verses from the Psalms followed by sticherà from the book of Parakletike and in some instances an idiomelon on the saint or the feast of the day from the Menaion. (g) St Symeon’s canticle (Luc 2:29) and Trisagion. (h) *Apolystikion* (usually called troparion in the manuscripts), from the Menaion (it is not sung in Lenten Hesperinos). If the saint or the feast of the day does not have an apolystikion, the choir sings the apolystikion of the day, included in both the books of Parakletike and Horologion.

*Pannychis:* (a) *Kanon(s)* from Parakletike, followed by kanon(s) on the saint, from

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34 A presentation of the plans of the services performed today by the Orthodox Church is given in Mother Mary and Kallistos Ware, The festal Menaion..., 67-97; a more detailed plan of Hesperinos and Orthros in Taft, Liturgy of the Hours, 278-282.


36 For a detailed codification of the instructions to both the choir and the priest see the table *Patterns of the services,* composed by Jordan, Synaxarion Evergetis, ix-x.
the Menaion. (b) A section called “After the third Ode”, i.e. interruption of the performance of the kanon after ode 3, to sing one or more poetic kathismata on the saint, from the Menaion. (c) A section called “After the sixth Ode”, i.e. interruption after ode 6, to sing kontakion and oikos on the saint, from the Menaion. (d) Reading of a biblical or hagiographical text. It should be noted at this point that not every saint is commemorated with a Pannychis. In June, for example, only two celebrations include a Pannychis, those of the Nativity of St John the Baptist and the apostles Peter and Paul.

Orthros: (a) Hexapslamos, i.e. Psalms 3, 37, 62, 87, 102 and 142, from Horologion. (b) The hymn Θεός Κύριος intercalated with three verses of Psalm 117, from Horologion. On specific days the Θεός Κύριος is not performed as the choir sings Alleluia. (c) Troparion (usually the apolytikon of Hesperinos is repeated here as troparion) or Triadika. (d) Continuous psalmody. This section includes mainly parts from the Psalter and Horologion. The only part deriving from the Menaion is the poetic kathisma(ta) on the saint. (e) Psalm 50. (f) Kanons, usually two from the Parakletike and one or two from the Menaion. The kanons are interrupted after the third and the sixth odes (to sing kathisma or kontakia from the Parakletike or the Menaion). (g) Exapostelarion. (h) Ainoi, i.e., Psalms 148-150; Ps. 150 and the last verse of Ps. 149 are sometimes intercalated with stichera from the Parakletike and/or the Menaion. (i) Great doxology. (j) Stichos of the Ainoi, i.e. verses from Psalms intercalated with stichera from Parakletike and sometimes one of the prospomoia on the saint from the Menaion. (k) Apolytikon (the same as the one sung at Hesperinos).

Divine Liturgy: Its non-fixed part consists of: (a) Typika from Horologion and Makarismoi (sometimes they are replaced by antiphons, also from Horologion). In some instances the third or the sixth ode of the kanon on the saint is sung after the typika37. (b) Troparion (i.e. the apolytikon of Hesperinos and Orthros). (c) Kontakion, from the Kontakarion and/or the Menaion. (d) Prokeimenon. (e) Apostle (i.e. reading from the Acts and the Epistles of the New Testament). (f) Koinonikon, i.e. a response sung before the communion; it usually comes from the Psalms.

On the basis of the instructions of the Typikon of Evergetis, the contents of each akolouthia in L (i.e. kathisma, kontakion and oikos, stichera, kanon, and exapostelarion) were used in these services in the following way. We should bear in mind that the existence of double akolouthiai aims at the performance of both of them, either at the same or at different services. As an example of performance of one akolouthia at Pannychis and another at Hesperinos and Orthros we may refer to the Typikon of the Monastery of Petra in Constantinople, that celebrated on September 14 the Exaltation

37 See for example the akolouthia on the apostles Peter and Paul on June 29: «Εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν τυπικά καὶ ὀδὴ τοῦ κανόνος τῆς παννυχίδος τοῦ «Πρὸς τὸν Άσβωμαι σοὶ Κύριε ἡ Σ» (JORDAN, Synaxarion Evergetis, 170). The same directive is given in the typikon of San Salvatore of Messina (AD 1131): «Εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν, ἡ Σ ὀδὴ τοῦ κανόνος τοῦ ἀποδείτην, τοῦ Άσβωμαι σοὶ Κύριε ἡ Θεός μοι» (M. ARRANZ, Le Typicon du Monastère du Saint Sauveur à Messine, Codex Messinensis gr. 115 AD 1131, Rome 1969, p. 162).
of the Holy Cross together with the memory of St John Chrysostom: the akolouthia on St John was sung at Pannychis while that on the Exaltation of the Holy Cross at Hesperinos and Orthros. The possibility of such a use can explain why L contains double akolouthia on saints celebrated alone.

The (poetic) kathisma was sung at Orthros, either in its own section or in the interruptions of the kanon, usually after ode 3 and in some cases after ode 6. In the double akolouthia, the first kathisma was sung after the Stichologia (i.e. in its own section) and the second after ode 3. If the akolouthia comprised only one kathisma this was sung after ode 3, kathisma from Oktoechos being sung after the Stichologia. There are also cases of two saints celebrated together, in which the kathisma of the first saint was sung after the third ode and the kathisma of the second after the sixth, most probably when the akolouthia on the saints did not have a kontakion to be performed after ode 6. A kathisma was also included at Pannychis, after the third (and sometimes the sixth) ode of the kanon; most of the times it came from Parakletike. The performance of the kathisma (or kathismata) in various sections of Orthros is most probably the reason why L includes more than one kathisma on the same saint or saints.

The kontakion was sung at Pannychis and at Orthros, after the sixth ode of the kanon, as well as at the Divine Liturgy, before the reading of Apostolos. At Orthos it was followed by one or more oikoi, the number of which is not always fixed. L transmits one oikos after each kathisma, except for the kathisma on the apostles Peter and Paul that is followed by eleven. It seems though that the choirs could have access to more than one oikos, as we may assume from an instruction of the Typikon of Evergetis.

38 See Dmitrievsky, Opisanie II, 229 (Sept. 14): «Ιστε οτι ο Πατρινος εις την παννυχίδα ψάλλει την ακολουθίαν του Χρυσοστόμου».

39 See for example Jordan, Synaxarion Evergetis, 148-150 (akolouthia on the apostles Bartholomew and Barnabas): «μετά την στιχολογίαν καθήμα του άγιου Βαρθολομαίου ἡχος πλάγιος δ’ και θεοτοκίου. κανόνες γ’ ὁ της δέκτησιν εἰς, καὶ β’ τῶν ἀποστόλων εἰς ἡχον β’ ἀνά δ’ θεοφάνους ἀπὸ γ’ ὄθες καθήμα του άγιου Βαρνάβα ἡχος πλάγιος δ’ και θεοτοκίου».

40 See Jordan, Synaxarion Evergetis, 148-150 (akolouthia on the translation of the relics of Sts Kyros and John): «Εἰς τόν ορθρόν μετά τήν στιχολογίαν καθήματα της δέκτησιν. κανόνες γ’ της δέκτησιν οι β’ εἰς ζ’, καὶ τῶν άγιων ομοίως εἰς ζ’ ἡχος β’ ἤσσρη ἀπὸ γ’ ὄθες καθήμα των άγιων ἡχος δ’ και θεοτοκίου».

41 See Jordan, Synaxarion Evergetis, 226-228 (August 4, akolouthia on St John, abbot of Patalarea, and the 7 children of Ephesos): «ἡ στιχολογία, καθήματα της δέκτησιν. κανόνες ... ἀπὸ γ’ ὄθες καθήμα του οἴσιν ἡχος πλάγιος δ’ και θεοτοκίου· ἀπὸ ζ’ καθήμα των άγιων ἡχος δ’ και θεοτοκίου».


43 See Jordan, Synaxarion Evergetis September - February, 58 (September 14, akolouthia on the Exaltation of the Holy Cross): «ἀπὸ ζ’ (i.e. after ode 6) τὸ κοντάκιον ἡχος δ’ οὐφόθεις ἐν τῷ
The stichera were mainly sung at Hesperinos, at the section of Κύριε Ἐκέκραξα. In some instances stichera were also sung at the Ainoi of Orthros⁴⁴ or the Stichos of the Ainoi⁴⁵. Whether the choir would sing the full set(s) of stichera at Ainoi or just one sticheron at the Stichos of the Ainoi depends on how important the saint, and thence his celebration, was for the local community.

The kanons were performed mainly at Orthros, but also at Pannychis⁴⁶. According to the Typikon Orthros includes three kanons. If the day has only one celebrated saint the choir must sing two kanons from Parakletike and the one on the saint or the feast. Great feasts have two kanons from the Menaion preceded by one from Parakletike. If the Menaion has two non-related saints celebrated, the choir performs one kanon from Parakletike and the kanons on the saints from the Menaion. Each stanza of the kanon was preceded by a verse from the Psalms. Usually each ode employs twelve verses in total. This means that if there are three kanons to be sung each one of them gives four stanzas; there are however cases in which more or less verses (and stanzas) are employed⁴⁷. The kanon performed at Pannychis comes either from the book of Parakletike or from the Menaion (this may be the reason why L includes on some saints double kanons: one was destined for Pannychis and the other for Orthros⁴⁸).

⁴⁴ Papadopoulos – Perameus, Σχεδίασμα, 357, writes that in the older Menaia (as in L) «όταν ύπό τον πρώτον κανόνα συναντάται κανόνα ἐτερος εἰς ἐτερον ἁγιον ἢ μάρτυρα, προτάσσονται τον προτέρου κανόνος ἐτερα στιχηρά, διακρινόμενα μέν τῶν πρώτων, ἐξυμνοῦτα δέ τόν δεύτερον ἁγιον, εἰς ὁν ὁ κανόνων ὁ δεύτερος ἀναφέρεται. ... Τά τοιαῦτα μέντοι στιχηρά προσόμοια μετετίθεντο πολλάκις εἰς τοὺς αἶνους οἱ μεταγενέστεροι».

⁴⁵ See below, the two last sets of stichera on St Theodore Stratelates (Text 8, vv. 98-163), the rubric of which dictates that they are to be sung εἰς τοὺς Αἴνους. The typikon of Evergetis instructs also that one of the last three ones (i.e. one sung in plagal first mode, according to Χαίρωσ ἁκακίην ἀλήθως) must be sung at the Stichos of the Ainoi, after two stichera from the Oktochos (see Jordon, Synaxarion Evergetis, 146: εἰς τὸν στίχον τῶν αἴνων στιχηρά τῆς ὀκτωψῆος β’ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἁγίου ἡχός πλάγιος α’ πρῶς τὸ Χαίρον, καὶ θεοτοκίον).


⁴⁷ See for example the instructions of the typikon of Evergetis for the akolouthia on the apostles Peter and Paul, where we have fourteen (Jordon, Synaxarion Evergetis, 168-170).

⁴⁸ See the instructions of the Typikon of San Salvatore for the akolouthia on the prophet Elias and St Methodios the patriarch of Constantinople: «Εἰς τὸν ὅρθρον, ἢ συνήθις στιχολογία. Κανόνες β’, τῆς ὀκταψηχοῦ καὶ τοῦ προφητοῦ· ὅ δέ τοῦ ὀσίου ψάλλεται εἰς τὸ μεσονύκτιον» (M. Arranz, Le Typicon du Monastère du Saint Sauveur à Messine, Codex Messinensis gr. 115 AD 1131, Rome 1969, 159). See also the instructions of the typikon of Evergetis for the akolouthia on St Demetrios (Jordon, Synaxarion Evergetis September - February, 150-152),
The *exaposteilarion* was sung, as today, at the last part of Orthros, after the end of the *kanons* and before the *Ainoi*.

**FESTAL CALENDAR OF THE BYZANTINE CHURCH**

Comparing the dates of the feastdays between L and the festal calendar of the Orthodox Church today, one realizes that there are some noteworthy differences: St Attalos (present feastday June 6) is celebrated in L on June 1, St Eustathios of Antiocheia (February 21) and St Hilarion of Dalmaton (June 6) on June 5, St Dorotheos of Tyre (June 5) on June 6, Sts. Nikandros and Markianos (June 8) on June 7, the apostle Phourtounatos (April 16) on June 15, St Pagcharios (March 19) on June 16, Sts. Isauros, Basileios, Innokentios, Peregrinos, Ermeias and Philex (June 17) on June 18, the martyrs Innas, Pinnas and Rimmis (January 20) on June 20, St Eustochios and his fellow martyrs (June 23) on June 20, St Petros the Athonite (June 12) on June 22, the martyrs Zenon and Zenas (June 22) on June 23, St Ioseph and his fellow martyrs (not commemorated in today’s liturgical books) on June 28.

The picture becomes more complicated if we take into consideration the dates in which some of the saints celebrated in L were commemorated in other liturgical sources of the same period. The following table gives a general picture of the comparison of the commemoration-dates of L to these of codex Hierosolymitanus Sabaiticus 70 (H; a manuscript closely related to L as presented below, Chapter 4), the Typikon of Hagia Sophia published by A. Dmitrievsky (in the following table: Typikon CP; 9th-10th c.)⁴⁹, the Typikon of the Great Church published by J. Mateos (10th-11th c.), the *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, the Typikon of Evergetis in Constantinople, the *Menologion* of the emperor Basil II, the calendar of Christopher of Mytilene, the Typikon of St Sabbas in Jerusalem, the Typikon of San Salvatore (monastery of Christ the Saviour) of Messina (12th c.)⁵⁰, the Typikon of the monastery of St Bartholomew in Trigona (12th c.)⁵¹, and the printed *Menaión*. [Only saints with varying date of commemoration appear in the table]:

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⁴⁹ DMITRIEVSKY, *Opisanie* (June in pp. 76-84).

⁵⁰ M. ARRANZ, *Le Typicon du Monastère du Saint Sauveur à Messine, Codex Messinensis gr. 115 AD 1131*, Rome 1969 (June in pp. 156-163). Let it be noted that this Studite *typikon* lacks *akolouthiai* on many of the saints’ days.

| Name                        | 5 | 5 | - | - | 6 | 5 | - | - | 5 | 5 | 5 | 6 |
|-----------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hilarion                    | 5 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 6 | Oct 9 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 5 |
| Dorotheos 52                | 6 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 6 |          | 6 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 5 |
| Nikandros - Markianos       | 7 | 8 | 8 | 8 | - | 7 | - | - | - | - | - | 8 |
| Kyrillos                    | 9 | 9 | 27 | 27 | 7 | - | 27 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 |
| Orestes, Diomedes, Rodion 53| 9 | 9 | - | - | 9 | 9 | - | - | 9 | 9 | 9 |
| Alexandros - Antonina 54    | 10 | 10 | 9 | 9 | - | 9 | - | 10 | - | - | - | 10 |
| Timotheos                   | 10 | - | 10 | 10 | 10 | - | 10 | - | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Onouphrios                  | 12 | 12 | 11 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 |
| Methodios                   | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 | - | 14 | - | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 |
| Amos                        | 15 | 15 | 17 | 16 | 15 | 15 | 16 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 15 |
| Phourtounatos                | 15 | 15 | - | - | 15 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Pagcharios                  | 16 | - | - | - | May 25 | - | May 25 | - | - | - | - | Mar 19 |
| Tychon                      | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 |
| Hypatios                    | 17 | 17 | - | 17 | 17 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Isauros                     | 18 | 17 | - | - | 17 | - | July 6 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Zosimos 55                  | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 20 | 20 | 19 | 19 | 20 | - | - | 19 |
| Innas, Pinnas, Rimmas       | 20 | 20 | - | - | 20 | - | Jan 20 | - | 20 | 20 | 20 | Jan20 |
| Eustochios                  | 20 | 20 | 23 | 23 | 23 | - | 23 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Ioulianos 56                | 21 | 21 | - | - | 21 | 21 | Mar 21 | 21 | 21 | 21 | 21 | 21 |
| Petros                      | 22 | 22 | - | - | 12 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 12 |
| Zenon - Zenas               | 23 | 23 | 22 | 22 | 23 | - | 23 | - | - | - | - | 22 |
| Agripinne                   | 23 | 23 | 23 | - | 23 | 23 | - | 23 | 23 | 23 | 23 | 23 |
| David                       | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 |
| John of Gotthia             | 26 | - | 26 | 26 | 26 | - | 26 | - | - | - | - | 26 |
| Joseph                      | 28 | 28 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |

This variety can be explained by the fact that the Byzantine Church did not

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

53 Only Sts Orestes and Diomedes are mentioned in the Typikon of Evergetis, the Typikon of St Sabbas, the Typikon of San Salvatore, and the Typikon of St Bartholomew in Trigona.

54 Only Antonina is mentioned by Christopher of Mytilene.

55 He is named as Ζωσιμας in the typikon of St Sabbas.

56 In the typikon of San Salvatore, and the typikon of St Bartholomew in Trigona it is not clear whether the saint commemorated is St Ioulianos of Kilikia or of Egypt.
have an official and common festal calendar\(^57\), even though «a semi-uniform Byzantine calendar had been instituted throughout the entire oikoumene late in the seventh century».\(^58\) The commemoration of saints was based on tradition that was expressed in the individual typika of monasteries and churches. The varying content of typika has been noted by N. D. Uspensky, who makes clear that the Byzantine typikon was not a uniform book but a number of books which differed, each one presenting «the general rule of liturgical prayer adhered to by a certain local church or monastic centre».\(^59\) Monasteries and churches had also the right to transfer the celebration of a saint to another date in order to give it a more panegyric character\(^60\) or in case his memory was concurrent with the memory of another saint or feast, more important for the local church\(^61\).

This variation in the dates of commemorations and the content of typika was realized as a problem during the 11th century at the latest as we may assume from what Nikon of the Black Mountain (ca.1025 – ca.1100) writes in his work Εν ταξεί διαθήκης: «I came upon and collected different typika, of Studios and of Jerusalem, and one did not agree with the other, neither Studite with another Studite one, nor

\(^{57}\) See M. GEDEON, Βυζαντινὸν Εορτολόγιον. Μνήμαι τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δ᾽ μέχρι τῶν μέσων τοῦ ΙΕ΄ αἰώνος ἐορτασμένων ἠγίων ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, Constantinople 1899, pp. 14-25; S. ΕΦΣΤΡΑΤΙΑΔΗΣ, Ασιανικά. Βιβλιογραφία τῶν ἄκολουθων, EEBS 9 (1932) 83.


\(^{60}\) We know for example that in the Great Church they used to transfer the celebration of the Patriarchs of Constantinople to the Sunday after their calendar commemoration (see EΦΣΤΡΑΤΙΑΔΗΣ, Εορτολόγιον, 14; FOUNTOULIS, Λειτουργίκη, 127).

\(^{61}\) See EΦΣΤΡΑΤΙΑΔΗΣ, Εορτολόγιον, 6-32; and N. A. LIVADARAS, Περὶ τὰ προβλήματα τῶν πατμιακῶν κοινοκαθαρίων, EEBS 24 (1954) 340. EΦΣΤΡΑΤΙΑΔΗΣ, Εορτολόγιον, 18, presents as an example of an individual festal calendar that of the monastery of Laura on Mount Athos; after having studied sixty of its liturgical manuscripts (listed in his text) he concluded that the monastery’s calendar was not corresponding to any other known general or individual calendar. As an example of a transfer of a memory to another day because of a concurrent celebration let us copy the instruction of the typikon of Evergetis for the celebration of St Loupos (from August 23 to the previous day as the 23th is dedicated to the Apodosis of the Dormition of Theotokos): «Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ κβ΄ μεθερα, καὶ τού ἄγιου μαρτυρος Ἀγαθονίκου. προφανήμεν ἰ ν σήμερον καὶ τον ἄγιον Λούπον δια το ἀποδίδαι την ἐορτήν εἰς ταῖς κυ’» (JORDAN, Synaxarion Evergetis, 280).
Jerusalem ones with Jerusalem ones...»62.

The time of the establishment of the present dates of the celebration of feasts and saints is not easily detected. We know that in the Palaiologan period canonisation by synodal decrees was established and the whole process of the recognition of sanctity became more bureaucratic63, but there is no evidence of a parallel establishment of fixed dates. It is most probable that the dates devoted to the celebration of feasts and saints became more stabilized by the edition of the printed Menaia.

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

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

Six of the akolouthiai copied in the manuscript have already been edited critically, namely those on Sts Orestes, Diomedes and Rhodion\textsuperscript{64}, St Timotheos of Proussa\textsuperscript{65}, the apostle Phourtounatos\textsuperscript{66}, St Eustochios and his fellow martyrs\textsuperscript{67}, St Petros the Athonite\textsuperscript{68}, and the Nativity of St John the Baptist\textsuperscript{69}; to these we may add some parts of the akolouthia on the apostles Peter and Paul\textsuperscript{70}. Twenty-eight of the remaining akolouthiai are published in the \textit{Menaia} used by the Orthodox Church\textsuperscript{71},

\textsuperscript{64} AHG X, pp. 23-35.
\textsuperscript{65} AHG IX, pp. 256-269.
\textsuperscript{66} AHG X, pp. 117-128, 359-360.
\textsuperscript{67} AHG X, pp. 130-139.
\textsuperscript{71} The akolouthiai on St Nikephoros of Constantinople, the martyr Loukillionos, St Metrophanes of Constantinople, St Hilarion of Dalmaton, St Dorotheos of Tyre, St Theodotos of Ankara, the translation of relics of St Theodore \textit{Stratelates}, St Kyrrilos of Alexandria, Sts Alexandros and Antonina, the apostles Bartholomew and Barnabas (a considerable part of it is published here for the first time), St Onouphrios, St Akyлина, the prophet Elisaios, the prophet Amos, St Tychon of Amathous, St Leontios (?: the akolouthia is mutilated), Sts Isavros and his fellow martyrs (?: the akolouthia is also mutilated), St Ioulianos, St Eusevios of Samosata, St Agrippina, the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, St Fevronia, St David of
and twenty are edited below for the first time. For five of the latter, namely the akolouthiai on St Nikephoros, St Metrophanes, Sts Fevronia and the other martyrs, Sts John of Gotthia and David of Thessalonike, and St Sampson the Xenodochos, Lesb. Leimonos 11 so far remains codex unicus.

The reasons why the akolouthiai edited below were not included in the published Menaion are not easily detected. It seems that there are two main reasons for this neglect. The first is related to the process that led to the basic editions of the Menaia that lasted from the middle of the 16th c. to the end of the 19th. As many historians and liturgists have noted, the first editions of Greek texts, including liturgical texts, were undertaken by not always qualified editors on the basis of the manuscripts then available to the editors no matter their quality; most of the subsequent editions simply followed the first ones including all their mistakes and omissions. This applies to the editions of Menaion. Even the edition by Bartholomaios Koutloumousianos (12 vols, Venice 1863) and the edition of Rome (6 vols, 1888-1901), considered to be the best among all the extant ones, are far from satisfactory by modern standards. Thus, we may assume that some of the akolouthiai not included in the printed Menaion were simply not copied to the manuscripts which were available to the first editors of the Menaion.

Another reason can be detected in an old liturgical order according to which the choir must choose which kanon to sing in case more than one kanons are composed on the same feast or saint: «Ιστέον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὡς εἶπερ ἐχει τὸ μηραῖον ἐν μνήμῃ ἁγίων τινὸς κανόνας, διαφοράν ποιητῶν, εἰ μὲν ἔστι κανών ὁ τοῦ κύρ Κοσμᾶ [=Kosmas the Melode], προκρινέται. Εἰ δὲ τοῦ Κύρ Ἰωάννου [=John of Damascus] καὶ ἐτέρων, τοῦ Ἰωάννου, προκρίνεται. Εἰ δὲ τοῦ Κύρ Θεοφάνους [=Theophanes Graptoī] καὶ ἐτέρων, ὁ τοῦ Κύρ Θεοφάνους προκρίνεται, προτιμητέος γὰρ ἔστι τῶν ἀλλών. Εἰ δὲ τοῦ Κύρ Ἰωσήφ [=Joseph the Hymnographer], οὕτως τῶν λοιπῶν προτετιμητα ποιητῶν. Τούτων δὲ μὴ ὄντων οἱ τοῦ Κύρ Ἰωάννου [=John the Monk?]. Ἀπάντων δὲ τούτων, οἱ τοῦ κύρ Ἰωσήφ, τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπάντων προκρίνονται». This order, followed not only by choirs but also by copyists (or

Thessalonike, St Sampson the Xenodochos, the translation of relics of Sts John and Kyros the Wonderworkers, the apostles Peter and Paul, and the twelve apostles.

72 See TOMADAKIS, Τμιογραφία, 66-70 and 131-142; PAPADOPOULOS – KERAMEUS, Σχεδίασμα, 343-366; E. KOURILAS, Αἱ πρὸς ἀναθεώρησιν τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν βιβλίων γενόμεναι ἀπόπειραι εἰς τὴν Ορθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίαν, Nea Sion 30 (1935) - 36 (1941) passim; E. PANTELAKIS, Τὰ λειτουργικὰ βιβλία τῆς ἡμετέρας Ἐκκλησίας, Nea Sion 26 (1931) 220-222. The problem is presented in wider perspective in REYNOLDS-WILSON, 244-245.

73 Τυπικόν σὸν Θεο ἀγίω, περιέχον πάσαν τήν διάταξιν τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἀκολούθιας τοῦ χρόνου ὅλην. Νέωτε τυποθέτων, καὶ ἐπιμελῶς διωρθωθέν παρὰ Γεωργίων Ιεροδικόνον Μαώτον τοῦ ἐκ Κυδανίας τῆς Κρήτης, Venice 1691, p. 15. PAPADOPOULOS – KERAMEUS, Σχεδίασμα, 379, expresses the opinion that this liturgical order is composed in the 11th century, as this is the time dividing the content of the Menaia in two periods; in the period up
composers?) of *Menaia*, must have led to the neglect of *kanons* composed by hymnographers put in a lower rank or not included in the order.

To these reasons we may add another pointed out by P. Trempelas, based on the work of J. P. Pitra, that a huge abridgement of the liturgical books took place during the reign of the emperor Manuel I Comnenus (1143-1180), due to which almost half of the hymns were removed and finally neglected. It is reasonable to assume that during this process it was not only hymns that were left out of the liturgical books, but also the *akolouthiai* of some saints the celebration of which was not considered to be important enough.

In other instances there were only some *troparia* that were not included in the *akolouthiai* that were edited in the published *Menaion*. Though the lack of these *troparia* in the edition is probably also a result of the mutilation of these *akolouthiai* during the process of their copy from one manuscript to the other, we have to take also into consideration that from the 11th c. onwards the liturgical books underwent certain changes in both form and content. During this process some *akolouthiai* were shortened to fit the new needs of the ritual, which practically means that a considerable number of hymnographical texts were removed leaving behind the gaps we find today in the editions. A very characteristic example is the *akolouthia* on the apostles Bartholomew and Barnabas (Text 11). The two apostles were celebrated together on June 11 and the Church used originally a double *akolouthia*, as it is found in L, performing one *kanon* from *Oktoechos* and both the *kanons* on the apostles, four stanzas from each. Later though, in a period which cannot be easily detected or during the preparation of the edition of the *Menaia*, a change occurred reflected in the text of the *akolouthia* published in the *Menaion*: the two *kanons* became one and every ode of the *kanon* on Bartholomew lost its two last stanzas so that the total of stanzas sung in each ode, i.e. two from the *akolouthia* on Bartholomew and four from that on Barnabas, would make the six stanzas needed for the office, given that the total stanzas performed from both the *Oktoechos* and the *Menaion* was fourteen (four plus four from the two *kanons* of the *Oktoechos*, plus six from the *Menaion*).

Some of the *kanons* not included in the *Menaion* lack an acrostic, which must have played a significant role in their neglect by the Church. Any *kanon* without an acrostic was a *kanon* without clear authorship, and hence a *kanon* not to be trusted by

to 11th c. the *Menaia* have the form of L, while later take the form which the printed *Menaia* have.

74 P. TREMPELAS, Έκλογη ἐλληνικῆς ὀρθοδόξου ὑμνογραφίας, Athens 1978, p. 35.

75 See N. B. TOMADAKIS, Εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὴν Βυζαντινὴν Φιλολογίαν. Τόμος Α’: Κλειστής τῆς Βυζαντινής Φιλολογίας, Αθήνα 1965, p. 147.

76 See the rubrics of the *typikon* of Evergetis: «κανόνες γ’. Τῆς ὁκτωθῆν εἰς, καὶ β’ τῶν ἀποστόλων εἰς ήμοι β’ ἀνά δ’ Θεοφάνους» (JORDAN, Symmarrison Evergetis, 148-150) and compare to the rubric of the printed *Menaion* dictating the performance of two *kanons* from *Oktoechos*: «Εἰς τὸν ὄρθρον. Ἡ συνήθης στιχολογία καὶ οἱ κανόνες τῆς Ὀκταθην καὶ τῶν Ἁγίων ὁ παρῶν». 
the Church. According to the 59th kanon of the Council of Laodicea (4th c.), «private chants should not be sung in the church»\(^{77}\).

Another very difficult question on the composition of these texts is whether the kathisma and the stichera preceding each kanon are written by the composer of the kanon or not. In some cases there is some internal evidence, such as expressions or biblical passages used in both the stichera and the kanon, that help us understand that Athanasios Papadopoulos – Kerameus was right in expressing the view that it was the composer of the kanon who usually undertook also the task of writing the kathisma and the stichera of the akolouthia\(^{78}\). In other cases where such evidence does not exist answering the question is not possible.

The language and the style of the texts edited below are not homogeneous, for two reasons, the first being that the texts are composed by various poets and the second that they consist of a mixture of two different kinds of poetry, the poetry of the kontakia\(^{79}\) and that of the kanons, to which also the stichera, the kathismata and the expostelilaria must be included\(^{80}\). Individual observations on the language and the style of the texts are to be found in the following chapter on the hymnographers and the Commentary at the end of this volume. What can be generally said here is that the language is for the most part scholarly and at times elaborate\(^{81}\), also using Attic

\(^{77}\) «Οὐ δει ἰδιωτικοῦς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ...» (V. I. FEIDAS, Ιεροί Κανόνες καὶ Καταστατικὴ Νομοθεσία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Athens 1997, p. 227).

\(^{78}\) PAPADOPOULOS – KERAMEUS, Σχεδίασμα, 357: «τά γάρ ἐν τοῖς παλαιστάτοις μηναίοις ὠνομασθένα ποιημάτα, ἐστὶν οἱ κανόνες, ἔχουσι προτεσταγμένα τό καθήμα τῆς ἔσχητι και τά στιχημα προσόμοια, ἀπέρι, εἰ καὶ παντελῶς ἀνώνυμα πανταχοῦ, φαίνονται συνθέσμα τοῦ κανόνος εἶναι τοῦ ποιητοῦ, ὥστε ἐτοῦ παλαιοῦ μηναίον· ὅ μέν γάρ ὑμνιδός ὁ ἀναλαβὼν ἴνα συνθέσῃ τὸν ἐπαίνον ἔσχητι τινος ὄς συνεγράφη κανώνα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάν ὁ τν μὲτα τοὺσ συνεδέσθη, ὡς ἔτο τὸ καθήμα, μάλιστα δὲ τά στιχημα προσόμοια, ἀπερί ἐπέχουσι προσομίου τότον εἰς τοῦ κανόνα».


\(^{80}\) See TOMADAKIS, Τύμνογραφία, 227-228; N. B. TOMADAKIS, Εἰσαγωγὴ εἰς τήν Βυζαντινήν Φιλολογίαν. Τόμος Α. Κλείς τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Φιλολογίας, Αθήναι 1965, pp. 48-49; N. B. TOMADAKIS, Η γλώσσα Ιωσήφ τοῦ Τύμνογράφου, EEPhSPA 23 (1972-3) 22-42; ODB, 1102.

\(^{81}\) One may compare the text edited below to phonological and other changes that occurred in the perion from 650 to 1100, presented in R. BROWNING, Medieval and Modern Greek, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1983, pp. 62.
syntax\textsuperscript{82}, without introducing new words\textsuperscript{83}, or original expressions. There are cases in which the akolouthiai edited below include stanzas used by the same hymnographers in other works, as well as expressions used also by other hymnographers.

The hitherto unpublished akolouthiai are presented individually in the coming pages. The presentation follows the order of the akolouthiai in the manuscript. Published akolouthiai are not presented even if a small part of them is edited below for the first time, having been omitted in the previous editions (for a detailed description of the contents of the manuscript see below, Chapter 4). Each presentation comprises the following sections:

(a) Information on the saint(s).
(b) Byzantine hagiographical texts on the saint(s).
(c) Published and unpublished Byzantine akolouthiai on the saint(s).
(d) The celebration of the saint(s) in Byzantine liturgical sources.
(e) Structure and content of the akolouthia edited below.
(f) Comments on the authorship, the manuscript tradition, the history\textsuperscript{84}, content, language, and structure of the text.

\textbf{AKOLOUTHIA ON ST IOUSTINOS AND HIS FELLOW MARTYRS (TEXT 1)}

(a) St Ioustitos\textsuperscript{85}, known as Justin the Martyr, born ca. 100 in Flavia Neapolis of Syria, became Christian in a mature age after trying to find God through knowledge and

\textsuperscript{82} Attic syntax is used in Texts 6.291-293, 6.296-298, 6.345, 11.229, 21.79-80, 25.383, 26.25-26 (see also below, Commentary).

\textsuperscript{83} It is characteristic that the edition of the texts did not give any new word, i.e. a word not included in the Lidell and Scott’s Great Greek Lexicon or in Lampe’s Patristic Greek Lexicon (the editions used are H. G. Lidell – R. Scott, Μέγα Λεξικόν τής Ελληνικής Γλώσσης μεταφρασθέν τέκ τής Αγγλικής είς τήν Ελληνικήν ὑπὸ Ξενοφόντος Π. Μόσχου - Δ. Φ. Καθηγητον διά πολλῶν δὲ βυζαντινῶν ἰδίως λέξεων καὶ φράσεων πλούσιως καὶ ἐκδόθην ἐπιστασία Μιχαήλ Κωνσταντινίδου, vols. I-IV, Athens (1907); H. G. Lidell – R. Scott, Συμπλήρωμα τοῦ Μεγάλου Λεξικοῦ τῆς Ελληνικῆς Γλώσσης Henry G. Liddell – Robert Scott σχεδιασθέν ὑπὸ Κωνσταντίνου Δ. Γεωργουλῆ Επ. Διευθυντοῦ τοῦ Διδασκαλείου Μέσης Εκπαιδευτείως συνταχθέν δὲ ὑπὸ ὁμάδας φιλολόγων ἐπιστασία Παναγιώτου Κ. Γεωργουλόντζον Επ. Προέρχοντον τοῦ Ἀνωτάτου Ἐκπαιδευτικοῦ Συμβουλίου, Athens (1972); G.W.H. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon, Oxford 1961).

\textsuperscript{84} Concerning the reasons why the texts were not included in the Menon, is should be said that the general possible reasons mentioned above will not be repeated at this part of the presentation.

\textsuperscript{85} On whom see D. Rokea, Justin Martyr and the Jews, Brill: Leiden-Boston-Köln 2002; C. Allert, Revelation, truth, canon, and interpretation: studies in Justin Martyr’s Dialogue with Tryphon, Leiden: Brill 2002; Papadopoulos, Πατρολογία Ι, 233-244 (bibliography in pp. 243-244); Quasten, Patrology I, 196-219; BHG, 972a-974e; BHGa 972a-974; BHGia 972a-974; AASS Iunii I, 16-22 and Aprilis II, 104-119; PG 6.9-800, 1181-1599; Efstratiadis, Αγιολόγων, 222; Doukakis, Συνάξαριστης, 5; BS VII, 12-17.
philosophy, which he studied in depth. At about 150 or a little earlier he traveled to Rome, where he established a private school of philosophy, in fact the first Christian theological school. Having a high-quality philosophical background he composed an apologetic treatise proving the innocence and the sacred character of the Christian faith, which he handed to the emperor Antoninus Pius (138-161), persuading him to cease his persecution against the Christians. Ioustinos became recognized as a philosopher and a teacher and thence he met the envy of another philosopher of Rome, Crescens. During the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-180) he was slandered by Crescens to the eparch of Rome Junius Rusticus (163-167), who had him tortured and finally decapitated, after the martyr had confessed his Christian faith and denied to sacrifice to the idols. To his martyrdom he was accompanied by six of his disciples, namely Chariton, Charito, Evelopistos, Ierax, Paion and Liverianos. Ioustinos was the most productive Christian writer of his age. He composed a good number of treatises, three of which, two apologies and the dialogue against the Jew Tryphon, have survived, while the rest are named in other Byzantine sources⁵⁶. The memory of him and his fellow martyrs is celebrated by the Orthodox Church on June 1, the day given in their Passio as the date of their martyrdom⁵⁷.

Already in the Byzantine period a misunderstanding arose, reflected very clearly in the printed Menaion, where two different saints with the name Ioustinos are commemorated on the same day, St Ioustinos the philosopher and martyr and another martyr Ioustinos, celebrated with his companions. This misunderstanding is also to be met in the manuscript tradition of the akolouthia edited below (see below, the description of the content of the kathismata and the sticherai), while the hagiographical texts clearly prove that it was St Ioustinos the philosopher the six aforementioned martyrs suffered with.

(b) Their Passio has come down to us in three slightly different versions. One of


⁵⁷ «Λαβόντες τοινυν ἡμᾶς οἱ στρατιώται, καλλίνικοι μάρτυρες, καὶ τὸν τόπον καταλαμβάνοντες τῆς τελειώσεως, τὰς ἁγίας ἡμῶν ἀποτέμνονοι κεφάλάς. Πρώτην ὁ Ιούνιος ἤγει» (Latyšev II, 4; cf. G. Lazzaµi, Gli Atti de S. Giustino martire, Aenium 27 (1953), 497: «Λαβόντες τοινυν τοῦτον οἱ στρατιώται καὶ τὸν τόπον καταλαμβάνοντες τῆς τελειώσεως, τὰς ἁγίας αὐτῶν ἀποτέμνοντι κεφάλας, πρώτην ἁγιότος τοῦ Ιούνιον ἡµέραν»).
them is included in the anonymous 10th-century *Menologion*; the other two have survived in almost identical forms. There are also an epitome of St Ioustinos’ life and the passion of Ioustinos and his fellow martyrs. Short notices on them have been included in *Synaxarion Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, the *Menologion* of the emperor Basil II and the *Menaios*.

(c) We are aware of three Byzantine *akolouthiai* on St Ioustinos; one is published in the *Menaios*, the second is edited below and a third anonymous *kanon*, without acrostic, remains unpublished.

In the *Menaios* St Ioustinos the Philosopher is considered as a different saint than the martyr Ioustinos, who was martyred along with other Christians, as is evident from the fact that two different synaxarian notices are used for their commemoration. The *akolouthia* consists of three *stichera* sung at Κυρίε Ἐκεκράζα in mode 2, the general apolytikion sung for the martyrs (Οἱ μάρτυρες σοι, Κυρίε…) and a *kanon* in mode 2, interrupted after ode 3 by a *kathisma* and after ode 6 by synaxarian notices.

(d) The Typikon of the Monastery of Evergetis in Constantinople orders the choir to sing *stichera* in mode 2 (possibly the ones published in the *Menaios*), a *kanon* by Ignatios in the same mode (in the same mode with the one published in the *Menaios* which is though not ascribed to Ignatios or any other hymnographer) and a *kathisma* in plagal first mode (not the one published in the *Menaios*, as that of the *Menaios* is sung in plagal fourth mode).

(e) In L St Ioustinos the philosopher and his fellow martyrs are commemorated together with St Attalos (his *akolouthia* is presented below). The text consists of two *kathismata* (vv. 1-29), seven *stichera* (vv. 58-132; three of them, in vv. 85-120, are the ones published in the *Menaios*), and a *kanon* composed by George of Nicomedia (vv.

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88 Μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγίων Ἰουστινοῦ, Χαρίτωνος, Χαρίτων, Ἐφελπίστου, Ἱερακος, Παίνος καὶ Βαλεριανοῦ (=BHG 974), ed. LatySH II, 1-4; P. Franchi de’ Cavaleri, *Note agiografiche*, [Studi e Testi 8], Roma 1902, pp. 73-75; Lazzati, Gli Atti…., 495-497.

89 Both of them (=BHG 972z and 973) are edited in parallel columns by Lazzati, Gli Atti…., 490-495; the second one is also published in AASS Iunii I, 20-21 and PG 6.1565-1572.


91 *SynaxEC* 721-724, *Menel* 484 and MV X, 3. All three include two different notices, one on Ioustinos the philosopher and another on the martyr Ioustinos and his fellow martyrs. These two notices combined come very close to the text of the epitome mentioned above, from which they must have derived. The texts are not identical to each other, as the ones included in the *Menologion* and the *Menaios* are longer than the one of the *Synaxarion*, being at the same time quite different between them.

92 Ms tradition: LCBQia; see PapatiloPOULOU, *Taixeion*, 209, nr 636.


The content of the kathismata and the stichera leads us to the conclusion that they were not meant to be parts of the same akolouthia. The first kathisma and the first set of stichera (vv. 1-17 and 58-84) are dedicated to St Ioustinos alone, while the second kathisma and the second set of stichera (vv. 18-29 and 85-120) refer to St Ioustinos and his fellow martyrs, as well as the seventh sticheron (vv. 121-132). A passage of the second kathisma (vv. 18-21: Χριστοῦ ... τοῦ μόνου ὑπὲρ πάντων τεθημένου ὡς πρόβατον) may indicate that it is also composed by George of Nicomedia, as the famous hymnographer used the same biblical simile in his kanon (vv. 253-254: ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ ὑπὲρ πάντων δι’ ἐνσπλαγχνίαν τριθέντως σαρκί).

The kanon consists of eight odes numbered α’ and γ’ to θ’. Odes 3, 5, 6 and 8 consist of four stanzas, while odes 1, 4, 7 and 9 of five. The stanzas are connected with an acrostic forming a Byzantine dodecasyllable (Ἐφραζεν Ἰουστίνος Ἑλλήνων στόματα) and not including the theotokia. The acrostic ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ in theotokia supports the hypothesis that this may be a composition of George of Nicomedia. This acrostic is an important evidence, not only for the author’s name, but also for the fact that the kanon was originally composed without a second ode, something usual for the Byzantine kanons. The heirmoi are borrowed from a kanon on the Resurrection by John of Damascus, included in the service-book of Parakletike and destined for the Orthros of Sunday of the first mode. George follows the patterns for the most part, with some exceptions representing well-known metrical variations common in Byzantine hymnography.

95 FOLIERI, Initia II, 244.
96 On kanons bearing the akrostichis ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ see FOLIERI, Initia I, 251. On kanons with a double akrostichis in stanzas and theotokia see WEYH, Akrostichis, 51-53.
97 On the omission of ode 2 in Byzantine kanons see the TH. KOLLYROPOLOU, Περί τοῦ προβλήματος τῆς β’ ὁδής τῶν κανόνων (Doctoral Thesis, University of Athens, 1997; to be published by 2008); L. BERNHARD, Der Ausfall der 2. Ode im byzantinischen Neunodenkanon, in T. MICHELS (ed.), Heuresis. Festschrift für A. Rohracher, Salzburg: Otto Müller Verlag, 1969, pp. 91-101; TOMADAKES, Τμηματα, 60, fn. 2; DETORAKIS, Τμηματα, 71; P. TREMPELAS, Εκλογή ἐλληνικῆς ὀρθοδόξου ἐνυγγογραφίας, Athens 1978, p. 49; PARADOPOULOS - KERAMEUS, Σχεδίασμα, 366-388. The huge bulk of the second odes that have been missing or neglected and therefore not published in the liturgical books of the Church or in special editions is reflected in TH. KOLLYROPOLOU, ‘Εκδοση τῶν β’ ὁδῶν οἱ ὑπό τὸν Ἱβραίους κανόνης στὰ λειτουργικά βιβλία καὶ τα ΑΗΓ, EEBS 51 (2003) 404-479, where more than fifty second odes of kanons of the fixed yearly liturgical cycle are edited.
98 PaAD, 27-37 and EE 1, nr 1.
99 See Mitsakos, Τμηματα, 266-329.
The text of the kanon is of general and panegyrical character, like most of the texts of George, without mentioning any name, place or historical events of the saints' life, not even the city of Rome, where he taught and suffered martyrdom. No direct influence by the hagiographical texts on the saints or by the extant texts written by St Loustinos can be detected in the akolouthia. The saint is praised repeatedly for teaching the people and leading them to the truth and the grace of the Christian faith, enlightening the nations, winning over the lies of the pagan religions and inspiring his fellow martyrs. There are few stanzas devoted to the latter, lauding them in a very general way for their martyrdom. The theotokia, which following the convention are not related to the saints, praise the Virgin Mary for her role in the adoption of mankind by God (ode 1), being a spring of grace and cure (3), giving birth to the one who resurrected Adam and Eve and pushed their seducer out to chaos (4), strengthening the sick nature of man (5), her Son letting mankind participate in immortality (6), cleaning up the mud of passions (7), being the throne of the Son of God (8). In the last theotokion the hymnographer entreats the mother of God to lead him through the wings of virtue up to (the level of) longing and love for her Son. It is noteworthy that the text of the akolouthia refers to miracles performed by St Ioustinos, something not mentioned in any hagiographical text on him.

(f) The limited manuscript tradition of the text (five manuscripts from the 11th to the 15th c.) shows that the use of the akolouthia edited below had been already restricted in the 11th century. The instructions included in the Typikon of Evergetis prove that the akolouthia was not in use at that very monastery, and there is a question whether this reflects a more general picture. Comparing the kanon published in the Menaion with the one edited below, and limiting the discussion to the internal possible reasons of neglect of the kanon published here, it is reasonable to assume that such a reason should be traced in the didactic content of the chosen one. Not being of higher quality, the kanon included in the Menaia was more appropriate for the instruction of the congregation, giving the names of all the martyrs and presenting some more information on them.

AKOLOUTHIA ON ST ATTALOS (TEXT I)

(a-b-d) St Attalos is a saint not well documented in Byzantine hagiographical sources. The only text on him is a short synaxarian notice, published in Acta Sanctorum and in the Menaion. No Vita on St Attalos has survived and the saint is

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100 On the lack of historicity in the works of George see E. FOLIERI, Saba Goto e Saba Stratelata, AnBoll 80 (1962) 249-307 and particularly 268-269.

101 On whom see ESTRATIADIS, Αγιολόγιαν, 61; DOUKAKIS, Συναξαριστής, 54; BS II, 569.

102 AASS Iunii I, 726, and MV X, 21 (June 6). In AASS the following epigram is also published: «Εἰ θαυματουργός Ἀτταλός ζών, οὐ Ξένον· / Ὁ θαυματουργός ἰσότερον καὶ χρισμένος». 
not mentioned in *Menologia*, while in *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* there is only a record of his name, without any accompanying text\(^{103}\), and the Typikon of Evergetis does not commemorate him. His memory is celebrated today by the Orthodox Church on June 6, while L and the rest of the manuscript tradition of his *akolouthia* commemorates him the first day of the month and *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* the second.

In his synaxarian notice St Attalos is presented as a monk of great self-control, eating every second, third and sometimes fifth day and sleeping either sitting or standing. He was a lover not only of every human but also of the animals and even the soulless nature and he received the grace of performing miracles already during his lifetime. He died in peace after having asked the ones present to embrace him for the last time. Nothing more is actually given in his *akolouthia* published below, which is a typical laudatory work, full of general expressions and hagiographical *topoi*\(^{104}\).

(c) The *akolouthia* edited below\(^{105}\) is the only one we are aware of. In the *Menaion* St Attalos is simply commemorated in the synaxarian reading without an *akolouthia* on him.

(e) In L the saint is celebrated along with St Ioustinos and his fellow martyrs (see the description of the previous *akolouthia*). His *akolouthia* consists of two *kathismata* (vv. 30-57), three *stichera* (vv. 133-159) and a *kanon* (vv. 416-613).

The *kanon* consists of eight odes numbered \(\alpha'\) and \(\gamma'\) to \(\theta'\). Each ode consists of four stanzas, except for ode 9, which have five, to host in their initials the name of the hymnographer (\(\Omega\Sigma\HUpsilon\Phi\)). The *heirmoi* are borrowed from five different *kanons*. Two of these *kanons* are composed by the patriarch of Constantinople Germanos\(^{106}\), two by John of Damascus\(^{107}\) and one by Andrew of Crete\(^{108}\). Joseph does not depart from the patterns of the *heirmoi*, apart from some exceptions common in Byzantine hymnography.

The content of the *kanon* does not give any more information on the saint. Taken into account that the *kanon* is composed by Joseph the Hymnographer, known

\(^{103}\) *SynaxEC* 726 (June 2).


\(^{105}\) Ms tradition: LHFAV; see PAPAILIOPOULOU, *Ταυτικη*, p. 209, nr 635.

\(^{106}\) EE 225, nr 323 (odes 1, 5) and EE 226, nr 324 (odes 3 and 9).

\(^{107}\) EE 224, nr 321 (ode 4) and EE 220, nr 315 (ode 6). The second of these *heirmoi* (Ιλιοθετί μου, Σωτηρ;) comes from a *kanon* included in Parakletike, destined for the Orthros of Sunday of the plagal fourth mode (PaAD, 832).

\(^{108}\) EE 228-229, nr 327 (odes 7 and 8).
to be sensitive in giving historical information on the saints praised by him, the lack of historicity in the text could lead us to the conclusion that no other, more informative, text was accessible at the time of its composition. Most probably the kanon was composed to serve the pre-existing commemoration of the saint (see vv. 49-52, 565-567, 568-570, 600-601 and particularly 531-534), celebrated where his grave was located (see vv. 151-159, 468-473, 542-544, 590-594).

(f) A remarkable element of the kanon is that some of the theotokia used in it appear in other kanons composed by other hymnographers. The theotokia of ode 1 (vv. 434-439) is included in an anonymous kanon on the apostle Luke (AHG II, XXIII, 22-28). The one of ode 4 (vv. 474-479) is included in five other kanons, on St Ioannikios by the patriarch Methodios (AHG III, X, 110-115), on St Artemon (anonymous, AHG VII, XVI, 29-32), on St Dios by Germanos (AHG XI, XXVII, 58-63), on St Maximos the confessor by Andrew (AHG XII, XII, 92-97), on St Xene (anonymous, MV V, 181), while in at least two more kanons the same theotokia is used with a different last line. The theotokia of ode 5 (vv. 492-495) is also used in seven more kanons, on Sts Markianos and Martyrios (anonymous, AHG II, XXXI, 106-109), on Sts Kosmas and Damianos the Anargyroi by Germanos (AHG III, IV (2), 106-109), on St Ioannikios by the patriarch Methodios (AHG III, X, 132-135), on the Finding of the Venerable Head of John the Baptist by Germanos (AHG VI, XXVIII, 86-89), on St Pionios by the same hymnographer (AHG VII, XIX, 89-92), on St Artemon (anonymous, AHG VII, XXVI, 61-64) and on St Agathonikos and his fellow martyrs (anonymous, AHG XII, XXVI, 65-68).

The text has survived in four manuscripts (LHHαV) dated from the 11th to the 13th century. This probably means that the celebration of St Attalos had been neglected by the Church already in the late Byzantine period and therefore it did not find its way to the editions of the Menaia.

AKOLOUTHIA ON ST NIKEPHOROS, PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE (TEXT 2)

(a) Nikephoros the patriarch of Constantinople (12 Apr. 806 – 13 Mar. 815), theologian and historian, was born in Constantinople ca. 750. His father was an imperial secretary (αυτοκρατορικής) and iconophile, exiled for this reason by the emperor Constantine V to Nicaea. Nikephoros followed his family in exile and when later he returned to the capital he served too as a secretary in the palace. Later he left Constantinople to live as a monk in a monastery he established in the other side of

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109 See AHG V, XXVII (1), 92-95 (anonymous on St Antonios); AHG XI, I (1), 63-68 (on Sts Kosmas and Damianos the Anargyroi by Germanos).

Bosporos. During the reign of the empress Irene (797-802) he went back to the City and served as director of the largest hospital for the poor. Although a layman he was elected as a patriarch after the death of his predecessor Tarasios (784-806). As a patriarch he refused to cooperate with the emperor Leo V (813-820) in his iconoclastic plans being therefore sent into exile. In the period from 814 to 820 he wrote several books defending the veneration of icons. Long before (probably between 775 and 787) he had written his Ἱστορία Συντομος, a valuable source for the period from 602 to 769. Another historical work of his that became very popular is the brief Χρονογραφικὸν Συντομον, a list of rulers from the creation of the world to the emperor Michael II the Amorian (820-829). Nikephoros died the 5th of April 828. He is celebrated by the Orthodox Church on June 2.

(b) We are aware of two Vitae on St Nikephoros; one is composed by his disciple Ignatios, deacon and skleophylax of the church of St Sophia in Constantinople, and the other is included in the anonymous 10th-century Menologion. There are two different synaxarian notices on him; one is contained in Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae and the Menaion, while the other, being shorter, is included in the Menologion of the emperor Basil II.

(c) Two Byzantine akolouthiai on Nikephoros have come down to us; one is edited below and the other is published in the Menaion. There is also a modern akolouthia on the saint, composed and published in the first quarter of 19th c.

115 Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρός ἡμῶν Νικηφόρου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (=BHG 1337e), ed. LATYŞEV II, 4-6.
116 See SynaxEC 723-726; MV X, 6; and Menol 484-485. SynaxEC includes also the commemoration of the translation of his relic, on March 13.
117 For the kanon L is codex unicus; see PAPAILIOPOULOU, Ταμείον, p. 210, nr 639.
118 MV X, 4-7.
119 Ακολουθία τοῦ ἐν ἀγίῳ πατρός ἡμῶν Νικηφόρου πατριάρχου, Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, Φιλοπονθείσα παρὰ τοῦ πανιερστάτου μητροπολίτου Φιλαδελφείας κυρίων Γαβρι-
The akolouthia contained in the Menaion consists of three stichera, a kathisma, a kontakion by Romanos the Melode and a kanon by Theophanes Graptoς, which bears the acrostic Τὸν νικηφόρον ὡς νικηφόρον ἀσματι μέλπω (the name Θεοφάνους is given abbreviated in the margin of L).

(d) The Typikon of the Great Church commemorates the saint on June 2 and sends the choir for general instruction to November 13, when the memory of St John the Chrysostom is celebrated. The Typikon of Evergetis dictates that his akolouthia consists of stichera in plagal mode 4 (which means not the ones copied in L), a kanon by Theophanes in mode 4 (the first of the ones copied in L and published in the Menaion) and a kathisma in the same mode (i.e. neither the copied in L nor the published in the Menaion).

(e) L contains a double akolouthia on St Nikephoros, including the stichera, the kathisma (copied as kontakion) and the kanon published in the Menaion (vv. 8-16, 36-68, 92-303), as well as another published kathisma and oikos (vv. 1-7, 17-35); in addition L transmits two more stichera and a second kanon, both edited below (vv. 69-91 and 304-498).

The two stichera edited below were not originally forming a set, as they are composed in different modes. The second one (vv. 81-91) is of general content lauding the saint for his role in the maintenance of orthodoxy, particularly the veneration of the icons. The first (vv. 69-80), which is praising the saint for the correctness of his theological doctrine on the veneration of the icons, was originally destined to serve the celebration of the saint in Constantinople, and particularly in the church of the Apostles, where his grave was located (see vv. 78-80: αὐτὸν ἁνασώπε, ὅσει, τηρῆθήμαι τοὺς παρεστῶς τῇ τιμίᾳ σου, μάκαρ, καὶ θεία λάρνακν), something that appeals also to the kanon composed by Theophanes (see vv. 286-291 and MV Χ, 7: Λάρνακα κυκλούντες τὴν θείαν τοῦ θεοφόρου Νικηφόρου, δεῦτε χριστοφόροι προθυμοί νῦν νικηφόρον τούτον ἱμησίως καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ πανήγυριν μετ᾽ ἐνθροφοσύνης ἐορτάσωμεν), creating thus the question whether the sticheron was also composed by Theophanes.

The kanon consists of nine odes numbered α’ to θ’. Each ode consists of four stanzas, except for odes 1, 2 and 8, which have five. The initials of the stanzas form an acrostic in dodecasyllable (Τὸν πατριάρχην νῦν κροτώ Νικηφόρου) not including the theotokia, the initials of which (ΘΕΝΙΔΙΠΠΥΝ) seem not to have been a part of a set that originally formed an acrostic. The heirmoi are borrowed from two

ηλ, χάριν τοῦ ἐξαιτησιμένου αὐτὴν όσιολογωστάτου μεγάλον ἀρχιδιακόνου κύριο Νικηφόρου Λεσβίου, Constantinople 1822 (see BAG, 207).

120 MV Χ, 4-7; cf. ZERVOUDAKI, Θεοφάνης, 279-280, nr 185.
121 FOLLIERI, Initia IV, 220.
122 See MATEOS, Typicon, 302 and 98-100.
123 «Στιχήμα ἡχος πλάγιας δ’. ὁ κανών ἡχος δ’ Θεοφάνους: καθίσμα ἡχος ὁ αὐτός» (JORDAN, Synaxarion Evergetis, 144).
124 Not listed in FOLLIERI, Initia.
kanons by the patriarch Germanos\textsuperscript{125}, with the exception of the heirmos of ode 7, which is a work of Andrew of Crete\textsuperscript{126}.

The hymnographer of the kanon was not focused on presenting information on the saint. The text is built round the main ideas that the saint was a worthy bishop, who struggled against any heretical doctrine and especially against iconoclasm. Apart from these ideas and other common patterns of celebrating a saint that are used throughout the text, the saint is praised for having been instructed in the divine law from his childhood (vv. 313-314), as well as for having been sent into exile (vv. 370-375).

(f) In spite of the fact that the kanon edited below is of hymnographical and philological quality above the mediocre, and not lower than the quality of the published in the Menaion kanon by Theophanes Graftos, it has been neglected by the Church already in Byzantine times, as can be assumed not only from the fact that there is no any other manuscript in which the text is included, but also from the instructions of the Typikon of Evergetis, which orders that it is the kanon by Theophanes that must be sung to celebrate Nikephoros. As a work of Theophanes that kanon should prevail, according to the old liturgical order mentioned above, that gives priority to the kanons of Theophanes unless there is a kanon on the same saint (or feast) by Kosmas the Melode, John of Damascus or Joseph the Hymnographer. Furthermore, Theophanes was a contemporary of Nikephoros and a hero of the anti-iconoclastic movement, being himself severely punished and sent into exile by the very same emperor Leo V. A third element that may have played a role in the preference of the kanon by Theophanes is that its language is more simple and direct, something that makes it a text more fitting in the didactic purpose of the kanon’s performance in the ritual.

Another noteworthy element of the content of the two kanons commented upon here is that they include some stanzas in which the same concepts and ideas are used, as the comparison of the following texts shows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anonymous</th>
<th>Theophanes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Νομοθεσία τή του σωτήρος, θεόφρον, εξ ἀπαλών τυπούμενος, πάτερ, ὄνυχων, πράξει καὶ θεωρία, σοφέ, θεοπτικότατος ἀπετελέσθη (ode 1, stz. 2).</td>
<td>Τὴν πράξιν τῆς θεωρίας ἐδειξας σαφῶς ἑπίβασιν τῆς γὰρ ψυχῆς ὑπαλλήλως πρακτικός, Νικηφόρος πανόλβη, πρὸς θεωρίαν ἀριστον τὴν ἀκροτάτην ἀνεπτέρωσας (ode 1, stz 1).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Νενεφρωμένος, ὅσιε, τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ Παρακλήτου, συνεθλασάς τᾶς τοῦ λέοντος, πάτερ, μύλας, τοῦ τήν σεπτίν τοῦ σωτήρος εἰκών τῶν ἀγίων τε</td>
<td>Ῥώμη τῇ θεία τᾶς μύλας, ἑρμομάντα, τῶν ἀσεβῶν συνεθλασάς, τῷ στεφάνῳ σου λόγῳ τοῦτοις τροπωσάμενος καὶ σέβειν ἐδίδαξας</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\footnotesize{125} EE 78, nr 110 (odes 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6) and EE 79, nr 111 (on Theotokos, sung in Tuesday of the third week; odes 4, 8 and 9).

\footnotesize{126} EE 77-78, nr 109.
(a) Loukilianos, Paula and the children Claudios, Hypatios, Dionysios and Paulos\textsuperscript{127} suffered martyrdom during the reign of the Roman emperor Aurelian (270-275). Loukilianos, a pagan priest in Nicomedia, converted to Christianity in his old age, thus provoking the state authorities. He was arrested, whipped and incarcerated. While in prison he met four young Christian boys whom he gave spiritual guidance and encouraged them to face martyrdom. The four boys refused to deny their faith and were decapitated. Loukilianos himself was crucified and mutilated. Their bodies were denied burial and thrown in an open area. Paula was a Christian girl who dedicated her life to visiting, feeding and taking care of Christians in prison. She remained by their side during their martyrdom taking care of them. For this action, she was arrested by the authorities. When she refused to offer sacrifices to the idols, she was tortured and decapitated. Their memory is celebrated by the Orthodox Church on June 3.

(b) Various Byzantine texts concerning them have come down to us. A Vita on them has been written by Photios, who signs as skeuophylax (of the church) of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople and logothetis\textsuperscript{128}. We are aware of four versions of their Passio; the longer one is included in the anonymous 10\textsuperscript{th}-century Menologion\textsuperscript{129}, while the rest are published, one by H. Delehaye\textsuperscript{130} and the other two by F. Halkin\textsuperscript{131}.

\textsuperscript{127} On whom see EFRATIADIS, Αγιολόγια, 280; DOUKAKIS, Συναξαριστής, 21-22; BS VIII, 276-277. On the martyrion of Loukilianos see JANIN, Églises, 311-312.


\textsuperscript{129} Μαρτυρίων του ἁγίου Λουκιλιάνου, Παύλης καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῶι νηπίων Κλαυδίου, Διονυσίου καὶ Παύλου (=BHG 999c), ed. LATYŞEV II, 7-12.

\textsuperscript{130} Passio S. Lucilliani et sociorum (=Ἄθλησις του ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Λουκιλιάνου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ) (=BHG 998y), ed. H. DELEHAYE, Saints de Thrace et de Mesie, AnBoll 31 (1912) 187-192.

\textsuperscript{131} Ἀθλησις του ἁγίου και ἐνδόξου μεγαλομάρτυρος Λουκιλιάνου τοῦ βαθματουργοῦ καὶ τῆς συνοδίας αὐτοῦ and Μαρτυρίων του ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος καὶ βαθματουργοῦ Λουκιλιάνου καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων νηπίων Κλαυδίου, ὜πατου, Παύλου καὶ Διονυσίου (=BHGa 999a and 999b), ed. F. HALKIN, Les deux passion inédite, AnBoll 84 (1966) 8-28.
Short notices on them are included in the emperor Basil’s Menologion (followed by a brief entry on the martyr Paula), Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae and the Menaion132. There is also an unpublished Passio of St Loukillianos (BHG 999d).

(c) We are aware of three akolouthiai on Loukillianos: the first is published in the Menaion133 and the second is edited below134, while the third is unpublished and preserved in just one manuscript, the 10th-century codex Sin. Gr. 620135.

The Menaion contains an akolouthia with three stichera sung at Hesperinos, a kanon composed by Ignatios, possibly the famous patriarch of Constantinople (846-857 and 867-878)136, and a kathisma sung after the third ode. The akolouthia is concentrated on the miracles performed by the saint to the ones who visit his grave, his confession in front of the authorities, and his relationship with Paula and the children. The kanon is a typical laudatory piece, giving no historical elements and generally nothing more that expressions common in such texts. Its quality is low, and it is probable that it is the work of another hymnographer than the one who composed the stichera and the kathisma, where we find higher poetical and lexical quality.

(d) The Typikon of Evergetis dictates that the choir must sing three stichera in mode 1, a kanon composed by Ignatios in plagal mode 4 and a kathisma in the same mode, i.e. the akolouthia published in the Menaion137.

(e) The akolouthia in L contains two kathsismata (vv. 1-11 and 12-22; the first is published in the Menaion), kontakion and oikos (vv. 23-48), four stichera (vv. 49-90; the first three published in the Menaion), and two kanons, one edited below (vv. 91-353) and the other published in the Menaion (vv. 354-498).

The first kathisma praises the saint’s force of will and his power to stand the tortures, and especially the torture of fire. The second is similar but also bringing up a new element: as a prize for his martyrdom, the saint received from God the ability of healing diseases and drive off evil spirits.

The same is the content of the stichera, with only one of them (the last one among the three published in the Menaion) talking about the performance of miracles by the saint’s grave. Kontakion and oikos laud the saints in a general way, without referring to their lives and their martyrdom.

132 Menol 485 (published also in AASS Iunii 1, 274), SynaxEC 725-728 and MV X, 8-9. In SynaxEC they are also commemorated on January 19, when their synaxis «τελείται ... εν τω οίκω Αναστασιον του Πατριάρχου εν τη Ωξεια» (SynaxEC, 404-405).

133 MV X, 7-9.

134 Ms tradition: LHGSbPaVASeVb; see PAPAILIOPOULOU, Ταμείων, p. 210, nr 640.

135 See PAPAILIOPOULOU, Ταμείων, p. 211, nr 641.

136 See C. ÉMÉREAU, Hymnographi Byzantini, quorum nomina in litteras digessit notulisque adornavit..., Echos d’Orient 22 (1923) 433-434. Let it be noted though that ZERVOUĐAKI, Θεοφάνης, 327, ascribes the kanon to Theophanes Grapitos (see Commentary, Text 3, vv. 354-498).

137 «Στιχήμα ήχος α’. ό κανόν τ’ Ιγνατίου ήχος πλάγιος δ’. Καθήμα ήχος ό αύτος» (JORDAN, Synaxarion Evergetis, 144).
The *kanon* is composed by St Joseph the Hymnographer. It contains eight odes numbered α’ and γ’ to θ’. Each ode consists of five stanzas, except for odes 5, 6 and 7, which have four. The *kanon* was originally composed without a second ode as its acrostic proves; it forms a dodecasyllable, followed outside the meter by the name of the hymnographer, in the initial letters of the troparia of the last ode (Λουκιλιανός τούςδε τοὺς κρύτους φέρω· Ἰωσήφ). The *heirmoi* are borrowed from a *kanon* on the Resurrection by John of Damascus, included in *Parakletike* and destined for the Orthros of the Sunday of first mode. Joseph follows the patterns for the most part, with some exceptions common in Byzantine hymnography.

The *kanon* praises mostly Loukilianos (there are only seven stanzas referring to the children, while Paula is not mentioned at all). In ode 1 Joseph presents an abstract of the whole story: Loukilianos preached the Word in front of the nations under the inspiration of God (vv. 91-92), he hated the idols (vv. 99-100), he was betrayed by a Jew (in the text: by Jews) to the authorities (vv. 106-107), he was martyred and he received grace by God (vv. 109-114). In ode 3 he informs us that the saint became very famous in the whole world because of his martyrdom (vv. 121-141) and received from high the divine grace to heal wounds and cure sufferings and comfort the most evil pains (vv. 144-148). Ode 4 gives some information about the saint’s martyrdom, and particularly that he was crucified with his head facing the earth (vv. 156), he was put in prison, where he met the four boys (vv. 170-172) whom he gave spiritual guidance (vv. 174-177). Ode 5 continues by presenting us Loukilianos and the boys (their names are given in vv. 202-205) in front of the local authorities where they confess their Christian faith and talk against atheism, the meaning here being of course idolatry (vv. 193-199). Ode 6 gives us the information that Loukilianos was nailed on a cross (v. 214) and the boys were decapitated (vv. 221-222), confirming once again that Loukilianos received by heaven the grace of healing wounds (vv. 227-231). Ode 7 gives another detail of the martyrdom: Loukilianos and the boys were put in a burning furnace, from which by the grace of God they stepped out untouched by the flames (vv. 238-255). In ode 8 Loukilianos is praised for celebrating God in songs while facing corporal tortures (vv. 274-282 and 301-309). In ode 9 Joseph praises Loukilianos for having been invited by the Lord in heaven while nailed on the cross (vv. 319-321) and for proving himself a spring of grace and healing for the believers (vv. 326-332). He also entreats Loukilianos to heal all the diseases of the soul of himself and the other Christians, having been given by God the divine energy of performing miracles (vv. 333-339).

The content of the eight *theotokia* of the *kanon* does not have a connection with the rest of the text. In all of them Joseph praises the mother of God and he begs her to heal the diseases of the believers’ souls and act as a mediator between God and mankind.

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139 PaAD, 27-37 and EE 1, nr 1.
(f) The akolouthia survived in nine manuscripts (LHGSbPaVASSbVb) dated from the 11th to 16th century. This means that its neglect by the Church is most probably a result of its exclusion by the editors of the first printed Menaija. As its text is signed by one of the most respectful Byzantine poets, Joseph the Hymnographer, and secured by an acrostic, the choice of the editors to publish another akolouthia must have been made on the basis of the manuscripts available to them.

AKOLOUTHIA ON ST METROPHANES, ARCHBISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE (TEXT 4)

(a) What the Byzantine sources give on the life and ecclesiastical tenure of St Metrophanes is obscure and contradictory, particularly as far as the dates are concerned. He is presented to have been the son of Dometius, brother of the Roman Emperor Probus. Dometius converted to Christianity, left Rome and went to the old town of Byzantium, where he was ordained a priest by the bishop Titos (242-272), whom he succeeded after his death (LATYSEV II, 12:21-13:7). Nothing is known on Dometius’ tenure, except that he served from 272(? to 303). St Metrophanes’ Vita presents his brother as the bishop of Byzantium after their father and before the saint, while all the Episcopal catalogues give the name of Roufino as the successor of Domitius and predecessor of Nikephoros. The date of Nikephoros’ election is something the sources do not agree upon. What we know is that he was the bishop of Byzantium at the time of the First Ecumenical Council, and that he was sick and in such an extremely old age (according to his Life, he died a little later in the age of 117 [LATYSEV II, 15:5-8]) that he was not able to attend the council (LATYSEV II, 13:29-30), sending as his representative the priest Alexander, whom he later nominated as his successor to the throne of Constantinople (LATYSEV II, 14:1-15). His relic was treasured in a church dedicated to him, in the area of Eptaskalon in Constantinople, that became a place of pilgrimage due to the miracles performed by the saint (LATYSEV II, 15:14-19). His memory is celebrated by the Orthodox Church on June 4.

(b) A Vita on St Metrophanes included in the anonymous 10th-century Menologion has come down to us, along with a posterior encomium by Constantine

140 On whom see AASS Iunii I, 384-395; ESTRATIADIS, Αγιολόγιον, 335-336; DOUKAKIS, Συναξαριστής, 24-26; BS IX, 396-397.

141 See M. I. GEDON, Πατριαρχικοί Πινακες. Ειδήσεις βιογραφικά περί των Πατριαρχών Κωνσταντινοπόλεως από Ανδρέου τού Πρωτοκλήτου μέχρι Ιωακείμ Γ’ τού ἄπω Θεσσαλονίκης. 36-1884, Athens 1996, pp. 67-69, particularly 67.

142 See GEDON, Πατριαρχικοί Πινακες, 62.

143 See LATYSEV II, 13:8-16 and GEDON, Πατριαρχικοί Πινακες, 64-65.

144 See VM, 15:5-7; SynaxEC 730:1-4; Menoi 488B. On the church of St Metrophanes see JANIN, Églises, 336-337.

145 Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μητροφάνους ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινοπόλεως (=BHG 1278y), ed. LATYSEV II, 12-15.
... situations. The Menaiion includes a double akolouthia on St Metrophanes, comprising six stichera sung at Κύριε Εξέκραξα, three stichera sung at Stichos followed by a doxastikon, three kathisma sung at Stichologia, a kanon by the 16th-century hymnographer Nikolaos Malaxos, a second kanon by Theophanes Graptos, a kathisma sung after ode 3, kontakion and oikos followed by a synaxarian notice, an exapostelarion and stichera sung at Ainoi followed by a doxastikon. The initials of the first set of (three) stichera, the stichera sung at Stichos and the ones sung at Ainoi form the acrostic Τῶν Μαλαξῶν, which proves that they were also composed by Malaxos, consisting one akolouthia with his kanon. Thence, it would be logical to assume that the other three stichera and at least one of the kathismata are composed by Theophanes, whose work is the other kanon, something supported by Byzantine liturgical texts only to its first part, that of the stichera (see below, the instructions of the Typikon of Evergetis).

(d) The Typikon of the Great Church contains an order related to a text composed on the saint, that at Orthros, after Psalm 50, the choir must sing the following troparion, neither published in the Menaiion nor copied in L: Πρωτοτόκου βασιλείας πατήρ, ὁρθοδόξων λατρείας ποιμήν ἀνεδείχθης, δαίμον, καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς πάντων μητρός ἐφάνες φωστήρ. Πρέονεν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ σωθήναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.151

The Typikon of Evergetis instructs the choir to sing stichera and a kanon by Theophanes in the second plagal mode and a kathisma in the fourth mode.152 This proves that by the middle of the 11th c. it was the akolouthia composed by

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146 On Constantine Acropolites see D. M. NICOL, Constantine Acropolites: A Prosopographical Note, DOP 19 (1965) 249-256; ODB, 49.

147 SynaxEC 727-730; MV X, 14 and Menol 488.

148 MV X, 10-15.

149 For the kanon L is codex unicus; see PAPADOPOLOU, Ταμείων, p. 211, nr 642.

150 On whom see D. N. STRATEGOPOULOS, Ο Νικόλαος Μαλαξός (16ος αἰ) καὶ τὸ ἔργο του (Ἐξευνά σε ἑξέλειπη), in J. VASSIS - M. LOUKAKI - E. PAPADOPOLOU (eds.), Γ‘ Συνάντηση Βυζαντινολόγων Ελλάδος καὶ Κύπρου. Περιλήψεις, Rethymno 2002, pp. 84-86, and Tomadakis, Τύπογραφία, 69 (fn. 5 and 6). Nikolaos Malaxos was also an editor of hymnographical texts [see E. PANTELAKIS, Τὰ λεπτομερικά βιβλία τῆς ἡμετέρας Ἑκκλησίας, Nea Sion 26 (1931) 210], who used to publish some of his works in the books edited by him (STRATEGOPOULOS, Νικόλαος Μαλαξός, 83-84, and PAPADOPOLOU – KERAMEUS, Σχεδιάσμα, 346). This is maybe how his kanon on St Metrophanes entered the editions of the Menaiion.

151 MATEOS, Typikon, 304.

152 "Στιχέρα καὶ κανών ἡχός πλάγιος β’. Θεοφάνους-κάθισμα ἡχός δ’" (JORDAN, Synaxarion Evergetis, 144).
Theophanes that was in use at the monastery, consisted of the second set of stichera and the kanon published in the *Menaion*, accompanied by a kathisma that has not survived\(^{153}\).

(e) L contains a double akolouthia on the saint, including only a part of what is published in the *Menaion* (a kathisma, three stichera and the kanon by Theophanes; see vv. 8-24, 51-98, 310-529), accompanied by one more kathisma (vv. 1-7), a kontakion by Romanos the Melode followed by an unpublished oikos (25-50) and another kanon, composed by George of Nicomedia (99-309).

The kathisma edited below praises the saint for shepherding the Church in an orthodox way and turning away the weeds of heresy. The set of kontakion and oikos adds that he was dedicated to God from childhood and he became a worthy bishop, communicating with the angels during the ritual and working hard to save people from sin.

The kanon contains eight odes numbered α′ and γ′-θ′. Each ode consists of four stanzas, except for odes 1 and 4, which have five. The stanzas are connected with an acrostic that forms a dodecasyllable (Φάνηθι, Μητρόφανες, εἰς ἡμῶν φάος\(^ {154}\)), without theotokia, where we have the acrostic ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ; both the acrostics prove that the kanon was originally composed without a second ode. The heirmoi, the patterns of which are systematically followed by George, are borrowed from Kosmas the Melode\(^ {155}\) and John the monk\(^ {156}\). The content of the kanon is dependent on the insufficiency of historical information on the saint. Not having a solid basis on the hagiographical texts George had to build the kanon round his anti-heretical work and his personal values, which are the two concepts repeated throughout the text.

(f) To understand the reasons why this kanon was neglected by the Church (it is characteristic that it has survived in only one manuscript, L) and given that both the kanons by George and Theophanes are of (more or less the same) good hymnographical quality (historicity not being here a subject at all, as the hagiographical texts on the saint gave almost nothing for the hymnographers to use as a base), we have to turn to the old liturgical order mentioned above, according to which the kanons by Theophanes would be preferred to the kanons by any other hymnographer than Kosmas the Melode, John the monk and Joseph the Hymnographer.

\(^{153}\) Neither the kathismata published in the *Menaion* nor the ones copied in L are composed in the fourth mode, as the ones mentioned in the typikon of Evergetis.

\(^{154}\) Not listed in FOLLIERT, *Initia*.

\(^{155}\) EE 37-38, nr 51 (odes 1 and 5); EE 39-40, nr 53 (odes 3 and 7; from a kanon destined for the Orthros of Great Monday); EE 190, nr 270 (ode 4).

\(^{156}\) EE 34-35, nr 46 (odes 6 and 9); EE 35, nr 47 (ode 8). John the monk cannot always be identified with John of Damascus; see WELLESZ, 237; TOMADAKIS, Τυμνογραφία, 212-214; DETORAKIS, Τυμνογραφία, 80.
(a) St Dorotheos suffered martyrdom under the reign of the pagan Byzantine emperor Julian (361-363). His life is not enough documented in the Byzantine hagiographical sources. What is given is that he was the Bishop of Tyre during the persecution of Diocletian and Maximian (ca 303 AD), when he had to flee to Odyssopolis in Thrace (the today Bulgarian city of Varna). After the end of the persecution he returned to his see where we find him some sixty years later during the reign of Julian. Because of the anti-Christian policy of the emperor he had to leave once more Tyre and find refuge in Odyssopolis, where he finally martyred after being imprisoned by some archons of Julian and tortured so severely that he died of his injuries, at the extremely old age of 107. He is also presented in the sources as a master of both Greek and Latin and leaving behind ecclesiastical and historical treatises in both these languages.

His memory is celebrated today by the Orthodox Church on June 5, while the manuscript tradition is not unanimous: S, W, O, Ia, Ba, the Typikon of the Great Church and the Typikon of St Sabbas are in agreement with the present Menaión, while L, Christopher of Mytilene, Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae and the Typikon of Evergetis commemorate him the 6th of the month.

(b) A Passio of St Dorotheos is included in the anonymous 10th-century Menologion. Two short synaxarian notices on him have also survived; one is contained in the Menologion of the emperor Basil II and the other is published in slightly different forms in Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae, Acta Sanctorum and the Menaión of June.

(c) We are aware of two akolouthiai on St Dorotheos; one is included in the Menaión and the other is edited below.

The akolouthia published in the Menaión consists of three stichera sung at Κύριε Ἐκέκραξα and a kanon by Joseph the Hymnographer, with the acrostic Δώρων Θεοῦ

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357 On whom see BHG, 2114-2116; BHGna 2115; AASS Junii I, 434-437; Efstratiadis, Ἁγιολογιών, 121-122; Doukakis, Συναξαριστής, 28-29; BS IV, 829-830.

358 This is probably the basis (or the result) of the false tradition which attributes the composition of the treatises Synopsis of the Apostles and Series of Byzantine Bishops to him; see Butler’s Lives of the Saints, Edited, revised and supplemented by H. Thurston and D. Attwater, vol. 2, London: Burns Oates, 1956, pp. 480-481.

359 See Mateos, Typikon, 304; Dmitrievsky, Opisanie III, 50; Follieri, Calendari, 138; SynaxEC 731-733; Jordan, Synaxarium Evergetis, 144.

360 Μαρτυρίον τοῦ ἀγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Δωροθέου ἐπισκόπου Τύρου, ed. Latyshev II, 18-19.

361 Menol 100 (October 9); SynaxEC 731-733 (June 6); AASS Junii I, 434 (June 5) and MV X, 18 (June 5). In SynaxEC he is also commemorated on October 9 (SynaxEC 124).

362 MV X, 16-19.

363 Ms tradition: LSWIaOBa; see Papailiopoulos, Tameion, p. 211, nr 643, where O is not listed.
σε, παμμάκαρ πάτερ, σέβο. Ἰωσήφ
interrupted after ode 3 by a kathisma and after ode 6 by a kontakion and a synaxarian notice.

(d) The Typikon of the Great Church commemorates St Dorotheos the 5th of June after the ten martyrs Markianos, Nikandros, Apollon, Leonidis, Areios, Gorgias, Hyperechios, Selenias, Irene and Pamvion, without any reference to the akolouthia on him, as the day was devoted to the salvation of the city during the attack of the barbarians.

The Typikon of Evergetis celebrates him on June 6 and dictates that his akolouthia consists of stichera and a kanon by Joseph in plagal mode 4 and a kathisma in mode 3;

most probably it is this akolouthia that is published in the printed Menaiion.

(e) L contains a double akolouthia on St Dorotheos; it includes the kathisma, the stichera and the kanon published in the Menaiion (vv. 1-7, 46-66, 83-232), and it additionally transmits a second kathisma (vv. 8-18), another kontakion (i.e. not the one included in the Menaiion) followed by oikos (vv. 19-45) and a second kanon (vv. 233-392).

The kathisma edited below (vv. 8-18) is an opening hymn informing the congregation about St Dorotheos who enlightened the earth by his virtue and his dogmas and chased away the mist of polytheism and heresy. In the set of kontakion and oikos the saint is praised for excelling himself in both the ascetic life and the martyrdom (most probably an hagiographical topos, as the saint is not presented in his hagiographical sources as an ascetic) and for shepherding the herd of his bishopric and leading it to the heavenly fold. The kontakion is based on the presentation of the saint as offering himself to God as a gift (vv. 21-22: δώρον ἄγιον αιαντόν προσήξας), which is the opening phrase of the kanon by Joseph (vv. 79-80: Δώρον Θεῷ προσήξας σεαντόν τερπνόν καὶ καθαρώτατον), which may support the deduction that the set of kathisma and oikos is also composed by Joseph, a deduction strengthened by the fact that one of the concepts presented in the oikos (vv. 72-75: ως κρίσω δε ἐπίσημος τυθείς ἀνεδείχθης θύμα ενωδέστατον τῷ σῷ δεισπότῃ Χριστῷ) is also used by Joseph in a kanon on St Marinos (AHG IV, XXV, 224-228: Ως θύμα δεκτόν, ως μύρον εὐώδες, ως καθαρά προσφορά, σεπτόν ως ἱερεύν, ως κρίσω ἐπίσημος, ως θυμίων ἐπίσημος, ως ἵερα ἐνωδέστατον τῷ τῷ δεισπότῃ Χριστῷ) and another on St Manignos (AHG VII, XXI, 177-179: Ως ἐπίσημος κρίσω προσανηνεχθής θυσία καθαρώτατη, μάρτυς πολυλαθε...) 167

164 Follieri, Initia I, 337.
165 See Mateos, Typikon, 304-308.
166 «Στιχρά με κανών ήξος πλάγιος δ’ Ἰωσήφ: κάθωσια ήξος γ ’» (Jordan, Synaxarion Evergetis, 144).
167 It must be noted here that the same concept is used in other akolouthiai as well; see AHG VI, XVII, 8-10 (Theophanes Graptrtos on St Theodore the Ierom: Ως κρίσω ἐπίσημος ἄχθεις, θύμα ενωδέστατον σὺ τῷ Χριστῷ προσανηνεχθῆς, Θεοθροφε...; AHG VI, XXVII, 43-45 (Germanos on St Polykarpos of Smyrna): Ὀστερ κρίσω ἐπίσημος, ἱεράρχα, τῷ πορφυρότατον τῶν ἄθαντῶν δεκτῆ θυσία γενομένου καὶ ἱερεύν Θεῷ; AHG VIII, XXXI, 25-28
The kanon, composed by George of Nicomedia, consists of eight odes, numbered α’ and γ’ to ο’; each ode contains four stanzas. The stanzas are connected with an alphabetic acrostic\textsuperscript{168}, not including the theotokia, where the name ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ is formed; both the acrostics prove that the kanon was originally composed without a second ode. The heirmoi, the patterns of which are systematically followed by George, are borrowed from the work of John of Damascus\textsuperscript{169} and Kosmas the Melode\textsuperscript{170}.

(f) For reasons concerning its structure and content the kanon may be related to another kanon by George dedicated to Sts Irene, Agape and Chionia (feastday April 16, edited in AHG VIII, pp. 185-191). Both kanons have the same acrostic (alphabetic in the stanzas and ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ in the theotokia) and they are composed in the same mode ( plagal fourth) and according to the same heirmoi, with the exception of ode 1. Apart from these, the kanon includes four stanzas built on the same concepts and expressed in more or less the same words and six with the same or similar beginning:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stz.</th>
<th>St Dorotheos</th>
<th>Sts Irene, Agape and Chionia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>α2</td>
<td>Βίον τῶν ἀσωμάτων ἐπὶ γῆς</td>
<td>Βίον τὸν ἰσάγγελον ἐν σαρκὶ μετὰ τῶν συνάθλων καὶ ὠμοτρόπων σου, σεμνὴ Εἰρήνη, ἀσκοῦσα, ἀσωμάτων θείας χορείας κατηχώσαι.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γ1</td>
<td>Δώρον σε παρέσχετο ...</td>
<td>Δώρα ὡς ἐυπροσδεκτὰ ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γ3</td>
<td>Ζάλην αθέοττος ἐπιτιμῶν, σοφὲ, ἡμίνασας ταύτην· διό θείους πρὸς λιμένας ἀνθρώπους ἐγκαθώσθησας.</td>
<td>Ζάλην κατενάξασα τὴν τῶν παθῶν νοὶ σώφρονι, πρὸς γαληνὸν, Εἰρήνη, λιμένα ἀθλήσεως κατηχήσασα.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γ4</td>
<td>Ἐλυσεν ὁ τόκος σου τὰς ἑνοχὰς ἡμῶν, ἄχραντε, καὶ ἑαυτῷ πάντας δικαιώσει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους συνέδησεν.</td>
<td>Ἐλυσεν ὁ τόκος σου τὰς ἑνοχὰς ἡμῶν, ἄχραντε, καὶ ἑαυτῷ δ＇ νόμοθεσια πάντας πιστῶσι συνέδησεν.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δ2</td>
<td>Θησαυρὸν ἀναφέρωτον ...</td>
<td>Θησαυρίσασα, ἔνδοξε ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δ3</td>
<td>Ἰσχυρὸν κατεπάλαισας τῇ ὀμολογίᾳ ἐχθρὸν, Δωρόθεε ...</td>
<td>Ἰσχυρὸς καταβέβληται τῶν καλλιπαθεῖν ἐνστάσει τύραννος ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δ4</td>
<td>Ως πιγήν χαρισμάτων σε ἐχοντες ἀνέκλειπτον, θεοδόξαστε,</td>
<td>Ως πιγή ἀνεξάντλητος υἱὸν τῶν θαυμάτων, θεοχαρίτωτε, ποταμοῦς</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Germanos on St Basil of Amathiea): Επὶ σφαγὴν ἐλκόμενον ἡκολούθεις ὡς κριῶς ἐπίσημος οὐκ ἐρίζων, οὐ κραυγαζῶν ὡς γέγραπται, θρέμα Χριστοῦ καὶ ποιμῆν.

\textsuperscript{168} On the alphabetic akrostichis see WEYH, Akrostichis, 42-43.

\textsuperscript{169} EE 224, nr 321 (odes 1, 3, 7, 8 and 9; the heirmoi of odes 1 and 3 come from kanons included in Parakletike, the one of ode 1 destined for the Orthros of Saturday, while the other of ode 3 for the Orthros of Thursday); EE 220, nr 315 (ode 6; Parakletike, Orthros of Sunday); EE 220-221, nr 316 (ode 5).

\textsuperscript{170} EE 224-225, nr 322, on the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (ode 4).
To understand the reasons why this *kanon* was neglected by the Church and given that both the *kanons* by George and Theophanes are of (more or less the same) good hymnographical quality (historicity not being here a subject at all, as the hagiographical texts on the saint were offering almost nothing to the hymnographers to be based on), we have to turn to the old liturgical order mentioned above, according to which the *kanons* by Theophanes would be preferred to the *kanons* by any other hymnographer than Kosmas the Melode, John of Damascus and Joseph the Hymnographer.

We also have to take into consideration that the *kanon* has survived in at least six manuscripts (LSWaOBe) dated from the 10th to the 16th century, i.e. until the edition of the first *Menaia*. This could mean that its final neglect is the result of its exclusion from the printed *Menaia*, probably because it was only the published *akolouthia* that was copied in the manuscripts on which the edition was based.

**AKOLOUTHIA ON THE MARTYRS NIKANDROS AND MARKIANOS (TEXT 7)**

(a) Sts Nikandros and Markianos\(^{171}\) were serving in the Roman army during the reign of the emperors Diocletian (284-305) and Maximian (286-305). After converting to Christianity and quitting the army they were denounced as Christians to the *hegemon* Maximus during a persecution. Maximus interrogated them twice trying to convince them to sacrifice to the idols putting them in the meantime for twenty days in prison. Not being successful he had them decapitated by sword. A characteristic element of their *Passio* is that their wives are also presented as being present during their interrogation, the one of Nikandros supporting him from the first moment until his death (therefore she was sent to prison by Maximus) while that of Markianos trying to convince him to avoid death by following the orders of Maximus.

(b) The *Passio* of the saints has come down to us in two slightly different versions; the longer is published in *Acta Sanctorum*\(^ {172}\) and the shorter in the

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\(^{171}\) On whom see *AASS* Iunii III, 266-278; *LATYŠEV* II, 27-30; *EFRATIADIS, Αγιολόγιοι*, 351; *DOUKAKIS, Συναξαρίστης*, 60.

\(^{172}\) *AASS* Iunii III, 270-273 (June 17; =*BHG* 1330).
anonymous 10th-century Menologion. Brief notices have been contained in Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae, the Menologion of Basil II and the Menaiôn.

The saints are celebrated today on June 8, the date given in their longer Vita as the date of their martyrdom, the same day they are also commemorated in Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae and the Typikon of the Great Church. Most probably because of their feast being concurrent with that of St Theodore the Stratelates, their memory was neglected (they are not commemorated in the Typikon of Evergetis and the Typikon of St Sabbas). That must have been the reason for which their commemoration and their akolouthia was transferred into other dates, presented in some of our liturgical and hagiographical manuscript sources: L, H and the Menologion of Basil II celebrate them on June 7, O and the anonymous 10th-century Menologion on June 9, while in Acta Sanctorum their Vita is published on June 17.

(c) We are aware of one more Byzantine kanon on Sts Nikandros and Markianos, unpublished and composed by George of Nicomedia.

(d) The Typikon of the Great Church celebrates them on June 8, after the memory of the Theotokos of Sostheneion and before that of Theodore the Stratelates whose akolouthia is ordered to be sung. They do not appear in the Typikon of Evergetis, that contains a simple reference to St Theodotos on June 7.

(e) In L Sts Nikandros and Markianos are celebrated together with St Theodotos of Ankara, the akolouthia on which (vv. 1-11, 19-45, 76-327) is published in the Menaiôn. The akolouthia on Nikandros and Markianos consists of a kathisma, three stichera and a kanon (vv. 12-18, 46-75 and 328-504 respectively).

The kathisma presents the general information that the saints martyred in the times of polytheism and became a spring of miracles, something not given in any hagiographical source on them. The stichera are a little more specific: Nikandros was decapitated by sword after resisting against the polytheist tyrants (vv. 46-51) and Markianos refused everything terrestrial longing the heavenly city (vv. 56-62).

173 Μαρτυριον των ἁγίων Νικάνδρου καὶ Μαρκιανοῦ (=BHG 1330e), ed. Latyşew II, 27-30 (June 9).
174 Synax EC 738-740 (June 8; published also in AASS Iunii III, 269); Menol 489 (June 7; also in AASS Iunii III, 269) and MV X, 27 (June 8); partly in AASS Iunii III, 269).
175 «Εμαρτυρίσαν δὲ οἱ ἁγιοι τοῦ Θεοῦ Μαρτυρες, Νικανδρος καὶ Μαρκιανος, μηνι Ιουνιων ὀκτω.» (AASS Iunii III, 273B).
176 The Menologion gives also the ninth of June as the date of their martyrdom: «Σφετε τας τιμιας ύμων ἀπετεμον κεφαλας, ἐνατιν ἁγοντος του Ιουνιου μηνος» (Latyşew II, 29:31-32).
178 Mateos, Typikon, 308-310.
179 On whom see BHG 1782-1783m; BHGna 1782z; SynaxEC 735-736; Menol 489; MV X, 22-24; Efstratiadis, Ἀγιολόγιον, 177-178; Doukakis, Συναξαριστης, 56.
181 Ms tradition: LH; fragments in O; see Papailiopoulos, Ταμειον, p. 213, nr 649.
The *kanon*, composed by Joseph the Hymnographer, is also poor in historicity as more or less represents the same information given in the *stichera*, with just one noteworthy addition in ode 4, stz. 2, where St Nikandros (and not Markianos, as in the hagiographical texts on the saints) is presented as having refused the efforts by his family to convince him to avoid martyrdom (vv. 368-369: Ἀπηνησατο Νίκανδρος γένους καὶ πατρίδος πάσαν προσπάθειαν...). What is also remarkable is that the second stanza of the *kanon* (vv. 333-337) presents the saints as being severely tortured before their execution, something included only in one hagiographical source, the short synaxarian notice published in the printed *Menaion*.

The *kanon* consists of eight odes, numbered α’ and γ’ to ο’, each one of which contains four stanzas, except for odes 4 and 9, which have five. The stanzas are connected with an acrostic, forming a dodecasyllable, followed outside the meter by the name of the hymnographer, in the initial letters of the troparia of the last ode (Τῆμος γεραίρω μαρτύρων ἐνυφρία: Ἰωσήφ) and proving that the *kanon* was originally composed without a second ode. The *heirmoi*, followed faithfully by Joseph, are borrowed mainly from John of Damascus183, except for the ones for odes 4 and 5, which are composed by Kosmas the Melode and the patriarch Germanos respectively184.

(f) The limited manuscript tradition of the *akolouthia*, which consists of only two manuscripts (LH) from the 11th-12th c., shows that it was neglected already in the late Byzantine period. Considered that the text (at least of the *kanon*) is written by Joseph the Hymnographer and secured by an acrostic, this neglect was most probably due to the narrow veneration of the saints, most probably because their memory was celebrated the same day with the much more important memory of St Theodore Stratelates [see also above, point (b)]. This deduction may be strengthened by the fact that another *kanon* on the saints, also composed by a prominent Byzantine hymnographer, George of Nicomedia, did not find its way into *Menaion* [see above, point (c)].

**AKOLOUTHIA ON ST ONOUPHRIOUS (TEXT 12)**

(a) St Onouphrios185 is one of the most celebrated hermits, believed to have lived towards the end of the fourth century. In his youth he entered a big and prosperous monastery in Hermoupolis, near the town of Thebes in Egypt, but after some time he

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182 Not listed in FOLIERI, *Initia*.
183 EE 220, nr 315 (odes 1 and 6); EE 224, nr 321 (odes 3, 7 and 9); EE 227, nr 325 (ode 8).
184 EE 224-225, nr 322, on the Exaltation of the Holy Cross by Kosmas (ode 4); EE 226, nr 324, by Germanos (ode 5).
escaped to the desert wanting to imitate the ascetic life of Elijah and John the Baptist. His Life was presented by the monk Paphnoutios who sixty years later headed to the desert to be blessed by some of the fathers living there and met Onouphrios as a naked old man, covered with only his hair. After Onouphrios narrated the story of his life to Paphnoutios he asked him to stay as he was told by God that he was to die and Paphnoutios was sent to bury him, which the latter did the very same day. St Onouphrios is celebrated on June 12, given in his Vita as the date of his death.

(b) Numerous hagiographical texts on him have survived to our days, most of them remaining hitherto unpublished. Paphnoutios’ Vita on him has been published in two different versions. Another Vita was composed (perhaps in the 9th c.) by Nicholas the Sinaite. The saint was also praised by Theophanes of Sicily (9th c.), Manuel Philes (ca. 1270-after 1332), and the patriarch of Constantinople Philotheos Kokkinos (1353-1354/5 and 1364-1376). His Vita exists also in Coptic, Arabic, Armenian and Latin versions. Synaxarian notices on him are included in Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae, the Menologion of Basil II and the printed Menaion.

(c) We are aware of no less than twelve kanons on St Onouphrios. One of them is published in the printed Menaion, another in Analecta Hymnica Graeca and a third is published below, while nine remain hitherto unpublished. His akolouthia published in the Menaion consists of three stichera sung at Κύριε Εκέκραξα followed by doxastikon, three more stichera sung at Stichos followed by doxastikon, the usual apolytikion for anchorites (Τής ἐρήμου πολιτεία...,), a kanon by

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386 Paphnoutios has not so far been identified. Probably he is the same person with the anchorite Paphnoutios who lived also near Thebes, in the region of Herakleopolis (see A. J. Festugière, Historia monachorum in Aegypto, Brussels 1981, pp. 102-110).
387 «Επελευθήσθη δε ο ὁσίος και Θεοῦ δούλος Ονουφρίος, ἐν μεν Ιουνίων δωδεκάτην» (AASS Iunii II, 533A); «δὰκρυνούν οὖν τὸ καλὸν ἐκεῖνο τοῦ μακάρος σώμα πλίνας και ψαλμῶς ἐπ’ αὐτῶν προεπάδας τῇ γῇ παραδέδωκα, δωδεκάτῃν ἁγίοτος τοῦ Ιουνίου μηνός» (Latyshew II, 443-6); «...και πεσών ὅπποι, τῷ το χεῖρε συστείλας ἡς εἰθαίται, και στόμα και ὄμματα μῦναι, τοις τῆς εὐχαρίστιας οὐκ ἁδῷς ἐναπέπεζέ ῥήμας, δωδεκάτην ἁγίοτος τοῦ Ιουνίου μηνός» [F. Halkin, La vie de saint Onuphre par Nicholas de Sinaïte, Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoeilinici 24 (1987) 19].
389 Edited in AASS Iunii II, 527-533 (=BHG 1378) and Latyshew II, 40-46 (=BHG 1381e).
391 SynaxEC, 745-747; Menol 496; MV X, 42.
392 AHG X, pp. 36-49.
393 The edition is based only on L, as the kanon is not listed in Papailiopoulos, Ταμείον.
394 See Papailiopoulos, Ταμείον, 214-216, nrs. 654-662. No one of them could be identified with the one edited below as they all are composed in different modes than the one in which our kanon is sung, the plagal third (βάρος).
Theophanes, a kathisma after the third ode, a set of kontakion and oikos (not devoted to Onouphrios but of general character) after the sixth, synaxarian notice, exaposteilarion and three stichera sung at Ainoi, followed by doxastikon.

(d) St Onouphrios is commemorated in the Typikon of the Great Church, without any instruction on his akolouthia. The Typikon of Evergetis presents the following order:

«Εσπέρας μετά τὴν στιχολογίαν εἰς τὸ Κύριο Ἑκέκραζα ἰστώμεν στ’ καὶ ψάλλομεν στιχηρά γ’ τοῦ ὁσίου ἐκ δευτέρου ἥχως πλάγιος δ’, Δόξα καὶ νῦν, θεοτοκίον. προκειμένου, εἰς τὸν στίχον στιχηρά τῆς ὁκτωβρίου β’ καὶ ιδιωμέλον τοῦ ἁγίου ἥχως πλάγιος α’. Ὅσε πάτερ οὐκ ἔδωκας ὑπὸν καὶ θεοτοκίον. ἀπολυτίκιον ἥχος α’. Τῆς ἐρήμου πολιτίς.

Εἰς τὸν ὀρθὸν Θεός Κύριος, τροπάριον τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ θεοτοκίον. ἀπὸ τῆς στιχολογίας κάθισμα τῆς ὁκτωβρίου καὶ θεοτοκίον. ἀνάγνωσις ὁ βίος τοῦ ὁσίου. κανόνες γ’ ὁ τῆς ὁκτωβρίου οἱ β’ εἰς στ’, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου εἰς στ’ ἥχος β’ Θεοφάνους. ἀπὸ γ’ ωδῆς κάθισμα τοῦ ἁγίου ἥχος δ’ καὶ θεοτοκίον ἀπὸ στ’ τὸ αὐτὸν κοντάκιον. ἡμιστειλάριον πρὸς τὸ Οὐρανίον τοίς ἀστροῖς. Εἰς τὸν στίχον τῶν αἰῶνων στιχηρά τῆς ὁκτωβρίου β’ καὶ ἐν τοῦ ἁγίου ἐκ τῶν προσομοιών τῆς ἐσπέρας καὶ θεοτοκίον. ἀπολυτίκιον τοῦ ἁγίου»

Comparing the rubrics of the Typikon of Evergetis to the texts published in the Menaion and AHG or copied in L, one may come to the following conclusions: The stichera sung at Κύριε Ἑκέκραζα are most likely the ones published in the Menaion (and copied in L, vv. 34-57 and 70-81). The idiomelon sung at Stichos is neither copied in L nor published in the Menaion (which instead transmits three other stichera, followed by a doxastikon, not mentioned in the Typikon or in L). The apolytikion is published in the Menaion but not copied in L. The kanon and the kathisma mentioned are the ones published in the Menaion. The identification of the kontakion is not possible, as the text does not give anything more than its existence. The exaposteilarion of the Typikon is not the one published in the Menaion, which is sung according to Τῶν μαθητῶν ὄργαντι σε ἀνελήφθης.

(e) Of what is published in the Menaion L includes the kathisma (vv. 1-11), three stichera sung at Κύριε Ἑκέκραζα (vv. 34-57 and 70-81) and the kanon (vv. 82-233), adding a variant set of kontakion and oikos (vv. 12-33; the kontakion is published in the book of Horologion), one more sticheron at Κύριε Ἑκέκραζα (vv. 58-69) and a second kanon (vv. 234-361).

Let us now turn to the content of the text edited below. The oikos (vv. 20-33) presents the saint as an angel in a human body, who went to the desert, where he found the fathers shining like stars (a detail betraying influence by the saint’s Life) and later overpowered the devil. The extra sticheron (vv. 58-69) is directly referring to

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95 See MATEOS, Typikon, 312.
96 JORDAN, Synaxarion Evergetis, 150-152.
97 The kanon is transferred anonymously in the Menaion. The name of the hymnographer is given in codd. Par. gr. 1567 and 1569 (see ZEVARDAKI, Θεοφάνης, 283, nr 290).
Paphnoutios who found the saint like a treasure in the desert and made the latter’s achievements known to the world, enriching the believers with the story of his life.

The *kanon* consists of eight odes, numbered \( \alpha^{\prime} \) and \( \gamma^{\prime} \) to \( \theta^{\prime} \); each ode contains four stanzas\(^{198}\). The stanzas are not connected with an acrostic. The *heirmoi* are borrowed from the patriarch Germanos\(^{199}\) and John the monk\(^{200}\). The hymnographer follows the patterns, with some exceptions common in Byzantine hymnography.

The content of the *kanon* is based on nothing more than that the saint lived as an anchorite in the desert. Most probably the hymnographer was based on a very short and general hagiographical text on the saint (maybe a synaxarion notice) or the oral tradition. The lack of historicity is covered with expressions common in praising an ascetic saint. St Onouphrius is thus praised for inhabiting the desert (vv. 244-248) and proving is a new heaven (vv. 269-271, 302-305), overpowering the passions of the body (vv. 254-256, 257-259, 260-262, 326-329) and the devil (vv. 348-352), entering the divine bridechamber (vv. 278-283), acting according to the law of the Lord, cleaning his soul by his ascetic life (vv. 284-295) and excelling in self-control (318-319). The *theotokia* edited below for the first time praise the Mother of God for remaining virgin after the birth of Christ.

(f) The most remarkable element of the *kanon* is that nine of its stanzas (vv. 234-238, 266-268, 272-274, 306-309, 310-313, 314-317, 322-323, 324-325, 330-333) are published, verbatim or with small changes, as parts of an anonymous *kanon* on St Thomas (*AHG* VII, pp. 213-219), while two stanzas (vv. 238-242, 329-332) are published in a *kanon* on St Paul the Confessor (*AHG* III, pp. 182-187)\(^{201}\) and two *theotokia* (vv. 275-278, 314-317) are also published elsewhere\(^{202}\). The identification of the hymnographer(s) of these *kanons* and the relation between them is not an easy task, as all of the composers are anonymous and none of the *kanons* has an acrostic\(^{203}\). What can be speculated for the time being — at least for the *kanons* on St Onouphrius and St Thomas — is that most probably they are composed by the same hymnographer who used in both of his works some stanzas the content of which was applying to both the saints.

As the list of the manuscript tradition of this *kanon* has not been composed, it is not easy to consider the question concerning the criteria according to which the text was neglected by the Church. What should be said is that among the twelve *kanons* on St Onouphrius known to us there are three composed by some of the most

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198 A question mark should be placed in ode 9 that is mutilated in the third stanza, which must have been followed originally by a *theotokia*.
199 EE 202-203, nr 287 (odes 1, 4, 7, 8, 9); EE 204, nr 289 (odes 5, 6; the *heirma* of ode 6 is also included in EE, nr 284, as a work of John of Damascus).
200 EE 201, nr 285 (ode 3).
201 The second of these stanzas is also published in the *kanon* on St Thomas.
202 The second is also published in the *kanon* on St Thomas.
203 Let it be noted that neither the *kanons* in total nor the independent parts of them, i.e. the stanzas not to be found in the other *kanon*, form an akrostichis or a possible part of it.
important Byzantine Hymnographers, namely Theophanes Graptos, Joseph the Hymnographer and George of Nicomedia. This taken into consideration it is easier to understand why a kanon without acrostic, not presenting historical information on the saint and not being of special hymnographical quality was considered by the Church as not worthy to be used in the commemoration of one of the most celebrated saints in Byzantium.

**Akolouthia on St Methodios, Patriarch of Constantinople (Text 14)**

(a) St Methodios, the patriarch of Constantinople (843-847) and one of the most important defenders of the veneration of icons during the second iconoclastic period, was born at Syracuse towards the end of the eighth century and went as a young man to Constantinople intending to continue his education; instead he entered the Chelolakkos monastery in Bithynia. After 815 he traveled to Rome, most probably sent by the deposed patriarch Nikephoros to ask for the pope’s support against the iconoclastic policy of the emperor Leo V (813-820); when he returned to Constantinople in 821 the emperor Michael II (820-829) had him arrested and sent into exile. He returned to the capital eight years later and he played a very significant role in the restoration of the icons. As a patriarch he tried to carry out a moderate policy against former iconoclasts and for that he was negatively criticized by the Stoudite monks. He died in Constantinople on June 14, 847. He is known as a writer and a copyist of manuscripts. His memory is celebrated by the Orthodox Church on the day of his death.

(b) An anonymous Vita of St Methodios has come down to us, along with two synaxarian notices; one of them is included in *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* and the *Menologion* of the emperor Basil II. His Vita has been characterized by A. Kazhdan as «poor in information, lacking any trace of the hagiographer’s personal contacts with his hero»; from this Kazhdan supposes that it

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204 See MV X, 41-43 and PAPAILIOPOULOU, *Ta'meiov*, 215, nrs. 657 and 658 respectively.


207 Published in PG 100, 1244-1261 and *AASS* Iunii II, 960-968 (=BHG 1278).

208 See *SynaxEC* 749-750 (published also in *AASS* Iunii II, 961A and the printed *Menaia*) and *Menol* 497-500.
was probably written long after 847⁰. Another Vita compiled by the Archbishop of Sicily Gregory is lost⁴.

(c) We are aware of three Byzantine akolouthiai on him; one is published in the Menaiōn⁴, another is edited in AHG⁴ and the third is edited below⁴.

The akolouthia included in the Menaiōn contains three stichera sung at Κύριε Ἐκκλησία, a sticheron sung at Stichos of Hesperinos, the usual apolytikion on Bishop-saints (Ὀρθοδόξεια ὁ θηρίος ...), a kanon, interrupted after the third ode by a kontakion and a kathisma and after the sixth by a synaxarian notice, an exapostelarthion and a doxastikon sung at Stichos of Orthros.

(d) The Typikon of the Great Church commemorates him on June 14, after the prophet Elissaios and Kyrillos the Bishop of Gortyna, without any instruction on his akolouthia⁴. The Typikon of Evergetis does not commemorate him, giving instructions only for the akolouthia on the prophet Elissaios⁴.

(e) In Ι. St Methodios is celebrated with the prophet Elissaios. The akolouthia on the prophet contains the kathisma published in the Menaiōn (vv. 1-11), kontakion and oikos by Romanos the Melode (vv. 19-43; the oikos was hitherto unpublished), the stichera of the Menaiōn (vv. 44-79), followed by three unpublished (vv. 80-109), and the kanon of the Menaiōn (vv. 146-325; three stanzas are first edited below, in vv. 186-189, 264-269 and 288-293). The akolouthia on Ι. St Methodios consists of a kathisma (vv. 12-18; published in AHG X, V, p. 53, app.), three stichera (vv. 110-145) and a kanon (vv. 326-529).

The stichera praise the saint for his doctrine and his struggle against the heresy of iconoclasm.

The kanon consists of eight odes, numbered α’ and γ’ to θ’, each one of which contains four stanzas, not being connected with an acrostic. The heirmoi are borrowed mainly from Andrew of Crete⁴, except for ode 7, which is based on a melody by Kosmas the monk⁴. The anonymous hymnographer follows the patterns; some exceptions common in Byzantine hymnography are noticed along with the following:
a) in the last verse of each troparion of ode 3, the pattern being – – – – – – – – he uses – – – – – – – – (note that the latter pattern if followed also by the theotokion, which is published in another kanon); b) in the last verse of ode 5, the pattern being – – – – – – – – he writes – – – – – – – – and – – – – – – – –; c) in the last verse of each troparion of ode

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²⁰⁹ KAZHDAN, Literature, 368.
²¹⁰ See KAZHDAN, Literature, 367-368.
²¹¹ MV X, 46-52, contains a double akolouthia, on the prophet Elissaios and Ι. St Methodios.
²¹² AHG X, pp. 50-62.
²¹³ Ms tradition: LHPFFaFbCWPaGaKGBsBDPCGcGdGeNNaPdDaIsKaSdRVbLa; see PAPAPLOPOULEO, Ταμείον, pp. 218-219, nr 668 (Ge and R were not accessible to me).
²¹⁴ See MATEOS, Typikon, 314.
²¹⁵ See JORDAN, Syntanaxariar Evergeticis, 152.
²¹⁶ EE 101-102, nr 143 (ode 7); EE 104, nr 147 (ode 3); EE 106, nr 149 (odes 5, 9); EE 106-107, nr 150 (odes 1, 4, 6, 8).
9, the pattern being – – – –' – – –' he writes – – – –.

The content of the kanon is based on the Vita of the saint and the Old Testament (see the apparatus fontium). What derives from the Vita is that St Methodios struggled against heresies and particularly iconoclasm (vv. 343-345, 388-392, 400-402, 432-437, 467-469, 478-483), was imprisoned and tortured for his faith (vv. 360-363, 457-459), had a very nice personality (vv. 383-387), copied manuscripts (vv. 426-431), served as a priest and later became a patriarch, who served the Church according to the will of God (vv. 438-443, 510-514).

Only three of the theotokia of the kanon (odes 1, 4 and 5: vv. 347-353, 393-397 and 419-425), were hitherto unpublished. Their content is independent from that of the kanon, mostly based on events and prophesies of the Old Testament. The theotokia of odes 3, 6, 7 and 9 are published in four different kanons, on the Annunciation of the Theotokos by Andrew (ode 3: AHG VII, XXX, 95-100), St Gregory Nazianzenus by Andrew (ode 6: AHG V, XXX [1], 282-288), the Nativity of St John the Baptist (ode 7: AHG X, XVI [2], 544-550) and St Onouphrios (ode 9: AHG X, IV, 238-243), while that of ode 8 is published in three kanons, all composed by Andrew, on the Theophany (AHG V, XIV, 499-507), St Gregory Nazianzenus (AHG V, XXX [2], 342-349) and the Transfiguration of Christ (AHG XII, V [1], 336-342).

(f) The kanon survives in at least thirty manuscripts, dated or datable to the 11th through the 17th c. (see the list of its ms tradition above), which proves that its use was broad, particularly in the monasteries on Mount Athos. Thus the choice of another kanon to be published in the printed Menaiô̔n must have been made due to the manuscripts available to its first editors. The lack of acrostic in the kanon is probably not one of the reasons, as in the kanon published in the Menaiô̔n (also by an anonymous hymnographer) which originally had an acrostic, quite many stanzas have been replaced along the way, while ode 2 has totally disappeared, as proved by the comparison between the acrostic published in the title of the kanon (Ἀρχιερήτα Θεοί Μεθόδιων ἄματι μέλπων; MV X, 48-51) to the one formed by the initials of the printed stanzas (ἈΡΧΙ-ΘΌΟ-ΙΟΛΑ-ΡΑΣΣ-ΙΝΑΑ-ΣΜΑΑ-ΣΙΜΜ-ΕΛΙΠΝ)218.

AKOLOUTHIA ON THE MARTYR PAGCHARIOS (TEXT 16)

(a) St Pagcharios219 was born to Christian parents, and living in Rome, where he was serving in the palace of the emperor Diocletian (284-305). Due to his close relationship to the emperor he converted to paganism. When later his mother and sister sent him a letter asking him to repudiate idolatry and reminding him the torments of hell that wait the ones who renounce Christ he returned to the Church. Because of that he was imprisoned and tortured by Diocletian, who then sent him to Nicomedia not willing to see his death. The saint confessed his faith in front of the

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218 See ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ – ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ, Σχεδίασμα, 374.
219 On whom see BHGa 2329p; BHGna 2329p; AASS Martii III, 29-30; EFSTRATIADIS, Αγιολόγια, 370-371.
governor of Nicomedia, who after trying to convince him to renounce Christ had him decapitated.

His memory is celebrated on March 19, the date given in the Menaion as the day of his martyrdom, while in Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae and the Menologion of the emperor Basil II he appears on the 25th of May. In L, as well as in the other two manuscripts containing his akolouthia (Pa and Sb), his memory is celebrated on June 16.

(b) There exist only three short notices on him, in Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae, the Menologion of Basil II and the Menaion.

(c) We are not aware of any other akolouthia on St Pagcharios than the one edited below.

(d) Neither the Typikon of the Great Church nor the Typikon of Evergetis commemorate him.

(e) In L St Pagcharios is celebrated together with St Tychon of Amathous. The akolouthia on St Tychon contains a kathisma (vv. 1-11), unpublished kontakion and oikos (vv. 23-44), three unpublished stichera (vv. 45-80) and a kanon by Joseph the Hymnographer (vv. 120-351). The text on St Pagcharios consists of a kathisma (vv. 12-22), three stichera (vv. 81-119) and a kanon by Clement (vv. 352-584).

The content of the akolouthia makes clear that it was composed to serve an already established celebration of the saint, in a church or a monastery where his relic were treasured (see vv. 82-88: ...σον γὰρ τὰ ἱάματα καθάπερ νάματα δαφιλευόμενοι πάντοτε ἐκ πάσης νόσου λευτρωμένοι θερμῶς προσπίστομεν καὶ καταστασάμεθα τὰ θεῖα λείψανα, ἔξ ὀν ἄντλοντες τὴν ἵαισι ἐν κατανύξει...). This place—which so far has not been identified—was a pilgrimage destination, because of the miracles performed by the saint, particularly healings of all kinds of disease and demonic possession. Praising the saint exactly for that is the main concern of Clement who does not pay attention to the presentation of historical information on the celebrated saint.

The kanon consists of nine odes numbered α’ to θ’. Odes 1 to 5 and 8 consist of four stanzas, while odes 6, 7 and 9 of five. The stanzas are connected with an acrostic forming a dodecasyllable (Χάριν βραβεύεις, Παγχάριε, θανάτω(ν220) and not including theotokia, where we have the acrostic ΚΑΗΜΕΝΤΟΣ. The heirmoi are borrowed from various kanons, composed by Kosmas the Melode, Andrew of Crete,

220 «...ἀπετμήθη τὴν κεφαλὴν ... κατὰ τὴν ἐννέα καὶ δεκάτην τοῦ Μαρτίου μήνος, ἐν Νικόμηδε» (MV VII, 72).
221 See EFSTRATIADIS, Αγιολογίον, 370.
222 SynaxEC 707-710; Menol 476 (May 25); and MV VII, 72.
223 On whom see BHG 1859-1860c; AASS Ionii III, 93-98; SynaxEC 751-754; Menol 500; CPG 7977; EFSTRATIADIS, Αγιολογίον, 455; DOUKAKIS, Συναξάριστης, 151-153.
224 Ms tradition: LPaSb; see PAPAILIOPOULOU, Ταμείον, p. 219, nr 671.
225 Not listed in FOLLIERI, Initia.
patriarch Germanos, John the monk and Andrew the blind.\(^{226}\) Clement follows the patterns of the *heirmoi*, except for ode 5, where, the pattern being \(- - - - - - - - -\), he writes \(- - - - - - - - - - -\).\(^{227}\) The *theotokia* are not connected to the content of the rest of the *kanon*; they present elements of Christological theology.

(f) The limited manuscript tradition of the text (three manuscripts from the 11th to the 13th c.) proves that his celebration was not prevalent, something proven also by the narrow hymnographical and hagiographical production on the saint. This must have been the main reason for which nothing more than a short synaxarian notice on him is to be found in the liturgical books of the Orthodox Church.

**AKOLOUTHIA ON THE MARTYRS MANUEL, SAVEL AND ISHMAEL (TEXT 17)**

(a) The three brothers Manuel, Savel and Ishmael\(^{228}\) were born to a Persian magician and his Christian wife. During the reign of the pagan emperor Julian (361-363), and most probably during the year 362, they were sent by the Persian king to Constantinople as members of an embassy, having previously been introduced to the Christian doctrine by a priest named Eunoikos. Their Christian faith was denounced to the emperor, who ordered his men to beat them, penetrate their ankles with nails and burn their armpits with torches. Then he tried to convince Manuel to sacrifice to the idols with promises and exhortations, which the saint denied, suffering because of that more tortures. Finally the saints were decapitated. When the soldiers tried to burn their bodies, following the order of the emperor, the earth opened receiving their relics and keeping them for two days, which made many people present to believe in God. The execution of the saints, who were sent to Constantinople as ambassadors, was a violation of the immunity of the diplomatic embassy and therefore led — according to their biographers — to a war between Byzantium and the Persian Empire, during which the emperor Julian was killed\(^{229}\). The memory of the martyrs is celebrated by the Orthodox Church on June 17, the date of their martyrdom\(^{230}\).

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\(^{226}\) EE 37-38, nr 51, by Kosmas the Melode (ode 1); EE 42-43, nr 57, by Andrew of Crete (odes 2, 3, 4 and 9); EE 44-45, nr 59, by Germanos (ode 5); EE 43-44, nr 58, on St Thecla by Germanos (ode 6); EE 41-42, nr 55, on before Christmas by John the monk (ode 7); EE 42, nr 56, by Andrew the blind (ode 8).

\(^{227}\) Let it be noted that the *heirmos* (Αἵματος ἀμαρτημάτων...) is used as the *heirmos* of ode 6, and not of ode 5 as it is published in EE 44, nr 59.

\(^{228}\) On whom see BAG, 133-135; ESTRATIADIS, Ἄγιολογιον, 456-457; DOUKAKIS, Συναξάριται, 153-154; BS VIII, 637-638. On the *martyrion* of them in Constantinople see JANIN, Églises, 322.


\(^{230}\) «Καὶ εἴθης τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπετυρήσαν, ἐπηκαίδευσαν τότε τρέχοντος τοῦ Ἰουνίου μπνός» (LATYŞEV II, 72:2-3). «Ετελεύθησαν δὲ οἱ ἄγιοι τῶν Χριστοῦ μάρτυρες Μανουήλ,
(b) The martyrdom of the saints is well documented in the Byzantine sources; one version of their Passio is published in Acta Sanctorum, another — probably based on the previous one — is included in the anonymous 10th-century Menologion, and a third is published in a post-Byzantine akolouthia of the saints. Synaxarian notices on them are included in Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae, the emperor Basil’s Menologion and the Menaion. There is also an unpublished epitome of their Passio (=BHG 1024d).

(c) We are aware of four akolouthiai on the martyrs. Two of them, one Byzantine and the other post-Byzantine, are published, the third (of which only three stichera have been included in the Menaion) is edited below, and a fourth remains unpublished.

(d) The Typikon of the Great Church gives nothing more that that their synaxis was taking place «ἐν τῷ ἀγιωτάτῳ αὐτῶν μαρτυρίῳ τῷ ὑστερῷ πλήσιον τοῦ ἁγίου προφῆτον Εἰλισσαῖον». The Typikon of Evergetis dictates the following instructions for their akolouthia: «Ἐσπέρας μετὰ τὴν στιχολογίαν εἰς τὸ Κύριο Ἐκέκραξε ἱστώμεν ζε′ καὶ ψάλλομεν στιχηρὰ τὰς ἁγιῶν γ’ ἤχος πλάγιος δ’ ἀνὰ δευτέρον (probably two of them in nn. 80-103 and the third in Appendix VI, nn. 30-40) καὶ θεστοκιόν. προκειμένου, εἰς τὸν στίχον στιχηρὰ τῆς ὀκτώχηχον β’ καὶ ιδιομελον τῶν ἁγίων ἤχος πλάγιος δ’ Εἰλικρινῶς ποθήσαντες σε (=MV X, 58) καὶ θεστοκιόν. ἀπολυτίκιον Οἱ μάρτυρες σου Κύριε.

Εἰς τὸν ὄρθρον Θεὸς Κύριος καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τροπάριον. μετὰ τὴν στιχολογίαν κάθισμα τῆς ὀκτώχηχου. κανόνες γ’ οἱ β’ τῆς ὀκτώχηχον εἰς ζε′ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων εἰς ζε′ ἤχος πλάγιος β’. ἀπὸ γ’ ὑδῆς κάθισμα τῶν ἁγίων ἤχος πλάγιος δ’ καὶ θεστοκιόν ἀπὸ ζε’ τὸ κοντάκιον αὐτῶν, ἀνάγνωσις τὸ μαρτυρίου αὐτῶν, οὐ ἦ ἀρχῇ Οἱ μὲν

Σαβελ, καὶ Ισαμήλ μην ἱονιώι εἰς’ ἡμέρα δευτέρα, ὡρα θ’» (AASS Iunii, III, 295C-296A). Of the years of Julian’s reign it is 362 that should be accepted as the year of the saints’ martyrdom; on the basis of the chronologial table published in V. Grumel, La Chronologie, Paris 1958, p. 241, giving the 31st of March as the Easter Sunday, it can be estimated that it is in this year when the 17th of June was a Monday (see also AHG X, 354).

231 See AASS Iunii III, 289-296 (=BHG 1023); Μαρτυρίων τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαρτυρῶν Μανουηλ, Σαβελ καὶ Ισαμήλ (=BHG 1024e), ed. Latyshev II, 67-72; Μαρτυρίων τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἔνδοξων μεγάλων Μαρτυρίων Μανουηλ Σαβελ καὶ Ισαμήλ, ἀντιγραφέν ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἀγίῳ Ὀρει τοῦ Ἀθωνος βιβλιοθήκης (=BHG 1024), ed. in Acolouthia τῶν ἁγίων ... Μανουηλ, Σαβέλ καὶ Ισαμήλ..., Vienna 1803, pp. 54-76 (published also in the second edition of the akolouthia, Leipzig 1815, pp. 117-156).

232 SynaxEC 753-754, Menol 501 and MV X, 60 (the notice of the Menaion is just a part of the one included in SynaxEC).


234 MV X, 58.

235 Ms tradition: LAPbO (the stichera edited in nn. 68-106 are also copied in S); see Papailiopoulos, T, 219, nr 672, where O and S are not listed.

236 It survives in cod. Sin. gr. 620; see Papailiopoulos, T, p. 220, nr 673.

237 Mateos, Typikon, 314.
ἀλλοι διώκται [=BHG 1024]. ἀπολυτίκιον τῶν ἁγίων. εἰς δὲ τὸν στίχον τῶν αἰώνων στιχῆμα τῆς ὁσιοτρόφου καὶ θεοτόκου 238.

(e) In L they are celebrated together with St Hypatios, the abbot of the monastery of Roupheanianai (see the description of his akolouthia below). The martyrs’ akolouthia consists of a kathisma (vv. 1-11; AHG X, 105-106), kontakion by Romanos the Melode and oikos (vv. 23-46), five stichera (three in mode 4 and two in plagal 4; vv. 47-103) and a kanon by George of Nicomedia (vv. 131-334).

The set of kontakion and oikos is not very informative; it refers generally to the Persian origin of the saints, their martyrdom and their work against the darkness of idolatry. The two stichera edited below (vv. 80-103) add that they disgraced the “illegal king” (Julian).

The kanon consists of eight odes numbered α’ and γ’ to θ’. All odes consist of four stanzas, except for odes 4 and 9, which have five. The stanzas are connected with an acrostic forming a dodecasyllable (Μανονῆλ, Σαβέλ, Ἰαμαήλ σέβω πόθω 239) and not including theotokia, which form the acrostic ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ; both the acrostics prove that the kanon was originally composed without a second ode. The heirmoi used as models are composed by John of Damascus and they form a kanon included in the book of Parakletike, originally destined for the Orthros of Sunday of the fourth mode 240.

The content of the kanon is typical of the lack of historicity in the work of George. Of the rich hagiographical narration on the martyrdom of the saints almost nothing more than their names is to be found here. Furthermore, no other name is given (the hagiographical texts naming the emperor Julian, the Persian king — even if they do no transmit the same name —, Arion Indikos who denounced the saints to the emperor) and some other elements, capable of tempting any hymnographer, are neglected, for example the angel that supported the saints during their martyrdom 241, the voice from heaven calling the martyrs to the kingdom of God242, the earth that opened miraculously to receive the bodies of the saints immediately after their execution so that they would not be burned by the soldiers of Julian, according to the latter’s orders 243.

Five of the theotokia of the kanon are used by George in other kanons as well. The three edited below for the first time are of paracetical and hymnal character, and not related to the rest of the kanon.

(f) The question whether all the hymns edited below were originally parts of

238 JORDAN, Synaxarion Evergetis, 154-156.
239 FOLLIERI, Initia II, 367.
240 PaAD, 372-382 and EE 94, nr 133.
241 See AASS Iunii, III, 2938-C and Latyšev II, 70:16-19.
242 See AASS Iunii, III, 295C; Latyšev II, 71:37-72:2; Ἀκολούθια τῶν ἁγίων ... Μανονῆλ, Σαβέλ καὶ Ἰαμαήλ..., Vienna 1803, p. 75.
243 See AASS Iunii, III, 295C; Latyšev II, 72:4-11; Ἀκολούθια τῶν ἁγίων ... Μανονῆλ, Σαβέλ καὶ Ἰαμαήλ..., Vienna 1803, pp. 75-76.
one akolouthia composed by the same hymnographer is not easy to answer. The same incipit of the oikos and the two stichera edited below (Τρεῖς ἐκ Περοίδος...), in combination with the use of the word phalanx in both (compare vv. 38 and 101-102) may support the deduction that both of them are composed by the same hand but it is certainly not enough to prove it, while there are no strong elements betraying the common origin of the kanon and the rest of the hymns, which on the other hand should not be ruled out.

The text of the akolouthia has survived in four manuscripts which cover a period from the 11th to the 16th century, which proves that the akolouthia was in use during the period of the production of the printed Menaia, so its later neglect is probably a result of its exclusion from the Menaia, which again could be due to the manuscripts available to the editors.

AKOLOUTHIA ON ST HYPATIOS OF ROUPHINIANAI (TEXT 17)

(a) Hypatios244 was born in Phrygia ca. 366. Well educated, as his father was a scholasticoi, decided to leave his family after an internal conflict and became a shepherd. He entered monastic life very young and in about the year 400 he established in Constantinople the monastery of Rouphinianai245, being its abbot from 406 onwards. Being highly and multiply virtuous he earned the respect of all the monks and the priests in Constantinople, who considered him as their spiritual father; he was also connected to the Akoimetoi ("sleepless") monks246. He worked very hard against pagan traditions and Nestorianism. He died very old, on the 30th of June 466, near Chalcedon. His memory is celebrated by the Orthodox Church on June 17, most probably because the date of his death was confronting with the commemoration of the Apostles. Both the short notices on him (see next paragraph) note at the end that it was not possible to write down the number of miracles the saint was performing.

(b) His Vita, published in Acta Sanctorum and later by G.J.M. Bartelink247, is dated by the latter to 447-450 and by H.-G. Beck to the 6th c.248. It is written by his disciple Kallinikos and later corrected by an anonymous "editor". An epitome of his Vita is also published in Acta Sanctorum249. A short notice is included in Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae and a slightly shorter version of the same text in the

244 On whom see Efstratiadis, Αγιολόγια, 288-289; Doukakis, Συναξαριστής, 155-157; ODB, 963.
245 On the monastery see ODB, 1814.
246 See below, Commentary, Akolouthia on St Hypatios, comment on v. 129.
247 Callinicos, Vie d’Hypatios, Introduction, Texte Critique, Traduction et Notes par G.J.M. Bartelink, Paris 1971 (=BHg 760; the text is also published in AASS Iunii, III, 308-349).
248 See Bartelink, Callinicos, Vie d’Hypatios, 11-12, and H.-G. Beck, Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich [Byzantinisches Handbuch II,1], München 1959, 404.
249 AASS Iunii III, 307-308.
Menaion\textsuperscript{250}.

(c) Neither the Typikon of the Great Church nor the Typikon of Evergetis commemorate St Hypatios on June 17\textsuperscript{251}.

(d) We are not aware of any other akolouthia on St Hypatios.

(e) In L he is celebrated together with the martyrs Manuel, Savel and Ishmael (see the description of their akolouthia above). The akolouthia edited below\textsuperscript{252} is based on the saint’s Vita (see apparatus fontium). It opens with a kathisma referring to the miraculous healings performed in the grave of the saint (vv. 12-22), followed by three stichera which praise the virtues of Hypatios (particularly his self-control; vv. 104-130) and a kanon by Joseph the Hymnographer (vv. 335-607).

The kanon contains nine odes numbered $\alpha'$ to $\theta'$. Each ode consists of four stanzas, except for odes 4 and 9, which have five. The stanzas are connected with an acrostic that forms a dodecasyllable, followed outside the meter by the definite article and the name of the hymnographer, in the initial letters of the theotokion of ode 8 and the troparia of the last ode (Τυπατίου μέλψοιμ τοις καλως τρόπους: ο $\iota$ωσμός\textsuperscript{253}). Most of the heirmoi are borrowed from kanons of John of Damascus on Resurrection\textsuperscript{254}, except for odes 2 and 4 which are based on heirmoi by the patriarch Germanos and Kosmas the Melode\textsuperscript{255}. Joseph follows the patterns for the most part, with some exceptions common in Byzantine hymnography.

Odes 1 and 2 are basically introductory; the only elements deriving from Hypatios’ Life are the ones praising the saint for having followed the steps of other saints (vv. 345) and practising the sleepless form of monasticism (vv. 370-371; this is repeated in vv. 578-579). In ode 3 the saint is praised for his self-control (vv. 384-388), for leading many people to Christianity with his exemplary life (vv. 392-395) and for healing people possessed by demons (vv. 400-404; this is also mentioned in other parts of the kanon). Ode 4 presents the saint as called to his missionary work by a voice from heaven like the apostle Paul (vv. 416-419), very hospitable as a new Abraham (vv. 420-423), and a priest living ascetic life (vv. 424-427). Ode 5 refers to a miracle performed by the saint when informed by his angel in a dream that a faming was coming he accumulated and stored pulses and grain, so that he could feed all the inhabitants of the nearby village for a three-years period of starvation (vv. 443-445). In ode 6 we read about St Hypatios’ philanthropy (vv. 477-479), while in ode 8 about the struggle of the saint against Nestorios and the pagans (vv. 533-538). Apart from these, the hymnographer praises repeatedly the saint for the performance of

\textsuperscript{250} SynaxEC 754 and MV X, 60.

\textsuperscript{251} See MATEOS, Typicon, 314-316 and JORDAN, Synaxarion Evergetis, 154-156.

\textsuperscript{252} Ms tradition: LHS1a; See PAPAILIOPOULOU, $\Theta\alpha$μειον, p. 220, nr 674.

\textsuperscript{253} FOLLIERI, Initia, IV, 405.

\textsuperscript{254} EE 219-220, nr 314 (odes 5, 6 and 8); EE 220, nr 315 (odes 1 and 3); EE 221-222, nr 317 (ode 9); EE 224, nr 321 (ode 7).

\textsuperscript{255} EE 226, nr 323, by Germanos (ode 2) and EE 225, nr 322, on the Exaltation of the Holy Cross by Kosmas the Melode (ode 4).
miracles, in particular healings, and his battles against the demon.

The theotokia of the kanon are not referring to the saint. They praise the mother of God for opening a new phase in the history of the world and mankind (vv. 350-354, 513-520), remaining a virgin after the birth of Christ (vv. 377-383, 600-607) and replacing Adam and Eve to their previous privileged standing (483-488); two of the theotokia employ the theology of the two natures of Christ (vv. 408-415, 556-567).

(f) The veneration of St Hypatios was never broad in the Byzantine Church, as we may conclude from the silence of the Byzantine hymnographical and liturgical sources [see above, points (c) and (d)]. On the other hand, the manuscript tradition of his akolouthia edited below (four manuscripts from the 11th to the 15th c.) proves that it was in use, at least on mount Athos, until the end of the Byzantine period. Most probably its final neglect is also caused by its exclusion from the printed Menaiia.

AKOLOUTHIA ON THE MARTYR ZOSIMOS (TEXT 19)

(a) St Zosimos256, a soldier from the town of Apollonias near Sozopolis, martyred at the times of the emperor Traian (98-117) and the local governor Dometianus, who arrested him for quitting his service in the army and becoming a Christian. The saint was tortured by being beaten and then put in a glowing copper bed, from which he went out miraculously unharmed, something that led a lot of the eye witnesses to believe in Christ. Thereafter he was forced to follow the governor in a long walking travel, nailed on wooden sills, tied in the back of a horse and foodless. After three days two young men sent by God (probably angels) appeared offering him bread and water. Entering the city of Kananitai (or Kaneotai), that was the governors’ destination, the saint was interrogated by him and then flogged, burned with torches, pierced through with acute iron tools, cut through his nerves, broken his bones with iron balls, and finally decapitated.

(b) A synaxarian notice on St Zosimos, saved in three very similar versions, and a double version of his Passio have come down to us, all of them published. The one version of his short notice is included in the Menologion of Basil II, the second in Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae and the third, including some more details on his tortures, in the Menaion257. One version of his Passio (henceforth AMZ) is published in Acta Sanctorum258 and the other by B. Latyšev in his anonymous 10th-century Menologion259. There is also an epitome of his Passio, not yet published (=BHG 1888e).

His memory is celebrated by the Orthodox Church on June 19, a date given by

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256 On whom see EFRATIADIS, Αγιολόγιοι, 165; DOUKAKIS, Συναξαριστής, 164-165; BS, XII, 1501.
257 See Menol 504, SYNAXEC 757 and MV X, 66 respectively.
258 AASS Iunii III, 812-817 (=BHG 1888).
259 Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Ζωσίμου (=BHG 1888c), ed. LATYŠEV II, 79-82.
both versions of his *Passio* as the day of his death\(^{260}\). However, this date does not find the Byzantine hagiographical and liturgical sources unanimous; L and H, the Typikon of the Great Church\(^{261}\), the *Menologion* of Basil II and Christopher of Mytilene\(^{262}\) commemorate St Zosimos on June 19, while P, V, Va, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, the Typikon of Evergetis\(^{263}\), the Typikon of St Sabbas\(^{264}\) and the *Menologion* published by Latyšev celebrate his memory on the next day.

(c) The text published below is one of the two Byzantine *akolouthiai* on St Zosimos, the other remaining unpublished and surviving in five manuscripts\(^{265}\). There exists also a modern one, published in 1910\(^{266}\).

(d) The Typikon of the Great Church does not include rubrics on his *akolouthia*. According to the Typikon of Evergetis his *akolouthia* consisted of *stichera* in mode 4 plagal, a *kanon* by Joseph (the Hymnographer) in the same mode and *kathisma* in mode 4\(^{267}\), in other words the contents of the text edited below\(^{268}\).

The *kathisma* (vv. 1-7) gives no more information that that the celebrated saint is a martyr. The first two *stichera* (vv. 8-17 and 18-27) are of the same general character, transferring only the information of the saint being a healer of the sick, while the third (vv. 28-37) presents many details of the tortures the saint suffered.

The *kanon* contains eight odes numbered α’ and γ’-θ’. Each ode consists of four stanzas, except for odes 1 and 9, which have five. The stanzas are connected with an acrostic which proves that the *kanon* was originally composed without a second ode. It forms a dodecasyllable, followed outside the meter by the name of the hymnographer, in the initial letters of ode 9 (Τὴν Ζωσίμου μέλψωμεν ἐνθεον χάριν ἱωσήφ\(^{269}\)). Most of the *heirmoi*, the patterns of which Joseph follows very faithfully,
are borrowed from *kanons* of John of Damascus on Resurrection\[^{270}\], except for odes 4 and 5 which are based on *heirmoi* by the patriarch Germanos and Kosmas the Melode\[^{271}\].

The content of the *kanon* proves Joseph’s inclination to historicity, as it transmits much information on the martyrdom of St Zosimos. The martyr is presented as confessing his faith in a (pagan) court (vv. 58-61), standing the tortures and disgracing the atheism of his judges (vv. 62-65) and keeping his faith unbroken even when seeing the members of his body torn to pieces (vv. 66-69). Further down the tyrant orders his people to tie the saint in a pale and flog him (vv. 74-75) and put him in a glowing bed (vv. 82-83; see also vv. 90-92 and 168-169); seeing the martyr coming out unharmed many people converted to Christianity (vv. 98-101). Next the saint is praised for being nailed on wooden sills and forced to walk (vv. 113-115), tied in the back of a horse (v. 119), for three days (vv. 130-135), after which an angel came to give him food (vv. 140-142). Finally, Zosimos is decapitated by sword (vv. 193-195). After his death he became a miraculous healer of the sick (vv. 174-176). The *theotokia* of the *kanon* are not referring to the saint.

(f) Comparing the content of the *kathisma* and the *stichera* to that of the *kanon* we have no strong reason for being negative to the possibility of the former being also composed by Joseph the Hymnographer.

The *akolouthia* survives in five manuscripts, copied from the 11th to the 14th century, something proving that already in the Byzantine times its use was not very broad. The most probable reason for that, considered that the *kanon* is a work of one of the most prominent Byzantine hymnographers, has a high didactical quality and bears an acrostic, may be that the celebration of St Zosimos was concurrent with the commemoration of the apostle Judas. This must have been why his memory was transferred in some places to the next calendar day of the month.

**AKOLOUTHIA ON THE MARTYRS INNAS, PINNAS AND RIMMAS (TEXT 20)**

(a) Sts Innas, Pinnas and Rimmas\[^{272}\] were disciples of the apostle Andrew. They excelled themselves in evangelizing the pagans of the area of Gotthia. Led before the leader of the barbarians, they were asked to sacrifice to the idols, which they refused. Thence they were left to die tied in pales put in a frozen river in midwinter. Seven years after their martyrdom their relics were translated to a not named city by the Bishop Goddas. Not much later the saints appeared to Goddas and asked him to translate their relics to the coastal village Aliskos.

\[^{270}\] EE 219-220, nr 314 (ode 6); EE 220-221, nr 316 (odes 8 and 9); EE 224, nr 321 (odes 1, 3 and 7).

\[^{271}\] EE 226, nr 324, by Germanos (ode 5) and EE 225, nr 322, on the Exaltation of the Holy Cross by Kosmas the Melode (ode 4).

\[^{272}\] On whom see EFSTRATIADIS, *Αγιολόγια*, 216; ΘΟΥΚΑΚΗΣ, *Συναξαριστής*, 262-263 (January 20); AASS Ianuarii II, 297.
Their memory is celebrated by the Orthodox Church on January 20, the day of the translation of their relics to Aliskos. In L the saints are celebrated on June 20. A passage from their Passio may help us in explaining the date of this celebration: «τὸν ὁποῖον καὶ τὴν ἑλέουσας ἁγνήσαντες τὴν τὴς καταθέσεως τῶν λειψάνων ἑορτάζομεν ἑορτήν»273. This taken into consideration it is possible to assume that the 20th of June is probably the “ignored” date of their martyrdom.

(b) Three short texts on the martyrs have come down to us. The first is a synaxarian notice in the emperor Basil’s Menologion274. The second, including all the information given by the previous one and adding a narration on the translation of their relics by the Bishop Goddas, is edited by H. Delehaye275. The third is a very short synaxarian notice in Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae and the Menaion276.

(c-d) We are not aware of any other akolouthia on the saints. The printed Menaion includes on June 20 an akolouthia on St Methodios the Bishop of Patara (MV X, 67-70), the Typikon of the Great Church commemorates them on January 20 without any instruction on their akolouthia277, and the Typikon of Evergetis does not commemorate them at all.

(e) Sts Innas, Pinnas and Rimmers are celebrated in L together with St Eustochios and his fellow martyrs278. The akolouthia of St Eustochios and his companions consists of a kathisma (vv. 12-20), three unpublished stichera (vv. 57-74) and a kanon by Joseph the Hymnographer (vv. 289-528). The akolouthia on Sts Innas, Pinnas and Rimmers contains a kathisma (vv. 1-11), three stichera (vv. 21-56) and a kanon composed by Joseph the Hymnographer (vv. 75-288)279.

The kanon follows the information on the martyrs given by the extant hagiographical texts, particularly that they were disciples of the apostle Andrew (vv. 89-91), they undertook a mission to the barbarians (vv. 115-119), they were

273 Delehaye, Saints de Thrace, 216:15-16.
274 On January 20, Ἀθλησὶς τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων Ιννᾶ, Ρημᾶ καὶ Πιννᾶ, in Menol 269-272.
277 Mateos, Typicon, 204.
278 Eustochios was a pagan priest who converted to Christianity and became a priest; Gaïanos was his nephew and Loulous, Prove and Ourvasios were the children of Gaïanos. They martyred at the times of the caesar Maximian (305-313). Synaxarian notices on them have survived in Synaxarium Ecclesiae Graecae (SynaxEC 766; published also in AASS Iunii, IV, 471-472) and the Menologion of the emperor Basil II (Menol 508). Their memory is celebrated in L on June 20, while Synaxarium Ecclesiae Graecae, the Menologion of the emperor Basil and the Typikon of the Great Church commemorate them on June 23 (see SynaxEC 766, Menol 508 and Mateos, Typicon, 318 respectively). See also Efstratiadis, Ἀγιολογιῶν, 152-153; Doukakis, Συναξαριστής, 262-263.
279 Ms tradition: LHMIa; see Papailiopoulos, Ταμείον, p. 222, nr 679.
interrogated in a pagan court (vv. 125-129) by a pagan who did not succeed in convincing them to renounce their faith be threatening and torturing them (vv. 135-140, 147-152, 165-179), they were executed by being tied in pales put in a frozen river (vv. 189-202), and they were taken out of the water and buried by a poimen who followed the relevant orders by the saints (vv. 245-248; the name of Bishop Goddas is given in the Passio published by Delehaye). Taken into consideration that everything referring to their burial and translation of relics by Bishop Goddas is presented only in the Passio published by Delehaye, it may be presumed that this is the text (or a descendant of the one) Joseph had in front of him composing the akolouthia.

The content of the kathisma is very general, so it is not possible to assume whether it is composed by Joseph or somebody else. The stichera present only one piece of information presented also in the kanon, that of the saint being disciples of the apostle Andrew (compare vv. 21-23 to 89-91), something not enough to prove their composition by Joseph, even if he is known as a composer of stichera.  

The kanon contains eight odes numbered α′ and γ′ to θ′. Each ode consists of four stanzas, except for odes 4, 7 and 9, which have five. The stanzas are connected with an acrostic which proves that the kanon was originally composed without a second ode. It forms a dodecasyllable, followed outside the meter by the name of the hymnographer, in the initial letters of the last ode (Τοῖς σοῖς ἀνυμών μάρτυρας, Ἐρωτη Λόγε· Ιωάνης). Most of the heirmoi are borrowed from kanons by Kosmas the Melode on Resurrection, except for odes 4 and 5 which are based on heirmoi by John the monk and the patriarch Germanos, while the heirmoi of ode 6 is composed by an anonymous hymnographer. Joseph follows the patterns for the most part, with some variations common in Byzantine hymnography. The theotokia are not related to the rest of the text and they are mostly of hymnal and paracetical character.

(f) The silence of the Byzantine liturgical and hagiographical sources proves that the celebration of the saints was not very broad. This could also by assumed from the manuscript tradition of the akolouthia edited below (four manuscripts from the 11th to the 15th c.), which on the other hand proves that in the 15th c. it was still in use, at least on Mount Athos. Because of its unpopularity or its absence in the manuscripts used for the edition of the printed Menaia, the akolouthia was not published and fell into oblivion.

280 See Tomadakis, Ιωάνης, 218-225.
281 Not listed in Follieri, Initia.
282 EE 101-102, nr 143, on the Resurrection (ode 5), EE 102, nr 144, on the Transfiguration (odes 1, 3, and 9; S. Efstratiadis notes that cod. Athon. Laoura B 32 ascribes the kanon to John the monk, while codd. Paris. gr. 341, 1564, 1573 and 13 ascribe it to Kosmas) and A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἀνέκδοτον ἀτμία τοῦ μελωδοῦ Κοσμᾶ, BZ 14 (1905) 523 (ode 7).
283 EE 97-98, nr 138, on the Resurrection by John (ode 4) and EE 95, nr 134, by Germanos (ode 8).
284 EE 124-125, nr 172, on the Exaltation of the Holy Cross.
AKOLOUTHIA ON THE MARTYR IOULIANOS OF KILIKIA (TEXT 21)

(a) Two saints with the same name are celebrated on June 21, St Ioulianos of Egypt and St Ioulianos of Kilikia; it is to the latter that the akolouthia edited below is dedicated. He was from the town Anavartos, born to a pagan councillor and his Christian wife. After being instructed by his mother in the Christian faith he studied the holy scriptures. In the age of eighteen he was accused as a Christian to the governor Marcianus who asked him to sacrifice to the idols. Denying he was beaten, put in prison and tortured. Finally he was killed by being put in a sack full of sand and venomous reptiles and snakes and thrown away in the sea.

(b) An encomium on St Ioulianos is composed by John the Chrysostom. His Passio is published by B. Latyšev. Short notices on him are included in Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae and the emperor Basil’s Menologion. We are also aware of one more Passio and an epitome on him, both unpublished.

(c) Three akolouthiai on St Ioulianos of Kilikia have come down to us. I contains two of them, one composed by John the monk (published in the Menaión) and the other by Theophanes Graptos (edited below); the kanon of the third, composed by Joseph the Hymnographer, is published in Analecta Hymnica Graecae.

The akolouthia of the Menaión consists of three stichera sung at Κύριε Ἐκκέραξα ( copied in L, vv. 49-81) and a kanon by John the monk (vv. 334-502), intermitted by a kathisma after ode 3 (vv. 1-11). The one published in AHG contains the kanon composed by Joseph the Hymnographer, while two kathismata are edited in the apparatus, the one being copied in L (vv. 12-25).

(d) The Typikon of the Great Church commemorates only St Ioulianos of Egypt on June 21 while that of the Monastery of Evergetis directs the choir to sing

285 On whom see BHG 970-971b; BHGa 2209p; BHGna 967e, 2209p; Synaxec 759-762; CPG 4360; EFSTRATIADES, Αγιολόγιον, 219-220; DOUKAKIS, Συναξαριστής, 237-248.
286 On whom see BHG 965; Synaxec 762; PG 50.665-676; EFSTRATIADES, Αγιολόγιον, 220.
287 Εγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ἁγίον μάρτυρα Ιουλιανόν (=Laudatio sancti martyris Juliani) (=BHG 967), PG 50, 665-676.
288 Μαρτύρων τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Ιουλιανοῦ μαρτυρήσαντος ἐν τῇ Κιλικίᾳ (=BHG 967e), ed. LATYŞEV II, 83-87.
289 SynaxEC 762 and Menol 353 (on March 16; the same text is also included in SynaxEC 541-542, also on March 16).
290 See BHG 966 and 967d respectively.
291 MS tradition: LH1a; see PAPAILIOPOULOU, Ταμείον, p. 223, nr 683.
293 Edited from H and two more manuscripts, codex Cryptensis Δ.α. XXIII and codex Barberinus gr. 377.
294 «Μηρι τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ, ἀθλησάς τὸν ἁγίον μάρτυρον Ιουλιανόν τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τῶν μετ’ αὐτῶν τελειωθέντων» (MATEOS, Typikon, 316).
stichera in mode 4, the kanon by John the monk in plagal mode 4 and kathisma in the same mode.295

(e) The akolouthia copied in L is a double one. It starts with two kathismata and it proceeds to kontakion by Romanos the Melode and unpublished oikos (vv. 35-48), followed by five stichera, the last two ones being edited below for the first time (vv. 82-105). Two kanons close the text, the first one being hitherto unpublished (vv. 106-333).

The stichera edited below present St Ioulianos as an athlete who entered the martyrdom by having his heart fortified with holy studies (vv. 82-83), acknowledging the strokes as dew (vv. 85-87; cf. vv. 99-101), winning over all the fleshless enemies (v. 88) and accepting the garland of victory by the Lord (vv. 89-90).

The kanon, ascribed to Theophanes (Graptos in the margin of H (f. 89v)296, does not have an acrostic. It consists of eight odes, numbered α’ and γ’ to θ’. Each ode has four stanzas. The heirmoi are borrowed from a kanon on the Resurrection by John of Damascus, included in the service-book of Parakletike and destined for the Sunday of the first mode297.

The text of the kanon presents a lot of information from the hagiographical texts on the saint, who is presented as winning the kingdom of God by reigning over the carnal passions and trampling under his foot the doctrine of the impious emperor (vv. 118-123), refusing to sacrifice to the pagan gods (vv. 135-136), confessing his faith in front of the law-court of the tyrant (vv. 139-140), performing posthumous miracles (vv. 164, 246-249, 313-319), flogged (vv. 170, 216-217, 234-240) and imprisoned by the governor (vv. 182-183), who brought him along in a travel from town to town in an effort to humiliate him and give a lesson to other Christians, something that had the opposite effect (vv. 189-195), refusing to sacrifice to the idols (vv. 222-223), killed by being put in a sack full of sand and venomous reptiles and snakes and thrown away in the sea (vv. 270-273, 308-309), and buried by a pious woman who found his body by a divine revelation (vv. 288-292).

The hymnographer employs also some common expressions to praise the saint, when for example he refers to him as extinguishing the pagan fire with the shedding of his blood (vv. 243-245) and presents the saint’s spiritual merits that helped him to dominate over the non-believers (vv. 130-134).

The theotokia are not related to the saint and they have a hymnal and paraetical character, requesting the help and mediation of the mother of God and praising her virtues, without entering higher theological levels.

(f) On the basis that the choice of the kanon included in the printed Menia is not decided by the manuscripts available to the editors and that in this case John the monk is to be identified with John of Damascus, the main criterion for the prevalence

295 «Στιχερα ήχος δ’. ό κανών ήχος πλ. δ’ ιωάννου μοναχού· κάθισμα ήχος ό αύτός» (JORDAN, Synaxarion Energetis, 158).
296 See also ZERVODAKI, ΘΕΟΦΑΝΗΣ, 284-285, nr. 194.
297 PaAD, 27-37 and EE 1, nr 1.
of the *kanon* by John should be detected in the aforementioned old liturgical order that gives priority to the *kanons* of the Damascene hymnographer over the *kanons* of both Theophanes Graptos and Joseph the Hymnographer. This may explain also the fact that each of the *kanons* of Theophanes and Joseph has survived in no more than three manuscripts.

**AKOLOUTHIA ON THE MARTYRS ZENON AND ZENAS (TEXT 23)**

(a) Zenon and Zenas\(^\text{298}\), a soldier and his servant, both from the town of Philadelphia (Emman) in Arabia, suffered martyrdom during the reign of Maximian (286-305). Willing to martyr for Christ, Zenon distributed all his property to the poor, freed all his slaves, and then he showed before the pagan governor Maximus together with Zenas, who followed him willingly. After a short dialogue, Maximus flogged Zenon and then he asked him to sacrifice to a pagan altar, which the saint knocked over. Then Zenon was put in prison where Zenas came, wanting to share his master’s martyrdom. He was imprisoned as well, and later they both were brought to Maximus, who asked them to renounce Christ. They denied, something repeated later in front of Maximus and a Roman duke visiting the town. Thence they were tortured and finally decapitated by sword.

(b-d) Short notices of the martyrs Zenon and Zenas are included in *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, the emperor Basil’s *Menologion* and the *Menaion*\(^\text{299}\). A longer and more detailed *Passio* of the martyrs is published in *Acta Sanctorum*, along with the aforementioned texts\(^\text{300}\). It is exactly this text that served as the main source of the *akolouthia* edited below.

The *Menaion* celebrate the memory of Sts Zenon and Zenas on June 22, without an *akolouthia* dedicated on them, while in the manuscript tradition examined here they are commemorated on June 23, which is the day given as the day of their martyrdom in their *Passio*\(^\text{301}\). *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* and the Typikon of the Great Church commemorate them the 22nd of June\(^\text{302}\). The Typikon of Evergetis and the Typikon of St Sabbas do not commemorate them.

(c) We are not aware of any other *akolouthia* os Sts Zenon and Zenas.

(e) In L they are celebrated together with St Agrippina. Her *akolouthia* contains a *kathisma* (vv. 1-9), three *stichera* (vv. 17-52) and a *kanon* (vv. 89-353); all of them are

\(^{298}\) On whom see EFSTRATIADIS, Αγιολόγιον, 163-164; DOUKAKIS, Συναξαριστής, 259; BS XII, 1482-1483.

\(^{299}\) *SynaxEC* 763-766 (June 22); *Menol* 505-508 (June 23), and MV X, 75.

\(^{300}\) De ss. Zenone et Zena martiribus Philadelphiae in Arabia (=BHG 1887), AASS Iunii IV, 474-482; the *Acta Martyrii* in pp. 476-482.

\(^{301}\) «Οὔτως τοῖνυν ἀθλησαντες αἱ Πανάγιοι, χωροῖς ἀνελήφθησαν ἀγίων Μαρτύρων, τὸ τέλος τῶν ἁγίων δεξάμενοι περίμανοι, ἐν Φιλαδέλφεια τῇ πολεί ψῆφῳ Μαξίμῳ, μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ εἰκάδι τρίτῳ», AASS Iunii IV, 481C.

\(^{302}\) See *SynaxEC* 763-764; MATEOS, Typicon, 316.
published in the *Menaion*. The *akolouthia* on Sts Zenon and Zenas contains a *kathisma* (vv. 10-16), three *stichera* (vv. 53-88) and a *kanon* by Joseph the Hymnographer (vv. 354-553).\(^3\)

The *kathisma* is a general praise of the saints, without any specific reference to the martyrs’ life and martyrdom. The first two *stichera* are based on the texts on the saints, as they present the tortures that the martyrs underwent (vv. 65-72: ὃπνεύρως τυπτόμενοι, ἐκ τεσσάρων τεινόμενοι, λαμπάσι φλεγόμενοι, κλοωίς βαρυνόμενοι, κρεμάμενοι ξύλω καὶ κατασπάμενοι μεγίστων λίθων βάρει), as well as that Zenas followed willingly his master (vv. 58-60: ὥ ἀκολουθήσας ὃ ἀξίαγαστός Ζηνᾶς ἵσον ἀγώνα στερρῶς διήνυσεν). The third one is of general content and it mentions the performance of miracles by the martyrs.

The *kanon* contains eight odes numbered α and γ to θ. Each ode consists of four stanzas, except for odes 4 and 9, which have five. The stanzas are connected with an acrostic that forms a dodecasyllable, followed outside the meter by the name of the hymnographer, in the initial letters of the last ode (Ζυγὴν ἐπαίνῳ μαρτύρων στεφθήρων Ἰωάνθη\(^4\)); the acrostic proves that the *kanon* was originally composed without a second ode. Most of the *heirmoi* are borrowed from *kanons* composed by John of Damascus\(^5\), except for odes 3 and 5 which are based on *heirmoi* by Kosmas the Melode\(^6\). Joseph follows the patterns for the most part, with some exceptions common in Byzantine hymnography.

The *kanon* starts with a general introduction in ode 1, where only the fact that the saints praised were tortured is mentioned. Most of the rest of the text is presenting information on the martyrdom of the saints along with some troparia of general character.

St Zenon is praised at the beginning for escaping idolatry by following the laws of God and as beautified by his confession (vv. 386-390). He praised the name of God in front of pagan judges (vv. 391-395) and was beaten in the mouth in Maximus’ effort to blemish his confession (396-400); he was also flogged with tendons (v. 414). Then Maximus, not being able to overpower him during their dialogue on the veneration of the idols and the true God, commanded his men to beat him exceedingly (vv. 436-440) and to lead him violently in front of a pagan altar, which the martyr knocked over (vv. 441-445). Following, St Zenon’s flanks were then scratched a sauce made of vinegar and brine being put on the scratches (vv. 446-450). He was put in prison wearing prisoners’ collars and he was tortured by being stretched by force (vv. 461-465). There he was visited by St Zenas who wanted to

\(^{303}\) Ms tradition: LHV; see PAPAILIOPOLLOU, Τακειοι, pp. 224-225, nr 688.


\(^{305}\) EE 95-96, nr 135, on Resurrection by John the monk (odes 1, 6, 7 and 8); EE 97-98, nr 138, on Resurrection by John the monk (ode 4); EE 98, nr 139, on the martyr Savvatis by John the monk and Stephen the Sabaites (ode 9).

\(^{306}\) EE 101-102, nr 143, on the Resurrection (ode 5) and EE 102, nr 144, on the Transfiguration (ode 3).
martyr with his master; Zenas is presented kissing St Zenon’s chains (vv. 466-470) and then stretched by force (vv. 476-477). At the same time Zenon was flogged in a supine position (vv. 503-504), glowing spits being put on his chest (vv. 508-510). After that both martyrs were tortured by being stretched with the use of straps and hung in a piece of wood with heavy rocks bound on their feet, while a fire was burning their breastbones (vv. 524-526). Thereafter they were put into a hole of fire, from which they were saved miraculously, which made many people believe in God (vv. 530-535). Finally they were executed by sword (vv. 539-540). The land that received their bodies became a drinking fountain of incredible miracles (vv. 542-545).

All the theotokia of the kanon laud the Virgin Mary without employing theology and entreat her, as the main protector of mankind, to mediate to the Lord.

(f) Most of the information presented in the kanon is given in detail in the Acta Martyrui of the saints, published in Acta Sanctorum, and epigrammatically in the texts included in emperor Basil’s Menologion, Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae and the Menaion. There are though some which appear only in the Acta Martyrui, namely St Zenon being beaten in the mouth and later flogged in a supine position, the fire burning the saints’ breastbones, the result of their miraculous salvation from the fire and the miracles performed by their bodies. Furthermore, it is only in Acta Martyrui that St Zenon is led violently and on purpose in front of the pagan altar he knocked over, while in the other notices this is done by chance. These elements taken into consideration, it may be assumed that among these four texts it is the Acta Martyrui that could function as the source for the composition of the akolouthia.

The limited manuscript tradition of the text (three manuscripts from the 11th to the 13th c.) proves that the akolouthia was already in the late-Byzantine period neglected by the Church. As the text is composed by one of the most prominent hymnographers and bearing an acrostic, this neglect could be explained by the importance of the celebration of St Agripinna, commemorated on the same day with Sts Zenon and Zenas. Their memory was transferred in Constantinople to the previous day [see above, point (b)], when another important saint, St Eusebios, was celebrated and therefore their akolouthia fell into oblivion.

AKOLOUTHIA ON ST FEVRONIA AND THE OTHER MARTYRS (TEXT 25)

(a) On June 25 L transmits a double akolouthia, dedicated to the martyr Fevronia and including a second kanon, in which other not named female martyrs are also commemorated [on their identity see below, part (f)].

St Fevronia was martyred during the reign of Diocletian (284-305), in the hands of the heartless local sovereign Selinos. As a two-years old child she had entered a

307 On whom see BHG 659-659g; BHGa 659-659g; BHGna 659-659h; Efstratiadis, Άγιολόγιον, 459-460; Doukakis, Συμμετεχόμενοι, 284-298; BS V, 508-509. See also M. Stelladoro, Santa Fevronia di Patti e Santa Fevronia di Nisibi (25 giugno). La tradizione greca manoscritta, Studii sull’Oriente Cristiano, 6/2 (2002) 15-34 (not accessible to me).
monastery near Sivapolis, in the borders between the Roman and the Persian Empire, her aunt Vryene being its abbess. Eighteen years later, during a persecution against the Christians of the area, she was arrested in the monastery by Selinos, who tried to convince her to sacrifice to the idols. Fevronia refused to renounce Christ and therefore she was flogged while being over fire, torn her teeth out, cut off her breasts, her hands and her feet. Finally she was decapitated by sword. Her commemoration is celebrated by the Orthodox Church on June 25.

(b) Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae, the Menologion of the emperor Basil II and the Menaion include notices on Fevronia. A detailed Vita of her, composed by the eyewitness nun Thomais, is published in Acta Sanctorum. Another shorter text, a Passio based on the previous Vita, is included in the anonymous 10th-century Menologion published by B. Latysev.

(c) We are aware of four akolouthiai on Fevronia. L contains two of them, the first published in the Menaion and the second edited below; the other two remain hitherto unpublished.

The akolouthia published in the Menaion (MV X, 89-93; see below, vv. 1-11 and 44-303) contains three stichera (vv. 44-79), the apolytikion usually sung on female virgin-martyrs (H ἡμῖνας οὖν, ἩσυΌν, κραίζει μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ...), and the kanon by Theophanes (vv. 80-303), interrupted after ode 3 by the kathisma (vv. 1-11) and after ode 6 by two epigrams and a rather long synaxarian notice.

(d) The Typikon of the Monastery of Evergetis orders to sing stichera in mode 4, the kanon in plagal mode 4 and kathisma in mode 1, which agrees with the akolouthia published in the Menaion.

(e) The akolouthia of L contains the kathisma, the stichera, and the kanon published in the Menaion, transmitting in addition a second kathisma (vv. 12-20), kontakion an oikos by Romanos the Melode (vv. 21-43), a second kanon (vv. 304-560) and an exaposteilarion (vv. 561-567).

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308 SynaxEC 769-772; Menol 509 and MV X, 91.
310 Βίος και μαρτυριον τῆς ἁγίας οσιομάρτυρος Φεβρωνίας, ed. LATYSEV II, 98-102. Though entitled Βίος και μαρτυριον the text is in fact a passio, as it presents only the trial and the martyrdom of the saint.
311 MV X, 89-93.
312 For this second kanon L is codex unicus; see PAPAILIOPOULOU, Tαμειον, p. 219, nr 669, where the akolouthia is mistakenly dated on June 15. Correct also the numbers of folios (ff. 67v, 116-118v are given instead of the right 115v-118v).
313 See PAPAILIOPOULOU, Tαμειον, p. 226, nr 695 (cod. Sinait. gr. 637), and pp. 226-227, nr 696 (cod. Hierosol, Sab. 70) respectively.
314 «Στιχυρὰ ἡχος δ’. ὁ κανὼν ἡχος πλ. δ’. κάθισμα α’» (JORDAN, Synaxarion Evergetis, 164).
Both the second kathisma and the exaposteilarion praise St Fevronia alone for her martyrdom through which she gained immortality; thence it is most probable that they were not composed together with the second kanon, which is repeatedly referring to St Fevronia and the other female martyrs.

The kanon does not have an acrostic. It consists of eight odes, numbered α’ and γ’ to θ’. Odes 1, 3, 4, 7 and 9 have five stanzas, while 5 and 6 have four. Ode 8 is double; three stanzas are composed according to the first heirmos and four, including the theotokion, according to the second. The heirmoi of the kanon are borrowed from Andrew of Crete315 and John of Damascus316, while the first heirmos of ode 8 is not published in the Heirmologia. The hymnographer follows generally the patterns, except for: a) the last line of the stanzas in ode 1 where, the pattern being \( \cdot - - - \cdot \cdot \cdot \), he uses \( \cdot - - - \cdot - - \cdot \) (stz. 1, 2, 3, 5); b) the third line of the stanzas in ode 3 where, the pattern being \( - - - \cdot - - - \cdot \), he uses \( - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - \cdot \); c) the fourth line of the stanzas in the same ode where, the pattern being \( - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - \cdot \), he uses \( - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - \cdot \).

The kanon starts by lauding the nature of women and their conquer over the devil by the death of female martyrs (vv. 304-317) and then turns to Fevronia who received a double garland from heaven for her ascetic life and for her martyrdom (vv. 318-324). Ode 3 is also divided; the first two troparia refer to the anonymous martyrs who won over devil and the earthly tyrants (vv. 339-346), while the next two ones are dedicated to Fevronia, and particularly her renunciation of all the temporary pleasures and her mutilation (vv. 347-350).

Ode 4 is totally dedicated to Fevronia, who lived ascetically and later was slaughtered as a lamp (vv. 359-372), neglecting her flesh, excusing her nakedness and producing willingly her members during her mutilation (vv. 373-386). The hymnographer continues lauding Fevronia for combining bravery with prudence (vv. 394-400) and receiving the double garland of ascetic and martyrdom (vv. 401-407), to address thereafter women, inviting them to imitate Fevronia (vv. 408-414).

Ode 6 is dedicated to the anonymous martyrs who won over the pagan delusion of the tyrants (vv. 422-426) being strengthened by God to face the martyrdom (vv. 427-431). In ode 7 Fevronia is celebrated once more for her ascetic life followed by the martyrdom (vv. 442-448) and for glorifying the female nature (vv. 449-455). Then the word turns to the female martyrs (vv- 456-469).

Ode 8 is double. The first set of stanzas lauds Fevronia for most of her virtues named before, including only one new element, her excellence in the study of the scriptures (vv. 485-488). The second set is also dedicated to Fevronia, who is praised for her bravery and as bride of Christ (vv. 505-508), a metaphor that appears every now and then in the text, as well as in her Vita. Ode 9 is divided in two parts; the first two stanzas praise the female martyrs (vv. 521-536), while the next two are dedicated to the mutilation of Fevronia (vv. 537-552).

315 EE 228, nr 327, on Resurrection (odes 1, 5, 6, 7, 8 [second heirmos] and 9); EE 230, nr 330, on Mid-Pentecost (ode 4).
316 EE 222, nr 319, on Resurrection (ode 3).
The *theotokia* of the *kanon* praise the Virgin Mary as the virgin mother of God (vv. 332-338), who is the most blessed of all the women (vv. 355-358), reconstructed the tent of Adam which had been destroyed in paradise (vv. 387-393), remained virgin after the birth (vv. 415-421 and 441). Some of them express also the Trinitarian dogma (vv. 437-441 and 470-476).

(f) The most remarkable element of the second anonymous *kanon* copied in L (and edited below) is that being dedicated —according to its title— to the martyrs Fevronia, Golindouch, and the other martyrs (*Έτερος κανών εἰς τὴν άγιαν μάρτυρα Φεβρανίαν καὶ εἰς τὴν άγιαν μάρτυρα Γολίνδουχα καὶ εἰς τὰς λοιπὰς μάρτυρας*) it is in fact a *kanon* praising St Fevronia and some other not named female martyrs, but not Golindouch. Golindouch is not named in the text (Fevronia being named two times, in vv. 409 and 503) and there is no element betraying a reference to her life and martyrdom, while the martyrdom of Fevronia, particularly her severe excruciation and mutilation, is clearly mentioned in seven troparia. As far as the identity of the other martyrs is concerned, there is nothing neither in the text nor in the hagiographical texts on St Fevronia suggesting that they were martyred together with her. This leaves us with the possibility of being saints celebrated the same day with Fevronia, i.e. the 25th of June. On this basis, the most probable hypothesis is that the saints mentioned are Sts Leonis, Libye and Eutropia, who were in some places celebrated together with St Fevronia. This hypothesis may be strengthened by the text of the *akolouthia* in two different passages and by the fact that Sts Leonis, Libye and Eutropia are mentioned in the Vita of St Fevronia. An interesting piece of information is also given in the Vita of Fevronia, that «Кατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἅθλησεως αὐτῆς, τῆς μνείας αὐτῆς ἐπιτελουμένης, συνέρχονται τὰ μοναστηρία τῶν γυναικῶν, καὶ πλήθη πολλὰ μάλιστα διὰ τὸ

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317 On whom see *BHG* 700-702b; *BHGen* 702-702e; *AASS* Iulii III, 509-512; *SynaxEC* 815-818, *Menol* 537; *CPG* 7521; *EFS* 98.
319 See *AASS* Iunii V, 15D-E.
320 See vv. 346 and 434, where fire and sword are mentioned as tools of execution against the celebrated martyrs. This may be a reference to the three martyrs, as Leonis was killed by fire and Libye and Eutropia by sword.
321 The spiritual mother of Fevronia, the abess Vryene, provides them as examples to Fevronia while preparing her for the martyrdom: «Μνησθητι Λούβης και Λεονίδος τῶν ὄν ἀδελφῶν, αἰτίνεις ἑνδόξως ἐμαρτύρησαν καὶ ή μὲν Λούβη ἔφεκε τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπετέθη, Λεονίς δὲ ποιήθη εὐθυμία τοῦ παιδίου, ἓτες διωκαίρεσιν ὑπάρχον τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς ἐμαρτύρησαν. Οὐκ ἂρα ς ἑκατέρως ἐκ τῆς ἐντροπίας τὴν ὑπομονήν καὶ τὴν ὑπομονήν, ὅτι τοῦ δικαίου ἐμαρτύρησαν, ἕτες διωκαίρεσιν ἐκ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς ἐπετεύχθη αὐτήν τοσοῦτον ἑκτάρας διώμων, ἵνα φοβηθῆσαι φύσιν ἀκούσαν παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς, Τέκνον μον ἐντροπία μὴ φύσις, ἐδεικνύει σὺς χείρας αὐτῆς ὑπομονής, καὶ αὐτὸ εἴρηκεν, ἀλλὰ πληγείσα ὑπὸ τοῦ τόξου, ἐπεκένει εἰς τὸ ἐδάφος, καὶ ἐνδέχεται διεσφάνειν, καὶ τῆς μητρὸς τὴν ἐντολὴν οὐ παρέβη. Οὔ ταῦτα τῆς ἐντολῆς ἑκατέρως ἐπετεύχθη αὐτήν ἕκατον ημερῶν καὶ ἀμέθες, αὐτὴ μὲν παιδίον καὶ ἀμαθεῖς, αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ ἄλλων διδάσκαλος ἐγένετο» (*AASS* Iunii V, 23C-C).
It is possible to assume that it was within this framework of the broader gathering of monks and nuns for the celebration of St Fevronia that this kanon was composed to commemorate her together with Sts Leonis, Libye and Eutropia, who had martyred in the same area and functioned as examples for her.

It must have been exactly this local character of the kanon that kept it from being widely spread and later entering the Menaion, where a kanon by Theophanes Graptôs on St Fevronia alone is to be found. The choice between Theophanes’ kanon and the anonymous edited below should not be difficult, not only because of the old liturgical order, dictating that the kanons by Theophanes prevail over all the other kanons on the same saint(s), unless there is a kanon composed by Kosmas the Melode or John of Damascus, but also because Theophanes’ kanon is a high quality text, offering in a very descriptive way much more information on the martyrdom of the saint323 and bearing a full acrostic, something securing the composers of liturgical books for its completeness and originality.

**AKOLOUTHIA ON STS DAVID OF TESSALONIKE AND JOHN OF GOTTHIA (TEXT 26)**

(a) Two saints, St David of Thessalonike324 and St John of Gothia325, are celebrated together on June 26, the date in which they are also commemorated by the Orthodox Church today.

Born in Mesopotamia ca. 450, David went during his childhood to Thessalonike, where he lived for some time as a hermit in an almond tree and later in a cell. He was sent to Constantinople by Aristeides, Archbishop of Thessalonike and he was received by the emperor Justinian and the empress Theodora at the presence of which he performed a miracle. He died ca. 540 on a boat on his way back to Thessalonike.

St John was from the area of Gothia and lived in the days of the iconoclast emperors Leo IV (775-780) and Constantine VI (780-797) and the iconophile empress Irene (797-802). He is one of the signatories of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, held in Nicaea in 787. According to his biographer, he was dedicated from birth by his mother to God. He became a highly respected priest and then a Bishop on demand of the people of the area, when his predecessor was not anymore accepted because of his support to the iconoclastic policy of the emperors. Being an active iconophile St John not only participated in the Ecumenical Council that condemned iconoclasm, but he also contributed to the theological background of the reestablishment of the

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322 AASS Iunii V, 33A.
323 To limit ourselves to the names mentioned in the text we might notice Selinon, Lysimachos and Vryene, none of which is given in the text edited below.
324 On whom see ODB, 590; EFRATIADIS, Αγιολόγιον, 108; DOKAKIS, Συναξαριστής, 316-322; V. ROSE (ed.), *Leben des heiligen David von Thessalonike*, Berlin 1887; AASS Iunii V, 176-178.
325 On whom see EFRATIADIS, Αγιολόγιον, 236-237; DOKAKIS, Συναξαριστής, 322-323; PMZ 3118.
veneration of icons by influencing the patriarch of Constantinople Paul (780-784) and later the empress Irene. Because of hostilities between the Khazars and Byzantium John decided to flee to Amastris, where he lived for four years before dying peacefully, having prophesized his death. His holy body was translated to the monastery of the Holy Apostles in Gotthia, where the saint performed many miracles.

(b) An anonymous Vita on St David was composed ca. 720 in Thessalonike. An epitome of his Vita is included in the anonymous Menologion published by B. Latyšev. Slightly different versions of a short notice on him are included in Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae, the emperor Basil’s Menologion and the Menaion. Four more Byzantine texts on St David have come down to us: an encomium composed by Makarios Makres, another encomium by the monk Palladios and an unpublished epitome of his life (=BHG 493d).

An anonymous Vita of St John was «written outside Constantinople, possibly in Amastris ... between 815 and 842», Two very slightly variant versions of a short notice on him have been included in Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae and the Menaion. Another text of the same sort is published by F. Halkin.

(c) The akolouthia edited below is the only one celebrating St John that has come down to us. We are aware of two more akolouthiai on St David alone, one published in the Menaion and the other remaining hitherto unpublished.

The akolouthia on St David included in the Menaion (copied also in L) consists of three sticherai sung at Kύρε Ἐκέκραξα (vv. 38-73) and the kanon by Joseph the

326 ROSE, Leben, 3-15 (=BHG 493).
327 Βίος ἐν ἐπιτομῇ καὶ πολιτείᾳ τοῦ ὀσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Δανιὴλ τοῦ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκη (=BHG 493e), ed. LATYŠEV II, 103-104.
328 SynaxEC 771-772, Menal 513 and MV X, 95.
329 Edited by B. LATYŠEV, in Zapiski imp. Odesskogo obščestva istorii l drevnostej, 30 (1912) 236-251 (=BHG 493m; BHGa 493m; BHGna 493m).
330 See B. LAOURDAS, Ανέκδοτον ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ὀσίον Δαβίδ, Makedonika 10 (1970) 244-252.
331 PG 87, 2921-2924 (=BHG 492y).
334 SynaxEC 772-774 and MV X, 95.
335 AnBoll 66 (1948) 80-81 (=BHGa 891b).
336 For the kanon L is codex unicus; see PAPAILIOPOULO, Tαμείων, p. 227, nr 699.
337 MV X, 93-96.
338 It survives in the manuscripts Hierosol. Sab. 70 and Paris. gr. 1569; see PAPAILIOPOULO, Tαμείων, 227, nr 697.
Hymnographer (vv. 92-303), interrupted by a *kathisma* after the third ode and synaxarian notice after the sixth.

(d) The Typikon of Evergetis commemorates only St David, giving instructions for an *akolouthia* that consisted of *stichera* in mode plagal 4, a *kanon* by Joseph (the Hymnographer) in mode plagal 1 and a *kathisma* in the same mode\(^{339}\).

(e) All these are copied in L (vv. 38-73, 92-303 and 1-11 respectively), along with an unpublished set of *kontakion* and *oikos* on St David (vv. 12-37), three more *stichera* (vv. 74-91) and a *kanon* on both saints, possibly composed by George of Nicomedia (vv. 304-375)\(^{340}\).

It is not easy to say whether the *kathisma* and the set of *kontakion* and *oikos* originally belonged to the *akolouthia* on David or to the one on both saints. Of the *stichera*, the first three ones belong to the *akolouthia* on St David, while the following three ones to the *akolouthia* on both Sts David and John\(^{341}\). Unfortunately because of a lacuna in L the second *kanon*, i.e. the one edited below, is damaged; it is only the first two troparia of ode 1 and odes 7-9 that have come down to us, ode 7 being also slightly mutilated in the beginning. From the surviving part we may assume that the first two troparia of each ode were dedicated to St John, followed by a *troparion* on St David and *theotokion*. The survived *theotokia* praise the Virgin Mary as the mother of God. The initials of the surviving stanzas do not seem to have been a part of an acrostic. On the contrary, the initials of the surviving three *theotokia* of odes 7 to 9 form the ending IOY, most probably betraying the name ΔΕΩΡΙΟΥ, i.e. George of Nicomedia.

The *heirmoi* of the surviving odes are borrowed from two *kanons* by the patriarch of Constantinople Germanos\(^{342}\). The hymnographer, who follows the hymnographical patterns with few exceptions common in Byzantine hymnography, limits himself in common expressions on the saints, based on very general pieces of information from their life. Comparing this to the very detailed Vitae of the saints one may assume that the hymnographer seems not to have used them, something that may point to the direction of George of Nicomedia who is—as we have seen above—known to compose *akolouthiai* of general content with a low level of historicity.

\(^{339}\) *Στιχηρα ἡχως πλάγιος δ’. ὁ κανων πλάγιος α’ ἱσσηφ καθίσμα πλάγιος α’* (JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 164).

\(^{340}\) See the Commentary, note on vv. 287-357.

\(^{341}\) See the Commentary, note on vv. 57-74.

\(^{342}\) EE 78, nr 110 (odes 1 and 8); EE 79, nr 111, on the Virgin Mary on Tuesday of the third week (odes 7 and 9).
(a) St Sampson is a saint well presented in Byzantine hagiographical sources, the quality of which has been recently questioned, along with the very existence of the saint. In the sources he is presented to have been from Rome and from a wealthy aristocratic family, descended from the saint-emperor Constantine the Great. He was educated in holy Scripture and, probably later, in medicine. After the death of his parents he distributed all his property to the poor, he freed his slaves and he went to Constantinople, where he was ordained priest by the patriarch Menas and proved himself a protector of the poor, the sick and the needy. The emperor Justinian, being cured by Sampson, built in gratitude, and following the advise of Sampson, a huge hospital near the church of Hagia Sophia and appointed him as its director, a mission the saint undertook for many years. He died in extremely old age and he was buried in the church of St Mokios in Constantinople. His grave became a place of pilgrimage, because of the miraculous healings it performed. His memory is celebrated by the Orthodox Church on June 27, a day which is given by the oldest of his Vitae as the date of his burial.

(b) We are aware of three Lives of the saint; one is included in the Metaphrastian Menologion, another—probably the source of Symeon Metaphrastes—is published by F. Halkin and a third is included in the anonymous


345 On whom see ODB, 1339-1340.

346 Hospitals were institutions that functioned as a combination of hostel and sick bay; such institutions were established in Constantinople by the 4th through the 6th c. (see ODB 951).

347 “Τὸ δὲ σώμα αὐτοῦ τὸ τίμιον ἀπεκομισθῆ ἠφηθὲν ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ ναῷ τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Μωικίου, κατὰ τὴν εἰκάδα ἐβδόμην τοῦ ἱονίου μηροῦς» (Halkin, Saint Samson, 15). The other two Lives of the saint do not give any information on the date of his death or his burial. Most probably the 27th must have been also the day of his death, as given in two of the epigrams on the saint: «Ξενοδόχοις δ' ἐνι την εἰκάδος ἐβδομάτη βάνε Σάμψων» (PG 115, 276C) and «Εξήγησεν ὁ πρὸν ἐκ ναῦδο Σάμψων πόμα. Ὀ νῦν δε Σάμψων μόρον ἐκ τάφον βρέψει. / Εἰκάδο ἐβδομάτη Σάμψων βανε, βλέπε τε μιρά» (MV X, 98).

348 Τοῦ εν ἁγίων πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σαμπσών βιος καὶ πολιτεία (=S. P. N. Sampsonis Vita et Conversatio) (=BHG 1615), PG 115, 277A-308D (published also in AASS Iunii V, 265C-277C).

349 Βιος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ οὖσι καὶ θαυματουργοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σαμψών τοῦ Ξενοδόχου, πρεσβυτέρου καὶ σκευοφυλακάς γεγονός τῆς μεγάλης τοῦ θεού ἐκκλησίας (=BHG 1614Z), ed. F. Halkin, Saint Samson le Xénodoque de Constantinople (VIe siècle), RSBN 14-16 (1977-79) 7-17. See also C. Mango, Saints, 271, who characterizes the text «a complete fabrication
10th-century *Menologion*. Short notices on him are published in *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, the Menologion of Basil II and the *Menaion*. There exists also an encomium by Constantine Akropolites.

(c) We are aware of three Byzantine *akolouthiai* on St Sampson; two of them are copied in L, one edited below and the other published in the *Menaion*. A third *kanon*, not bearing an acrostic or an indication of the name of its composer, remains hitherto unpublished.

The *akolouthia* included in the *Menaion* contains three *stichera* sung at *Kórie Ἐκέκραξα* (vv. 43-72), the *kanon* by Joseph the Hymnographer (vv. 109-318), a *kathisma* after the third ode (vv. 1-11), *kontakion* by Romanos the Melode (vv. 23-31) and synaxarian readings after the sixth ode, and *exaposteilarion*.

(d) The Typikon of Evergetis orders that the *akolouthia* sung on his memory consists of *stichera* in the second mode (possibly the ones published below, vv. 73-108), a *kanon* by Joseph in the same mode (*Menaion* and below, vv. 109-318), and a *kathisma* in the first mode (*Menaion* and below, vv. 1-11), accompanied by a reading from his Metaphrastian Life.

(e) The *akolouthia* preserved in L is double, includes the text published in the *Menaion*, with the exception of the *exaposteilarion*, and adds one more *kathisma* (vv. 12-22), an *oikos* (vv. 32-42), three more *stichera* (vv. 73-108), a second *kanon* (vv. 319-482) and a variant *exaposteilarion* (vv. 483-488).

The *kathisma* praises the saint for establishing a hospital and being a spring of miracles and healings. The *oikos* continues by referring to his blameless life and lauding him for receiving by God the grace of performing miracles and for feeding the starving and supporting the needy. The *stichera* add the tending of the sick and the needy, his brilliant mind and merciful heart, his prudence and meekness. The woven round two physical features: the little house, perhaps contained in the hospital complex, in which Sampson was believed to have started his medical career, and the miraculous tomb in the basilica of St Mokios, which was a cemetary church in the western section of the city».

350 Βιος και πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σαμψών τοῦ ξενοδόχου (=BHG 1615a), ed. ΛΑΤΥΣΕΝ II, 105-112.

351 *SynaxEC* 773-776; *Menol* 513 and MV X, 98; the notices in *SynaxEC* and the *Menaion* are slightly different versions of the same text.

352 Edited by H. DELEHAYE in *AnBoll* 51 (1933) 267 (=BHG 1615d).

353 For the *kanon* L is *codex unicus*; see ΠΑΠΑΙΛΙΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Τάμειον, pp. 227-228, nr 700.

354 MV X, 96-99.

355 It is contained in the manuscripts Athen. Bibl. Nat. 562 and Sinait. Gr. 620; see ΠΑΠΑΙΛΙΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Τάμειον, 228, nr 701.


86
exapostelarion praises the saint as an imitator of God’s philanthropy for founding a hospital.

The kanon can be ascribed to George of Nicomedia on the basis of the acrostic formed by the initials of the theotokia (ΤΕΩΡΙΟΥ). It is noteworthy that seven of these theotokia appear also in another kanon by George on Sts Irene, Agape and Chionia\(^{357}\), while the eighth theotokion, that of ode 9, is almost identical with another one composed by George and used in the ninth ode of the kanon on St Iouliane\(^{358}\).

The kanon consists of eight odes numbered \(\alpha^{`}\) and \(\gamma^{`}\) to \(\theta^{`}\). Each ode includes four stanzas. The heirmoi used as metrical and melurgical patterns in the kanon are borrowed from John of Damascus and Kosmas the Melode, and they are parts of three different kanons\(^{359}\). George follows generally the patterns, with some of the usual Byzantine exceptions and the following more striking ones: a) in the third line of ode 1, the pattern of the heirmos being \(\vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash\) (stz. 1), \(\vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash\) (stz. 2) and \(\vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash\) (stz. 3); b) in the last line of the fifth ode, the pattern being \(\vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash\) (stz. 1), \(\vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash\) (stz. 2) and \(\vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash\) (stz. 3); c) in the second line of stz. 2 in ode 6, the pattern being \(\vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash\), he uses \(\vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash\); d) in line 6 of ode 7, the pattern is \(\vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash\) and he uses \(\vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash\) (stz. 1 and 2) and \(\vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash \vdash\) (stz. 3).

The text is of general and panegyric character, like most of the texts of George, almost without mentioning “historical” events of the saints’ life. No more than a reference to the transformation of his house into a lodging for the sick (vv. 332-333 and 381-385), the foundation of the hospital (vv. 341-342), the use of his personal wealth in a way that offered him the eternal wealth (vv. 435-439) and to his welcome of the sick (451-452) is given\(^{360}\), in spite of the rich and tempting for any hymnographer information presented in his Lives, with most striking the saint’s royal blood (he is presented as a descendant of Constantine the Great)\(^{361}\) and the emperor Justinian’s cure by him\(^{362}\). The relationship between the kanon and the hagiographical texts on St Sampson is — if existing — very enervate. There are only

\(^{357}\) Feastday April 16, edited in AHG VIII, pp. 185-191. It must be noted though that one of the two manuscripts used for the edition (Barber. Gr. 450, the other being Patm. 901) ascribes the kanon to Theophanes (Graptos?) by giving the abbreviation of his name in the margin; see AHG VIII, pp. 184 (app.) and 413.

\(^{358}\) Feastday December 21, edited in AHG IV, XLII, 164-168; see the critical apparatus.

\(^{359}\) EE 220, nr 315, on Resurrection by John (odes 1 and 6); EE 224, nr 321, on Resurrection by John (odes 3, 5, 7, 8 and 9); EE 225, nr 322, on the Exaltation of the Holy Cross by Kosmas (ode 4).

\(^{360}\) It is remarkable that more or less the same poor information is given in the kanon on the saint published in the Menaiion, which is composed by Joseph the Hymnographer, a composer recognized for the “historicity” of his work; see PAPAILIOPOULO, Παπαίλιοποουλού, Παπαίλιοποουλό, 434-435 and H. FOLLIERI, Saba Goto e Saba Stratelata, AnBol 80 (1962) 268-269.

\(^{361}\) See PG 115, 280D; HALKIN, Saint Samson, 8-9; LATYŞEV II, 105; SynaxEC 773; Menol 513.

\(^{362}\) See PG 115, 284A-288C; HALKIN, Saint Samson, 10-12; LATYŞEV II, 105-106; SynaxEC 775; Menol 513; MV X, 98.
two passages, in vv. 319-321 and 435-439, where the text seems to be deducing from the text of the Metaphrastian or (only for the first of the passages) the anonymous 10th-century *Menologion*. This creates an argument in favour of the opinion expressed by C. Mango, that the pre-existing cult of the saint created the need for a biography, which was probably composed later than the *akolouthia* on him\(^\text{363}\).

Instead of including elements of factuality, the hymnographer uses quite many hagiographical and hymnographical stereotypes. Thus, the saint was devoted to virtue from since he was an infant (vv. 319-323), cleaned his soul with the storms of his tears, the canals of his acts of compassion and the streams of his charity (vv. 343-346) and illuminated the people with beams of mercy (vv. 347-350). He excelled in his impassibility (vv. 355-358), his imitation of Christ in the correctness of his acts (vv. 359-362), his self-control (vv. 371-375 and 427-434), his deeds of merit and mercy (vv. 398-404 and 419-426). Furthermore, the saint killed, as a new David, the «mental lion» with the sword of his prayers (vv. 405-411), treasured in his soul and diffused to anyone seeking the intellectual wealth (vv. 457-459). Closing the *akolouthia* in ode 9 the hymnographer lauds Sampson for his beneficence (vv. 463-467) and prays to him, being among the saints and *hosioi*, to supplicate to the Lord for all of us (vv. 473-477).

(f) An important question on the content of the *akolouthia* and the identity of the composer of the hymns included in it is whether the *kathisma*, the set of *kontakion* and *oikos*, the *stichera* and the *exapostelarion* are also composed by George or by Joseph, who is the composer of the other *kanon* on the saint copied in L. Of philological and hymnographical quality above the mediocre, they could be the work of both the hymnographers. To judge by the array in which the texts are presented in L, where the respective parts of the *akolouthia* are copied one after the other, the first *kathisma* (*Menaion* and below, vv. 1-11) and the first set of *stichera* (*Menaion* and below, vv. 43-72) must refer to the first *kanon*, that of Joseph. On the other hand, one may notice that it is the text of the second set of *stichera* (vv. 73-108) that betrays a focus in historicity, which points to the direction of Joseph, who is accepted as being more sensitive than George in presenting information from the hagiographical texts on the celebrated saint, while the *stichera* published in the *Menaion* are closer in style to the work of George than to that of Joseph. The speculation that this second set of *stichera* was the one either composed by George (or originally accompanying the *kanon* by George) is strengthened by the instructions of the Typikon of Evergetis (see above), proving that it was not the set of *stichera* published in the *Menaion* what was conducting the *kanon* by George (composed in the first mode) but another set sung in the second mode, most probably the one published below.

This creates a question very difficult to answer, the one concerning the choice of the *stichera* accompanying the *kanon* in the *Menaion* and the criteria used for this choice. If something is to be said here is that a manuscript like L, containing both the *akolouthia* must have played a role in the formation of the manuscript tradition that

\(^{363}\)See Mango, Saints, 271-272.
finally entered the printed Menaion.

It is not easier to detect the reasons for which it is this and not another combination of texts that consisted the akolouthia included in the Menaion, particularly because of the kanon by George surviving in no other manuscript than L. The Typikon of Evergetis proves that the kanon by Joseph had prevailed already in the 11th century. This sounds quite logical if one takes into consideration the aforementioned old liturgical order, in which the name of Joseph is listed among the hymnographers the kanons by which are to be preferred whenever more than one kanons exist on the same saint. Furthermore, Joseph’s kanon, being of good quality and bearing a full acrostic, was a trustworthy one as far as its completeness and originality was concerned. This must have been at least one of the reasons for which the third kanon on the saint, not bearing an acrostic at all and not even indicating the name of its composer, was to be also neglected by the Church [see above, point (c)].

AKOLOUTHIA ON ST JOSEPH AND HIS FELLOW MARTYRS (TEXT 28)

(a-b-c) No Byzantine hagiographical or hymnographical text on St Joseph and his fellow martyrs has come down to us; this makes the akolouthia edited below364 our only source on the saints’ life and martyrdom. According to its text, Joseph was from Alexandria (vv. 108-113). Being a well-to-do citizen he decided to leave behind his wealth (vv. 472-476) and lived as a hosios excelling for his ascetic mode of life and his self-control (vv. 82-83, 353-355). He was followed by a group of companions who martyred together with or after him (vv. 97-99; it is not clear whether they were monks or laymen, with the absence of a clear referance leading to the logical speculation of the group being a mixture of both). They were martyred during one of the persecutions against Christians after refuting the pagan beliefs (vv. 84-86, 356-358) and denying to sacrifice to the idols (vv. 102-103). They were tortured and adraded (vv. 404-407, 526-529). Joseph was executed by being cut in two with a saw of the kind used in building (vv. 87-89, 446-447, 558-559). After their martyrdom they became the patron saints of Alexandria (vv. 108-112); their relics were treasured in a church dedicated to them and performed miracles, particularly in healing their worshipers from their diseases (vv. 412-419, 477-480).

(d) Their memory is not included in the liturgical books used today by the Orthodox Church, namely the Menaion and the catalogue of saints in the Horologion to Mega. The same silence is to be met in the Byzantine sources, as neither the Typikon of the Great Church nor the Typikon of Evergetis commemorate them.

(e) In L they are celebrated together with the translation of the relics of Sts Kyros and John the wonderworkers. The akolouthia on St Kyros and John contains a kathisma (vv. 1-9), kontakion and oikos by Romano the Melode (vv. 19-37), four stichera

364 Ms tradition: LH; see PAPAILIOPOLOU, Tαμείον, p. 229, nr 704.
(vv. 38-81), a *kanon* by Joseph the Hymnographer (vv. 121-339) and an *exaposteilarion* (vv. 580-585); all but the *exaposteilarion* are published in the *Menaion*.

The *akolouthia* on St Joseph and his fellow martyrs consists of a *kathisma* (vv. 10-18), three *stichera* (vv. 82-120) and the *kanon* by Joseph the Hymnographer (vv. 340-579). From its content it may be assumed that it was composed to serve a pre-existing commemoration of the saints, particularly in a church dedicated to them, where their relics were treasured, as the second stanza of the *kanon*’s fourth ode proves (vv. 412-419): Ἰατρεῖον ἀνεδείχθη τὸ σεπτὸν ἡμῶν τέμενος, ἀθληταὶ Κυρίου, ἕνθα τὰ ύμων νῦν κατάκεινται λείψανα, βρύνοντα χάριν ἀδαπάνητον τοῖς ἐν πίστει καὶ πόθῳ ἀεὶ προσπέλαζονσιν.

The *kanon* contains eight odes numbered α’ and γ’ to Θ’. Odes 1, 4, 8 and 9 consist of five stanzas, while 3, 5, 6 and 7 of four. The stanzas are connected with an acrostic that forms a dodecasyllable, followed outside the meter by the name of the hymnographer, in the initial letters of the troparia of the ninth ode (Πλήθον γεραίρω καλλινίκων μαρτύρων, Ἰωσήφ), and proving that the *kanon* was originally composed without a second ode. The *heirmoi*, the patterns of which are faithfully followed by Joseph, are borrowed from five different *kanons* by John the monk (one with Stephen Sabaite) and Kosmas the Melode.

(f) A reference to the saint being cut in two with a saw but remaining inseparable from God included in the first *sticheron* (vv. 88-90: …τεκτονικῶ, μάρτυρος, πρίονον, διεμέρισθης καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου ἐμείνας ἀτμιτος…) and the second stanza of the *kanon*’s last ode (vv. 558-560: …πρίονο γάρ καθάπερ ἔυλον εἰς δύο δηρεθῆς πριζόμενος καὶ ἐμείνας Θεοῦ ἄδιαιρετος…) may lead to the (anyway logical) conclusion that the *stichera* are also composed by Joseph the Hymnographer. This is strengthened by the comparison of v. 82 (Δι’ ἐγκρατείας τά πάθη χαλινώσας…) to vv. 392-394 (Ἐν ἐγκρατείᾳ καὶ τελείᾳ ἀσκήσει νεκρωσαντες πάθη…) and v. 93 (…τῶν ἀγγέλων πολίτα…) to vv. 432-433 (…καὶ σὺν ἄγιος ἀγγέλοις πολιτευότεθε…) . Compare also the last *sticheron* to the last but one stanza of the *kanon*, including the same concept of the saints being celebrated by the believers (vv. 108-112: Ἀλεξανδρέων ἡ πόλις ἑρτάζει, προστάτην σε μέγιστον καταπλητύσασα καὶ πολιούχον πανάριστον καὶ μέγαν πρέσβιν σὺν τοῖς συνάθλος, ἱωσήφ ἐνδόξε…; vv. 568-573: Ἡ γῇ ἑρτάζει τὴν ἡμῶν πανήγυριν ἐκτελοῦσα, θεοί μάρτυρες, ἄγγελοι χαίρουσι καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ υμᾶς μακαρίζουσιν, ώς θείους τὸν διεσπάστον θεράποντας καὶ ἑνεργέτας τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν). The *kathisma* (vv. 10-18) could also be a work of Joseph as it is very close in content to a stanza composed by

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365 *FOLIERI, Initia III*, 326. The same *akrostichis* is used by Joseph in two more *kanons*, on martyr Vavylas and the 1003 martyrs of Nicomedia; see *PAPAILIOPOULOU, Θαμείων*, 229 (nr 704), 33 (nr 8) and 165 (nr 490). All these three *kanons* start with the word πληθύς.

366 EE 95, nr 135, by John the monk (odes 1, 4, 6 and 8); EE 96, nr 136, on the Apostles by John the monk (ode 3); EE 97, nr 138, on Resurrection by John the monk (ode 5); EE 101, nr 142, on the Apostles and Palm Sunday by Kosmas the monk (ode 7); EE 98, nr 139, on the martyr Savvatos by John the monk and Stephen the Sabaite (ode 9).
him and included in a *kanon* on St Beniamin; compare vv. 10-15 (Ἀγωνισάμενος καλως, ἀθλοφόρε, καὶ τον ἐχθρού τὰς νοητὰς μυριάδας καταβαλὼν, ἐν χάριτι ἄνεδραμες πρὸς τὰ ἐπουράνια, ἀφθαρσίας τὸ στέφος ἑπαναθησάμενος) to AHG VII, XXXV, 1-9 (Τὸν Χριστὸν στρατιωτὴν, τῆς δυσσεβείας τιμήσωμεν τὸν στερρὸν καθαρέτην ἀληθεί πίστει γὰρ παραταξάμενος, πᾶσας ἑταπείνωσε τὰς τοῦ ἐχθροῦ μυριάδας καὶ νίκης διάδημα ἑπανεδήσατο).
CHAPTER 3
THE HYMNographers

The list of the unpublished Byzantine kanons composed by E. Papailiopoulou – Fotopoulou includes 91 kanons on saints celebrated in June; twenty of them are edited below.

Four of the twenty akolouthiai edited below are anonymous, while the rest are composed by four of the most prominent Byzantine hymnographers: Joseph the Hymnographer (eight kanons), George of Nicomedia (six), Theophanes Graptos (one) and Clement (one), all canonized as saints by the Orthodox Church.

JOSEPH THE HYMNographer

Saint Joseph is «the most prominent and prolific figure in the hymnography of the middle Byzantine years», something reflected in that he is the only ecclesiastical poet bearing the honorary title ‘the Hymnographer’. Apart from the quality of his work, he is «rightly considered as the primary author of the Menaion, for which he is thought to have written 385 kanons to saints». We are aware of two Vitae of Joseph, from which we have enough information on his life and his work.

368 Let it be noted that there is also the kanon on the apostle Bartholomew, composed by Theophanes, which is partly published in the Menaion and partly edited below. This kanon is discussed below, in the subsection on Theophanes.
371 PATERSON - ŠEVČENKO, Canon and Calendar, 105. See also TOMADAKIS, Ιωσήφ, 78.
372 The first is written by his contemporary and successor Theophanes (=BHG 944), and the second by John, deacon of Hagia Sophia, in the late tenth or early eleventh century (=BHG 945; see also PG 105, 939-976, esp. 960). On Joseph’s Vitae and their authorship see KAZHDAN, Literature, 270-271.
He was born in Palermo, Sicily, between 812 and 818\textsuperscript{373}. In the summer of 831 his family moved to Peloponnesus because of the invasions of the Saracens in Sicily. At the end of the year Joseph is to be found in Thessalonike, where he became a monk possibly at the monastery of Christ the Saviour (known also as \textit{Latomou Monastery}). During his presence in the monastery he worked as a scribe.

He was ordained priest in 840. At that time he met St Gregory of Dekapolis\textsuperscript{374}, who became his spiritual father. He followed Gregory to Constantinople, where he served as a priest in the church of St Antipas.

The next year he was sent to Rome, to present the iconophile cause to the Pope, but while traveling he was captured by Arab pirates and imprisoned on Crete. Some time later (we don’t know exactly when, but surely before 843) he was released miraculously, and he went back to Constantinople, where he later founded the monastery of the apostle Bartholomew, sometime around 850.

It is worthwhile to spend some lines on the miraculous way of his deliverance, as it is exactly this experience that — according to his biographers — turned him to the writing of hymns. As Joseph was imprisoned, along with his co-travelers, a mysterious figure (identified by the biographers and the editors of the \textit{Vita} as St Nicholas of Myra or the apostle Andrew) appeared to Joseph, gave him a scroll and asked him to read it\textsuperscript{375}. While reading it, Joseph started to sing out a refrain from Romanos the Melode’s \textit{kontakion} on the Three Hebrews, which prays for the help of God («Τάχυν, ὁ οἰκτίρμον, καὶ σπευσον ὃς ἐλεήμων εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν ἡμῶν»). The next day\textsuperscript{376} he was released and returned to Constantinople.

During the difficult period of iconoclasm he remained loyal to the iconophile tradition of the Orthodox Church and he tasted the cruelty of the iconoclasts by being imprisoned and exiled. He was a follower of the patriarch Ignatios (847-858, 867-877), and therefore exiled again after his dethronement in 858, this time by the patriarch Photios (858-867, 877-886), to Cherson in Crimea. After Ignatios’ comeback to the patriarchate in 867, Joseph returned to Constantinople and received the office of the patriarchal \textit{skewophylax}.

He died in Constantinople in 886, on the third of April, the day he is celebrated as a saint by the Orthodox Church.

Joseph’s main contribution to hymnography is the composition of a great number of \textit{kanons} on saints. Furthermore, he authored a new collection that he called \textit{New Oktoechos}, including all the \textit{akolouthiæ} of the \textit{Octoechos} and many more, one for

\textsuperscript{373} Ca. 816 according \textit{Paterson - Ševčenko}, Canon and Calendar, 104, and \textit{Detorakis, Φιλολογία}, 486. There is also a suggestion that he lived from 810-883.

\textsuperscript{374} See \textit{ODB}, 880.

\textsuperscript{375} To eat it, according to the \textit{Vita} by John, something that reflects the tradition about Romanos the Melode, writing his famous \textit{kontakion} on the Nativity of Christ after having eaten a manuscript given to him by the Mother of God.

\textsuperscript{376} The very same moment, according to John.
each day of the eight weeks of the cycle of Octoechos\textsuperscript{377}.

There is also a question whether his writing of kanons caused the introduction of some saints into the festal calendar. Nancy Patterson – Ševčenko suggests for example that «the contribution of this hymnographer should not be overlooked in any investigation of the development of the Constantinopolitan calendar»\textsuperscript{378}. This does not mean of course that there are not saints glorified by Joseph, who are not to be found in Byzantine calendars, as for example the aforesaid St Joseph and his fellow martyrs.

He is one of the most productive poets of his age. According to E. Tomadakis he composed 466 kanons, 8 kontakia, 58 triodia and 144 sticherot\textsuperscript{379} and two encomia on the apostle Bartholomew\textsuperscript{380}. The list of Joseph’s production has been prolonged as other researchers have identified more of his works\textsuperscript{381}.

A great deal of his work is still in use by the Orthodox Church in the ritual, mostly his kanons on various saints that are included in the \textit{Menaia}.

Codex Lesb. Leimonos 11 contains twenty-one kanons written by him on saints celebrated in June\textsuperscript{382}, namely St Attalos, the martyr Loukillianos, the martyr Dorotheos of Tyre, the martyr Theodotos of Ankara, the martyrs Nikandros and Markianos, the martyrs Orestes, Diomedes and Rodion, the martyrs Alexandros and Antonina, St Akylina, the Apostle Phourtounatos, St Tycho the Wonderworker, St Hypatios, St Zosimos, the martyrs Innas, Pinnas and Rimmis, St Eustochios and his fellow martyrs, the martyr Eusebios of Samosata, St Petros the Athonite, the martyrs Zenon and Zenas, St David of Thessalonike, St Sampson the Xenodochos, the translation of relics of Sts Kyros and John the Wonderworkers, and St Joseph and his fellow martyrs.

Thirteen of them have already been published elsewhere: the kanons on the martyr Dorotheos of Tyre\textsuperscript{383}, the martyr Theodotos of Ankara\textsuperscript{384}, the martyrs Orestes, Diomedes and Rodion\textsuperscript{385}, the martyrs Alexandros and Antonina\textsuperscript{386}, St Akylina\textsuperscript{387}, the

\textsuperscript{377} See TOMADAKIS, \textit{Ioanī̂f}, 78 and 187-200 (kanons 386-453), and WELLESZ, 140. \textit{Parakletike} includes the hymns of the \textit{Oktoechos} (hymns composed by John of Damascus on the Resurrection of Christ to be sung on Sundays in the revolving eight-week cycle, that follows the eight different musical modes used by the Orthodox Church) but it has also hymns on each day of the week: Mondays are dedicated to the archangels, Tuesdays to John the Baptist, Wednesdays and Fridays to the cross and the passion of Christ and the Mother of God, Thursdays to the Apostles and St Nicholas, and Saturdays to the deceased and the martyrs.

\textsuperscript{378} PATERSON - ŠEVČENKO, Canon and Calendar, 108.

\textsuperscript{379} See the list in TOMADAKIS, \textit{Ioanī̂f}, 107-225.

\textsuperscript{380} One is published in BHG 232, 233; the other remains unpublished.

\textsuperscript{381} See DETORAKIS, \textit{Φιλολογία}, 486.

\textsuperscript{382} A list of Joseph’s kanons on saints celebrated in June is published in TOMADAKIS, \textit{Ioanī̂f}, 166-173.

\textsuperscript{383} MV X, 17-19.

\textsuperscript{384} MV X, 22-24.

\textsuperscript{385} AHG X, 23-25.
Apostle Phourtounatos\textsuperscript{388}, St Tychon the Wonderworker\textsuperscript{389}, St Eustochios and his fellow martyrs\textsuperscript{390}, the martyr Eusebios of Samosata\textsuperscript{391}, St Petros the Athonite\textsuperscript{392}, St David of Thessalonike\textsuperscript{393}, St Sampson the Xenodochos\textsuperscript{394}, and the translation of relics of Sts. Kyros and John the Wonderworkers\textsuperscript{395}.

According to the list of E. Papailiopoulos – Fotopoulou, one hundred fifty nine of his kanons remain hitherto unpublished\textsuperscript{396}. Eight of them are edited below: the kanons on St Attalos (Text 1, vv. 416-613), the martyr Loukillianos (3.91-353), the martyrs Nikandros and Markianos (7.315-491), St Hypatios (17.335-607), St Zosimos (19.38-210), the martyrs Innas, Pinnas and Rimmas (20.75-288), the martyrs Zenon and Zenas (23.354-553), and St Joseph and his fellow martyrs (28.340-579).

As a poet Joseph has been presented to have followed the school of the monastery of Studios\textsuperscript{397}. His language has been presented as rich and stacked, impressive in its definitional power, its plentiful adjectives and its creativity, and with a production of a great deal of new words\textsuperscript{398}; it has been also characterized deliberate but simple and easy to follow\textsuperscript{399}.

His distinctive characteristic is the use of an acrostic in iambic prosody followed by his name, formed by the initial letters of the troparia and the theotokion of the ninth ode.

He uses the historical elements of the Lives of the saints he composes the kanon on. As E. Tomadakis has pointed out, Joseph gives always in his hymns exact information on the life and the acts of his heroes, which he obtains from various hagiographical sources\textsuperscript{400}.

Although Joseph is a distinguished poet he is not a melist, which means that

\textsuperscript{386} MV X, 32-34.
\textsuperscript{387} MV X, 44-46.
\textsuperscript{388} AHG X, 117-128.
\textsuperscript{389} MR V, 301-306; MV X, 55-57.
\textsuperscript{390} AHG X, 130-139.
\textsuperscript{391} MV X, 74-76.
\textsuperscript{393} MV X, 94-96.
\textsuperscript{394} MV X, 97-99.
\textsuperscript{395} MV X, 100-103.
\textsuperscript{396} See PAPAILIOPOULOU, Ταμειον, 333.
\textsuperscript{397} ODB, 1074; Unfortunately, the composer of the entry does not note anything more neither on whether this “following” refers to the content of Joseph’s poetry, the choise of saints to be praised, the style of writing or the vocabulary, nor on how Joseph, who was not a Studite monk, came to follow the “school of Studios”.
\textsuperscript{398} DETORAKIS, Φιλολογία, 487. A list of rare and poetical words used by Joseph is publised by N. B. TOMADAKIS, Η γλώσσα Ιωσήφ τού Τμιογράφου, EEPiSPA 23 (1972-3) 22-42.
\textsuperscript{399} See TOMADAKIS, Ιωσήφ, 93.
\textsuperscript{400} TOMADAKIS, Ιωσήφ, 80.
he didn’t write the music for his kanons but he used pre-existing forms\textsuperscript{401}. In composing his kontakia he uses the motifs of Romanos the Melode, though in his kanons he follows mainly melodies composed by John of Damascus, but also Andrew of Crete, the patriarch of Constantinople Germanos and Cosmas the Melode.

In his kanons edited below, Joseph uses the melodies of the following modes and heirmoi (the heirmoi are given in their number in EE):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Saint(s)</th>
<th>mode</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
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<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attalos</td>
<td>4th pl.</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loukilianos</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikandros and Markianos</td>
<td>4th pl.</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypatios</td>
<td>4th pl.</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zosimos</td>
<td>4th pl.</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inna, Pinnas and Rimmias</td>
<td>4th</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zenon and Zenas</td>
<td>4th</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ioseph</td>
<td>4th</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The acrostics of these kanons are:

- Λουκιλιανός τούσδε τούς κρότους φέρω. Ἰωσήφ (Loukilianos)\textsuperscript{402}.
- Ἄμινος γεραιὸς μαρτύρων ἐυνομία. Ἰωσήφ (Nikandros and Markianos).
- Ἴπατοι μέλψομε τοὺς καλοὺς τρόπους. ὁ Ἰωσήφ (Hypatios)\textsuperscript{403}.
- Τὴν Ζωσίμου μέλψωμεν ἐνθεον χάριν. Ἰωσήφ (Zosimos)\textsuperscript{404}.
- Τοὺς σοῦς ἄνωμον μάρτυρας, Ὑσυνά Λόγε. Ἰωσήφ (Inna, Pinnas and Rimmias).
- Ζυγὸν ἐπαίνω μαρτύρων στεφησάνων. Ἰωσήφ (Zenon and Zenas)\textsuperscript{405}.
- Πληθὺν γεραίων καλλινίκων μαρτύρων. Ἰωσήφ (Ioseph and his fellow martyrs)\textsuperscript{406}.

The kanon on St Attalos has no other acrostic than the name ΩΣΗΦ in ode 9.

GEORGE OF NICOMEDIA

In spite of the fact that George, Bishop of Nicomedia, is canonized as a saint (feastday December 29) and recognized as a preacher, the author of some encomiastic works

\textsuperscript{401} It is characteristic that the publishers of the *Heirmologia* S. Efstratiadis, C. Höeg and L. Tardo did not identify not even one heirmos composed by him.

\textsuperscript{402} FOLLIERI, *Initia*, II, 350.

\textsuperscript{403} FOLLIERI, *Initia*, IV, 405.

\textsuperscript{404} FOLLIERI, *Initia* IV, 70.

\textsuperscript{405} FOLLIERI, *Initia*, I, 585.

\textsuperscript{406} FOLLIERI, *Initia*, III, 326.

96
and an outstanding hymnographer, not much is known about his life\textsuperscript{407}. He lived in the 9\textsuperscript{th} century (he died probably ca. 900) and he is considered to have been a disciple and friend of the patriarch Photios, as may be concluded from the numerous letters the latter sent to him\textsuperscript{408}.

His hymnographical production is very rich and of high quality. He is the third most productive Byzantine hymnographer of his age, after Joseph the Hymnographer and Theophanes Graptos\textsuperscript{409}. H. Follieri composed a list of 103 kanons written by him, only 20 of which being published\textsuperscript{410}. E. Papaiiopoulos - Fotopoulos, added 80 more in her catalogue of the unpublished Byzantine kanons\textsuperscript{411}. He wrote also a few stichera and idiomela, one full heirmos on Hypapante\textsuperscript{412}, and nine homilies, four of them devoted to the Mother of God.

The most characteristic element of his work is the acrostic of his kanons, formed by the initial letters of the theotokia: $\Gamma\varepsilon\omega\rho\iota\pi\nu\iota\upsilon\sigma$ in the kanons that have eight odes, $\Gamma\varepsilon\omega\rho\iota\pi\nu\iota\sigma\tau\iota\upsilon\omega\nu\iota\upsilon\sigma\iota$ or $\Gamma\varepsilon\omega\rho\iota\pi\nu\iota\upsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu\iota\upsilon\iota\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ if the kanon has also a second ode. This is, according to H. Follieri, the safest criterion for ascribing a kanon to St George\textsuperscript{413}.

H. Follieri has demonstrated that George imitates Joseph the Hymnographer in his style of writing\textsuperscript{414}, even though there is an important difference between their works, as George is not so much sensitive in using the relevant hagiographical and historical sources as Joseph\textsuperscript{415}.

Codex \textit{Lesb. Leimonos} 11 includes a total number of six kanons, which include the acrostic $\Gamma\varepsilon\omega\rho\iota\pi\nu\iota\sigma\tau\iota\nu\iota\upsilon\iota\upsilon\sigma\iota$ formed by the initial of their theotokia, the ones on the martyr Ioustenios the Philosopher (Text 1, vv. 160-415), St Metrophanes, the patriarch of Constantinople (4.99-309), the martyr Dorotheos of Tyre (6.233-392), the martyrs Manoul, Savel and Ishmael (17.131-334), St David of Thessalonike and St John of Gotthia (26.304-375), and St Sampson the Xenodochos (27.319-482). All of them were hitherto unpublished.

George, like Joseph, was not a melodist. In the kanons edited below he uses the following modes and heirmoi, composed by John of Damascus, Kosmas the Melode

\textsuperscript{407} See N. Tsironis, \textit{The lament of the Virgin Mary from Romanos to George of Nicomedia: An aspect of Development of the Marian Cult}, London 1998; Follieri, Problemi, Papaiiopoulos, Problemi, the entry on George in ODB, 838; Detorakis, \textit{Filologija}, 523-532 (with detailed bibliography in p. 523); Emereau, Hymnographi Byzantini, (1923) 426. Some of his works are published in PG 100, 1336-1528, the liturgical books of the Orthodox Church, the \textit{Analecta Hymnica Graeca}, and Th. Detorakis, \textit{Γεωργίου Νικομηδείας Ανέκδοτος Κανών τῶν Ἀγίων δέκα μαρτύρων τῆς Κρήτης, Νέα Χριστιανική Κρήτη Α’} (1989) 270-279.

\textsuperscript{408} See Detorakis, \textit{Filologija}, 523.

\textsuperscript{409} See Detorakis, \textit{Filologija}, 523.

\textsuperscript{410} See Follieri, Problemi.

\textsuperscript{411} See Papaiiopoulos, \textit{Γαμπέιον}, 332.

\textsuperscript{412} EE, 113, nr 156.

\textsuperscript{413} See Follieri, Problemi, 313-319.

\textsuperscript{414} Follieri, Problemi, 324.

\textsuperscript{415} See Papaiiopoulos, \textit{Προβλήματα}, 434-435.
and the patriarch of Constantinople Germanos:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Saint(s)</th>
<th>mode</th>
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<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ioustinos</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metrophanes</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>270?</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorotheos</td>
<td>4th pl.</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuel, Savel and Ishmael</td>
<td>4th</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David and John</td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>110</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>111</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sampson</td>
<td>4th pl.</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The _kanons_ on St Sampson and on Sts David and John have not another acrostic, while the one on St Dorotheos has also an alphabetic one. The rest three have the following acrostics:

- Έφραξεν Ἰουστῖνος Ἑλλήνων στόμα (St Ioustinos)\(^{416}\).
- Φάνηθα, Μητρόφανες, εἰς ἤμιόν φάος (St Metrophanes).
- Μανουήλ, Σαβέλ, Ἰσμαήλ σέβο πόθω (Sts Manuel, Savel and Ishmael)\(^{417}\).

**THEOPHANES GRAPTOΣ**

St Theophanes Graptoς\(^{418}\) was born ca. 778 in the Moabite mountains of Palestine. In the age of 22 he became, along with his brother Theodore, a monk in the famous monastery of St Sabbas, following the example of their father Ionas who was also living in the same monastery. Within the monastery they established a relationship to Michael Synkellos, who became their teacher.

In 813 Michael was sent by the patriarch of Jerusalem Thomas in a mission to Rome, to bring to the Pope Leo III the negative reaction of the Church of Jerusalem in the introduction of the word _filioque_ on the Creed. The mission —in which Theophanes and Theodore participated, accompanying Michael— was not to be fulfilled. All the members remained in Constantinople and they stayed in the monastery of Chora.

Two years later, iconoclasm was restored by the emperor Leo V the Armenian (813-820). Theophanes and Theodore were among the most prominent defenders of the veneration of the icons and therefore exiled until 820, when Leo was assassinated and succeeded by Michael II (821-829). During the reign of Theophilos (829-842) they were exiled for one more time and tortured. It was then (18 July 836) that they were

\(^{416}\) **FOLLIERI, Initia II, 244.**

\(^{417}\) **FOLLIERI, Initia II, 367.**

\(^{418}\) See ZERVOUDAKI, Θεοφάνης (detailed bibliography in pp. 536-554); P. PLANK, Der hymnographische Beitrag des Theophanes Graptoς zur Geschichte seiner eigenen Familia, Ostkirchliche Studien 52 (2003) 316-330; DETORAKIS, Φιλολογία, 474-483 (bibliography in p. 475); the entry on Theophanes in _ODB_, 2062; PMZ 8093; _BHG_ 1793; ÉMEREAU, Hymnographi Byzantini, (1926) 179-182.
punished by having insulting iambic verses tattooed on their foreheads, what gave them the sobriquet *Graptos*, which literally means *marked with writing*. They remained imprisoned until Theophilos’ death in 842.

After the end of iconoclasm Theophanes was appointed Bishop of Nicaea by the patriarch Methodios. He died in Constantinople in 845 and he is canonized as a saint (feastday 11 October). His Vita is composed by Symeon Metaphrastes\(^419\).

He is one of the most productive hymnographers of the Orthodox Church and his work is comparable to the work of St Joseph the Hymnographer. He wrote mainly *kanons* and triodia, but also some *stichera* and *idiomela*. A list of his works composed by Alexandra Zervoudaki includes 374 *kanons*, 5 triodia and dodia, 138 *stichera (prosomoia* and *idiomela*), 3 *kontakia* and one metrical pray in Theotokos\(^420\). His verse is characterized by C. A. Trypanis as «long-winged, bombastic and dry»\(^421\).

Thirteen of the *kanons* copied in L are his hymnographical work, the ones on St Nikephoros, the patriarch of Constantinople, the martyr Loukilianos, St Metrophanes, the patriarch of Constantinople, the translation of relics of the martyr Theodore *Stratelates*, St Kyrillos, the pope of Alexandria, the apostle Bartholomew, the apostle Barnabas, St Onouphrios, the prophet Amos, the martyr Ioulianos, the martyr Agrippina, the martyr Fevronia, and the 12 Apostles\(^422\).

According to the list of Alexandra Zervoudaki, 92 of his *kanons*\(^423\) and a big part of the *kanon* on the apostle Bartholomew\(^424\) remain unpublished so far. Two of them are published below, the *kanon* on the martyr Ioulianos (Text 21, vv. 106-333)\(^425\) wholly and the one on the apostle Bartholomew partly (11.205-412). Not being a melodist, he uses in these *kanons* the following modes and motifs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Saint</th>
<th>mode</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
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<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ioulianos</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bartholomew</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No one of the *kanons* has an acrostic. The *kanon* on the apostle Bartholomew is published (partly) in the *Menaion* as a work of Theophanes, the name of which is also

\(^{419}\) See KAZHDAN, *Literature*, 271-272.

\(^{420}\) See ZERVOUĐAKI, Θεοφάνης, 182-419; DETORAKIS, Φιλολογία, 474-475 (Detorakis, though referring to Zervoudaki, writes that Theophanes composed 420 *kanons*, taking into account the ones catalogued by Zervoudaki as wrongfully ascribed to him).


\(^{422}\) See ZERVOUĐAKI, Θεοφάνης, 279-287 and 327.


\(^{424}\) See ZERVOUĐAKI, Θεοφάνης, nr 188.

\(^{425}\) See ZERVOUĐAKI, Θεοφάνης, nr 194.
given in L and H\textsuperscript{426}. For the \textit{kanon} on St Ioulianos, the name of Theophanes is given also in H, while L and Ia transmit the \textit{kanon} anonymously.

**Clement**

Clement\textsuperscript{427} is a person we do not have much information about, in spite of the fact that he was very early canonized as a saint by the Orthodox Church. From an anonymous \textit{kanon} on him\textsuperscript{428} we know that «he is said to have dwelt “in the holy Mountain”, which designated, most probably, the Bithynian Olympos; he lived as a confessor, defending the veneration of the icon of Christ, was exiled (by the Iconoclasts), and was granted a blessed death»\textsuperscript{429}. He was born, most probably, before 765 and he must have died after 824, as we can conclude from his \textit{kanon} on St Niketas of Medikion\textsuperscript{430}, who died in 824\textsuperscript{431}.

He wrote «less than thirty \textit{kanons}, most of which are genuine, while the authorship of a number of others is possible»\textsuperscript{432}. He was not a melodist but he borrowed his motifs from other \textit{kanons} already in use by the Church. He always “signs” his works by using the acrostic \textit{KAHMENTOS}, formed by the initials of the \textit{theotokia}\textsuperscript{433}, the consistent use of which is supposed to be also his contribution to hymnography\textsuperscript{434}.

According to the list of E. Papailiopoulos – Fotopoulou, five full and two partial \textit{kanons} of his remain unpublished so far\textsuperscript{435}.

One of his works, the \textit{kanon} on St Pagharios is edited below (Text 16, vv. 352-584). It has all the formal distinctive marks of Clement’s work: a double acrostic, in which the first letters of the stanzas form the phrase \textit{Χάριν βραβεύεις, Παγχάρε, θαυμάτων}, while the initials of the \textit{theotokia} form his name (\textit{KAHMENTOS})\textsuperscript{436}, and a desinential phrase that includes the word πληρῶ (διό σε πίστει ευφημόν, τὴν

\textsuperscript{426} See ZERVOUĐAKI, \textit{Θεοφάνης}, 281 (nr 188). H is not studied for the following edition of the unpublished part of the \textit{kanon} which is based only on L.


\textsuperscript{428} Published by S. PETRIDES, Office inédit de saint Clément, BZ 12 (1903) 575-581.

\textsuperscript{429} KAZHDAN, \textit{Literature}, 261.

\textsuperscript{430} AHG VIII, 74-86.

\textsuperscript{431} See KAZHDAN, \textit{Literature}, 262.

\textsuperscript{432} KAZHDAN, \textit{Literature}, 261.

\textsuperscript{433} See WEYH, Akrostichis, 51-53.

\textsuperscript{434} See KAZHDAN, \textit{Literature}, 263.

\textsuperscript{435} See PAPAILIPOULO, \textit{Taμειον}, 333, 117 (fn. 252) and 248 (fn. 665).

\textsuperscript{436} According to KAZHDAN, \textit{Literature}, 264, «he must be the first poet to employ the double acrostic». 
προσευχήν ἐκπληρῶ).

On the other hand, the κανών has almost none of the internal elements that characterize the poetry of Clement. This is one of his very few κανόνες that does not contain references to the veneration of icons or the heresy of iconoclasm; from this we may presume that the κανών was written before the seventh ecumenical council of Nicæa in 787437. Furthermore, it has as its basic subject the commemoration (μνήμη) of the saint, something that is usually not among Clement’s interests438. And there is one more noteworthy element of this specific κανών, the lack of historical facts, which are to be found in most of Clementine works. On the contrary, the κανών on Pagcharios is based on traditional stereotypes, with the impiety of the tyrant, the confession of the martyr and his healing power prevailing.

Clement is not a melodist. In his κανών on St Pagcharios he uses the following motifs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Saint</th>
<th>mode</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pagcharios</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>59439</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

437 See KAZHDAN, Literature, 262 and 264.
438 See KAZHDAN, Literature, 264.
439 The heirmos is published as the heirmos of the 6th Ode, not the 5th as it is in fact, in EE, 44. Compared to the heirmos, the stanzas of the κανών have here four more syllables in the last line (the four first ones).
Lesb. Leimonos 11 (L) is a unique hymnographical collection, as no other codex containing all the same akolouthiai has been discovered so far. Among the other extant manuscripts including a number of the same texts the one closest to L is codex Hierosolymitanus Sabatius 70 (H). This is evident not only on palaeographical grounds, but also in terms of content, since it contains ten of the akolouthiai preserved in L, edited below for the first time. For this reason a more detailed description of L and H, precedes that of the rest extant manuscripts, which are described more briefly.

THE PRINCIPAL MANUSCRIPT: LESB. LEIMONOS 11 (L)

2nd ½ 11th – 1st ½ 12th c.; parchment; 151 fols.; 290x250 mm; one column; 30 lines per page; justification 172x142 (examined in situ).

The manuscript is a Menaion for June (the number introducing each akolouthia refers to the date of the month):

1. (ff. 1r-6r) Akolouthia on St Ioustinos (Justin) the philosopher (†ca.165; feastday June 1) and St Attalos (feastday June 6). Inc. mut.: ἱστολην εξ αἰμάτων θείαν ἑπιχρώσαντες καὶ στολισάμενοι (sticheron on Ioustinos and his fellow martyrs). On ff. 1r-4r the kanon on St Ioustinos by George of Nicomedia, which bears the acrostic Ἐφραίζειν Ιοὐστίνος Ἑλλήνων στόμα (without theotokia, which form the acrostic: Γεωργίου). On ff. 4r-6r the kanon on St Attalos by Joseph the Hymnographer, which bears the acrostic (in ode 9): Ἰωσῆφ. Edited below, Text 1.

2. (ff. 6r-10v) Akolouthia on St Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople (†828; feastday June 2). Codex: Μηνι τῶν αὐτῶν β᾽: τοῦ ἀγίου νικηφόρον πατριάρχου κανονισταντινουπόλε(ως). On ff. 7r-8v the first kanon by Theophanes Grapitos which bears the acrostic: Τὸν νικηφόρον ἀγίου νικηφόρον ἂσμα μέλπω (Θεοφάνους in margin). Gap between ff. 7v-8r: Des. f. 7v: ἀπηχώνησας, ἀξιωθαύμασε (ode 3, stz. 3); Inc. f. 8r: πανάμιμως δέσποινα (7th ode, theotokia). On ff. 8v-10v a second kanon

440 The manuscript was first described by Α. Παπαδοπούλου-Κεραμέου, Μανικιόρθατες Βιβλιοθήκη, ἢτο γενικός περιγραφικός κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀνα τὴν Ἁγιολήν βιβλιοθήκαις εὑρισκομένων Ἑλληνικών χειρογράφων καταρτισθέατα καὶ συνταχθέατα κατ’ ἐντολὴν τοῦ ἑν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικόν Φιλολογικόν Συλλόγου, Vol. 1 (Ο ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος, Appendix of vol. 15), Constantinople 1884, p. 29; correct the number of folios and measurements he gives (150 folios, measuring 275x215 mm).


5. (ff. 19r-24r) Akolouthia on St Eustathios, Bishop of Antioch (†ca360; feastday February 21), and St Hilarian (abbot) of Dalmatou Monastery (†846; feastday June 6). Codex: Μηνι τω αυτω ε’: του όσιου πα(α)ρ(δι)ς ήμων επισταθιον ἐπισκόπ(δ)π(ου) αντιοχείας: και του όσιου ἱλαρίων της δαμασκ(ου). On ff. 20r-21v the kanon on St Eustathius. The kanon on St Hilarian on ff. 22r-24r. Editions: MV X, 19-21 (Hilarion); AHG VI, 333-343, 345, 352-353 (Eustathios); below, Text 5.


7. (ff. 28r-32v) Akolouthia on the martyr Theodotos of Ankara (feastday June 7) and the martyrs Nikandros and Markianos (†286-305; feastday June 8). Codex: † Μηνι τω αυτω ζ’: του όγιοι μι(ά)ρ(τυρος) θεοδότου άγκυρας: και των όγιων μι(ά)ρ(τυρων) νικάνδρων· και μαρκιανον. On ff. 28v-31r the kanon on St Theodotos by Joseph the Hymnographer, which bears the acrostic: Θεον όσις πέφυκασ εἰκότως μάκαρ, Ιωσήφ. On ff. 31r-32v the kanon on Sts Nikandros and Markianos also by Joseph the Hymnographer; it has the acrostic: Τόμοις γερα<♂>ρω μαρτυρων εξωφιδα, Ιωσήφ. Editions: MV X, 22-24 (Theodotos); below, Text 7 (Nikandros and Markianos).


9. (ff. 38v-44r) Akolouthia on St Kyrillos, Pope of Alexandria (†444; feastdays June 9 and January 18), and the martyrs Orestes, Diomedes and Rodion (feastday June 9). Codex: Μηνι τῷ αὐτῷ Θ.: τού ὄσιον π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς ἦμων κυρίλλων· πάπα ἀλεξανδρείας· καὶ τῶν ἁγίων μ(α)ρ(τύρων)· ὑρέστου διωμόνως· καὶ ροδίωνος. On ff. 39v-42r the kanon on St Kyrillos by Theophanes Graptos, which bears the acrostic Θεωρίων Κύριλλος ἐνθέων λύρα (without theotokia). On ff. 42r-44r the kanon on Sts Orestes, Diomedes and Rodion by Joseph the Hymnographer with the acrostic Σεπτοις ἄθληταις σεπτον ἐξάδω μέλος. Ἱωσήφ. Editions: MV X, 28-31 (Kyrillos); AHG X, 23-35 (Orestes, Diomedes and Rodion); below, Text 9. Bibliography: BAG, 55 (Kyrillos).

10. (ff. 44r-49r) Akolouthia on the martyrs Alexandros and Antonina (feastday June 10) and St Timotheos, Bishop of Prousa (†360-363; feastday June 10). Codex: Μηνι τῷ αὐτῷ ἰ.: τῶν ἁγίων μ(α)ρ(τύρων)· ἀλεξανδρείας· καὶ ἀντωνινας· καὶ τῶν ὁσίων π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς ἦμων τιμοθέου ἐπισκόπου(ον) προσήκ. On ff. 45r-47v the kanon on Sts Alexandros and Antonina by Joseph the Hymnographer which bears the acrostic Ὑμνοις ἔπαινω τῷ τὴν καλὴν ξυναρίδ<α>. Ἱωσήφ. On ff. 47v-49r the kanon on St Timotheos. Editions: MV X, 31-35 (Alexandros and Antonina); AHG IX, 256-269 (Timotheos); below, Text 10.


13. (ff. 60r-61v) Akolouthia on St Akyлина (†284-305; feastday June 13). Beginning mutilated. Inc.: ἱπροίτασεν κινδύνων ἐξαίρετον· πάσης τε νόσου θεοφόρον· ἑπικοινωνίαν ἀπαντάς· χριστόν δυσῳπούσα· τὸν παρέχοντα τῷ κόσμῳ τὸ μέγα (ἐλέειος) (last sticheron). On ff. 60r-61v the kanon by Joseph the Hymnographer, with the acrostic: Δέχου τὸν ὄμον, καλλίταις Ἀκυλίνα. Ἱωσήφ. Edition: MV X, 44-46.

14. (ff. 62r-66v) Akolouthia on the prophet Elissaios (or Elisha; feastday June 14) and St Methodios, Patriarch of Constantinople (†847; feastday June 14). Codex: † Μηνι τῷ αὐτῷ ἰδ.: τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν ἐλισσαίων· καὶ τῶν ἁγίων μεθοδίων

441 On the authorship of this kanon see ZERVOUDAKI, Θεοφάνης, 341-342, nr 300.
On ff. 63r-64v the kanon on the prophet Elissaios by **John the monk** which bears the acrostic: Χαίρε, προφήτα τοῦ Θεοῦ πανόλβιε (without theotokia). On ff. 64v-66r the kanon on St Methodios. Editions: MV X, 46-51; below, Text 14. Bibliography: BAG, 73 (Elissaios).

15. (ff. 67v-72r) **Akolouthia** on the prophet Amos (feastday June 15) and the apostle Phourtounatos (feastday April 16). Codex: *Μην τῷ αὐτῷ ιε': τοῦ ἁγίου προφήτου ἄμως: καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου φούρτουνατοῦ. On ff. 68v-70r the kanon on the prophet Amos by **Theophanes Graptos**; it has the acrostic: Ἀμώς σε μέλπω, τὸν προφήτην τὸν μέγαν (Θεοφάνους in margin). On ff. 70r-72r the kanon on the Apostle Phourtounatos by **Joseph the Hymnographer**; it has the acrostic: Τὸν παμμέγιστον δοξάσω Φούρτουνατον. Ἡσσήφ. Editions: MV X, 52-54 (Amos); AHG X, 117-128, 359-360 (Phourtounatos); below, Text 15.

16. (ff. 72r-77v) **Akolouthia** on St Tychon of Amathous (feastday June 16) and the martyr Pagcharios (†284-305; feastday March 19). Codex: *Μηνι τῷ αὐτῷ ὦτ: τον ὁσίου π(ατ)ρ(ο)ς ἡμῶν και θαυματουργὸν τύχωνος: και τον ἁγίου μ(α)ρτυρος παγχαρίων. On ff. 73r-75v the kanon on St Tychon by **Joseph the Hymnographer** which bears the acrostic: Τῷ Θαυματουργῷ προσλαθήσομεν ἰσομενί. Ἡσσήφ. On ff. 75v-77v the kanon on the martyr Pagcharios by **Clement**; it has the acrostic Χάρν βαβενεις, πανχαρίε, θαυμάτων (without theotokia, which form the acrostic: Κλῆμεντος). Editions: MV X, 55-57(Tychon); below, Text 16.

17. (ff. 78r-83v) **Akolouthia** on the martyrs Manuel, Savel and Ishmael (†361-363; feastday June 17), and St Hypatios (abbot) of Rouphinianai (†395-408; feastday June 17). Codex: *Μηνι τῷ αὐτῷ ιε': τῶν ἁγίων μ(α)ρτυρος μανουηλ, σαβέλ: καὶ ἱσαμηλ: καὶ τον ὁσίου π(ατ)ρ(ο)ς ἡμῶν και θαυματουργον ὑπατον τον ἐν ταῖς Ῥωσίσφαιναιαῖς. On ff. 79r-81r the kanon on the martyrs Manuel, Savel and Ishmael by **George of Nicomedia** which bears the acrostic: Μανουηλ, Σαβέλ, Ἰσαμηλ σέβα πόθω (without theotokia, which form the acrostic: Γεοργιοῦ). On ff. 81r-83v the kanon on St Hypatios by **Joseph the Hymnographer**; it has the acrostic: ᾿Υπατίου μέλψομι τοὺς καλοὺς τρόσους. Ὁ Ἡσσήφ. Edition: below, Text 17. Bibliography: BAG, 133-135 (Manuel, Savel and Ishmael).


20. (ff. 85v-90r) Akolouthia on the martyrs Innas, Pinnas and Rimmas (1st c.; feastday January 20), and St Eustochios and his fellow martyrs (†286-305; feastday June 23). Codex: † Μηνι το αυτο κ' των άγιων μ(α)ρ(τύρων) άννα παννα καὶ ριμμα και των άγιων μαρτυρός ευστοχίου και των αν αυτω. On ff. 86r-88r the kanon on the martyrs Innas, Pinnas and Rimmas by Joseph the Hymnographer which bears the acrostic: Τοὺς σοῦς ἄγιους μάρτυρας, Θεόν λόγε. Ιωσήφ. On ff. 88r-90r the kanon on St Eustochios and his fellow martyrs by Joseph the Hymnographer; it has the acrostic: Σεπτήμ έπαινω μάρτυρων νῦν πεντάδα. Ιωσήφ. Editions: AHG X, 130-139 (Eustochios); below, Text 20 (Innas, Pinnas and Rimmas).


22. (ff. 95r-100r) Akolouthia on the martyr Eusebios, Bishop of Samosata (†337-361; feastday June 22), and St Petros the Athionite († 899; feastday June 12). Codex: † Μηνι τω αυτω κβ των άγιων ιερομαρτυρως εισεβείων επισκ(ο)που σαμωσατων και των ισιων π(ατ)ρως ημων πέτρων των εν τω όρει των αδωνος. On ff. 96r-98r the kanon on the martyr Eusebios by Joseph the Hymnographer; it has the acrostic: Της εισεβειας των θερωνυμων σέβω. Ιωσήφ. On ff. 98r-100r the kanon on St Petros the Athionite by Joseph the Hymnographer; it has the acrostic: Αλλον σε Πέτρου εικος σεβω μακαρ. Ιωσήφ. Editions: MV X, 73-76 (Eusebios); D. Papachrysanthou, L’office ancien de Pierre l’Athonite, AB 88 (1970) 27-41 (Petros); see below, Text 22.

23. (ff. 100r-105r) Akolouthia on the martyr Agrippina (feastday June 23), and the martyrs Zenon and Zenas (†286-305; feastday June 22). Codex: † Μηνι τω αυτω κγ των άγιων ημων ηριππινης και των άγιων μ(α)ρ(τυρων) ζηνων και ζηνα. On ff. 101r-103r the kanon on the martyr Agrippina by Theophanes Graptos, which bears the acrostic: Την χριστονυγη Αγριππινην αινεω, not including theotokia. On ff. 103r-105r the kanon on the martyrs Zenon and Zenas by Joseph the Hymnographer; it has the acrostic: Ζυγην έπαινω μαρτυρων στεφωρων. Ιωσήφ. Editions: MV X, 76-79 (Agrippina); below, Text 23 (Zenon and Zenas).


On ff. 67v and 116v-118v a second kanon on St Fevronia and other not named female martyrs. Editions: MV X, 89-93 (Fevronia); below, Text 25 (Fevronia and other martyrs).

26. (ff. 118v-122v) Akolouthia on St David of Thessalonike (feastday June 26), and St John, Bishop of Gotthia (∞800; feastday June 26). Codex: Μηνι τω ἁγιω κην τον ὅσιον δαιμονία ἔσομαι τον ὅσιον ιωάννου ἐπισκοπήν γοτθίας. On ff. 119v-121v the kanon on St David by Joseph the Hymnographer; it has the acrostic: Τμίω, μάκαρ, σοφ των βίου θείους λόγους. Iωσήφ. On ff. 121v-122v a second kanon on Sts John and David by George of Nicomedia (akr. [Γεωργίου] in theotokia). Gap between ff. 121-122. Des. f. 121v: ὡς οὐσιόφορος ἐναρκτικον ἐκλάμψας· τόπος παναοίδημε· τούτους τοις φέργεν· τόν λόγον και τῶν ἐνθέων σοι ἐργάνην ήργασας πάθων ὑμῶν τὸν εὐεργέτην· [ode 1, stz. 2]. Inc. f. 122: Ἰλάμνης ιωάννη κατεφώτισας· τοὺς ἀνθρώπους βοώτας· εὐλογητὸς εἰ ὁ Θεός ὁ τῶν πατέρων ημῶν) (ode 7, stz. 1). Editions: MV X, 93-96 (David); below, Text 26 (John).


28. (ff. 127v-133v) Akolouthia on the translation of relics of Sts Kyros and John the Wonderworkers (∞284-305; feastday June 28), and St Ioseph and his fellow martyrs. Codex: Των καθαρών κην τον οὐσίου και εἰς εἰκόναν των ἀγίων και την εἰρήνην καὶ των οὐρανίων και των σωμάτων αὐτῶν. On ff. 128v-131r the kanon on the translation of relics of Sts Kyros and John by Joseph the Hymnographer which bears the acrostic: Καλῶν δοτήρες, των κακῶν ρύπαντε με. Iωσήφ. On ff. 131r-133v the kanon on St Ioseph and his fellow martyrs by Joseph the Hymnographer; it has the acrostic: Πληθυν γεραιῶρ καλλινικάς μαρτυρών. Iωσήφ. Editions: MV X, 99-103 (Kyros and John); below, Text 28 (Ioseph).


Originally, the codex consisted of 168 unnumbered folios, of which 151 survive, 146 wholly and 5 partly (ff. 109, 148, 148α, 148β and 149). In 1898 the manuscript had already lost 18 of them, thus having 150 folios, as we know from two notes (ff. 1r and 149v) added by Kyprianos, the abbot of the Leimonos monastery. The folios were numbered in Arabic numerals on the upper right-hand margin of the recto in 1930 by an anonymous monk of the Leimonos monastery, who realized that since 1898 the manuscript had lost one more folio, the one originally preceding f. 60.

The manuscript originally consisted of twenty-one gatherings. Each gathering bears its original signature on the left-hand bottom margin of the first recto folio by a Greek numeral: α′-ια′ and γ′-κα′. The missing gathering ιβ′ must have contained the ἀκολουθιαὶ on the martyr Leontios and the martyrs Isaurus, Vasileios, Innokentios, Peregrinos, Ermeias and Philex, as well as a considerable part of the ἀκολουθία on the martyr Zosimos (up to the third ode of the kanon).

All gatherings are quaternia: thus, <α> (ff. 1-7 + 1 missing folio preceding f. 1), <β> (ff. 8-12 + 1 missing folio preceding f. 8 + 2 missing folios following f. 12), γ′ (ff. 13-20), δ′ (ff. 21-28), ε′ (ff. 29-36), ζ′ (ff. 37-43 + 1 missing folio following f. 37), η′ (ff. 44-51), θ′ (ff. 52-59), ι′ (ff. 60-66 + 1 missing folio preceding f. 60), κ′ (ff. 67-75), λ′ (ff. 76-83), μ′ (missing), ν′ (ff. 84-91), ο′ (ff. 92-99), π′ (ff. 100-107), ρ′ (ff. 108-115), σ′ (f. 116 + ff. 116-121; ff. 117 and 120 sola) + 1 missing folio following f. 121), τ′ (ff. 122-129), υ′ (ff. 130-137), χ′ (ff. 138-145), κα′ (ff. 146-149 + 2 folios following f. 148, which are torn + 2 missing folios following f. 149).

The parchment is of medium quality, not very well-preserved for the most part; medium thick (few folios are made of thin parchment), slightly warped. The flesh side is of creamish white colour, the hair side yellowish. No traces of hair of the skin are visible. The condition of the parchment folios indicates that the manuscript was extensively used in the liturgical life of a church or monastery. Small brown wax candle spots on the leaves are visible throughout the codex. F. 109 misses a big part of its bottom half, which is cut off diagonally from the height of 21st line to the left bottom corner. Parts of ff. 8r, 12v, 13r, 13v, 24v, 25r, 28v, 29r, 39v, 40r, 40v, 47v, 48r, 48v, 58r, 64v, 65r, 67r, 92r, 107v, 109r, 109v, and 119v are stained. In each of the ff. 11, 12 and 98 there is a hole on the skin, which causes gaps in the text: the spaces of one line on f. 11 (8x14 mm), three lines on f. 98 (25x12 mm. maximum), and eight lines on f. 12 (55x65 mm. maximum; see plate 2). On f. 54 a hole in the bottom margin has been repaired, probably by the original manufacturer, by pasting a second piece of

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442 On the rest part of f. 149 there exist some parts of the following troparia, but this one is the last troparion of the codex, the whole text of which is surviving.

443 For these notes see below, p. 134.

444 Note on f. 147v [μέσον φύλλων 59-60 λείπουσιν ώς και εἰς τὸ τέλος (1930).]
membrane. There are signs of humidity in various parts of the manuscript, the most evident on ff. 113, 115, 118, 119. Between ff. 116 and 117 there was originally a single folio which was carefully removed, without disturbing the text. F. 1 has been torn along the 6th line.

Each bifolio was ruled separately with a hard *stylus* on the hair side of the skin. The ruling type is similar to Lake I.31a (31 lines per page) and I.31b (29 lines p.p.); and Sautel – Leroy 33C1d\(^{445}\). The prickings on the parchment are preserved for the most part of the manuscript (see plates 1-7). The composition of the gatherings is made according to the common rule of placing flesh side facing flesh side, starting from the outside of the gathering. The measurements from the head to each ruled line are as follows (in mm.): 25± – 22 – 190± – 33 – 6 – 25± (interlinear space: 6-7); measurements from the gutter to the fore-edge: 18± – 6 – 130 – 6-7 – 11-12 – 45±.

The text rests in an area of 172 x 142 mm., with 30 lines to the page and 32-40 letters per line. The whole codex was copied by a single hand (A). This is the only extant manuscript copied by this hand in the collection of Leimonos monastery. So far, the scribe has not been identified, though the style is similar to a number of 11th-12th-century hands. The text is written with a medium thick pen in brown ink, in a small sized *liturgical minuscule*\(^{446}\), mixed with capital letter-forms, including many elements of *Perlschrift*\(^{447}\). Titles and liturgical instructions of the *akolouthiai* are written in red ink.

The script is regular, clear, quite disciplined and conservative. The letters are fairly rounded and symmetrical. Though the design of letters seem to be upright, certain letterforms appear slightly leaning to the right. The more characteristic letters are the enlarged *zeta* (f.ex. in \(\omicron \varepsilon \zeta \nu \omicron \nu \dot{\eta} \nu\)), the enlarged *upsilon* (when it is the first letter of a word, e.g. in \(\omicron \nu \nu \iota \varepsilon \rho \omicron \nu \iota \nu \nu\)), the enlarged or high-standing *psi* (see f.ex. \(\nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu\) and \(\nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu\)), the *delta* with diagonal tail (\(\delta\)), *theta* (\(\theta\)), *majuscule kappa* (\(\kappa\), sometimes enlarged as f.ex. in \(\nu \nu \nu \nu\)), majuscule *lambda* (\(\lambda\)), *phi* (\(\phi\)), the lunar shaped *sigma* (\(\sigma\)), *gamma* (\(\gamma\)), and the double *lambda* (\(\lambda\)). The scribe uses both majuscule and minuscule forms of the letters *beta* (\(\beta\) and \(\beta\)), *gamma* (\(\gamma\) and \(\gamma\)), *delta* (\(\delta\) and \(\delta\)), *epsilon* (f.ex. in \(\nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu\), *eta* (f.ex. in \(\nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu\), *kappa* (\(\kappa\) and \(\kappa\)), *lambda* (\(\lambda\) and \(\lambda\)), *mi* (\(\mu\) and \(\mu\)) *pi* (\(\pi\)). He uses the majuscule forms of the letters *delta*, *mi* and *ni* in the rubricated titles and instructions.

The scribe makes extensive use of ligatures: \(\alpha \gamma \) (\(\alpha \gamma \nu\)), \(\alpha \gamma \alpha \) (\(\alpha \gamma \alpha \nu\)), \(\alpha \gamma \gamma \) (\(\alpha \gamma \gamma \nu\)), \(\gamma \epsilon \gamma \) (\(\gamma \epsilon \gamma \nu\)), \(\gamma \nu \nu \) (\(\gamma \nu \nu \nu\)), \(\delta \varepsilon \) (\(\delta \varepsilon \nu\)), \(\varepsilon \gamma \) (\(\varepsilon \gamma \nu\)), \(\varepsilon \xi \) (\(\varepsilon \xi \nu\)), \(\epsilon \iota \) (\(\epsilon \iota \nu\)), \(\epsilon \xi \) (\(\epsilon \xi \nu\)), \(\epsilon \sigma \) (\(\epsilon \sigma \nu\)), \(\epsilon \sigma \tau \).


\(^{446}\) On this type of handwriting see Kavrus-Hoffmann, 292-294, 300-301.

The abbreviation of kai appears in both forms (καὶ, καὶ), which are common in the period between the ninth and eleventh centuries. Nomina sacra appear in their contracted forms (e.g., ις, χς, θς, μος, ανος), and most of the times not accompanied by their accent. Mute iota is usually omitted; it appears only in the dative form of the definitive article as adscript. In some cases the letters zeta, kappa, xi, phi, as well as rubricated initials and the abbreviated forms of kai, placed on the last line of the column, appear with elongated and decorated tails, which extend into the bottom margin (see plate 3). Often middle sigma (ς) is used at the end of words instead of the final sigma (ς), according to the Byzantine convention of the period. Breathings are placed above the first letter of diphthongs.

The scribe uses consistently smooth and rough breathings in both square and round forms, as well as acute, grave and circumflex accents in small size. Three degrees of pause in the text are indicated by conventional punctuation signs: upper point (‘), lower point (‘) and full stop (‘·). As the text was meant to be sung in the church, the scribe placed upper and lower points marking the musical intervals to facilitate and guide the choir or the kanonárches, as the manuscript is not furnished with the musical notation of the text. The sign of diaeresis (‘) is placed over iota to distinguish two consecutive vowels not forming a diphthong. The diplé stigma (‘) is placed over iota in cases where the initial letter is accompanied by breathing or a combination of breathing and accent, which is not unusual in this period. With some exceptions the scribe accentuated the particle τέ.

The separation of syllables in endlines follow to a great extent the syllabic rules. Only a few spelling mistakes are noted in the text. Some of these errors are consistent throughout the text, e.g., κανών for κανὼν and αἶρεις for αἴρεις (including its derivatives). Following the conventions of the times the scribe places a grave on oxytones followed by a punctuation mark, with certain exceptions where he uses an acute to place accentuation. It is interesting that he consistently, though erroneously, places a circumflex instead of an acute in accentuating ει when followed by a long syllable in the genitive (θείον, θείας, θείων, ἀληθείας, ἀπαθείας, ἀσεβείας, εὐθείας, εὐσεβείας, πρόφητειας), dative (θείω, θείους, θείας, ἀμελεία, ἀσεβεία, βοσκεία, ἐνεργεία, εὐσεβεία, θρησκεία, θωπείας, μνειας, νηστείας, πρεσβείας, πρεσβείας, σημείως, συνεργεία, χωνεία) or accusative (θείους, τελείαν, βασιλείαν, δυναστείαν, θωπείας, λοχείας, μνείας, πρεσβείαν).

The word Θεοτοκίον is indicated by a rubricated and slightly decorated theta (Θ) in the margin. Similarly, the abbreviated words ὁμοιον (similar), καθόμαι and κονδάκιον, as well as the word προς in the instruction Προς τό... (i.e. sung according

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48 See KAVRUS-HOFFMANN, 295.

49 On this use of upper point see C. TROELSGÅRD, Musical Notation and Oral Transmission of Byzantine Chant, Classica et Mediaevalia 50 (1999) 254, and J. RAASTED, Some Observations on the Structure of Stichera in Byzantine Rite, Byzantium 28 (1958) 529-541. Let it be noted here that the lower point is used in L in very few cases, most probably by mistake.
to the melody of..., indicating the automelon, or model melody, according to which a stanza must be sung) are given with the abbreviations ὀμ., κάθ., κονδ. and πρ. respectively. The names of hymnographers (Ἰωσήφ, Θεοδότους, Γεωργίου and Ἀλάννου) appear in rubricated abbreviations in the margin (ὢμ[ appréθεν], ἀπόθεμ[ appréθεν], ἀποθέμ[ appréθεν] and òω). The word παρθένος is written with the first epsilon suspended and theta superscribed (ὦωη). It is remarkable that the word Ἀνακλώμενον is given in a double abbreviation (μαδω), usually used by the Byzantine scribes for the plural of the abbreviated word.430

The writing is pendant from the ruled lines, a convention that comes into use in the second quarter of the 10th century and is well-established by the beginning of the 11th.431 Some times the division between the words is not clear, something also common for the period.

The text is written consecutively. Each akolouthia is introduced by ornamental headpieces and rubricated headings (see plates 3, 4 and 6). The headpieces, very simple combinations of curvilinear lines, points and primitive leaves in red and black ink, cover the full space of one line or the rest of the space of the last line of the preceding text. The rubricated headings appear in the script of the family known as Alexandrinische Auszeichnungsmajuskel.432 Rubricated initials, covering the space of 1 line, appear in the column margin, and are placed in the starting clause of every stanza.

Unfortunately, the manuscript does not preserve a colophon, that is if it possessed one in the last missing folio. There is only one rubricated note by the scribe, an instruction to the choir on the stichera sung on the Twelve Apostles, placed

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430 The word is given also in this form in cod. Jerus. Holy Cross monastery 43 (AD 1122), on which the edition of the typikon of the Church of Jerusalem is based; see A. Papadopoulos – Kerameus, Τυπικὸν τῆς Ἑν Ἱεροσολύμως Εκκλησίας. Διατάξεις τῶν ἱερῶν ἀκολουθίων τῆς μεγάλης τῶν παθῶν ἐβδομάδος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ, κατὰ τὸ ἄρχαιον τῆς Ἑν Ἱεροσολύμως ἐκκλησίας ἑδος, ἦτο τὸ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἀναστάσεως, in his Ἀναλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικής Σταχυλογιας, vol. 2, Petrograd 1894, pp. 36, 37, 55, 56, 70, 71, 87, 89, 137, 167, 171, where he does not transcribe the abbreviation but he publishes it as it appears in the manuscript. See the description of the manuscript in A. Papadopoulos – Kerameus, Ἱεροσολυμιτική Βιβλιοθήκη ήτοι κατάλογος τῶν καταλόγων τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθηκαῖς τῶν ἁγιωτάτων ἀποστολικῶν τε καὶ καθολικῶν ὁρθοδοξίας πατριαρχικῶν δύναμεν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμῶν καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων, vol. 3, St. Petersburg 1897, pp. 98-101 (plates in non-numbered folios after pp. 98 and 100).

431 Unfortunately, we know nothing about this abbreviation. J. B. Pitra, Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi parata, I, Paris 1976, pp. Ixiv-lxxv, refers to the abbreviation Ἀνακλ., which he found in codex Vallicellian Veteran E. SS., used after some stanzas of kanons.

432 On this type of handwriting see H. Hunger, Epigraphische Auszeichnungsmajuskel, JÖB 26 (1977) 194, where he notes that this script is usually used in titles and marginal notes of texts written in Perlschrift or a Perlschrift-like script [see also H. Hunger, Ὁ κόσμος τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Βιβλίου. Γραφή και Ανάγνωση στο Βυζάντιο, Athens 1995 (original title: Schreiben und Lesen i Byzanz. Die byzantinische Buchkultur, München 1989), p. 150].
on the outer margin of f. 146r: ζητ(ει) στιχ(ηρά) ἐδωκα(ες)⁴⁵³.

Ten additional hands, of which two are identified, appear in the manuscript. The first identified hand is that of the archimandrite Kyprianos, abbot of Leimonos monastery in 1898, when the books and the manuscripts of the Library were transferred to a new room⁴⁴⁴. At the same time Kyprianos counted the number of the folios of each manuscript and added a note on the first recto and the last verso folio of every codex, stating the number of the manuscript and the number of its then extant folios, accompanied by the stamp of the monastery, which reads: Λ(EI)Μ(Ω)ΝΟΣ 1838.

The notes of L are placed on the top margin of ff. 1r and 149v. The first reads: Ἀριθμός / ἐνδέκατος. / Φύλλα ἕκατον πεντήκοντα / ἐμετρήθη τῶ 1898, and the second: Ἀριθμός Ἐνδέκατος Φύλλα 150.

The second identified hand (B), belonging to Gabriel, a hierodikalon at Leimonos monastery, added in black ink the following notes:

f. 92r, top margin: τῷ οὐσώτ(άτω) ἐνεπιθυμοῦχος· κ(αι) πν(ευμ)ά(τι)κοις· κύριω· κυρίο Διονυσίου τῷ πάνη γαβρηήλ ο μηκρός τῷ χερί κομίζω τακτατεμέ βουλομένος μαθήν· ο φιλ(λ)έ· ἀριστέ· εἰ ψαίς. ἡλθαμεν ὦς εἰς τὴν ἀχερό(να) κε· εἰ δὲ κ(α)κτιστικός εκ τῆς ὁδηγωρίας ναβαγίας επὶ θαλασσ(…)·

f. 115v, top margin: Ξένους ἀνείδεις τον χ(ριστὸν) εἰνεδόνους· ραίδος δικ(α)ίου και μηδώρα ἄδηκοι.

f. 118v, top margin: τ Γαβρηήλ διάκ(όνος) μοναστίκες κοιμοσμέγας· εἰς κοσμοι ανήπτος ὄψις ἡμελημένη τρίχαχηρον ποδοντ(α) καλὸς ἀπορεσέξα στολή πενιχρά. ζοσμαίων πεφερεμένων·

f. 120r, top margin: τ ὀσώτ(ατε) εν ειρεμονάχοις κ(αι) πν(ευματικοίς και ἐν χ(ριστῷ) ὡς ἄδελφε κ(αι) λ(ό)…..+

f. 130r, in the top and outer margin: ἀρχην αγαθὴν τ(ῶν) Ξένητη(αν) πεινω-βη(ων) εὐκλεπ· κύνοθη(αν)· λογίζον γαστέραν γυλοταν ὀφθαλμοῦς· π+…..δουγών+…..+ δουλευαν καλός· κ(αι) καλὸς δουλευθηκε· εχθ τῶν προσέων αγγελοῦ κ(υρίου) γνωθ(ι) τα καλα τα (δέ) κακα ἐ+…..+ τρέπων ἁρχος καλῆς καληστων ει κ(αι) τέλος +…..+ νηστευτὼν ζηγον μοι τὰς πράξεις ἅγιας· αμαρταννσα σαληθής λεγῖς.

In the bottom margin of f. 1r a glued paper fragment contains the ex libris of Leimonos Monastery by an anonymous hand (C): τ ἔτούτ(ο) το βιβλιάιον ἕναι τον μοναστηρίου τον λίμνος τῆς σεβάσμας μονῆς τῶν παμμεγιστῶν τῶν ταξιάρχων μιχαὴλ κ(αι) γαβρηήλ κ(αι) / δὲ το τὸ ἀναλύον ἀπὸ τὸ μοναστήριον νά / ἀκοράτος τῶν τριάκοσιον δεκ(ά) κ(αι) ὁκτώ / +θεοφόρων π(ατέ)ρων· κ(αι) τον ιον(ά) τὸν κλίρον να ἑξεθαι / ~ ἀμιν· (see plate 1).

⁴⁵³ Most probably he refers to three stichera on the apostles Peter and Paul, copied on ff. 136v-137r, sung according to Ἕωδας σημείωσιν and beginning (all three of them) with the word Ἕωδας (see Text 29, vv. 306-341).

Another hand (D) added the omitted theotokia to the kanon on St Theodore in the margins of ff. 34v-35v (see plate 5). The same hand added in various places instructions to guide the choir:

f. 11v, in the outer margin, at the beginning of the kanon on the Apostle Loukilianos: ψαλεται ουτ(ος).†

f. 19r, upper margin: τ οὐτως ὁ ἀγίος εὐστάθ(ιος) ψάλλεται εἰς τὴν έ τοῦ ιουλλ(ιου) μην(ος).

f. 22r, outer margin, at the beginning of the kanon on St Ilarion: ψαλεται ουτος(ος).

f. 24v, outer margin, at the beginning of the kanon on St Dorotheos: ψαλετ(αι) ουτ(ος) †.

f. 66v, bottom margin: τ ἐν ταυτή τῇ εἰμερ(α), ἔστι φίμ(η); τοῦ ἀγ(ιου) βύδον:

f. 71v, bottom margin: τ ἐν ταυτή τῇ ἕμερ(α) ἐστι φίμη τοῦ ἀγ(ιου) βύδ(ον):

f. 85v, top margin: μεθοδίου πατάρων. λυπ.

f. 91r, bottom margin: ψάλλε κατὰ τ’(ον) πδ’: [=πλάγιον τέταρτον].

f. 114r, outer margin: ψαλόμεν κ(αι) τοῦ προδρόμου γ’ ἀνεί τον +Σα+χαρίον και τῆς ἀγ(ιας) γ’.

f. 114v, outer margin: ψαλόμεν κ(αι) καν(όνα) τοῦ ἀγ(ιου) ιω(ά)γ(νον) δ’ τρίστατ(ας) κ(αι) τ(ῆς) ἀγ(ιας) οὕτος.

f. 123r, in the outer margin: οὐ+……+.

f. 136r, in the outer margin: Δο(ξα). Ἡχ(ος) δ’. εἰς τ(ό) κ(ύριο) ἐκ(έκραξα).

f. 138r, in the outer margin: εἰς τ(όν) στίχ(ον) ταυτα.

f. 143r, outer margin: ψαλεται(αι) κ(αι) ουτ(ος).

f. 143v, outer margin: ἡ ὑπα(κοη).

f. 145r, outer margin: ζητ(ει) τ(όν) εἰρμ(ον) εἰς τάς ἑθ τοῦ ἀγιον ζωαίμον.

f. 146r, outer margin, by a later hand: Γ ζητ(ει) ἐδωκας καν…

f. 147r, between the lines 12-13: λ’ εἰς τ(όν) στίχ(ον) ζητ(ει) το δ+……+ν εἰς τ(άς) κθ’ ὁ οὐ(ρε)νόθ(εν) τ(ῆν) χάριν.

f. 147v, outer margin: ζητ(ει) καν(όν) προτ(ον) τών δύο ἀποστόλων +……+ Ἀνοιξω το στάμα μον.

There are also a number of marginal notes and instructions by different hands (E-J). In some cases an unexperienced hand (E) completed the text of certain heirmoi, which are indicated only by their first words in the text458.

There are also the following notes:

f. 1r, by hand F: τ ευλογη ν ψυχη μον τον κ(ύριον) κ(ύριο) ο θ(εό) μον εμεγαλη<ι>ωθη<σ> σφόδρα>.

f. 19r, outer margin, by hand G: ἱλαρίωνος.

f. 67r, top margin, by hand H: τ πάσ(α) αγαθεὶ διδασκαλὴ κ(αι) ἀρχ(η) καλῶν πραγμάτως πορέβαιν(αι) ἀπό π(ατρ)ρ(ός) νιων κ(αι) αγιον πν(εύματος) (πορεύεται ἀπό π(ατρ)ρ(ός) νιων κ(αι) αγιον πν(εύματος).ζ).

458 See ff. 47v, 48r, 48v, 49r, 96v, 109r, 109v, 110v, 111r, 112r.
f. 146r, bottom margin, by a later hand (I): Τῶν οὐ(ρα)νίων ταγμάτων τὸ ἀγαλῆςαμα.

A later hand (J), belonging to a monk of Leimonos monastery, added in 1930 in the outer margin of f. 147v: μέσον φύλλων 59-60 λειτουρικῶν ὡς καὶ εἰς τὸ τέλος (1930).

The original binding of the codex does not survive. The only surviving fragments are the grecque and the five chain stitches along the spine456; the holes present a V-shape and the chains are placed in the following stations: 0 (head) – 35 – 90 – 145 – 200 – 255 – 290 (bottom), i.e. in a system in which the distance between the endbands and the outer chain stitches is shorter than the distance between the chain stitches themselves457. The grecque indicates that the binding was of the Byzantine type, without cords.

On the basis of the codicological evidence and a collation of the script with other very similar hands, L should be dated between the second half of the 11th century and the first half of the 12th century. See for example the manuscripts Vat. gr. 463 (AD 1062)458; Moscow State Univ. Libr. cod. 2280 (AD 1072)459; Washington, Dumbarton Oaks 3 (ca. 1084)460; Meteora, Metamorphoseos 548 (AD 1089)461; Jerus. Sab. 259 (AD 1089-1090)462; Crypt. Δ.α. V (an. 1101)463; Crypt. Δ.α. II (a. 1112)464; Par. gr. 1588 [olim Colbert 371] (ca. 1112)465; compare also the hand of Crypt. Δ.α. XIV (11th-12th c.)466, Jerus. Patr. 14 (11th-12th c.)467, Vindob. theol. gr. 136468. Such a date is confirmed by

459 V. D. LIKHACHEVA, Vizantijskaja miniaturja: Pamjatniki vizantijskoj miniaturji IV-XV vekov v sobranijakh Sovjetskogo Sojuza, Moscow 1988, 18-21. It was copied in Constantinople (see KAVRUS-HOFFMANN, 301, and note 61).
460 KAVRUS-HOFFMANN, 296-302 and plate 3. The codex is dated on the basis of its Easter tables, running from 1084 to 1101.
461 LAKE X, p. 18 and plate 756; it was copied in Constantinople, at the monastery of Chora.
463 P. CANART – S. LUCA (eds.), Codici Graeci dell’ Italia meridionale, Roma 2000, p. 97 (including plate); the codex is a Menaión of January, copied in the monastery of Grottaferrata.
464 CANART – LUCA, Codici Graeci..., p. 98 (including plate); the codex is a Menaión of October, copied in the monastery of Grottaferrata.
466 CANART – LUCA, Codici Graeci..., pp. 101-102 (including plate in p. 101); the codex is a Menaión of December, copied probably in the monastery of St Elia di Carbone. In the folio
the ruling type of the codex (see above, pp. 129-130), commonly used in manuscripts of the 11th through the 13th century, and the liturgical minuscule script used in the text, as most of the manuscripts copied in this style are dated to the second half of the 11th c.\textsuperscript{407}

L is silent as far as its provenance is concerned. It offers us though some indirect indications, one of them being its script, pointing to Constantinople, as a number of manuscripts written in the same style «contain direct or indirect evidence that they were made in Constantinople»\textsuperscript{470}. The close relationship between L and codex Hierosolymitanus Sabaticus 70, the latter produced in Constantinople, point to the same direction.

**CODEX HIEROSOLYMITANUS SABATICUS 70 (H)**

11th-12th c.; parchment; 139 fols.; 265x202 mm; written in one column with 30 lines per page; justification 183x132 mm (examined through microfilm).

This codex is a Menaión for June, possessed at some stage by the monastery of Christ the Akataleptos in Constantinople, as its colophon states: «βιβλίον των Σωτήρος των Ακαταλήπτων»\textsuperscript{471}. It is not clear whether it was produced within the monastery of Akataleptos\textsuperscript{472}. A. Papadopoulos – Kerameus, who examined the manuscript, noted that it has the structure of the “ancient Menaión”\textsuperscript{473}.

As mentioned above, H is closely related to L. A codicological examination of the two codices shows that they have similar dimensions (L: 290x250, H: 265x202), both are written on a single column with 30 lines per page, and share the same ruling type. As far as the binding is concerned, in both manuscripts the sewing holes are V-shaped and the chains are placed so that the distance between the endbands and the

reproduced in the book (f. 5r) the scribe uses almost the same abbreviations with the scribe of L for the phrase: ὁ καὶ(νὸν) φέρ(ρων) ἀκρ(ημ)τ(ι)χ(ίδα).

\textsuperscript{407} See **PAPADOPOULOS - KERAMEUS, Ιεροσολυμιτική Βιβλιοθήκη**, vol. 1, pp. 384-388 (two plates in non-numbered folia between pp. 64 and 65).


\textsuperscript{409} See **KAVRUS - HOFFMANN, 294.**

\textsuperscript{470} **KAVRUS - HOFFMANN, 296; she lists codd. Moscow, Rus. Hist Mus. Syn. gr. 511; Moscow State Univ. Libr. 2280; St Petersburg, Rus. Nat. Libr. gr. 214.**

\textsuperscript{471} **PAPADOPOULOS - KERAMEUS, Ιεροσολυμιτική Βιβλιοθήκη, 118. On the monastery of Christ the Akataleptos see JANIN, Églises, 504-506.**

\textsuperscript{472} .......... that in 1299 Maximus Planoudes copied in the monastery a codex containing the so-called Planoudean Anthology and the paraphrase of the Gospel of John by Nonnus of Panopolis (codex Venetianus Marcianus gr. 481).

\textsuperscript{473} See **A. PAPADOPOULOS - KERAMEUS, Ιεροσολυμιτική Βιβλιοθήκη, ήτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις του ἁγιωτάτου ἄποστολικοῦ τε καὶ καθολικοῦ ὀρθόδοξου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ιεροσολύμων καὶ τὰς Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων, vol. 2, St Petersburg 1894, pp. 118-128, and particularly 118. Kerameus dates the manuscript to the end of 10th or the beginning of the 11th century.**
outer chain stitches is shorter than the distance between the chain stitches themselves.

Unfortunately, the manuscripts do not contain any conclusive evidence that would ascertain a common provenance, as L does not preserve a colophon, and the colophon of H does not include the name of the scribe. The script in H, however, is identical to the one used in L, including all the characteristic letters and abbreviations, with very few and minor exceptions (see above and compare plates 1-7 to 8-10). Moreover, both manuscripts present identical initial letters, even if some of them in H are enriched with simple decorative lines and tails.

Apart from the script itself, H and L share the same abbreviations in the instructions [identical for the words κάθισμα (いました), πρός (については), ἧκος (については), στηρατ (については), ὅμοιον (については), and similar for θεοσκόν (については) in L and ὅμοιον (については) in H], the same symbol for the triadika troparia (については), one of the same abbreviations for και (については), the same abbreviation for the names of Joseph and Theophanes (については and については; in H the name of Joseph appears also unabbreviated), the same way of writing the word παρθένε with the accented epsilon suspended and the theta superscribed (については). Similarly, the scribe of H omits the accent in the contracted forms of most of the nomina sacra. Last but not least, he uses the upper point in identical way as the scribe of L, not as a grammatical particle but to subdivide the syntactic periods of the texts into short musical phrases according to the pattern of the chant, thus instructing the choir or the kanonisches on the intervals of the hymn.

In addition, similar headpieces introduce each akolouthia in both manuscripts, very simple combinations of curvilinear lines, points and primitive leaves in red and black ink are employed. The scribe of H uses only one type based on recurrent vertical S-curves. In L various motifs are followed, one of them being the one used in H (ff. 49v, 72r, 75v, 88r, 141r; cf. plates 6 and 10).

However, it should be noted that there are certain characteristics of H not to be found in L, such as joining the adverbial expression διὰ τοῦτο (については), and others of L not found in H, such as the accent on καὶ for καὶ and the breathing on αἵρεσις for αἵρεσις, placing a circumflex instead of an acute on εἰ when followed by a long syllable (see above, p. 132).

In so far as the content of the two manuscripts is concerned, H contains ten of the akolouthiai edited for the first time below, the ones on St Attalos, St Loukilianos, Sts Nikandros and Markianos, St Methodios, Patriarch of Constantinople, St Hypatios of Rouphinianai, St Zosimos, Sts Innas, Pinhas and Rimmans, St Ioulianos, St Zenon and Zenas, and St Joseph and his fellow martyrs. L and H are the only extant manuscripts for two of them, namely the akolouthiai on Sts Nikandros and Markianos, and St Joseph and his fellow martyrs.

The structure of the akolouthiai is the same in both H and L, with the exception that H does not include kontakia and oikoi in most of the akolouthiai. On the folios examined only the ones on St John the Baptist and the Apostles Peter and Paul include kontakia and oikoi, after the kathisma and before the stichera, i.e. in the same position as in L. From this we may assume that the scribe included them only in the
*akolouthia* of the major feasts of the month.

Another remarkable difference in the structure of the two manuscripts is that in L the double *akolouthiai* are mixed, i.e. with the corresponding parts of them copied one after the other, while in H the whole text of the second *akolouthia* is copied after the end of the first.

Let’s now consider the contents of the two *Menaia* preserved in L and H. To start with the saints commemorated, both manuscripts follow the same festal calendar for most of the days, with few exceptions. *Akolouthiai* copied in L but not in H are the ones on St Eustathios, Bishop of Antioch, St Timotheos, Bishop of Proussa, St Pagcharios, and St John of Gotthia. On the other hand, *akolouthiai* copied in H but not in L are the ones on the martyr Doulas (June 13, unpublished)\(^474\), the translation of relics of St Theodore the Sykeotes (June 16, unpublished)\(^475\), and the Apostle Judas (June 19: MV X, 64-67). There is also a difference in the date of the commemoration of Sts Nikandros and Markianos; L celebrates them on the 7th of June while H the day after.

But even in the days with common feasts the text of the two manuscripts is not always the same, as there are cases in which different *kanons* are used to celebrate the same saints, or one of the manuscripts includes two *kanons* on saints on which the other has only one. Different *kanons* are transmitted on St Ioustinos, the prophet Elissaios, Sts Manuel, Savel and Ishmael, St Ioulianos (second *kanon*; the first is the same in both mss), Sts Fevronia and the other female martyrs (second *kanon*; the first, on St Fevronia alone, is the same in both mss), and St Onouphrios. On St Onouphrius L has two *kanons* while H has only one; this applies also for the *akolouthiai* on St Nikephoros, St Loukilianos, St Metrophanes, St Dorotheos, the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, and St Sampson *Xenodochos*. On the other hand, H has an extra *kanon* on St David of Thessalonike and on the Apostle Peter.

As far as the *akolouthiai* edited below are concerned the texts transmitted in the two manuscripts are the same, with a very few stanzas missing in one of them. On St Attalos H includes three *stichera* not copied in L (six in total while L has three; see Appendix II, vv. 1-36). On Sts Innas, Pinnas and Rimmis H offers an extra *kathisma* (Appendix VIII, vv. 1-7). On St Ioulianos an extra *kathisma* is transmitted by L (Text 21, vv. 12-25) and an extra *sticheron* by H (Appendix IX, vv. 1-16). On Sts Nikandros and Markianos L has three more *stichera* not copied in H (Text 7, vv. 19-45).

As far as the textual evidence is concerned, L does not give a significantly better text in any of the *akolouthiai*, while H does so in the *akolouthiai* on St Attalos and Sts Zenon and Zenas. In general, the scribe of L makes more spelling mistakes than the scribe of H. Both manuscripts include both better and worse readings in the *akolouthiai* on Sts Nikandros and Markianos (with H transferring a stanza omitted in

\(^{474}\) See Papadopoulos - Kerameus, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, 122, and Papailiopoulos, Ταμείον, 218, nr 667.

\(^{475}\) See Papadopoulos - Kerameus, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, 123, and Papailiopoulos, Ταμείον, 219, nr 670.
L), St Ioulianos, St Hypatios and St Joseph and his fellow martyrs. In the *akolouthiai* on St Loukilianos, St Methodios, Sts Innas, Pinnas and Rimmas and St Zosimos the two manuscripts transmit the same text without significant variations that could lead us to a safe conclusion on the use of different exemplars by the scribes (see also below, the subsection *Transmission of the Texts*).

Taking all this evidence into consideration we may come to the conclusion that the two manuscripts are copied either by the same hand using different exemplars, or most probably by different copyists trained in the same scriptorium possibly located in Constantinople.

**OTHER EXTANT MANUSCRIPTS**

A = codex *Alexandrinus Patr. 114: Menaion* for June; AD 1342; paper; 189 fol.; 270x195 mm; one column; 20 lines per page on the examined ff.; examined through microfilm.

The manuscript is ascribed by Th. Moschonas to the scribe Zotikos, who copied three *Menaia* from 1342 to 1359, among them a *Menaion* of June, in 1353.

According to Moschonas, some folia in the beginning and the end of the manuscript were copied by another hand. Of the *akolouthiai* edited below A contains the ones dedicated to the martyr Loukilianos (ff. 16v-24r) and the martyrs Manuel, Savel and Ishmael (ff. 103v-108v). Both of them begin with the *stichera*, followed by the *kanon*, which is interrupted by a *kathisma* after the third ode. No *kontakion*, *oikos* or *exapostelaria* is copied. A contains three unpublished *stichera* on Loukilianos, which are not copied in L (see Appendix III, vv. 1-33).

B = codex *Atheniensis Bibl. Nat. 551: Menaion* for May through August; AD 1385; paper (bomb.); 316 fol.; 300x210 mm; one column; 41-42 lines per page; examined in situ.

It is copied by Ioasaf, the Bishop of Drama and later Larissa, who donated it along with fifteen other manuscripts to the monastery of Holy Meteora, as he

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476 The following description of the contents of the manuscripts does not include *theotokia* and *staurothetokia* that in some manuscripts follow *stichera*, *kathismata* and/or *dovastika*.


478 On Zotikos see Vogel – Gardthausen, 127. Th. Michelopoulou, *Λειτουργικά χειρόγραφα 14ου αι.*, has studied a group of liturgical books produced in Alexandria in the period from 1342 until 1353 and expresses the opinion that Zotikos is probably one of the members of a group of copyists who undertook the effort of creating a series of *Menaia*, working in a scriptorium and adopting the same type of handwriting.

confirms in an autograph note at the end of the manuscript. The codex contains two of the akolouthiai edited below, the ones on St Ioustinos (ff. 67r-70r), and St Methodios the Patriarch of Constantinople (ff. 97v-101r). Both of them begin with stichera sung at Κύριε Ἐκκόρεξα, but only in the akolouthia on St Methodios these are followed by stichera sung at Stichos and apolytikion. The Orthros opens with the kanons of the celebrated saints. In both akolouthiai the kanon is interrupted after ode 3 by kathismata. Synaxarian notices are copied in both after ode 6, but only in the akolouthia on St Methodios they are preceded by kontakion and oikos. After the kanon, the text on St Ioustinos includes two exapostelaria, while the one on St Methodios one exapostelarion and a doxastikon sung at Stichos.

Ba = codex Atheniensis Bibl. Nat. 562: Menaión for June and July; 16th c.; parchment; 117 fols.; 310x220 mm; two columns; 48-51 lines per page; examined in situ. The manuscript originally contained also the akolouthiai of August, from which only one (August 4) has survived. It does not preserve a colophon, but from the commemoration of the foundation of the imperial monastery of Pantokrator in Constantinople we may assume that it is of Constantinopolitan origin. Of the akolouthiai edited below, only the one on the martyr Dorotheos, Bishop of Tyre, is copied in Ba, on ff. 7v-9r. It is remarkable that the saint is celebrated not on June 6 but the previous day, as in S, W and O. The akolouthia begins with stichera followed by the kanon, which is interrupted by a kathisma after the third ode and synaxaria after the sixth.

C = codex Atheniensis Benaki Museum 68 (TA 143): Menaión for June (ff. 1r-111v) and July (ff. 112r-205v); 13th c.; parchment; 205 fols.; 245x180 mm; 30 lines per page; justification 183x123 mm; mutilated in the end; examined in situ. The manuscript has been examined by E. Lappa-Zizika and M. Rizou-Couroupou, who noted that many stichera, theotokia, kathismata and kanons are not included in the extant editions and noted the unpublished or mutilated texts. It is copied in the 13th c., probably by Leontios. Headings and instructions are rubricated, but the ink has faded with time, so that the text in many cases is not readable. The manuscript contains two of the akolouthiai edited below, on St Ioustinos (ff. 1r-6r) and St Methodios the Patriarch of Constantinople (ff. 42v-48v). Both of them begin with stichera sung at Κύριε Ἐκκόρεξα, followed in the akolouthia on St Methodios by a sticheron and a doxastikon sung at Stichos of Hesperinos. Then both akolouthiai proceed to Orthros which consists

480 SAKELLION - SAKELLION, Κατάλογος, 110.
481 On which see JANIN, Églises, 515-523, and ODB, III, 1575.
of the kanon, interrupted after the third ode by kathismata. The text on St Methodios also includes kontakion and oikos after the sixth ode, and closes with two exaposteilaria and a doxastikon sung at Stichos.

D = codex Athonisii Dionysiou 406: Menaion of June and July; 14th c.; paper; 294 fols.; two columns; 33 lines per page on the examined folios; examined through microfilm. Of the akolouthiai edited below D contains the one on St Methodios, celebrated together with the prophet Elissaios (ff. 59r-65r). The double akolouthia begins with stichera on both saints sung at Κύριε Ἐκέκραζα, followed by doxastikon on St Elissaios, and a sticheron on St Methodios sung at Stichos of Hesperinos, followed by doxastikon. Then it proceeds to the kanons, interrupted by one kathisma for each saint after the third ode, and kontakion and oikos on the prophet after the sixth, followed by synaxaria on both saints (St Kyrillos, Bishop of Gortyna, and St Ioulitta are also commemorated). The akolouthia closes with exaposteilaria on both saints and doxastikon on Methodios sung at Stichos of Orthros.

Da = codex Athonisii Dionysiou 420: Menaion for June; 15th c.; paper; (?) fols.; one column; 20 lines per page on the examined folios; examined through microfilm. The akolouthiai of June are followed by two akolouthiai on St Dionysios the Athonite and on St John the Baptist. Of the texts edited below Da contains the one on St Methodios the Patriarch of Constantinople, celebrated together with the prophet Elissaios (ff. 116r-127v). The akolouthia begins with stichera on both saints, followed by apolytikion (in the ms: troparion) on St Elissaios and the incipit of the apolytikion on St Methodios (Kavòna πιστεως). There follow the kanons, interrupted after ode 3 by kontakion and oikos on St Methodios and kathismata on both saints. The kontakion and oikos on St Elissaios is copied after the sixth. The akolouthia ends with exaposteilaria on both saints and a doxastikon on St Methodios sung at Stichos of Orthros.

F = codex Athonisii Philoteou 26: Menaion for June; 12th c.; parchment; 203 fols.; one column; 26 lines per page on the examined folios; examined through microfilm. The manuscript contains the akolouthia on St Methodios, celebrated together with the prophet Elissaios (ff. 69r-77v). It begins with stichera on both saints, followed by a doxastikon on St Elissaios, and it proceeds to a sticheron and a doxastikon on Methodios sung at Stichos of Hesperinos, followed by the apolytikion on St Elissaios (in the ms: troparion) and the incipit of the apolytikion on St Methodios (Kavòna πιστεως). The kanons come next, interrupted after the third ode by the kontakion and oikos on St Methodios and kathismata on both saints. The sixth ode is followed by the kontakion and oikos on the prophet. Exaposteilaria on both saints and a doxastikon on St Methodios sung at Stichos of Orthros close the akolouthia.

Fa = codex Athonisii Philoteou 30: Menaion for June; 12th c; parchment; 209 fols.; one column; 24 lines per page on the examined folios; examined through

484 See LAMPROS I, 423.
485 See LAMPROS I, 423.
486 See LAMPROS I, 152.
The manuscript contains only the *akolouthiai* on the saints commemorated from the 1st to the 24th of the month, followed by *stichera theotokia* sung when the *akolouthia* of the saint(s) includes the performance of *Alleluia*. Of the *akolouthia* edited below Fa contains the one on St Methodios, celebrated together with the prophet Elissaios (ff. 80v-90r). It begins with *stichera* on both saints and a *doxastikon* on St Elissaios sung at Κύριε Ἐκέκραξα, followed by a *sticheron* and a *doxastikon* on St Methodios sung at *Stichos of Hesperinos*, and then it proceeds to the *kanons*, interrupted after the third and the sixth odes; the third is followed by the *kontakion* and *oikos* on St Methodios and *kathismata* on both saints, and the sixth by the *kontakion* and *oikos* on the prophet. The *akolouthia* closes with *exapostelaria* on both saints and a *doxastikon* on St Methodios sung at *Stichos of Orthros*.

*Fb* = codex *Athenensis Philotheou 35: Menason for June; 12th c.; parchment; 169 fols.; one column; 31 lines per page on the examined folios; examined through microfilm. The text of the *Menason* is followed by *stichera theotokia* sung when the *akolouthia* of the saint(s) includes the performance of *Alleluia*. Of the *akolouthia* edited below Fb contains the one on St Methodios, celebrated together with the prophet Elissaios (ff. 61r-69r). It begins with *stichera* on both saints and *doxastikon* on St Elissaios sung at Κύριε Ἐκέκραξα, followed by a *sticheron* and a *doxastikon* on St Methodios sung at *Stichos of Hesperinos*, the *apolytikion* (in the ms: *troparion*) on St Elissaios and the incipit of the *apolytikion* on St Methodios (Κανόνα πιστεώς). Then it proceeds to the *kanons*, interrupted after the third and the sixth odes; the third is followed by the *kontakion* and *oikos* on St Methodios and *kathismata* on both saints, and the sixth by the *kontakion* and *oikos* on the prophet. The *akolouthia* closes with *exapostelaria* on both saints and a *doxastikon* on St Methodios sung at *Stichos of Orthros*.

*G* = codex *Athenensis Laurae Δ 45: Menason* for March through August (ff. 1r-?), followed by *Psalterion* (ff. 182r-?), *Triodion* (ff. 204r-?), *Pentekostarion* (ff. 316r-?), *Oktoechos* (ff. 345r-?), *Exapostelaria* and *Doxastika Eothina* (ff. 363r-?), and Gospel reading at *Orthros* (ff. 364r-?); 11th c.; parchment; 364 fols.; 330x230 mm; two columns; 68-70 lines per page on the examined folios; mutilated in the beginning; examined through microfilm. Of the *akolouthia* edited below G contains the one on the martyr Loukilianos (ff. 93r-94r). It begins with *stichera*, followed by the *kanon*, interrupted by the *kathisma* after the third ode and synaxarian notice after the sixth. As the quality of the reproductions used is very low, accents and breathings are almost invisible, something that applies to some parts of the text as well; included in the apparatus are only the orthographical mistakes clearly visible in the copies.

*Ga* = codex *Athenensis Laurae Δ 5: Menason* for May and June; 13th c.; parchment; 126 fols.; 230x160 mm; one column; 30 lines per page on the examined folios; mutilated in both the beginning and the ending; examined through microfilm.

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487 See LAMPROS I, 153.
488 See LAMPROS I, 153.
489 See SPYRIDON - EULTRATIADIS, 57.
codex is briefly described by Spyridon Lauriotis and S. Eustratiadis, who noted that it contains some kanons not found in the Menaia\textsuperscript{490}. It contains one of the akolouthiai edited below, that on St Methodios, celebrated together with the prophet Elissaios (ff. 120r-125r). It opens with stichera on both saints, followed by the kanons, which are interrupted by kathisma, kontakion and oikos on St Elissaios after the third ode, and kathisma, kontakion and oikos on St Methodios after the sixth. It ends with the incipit of the troparion on St Methodios and synaxarian notices on both saints. As the quality of the reproductions used is very low, accents and breathings are almost invisible, which applies to some parts of the text as well; included in the apparatus are only the orthographical mistakes clearly visible in the copies.

Gb = codex Athonis Lauroe Δ 7: Menaion for May and June; 13\textsuperscript{th} c.; parchment; 137 fols.; 230x170 mm; one column; 23 lines per page on the examined folios; mutilated in beginning and ending; examined through microfilm\textsuperscript{491}. The manuscript has been very briefly presented by Spyridon Lauriotis and S. Eustratiadis, who noted that it includes some kanons not to be found in the printed Menaia. It contains one of the akolouthiai edited below, that on St Methodios, celebrated together with the prophet Elissaios (ff. 58r-67r). It begins with stichera on both saints and a doxastikon on Elissaios sung at Κύριε Ἐκέκραξα, followed by a sticheron and a doxastikon on St Methodios sung at Stichos of Hesperinos, the apolytikion (in the ms: troparion) on Elissaios and the incipit of the apolytikion on St Methodios (Κανόνα πιστεως). Then it proceeds to the kanons, interrupted after the third and the sixth odes; the third is followed by kontakion and oikos on St Methodios and kathisma on both saints, and the sixth by kontakion and oikos on the prophet. The akolouthia closes with exapostelaria on both saints and a doxastikon on Methodios sung at Stichos of Orthos.

Gc = codex Athonis Lauroe Θ 44: Menaion for June; AD 1426; paper; 312 fols.; 210x130 mm; one column; 20 lines per page on the examined folios; examined through microfilm\textsuperscript{492}. The manuscript is copied in 1426 by Philotheos, as the colophon at its end witnesses: «Ἐτελευθη ἐν ἑτερι Ἀθηνών Παντοτικοῖς Ἐκεκρασάτος Τεοτικοῖς ἅ τε ὑμεῖς ἐν Θεοτικοῖς καὶ Χειρὶ Φιλοθεοῦ. Δόξα σοι ἁγία τριάς ἐνεκα πάντων ἁμήν»\textsuperscript{493}. Spyridon and Eustratiadis, who described it very briefly, noted that it contains many kanons not included in the printed Menaia. Of the akolouthiai edited below Gc contains only the akolouthia on St Methodios, celebrated together with the prophet Elissaios (ff. 115r-129r). It begins with stichera on both saints and a doxastikon on St Elissaios sung at Κύριε Ἐκέκραξα, followed by a sticheron and a doxastikon on St Methodios sung at Stichos of Hesperinos, the incipits of the apolytikia (in the ms: troparia) on St Elissaios (Ὁ ἐνορκικός ἄγγελος) and St Methodios (Κανόνα πιστεώς). Then it proceeds to the kanons, interrupted after the third and the sixth odes; the third is followed by kontakion and oikos on St Methodios and kathisma on both saints, and

\textsuperscript{490} See Spyridon - Eustratiadis, 53.
\textsuperscript{491} See Spyridon - Eustratiadis, 53.
\textsuperscript{492} See Spyridon - Eustratiadis, 139.
\textsuperscript{493} On Philotheos see Vogel – Gardthausen, 420.
the sixth by kontakion and oikos on the prophet. The akolouthia closes with exaposteilaria on both saints and a doxastikon on St Methodios sung at Stichos of Orthros.

Gd = codex Athonensis Laurae Ω 147: Menaion for March through August; AD 1435; paper; 464 fols.; 400x270 mm; two columns; 45 lines per page on the examined folios; mutilated in the beginning; examined through microfilm. The manuscript is copied in 1435 by the monk Moses, as the colophon at its end confirms: Ευελειώθη τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἐν ἑτεὶ Καθημένῳ ἱδ. ἵνα διὰ συνδρομῆς καὶ ἔξοδον τοῦ τιμωτάτου κυρίου Μελέτιον καὶ διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ τοῦ παναθλίου Μωνάσεως μοναχοῦ. It contains the akolouthia on St Methodios, celebrated together with the prophet Elissaioi (ff. 234r-237v). It begins with stichera on both saints and doxastikon on St Elissaios sung at Κύριε Ἐκκραξά, followed by a sticheron and a doxastikon on St Methodios sung at Stichos of Hesperinos, the apolytikion (in the ms. troparion) on St Elissaios and the incipit of the apolytikion on St Methodios (Κανόνα πίστεως). Then it proceeds to the kanons, interrupted after the third and the sixth odes; the third is followed by kontakion and oikos on St Methodios and kathismata on both saints, and the sixth by kontakion and oikos on the prophet and synaxaria on both saints (St Kyrillos, the Bishop of Gortyna, and St Ioulitta are also commemorated). The akolouthia closes with exaposteilaria on both saints and a doxastikon on St Methodios sung at Stichos of Orthros.

Ge = codex Athonensis Laurae Θ 135: Menaion for June; 15th c.; paper; 279 fols.; 210x120 mm; mutilated in beginning and ending. Spyridon and Eustratiadis, who described it very briefly, noted that it contains synaxaria and kanons not included in the printed Menaia. The manuscript contains the akolouthia on St Methodios. For technical reasons it has not been possible to examine the manuscript.

Ha = codex Hierosolymitanus Sabaiticus 72: Menaion for April (ff. 1-59), May (ff. 60-121), June (ff. 122-176) and July (ff. 177-227); 12th c.; parchment; 227 fols.; 255x185 mm; one column; 33-37 lines per page; justification 180x120; examined through microfilm. Of the akolouthiai edited below Ha contains the one on St Attalos, which occupies ff. 122r-124r and consists of kathisma, three stichera and kanon.

I = codex Athonensis Ieremon 800: Menaion for June; 15th c.; paper; (?) fols.; two columns; 36 lines per page on the folios examined; mutilated in the ending; examined through microfilm. Of the akolouthiai edited below I contains that on St Methodios, celebrated together with the prophet Elissaios (ff. 51r-56r). It begins with stichera on

494 See Spyridon - Eustratiadis, 362.
495 On the monk Moses see Vogel – Gardhausen, 326, where one more manuscript of his is listed (codex Athonensis Laurae E 189, Menaion of January and February, funded also by Meletios).
496 See Spyridon-Eustratiadis, 154.
497 Papailiopoulos, Ταμείου, 218, notes that the kanon is copied on ff. 104r-112v.
499 See Lampros II, 226.
both saints and doxastikon on St Elissaios sung at Κύριε Ἐκέκραξα, followed by a sticheron and a doxastikon on St Methodios sung at Stichos of Hesperinos, the apolytikon (in the ms: troparion) on St Elissaios and the incipit of the apolytikon on St Methodios (Κανόνα πιστευως). Then it proceeds to the kanons, interrupted after the third and the sixth odes; the third is followed by the kontakion and oikos on St Methodios and kathismata on both saints, and the sixth by the kontakion and oikos on the prophet and synaxaria on both saints (St Kyrillos, the Bishop of Gortyna, and St Ioulitta are also commemorated). The akolouthia closes with exaposteliaaria on both saints and a doxastikon on St Methodios sung at Stichos of Orthros.

La = codex Athonensis Iveron 857: Menaion for June; 15th c.; paper; 307 fols.; one column; 20 lines per page on the folios examined; mutilated in beginning and ending; examined through microfilm. The manuscript contains five of the akolouthiai edited below, those on St Ioustinos (ff. 1r-11r; beginning mutilated; inc.: ἧμερας και παρθένος τούτον ἐν σταυρῷ θεωροῦνα λύπης τῇ ῥομαία ἐτερωκέτο (=staurotheotokion of the stichera sung at Stichos of Hesperinos)), the martyr Dorotheos, Bishop of Tyre (celebrated on June 5, together with St Eustathios of Antioch; ff. 33v-42v), St Hypatios of Roupheinianai (ff. 165r-177r), the martyrs Innas, Pinnas and Rimmus and the martyr Ioulianos (celebrated together on June 21; ff. 216v-226v). All of them begin with stichera and then they proceed to the kanons, interrupted by kathismata after the third ode and sets of kontakion and oikos after the sixth. Exaposteliaaria and prosomoiia sung at Ainoi close the akolouthiai.

K = codex Athonensis Panteleimonos 80: Menaion for June; 13th c.; parchment; 172 fols.; 234x182 mm; one column; 24 lines per page on the examined folios; examined through microfilm. The manuscript contains the akolouthia on St Methodios, celebrated together with the prophet Eliassaios (ff. 69v-76r). It begins with stichera on both saints and doxastikon on St Elissaios sung at Κύριε Ἐκέκραξα, followed by a sticheron and a doxastikon on St Methodios sung at Stichos of Hesperinos, the apolytikon (in the ms: troparion) on St Elissaios and the incipit of the apolytikon on St Methodios (Κανόνα πιστευως). Then it proceeds to the kanons, interrupted after the third and the sixth odes; the third is followed by kontakion and oikos on St Methodios and kathismata on both saints, and the sixth by kontakion and oikos on the prophet. The akolouthia closes with exaposteliaaria on both saints and a doxastikon on St Methodios sung at Stichos of Orthros.

Ka = codex Athonensis Panteleimonos 705: Menaion for March through August; AD 1498; paper; 574 fols.; 320x210 mm; two columns; 27 lines per page on the examined folios; examined through microfilm. According to its colophon, preserved on f. 574v, it is copied in 1498 by the monk Kyrillos from Nafpaktos: «Τῷ Θεῷ πρέπει δόξα ἐν ἔτει Ἰερόνυμου Ἰουλίου Κυριλλον (=1498). Κυριλλο

500 See LAMPROS II, 231.
501 See LAMPROS II, 290.
502 See LAMPROS II, 418.
The manuscript contains the akolouthia on St Methodios, celebrated together with the prophet Elissaios (ff. 206v-212v). The akolouthia begins with stichera on both saints and doxastikon on St Elissaios sung at Κύριε Εκεκραξα, followed by a sticheron and a doxastikon on St Methodios sung at Stichos of Hesperinos, and the incipit of the apolytikion (in the ms: troparion) on St Elissaios (Ὁ ἐνσαρκος ἄγγελος) and on St Methodios (Κανόνα πιστεως). Then it proceeds to the kanons, interrupted after the third and the sixth odes; the third is followed by kontakion and oikos on St Methodios and kathismata on both saints, and the sixth by kontakion and oikos on the prophet. The akolouthia closes with exapostelaria on both saints and a doxastikon on St Methodios sung at Stichos of Orthros.

La = codex Lesbiacus Leimoneos 183: Menaion for June; 17th c.; paper; 215 fols.; 215x155 mm; one column; 20 lines per page; justification 140x95 mm; examined in situ. The manuscript contains the akolouthia on St Methodios, celebrated together with the prophet Elissaios (ff. 82r-91v). The akolouthia begins with stichera on both saints and doxastikon on St Elissaios sung at Κύριε Εκεκραξα, followed by a sticheron and a doxastikon on St Methodios sung at Stichos of Hesperinos, the apolytikion (in the ms: troparion) on St Elissaios and the incipit of the one on St Methodios (Κανόνα πιστεως). Then it proceeds to the kanons, interrupted after the third and the sixth odes; the third is followed by kontakion and oikos on St Methodios and kathismata on both saints, and the sixth by kontakion and oikos on the prophet. The akolouthia closes with exapostelaria on both saints and a doxastikon on St Methodios sung at Stichos of Orthros. La contains also a kathisma on St Loukilianos (f. 11v; Text 3, vv. 7-17).

M = codex Metereonis Metamorphoseos 150: Menaion for May (ff. 1r-59v?), June (ff. 60r-117v?), July (ff. 118r-177v?) and August (ff. 178r-234v?); 12th c.; parchment; 234 fols.; 215x160 mm; one column; 32 lines per page (not always); justification 185x125 mm; mutilated in the beginning; not accessible to me. The manuscript has been donated to the monastery by the priest Nikandros, who composed in a 15th-century script the following note on f. 234v: Ἡ ἄρχην του στηλου τα βιβλια τα ηθερα εγω ὅ πασα νηκανθος τεταραγηγελων πραξεποστολουν μινεων δ’ μινων ωκτακι / στενωρραφηνυ τυπικον πατερηκον άναγνωστικων τρηθονυ ἐγκλωτουμεν ζ’ μινων. Of the akolouthiai edited below M contains the one on the martyrs Innas, Pinnas and Rimmis, which occupies ff. 90v?-94v?.

N = codex Athonensis Vatopediou 1108: Menaion for May (ff. 1r-214v?) and June

503 On the monk Kyrillos see Vogel – Gardthausen, 238-239, where twelve more manuscript copied by him are listed; nine of them are Menaia.

504 See Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Μανουφορδατειος Βιβλιοθηκη, 102, where the following description is given: «Τεύχος χαρτών εἰς 80ν (0,215x0,15) τῆς ΙΖ’ ἐκατ. Ἐλληνεῖται τὸ τέλος. Μηναίον Ιουνίου».

(ff. 215r-467v?); 15th c.; paper; 482 fols.; 220x130 mm; one column; 24 lines per page on the examined folios; examined through microfilm. The text of Menaia is followed by stichera theotokia sung when the akolouthia on the saint includes Alleluia. N contains the akolouthia on St Methodios, celebrated with the prophet Elissaios (ff. 313v-323r). The akolouthia begins with stichera on both saints sung at Κύριε Ἐκείμενα, followed by doxastikon on St Elissaios, and a sticheron on Methodios sung at Stichos of Hesperinos, followed by doxastikon. Then it proceeds to the kanons, interrupted by kontakion and oikos on St Methodios and one kathisma for each saint after the third ode, and kontakion and oikos on the prophet after the sixth, followed by synaxarian notices on both saints (St Kyrillos, Bishop of Gortyna, is also commemorated). The akolouthia closes with exaposteilaria on both saints and doxastikon on St Methodios sung at Stichos of Orthros.

Na = codex Athonensis Vatopediou 1110: Menaion for June; 15th c.; paper; 306 fols. (mut. beg.); 220x130 mm; one column; 25-27 lines per page on the examined folios; mutilated in the beginning; examined through microfilm. It is copied by Ignatios Kastanomytis, who composed a colophon on f. 306r: «Ἡ παρονία τετέλεσται βιβλίος ταίς οίκειαις χεράς τοῦ γραφαντος Ἑγαντίου τὸ ἐπόνυμον καὶ τῇ ἐπικλήσει τοῦ Καστανομύτη». Na contains the akolouthia on St Methodios, celebrated with the prophet Elissaios (ff. 80v-93r). The akolouthia is the same with the one described in the previous paragraph (codex N).

O = codex Oxoniensis Bodleianus graecus liturgicus e 6: Menaion for June; 16th c. (first half); paper; II+205+β fols.; 212x150 mm; one column; 20-22 lines per page; justification 147x100-105 mm; examined in situ. The manuscript has been examined recently by B. Crostini Lappin, not without errors. It is copied by one scribe who made a significant number of spelling mistakes. It has been suggested that O is perhaps of Cypriot origin or destined to a Cypriot community in exile, due to the commemoration of St Triphyllios, a saint not often met in the Menaia. In two cases of saints celebrated in both L and O, the dates of the commemoration are different: St Dorotheos is commemorated on June 5 (6 in L), and Sts Nikandros and Markianos on June 9 (7 in L).

O contains two of the akolouthiai edited below, one dedicated to St Dorotheos,

506 See ESTRATIADIS - ARKADOS, 193.
507 Note that there is an unnumbered folio between ff. 315 and 316.
508 See ESTRATIADIS - ARKADOS, 194-195.
510 See CROSTINI LAPPIN, Catalogue, 107. St Triphyllios, the Bishop of Nicosia in Cyprus (†293 AD), was a Cypriot. He studied law in the school of Beirut and he became one of the most recognised rhetors of Cyprus. Before being appointed as Bishop of Leukosia he served as a deacon under St Spyridon, Bishop of Tremithus. He attended the synod of Sardica (343 AD) and he wrote a number of works that have not survived. See BHG 2462; ESTRATIADIS, Ἀγιολόγιον, 452.
Bishop of Tyre (ff. 23r-24v and 9r-10v; the codex transmits the second kathisma of the akolouthia [Text 6, vv. 8-18], the second kanon [vv. 233-392] and a different exapostelarion [Appendix IV, vv. 6-14]), and the other to Sts Manuel, Savel and Ishmael (ff. 99r-105v; O contains a different kathisma [Appendix VI, vv. 1-17], three stichera one of which different [Text 17, vv. 80-103 and Appendix VI, vv. 41-51], and the kanon [Text 17, vv. 131-334]). In addition, fragments of nine more akolouthiai edited below survive in O, as parts of different akolouthiai on the same saints: a kathisma on St Loukillianos (f. 17v; Text 3, vv. 12-22), three stichera on the martyrs Nikandros and Markianos (ff. 40v-41r; Text 7, vv. 32-58), a kathisma on the Apostle Bartholomew (ff. 53v-54r; Text 11, vv. 6-22), a sticheron on St Onouphrios (f. 60v; Text 12, vv. 58-69), three stichera on the prophet Elissaios (ff. 76v-77r; Text 14, vv. 110-130), three stichera on St Methodios (ff. 77r-v; Text 14, vv. 80-109), one sticheron on the Nativity of St John the Baptist (f. 138v; Text 24, vv. 85-97), and three stichera on St Sampson the Xenodochos (ff. 168v-169r; Text 27, vv. 73-108).

P = codex Parisinus graecus 1575: Menaion for May through August including synaxaria; 12th c.; parchment; 221 fols.; one column; 57-62 lines per page; examined through microfilm511. P contains two of the akolouthiai edited below, those on St Zosimos (ff. 123r-v) and St Methodios (ff. 194r-195r). St Zosimos is celebrated on June 20 (both the printed Menaia and the rest of the manuscript tradition place his commemoration on June 19) and St Methodios on June 9 (instead of 14). Both akolouthiai consist of stichera and kanon, interrupted after the sixth ode by kathisma and synaxarion.

Pa = codex Parisinus graecus 245: Menaion for June; 13th c.; paper; (?) pp.; 34-40 lines per page on the examined folios; examined through microfilm. The scribe makes a good number of spelling mistakes; there are also some stanzas missing. Of the akolouthiai edited below Pa contains those on the martyr Loukillianos (pp. 8-12), the martyr Pagcharios (pp. 62-68) and St Methodios (pp. 308-310). The akolouthia on St Loukillianos starts with stichera, followed by kanon, which is interrupted twice, after the third ode by kathisma and synaxarian reading, and after the sixth by kontakion and oikos. The akolouthia on St Pagcharios consists of stichera, kanon and a kathisma after the third ode, followed by synaxarian readings. The akolouthia on St Methodios contains stichera and kanon, interrupted by kathisma and synaxarion after the third ode. As the quality of the reproductions used is low, accents and breathings are almost invisible, something that applies to some parts of the text as well; included in the apparatus are only the orthographical mistakes clearly visible in the copies.

Pb = codex Parisinus graecus 1566: Menaion for May and June; 14th c.; parchment; 196 fols.; 32-34 lines per page on the examined folios; examined through microfilm512.


512 See Omont, Inventaire sommaire, 97.
It contains one of the akolouthiai edited below, the one on the martyrs Manuel, Savel and Ishmael (ff. 142r-145v). It opens with stichera followed by doxastikon (accompanied with musical notation), and then it proceeds to the kanon, which is interrupted by kathisma after the third ode, and by kontakion and oikos after the sixth.

**Pc** = codex Parisinus graecus 1567: Menaion for June; 14th c.; parchment; 75 fols.; 40-41 lines per page on the examined folios; examined through microfilm. Pc contains the akolouthia on St Methodios, celebrated together with the prophet Elissaios (ff. 33v-37r). It begins with an apolytikon (in the ms: τροπάριον) on Elissaios, followed by two kathismata, two sets of kontakion and oikos, two sets of three stichera and two doxastika. Then it proceeds to the kanons on St Elissaios and St Methodios copied the one after the end of the other. There follow an exaposteilarion on St Elissaios, synaxarion on the prophet Helias, St Kyrillos of Gortyna and St Methodios, instructions on the synaxis of St Methodios and the instruction: «ἡ ἀκολουθία τοῖς ζητοῦμεν· μαίνω· λά».

**Pd** = codex Parisinus graecus 345: Menaion for June; 15th c.; paper; 265 fols.; 21 lines per page on the examined folios; examined through microfilm. It contains, on ff. 98r-110r, the akolouthia on St Methodios, celebrated with the prophet Elissaios. The akolouthia begins with stichera on both saints sung at Κύριε Ἐκεκραξά, followed by doxastikon on St Elissaios, and a sticheron on Methodios sung at Stichos of Hesperinos, followed by doxastikon and apolytikon (in the ms: troparion) on St Elissaios. Then it proceeds to the kanons, interrupted by kontakion and oikos on St Methodios and one kathisma for each saint after the third ode, and kontakion and oikos on the prophet after the sixth. The akolouthia closes with exaposteilaria on both saints and doxastikon on St Methodios sung at Stichos of Orthros.

**Q** = codex Chalcensis Panaghias 42: Menaion for June, July and August; 15th c.; paper; 336 fols; 300x210 mm; 34 lines per page; examined through microfilm. The manuscript has been studied by Bishop Athenagoras, who presents a very brief palaeographic description and a detailed comparison of its contents with those of the printed Menaia; he also notes the akolouthiai and the dates differing from the present commemoration of the saints. For some days the readings of the Orthros and the Divine Liturgy are included (apostle and gospel readings at the Liturgy on June 11, 14, 24, 29 and 30, gospel reading at Orthros on June 24 and 29). The codex is copied by a single hand. In various places supplements have been made by the hand of Gregorios the priest and monk of the Monastery of St John the Baptist on the island of Sozopolis, who also rebound it, as witnessed by two notes he composed. The main scribe employs many abbreviations and makes a good number of spelling

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513 See Omont, Inventaire sommaire, 97.
514 See Omont, Inventaire sommaire, 35.
515 See Bishop Athenagoras, Περιγραφικός κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς ἐν νήσῳ Χάλκη Ιερᾶς Μονῆς τῆς Παναγίας, EEBS 10 (1933) 282-284, and particularly 282-283.
516 See Athenagoras, Περιγραφικός κατάλογος, 283.
517 See Athenagoras, Περιγραφικός κατάλογος, 283-284.
mistakes. Q contains the *akolouthia* on St Ioustinos (ff. 1r-5r). It consists of stichera sung at *Kύριε Ἐκέκραξα, kanon*, interrupted by *kathisma* after the third ode, and *exapostellaria*.

R = codex *Cryptensis 385: Anthologia* for March through August, including *synaxaria*; 15th-16th c.; paper; 245 fols.; 296x207 mm; two columns; 34-35 lines per page. It contains one of the *akolouthiai* edited below, that on St Methodios, which occupies ff. 70r-76v. For technical reasons it has not been possible to examine the manuscript.

S = codex *Sinaiticus graecus 620: Menaion* for June; 10th c.; parchment; 160 fols.; 260x210 mm; 30 lines per page on the examined folios; examined through microfilm. It has been presented very briefly by V. Gardthausen and M. Kamil. S contains two of the *akolouthiai* edited below, those on the martyr Dorotheos, Bishop of Tyre (ff. 35v-38r), and St Hypatios of Rouphinianai, celebrated together with Sts Manuel, Savel and Ishmael (ff. 83v-91v). Both of the *akolouthiai* consist of *kathisma, stichera* and *kanon*. A contains also a fragment of the *akolouthia* on Sts Manuel, Savel and Ishmael edited below, namely the *stichera* (Text 17, vv. 80-103).

Sa = codex *Sinaiticus graecus 550: 13th c.*; parchment; 491 fols.; 355x250 mm; two columns; 73 lines per page on the examined folios; examined through microfilm. The codex has been described by V. Gardthausen and M. Kamil; the former presents it as Πανδέκτη and the latter as *Pentekostarion*. Sa contains the *akolouthia* on St Methodios, celebrated with the prophet Elissaios (ff. 315v-316v). The *akolouthia* begins with *stichera* on both saints sung at *Kύριε Ἐκέκραξα, followed by doxastikon on St Elissaios, a *sticheron* on St Methodios sung at *Stichos of Hesperinos*, followed by doxastikon, *apolytikion* (in the ms: *troparion*) on St Elissaios and the incipit of the *apolytikion* on St Methodios (*Κανόνα πιστεως*). Then it proceeds to the *kanons*, interrupted by *kontakion* and *oikos* on St Methodios and one *kathisma* for each saint after the third ode, and *kontakion* and *oikos* on the prophet after the sixth, followed by synaxarian notices on both saints (St Kyrillos, Bishop of Gortyna, and St Ioulitta are also commemorated). The *akolouthia* closes with *exapostellaria* on both saints and *doxastikon* on St Methodios sung at *Stichos of Orthros*.

Sb = codex *Sinaiticus graecus 630: Menaion* for June, July and August; 13th c.; parchment; 198 fols.; two columns; 320x225-235 mm; 41-43 lines per page on the examined folios; examined through microfilm. It contains two of the *akolouthiai*.

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519 See V. Gardthausen, *Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Sinaiticorum*, Oxonii 1886, p. 144; M. Kamil, *Catalogue of All Manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catharine in Mount Sinai*, Wiesbaden 1970, p. 96 (note that he presents the manuscript wrongly as *Menologion*).

520 See Gardthausen, 549; Kamil, 93.

521 See Gardthausen, 146; Kamil, 97 (note that he presents the manuscript wrongly as *Menologion*).
edited below, those on the martyr Loukillanos (ff. 4v-6r) and the martyr Pangharios (ff. 24r-25v). Both of them consist of stichera, apolytikion, kanon, kathisma after the third ode and synaxarian notice after the sixth.

**Sc** = codex *Sinaiticus graecus* 639: *Menaion* for March through August; AD 1484; paper; 471 fols.; 292x220 mm; two columns; 30 lines per page; examined through microfilm. It is copied by Nikolaos Litard[is], who composed the following colophon: «Εὐελειωθή το παρον βιβλιον ἐν ἔτει . . . δια χειρός ἑμών Νικολάου τον κατά κόσμον λιταρ’δ’». Sc contains the *akolouthia* on St Methodios, celebrated with the prophet Elissaios (ff. 241v-247r). The *akolouthia* begins with *stichera* on both saints sung at Κύριε Ἐκέκραξα, followed by *doxastikon* on St Elissaios, a *sticheron* on St Methodios sung at *Stichos of Hesperinos*, followed by *doxastikon*, *apolytikia* (in the ms: *troparia*) on St Elissaios and St Methodios. Then it proceeds to the *kanons*, interrupted by *kontakion* and *oikos* on St Methodios and one *kathisma* for each saint after the third ode, and *kontakion* and *oikos* on the prophet after the sixth. The *akolouthia* closes with *exaposteilaria* on both saints and *doxastikon* on St Methodios sung at *Stichos of Orthros*.

**Sd** = codex *Sinaiticus graecus* 642: *Anthologion* for January through August; AD 1523; paper; 498 fols.; 290x210 mm; two columns; 29 lines per page on the examined folios; examined through microfilm. It is copied in 1523, according to the colophon at its end: «αφικύνησαν τιθ». Sd contains the *akolouthia* on St Methodios, celebrated with the prophet Elissaios (ff. 303r-309v). The *akolouthia* begins with *stichera* on both saints sung at Κύριε Ἐκέκραξα, followed by *doxastikon* on St Elissaios, a *sticheron* on St Methodios sung at *Stichos of Hesperinos*, followed by *doxastikon*, *apolytikion* (in the ms: *troparion*) on St Elissaios and the incipit of the *apolytikion* on St Methodios (Κανόνα πιστεύως). Then it proceeds to the *kanons*, interrupted by *kontakion* and *oikos* on St Methodios and one *kathisma* for each saint after the third ode, and *kontakion* and *oikos* on the prophet after the sixth. The *akolouthia* closes with *exaposteilaria* on both saints and *doxastikon* on St Methodios sung at *Stichos of Orthros*.

**Se** = codex *Sinaiticus graecus* 640: *Menaion* for November, June and July, including *synaxaria* on saints commemorated; AD 1539; paper; 452 fols.; 310x205 mm; two columns; 31 lines per page on the examined folios; examined through microfilm. It preserves the following colophon at the end of November: «τέλος εἰληφές μηρός τοῦ Νοεμβρίου ἀφλά». The scribe makes a good number of spelling mistakes. Se transmits one of the *akolouthiai* edited below, that on the martyr Loukillanos, which occupies ff. 221r-224r. It contains *stichera* sung at Κύριε Ἐκέκραξα, and *kanon*, interrupted by *kathisma* after the third ode.

**V** = codex *Vaticanus Regius graecus* 62: *Menaion* for May and June; 13th c.;

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522 See GARDTHAUSEN, 147-148; KAMIL, 97 (he presents it wrongly as *Menologion*).
523 See VOGEL - GARDTHAUSEN, 350.
524 See GARDTHAUSEN, 148; KAMIL, 98.
525 See GARDTHAUSEN, 148; KAMIL, 97 (he presents it wrongly as *Menologion*).
parchment; 138 fols.; 28-31 lines per page on the examined folios; examined through microfilm. The manuscript is copied by the priest Attaleiotes as the colophon on f. 138r witnesses: «λ μήν /...χεσθαί ἐπερ εμον / κν ἱερέως.../ στιχαρτον/ ἀμήν». He makes a huge amount of orthographical mistakes, which will not appear in the apparatus. V contains four of the akolouthiai edited below, on St Attalos (ff. 70r-72r), the martyr Loukillianos (ff. 74r-76v), St Zosimos (ff. 111r-113r) and the martyrs Zenon and Zenas (ff. 116r-120r). All of them consist of kathisma, stichera and kanon.

VA = codex Vaticanus graecus 787: Menaion for May (ff. 1r-60v), June (ff. 61r-120v), July (ff. 122r-167v) and August (ff. 168r-229v); 14th c.; parchment; 229 fols.; 315x225 mm; two columns; 43-45 lines per page; examined through microfilm. The scribe makes a good number of spelling mistakes, not important for the transmission of the text. R. Devreese noted that special attention should be paid to the celebration of the martyrs Orestes, Diomedes and Rhidon and the martyr Zosimos. The latter is the only of the akolouthiai edited below included in VA (ff. 94r-95v). It begins with stichera and then it proceeds to the kanon, interrupted by kathisma after the third ode and synaxarion after the sixth.

VB = codex Vaticanus graecus 1558: Menaion for June, including synaxarian notices; 16th c.; paper; III+236 fols.; 205x150 mm; 20-25 lines per page; examined through microfilm. The scribe makes a good number of spelling mistakes. VB contains two of the akolouthiai edited below, those on the martyr Loukillianos (ff. 10v-15v) and St Methodios, celebrated together with the prophet Elissaios (ff. 65r-76r). The akolouthia on Loukillianos starts with stichera sung at Κύριε Ἐκέκραξα and then it proceeds to the kanon, interrupted by kathisma after the third ode and by kontakion, oikos and synaxarion after the sixth; an exapostelarion closes the akolouthia. The text on St Methodios and St Elissaios opens with stichera on both saints sung at Κύριε Ἐκέκραξα, followed by doxastikon on St Elissaios, sticheron and doxastikon sung at Stichos of Hesperinos, and apolytikion on St Elissaios. There follow kanons on both saints, interrupted by kathismata on both saints after the third ode and by kontakion, oikos and synaxarion after the sixth. Exapostelarion on St Elissaios, doxastikon on St Methodios sung at Stichos of Orthros and liturgical instructions on what is sung in the Divine Liturgy close the akolouthia.

W = codex Vindobonensis Theologicus graecus 33: Menaion for March (ff. 1r-28r),


527 PITRA, Codices Manuscripti Graeci, 53. On Attaleiotes see VOGEL – GARDTHAUSEN, 47.


529 See DEVREESSE, Codices Vaticani Graeci, 304.

April (ff. 29r-56v), May (ff. 57r-81v), June (ff. 82r-109v), July (ff. 110r-143v) and August (ff. 144r-180v); 13th c. (second half; ff. 181-184 15th c.); parchment (ff. 181-184 paper); 184 fols.; 314-333x217-225 mm; two columns; 69-72 lines per page; examined through microfilm. H. Hunger and O. Kreten have described the manuscript in detail. The text of the Menia is followed by kanon (ff. 181r-183v) and an encomium on Theotokos (f. 184r) copied in the 15th c. by Demetrios Sgouropoulos. Folios 1r-180v are most probably copied by a single hand that makes a good number of spelling mistakes. The manuscript contains two of the akolouthiai edited below, those on martyr Dorotheos, Bishop of Tyre (ff. 85r-85v), and St Methodios (ff. 93v-94v). The akolouthia on St Dorotheos begins with stichera, followed by the kanon, interrupted after the sixth ode by kathisma and synaxarion. The akolouthia on St Methodios, celebrated not on June 14 but two days later, has exactly the same structure. It is noteworthy that two idiomela stichera are accompanied by musical notation.

TRANSMISSION OF THE TEXTS

The transmission of the hymnographical works edited below is so complex in terms of sources that it is impossible at this stage to reconstruct the stemma codicum of each akolouthia. The manuscript tradition of liturgical hymns is — as the authors of two monumental works on the History of Byzantine Literature, e.g. K. Krumbacher and A. Kazhdan, have noted with a century-interval between them — far from simple; one of the reasons is that the texts have been already in Byzantine times open to interventions by copyists and choirs, who changed in numerous instances the texts according to their own aesthetic, grammatical, theological and even historical criteria, creating difficult problems to the editors of the texts.

For the akolouthiai on St Metrophanes, Sts Fevronia and the other female martyrs, Sts David and John, and St Sampson L constitutes the codex unicus. The edition of the akolouthia on St Onouphrios is also based on L alone, as its manuscript tradition is not yet explored. The rest of the akolouthiai are transmitted in a varying number of manuscripts, the collation of which shows the following relationships for each akolouthia:

St Ioustinos the Philosopher (Text 1; ms. tradition: LCBQIa).
All the manuscripts celebrate St Ioustinos on June 1, L together with St Attalos, and


CBQ1a with St Ioustinos and his fellow martyrs. L omits—because of its mutilation—the beginning of the akolouthia, i.e. the kathisma, the set of kontakion and oikos (if they existed originally), and most part of the stichera; for the kanon it transmits in principle the same text as the other manuscripts. All the manuscripts include the same kanon with an impressive number of variant omissions of stanzas.

(1) CBQ1a represent the later version of Menaiia, where kathisma are copied after the third ode of the kanon and not at the beginning of the akolouthia, as in L. Compared to L they omit two stanzas of the kanon (vv. 178-183, 236-241), they jointly transmit different stanzas in vv. 204-210, 288-293, 395-398 (Appendix I, vv. 1-13, 33-39), and they present variant readings in vv. 184-185 (Γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων δία σοῦ νιόθεσίας τυχὸν θεονύμφευτε L: Γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων δία σοῦ νιόθεσίας τυχὸν ἄπαν πάναγεν Ia: ᾿Απαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων δία σοῦ νιόθεσίας τυχὸν γένος πάναγεν CBQ), 242-244 (Ὥθησαν εἰς χάος ἀφανὲς τὸν ὀὐθήσαντα ἐκχρόν τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν τοὺς ἀρχηγοὺς ἐν τῷ ἑδέμ L: Ὁθησει με ωθῶν εἰς ἀφανεῖ τὸν ὀὐθήσαντα χάος τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν CBQ, Ὁθήσαντα σωσει με ωθῶν εἰς ἀφανὲς τὸν ὀὐθήσαντα χάος τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν Ia), 247 (καὶ τοὺς πεσόντας L: τοὺς γὰρ πεσόντας CBQ1a), 258 (ἐνδείξεων L: ἐνδείξεις CBQ1a), 382 (μάρτυς L: om. CBQ1a), 394 (ὡνισχύ L: ἔνστασιν CBQ1a) and 409 (Τῇ Λήρῃ τῶν παρόντων δέσποινα L: Τῇ Λήρῃ πάσσαν δέσποινα Ἴα: ᾿Απαν τὸ ὑλῶδες δέσποινα CBQ). There are also three cases where they clearly offer a better reading than L, in vv. 163 (ἰοντινὸς τῆς ἐκκλησίας L: τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἱοντινὸς CBQ1a), 214 (ἐφρωσίας CBQ1a: ἐφρωσίαν L), 309 (Λόμην L: Λομήν CBQ1a); therefore they represent a distinctive branch of the manuscript tradition.

(2) CBQ omit a sticheron copied in L (vv. 121-132; because of a lacuna in Ia we do not know whether it originally contained this sticheron or not) and have variants not found in L and Ia in vv. 184-185, 242-244 and 409 (see previous paragraph); therefore they derive from a common ancestor.

Ia transmits a set of kontakion and oikos and two exaposteilaria not copied in any other manuscript (Appendix I, vv. 14-32, 49-66), and has its own distinctive errors in vv. 167 (ἱερομάρτυς, δεξάμενος ἄνωθεν LCBQ: μεγαλομάρτυς δεδομένου ἄνωθεν Ia), vv. 184-185 [see above, point (1)], 190 (θεολογήσας LCBQ: θεολογῶν Ia), 191 (μάρτυς τὰ παράδοξα LCBQ: χριστοῦ μάρτυς παράδοξα Ia), 242-244 [see above, point (2)], 409 [see above, point (2)]; therefore it has its own exemplar. Ia could not be the exemplar of Q as it omits a stanza of the kanon (vv. 327-335) and has a distinctive error in vv. 296-297 (νοούμενης κοινωνοι καὶ αθανασίας LCBQ: om. Ia).

C has omissions and distinctive errors in vv. 315 (ἐν LBQ1a: om. C), 389 (ἀκε LBQ1a: om. C), 392 (βασάνων LBQ1a: βάνων C), 393 (ἀσώματων LBQ: ἀσώματων Ia: ἀσωμάτων C); therefore it could not be the exemplar of B and Q.

B and Q transmit an exaposteiliarion not copied in LClia (Appendix I, vv. 40-48), and present common variants in vv. 72 (θεῷ BQ: χριστῷ C), 327 (Νόμους LClia: Νόμῳ BQ) and 373 (ἀγνή LClia: σεμνή BQ); therefore they have a common ancestor.

(3) L transmits the best text among the five manuscripts, not only because it includes stanzas not copied in the rest but also because it offers most numerous
better readings. All three cases where L has an inferior reading [see above, point (1)] could be coincidental mistakes and they cannot exclude the possibility that L derives directly from the archetype.

St Attalos (Text 1; ms tradition: LHHaV).

St Attalos is celebrated in all the manuscripts on June 1, alone in HaV and together with St Ioustinos in LH. L omits —due to its mutilation— the beginning of the akolouthia, i.e. the kathisma and probably the set of kontakion and oikos (if the akolouthia had originally such a set).

(1) Each of the manuscripts has individual omissions and/or distinctive errors; therefore none of them is derived from the other.

(2) Ha and V represent a distinctive branch of the manuscript tradition. They omit the first kathisma (vv. 30-40) transmitted by H (and probably by L in its mutilated beginning), three stichera copied in LH (vv. 133-159) and three stanzas of the kanon also copied in LH (vv. 428-434, 462-473, 484-487). Furthermore, they transmit their own theotokia in odes 1 (Appendix II, vv. 49-54) and 6, and they present distinctive errors in vv. 441 (τόνοις LH : τόνοις Ha : τόνοις V), 447 (νοσήματα LH : τά νοσήματα Ha : τα νοσηματα V), 554 (δομή Η : δομή L : ύς μή Η : ύς μι V), 596 (το θεό LH : om. HaV).

Ha omits two stanzas of the kanon copied in HV (Appendix II, vv. 63-68, 75-78), one copied in LH (vv. 568-575) and two more copied in LH (vv. 503-509, 531-544) and has distinctive errors in vv. 42 (το πάντων δεσπότη ΗV : των πάνων δεσπότην Ha), 565 (σε LH : σου Ha), 602 (ός LH : om. Ha), 608 (ημών LH : ήμιν Ha); therefore it has its own exemplar.

V omits six stanzas of the kanon copied in LHHa (vv. 448-455, 510-516, 538-544, 560-575, 602-607) and has its own distinctive errors, and therefore it may have its own exemplar: see vv. 52 (βοώμεν σοι ΗHa : βοώμεν V), 53 (Απαλέ ΗHa : μάρτυρα V), 556 (σον δορεάν LH : δορεάν σου V : troparium om. Ha).

(3) L omits three stichera and six stanzas of the kanon copied in HHaV (Appendix II, vv. 1-36, 37-42, 59-62, 69-74, 79-92, 100-107) and two stanzas of the kanon copied in HV (Appendix II, vv. 63-68, 75-78) and it presents a distinctive error in v. 448 (ξηράν ΗHa : ζωήν L).

(4) H seems to be the manuscript closest representing the archetype as far as the quantity of the text transmitted is concerned, because it presents no obvious omissions and includes four stanzas of the kanon that are not copied in any of the other manuscripts (Appendix II, vv. 43-48, 55-58, 93-99, 108-113). It has though its distinctive variants in vv. 423 (και προ θανής μακάρι τα Ha : και προθανής μακάρι L : και προθανής μακάρι V : και προθανάτυ δου H), 505-509 (ἐν ταπεινώθει ψυχής οὐς διέλαμψε καὶ νῦν τούς ἐν πίστει σοι προσώπατας, μάκαρ, θεραπεύεις θεία

533 Let it be noted that even though the title of the akolouthia in V reads Μηνή Ιοίνιω προτε τον αγιων μαρτυρον, the manuscript transmits the akolouthia on St Attalos and no akolouthia on St Ioustinos.
χάριτι LV : φυγαδευτής πονηρῶν πνευμάτων γεγένησαι καὶ φωστήρ ἀκοίμητος καὶ θανιμάτων βρύσες, ἀδίαγαστε πατήρ ἦμων H : stz. om. Ha). For the text missing in L because of its mutilation the edition is based on H that gives better readings than Ha and V.

St Loukilianos (Text 3; ms tradition: LHGSbPaVASeVb; vv. 12-22 in O).
All manuscripts celebrate St Loukilianos on June 3. Only LHV present the older structure of the akolouthiai, while in the rest of the manuscripts the text is structured as in the printed Menaión. L transmits a double akolouthiai, the collation of which with the rest of the manuscripts and the printed Menaión shows that:

1) The text transmitted by L is a synthesis of two textual traditions, the first of which (archetype α) contained the first of the kathisma edited below (vv. 1-11), the three first stichera (vv. 49-78) and the first kanon (vv. 91-353), while the other (archetype β) included the second kathisma (vv. 12-22), the set of kontakion and oikos (vv. 23-48), the fourth sticheron (vv. 79-90) and the second kanon (vv. 354-498).

2) All the manuscripts but L transmit mainly the text of archetype α. GsbPaVSeVb omit all the contents of archetype β, while HGA contain the second kathisma which proves that they are partly connected to archetype β.

3) SbPaVSeVb omit a kathisma copied in LHGA (vv. 12-22) and present common readings in vv. 267 (ἀρρένις αὐτής LG : ἀρρέσις αὐτής HA : ἀρρήτως SbPaVSeVb), 244 (ἀκαταφλέξτως LHGA : ἀκαταφλέξτως SbPaVSeVb); therefore they represent a distinctive branch of the manuscript tradition.

4) L and G present two common readings not found in the other manuscripts in vv. 179 (τὴν ὑπότης LG : τὴν ἠνω ω cett.), and 267 (see previous paragraph); therefore it is probable that they derive from a common ancestor. As the two manuscripts do not have distinctive errors between them, there is nothing precluding that the one derived from the other; yet it is not possible to detect which one could serve as the exemplar of the other.

H has distinctive variants in vv. 86 (τὰς L : πρὸς H), 89-90 (καταπέμψα τὴ οἰκουμένη ὁμονοίας εἰρήνην καὶ μέγα ἔλεος H : καταπέμψα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν διὰ σοῦ τὸ μέγα ἔλεος L), 97 (τὸν cett. : πρὸς H), 139 (τοῖς αὐτοῖς cett. : τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ H): therefore it cannot have served as the exemplar of the other manuscripts.

A transmits three stichera not copied in the other manuscripts (Appendix III, vv. 1-33) and has distinctive errors in vv. 106 (ταῖς cett. : ἐν A), 167 (τῶν ἀσομάτων ἀγγέλων συνόμελε cett. : om. A), 329 (Ἐσπαίνουσα cett. : Εσπαίνοντα A); therefore it is also impossible that it was the exemplar of the other manuscripts.

(5) SbPaSeVb present common errors in vv. 294-295 (τὸν δολίον ἐχρημάτισας cett. : ἐχρημάτισας στερρόστατα SbPaSeVb), 312-313 (τὸν ωραίον τοῦ cett. : ὀραίοτάτον SbPaSeVb); therefore they derive from a common ancestor.

Vb transmits an οἰκὸς and an exapostelarion not copied in the other manuscripts (Appendix III, vv. 51-71) and omits a stanza of the kanon copied in all the others (vv. 226-231). It has a plethora of orthographical errors and therefore it appears in the apparatus criticus only where it gives a significant reading, which shows that it has
its own exemplar, as the ones in vv. 100 (εἰδωλικὴν cett.: εἰδωλολικὴν ἐβδελίξω Vb), 113 (προσενήξει cett.: προσενήξας Vb), 128 (ἐν καθέδρα μὲν cett.: ἐκκαθέδραμε Vb), 205 (Λουκιλλιανὸν cett.: λουκιλλαν τε Vb) and 243 (μὲλποντας cett.: πάντωτε Vb).

(6) PaSbSe present a common variation in vv. 102 (πανόλβιε cett.: πολύσθλε PaSbSe) and for this reason it is possible to suspect that they derive from a common ancestor. Each one of these manuscripts has its own omissions and/or errors which means that none has derived from the other.

Pa contains a variant kontakion and oikos (Appendix III, vv. 34-50), omits three stanzas of the kanon (vv. 121-127, 301-309, 340-346; the first two of them are also omitted in V) and offers a variant reading in v. 297 (ἐνλογεῖτε cett.: καὶ ἔβοις Pa).

Sb has a distinctive reading in vv. 254-255 (τῶν μαρτύρων θεοῦ μάρτυρες ἐνδοξεῖ LHGPaAVb: τῶν πατέρων θεός, καὶ ὑπερενδοξός SbV: τῶν πατέρων θεοῦ ἐνδοξός μάρτυρες Se) and transmits an apolytikion after the stichera not copied in any other manuscript.

Se includes all the readings and faults of Sb and adds some more of its own, as in vv. 100 (δυσεβεῖν cett.: δασεβεῖν Se), 145 (ἰάσθαι καὶ cett.: ιάσσαθαι Se), 100 (μεγαλοφύνως cett.: μεγαλοφρύνως Se), 185 (ὑμνοῦντας cett.: ἀνυμνοῦντας Se), 330 (ἀρδέυνοια cett.: ἑφραίνοια Se).

(7) V omits a sticheron (vv. 79-91) and five stanzas of the kanon (vv. 115-120, 121-127, 156-161, 301-309, 326-332; the second and the fourth are also omitted in Pa). It has a plethora of orthographical errors and therefore it appears in the apparatus criticus in few cases where it gives a significant reading, as for example in vv. 103 (στερροῦς cett.: χωροῦς V) and 128 (Λοιμον, Λοιμών, Λοιμόν cett.: Λιμών V).

(8) O preserves a very small part of the text and cannot be assigned a specific place in the manuscript tradition.

(9) The akolouthia published in the Menaion contains parts of both the textual traditions mentioned in point (1), namely the first kathisma and the stichera from the first one and the kanon from the second. This means that the manuscript used for the edition of the Menaion is related to L, as L is the only manuscript related to both the textual traditions.

St Dorotheos, Bishop of Tyre (Text 6; ms tradition: LSWIaOBA).

St Dorotheos is celebrated alone on June 6 in L, while all the other manuscripts commemorate him the previous day.

(1) The akolouthia in L consists of two kathismata, of which only the second is copied in SWIaOBA, a set of kontakion and oikos not copied in SWIaOBA, four stichera the fourth of which is not copied in SWIaOBA, a kanon common to all the manuscripts and a second kanon not copied in SWIaOBA.

(2) WIAO has a common ancestor, the scribe of which omitted the last three verses of the third stanza of ode 5 and the first two verses of the following theotokion (vv. 293-297). This omission results in the remaining verses of the two stanzas (vv. 291-292 and 298-300) being copied in WIAO as one troparion. The three manuscripts
also present the same reading in v. 274 (τὴν ὁμολογία ὉSBA : τῆς ὁμολογίας W1aO).

(3) W and O transmit after this artificial troparion a theotokion not copied in Ia nor in any of the other manuscripts, and present common errors not found in the rest of the manuscript tradition; therefore they derive from the same hyparchetype. See vv. 287 (θεσοῦ ὉSLaBa : χριστοῦ WO), 298 (ἐκ σοῦ πάναγνε ὉSBA : ἐξοῦ πάναγνε Ia : παμμακάριστε WO), 300 (θεομήτορα κυρίως σε ὉSLaBa : τὸν δοξάσαντα σε κύριον W : τὸν δοξάσαντα σε κύριο O), 304 (καὶ νοητῶς ἐνευφηγησάς L : καὶ ἐκαινιοποίησας ὉSBA : καὶ ταύτην ἀνέώσας Ia : θείας ἀναβάσειν W : θείας ἀναβάσει O), 310 (καὶ κατέσκαψας ὉSLaBa : κατέσκαψας τοὺς ὉW : κατέσκαψας δὲ O), 324 (διὰ σοῦ καὶ τῆς φθορᾶς ὉSLaBa : καὶ τῆς φθορᾶς διὰ σοῦ WO), 341 (ἐις αὐτὸν ὉSla : τῶν αὐτῶν Ba : εἰς τούτον WO), 358 (ἀσιγήτως καὶ κράζομεν L : καὶ ἀσιγήτως κραζόμενος S : καὶ ἀσιγήτως κραζόμενοι ὉIa : καὶ ἀσιγήτα κραζόμεν Ba : ἀσιγήτως κραζόμενες W : ἀσιγήτως κραζόμενες O).

W could not be the exemplar either of O or of any of the other manuscripts, as it has distinctives errors in vv. 10 (πάτερ cett. : om. W), 246 (θεόνυμφε cett. : θεόσως W), 256 (καὶ ἀνθρώπους διέσώσας cett. : ἀνθρώπους καὶ διέσώσας W), 274 (ἐξερχόν cett. : ἐχθρῶν W), 311 (Δωρέθη ἀθεότητος LSO : πάτερ ἀθεότητος Ba : τοὺς τῆς ἀθεότητος W : άθεων δωρέθη Ia), 312 (καὶ πύργος ἐτείσισας LSOBa : καὶ πύργον ἐτείσισα Ia : καὶ πύργος ἐκλόγητος W), 317 (ἐις cett. : πρὸς W), 326 (θεοῦ cett. : θεῶ W), 327 (πανάγυν cett. : χριστε πανάγυν W), 357 (προστρέχομεν βοώντες cett. : προστρέχοντι βοώμ W).

On the other hand, O does not reflect a tradition from which W or any of the other manuscripts could derive, as it presents distinctive errors in vv. 258 (ἐπιτιμῶν, σοφή, πνευμα ὉSWBA : ἐπιτιμῶν, σοφή, ἵθνας Ia : επιτιμῶν πνεύμα σοφῆ O) and 369 (φαεινὸν λαμπτήρα ἀνέδειξεν ἐν κόσμῳ cett. : τὴν μυστικωτάτην προσήγαγες θυσίαν O). Furthermore, it seems that the scribe of O (or of a lost predecessor) has added another exemplar, from which he copied an exapostelarion not copied in the rest of the manuscripts (Appendix IV, vv. 6-14).

(4) Ia also includes an exapostelarion not copied in the other manuscripts, which must have come from another exemplar (Appendix IV, vv. 15-20). It has distinctive errors in vv. 236 (ἀναδείκται cett. : ἀναδείξας Ia), 245-246 (Γνώσεως ἐπιληψάμην θείης τὰ σύμπαντα, θεόνυμφε cett. : Γνώσειν τον παρακλήτον θείης χριστότητος τὰ σύμπαντα Ia), 253 (ἐκλάσας ἰδρώσιν cett. : ἵδρυσας ἰδρώτι Ia), 258 (πνεύμας cett. : ἵθνας Ia), 268 (ἐπέρασεν cett. : ἐπέλασεν Ia), 311 (Δωρέθη ἀθεότητος LSO : πάτερ ἀθεότητος Ba : τοὺς τῆς ἀθεότητος W : άθεων δωρέθη Ia), 364 (τῶν ἄρετῶν cett. : τῶν νοερῶν Ia), 373-377 (Χαρίτων σε ἐνθέν αἰων, ἰεράρχα, ὁ ἄνθρωπος Χριστός ἀπειρίσκασται, ἐξ οὐ [ἐξ οὖν WBaO] πλουτίζει ἄνθρωπος τὰ θεία δόγματα), 376 (χριστίσας ἐνθέν αἰων, ἰεράρχα, τὸν σὸν ἐνόν οἱ πιστοὶ καταφεύγωμεν τῶν ἱμάτων ἀντλόμεν, ἀρθόνα νάματα Ia), 383 (ὡς κλήματα ἄγωνας cett. : ὡς κλήμα σε ἅγιας Ia); therefore does not reflect a tradition from which any of the other manuscripts could derive.

(5) Concerning the other three manuscripts (LSBa), S and Ba present common readings in vv. 304 (καὶ νοητῶς ἐνευφηγησάς L : καὶ ἐκαινιοποίησας ὉSBA : καὶ ταύτην
Sn has its own exemplar as we may conclude from its distinctive errors in vv. 240 (ἐν cett.: τῷ Sn), and especially 334 (καὶ ἐβόας Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ cett.: καὶ ἀπαντῶς ἐκρανγάζες Sn).

Ba has distinctive errors in vv. 13 (μακαρ cett.: πάτερ Ba), 260 (ἀνθρώπους ἐγκαθώρησας cett.: τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καθώρησας Ba), 278 (θεοδόξασε Θ: θεοδόξασαί O: θεονύφεντε Ba), 311 (Δωρόθεας ἀθεότητος LSO: πάτερ ἀθεότητος Ba: τοὺς τῆς ἀθεότητος Θ: ἀθέων δωρέθει Ba), 316 (πάσας cett.: πάντας Ba), 332 (ψυχῇ δὲ νεκτώσῃ cett.: τὴν ψυχήν δὲ ἀκμαίος Ba), 341 (εἰς cett.: τὸν Ba), 346 (ἐν τῇ σῇ cett.: τῇ ἐν οἴα Ba). It is also influenced by the branch of WLaO in vv. 342 (καὶ ἐβόας Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ LS: καὶ ἀπαντῶς ἐκρανγάζες WLaO Ba), 240 (ἴσαγγελος LSla: ἱσαγγελος WOBa), 242 (θησαυρίας πάτερ LSla: πάτερ θησαυρίας WOBa), 307 (καὶ πόθῳ θείω γεραιόμενο LSla: καὶ γεραιόμενον ἐν ἁμαρισί WOBa), (ἀρέτας LSla: ἀρέτης WOBa), 252 (πίστει LSO: πίστιν WLaBa).

(6) L omits five verses of a stanza of ode 7 (vv. 340-344) and therefore it could not be the exemplar of any of the other manuscripts. It has also distinctive readings in vv. 263 (ἐκατῶ L: σε αὕτω ἧ: τῇ αὕτῳ WBa: ἐκατῶ S: τὴν αὕτοί O), 271 (πλούτιζομεθα L: πλούτιζομεθα SlO Ba: πλούτιζομεθα W). 276 (ἐνεργοῦντα: συνεργοῦντα cett.) and 309 (κατέπτυσα ὁ: κατέπτυσα cett.). It presents only two common reading with the branch of WLaO in v. 280 (ἀνυμνοῦσες τὴν βείαν σου κύριν LWlaO: ἀνυμνοῦσες παρθένο ἐν ἐκκύριας S: ἀνυμνοῦσες κύρη ἐν ἐκκυρίας Ba), and 259 (θείους πρὸς LWO: πρὸς θείους SlBa).

Sts Nikandros and Markianos (Text 7; ms tradition: LH; vv. 32-58 in O).

In both L and H Sts Nikandros and Markianos are celebrated on June 7 together with St Theodotos of Ankara. The text of the akolouthia on Sts Nikandros and Markianos has the same contents in both manuscripts; there are though very few distinctive errors.

(1) L does not contain a stanza copied in H (vv. 362-365), an omission proving that L cannot have served as the exemplar of H. L offers better readings in vv. 332 (αἰώνιαν: αἰώνιον H), 338 (Ἰσταντο: Ἰστασο H), 394-396 (ὡς δὲ ὑπάρχοντας φωταγεῖς ἀστέρας ἐν αἰνέοις μακαρίζομεν L: ὡς δὲ ὑπάρχοντας φωταγεῖς ἀστέρας ἐν αἰνέοις μακαρίζεσθε H) and 410 (ἀποδιώκετε: ἀποδιώκοντες H), but they are not enough to prove that H is not the exemplar of L, as they all could be easily corrected by a skillful copyist.

On the other hand H transmits better readings in vv. 349 (ἐκληρώσασθε: ἐκληρώσασθαι L) and 419 (ὁκειωθῆτε: οἰκειωθῆτε L). It must be noted though that there is not a single reading that can prove that L is copied from H, so the only thing that might be said with certainty is that both manuscripts represent the same branch
of the manuscript tradition.

(2) O preserves a very small part of the text, which includes variant readings not appearing in H and L (v. 63: κατὰ κράτος Η, κατακράτος Λ, λαμπροτάτας Ο; and v. 75: ἐκτελούντες πανηγυρίζομεν LH, ἐκτελούμεν πανηγυρίζοντες O); therefore it may have its own exemplar.

St Methodios, Patriarch of Constantinople (Text 14; ms tradition: LHPFFaFbCWPa GaKGbSaBDPcGcDGeNNaPdDaIKaScSdRVbLa; Ge and R have not been examined; fragments in O).

All the manuscripts celebrate St Methodios on June 14, except for W (June 16) and PPa (June 9). The saint is celebrated alone in PWPa and together with the prophet Elishaioi in the rest of the manuscripts.

Only LHPc present the ancient structure of the akolouthiai (kathisma, kontakion-oikos, stichera, kanon), while in all the other manuscripts the text is structured as in the printed Meniaia; most of the manuscripts include also theotokia after kathismata, the apolytikon of the saint (in the mss: troparion) or its incipit, and doxastika after the stichera.

(1) CFFaFbKGbSaBDGcGdNNaPdDaIKaScSdLa transmit a common set of stichera (Appendix V, vv. 47-82) different from those copied in the other manuscripts and therefore they derive from a common ancestor α. The rest of the manuscripts, i.e. codd. LHPWPaGaPcVb, represent another branch of the manuscript tradition, which will be discussed below, in point (7).

It should be noted that all the manuscripts deriving from α (except for CB) transmit an exapostelarion (Appendix V, vv. 131-136) and a doxastikon on St Methodios not copied in the other manuscripts (except for Vb which includes the doxastikon). They also have common readings not shared by the other manuscripts in the oikos on the prophet Elishaioi (see the apparatus of Text 14, vv. 36, 39, 40, 46) which most probably means that α included not only the akolouthia on St Methodios but that on the prophet Elishaioi too.


(3) C and B represent a distinctive part of the manuscript tradition as it may be assumed from their following variants: (a) they omit the kathisma copied in the other manuscripts, (b) they share a kathisma and a third sticheron not copied in the rest of the manuscript tradition (Appendix V, vv. 1-17, 71-82; the rest of the manuscripts
deriving from α share another third sticheron, edited in Appendix V, vv. 83-94), (c) they share distinctive readings, such as in vv. 338 (ἀνδρείας CB : παμμάκαρ cett.), 346 (καταρδεύον CB : καταρδεύον cett.), 359 (see previous paragraph), 365 (μετέβης CB : μετετέθης W : μετέτοις cett.), 380 (ἡμίν cett. : om. CB), 387 (ὠφθης οὐδέμε CB : ὠφθης Μεθόδιοι cett.), 390 (τῶν αἱρέσεων CB : τῆς αἱρέσεως cett.), 402 (διέλυσας CB : ἀπέλυτες Pt : διέφυγες cett.), 491 (σοφῶν CB : σεπτων cett.).

(4) FFaGbsaDGGNaDaI have in v. 12 a common reading not shared by the other manuscripts (Φοβερὸς ὡς : Φαεινὸς ὡς LHPFbCPaGbPcVb : Φωτανγής ὡς KPdSeSdLa : Φωτοφόρος GcKa : om. CBW); therefore they derive from a common ancestor.

(5) KPdSeSdLa share a reading not exhibited in the other manuscripts, in v. 12 [Φωτανγής ὡς: see above, point (4)]; therefore they have their own hyparchetype.

(6) GcKa share readings not exhibited in the other manuscripts, in vv. 12 [Φωτοφόρος: see above, point (4)], 424 (ὑπάρχεις cett. : πέφυκας GcKa); therefore they have their own hyparchetype.

(7) The other main branch of the tradition, consists of the codices LHPWPaGPaVb.

LHPWPaGPaVb (and FbCB) share a reading not exhibited in the other manuscripts, in v. 12 [Φαεινὸς ὡς: see above, point (4)]; thence they have their own hyparchetype.

(8) P and Pa omit two stanzas of the kanon (vv. 412-418, 464-470). They transmit the same text and share a number of variations not to be found in any other manuscript, the most significant being that they celebrate St Methodios on June 9 (and not 14 as all the other mss), they transmit different sticheron (Appendix V, vv. 95-124), and they present distinctive readings in vv. 371 (ἐξόμενος PPa : Μεθόδιοι cett.), 388 (Συναθλήσας τοῖς ἄθληταῖς PPa : Σειρομάστη τῶ νοστῶ cett.), 374 (τῆ πλάνη PPa : τῷ μίσει CBVb : τῷ μίσει cett.), 391 (ὅσις PPa : ἔστησας cett.), 411 (εὐσεβῶς PPa : ἀγευνός cett.), 431 (τῶ γλυκασμῷ PPa : τῶν γλυκασμῶν, and τῶν ποταμῶν cett.), 436 (τιμώσα PPa : τιμάσθαι cett.), 485 (πιστῶ PPa : χριστῶν Sc : χριστέ La : εἰς πάντας cett.), 489 (ἀκληθείας PPa : ἐκκληθείας cett.); therefore they have their own hyparchetype.

Another characteristic element of P and Pa is that they transmit a very brief synaxarian reading after the kathisma that interrupts the kanon after the third ode, which is not to be found in any other manuscript; on the other hand, it is remarkable that the text of the synaxarian reading is not the same in both manuscripts, which shows that none of the manuscripts can have been the exemplar of the other. In the same direction point also the readings of vv. 382 (sburg cett. : ἀυτοῦ P), 456 (ἀστράπτεις cett. : ἀστράτης Pa), 482 (χριστῶν cett. : χριστῶν Vb : om Pa), and Appendix V, vv. 105 (πιπαρμένος P : πεπικηρμένος Pa), 122 (ἐκ σου P : ἐξ οὐ Pa), 124 (ἐκδέχονται P : εἰσδέχονται Pa).

(9) HGaVb (and O) have common readings not shared by the rest of the manuscripts, in vv. 119-121 (ἐκ φθοράς λυτρωθήναι καὶ κινδύνων τούς ἐν πιστεὶ ἐκτελοῦντας την ἀνεωβαστον μνήμην σου GaVbO : ἐκ φθοράς λυτρωθήναι τούς ἐν
πίστει ἐκτελοῦντάς σου τὴν μνήμην καὶ ἀπὸ πᾶσης κακόσεως LPWPaPc), 136 (ἐνδόξει LPWPaPc: ὅπει HGaVbO); thus, they derive from a common ancestor.

H has distinctive readings in vv. 131-133 (ἐκ φθορᾶς λυτρωθησία τούτῳ ἐν πίστει ἐκτελοῦσα τὴν ἀείπεσατον μνήμην σου H), 359 [see above, point (2)], 419 (Lambdaμένος H: Λυτρωθῆσαι ταῖς WVb: Λυτρούσαι ταῖς cett.); therefore it could not be the exemplar of any of the other manuscripts.

Ga transmits an oikos not copied in the other manuscripts (Appendix V, vv. 37-46) and therefore it has its own exemplar.

Vb contains too errors which indicate that it has another exemplar; see vv. 352 (μαρίαν τὴν ἄρχαντον cett.: τὴν ἄρχαντον μαρίαν Vb), 397 (πῦλην Vb: μονὴν La: πάλιν cett.), 466 (μηκανήμασι cett.: τοῖς κρύομασι Vb). To these we may add some more errors of Vb showing that it could not be the exemplar of any of the other manuscripts; see vv. 330 (τὴν cett.: om. Vb), 336 (καὶ cett.: om. Vb), 339 (πάτερ cett.: θείει pc: om. Vb), 392 (θράνιει Vb: θρανίοι, θράσοι, θράσας, θρανίας cett.).

(10) Pc transmits a set of kontakion and oikos not copied in the other manuscripts (Appendix V, vv. 18-36) and has variant readings in vv. 131-133 (Λυτρωθῆσαι τούτῳ ἐν πίστει ἀννυμοῦντας σου τὴν μνήμην τὴν ἀείπεσατον ἐνδόξει Pc), 139 (Meθοδος LHPWPaGaVb: μακάρι Pc), 144 (ἀννυμοῦντας LPWPa: έκτελοῦντας HGaPcVb and probably O), 339 (θείει Pc: πάτερ cett.: om. Vb), 350 (Meθοδος cett.: θεσπέσει Pc), 359 [see above, point (2)], 402 (ἀπέλιπτες Pc: διέλυσας CB: διέφυγες cett.), 403 (ἦν εὐφημοῦμεν ἐν Pc: ἦν ἀναφημοῦμεν ἐν W: ἦν εὐφημοῦμεν cett.) and 487 (ἐδείξε Pc: ἀνεδείξε cett.); therefore it has its own exemplar.

(11) W omits a stanza of the kanon (vv. 438-443), it transmits a variant theotokion of ode 6 (vv. 444-449), it has a kathisma not copied in the other manuscripts (Πνευμάτων ἐν τῇ πίστει τῇ εἰς Χριστὸν...) and it presents distinctive errors in vv. 354 (Ομβροποτάκισα cett.: Ὑς ὀμβροπότακις W), 365 (μετετέθης W: μετέθης CB: μετέθης cett.), 433 (πάντote W: βλασφήμων Da: πάνυφε cett.), 453 (τὸ ἐμπύρων πόλεμον W: τὴν ἐμπύρων κάμινον cett.), 463 (διὸ ἀναφημοῦμεν ἐν W: διὸ εὐφημοῦμεν ἐν Pc: διὸ εὐφημοῦμεν cett.); therefore it has its own exemplar.

(12) O preserves a very small part of the text and cannot be assigned a specific place in the manuscript tradition.

St Pagcharios (Text 16; ms tradition: LPaSb).

All three manuscripts commemorate St Pagcharios on June 16; L celebrates him together with St Tychon of Amathous, Pa and Sb alone. All the manuscripts transmit the same akolouthia consisting of a kathisma, three stichera and a kanon.

(1) L is older than both the other manuscripts and superior in that it transmits the second ode of the kanon (vv. 380-395), which is omitted in Pa and Sb, and many better readings.

(2) Pa and Sb transmit the same liturgical instructions and common omissions, errors and readings, thus they represent a distinctive branch of the manuscript tradition. To the omission of ode 2 we may add the common readings in vv. 92-93 (ἰκετεύων τῶν σώσαι καὶ φωτίσαι τάς ψυχάς ήμὼν L: ἱκετεύων ἀπαύστως τῶν

141
σωθήναι τάς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν PaSB), 370 (χάριν L : χάσιν PaSB), 398 (ἀντεστρατευόμ L : ἀντεστρατεύεις Pa : ἀντεστρατεύεις Sb), 402 (Ἀναβλύσεις L : Ἀναβλύσων PaSB), 414 (χαρῆσασα L : χαρέσασα PaSB), 416 (Χριστὸν δυσώπει L : δυσώπηε Χριστὸν PaSB), 424 (δόξης κατέπτισας L : κατεπτίσας δόξης PaSB), 433-434 (θεοφένον ως L : θεοφένως PaSB), 436 (οἰκήσαν L : οἰκήσας PaSB), 443 (ῥαντισμὸ L : φοτισμὸ ως L : ραγισμὼν PaSB), 456 (ἀγήρων L : ἁγηρίον PaSB), 469 (λατρευομεν L : λατερεύο Pa : λατρεύον Sb), 504 (ἐθνῶν L : ἐθνάρων PaSB), 527 (βοῶιν L : ἐκβοῶιν PaSB), 532 (ἐν Πνευματι L : om. PaSB), 583 (ἐν L : om. PaSB). There are cases where the variants of Pa and Sb are better than those of L, in vv. 113 (μέλπει σῦν τάγματι PaSB : μέλπειν συντάγματi L), 457 (σαφώς PaSB : σοφῶς L), 458 (σοι PaSB : σου L), 547 (δέδεξαι PaSB : δέδει L) and 548 (ιατρευομεν Pa : ιατρεύεις L). Only the first of them may reflect the use of a better prototype by the copyists of Pa and Sb, while the rest could be coincidental mistakes in L.

(3) Pa omits three stanzas of the kanon (vv. 490-495, 509-515, 569-572) and presents individual errors in vv. 86 (κατασπαζόμεθα LSB : κατασπαζόμενοι Pa), 99 (Χριστὸν LSB : om. Pa), 102-106 (καὶ προσινῶν ἐν τῷ σεπτῷ σου ναὸς σε γὰρ προστατηκά αὐτασφάλζων κεκτημένοι βοῶιν, πανολβίει ἐκ φόβοις καὶ κινήσεων ἐλευθερώσων τοὺς δούλους σου LSB : τὴν παναυλάσαμον κοιμήσω ἐκ πάσης πλάνης τοῦ ἄλοπτρον ἀντριθήμαθ τοὺς δούλους σου Pa), 110 (τὴς LSB : om. Pa). 353 (τὸν θείον LSB : θείον τοῦ Pa), 396 (Ῥωμαλαία τῇ ψυχῇ L : Ἄρωμαλαία τῆς ψυχῆς Pa : Ῥωμαλέσῳ τῆς ψυχῆς Sb), 445 (ὑπερλογίῳ ἄρισταντο L : ὑπὲρ λόγον ἄριστον Sb : τὴν ὑπὲρ λόγον ἄριστος Pa), 460 (ἰάσαι LSB : ιασαί Pa); therefore it cannot have served as the prototype of Sb.

On the other hand, Sb too has some distinctive errors and therefore could not be the exemplar of Pa either; see mainly v. 104 (βοῶιν LPa : om. Sb), but also vv. 396 (see previous paragraph), 494 (ὁ Pa : ὁ L : ὁν Sb), 498 (ὁ ἄριστον LPa : ἄριστον Sb), 511 (διήρπησας LPa : ἐρρῆσας Sb), 513 (πυργος LPa : ως πυργος Sb), 524 (πελάγη LPa : πελάγει Sb) and 576 (σαφῶς LPa : σοφὲ Sb).

Sts Manuel, Savel and Ishmael (Text 17; ms tradition: LAPbO; vv. 80-103 in S). Sts Manuel, Savel and Ishmael are commemorated in all manuscripts on June 17; they are celebrated alone in APbO and together with St Hypatios of Rouphinianai in LS. All the manuscripts agree on the kanon transmitted, while in all the other parts of the akolouthia they present significant variations. S transmits another akolouthia on the saints including only three stichera of the akolouthia edited below.

(1) Each one of the manuscripts has its own omissions and variations, so none could derive from the other.

(2) L transmits five stichera on the saints. S includes all of them followed by a sixth which is omitted in L (Appendix VI, vv. 18-29). A has only the first three ones, Pb transmits the second and the third, followed by doxastikon and theotokion, and replaces the first sticheron of LSA with two others which are not found in the rest of the manuscripts (Appendix VI, vv. 41-84), and O transmits the last two stichera of LS and the sixth of S, followed by theotokion and staurotheseokion absent in LSAPb.
Furthermore L transmits a set of *kontakion* and *oikos* that is not copied in APbO.

(3) A transmits different *theotokia* in all the odes of the *kanon*, omits a stanza of ode 4 (vv. 183-188) and one of ode 6 (vv. 221-226) and has errors not appearing in LPbO; therefore it represents a distinctive branch of the manuscript tradition. See A’s distinctive errors in the title of the *kanon* (πόθω LPbO: τῶ πόθῳ A) and in vv. 142 (κτίσοντας LPbO: κτίστων σου A), 157-158 (τὴν τῶν παρόντων στοργὴν καὶ μύον ποθεῖν παρεακέναισαι LPbO: τὴν τῶν παθῶν ἐφέλεξας καμίνου ἵσχυε τοις πνεύματος A), 165 (κράτιστον LPbO: σύμμαχον κράτιστον A), 175-176 (διό καὶ τοὺς διώκτας σου λόγους καὶ τὴ θέα κατεπλήξας LPbO: διὸ καὶ ἐκραύγαζες ἥδα τῇ δυνάμει σου <Κύριε> A), 181-182 (καὶ τύραννον φρινάγμα ἀσθενεῖ τοῖς πάσιν ὑπεδείξας LPbO: καὶ φάλλων ἐκραύγαζες· ἥδα τῇ δυνάμει σου, Κύριε A), 205 (χαμαίζει κατέλπησε LPbO: ὥς οὐδὲν λελόγισε αὐτῷ), 207 (τῷ ποιητῇ τῆς κτίσεως LPbO: τῷ τὰ πάντα ποιησάντι A), 215 (οὐδόλως κατεσείσθη LPbO: ἀσάλευτου ἐμείνατε A), 232 (ἐναπλάσασες ψυχή διεδείκτυε L: ἐν ἀπλέτω ψυχή ἀπεδεικνύε Α: ἐναπλάσιον ψυχή ἐδεικνύετε Pb: ἐναπλάσιον ψυχή διεδείκτυε O), 249-250 (τῆς σῆς, ἐξ ἕς ἂει ἀρέτων ἀκτίνες ἐπέλαμψει LPbO: εὐλογημένος εἰ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς δόξης σου, Κύριε A), 254-256 (καὶ ἀλόγιστον ἀπεδείξαν καὶ ἀληθεσάτω τὸ τῆς πιστεως κηρύγμα ἐδειξαν LPbO: καὶ ἐν πίστει ἀνεκραύγαζον εὐλογημένος εἰ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς δόξης σου, Κύριε A), 262 (καὶ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτὴν ἐνδόρρυσατε LPbO: τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐνδιαπρέποντές Α), 274-275 (διὸ παριέτες τὰ ἐκτός πάντα καὶ ἐμελέτες LPbO: καὶ ἐμελέας τῷ χριστῶν ἐν καθαρῷ λογισμῷ A), 284 (τῶν δυναμοῦντι χριστῶ LPbO: τῶ ἐπὶ πάντων θεῶ Α), 308 (συνεργεῖα LPbO: συνεργᾶτα A), 316 (χαρίτων LPbO: ναμάτων A), 319 (παντα L: ταντάς PB: πάσας A), 324 (ἐνεργεῖτα LPbO: ὦ χριστε μον A) and 328 (διαφύλαξον LO: ταύτης φύλαξον Pb: πάντας φύλαξον A).

(4) L and O transmit a stanza of the *kanon* not copied in Pb (vv. 189-194) and have common readings not shared by Pb; therefore they derive from a common ancestor. See vv. 177 (τῶν δαμίονων LO: τῶν γενναίων APb), 328 (διαφύλαξον LO: πάντας φύλαξον A: ταυτής φύλαξον Pb), 253 (συνεργεῖα LAcO: συμμαχία Pb), 290 (σὺν τοῖς LAcO: om. Pb) and 324 (στέφος LAcO: στέφανος Pb).

L has its own distinctive variations in vv. 141 (ἐν L: om APbO), 164 (μυριᾶσιν L: μυρίασιν συν APbO), 307 (τούτων APbO: τούτων L); thus it is not the exemplar of O.

O did not derive from L, not only because it transmits a variant set of *kontakion* and *oikos* and a variant *kathisma* (Appendix VI, vv. 1-17), which are copied in Pb but not in L, but also because it has its own distinctive variants, the most important being in vv. 143 (ἄγιοι LAPb: μάρτυρες O), 167 (ἡ γὰρ LAPb: ψυχῆ O), 274 (ἐκτός LAPb: ἐκ σοῦ O) and 312 (ἀπάτης LAPb: ἀπαθείας O).

(5) S transmits a small part of the text, consisting of three *stichera*, which are enough to show the relationship between S and O. The first two of them are copied in L, while APb omit all three of them; the third is to be found only in S and O. Furthermore, S and O share common errors not appearing in L, in vv. 87 (καὶ κατανυγάζουσιν L: καταφωτίζουσιν SO), 95 (προφανεῖς L: προφανῶς SO), 102
(φάλαξιν L : φάλαξιν SO); therefore we may assume that for the text of stichera a predecessor of O is influenced by the branch of the manuscript tradition to which S belongs.

St Hypatios of Rouphinianai (Text 17; ms tradition: LHSla).
LHS celebrate St Hypatios on June 17, together with Sts Manuel, Savel and Ishmael, while Ia commemorates him the previous day, together with St Typhon of Amathous. In all four manuscripts the akolouthia on St Hypatios consists of a kathisma, three stichera and a kanon.

(1) All four manuscripts include the same kanon, Ia being the only one that does not include the second ode. Furthermore, LHS have the same kathisma and the same stichera (in S the kathisma is copied in the bottom margin), while Ia has variant kathisma and stichera (Appendix VII, vv. 1-11 and 12-47), and a variant theotokion of the ninth ode of the kanon. LHS also transmit common readings not shared by Ia in the rubric of the kanon (Ιωσήφ in marg. LSH : om. Ia) and in vv. 339 (πανύψη LSH : om. la), 344 (τά πέρατα LSH : τάς ψυχάς ἤμων Ia), 348-349 (ἀγίασμα ὁφθης καὶ ἀκτίνων χωρητικός, θεοφόρε, τοῦ πνεύματος LSH : θεράπων ἑδείχθης καὶ δοξηιν τοῦ παναγίου ἀοίδιμο πνεύματος Ia), 354 (πανύψη LSH : θεούμφοι Ia), 386 (καμίνους LSH : φαρέτρας Ia), 421 (άλλος ὡς LH : ὡς ἄλλος S : ὡς πάλη Ia), 425 (κόσμου LSH : κόσμον Ia), 447 (μάκαρ LSH : πάσιν Ia), 455-456 (καὶ δίδους ὅδειν πρὸς ἀπαθείας τοὺς Αἱμένας LSH : om Ia), 478 (καὶ σωτηρίας τροφὴ πενομένων LSH : om Ia), 486 (τὴν ζωήν LSH : τῶν θεῶν Ia), 493 (κατέκλυσας LSH : ἄνεβλυσας Ia), 523 (ἄλως LH : ἄλως S : ὀλὸν Ia), 527-528 (ἀγγελον θεον περιφορουντα σε LSH : ἀγγέλους θεων περιφορουντα σε Ia), 536 (Ὑπάτε LSH : ἑπεμενενας Ia), 547 (ἐκκλεής ὁμήγυρς LSH : ἡ φανδρα πανήγυρις Ia), 595 (ἡρθης LSH : ἠλθης Ia), 595 (τελειωσεως LSH : τελειώτητος Ia), 599 (τῶν πόνων σον LSH : τῆς πίστεως Ia).
Therefore, LHS derive from a common ancestor while Ia has its own exemplar, something proved also by the transmission of an exapostellarios not copied in any of the other manuscripts (Appendix VII, vv. 48-54).

(2) L and H present common variations in vv. 358 (ἐκκλησίας LH : ἐγκρατείας S : ode 2 omitted in Ia), 421 (ἄλως ὡς LH : ὡς ἄλος S : ὡς πάλε Ia), 492 (ὁμβρους LSH : ὁμβρους Slα), (παλην LH : παλιν Slα), 535 (τὴν περιβολὴν LH : τὴν τε προβολὴν S : τὴν τε προσβολὴν Ia); therefore they may derive from a common ancestor.

This is strengthened by the fact that S presents distinctive errors in vv. 354 (ὀμολογούμεν LHια : ύμνολογούμεν Σ), 395 (σκοτόμαιναν LHΙα : σκοτόμηναν S), 423 (ἐθεράπευσας LHια : ἐθεράπευς S), 453 (κατευγάζων LHια : καταγάζων S), 459 (γενεων ἐκ πασῶν LHΙα : ἐκ πασῶν γενεων S), 529 (μεθ’ οὐ ἔβοας, πάτερ LHΙα : μεθὼν ὑπατος S).

Neither L nor H can have served as the exemplar of the other as they both have distinctive errors. L presents them in vv. 98 (ταις ὁμηγυρεσι SH : την θειαιν δυτως ζωην L), 116 (σελασσορος ἀκτίσι SH : ἀρετων δαδουχίας L), 340 (ποθον SHια : φόβον L), 371 (γειτωνa SH : χειτωνa L). H presents its distinctive errors in vv. 361 (την γην LS : πηγην H), 389 (ἐν θεω LSLα : ἐνθεω H), 405 (πρός του σωτηρος γαρ

**St Zosimos** (Text 19; ms tradition: LHPV Va).

LH celebrate St Zosimos on June 19, P VVa the next day. The saint is celebrated alone in LPVVa and together with the Apostle Judas in H. HPV Va transmit the same *akolouthia* on St Zosimos, consisting of a *kathisma*, three *stichera* and a *kanon*. L omits —due to a lacuna— the *kathisma*, the *stichera* and a part of the *kanon* down to the third stanza of ode 3; for the rest of the *kanon* it transmits the same text as the other manuscripts.

(1) L and H transmit the same text and present a common error in vv. 110-111 not shared by the other manuscripts (τὰ κέντρα τε τού πονηροῦ συμπατοῦντα ἄνδρειον φρονήματι LH : τὴν γύμνωσιν τῶν δυσεξίων στηλίτειν τοῖς λόγοις σου, ἐνδοξὰ PVa); therefore they represent a distinctive branch of the manuscript tradition. L gives a slightly better text than H, which has two errors in vv. 180 (*Νεκρωθέντας* LPVVa : *Νεκρωθέντα* H) and 171 (σοῦ ἐν L : ἐν τῇ ΗP : ἐν σῇ Va : σοῦ ἐν γῇ V).

(2) P is older than V and Va and it presents just an error (v. 27: ἐν HVV a : om. P), which is not enough to preclude that it is the exemplar of V and Va. On the other hand P transmits a synaxarian reading, not copied in LHV and copied in a slightly different version in Va.

V omits two stanzas of the *kanon* (vv. 46-49 and 196-200), transmits a huge amount of spelling mistakes and has distinctive errors and therefore it cannot be the prototype of V and Thence they do not necessarily reflect the use of a different exemplar.

Va omits a stanza of the *kanon* (vv. 50-53) and has its own errors in vv. 16 (πάντοτε ΗP : καὶ τέρασι πάντοτε Va), 55 (πανάμωμε ΗP : πανεύφημε Va), 61 (ἵκεζε ΗP : αἰκίζεται Va), 63 (τοὺς αἰκισμοὺς ΗP : τοὺς αἰκισμοὺς Va), 73 (θεώσαντος LHPV : λυτρώσαντος Va), 156 (χώρα LHPV : χαίρε Va), 201 (Ζώσιμε LHPV : ἀγίε Va). There is also a case where Va transmits a better reading that the other manuscripts, in v. 81 (τὸν κρατύνοντα με καὶ ρωνύνοντα Va : τῷ κρατύνοντι με καὶ ρωνύνοντι LHPV).

**Sts Innas, Pinnas and Rimmas** (Text 20; ms tradition: LH M Ia; M has not been examined).

L and H celebrate Sts Innas, Pinnas and Rimmas on June 20, together with St Eustochios and his fellow martyrs, transmitting the same *akolouthiai*. Ia, which is copied much later than L and H, commemorates them on June 21, together with St Ioulianos (see also below).
None of H and L can be the exemplar of the other, as they provide their own distinctive readings. H transmits a second *kathisma* on the saints, not copied in L (edited in Appendix VIII, vv. 1-7), a variant reading in v. 2 (θωρακισάμενοι L : περιβαλόμενον H), and better readings in vv. 31 (ἐδέξασθε : ἐπλέξασθε L), 83 (λύοντες : λύονται L), 93 (/filepath: δικαίωθητε L), 120 (νευρούμενοι H : ἐνυψώμενοι L) and 164 (κτίσιν : κτίσιν L). On the other hand L gives better readings in the title of the *kanon* (the name of the hymnographer closing the acrostic is omitted in H) and in vv. 67 (τεμνομένου σου L : τεμνόμενός σου H), 78 (τῷ Χριστῷ : om. H) and 177 (θείαν : θείων H).

(2) Neither L nor H can be the exemplar of Ia, which follows in some readings the textual tradition of L and in others that of H. Ia agrees with H in including the extra *kontakion* not copied in L. Yet it follows L in vv. 2 (θωρακισάμενοι Lla : περιβαλόμενοι H), 62 (τῷ Χριστῷ Lla : om. H), 103-104 (τὴν ψυχήν φωτὸς πληρώσας αἰεί H : τὴν ἀσέβειαν θεομακάριστοι Lla), 120 (νευρούμενοι H : ἐνυψώμενοι Lla).

Ia omits two stanzas copied in both L and H (vv. 227-232, 277-282). There are also cases in which Ia transmits a reading not to be found either in H or L, in vv. 4 (ἐκτελοῦμεν LH : ἐκτελοῦντες Ia), 195 (καὶ τῇ θείᾳ θέρμῃ LH : καὶ τῇ θέρμῃ πάσης Ia), 217 (συνεκόψατε LH : διεκόψατε Ia), 241-243 (ἡγεῖσατε βοώντες παῖδες ὑπερψύχοντες Χριστὸν τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν εἰς τοὺς αἰώνας LH : ἡγεῖσατε σὺν τούτοις ψάλλοντες καὶ ὕμνοντες αὐτόν, θεῖοι μάρτυρες, θεὸν ἀπάντων Ia), 264 (αἴαγαστοι LH : αἴαγαστα Ia) and 271 (ἀθλοφόρον LH : θεοφόρον Ia). In two other passages Ia stands between L and H, in vv. 3 (τῶν ἄγανων πολίται L : τῶν ἄγγέλων πολίται H : τῶν ἄγγέλων πολίτην Ia) and 159 (οὐράνιος L : οὐδὲ οὐράνιος H : οὐκοῦν[φάν]νιος Ia). Taking all this into consideration we may assume that sometime between the 12th and the 15th century the two branches of the manuscript tradition represented by L and H came into contact thus creating a new one to which Ia belongs.

**St Ioulianos** (Text 21; ms tradition: LHla).

L and H celebrate St Ioulianos alone on June 21, while Ia commemorates him the same day together with Sts Innas, Pinnas and Rimmas (see above). The *akolouthia* in L and H is a double one, while Ia — exactly because it does not commemorate the saint alone — includes a simple *akolouthia*. More specifically, L transmits two *kathisma* only the first of which is copied in H and Ia, followed by a set of *kontakion* and *oikos* copied in Ia but not in H. These are followed in L and H by two sets of *stichera*, of which only the first is copied in Ia; of the two *stichera* constituting the second set only the first is copied in Ia as a *sticheron* sung at the *Stichos of Ainoi*. L and H have two *kanons*, of which only the first (i.e. the one edited below) is the same; it is only this *kanon* that is also copied in Ia.

(1) L omits a *sticheron* copied in H and a stanza of ode 1 copied in both H and Ia (Appendix IX, vv. 1-16 and 34-39) and therefore it cannot be their exemplar. Reversely, the omission of the set of *kontakion* and *oikos* in H excludes the possibility
of it being the prototype of L. L offers better readings in vv. 96 (ὡς προέφ : ὅσπερ ἔφη Ἰ), 188 (προεξένησεν : προεξένησεν Ἰ), 225 (δὲ σαυτὸν : σαυτὸν Ἰ), 256 (ταῖς τῶν : τῶν τῶν Ἰ), 271 (σάκκα : λάκκῳ Ἰ) and 300 (περιστάσεων : παραπτώσεων Ἰ), while H gives better readings in vv. 123 (γεγένησαι : γεγένησαι Ἰ), 192 (μετήρχον : κατείρχον Ἰ) and 247 (θανμάτων : αἰμάτων Ἰ).

(2) Ια seems to have its own exemplar, as it includes a doxastikon after the stichera not copied in LH (Appendix IX, vv. 17-33) and has its own distinctive errors in vv. 43 (διέλυσας Ἰ : διήνυσας Ια), 46-47 (διὸ ἐν πίστει προστρέχομεν σοῦ τῇ σκέπῃ βοῶντες, πανόλβε Ἰ : διὸ κυρίον ὑπὲρ πάντων ἡμῶν πρεσβεύκων μὴ παύσῃ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἡμῶν Ια), 150 (ἐμείωσας Ἰ : ἀπήλασας Ια), 256 (καὶ ταῖς Ἰ : καὶ ταφοῖς Ια). Let it be also noted that Ια omits a sticheron copied in LH (vv. 82-93).

Sts Zenon and Zenas (Text 23; ms tradition: LHV).

In all three manuscripts Sts Zenon and Zenas are celebrated on June 23. In L and Ἰ, which are a century or more older than Ι, they are celebrated together with St Agrippina; V contains only the akolouthia on Sts Zenon and Zenas, while L and Ἰ transmit the same two akolouthia, the first on St Agrippina and the second on Sts Zenon and Zenas.

(1) V contains an inferior reading in v. 507 (παμμάκαρ : βοηθία ἵνα τοὺς ἀνθρακας), not followed by L and Ἰ (τῆς ἀπάτης, παμμάκαρ, τοὺς ἀνθρακας), which suggests that V is not copied from L or Ἰ, even though the reading in v. 542 (τὰ ἁγία Ἰ : μακαριοι L) shows that it derives from the same branch of the manuscript tradition as Ἰ.

(2) The reading of v. 542, as well as three omissions in L (of the words κλοιοὶς βαρυνόμενοι in v. 68, ὡς in v. 472 and τῶν in v. 491) show that L could not be the exemplar of the other two manuscripts. L's variant reading in v. 542 and the omission of the name of Joseph the Hymnographer at the end of the acrostic in the title of the kanon in Ἰ (the name is given in the margin of both manuscripts) lead us to the conclusion that Ἰ was not the exemplar of L either, unless we accept that the scribe of L was enough careless to write μακαριοι instead of τὰ ἁγία and at the same time dutiful enough to compare the acrostic given by his exemplar in the title of the kanon to the initials of the stanzas.

(3) L offers better readings in the title of the kanon (Ἰωσήφ : om. Ἰ) and in vv. 505 (κρατινόμενον : κρατινόμενος Ἰ), 533 (ἕξειλατο : ἕξειλετο Ἰ) and 552 (μακαριζοντας : μακαριζοντας Ἰ). Ἰ transmits better readings in vv. 72 (βάρει : βάρθ L), 73 (ἐγνήσασθε : ἐγνήσασθαι L), 370 (ὡν : ἐν L), 385 (ὑμοντά σε : ὑμοντά σας L), 398 (ὑμινθῶν : συναθλῶν L), 424 (ἐπάινοις : ἐπαίνοις L), 472 (ὡς : om. L), 476 (ἐρνά : ἐρνάς L), 478 (τείναντα : τείνοντα L), 481 (δυναμούμενον : δυναμοῦμενος L), 486 (στεφάνους : στεφάνους L), 503 (διατείνει : διατείνας L), 525 (βαρυτάτως : βαρυτάτωις L).

All this taken into consideration we have to conclude that the two manuscripts represent two different branches of the manuscript tradition, H being closer to the archetype.
St Ioseph and his fellow martyrs (Text 28; ms tradition: LH).
In both manuscripts the saints are commemorated on June 28, together with the translation of the relics of Sts Kyros and John the wonderworkers (the akolouthia on the latter is not exactly the same in both manuscripts).

L and H transmit the same akolouthia on St Ioseph and his fellow martyrs, consisting of a kathisma, three stichera and a kanon by Joseph the Hymnographer. L gives better readings than H in vv. 342 (Θαλάσσος : Θαλάσσης H), 375 (μετέστητε : μετέβητε H), 393 (κατάκειται : κατάκειται H), 432 (τὴ πυρᾶ : τὴν πυρᾶν H), 455 (Παμα : Πάμα H), 483 (ἀπεδείκνυσι : ἀπεδείκνυτο H). H gives better readings in vv. 360 (ἐξενεύρισας : ἐξερεύνισας L), 372 (ἀγιοι : ὁσιοι L), 433 (οὕρνζότερος : ἐνυρζωτερος L), 490 (παρέθεσα : παρέθεσα L), 525 (καταναγάζων : καταναγάζων L), 532 (ἀσκήσασι : αἰκίσσασι L). It must be noted though that all the variant readings could be individual and coincidental mistakes, thus not reflecting the use of different exemplars.

CONVENTIONS EMPLOYED IN THE PRESENT EDITION

The text of the present edition is based on L. Variant readings, recorded in the apparatus criticus, are included in the text only where L presents a lacuna or an undoubted corruption. Variant readings of the worse manuscripts as well as individual errors of manuscripts that are possibly apographs of other codices examined are also included in the apparatus to facilitate scholars in placing any new manuscript, so far undetected or unexamined, in the manuscript tradition.

Unpublished stichera, kathismata, kontakia, oikoi, stanzas of the kanons and exapostelaria included in other manuscripts but not in L are given in the Appendices at the end of the thesis, without the theotokia that in some cases follow them; the incipits of these hymns and stanzas published in the Appendices are also given in the critical apparatus with a reference to their respective Appendix and line numbers. The apparatus criticus of the Appendices includes the variant readings of the manuscripts but not the orthographical mistakes of the copyists.

The text is given in thirty sections, one for each calendar day of June. Each akolouthia appears on a fresh page, preceded by its number, which agrees with the date of the month, and a heading in bold letters. Texts commemorating two non-related saints (or groups of saints) are preceded by a double heading that includes the line numbers of the text devoted to each saint respectively. Liturgical instructions to the choir and headings of the texts and their parts (kathisma, kontakion, oikos, stichera, kanon, exapostelarion) have been printed in italics and are not included in the line numbering, which is separate for each akolouthia. As all the instructions and the headings are rubricated, this is not recorded in the apparatus criticus.

The text is accompanied by an apparatus fontium and an apparatus criticus. The apparatus fontium is divided into two sections. The first section contains the references to the scriptural sources of the text. The second section includes the relevant passages.
from hagiographical sources, as well as parallel hymnographical passages that demonstrate the same ideas and expressions as the text edited above.

At the head of the *apparatus criticus* the abbreviations of the manuscripts examined for the text of the specific page are given in chronological order. Aiming at making the edition less heavy, and thence more friendly to the reader, I have recorded fully in the *apparatus criticus* only the orthographical mistakes of the principal manuscript L; this decision was also dictated by the poor quality of some of the xerox copies of manuscript folios on which the study of some texts is based. Apart from the spelling mistakes in L, the *apparatus criticus* also includes variant readings, emendations, corrections, additions, lacunae, erasures, and deletions appearing in L as well as the other manuscripts examined.

The following conventions were used in the edition of the text. Spelling mistakes found in L are corrected in the text and recorded in the *apparatus*. As mentioned above, the spelling mistakes in other manuscripts are omitted, except for instances in which it is not clear whether we have a spelling mistake or a variant homophone. The initial letters of proper names and *nomina sacra* have been tacitly capitalized. Symbols and common abbreviations, including *nomina sacra*, are printed in their expanded form. The same applies to the names of the hymnographers and the words κάθισμα, στιχηρά, κονδάκιον, ὀδή, ἤχος, πλάγιος, θεοτοκιόν, ἀκροστίχις.

Modern conventions were followed in punctuation and accentuation to facilitate the reader, and since L’s punctuation — particularly the use of upper point (‘)— aims not at serving the grammatical needs of the text but at guiding the choir by marking the intervals for the performance of the text. Acute accent has replaced the grave on oxytones followed by a punctuation sign. The iota subscript, used very rarely in L, has been tacitly introduced. The sign of diplé stigmê (‘) often used in L is tacitly omitted, while the similar sign of *dairesis* in L is regularly used in the edition. Prepositional phrases given in L as one word (ἐναγώσιν, ὑπεροντόν, ὑπερεύ, δευσπλαγχνίαν etc) are here divided into their composite parts and the reading of L is given in the *apparatus criticus*. Scriptural citations in the text are placed within Greek quotation marks («»); the respective reference is given in the *apparatus fontium*.

Historical, palaeographical, philological, hymnographical and liturgical comments are given separately in the following Commentary.

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COMMENTARY

In a number of passages in the texts edited, martyrs are praised as athletes crowned by God. For the presentation of martyrs as athletes in hagiographical literature, see H. DELEHAYE, Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires, Brussels 1966, pp. 152-154.

Another common feature in the edited akolouthiai is the simile of the saints’ learning as flowing water, frequent in patristic literature. Cf. for example the Life of Euthymios by Cyril of Skythopolis, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, Leipzig 1939, 12, 18f; more examples in The Life of the Patriarch Tarasios by Ignatios the Deacon (BHG 1698), ed. S. EFTIYMIADIS, Ashgate Variorum: Aldershot 1998, p. 212.

On the phrase νομίμως ἀθλήσας and its derivatives, used in a number of the edited texts, see J. H. BARKHUIZEN, Romanos’ encomium on Joseph: Portrait of an athlete, JÖB 40 (1990) 104.

AKOLOUTHIA ON THE MARTYR IOUSTINOS AND HIS FELLOW MARTYRS (TEXT 1)

Tit. akol.: In the surviving part of the missing f. 1 of L the elaborate initial X appears, above which the scribe copied Μη[ν Ιούνιος…]. The initial X comes most probably from the kathisma Χριστοῦ υπεραθλήσας… (Text 1, vv. 18-29).

7-8, 28-29, 209-210, 221-222: The performance of miracles by the saint in his grave is not given in any of the hagiographical texts on St Ioustinos.

20-21. The simile of Christ sacrificed as a lamp, deriving from the Old Testament (ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγήν ἤχθη καὶ ὡς ἀμύντις ἐναντίων τοῦ κεῖρατος αὐτοῦ ἄφωνος; Isaiah 53.7) is used by St Ioustinos in his Apologia (50.10) and his Dialogus cum Tryphone (13.5, 111.3 and 114.2); see the edition of these texts in E.J. GOOSPEED, Die ältesten Apologeten, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1915, pp. 26-77 and 90-265.

121-122. Although the numbers of martyrs increased under Marcus Aurelius (161-180), he did not carry out a general persecution of Christians (see FEIDAS, 123). The composer of the sticheron uses here an ὑπερβολή (superjectio) (see KORAKIDIS, Τμηματάφα στοιχεία, 316).

173. ἸPageRoute: An indirect reference to Rome (in Greek ἸPageRoute) where St Ioustinos martyred. Word plays (λογοπαίγνια) were commonly used in poetic and hymnographical works: see KORAKIDIS, Τμηματάφα στοιχεία, 267-268. Cf. below, 197-199.

190. Ἐντὶ τῆ φωνῆ θεολογήσας. The word φωνῆ refers not only to the Greek and

197-199. τάς κεφαλάς τοῦ ψεύδους ἀπέτεμες: Another word play referring to the death of the saint who, being a Roman citizen, was executed by sword (cf. above, 173).

233, 288. The word Ἐλληνες is used here to denote the pagan Romans. The term Ἐλλην was used in the Old and New Testament and later in Byzantine patristic literature to denote pagans.

284. The word κατέαζας is used here metaphorically; no such event is mentioned in the hagiographical texts on St Ioustinos.

300-308. The stanza is copied in all the manuscripts without a verb and with a series of participles (τεθείς, ἀπολύων, ἰδύων). One of the three must be replaced by a verb, most probably ἀπολύων.

382. Ιουστίνε, μάρτυς, αἰνίγματα: The word μάρτυς is included in the edited text even though it is metrically superfluous, due to the fact that the hymnographer added two more syllables, i.e. fifteen instead of thirteen, on vv. 396 and 403.

*AKOLOUTHIA ON ST ATTALOS (TEXT 1)*

151-157, 470-473, 531-533, 543-545, 591-594. These passages support the hypothesis that the akolouthia was originally destined to serve a pre-existing panegyrical celebration of the memory of the saint in the place where his tomb was located. On the veneration of saints and their relics in their graves, see SCHMEMANN, *Liturgical Theology*, 185-193.

534. ὁδέσσασι τούς ἀγώνας: St Attalos is not a martyr. This expression glorifying his struggles is a hymnographical topos. On ἀγών (ἀγών) as a topos in Byzantine patristic literature, see FESTUGIÈRE, 142-145.

*AKOLOUTHIA ON ST NIKEPHOROS, PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE (TEXT 2)*

79-80. From this passage it can be supposed that the kathisma was originally composed to commemorate the saint in the church of St Apostles in Constantinople, where his tomb was located, as the *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* states: Τελείται δὲ ἢ αὐτοῦ συναξίς ἐν τῷ σεπτῷ ἀποστολεῖῳ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ πανεφήμιον ἀποστόλων τῶν μεγάλων, ἐνθα τὸ τίμην αὐτοῦ κατάκειται λείψανον (SynaxEC, 726:4-7).
81-91. The incipit of this sticheron is published in EfsrtTam, 245, as the last of a set of four stichera on the saint. The beginnings of the rest are: Χαιρείς ὁ ἱεράρχης Χριστοῦ ὁ καταπτύσας..., Χαίρες ἦ ἱερὰ κεφαλὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας..., Χαιρείς ὁ ἱερωτάτος νοεὶς ὁ ἄπω βρέφους... This means that the copyist of L (or its exemplar) used only one of the four stichera for reasons most probably related to the number of the stichera sung at Κύριε Ἐκκέκραξα. It is reasonable to assume that this applies also to the previous sticheron, possibly part of a set of three, of which the other two were not copied in L as they were considered superfluous.

82, 304, 426. The hymnographer uses in these passages a word play with the name of the saint (see KORAKIDIS, Τύμνογραφία I, 267-268).

238-243. +Μη διαφορούντες+ ... / πανάμωμε Δέσποινα: The following theotokion is published in the Menaios: Μη διαφορούντες τα ἡμιένα μὴ δε συγχέοντες, ἐνα τὸν Χριστὸν δοξάζωμεν τὸν ἐκ σοῦ σαρκωθέντα Λόγον κραζόντες: εὐλογημένη σύ ἐν γυναιξίν ὑπάρχεις, Πανάμωμε (MV X, 6). Taking into account that there are other stanzas copied in L, the text of which presents small differences from the one published in the Menaios, it may be accepted that the surviving ending πανάμωμε Δέσποινα belongs to the published theotokion, as it can be easily accorded to both the meaning and the metre of the stanza.

304-498. Acrostic: The acrostic Τὸν πατριάρχην νῦν κροτῶ Νικηφόρον does not include the theotokia, where we have the initials ΦΣΝΙΔΙΠΠΥΝ.

354. The word λέων refers to the homonymous emperor Leo V (813-820), who re-established iconoclasm, dethroned Nikephoros and sent him into exile. Leo, his iconoclastic policy, the reaction of Nikephoros and his exile are presented in the Vita of the saint (VN 76B-133B; their theological dialogue in cols. 85C-112A). See also J. HUSSEY, The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1990; pp. 55-57; FEIDAS, 793-794; ODB, 1477. The hymnographer uses here a word play with the name of the emperor (see KORAKIDIS, Τύμνογραφία I, 267-268); Cf. Above, 82.

AKOLOUTHIA ON THE MARTYR LOUKILLIANOS (TEXT 3)

Synaxarion post vv. 1-6 Pa: Two versions of the same synaxarian notice have come down to us, presenting small variations between them. One is published by H. Delehaye in Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae (cols. 725-728) and the other is included in the printed Menaios (MV X, 8-9). The text copied in Pa is remarkable, in the sense that in some of its variations it follows the one textual tradition and in some the other, as illustrated in the table below (the orthography of Pa is tacitly corrected):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pa</th>
<th>Synaxarium EC</th>
<th>Menaion</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Οὗτος ὁ ἅγιος μάρτυς</td>
<td>Οὗτος ὁ ἅγιος μάρτυς</td>
<td>Οὗτος ὁ ἅγιος</td>
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<tr>
<td>Λουκιλιανός ήν κατά τους χρόνους Αύρηλιανού του βασιλέως, ιερεύς τῶν εἰδώλων πόλεως Νικομηδείας.</td>
<td>Λουκιλιανός ήν κατά τους χρόνους Αύρηλιανού του βασιλέως, πρότερον ιερεύς τῶν εἰδώλων ύπάρχων, τὴν οἰκήσιν ἔξων οὐ πόρρῳ τῆς πόλεως Νικομηδείας, γηραιός τὴν ἡλικίαν.</td>
<td>Λουκιλιανός ήν κατά τους χρόνους Αύρηλιανού του βασιλέως, ιερεύς τῶν εἰδώλων πρότερον, γηραιός τὴν ἡλικίαν, καὶ τὴν τρίχα λευκός, τὴν οἰκήσιν ἔξων οὐ πόρρῳ τῆς πόλεως Νικομηδείας.</td>
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<td>Μετατεθείς δὲ πρὸς τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν καὶ προσαχθεὶς Σιλβανῷ τῶν κόμητι καὶ μὴ πεισθεὶς ἀρνήσαθαι τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἐλέσθαι θρησκείαν, θλάται τὰς σιαγόνας καὶ τύπτεται ῥάβδους καὶ κατὰ κεφαλῆς κρεμάται· εἶτα βληθεῖς ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ, κάκει παιδία τέσσαρα διὰ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν τεθέντα εὐρόν, μετ’ αὐτῶν αὕτη τῷ κόμητι ἐμφανίζεται. ...</td>
<td>Μεταβληθεῖς &lt;d&gt; πρὸς τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν, καὶ προσαχθεὶς Σιλβανῷ τῶν κόμητι καὶ μὴ πεισθεὶς ἀρνήσαθαι τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἀνελέσθαι θρησκείαν, θλάται τὰς σιαγόνας καὶ τύπτεται ῥάβδους καὶ κατὰ κεφαλῆς κρεμάται· εἶτα εἰσαχθεῖς ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ, κάκει τέσσαρα παιδία προστεθέντα διὰ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν εὐρόν, μετ’ αὐτῶν αὕτης τῷ κόμητι ἐμφανίζεται. ...</td>
<td>Μετατεθείς δὲ πρὸς τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν, καὶ προσαχθεὶς Λιβανίῳ τῷ ἄρχοντι, καὶ μὴ πεισθεὶς ἀρνήσαθαι τὸν Χριστὸν, καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἐλέσθαι θρησκείαν, θλάτεται τὰς σιαγόνας, καὶ τύπτεται ῥάβδους, καὶ κατὰ κεφαλῆς κρεμάται. Εἶτα βληθεῖς ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ, κάκεισε παιδία τέσσαρα, διὰ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν τεθέντα, εὐρόν, μετ’ αὐτῶν αὕτης τῷ κόμητι ἐμφανίζεται. ...</td>
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<tr>
<td>... ὁ δὲ ἁγιός Λουκιλιανός ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ ἀναρτθεὶς καὶ καθ’ ὅλον τὸν σώματος καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἁναγκαίων μορίων καθηλωθεὶς τῷ Θεῷ παρέθετο τὴν ψυχήν ...</td>
<td>... ὁ δὲ ἁγιός Λουκιλιανός ἐν σταυρῷ ἀναρτθεὶς καὶ καθ’ ὅλον τὸν σώματος καὶ τῶν ἁναγκαίων μορίων καθηλωθεὶς τῷ Θεῷ παρέθετο τὴν ψυχήν ...</td>
<td>... ὁ δὲ ἁγιός Λουκιλιανός σταυρῷ ἀναρτθεὶς, τῷ Θεῷ παρέθετο τὴν ψυχήν ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... τοὺς ὑπέρ χριστοῦ πάσχοντας θεραπεύειν καὶ διατρέψειν. ...</td>
<td>... τοὺς ὑπέρ χριστοῦ πάσχοντας θεραπεύειν καὶ διατρέψειν. ...</td>
<td>... τοὺς ὑπέρ χριστοῦ πάσχοντας θεραπεύειν, καὶ ἰατρεύειν, καὶ διατρέψειν. ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... ταῖς ἐπιφοραῖς τῶν πληγῶν τὸ σῶμα ...</td>
<td>... ταῖς ἐπιφοραῖς τῶν πληγῶν τὸ σῶμα ...</td>
<td>... ταῖς ἐπιφοραῖς τῶν πληγῶν τὸ σῶμα ...</td>
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339. μεγαλοφρόνως: Although the reading μεγαλοφόνως is included in all the manuscripts except Η, μεγαλοφρόνως is preferred for palaeographical and hymnographical reasons. Η is generally a more trustworthy manuscript. Furthermore, the word μεγαλοφρόνως is usually connected with verbs such as ψάλλειν, κρανγάζειν, ευθημείν (see for example AHG II, XXX, 126-128 and XXXIII, 144-145; AHG III, 1 (2), 393-395), while μεγαλοφρόνως is used by Joseph together with the verb δοξάζω; see for example AHG VIII, p. 102, vv. 147-152 (kanon on St Hilarios): Τέτοκας ἀπειράνδρως, θεοτόκε, τὸν πλάσθην τῆς φύσεως καὶ μετὰ τόκον παρθένος ἐφυλάχθης· διό σε οἱ πιστοὶ ως πάντων βασιλία μεγαλοφρόνως δοξάζωμεν. Therefore, it may be assumed that the scribes of the other manuscripts (or their predecessors) “corrected” μεγαλοφρόνως with a word more familiar to them. This practice by many Byzantine scribes sometimes causes major problems in the transmission of the texts. In such cases, difficilior lectio potior (see REYNOLDS-WILSON, 258-259).

354-498. Second kanon on Loukillianos: The kanon is transmitted anonymously in L, as well as in a considerable number of the extend manuscripts. Despite the fact that it is subscribed to Ignatios in MV and later editions of the Menaion (MV, 7-9), Alexandra Zervoudaki lists it among the works of Theophanes Grapto, on the basis of codd. Paris. gr. 1569 and Crypt. Δ.α.X, as well as on the style and the technique of the poems (see ZERVOUNAKI, Θεοφάνης, 327).

**AKOLOUTHIA ON ST METROPHANES, ARCHBISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE (TEXT 4)**

**8-24.** The troparion is published in the Menaion as a kathisma after the Polyeiaiōs (see MV X, 11).

182-183. Characterising the resistance of saints against the enemies of faith as young or youngish (νέα or νεανική), in the sense of vigorous, is common in
Byzantine hymnography (see for example Text 2, vv. 358-359). Here the hymnographer may be using an insinuation (ἵπταινιγμός) to the Saints’ advanced age (Metrophanes was over 100 years old when he had to fight against Arianism), emphasizing the enthusiasm with which he defended the orthodox faith. For the use of Ἵπταινιγμός in Byzantine hymnography, see KORAKIDIS, Υἱογραφία I, 314-315.

516-522. According to the acrostic of the kanon, this stanza is unnecessary; its existence could be explained by the poet’s principle of composing each ode with four *troparia*.

**AKOLOUTHIA ON ST EUSTATHIOS OF ANTIOCH (TEXT 5)**

1-4, 36-44, 56-59. St Eustathios participated in the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea (325), being one of the protagonists in the condemnation of Arius and his followers. Some of the most prominent pro-Arian Bishops, namely Eusebios of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nicaea and Eusebios of Caesaria, went to Antioch after the emperor Constantine the Great adopting a pro-Arian policy. There they gathered a council (ca. 328) that condemned Eustathios on the grounds that he offended the mother of the emperor Helen, that he had accepted his transfer from the Diocese of Veroia to the patriarchate of Antioch contrary to canon law, and that he had an illegitimate child with a woman who confirmed this under oath. In spite of the false accusations and the reaction of the people of Alexandria, the emperor, based on the decision of the council, exiled the saint to Adrianoupolis and later to Philippoi in Macedonia, where St Eustathios died in 360. On the theological conflict between Eusebios of Nicomedia and St Eustathios and the latter’s trial and condemnation, see FEIDAS, 473-476. On St Eustathios and his work see J. H. DECLERCK (ed.), *Eustathii Antiocheni, patris Nicaeni, Opera quae supersunt omnia* [Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca, 51], Turnhout, Brepols: Leuven University Press, 2002; PAPADOPoulos, *Patrologia II*, 107, 110-113; QUASTEN, *Patrology III*, 302-306.

**AKOLOUTHIA ON ST HILARION OF DALTATOU (TEXT 5)**

298-517. A. Zervoudaki included this kanon on St Hilarion among the works possibly attributed to Theophanes Graptsos, on the basis that it reflects the characteristics of Theophanes’ poetry and that there is another kanon with the same incipit (*Εν φωτι ἁίνω καὶ νητώ*) possibly attributed to Theophanes (see ZERVOUDAKI, Θεοφάνης, 368).

**AKOLOUTHIA ON THE MARTYR DOROTHEOS, BISHOP OF TYRE (TEXT 6)**

14-16, 253-256, 265-268, 283-285, 315-318. St Dorotheos is not praised in his *Passio* or
his synaxarian notices for preaching or fighting against atheism, polytheism or heresies. Even though by ἀθεία and πολυθεία the hymnographer refers to the beliefs of the emperors Diocletian and Julian, during the anti-Christian policy of which the saint suffered along with the other Christians, these passages should be considered as hagiographical topos.

23-24. The saint is not praised here for his ascetic life, as this is absent in the hagiographical texts composed on him. Rather this is a hagiographical topos, presenting the two fields in which a martyr excelled himself, namely ascesis in the broader sense and martyrdom.

233-392 (second kanon, acrostic): The alphabetical acrostic of the kanon is not including its theotokia, the initial of which form the acrostic ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ. The acrostic of the theotokia identifies George of Nicomedia as the composer of the kanon (see above, p. 52).

249-252. George of Nicomedia makes here a word play based on the name of the saint (see KORAKIDIS, Υμνογραφία I, 267-268).


329-333. The stanza is based on an antithesis between the old age of the saint and his young soul. On the use of ἀντιθέσις (contraposition) in Byzantine hymnography, see KORAKIDIS, Υμνογραφία I, 204-205.

340-344. ἀπεφραξάς - εἰ: The copyist of L has left the needed vacant for the rest of the troparion to be completed later, possibly because of a lacuna in his exemplar.

AKOLOUTHIA ON THE MARTYRS NIKANDROS AND MARKIANOS (TEXT 7)

16-18, 368-369, 408-410. None of the hagiographical texts on the saints mention any miracle performed by Sts Nikandros and Markianos, either when they were alive or after their death. This means that either the hymnographer is based on a source now lost or he uses a hagiographical topos. On miracles as a part of a martyr’s Passio, see H. DELEHAYE, Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires, Brussels 1966, pp. 207-218.

324-325. μεγίστους ἄγωνας διηνόσατε: There is only one text containing information on the martyrdom of the saints and that is in the printed Menia. According to that, the martyrs «ἀναγκασθέντες ἀρνήσαθαι τὸν Χριστὸν, καὶ μὴ πεισθέντες, ξένονται ὄνειρι σιδήρως, καὶ ἐπὶ ξύλοις ὀρθοίς μετεωρίζονται, καὶ κατακεφάλισαν · καὶ κατενέχθεντες, ἐπ' ἀνθράκων πυρὸς ἐφαπλοῦνται, καὶ ράβδος ἀνώθεν τύπτονται· καὶ ἄλοιμη ταῖς πληγαῖς ἐπιχυθέντες, ὀστράκως ὀξέοι συντρίβονται, καὶ λίθους τὰ στοματα καὶ τὰς ὁψίς συνθλώνται, καὶ τὰς
The rest of the texts present the local governor Maximus, who undertakes their interrogation, treating them sympathetically. The final words exchanged between the martyrs and Maximos are very characteristic: «Μάξιμος ἠγεμόν εἶπεν· ἔμοι οὔν ἐναντιώσθη, οὐ δὲ γὰρ εἰμὶ ἐγώ ὁ διώκων ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ Βασιλέως, ὥστε ἀθώς εἰμὶ καὶ καθαρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ σίματος ἡμῶν· εἶ δὲ οἴδατε ὅτι καλῶς ἀπέρχεσθε, συγχαίρω ὑμῖν, πληροῦσθω ὑμῶν ἡ ἐπιθυμία. Καὶ ταῦτα εἶπων, ἀπεφήνατο αὐτοῖς ἀναίρεθηναι. Ὅδε ἂνιοι τοῦ Θεοῦ Μάρτυρες, ὡς διὰ μιᾶς γλώσσης εἰπον· Εἰρήνη σοι, Ἑγεμόν φιλάνθρωπε» (SynaxEC, 272D-E).

358-361. In this stanza it is Nikandros who has to struggle against the efforts of his family to convince him to avoid martyrdom, while in the hagiographical texts on the saints it is the wife of Markianos who tries to convince him to avoid martyrdom (see AASS Iunii III, 272E-F; LATYSEV II, 29:3-16).

460-462. Δόξης-καταφρονήσατε: Glory is not promised to the martyrs by Maximus, at least in the hagiographical texts studied for this edition. This is a hagiographical topos.

470-472. Ίδειν-ἐλπιζόμενα: A vision of Paradise or anything alike is not mentioned in the hagiographical texts on the saints. Once more this is a hagiographical topos.

**AKOLOUTHIA ON ST THEODOROS STRATELATES (TEXT 8)**

18-26. The hymn, transmitted in the manuscript tradition as a kontakion, is published in the Menaion as apolytikon.

58-61, 71-72. The hymnographer uses in these passages word plays with the name of the saint (see KORAKIDIS, Τμνογραφία Ι, 267-268).

98-130. In the Menaion they are published as stichera sung at Κύριε Ἐκέκραξα.

131-163. In the Menaion they are published as stichera sung at Stichos of Hesperinos.

182-187, 200-203, 222-227, 243, 247 266-271, 290-295, 323-331, 356-361: All the theotokia are copied in L by a later hand in the margin.

362-635. The kanon is published in AHG as a kanon on St Theodore the Teron (feastday February 17). It should be noted though that in two out of the five manuscripts used for the edition (Paris. gr. 255 and Paris. gr. 1616) the kanon is devoted to St Theodore the Stratelates (see the critical apparatus in AHG VI, p. 256).
AKOLOUTHIA ON ST CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA (TEXT 9)

4. St Cyril (on whom see N. RUSSELL, Cyril of Alexandria, Routledge: London 2000; bibliography in pp. 242-254) was present in the Third Ecumenical Council (431) and the theologian who defined Christological orthodoxy, condemning the doctrine of Nestorios (see FEIDAS, 597-619).

AKOLOUTHIA ON STS ORESTES, DIOMEDES AND RODION (TEXT 9)

Sts Orestes, Diomedes and Rodion are not mentioned in the Typikon of the Great Church, which commemorates only St Cyril (not on June 9 as in L but on June 27) without any instruction concerning his akolouthia (see MATEOS, Typicon, 322). The Typikon of Evergetis commemorates only Sts Orestes and Diomedes, on June 9, with the following instruction: στιχηρά ἡχος δ’. ὁ κανών ἡχος πλάγιος δ’ ἱωσήφ· καθίσμα ἡχος πλάγιος δ’ (JORDAN, Typikon Evergetis, 148). This shows that the stichera and the kanon copied in L are the ones sung in the 11th c., while the kontakion mentioned in the Typikon is other than that included in our manuscript.

AKOLOUTHIA ON THE MARTYRS ALEXANDROS AND ANTONINA (TEXT 10)

315-321. TOMADAKIS, Ἴωσήφ, 168, has noted that in both Menai a stanza of ode 9 beginning with ἐτα is missing («ἐν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς μνημαίοις ἐλείπει ἐν τροπάριον τῆς Θ’ Ὀδής, ἀρχόμενον ἁπό Η»).

AKOLOUTHIA ON ST TIMOTHEOS, BISHOP OF PROUSSA (TEXT 10)

Kanon on St Timotheos (heirmoi of odes 3, 4, 7, 9): The scribe copied only the incipit of the heirmoi. A later hand has completed their text in the margin.

AKOLOUTHIA ON THE APOSTLES BARTHOLOMEW AND BARNABAS (TEXT 11)

111-132. The incipits of the two stichera are published in EfstrTam, 50 (1951) 269 (from codd. Par. gr. 1576, f. 32v; Athous Laur. Δ10; Sin. gr. 620), followed by a third one: Χαίροις ἡ νοητὴ χειλῶν ἡ το σωτήριον ἐαρ..., which has been omitted or neglected by the copyist of L.

193-204. The incipit of this sticheron is published in EfstrTam, 268, as the first of a set of three stichera on the saint. The beginnings of the other two ones are: Τρόπων σου χρηστότητι καὶ τῶν θέαν τὴ λαμπρότητι..., Ἐθνεῖ αε κήρυκα χειροτονεῖ καὶ διδάσκαλον... S. Efstratiadis notes that all three stichera are copied in cod. Par. gr.
1569, while Paris. gr. 1575 includes —like L— only the first one of them, which shows that L and Paris. gr. 1575 are probably related.

**205-412** (kanon on the apostle Bartholomew): In the printed Menaia the kanon appears along with the kanon on the apostle Barnabas (acrostic: Ομιλήν πλέκω σου, Βαρνάβα θεηγόρε). This caused its mutilation: only the first two of the stanzas of each ode are published, followed by the four stanzas of the kanon on Barnabas, so that in each ode six troparia were sung. ZERVODAKI, Θεοφάνης, 281, pointed out that the practice of singing the two akolouthiai on the apostles together seems to be very old.

**229. πάντα γέγονεν:** Attic syntax, not used in the rest of the akolouthia; Attic syntax is also used in Texts 6.291-293, 296-298, 345; 21.96-97; 25.383; 26.25-26.

**339-341. Τὴν θείαν ἐμφάνειαν ... ἀρετάν ἐν χρώμασι ... ἐξωγράφησας:** St Theophanes Graptos, the author of the kanon and one of the most prominent defenders of the veneration of the icons, uses in this passage allusive language to speak of the icons of Christ, as the word ἐμφάνεια (likeness) in combination with the words χρώμασι and ἐξωγράφησας is clearly used for εἰκόνι. The word ἐμφάνεια is used with the same meaning in the Life of St Nicholas of Myra, composed by Michael, most probably before 842 (see I. ŠEVČENKO, Hagiography of the Iconoclast Period, in A. BRYER and J. HERRIN (eds.), Iconoclasm. Papers given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies. University of Birmingham, March 1975, Birmingham: Centre for Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, 1977, p. 119). On the use of Allegory in Byzantine hymnography see KORAKIDIS, Ἰμνογραφία I, 184-185.

**AKOLOUTHIA ON ST ONOUPHRIOS (TEXT 12)**

**55-66.** The incipit of this sticheron is published in EfstrTam, 50 (1951) 317, as the second of a set of three stichera on the saint. The beginnings of the other two ones are: Πάτερ θεόφρον Ὀνούφριε, ἐν ταῖς αὐλαίς τοῦ Θεού..., Πάτερ θεόφρον Ὀνούφριε, ταῖς θεωρίαις ἄει... As all six stichera are composed on the same model stanza it would be possible that they were copied originally as one set.

**56-63.** On the monk Paphnoutios see above, p. 66, fn. 186.

**AKOLOUTHIA ON ST TYCHON OF AMATHOUS (TEXT 16)**

**23-43.** The set of kontakion and oikos presents similarities to the akolouthia on St Tychon published in the Menaion. The biblical background of the kontakion (I Regn 2.30) is also found in the third sticheron published in the Menaion (MV X, 55): Θαύμασι Θεός σε ἐδόξασεν, ὁ δοξάζων τοὺς αὐτόν, πάτερ, δοξάζοντας πιστοὺς. This may support the hypothesis that the set of kontakion and oikos was originally part of the akolouthia published in the Menaion.
79. From this passage it can be assumed that the stichera were part of an akolouthia that was originally destined to serve the celebration of the saint in the place where his relic was preserved. This may also apply to the kathisma (vv. 1-11 and AHG X, VIII, p. 90), as it refers to those who visit the saint’s shelter (χάριτας ιαμάτων ἀπαστράπτεις τοῖς πίστει τῇ σκέπῃ σου προστρέχουσιν ἀεί). Of the published kanons on the saint, it is the one included in the Menaion that seems to have been destined for the same celebration, as shown in the second stanza of ode 8: Ιατρεῖον παθῶν ἀναδέεικται, ἢ σοφὸς τῶν ἁγίων λειψάνων σου, ἢ περ κυκλούντες μέλπομεν, ἵππωτατε Τύχων· Πάντα τὰ ἔργα, εὐλογείτε ὑμεῖτε τὸν Κύριον (vv. 278-283 and MV X, 57). This place must have been on Cyprus, where the saint was buried, as the last but one stanza of the same kanon proves: Η Κύπρος τὸ σώμα σου σοφὲ τὸ ἁγιόν, ιαμάτων κρῆμνη κέκτηται... (vv. 326-327 and MV X, 57).

120-351. The kanon on St Tychon is also published in AASS Iunii, III, 94-97, three stanzas missing (vv. 304-309, 310-315, 334-339). Another Byzantine kanon on the saint has been edited in AHG X, 87-98.

AKOLOUTHIA ON THE MARTYR PACCHARIOS (TEXT 16)

86. This passage shows that the stichera were part of an akolouthia that was originally destined to serve the commemoration of the saint in the place where his relic was preserved, most probably in a church dedicated to him (cf. vv. 100-102: καὶ προσώπων ἐν τῷ σεπτῷ σου ναῷ).

584. The use of the verb πληρω and its derivatives, usually linked to the noun ὀθη, is one of the ways employed by Clement to “sign” his works; see A. KAZHDAN, An oxymoron: Individual Features of a Byzantine Hymnographer, RSBN 29 (1992-93) 21-24.

AKOLOUTHIA ON THE MARTYRS MANUEL, SAVEL AND ISHMAEL (TEXT 17)

30-46. The incipit of the oikos is published in EfstrTam, 50 (1951) 333 (from codd. Paris. gr. 1567, f. 42r; Paris. gr. 1569, f. 114v; Athous Laur. Ι’28, f. 167r), followed by two more not included in L: Οἱ πρώποι μάγοι τῷ Χριστῷ σαρκὶ ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου..., and Τῷ δεινότητος πολλῆς καὶ ζηλοῦ καὶ πυκνίας. All three of them are copied only in cod. Athous Laur. Ι’28, while codd. Paris. gr. 1567 and Paris. gr. 1569 include only the one commended upon here. This probably means that (concerning the akolouthia commended upon here) L, Paris. gr. 1567 and Paris. gr. 1569 derive from a common ancestor, the copyist of which omitted the other two oikoi.

80-103. The incipits of these two stichera are edited in EfstrTam, 50 (1951) 331 (from codd. Paris. gr. 345, f. 122r; Paris. gr. 1567, f. 42v; Paris. gr. 1569, f. 113r; Sin. gr. 620;
Athous Laur. Δ10, Θ135, Ω147), followed by a third one (Ἄιμασιν ὑμὸν μακάριοι μαρτυρικοῖς ἕαυτοῖς...) not copied in L but included in O (see Appendix VI, vv. 18-29). The neglect of the third in L is probably due to the number of the stichera sung at Ὀριε Ἐκέκραξα. Having six from the book of Parakletike, three on the martyrs and three on St Hypatios, the scribe needed only two to fulfill the fourteen stichera usually sung at this section of Hesperinos.

AKOLOUTHIA ON ST HYPATIOS, ABBOT OF ROUPHINIANAI (TEXT 17)

12-16. St Hypatios was buried in the monastery of Ruphinianai as his Vita tradits: Συνελθόντες δὲ ἐπίσκοποι πλείστοι, καὶ πάντες οἱ φίλοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐναρέτου, ὡστε ἐκ τούτου γενέσθαι πλήθος πολὺ λαοῦ φιλοχριστοῦ, καὶ ἐκ παντὸς μοναστηρίου, καὶ πάντες ἱημοὺς ἀφαντεῖς ἐν ψαλμοῖς ἐν ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὑμνοὶς ἑκάθεναν αὐτὸν ὀσίως: ... Τὸ οὖν ἅγιον αὐτοῦ λείψανον κατέθεντο ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐν τῷ σεπτῷ ἐυκτεηρίῳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μοναστηρίου ἐν σῶρῳ (σωρῷ in AASS) λαβόντες, ἐν ὃ οἴκω οἱ ἄδελφοι τάς εὐχάς ἀναπέμπουσιν... (VH 288-290 and AASS Iunii III, 347B). The saint’s grave is not presented as a performance of miracles neither in his Vita nor in the short notice included in Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. In this Joseph must have either followed another text or used an hagiographical topos.

129, 370-371, 578-579. A reference to St Hypatios’ relation with the Akoimetai monks of Constantinople; see E. WÖLFLE, Der Abt Hypatios von Ruphinianai und der Akoimete Alexander, BZ 79 (1986) 302-309; the entries on the monastery of Akoimetai and Alexander the Akoimetai in ODB, 46 and 59; and I. FOUNTOULIS, Ἡ εἰκοσιτετράωρος ἀκοίμητος δοξολογία, Athens 1963. St Hypatios’ Vita refers to the saint’s relationship with Archimandrite Alexandros, the founder of the monastery of Akoimetai. Alexandros, along with a hundred monks, came from the East and settled in the church of the town near the monastery of Ruphinianai. Being a zealot and criticizing the wrongs done by the local ruling class (in the text: τοὺς ἄρχοντας) became disliked by the latter, who sent a group of their people to beat the monks and throw them out of the church. St Hypatios received in his monastery Alexandros and the monks, who later, after having their wounds healed, moved to another place to build up a new monastery, that of Akoimetai (see VH, 242-246 and AASS Iunii III, 337B-338E). VH does not refer to the monastery founded by St Hypatios as practising the sleepless type of monasticism.

400-404. The Vita of St Hypatios refers to eight healings of people possessed or attacked by demons (see AASS Iunii III, 317B-C, 327C-328E, 335C, 336D-E, 341C, 341C-342D, 342E, 342F).

481. The Vita of St Hypatios refers to nine direct or indirect encounters of his with demons, which were in all cases defeated by the saint (see AASS Iunii III, 311A-B,

AKOLOUTHIA ON ST ZOSIMOS (TEXT 19)

58-61. None of the hagiographical texts on St Zosimos presents him particularly confessing the Incarnation of Christ. As the Incarnation was one of the main theological arguments for the veneration of the icons during the Iconoclast controversy, this passage could be understood as a product of the theological environment in which the kanon was composed, by St Joseph the Hymnographer, a well known iconophile composer.

130-135. Here Joseph the Hymnographer must have misunderstood the text of the two extant versions of the Passio, or consulted a different version that has not survived. According to the published Passio the martyr was not bound to the horses for three days but as long as Dometianos and his retinue were on their way to the town of Kananitai, the length of this travel not given. What Joseph misinterpreted is most probably what comes immediately afterwards in both versions of the Passio: as the saint continued to refuse to sacrifice to the idols, Dometianos ordered his men to leave him without food, which lasted three days, until two angels appeared to the martyr in the form of young men, offering him bread and water (see AASS Iunii, III, 815B-C, and Latyšev II, 81-82). The text published by Latyšev is clearer at this point: ...ἐλευθερᾷ τὸν Ζωσίμου κρητιδί τοὺς πόδας ἐμπεπαρμένοι ἠλόους ἰδεῖς ἔχοντες ἑκέλευσέν, ἐκεῖσε τούτον ἀπελήφσας παραδόναι πυρί. γίνεται κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὁ ἄρχων φυλακὴ τὸν μάρτυρα δίδωσι τρεῖς ἡμέρας παρῆλθον, ἐν αἷς ὁ μάρτυς οὐ μετέσχετο τροφής....

AKOLOUTHIA ON THE MARTYRS INNAS, PINNAS AND RIMMAS (TEXT 20)


48-52. The tradition of the performance of miracles by the saints does not appear in the surviving synaxarian notices. The composer of the stichera must have based himself on another text, unless he used a hagiographical topos.

92. Taking into account that the saints were from Skythia, or «the land of the barbarians» according to one synaxarian notice, the πλάνη mentioned here, as well as the ἀπάτη of v. 102, may refer to their previous pagan faith; cf. PIRP, 215-216: «πολλοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπέστρεψαν εἰς τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ πίστιν ἐκ τῆς τῶν
The synaxarian notices on the martyrs do not include any information about them being tortured. Therefore, either Joseph had access to another text or he uses here once more a hagiographical topos.

AKOLOUTHIA ON THE MARTYR IOULIANOS (TEXT 21)

The historical information contained in the kanon published here (vv. 106-333) is presented by ZERVoudaki, Θεοφάνης, 284-285. Her edition includes only one troparion to its entirety, that is the third troparion of ode 6 (vv. 222-227).

35-48. The incipit of the oikos edited here is published in EfstrTam, 50 (1951) 345 (from codd. Athous Laur. Г28, Athous Laur. Δ7, Δ42, Θ3, Θ44, Θ135, K182, Ω147). Efstratiadis mentions also some Parisini codices without giving their numbers; it is not clear whether he refers to Parisini graeci 1566 and 1569 (from which he publishes the incipit of one sticheron), 1575 (from which he publishes the incipit of two other sticherai), or 1576 (from which he publishes the incipit of two kathismata). The incipit is followed by those of two more oikoi not included in L: Ἰστασο μέσον τῶν παρανόμων θαρσαλέω τῇ γνώμῃ..., and Σωμα θυτῶν περιβεβλημένος ὡς ἀσώματος ὑφθης...

94-105. The hymn, originally a sticheron, is transmitted in Ia as a doxastikon sung at Stichos of Orthos, after the stichera of Oktoechos.


120-121. δόγμα τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς βασιλέως: The identity of the emperor mentioned here is not clear. The hagiographical texts on the saint do not include information on the period when the saint lived and martyred. The only name mentioned is that of the governor Marcianus, which is not enough to help us identify the emperor. Taking though into consideration that the kanon is written by Theophanes Graptoς, one of the most prominent defenders of the veneration of the icons, it may be assumed that the passage is an indirect reference to the iconoclast emperors Leo V the Armenian (813-820) or Theophilos (829-842), both of whom exiled and punished Theophanes for his iconophile beliefs. The word δόγμα may point more to Leo as it was during his reign that the second Iconoclast Council was gathered in Constantinople (815) reaffirming the first Iconoclast Council of Hieria (754) (see FEIDAS, 794-795).

250-251. Although this ending of the stanza is transmitted by all manuscripts (L, H and Ia), its content does not fit to the rest of the text. As this ending is identical to the ending of the ode’s heirmos and that of the next stanza, its presence could be explained as an error by the copyist of a common ancestor of the three manuscripts,
who inadvertently replaced the original ending with this one or fulfilled a lacuna of the exemplar from which he was copying (cf. EE 1, nr 1, vv. 40-41).

334-502 (second kanon): The acrostic Ἰουλιανόν ὡμνοις μάρτυρα στέφω does not include the theotokia, the initial of which read ΑΔΘΙΟΧΩ."
and the kathisma of the Menaion (Εγκρατεία τά πάθη τά της σαρκός τή ψυχή ὑποτάξας...), and vv. 16-19 (...ἐν δένδρῳ καλιάν πηξάς, πτέρυγας κεχρυσωμένας, πάτερ, ἐκτήσω...) to the second sticheron (...καλιάν πάτερ ἐπηξάς, το κρυει πηγνύμενος, καὶ τῷ θερεὶ φλεγόμενος, χρυσάς ἐντειθὲν ἐλαβεῖς πτέρυγας...) and the kathisma of the Menaion (καλιάν δὲ πηξάς ὡς ὄρνις εὐκέλαδος...).

A passage of the oikos (ὁ τάλας κάγιον πεπήραμαι, ῥυσθεῖς τῶν θλιβόντων με) shows a relationship between the composer of the oikos (thus, the kontakion too) and the saint, who helped him in a difficult circumstance of his life, which is not clear. Such a relationship is not mentioned in any of the other hymnographical texts on the saint.

23. χρωτός: The word is here employed in genitive instead of nominative (ὁ χρῶς) for metrical reasons.

25-26. Attic syntax, not used in the rest of the akolouthia; Attic syntax is also used in Texts 6.291-293, 296-298, 345; 11.229; 21.96-97; 25.383.

74-91. Two questions are raised concerning the stichera: the first concerning the saints to which they are dedicated, as no name is mentioned, and the second on whether they are composed by the same hymnographer with the second kanon of the akolouthia, namely the one edited here for the first time, which is possibly composed by George of Nicomedia (see below, note on vv. 304-375). To start with the first question, the structure of the content of the stichera makes a positive answer possible, on the basis of comparing it to each of the extant odes of the kanon, which includes at least one troparion on each saint. It is possible, therefore, that each of the first two stichera (the third is excluded from this discussion because of its general character) must be dedicated to one of the saints celebrated. The second praises most probably St David because of his ascetic character (St John is not praised for his ascetic qualities) and the first must be praising St John, as it stresses the priesthood of the saint rather than his monastic qualities. This is also in accordance with the pattern of the hymnographer to start each ode with praising St John (see below, comment on vv. 308-311).

304-375. From the initials of the surviving theotokia (ΙΟΥ in odes 7-9) it can be deduced that the theotokia of the kanon formed the acrostic ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ, possibly George of Nicomedia, as E. Papailiopoulou-Fotopoulou has noted: «Εκ τῶν θεοτοκίων τῶν ὥδεν ζ’-θ’ ἔξαγεται ἀκροστικῆς ...ΙΟΥ, ἱσως <ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ, λαμβανομένων ὑπ’ ὧν ἂν ἂν ἔνος μὲν τοῦ χαρακτηριστικοῦ incipit τοῦ κανόνος, ἂ’ ἐτέρου δὲ τοῦ πανηγυρικοῦ ὕψους τοῦ σωζομένου κειμένου» (PAPAILIOPOULO, Tameion, 227, footnote 602).

308-311. It is not clear whether this troparion lauds St David or St John. Though at first sight it seems that it is dedicated to St David, due to the reference to light and
darkness (as there are some relative references in St David’s synaxarion: ώς άστήρ πολύφωτος τὴν ἐστέραν κατηγάσεν [SynaxEC 771; AASS Iunii V 177A et MV X, 95] and καταλαβών δὲ τὴν Δύσιν, κατεφώτισεν αὐτήν ταῖς ἀρεταῖς, ώς άστήρ πολύφωτος [Menol 512]), one needs to read only as far as the next edited stanza (vv. 314-315) to realize that the same ideal refers there to St John. Considering that in all the extant odes of the *kanon* the first two stanzas are dedicated to St John and the third to St David, we may conclude that the stanza commented upon here, being the second of ode 1, is dedicated to the Bishop of Gotthia. This is also strengthened by the mention of the light of words (vv. 309-310: τῶ φέγγει τῶν λόγων) as a tool by which the saint enlightened dark areas, which must refer to St John as no kind of teaching is included in St David’s life and activity.

Akolouthia on St Sampson the Xenodochos (Text 27)

8, 67-69, 89-92. It is clear by these passages that at the time of the composition of the *akolouthia* St Sampson’s hospital was still in use. This is also mentioned in three passages of the *kanon* on the saint published in the *Menaia*, composed by Joseph the Hymnographer: Ἐδομήσω εἰς δοξαν Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, οίκον ἱερωτατον, ἐν ὦ προστέρχοντες, πολυειδον καθαίροντα νοηματων πιστο Παμμακαριστε (MV X, 98, ode 6, stz. 2); Σοφία πολλή, και στοργή πνευματική Πάτερ, κινούμενος, οίκον έδειμω μάκαρ μέγιστον, ἐν ὦ προσφεύγοντες ὁσι, ιασιν κοιμιζόται πάντες… (MV X, 99, ode 7, stz. 2) and Σον τὸ περίδοξον Πάτερ, ιατρείον ὁ πόνοις ἐκτῆσω, ἐπισκέπτεσθαι ἅνε, μὴ διαλίπῃς, δεόμεθα… (MV X, 99, ode 9, stz. 3).

23-31. The incipit of the oikos edited here is published in EfstrTam, 51 (1952) 41 (from codd. Paris. gr. 13, Paris. gr. 1567, Paris. gr. 1569, Paris. gr. 1576, Athous Laur. Δ42, Δ45, Θ43, Θ44, Θ135, K182, Δ147; Athous Vatop. 1041). It is followed by the incipits of two more oikoi not copied in L. Their beginnings are: ὁ σοφὸς Ἀβραὰμ τε καὶ δίκαιος…, and Τῶρον ζῶν μετασχῶν τον βασιλείατος… All three of them are copied solely in cod. Athous Vatop. 1041, while all the others contain only the oikos commented upon here.

164-166 (ode 4, heirmos). The metrical pattern used in the composition of the stanzas is: --z--z- - / --z--z- - / --z--z- - / --z--z- - / --z--z- - / --z--z- - / --z--z- - . In the Heirmologion published by S. Efstratiadis there is only one heirmos composed in the same mode and having the incipit given in L: Εἰσακήκων, Κύριε, τὴν ἀκοήν τῆς σῆς οἰκονομίας καὶ φοβηθεῖς ἐδόξασα τὴν ἀκατάληπτον σου δύναμιν (EE 190, nr 270). Its metrical pattern is quite different than the one used here: --z--z-- / --z--z-- / --z--z-- / --z--z-- / --z--z-- / --z--z-- / --z--z-- . Furthermore, no heirmos composed in the second plagal mode, which sometimes is used alternatively with kanons composed in the second mode, bears the same incipit and a similar metrical pattern. This means that either the hymnographer did not follow the pattern of the above mentioned heirmos or that he used another one, not published in the Heirmologion.
324. *Elaios*: The hymnographer uses here a word play the words ἑλαῖον and ἕλεος (compare also to v. 345: εὐποιαῖ ἔτων ἑλεόν) (see KORAKIDIS, Υμνογραφία I, 267-268).

**AKOLOUTHIA ON ST JOSEPH AND HIS FELLOW MARTYRS (TEXT 28)**

394. ἄγιοι: The two variant readings given in the manuscripts (ἄγιοι in H and ὅσιοι in L) are of the same metrical quantity. The word ἄγιοι is adopted as it is closer to the rest of the text, whereas ὅσιος is used in vocatives referring to St Joseph alone (vv. 339, 367 and 434), while the only vocative that refers to the group of St Joseph and his fellow martyrs is the word ἄγιοι given in both manuscripts (v. 440).

415. The reading κατάκεινται of L seems to be closer to the original text than that of H (κατάκειται: attic syntax). Unfortunately, the *akolouthia* does not include another neuter plural used as a subject, so our decision must be based on the general characterization of the language of Joseph the Hymnographer, as «not archivering and away from the Koine» [N. TOMADAKIS, Η γλώσσα Ἰωσήφ τοῦ Ῥμνογράφου, EEPhSPA 23 (1972-3) 22; cf. TOMADAKIS, Joseph, 93]. This is supported by an *argumentum ex silentio*, as the Attic syntax is not used by Joseph in any of his *kanons* edited here.

**AKOLOUTHIA ON THE APOSTLES PETER AND PAUL (TEXT 29)**

1-5. The stanza is given in the manuscript as a *kathisma*, but in the *Menaion* it is published as *apolytikion*, as it is used until today by the Greek Orthodox Church.

69-200. The hymns represent a part of a hymn on the Apostles written by Romanos the Melode, with the acrostic: Τοῦ ταπεινοῦ Ρωμανοῦ ὁ φαλμός (published in TRM IV, 13-25; Chr-Par, 131-138; PitraHEG, 169-177).

287-297. The *sticheron* in published in the *Menaion* as one of the «Στιχηρά ἰδώμελα ... φαλλόμενα εἰς τὴν διάδοσιν τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἐλαίου» (MV X, 112).

**Post v. 554:** The *kanon* is published in AHG X, 255-256, including a second ode, which is not included in the manuscript.
Glossary of Liturgical Terms

The entries of this Glossary refer to the use of the terms in the thesis, not including other meanings of the same terms. They are based on the relevant entries on ODB, the Lexicon of hymnographic and liturgical terms by A. Korakidis and the Glossary composed by Robert Jordan in his edition of the Synaxarion of Evergetis.

agrypnia: The all-night vigil (see also Pannychis).
Ainoa: The last Psalms of the Old Testament (Psalms 148-150), sung at the end of Orthros. Their last verses were interpolated with stichera from the books of Parakletike or Menaion.
akolouthia (pl. akolouthiai): An individual total of hymnographic-poetic texts used by the church in the proper part of the services to celebrate a saint on his feastday. In L it consists of kathisma, kontakion and oikos, stichera, kanon and exapostelarion.
Alleluia: A form of responsorial singing consisting of psalm-verses followed by the word Alleluia. It was sung only in panegyrical celebrations of saints and feasts.
Anthologion: A chant book containing selections of hymns from the Menaion.
apolytikion (pl. apolytikia): A short dismissal hymn (troparion) which is sung at the end of Hesperinos and Orthros.
Asmatikos Hesperinos: Chanted Vespers, i.e. the office of Vespers as it was chanted in parochial churches.
Asmatikos Orthros: Chanted Matins, i.e. the office of Matins as it was chanted in parochial churches.
doxastikon: A sticheron sung at the end of the cycle of stichera in Hesperinos and Orthros. It is always preceded by the verse «Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit».
exapostelarion (pl. exapostelaria): A short hymn sung at Orthros, after the kanon and before the Ainoa. Exapostelaria are included in the books of Parakletike, Horologion and Menaion.
heirmos (pl. heirmoi): A model-hymn according to which an ode of a kanon is sung. Sometimes it stands as the first stanza of the ode; more oftenly it is borrowed from another kanon.
Hesperinos: One of the names used in Byzantine times for Vespers. It consisted of sung and read parts (prayers, troparia, hymns, psalms, stichera, and readings), as well as litanies.
Horologion: The Byzantine Book of the Hours, a liturgical book containing the
services and prayers of the different hours of the day.

idiomelon (pl. idiomela): A hymn (here: a sticheron) that has its own melody.

kanon: A hymn that consists of eight or nine odes, each one of which is patterned after a canticle from the Holy Scriptures. Each ode consists of several stanzas, most often four, and follows a metrical and melismatic model, called heirmos.

kathisma (pl. kathismata): A poetic text sung at the end of a whole section of the Psalter in the continuous psalmody of Orthros. During its performance the congregation has the right to sit. Some times the kathisma was also sung as troparion or apolytikion.

Kontakarion: A Byzantine chant book, containing kontakia and other hymns, featured with musical notation.

kontakion (pl. kontakia): Originally kontakion was a whole hymn consisting of an opening stanza (the prooimion or koukoulion), followed by a varying number of homiletic stanzas (oikoi) which were sung according to the melody of the first one of them, i.e. their heirmos. IN monastic rite: in use was the prooimion, now called kontakion, followed by one oikos, usually the heirmos.

Kύπε Εκκλησιας: Psalms 140, 141, 129 and 116, sung at the beginning of Hesperinos.

makarismoi: The blessings that open the Sermon at the Mount (Matth. 5:3-12) with the addition of Luke 23:42; they sometimes replace the third antiphon at Divine Liturgy, intercalated with stichera.

Menaion: A liturgical book that contains the hymnographic-poetic texts used by the church to celebrate the feasts and saints of the calendar year. It comprises twelve volumes, one for each month.

Oktoechos: A liturgical book containing hymns of Hesperinos, Orthros and the Divine Liturgy. It is devided in eight parts. Each one of them is composed according to one of the eight modes of Byzantine music (thence Oktoechos) and includes the hymns for all days of the week, from Saturday evening to Saturday morning.

ode: One of the component parts of a kanon, consisting of its heirmos and the following stanzas, usually four.

oikos (pl. oikoi): Originally one of the (usually twenty-four) stanzas of a kontakion. After the replacement of the kontakion by the kanon, every kontakion was followed by one (in very few cases more, but certainly not twenty-four) oikoi.

Orthros: The morning office of the Orthodox Church. It consists of sung and read parts (prayers, troparia, hymns, psalms, kanons, stichera, and readings), as well as litanies.

Pannychis: By the eleventh century the term Pannychis did not mean the all-night vigil (Agrypnia), but an everyday service sung after Hesperinos.

Pentekostarion: A chant book containing the hymns used in the period from Easter Sunday to the first Sunday after Pentecost.

Prokeimenon: A form of responsorial singing consisting of psalm-versees followed by a refrain.

prosomoion (pl. prosomoia): A sticheron that has not an independent melody; it is sung according to the melody of another sticheron, called automelon.
**sticheron** (pl. stichera): A short hymn to be intercalated with the four, six or eight final verses of a Psalm, at *Hesperinos* or *Orthros*. Stichera were included in the books of *Parakletike*, *Triodion*, *Pentekostarion*, and *Menaion*. The model melodies were to be found in the *Sticherarion*.

**synaxarion** (pl. synaxaria): (1) A short notice commemorating a feast or the life or the martyrdom of a saint. (2) A Byzantine liturgical book containing such notices for the entire year.

**theotokion** (pl. theotokia): A troparion in honour of the Virgin Mary (Theotokos).

**triadikon** (pl. triadika): A troparion in honour of the Holy Trinity.

**Triodion**: A Byzantine chant book containing the hymns sung in the period covering the ten weeks preceding Easter and ending at Holy Saturday.

**Typikon**: A Byzantine liturgical book containing instructions (rubrics) on content and the performance of the offices of the Byzantine Church throughout the entire year.
I. MANUSCRIPTS

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II. PRINTED WORKS

A. PRIMARY SOURCES

Acta Martyrii ss. Zenonis et Zenae (=BHG 1887), AASS Iunii IV, 476-482.

Ἀκολουθία ἡ θεία ἱερὰ καὶ μαρτυρικὴ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ πανενδόξων τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγίστων ἄθλοφορῶν τε καὶ αὐτάδελφῶν Μανουὴλ, Σαβὲλ, καὶ Ἰσμαὴλ ἄθληράντων ἐν Ἑτει Σωτηρίω ΤΣΒ. ἀναγινωσκομένη κατὰ τὴν ΙΖ τῆς Ἰουνίου. Ἡτὶς πρῶταν μὲν ἐρανισθεὶσα τε καὶ φιλοπανθείσα παρὰ Μανουὴλ Μάνου τοῦ Βυζαντίων καὶ ἐπιδιωκθείσα παρὰ τῶν Πανουσοσφολογιώτατον διδασκάλου καὶ ἱεροκήρυκος τῆς Ἁγίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἑκκλησίας κυρίου Δορθείου Βουλησίμα, εἰς φῶς ἡχθε διὰ δαπάνης τοῦ ἐν μακαρίᾳ τῇ λήξει Ἐυγενεστάτου Ἀρχοντος Πολυβινίκου καὶ Καβαλλιέρη κυρίου Μανουὴλ Μπάλια. Νῦν δὲ αὐξηθεὶσα παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ποιητοῦ χάριν εὐλαβείας τῇ προσθήκῃ τῶν τε ἐγκαγμῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῶν ἁγίων ἐπιταφίων, εὐλογητάριον, καὶ κἂν ὁμοίως, μετὰ τῶν τρυπαρίων φαλλομένων ἐν τῇ ἀγρυπνίᾳ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπιρίου πανηγύριωσ· ἐτι δὲ σύν τέταρταιν εὐχαρί, μεγαλυναρίως τις, τυπικοίς δὲ, καὶ τοῖς δυσὶ σπανωτάτοις πασχαλίοις, μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὡς ὅραται, ἀπερ ἁπάντα ἐθεωρήθησαν παρὰ τῶν
panierotatou en Archiereusin Agion Synadon kuriou kuriou Nikodimou, kai
teleutaion kalwsiathiasis tais ton xaritsotirontas eikonon teptarai
chalkografiases ton anion, kai ois oin t*eis to eintelles akheias. Hde
dunteron sin Theo agiou typois katharoteresi kai erubhresi charaktirion
ekidostai spoudh men kai analwma to ton tapanon poitou, opou diamepi
swerein tois theies naios ton Kuriou hmiou, kai tois filomartusi
christianosis, eixeptes de tois hminymi tois anioi uper tis ton polion
auton plhmelmaton afheias, kai tis metata dikaiow ton psywton ton
goneon auton Skarlaton kai AIkaterinhs aiwnion anapavases. Epiemelias
dei kai epistasia ton panosotatou en Ieromonaichoias agon Arxhmanidot
kuriou kuriou Kallinikou ton ek Theosalounikis, Leipzig 1815.
Akolouthia ton anion kai enoudion megaloion martrion Manouhli, Sabel kai
Ismhal phalalegei kata tin i* ton Iouhio, eranisteisa men filoponos
par* Manouhli Manon ton Buzantion charin enulabheisa epimeleos de
dirophtheia par* twn enulafon kai ta theia mevinmenon anedron, kai
akribes epitheorethisa par* ton Panoiosotatou kai sofologisotatou
didaskalou kai ierokhrhios tis ton Christon Megalhis Ekkhrhasis kuriou
Daotheou Boulehma. Kai ton prwton typois ekdotheisa dia datanis men ton
Panneuygeostatou kuriou Manouhil Mpalasa epimeleias de kai epistasia
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kai tis synodias auton and Martrion ton agon megaloamarturou kai
thasmatorugon Leoniklanon kai ton tesosarion nptwv Klados, Ypatios,
Paioy kai Dionysios (=BHGa 999a and 999b), in F. Halkin, Les deux passion
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(=BHG 760).
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Isaiae [Corpus Christianorum. Series Apocryphorum 7], Turnhout: Brepols,
1995, pp. 329-351.
Βίος ἐν ἑπτάμη καὶ πολιτείᾳ τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Δανίδ τοῦ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκη (=BHG 493ε), ed. LATYȘEVI 11, 103-104.

Βίος καὶ μαρτύριον τῆς ἀγίας ςοιομάρτυρος Φεβρωνίας, ed. LATYȘEVI 11, 98-102.

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Courtesy: The Holy Leimonos Monastery

192
Plate 2
Codex Lesb. Leimonos 11, f. 12r
Courtesy: The Holy Leimonos Monastery
Plate 3
Codex Lesb. Leimonos 11, f. 19r
Courtesy: The Holy Leimonos Monastery
Plate 4
Codex Lesb. Leimonos 11, f. 24r
Courtesy: The Holy Leimonos Monastery
Plate 5
Codex Lesb. Leimonos 11, f. 35r
Courtesy: The Holy Leimonos Monastery
Plate 6
Codex Lesb. Leimonos 11, f. 72r
Courtesy: The Holy Leimonos Monastery
Plate 8
Codex Hierosol. Sab. 70, f. 54r
Courtesy: Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem
Plate 10
Codex Hierosol. Sab. 70, f. 88v
Courtesy: Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem