

An annotated critical  
edition of an unpublished  
Byzantine *Menaion* for June:  
*Codex Lesbiacus Leimonos 11*

Volume I: Introduction – Commentary – Plates

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Dissertation for the degree doctor philosophiae (dr.philos.)  
University of Bergen, Norway  
2007

UNIVERSITETET I BERGEN



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.

ISBN-978-82-308-0426-1  
University of Bergen, Norway  
Printed by Allkopi, Bergen

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ABSTRACT

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The present thesis is an annotated critical edition of an unpublished collection of hymnographical texts.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 Lesbos, 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 Twenty of these texts are hitherto unpublished.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.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

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VOLUME I

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



Codex Hierosolymitanus Sabaiticus 70	115
Other extant manuscripts	118
Transmission of the text	132
Conventions employed in the present edition	148
<b>COMMENTARY</b>	150
<i>Akolouthia</i> on St Ioustinos and his fellow martyrs (Text 1)	150
<i>Akolouthia</i> on St Attalos (Text 1)	151
<i>Akolouthia</i> on St Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople (Text 2)	151
<i>Akolouthia</i> on the martyr Loukillianos (Text 3)	152
<i>Akolouthia</i> on St Metrophanes, Archbishop of Constantinople (Text 4)	154
<i>Akolouthia</i> on Eustathios of Antioch (Text 5)	155
<i>Akolouthia</i> on St Hilarion of Dalmatou (Text 5)	155
<i>Akolouthia</i> on the martyr Dorotheos, Bishop of Tyre (Text 6)	155
<i>Akolouthia</i> on the martyrs Nikandros and Markianos (Text 7)	156
<i>Akolouthia</i> on St Theodoros <i>Stratelates</i> (Text 8)	157
<i>Akolouthia</i> on St Cyril of Alexandria (Text 9)	158
<i>Akolouthia</i> on Sts Orestes, Diomedes and Rodion (Text 9)	158
<i>Akolouthia</i> on the martyrs Alexandros and Antonina (Text 10)	158
<i>Akolouthia</i> on St Timotheos, Bishop of Proussa (Text 10)	158
<i>Akolouthia</i> on the Apostles Bartholomew and Barnabas (Text 11)	158
<i>Akolouthia</i> on St Onouphrios (Text 12)	159
<i>Akolouthia</i> on St Tychon of Anathous (Text 16)	159
<i>Akolouthia</i> on the martyr Pagcharios (Text 16)	160
<i>Akolouthia</i> on the martyrs Manuel, Savel and Ishmael (Text 17)	160
<i>Akolouthia</i> on St Hypatios Abbot of Roupiniani (Text 17)	161
<i>Akolouthia</i> on the martyr Zosimos (Text 19)	162
<i>Akolouthia</i> on the martyrs Innas, Pinnas and Rimmas (Text 20)	162
<i>Akolouthia</i> on the martyr Ioulianos (Text 21)	163
<i>Akolouthia</i> on the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist (Text 24)	164
<i>Akolouthia</i> on the martyr Fevronia (Text 25)	164
<i>Akolouthia</i> on Sts David of Thessalonike and John of Gotthia (Text 26)	164
<i>Akolouthia</i> on St Sampson the <i>Xenodochos</i> (Text 27)	166
<i>Akolouthia</i> on St Ioseph and his Fellow Martyrs (Text 28)	167
<i>Akolouthia</i> on the Apostles Peter and Paul (Text 29)	167
<b>Glossary of liturgical terms</b>	168
<b>Bibliography</b>	171
<b>Plates</b>	192

## VOLUME II

Conspectus siglorum	6
<b>Texts</b>	
1. In s. Iustinum philosophum et martyrem - In s. Attalum thaumaturgum	12
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	95
6. In s. Dorotheum Episcopum Tyri et martyrem	105
7. In s. Theodotum Ancyrae martyrem – In ss. mm. Nikandrum and Markianum	121
8. In s. Theodorum Stratelatem martyrem	135
9. In s. St. Cyrillum Papam Alexandriae – In ss. mm. Orestem, Diomedem and Rhodionem	144
10. In ss. mm. Alexandrum et Antoninam – In s. Timotheum Episcopum Proussae	152
11. In s. Bartolomeum apostolum – In s. Barnabam apostolum	163
12. In s. Onouphrium anachoretam in Aegypto	177
13. In s. Akylinam	188
14. In s. Elisaeum prophetam – In s. Methodium confessorem Patriarcham Constantinopolitanum	191
15. In s. Amosem prophetam – In s. Fortunatum apostolum	212
16. In s. Tychonem thaumaturgum Episcopum Amathountis – In s. Pagcharium martyrem	218
17. In ss. mm. Manuelem, Savelem and Ismaelem – In s. Hypatium abbatum monasterii Ruphiniani	238
18. In s. Leontium martyrem – In ss. mm. Isaurum, Basilium, Innocentium, Peregrinum, Ermeiam et Philexem	274
19. In s. Zosimum martyrem	275
20. In ss. mm. Innam, Pinnam et Rimmam – In s. Eustochium et socios martyres	289
21. In s. Iulianum Anazarbenum martyrem in Cilicia	306
22. In s. Eusevium Episcopum Samosatenum – In s. Petrum Athonensem	323
23. In s. Agrippinam martyrem – In ss. mm. Zenonem et Zenam	328
24. In Nativitatem s. Joannis Baptistae	344
25. In s. Febroniam martyrem	361
26. In s. Davidem Thesalonicensem – In s. Davidem Thesalonicensem et s. Joannem Episcopum Gothiae	382
27. In s. Samsonem <i>Xenodochem</i>	393
28. In translationem reliquiarum ss. Cyri et Joannis – In s. Iosephum et socios martyres	408
29. In ss. Petrum et Paulum apostolos	425
30. In ss. XII apostolos	446
 <b>Appendices</b>	
I. In s. Iustinum philosophum et martyrem	458
II. In s. Attalum thaumaturgum	461
III. In s. Lucillianum martyrem	466
IV. In s. Dorotheum Episcopum Tyri et martyrem	469

V. In s. Methodium confessoem Patriarcham Constantinopolitanum	470
VI. In ss. mm. Manuelem, Savelem and Ismaelem	476
VII. In s. Hypatium abbatum monasterii Ruphiniani	479
VIII. In ss. mm. Innam, Pinnam et Rimmam	481
IX. In s. Iulianum Anazarbenum martyrem in Cilicia	482

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AIM AND SCOPE OF THE THESIS

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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 Papailiopolou – Fotopoulou in her *Ταμείον ἀνεκδότων Βυζαντινῶν Ἀσματικῶν 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. Papailiopolou – 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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)].

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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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 Gonis, 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 Tomas Hägg, University of Bergen, for his encouragement and advice during the last four years.

The same amount of gratitude goes to the abbot of Leimonos monastery, Archimandrite Nikodemos Pavlopoulos, and to Ermolaos Roussias, for their support and hospitality during my research at the monastery's library.

I would also like to thank Miss Julian Chrysostomides and Dr Charalambos Dendrinou for their advice and constructive discussions on my research during my stay as Visiting Scholar at The Hellenic Institute, Royal Holloway College, University of London in February-March 2006, a period I recall with the warmest memories. Dr Dendrinou was kind enough to read through my text and make considerable improvements in terms of language and style, providing me at the same time with invaluable comments on the content.

Professor Stig Frøyshov, 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 Antonopoulou, 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.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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- AASS: *Acta Sanctorum*, Antverpiae / Bruxellis / Tongerloae / Parisiis 1643-1940.
- AHG: Ioseph Schirò (et al.), *Analecta Hymnica Graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae Inferioris*, vols. I-XII, Roma 1966-1980.
- AmphKond: Amphilokhis (Sergievskis), arkhimandr., *Kondakarij u greceskom podlinnie 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.
- BENESEVIC: V. Benesevič, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum qui in monasterio Sanctae Catharinae in Monte Sina asservantur*, vols. I and III, 1, St. Petersburg 1911, 1917.
- BHG: François Halkin, *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, 3 vols., (Subsidia Hagiographica 8a), Brussels 1957<sup>3</sup>.
- BHGa: François Halkin, *Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae*, (Subsidia Hagiographica 47), Brussels 1969.
- BHGna: François Halkin, *Novum Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae*, [Subsidia Hagiographica 65], Brussels 1984.
- BS: *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, Roma: Instituto Giovanni XXIII della Pontificia Università Lateranense, vol. I-XII, 1961-1970.
- BZ: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*.
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- CPG: M. Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, I-IV, Turnhout 1983, 1974, 1979, 1980; M. Geerard and F. Glorie, V, Turnhout 1987.
- CPGs: M. Geerard – J. Noret, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum. Supplementum*, Turnhout 1998.
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- Petrograd, 1895-1917.
- DOP: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*.
- DOSITHEOS, *Διάταξις Ἀγρυπνίας*: Archimandrite Dositheos, *Διάταξις τῆς Ἀγρυπνίας κατὰ τὸ Τυπικὸν τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Λαύρας τοῦ Ὁσίου καὶ Θεοφόρου Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάββα τοῦ Ἁγιασμένου*, Athens: Ἐκδοσις Ἱερῶν Μονῆς Παναγίας Τατάρνης, 2005<sup>3</sup>.
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- EE: Sophronios Efstratiadis, *Εἰρμολόγιον (Μνημεῖα Ἀγιολογικά)*, [Ἀγιορειτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 9], Chennevières – sur – Marne 1932.
- EERPhSPA: *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν*.
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- FESTUGIÈRE: Andre-Jean Festugière, *Lieux communs littéraires et thèmes de folk-lore dans l'Hagiographie primitive*, *Wiener Studien* 73 (1960) 123-152.
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- JÖB: *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*.
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LIST OF PLATES

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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.

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A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

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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 *κονδάκιον* 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 *βῆτα* (β) is represented by *v* and not as *b*, e.g. *Savel* not *Sabel*.

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CHAPTER 1

CODEX *LESBIACUS LEIMONOS* 11 AND THE BYZANTINE RITE (9TH-12TH C.)

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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<sup>1</sup>.

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)<sup>2</sup> and *Orthros* (Matins)<sup>3</sup>. Egon Wellesz has pointed out that the main reason for this was that «the dramatic character of the Byzantine mass ... did not permit the accumulation of too many chants, which would have clogged the liturgical action and introduced a static element. The less dramatic type of worship had its place in the Morning and Evening Service»<sup>4</sup>. 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)]<sup>5</sup>, comprising, in its present form, twelve volumes,

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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 Euchologe Byzantin*, OCP 44 (1978) 107-130, 301-412; J. MATEOS, *La synaxe monastique des vêpres byzantines*, OCP 36 (1970) 248-272; FOUNTOULIS, *Ακολουθία νυχθημέρου*, 85-141; ODB, 2161-2162; bibliography in TAFT, *Bibliography of Hours*, 361-365.

<sup>3</sup> 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 de L'Asmatikos Orthros ("Matines Chantées")*, OCP 47 (1981) 122-157; M. ARRANZ, *Les prières presbytérales des matines byzantines*, OCP 37 (1971) 406-436 and 38 (1972) 64-115; I. M. FOUNTOULIS, *Η ακολουθία του Όρθρου*, Thessaloniki 1966; FOUNTOULIS, *Ακολουθία νυχθημέρου*, 144-264; ODB, 1539; bibliography in TAFT, *Bibliography of Hours*, 361-365.

<sup>4</sup> WELLESZ, 125.

<sup>5</sup> 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 Μηναῖα ἀπὸ τοῦ ΙΑ' μέχρι τοῦ ΙΓ' αἰῶνος*, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος* 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<sup>6</sup>. 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<sup>7</sup>. 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 Schmemmann that «the *Menaion* can really be called the most frequently used of all the liturgical books»<sup>8</sup>.

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 *akolouthiai*<sup>9</sup> on saints celebrated on that date, with no musical notation and without liturgical instructions on where every part is to be sung and how<sup>10</sup>. Each *akolouthia* consists mainly of a *kathisma*, a set of (usually three) *stichera* and a *kanon*, while some *akolouthiai* include also a set of *kontakion* and *oikos*, and very few an *exaposteilarion*.

*Stichera*, *kathisma* and *kanon* have been considered by the Church as the most important elements of an *akolouthia* on a saint<sup>11</sup>. A. Papadopoulos – Kerameus, one of the pioneers in the study of the *Menaia*, writes about the 10th-century *Menaia* he had

<sup>6</sup> 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.

<sup>7</sup> 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 MULLETT – 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.

<sup>8</sup> SCHMEMMANN, *Liturgical Theology*, 186.

<sup>9</sup> 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, *Υμνογραφία* II, 46).

<sup>10</sup> 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 *Στιχηρὰ εἰς τὸ Κύριε ἐκέκραξα* (set 1, vv. 53-79), *Τοῦ στίχου* (set 2, vv. 80-97), and *Ἄλλα εἰς τοὺς Αἴνους* (sets 3-4, vv. 98-163; on *Κύριε Ἐκέκραξα*, *Στίχος* and *Αἶνοι* 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 Κύριε Ἐκέκραξα ἰστώμεν στίχους ἡ', ταῦτα ψάλλοντες*.

<sup>11</sup> See for example G. REGAS, *Τυπικόν*, [Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies – Liturgica Vlatadon, 1], Thessaloniki 1994, p. 50: «Τὰ ἀπαραίτητα μέρη ἐκάστης ἀκολουθίας ἀγίου εἰσί: Τρία στιχηρὰ προσόμοια χρησιμεύοντα ὡς ἐσπέρια, καὶ εἷς κανὼν, μετὰ τὴν γ' ᾠδὴν τοῦ ὁποῖου ἐν κάθισμα».

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*<sup>12</sup>. This explains why all the *akolouthiai* copied in L (which as a manuscript confirms the findings of Papadopoulos-Keramues) include *stichera*, *kathisma* and *kanon*, while the presence of *exaposteilarion* is rare<sup>13</sup>, 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 *Menaion* 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)<sup>14</sup>.

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 role<sup>15</sup>. O. Strunk, basing himself on the treatise *On Divine Prayer* by Symeon of Thessaloniki (15<sup>th</sup> c.)<sup>16</sup>, 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

<sup>12</sup> PAPAPOULOS – KERAMEUS, Σχεδιάσμα, 360.

<sup>13</sup> 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.

<sup>14</sup> On the decline of *kontakion* and its replacement by the *kanon* see MITSAKIS, *Υμνογραφία*, 525-530; C. A. TRYPANIS, *Greek Poetry from Homer to Seferis*, Chicago 1981, pp. 436-446.

<sup>15</sup> On the absence of *stichera* and *kanon* from the *Asmatikos Hesperinos* and the *Asmatikos Orthros* of the cathedral rite see the texts published by P. N. TREMPERAS, *Μικρόν Εὐχολόγιον. Τόμος Β΄. Αἱ Ἀκολουθίαι καὶ τάξεις Ἀγιασμοῦ ὑδάτων, Ἐγκαινίων, Ὁρθρου καὶ Ἐσπερινῶν κατὰ τοὺς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἰδίᾳ κώδικας*, Athens 1992, pp. 183-214. On the cathedral and monastic types of worship see CALIVAS, *Aspects of Orthodox Worship*, pp. 69-91; P. BRADSHAW, Cathedral vs. Monastery: The only Alternatives for the Liturgy of the Hours?, in J. N. ALEXANDER (ed.), *Time and Community. In Honor of Thomas Julian Talley*, Washington 1990, pp. 123-136; and I. FOUNTOULIS, *Τελετουργικὰ Θέματα*, Athens 2002, pp. 11-24. On *kanon* as a centrepiece of *Orthros* see TAFT, *Liturgy of the Hours*, 281-283.

<sup>16</sup> 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»<sup>17</sup>.

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) *exaposteilarion* 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<sup>18</sup>. There are two exceptions where there is only a single *akolouthia* on the saint of the day<sup>19</sup>.

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<sup>20</sup>. It was also used for the performance of

<sup>17</sup> O. STRUNK, The byzantine office at Hagia Sophia, *DOP* IX-X (1955-56) 133-134.

<sup>18</sup> On the commemoration of St Nikephoros of Constantinople (June 2), St Loukillianos (3), St Metrophanes of Constantinople (4), St Dorotheos of Tyre (6), the translation of relics of St Theodore *Stratelates* (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).

<sup>19</sup> 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  $\iota\alpha'$  is missing) there survives only a part of the *kanon*, which could be the second *kanon* of a double *akolouthia*.

<sup>20</sup> 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 *nykterina* (nocturns), which most probably means the service of *Mesonyktikon*, that was later incorporated in *Orthros* (see also TAFT, *Liturgy of the Hours*, 186; and WELLESZ, 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*<sup>21</sup> 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<sup>22</sup>.

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*<sup>23</sup>.

In the weekly cycle every day is dedicated to a holy person or event: Monday is dedicated to the Archangels, Tuesday to John the Baptist, Wednesday and Friday to the Holy Cross and the passion of Christ and the Mother of God, Thursday to the Apostles and St Nicholas, Saturday to the deceased and the martyrs, and Sunday to Resurrection. The book of the weekly cycle used by the choir is *Parakletike*<sup>24</sup>.

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*<sup>25</sup>. In the fixed cycle, of which the *Menaion* is the main book

<sup>21</sup> On *Pannychis* and its various forms in Byzantine times see DOSITHEOS, *Διάταξις Ἀγρυπνίας*; ODB, 2166 (entry: Vigil); TAFT, *Liturgy of the Hours*, 283-291; M. ARRANZ, Les Prières Presbytérales et la "Pannychis" de L'ancienne Euchologe Byzantine et la "Pannykhida" des défunts, OCP 40 (1974) 314-343 and 41 (1975) 119-139; M. ARRANZ, N. D. Uspensky: The Office of the All-night Vigil in the Greek Church and in the Russian Church, *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 24 (1980) 83-113, 160-195; FOUNTOULIS, *Ἀκολουθία νυχθημέρου*, 47-82; bibliography in TAFT, *Bibliography of Hours*, 358-370.

<sup>22</sup> On the liturgical cycles of the Orthodox Rite see SCHMEMANN, *Liturgical Theology*, 150-162; T.J. TALLEY, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*, New York 1986; and ODB, 2215. On the formation and the structure of the daily cycle see TAFT, *Liturgy of the Hours*, 273-291 and I. FOUNTOULIS, *Λογική Λατρεία*, Thessaloniki 1971, pp. 147-269.

<sup>23</sup> On *Horologion* see WELLESZ, 140-141; FOUNTOULIS, *Λειτουργική*, 82-83; S. R. FRØYSHOV, *L'Horologe «Georgien» du Sinaiticus Ibericus* 34 (unpublished PhD Thesis), Paris 2003; ODB, 947; KORAKIDIS, *Ἑμνογραφία* II, 285-286; bibliography in TAFT, *Bibliography of Hours*, 361-365, and FRØYSHOV, *L'Horologe «Georgien»*, 685-716.

<sup>24</sup> On *Parakletike* see WELLESZ, 139-140; FOUNTOULIS, *Λειτουργική*, 84-85; ODB, 1520 (entry: *Oktoechos*); KORAKIDIS, *Ἑμνογραφία* II, 197-199; bibliography in TAFT, *Bibliography of Hours*, 365-367.

<sup>25</sup> On *Triodion* see WELLESZ, 141; FOUNTOULIS, *Λειτουργική*, 86-89; ODB, 2118-2119; KORAKIDIS, *Ἑμνογραφία* II, 221-224; bibliography in TAFT, *Bibliography of Hours*, 365-367. On

(according to A. Papadopoulos – Kerameus from the middle of the 9th century and according to R. Taft from the 10th<sup>26</sup>), 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*<sup>27</sup>. What is to be sung and in which order is regulated by the *Typikon*<sup>28</sup>. 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 model-stanzas of the hymns sung were found, accompanied by their musical notation. These books were the *Kontakarion*<sup>29</sup>, where the choir would find the melodies for the *kontakion* and in some cases the *oikos* of the *Menaion*, the *Sticherarion*<sup>30</sup> for the melodies of *stichera*, and the *Heirmologion*<sup>31</sup> 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*<sup>32</sup>. 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, *Υμνογραφία* II, 202-203.

<sup>26</sup> See PAPAPOULOS – KERAMEUS, *Σχεδιάσμα*, 343, and R. TAFT, *The Byzantine Rite. A Short History*, [American Essays in Liturgy Series], Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1992, p. 58.

<sup>27</sup> PAPAPOULOS – KERAMEUS, *Σχεδιάσμα*, 360, writes that apart from the *Menaion* «βιβλία ... ἕτερα, οἷον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ὁ ἀπόστολος, τὸ προφητολόγιον, τὸ εἰρμολόγιον, ἡ παρακλητικὴ, τὸ κονδακάριον, τὸ τριώδιον καὶ τὸ συναξάριον, ἀνεπλήρουν τὸν λειτουργικὸν τῆς ἑορτῆς κύκλον».

<sup>28</sup> On *Typikon* see J. KLENTOS, The typology of the *Typikon* as liturgical document, in MULLETT – KIRBY, *Evergetis*, 294-305; J. KLENTOS, The *Synaxarion* of the Theotokos Evergetis: algebra, geology and Byzantine monasticism, in MULLETT – KIRBY, *Work and Worship*, 329-333; A.-A. THEIRMAYER, Das *Typikon-Ktetorikon* und sein literarhistorischer Kontext, *OCP* 58 (1992) 353-366; K. MANAFIS, *Μοναστηριακὰ Τυπικὰ - Διαθῆκαι*, Athens 1970, pp. 21-123; WELLESZ, 133-135; FOUNTOULIS, *Λειτουργική*, 90-91; ODB, 2131-2132; KORAKIDIS, *Υμνογραφία* II, 232-234; bibliography in KLENTOS, The typology..., and TAFT, *Bibliography of Hours*, 359-361.

<sup>29</sup> On *Kontakarion* see WELLESZ, 143 (under the title *Psaltikon*).

<sup>30</sup> On *Sticherarion* see ODB, 1956 (with bibliography); WELLESZ, 142-143, 244-245.

<sup>31</sup> On *Heirmologion* see S. HARRIS, The 'Kanon' and the Heirmologion, *Music and Letters* 85 (2004) 175-197; M. VELIMIROVIČ, The Byzantine *Heirmos* and Heirmologion, in W. ARLT, E. LICHTENHAHN and H. OESCH (eds.), *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen. Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade* I, Bern-München 1973, pp. 195-201; WELLESZ, 141-142; ODB, 908 (with bibliography); KORAKIDIS, *Υμνογραφία* II, 105.

<sup>32</sup> On *Menologion* and *Synaxarion* see H. DELEHAYE, *Synaxaires byzantins, ménologes, typika*, London 1977; J. NORET, *Ménologes, synaxaires, ménées. Essai de clarification d'une terminologie*, *AnBoll* 86 (1968) 21-24; WELLESZ, 135-136 (*Menologion*); ODB, 1991 and 1341 (with bibliography); KORAKIDIS, *Υμνογραφία* II, 194-195 (*Menologion*) and 216-217 (*Synaxarion*).

*Triodion, Pentekostarion, Typika, Euchologion, and Horologion*), while the rest was neglected<sup>33</sup>.

#### STRUCTURE OF THE AKOLOUTHIAI

To place the use of L more precisely in the Byzantine liturgical practice<sup>34</sup> we may consider very briefly the rite of the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> 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<sup>35</sup>.

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<sup>36</sup>:

*Hesperinos*: (a) Psalm 103 followed by a *kathisma* of *pralmody* from the Psalter. (b) Κύριε ἐκέκραξα (*Lord, I have cried...*), i.e. Psalms 140, 141, 129 and 116; to a number of the last verses (varying from four to 10) the choir interpolates *stichera* from the *Parakletike* and the *Menaion*. The *Menaion* usually has three *stichera* for each saint or feast. (c) The hymn Φῶς ἱλαρὸν (*O Hilarious Light...*) followed by Prokeimenon or *Alleluia*, from *Horologion*. (d) Only on festal Vespers, readings, mainly from the Old Testament. (e) The hymn Καταξίωσον, Κύριε (*Lord, vouchsafe...*) from *Horologion*. (f) *Stichos*, i.e. verses from the Psalms followed by *stichera* 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) *Apolytikion* (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 *apolytikion*, the choir sings the *apolytikion* 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

<sup>33</sup> See H. HUSMANN, *Hymnus und Troparion, Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für musikforschung Preußischen Kulturbesitz*, Berlin 1971, pp. 27-31.

<sup>34</sup> 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.

<sup>35</sup> See R. TAFT, *The Synaxarion of Evergetis in the history of Byzantine liturgy*, in MULLETT – KIRBY, *Evergetis*, pp. 274-293; WELLESZ, 135.

<sup>36</sup> 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) *Hexapsalmos*, i.e. Psalms 3, 37, 62, 87, 102 and 142, from Horologion. (b) The hymn *Θεὸς Κύριος* intercalated with three verses of Psalm 117, from Horologion. On specific days the *Θεὸς Κύριος* is not performed as the choir sings *Alleluia*. (c) *Troparion* (usually the *apolytikion* 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 *kathismata* or *kontakia* from the *Parakletike* or the *Menaion*). (g) *Exaposteilarion*. (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 *prosomoia* on the saint from the *Menaion*. (k) *Apolytikion* (the same as the one sung at *Hesperinos*).

*Divine Liturgy*: Its non-fixed part consists of: (a) *Typika* 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 *typika*<sup>37</sup>. (b) *Troparion* (i.e. the *apolytikion* of *Hesperinos* and *Orthros*). (c) *Kontakion*, from the *Kontakarion* and/or the *Menaion*. (d) *Prokeimenon*. (e) Apostle (i.e. reading from the Acts and the Epistles of the New Testament). (f) *Koinonikon*, i.e. a response sung before 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 *exaposteilarion*) 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

<sup>37</sup> See for example the *akolouthia* on the apostles Peter and Paul on June 29: «Εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν τυπικὰ καὶ ᾠδὴ τοῦ κανόνος τῆς παννυχίδος τοῦ <πρὸς τὸ> Ἄισομαί σοι Κύριε ἢ C'» (JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 170). The same directive is given in the *typikon* of San Salvatore of Messina (AD 1131): «Εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν, ἢ [C' ᾠδὴ τοῦ κανόνος τοῦ ἀποδείπνου], τοῦ Ἄισομαί σοι Κύριε ὁ Θεός μου» (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*<sup>38</sup>. The possibility of such a use can explain why L contains double *akolouthiai* 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 *akolouthiai*, the first *kathisma* was sung after the *Stichologia* (i.e. in its own section) and the second after ode 3<sup>39</sup>. If the *akolouthia* comprised only one *kathisma* this was sung after ode 3, *kathismata* from *Oktoechos* being sung after the *Stichologia*<sup>40</sup>. There are also cases of two saints celebrated together, in which the *kathisma* of the first saint was sung after the third ode and the *kathisma* of the second after the sixth, most probably when the *akolouthiai* on the saints did not have a *kontakion* to be performed after ode 6<sup>41</sup>. 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*<sup>42</sup>. At *Orthros* 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*<sup>43</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> See DMITRIEVSKY, *Opisanie* II, 229 (Sept. 14): «Ἰστέον ὅτι ὁ Πετρινὸς εἰς τὴν παννυχίδα ψάλλει τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τοῦ Χρυσσοστόμου».

<sup>39</sup> See for example JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 148-150 (*akolouthia* on the apostles Bartholomew and Barnabas): «μετὰ τὴν στιχολογίαν κάθισμα τοῦ ἁγίου Βαρθολομαίου ἤχος πλάγιος δ' καὶ θεοτοκίον. κανόνες γ' ὁ τῆς ὀκτωήχου εἷς, καὶ β' τῶν ἀποστόλων εἰς ἤχον β' ἀνὰ δ' Θεοφάνους· ἀπὸ γ' ὠδῆς κάθισμα τοῦ ἁγίου Βαρνάβα ἤχος πλάγιος δ' καὶ θεοτοκίον».

<sup>40</sup> See JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 148-150 (*akolouthia* on the translation of the relics of Sts Kyros and John): «Εἰς τὸν ὄρθρον μετὰ τὴν στιχολογίαν καθίσματα τῆς ὀκτωήχου. κανόνες γ'· τῆς ὀκτωήχου οἱ β' εἰς C', καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ὁμοίως εἰς C' ἤχος β' Ἰωσήφ· ἀπὸ γ' ὠδῆς κάθισμα τῶν ἁγίων ἤχος δ' καὶ θεοτοκίον».

<sup>41</sup> See JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 226-228 (August 4, *akolouthia* on St John, abbot of Patalarea, and the 7 children of Ephesus): «ἡ στιχολογία, καθίσματα τῆς ὀκτωήχου. κανόνες ... ἀπὸ γ' ὠδῆς κάθισμα τοῦ ὀσίου ἤχος πλάγιος δ' καὶ θεοτοκίον· ἀπὸ C' κάθισμα τῶν ἁγίων ἤχος δ' καὶ θεοτοκίον».

<sup>42</sup> See more in A. LINGAS, *The Liturgical Place of the Kontakion in Constantinople*, in C. AKENTIEV (ed.), *Liturgy, Architecture and Art in the Byzantine World*, [Byzantinorossica, 1], St Petersburg 1995, pp. 50-57 (not accesible to me).

<sup>43</sup> See JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis September - February*, 58 (September 14, *akolouthia* on the Exaltation of the Holy Cross): «ἀπὸ C' (i.e. after ode 6) τὸ κοντάκιον ἤχος δ' Ὁ ὕψωθεις 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 *Orthros*<sup>44</sup> or the *Stichos* of the *Ainoi*<sup>45</sup>. 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 *Pannychis*<sup>46</sup>. 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 employed<sup>47</sup>. 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 *Orthros*<sup>48</sup>).

σταυρῶ, καὶ εἰ ἔχει ἡ ὥρα ψάλλομεν καὶ κἂν τρεῖς οἴκους, καὶ ἀνάγνωσις λόγος τῆς εὐρέσεως τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ».

<sup>44</sup> PAPAPOULOS – PERAMEUS, *Σχεδιάγραμμα*, 357, writes that in the older *Menaia* (as in L) «ὅταν ὑπὸ τὸν πρῶτον κανόνα συναντᾶται κανὼν ἕτερος εἰς ἕτερον ἅγιον ἢ μάρτυρα, προτάσσονται τοῦ προτέρου κανόνος ἕτερα στιχηρά, διακρινόμενα μὲν τῶν πρώτων, ἐξυμνοῦντα δὲ τὸν δεύτερον ἅγιον, εἰς ὃν ὁ κανὼν ὁ δεύτερος ἀναφέρεται. ... Τὰ τοιαῦτα μέντοι στιχηρά προσόμοια μετετίθεντο πολλακίς εἰς τοὺς αἶνους οἱ μεταγενέστεροι».

<sup>45</sup> 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 Αἶνους*. The *typikon* of Evergetis instructs also that one of the last three ones (i.e. one sung in plagal first mode, according to *Χαίροις ἀσκητικῶν ἀληθῶς*) must be sung at the *Stichos* of the *Ainoi*, after two *stichera* from the *Oktoechos* (see JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 146: *εἰς τὸν στίχον τῶν αἰνῶν στιχηρὰ τῆς ὀκτωήχου β' καὶ ἐν τοῦ ἁγίου ἤχος πλάγιος α' πρὸς τὸ Χαίροις, καὶ θεοτοκίον*).

<sup>46</sup> On the performance of the *kanon* in the 11th c., i.e. the period of L's production, see C. TROELSGÅRD, *Kanon performance in the eleventh century. Evidence from the Evergetis typikon reconsidered*, in I. LOZOVAJA (ed.), *Byzantium and East Europe. Liturgical and Musical links. In Honor of Milos Velimirovič*, Hymnology 4, Moskva: Transpress, 2003, pp. 44-51.

<sup>47</sup> See for example the instructions of the *typikon* of Evergetis for the *akolouthia* on the apostles Peter and Paul, where we have fourteen (JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 168-170).

<sup>48</sup> See the instructions of the *Typikon* of San Salvatore for the *akolouthia* on the prophet Elissaios and St Methodios the patriarch of Constantinople: «Εἰς τὸν ὄρθρον, ἡ συνήθης στιχολογία. Κανόνες β', τῆς ὀκταήχου καὶ τοῦ προφήτου· ὁ δὲ τοῦ ὁσίου 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 (JORDAN, *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 Phourtonatos (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 Rimmas (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.)<sup>49</sup>, 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.)<sup>50</sup>, the Typikon of the monastery of St Bartholomew in Trigona (12th c.)<sup>51</sup>, and the printed *Menaion*. [Only saints with varying date of commemoration appear in the table]:

Saint	L	H	Typikon CP	Mateos	Synax EC	Evergetis	Menol. Basil	Chr. Mytil.	St Sabbas	San Salvatore	Trigona	Printed Menaion
Attalos	1	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Eustathios	5	-	-	-	5	-	-	5	-	5	5	5

<sup>49</sup> DMITRIEVSKY, *Opisanie* (June in pp. 76-84).

<sup>50</sup> 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.

<sup>51</sup> K. DOURAMANI, *Il typikon del monastero di S. Bartolomeo di Trigona*, [Orientalia Christiana Analecta 269], Roma 2003 (June in pp. 179-187).

Hilarion	5	5	-	-	6	5	-	-	5	5	5	6
Dorotheos <sup>52</sup>	6	6	5	5	6	6	Oct 9	6	5	6	6	5
Nikandros - Markianos	7	8	8	8	8	-	7	-	-	-	-	8
Kyrrillos	9	9	27	27	7	-	27	9	9	9	9	9
Orestes, Diome- des, Rodion <sup>53</sup>	9	9	-	-	9	9	-	-	9	9	9	
Alexandros - Antonina <sup>54</sup>	10	10	9	9	9	-	10	10	-	-	-	10
Timotheos	10	-	10	10	10	-	10	-	10	10	10	10
Onouphrios	12	12	11	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
Methodios	14	14	14	14	14	-	14	-	14	14	14	14
Amos	15	15	17	16	15	15	16	15	15	15	15	15
Phourounatos	15	15	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pagcharios	16	-	-	-	May 25	-	May 25	-	-	-	-	Mar 19
Tychon	16	16	16	16	17	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
Hypatios	17	17	-	17	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
Isauros	18	17	-	-	17	-	July 6	-	-	-	-	17
Zosimos <sup>55</sup>	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 <sup>56</sup>	21	21	-	-	21	21	Mar 21	21	21	21	21	21
Petros	22	22	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
Zenon - Zenas	23	23	22	22	22	-	23	-	-	-	-	22
Agripinne	23	23	23	-	23	23	-	23	23	23	23	23
David	26	26	26	26	26	26	27	26	26	26	26	26
John of Gotthia	26	-	26	26	26	-	26	-	-	-	-	26
Joseph	28	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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

<sup>52</sup> 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.

<sup>53</sup> 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.

<sup>54</sup> Only Antonina is mentioned by Christopher of Mytilene.

<sup>55</sup> He is named as Ζωσιμᾶς in the typikon of St Sabbas.

<sup>56</sup> 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<sup>57</sup>, even though «a semi-uniform Byzantine calendar had been instituted throughout the entire *oikoumene* late in the seventh century»<sup>58</sup>. 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»<sup>59</sup>. 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<sup>60</sup> or in case his memory was concurrent with the memory of another saint or feast, more important for the local church<sup>61</sup>.

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 *Ἐν τάξει διαθήκης*: «I came upon and collected different *typika*, of Stoudios and of Jerusalem, and one did not agree with the other, neither Studite with another Studite one, nor

<sup>57</sup> See M. GEDEON, *Βυζαντινὸν Ἑορτολόγιον. Μνήμαι τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δ' μέχρι τῶν μέσων τοῦ ΙΕ' αἰῶνος ἑορταζομένων ἁγίων ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει*, Constantinople 1899, pp. 14-25; S. EFSTRATIADIS, Ἀγιολογικά. Βιβλιογραφία τῶν ἀκολουθιῶν, *EEBS* 9 (1932) 83.

<sup>58</sup> J. KLENTOS, *The Synaxarion of the Theotokos Evergetis: algebra, geology and Byzantine monasticism*, in MULLETT – KIRBY, *Work and Worship*, 339; see also A. EHRHARD, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, I. Band, Leipzig 1937, p. 33. See also *ODB*, 366.

<sup>59</sup> N. D. USPENSKY, *Evening Worship in the Orthodox Church*, tr. and ed. by P. Lazor, Crestwood: New York, 1985, p. 245; see also J. KLENTOS, *The typology of the Typikon as liturgical document*, in MULLETT – KIRBY, *Evergetis*, 297; SCHMEMANN, *Liturgical Theology*, 34-35< and M. ARRANZ, *Les grandes étapes de la liturgie byzantine: Palestine – Byzance – Russie: Essai d'aperçu historique, Liturgie de l'église particulière et liturgie de l'église universelle*, Rome 1976, p. 43.

<sup>60</sup> 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 EFSTRATIADIS, *Ἑορτολόγιον*, 14; FOUNTOULIS, *Λειτουργική*, 127).

<sup>61</sup> See EFSTRATIADIS, *Ἑορτολόγιον*, 6-32; and N. A. LIVADARAS, *Περὶ τὰ προβλήματα τῶν πατριακῶν κοντακαρίων*, *EEBS* 24 (1954) 340. EFSTRATIADIS, *Ἑορτολόγιον*, 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' μεθεόρτα, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Ἀγαθονίκου. προψάλλομεν δὲ σήμερον καὶ τὸν ἅγιον Λοῦπον διὰ τὸ ἀποδιδόναι τὴν ἑορτὴν εἰς τὰς κγ'» (JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 280).

Jerusalem ones with Jerusalem ones...»<sup>62</sup>.

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 bureaucratic<sup>63</sup>, 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*.

<sup>62</sup> Originally from V. N. BENEŠEVIČ (ed.), *Taktikon Nikona Černogorca: Grečeskij tekst po rukopisi No 441 Sinajskago monastyrja sv. Ekateriny*, Vypusk I, Zapiski Ist.-Filol. Fakul'teta Petrogradskago Universiteta, čast' 139, Petrograd 1917; quoted from R. F. TAFT, Mount Athos: A Late Chapter in the History of the Byzantine Rite, *DOP* 42 (1988) 179.

<sup>63</sup> See R. MACRIDES, Saints and sainthood in the early Palaiologan period, in S. HACKEL (ed.), *The Byzantine Saint*, London 1981, pp. 83-86.

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CHAPTER 2  
THE EDITED BYZANTINE HYMNOGRAPHICAL TEXTS

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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 Isauros, 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<sup>64</sup>, St Timotheos of Proussa<sup>65</sup>, the apostle Phourtonatos<sup>66</sup>, St Eustochios and his fellow martyrs<sup>67</sup>, St Petros the Athonite<sup>68</sup>, and the Nativity of St John the Baptist<sup>69</sup>; to these we may add some parts of the *akolouthia* on the apostles Peter and Paul<sup>70</sup>. Twenty-eight of the remaining *akolouthiai* are published in the *Menaia* used by the Orthodox Church<sup>71</sup>,

<sup>64</sup> AHG X, pp. 23-35.

<sup>65</sup> AHG IX, pp. 256-269.

<sup>66</sup> AHG X, pp. 117-128, 359-360.

<sup>67</sup> AHG X, pp. 130-139.

<sup>68</sup> D. PAPACHRYSAANTHOU, L'office ancien de Pierre l'Athonite, *AnBoll* 88 (1970) 27-41.

<sup>69</sup> AHG X, pp. 178-180, 184-196, 198-205, 209, 215, 217-218, 220-221, 234-235, 238-240, 387.

<sup>70</sup> AHG X, pp. 253-255, 273; TRM II, σκ'; TRM IV, 12-26.

<sup>71</sup> The *akolouthiai* on St Nikephoros of Constantinople, the martyr Loukillianos, St Metrophanes of Constantinople, St Hilarion of Dalmaton, St Dorotheos of Tyre, St Theodotos of Ankara, the translation of relics of St Theodore *Stratelates*, St Kyrillos 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 Akylina, the prophet Elissaios, 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<sup>72</sup>. 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: «Ἰστέον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὡς εἶπερ ἔχει τὸ μνηαῖον ἐν μνήμῃ ἀγίου τινὸς κανόνας, διαφόρων ποιητῶν, εἰ μὲν ἔστι κανὼν ὁ τοῦ κῦρ Κοσμᾶ [=Kosmas the Melode], προκριντέος· Εἰ δὲ τοῦ Κῦρ Ἰωάννου [=John of Damascus] καὶ ἑτέρων, τοῦ Ἰωάννου, προκρίνεται. Εἰ δὲ τοῦ Κῦρ Θεοφάνους [=Theophanes Graptos] καὶ ἑτέρων, ὁ τοῦ Κῦρ Θεοφάνους προκρίνεται, προτιμητέος γὰρ ἔστι τῶν ἄλλων. Εἰ δὲ τοῦ Κῦρ Ἰωσήφ [=Joseph the Hymnographer], οὗτος τῶν λοιπῶν προτετίμηται ποιητῶν. Τούτων δὲ μὴ ὄντων οἱ τοῦ Κῦρ Ἰωάννου [=John the Monk?]. Αὐτῶν δὲ μὴ τυγχανόντων, οἱ τοῦ Κῦρ Θεοφάνους. Ἀπάντων δὲ τούτων, οἱ τοῦ κῦρ Ἰωσήφ, τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπάντων προκρίνονται»<sup>73</sup>. 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.

<sup>72</sup> See TOMADAKIS, *Υμνογραφία*, 66-70 and 131-142; PAPADOPOULOS – KERAMEUS, *Σχεδιάσμα*, 343-366; E. KOURILAS, Αἱ πρὸς ἀναθεώρησιν τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν βιβλίων γενόμενα ἀπόπειρα ἐν τῇ Ὁρθοδόξῳ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, *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.

<sup>73</sup> *Τυπικὸν σὺν Θεῷ ἀγίῳ, περιέχον πᾶσαν τὴν διάταξιν τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἀκολουθίας τοῦ χρόνου ὄλου. Νεωστὶ τυπωθὲν, καὶ ἐπιμελῶς διορθωθὲν παρὰ Γεωργίου ἱεροδιακόνου Μαΐωτου τοῦ ἐκ Κυδωνίας τῆς Κρήτης*, Venice 1691, p. 15. PAPADOPOULOS – KERAMEUS, *Σχεδιάσμα*, 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<sup>74</sup>. 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<sup>75</sup>. 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<sup>76</sup>. 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 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.

<sup>74</sup> P. TREMPELAS, *Έκλογή ελληνικῆς ὀρθοδόξου ὑμνογραφίας*, Athens 1978<sup>2</sup>, p. 35.

<sup>75</sup> See N. B. TOMADAKIS, *Εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὴν Βυζαντινὴν Φιλολογίαν. Τόμος Α΄. Κλείς τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Φιλολογίας*, Αθήναι 1965<sup>3</sup>, p. 147.

<sup>76</sup> See the rubric of the *typonikon* of Evergetis: «κανόνες γ΄. Τῆς ὀκτώηχου εἰς, καὶ β΄ τῶν ἀποστόλων εἰς ἦχον β΄ ἀνά δ΄ Θεοφάνους» (JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 148-150) and compare to the rubric of the printed *Menaion* dictating the performance of two *kanons* from *Oktoechos*: «Εἰς τὸν ὀρθρον. Ἡ συνήθης στιχολογία καὶ οἱ κανόνες τῆς Ὀκταήχου καὶ τῶν Ἁγίων ὁ παρών».

the Church. According to the 59th *kanon* of the Council of Laodicea (4th c.), «private chants should not be sung in the church»<sup>77</sup>.

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*<sup>78</sup>. 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*<sup>79</sup> and that of the *kanons*, to which also the *stichera*, the *kathismata* and the *exaposteilaria* must be included<sup>80</sup>. Individual observations on the language and the style of the texts are to be found in the following chapter on the hymnographes 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<sup>81</sup>, also using Attic

<sup>77</sup> «Ὁὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ...» (V. I. FEIDAS, *Ἱεροὶ Κανόνες καὶ Καταστατικὴ Νομοθεσία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, Athens 1997, p. 227).

<sup>78</sup> PΑΡΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ – ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ, *Σχεδιάσμα*, 357: «τὰ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς παλαιοτάτοις μηναίοις ὠνοματισθέντα ποιήματα, ὃ ἐστὶν οἱ κανόνες, ἔχουσι προτεταγμένα τὸ κάθισμα τῆς ἑορτῆς καὶ τὰ στιχηρὰ προσόμοια, ἅπερ, εἰ καὶ παντελῶς ἀνώνυμα πανταχοῦ, φαίνονται συνθέματα τοῦ κανόνος εἶναι τοῦ ποιητοῦ, ὃν ἔχει τὸ παλαιὸν μηναῖον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὕμνωδὸς ὁ ἀναλαβὼν ἵνα συνθέσῃ τὸν ἔπαινον ἑορτῆς τινος οὐ συνέγραφε κανόνα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν ὃ τι μετὰ τούτου συνεδέετο, ὃ ἐστὶ τὸ κάθισμα, μάλιστα δὲ τὰ στιχηρὰ προσόμοια, ἅπερ ἐπέχουσι προοιμίου τόπον εἰς τὸν κανόνα».

<sup>79</sup> On which see for example MITSAKIS, *Ἦμνογραφία*, 171-329, 465-482, and K. MITSAKIS, *The Language of Romanos the Melodist*, München 1967 [Byzantinischen Archiv, Heft 11]. On the language of the hymnography of the 9th c. See KAZHDAN, *Literature*, 384-407. Generally on the language and the style of Byzantine hymnography see C. HANNICK, *Exégèse, typologie et rhétorique dans l'hymnographie byzantine*, *DOP* 53 (1999) 207-218; A. S. KORAKIDIS, *Βυζαντινὴ Ἦμνογραφία. Τόμος Α΄. Ἦμνογραφία καὶ Ρητορικὴ. Ὁ τονικὸς ρυθμὸς καὶ τὰ στολίδια τοῦ ἔντεχνου ρητορικοῦ λόγου*, Athens 2006; K. KRUMBACHER, *Ἱστορία τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Λογοτεχνίας*, (original title: *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Literatur*, München 1897), Transl. G. Sotiriadis, vol. II, [Athens: Papyrus 1939], pp. 715-716; *ODB*, 960-961; TH. DETORAKIS, *Κλασσικαὶ ἀπηχήσεις εἰς τὴν Βυζαντινὴν Ἦμνογραφίαν*, *EEBS* 39-40 (1972-1973) 148-161.

<sup>80</sup> See TOMADAKIS, *Ἦμνογραφία*, 227-228; N. B. TOMADAKIS, *Εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὴν Βυζαντινὴν Φιλολογίαν. Τόμος Α. Κλείς τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Φιλολογίας*, Ἀθῆναι 1965<sup>3</sup>, pp. 48-49; N. B. TOMADAKIS, *Ἡ γλῶσσα Ἰωσήφ τοῦ Ἦμνογράφου*, *EEPhSPA* 23 (1972-3) 22-42; *ODB*, 1102.

<sup>81</sup> One may compare the text edited below to phonological and other changes that occurred in the period from 650 to 1100, presented in R. BROWNING, *Medieval and Modern Greek*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1983<sup>2</sup>, pp. 62.

syntax<sup>82</sup>, without introducing new words<sup>83</sup>, 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<sup>84</sup>, content, language, and structure of the text.

#### AKOLOUTHIA ON ST IOUSTINOS AND HIS FELLOW MARTYRS (TEXT 1)

(a) St Ioustinos<sup>85</sup>, 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

<sup>82</sup> 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).

<sup>83</sup> 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. LIDDELL – R. SCOTT, *Μέγα Λεξικόν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσης μεταφρασθὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀγγλικῆς εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ὑπὸ Ξενοφῶντος Π. Μόσχου - Δ. Φ. Καθηγητοῦ διὰ πολλῶν δὲ βυζαντινῶν ἰδίως λέξεων καὶ φράσεων πλουτισθὲν καὶ ἐκδοθὲν ἐπιστασία Μιχαὴλ Κωνσταντινίδου*, vols. I-IV, Athens (1907); H. G. LIDDELL – R. SCOTT, *Συμπλήρωμα τοῦ Μεγάλου Λεξικοῦ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσης Henry G. Liddell – Robert Scott σχεδιασθὲν ὑπὸ Κωνσταντίνου Δ. Γεωργούλη Ἐπ. Διευθυντοῦ τοῦ Διδασκαλείου Μέσης Ἐκπαιδεύσεως συνταχθὲν δὲ ὑπὸ ὀμάδος φιλολόγων ἐπιστασία Παναγιώτου Κ. Γεωργούντζου Ἐπ. Προέδρου τοῦ Ἀνωτάτου Ἐκπαιδευτικοῦ Συμβουλίου*, Athens (1972); G.W.H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1961).

<sup>84</sup> Concerning the reasons why the texts were not included in the *Menaion*, it should be said that the general possible reasons mentioned above will not be repeated at this part of the presentation.

<sup>85</sup> On whom see D. ROKÉAH, *Justin martyr and the Jews*, Brill: Leiden-Boston-Köln 2002; C. ALLERT, *Revelation, truth, canon, and interpretation: studies in Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho*, Leiden: Brill 2002; PAPAIOPOULOS, *Πατρολογία* I, 233-244 (bibliography in pp. 243-244); QUASTEN, *Patrology* I, 196-219; BHG, 972z-974e; BHGa 972z-974; BHGna 972z-974; AASS Iunii I, 16-22 and Aprilis II, 104-119; PG 6.9-800, 1181-1599; EFSTRATIADIS, *Ἀγιολόγιον*, 222; DOUKAKIS, *Συναξαριστής*, 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. Ioustinus 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, Evelpistos, Ierax, Paion and Liverianos. Ioustinus 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 sources<sup>86</sup>. 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 martyrdom<sup>87</sup>.

Already in the Byzantine period a misunderstanding arose, reflected very clearly in the printed *Menaion*, where two different saints with the name Ioustinus are commemorated on the same day, St Ioustinus the philosopher and martyr and another martyr Ioustinus, 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 *stichera*), while the hagiographical texts clearly prove that it was St Ioustinus the philosopher the six aforementioned martyrs suffered with.

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

<sup>86</sup> See CPG 1073-1089; CPGs 1073-1084; PH. BOBICHON, *Justin Martyr. Dialogue avec Tryphon. Édition critique [=Paradosis, 47/1-2]*, Fribourg: Academic Press, 2003; M. MARCOVICH (ed.), *Iustini Martyris Dialogus cum Tryphone*, [Patristische Texte und Studien, 47], Berlin: De Gruyter, 1997; M. MARCOVICH (ed.), *Iustini Martyris Apologiae pro Christianis*, [Patristische Texte und Studien, 38], Berlin: De Gruyter, 1994; L. W. BARNARD, *St. Justin Martyr: The first and second apologies*, [Ancient Christian writers no. 56], New York: Paulist Press, c1997; A. ROBERTS – J. DONALDSON (eds.), *Ante-Nicene Fathers. Volume 1. The Apostolic Fathers, Justin martyr, Irenaeus* [revised and chronologically arranged, with brief prefaces and occasional notes by A. CLEVELAND COXE], Reabody: Massachusetts 1995, pp. 159-306.

<sup>87</sup> «Λαβόντες τοίνυν ἡμᾶς οἱ στρατιῶται, καλλίνικοι μάρτυρες, καὶ τὸν τόπον καταλαβόντες τῆς τελειώσεως, τὰς ἀγίας ἡμῶν ἀποτέμνουσι κεφαλὰς. Πρώτην ὁ Ἰούνιος ἤγεν» (LATYŠEV II, 4; cf. G. LAZZATI, *Gli Atti de S. Giustino martire*, *Aevum* 27 (1953), 497: «Λαβόντες τοίνυν τούτους οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ τὸν τόπον καταλαβόντες τῆς τελειώσεως, τὰς ἀγίας αὐτῶν ἀποτέμνουσι κεφαλὰς, πρώτην ἄγοντος τοῦ Ἰουνίου ἡμέραν»).



them is included in the anonymous 10th-century *Menologion*<sup>88</sup>; the other two have survived in almost identical forms<sup>89</sup>. There are also an epitome of St Ioustinos' life and the passion of Ioustinos and his fellow martyrs<sup>90</sup>. Short notices on them have been included in *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, the *Menologion* of the emperor Basil II and the *Menaion*<sup>91</sup>.

(c) We are aware of three Byzantine *akolouthiai* on St Ioustinos; one is published in the *Menaion*, the second is edited below<sup>92</sup> and a third anonymous *kanon*, without acrostic, remains unpublished<sup>93</sup>.

In the *Menaion* 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 *Κύριε Ἐκέκραξα* in mode 2, the general apolytikion sung for the martyrs (*Οἱ μάρτυρές σου, Κύριε...*) 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 *Menaion*), a *kanon* by Ignatios in the same mode (in the same mode with the one published in the *Menaion* which is though not ascribed to Ignatios or any other hymnographer) and a *kathisma* in plagal first mode (not the one published in the *Menaion*, as that of the *Menaion* is sung in plagal fourth mode)<sup>94</sup>.

(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 *Menaion*), and a *kanon* composed by George of Nicomedia (vv.

<sup>88</sup> *Μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγίων Ἰουστίνου, Χαρίτωνος, Χαριτοῦς, Εὐελπίστου, Ἰέρακος, Παίονος καὶ Βαλεριανοῦ* (=BHG 974), ed. LATYŠEV II, 1-4; P. FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, *Note agiografiche*, [Studi e Testi 8], Roma 1902, pp. 73-75; LAZZATI, *Gli Atti...*, 495-497.

<sup>89</sup> 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.

<sup>90</sup> It is published in F. C. BURKITT, *The oldest manuscript of St Justin's martyrdom*, *Journal of Theological Studies* 11 (1909-1910) 64-65.

<sup>91</sup> *SynaxEC* 721-724, *Menol* 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 *Menaion* are longer than the one of the *Synaxarium*, being at the same time quite different between them.

<sup>92</sup> Ms tradition: LCBQIa; see PAPAIOPOULOU, *Ταμείον*, 209, nr 636.

<sup>93</sup> See PAPAIOPOULOU, *Ταμείον*, 209-210, nr 637. The manuscripts containing the text are Paris. gr. 1566, ff. 94v-96r, and Sinait. gr. 620, ff. 18r-19v.

<sup>94</sup> «Στιχηρὰ ἤχος β'. ὁ κανὼν Ἰγνατίου ἤχος ὁ αὐτός· κάθισμα ἤχος πλ. α'» (JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 144).

160-415).

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 τεθυμένου 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' εὐσπλαγχνίαν τυθέντος 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 (Ἐφραξεν Ἰουστῖνος Ἑλλήνων στόμα<sup>95</sup>) and not including the *theotokia*. The acrostic ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ<sup>96</sup> 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*<sup>97</sup>. 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<sup>98</sup>. George follows the patterns for the most part, with some exceptions representing well-known metrical variations common in Byzantine hymnography<sup>99</sup>. Exceptions out of the normal are: a) in ode 1, stz. 3, vv. 174-175, stz. 4, vv. 180-181, and stz. 5, vv. 186-187 where, the pattern being -----'--- / ----'-----'---, George uses -----'-----' / -'-----'--- (stz. 3) and '-----' / -'-----'--- (stz. 4 and 5); b) in ode 3, stz. 1, v. 190: the pattern is -'---'---'---' and he composes -'---'---'---'---; c) in ode 9, stz. 1, v. 382, stz. 3, v. 396 and stz. 5, v. 403: the pattern is -----'---'---'---'--- and he writes -----'-----'---'---

<sup>95</sup> FOLLIERI, *Initia* II, 244.

<sup>96</sup> On *kanons* bearing the akrostichis ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ see FOLLIERI, *Initia* I, 251. On *kanons* with a double akrostichis in stanzas and *theotokia* see WEYH, *Akrostichis*, 51-53.

<sup>97</sup> On the omission of ode 2 in Byzantine *kanons* see the TH. KOLLYROPOULOU, *Περὶ τοῦ προβλήματος τῆς β' ᾠδῆς 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. Rohrer*, Salzburg: Otto Müller Verlag, 1969, pp. 91-101; TOMADAKIS, *Ἦμνογραφία*, 60, fn. 2; DETORAKIS, *Ἦμνογραφία*, 71; P. TREMPERAS, *Ἐκλογή ἑλληνικῆς ὀρθοδόξου Ἦμνογραφίας*, Athens 1978<sup>2</sup>, p. 49; PAPADOPOULOS - KERAMEUS, *Σχεδιάσμα*, 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. KOLLYROPOULOU, *Ἐκδοση τῶν β' ᾠδῶν οἱ ὁποῖες ἐξέπεσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκδεδομένου κανόνος στὰ λειτουργικὰ βιβλία καὶ τὰ AHG*, *EEBS* 51 (2003) 404-479, where more than fifty second odes of *kanons* of the fixed yearly liturgical cycle are edited.

<sup>98</sup> PaAD, 27-37 and EE 1, nr 1.

<sup>99</sup> See MITSAKIS, *Ἦμνογραφία*, 266-329.

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The text of the *kanon* is of general and panegyric 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<sup>100</sup>. No direct influence by the hagiographical texts on the saints or by the extant texts written by St Ioustinos 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 1)

(a-b-d) St Attalos<sup>101</sup> 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*<sup>102</sup>. No Vita on St Attalos has survived and the saint is

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

<sup>101</sup> On whom see EFSTRATIADIS, *Αγιολόγιον*, 61; DOUKAKIS, *Συναξαριστής*, 54; *BS* II, 569.

<sup>102</sup> AASS Iunii I, 726, and MV X, 21 (June 6). In AASS the following epigram is also published: «Εἰ θαυματουργὸς Ἄτταλος ζῶν, οὐ ξένον· / Ὁ θαυματουργὸς ὕστερον καὶ χρισμένος».

not mentioned in *Menologia*, while in *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* there is only a record of his name, without any accompanying text<sup>103</sup>, 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*<sup>104</sup>.

(c) The *akolouthia* edited below<sup>105</sup> 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 (ΙΩΣΗΦ). The *heirmoi* are borrowed from five different *kanons*. Two of these *kanons* are composed by the patriarch of Constantinople Germanos<sup>106</sup>, two by John of Damascus<sup>107</sup> and one by Andrew of Crete<sup>108</sup>. 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

<sup>103</sup> *SynaxEC* 726 (June 2).

<sup>104</sup> On the hagiographical *topoi* see T. PRATSCH, *Der Hagiographische Topos: Griechische Heiligenviten in Mittelbyzantinischer Zeit*, (Millennium Studien/Millennium Studies), Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005 (not available to me), and A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Lieux communs littéraires et thèmes de folk-lore dans l'Hagiographie primitive*, *Wiener Studien* 73 (1960) 123-152. On the *topoi* in Byzantine literature see A. GARZYA, *Topik und Tendenz in der byzantinischen Literatur*, *Anzeiger der philosophisch-historische Klasse der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften* 113 (1976) 301-319; H. HUNGER, *On the Imitation (μίμησις) of Antiquity in Byzantine Literature*, *DOP* 23/24 (1969/70) 15-38.

<sup>105</sup> Ms tradition: LHHaV; see PAPALIOPOULOU, *Ταμειῖον*, p. 209, nr 635.

<sup>106</sup> EE 225, nr 323 (odes 1, 5) and EE 226, nr 324 (odes 3 and 9).

<sup>107</sup> EE 224, nr 321 (ode 4) and EE 220, nr 315 (ode 6). The second of these *heirmoi* (Ιλάσθητί μοι, Σωτήρ...) comes from a *kanon* included in *Parakletike*, destined for the Orthros of Sunday of the plagal fourth mode (PaAD, 832).

<sup>108</sup> 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 *theotokion* 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 *theotokion* is used with a different last line<sup>109</sup>. The *theotokion* 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 (LHHaV) 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<sup>110</sup> 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 (*ἀσηκρητῆς*) 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

<sup>109</sup> 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).

<sup>110</sup> On whom see T. PRATSCH, Nikephoros I (806-815), in LILIE, *Patriarchen*, 109-147; P. J. ALEXANDER, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople*, Oxford 1958; P. O'CONNELL, *The Ecclesiology of St Nicephorus I*, Rome 1972; J. TRAVIS, *In Defence of the Faith: The Theology of Patriarch Nikephoros of Constantinople*, Brookline Mass. 1984; EFSTRATIADIS, *Ἀγιολόγιον*, 354-355; DOUKAKIS, *Συναξαριστής*, 11-12; ODB, 1477; PMZ 5301.

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<sup>111</sup>. Long before (probably between 775 and 787) he had written his *Ἱστορία Σύντομος*<sup>112</sup>, a valuable source for the period from 602 to 769. Another historical work of his that became very popular is the brief *Χρονογραφικὸν Σύντομον*, a list of rulers from the creation of the world to the emperor Michael II the Amorian (820-829)<sup>113</sup>. 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 *skeuophylax* of the church of St Sophia in Constantinople<sup>114</sup>, and the other is included in the anonymous 10th-century *Menologion*<sup>115</sup>. 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<sup>116</sup>.

(c) Two Byzantine *akolouthiai* on Nikephoros have come down to us; one is edited below<sup>117</sup> and the other is published in the *Menaion*<sup>118</sup>. There is also a modern *akolouthia* on the saint, composed and published in the first quarter of 19th c.<sup>119</sup>.

<sup>111</sup> St Nikephoros is commemorated for his anti-iconoclastic action in the Synodikon of Orthodoxy; see J. GOUILLARD, *Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie. Édition et Commentaire, Travaux et Memoires 2* (1967) 53-55, vv. 110-111 and 114-116.

<sup>112</sup> Edited and translated into English by C. MANGO, *Short History*, Washington, D.C., 1990.

<sup>113</sup> Edited by C. DE BOOR, *Nicephori Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani opuscula historica*, Lipsiae 1880 (repr. 1975), pp. 81-135.

<sup>114</sup> Τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νικηφόρου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως βίος συγγραφεὶς ὑπὸ Ἰγνατίου διακόνου καὶ σκευοφύλακος τῆς ἀγιωτάτης καὶ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἀγίας Σοφίας, αὐτοῦ μαθητοῦ (=S.P.N. *Nicephori Constantinopolitani Archiepiscopi Vita scripta ab Ignatio diacono et cimeliarcha sanctissimae et magnae ecclesiae Sanctae Sophiae, ejus discipulo*) (=BHG 1335), in AASS Martii II, 704-726 and PG 100, 41-160. On Ignatios see S. EFTHYMIADIS (ed.), *The Life of the Patriarch Tarasios by Ignatios the Deacon* (BHG 1698), [Birmingham Byzantine & Ottoman Monographs, 4], Ashgate Variorum: Aldershot – Brookfield USA – Singapore – Sydney, 1998, pp. 38-43; S. EFTHYMIADIS, On the hagiographical Work of Ignatius the Deacon, *JÖB* 41 (1991) 73-83.

<sup>115</sup> Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νικηφόρου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (=BHG 1337e), ed. LATYŠEV II, 4-6.

<sup>116</sup> 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.

<sup>117</sup> For the *kanon* L is *codex unicus*; see PAPAIOPOULOU, *Ταμείον*, p. 210, nr 639.

<sup>118</sup> MV X, 4-7.

<sup>119</sup> Ἀκολουθία τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νικηφόρου πατριάρχου, Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Φιλοπονηθεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ πανιεροτάτου μητροπολίτου Φιλαδελφείας κυρίου Γαβρι-

The *akolouthia* contained in the *Menaion* consists of three *stichera*, a *kathisma*, a *kontakion* by Romanos the Melode and a *kanon* by Theophanes Graptos<sup>120</sup>, which bears the acrostic *Τὸν νικηφόρον ὡς νικηφόρον ἄσμασι μέλπω*<sup>121</sup> (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<sup>122</sup>. 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*)<sup>123</sup>.

(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 δυσώπει, ὅσιε, τηρηθῆναι τοὺς παρεστῶτας τῇ τιμῇ σου, μάκαρ, καὶ θεία λάρνακι*), something that appeals also to the *kanon* composed by Theophanes (see vv. 286-291 and MV X, 7: *Λάρνακα κυκλοῦντες τὴν θείαν τοῦ θεοφόρου Νικηφόρου, δεῦτε χριστοφόροι προθύμως ὡς νικηφόρον τοῦτον ὑμνήσωμεν καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ πανήγυριν μετ' εὐφροσύνης 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 κροτῶ Νικηφόρον*<sup>124</sup>) not including the *theotokia*, the initials of which (*ΦΣΝΙΔΠΠΥΝ*) seem not to have been a part of a set that originally formed an acrostic. The *heirmoi* are borrowed from two

ἦλ, χάριν τοῦ ἐξαιτησαμένου αὐτὴν ὀσιολογιωτάτου μεγάλου ἀρχidiaκόνου κὺρ Νικηφόρου Λεσβίου, Constantinople 1822 (see BAG, 207).

<sup>120</sup> MV X, 4-7; cf. ZERVOUDAKI, *Θεοφάνης*, 279-280, nr 185.

<sup>121</sup> FOLLIERI, *Initia* IV, 220.

<sup>122</sup> See MATEOS, *Typicon*, 302 and 98-100.

<sup>123</sup> «Στιχηρὰ ἦχος πλάγιος δ'. ὁ κανὼν ἦχος δ' Θεοφάνους· κάθισμα ἦχος ὁ αὐτός» (JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 144).

<sup>124</sup> Not listed in FOLLIERI, *Initia*.

*kanons* by the patriarch Germanos<sup>125</sup>, with the exception of the *heirmos* of ode 7, which is a work of Andrew of Crete<sup>126</sup>.

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 Graptos, 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:

Anonymous	Theophanes
Νομοθεσία τῆ τοῦ σωτῆρος, θεόφρον, ἐξ ἀπαλῶν τυπούμενος, πάτερ, ὀνύχων, πράξει καὶ θεωρία, σοφέ, θεοπτικότητας ἀπετελέσθης (ode 1, stz. 2).	Τὴν προᾶξιν τῆς θεωρίας ἔδειξας σαφῶς ἐπίβασιν· τὴν γὰρ ψυχὴν ρυθμίσας πρακτικῶς, Νικηφόρε πανόλβιε, πρὸς θεωρίαν ἄριστον τὴν ἀκροτάτην ἀνεπτέρωσας (ode 1, stz 1).
Νευρωμένους, ὅσιε, τῆ δυνάμει τοῦ Παρακλήτου, συνέθλασας τὰς τοῦ λέοντος, πάτερ, μύλας, τοῦ τὴν σεπτὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος εἰκόνα τῶν ἀγίων τε	Ῥώμη τῆ θεία τὰς μύλας, ἱεροφάντα, τῶν ἀσεβῶν συνέθλασας, τῷ στερορῷ σου λόγῳ τούτου τροπώσαμενος καὶ σέβειν ἐδίδαξας

<sup>125</sup> 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).

<sup>126</sup> EE 77-78, nr 109.



πάντων ἀφρόνως ἀθετήσαντος (ode 4, stz. 2).	Θεῖον τοῦ σωτῆρος εἰκόνισμα (ode 4, stz. 1).
Nῦν οὐκ αἰνίγματι, πάτερ, κατοπτεύεις τὰ θεῖα, παρηγμένης τῆς σκιᾶς καὶ τῶν ἐσόπτρων, ἀλλὰ πλήρης θεοῦ φωτὸς ἀπολαύεις Χριστοῦ (ode 9, stz. 3).	Εὖρες τὸ μακάριον τέλος, ὑπεξεληθόντων τῶν ἐσόπτρων καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας φανείσης τῇ θεωρίᾳ τοῦ ἀκηράτου κάλλους, οὐπερ νῦν ἐμφορούμενος ταῖς σαῖς πρεσβίαις ἡμῶν μέμνησο (ode 9, stz. 1).

#### AKOLOUTHIA ON THE MARTYR LOUKILLIANOS (TEXT 3)

(a) Loukillianos, Paula and the children Claudios, Hypatios, Dionysios and Paulos<sup>127</sup> suffered martyrdom during the reign of the Roman emperor Aurelian (270-275). Loukillianos, 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. Loukillianos 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*<sup>128</sup>. We are aware of four versions of their *Passio*; the longer one is included in the anonymous 10<sup>th</sup>-century *Menologion*<sup>129</sup>, while the rest are published, one by H. Delehaye<sup>130</sup> and the other two by F. Halkin<sup>131</sup>.

<sup>127</sup> On whom see EFSTRATIADIS, *Ἀγιολόγιον*, 280; DOUKAKIS, *Συναξαριστής*, 21-22; BS VIII, 276-277. On the martyrion of Loukillianos see JANIN, *Églises*, 311-312.

<sup>128</sup> AASS Iunii I, 276-286 (=BHG 999). On Photios see TH. ANTONOPOULOU, Photios deacon and *skeuophylax* of the Holy Apostles and his encomium on St Luke the Evangelist, *JÖB* 55 (2005) 7-16.

<sup>129</sup> *Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου Λουκιλλιανοῦ, Παύλης καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς νηπίων Κλαυδίου, Διονυσίου καὶ Παύλου* (=BHG 999c), ed. LATYŠEV II, 7-12.

<sup>130</sup> *Passio S. Lucilliani et sociorum* (=Ἀθλησις τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Λουκιλλιανοῦ καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῶ) (=BHG 998y), ed. H. DELEHAYE, *Saints de Thrace et de Mesie*, *AnBoll* 31 (1912) 187-192.

<sup>131</sup> *Ἀθλησις τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου μεγαλομάρτυρος Λουκιλλιανοῦ τοῦ θαυματουργοῦ καὶ τῆς συννοδίας αὐτοῦ and Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος καὶ θαυματουργοῦ Λουκιλλιανοῦ καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων νηπίων Κλαυδίου, Ὑπατίου, Παύλου καὶ Διονυσίου* (=BHG 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 *Menaion*<sup>132</sup>. 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 *Menaion*<sup>133</sup> and the second is edited below<sup>134</sup>, while the third is unpublished and preserved in just one manuscript, the 10th-century codex Sin. Gr. 620<sup>135</sup>.

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)<sup>136</sup>, 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 than 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 *Menaion*<sup>137</sup>.

(e) The *akolouthia* in L contains two *kathismata* (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.

<sup>132</sup> *Menol* 485 (published also in AASS Iunii I, 274), *SynaxEC* 725-728 and MV X, 8-9. In *SynaxEC* they are also commemorated on January 19, when their *synaxis* «τελείται ... ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ Ἀναστασίου τοῦ Πατριάρχου ἐν τῇ Ὁξειᾷ» (*SynaxEC*, 404-405).

<sup>133</sup> MV X, 7-9.

<sup>134</sup> Ms tradition: LHGSbPaVASEVb; see PAPAILIOPOULOU, *Ταμείον*, p. 210, nr 640.

<sup>135</sup> See PAPAILIOPOULOU, *Ταμείον*, p. 211, nr 641.

<sup>136</sup> 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 ZERVOUDAKI, *Θεοφάνης*, 327, ascribes the *kanon* to Theophanes Graptos (see Commentary, Text 3, vv. 354-498).

<sup>137</sup> «Στιχηρὰ ἦχος α'. ὁ κανὼν Ἰγνατίου ἦχος πλάγιος δ'. Κάθισμα ἦχος ὁ αὐτός» (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 (Λουκιλλιανῶ τούσδε τοὺς κρότους φέρω· Ἰωσήφ<sup>138</sup>). 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<sup>139</sup>. Joseph follows the patterns for the most part, with some exceptions common in Byzantine hymnography.

The *kanon* praises mostly Loukillianos (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: Loukillianos 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 Loukillianos 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 Loukillianos was nailed on a cross (v. 214) and the boys were decapitated (vv. 221-222), confirming once again that Loukillianos received by heaven the grace of healing wounds (vv. 227-231). Ode 7 gives another detail of the martyrdom: Loukillianos 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 Loukillianos is praised for celebrating God in songs while facing corporal tortures (vv. 274-282 and 301-309). In ode 9 Joseph praises Loukillianos 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 Loukillianos 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.

<sup>138</sup> FOLLIERI, *Initia*, II, 350. On *kanons* with a dodecasyllable akrostichis followed by an epilogue, usually the name of the hymnographer, see WEYH, *Akrostichis*, 46-51.

<sup>139</sup> PaAD, 27-37 and EE 1, nr 1.

(f) The *akolouthia* survived in nine manuscripts (LHGSbPaVASeVb) 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 *Menaia*. 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<sup>140</sup> is obscure and contradictory, particularly as far as the dates are concerned<sup>141</sup>. 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 (LATYŠEV II, 12:21-13:7). Nothing is known on Dometius' tenure, except that he served from 272(?) to 303<sup>142</sup>. 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 Roufinos as the successor of Domitius and predecessor of Nikephoros<sup>143</sup>. 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 [LATYŠEV II, 15:5-8]) that he was not able to attend the council (LATYŠEV II, 13:29-30), sending as his representative the priest Alexander, whom he later nominated as his successor to the throne of Constantinople (LATYŠEV II, 14:1-15). His relic was treasured in a church dedicated to him, in the area of *Eptaskalon* in Constantinople<sup>144</sup>, that became a place of pilgrimage due to the miracles performed by the saint (LATYŠEV 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<sup>145</sup>, along with a posterior encomium by Constantine

<sup>140</sup> On whom see AASS Iunii I, 384-395; EFSTRATIADIS, *Αγιολόγιον*, 335-336; DOUKAKIS, *Συναξαριστής*, 24-26; BS IX, 396-397.

<sup>141</sup> See M. I. GEDEON, *Πατριαρχικοί Πίνακες. Ειδήσεις βιογραφικαὶ περὶ τῶν Πατριαρχῶν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀπὸ Ἀνδρέου τοῦ Πρωτοκλήτου μέχρις Ἰωακείμ Γ' τοῦ ἀπὸ Θεσσαλονίκης. 36-1884*, Athens 1996<sup>2</sup>, pp. 67-69, particularly 67.

<sup>142</sup> See GEDEON, *Πατριαρχικοί Πίνακες*, 62.

<sup>143</sup> See LATYŠEV II, 13:8-16 and GEDEON, *Πατριαρχικοί Πίνακες*, 64-65.

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

<sup>145</sup> *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μητροφάνου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* (=BHG 1278y), ed. LATYŠEV II, 12-15.

Acropolites (=BHG and BHGa 1278z)<sup>146</sup> and two notices, the longer of which lies in *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* and the *Menaion*, while the shorter is contained in the *Menologion* of Basil II<sup>147</sup>.

(c) We are aware of three *akolouthiai* on St Metrophanes; two of them are published in the *Menaion*<sup>148</sup> and the third is edited below<sup>149</sup>.

The *Menaion* includes a double *akolouthia* on St Metrophanes, comprising six *stichera* sung at *Κύριε Ἐκέκραξα*, three *stichera* sung at Stichos followed by a doxastikon, three *kathismata* sung at Stichologia, a *kanon* by the 16th-century hymnographer Nikolaos Malaxos<sup>150</sup>, a second *kanon* by Theophanes Graptos, a *kathisma* sung after ode 3, *kontakion* and *oikos* followed by a synaxarian notice, an *exaposteilarion* 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 *Τοῦ Μαλαξοῦ*, 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 *Menaion* nor copied in L: *Πρωτοτόκου βασιλείας πατῆρ, ὀρθοδόξου λατρείας ποιμὴν ἀνεδείχθης, ὅσιε, καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς πάντων μητρὸς ἐφάνης φωστήρ. Πρέσβευε Χριστῶ τῶ Θεῷ σωθῆναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν*<sup>151</sup>.

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<sup>152</sup>. This proves that by the middle of the 11th c. it was the *akolouthia* composed by

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

<sup>147</sup> *SynaxEC* 727-730; *MV X*, 14 and *Menol* 488.

<sup>148</sup> *MV X*, 10-15.

<sup>149</sup> For the *kanon* L is *codex unicus*; see PAPAIOPOULOU, *Ταμειῖον*, p. 211, nr 642.

<sup>150</sup> On whom see D. N. STRATEGOPOULOS, Ὁ Νικόλαος Μαλαξὸς (16ος αἰ.) καὶ τὸ ἔργον του (Ἐρευνα σὲ ἐξέλιξη), in J. VASSIS - M. LOUKAKI - E. PAPAIOPOULOU (eds.), *Γ' Συνάντηση Βυζαντινολόγων Ἑλλάδος καὶ Κύπρου. Περιλήψεις*, Rethymno 2002, pp. 84-86, and Tomadakis, *Ἑμνογραφία*, 69 (fn. 5 and 6). Nikolaos Malaxos was also an editor of hymnographical texts [see E. PANTELAKIS, *Τὰ λειτουργικὰ βιβλία τῆς ἡμετέρας Ἐκκλησίας, Nea Sion* 26 (1931) 210], who used to publish some of his works in the books edited by him (STRATEGOPOULOS, *Νικόλαος Μαλαξὸς*, 83-84, and PAPAIOPOULOS - KERAMEUS, *Σχεδιάσμα*, 346). This is maybe how his *kanon* on St Metrophanes entered the editions of the *Menaion*.

<sup>151</sup> MATEOS, *Typicon*, 304.

<sup>152</sup> «Στιχηρὰ καὶ κανῶν ἦχος πλάγιος β'. Θεοφάνους· κάθισμα ἦχος 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<sup>153</sup>.

(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  $\alpha'$  and  $\gamma'-\theta'$ . 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 ( $\Phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\theta\iota, \text{Μητρ}\acute{\omicron}\phi\alpha\nu\epsilon\varsigma, \epsilon\iota\varsigma \eta\mu\acute{\omega}\nu \phi\acute{\alpha}\omicron\varsigma$ <sup>154</sup>), 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<sup>155</sup> and John the monk<sup>156</sup>. 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.

<sup>153</sup> 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.

<sup>154</sup> Not listed in FOLLIERI, *Initia*.

<sup>155</sup> 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).

<sup>156</sup> 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, *Υμνογραφία*, 212-214; DETORAKIS, *Υμνογραφία*, 80.

(a) St Dorotheos<sup>157</sup> 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 Odysopolis 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 Odysopolis, 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<sup>158</sup>.

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 *Menaion*, while L, Christopher of Mytilene, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* and the Typikon of Evergetis commemorate him the 6th of the month<sup>159</sup>.

(b) A *Passio* of St Dorotheos is included in the anonymous 10th-century *Menologion*<sup>160</sup>. 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 *Menaion* of June<sup>161</sup>.

(c) We are aware of two *akolouthiai* on St Dorotheos; one is included in the *Menaion*<sup>162</sup> and the other is edited below<sup>163</sup>.

The *akolouthia* published in the *Menaion* consists of three *stichera* sung at *Κύριε Εκέκραξα* and a *kanon* by Joseph the Hymnographer, with the acrostic *Δῶρον Θεοῦ*

<sup>157</sup> On whom see BHG, 2114-2116; BHGna 2115; AASS Junii I, 434-437; EFSTRATIADIS, *Αγιολόγιον*, 121-122; DOUKAKIS, *Συναξαριστής*, 28-29; BS IV, 829-830.

<sup>158</sup> 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.

<sup>159</sup> See MATEOS, *Typicon*, 304; DMITRIEVSKY, *Opisanie* III, 50; FOLLIERI, *Calendari*, 138; *SynaxEC* 731-733; JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 144.

<sup>160</sup> *Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Δωροθέου ἐπισκόπου Τύρου*, ed. LATYŠEV II, 18-19.

<sup>161</sup> *Menol* 100 (October 9); *SynaxEC* 731-733 (June 6); AASS Iunii I, 434 (June 5) and MV X, 18 (June 5). In *SynaxEC* he is also commemorated on October 9 (*SynaxEC* 124).

<sup>162</sup> MV X, 16-19.

<sup>163</sup> Ms tradition: LSWIaOBa; see PAPAILIOPOULOU, *Ταμειῖον*, p. 211, nr 643, where O is not listed.

σε, παμμάκαρ πάτερ, σέβω. Ἰωσήφ<sup>164</sup>, 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 Pamvon, 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<sup>165</sup>.

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<sup>166</sup>; most probably it is this *akolouthia* that is published in the printed *Menaion*.

(e) L contains a double *akolouthia* on St Dorotheos; it includes the *kathisma*, the *stichera* and the *kanon* published in the *Menaion* (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 *Menaion*) 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: δῶρον ἅγιον σαυτὸν προσῆξας), which is the opening phrase of the *kanon* by Joseph (vv. 79-80: Δῶρον Θεῷ προσῆξας σεαυτὸν τερπνὸν καὶ καθαρῶτατον), 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: ὡς κριὸς δὲ ἐπίσημος τυθείς ἀνεδείχθης θῦμα εὐωδέστατον τῷ σῷ δεσπότη Χριστῷ) is also used by Joseph in a *kanon* on St Marinos (AHG IV, XXV, 224-228: Ὡς θῦμα δεκτὸν, ὡς μύρον εὐῶδες, ὡς καθαρὰ προσφορά, σεπτὸν ὡς ἱερεῖον, ὡς κριὸς ἐπίσημος, σοφέ, τῷ πλαστουργῶ προσηνέχθης) and another on St Manignos (AHG VII, XXI, 177-179: Ὡς ἐπίσημος κριὸς προσανηνέχθης θυσία καθαρῶτάτη, μάρτυς πολύαθλε...) <sup>167</sup>.

<sup>164</sup> FOLLIERI, *Initia* I, 337.

<sup>165</sup> See MATEOS, *Typicon*, 304-308.

<sup>166</sup> «Στιχηρὰ καὶ κανῶν ἤχος πλάγιος δ' Ἰωσήφ· κάθισμα ἤχος γ'» (JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 144).

<sup>167</sup> It must be noted here that the same concept is used in other *akolouthiai* as well; see AHG VI, XVII, 8-10 (Theophanes Graprtos on St Theodore the *teron*): Ὡς κριὸς ἐπίσημος ἀχθείς, θῦμα εὐωδέστατον σὺ τῷ Χριστῷ προσηνέχθης, Θεόδωρε...; AHG VI, XXVII, 43-45 (Germanos on St Polykarpos of Smyrna): Ὡσπερ κριὸς ἐπίσημος, ἱεράρχα, τῷ πυρὶ προσέδραμες τῶν βασάνων δεκτὴ θυσία γενόμενος καὶ ἱερεῖον Θεοῦ; AHG VIII, XXXI, 25-28



The *kanon*, composed by George of Nicomedia, consists of eight odes, numbered α' and γ' to θ'; each ode contains four stanzas. The stanzas are connected with an alphabetic acrostic<sup>168</sup>, 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<sup>169</sup> and Kosmas the Melode<sup>170</sup>.

(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 *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:

Stz.	St Dorotheos	Sts Irene, Agape and Chionia
α2	Βίον τῶν ἀσωμάτων ἐπὶ γῆς, Δωρόθεε, ἐζήλωσας καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ τρόποις ἰσαγγέλως ἐν κόσμῳ ἐβίωσας.	Βίον τὸν ἰσάγγελον ἐν σαρκὶ μετὰ τῶν συνάθλων καὶ ὁμοτρόπων σου, σεμνὴ Εἰρήνη, ἀσκοῦσα, ἀσωμάτων θείας χορείας κατηξίωσαι.
γ1	Δῶρον σε παρέσχετο ...	Δῶρα ὡς εὐπρόσδεκτα ...
γ3	Ζάλην ἀθεότητος ἐπιτιμῶν, σοφέ, ἠύνασας ταύτην· διὸ θεῖους πρὸς λιμένας ἀνθρώπους ἐγκαθώρμησας.	Ζάλην κατευνάσασα τὴν τῶν παθῶν νοῖ σῶφρονι, πρὸς γαληνόν, Εἰρήνη, λιμένα ἀθλήσεως κατήντησας.
γ4	Ἐλυσεν ὁ τόκος σου τὰς ἐνοχὰς ἡμῶν, ἄχραντε, καὶ ἑαυτῷ πάντας δικαιώσει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους συνέδησεν.	Ἐλυσεν ὁ τόκος σου τὰς ἐνοχὰς ἡμῶν, ἄχραντε, καὶ ἑαυτῷ δι' υἱοθεσίας πάντας πιστοὺς συνέδησεν.
δ2	Θησαυρὸν ἀναφαίρετον ...	Θησαυρίσασα, ἔνδοξε ...
δ3	Ἴσχυρὸν κατεπάλαισας τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ ἐχθρόν, Δωρόθεε ...	Ἴσχυρὸς καταβέβληται τῶν καλλιπαρθένων ἐνστάσει τύραννος ...
δ4	Ὡς πηγὴν χαρισμάτων σε ἔχοντες ἀνέκλειπτον, θεοδόξαστε,	Ὡς πηγὴ ἀνεξάντλητος οὔσα τῶν θαυμάτων, θεοχαρίτωτε, ποταμοὺς

(Germanos on St Basil of Amatheia): Ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἐλκόμενος ἠκολούθεις ὡς κριὸς ἐπίσημος οὐκ ἐρίζων, οὐ κραυγάζων ὡς γέγραπται, θρέμμα Χριστοῦ καὶ ποιμῆν.

<sup>168</sup> On the alphabetic akrostichis see WEYH, *Akrostichis*, 42-43.

<sup>169</sup> 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).

<sup>170</sup> EE 224-225, nr 322, on the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (ode 4).

	ἀπαντλοῦμεν τὰ ἰάματα, ἀνυμνοῦντες τὴν θεῖαν σου κύησιν.	τῶν ἰαμάτων ἡμῖν ἀναβλύξεις ἀεὶ σὲ γεραίρουσιν.
ε2	Λύχνος φαεινὸς ...	Λύχνον διαυγῆ ...
ε3	Μύρα νοητὰ ...	Μύρα νοητὰ ...
ζ4	Ίλασμόν σε πταισμάτων καὶ σωμάτων ἰαμα ἔχοντες, μόνη ἀγνή ...	Ίλασμόν σε πταισμάτων καὶ ψυχῶν ἰατρειῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων, ἀγνή ...

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 (LSWlaOBa) 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<sup>171</sup> 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*<sup>172</sup> and the shorter in the

<sup>171</sup> On whom see AASS Iunii III, 266-278; LATYŠEV II, 27-30; EFSTRATIADIS, *Αγιολόγιον*, 351; ΔΟΥΚΑΚΗΣ, *Συναξαριστής*, 60.

<sup>172</sup> AASS Iunii III, 270-273 (June 17; =BHG 1330).

anonymous 10th-century *Menologion*<sup>173</sup>. Brief notices have been contained in *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, the *Menologion* of Basil II and the *Menaion*<sup>174</sup>.

The saints are celebrated today on June 8, the date given in their longer *Vita* as the date of their martyrdom<sup>175</sup>, 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<sup>176</sup>, 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<sup>177</sup>.

(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<sup>178</sup>. 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<sup>179</sup>, the *akolouthia* on which (vv. 1-11, 19-45, 76-327) is published in the *Menaion*<sup>180</sup>. The *akolouthia* on Nikandros and Markianos consists of a *kathisma*, three *stichera* and a *kanon* (vv. 12-18, 46-75 and 328-504 respectively)<sup>181</sup>.

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).

<sup>173</sup> *Μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγίων Νικάνδρου καὶ Μαρκιανοῦ* (=BHG 1330e), ed. LATYŠEV II, 27-30 (June 9).

<sup>174</sup> *SynaxEC* 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).

<sup>175</sup> «Ἐμαρτύρισαν δὲ οἱ ἅγιοι τοῦ Θεοῦ Μάρτυρες, Νικάνδρος καὶ Μαρκιανός, μηνὶ Ἰουνίου ὀκτώ» (*AASS Iunii III*, 273B).

<sup>176</sup> The *Menologion* gives also the ninth of June as the date of their martyrdom: «ξίφει τὰς τιμίας ὑμῶν ἀπέτεμον κεφαλὰς, ἐνάτην ἄγοντος τοῦ Ἰουνίου μηνός» (LATYŠEV II, 29:31-32).

<sup>177</sup> It has survived in codd. Ath. Iveron 857, ff. 72r-79v; Athen. Bibl. Nat. 562, ff. 14r-15v; Sinit. gr. 620, ff. 53v-55v and Vindob. Theol. Gr. 33, ff. 88v-89r; see PAPAILIOPOULOU, *Ταμείον*, 213, nr 650.

<sup>178</sup> MATEOS, *Typicon*, 308-310.

<sup>179</sup> On whom see *BHG* 1782-1783m; *BHGna* 1782z; *SynaxEC* 735-736; *Menol* 489; *MV X*, 22-24; EFSTRATIADIS, *Ἀγιολόγιον*, 177-178; DOUKAKIS, *Συναξαριστής*, 56.

<sup>180</sup> *MV X*, 22-24.

<sup>181</sup> Ms tradition: LH; fragments in O; see PAPAILIOPOULOU, *Ταμείον*, 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: Ἀπηνήσατο Νικάνδρος γένους καὶ πατρίδος πᾶσαν 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 θ', 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 (Ἵμνοις γεραίρω μαρτύρων ξυνωρίδα· Ἰωσήφ<sup>182</sup>) and proving that the *kanon* was originally composed without a second ode. The *heirmoi*, followed faithfully by Joseph, are borrowed mainly from John of Damascus<sup>183</sup>, except for the ones for odes 4 and 5, which are composed by Kosmas the Melode and the patriarch Germanos respectively<sup>184</sup>.

(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 ONOUPHRIOS (TEXT 12)

(a) St Onouphrios<sup>185</sup> 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

<sup>182</sup> Not listed in FOLLIERI, *Initia*.

<sup>183</sup> EE 220, nr 315 (odes 1 and 6); EE 224, nr 321 (odes 3, 7 and 9); EE 227, nr 325 (ode 8).

<sup>184</sup> EE 224-225, nr 322, on the Exaltation of the Holy Cross by Kosmas (ode 4); EE 226, nr 324, by Germanos (ode 5).

<sup>185</sup> On whom see ODB, 1527; BS IX, 1187-1200; EFSTRATIADIS, *Ἀγιολόγιον*, 365-366; DOUKAKIS, *Συναξαριστής*, 99-109; T. K. HORTATOS (Archim.), *Ἱερά Μονή Ὁσίου Ὀνουφρίου ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ. Ἱστορία τῆς Ἱεράς Μονῆς. Βίος, ἀκολουθία, παρακλητικὸς κανὼν καὶ χαιρετισμοὶ τοῦ ὁσίου*, Athens 2006<sup>2</sup> (not accessible to me).

escaped to the desert wanting to imitate the ascetic life of Elijah and John the Baptist. His Life was presented by the monk Paphnoutios<sup>186</sup> 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<sup>187</sup>.

(b) Numerous hagiographical texts on him have survived to our days, most of them remaining hitherto unpublished<sup>188</sup>. Paphnoutios' Vita on him has been published in two different versions<sup>189</sup>. Another Vita was composed (perhaps in the 9<sup>th</sup> c.) by Nicholas the Sinaite<sup>190</sup>. The saint was also praised by Theophanes of Sicily (9<sup>th</sup> 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*<sup>191</sup>.

(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*<sup>192</sup> and a third is published below<sup>193</sup>, while nine remain hitherto unpublished<sup>194</sup>.

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 (*Τῆς ἐρήμου πολίτης...*), a *kanon* by

<sup>186</sup> 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).

<sup>187</sup> «Ἐτελειώθη δὲ ὁ ὁσιος καὶ Θεοῦ δοῦλος Ὀνούφριος, ἐν μενὶ Ἰουνίου δωδεκάτῃ» (AASS Iunii II, 533A); «δάκρυσιν οὖν τὸ καλὸν ἐκεῖνο τοῦ μάκαρος σώμα πλύνας καὶ ψαλμοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῷ προσεπάσας τῇ γῆ παραδέδωκα, δωδεκάτην ἄγοντος τοῦ Ἰουνίου μηνός» (Latyšev II, 44:3-6); «...καὶ πεσῶν ὑπτίως, τῷ τε χεῖρι συστείλας ὡς εἴθισται, καὶ στόμα καὶ ὄμματα μύσας, τοῖς τῆς εὐχαριστίας οὐκ ἀηδῶς ἐναπέψυξε ῥήμασι, δωδεκάτην ἄγοντος τοῦ ἰουνίου μηνός» [F. HALKIN, *La vie de saint Onuphre par Nicholas de Sinaïte, Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 24 (1987) 19].

<sup>188</sup> See BHG 1378-1382, 2330-2330a; BHGa 1379-1381h, 2330-2330a; BHGna 1379-1382, 2330, 2330a; A. M. FAGNONI, *Una Vita greca di s. Onofrio mimetizzata. Osservazioni sulla composizione di BHG 2330-2330a, Hagiographica* 3 (1996) 247-263.

<sup>189</sup> Edited in AASS Iunii II, 527-533 (=BHG 1378) and LATYŠEV II, 40-46 (=BHG 1381e).

<sup>190</sup> Edited in F. HALKIN, *La vie de saint Onuphre par Nicholas de Sinaïte, Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 24 (1987) 7-27 (=BHG 1381a).

<sup>191</sup> *SynaxEC*, 745-747; *Menol* 496; MV X, 42.

<sup>192</sup> AHG X, pp. 36-49.

<sup>193</sup> The edition is based only on L, as the *kanon* is not listed in PAPAILIOPOULOU, *Tαμείον*.

<sup>194</sup> See PAPAILIOPOULOU, *Tαμείον*, 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 (*βαρύς*).

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*<sup>195</sup>. The Typikon of Evergetis presents the following order:

«Ἐσπέρας μετὰ τὴν στιχολογίαν εἰς τὸ Κύριε Ἐκέκραξα ἰστώμεν στ' καὶ ψάλλομεν στιχηρὰ γ' τοῦ ὁσίου ἐκ δευτέρου ἤχος πλάγιος δ', Δόξα καὶ νῦν, θεοτοκίον. προκείμενον. εἰς τὸν στίχον στιχηρὰ τῆς ὀκτωήχου β' καὶ ἰδιόμελον τοῦ ἁγίου ἤχος πλάγιος α' Ὅσιε πάτερ οὐκ ἔδωκας ὕπνον καὶ θεοτοκίον. ἀπολυτίκιον ἤχος α' Τῆς ἐρήμου πολίτης.

Εἰς τὸν ὄρθρον Θεὸς Κύριος, τροπάριον τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ θεοτοκίον. ἀπὸ τῆς στιχολογίας κάθισμα τῆς ὀκτωήχου καὶ θεοτοκίον. ἀνάγνωσις ὁ βίος τοῦ ὁσίου. κανόνες γ'. ὁ τῆς ὀκτωήχου οἱ β' εἰς στ', καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου εἰς στ' ἤχος β' Θεοφάνους. ἀπὸ γ' ὠδῆς κάθισμα τοῦ ἁγίου ἤχος δ' καὶ θεοτοκίον. ἀπὸ στ' τὸ αὐτοῦ κοντάκιον. ἔξαποστειλάριον <πρὸς τὸ> Ὁ οὐρανὸν τοῖς ἄστροις. Εἰς τὸν στίχον τῶν αἰνῶν στιχηρὰ τῆς ὀκτωήχου β' καὶ ἐν τοῦ ἁγίου ἐκ τῶν προσομοίων τῆς ἑσπέρας καὶ θεοτοκίον. ἀπολυτίκιον τοῦ ἁγίου»<sup>196</sup>.

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 Ἐκέκραξα* are most probably 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*<sup>197</sup>. 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 ὁρώντων σε ἀνελήφθης*.

(e) Of what is published in the *Menaion* L includes the *kathisma* (vv. 1-11), three *stichera* sung at *Κύριε Ἐκέκραξα* (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 Ἐκέκραξα* (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

<sup>195</sup> See MATEOS, *Typicon*, 312.

<sup>196</sup> JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 150-152.

<sup>197</sup> The *kanon* is transferred anonymously in the *Menaion*. The name of the hymnographer is given in codd. Paris. gr. 1567 and 1569 (see ZERVOUDAKI, *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  $\alpha'$  and  $\gamma'$  to  $\theta'$ ; each ode contains four stanzas<sup>198</sup>. The stanzas are not connected with an acrostic. The *heirmoi* are borrowed from the patriarch Germanos<sup>199</sup> and John the monk<sup>200</sup>. 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 synaxarian notice) or the oral tradition. The lack of historicity is covered with expressions common in praising an ascetic saint. St Onouphrios 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)<sup>201</sup> and two *theotokia* (vv. 275-278, 314-317) are also published elsewhere<sup>202</sup>. 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<sup>203</sup>. What can be speculated for the time being — at least for the *kanons* on St Onouphrios 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 Onouphrios known to us there are three composed by some of the most

<sup>198</sup> A question mark should be placed in ode 9 that is mutilated in the third stanza, which must have been followed originally by a *theotokion*.

<sup>199</sup> EE 202-203, nr 287 (odes 1, 4, 7, 8, 9); EE 204, nr 289 (odes 5, 6; the *heirmos* of ode 6 is also included in EE, nr 284, as a work of John of Damascus).

<sup>200</sup> EE 201, nr 285 (ode 3).

<sup>201</sup> The second of these stanzas is also published in the *kanon* on St Thomas.

<sup>202</sup> The second is also published in the *kanon* on St Thomas.

<sup>203</sup> 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<sup>204</sup>. 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<sup>205</sup>, 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 Chenolakkos 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<sup>206</sup>. 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<sup>207</sup>, along with two synaxarian notices; one of them is included in *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* and the *Menologion* of the emperor Basil II<sup>208</sup>. 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

<sup>204</sup> See MV X, 41-43 and PAPAIOPOULOU, *Ταμείον*, 215, nrs. 657 and 658 respectively.

<sup>205</sup> On whom see the online Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database (<http://www.doaks.org/hagio.html>); B. ZIELKE, Methodios I (806-815), in LILIE, *Patriarchen*, 183-260; J. GOUILLARD, La vie d'Euthyme de Sardes (+831), *Travaux et Mémoires* 10 (1987) 11-16; KAZHDAN, *Literature*, 367-379; ODB, 1355; PMZ 4977; BS IX, 382-393; EFSTRATIADIS, *Αγιολόγιον*, 128-129; DOUKAKIS, *Συναξαριστής*, 136.

<sup>206</sup> D. E. AFINOGENOV, The Great Purge of 843: a Re-Examination, in J. O. ROSENQVIST, *Λειμών. Studies Presented to Lennard Rydén on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, [Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia, 6], Upsala 1996, pp. 79-91. St Methodios is commemorated as a defender of faith in the Synodikon of Orthodoxy; see J. GOUILLARD, Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie. Édition et Commentaire, *Travaux et Mémoires* 2 (1967) 53-55, vv. 110-111 and 114-116.

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

<sup>208</sup> See *SynaxEC* 749-750 (published also in AASS Iunii II, 961A and the printed *Menaia*) and *Menol* 497-500.



was probably written long after 847<sup>209</sup>. Another Vita compiled by the Archbishop of Sicily Gregory is lost<sup>210</sup>.

(c) We are aware of three Byzantine *akolouthiai* on him; one is published in the *Menaion*<sup>211</sup>, another is edited in *AHG*<sup>212</sup> and the third is edited below<sup>213</sup>.

The *akolouthia* included in the *Menaion* contains three *stichera* sung at *Κύριε Ἐκέκραξα*, a *sticheron* sung at *Stichos of Hesperinos*, the usual *apolytikion* on Bishop-saints (*Ὁρθοδοξίας ὁδηγέ...*), a *kanon*, interrupted after the third ode by a *kontakion* and a *kathisma* and after the sixth by a synaxarian notice, an *exaposteilarion* 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 *akolouthia*<sup>214</sup>. The Typikon of Evergetis does not commemorate him, giving instructions only for the *akolouthia* on the prophet Elissaios<sup>215</sup>.

(e) In L St Methodios is celebrated with the prophet Elissaios. The *akolouthia* on the prophet contains the *kathisma* published in the *Menaion* (vv. 1-11), *kontakion* and *oikos* by Romanos the Melode (vv. 19-43; the *oikos* was hitherto unpublished), the *stichera* of the *Menaion* (vv. 44-79), followed by three unpublished (vv. 80-109), and the *kanon* of the *Menaion* (vv. 146-325; three stanzas are first edited below, in vv. 186-189, 264-269 and 288-293). The *akolouthia* on 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 Crete<sup>216</sup>, except for ode 7, which is based on a melody by Kosmas the monk<sup>217</sup>. 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 is 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

<sup>209</sup> KAZHDAN, *Literature*, 368.

<sup>210</sup> See KAZHDAN, *Literature*, 367-368.

<sup>211</sup> MV X, 46-52, contains a double *akolouthia*, on the prophet Elissaios and St Methodios.

<sup>212</sup> *AHG* X, pp. 50-62.

<sup>213</sup> Ms tradition: LHPFFaFbCWPaGaKGBSaBDPcGcGdGeNNaPdDaIScKaSdRVbLa; see PAPAILOPOULOU, *Ταμείον*, pp. 218-219, nr 668 (Ge and R were not accessible to me).

<sup>214</sup> See MATEOS, *Typicon*, 314.

<sup>215</sup> See JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 152.

<sup>216</sup> 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).

<sup>217</sup> EE 101-102, nr 143.

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 *Menaion* 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 *Menaion* (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* (Ἀρχιερεῖα Θεοῦ Μεθόδιον ἄσματι μέλπω; *MV X*, 48-51) to the one formed by the initials of the printed stanzas (ΑΡΧΙ-ΘΟΟ-ΙΟΑΑ-ΡΑΣΣ-ΙΝΑΑ-ΣΜΑΑ-ΣΙΜΜ-ΕΛΠΝ)<sup>218</sup>.

#### AKOLOUTHIA ON THE MARTYR PAGCHARIOS (TEXT 16)

(a) St Pagcharios<sup>219</sup> 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

<sup>218</sup> See PΑΡΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ – ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ, Σχεδιάσμα, 374.

<sup>219</sup> On whom see *BHGa* 2329p; *BHGna* 2329p; *AASS Martii III*, 29-30; ΕΦΣΤΡΑΤΙΑΔΙΣ, *Αγιολόγιον*, 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<sup>220</sup>, while in *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* and the *Menologion* of the emperor Basil II he appears on the 25th of May<sup>221</sup>. 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*<sup>222</sup>.

(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<sup>223</sup>. 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)<sup>224</sup>.

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: ...σοῦ γὰρ τὰ ἰάματα καθάπερ νάματα δαψιλευόμενοι πάντοτε ἐκ πάσης νόσου λελυτρωμένοι θερμῶς προσπίπτομεν καὶ κατασπαζόμεθα τὰ θεῖα λείψανα, ἐξ ὧν ἀντλοῦντες τὴν ἴασιν 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 (Χάρην βραβεύεις, Παγχάριε, θαυμάτων<sup>225</sup>) and not including *theotokia*, where we have the acrostic ΚΛΗΜΕΝΤΟΣ. The *heirmoi* are borrowed from various *kanons*, composed by Kosmas the Melode, Andrew of Crete,

<sup>220</sup> «...ἀπετμήθη τὴν κεφαλὴν ... κατὰ τὴν ἐννέα καὶ δεκάτην τοῦ Μαρτίου μηνός, ἐν Νικομηδείᾳ» (MV VII, 72).

<sup>221</sup> See EFSTRATIADIS, *Αγιολόγιον*, 370.

<sup>222</sup> *SynaxEC* 707-710; *Menol* 476 (May 25); and MV VII, 72.

<sup>223</sup> On whom see BHG 1859-1860c; AASS Iunii III, 93-98; *SynaxEC* 751-754; *Menol* 500; CPG 7977; EFSTRATIADIS, *Αγιολόγιον*, 455; DOUKAKIS, *Συναξαριστής*, 151-153.

<sup>224</sup> Ms tradition: LPaSb; see PAPAILIOPOULOU, *Ταμειῖον*, p. 219, nr 671.

<sup>225</sup> Not listed in FOLLIERI, *Initia*.

patriarch Germanos, John the monk and Andrew the blind<sup>226</sup>. Clement follows the patterns of the *heirmoi*, except for ode 5, where, the pattern being – – ‘ – – ‘ –, he writes – ‘ – – – – ‘ – – ‘ –<sup>227</sup>. 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 Othodox Church.

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

(a) The three brothers Manuel, Savel and Ishmael<sup>228</sup> 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<sup>229</sup>. The memory of the martyrs is celebrated by the Orthodox Church on June 17, the date of their martyrdom<sup>230</sup>.

<sup>226</sup> 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).

<sup>227</sup> Let it be noted that the *heirmos* (*Ἀβυσσος ἀμαρτημάτων...*) is used as the *heirmos* of ode 6, and not of ode 5 as it is published in EE 44, nr 59.

<sup>228</sup> On whom see BAG, 133-135; EFSTRATIADIS, *Ἀγιολόγιον*, 456-457; DOUKAKIS, *Συναξαριστής*, 153-154; BS VIII, 637-638. On the *martyrion* of them in Constantinople see JANIN, *Églises*, 322.

<sup>229</sup> See AASS Iunii, III, 296A and LATYŠEV II, 72:13-17. On the reasons of Julian's campaign to Persia and his death see W. TREADGOLD, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997, pp. 59-62.

<sup>230</sup> «Καὶ εὐθὺς τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπετμήθησαν, ἑπτακαίδεκάτην τότε τρέχοντος τοῦ Ἰουνίου μηνός» (LATYŠEV II, 72:2-3). «Ἐτελειώθησαν δὲ οἱ ἄγιοι τοῦ 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 10<sup>th</sup>-century *Menologion*, and a third is published in a post-Byzantine *akolouthia* of the saints<sup>231</sup>. Synaxarian notices on them are included in *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, the emperor Basil's *Menologion* and the *Menaion*<sup>232</sup>. 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<sup>233</sup>, the third (of which only three *stichera* have been included in the *Menaion*<sup>234</sup>) is edited below<sup>235</sup>, and a fourth remains unpublished<sup>236</sup>.

(d) The Typikon of the Great Church gives nothing more than that their *synaxis* was taking place «ἐν τῷ ἀγιωτάτῳ αὐτῶν μαρτυρίῳ τῷ ὄντι πλησίον τοῦ ἀγίου προφήτου Ἐλισσαίου»<sup>237</sup>.

The Typikon of Evergetis dictates the following instructions for their *akolouthia*: «Ἐσπέρας μετὰ τὴν στιχολογίαν εἰς τὸ Κύριε Ἐκέκραξα ἰστώμεν C' καὶ ψάλλομεν στιχηρὰ τῶν ἀγίων γ' ἤχος πλάγιος δ' ἀνὰ δεύτερον (probably two of them in vv. 80-103 and the third in Appendix VI, vv. 30-40) καὶ θεοτοκίον. προκειμένον. εἰς τὸν στίχον στιχηρὰ τῆς ὀκτωήχου β' καὶ ἰδιόμελον τῶν ἀγίων ἤχος πλάγιος δ' Εἰλικρινῶς ποθήσαντές σε (=MV X, 58) καὶ θεοτοκίον. ἀπολυτίκιον Οἱ μάρτυρές σου Κύριε.

Εἰς τὸν ὄρθρον Θεὸς Κύριος καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τροπάριον. μετὰ τὴν στιχολογίαν κάθισμα τῆς ὀκτωήχου. κανόνες γ'. οἱ β' τῆς ὀκτωήχου εἰς C' καὶ τῶν ἀγίων εἰς C' ἤχος πλάγιος β'. ἀπὸ γ' ὠδῆς κάθισμα τῶν ἀγίων ἤχος πλάγιος δ' καὶ θεοτοκίον. ἀπὸ C' τὸ κοντάκιον αὐτῶν, ἀνάγνωσις τὸ μαρτύριον αὐτῶν, οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ Οἱ μὲν

Σαβέλ, καὶ Ἰσμαήλ μηνὶ ἰουνίῳ ἰζ' ἡμέρα δευτέρα, ὥρα 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 chronological 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 17<sup>th</sup> of June was a Monday (see also AHG X, 354).

<sup>231</sup> See AASS Iunii III, 289-296 (=BHG 1023); *Μαρτύριον τῶν ἀγίων τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαρτύρων Μανουήλ, Σαβέλ καὶ Ἰσμαήλ* (=BHG 1024e), ed. LATYŠEV II, 67-72; *Μαρτύριον τῶν Ἀγίων καὶ ἐνδόξων μεγάλων Μαρτύρων Μανουήλ Σαβέλ καὶ Ἰσμαήλ, ἀντιγραφὸν ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἀγίῳ Ὁρει τοῦ Ἄθω βιβλιοθήκης* (=BHG 1024), ed. in *Ἀκολουθία τῶν ἀγίων ... Μανουήλ, Σαβέλ καὶ Ἰσμαήλ...*, Vienna 1803, pp. 54-76 (published also in the second edition of the *akolouthia*, Leipzig 1815, pp. 117-156).

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

<sup>233</sup> See AHG X, pp. 99-116 and BAG 133-135.

<sup>234</sup> MV X, 58.

<sup>235</sup> Ms tradition: LAPbO (the *stichera* edited in vv. 68-106 are also copied in S); see PAPAIIPOULOU, *Ταμείον*, p. 219, nr 672, where O and S are not listed.

<sup>236</sup> It survives in cod. Sin. gr. 620; see PAPAIIPOULOU, *Ταμείον*, p. 220, nr 673.

<sup>237</sup> MATEOS, *Typicon*, 314.

ἄλλοι διῶκται [=BHG 1024]. ἀπολυτίκιον τῶν ἁγίων. εἰς δὲ τὸν στίχον τῶν αἰνῶν στιχηρὰ τῆς ὀκτωήχου καὶ θεοτοκίον»<sup>238</sup>.

(e) In L they are celebrated together with St Hypatios, the abbot of the monastery of Roushinianai (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 (*Μανουήλ, Σαβέλ, Ἰσμαήλ σέβω πόθω*<sup>239</sup>) 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<sup>240</sup>.

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 not 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<sup>241</sup>, the voice from heaven calling the martyrs to the kingdom of God<sup>242</sup>, 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<sup>243</sup>.

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 paracletical 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

<sup>238</sup> JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 154-156.

<sup>239</sup> FOLLIERI, *Initia* II, 367.

<sup>240</sup> PaAD, 372-382 and EE 94, nr 133.

<sup>241</sup> See AASS Iunii, III, 293B-C and LATYŠEV II, 70:16-19.

<sup>242</sup> See AASS Iunii, III, 295C; LATYŠEV II, 71:37-72:2; *Ἀκολουθία τῶν ἁγίων ... Μανουήλ, Σαβέλ καὶ Ἰσμαήλ...*, Vienna 1803, p. 75.

<sup>243</sup> See AASS Iunii, III, 295C; LATYŠEV II, 72:4-11; *Ἀκολουθία τῶν ἁγίων ... Μανουήλ, Σαβέλ καὶ Ἰσμαήλ...*, 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 Περσίδος...*), 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) Hypatios<sup>244</sup> was born in Phrygia ca. 366. Well educated, as his father was a *scholasticos*, 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 Rouphinianai<sup>245</sup>, 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 *Akoimetoι* ("sleepless") monks<sup>246</sup>. 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. Bartelink<sup>247</sup>, is dated by the latter to 447-450 and by H.-G. Beck to the 6th c.<sup>248</sup>. It is written by his disciple Kallinikos and later corrected by an anonymous "editor". An *epitome* of his *Vita* is also published in *Acta Sanctorum*<sup>249</sup>. A short notice is included in *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* and a slightly shorter version of the same text in the

<sup>244</sup> On whom see EFSTRATIADIS, *Αγιολόγιον*, 288-289; DOUKAKIS, *Συναξαριστής*, 155-157; *ODB*, 963.

<sup>245</sup> On the monastery see *ODB*, 1814.

<sup>246</sup> See below, Commentary, *Akolouthia* on St Hypatios, comment on v. 129.

<sup>247</sup> *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).

<sup>248</sup> 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.

<sup>249</sup> *AASS Iunii* III, 307-308.

*Menaion*<sup>250</sup>.

(c) Neither the Typikon of the Great Church nor the Typikon of Evergetis commemorate St Hypatios on June 17<sup>251</sup>.

(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<sup>252</sup> 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 α' 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 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 (Υπατίου μέλψοιμι τοὺς καλοὺς τρόπους· ὁ Ἰωσήφ<sup>253</sup>). Most of the *heirmoi* are borrowed from *kanons* of John of Damascus on Resurrection<sup>254</sup>, except for odes 2 and 4 which are based on *heirmoi* by the patriarch Germanos and Kosmas the Melode<sup>255</sup>. 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 famine 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

<sup>250</sup> *SynaxEC* 754 and MV X, 60.

<sup>251</sup> See MATEOS, *Typicon*, 314-316 and JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 154-156.

<sup>252</sup> Ms tradition: LHS1a; See PAPAILIOPOULOU, *Ταμείον*, p. 220, nr 674.

<sup>253</sup> FOLLIERI, *Initia*, IV, 405.

<sup>254</sup> 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).

<sup>255</sup> 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 *Menaia*.

#### AKOLOUTHIA ON THE MARTYR ZOSIMOS (TEXT 19)

(a) St Zosimos<sup>256</sup>, 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 *Menaion*<sup>257</sup>. One version of his *Passio* (henceforth AMZ) is published in *Acta Sanctorum*<sup>258</sup> and the other by B. Latyšev in his anonymous 10th-century *Menologion*<sup>259</sup>. 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

<sup>256</sup> On whom see EFSTRATIADIS, *Άγιολόγιον*, 165; DOUKAKIS, *Συναξαριστής*, 164-165; BS, XII, 1501.

<sup>257</sup> See *Menol* 504, *SynaxEC* 757 and *MV X*, 66 respectively.

<sup>258</sup> AASS Iunii III, 812-817 (=BHG 1888).

<sup>259</sup> *Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Ζωσίμου* (=BHG 1888c), ed. LATYŠEV II, 79-82.

both versions of his *Passio* as the day of his death<sup>260</sup>. However, this date does not find the Byzantine hagiographical and liturgical sources unanimous; L and H, the Typikon of the Great Church<sup>261</sup>, the *Menologion* of Basil II and Christopher of Mytilene<sup>262</sup> commemorate St Zosimos on June 19, while P, V, Va, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, the Typikon of Evergetis<sup>263</sup>, the Typikon of St Sabbas<sup>264</sup> 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<sup>265</sup>. There exists also a modern one, published in 1910<sup>266</sup>.

(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<sup>267</sup>, in other words the contents of the text edited below<sup>268</sup>.

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 ἔνθεον χάριν· Ἰωσήφ<sup>269</sup>). Most of the *heirmoi*, the patterns of which Joseph follows very faithfully,

<sup>260</sup> «Ἐτελειώθη δὲ ὁ ἅγιος Ζώσιμος μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ ιθ', ἐν τῇ Κονανέων πόλει, ἐπὶ αὐτοκράτορος Τραϊανοῦ...» (AMZ 816F). «Ἦχθης τοίνυν ἐπὶ τὸν τελειώσεως τόπον, πανάριστε, ἔστης εἰς προσευχὴν καὶ οὕτω δέχη τὴν τομὴν εὐπροθύμως. ἔνεακαϊδεκάτην ἤγεν ὁ Ἰούνιος μὴν» (LATYŠEV II, 82).

<sup>261</sup> See MATEOS, *Typicon*, 316.

<sup>262</sup> See FOLLIERI, *Calendari*, 138.

<sup>263</sup> See JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 158.

<sup>264</sup> See DMITRIEVSKY, *Opisanie* III, 51. The name of the martyr is written wrongly as Ζωσιμᾶς. This could not be another saint, as there is no St Zosimas celebrated by the Orthodox Church in June, and none of the two saints bearing this name (commemorated on January 24 and April 4) is a martyr.

<sup>265</sup> It has survived in codd. Athous Iveron 857, Atheniensis Bibl. Nat. 562, Paris. gr. 1567, Sinait. gr. 620 and Vindob. Theol. gr. 33; see PAPAILIOPOULOU, *Ταμειῖον*, 220-221.

<sup>266</sup> *Ακολουθία τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Ζωσίμου ἐκδοθεῖσα τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐκ Σαζοπόλεως Ἀπολλωνίας Ζηνοβίου Γ. Ζουρμαλίδου ἱεροψάλτου ἐγκρίσει τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας*, Constantinople 1910 (see BAG, 292).

<sup>267</sup> «Στιχηρὰ ἦχος πλάγιος δ' καὶ κανὼν ὁμοίως Ἰωσήφ· κάθισμα ἦχος δ'» (JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 158).

<sup>268</sup> Ms tradition: LHPVVa; see PAPAILIOPOULOU, *Ταμειῖον*, p. 221, nr 677.

<sup>269</sup> FOLLIERI, *Initia* IV, 70.

are borrowed from *kanons* of John of Damascus on Resurrection<sup>270</sup>, except for odes 4 and 5 which are based on *heirmoi* by the patriarch Germanos and Kosmas the Melode<sup>271</sup>.

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<sup>272</sup> 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.

<sup>270</sup> 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).

<sup>271</sup> 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).

<sup>272</sup> On whom see EFSTRATIADIS, *Αγιολόγιον*, 216; DOUKAKIS, *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 οὖν καιρὸν τῆς τελειώσεως ἀγνοήσαντες τὴν τῆς καταθέσεως τῶν λειψάνων ἑορτάζομεν ἑορτήν»<sup>273</sup>. 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 *Menologion*<sup>274</sup>. 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. Delehayé<sup>275</sup>. The third is a very short synaxarian notice in *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* and the *Menaion*<sup>276</sup>.

(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 *akolouthia*<sup>277</sup>, and the Typikon of Evergetis does not commemorate them at all.

(e) Sts Innas, Pinnas and Rimmas are celebrated in L together with St Eustochios and his fellow martyrs<sup>278</sup>. 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 Rimmas contains a *kathisma* (vv. 1-11), three *stichera* (vv. 21-56) and a *kanon* composed by Joseph the Hymnographer (vv. 75-288)<sup>279</sup>.

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

<sup>273</sup> DELEHAYE, *Saints de Thrace*, 216:15-16.

<sup>274</sup> On January 20, Ἀθλησις τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων Ἰννᾶ, Ῥημᾶ καὶ Πιννᾶ, in *Menol* 269-272.

<sup>275</sup> *Passio SS. Innas, Rimae et Pinae* (=Ἀθλησις ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων Ἰννᾶ, Ῥημᾶ, Πινᾶ, παθόντων ἐν Γοτθία) (=BHG 2184), ed. H. DELEHAYE, *Saints de Thrace et de Mésie*, *AnBoll* 31 (1912) 215-216.

<sup>276</sup> On January 20, *SynaxEC* 407 and MV V, 157.

<sup>277</sup> MATEOS, *Typicon*, 204.

<sup>278</sup> 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 were 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, *Αγιολόγιον*, 152-153; DOUKAKIS, *Συναξαριστής*, 262-263.

<sup>279</sup> Ms tradition: LHMIa; see PAPAILIOPOULOU, *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 by 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 Delehayé). Taken into consideration that everything referring to their burial and translation of relics by Bishop Goddas is presented only in the *Passio* published by Delehayé, 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*<sup>280</sup>.

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 (*Τὸνς σοὺς ἀννυμῶ μάρτυρας, Θεοῦ Λόγε· Ἰωσήφ*<sup>281</sup>). Most of the *heirmoi* are borrowed from *kanons* by Kosmas the Melode on Resurrection<sup>282</sup>, except for odes 4 and 5 which are based on *heirmoi* by John the monk and the patriarch Germanos<sup>283</sup>, while the *heirmos* of ode 6 is composed by an anonymous hymnographer<sup>284</sup>. 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 paracletical 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 be 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.

<sup>280</sup> See TOMADAKIS, *Ἰωσήφ*, 218-225.

<sup>281</sup> Not listed in FOLLIERI, *Initia*.

<sup>282</sup> 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. Laurae B 32 ascribes the *kanon* to John the monk, while codd. Paris. gr. 341, 1564, 1573 and 13 ascribe it to Kosmas) and A. PΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ-KΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ, *Ἀνέκδοτον ἄσμα τοῦ μελωδοῦ Κοσμᾶ*, *BZ* 14 (1905) 523 (ode 7).

<sup>283</sup> EE 97-98, nr 138, on the Resurrection by John (ode 4) and EE 95, nr 134, by Germanos (ode 8).

<sup>284</sup> 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<sup>285</sup> and St Ioulianos of Kilikia<sup>286</sup>; it is to the latter that the *akolouthia* edited below is dedicated. He was from the town Anavarzos, 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<sup>287</sup>. His *Passio* is published by B. Latyšev<sup>288</sup>. Short notices on him are included in *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* and the emperor Basil's *Menologion*<sup>289</sup>. We are also aware of one more *Passio* and an epitome on him, both unpublished<sup>290</sup>.

(c) Three *akolouthiai* on St Ioulianos of Kilikia have come down to us. L contains two of them, one composed by John the monk (published in the *Menaion*) and the other by Theophanes Graptos (edited below)<sup>291</sup>; the *kanon* of the third, composed by Joseph the Hymnographer, is published in *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*<sup>292</sup>.

The *akolouthia* of the *Menaion* consists of three *stichera* sung at *Κύριε Ἐκέκραξα* (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*<sup>293</sup> 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<sup>294</sup> while that of the Monastery of Evergetis directs the choir to sing

<sup>285</sup> On whom see *BHG* 970-971b; *BHGa* 2209p; *BHGna* 967e, 2209p; *SynaxEC* 759-762; *CPG* 4360; EFSTRATIADIS, *Ἀγιολόγιον*, 219-220; DOUKAKIS, *Συναξαριστής*, 237-248.

<sup>286</sup> On whom see *BHG* 965; *SynaxEC* 762; PG 50.665-676; EFSTRATIADIS, *Ἀγιολόγιον*, 220.

<sup>287</sup> Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ἅγιον μάρτυρα Ἰουλιανὸν (=Laudatio sancti martyris Juliani) (=BHG 967), PG 50, 665-676.

<sup>288</sup> *Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Ἰουλιανοῦ μαρτυρήσαντος ἐν τῇ Κιλικίᾳ* (=BHG 967e), ed. LATYŠEV II, 83-87.

<sup>289</sup> *SynaxEC* 762 and *Menol* 353 (on March 16; the same text is also included in *SynaxEC* 541-542, also on March 16).

<sup>290</sup> See *BHG* 966 and 967d respectively.

<sup>291</sup> Ms tradition: LH1a; see PAPAIIIOPOULOU, *Ταμείον*, p. 223, nr 683.

<sup>292</sup> See *AHG* X, pp. 145-154. The edition is based on codd. Hierosolimitanus Sabaiticus 70 (H), Cryptensis Δ.α. XXIII and Barberinus gr. 377.

<sup>293</sup> Edited from H and two more manuscripts, codex *Cryptensis* Δ.α. XXIII and codex *Barberinus* gr. 377.

<sup>294</sup> «Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ κα', ἄθλησις τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ τελειωθέντων» (MATEOS, *Typicon*, 316).

*stichera* in mode 4, the *kanon* by John the monk in plagal mode 4 and *kathisma* in the same mode<sup>295</sup>.

(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)<sup>296</sup>, 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 mode<sup>297</sup>.

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 paracletical 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 *Menaia* 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

<sup>295</sup> «Στιχηρὰ ἤχος δ'. ὁ κανὼν ἤχος πλ. δ' Ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ· κάθισμα ἤχος ὁ αὐτός» (JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 158).

<sup>296</sup> See also ZERVOUDAKI, *Θεοφάνης*, 284-285, nr. 194.

<sup>297</sup> 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<sup>298</sup>, 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*<sup>299</sup>. A longer and more detailed *Passio* of the martyrs is published in *Acta Sanctorum*, along with the aforementioned texts<sup>300</sup>. 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*<sup>301</sup>. *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* and the Typikon of the Great Church commemorate them the 22nd of June<sup>302</sup>. 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

<sup>298</sup> On whom see EFSTRATIADIS, *Αγιολόγιον*, 163-164; DOUKAKIS, *Συναξαριστής*, 259; BS XII, 1482-1483.

<sup>299</sup> *SynaxEC* 763-766 (June 22); *Menol* 505-508 (June 23), and MV X, 75.

<sup>300</sup> De ss. Zenone et Zena martiribus Philadelphiae in Arabia (=BHG 1887), AASS Iunii IV, 474-482; the *Acta Martyrii* in pp. 476-482.

<sup>301</sup> «Οὕτως τοῖνον ἀθλήσαντες οἱ Πανάγιοι, χωροῖς ἀνελήφθησαν ἁγίων Μαρτύρων, τὸ τέλος τῶν ἀγῶνων δεξάμενοι περιφανῶς, ἐν Φιλαδελφείᾳ τῇ πόλει ψήφω Μαξίμου, μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ εἰκάδι τρίτῃ», AASS Iunii IV, 481C.

<sup>302</sup> 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)<sup>303</sup>.

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: *βουνεύροις τυπτόμενοι, ἐκ τεσσάρων τεινόμενοι, λαμπᾶσι φλεγόμενοι, κλοιοῖς βαρυνόμενοι, κρεμάμενοι ξύλω καὶ κατασπώμενοι μεγίστων λίθων βάρει*), as well as that Zenas followed willingly his master (vv. 58-60: *ὃ ἀκολουθήσας ὁ ἀξιάγαστος Ζηναῖς ἴσον ἀγῶνα 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 ἐπαινῶ μαρτύρων στεφηφόρων· Ἰωσήφ*<sup>304</sup>); 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<sup>305</sup>, except for odes 3 and 5 which are based on *heirmoi* by Kosmas the Melode<sup>306</sup>. 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

<sup>303</sup> Ms tradition: LHV; see PAPALIOPOULOU, *Ταμείον*, pp. 224-225, nr 688.

<sup>304</sup> FOLLIERI, *Initia*, I, 585.

<sup>305</sup> 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 Savvatios by John the monk and Stephen the Sabaite (ode 9).

<sup>306</sup> 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 Martyrii* 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 Martyrii*, 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 Martyrii* 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 Martyrii* 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<sup>307</sup> 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

<sup>307</sup> On whom see *BHG* 659-659g; *BHGa* 659-659g; *BHGna* 659-659h; EFSTRATIADIS, *Αγιολόγιον*, 459-460; DOUKAKIS, *Συναξαριστής*, 284-298; *BS* V, 508-509. See also M. STELLADORO, *Santa Febronia di Patti e Santa Febronia di Nisibi (25 giugno)*. La tradizione greca manoscritta, *Studi 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<sup>308</sup>. A detailed *Vita* of her, composed by the eyewitness nun Thomais, is published in *Acta Sanctorum*<sup>309</sup>. Another shorter text, a *Passio* based on the previous *Vita*, is included in the anonymous 10th-century *Menologion* published by B. Latyšev<sup>310</sup>.

(c) We are aware of four *akolouthiai* on Fevronia. L contains two of them, the first published in the *Menaion*<sup>311</sup> and the second edited below<sup>312</sup>; the other two remain hitherto unpublished<sup>313</sup>.

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 (*Ἡ ἀμνάς σου, Ἰησοῦ, κράζει μεγάλη τῆ φωνῆ...*), 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<sup>314</sup>, 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).

<sup>308</sup> *SynaxEC* 769-772; *Menol* 509 and MV X, 91.

<sup>309</sup> *Vita et Martyrium [S. Febroniae]. Auctore Thomaide Magistra Sancte et teste oculata* (=BHG 659), AASS Iunii V, 17-35. On the relationship between this text and the *Vita* of St Anastasia the *Pharmakolytria* see P. DEVOS, *Sainte Anastasie la vierge et la source de sa passion* BHG 376z, *AnBoll* 80 (1962) 37-45.

<sup>310</sup> *Βίος καὶ μαρτύριον τῆς ἁγίας ὀσιομάρτυρος Φεβρωνίας*, ed. LATYŠEV II, 98-102. Though entitled *Βίος καὶ μαρτύριον* the text is in fact a *passio*, as it presents only the trial and the martyrdom of the saint.

<sup>311</sup> MV X, 89-93.

<sup>312</sup> For this second *kanon* L is *codex unicus*; see PAPAILIOPOULOU, *Ταμείον*, 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).

<sup>313</sup> See PAPAILIOPOULOU, *Ταμείον*, p. 226, nr 695 (cod. Sinait. gr. 637), and pp. 226-227, nr 696 (cod. Hierosol, Sab. 70) respectively.

<sup>314</sup> «Στιχηρὰ ἤχος δ΄. ὁ κανὼν ἤχος 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  $\alpha'$  and  $\gamma'$  to  $\theta'$ . 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 Crete<sup>315</sup> and John of Damascus<sup>316</sup>, 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  $\acute{\text{---}}\text{---}\acute{\text{---}}$ , he uses  $\acute{\text{---}}\text{---}\acute{\text{---}}\text{---}\acute{\text{---}}$  (stz. 1, 2, 3, 5); b) the third line of the stanzas in ode 3 where, the pattern being  $\text{---}\acute{\text{---}}\text{---}\text{---}\acute{\text{---}}$ , he uses  $\text{---}\acute{\text{---}}\text{---}\text{---}\acute{\text{---}}\text{---}\acute{\text{---}}$ ; c) the fourth line of the stanzas in the same ode where, the pattern being  $\text{---}\acute{\text{---}}\text{---}\acute{\text{---}}$ , he uses  $\text{---}\acute{\text{---}}\text{---}\text{---}\acute{\text{---}}$ .

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 *ascesis* 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).

<sup>315</sup> 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).

<sup>316</sup> 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<sup>317</sup> and the other martyrs (Ἐτερος κανὼν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν μάρτυρα Φεβρωνίαν· καὶ εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν μάρτυρα Γολινδοῦχ 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<sup>318</sup>.

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<sup>319</sup>. This hypothesis is maybe strengthened by the text of the *akolouthia* in two different passages<sup>320</sup> and by the fact that Sts Leonis, Libye and Eutropia are mentioned in the *Vita* of St Fevronia<sup>321</sup>. An interesting piece of information is also given in the *Vita* of Fevronia, that «Κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἀθλήσεως αὐτῆς, τῆς μνείας αὐτῆς ἐπιτελουμένης, συνέρχονται τὰ μοναστήρια τῶν γυναικῶν, καὶ πλήθη πολλὰ μάλιστα διὰ τὸ

<sup>317</sup> On whom see *BHG* 700-702b; *BHGna* 702-702e; *AASS Iulii III*, 509-512; *SynaxEC* 815-818, *Menol* 537; *CPG* 7521; *EFSTRATIADIS*, *Ἀγιολόγιον*, 98.

<sup>318</sup> See vv. 347-350, 373-379, 380-386, 408-414, 497-504, 537-544, 545-552.

<sup>319</sup> See *AASS Iunii V*, 15D-E.

<sup>320</sup> 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.

<sup>321</sup> The spiritual mother of Fevronia, the abbess Vryene, provides them as examples to Fevronia while preparing her for the martyrdom: «Μνήσθητι Λύβης καὶ Λεονίδος τῶν δύο ἀδελφῶν, αἵτινες ἐνδόξως ἐμαρτύρησαν· καὶ ἡ μὲν Λύβη ξίφει τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπετμήθη, Λεονὶς δὲ πυρὶ παρεδόθη· μνήσθητι Εὐτροπίης τοῦ παιδίου, ἣτις δωδεκαετῆς οὖσα σὺν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτῆς ἐμαρτύρησεν. Οὐκ ἄρα σὺ ἐθαύμαζες αἰεὶ τῆς Εὐτροπίης τὴν ὑποταγὴν καὶ τὴν ὑπομονήν, ὅτι τοῦ δικαστοῦ κελεύσαντος αὐτὴν τοξευθῆναι ἐκτὸς δεσμῶν, ἵνα φοβηθεῖσα φύγη, ἀκούσασα παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς, Τέκνον μου Εὐτροπία μὴ φύγῃς, ἔδειξεν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆς ὀπισθεν, καὶ οὐκ ἔφυγεν, ἀλλὰ πληγείσα ὑπὸ τοῦ τόξου, ἔπεσεν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος, καὶ εὐθέως διεφώνησεν, καὶ τῆς μητρὸς τὴν ἐντολὴν οὐ παρέβη; Οὐ ταύτης τὴν ὑπομονὴν ἐθαύμαζες αἰεὶ; Καὶ αὐτὴ μὲν παιδίον καὶ ἀμαθεὺς, σὲ δὲ καὶ ἄλλων διδάσκαλος ἐγένου» (*AASS Iunii V*, 23B-C).

γινόμενον σημεῖον»<sup>322</sup>. 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 Graptos 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 saint<sup>323</sup> and bearing a full acrostic, something securing the composers of liturgical books for its completeness and originality.

#### AKOLOUTHIA ON STS DAVID OF THESSALONIKE AND JOHN OF GOTTHIA (TEXT 26)

(a) Two saints, St David of Thessalonike<sup>324</sup> and St John of Gotthia<sup>325</sup>, 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 Gotthia 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

<sup>322</sup> AASS Iunii V, 33A.

<sup>323</sup> To limit ourselves to the names mentioned in the text we might notice Selinos, Lysimachos and Vryene, none of which is given in the text edited below.

<sup>324</sup> On whom see ODB, 590; EFSTRATIADIS, *Άγιολόγιον*, 108; DOUKAKIS, *Συναξαριστής*, 316-322; V. ROSE (ed.), *Leben des heiligen David von Thessalonike*, Berlin 1887; AASS Iunii V, 176-178.

<sup>325</sup> On whom see EFSTRATIADIS, *Άγιολόγιον*, 236-237; DOUKAKIS, *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<sup>326</sup>. An epitome of his Vita is included in the anonymous *Menologion* published by B. Latyšev<sup>327</sup>. Slightly different versions of a short notice on him are included in *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, the emperor Basil's *Menologion* and the *Menaion*<sup>328</sup>. Four more Byzantine texts on St David have come down to us: an encomium composed by Makarios Makres<sup>329</sup>, another encomium<sup>330</sup>, a narration by the monk Palladios<sup>331</sup> and an unpublished epitome of his life (=BHG 493d).

An anonymous Vita of St John<sup>332</sup> was «written outside Constantinople, possibly in Amastris ... between 815 and 842»<sup>333</sup>. Two very slightly variant versions of a short notice on him have been included in *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* and the *Menaion*<sup>334</sup>. Another text of the same sort is published by F. Halkin<sup>335</sup>.

(c) The *akolouthia* edited below is the only one celebrating St John that has come down to us<sup>336</sup>. We are aware of two more *akolouthiai* on St David alone, one published in the *Menaion*<sup>337</sup> and the other remaining hitherto unpublished<sup>338</sup>.

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

<sup>326</sup> ROSE, *Leben*, 3-15 (=BHG 493).

<sup>327</sup> Βίος ἐν ἐπιτομῇ καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Δαβὶδ τοῦ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκη (=BHG 493e), ed. LATYŠEV II, 103-104.

<sup>328</sup> *SynaxEC* 771-772, *Menol* 513 and MV X, 95.

<sup>329</sup> Edited by B. LATYŠEV, in *Zapiski imp. Odesskago obščestva istorii I drevnostej*, 30 (1912) 236-251 (=BHG 493m; BHGa 493m; BHGna 493m).

<sup>330</sup> See B. LAOURDAS, Ἀνέκδοτον ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ὅσιον Δαβίδ, *Makedonika* 10 (1970) 244-252.

<sup>331</sup> PG 87, 2921-2924 (=BHG 492y).

<sup>332</sup> *Vita [S. Ioannis episc. Gotthiae]* (=BHG 891), AASS Iunii V, 190-192. See also G. L. HUXLEY, On the Vita of Saint John of Gotthia, *GRBS* 19 (1978) 161-169; KAZHDAN, *Literature*, 199-200, where more bibliography is given.

<sup>333</sup> 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. 115.

<sup>334</sup> *SynaxEC* 772-774 and MV X, 95.

<sup>335</sup> *AnBoll* 66 (1948) 80-81 (=BHGa 891b).

<sup>336</sup> For the *kanon* L is *codex unicus*; see PAPAILIOPOULOU, *Tαμείον*, p. 227, nr 699.

<sup>337</sup> MV X, 93-96.

<sup>338</sup> It survives in the manuscripts Hierosol. Sab. 70 and Paris. gr. 1569; see PAPAILIOPOULOU, *Tαμείον*, 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<sup>339</sup>.

(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)<sup>340</sup>.

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<sup>341</sup>. 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 ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ, i.e. George of Nicomedia.

The *heirmoi* of the surviving odes are borrowed from two *kanons* by the patriarch of Constantinople Germanos<sup>342</sup>. 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.

<sup>339</sup> «Στιχηρὰ ἤχος πλάγιος δ'. ὁ κανὼν πλάγιος α' Ἰωσήφ· κάθισμα πλάγιος α'» (JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 164).

<sup>340</sup> See the Commentary, note on vv. 287-357.

<sup>341</sup> See the Commentary, note on vv. 57-74.

<sup>342</sup> 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<sup>343</sup> 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<sup>344</sup>. 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 (536-552)<sup>345</sup> and proved himself a protector of the poor, the sick and the needy. The emperor Justinian (527-565), being cured by Sampson, built in gratitude, and following the advise of Sampson, a huge hospital<sup>346</sup> 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<sup>347</sup>.

(b) We are aware of three Lives of the saint; one is included in the Metaphrastian *Menologion*<sup>348</sup>, another —probably the source of Symeon Metaphrastes— is published by F. Halkin<sup>349</sup> and a third is included in the anonymous

<sup>343</sup> On whom see *SynaxEC* 773-776; EFSTRATIADIS, *Αγιολόγιον*, 416; DOUKAKIS, *Συναξαριστής*, 324-331; *BS* XI, 636-638; *ODB* 1837; T. MILLER, *The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire*, Baltimore-London 1985, pp. 80-83; D. CONSTANTELOS, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare*, New Brunswick, N.J. 1968, pp. 191-195.

<sup>344</sup> See the entry in *ODB*, 1837, where he is presented as a “legendary saint”, and C. MANGO, Saints, in G. CAVALLO (ed.), *The Byzantines*, The University of Chicago Press: Chicago and London 1997, pp. 270-272.

<sup>345</sup> On whom see *ODB*, 1339-1340.

<sup>346</sup> 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).

<sup>347</sup> «Τὸ δὲ σῶμα αὐτοῦ τὸ τίμιον ἀπεκομίσθη σορηθὲν ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ ναῶ τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Μωκίου, κατὰ τὴν εἰκάδα ἐβδόμην τοῦ ἰουνίου μηνός» (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: «Ξεινοδόχος δ' ἐνὶ εἰκάδι ἐβδομάτῃ θάνε Σαμψών» (PG 115, 276C) and «Ἐξήγγεν ὁ πρὶν ἐκ γνάθου Σαμψών πόμα. / Ὁ νῦν δὲ Σαμψών μῦρον ἐκ τάφου βρῦει. / Εἰκάδι ἐβδομάτῃ Σαμψών θάνε, βλῦσέ τε μύρα» (MV X, 98).

<sup>348</sup> Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σαμψών βίος καὶ πολιτεία (=S. P. N. Sampsonis Vita et Conversatio) (=BHG 1615), PG 115, 277A-308D (published also in *AASS Iunii V*, 265C-277C).

<sup>349</sup> Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ θαυματουργοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σαμψών τοῦ Ξεινοδόχου, πρεσβυτέρου καὶ σκευοφύλακος γεγονότος τῆς μεγάλης τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας (=BHG 1614z), ed. F. HALKIN, Saint Samson le Xénodoque de Constantinople (VI<sup>e</sup> siècle), *RSBN* 14-16 (1977-79) 7-17. See also C. MANGO, Saints, 271, who characterizes the text «a complete fabrication

10th-century *Menologion*<sup>350</sup>. Short notices on him are published in *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, the Menologion of Basil II and the *Menaion*<sup>351</sup>. There exists also an encomium by Constantine Akropolites<sup>352</sup>.

(c) We are aware of three Byzantine *akolouthiai* on St Sampson; two of them are copied in L, one edited below<sup>353</sup> and the other published in the *Menaion*<sup>354</sup>. A third *kanon*, not bearing an acrostic or an indication of the name of its composer, remains hitherto unpublished<sup>355</sup>.

The *akolouthia* included in the *Menaion* contains three *stichera* sung at *Κύριε 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<sup>356</sup>.

(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 cemeterial church in the western section of the city».

<sup>350</sup> Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σαμψῶν τοῦ ξενοδόχου (=BHG 1615a), ed. LATYŠEV II, 105-112.

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

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

<sup>353</sup> For the *kanon* L is *codex unicus*; see PAPAIOPOULOU, *Ταμείον*, pp. 227-228, nr 700.

<sup>354</sup> MV X, 96-99.

<sup>355</sup> It is contained in the manuscripts Athen. Bibl. Nat. 562 and Sinait. Gr. 620; see PAPAIOPOULOU, *Ταμείον*, 228, nr 701.

<sup>356</sup> «Στιχηρὰ ἤχος β'. ὁ κανὼν ἤχος ὁ αὐτὸς Ἰωσήφ· κάθισμα ἤχος α'. Εἰς τὸν ὄρθρον δὲ ἀνάγνωσις ὁ βίος αὐτοῦ μετὰ φρασις, οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ Ἄμα μὲν χάριτος ἔργον» (JORDAN, *Synaxarion Evergetis*, 164). A. EHRHARD, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, vol. II, Leipzig 1938, pp. 314-315, has demonstrated that the readings included in the rubrics of the Typikon of Evergetis come from the Metaphrastian *Menologion*.

*exaposteilarion* 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* (ΓΕΩΠΤΙΟΥ). It is noteworthy that seven of these *theotokia* appear also in another *kanon* by George on Sts Irene, Agape and Chionia<sup>357</sup>, 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<sup>358</sup>.

The *kanon* consists of eight odes numbered α' and γ' to θ'. 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*<sup>359</sup>. 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 --'-----', he uses --'-----' (stz. 1), --'-----' (stz. 2) and '-----' (stz. 3); b) in the last line of the fifth ode, the pattern being --'-----', he uses '-----' (stz. 1), --'-----' (stz. 2) and --'-----' (stz. 3); c) in the second line of stz. 2 in ode 6, the pattern being --'-----', he uses --'-----'; d) in line 6 of ode 7, the pattern is --'-----' and he uses --'-----' (stz. 1 and 2) and ----'-----' (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<sup>360</sup>, 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)<sup>361</sup> and the emperor Justinian's cure by him<sup>362</sup>. The relationship between the *kanon* and the hagiographical texts on St Sampson is —if existing—very enervate. There are only

<sup>357</sup> 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.

<sup>358</sup> Feastday December 21, edited in *AHG IV*, XLI, 164-168; see the critical *apparatus*.

<sup>359</sup> 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).

<sup>360</sup> It is remarkable that more or less the same poor information is given in the *kanon* on the saint published in the *Menaion*, which is composed by Joseph the Hymnographer, a composer recognized for the "historicity" of his work; see PAPAIOPOULOU, Προβλήματα, 434-435 and H. FOLLIERI, Saba Goto e Saba Stratelata, *AnBoll* 80 (1962) 268-269.

<sup>361</sup> See PG 115, 280D; HALKIN, Saint Samson, 8-9; LATYŠEV II, 105; *SynaxEC* 773; *Menol* 513.

<sup>362</sup> See PG 115, 284A-288C; HALKIN, Saint Samson, 10-12; LATYŠEV 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 *akolouthiai* on him<sup>363</sup>.

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 *exaposteilarion* 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 *akolouthiai* must have played a role in the formation of the manuscript tradition that

<sup>363</sup> 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 trustworthier 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 IOSEPH AND HIS FELLOW MARTYRS (TEXT 28)

(a-b-c) No Byzantine hagiographical or hymnographical text on St Ioseph and his fellow martyrs has come down to us; this makes the *akolouthia* edited below<sup>364</sup> our only source on the saints' life and martyrdom. According to its text, Ioseph 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 Romanos the Melode (vv. 19-37), four *stichera*

<sup>364</sup> Ms tradition: LH; see PAPAILIOPOULOU, *Ταμείον*, 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 Ioseph 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): Ἰατρειὸν ἀνεδείχθη τὸ σεπτὸν ἡμῶν τέμενος, ἀθληταὶ Κυρίου, ἔνθα τὰ ὑμῶν νῦν κατὰκείνται λείψανα, βρύοντα χάριν ἀδαπάνητον τοῖς ἐν πίστει καὶ πόθῳ ἀεὶ προσπελάζουσιν.

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 (Πληθὺν γεραίρω καλλινίκων μαρτύρων· Ἰωσήφ<sup>365</sup>), 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<sup>366</sup>.

(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, μάρτυς, πρίονι, διεμερίσθης καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου ἔμεινας ἄτμητος...) and the second stanza of the *kanon's* last ode (vv. 558-560: ...πρίονι γὰρ καθάπερ ξύλον εἰς δύο διηρέθης πριζόμενος καὶ ἔμεινας Θεοῦ ἀδιαίρετος...) 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 τὰ πάθη χαλινώσας...) to vv. 392-394 (Ἐν ἐγκρατεία καὶ τελεία ἀσκήσει νεκρώσαντες πάθη...) and v. 93 (...τῶν ἀγγέλων πολῖτα...) to vv. 432-433 (...καὶ σὺν ἀγίοις ἀγγέλοις πολιτεύεσθε...). 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 ἐορτάζει, προστάτην σε μέγιστον καταπλουτήσασα καὶ πολιοῦχον πανάριστον καὶ μέγαν πρέσβιν σὺν τοῖς συνάθλοις, Ἰωσήφ ἔνδοξε...; vv. 568-573: Ἡ γῆ ἐορτάζει τὴν ἡμῶν πανήγυριν ἐκτελοῦσα, θεῖοι μάρτυρες, ἄγγελοι χαίρουσι καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὑμᾶς μακαρίζουσιν, ὡς θείου τοῦ δεσπότου θεράποντας καὶ εὐεργέτας 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

<sup>365</sup> FOLLIERI, *Initia* III, 326. The same *akrostichis* is used by Joseph in two more *kanons*, on martyr Vavylas and the 1003 martyrs of Nicomedia; see PAPAIOPOULOU, *Ταμείον*, 229 (nr 704), 33 (nr 8) and 165 (nr 490). All these three *kanons* start with the word *πληθῦς*.

<sup>366</sup> 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 Savvatios by John the monk and Stephen the Sabaite (ode 9).

him and included in a *kanon* on St Beniamin; compare vv. 10-15 (*Αγωνισάμενος καλῶς, ἀθλοφόρε, καὶ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ τὰς νοητὰς μυριάδας καταβαλὼν, ἐν χάριτι ἀνέδραμες πρὸς τὰ ἐπουράνια, ἀφθαρσίας τὸ στέφος ἐπαναδησάμενος*) to AHG VII, XXXV, 1-9 (*Τὸν Χριστοῦ στρατιώτην, τῆς δυσσεβείας τιμήσωμεν τὸν στερρὸν καθαιρέτην· ἀληθεῖ πίστει γὰρ παραταξάμενος, πάσας ἐταπείνωσε τὰς τοῦ ἐχθροῦ μυριάδας καὶ νίκης διάδημα ἐπανεδήσατο*).

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CHAPTER 3  
THE HYMNOGRAPHERS

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The list of the unpublished Byzantine *kanons* composed by E. Papailiopolou – Fotopoulou includes 91 *kanons* on saints celebrated in June<sup>367</sup>; 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)<sup>368</sup> and Clement (one), all canonized as saints by the Orthodox Church.

#### JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER

Saint Joseph<sup>369</sup> is «the most prominent and prolific figure in the hymnography of the middle Byzantine years»<sup>370</sup>, 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 *Menaia*, for which he is thought to have written 385 canons to saints»<sup>371</sup>. We are aware of two *Vitae* of Joseph, from which we have enough information on his life and his work<sup>372</sup>.

<sup>367</sup> See PAPAIIOPOULOU, *Ταμείον*, 15, 209-235, 285.

<sup>368</sup> 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.

<sup>369</sup> On whom see TOMADAKIS, *Ἰωσήφ*, and the review of the book by D. STIERNON, *La vie et l'oeuvre de S. Joseph l' Hymnographe*, *REB* 31 (1975) 243-266; see also D. STIERNON, *Joseph l' Hymnographe*, in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 8 (1974) 1349-1354; PATERSON - ŠEVČENKO, *Canon and Calendar*; E. KATAFYGIOTU – TOPPING, *St Joseph the Hymnographer and St Mariamne Isapostolos*, in *Δώρημα στὸν Ἰωάννη Καραγιαννόπουλο*, *Byzantina* 13B, 1033-1052 (reprinted in KATAFYGIOTU – TOPPING, *Sacred songs*, 307-325); A. ARMATI, *Giuseppe innografo negli Analeceta Hymnica Graeca, Diptycha* 4 (1986-87) 141-148; G. SCHIRO, *Ἡ Βυζαντινὴ λογοτεχνία τῆς Συκελίας*, *Hellenika* 17 (1962) 177; ÉMEREAU, *Hymnographi Byzantini*, (1924) 200; the entry on Joseph in *ODB*, 1074; *PMZ* 3454; and DETORAKIS, *Φιλολογία*, 486-497 (with detailed bibliography in pp. 487-488).

<sup>370</sup> C. A. TRYPANIS, *Greek Poetry from Homer to Seferis*, Chicago 1981, p. 461.

<sup>371</sup> PATERSON - ŠEVČENKO, *Canon and Calendar*, 105. See also TOMADAKIS, *Ἰωσήφ*, 78.

<sup>372</sup> 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<sup>373</sup>. 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 *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<sup>374</sup>, 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 *Vitae* as St Nicholas of Myra or the apostle Andrew) appeared to Joseph, gave him a scroll and asked him to read it<sup>375</sup>. While reading it, Joseph started to sing out a refrain from Romanos the Melode's *kontakion* on the Three Hebrews, which prays for the help of God («Τάχυνον, ὁ οἰκτίρμον, καὶ σπεῦσον ὡς ἐλεήμων εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν ἡμῶν»). The next day<sup>376</sup> 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 *skeuophylax*.

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 *kanons* on saints. Furthermore, he authored a new collection that he called *New Oktoechos*, including all the *akolouthiae* of the *Oktoechos* and many more, one for

<sup>373</sup> Ca. 816 according PATERSON - ŠEVČENKO, *Canon and Calendar*, 104, and DETORAKIS, *Φιλολογία*, 486. There is also a suggestion that he lived from 810-883.

<sup>374</sup> See *ODB*, 880.

<sup>375</sup> To eat it, according to the *Vita* by John, something that reflects the tradition about Romanos the Melode, writing his famous *kontakion* on the Nativity of Christ after having eaten a manuscript given to him by the Mother of God.

<sup>376</sup> The very same moment, according to John.

each day of the eight weeks of the cycle of *Octoechos*<sup>377</sup>.

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»<sup>378</sup>. 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 Ioseph 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 *stichera*<sup>379</sup> and two encomia on the apostle Bartholomew<sup>380</sup>. The list of Joseph's production has been prolonged as other researchers have identified more of his works<sup>381</sup>.

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 *Menaia*.

Codex Lesb. Leimonos 11 contains twenty-one *kanons* written by him on saints celebrated in June<sup>382</sup>, 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 Phourtonatos, St Tychon the Wonderworker, St Hypatios, St Zosimos, the martyrs Innas, Pinnas and Rimmas, 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 Ioseph and his fellow martyrs.

Thirteen of them have already been published elsewhere: the *kanons* on the martyr Dorotheos of Tyre<sup>383</sup>, the martyr Theodotos of Ankara<sup>384</sup>, the martyrs Orestes, Diomedes and Rodion<sup>385</sup>, the martyrs Alexandros and Antonina<sup>386</sup>, St Akylina<sup>387</sup>, the

<sup>377</sup> See TOMADAKIS, *Ἰωσήφ*, 78 and 187-200 (*kanons* 386-453), and WELLESZ, 140. *Parakletike* includes the hymns of the *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.

<sup>378</sup> PATERSON - ŠEVČENKO, *Canon and Calendar*, 108.

<sup>379</sup> See the list in TOMADAKIS, *Ἰωσήφ*, 107-225.

<sup>380</sup> One is published in *BHG* 232, 233; the other remains unpublished.

<sup>381</sup> See DETORAKIS, *Φιλολογία*, 486.

<sup>382</sup> A list of Joseph's *kanons* on saints celebrated in June is published in TOMADAKIS, *Ἰωσήφ*, 166-173.

<sup>383</sup> *MV X*, 17-19.

<sup>384</sup> *MV X*, 22-24.

<sup>385</sup> *AHG X*, 23-25.

Apostle Phourounatos<sup>388</sup>, St Tychon the Wonderworker<sup>389</sup>, St Eustochios and his fellow martyrs<sup>390</sup>, the martyr Eusebios of Samosata<sup>391</sup>, St Petros the Athonite<sup>392</sup>, St David of Thessalonike<sup>393</sup>, St Sampson the *Xenodochos*<sup>394</sup>, and the translation of relics of Sts. Kyros and John the Wonderworkers<sup>395</sup>.

According to the list of E. Papailiopolou – Fotopoulou, one hundred fifty nine of his *kanons* remain hitherto unpublished<sup>396</sup>. 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 Ioseph and his fellow martyrs (28.340-579).

As a poet Joseph has been presented to have followed the school of the monastery of Stoudios<sup>397</sup>. 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<sup>398</sup>; it has been also characterized deliberate but simple and easy to follow<sup>399</sup>.

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<sup>400</sup>.

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

<sup>386</sup> MV X, 32-34.

<sup>387</sup> MV X, 44-46.

<sup>388</sup> AHG X, 117-128.

<sup>389</sup> MR V, 301-306; MV X, 55-57.

<sup>390</sup> AHG X, 130-139.

<sup>391</sup> MV X, 74-76.

<sup>392</sup> D. PAPACHRYSAANTHOU, L'office ancien de Pierre l'Athonite, *AnBoll* 88 (1970) 27-41.

<sup>393</sup> MV X, 94-96.

<sup>394</sup> MV X, 97-99.

<sup>395</sup> MV X, 100-103.

<sup>396</sup> See PAPAIILOPOULOU, *Ταμείον*, 333.

<sup>397</sup> *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 choice 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 Stoudios".

<sup>398</sup> DETORAKIS, *Φιλολογία*, 487. A list of rare and poetical words used by Joseph is published by N. B. TOMADAKIS, Ἡ γλῶσσα Ἰωσήφ τοῦ Ὑμνογράφου, *EPhSPA* 23 (1972-3) 22-42.

<sup>399</sup> See TOMADAKIS, *Ἰωσήφ*, 93.

<sup>400</sup> TOMADAKIS, *Ἰωσήφ*, 80.

he didn't write the music for his *kanons* but he used pre-existing forms<sup>401</sup>. 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):

Saint(s)	mode	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Attalos	4th pl.	323	---	324	321	323	315	327	327	324
Loukillianos	1st	1	---	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Nikandros and Markianos	4th pl.	315	---	321	322	324	315	321	325	321
Hypatios	4th pl.	315	323	315	322	314	314	321	314	317
Zosimos	4th pl.	321	---	321	322	324	314	321	316	316
Innas, Pinnas and Rimmas	4th	144	---	144	138	143	172	144	134	144
Zenon and Zenas	4th	135	---	144	138	143	135	135	135	139
Ioseph	4th	135	---	136	135	138	135	142	135	139

The acrostics of these *kanons* are:

- Λουκιλλιανῶ τούσδε τοὺς κρότους φέρω. Ἰωσήφ (Loukillianos)<sup>402</sup>.
- Ὑμνοὶς γεραίρω μαρτύρων ξυνωρίδα. Ἰωσήφ (Nikandros and Markianos).
- Ὑπατίου μέλψοιμι τοὺς καλοὺς τρόπους. Ὁ Ἰωσήφ (Hypatios)<sup>403</sup>.
- Τὴν Ζωσίμου μέλψωμεν ἔνθεον χάριν. Ἰωσήφ (Zosimos)<sup>404</sup>.
- Τοὺς σοὺς ἀνυμνῶ μάρτυρας, Θεοῦ Λόγε. Ἰωσήφ (Innas, Pinnas and Rimmas).
- Ζυγὸν ἐπαινῶ μαρτύρων στεφηφόρων. Ἰωσήφ (Zenon and Zenas)<sup>405</sup>.
- Πληθὺν γεραίρω καλλινίκων μαρτύρων. Ἰωσήφ (Ioseph and his fellow martyrs)<sup>406</sup>.

The *kanon* on St Attalos has no other acrostic than the name ΙΩΣΗΦ 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

<sup>401</sup> 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.

<sup>402</sup> FOLLIERI, *Initia*, II, 350.

<sup>403</sup> FOLLIERI, *Initia*, IV, 405.

<sup>404</sup> FOLLIERI, *Initia* IV, 70.

<sup>405</sup> FOLLIERI, *Initia*, I, 585.

<sup>406</sup> FOLLIERI, *Initia*, III, 326.

and an outstanding hymnographer, not much is known about his life<sup>407</sup>. He lived in the 9<sup>th</sup> 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<sup>408</sup>.

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<sup>409</sup>. H. Follieri composed a list of 103 *kanons* written by him, only 20 of which being published<sup>410</sup>. E. Papailiopolou – Fotopoulou, added 80 more in her catalogue of the unpublished Byzantine *kanons*<sup>411</sup>. He wrote also a few *stichera* and *idiomela*, one full *heirmos* on *Hypapante*<sup>412</sup>, 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*: ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ in the *kanons* that have eight odes, ΓΕΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ or ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥΥ if the *kanon* has also a second ode. This is, according to H. Follieri, the safest criterion for ascribing a *kanon* to St George<sup>413</sup>.

H. Follieri has demonstrated that George imitates Joseph the Hymnographer in his style of writing<sup>414</sup>, 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<sup>415</sup>.

Codex *Lesb. Leimonos* 11 includes a total number of six *kanons*, which include the acrostic ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ formed by the initial of their *theotokia*, the ones on the martyr Ioustinos 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 Manouel, 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

<sup>407</sup> See N. TSIRONIS, *The lament of the Virgin Mary from Romanos to George of Nicomedia: An aspect of Development of the Marian Cult*, London 1998; FOLLIERI, *Problemi*, PAPAIIOPOULOU, Προβλήματα; the entry on George in *ODB*, 838; DETORAKIS, *Φιλολογία*, 523-532 (with detailed bibliography in p. 523); ÉMEREAU, *Hymnographi Byzantini*, (1923) 426. Some of his works are published in PG 100, 1336-1528, the liturgical books of the Orthodox Church, the *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*, and TH. DETORAKIS, Γεωργίου Νικομηδείας Ἀνέκδοτος κανῶν τῶν Ἁγίων δέκα μαρτύρων τῆς Κρήτης, *Νέα Χριστιανικὴ Κρήτη Α'* (1989) 270-279.

<sup>408</sup> See DETORAKIS, *Φιλολογία*, 523.

<sup>409</sup> See DETORAKIS, *Φιλολογία*, 523.

<sup>410</sup> See FOLLIERI, *Problemi*.

<sup>411</sup> See PAPAIIOPOULOU, *Ταμείον*, 332.

<sup>412</sup> EE, 113, nr 156.

<sup>413</sup> See FOLLIERI, *Problemi*, 313-319.

<sup>414</sup> FOLLIERI, *Problemi*, 324.

<sup>415</sup> See PAPAIIOPOULOU, Προβλήματα, 434-435.

and the patriarch of Constantinople Germanos:

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

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:

- Ἐφραξεν Ἰουστίνος Ἑλλήνων στόμα (St Ioustinos)<sup>416</sup>.
- Φάνηθι, Μητρόφανεσ, εἰς ἡμῶν φάος (St Metrophanes).
- Μανουήλ, Σαβέλ, Ἰσμαήλ σέβω πόθω (Sts Manuel, Savel and Ishmael)<sup>417</sup>.

#### THEOPHANES GRAPTOS

St Theophanes Graptos<sup>418</sup> 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

<sup>416</sup> FOLLIERI, *Initia* II, 244.

<sup>417</sup> FOLLIERI, *Initia* II, 367.

<sup>418</sup> See ZERVOUDAKI, *Θεοφάνης* (detailed bibliography in pp. 536-554); P. PLANK, *Der hymnographische Beitrag des Theophanes Graptos zur Geschichte seiner eigenen Familie*, *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<sup>419</sup>.

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 diodia, 138 *stichera* (*prosomoia* and *idiomela*), 3 *kontakia* and one metrical pray in Theotokos<sup>420</sup>. His verse is characterized by C. A. Trypanis as «long-winged, bombastic and dry»<sup>421</sup>.

Thirteen of the *kanons* copied in L are his hymnographical work, the ones on St Nikephoros, the patriarch of Constantinople, the martyr Loukillianos, 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<sup>422</sup>.

According to the list of Alexandra Zervoudaki, 92 of his *kanons*<sup>423</sup> and a big part of the *kanon* on the apostle Bartholomew<sup>424</sup> remain unpublished so far. Two of them are published below, the *kanon* on the martyr Ioulianos (Text 21, vv. 106-333)<sup>425</sup> 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:

Saint	mode	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Ioulianos	1st	1	---	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bartholomew	2nd	46	---	46	46	53	46	46	46	46

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

<sup>419</sup> See KAZHDAN, *Literature*, 271-272.

<sup>420</sup> See ZERVOUDAKI, *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).

<sup>421</sup> C. A. TRYPANIS, *Greek Poetry from Homer to Seferis*, Chicago 1981, p. 443.

<sup>422</sup> See ZERVOUDAKI, *Θεοφάνης*, 279-287 and 327.

<sup>423</sup> See ZERVOUDAKI, *Θεοφάνης*, nrs 7, 12, 19, 22, 26, 32, 34, 36, 38, 45, 50, 64, 66, 73, 77, 81, 82, 83, 89, 94, 95, 96, 106, 112, 121, 135, 140, 145, 146, 148, 149, 152, 154, 157, 160, 163, 183, 194, 215, 223, 225, 234, 257, 258, 270, 283, 294, 301, 303, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 325, 326, 327, 328, 331, 333, 336, 337, 338, 339. 340, 345, 347, 349, 350, 353, 354, 355, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 366.

<sup>424</sup> See ZERVOUDAKI, *Θεοφάνης*, nr 188.

<sup>425</sup> See ZERVOUDAKI, *Θεοφάνης*, nr 194.

given in L and H<sup>426</sup>. For the *kanon* on St Ioulianos, the name of Theophanes is given also in H, while L and Ia transmit the *kanon* anonymously.

#### CLEMENT

Clement<sup>427</sup> 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 *kanon* on him<sup>428</sup> 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»<sup>429</sup>. He was born, most probably, before 765 and he must have died after 824, as we can conclude from his *kanon* on St Niketas of Medikion<sup>430</sup>, who died in 824<sup>431</sup>.

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

According to the list of E. Papailiopoulos – Fotopoulos, five full and two partial *kanons* of his remain unpublished so far<sup>435</sup>.

One of his works, the *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 *Χάριν βραβεύεις, Παγχάριε, θαυμάτων*, while the initials of the *theotokia* form his name (ΚΛΗΜΕΝΤΟΣ)<sup>436</sup>, and a desinential phrase that includes the word *πληρῶ* (*διό σε πιστεῖ ἐνφρημῶν, τὴν*

<sup>426</sup> See ZERVOUDAKI, *Θεοφάνης*, 281 (nr 188). H is not studied for the following edition of the unpublished part of the *kanon* which is based only on L.

<sup>427</sup> See M. ARCO MAGRI, *Clemente innografo e gli inediti canoni cerimoniali*, Rome 1979; C. THEODORIDIS, *Der Hymnograph Klemens terminus post quem für Choiroboskos*, *BZ* 73 (1980) 341-345; A. KAZHDAN, *An oxymoron: Individual Features of a Byzantine Hymnographer*, *RSBN* 29 (1992-93) 19-58; KAZHDAN, *Literature*, 261-269; ÉMEREAU, *Hymnographi Byzantini*, (1923) 17-18.

<sup>428</sup> Published by S. PÉTRIDES, *Office inédit de saint Clément*, *BZ* 12 (1903) 575-581.

<sup>429</sup> KAZHDAN, *Literature*, 261.

<sup>430</sup> AHG VIII, 74-86.

<sup>431</sup> See KAZHDAN, *Literature*, 262.

<sup>432</sup> KAZHDAN, *Literature*, 261.

<sup>433</sup> See WEYH, *Akrostichis*, 51-53.

<sup>434</sup> See KAZHDAN, *Literature*, 263.

<sup>435</sup> See PAPAILIOPOULOU, *Ταμείον*, 333, 117 (fn. 252) and 248 (fn. 665).

<sup>436</sup> According to KAZHDAN, *Literature*, 264, «he must be the first poet to employ the double acrostic».



προσευχὴν ἐκπληρῶ).

On the other hand, the *kanon* has almost none of the internal elements that characterize the poetry of Clement. This is one of his very few *kanons* that does not contain references to the veneration of icons or the heresy of iconoclasm; from this we may presume that the *kanon* was written before the seventh ecumenical council of Nicaea in 787<sup>437</sup>. Furthermore, it has as its basic subject the commemoration (*μνήμη*) of the saint, something that is usually not among Clement's interests<sup>438</sup>. And there is one more noteworthy element of this specific *kanon*, the lack of historical facts, which are to be found in most of Clementine works. On the contrary, the *kanon* 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 *kanon* on St Pagcharios he uses the following motifs:

Saint	mode	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Pagcharios	2nd	51	57	57	57	59 <sup>439</sup>	58	55	56	57

<sup>437</sup> See KAZHDAN, *Literature*, 262 and 264.

<sup>438</sup> See KAZHDAN, *Literature*, 264.

<sup>439</sup> The *heirmos* is published as the *heirmos* of the 6<sup>th</sup> Ode, not the 5<sup>th</sup> as it is in fact, in EE, 44. Compared to the *heirmos*, the stanzas of the *kanon* have here four more syllables in the last line (the four first ones).

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CHAPTER 4  
THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

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*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 Sabaiticus* 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*)<sup>440</sup>.

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.: ]στολήν ἐξ αἰμάτων· θείαν ἐπιχρώσαντες· 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: Ἐφραξεν Ιουστῖνος 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): Ἰωσήφ. Edited below, Text 1.

2. (ff. 6r-10v) *Akolouthia* on St Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople (†828; feastday June 2). Codex: Μηγὶ τῷ αὐτῷ β': τοῦ ἁγίου νικηφόρου πατριάρχ(ου) κωνσταντινουπόλε(ως). On ff. 7r-8v the first *kanon* by **Theophanes Graptos** which bears the acrostic: Τὸν νικηφ[όρον ὡς νικηφόρον ἄσμι]ασι μέλπω (Θεοφάνους in margin). Gap between ff. 7v-8r: Des. f. 7v: ἀπηγχώνησας, ἀξιοθαύμαστε (ode 3, stz. 3); Inc. f. 8r: πανάμωμε δέσποινα (7th ode, *theotokion*). On ff. 8v-10v a second *kanon*

<sup>440</sup> The manuscript was first described by A. PΑΡΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ–ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ, *Μαυρογορδάτειος Βιβλιοθήκη, ἤτοι γενικός περιγραφικός κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀνὰ τὴν Ἀνατολήν βιβλιοθήκαις εὕρισκομένων ἐλληνικῶν χειρογράφων καταρτισθεῖσα καὶ συνταχθεῖσα κατ' ἐντολήν τοῦ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικοῦ Φιλολογικοῦ Συλλόγου*, Vol. 1 (Ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος, Appendix of vol. 15), Constantinople 1884, p. 29; correct the number of folios and measurements he gives (150 folios, measuring 275x215 mm).

which bears the acrostic: *Τὸν πατριάρχην νῦν κροτῶ Νικηφόρον* (without *theotokia*). Editions: MV X, 4-7, and below, Text 2. Bibliography: BAG, 207.

3. (ff. 10v-14r) *Akolouthia* on the martyr Loukillianos (†270-275; feastday June 3). Codex: *Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ γ': τοῦ ἁγίου μ(ά)ρ(τυρος) λουκιλλιανοῦ*. On ff. 11v-12v a *kanon* by **Joseph the Hymnographer** which bears the acrostic: *Λουκιλλιανῶ τούσδε [τοὺς κρότους φέρω. Ἰωσήφ]*. Ending mutilated. Des.: *τὴν ἀθεΐαν θεῖοις λόγοις* [ode 5, stz. 2). On ff. 13r-14r a second *kanon* by **Ignatios**, which bears the acrostic: *[Λουκιλλιανοῦ] μάρτυρος μέλπω κλέος*. Beginning mutilated. Inc.: *Ἰατῆρα πιστοὶ κεκτημένοι μάρτυς ἔνδοξε· ἐντρυφῶμεν πάντες τῶν ἰάσεων* (ode 5, last but one stanza). Editions: MV X, 7-9, and below, Text 3.

4. (ff. 14r-19r) *Akolouthia* on St Metrophanes, Archbishop of Constantinople (first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c.; feastday June 4). Codex: *Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ δ': τοῦ ἁγίου μητροφάνου· ἀρχιεπισκ(ό)π(ου) κωνσταντινουπόλεως*. On ff. 14v-17r a *kanon* by **George of Nicomedia** which bears the acrostic: *Φάνηθι Μητρόφανεσ εἰς ἡμῶν φάο<ς>* (without *theotokia*, that form the acrostic: *Γεωργίου*). On ff. 17r-19r a second *kanon* by Theophanes Graptos which bears the acrostic: *Μέγιστον ὕμνῳ τοῦ Μητροφάνου κλέος*. Editions: MV X, 10-15, and below, Text 4.

5. (ff. 19r-24r) *Akolouthia* on St Eustathios, Bishop of Antioch (†ca360; feastday February 21), and St Hilarion (abbot) of Dalmatou Monastery (†846; feastday June 6). Codex: *Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ε': τοῦ ὁσίου π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς ἡμῶν εὐσταθίου ἐπισκ(ό)π(ου) ἀντιοχείας· καὶ τοῦ ὁσίου ἰλαρίωνος τῆς δαλμάτ(ου)*. On ff. 20r-21v the *kanon* on St Eustathios. The *kanon* on St Hilarion on ff. 22r-24r. Editions: MV X, 19-21 (Hilarion); AHG VI, 333-343, 345, 352-353 (Eustathios); below, Text 5.

6. (ff. 24r-28r) *Akolouthia* on the martyr Dorotheos, Bishop of Tyre (†361-363; feastday June 5). Codex: *† Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ στ': τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομ(ά)ρ(τυρος) δωροθέου ἐπισκ(ό)π(ου) τύρου*. On ff. 24v-26v a *kanon* by **Joseph the Hymnographer** which bears the acrostic: *Δῶρον Θεοῦ σε, παμμάκαρ πάτερ, σέβω. Ἰωσήφ*. On ff. 26v-28r a *kanon* by **George of Nicomedia** which bears an alphabetic acrostic (*Γεωργίου* in *theotokia*). Editions: MV X, 16-19; below, Text 6.

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: *† Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ζ': τοῦ ἁγίου μ(ά)ρ(τυρος) θεοδότου ἀγκύρας· καὶ τῶν ἁγίων μ(α)ρ(τύρων)· νικάνδρον· καὶ μαρκιανῶ*. On ff. 28v-31r the *kanon* on St Theodotos by **Joseph the Hymnographer**, which bears the acrostic: *Θεοῦ δόσις πέφυκας εἰκότως μάκαρ. Ἰωσήφ*. On ff. 31r-32v the *kanon* on Sts Nikandros and Markianos also by **Joseph the Hymnographer**; it has the acrostic: *Ἦμνοις γερα<ί>ρω μαρτύρων ξυνωρίδα. Ἰωσήφ*. Editions: MV X, 22-24 (Theodotos); below, Text 7 (Nikandros and Markianos).

8. (ff. 32v-38v) *Akolouthia* on the translation of relics of the martyr Theodore Stratelates (†307-323; feastday June 8). Codex: *Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ η': τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος· θεοδώρου τοῦ στρατηλάτου*. On ff. 34v-36r a *kanon* by **Theophanes Graptos**, which bears the acrostic: *Μέλπω σε, δῶρων ἐνθέων ἐπώνυμε* (without *theotokia*). On ff. 36r-38v a *kanon* by **Joseph the Hymnographer** which bears

the acrostic *Ἰωσήφ* in ode 9. Editions: MV X, 25-28; AHG X, 256-268; below, Text 8. Bibliography: BAG, 280.

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: *Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ θ': τοῦ ὁσίου π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν κυρίλλου· πάπα ἀλεξανδρείας· καὶ τῶν ἁγίων μ(α)ρ(τύρων)· ὀρέστου διομήδου· καὶ ροδίωνος*. On ff. 39v-42r the *kanon* on St Kyrillos by **Theophanes Graptos**, which bears the acrostic: *Θεωριῶν Κύριλλος ἐνθέων λύρα* (without *theotokia*). On ff. 42r-44r the *kanon* on Sts Orestes, Diomedes and Rodion by **Joseph the Hymnographer** with the acrostic: *Σεπτ<οῖς ἀ>θληταῖς σεπτὸν ἐξάδω μέλος. Ἰωσήφ*. 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: *Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ι': τῶν ἁγίων μ(α)ρ(τύρων)· ἀλεξάνδρου· καὶ ἀντωνίνας· καὶ τοῦ ὁσίου π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν τιμοθέου ἐπισκόπ(ου) προύσης*. On ff. 45r-47v the *kanon* on Sts Alexandros and Antonina by **Joseph the Hymnographer** which bears the acrostic: *Ἵμνοις ἐπαινῶ τὴν καλὴν ξυνωρίδ<α>. Ἰωσήφ*. 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.

11. (ff. 49v-56r) *Akolouthia* on the apostles Bartholomew and Barnabas (feastday June 11). Codex: *Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ια τῶν ἁγίων ἀπο(στόλων) βαρθολομαίου· καὶ βαρνάβα*. On ff. 51v-53v the *kanon* on the apostle Bartholomew by **Theophanes Graptos**. On ff. 53v-56r the *kanon* on the apostle Barnabas, also by **Theophanes Graptos**; it has the acrostic: *Ἰδὴν πλέκω σοι, Βαρνάβα θεηγόρε* (without *theotokia*). Editions: MV X, 35-39; below, Text 11. Bibliography: BAG, 23-24, 26.

12. (ff. 56r-59v) *Akolouthia* on St Onouphrios (feastday June 12). Codex: *† Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ιβ': τοῦ ὁσίου π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν ὀνουφρίου*. On ff. 56v-58v a *kanon*, probably by **Theophanes Graptos**<sup>441</sup>, which bears the acrostic: *Ὀνουφρίῳ τὸν αἶνον ἐξάδω πόθῳ*. On ff. 58v-59v the second *kanon* on the saint. Ending mutilated. Des.: *Ἐν αργυρνίαις τὸ σῶμα· καὶ προσευχαῖς ταπεινώσας· ὑψώθης πν(ευματ)ικῶς τῇ σῇ καρδίᾳ· καὶ γέγονας* [ode 9, stz. 3]. Editions: MV X, 40-43; below, Text 12.

13. (ff. 60r-61v) *Akolouthia* on St Akylina (†284-305; feastday June 13). Beginning mutilated. Inc.: *Ἰπροῖστασο· κινδύνων ἐξαίρουσα· πάσης τὲ νόσου θεόφρον· ἐπικουφίζουσα ἅπαντας· χ(ριστὸ)ν δυσωποῦσα· τὸν παρέχοντα τῷ κόσμῳ τὸ μέγα (ἔλεος)* (last *sticheron*). On ff. 60r-61v the *kanon* by **Joseph the Hymnographer**, with the acrostic: *Δέχον τὸν ὕμνον, καλλιπαις Ἀκυλίνα. Ἰωσήφ*. 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: *† Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ιδ': τοῦ ἁγίου προφήτου ἐλισσαίου· καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου μεθοδίου*

<sup>441</sup> On the authorship of this *kanon* see ZERVOUDAKI, *Θεοφάνης*, 341-342, nr 300.

πατριάρχ(ου) κωνσταντινουπόλεως. On ff. 63r-64v the *kanon* on the prophet Elissaios by **John the monk** which bears the acrostic: Χαῖρε, 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 Phourounatos (feastday April 16). Codex: † Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ιε': τοῦ ἁγίου προφήτου ἀμώς: καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου φουρουνάτου. 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 Phourounatos by **Joseph the Hymnographer**; it has the acrostic: Τὸν παμμέγιστο<v> δοξάσω Φουρουνάτου. Ἰωσήφ. Editions: MV X, 52-54 (Amos); AHG X, 117-128, 359-360 (Phourounatos); 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: Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ιστ': τοῦ ὀσίου π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν καὶ θαυματουργοῦ τύχωνος: καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου μ(ά)ρ(τυρος) παγχαρίου. On ff. 73r-75v the *kanon* on St Tychon by **Joseph the Hymnographer** which bears the acrostic: Τῷ θαυματουργῷ προσλ<α>λήσω ποιμένι. Ἰωσήφ. On ff. 75v-77v the *kanon* on the martyr Pagcharios by **Clement**; it has the acrostic: Χάριν βραβεύεις, πανχάριε, θαυμάτων (without *theotokia*, which form the acrostic: Κλήμεντος). 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 Roupinianai (†395-408; feastday June 17). Codex: † Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ιζ': τῶν ἁγίων μ(α)ρ(τύρων)· μανουήλ, σαβέλ· καὶ ἰσμαήλ: καὶ τοῦ ὀσίου π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν καὶ θαυματουργοῦ ὑπατίου· τοῦ ἐν ταῖς ῥο<v>φινιαναῖς. On ff. 79r-81r the *kanon* on the martyrs Manuel, Savel and Ishmael by **George of Nicomedia** which bears the acrostic: Μανουήλ, Σαβέλ, Ἰσμαήλ σέβω πόθω (without *theotokia*, which form the acrostic: Γεωργίου). On ff. 81r-83v the *kanon* on St Hypatios by **Joseph the Hymnographer**; it has the acrostic: Ὑπατίου μέλψοιμι τοὺς καλοὺς τρόπους. Ὁ Ἰωσήφ. Edition: below, Text 17. Bibliography: BAG, 133-135 (Manuel, Savel and Ishmael).

18. (f. 83v) *Akolouthia* on the martyr Leontios (†69-79; feastday June 18) and the martyrs Isauros, Vasileios, Innocentios, Peregrinos, Hermeias, and Philex (†283-284; feastday June 17). Codex: Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ιη': τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος λεοντίου: καὶ τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων; ἰσαύρον· βασιλείου· ἰνοκεντίου· περεγρίνου· ἐρμείου· καὶ φίληκος. Only the beginning of the first *kathisma* on the martyr Leontios is surviving: Σταυρὸν ὡσπερ θώρακα· ἀναλαβόμενος· πρὸς πάλην ἐχώρησας· τῶν ἀοράτων ἐχθρῶν· γενναίως Λεόντιε· ὅθεν ἐξηφάνισας· τὴν αὐτῶν δυναστεῖαν·. Edition: MV X, 62.

19. (ff. 84r-85r) *Akolouthia* on St Zosimos (†98-117; feastday June 19). Beginning mutilated. Inc.: [τὴν ὁμολογίαν· ἀρραγῆ διετήρησας (ode 3, last but one stanza). On ff. 84r-85r (part of) the *kanon* by **Joseph the Hymnographer** which bears the acrostic: [Τὴν Ζωσίμου μέλψωμεν ἔνθεον χάριν. Ἰωσήφ. Edition: below, Text 19. Bibliography: BAG, 292.

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: † Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ κ': τῶν ἁγίων μ(α)ρ(τύρων)· ἰννά· πιννά· καὶ ῥιμμά· καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος εὐστοχίου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ. On ff. 86r-88r the *kanon* on the martyrs Innas, Pinnas and Rimmas by **Joseph the Hymnographer** which bears the acrostic: Τοὺς σοὺς ἀννυμῶ μάρτυρας, Θεοῦ λόγε. Ἰωσήφ. On ff. 88r-90r the *kanon* on St Eustochios and his fellow martyrs by **Joseph the Hymnographer**; it has the acrostic: Σεπτὴν ἐπαινῶ μαρτύρων νῦν πεντάδα. Ἰωσήφ. Editions: AHG X, 130-139 (Eustochios); below, Text 20 (Innas, Pinnas and Rimmas).

21. (ff. 90r-95r) *Akolouthia* on the martyr Ioulianos of Kilikia (feastday June 21). Codex: † Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ κα': τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος ἰουλιανοῦ. The first *kanon* by **Theophanes Graptos** on ff. 91r-93v. On ff. 93v-95r a second *kanon* by **John the monk**, which bears the acrostic: Ἰουλιανὸν ὕμνοισι μάρτυρα στέφω. Editions: MV X, 71-73; below, Text 21.

22. (ff. 95r-100r) *Akolouthia* on the martyr Eusebios, Bishop of Samosata (†337-361; feastday June 22), and St Petros the Athonite († 899; feastday June 12). Codex: † Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ κβ': τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος· εὐσεβίου· ἐπισκ(ό)π(ου) σαμωσάτων· καὶ τοῦ ὁσίου π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν πέτρου· τοῦ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τοῦ ἁθωνος. On ff. 96r-98r the *kanon* on the martyr Eusebios by **Joseph the Hymnographer**; it has the acrostic: Τῆς εὐσεβείας τὸν φερώνυμον σέβω. Ἰωσήφ. On ff. 98r-100r the *kanon* on St Petros the Athonite by **Joseph the Hymnographer**; it has the acrostic: Ἄλλον σε Πέτροον εἰκότος σέβω μάκαρ. Ἰωσήφ. Editions: MV X, 73-76 (Eusebios); D. PAPACHRYSAANTHOU, 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: † Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ κγ': τῆς ἁγίας μ(ά)ρ(τυρος) ἀγριππίνης· καὶ τῶν ἁγίων μ(α)ρ(τύρων) ζήνωνος καὶ ζηνά. On ff. 101r-103r the *kanon* on the martyr Agrippine by **Theophanes Graptos**, which bears the acrostic: Τὴν χριστονύμφην Ἀγριππίνην αἰνέσω, not including *theotokia*. On ff. 103r-105r the *kanon* on the martyrs Zenon and Zenas by **Joseph the Hymnographer**; it has the acrostic: Ζυγὴν ἐπαινῶ μαρτύρων στεφηφόρων. Ἰωσήφ. Editions: MV X, 76-79 (Agrippina); below, Text 23 (Zenon and Zenas).

24. (ff. 105r-114r) *Akolouthia* on the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist (feastday June 24). Codex: † Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ κδ': τὸ γενέσιον τοῦ ἁγίου ἰωάννου τοῦ προδρόμου. On ff. 107r-108v a first *kanon* by **John of Damascus** which bears the acrostic: Τῷ Προδρόμου γέγηθα νῦν γ<ε>νεθ<λ>ίω (including the heirmoi of odes 1, 3, 4, 6, 7; without *theotokia*). On ff. 108v-114r a second *kanon*. Editions: MV X, 79-88; AHG X, 178-180, 184-196, 198-205, 209, 215, 217-218, 220-221, 234-235, 238-240, 387; below, Text 24. Bibliography: BAG, 112-113.

25. (ff. 114r-115r, 66v-67r, 115v-118v) *Akolouthia* on the martyr Fevronia († 284-305; feastday June 25). Codex: Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ κε': τῆς ἁγίας μάρτυρος φεβρωνίας. On ff. 114v-115v and 66v-67r a *kanon* on Fevronia by **Theophanes Graptos** which bears the acrostic: Ὑμνοὶς σε μέλπω προσφόρως, Φεβρωνία (Θεοφάνους in margin).

On ff. 67v and 116r-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: *Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ κστ' τοῦ ὁσίου δα(βι)δ θεσσαλονίκης· καὶ τοῦ ὁσίου ἰωάννου· ἐπισκ(ό)π(ου) γοθθίας*. On ff. 119v-121v the *kanon* on St David by **Joseph the Hymnographer**; it has the acrostic: *Υμνῶ, μάκαρ, σοῦ τὸν βίον θεῖοις λόγοις. Ἰωσήφ*. On ff. 121v-122v a second *kanon* on Sts John and David by **George of Nicomedia** (akr. [Γεωργ]ίου in *theotokia*). Gap between ff. 121-122. Des. f. 121v: *ὡς ἑωσφόρος ἐναφεγγέσιν ἐκλάμψας· τόποις παναοίδιμε· τούτους τῷ φέγγει· τῶν λόγων καὶ τῶν ἐνθέων σου ἔργων· ἠῤῥασας πόθω· ὑμνῶν τὸν εὐεργέτην·*[ (ode 1, stz. 2). Inc. f. 122: *]λάμψας ἰωάννη κατεφώτισας· τοὺς ἀνθρώπους βοῶντας· εὐ(λ)ο(γητὸς εἶ ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν)* (ode 7, stz. 1). Editions: MV X, 93-96 (David); below, Text 26 (John).

27. (ff. 122v-127v) *Akolouthia* on St Sampson the *Xenodochos* (feastday June 27). Codex: *† Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ κζ': τοῦ ὁσίου σαμψῶν τοῦ ξενοδόχου*. On ff. 123v-125v a *kanon* by **Joseph the Hymnographer** with the acrostic: *Υμνῶ σε, Σαμψῶν, πίστεως θεῖοις λόγοις. Ἰωσήφ*. On ff. 125v-127v a second *kanon* by **George of Nicomedia** which bears the acrostic in the *theotokia*: *Γεωργίου*. Editions: MV X, 96-99; below, Text 27.

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: *† Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ κη' ἢ ἀνακομιδῇ τῶν λειψάνων τῶν ἁγίων καὶ θαυματουργῶν κύρου· καὶ ἰωάννου· καὶ τοῦ ὁσίου μ(ά)ρ(τυρος) ἰωσήφ καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ*. 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 δοτῆρες, τῶν κακῶν ῥύσασθέ με. Ἰωσήφ*. On ff. 131r-133v the *kanon* on St Ioseph and his fellow martyrs by **Joseph the Hymnographer**; it has the acrostic: *Πληθὺν γεραίρω καλλινίκων μαρτύρων. Ἰωσήφ*. Editions: MV X, 99-103 (Kyros and John); below, Text 28 (Ioseph).

29. (ff. 133v-145v) *Akolouthia* on the apostles Peter and Paul (feastday June 29). Codex: *† Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ κθ': τῶν ἁγίων καὶ κορυφαίων ἀποστόλων· πέτρου καὶ παύλου*. On ff. 139r-141r a *kanon* on the apostles Peter and Paul. On ff. 141r-143r a *kanon* on the apostle Peter. On ff. 143r-145v a *kanon* on the apostle Paul. Editions: MV X, 103-120; AHG X, 253-255, 273; Chr-Par, 72, 83, 88, 131-135; PitraHEG, i-vi, xliii-xlix, lix-lxvii, lxxi-lxxxix, lcii-lciii, cxlvi, cxxxviii; TRM II, σκ'; TRM IV, 12-26; PitraAS, 169-174; below, Text 29. Bibliography: BAG, 234-235.

30. (ff. 145v-149v) *Akolouthia* on the 12 apostles (feastday June 30). Codex: *Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λ' τῶν ἁγίων ιβ' ἀποστόλων*. On ff. 147v-148v and 148<sup>r</sup>-148<sup>v</sup> the *kanon* by **Joseph the Hymnographer** which bears the acrostic: *Χριστοῦ γε[ραίρω] το[ὺς σοφοὺς ἀποστόλους]*. Ending mutilated. Des.: *νῦν δὲ τὸ ὕψος τῆς σῆς ἐπιγνώσεως,*

Χριστέ[ (ode 4, stz. 1)<sup>442</sup>. On ff. 148<sup>β</sup>r-148<sup>β</sup>v and 149r-149v fragments of a second *kanon*. Editions: MV X, 113-120; PitraHEG, lxiii, cxliv-cxlv, cxxx-cxxxix; below, Text 30. Bibliography: BAG, 11-12, 293-294.

Originally, the codex consisted of 168 unnumbered folios, of which 151 survive, 146 wholly and 5 partly (ff. 109, 148, 148 $\alpha$ , 148 $\beta$  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<sup>443</sup>. 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<sup>444</sup>.

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:  $\alpha'$ - $\iota\alpha'$  and  $\iota\gamma'$ - $\kappa\alpha'$ . The missing gathering  $\iota\beta'$  must have contained the *akolouthiai* on the martyr Leontios and the martyrs Isauros, Vasileios, Innokentios, Peregrinos, Ermeias and Philex, as well as a considerable part of the *akolouthia* on the martyr Zosimos (up to the third ode of the *kanon*).

All gatherings are *quaternia*: thus,  $\langle\alpha'\rangle$  (ff. 1-7 + 1 missing folio preceding f. 1),  $\langle\beta'\rangle$  (ff. 8-12 + 1 missing folio preceding f. 8 + 2 missing folios following f. 12),  $\gamma'$  (ff. 13-20),  $\delta'$  (ff. 21-28),  $\epsilon'$  (ff. 29-36),  $\sigma\tau'$  (ff. 37-43 + 1 missing folio following f. 37),  $\zeta'$  (ff. 44-51),  $\eta'$  (ff. 52-59),  $\langle\theta'\rangle$  (ff. 60-66 + 1 missing folio preceding f. 60),  $\iota'$  (ff. 68-75),  $\iota\alpha'$  (ff. 76-83),  $\iota\beta'$  (missing),  $\iota\gamma'$  (ff. 84-91),  $\iota\delta'$  (ff. 92-99),  $\iota\epsilon'$  (ff. 100-107),  $\iota\sigma\tau'$  (ff. 108-115),  $\iota\zeta'$  (f. 67 + ff. 116-121; ff. 117 and 120 sola) + 1 missing folio following f. 121),  $\iota\eta'$  (ff. 122-129),  $\iota\theta'$  (ff. 130-137),  $\kappa'$  (ff. 138-145),  $\kappa\alpha'$  (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

<sup>442</sup> 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.

<sup>443</sup> For these notes see below, p. 134.

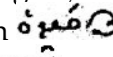


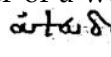

























<sup>444</sup> Note on f. 147v [*μέσον φύλλων 59-60 λείπουσιν ὡς καὶ εἰς τὸ τέλος (1930).*]














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<sup>445</sup>. 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*<sup>446</sup>, mixed with capital letter-forms, including many elements of *Perlschrift*<sup>447</sup>. 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 ) the enlarged *upsilon* (when it is the first letter of a word, e.g. in ) the enlarged or high-standing *psi* (see f.ex.  and ) the *delta* with diagonal tail () *theta* () majuscule *kappa* () sometimes enlarged as f.ex. in ) majuscule *lambda* () *phi* () the lunar shaped *sigma* () *gamma* () and the double *lambda* (). The scribe uses both majuscule and minuscule forms of the letters *beta* ( and ) *gamma* ( and ) *delta* ( and ) *epsilon* (f.ex. in ) *eta* (f.ex. in ) *kappa* ( and ) *lambda* ( and ) *mi* ( and ) *pi* ( and ). 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: *αγ* () *αγα* () *αγγ* () *γεγο* () *γο* () *δεξ* () *εγ* () *εζ* () *ει* () *εξ* () *εσ* () *εσπ*

<sup>445</sup> See J.-H. SAUTEL – J. LEROY, *Répertoire de Réglure dans les Manuscrits Grecs sur Parchemin*, [Bibliologia, 13] Brepols: Turnhout 1995, pp. 54, 180-181 (in mss. dated from the 11<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> c.).

<sup>446</sup> On this type of handwriting see KAVRUS-HOFFMANN, 292-294, 300-301.

<sup>447</sup> On *Perlschrift* see H. HUNGER, *Studien zur Griechischen Paläographie*, Vienna 1954, pp. 22-32; repr. in H. HUNGER, *Byzantinische Grundlagenforschung, Gesammelte Aufsätze*, Variorum: London 1973, art. I.

() ετ () εϋ () ην () θε () λογ () πτ () σπ () ςσ () στ () υν (). The abbreviation of *καὶ* appears in both forms (, ) which are common in the period between the ninth and eleventh centuries<sup>448</sup>. *Nomina sacra* appear in their contracted forms (e.g. ιϷ, χϷ, θεϷ, μϷ, 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 *καὶ*, 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<sup>449</sup>. The sign of *diaeresis* (¨) is placed over *iota* to distinguish two consecutive vowels not forming a diphthong. The *diplē stigmē* (˘) 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 τὲ.

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., κανῶν for κανών and αἵρεσις for αἵρεσις (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 emphasis. It is interesting that he consistently, though erroneously, places a *circumflex* instead of an *acute* in accentuating εἰ when followed by a long syllable in the genitive (θεῖου, θεῖας, θεῖων, ἀληθείας, ἀπαθείας, ἀσεβείας, εὐθείας, εὐσεβεῖας, προφητεῖας), dative (θεῖω, θεῖοις, θεῖαις, ἀμελεία, ἀσεβεία, βοηθεία, ἐνεργεία, εὐσεβεία, θρησκευεία, θωπεῖαις, μνεῖαις, νηστεῖαις, πρεσβεῖα, πρεσβεῖαις, σημειοῖς, συνεργεῖα, χωνεῖα) or accusative (θεῖους, τελείαν, βασιλείαν, δυναστεῖαν, θωπεῖας, λοχεῖας, μνεῖαν, πρεσβεῖαν).

The word Θεοτοκίον is indicated by a rubricated and slightly decorated *theta* (Θ) in the margin. Similarly, the abbreviated words ὅμοιον (similar), κάθισμα and κονδάκιον, as well as the word πρὸς in the instruction Πρὸς τὸ... (i.e. *sung according*

<sup>448</sup> See KAVRUS-HOFFMANN, 295.

<sup>449</sup> 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, *Byzantion* 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 ὄμ, κάθ, κονδ and πρ respectively. The names of hymnographers (Ἰωσήφ, Θεοφάνους Γεωργίου and Ἰωάννου) appear in rubricated abbreviations in the margin (ὄμ, κάθ, κονδ and ἰω). The word *παρθένε* is written with the first *epsilon* suspended and *theta* superscribed (παρθένε). It is remarkable that the word *Ἀνακλώμενον* is given in a double abbreviation (ἀκλ.), usually used by the Byzantine scribes for the plural of the abbreviated word<sup>450</sup>.

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<sup>451</sup>. 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*<sup>452</sup>. 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

<sup>450</sup> 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 ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἐκκλησίας. Διάταξις τῶν ἱερῶν ἀκολουθιῶν τῆς μεγάλης τῶν παθῶν ἑβδομάδος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας ἔθος, ἥτοι τὸ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἀναστάσεως*, in his *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας*, 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, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη ἥτοι κατάλογος τῶν κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἀποστολικοῦ τε καὶ καθολικοῦ ὀρθοδόξου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων*, vol. 3, St. Petersburg 1897, pp. 98-101 (plates in non-numbered folios after pp. 98 and 100).

Unfortunately, we know nothing about this abbreviation. J. B. PITRA, *Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, I, Paris 1976, pp. lxxiv-lxxv, refers to the abbreviation *Ἀνακλ.*, which he found in codex Vallicelian Veterem E. SS., used after some stanzas of *kanons*.

<sup>451</sup> See R. BARBOUR, *Greek Literary Hands, A.D. 400-1600*, Oxford 1981, p. xxx.

<sup>452</sup> 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 καὶ Ἀνάγνωση στὸ Βυζάντιο*, Athens 1995 (original title: *Schrieben und Lesen i Byzanz. Die byzantinische Buchkultur*, München 1989), p. 150].

on the outer margin of f. 146r: ζήτ(ει) στιχ(ηρά) έδωκα(ς)<sup>453</sup>.

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 room<sup>454</sup>. 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(ΕΙ)Μ(Ω)ΝΟΣ 1838.

The notes of L are placed on the top margin of ff. 1r and 149v. The first reads: Αριθμός / ένδέκατος. / Φύλλα έκατόν πεντήκοντα / έμετρήθη τῶ 1898, and the second: Αριθμός Ένδέκατος Φύλλα 150.

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

f. 92r, top margin: τῶ οσιωτ(άτω) ένιερομονάχοις· κ(αί) πν(ευμ)α(τι)κοις· κῦριω· κυριο Διο<νυ>σιό τῶ πάνη γαβριήλ ο μηκρός τῶ χειρῖ κομίζο τακατεμέ βούλομενος μαθην· ο φιλλ(ε) άριστέ εἶ ψαις. ἤλθαμεν ὡς εἶς τήν αχερό(να) κε· εἰ δέ κ(αί)κηπιακός εκ τῆς οδηρωρας· ναβαγαῖς επη θαλασσ(...).

f. 115v, top margin: ξένους άνειδεις τον χ(ριστὸ)ν εἴνεδόνους· ραιδὸς δικ(αί)ου καί μηδώρα άδηκω.

f. 118v, top margin: † Γαβριήλ διάκ(ονος) μονασταῖς κοσμοσμέγας· εἶα κοσμοφα άνηπτος ὄψης ημελημένη τριχαχηρόν ποδοντ(αι) καλός απροσέξηα στολη πενιχρά· ζοσμασιμ πεφερμένόν:-

f. 120r, top margin: † ὄσιώτ(ατε) εν ιερομονάχοις κ(αί) πν(ευματ)ικοίς καί έν χ(ριστ)ῶ ἡμων άδελφέ κ(αί) λό+.....+

f. 130r, in the top and outer margin: ἄρχην αγαθήν τ(ῶν) ξένητή(αν) πειου· βή(ῶν) ευκλεη· κῖνοβή(ων)· λογηζου γαστέραν γλοττᾶν ὄφθαλμούς· π+...+δωγώγ+...+ δούλευσῶν καλός· κ(αί) καλός δουλευθησεῖ· εχη τοῦς προσεος αγγελους κ(υρί)ου· γνοθ(ι) τα καλα τα (δέ) κακα έ+...+ τρέπου· ἄρχοίς καλής· καληστῶν εἶ κ(αί) τέλος +.....+ νηστευτῶν ζηγῶ μου τας πράξης υγλοσα· αμαρτανοσα ταληθη· λεγιζζ

In the bottom margin of f. 1r a glued paper fragment contains the *ex libris* of Leimonos Monastery by an anonymous hand (C): † έτουτ(ο) τὸ βιβ+λί+ον έναι του μοναστηρίου του λι/μόνος τῆς σεβασμίας μονῆς τῶν παμμεγίσ/των ταξιάρχῶν μιχαήλ κ(αί) γαβριήλ κ(αί) / ὅς τις τὸ αναλόσ(ει) από τὸ μοναστήριον να / +ἔχ+ει τὰς ἀράς τῶν τριακόσιων δέκ(α) κ(αί) ὀκτῶ / +θ+εοφόρων π(ατέ)ρων· κ(αί) τοῦ ιούδ(α) τὸν κλίρον να ἔχει / ~ άμήν:- (see plate 1).

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

<sup>454</sup> See A. F. SPANOS, *Συνοπτική Ιστορία Τεραῶς Μονῆς Λειμῶνος*, Editions of the Holy Leimonos Monastery 2003, p. 125.

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 Loukillianos: ψαλεται ουτ(ος)†.

f. 19r, upper margin: † οὕτως ὁ ἅγιος εὐστάθ(ιος) ψάλλεται εἰς τὴν ε΄ τοῦ ἰουλλ(ίου) μην(ός):

f. 22r, outer margin, at the beginning of the *kanon* on St Ilarion: ψαλεται ουτο(ς).

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

f. 66v, bottom margin: † ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ εἰμερ(α), ἔστι φῖμ(η); τοῦ ἀγ(ίου) βύδου:

f. 71v, bottom margin: † ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμερ(α) ἔστι φῖμῆ τοῦ ἀγ(ίου) βύδ(ου):

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

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

f. 114r, outer margin: ψαλόμεν κ(αὶ) τοῦ προδρόμου γ΄ λύει τοῦ +Ζα+χαρίου καὶ τῆς ἀγ(ίας) γ΄.

f. 114v, outer margin: ψαλόμεν κ(αὶ) καν(όνα) τοῦ ἀγ(ίου) ἰω(ά)ννου δ΄ τριστάτ(ας) κ(αὶ) τ(ῆς) ἀγ(ίας) οὔτος.

f. 123r, in the outer margin: οὐ+.....+.

f. 136r, in the outer margin: Δό(ξα). Ἦχ(ος) δ΄. εἰς τ(ὸ) κ(ύρι)ε ἐκ(έκραξα).

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

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

f. 143v, outer margin: ἡ ὑπα(κοή).

f. 145r, outer margin: ζήτ(ει) τ(ὸν) εἰρμ(ὸν) εἰς τὰς ιθ τοῦ ἀγίου ζωσίμου.

f. 146r, outer margin, by a later hand: Γ΄ ζήτ(ει) ἔδωκας καν...

f. 147r, between the lines 12-13: λν΄ εἰς τ(ὸν) στίχ(ον) ζήτ(ει) τό ἀ+(.....)+ν εἰς τ(ὰς) κθ΄ ὁ οὐ(ρα)νόθ(εν) τ(ὴν) χάριν.

f. 147v, outer margin: ζήτ(ει) καν(ὼν) προτ(ον) τῶν δύο ἀποστόλων +.....+ Ἀνοιξω τό στῶμα μου.

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 text<sup>455</sup>.

There are also the following notes:

f. 1r, by hand F: † ευλογη υ ψυχη μου τον κ(ύρι)ον κ(ύρι)ε ο θε(ὸ)ς μου εμεγαλη<ν>θη<ς> σφόδρα>.

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

f. 67r, top margin, by hand H: † πάσ(α) αγαθεῖ διδασκαλήα κ(αὶ) αρχ(ή) καλοῦ πραγματος πορῆβαιτ(αι) ἀπὸ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς υἱοῦ κ(αὶ) αγίου πν(εύματος) {πορεύεται ἀπὸ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς υἱοῦ κ(αὶ) ἀγίου πν(εύματος)}.

<sup>455</sup> See ff. 47v, 48r, 48v, 49r, 96v, 109r, 109v, 110v, 111r, 112r.

f. 146r, bottom margin, by a later hand (I): *Τῶν οὐ(ρα)νίωι ταγματάων τὸ ἀγαλλή<α>μα.*

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 λείπουσιν ὡς καὶ εἰς τὸ τέλος (1930).*

The original binding of the codex does not survive. The only surviving fragments are the grecquage and the five chain stitches along the spine<sup>456</sup>; 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 themselves<sup>457</sup>. The grecquage 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)<sup>458</sup>; *Moscow State Univ. Libr. cod. 2280* (AD 1072)<sup>459</sup>; *Washington, Dumbarton Oaks 3* (ca. 1084)<sup>460</sup>; *Meteora, Metamorphoseos 548* (AD 1089)<sup>461</sup>; *Jerus. Sab. 259* (AD 1089-1090)<sup>462</sup>; *Crypt. Δ.α.V* (an. 1101)<sup>463</sup>; *Crypt. Δ.α.II* (a. 1112)<sup>464</sup>; *Par. gr. 1588* [olim *Colbert 371*] (ca. 1112)<sup>465</sup>; compare also the hand of *Crypt. Δ.α.XIV* (11th-12th c.)<sup>466</sup>, *Jerus. Patr. 14* (11th-12th c.)<sup>467</sup>, *Vindob. theol. gr. 136*<sup>468</sup>. Such a date is confirmed by

<sup>456</sup> On the terms *grecquage*, *chain stitch* and *spine* see C. HOULIS, Ἡ Βυζαντινὴ Βιβλιοδεσία. Ἱστορία, Τέχνη καὶ Τεχνική, *Vivlioamphiastes* 1 (1999) 20, 46, 48.

<sup>457</sup> See K. HOULIS, A research on structural elements of Byzantine Bookbindings, in M. MANIACI – P. F. MUNAFÒ (eds), *Ancient and Medieval Book Materials and Techniques (Studi e Testi, 357-358)*, Città del Vaticano 1993, 247-249 (and pl. 5, C2).

<sup>458</sup> S. KOTZABASSI, *Βυζαντινὰ χειρόγραφα ἀπὸ τὰ μοναστήρια τῆς Μικρᾶς Ἀσίας*, Ephesus: Athens 2004, pp. 36-38 (and plate 7).

<sup>459</sup> V. D. LIKHACHEVA, *Vizantijskaja miniatjura: Pamjatniki vizantijskoj miniatjuri IV-XV vekov v sobranijakh Sovjetskogo Sojuza*, Moscow 1988, 18-21. It was copied in Constantinople (see KAVRUS-HOFFMANN, 301, and note 61).

<sup>460</sup> KAVRUS-HOFFMANN, 296-302 and plate 3. The codex is dated on the basis of its Easter tables, running from 1084 to 1101.

<sup>461</sup> LAKE X, p. 18 and plate 756; it was copied in Constantinople, at the monastery of Chora.

<sup>462</sup> See PAPADOPOULOS - KERAMEUS, *Τεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 2, pp. 384-388 (plate in non-numbered folio between pp. 384 and 385).

<sup>463</sup> P. CANART – S. LUCÀ (eds.), *Codici Graeci dell' Italia meridionale*, Roma 2000, p. 97 (including plate); the codex is a *Menaion* of January, copied in the monastery of Grottaferrata.

<sup>464</sup> CANART – LUCA, *Codici Graeci...*, p. 98 (including plate); the codex is a *Menaion* of October, copied in the monastery of Grottaferrata.

<sup>465</sup> See C. N. CONSTANTINIDES – R. BROWNING, *Dated Greek manuscripts from Cyprus to the year 1570*, [Dumbarton Oaks studies; 30] Washington, D.C. - Nicosia 1993, pp. 74-81 + pl. 11.

<sup>466</sup> CANART – LUCA, *Codici Graeci...*, pp. 101-102 (including plate in p. 101); the codex is a *Menaion* 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.<sup>469</sup>.

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»<sup>470</sup>. The close relationship between L and codex *Hierosolymitanus Sabaiticus* 70, the latter produced in Constantinople, point to the same direction.

#### CODEX *HIEROSOLYMITANUS SABAITICUS* 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 *Menaion* for June, possessed at some stage by the monastery of Christ the *Akataleptos* in Constantinople, as its colophon states: «βιβλίον τοῦ Σωτήρος τοῦ Ακαταλήπτου»<sup>471</sup>. It is not clear whether it was produced within the monastery of *Akataleptos*<sup>472</sup>. A. Papadopoulos – Kerameus, who examined the manuscript, noted that it has the structure of the “ancient *Menaia*”<sup>473</sup>.

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 κα(νών) φέ(ρων) ἀκρ(οσ)τ(ι)χ(ίδα).

<sup>467</sup> See PAPAPOPOULOS - KERAMEUS, *Τεροσολυμιτική Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 1, pp. 384-388 (two plates in non-numbered folia between pp. 64 and 65).

<sup>468</sup> See G. WOLFRAM (ed.), *Sticherarium Antiquum Vindobonense. Codex theol. Gr. 136 Bibliothecae Nationalis Austriae phototypice depictus. Pars Principalis*, Vindobonae 1987.

<sup>469</sup> See KAVRUS - HOFFMANN, 294.

<sup>470</sup> 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.

<sup>471</sup> PAPAPOPOULOS - KERAMEUS, *Τεροσολυμιτική Βιβλιοθήκη*, 118. On the monastery of Christ the *Akataleptos* see JANIN, *Églises*, 504-506.













<sup>472</sup> ..... 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).

<sup>473</sup> See A. PAPAPOPOULOS - KERAMEUS, *Τεροσολυμιτική Βιβλιοθήκη, ἤτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἀγιοτάτου ἀποστολικοῦ τε καὶ καθολικοῦ ὀρθοδόξου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Τεροσολύμων καὶ πάσης 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* ()], *πρός* ()], *ἤχος* ()], *στιχηρά* ()], *ὁμοιον* ()], and similar for *θεοτοκίον* ( in L and  in H], the same symbol for the *triadika troparia* ()], one of the same abbreviations for *καὶ* ()], the same abbreviation for the names of Joseph and Theophanes ( and ; 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 ()]. 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 *kanonárches* 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* (*διατοῦτο*), and others of L not found in H, such as the accent on *κανῶν* for *κανών* and the breathing on *ἀῖρεσις* for *ἄρσεις*, placing a *circumflex* instead of an *acute* on *ει* 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 Loukillianos, Sts Nikandros and Markianos, St Methodios, Patriarch of Constantinople, St Hypatios of Rouphinianai, St Zosimos, Sts Innas, Pinnas and Rimmas, St Ioulianos, St Zenon and Zenas, and St Ioseph 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 Ioseph 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)<sup>474</sup>, the translation of relics of St Theodore the Sykeotes (June 16, unpublished)<sup>475</sup>, 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 Onouphrios L has two *kanons* while H has only one; this applies also for the *akolouthiai* on St Nikephoros, St Loukillianos, 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 Rimmas 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

<sup>474</sup> See PAPAPOPOULOS - KERAMEUS, *Τεροσολυμιτική Βιβλιοθήκη*, 122, and PAPAIOPOULOU, *Ταμείον*, 218, nr 667.

<sup>475</sup> See PAPAPOPOULOS - KERAMEUS, *Τεροσολυμιτική Βιβλιοθήκη*, 123, and PAPAIOPOULOU, *Ταμείον*, 219, nr 670.

L), St Ioulianos, St Hypatios and St Ioseph and his fellow martyrs. In the *akolouthiai* on St Loukillianos, 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<sup>476</sup>

**A** = codex *Alexandrinus Patr.* 114: *Menaion* for June; AD 1342; paper; 189 fols.; 270x195 mm; one column; 20 lines per page on the examined ff.; examined through microfilm<sup>477</sup>. 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<sup>478</sup>. 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 Loukillianos (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 *exaposteilarion* is copied. A contains three unpublished *stichera* on Loukillianos, 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 fols.; 300x210 mm; one column; 41-42 lines per page; examined *in situ*<sup>479</sup>. 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

<sup>476</sup> The following description of the contents of the manuscripts does not include *theotokia* and *staurotheotokia* that in some manuscripts follow *stichera*, *kathismata* and/or *doxastika*.

<sup>477</sup> See TH. MOSCHONAS, *Πατριαρχεῖον Ἀλεξανδρείας. Κατάλογοι τῆς Πατριαρχικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης. Τόμος Α'. Χειρόγραφα*, Alexandria 1945 [second edition 1965, University of Utah Press], p. 77; TH. MICHELOPOULOU, *Λειτουργικά χειρόγραφα 14ου αἰ. τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἀλεξανδρείας*, in A. KOLLIA-DERMITZAKI – T. MANIATI-KOKKINI (eds.), *Β' Συνάντηση Βυζαντινολόγων Ἑλλάδος καὶ Κύπρου. Πανεπιστήμιο Ἀθηνῶν 24-26 Σεπτεμβρίου 1999. Εἰσηγήσεις - Ἐρευνητικὰ προγράμματα. Περιλήψεις ἀνακοινώσεων*, Athens 2000, pp. 184-186.

<sup>478</sup> On Zotikos see VOGEL – GARDTHAUSEN, 127. TH. MICHELOPOULOU, *Λειτουργικά χειρόγραφα 14ου αἰ.*, 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.

<sup>479</sup> I. SAKELLION – A. I. SAKELLION, *Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, Athens 1892, p. 109.

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 Ἐκέκραξα*, 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 *exaposteilaria*, while the one on St Methodios one *exaposteilarion* and a *doxastikon* sung at *Stichos*.

**Ba** = codex *Atheniensis Bibl. Nat.* 562: *Menaion* for June and July; 16th c.; parchment; 117 fols.; 310x220 mm; two columns; 48-51 lines per page; examined *in situ*<sup>480</sup>. 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<sup>481</sup> 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): *Menaion* 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<sup>482</sup>. It is copied in the 13th c., probably by Leontios<sup>483</sup>. 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 Ἐκέκραξα*, 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

<sup>480</sup> SAKELLION - SAKELLION, *Κατάλογος*, 110.

<sup>481</sup> On which see JANIN, *Églises*, 515-523, and *ODB*, III, 1575.

<sup>482</sup> See E. LAPPA-ZIZIKA – M. RIZOU-COUROUPOU, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs du Musée Benaki (10e-16e s.)*, Athènes 1991, pp. 125-127, and particularly 125. See also B. K. STEFANIDIS, *Οἱ κώδικες τῆς Ἀνδριανουπόλεως*, *BZ* 14 (1905) 608; E. LAPPA-ZIZIKAS, *Les manuscrits du Fonds des échangeables du Musée Benaki d’Athènes: Provenance et identification*, *Scriptorium* 31 (1977) 298; A. TSELIKAS, *Δέκα αἰῶνες ἑλληνικῆς γραφῆς (9ος-19ος αἰ.)*, Benaki Museum: Athens 1977, p. 29.

<sup>483</sup> See LAPPA-ZIZIKA – RIZOU-COUROUPOU, *Catalogue*, 127.

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 *Athonensis Dionysiou* 406: *Menaion* of June and July; 14<sup>th</sup> c.; paper; 294 fols.; two columns; 33 lines per page on the examined folios; examined through microfilm<sup>484</sup>. 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 Ἐκέκραξα*, 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 *Athonensis Dionysiou* 420: *Menaion* for June; 15<sup>th</sup> c.; paper; (?) fols.; one column; 20 lines per page on the examined folios; examined through microfilm<sup>485</sup>. 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 (*Κα νόνα πίστεως*). 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 *Athonensis Philotheou* 26: *Menaion* for June; 12<sup>th</sup> c.; parchment; 203 fols.; one column; 26 lines per page on the examined folios; examined through microfilm<sup>486</sup>. 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 (*Κα νόνα πίστεως*). 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 *Athonensis Philotheou* 30: *Menaion* for June; 12<sup>th</sup> c.; parchment; 209 fols.; one column; 24 lines per page on the examined folios; examined through

<sup>484</sup> See LAMPROS I, 423.

<sup>485</sup> See LAMPROS I, 423.

<sup>486</sup> See LAMPROS I, 152.

microfilm<sup>487</sup>. 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 *akolouthiai* 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 *exaposteilaria* on both saints and a *doxastikon* on St Methodios sung at *Stichos of Orthros*.

**Fb** = codex *Athonensis Philotheou* 35: *Menaion* for June; 12<sup>th</sup> c.; parchment; 169 fols.; one column; 31 lines per page on the examined folios; examined through microfilm<sup>488</sup>. The text of the *Menaion* is followed by *stichera theotokia* sung when the *akolouthia* of the saint(s) includes the performance of *Alleluia*. Of the *akolouthiai* 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 πιστεωϛ*). 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 *exaposteilaria* on both saints and a *doxastikon* on St Methodios sung at *Stichos of Orthros*.

**G** = codex *Athonensis Laurae* Δ 45: *Menaion* for March through August (ff. 1r-?), followed by *Psalterion* (ff. 182r-?), *Triodion* (ff. 204r-?), *Pentekostarion* (ff. 316r-?), *Oktoechos* (ff. 345r-?), *Exaposteilaria* and *Doxastika Eothina* (ff. 363r-?), and Gospel reading at *Orthros* (ff. 364r-?); 11<sup>th</sup> c.; parchment; 364 fols.; 330x230 mm; two columns; 68-70 lines per page on the examined folios; mutilated in the beginning; examined through microfilm<sup>489</sup>. Of the *akolouthiai* edited below G contains the one on the martyr Loukillianos (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 *Athonensis Laurae* Δ 5: *Menaion* for May and June; 13<sup>th</sup> 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. The

<sup>487</sup> See LAMPROS I, 153.

<sup>488</sup> See LAMPROS I, 153.

<sup>489</sup> See SPYRIDON - EUSTRATIADIS, 57.

codex is briefly described by Spyridon Lauriotis and S. Eustratiadis, who noted that it contains some *kanons* not found in the *Menaia*<sup>490</sup>. 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 *Athonensis Laurae* Δ 7: *Menaion* for May and June; 13<sup>th</sup> c.; parchment; 137 fols.; 230x170 mm; one column; 23 lines per page on the examined folios; mutilated in beginning and ending; examined through microfilm<sup>491</sup>. 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 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. The *akolouthia* closes with *exaposteilaria* on both saints and a *doxastikon* on Methodios sung at *Stichos* of *Orthros*.

**Gc** = codex *Athonensis Laurae* 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<sup>492</sup>. The manuscript is copied in 1426 by Philotheos, as the colophon at its end witnesses: «Ἐτελειώθη ἐν ἔτει ,CΠΔδ' ἰουνίου κ' ἰνδικτιῶνος δ' ἡμέρα ε' θεοῦ χάριτι καὶ χειρὶ Φιλοθέου. Δόξα σοι ἁγία τριάς ἕνεκα πάντων ἀμῆν»<sup>493</sup>. 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 ἔνσαρκος ἄγγελος*) and 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

<sup>490</sup> See SPYRIDON - EUSTRATIADIS, 53.

<sup>491</sup> See SPYRIDON - EUSTRATIADIS, 53.

<sup>492</sup> See SPYRIDON - EUSTRATIADIS, 139.

<sup>493</sup> 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<sup>494</sup>. The manuscript is copied in 1435 by the monk Moses, as the colophon at its end confirms: «Ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἐν ἔτει ϚϞδμγ Ἰνδ. γ' διὰ συνδρομῆς καὶ ἐξόδου τοῦ τιμιωτάτου κυρίου Μελετίου καὶ διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ τοῦ παναθλίου Μωϋσέως μοναχοῦ»<sup>495</sup>. It contains the *akolouthia* on St Methodios, celebrated together with the prophet Elissaios (ff. 234r-237v). 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 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; 15<sup>th</sup> c.; paper; 279 fols.; 210x120 mm; mutilated in beginning and ending<sup>496</sup>. 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<sup>497</sup>. 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); 12<sup>th</sup> c.; parchment; 227 fols.; 255x185 mm; one column; 33-37 lines per page; justification 180x120; examined through microfilm<sup>498</sup>. 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 Iveron* 800: *Menaion* for June; 15<sup>th</sup> c.; paper; (?) fols.; two columns; 36 lines per page on the folios examined; mutilated in the ending; examined through microfilm<sup>499</sup>. 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

<sup>494</sup> See SPYRIDON - EUSTRATIADIS, 362.

<sup>495</sup> On the monk Moses see VOGEL – GARDTHAUSEN, 326, where one more manuscript of his is listed (codex *Athonensis Laurae* E 189, *Menaion* of January and February, funded also by Meletios).

<sup>496</sup> See SPYRIDON-EUSTRATIADIS, 154.

<sup>497</sup> PAPAILIOPOULOU, *Ταμείον*, 218, notes that the *kanon* is copied on ff. 104r-112v.

<sup>498</sup> PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Τεροσολυμιτική Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 2, 129-131.

<sup>499</sup> 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 *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 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 *exaposteilaria* on both saints and a *doxastikon* on St Methodios sung at *Stichos of Orthros*.

**Ia** = codex Athonensis Iveron 857: *Menaion* for June; 15<sup>th</sup> c.; paper; 307 fols.; one column; 20 lines per page on the folios examined; mutilated in beginning and ending; examined through microfilm<sup>500</sup>. The manuscript contains five of the *akolouthiai* edited below, those on St Ioustinos (ff. 1r-11r; beginning mutilated; inc.: ]+μoς+ ὁθεν ἡ ἀμνὰς καὶ παρθένος τοῦτον ἐν σταυρῶ θεωροῦσα λύπησ τῆ ρομφαία ἐπιπρώσκειτο [=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 Rouphinianai (ff. 165r-177r), the martyrs Innas, Pinnas and Rimmas 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. *Exaposteilaria* and *prosomoia* sung at *Ainoi* close the *akolouthiai*.

**K** = codex Athonensis Panteleimonos 80: *Menaion* for June; 13<sup>th</sup> c.; parchment; 172 fols.; 234x182 mm; one column; 24 lines per page on the examined folios; examined through microfilm<sup>501</sup>. The manuscript contains the *akolouthia* on St Methodios, celebrated together with the prophet Elissaios (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 *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. The *akolouthia* closes with *exaposteilaria* 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<sup>502</sup>. According to its colophon, preserved on f. 574v, it is copied in 1498 by the monk Kyrillos from Nafpaktos: «Τῶ Θεῶ πρέπει δόξα ἐν ἔτει ,ζνζ´ ινδ. ζης μηνί, Ὀκτωβρίου ις´ (=1498). Κυρίλλου

<sup>500</sup> See LAMPROS II, 231.

<sup>501</sup> See LAMPROS II, 290.

<sup>502</sup> See LAMPROS II, 418.



*Ναυπακτίου, μοναχοῦ*»<sup>503</sup>. 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 Ἐκέκραξα*, 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 ἔνσαρκος ἄγγελος) and 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. The *akolouthia* closes with *exaposteilaria* on both saints and a *doxastikon* on St Methodios sung at *Stichos of Orthros*.

**La** = codex *Lesbiacus Leimonos* 183: *Menaion* for June; 17<sup>th</sup> c.; paper; 215 fols.; 215x155 mm; one column; 20 lines per page; justification 140x95 mm; examined in situ<sup>504</sup>. 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 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 one 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. The *akolouthia* closes with *exaposteilaria* on both saints and a *doxastikon* on St Methodios sung at *Stichos of Orthros*. La contains also a *kathisma* on St Loukillianos (f. 11v; Text 3, vv. 7-17).

**M** = codex *Meteorensis Metamorphoseos* 150: *Menaion* for May (ff. 1r-59v?), June (ff. 60r-117v?), July (ff. 118r-177v?) and August (ff. 178r-234v?); 12<sup>th</sup> 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<sup>505</sup>. The manuscript has been donated to the monastery by the priest Nikandros, who composed in a 15<sup>th</sup>-century script the following note on f. 234v: † ἀρχ(ήν) τοῦ στήλου τα βηβλήα· τὰ ἡφέρα ἐγῶ / ὁ παπᾶσ νήκανδρ(ος)· τετραβάγγελον· πρα/ξαπόστολων· μινέων· δ' μινῶν ωκτοηχι / στι<sup>xx</sup>ράρ(ιν), τυπικόν, πατερηκόν· ἀναγνωστικ(ῶν) / τρηῶδον, ἐκλογάδον μινέων C' μίνον. Of the *akolouthiai* edited below M contains the one on the martyrs Innas, Pinnas and Rimmas, which occupies ff. 90v?-94v?.

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

<sup>503</sup> On the monk Kyrillos see VOGEL – GARDTHAUSEN, 238-239, where twelve more manuscript copied by him are listed; nine of them are *Menaia*.

<sup>504</sup> See PAPAPOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Μαυρογορδάτειος Βιβλιοθήκη*, 102, where the following description is given: «Τεῦχος χαρτῶον εἰς 8ον (0,215x0.15) τῆς IZ' ἑκατ. Ἐλλείπει τὸ τέλος. Μηναιῶν Ἰουνίου».

<sup>505</sup> See N. A. BEES, *Les manuscrits des Météores. Catalogue descriptif des manuscrits conservés dans les monastères des Météores (Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετεώρων. Κατάλογος περιγραφικὸς τῶν χειρογράφων κωδίκων τῶν ἀποκειμένων εἰς τὰς μονὰς τῶν Μετεώρων ἐκδιδόμενος ἐκ τῶν καταλοίπων Νίκου Α. Βέη)*, vol. I, Athènes 1967, pp. 173-174.

(ff. 215r-467v?); 15<sup>th</sup> c.; paper; 482 fols.; 220x130 mm; one column; 24 lines per page on the examined folios; examined through microfilm<sup>506</sup>. 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<sup>507</sup>). The *akolouthia* begins with *stichera* on both saints sung at *Κύριε Ἐκέκραξα*, 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; 15<sup>th</sup> 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<sup>508</sup>. It is copied by Ignatios Kastanomytis, who composed a colophon on f. 306r: «*Ἡ παροῦσα τετέλεσται βιβλος ταῖς οἰκειαῖς χερσὶ τοῦ γράψαντος Ἰγνατίου τὸ ἐπόνυμον καὶ τῆ ἐπικλήσει τοῦ Καστανομήτι*». 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 *Oxonensis Bodleianus graecus liturgicus* e 6: *Menaion* for June; 16<sup>th</sup> 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<sup>509</sup>. 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*<sup>510</sup>. 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,

<sup>506</sup> See EUSTRATIADIS - ARKADIOS, 193.

<sup>507</sup> Note that there is an unnumbered folio between ff. 315 and 316.

<sup>508</sup> See EUSTRATIADIS - ARKADIOS, 194-195.

<sup>509</sup> See B. CROSTINI LAPPIN, A catalogue of Greek Manuscripts acquired by the Bodleian Library since 1916 excluding those from Holkham Hall, Bodleian Library: University of Oxford, 2003, pp. 95-108 (plate in p. 94).

<sup>510</sup> 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; EFSTRATIADIS, *Αγιολόγιον*, 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 *exapostelion* [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; 12<sup>th</sup> c.; parchment; 221 fols.; one column; 57-62 lines per page; examined through microfilm<sup>511</sup>. 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; 13<sup>th</sup> 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; 14<sup>th</sup> c.; parchment; 196 fols.; 32-34 lines per page on the examined folios; examined through microfilm<sup>512</sup>.

<sup>511</sup> See H. OMONT, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris et des Départements*, vol. II, Paris 1888, p. 98; see also F. HALKIN, *Manuscrits Grecs de Paris. Inventaire Hagiographique*, Brussels 1968, p. 215.

<sup>512</sup> 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; 14<sup>th</sup> c.; parchment; 75 fols.; 40-41 lines per page on the examined folios; examined through microfilm<sup>513</sup>. Pc contains the *akolouthia* on St Methodios, celebrated together with the prophet Elissaios (ff. 33v-37r). It begins with an *apolytikion* (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 ἀκολουθ(ία) ζήτ(ει) μαῖω· λᾶ».

**Pd** = codex *Parisinus graecus* 345: *Menaion* for June; 15<sup>th</sup> c.; paper; 265 fols.; 21 lines per page on the examined folios; examined through microfilm<sup>514</sup>. 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 Ἐκέκραξα, followed by *doxastikon* on St Elissaios, and a *sticheron* on Methodios sung at *Stichos* of *Hesperinos*, followed by *doxastikon* and *apolytikion* (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; 15<sup>th</sup> 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<sup>515</sup>. 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)<sup>516</sup>. 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 Baprist on the island of Sozopolis, who also rebound it, as witnessed by two notes he composed<sup>517</sup>. The main scribe employs many abbreviations and makes a good number of spelling

<sup>513</sup> See OMONT, *Inventaire sommaire*, 97.

<sup>514</sup> See OMONT, *Inventaire sommaire*, 35.

<sup>515</sup> See Bishop ATHENAGORAS, Περιγραφικός κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς ἐν νήσῳ Χάλκῃ Ἱερῶς Μονῆς τῆς Παναγίας, *EEBS* 10 (1933) 282-284, and particularly 282-283.

<sup>516</sup> See ATHENAGORAS, Περιγραφικός κατάλογος, 283.

<sup>517</sup> See ATHENAGORAS, Περιγραφικός κατάλογος, 283-284.

mistakes. Q contains the *akolouthia* on St Ioustinos (ff. 1r-5r). It consists of *stichera* sung at *Κύριε Ἐκέκραξα*, *kanon*, interrupted by *kathismata* after the third ode, and *exaposteilarion*.

**R** = codex *Cryptensis* 385: *Anthologion* for March through August, including *synaxaria*; 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> c.; paper; 245 fols.; 296x207 mm; two columns; 34-35 lines per page<sup>518</sup>. 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; 10<sup>th</sup> 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<sup>519</sup>. 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: 13<sup>th</sup> 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*<sup>520</sup>. 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 *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 πίστεως*). 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 *exaposteilaria* on both saints and *doxastikon* on St Methodios sung at *Stichos* of *Orthros*.

**Sb** = codex *Sinaiticus graecus* 630: *Menaion* for June, July and August; 13<sup>th</sup> c.; parchment; 198 fols.; two columns; 320x225-235 mm; 41-43 lines per page on the examined folios; examined through microfilm<sup>521</sup>. It contains two of the *akolouthiai*

<sup>518</sup> See M. PETTA, *Codici criptensi greci provenienti da San Demetrio Corone*, in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, Vol. iii, Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1964 [=Studi e testi, 233], p. 192.

<sup>519</sup> 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*).

<sup>520</sup> See GARDTHAUSEN, 549; KAMIL, 93.

<sup>521</sup> See GARDTHAUSEN, 146; KAMIL, 97 (note that he presents the manuscript wrongly as *Menologion*).

edited below, those on the martyr Loukillianos (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<sup>522</sup>. It is copied by Nikolaos Litard[is], who composed the following colophon: «Ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἐν ἔτει ,C,DC,β´ δια χειρὸς ἐμοῦ Νικολάου τοῦ κατὰ κόσμον λιταρδ´»<sup>523</sup>. 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<sup>524</sup>. It is copied in 1523, according to the colophon at its end: «,αφκγ´ ἀπριλλίου ιθ». 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 πίστεως*). 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<sup>525</sup>. It preserves the following colophon at the end of November: «τέλος εἴληφε μηνὸς τοῦ Νοεμβρίου ,αφλθ». The scribe makes a good number of spelling mistakes. Se transmits one of the *akolouthiai* edited below, that on the martyr Loukillianos, 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; 13<sup>th</sup> c.;

<sup>522</sup> See GARDTHAUSEN, 147-148; KAMIL, 97 (he presents it wrongly as *Menologion*).

<sup>523</sup> See VOGEL - GARDTHAUSEN, 350.

<sup>524</sup> See GARDTHAUSEN, 148; KAMIL, 98.

<sup>525</sup> 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<sup>526</sup>. The manuscript is copied by the priest Attaleiotes as the colophon on f. 138r witnesses: «λ μὴν /...χεσθαι / ὑπερ εμου / κυ ἱερέως.../ αταληωτου/ ἀμὴν»<sup>527</sup>. 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); 14<sup>th</sup> c.; parchment; 229 fols.; 315x225 mm; two columns; 43-45 lines per page; examined through microfilm<sup>528</sup>. The scribe makes a good number of spelling mistakes, not important for the transmission of the text. R. Devreesse noted that special attention should be paid to the celebration of the martyrs Orestes, Diomedes and Rhodion and the martyr Zosimos<sup>529</sup>. 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; 16<sup>th</sup> c.; paper; III+236 fols.; 205x150 mm; 20-25 lines per page; examined through microfilm<sup>530</sup>. 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 *exaposteilarion* 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. *Exaposteilarion* 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),

<sup>526</sup> See *Codices Manuscripti Graeci Reginae Svecorum et Pii pp. II Bibliothecae Vaticanae, descripti Praeside I. B. Cardinali PITRA episcopo Portuensi S. R. E. Bibliothecario, Recensuit et digessit HENRICUS STEVENSON senior eiusdem Bibliothecae Scriptor, Romae. Ex Typographeo Vaticano, MDCCCLXXXVIII (1888)*, pp. 52-53.

<sup>527</sup> PITRA, *Codices Manuscripti Graeci*, 53. On Attaleiotes see VOGEL – GARDTHAUSEN, 47.

<sup>528</sup> See R. DEVREESSE, *Codices Vaticani Graeci. Tomus III. Codices 604-866*, In *Bibliotheca Vaticana* 1950, pp. 304-305.

<sup>529</sup> See DEVREESSE, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, 304.

<sup>530</sup> See C. GIANELLI, *Codices Vaticani Graeci. Codices 1485-1683*, In *Bybliothea Vaticana* 1950, pp. 148-149.

April (ff. 29r-56v), May (ff. 57r-81v), June (ff. 82r-109v), July (ff. 110r-143v) and August (ff. 144r-180v); 13<sup>th</sup> c. (second half; ff. 181-184 15<sup>th</sup> 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. Kresten have described the manuscript in detail<sup>531</sup>. The text of the *Menaia* is followed by *kanon* (ff. 181r-183v) and an encomium on Theotokos (f. 184r) copied in the 15<sup>th</sup> 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<sup>532</sup>— 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

<sup>531</sup> See H. HUNGER – O. KRESTEN, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Teil 3/1. Codices theologici 1-100*, Wien 1976, pp. 57-64 (with relevant bibliography). The manuscript is briefly described by C. VAN DER VORST – H. DELEHAYE, *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Graecorum Germaniae, Belgii, Angliae*, Brussels, 1913 (Impression anastatique 1968), p. 4, who dated it in the 12<sup>th</sup> c.

<sup>532</sup> See K. KRUMBACHER, *Ιστορία τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Λογοτεχνίας*, (original title: *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Literatur*, München 1897), Transl. G. Sotiriadis, vol. II, [Athens: Papyros 1939], p. 699, and KAZHDAN, *Literature*, 269-270.



CBQIa with St Ioustinus 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) CBQIa represent the later version of *Menaia*, where *kathismata* 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 διὰ σοῦ υἰοθεσίας τυχόν θεονύμφευτε L : Γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ σοῦ υἰοθεσίας τυχόν ἅπαν πάναγνε Ia : Ἄπαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ σοῦ υἰοθεσίας τυχόν γένος πάναγνε CBQ), 242-244 (Ἔθρησεν εἰς χάος ἀφανές τὸν ὠθήσαντα ἐχθρὸν τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν τοὺς ἀρχηγούς ἐν τῇ Ἐδέμ L : Σώζει με ὠθῶν εἰς ἀφανές τὸν ὠθήσαντα χάος τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν CBQ, Ἔθρησαντα σώζει με ὠθῶν εἰς ἀφανές τὸν ὠθήσαντα χάος τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν Ia), 247 (καὶ τοὺς πεσόντας L : τοὺς γὰρ πεσόντας CBQIa), 258 (ἔδειξεν L : ἔνδοξε CBQIa), 382 (μάρτυς L : om. CBQIa), 394 (ἔνωσιν L : ἔνστασιν CBQIa) and 409 (Ἔλην τῶν παρόντων δέσποινα L : Ἔλην πάσαν δεσποινα Ia : Ἄπαν τὸ ὑλῶδες δέσποινα CBQ). There are also three cases where they clearly offer a better reading than L, in vv. 163 (ἰουστῖνος τῆς ἐκκλησίας L : τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἰουστῖνος CBQIa), 214 (εὐρωστίας CBQIa : εὐρωστίαν L), 309 (Λύμην L : Λοίμην CBQIa); 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 δεδοξασμένος 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 (νοουμένης κοινωνοὶ καὶ ἀθανασίας LCBQ : om. Ia).

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

B and Q transmit an *exaposteilarion* not copied in LCIA (Appendix I, vv. 40-48), and present common variants in vv. 72 (θεῶ BQ : χριστῶ C), 327 (Νόμους LCIA : Νόμω BQ) and 373 (ἀγνή LCIA : 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<sup>533</sup> 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 : πόνοις Ha : πόνις V), 447 (νοσήματα LH : τὰ νοσσήματα Ha : τανοσσήματα V), 554 (ὄσμῃ H : ὄσμῃ L : ὡς μὴ Ha : ὡς μὲ V), 596 (τῶ θεῶ 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 LHV (vv. 503-509, 531-544) and has distinctive errors in vv. 42 (τῶ πάντων δεσπότη HV : τῶν πάντων δεσπότην Ha), 565 (σε LH : σου Ha), 602 (ὡς LH : om. Ha), 608 (ἡμῶν LHV : ἡμῖν 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 (βοῶμεν σοι HHa : βοήσωμεν V), 53 (Ἄτταλε HHa : μάρτιρα V), 536 (σῶν δωρεῶν LH : δωρεῶν 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 (ξηρὰν HHa : ζωὴν 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 (καὶ πρὸ θανῆς μακάριε Ha : καὶ προθανῆς μακάριε L : καὶ προφανῆς μακάριε V : καὶ προθανάτου ὅσιε H), 505-509 (ἐν ταπεινώσει ψυχῆς ὁσίως διέλαμψας καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἐν πίστει σοι προσιόντας, μάκαρ, θεραπεύεις θεία

<sup>533</sup> Let it be noted that even though the title of the *akolouthia* in V reads *Μηνὴ Ἰουδίω προτι του αγίου μαρτ(υρος) ιουστινου*, the manuscript transmits the *akolouthia* on St Attalos and no *akolouthia* on St Ioustinos.

χάριτι LV : φυγαδευτῆς πονηρῶν πνευμάτων γεγένησαι καὶ φωστήρ ἀκοίμητος καὶ θαυμάτων βρούσις, ἀξιάγαστε πατήρ ἡμῶν 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 Loukillianos** (Text 3; ms tradition: LHGSbPaVSeVb; vv. 12-22 in O).

All manuscripts celebrate St Loukillianos 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 *Menaia*. L transmits a double *akolouthia*, the collation of which with the rest of the manuscripts and the printed *Menaion* 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 *kathismata* 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 (ἀρρεύστως LG : ἀρεύστως HA : ἀρρήτως SbPaVSeVb), 244 (ἀκαταφλέκτως LHGA : ἀκαταφλέκτους 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 ὄντως LG : τὴν ἄνω 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 (καταπέμψαι τῇ οἰκουμένη· ὁμονοίας εἰρήνην καὶ μέγα ἔλεος H : καταπέμψαι· ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν διὰ σοῦ τὸ μέγα ἔλεος L), 97 (τὸν cett. : πρὸς H), 139 (τοῖς αὐτοῦ 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 ἀσωμάτων ἀγγέλων συνόμιλε cett. : om. A), 329 (ξηραίνουσα cett. : ξηραίνοντα A); therefore it is also impossible that it was the exemplar of the other manuscripts.

(5) SbPaSeVb present common errors in vv. 294-295 (τοῦ δολίου ἐχρημάτισας cett. : ἐχρημάτισας στερρότατα SbPaSeVb), 312-313 (τὸν ὠραῖον τοῦ cett. : ὠραιότατον SbPaSeVb); therefore they derive from a common ancestor.

Vb transmits an *oikos* and an *exaposteilarion* 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. : εἰδωλοικὴν ἐβδελίξω Vb), 113 (προσενήνεξαι cett. : προσενήνοχας Vb), 128 (ἐν καθέδρα μὲν cett. : ἐκκαθέδραμε Vb), 205 (Λουκιλλιανὸν cett. : λουκιανὸν τε Vb) and 243 (μέλλοντας cett. : πάντωτε Vb).

(6) PaSbSe present a common variation in vv. 102 (πανόλβιε cett. : πολύαθλε PaSbSe) and for this reason it is possible to suspect that they derive from a common ancestor. Each one of these manuscript 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 (εὐλογεῖτε cett. : καὶ ἐβόας Pa).

Sb has a distinctive reading in vv. 254-255 (τῶν μαρτύρων θεὸς μάρτυρες ἔνδοξοι LHGPAAVb : τῶν πατέρων θεός, καὶ ὑπερένδοξος SbV : τῶν πατέρων θεός ἔνδοξοι 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 (δυσσέβειαν cett. : ἀσέβειαν Se), 145 (ἰᾶσθαι καὶ cett. : ἰάσασθαι Se), 100 (μεγαλοφώνως cett. : μεγαλοφρόνως Se), 185 (ὑμνοῦντας cett. : ἀννυμοῦντας Se), 330 (ἀρδεύουσα cett. : ἐφραίνουσα 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 (στερροὺς cett. : χωροὺς V) and 128 (Λοιμῶν, Λοιμῶν, Λοιμὸν cett. : Λιμὸν 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 have 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 (τῆ ὁμολογία LSBa : τῆς ὁμολογίας WJaO).

(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 (θεοῦ LSIaBa : χριστοῦ WO), 298 (ἐκ σοῦ πάναγνε LSBa : εξοῦ πάναγνε Ia : παμμακάριστε WO), 300 (θεομήτορα κυρίως σε LSIaBa : τὸν δοξάσαντά σε κύριον W : τὸν δοξάσαντά σε κύριε O), 304 (καὶ νοητῶς ἐνεούργησας L : καὶ ἐκαινοποίησας SBa : καὶ ταύτην ἀνέωσας Ia : θεΐαις ἀναβάσεσιν W : θεΐαις ἀναβάσεσι O), 310 (καὶ κατέσκαψας LSIaBa : κατέσκαψας τοὺς W : κατέσκαψας δὲ O), 324 (διὰ σοῦ καὶ τῆς φθορᾶς LSIaBa : καὶ τῆς φθορᾶς διὰ σοῦ WO), 341 (εἰς αὐτὸν LSIa : τῶν αὐτῶν Ba : εἰς τοῦτον WO), 358 (ἀσιγήτως καὶ κράζομεν L : καὶ ἀσιγήτως κράζομεν S : καὶ ἀσιγήτως κραυγάζομεν Ia : καὶ ἀσίγητα κράζομεν Ba : ἀσιγήτος κραυγάζοντες W : ἀσιγήτως κραυγάζοντες O).

W could not be the exemplar either of O or of any of the other manuscripts, as it has distinctive errors in vv. 10 (πάτερ cett. : om. W), 246 (θεόννυμφε cett. : θεώσεως W), 256 (καὶ ἀνθρώπους διέσωσας cett. : ἀνθρώπους καὶ διέσωσας W), 274 (ἐχθρὸν cett. : ἐχθρῶν W), 311 (Δωρόθεε ἀθεότητος LSO : πάτερ ἀθεότητος Ba : τοὺς τῆς ἀθεότητος W : ἀθέων δωρέθεε Ia), 312 (καὶ πύργοις ἐτείχισας LSOBa : καὶ πύργον ἐτείχισας Ia : καὶ πύργος ἀκλόνητος W), 317 (εἰς cett. : πρὸς W), 326 (θεὸς cett. : θεῶ W), 327 (πανάγων cett. : χριστὲ πανάγων W), 357 (προστρέχομεν βοῶντες cett. : προστρέχοντες βοῶμεν 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, σοφέ, ἡῦνασας LSWBa : ἐπιτιμῶν, σοφέ, ἴθυνας Ia : ἐπιτιμῶν ἡῦνασας σοφέ 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 adduced another exemplar, from which he copied an *exaposteilarion* not copied in the rest of the manuscripts (Appendix IV, vv. 6-14).

(4) Ia also includes an *exaposteilarion* 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 (ἀναδέδεικται cett. : ἀναδέδειξαι Ia), 245-246 (Γνώσεως ἐπληρώθη θεϊκῆς τὰ σύμπαντα, θεόννυμφε cett. : Γνώσιν τοῦ παρακλήτου· θεϊκῆς χρηστότητος τὰ σύμπαντα Ia), 253 (Ἐκλυσας ἰδρῶσι(ν) cett. : Ἐλυσας ἰδρῶτι Ia), 258 (ἡῦνασας cett. : ἴθυνας Ia), 268 (ἀπέπαυσεν cett. : ἀπέλασεν Ia), 311 (Δωρόθεε ἀθεότητος LSO : πάτερ ἀθεότητος Ba : τοὺς τῆς ἀθεότητος W : ἀθέων δωρέθεε Ia), 364 (τῶν ἀρετῶν cett. : τῶν νοερῶν Ia), 373-377 (Χαρίτων σε ἐνθέων οἶκον, ἱεράρχα, ὁ δωροδότης Χριστὸς ἀπειργάσατο, ἐξ οὗ [ἐξ ὧν WBaO] πλουτίζει ἀνθρώπους τὰ θεῖα δόγματα cett. : Χαρίτωσον ἐνθέως οἶκον, ἱεράρχα, τὸν σὸν ἐνῶ οἱ πιστοὶ καταφεύγομεν τῶν ἰαμάτων ἀντλοῦμεν, ἄφθονα νάματα Ia), 383 (Ὡς κλίμακα ἀγῶνας cett. : Ὡς κλῆμα σε ἀγνεΐας 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 ἐνεούργησας L : καὶ ἐκαινοποίησας SBa : καὶ ταύτην

ἀνέωσας Ia : θείαις ἀναβάσειν W : θείαις ἀναβάσει O), 367 (καταυγάζων LWIaO : καταυγάζαν SBa), 358 (ἀσιγήτως και κράζομεν L : και ἀσιγήτως κράζομεν S : και ἀσίγητα κράζομεν Ba : και ἀσιγήτως κραυγάζομεν Ia : ἀσιγήτος κραυγάζοντες W : ασιγήτως κραυγάζοντες O); therefore it is possible that they derive from a common ancestor.

S has its own exemplar as we may conclude from its distinctive errors in vv. 240 (ἐν cett. : τῷ S), and especially 334 (και ἐβόας Χριστῶ τῷ Θεῶ cett. : και ἀπαύστως ἐκραύγαζες S).

Ba has distinctive errors in vv. 13 (μάκαρ cett. : πάτερ Ba), 260 (ἀνθρώπους ἐγκαθώρμησας cett. : τούς ἀνθρώπους καθώρμησας Ba), 278 (θεοδόξαστε LSIa : θεοδόξασθε W : θεοδόξασται O : θεονύμφεντε Ba), 311 (Δωρόθεε ἀθεότητος LSO : πάτερ ἀθεότητος Ba : τοῦς τῆς ἀθεότητος W : ἀθέων δωρέθεε Ia), 316 (πᾶσαν cett. : πάντα Ba), 332 (ψυχῇ δὲ νεαζούση cett. : την ψυχὴν δὲ ἀκμαῖος Ba), 341 (εἰς cett. : τῶν Ba), 346 (ἐν τῇ σῆ cett. : τῇ ἐν σοὶ Ba). It is also influenced by the branch of WIaO in vv. 342 (και ἐβόας Χριστῶ τῷ Θεῶ LS : και ἀπαύστως ἐκραύγαζες WIaOBa), 240 (ισαγγέλως LSIa : ισάγγελος WOBa), 242 (θησαυρίσας πάτερ LSIa : πάτερ θησαυρίσας WOBa), 307 (και πόθω θείω γεραίρομεν LSIa : και γεραίρομεν ἐν ἄσμασι WOBa), (ἀρετὰς LSIa : ἀρετῆς WOBa), 252 (πίστει LSO : πίστιν WIaBa).

(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 (ἐαυτῶ L : σε αὐτῶ Ia : τῇ αὐτοῦ WBa : ἐαυτοῦ S : τὴν αὐτοῦ O), 271 (πλουτιζόμεθα L : πλουτιζόμενοι SIAOBa : πλουτιζόμενον W?), 276 (ἐνεργοῦντα : συνεργοῦντα cett.) and 309 (κατέπτυσας L : κατέπαυσας cett.). It presents only two common reading with the branch of WIaO in v. 280 (ἀννυνοῦντες τὴν θείαν σου κύησιν LWIaO : ἀννυνοῦντες παρθένη ὃν ἐκύησας S : ἀννυνοῦντες κόρη ὃν ἐκύησας Ba), and 259 (θείους πρὸς LWO : πρὸς θείους SIABa).

### **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 (αἰωνίαν : αἰώνιον H), 338 (Ἰσταντο : Ἰστασο H), 394-396 (ὡς δύο ὑπάρχοντας φωταυγεῖς ἀστέρας ἐν αἰνέσει μακαρίζομεν L : ὡς δύο ὑπάρχοντες φωταυγεῖς ἀστέρας ἐν αἰνέσει 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 (ἐκκληρώσασθε : ἐκκληρώσασθαι L) and 419 (ὠκειώθητε : οἰκειώθητε 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* H, *κατακράτος* L, *λαμπροτάταις* O; and v. 75 : *ἐκτελοῦντες πανηγυρίζομεν* LH, *ἐκτελοῦμεν πανηγυρίζοντες* O); therefore it may have its own exemplar.

**St Methodios, Patriarch of Constantinople** (Text 14; ms tradition: LHPFFaFbCWPa GaKGbSaBDPcGcGdGeNNaPdDaIKaScSdRVbLa; 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 Elissaios 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 *Menaia*; most of the manuscripts include also *theotokia* after *kathismata*, the *apolytikion* 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  $\alpha$ . 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  $\alpha$  (except for CB) transmit an *exapostelaron* (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 Elissaios (see the apparatus of Text 14, vv. 36, 39, 40, 46) which most probably means that  $\alpha$  included not only the *akolouthia* on St Methodios but that on the prophet Elissaios too.

(2) FFaFbKGbSaDGcGdScNNaPdDaISdKaLa have common readings in vv. 335-335 (*ὡς θώρακα δὲ πίστιν περιβαλλόμενος* [or *περιβαλλόμενος*] : *ὡς θώρακα τὴν πίστιν περιεβάλου καὶ cett.*), 359 (*συμπνίγουσα ζιζάνια* : *ζιζάνια συμπνίγοντα* H : *ζιζάνια πνίγουσα* CB : *ζιζάνια ξηραίνουσα* Pc : *ζιζάνια συμπνίγουσα cett.*), 392 (*θράσος* [or *θράσος*] : *θραύσει* Vb : *θραύσας* W : *θραῦσιν cett.*), 406 (*τοῦ πνεύματος* : *τῷ πνεύματι cett.*), 411 (*ὄμβρον* : *νόμον cett.*), 431 (*τὸν ποταμὸν* : *τῷ γλυκασμῷ* PPa : *τὸν γλυκασμὸν cett.*), 433 (*πάτερ τούτου* : *πάτερ τιούτον* La : *τούτου πάτερ cett.*), 460 (*καὶ νῦν ἀστραπτόμενος* : *καὶ νοῦν ἀστράπησ μένον* Vb : *καὶ νοῦν ἀστραπτόμενον cett.*), 501 (*ὡς ὄντας κληρονόμους* : *ὡς ὄντα κληρονόμον cett.*); therefore they derive from a common ancestor.

(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  $\alpha$  share another third *sticheron*, edited in Appendix V, vv. 83-94), (c) they share distinctive readings, such as in vv. 338 (*ἀνδρείως* CB : *παμμάκαρ* cett.), 346 (*καταρδεύον* CB : *καταρδεύων* cett.), 359 (see previous paragraph), 365 (*μετέβης* CB : *μετετέθης* W : *μετέστης* cett.), 380 (*ἡμῖν* cett. : om. CB), 387 (*ᾠφθης ἀοίδιμε* CB : *ᾠφθης Μεθόδιε* cett.), 390 (*τῶν αἰρέσεων* CB : *τῆς αἰρέσεως* cett.), 402 (*διέλυσας* CB : *ἀπέλιπες* Pc : *διέφυγες* cett.), 491 (*σοφῶν* CB : *σεπτῶν* cett.).

(4) FFaGbSaDGdNNaDaI have in v. 12 a common reading not shared by the other manuscripts (*Φοβερὸς ὡς* : *Φαεινὸς ὡς* LHPFbCPaGaBPcVb : *Φωταυγῆς ὡς* KPdScSdLa : *Φωτοφόρος* GcKa : om. CBW); therefore they derive from a common ancestor.

(5) KPdScSdLa share a reading not exhibited in the other manuscripts, in v. 12 [*Φωταυγῆς 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. : *πέφηνας* GcKa); therefore they have their own hyparchetype.

(7) The other main branch of the tradition, consists of the codices LHPWPaGaPcVb.

LHPPaGaPcVb (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 *stichera* (Appendix V, vv. 95-124), and they present distinctive readings in vv. 371 (*ξεόμενος* PPa : *Μεθόδιε* cett.), 388 (*Συναθλήσας τοῖς ἀθληταῖς* PPa : *Σειρομάστη τῷ νοητῷ* cett.), 374 (*τῆ πλάνη* PPa : *τῷ μίσει* CBVb : *τῷ μύσει* cett.), 391 (*ὄσιε* PPa : *ἔστησας* cett.), 411 (*εὐσεβῶς* PPa : *ἀψευδῶς* cett.), 431 (*τῷ γλυκασμῷ* PPa : *τὸν γλυκασμὸν* and *τὸν ποταμὸν* cett.), 436 (*τιμῶσα* PPa : *τιμᾶσθαι* cett.), 485 (*πιστοὶ* PPa : *χριστὸν* Sc : *χριστὲ* La : *εἰς πάντα* cett.), 489 (*ἀληθείας* PPa : *ἐκκλησίας* 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 (*σου* cett. : *αὐτοῦ* P), 456 (*ἀστράπτεις* cett. : *ἀστραπῆς* Pa), 482 (*χριστοῦ* cett. : *χριστὸν* Vb : om Pa), and Appendix V, vv. 105 (*πληρωμένος* P : *πεπλησμένος* Pa), 122 (*ἐκ σοῦ* P : *ἐξ οὗ* 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 φθορᾶς λυτρωθῆναι καὶ κινδύνων τοὺς ἐν πίστει ἐκτελοῦντας τὴν ἀεισέβαστον μνήμην σου* GaVbO : *ἐκ φθορᾶς λυτρωθῆναι τοὺς ἐν*



πίστει ἐκτελοῦντάς σου τὴν μνήμην καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης κακώσεως LPWPaPc), 136 (ἔνδοξε LPWPaPc : ὄσιε HGaVbO); thus, they derive from a common ancestor.

H has distinctive readings in vv. 131-133 (ἐκ φθορᾶς λυτρωθῆναι τοὺς ἐν πίστει ἐκτελοῦντας τὴν ἀεισέβαστον μνήμην σου H), 359 [see above, point (2)], 419 (Λυτρούμενος H : Λύτρωσαι ταῖς WVb : Λυτροῦσαι 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 ἄχραντον cett. : τὴν ἄχραντον μαρίαν Vb), 397 (πύλην Vb : μόνην La : πάλιν cett.), 466 (μηχανήμασι cett. : τοῖς κρούσμασι 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. : θεῖε Pc : om. Vb), 392 (θραύσει Vb : θραῦσιν, θράσος, θράσος, θραύσας 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 (λυτρωθῆναι τοὺς ἐν πίστει ἀννυνοῦντας σου τὴν μνήμην τὴν ἀεισέβαστον ἔνδοξε Pc), 139 (Μεθόδιε LHPWPaGaVb : μακάριε Pc), 144 (ἀννυνοῦντας LPWPa : ἐκτελοῦντας HGaPcVb and probably O), 339 (θεῖε Pc : πάτερ cett. : om. Vb), 355 (Μεθόδιε cett. : θεσπέσιε Pc), 359 [see above, point (2)], 402 (ἀπέλιπες Pc : διέλυσας CB : διέφυγες cett.), 463 (διὸ εὐφημοῦμεν σε Pc : διὸ ἀννυνοῦμεν σε W : διὸ σε εὐφημοῦμεν cett.) and 487 (ἔδειξε Pc : ἀνέδειξε 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 (Πτερωθεὶς ἐν τῇ πίστει τῇ εἰς Χριστὸν...) and it presents distinctive errors in vv. 354 (Ομβροτοκοῦσα cett. : Ως ὀβροτόκος W), 365 (μετετέθης W : μετέβης CB : μετέστης cett.), 433 (πάντοτε W : βλασφήμων Da : πάνσοφε cett.), 453 (τὸ ἔμπυρον πόλεμον W : τὴν ἔμπυρον κάμινον cett.), 463 (διὸ ἀννυνοῦμεν σε W : διὸ εὐφημοῦμεν σε Pc : διὸ σε 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 (ἵκετεύων τοῦ σῶσαι καὶ φωτίσαι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν L : ἵκετεύων ἀπαύστως τοῦ

σωθῆναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν PaSb), 370 (χάριν L : χύσιν PaSb), 398 (ἀντεστρατεύσω L : ἀντεστρατεύσας Pa : ἀντεστράτευσας Sb), 402 (Ἀναβλύζεις L : Αναβλύζων PaSb), 414 (χωρήσασα L : χωρέσασα PaSb), 416 (Χριστὸν δυσώπει L : δυσώπει Χριστὸν PaSb), 424 (δόξης κατέπτυσας L : κατέπτυσας δόξης PaSb), 433-434 (θεόφρον ὡς L : θεοφρόνως PaSb), 436 (οἰκήσαν L : οἰκήσας PaSb), 443 (ῥαντισμῶ L : φωτισμῶ PaSb), 456 (ἀγήρω L : ἀγείρου Pa : ἀγήρου Sb), 469 (λατρεύομεν L : λατρεύω Pa : λατρεύων Sb), 504 (ἐθνῶν L : ἐχθρῶν PaSb), 527 (βοῶσιν L : ἐκβοῶσιν PaSb), 532 (ἐν Πνεύματι 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 σὺν τάγμασι PaSb : μέλπειν συντάγματι L), 457 (σαφῶς PaSb : σοφῶς L), 458 (σοι PaSb : σου L), 547 (δέδεξαι PaSb : δέξαι L) and 548 (ιατρεύειν PaSb : 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 (Χριστοῦ LSb : om. Pa), 102-106 (καὶ προσιόντων ἐν τῷ σεπτῷ σου ναῶ· σὲ γὰρ προστάτην ἀκαταίσχυντον κεκτημένοι βοῶμεν, πανόλβιε· ἐκ φθορᾶς καὶ κινδύνων ἐλευθέρωσον τοὺς δούλους σου LSb : τὴν πανσεβάσμιον κοίμησιν· ἐκ πάσης πλάνης τοῦ ἀλλοτριῶν· λυτρωθῆναι τοὺς δούλους σου Pa), 110 (τῆς LSb : om. Pa), 353 (τοῦ θείου LSb : θείου τοῦ Pa), 396 (Ρωμαλαία τῆ ψυχῆ L : Ῥωμαλαία τῆς ψυχῆς Pa : Ρωμαλέω τῆς ψυχῆς Sb), 445 (ὑπερλόγον ἀχράντου L : ὑπὲρ λόγον ἀχράντου Sb : τὴν ὑπὲρ λόγον ἀχράντως Pa), 460 (ἰᾶσαι LSb : ἰασαι 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 (βοῶμεν LPa : om. Sb), but also vv. 396 (see previous paragraph), 494 (ῶ Pa : ὦ L : ὄν Sb), 498 (ὁ ἄχρονος LPa : ἄχρονος Sb), 511 (διέρρηξας LPa : ἔρρηξας Sb), 513 (πύργος LPa : ὡς πύργος Sb), 524 (πελάγη LPa : πελάγει Sb) and 576 (σαφῶς LPa : σοφέ 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 Rousphinianai 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 *staurotheotokion* 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 πόθω A) and in vv. 142 (κτίσαντος LPbO : κτίστου σου A), 157-158 (τὴν τῶν παρόντων στοργὴν καὶ μόνον ποθεῖν παρεσκεύασεν LPbO : τὴν τῶν παθῶν ἔφλεξας κάμινον ἰσχύει τοῦ πνεύματος A), 165 (κράτιστον LPbO : σύμμαχον κράτιστον A), 175-176 (διὸ καὶ τοὺς διώκτας σου λόγοις καὶ τῇ θεᾷ κατέπληξας LPbO : διὸ καὶ ἐκραύγαζες· δόξα τῇ δυνάμει σου <Κύριε> A), 181-182 (καὶ τύραννον φρύαγμα ἀσθενὲς τοῖς πᾶσιν ὑπέδειξας LPbO : καὶ ψάλλων ἐκραύγαζες· δόξα τῇ δυνάμει σου, Κύριε A), 205 (χαμαίζηλα κατέλιπες LPbO : ὡς οὐδὲν λελόγισαι A), 207 (τῶ ποιητῇ τῆς κτίσεως LPbO : τῶ τὰ πάντα ποιήσαντι A), 215 (οὐδόλως κατεσείσθητε LPbO : ἀσάλευτοι ἐμείνατε A), 232 (ἐναπλάστω ψυχῇ διεδείκνυτε L : ἐν ἀπλέτῳ ψυχῇ ἀπεδείκνυσθε A : ἐναπλάστω ψυχῇ ἐδεικνύετε Pb : ἐναπλάστω ψυχῇ διεδείκνυτε O), 249-250 (τῆς σῆς, ἐξ ἧς αἰεὶ ἀρετῶν ἀκτῖνες ἐπέλαμπον LPbO : εὐλογημένος εἶ ἐν τῷ ναῶ τῆς δόξης σου, Κύριε A), 254-256 (καὶ ἀλόγιστον ἀπέδειξαν καὶ ἀληθέστατον τὸ τῆς πίστεως κήρυγμα ἔδειξαν LPbO : καὶ ἐν πίστει ἀνεκραύγαζον· εὐλογημένος εἶ ἐν τῷ ναῶ τῆς δόξης σου, Κύριε A), 262 (καὶ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτὴν ἐνιδρύσατε LPbO : τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐνδιαπρέποντες A), 274-275 (διὸ παρίδες τὰ ἐκτὸς πάντα καὶ ἔμμελτες LPbO : καὶ ἔμμελῶδες τῷ χριστῷ· ἐν καθαρῷ λογισμῷ A), 284 (τῷ δυναμοῦντι χριστῷ LPbO : τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων θεῷ A), 308 (συνεργεῖα LPbO : συνεργάτα A), 316 (χαρίτων LPbO : ναμάτων A), 319 (ταῦτα L : ταύτας PbO : πάσας A), 324 (εὐεργέτα LPbO : ὦ χριστέ μου 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 δαιμόνων LO : τῶν γενναίων APb), 328 (διαφύλαξον LO : πάντας φύλαξον A : ταύτης φύλαξον Pb), 253 (συνεργεῖα LAO : συμμαχία Pb), 290 (σὺν τοῖς LAO : om. Pb) and 324 (στέφος LAO : στέφανος Pb).

L has its own distinctive variations in vv. 141 (ἐν L : om APbO), 164 (μυριάσιν L : μυριάσιν σὺν APbO), 307 (τούτων APbO : τοῦτον 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 γῆ LAPb : ψυχῇ O), 274 (ἐκτὸς 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 καταυγάζουσιν L : καταφωτίζουσιν SO), 95 (προφανεῖς L : προφανῶς SO), 102

(*φάλαγξιν* 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: LHSIa).

LHS celebrate St Hypatios on June 17, together with Sts Manuel, Savel and Ishmael, while Ia commemorates him the previous day, together with St Tychon 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* (*Ἰωσήφ* in marg. LSH : om. Ia) and in vv. 339 (*ταύτην* LSH : om. Ia), 344 (*τὰ πέρατα* LSH : *τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν* Ia), 348-349 (*ἀγίασμα ᾧφθης καὶ ἀκτίνων χωρητικός, θεοφόρε, τοῦ πνεύματος* LSH : *θεράπων ἐδείχθης καὶ δοχείον τοῦ παναγίου ἀοίδιμε πνεύματος* Ia), 354 (*πανύμνητε* LSH : *θεόνυμφε* Ia), 386 (*καμίνους* LSH : *φαρέτρας* Ia), 421 (*ἄλλος ὡς* LH : *ὡς ἄλλος* S : *ὡς πάλε* Ia), 425 (*κόσμον* LSH : *κόσμον* Ia), 447 (*μάκαρ* LSH : *πάσιν* Ia), 455-456 (*καὶ διδοὺς ὁδεύειν πρὸς ἀπαθείας τοὺς λιμένας* LSH : om Ia), 478 (*καὶ σωτήριος τροφή πενομένων* LSH : om Ia), 486 (*τὴν ζωὴν* LSH : *τὸν θεὸν* Ia), 493 (*κατέκλυσας* LSH : *ἀνέβλυσας* Ia), 523 (*ὄλωσ* LH : *ὄλος* S : *ὄλον* Ia), 527-528 (*ἄγγελον θεοῦ περιφρουροῦντα σε* LSH : *ἄγγελος θεοῦ περιφρουροῦντας σε* Ia), 536 (*Ἵπάτιε* LSH : *ὑπέμεινας* Ia), 547 (*εὐκλεῆς ὀμήγυρις* LSH : *ἡ φαιδρά πανήγυρις* Ia), 595 (*ἤρθης* LSH : *ἤλθες* Ia), 595 (*τελειώσεως* LSH : *τελειότητος* Ia), 599 (*τῶν πόνων σου* 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 *exaposteilarion* 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 (*ἄλλος ὡς* LH : *ὡς ἄλλος* S : *ὡς πάλε* Ia), 492 (*ὄμβροις* LH : *ὄμβρους* S Ia), (*πάλην* LH : *πάλιν* S Ia), 535 (*τὴν περιβολὴν* LH : *τὴν τε προβολὴν* S : *τὴν τε πρὸςβολὴν* Ia); therefore they may derive from a common ancestor.

This is strengthened by the fact that S presents distinctive errors in vv. 354 (*ὁμολογοῦμεν* LHIa : *ὑμολογοῦμεν* S), 395 (*σκοτόμαιναν* LHIa : *σκοτόμησαν* S), 423 (*ἐθεράπευσας* LHIa : *ἐθεράπευες* S), 453 (*κατευνάζων* LHIa : *καταυγάζων* S), 459 (*γενεῶν ἐκ πασῶν* LHIa : *ἐκ πασῶν γενεῶν* S), 529 (*μεθ' οὗ ἐβόας, πάτερ* LHIa : *μεθῶν βοᾶς, ἀπαύστως* 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 (*ταῖς ὀμηγύρεσι* SH : *τὴν θείαν ὄντως ζωὴν* L), 116 (*σελασφόροις ἀκτίσι* SH : *ἀρετῶν δαδουχίαις* L), 340 (*πόθου* SHIa : *φόβου* L), 371 (*γείτονα* SH : *χειῶνα* L). H presents its distinctive errors in vv. 361 (*τὴν γῆν* LS : *πηγὴν* H), 389 (*ἐν θεῷ* LSIa : *ἐνθέω* H), 405 (*πρὸς τοῦ σωτήρος γὰρ*

χάριν LS1a : πρὸς τοῦ πατρὸς γὰρ τὴν χάριν H), 411 (ὁ μόνος ἅγιος LS1a : μόνος ὁ ἅγιος H), 377 (εὐράμενος S : εὐράμενος L : εὐρόμενος H : ode 2 omitted in Ia), 449 (πονηρὰν τῶν δαιμόνων LS1a : τῶν δαιμόνων πονηρὰν H), 487 (τούτους LS1a : τοὺς σοὺς H), 511 (ἡμῶν LS1a : βῶν H).

**St Zosimos** (Text 19; ms tradition: LHPVVa).

LH celebrate St Zosimos on June 19, PVVa the next day. The saint is celebrated alone in LPVVa and together with the Apostle Judas in H. HPVVa 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 τοῦ πονηροῦ συμπατοῦντα ἀνδρείῳ φρονήματι LH : τὴν γύμνωσιν τῶν δυσσεβῶν στηλιτεύων τοῖς λόγοις σου, ἔνδοξε PVVa); 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 HP : ἐν σῇ Va : σοῦ ἐν γῆ V).

(2) P is older than V and Va and it presents just an error (v. 27: ἐν HVVa : 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 Va; see for example in vv. 13 (νεκρωθεῖς HPVa : om. V), 31 (σοῖς αἵμασι HPVa : σοὶ σώμασιν V), 112 (Ἐνεύρου σε LHPVa : Ἐνεύρωσεν V). All these could be coincidental mistakes of the scribe 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 HPV : καὶ τέρασι πάντοτε Va), 55 (πανάμωμε HPV : πανεύφημε Va), 61 (ἠκίζετο HPV : αἰκίζεται Va), 63 (τοὺς αἰκισμὸς HPV : τοῖς αἰκισμοῖς Va), 73 (θεώσαντος LHPV : λυτρώσαντος Va), 156 (χώρα LHPV : χαῖρε Va), 201 (Ζώσιμε LHPV : ἄγιε Va). There is also a case where Va transmits a better reading than the other manuscripts, in v. 81 (τὸν κρατύνοντά με καὶ ῥωννύοντα Va : τῷ κρατύνοντί με καὶ ῥωννύοντι LHPV).

**Sts Innas, Pinnas and Rimmas** (Text 20; ms tradition: LHM1a; 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).

(1) 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 : *περιβαλόμενοι* H), and better readings in vv. 31 (*ἐδέξασθε* : *ἐπλέξασθε* L), 83 (*λύοντες* : *λύονται* L), 93 (*ὠκειώθητε* : *οἰκειώθητε* L), 120 (*νευρούμενοι* H : *ἐνούμενοι* L) and 164 (*κτίστην* : *κτίστιν* 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 (*τῶ Χριστῶ* : om. H) and 177 (*θεῖαν* : *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* LIa : *περιβαλόμενοι* H), 62 (*τῶ Χριστῶ* LIa : om. H), 103-104 (*τὴν ὑφήλιον φωτὸς πληρώσας ἀεί* H : *τὴν ἀσέβειαν θεομακάριστοι* LIa), 120 (*νευρούμενοι* H : *ἐνούμενοι* LIa).

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 θέρμη* LH : *καὶ τῇ θέρμη πάσης* Ia), 217 (*συνεκόψατε* LH : *διεκόψατε* Ia), 241-243 (*ἠγρεύσατε βοῶντες· παῖδες ὑπερυψοῦτε Χριστὸν τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας* LH : *ἠγρεύσατε σὺν τούτοις· ψάλλοντες καὶ ὑμνοῦντες αὐτόν, θεῖοι μάρτυρες, θεὸν ἀπάντων* Ia), 264 (*ἀξιάγαστοι* LH : *ἀξιάγαστε* Ia) and 271 (*ἀθλοφόρον* LH : *θεοφόρον* Ia). In two other passages Ia stands between L and H, in vv. 3 (*τῶν ἀγίων πολῖται* L : *τῶν ἀγγέλων πολῖται* H : *τῶν ἀγγέλων πολήτην* Ia) and 159 (*οὐράνιος* L : *οὐδὲ οὐράνιος* H : *οουκου(ρά)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: LHIa).

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 *kathismata* 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 προέφη : ὡσπερ ἔφη H), 188 (προεξένησεν : προσεξένησεν H), 225 (δὲ σαυτὸν : σεαυτὸν H), 256 (ταῖς τῶν : τῶν τῶν H), 271 (σάκκω : λάκκω H) and 300 (περιστάσεων : παραπτώσεων H), while H gives better readings in vv. 123 (γεγένησαι : γεγέννησαι L), 192 (μετήρχου : κατεῖρχου L) and 247 (θαυμάτων : αἰμάτων L).

(2) Ia 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 LH : διήνυσας Ia), 46-47 (διὸ ἐν πίστει προστρέχομεν σοῦ τῆ σκέπη βοῶντες, πανόλβιε LH : διὸ κ(ύρι)ον ὑπὲρ πάντων ἡμῶν πρεσβεύων μὴ παύση ὑπὲρ πάντων ἡμῶν Ia), 150 (ἐμείωσας LH : ἀπήλασας Ia), 256 (καὶ ταῖς LH : καὶ ταφοῖς Ia). Let it be also noted that Ia 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 H, which are a century or more older than V, they are celebrated together with St Agrippina; V contains only the *akolouthia* on Sts Zenon and Zenas, while L and H 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 θεοῦ· τοὺς ἄνθρακας), not followed by L and H (τῆς ἀπάτης, παμμάκαρ, τοὺς ἄνθρακας), which suggests that V is not copied from L or H, even though the reading in v. 542 (τὰ ἅγια HV : μακάριοι L) shows that it derives from the same branch of the manuscript tradition as H.

(2) The reading of v. 542, as well as three omissions in L (of the words κλοιοῖς 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 H (the name is given in the margin of both manuscripts) lead us to the conclusion that H was not the exemplar of L either, unless we accept that the scribe of L was enough careless to write μακάριοι instead of τὰ ἅγια 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. H) and in vv. 505 (κρατυνόμενον : κρατυνόμενος H), 533 (ἐξείλατο : ἐξείλετο H) and 552 (μακαρίζοντος : μακαρίζοντας H). H transmits better readings in vv. 72 (βάρει : βάρη L), 73 (ἐξηρνήσασθε : ἐξηρνήσασθαι L), 370 (ὦν : ἐν L), 385 (ὑμνοῦντά σε : ὑμνοῦντάς σε L), 398 (συνθλῶν : συναθλῶν L), 424 (ἐπαίνοις : ἐπαίνους L), 472 (ὡς : om. L), 476 (ζηνᾶ : ζηνᾶς L), 478 (τείναντα : τείνοντα L), 481 (δυναμούμενον : δυναμούμενος L), 486 (στεφάνοις : στεφάνους L), 503 (διατείνει : διατείνας L), 525 (βαρντάτως : βαρντάτοις 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 (Θαλάσση : Θαλάσσης H), 375 (μετέστητε : μετέβητε H), 393 (κατάκεινται : κατάκειται H), 432 (τῆ πυρᾶ : τὴν πυρὰν H), 455 (Ἰαμα : Ἰάματα H), 483 (ἀπεδείκνυσο : ἀπεδείκνυτο H). H gives better readings in vv. 360 (ἐξενεύρισας : ἐξερένισας L), 372 (ἄγιοι : ὄσιοι L), 433 (ὀβρυζότερος : εὐρυζότερος L), 490 (παρέθεσθε : παρέθεσθαι L), 525 (καταυγάζον : καταυγάζων L), 532 (ἀσκήσεσιν : αἰκίσεσιν 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 *exaposteilaria* 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*, *exaposteilarion*) 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, ᾠδή, ἦχος, πλάγιος, θεοτοκίον, ἀκροστιχίς*.

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<sup>534</sup>. 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 *diplē stigmē* (") often used in L is tacitly omitted, while the similar sign of *diaresis* in L is regularly used in the edition. Prepositional phrases given in L as one word (*ἐναγῶσιν, ὑπερνοῦν, ὑπεροῦ, διεὺσπλαγχνίαν* 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.

<sup>534</sup> It should be noted here that some modern scholars have questioned the traditional method of adjustment of punctuation to modern usage; see J. A. MUNITIZ (ed.), *Nicephori Blemmydae Autobiographia sive curriculum vitae nencon epistula universalior*, Turnhout: Brepols 1984, xlvii-xlviii; J. NORET, Quand donc rendrons-nous à quantité d'indéfinis prétendument enclitiques, l'accent qui leur revient?, *Byzantion* 57 (1987) 191-195; J. NORET, Notes de ponctuation et d'accentuation byzantines, *Byzantion* 65 (1995) 69-88.

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<sup>2</sup>, 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, 18ff; more examples in *The Life of the Patriarch Tarasios by Ignatios the Deacon* (BHG 1698), ed. S. EFTHYMIADIS, 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 *Μή[ν Ιούνιος...]*. The initial X comes most probably from the *kathisma* *Χριστοῦ ὑπεραθλήσας...* (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 σφαγὴν ἤχθη καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἐναντίον τοῦ κείραντος αὐτὸν ἄφωνος*; Isaias 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. GOODSPEED, *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, *Υμνογραφία* I, 316).

**173.** *Ῥώμην*: An indirect reference to Rome (in Greek *Ῥώμη*) where St Ioustinos martyred. Word plays (*λογοπαίγνια*) were commonly used in poetic and hymnographical works: see KORAKIDIS, *Υμνογραφία* I, 267-268. Cf. below, **197-199**.

**190.** *Ξένη τῆ φωνῆ θεολογήσας*. The word *φωνῆ* refers not only to the Greek and

Latin language used by the Syrian Ioustinos in his teaching, but also to the use of philosophical methods in teaching theology. See in general W. JAEGER, *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia*, Cambridge, Mass, 1961.

**197-199.** τὰς κεφαλὰς 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 Ἕλληνας is used here to denote the pagan Romans. The term Ἕλληνας was used in the Old and New Testament and later in Byzantine patristic literature to denote pagans.

**284.** The word κατέαξας 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, ἰθύων). One of the three must be replaced by a verb, most probably ἀπολύων.

**382.** Ἰουστίνε, 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 panegyric 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.** δοξάσαι τοὺς ἀγῶνας: St Attalos is not a martyr. This expression glorifying his struggles is a hymnographical *topos*. On *agon* (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: Τελεῖται δὲ ἡ αὐτοῦ σύναξις ἐν τῷ σεπτῷ ἀποστολείῳ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ πανευφήμεων ἀποστόλων τῶν μεγάλων, ἔνθα τὸ τίμιον 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: *Χαίροις ὁ ἱεράρχης Χριστοῦ ὁ καταπτύσας...*, *Χαίροις ἡ ἱερά κεφαλὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας...*, *Χαίροις ὁ ἱερώτατος νοῦς ὁ ἀπὸ 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 Ἐκέκραξα*. 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, *Ἑμνογραφία* I, 267-268).

**238-243.** +Μὴ διαιροῦντες+ ... / πανάμωμε Δέσποινα: The following *theotokion* is published in the *Menaion*: *Μὴ διαιροῦντες τὰ ἠνωμένα μηδὲ συγχέοντες, ἓνα τὸν Χριστὸν δοξάζομεν τὸν ἐκ σοῦ σαρκωθέντα Λόγον κράζοντες· εὐλογημένη σὺ 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 *Menaion*, 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 ΦΣΝΙΑΔΠΠΥΝ.

**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<sup>2</sup>, pp. 55-57; FEIDAS, 793-794; ODB, 1477. The hymnographer uses here a word play with the name of the emperor (see KORAKIDIS, *Ἑμνογραφία* 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 *Menaia* (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):

Pa	<i>Synaxarium</i> EC	<i>Menaion</i>
Οὗτος ὁ ἅγιος μάρτυς	Οὗτος ὁ ἅγιος μάρτυς	Οὗτος ὁ ἅγιος

<p>Λουκιλλιανός ἦν κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Ἀύρηλιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἱερεὺς τῶν εἰδώλων πόλεως Νικομηδείας.</p> <p>Μετατεθείς δὲ πρὸς τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν καὶ προσαχθεὶς Σιλβανῶ τῷ κόμητι καὶ μὴ πεισθεὶς ἀρνήσασθαι τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ</p> <p>τὴν προτέραν ἐλέσθαι θρησκείαν, θλάται τὰς σιαγόνας καὶ τύπτεται ῥάβδοις καὶ κατὰ κεφαλῆς κρεμνᾶται· εἶτα βληθεὶς ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ, κάκεϊ παιδία τέσσαρα διὰ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν τεθέντα εὐρών, μετ' αὐτῶν αὐθις τῷ κόμητι ἐμφανίζεται. ...</p>	<p>Λουκιλλιανός ἦν κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Ἀύρηλιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως, πρότερον ἱερεὺς τῶν εἰδώλων ὑπάρχων, τὴν οἴκησιν ἔχων οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως Νικομηδείας, γηραιὸς τὴν ἡλικίαν.</p> <p>Μεταβληθεὶς &lt;δὲ&gt; πρὸς τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν, καὶ προσαχθεὶς Σιλβανῶ τῷ κόμητι, καὶ μὴ πεισθεὶς ἀρνήσασθαι τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ</p> <p>τὴν προτέραν ἀνελέσθαι θρησκείαν, θλάται τὰς σιαγόνας καὶ τύπτεται ῥάβδοις καὶ κατὰ κεφαλῆς κρεμᾶται· εἶτα εἰσαχθεὶς ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ, κάκεϊ τέσσαρα παιδία προστεθέντα διὰ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν εὐρών, μετ' αὐτῶν αὐθις τῷ κόμητι ἐμφανίζεται. ...</p>	<p>Λουκιλλιανός ἦν κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Ἀύρηλιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἱερεὺς τῶν εἰδώλων πρότερον, γηραιὸς τὴν ἡλικίαν, καὶ τὴν τρίχα λευκός, τὴν οἴκησιν ἔχων οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως Νικομηδείας.</p> <p>Μετατεθείς δὲ πρὸς τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν, καὶ προσαχθεὶς Λιβανίῳ τῷ ἄρχοντι, καὶ μὴ πεισθεὶς ἀρνήσασθαι τὸν Χριστὸν, καὶ</p> <p>τὴν προτέραν ἐλέσθαι θρησκείαν, θλάττεται τὰς σιαγόνας, καὶ τύπτεται ῥάβδοις, καὶ κατὰ κεφαλῆς κρεμᾶται. Εἶτα βληθεὶς ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ, κάκεϊσε παιδία τέσσαρα, διὰ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν τεθέντα, εὐρών, μετ' αὐτῶν αὐθις τῷ κόμητι ἐμφανίζεται. ...</p>
<p>... ὁ δὲ ἅγιος Λουκιλλιανός ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ ἀναρτηθεὶς καὶ καθ' ὅλου τοῦ σώματος καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων μορίων καθηλωθεὶς τῷ Θεῷ παρέθετο τὴν ψυχὴν ...</p>	<p>... ὁ δὲ ἅγιος Λουκιλλιανός ἐν σταυρῷ ἀναρτηθεὶς καὶ καθ' ὅλου τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων μορίων καθηλωθεὶς τῷ Θεῷ παρέθετο τὴν ψυχὴν ...</p>	<p>... ὁ δὲ ἅγιος Λουκιλλιανός σταυρῷ ἀναρτηθεὶς, τῷ Θεῷ παρέθετο τὴν ψυχὴν ...</p>
<p>... τοὺς ὑπὲρ χριστοῦ πάσχοντας θεραπεύειν καὶ διατρέφειν. ...</p>	<p>... τοὺς ὑπὲρ χριστοῦ πάσχοντας θεραπεύειν καὶ διατρέφειν. ...</p>	<p>... τοὺς ὑπὲρ χριστοῦ πάσχοντας θεραπεύειν, καὶ ἰατρεύειν, καὶ διατρέφειν. ...</p>
<p>... ταῖς ἐπιφοραῖς τῶν πληγῶν τὸ σῶμα</p>	<p>... ταῖς ἐπιφοραῖς τῶν πληγῶν τὸ σῶμα</p>	<p>... ταῖς ἐπιφοραῖς τῶν πληγῶν τὸ σῶμα</p>

διαλυθεισα ...	διαλυθεισα ...	διαλωβηθεισα ...
	<p>Τελεῖται δὲ ἡ αὐτῶν  σύναξις ἐν τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ  αὐτῶν μαρτυρείῳ, τῷ ὄντι  πλησίον τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ  ἀρχιστρατήγου Μιχαήλ  ἐν τῇ Ὁξειᾷ.</p>	<p>Τελεῖται δὲ ἡ αὐτῶν  σύναξις ἐν τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ  αὐτῶν μαρτυρείῳ, τῷ ὄντι  πλησίον τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ  ἀρχγγέλου Μιχαήλ ἐν τῇ  Ὁξειᾷ (νῆσος δὲ αὕτη τῆς  Κωνσταντινου-πόλεως,  ἔρημος ἤδη).</p>

**339.** *μεγαλοφρόνως*: Although the reading *μεγαλοφώνως* is included in all the manuscripts except H, *μεγαλοφρόνως* is preferred for palaeographical and hymnographical reasons. H is generally a more trustworthy manuscript. Furthermore, the word *μεγαλοφώνως* is usually connected with verbs such as *ψάλλειν*, *κραυγάζειν*, *εὐφήμειν* (see for example AHG II, XXX, 126-128 and XXXIII, 144-145; AHG III, I (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): *Τέτοκακ ἀπειράνδρωκ, θεοτόκε, τὸν πλάστην τῆκ φύσεωκ καὶ μετὰ τόκον παρθένωκ ἐφυλάχθηκ· διὸ σε οἱ πιστοὶ ὡκ πάντων βασιλίδα μεγαλοφρόνωκ δοξάζομεν*. 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 extant 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 Graptos, on the basis of codd. *Paris. gr.* 1569 and *Crypt. Δ.α.Χ*, as well as on the style and the technique of the poems (see ZERVOUDAKI, *Θεοφάνηκ*, 327).

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

**8-24.** The troparion is published in the *Menaion* as a *kathisma* after the *Polyelaios* (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 (*ὕπαινιγμός*) 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 *ὑπαινιγμός* in Byzantine hymnography, see KORAKIDIS, *Ἑμνογραφία* 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, *Πατρολογία II*, 107, 110-113; QUASTEN, *Patrology III*, 302-306.

#### AKOLOUTHIA ON ST HILARION OF DALMATOU (TEXT 5)

**298-517.** A. Zervoudaki included this *kanon* on St Hilarion among the works possibly attributed to Theophanes Graptos, on the basis that it reflects the characteristics of Theophanes' poetry and that there is another *kanon* with the same incipit (*Ἐν φωτὶ ἀύλω καὶ νοητῷ*) 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 *ἀθεΐα* and *πολυθεΐα* 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 *topoi*.

**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).

**291-293, 296-298, 345.** Attic syntax; it is also used in Texts 11.229, 21.96-97, 25.383, 26.25-26.

**329-333.** The stanza is based on an *antithesis* between the old age of the saint and his young soul. On the use of *ἀντίθεσις* (*contrapositio*) in Byzantine hymnography, see KORAKIDIS, *Υμνογραφία* I, 204-205.

**340-344.** *ἀπέφραξας - εἶ*: 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<sup>2</sup>, pp. 207-218.

**324-325.** *μεγίστους ἀγῶνας διητύσατε*: There is only one text containing information on the martyrdom of the saints and that is in the printed *Menaia*. According to that, the martyrs «ἀναγκασθέντες ἀρνήσασθαι τὸν Χριστόν, καὶ μὴ πεισθέντες, ξέονται ὄνυξι σιδηροῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ ξύλοις ὀρθοῖς μετεωρίζονται, καὶ κατακενῶνται σιδήροις, καὶ πυρὶ καταφλέγονται· καὶ κατενεχθέντες, ἐπ' ἀνθράκων πυρὸς ἐφαπλοῦνται, καὶ ῥάβδοις ἄνωθεν τύπτονται· καὶ ὀξάλμη ταῖς πληγαῖς ἐπιχυθέντες, ὀστράκοις ὀξέσι συντριβόνται, καὶ λίθοις τὰ στόματα καὶ τὰς ὀψεις συνθλώνται, καὶ τὰς



γλώσσας μαχαίρα ἐκτέμνονται, καὶ τέλος τὸν διὰ ξίφους δέχονται θάνατον» (MV X, 27). 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 Maximus are very characteristic: «Μάξιμος ἡγεμῶν εἶπεν· Ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἐναντιῶσθε, οὐ δὲ γάρ εἰμι ἐγὼ ὁ διώκων ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ Βασιλέως, ὥστε ἀθῶός εἰμι καὶ καθαρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος ἡμῶν· εἰ δὲ οἴδατε ὅτι καλῶς ἀπέρχεσθε, συγχαίρω ὑμῖν, πληροῦσθω ὑμῶν ἢ ἐπιθυμία. Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν, ἀπεφῆνατο αὐτοὺς ἀναιρεθῆναι. Οἱ δὲ ἄγιοι τοῦ Θεοῦ Μάρτυρες, ὡς διὰ μιᾶς γλώσσης εἶπον· Εἰρήνη σοι, Ἡγεμῶν 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; LATYŠEV II, 29:3-16).

**460-462.** Δόξης-κατεφρονήσατε: 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.** Ἰδεῖν-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*.

#### AKOLOURTHIA ON ST THEODOROS STRATELATES (TEXT 8)

**18-26.** The hymn, transmitted in the manuscript tradition as a *kontakion*, is published in the *Menaion* as *apolytikion*.

**58-61, 71-72.** The hymnographer uses in these passages word plays with the name of the saint (see KORAKIDIS, *Ἑμνογραφία* I, 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: στιχηρὰ ἦχος δ΄. ὁ κανὼν ἦχος πλάγιος δ΄ Ἰωσήφ· κάθισμα ἦχος 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, *Ἰωσήφ*, 168, has noted that in both *Menaia* a stanza of ode 9 beginning with *eta* is missing («ἐν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς μηναίοις ἐλλείπει ἐν τροπάριον τῆς θ΄ Ὠδῆς, ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ 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 EfsrtTam, 50 (1951) 269 (from codd. *Paris. gr.* 1576, f. 32v; *Athous Laur.* Δ10; *Sin. gr.* 620), followed by a third one: Χαίροις ἡ νοητὴ χελιδὼν ἡ τὸ σωτήριον ἔαρ..., which has been omitted or neglected by the copyist of L.

193-204. The incipit of this *sticheron* is published in EfsrtTam, 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 ἡθῶν τῇ λαμπρότητι..., Ἐθνεσί σε κήρυκα χειροτονεῖ καὶ διδάσκαλον... S. Efsratiadis notes that all three *stichera* are copied in cod. *Paris. 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: *Ωιδὴν πλέκω σοι, 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. ZERVOUDAKI, *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 θεϊαν ἐμφέρειαν ... ἀρετῶν ἐν χρώμασι ... ἐζωγράφησας*: 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 *ἐμφέρεια* (likeness) in combination with the words *χρώμασι* and *ἐζωγράφησας* is clearly used for *εἰκῶν*. The word *ἐμφέρεια* 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, *Υμνογραφία* I, 184-185.

#### AKOLOUTHIA ON ST ONOUPHRIOS (TEXT 12)

**55-66.** The incipit of this *sticheron* is published in EfsrtTam, 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 ἀύλαις τοῦ Θεοῦ...*, *Πάτερ θεόφρον Ὀνούφριε, ταῖς θεωρίαις ἀεὶ...* 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 πιστῶς*. 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 ἰαμάτων ἀπαστρέπτεις τοῖς πίστει τῇ σκέπη σου προστρέχουσιν ἀεὶ). 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: Ἰατρῆιον παθῶν ἀναδέδεικται, ἡ σορὸς τῶν ἀγίων λειψάνων σου, ἦν περ κυκλοῦντες μέλπομεν, ἱερώτατε Τύχων· Πάντα τὰ ἔργα, εὐλογεῖτε ὑμνεῖτε 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: Ἡ Κύπρος τὸ σῶμά σου σοφὲ τὸ ἅγιον, ἰαμάτων κρήνην 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 PAGCHARIOS (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 προσιόντων ἐν τῷ σεπτῷ σου ναῷ).

584. The use of the verb πληρῶ and its derivatives, usually linked to the noun ῥῆ, 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.* Γ28, f. 167r), followed by two more not included in L: Οἱ πρώην μάγοι τῷ Χριστῷ σαρκὶ ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου..., and Ὑπὸ δεινότητος πολλῆς καὶ ζήλου καὶ πικρίας. All three of them are copied only in cod. *Athous Laur.* Γ28, 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 (*Αἵμασιν ὑμῶν μακάριοι μαρτυρικοῖς ἑαυτοῖς...*) 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 *Κύριε 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*.

AKOLOURTHIA ON ST HYPATIOS, ABBOT OF ROUPHINIANAI (TEXT 17)

**12-16.** St Hypatios was buried in the monastery of Roushinianai as his *Vita* tradits: *Συνελθόντες δὲ ἐπίσκοποι πλεῖστοι, καὶ πάντες οἱ φιλοῦντες αὐτὸν διὰ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐνάρετον, ὥστε ἐκ τούτου γενέσθαι πλῆθος πολὺ λαοῦ φιλοχρίστου, καὶ ἐκ παντὸς μοναστηρίου, καὶ πάντες κηροῦς ἄψαντες ἐν ψαλμοῖς ἐν ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις ἐκήδευσαν αὐτὸν ὀσίως. ... Τὸ οὖν ἅγιον αὐτοῦ λείψανον κατέθεντο ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐν τῷ σεπτῷ εὐκτηρίῳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μοναστηρίου ἐν σόρῳ (σωρῶ in AASS Iunii III, 347B). The saint's grave is not presented as a place of 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 *Akoimetoι* 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 *Akoimetoι* and Alexander the *Akoimetos* 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 *Akoimetoι*. Alexandros, along with a hundred monks, came from the East and settled in the church of the town near the monastery of Roushinianai. 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 *Akoimetoι* (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,

313C-314A, 315F-316D and 319B, 321A-B, 327A, two in 335A, 341C, 343B-C).

AKOLOURTHIA 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: ...ἔλκεσθαι τὸν Ζώσιμον κρηπίσι τοὺς πόδας ἐμπεπαρμένον ἤλους ὀξεῖς ἐχούσαις ἐκέλευσεν, ἐκεῖσε τοῦτον ἀπειλήσας παραδοῦναι πυρί. γίνεται κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὁ ἄρχων· φυλακῇ τὸν μάρτυρα δίδωσι· τρεῖς ἡμέραι παρηλθον, ἐν αἷς ὁ μάρτυς οὐ μετέσχετο τροφῆς....

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

**2.** The variant reading of H (*περιβαλλόμενοι* instead of the *θωρακισάμενοι* of L and Ia) reveals influence by Theodore Stoudites, who in his *Parva Catechesis* states: «εἴπερ ἐστὲ Χριστοῦ στρατιῶται, περιβαλλόμενοι τὰ ὄπλα τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, στήκετε ἐδραῖοι καὶ ἀμετακίνητοι» (E. AUVRAY, *Theodori Studitis Parva Catechesis*, Paris 1891, catechesis 127).

**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

ειδώλων πλάνης».

**165-179.** 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.* Γ28, *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 *stichera*), 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 γνώμη..., and Σῶμα θνητὸν περιβεβλημένος ὡς ἀσώματος ὄφθης...

**94-105.** The hymn, originally a *sticheron*, is transmitted in Ia as a *doxastikon* sung at *Stichos* of *Orthros*, after the *stichera* of *Oktoechos*.

**95-96:** οὐκ ἐγνώθη σου τὰ ἴχνη: Attic syntax, not used in the rest of the *akolouthia*, as no other word in neuter plural appears as a subject. Attic syntax is also used in Texts 6.291-293, 6.296-298, 6.345, 11.229, 25.383, 26.25-26.

**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 Graptos, 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 *Ἰουλιανὸν ὕμνοισι μάρτυρα στέφω* does not include the *theotokia*, the initial of which read ΑΔΘΠΟΧΩΩ.

#### AKOLOUTHIA ON THE NATIVITY OF SAINT JOHN THE BAPTIST (TEXT 24)

**1-11.** The hymn, copied in L as *kathisma*, is published in the *Menaion* as *apolytikion*.

**23-36.** The *kathisma* is published in the *Menaion* as *kathisma* sung after the *Polyelaios*.

**98-133.** The hymns, copied in L as *stichera*, are published in the *Menaion* as *stichera* sung at the *Ainoi* of *Orthros*, in the following order: (a) 122-133, (b) 110-121, (c) a stanza not copied in L (*Ὡ τοῦ παραδόξου θαύματος! ὁ προκηρύξας Χριστοῦ...*), and (d) 98-109.

**236-436.** The acrostic of the *kanon* is rare, as it is formed leaving out the *theotokia* and including the *heirmoi*, with the exception of the *heirmos* of ode 5.

**437-910:** The *kanon* copied in L consists of parts of five different *kanons*, published in *AHG X, XVI* (1-5), pp. 178-242; the first four are composed by Andrew of Crete, who is most probably the author of the fifth one as well.

#### AKOLOUTHIA ON THE MARTYR FEVRONIA (TEXT 25)

**28-43.** The incipit of the *oikos* edited here is published in *EfstrTam*, 51 (1952) 34 (from codd. *Paris. gr.* 1569, *Paris. gr.* 1576, *Athous Vatop.* 1041, *Athous Laur.* Γ27, *Athous Laur.* Γ28, and *Athous Laur.* Δ45), followed by two more not copied in L. Their beginnings are: *Ὁ πρὶν τὴν Εὐὰν δολερῶς θανάτῳ ὑποβάλας...*, and *Ὑπὸ τῷ σκάμματι λοιπὸν ἐλθοῦσα ἡ ἁγία...* All three of them are copied in codd. *Athous Vatop.* 1041, *Athous Laur.* Γ27, and *Athous Laur.* Γ28, while *Paris. gr.* 1569, *Paris. gr.* 1576, and *Athous Laur.* Δ45 contain only the *oikos* commented upon here.

**383.** *τεμνέσθω τὰ μέλη μου:* 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; 26.25-26.

#### AKOLOUTHIA ON STS DAVID OF THESSALONIKE AND ST JOHN OF GOTTHIA (TEXT 26)

**12-37.** The comparison of the content of the *kontakion* to that of both the *stichera* and the *kathisma* published in the *Menaion* (vv. 38-73 and MV X, 93) may support the deduction that they were both composed by the same hymnographer; compare vv. 13-14 (*Ἐγγρατεία ἅπαντα τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς χαλινώσας...*) to the first *sticheron* (...δι'



ἐγκρατείας τὸν νοῦν λαμπρυνόμενος ἄριστα...) and the *kathisma* of the *Menaion* (Ἐγκρατεία τὰ πάθη τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς τῆ ψυχῆ ὑποτάξας...), and vv. 16-19 (...ἐν δένδρῳ καλιὰν πήξας, πτέρυγας κεχρυσωμένας, πάτερ, ἐκτίσω...) to the second *sticheron* (...καλιὰν πάτερ ἔπηξας, τῷ κρύει πηγνύμενος, καὶ τῷ θέρει φλεγόμενος, χρυσὰς ἐντεῦθεν ἔλαβες πτέρυγας...) and the *kathisma* of the *Menaion* (καλιὰν δὲ πήξας ὡς ὄρνις εὐκέλαδος...).

A passage of the *oikos* (ὁ τάλας κὰγὼ πεπήραμαι, ῥυσθεὶς 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 χρώς) 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. Papailiopolou-Fotopoulou has noted: «Ἐκ τῶν θεοτοκίων τῶν ῥδῶν ζ'-θ' ἐξάγεται ἀκροστιχὶς ...]ΙΟΥ, ἴσως <ΓΕΩΡΓ>ΙΟΥ, λαμβανομένων ὑπ' ὄψιν ἀφ' ἑνὸς μὲν τοῦ χαρακτηριστικοῦ *incipit* τοῦ κανόνος, ἀφ' ἑτέρου δὲ τοῦ πανηγυρικοῦ ὕφους τοῦ σωζομένου κειμένου» (PAPAILIOPOULOU, *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: *ὡς ἀστήρ πολύφωτος τὴν ἑσπέραν κατηύγασεν* [*SynaxEC* 771; *AASS Iunii V* 177A et *MV X*, 95] and *καταλαβὼν δὲ τὴν Δύσιν, κατεφώτισεν αὐτὴν ταῖς ἀρεταῖς, ὡς ἀστήρ 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: *τῷ 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 δόξαν Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, οἶκον ἱερώτατον, ἐν ᾧ προστρέχοντες, πολυειδῶν καθαίρονται νοσημάτων πιστοὶ Παμμακάριστε* (*MV X*, 98, ode 6, stz. 2); *Σοφία πολλῇ, καὶ στοργῇ πνευματικῇ Πάτερ, κινούμενος, οἶκον ἐδείμω μάκαρ μέγιστον, ἐν ᾧ προσφεύγοντες ὅσιε, ἴασιν κομίζονται πάντες...* (*MV X*, 99, ode 7, stz. 2) and *Σοῦ τὸ περίδοξον Πάτερ, ἰατρεῖον ὃ πόνοις ἐκτήσω, ἐπισκέπτεσθαι ἀεὶ, μὴ διαλίπησ, 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, Κ182, Δ147; *Athous Vatop.* 1041). It is followed by the incipits of two more *oikoi* not copied in L. Their beginnings are: *Ὁ σοφὸς Ἀβραάμ τε καὶ δίκαιος...*, and *Ἵδωρ ζῶν μετασχὼν τοῦ βαπτίσματος...* 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:  $-- \acute{\ } -- \acute{\ } -- / --- \acute{\ } - \acute{\ } --- \acute{\ } - / --- \acute{\ } - - - - \acute{\ } - - - - \acute{\ } - -$ . In the *Heirmologion* published by S. Efstratiadis there is only one *heirmos* composed in the same mode and having the incipit given in L: *Εἰσακήκοα, Κύριε, τὴν ἀκοὴν τῆς σῆς οἰκονομίας καὶ φοβηθεὶς ἐδόξασα τὴν ἀκατάληπτόν σου δύναμιν* (*EE* 190, nr 270). Its metrical pattern is quite different than the one used here:  $-- \acute{\ } -- \acute{\ } -- / --- \acute{\ } - \acute{\ } --- \acute{\ } - / - - \acute{\ } - \acute{\ } - - / --- \acute{\ } - \acute{\ } - \acute{\ } - -$ . 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.** *Ελαίω*: The hymnographer uses here a word play the words *ἔλαιον* and *ἔλεος* (compare also to v. 345: *εὐποιίας τὸν ἔλεον*) (see KORAKIDIS, *Ἑμνογραφία* I, 267-268).

#### AKOLOURTHIA ON ST IOSEPH AND HIS FELLOW MARTYRS (TEXT 28)

**394.** *ἄγιοι*: The two variant readings given in the manuscripts (*ἄγιοι* in H and *ὄσιοι* in L) are of the same metrical quantity. The word *ἄγιοι* is adopted as it is closer to the rest of the text, whereas *ὄσιος* is used in vocatives referring to St Ioseph alone (vv. 339, 367 and 434), while the only vocative that refers to the group of St Ioseph 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 archizing and away from the *Koine*» [N. TOMADAKIS, *Ἡ γλῶσσα Ἰωσήφ τοῦ Ἑμνογράφου*, *EPhSpA* 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.

#### AKOLOURTHIA 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 ψαλμὸς* (published in TRM IV, 13-25; Chr-Par, 131-138; PitraHEG, 169-177).

**287-297.** The *sticheron* is published in the *Menaion* as one of the «*Στιχηρὰ ἰδιόμελα ... ψαλλόμενα 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.

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GLOSSARY OF LITURGICAL TERMS

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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*).

**Ainoi:** 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 *exaposteilarion*.

**Alleluia:** A form of responsorial singing consisting of psalm-verses followed by the word Alleluia. It was sung only in panegyric 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».

**exaposteilarion** (pl. *exaposteilaria*): A short hymn sung at *Orthros*, after the *kanon* and before the *Ainoi*. *Exaposteilaria* 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 often 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*.

**Κύριε Ἐκέκραξα**: Psalms 140, 141, 129 and 116, sung at the beginning of *Hesperinos*.

**makarismoï**: 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 divided 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-verses 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.

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*Ἀκολουθία ἡ θεία ἱερά καὶ μαρτυρικὴ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ πανενδόξων τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγίστων ἀθλοφόρων τε καὶ ἀνταδέλφων Μανουήλ, Σαβὲλ, καὶ Ἰσμαήλ ἀθλησάντων ἐν Ἑτει Σωτηρίῳ ΤΕΒ· ἀναγινωσκομένη κατὰ τὴν ΙΖ΄ τοῦ Ἰουνίου. Ἦτις πρῶτον μὲν ἐρανισθεῖσα τε καὶ φιλοπονηθεῖσα παρὰ Μανουήλ Μάνου τοῦ Βυζαντίου καὶ ἐπιδιορθωθεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ Πανοσιοσοφολογιωτάτου διδασκάλου καὶ ἱεροκήρυκος τῆς Ἁγίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας κυρίου Δωροθέου Βουλησμᾶ, εἰς φῶς ἤχθη διὰ δαπάνης τοῦ ἐν μακαρία τῇ λήξει Εὐγενεστάτου Ἄρχοντος Πολκοβνίκου καὶ Καβαλλιέρη κυρίου Μανουήλ Μπάλσα. Νῦν δὲ αὐξηθεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ποιητοῦ χάριν εὐλαβείας τῇ προσθήκῃ τῶν τε ἐγκωμίων τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῶν ἁγίων ἐπιταφίου, εὐλογηταρίων, καὶ κδ΄ οἰκων, μετὰ τινων τροπαρίων ψαλλομένων ἐν τῇ ἀγρυπνίᾳ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐτησίου πανηγύρεως· ἔτι δὲ σὺν τέτταρσιν εὐχαῖς, μεγαλυναρίοις τισι, τυπικοῖς ἕξ, καὶ τοῖς δυσὶ σπανιωτάτοις πασχαλίοις, μετὰ καὶ τινων ἄλλων, ὡς ὀράται, ἅπερ ἅπαντα ἐθεωρήθησαν παρὰ τοῦ*



πανιερωτάτου ἐν Ἀρχιερεῦσιν Ἁγίου Συνάδων κυρίου κυρίου Νικοδήμου, καὶ τελευταῖον καλλωπισθεῖσα ταῖς τῶν χαριτοβρύτων εἰκόνων τέτταρσι χαλκογραφίαις τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ ὡς οἶόν τ' εἰς τὸ ἐντελές ἀχθεῖσα. Ἦδη δεύτερον σὺν Θεῷ ἁγίῳ τύποις καθαρωτέροις καὶ ἐρυθροῖς χαρακτηῖσιν ἐκδίδονται σπουδῇ μὲν καὶ ἀναλώμασι τοῦ ταπεινοῦ ποιητοῦ, ὅπως διανέμῃται δωρεὰν τοῖς τε θείοις ναοῖς τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, καὶ τοῖς φιλομάρτυσι χριστιανοῖς, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τοῖς ὁμωνύμοις τοῖς ἁγίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν πολλῶν αὐτοῦ πλημμελημάτων ἀφέσεως, καὶ τῆς μετὰ δικαίων τῶν ψυχῶν τῶν γονέων αὐτοῦ Σκαρλάτου καὶ Αἰκατερίνης αἰωνίου ἀναπάνσεως. Ἐπιμελεία δὲ καὶ ἐπιστάσια τοῦ πανοσιωτάτου ἐν Ἱερομονάχοις ἁγίου Ἀρχιμανδρίτου κυρίου κυρίου Καλλινίκου τοῦ ἐκ Θεσσαλονίκης, Leipzig 1815.

Ἀκολουθία τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἐνδόξων μεγάλων μαρτύρων Μανουήλ, Σαβὲλ καὶ Ἰσμαήλ ψαλλομένη κατὰ τὴν ιζ' τοῦ Ἰουνίου, ἐρανισθεῖσα μὲν φιλοπόνως παρὰ Μανουήλ Μάνου τοῦ Βυζαντίου χάριν εὐλαβείας· ἐπιμελῶς δὲ διορθωθεῖσα παρὰ τινῶν εὐλαβῶν καὶ τὰ θεῖα μεμνημένων ἀνδρῶν, καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἐπιθεωρηθεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ Πανοσιωτάτου καὶ σοφολογιωτάτου διδασκάλου καὶ ἱεροκέρυκος τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας κυρίου Δωροθέου Βουλησιμᾶ. Καὶ νῦν πρῶτον τύποις ἐκδοθεῖσα διὰ δαπάνης μὲν τοῦ Πανευγενεστάτου κυρίου Μανουήλ Μπάλσα ἐπιμελείας δὲ καὶ ἐπιστάσιας τοῦ ἀρχιμανδρίτου Ἀνθίμου Γαζῆ, Vienna 1803.

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#### D. DATABASES

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ἰασαίται πάθῃ τῆσ' ἁμαρτίας· παρ' ἑθνομάτορ καρδίας  
καὶ ἀφ' ἑσμή· αἰτήσασθε θῆλ' αἶμοι· ἁμαρτιῶν ὧν  
πῦρ ἀφ' ἑσμῶσ' ἔσθ' ἄσπασ· ὅπως σὲ δοξάσω· ταῖς  
σταῖς πρὸς μείωσ' σου θόρυβοι·

ὦ ἦ ὁ μένος εἰς τὴν  
λαμπρὰν ἀστροφ  
μηντι· ταῖς φωταῖς  
φωτὶ θωκοσμουτ  
σου· τὴν φασφ' ὄρον·  
δοξαζομένη·

λοιμὸν ἐν λαοθόδραμῃ·  
μενος· πολυθθίασκό  
θεῖο καταπραπόμενος· τὸν θῆλ' ἁμαρτίας  
καὶ ὡσ' ἡλιος· ἐν ἀθρήσασ' ἁμαρτίας  
τοῖς ἀστροῖσι·

ἰσχόμου καὶ ἡμῶσ' ἡσ· τυπόμενος ἐκράϊναζο·  
καὶ ἐκ τῶσ' ἁμαρτίας τῶν ἁμαρτίας· αἰτοῦ τῶ  
πόθω τυχῆσ' ἡσθῆσ'· τοῖς αἰτοῦ παθῆσ'·  
σμεροφούμαι χαρὶ τῆσ' αἰτοῦ γὰρ ἐκείδω  
ἄσκησ' τῆσ' ἁμαρτίας τῆσ' τυχῆσ'· τῶσ' ἁμαρτίας·  
μενος αἰδομένη· χαρὶ μὲν ἡσθῆσ' ἁμαρτίας·  
πῆλ' ἡσθῆσ'· καὶ παθῆσ' τῶσ' ἁμαρτίας· καὶ κου  
φίθῆσ' ἡσθῆσ'· ἀληθῆσ' πομπῆσ'· τῶσ' ἁμαρτίας  
προσῆσ' τῶσ' ἁμαρτίας· πάντοσ'·

ἡσθῆσ'· περιρέφωσ' τῶσ' ἁμαρτίας· αἰδομένησ' πα  
λαιότερον· κωφορεῖσ' ἡσθῆσ' ἁμαρτίας·  
παλαιότερον τῶσ' ἁμαρτίας· παρῆσ' ἁμαρτίας  
ἁμαρτίας· ὅσ' ἁμαρτίας ἁμαρτίας· ἁμαρτίας·  
αἰδομένησ' ἁμαρτίας· ὦ ἦ ὁ μένος· τῆσ' ἁμαρτίας·  
ἡσθῆσ'· παρῆσ' ἁμαρτίας· τῆσ' ἁμαρτίας·  
ἡσθῆσ'· τῶσ' ἁμαρτίας· ἡσθῆσ'·

Plate 2  
Codex Lesb. Leimonos 11, f. 12r  
Courtesy: The Holy Leimonos Monastery



ἡμεῖς τὸν ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐκείνου ἵνα  
ἡμεῖς τὸν ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐκείνου ἵνα

ἄπο φρονῶσι  
Ὁ παῖς καὶ ἀγαπῶν ἡμᾶς ἁγίου πνεύματος· παρμε  
ἔδωκε καὶ τὸν ἁγίου πνεύματος· καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸν ἁγίου πνεύματος τὰ  
ῥήματα· ὡς ἡμεῖς τὸν ἁγίου πνεύματος· καὶ ἀπομνήσθημι·  
πάντες τοὺς ἁγίου πνεύματος· ἀποχαρίτωτέ·

ΜΗΝΙ ΤΩΙΣ ΤΩ ΕΙ· ΤΟΥ ΔΕΙΟΥ ΠΡΕΣ ΜΩΝ ΕΝΣΤΑΒΙΣ  
ΕΠΙΣΤΗ· ΑΝ ΠΙΟΧΕΙΑΣ· ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΙΟΥ ΙΛΑΡΙΩΜΟΣ ΤΗΣ  
ΔΑΛΜΑ· ΚΑ· Η· Ε· ΠΕ· ΤΗΝ ὠραιότητα τῆς·

Πρό μού σου πρὶ καὶ πρὶ λόγου κήρυξασ πέρ δατώ  
θις· καὶ τὸν παρὰ φρονῶσι ἀβρῶσι· μὲν τὰς τῶν  
δογματῶν σου· ἀρείον ἀπέπληξασ· ἡμεῖς φημι ὡς τὰ  
ἀφῶσι τὰ· ὁ φθῶσι ἡμᾶς· τοῖς χοροῖς ἁγίου  
μερῶν· τῶν φθῶσι καὶ σοφῶν ἀκηγῶν· πρῶν με  
φθῶν ἡμῶν· μνησθητέ· ἀλλή· ἡ· ε· πρὶ τὰν προκατὰ·

Ιλαρίωμος

Θ ὡς καθιέρωσασ· τὴν σὴν παμμακάριον· ἡμῶν· ἡμῶν  
μερῶν ἀρίστο· ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἀληθῶν· χυῖν ἡμῶν ταπ·  
ὁ φθῶν ἡμῶν· τοῖς ἡμῶν καὶ πόμοις· χαί  
ρομαι εἰς τὰς αἰῶνας· ἡμῶν ἡμῶν σκηρῶσι· καὶ ἡμῶν  
ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν· ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν·  
τὸ κοῦν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν· ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν·

Ὁ μότμον πρὶ· λογιστῶν τὸν λόγον· πρῶν φημι  
γῆς· κορυφαῖος ἐγένον· καὶ ἀρείον ἐβύθησας· ἀλη  
θῶς τὸν φρενοληπτον· καὶ ἐφώτισας· τῶν ἐνσε  
βῶν διανοίας· ὁ φθῶν σήμερον· χαρμονικῶς σε τιμῶ  
μεν· ἐνστάβιε πάνσοφε· ὁ οἶκος·

Πρό μού σου φάτισον κέ· καὶ τὰ ὅμματα τῆς καρ  
διάς μου ἀνοίξον· πρὸς τὸ ἡμῶν τὸν πῦρ σου φρον  
μῶν σου ἱεράρχην· καὶ τοῖς τρῶσι· ἡμῶν ἡμῶν· ἡμῶν  
ἡμῶν ἐκλαμῶν τὰ· ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν·

Plate 3

Codex Lesb. Leimonos 11, f. 19r  
Courtesy: The Holy Leimonos Monastery



πάντων στίων· ἀξιόχρηστον ἀγαθόν·  
 μενή τῷ ἀντὶ τῷ Σ· τοῦ ἁγίου ἱεροῦ λαῶν θεοῦ ἐπι  
 κτύρου· καὶ ἡ χ γ π̄ θείας πίστεως ἰσομοῦ·  
**Θ** ἴσοις δόγμασι καὶ ἐκμάτωσιν· δαδρον ἁγιορσαυτὸν  
 προσήξασι· τῶ ἰάθην ἀπομασι λεί· βυαθλίσι  
 δωρό· φέβ· λαίλατοι· κείσιν ἁγ· ἀφραμόμεροσ·  
 τῶν παρωτο τὸ καμ τῶν ἀνω μητρόπολι· πέρ  
 ὄσι· χτὶ τὸν θ̄ν ἰκτὰ β· δρ· ἀλλῶ ἡ χ π̄ α·  
 π̄ τὸν σὴν ἁρχον λόγον·  
**Α** ρεῖσ διαμάτωσιν καὶ θεοῖσ δόγμασι· ὑπερβίλι  
 ομᾶθροισ· πέρ δὲ ἡφρατασ· καὶ ἐφώτισασι τὴν  
 γῆν· μακαρ δωρόθεε· ἀποδιώξασι τῶν ἀχλιν·  
 πολυθῆσ καὶ δεινήσ· ἀρέσεωσ διὰ τοῦτο· τὴν  
 μήμηρ σου τῶν ἁγ· πέρ φασ ὡσ ἑτορ τὰ θομβ·  
 τὸ κοῦν ἡ χ γ π̄ ἡ παρνοσσίμερον·  
**Ε** νόσισις λόγιασιν· πέρ ἐκλάμπων· λαῶν ἁγίων  
 σδν τὸν προσήξασι· πρότερον ἐν τῆσ κίσει καλῶσ  
 λήξασι· δέντερον· τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἐφέσ ἀθλῆ  
 σασ· καὶ νομίμωσ ἀπεδέξα· βραβεῖον ἡκίησ πα  
 ρὰ χτὶ τοῦ θ̄ν· ὁ οἶκος·  
**Μ** ἴσων παύλου σοφείωσ τοῦ θεοῦ κήρυκοσ· διὰ τὸ θεῶ  
 οἰτοῦ· λαί τὸν δρόμον τὸν ἀπορομ ποιμάσιν τῶν  
 ποίμηρ· ἴσων ἀσ βίμων· τῆσ ὁρθοδόξου π̄  
 αἰωσ ὄσι· ἴσων μαρδραμόυρασιον· καὶ τῶν τυχῶν  
 συνθήκασ ὄσι· ὑπερ τοῦ μαοῦ κατῶσ ἡτήσασ ἀν  
 τὸν· ταθῆσ βρξύω· διὸ καὶ γάρμασ αἰτοῦ· μαθῆ  
 τῆσ καὶ μεμητήσ· αἰτοῦ πασα ἀλίμωσ λαί τῆσ  
 δρξκσ· ἡ δ· βραβεῖον ἡκίησ παρὰ χτὶ τοῦ θ̄ν·  
 σ π̄ ἡ χ π̄ α π̄ οἱ μαρτυρεῖσ σον κέ ἐπι λ̄·

Plate 4  
 Codex Lesb. Leimonos 11, f. 24r  
 Courtesy: The Holy Leimonos Monastery



Ὠραϊός εἰς· τοῖς παθημασι τοῦ δαυὶ του· σου τὰς  
 παλινπαθίματων· πάντο φεσιμῶν· καὶ καταξίου  
 μένος· αἰτοῦ τῆσ ἀμωροῦ τῆτος· καὶ τῆσ ποθυμῶ  
 ρησ τῆσ πρώτῆτος· Ὡ ἔ σὺ κέ μω φῶς· εἰς ἑ  
 ἀμ τῆσ σαρκίος· τῶν αἱμάτων ἀλάτωσας· δαι  
 μόνι οὐ βυλλῶν· προσομιμεν μολύβρου· ἀλύτῆ  
 τε δόδορ·  
 Ὡ γυώμωσ ἀστωῖσ· ὡ γυώμωσ φρονήματος· ὡ πῖστος  
 φέρωσ τῆσ· τῶσ φου ἀθροφου· διῆσ θυ ἐσάτρη·  
 Η οὐα ἕσωσ τῶσ φῶσ· τῶ θυ ἑλλῶμωσ ἄμωρ· τῶσ προ  
 μαχρῆ τῆσ καλίωσ· ἀσπῆμαῖρωσας ὄφῆ· φέσ φῶρε  
 φέσ δῶρε· Ὡ ἔ φῶσωσ· μετέφωκῆσ·  
 Ε ρῆκασ· προθυμῶσ ἀπόλμωσ τοῖσ καμῶσ· ἀσπῆ  
 σρῶσ πλῶμωσ· καὶ τοῖσ ἕρωσ μαλακῶσ ἑμωσ τῶσ  
 μέμωσ· ἕκωσ τῶσ· τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ  
 Η ομῆμωσ· ἐμωσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ  
 κέ κλῶσ τῶσ· ἀσπῆ φῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ  
 μωσ· πρὸσ ἕθρῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ  
 Θ ωῖσ κῶσ τῶσ καὶ ὄφῆσ καὶ ὄφῆσ μωσ· τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ  
 σῶσ· ἑμωσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ  
 σε αὐτῶσ ἀθροφῶσ φέσ δῶρε·  
 Ὡ ἔ ἑν τῶσ κῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ  
 Ε μ τῶσ κῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ  
 δῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ  
 γῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ  
 Ὡ σ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ  
 κῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ  
 τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ  
 ζῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ  
 Η ὄμωσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ  
 τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ

ἄσπρωσ τῶσ  
 σῶσ ὡσ φῶρε· καὶ  
 μῶσ τῶσ κῶσ τῶσ  
 πῶσ τῶσ κῶσ τῶσ  
 ὄφῆσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ  
 τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ  
 τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ  
 τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ  
 τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ

Ὡ ἔ πλῶσ τῶσ  
 τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ  
 τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ  
 τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ  
 τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ

Ὡ ἔ τῶσ τῶσ  
 ἀσπῆσ τῶσ τῶσ  
 καὶ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ  
 τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ  
 τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ  
 τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ  
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 τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ τῶσ

Plate 5  
 Codex Lesb. Leimonos 11, f. 35r  
 Courtesy: The Holy Leimonos Monastery



72

Ὡς πολυτίμητο σόλιον· ἐν τῇ γῆ κεκρυμμένον· σιμῆσι  
 φαρμακῶν φουβροῖσιν· ἡσφωτισμένη μὲν ἄλλε· ὅπου  
 μόμωσιν οἱ ἀνθρώποι· ἡ φέρουσα· καὶ ἡμῶν ἀνθρώπων· θαυ  
 μαστὴ φουρτουράτε· ἡσφωτισμένη μὲν ἄλλε·  
 Ἐν ἡμέρῳ τῇ πρώτῃ· ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς πόλεως· τῆς μη  
 κη τῆς ἡμέρας σου πλάσσει· ἐν ἀφροσύνην ἡρώουσαι·  
 τοῖς ἀνδρείοις ἁλώσασιν· τὰς ἀγῆστας· τοῖς πόμοισιν  
 σοφῆ· φουρτουράτε μαρτυρῶν· καὶ ἰερέων καὶ ἁγίων·  
 Ἡλιακῶν μαμνῶν δόμασιν· ἀπαρτάει πολυσίωσιν· ἡσφ  
 ωτισμένη ἀνθρώπων· καὶ ἡμῶν ἀνθρώπων· πρ  
 οσιότησιν καὶ πλάσσει· ὁ δὲ ἁγῶν καὶ σομῶν καὶ τυχῶν·  
 φουρτουράτε ἁγῶν· ἁγῶν ἰσοστάσει·  
 φέρουσιν τὸν φέρουσαν πάντων· θεῶν καὶ δωαρεῖαν· καὶ  
 τρέφουσιν ἐκμαζῶν πάντων πρὸς τὸν διὰ τρέφονται  
 πάντων· ἡσφωτισμένη σου τὸ θαῦμα· ἁγῶν καταπλη  
 τῶν καὶ ἡσφωτισμένη· τοῖς ἀείουσιν ἡμῶν τῶν· καὶ πόθω  
 μακαρίων τῶν·  
 μεκνή τῶ ἀν τῶ ἱσ· τοῖς ὁσίου πρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ φαν  
 μαστον τῶν τυχῶν· καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πρὸς πᾶν χαρίων·  
 καὶ ἡσφωτισμένη τῶν προκατάλλεβι·  
 τῶν χεῖρ ἡσφωτισμένη τῶν ἁγῶν τῶν ἁγῶν· παθῶν ἀπὸ  
 κάθηρας· τῶν σὺν τυχῶν ἀληθῶσιν· θεῶν φουρτουράτε  
 ὁ φέρουσιν ἁγῶν· διαμῶν τῶν ἀκτίσιν· χαρίων ἡσφω  
 τῶν· ἀπαρτάεισιν τοῖς ἁγῶν· τῶν σκῶν σου πρὸς  
 χουστῶν· τυχῶν μακαρίων· ἁγῶν τῶν ἁγῶν·  
 ἡσφωτισμένη τῶν κατεπλάσσεισιν·  
 ἡσφωτισμένη τῶν τυχῶν ἀπὸ ἁγῶν· ἀπαρτάεισιν ἁγῶν  
 φουρτουράτε· τῶν χεῖρ ἡσφωτισμένη· ὁ μολογῶν ἁγῶν τῶν  
 ἀγῶν τῶν ἀπὸ τυχῶν μακαρίων τῶν· ὁ φέρουσιν τῶν ἁγῶν  
 σου πρὸς τῶν· μεκνή τῶν ἁγῶν πρὸς τῶν· τῶν

Plate 6  
 Codex Lesb. Leimonos 11, f. 72r  
 Courtesy: The Holy Leimonos Monastery



ρωσῆμ· ἐν καταρύξει τυχῆσκητισάμενος· τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκ·  
 πρὸ γάρμασ· οὐ τὰς μαμωρότητας· καθαρωσέισ δὲ δὲ ζα·  
 καὶ τοῖς υρο τοῖς φῶσ ἀρ αἰθισ δὲν τέρου· μίου σὲ μ ὄτηπ·  
 ὅστε πῆρε ὅσῳ πρ ἀατ· χρόμοις πολλοῖς ὄσι γλῆ· ἀφραμί  
 αικρυπόμβρος· ἐσάμωσθησ τωμ· ἐν σὴ μῆοισ καὶ θαύμα  
 σὴμ· ἀσάδ μύροκαὶ γὰρ ἀνδύμσασ· τὴν ἐνοικοῦσάμ ἐν  
 σὴμ μαμωρότητω· καὶ εἰ ὄ τλτω· καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ σὴμ ὄσ  
 ἀλ η· θῶσ· χαρῆμ τοῖς σὴμ σὴμ σὴμ ὄσ δὲ κρὺ μβρος·  
 ὁ κληῶν φε' ἀκρὸ τῆμ· τῆς εὐσεβείας τὸν φερῶν η  
 μων εἰ βῶ· ἰωσὴφ· ὡ ε' ἡ ἡ π λ· ἡ κεκο με με  
 ηη τῆν ἀπομονέ τε μεν· καὶ ἰδεν ἡ λιοσ τῆν· ἡ ἡ ὄν κε  
 θε δέσπο· ἀλλε τὸρ εἰ χθρον τὸ ὄσ μωρ κ ἀτε ποή τις η·  
 καὶ ἀβ ετον ἀη ἡ λ· θεν ἡ λ· ὡ ἀη δέ εἰνε με λ πε το·  
 τῶ κ ὡ ἀσ μ εν· ἐν ἀλ·  
 ἡ τῶ ἀκρο τῶ τῶ· φῶ τῆ βλ ἀμωόμενος· καὶ ἰε βρ ὄσ μ χο  
 ροῖσ· μακασμ τῶ τῶ μβρος· καὶ τῶ σμαρ τυρικαῖσ·  
 ἀ κ λ ε σ ὄ κ ο σ μ ὄ μ β ρ ο σ· τῶ σ τῶ πει ὄσ τῶ ζ ο ρ τῶ σ  
 τῶ σ ὴ μ· ἀσ τῶ ε με λ α ρ ῖ β· μ η ἡ μ η μ ὡ β ρ ῖ φ ὡ μ α τ τ β·  
 χ ἡ ὄ ε ἰ λ ὄ σ ὄ μ β ρ ο σ·  
 ἡ δὴ τῶ π ὄ φ τῶ· χ ἡ π υ ρ τῶ λ ὄ μ β ρ ο σ· ἀσ ο ρ ὄ τῶ τῶ σ· ὄ ρ  
 κ α κ α θ ὄ σ τῶ ζ α σ· π α μ μ α ἰ κ α ρ τῶ σ τῶ χ ἡ σ· τῶ σ ἰ θ ρ α ἰ σ  
 δ ὡ ἀ μ β ρ ῖ μ· καὶ σ κ ἄ σ ὄ ἰ θ ρ ο μ α σ ὄ δ ὄ χ θ ε ἰ σ· λ α ὄ μ β ρ ὄ σ ὄ τῶ  
 τῶ· ὄ σ ὄ τῶ ε ὄ σ ὄ μ μ α σ· χ ρ ἰ σ θ ὄ σ μ ὡ ρ τῶ χ ε ρ ἰ τῶ σ·  
 Ἐ ποι μ β ρ ὄ ρ χ ἡ μ· τῶ π ρ ὡ ὡ μ β ρ ῖ μ· α ἰ ρ ἡ ὄ ρ μ τῶ μ ἄ  
 χ λ ὡ· λ ὄ γ ὄ σ σ β ρ α σ θ ὄ ρ ο ἰ σ τῶ σ· σ κ ὄ δ ὄ σ ὄ μ τῶ σ ὄ ρ β ὄ· κ ε ἰ  
 π ρ ο φ α μ ὄ σ δ ε ἰ κ ρ ὡ μ τῶ τῶ· τῶ μ τῶ ρ ἰ ο μ τῶ μ ὄ ρ θ ἡ μ τῶ ἰ σ  
 ὄ ρ α ἰ τῶ· ὄ σ ὄ σ ὄ τῶ μ α ἰ μ ο σ ἡ μ· μ ἄ λ τ ε ἀ σ τῶ ε· φ ὡ α η ρ τ  
 ἰ κ α ρ δ ἰ ὡ μ ἡ μ ὄ ρ μ·  
 Ἐ υ λ ο γ ἡ μ ῆ μ ἡ· ὄ μ ἡ κ ἡ σ ὄ σ α σ· τῶ ὡ ἀ μ β ρ ὡ τῶ σ ὄ ρ μ ὡ· ὄ ρ μ  
 τ ε ὄ ρ ἡ μ ο σ ὡ· ἕ π ρ ὄ σ τῶ σ ὄ μ β ρ ὄ σ· ἕ σ ὄ δ ὡ χ ε ἰ ρ ὄ ρ ἡ μ ο σ ὡ

ε φ η  
 j

Plate 7  
 Codex Lesb. Leimonos 11, f. 96r  
 Courtesy: The Holy Leimonos Monastery

54

σε βδζζβμ· βλίσσαι εδία πιάτος·  
**Η** θήσ σου τώ μοί τω η βμ βρ γα φω τι γ με· ρήσφι του  
 τω ρσ· βλίσσαι ε παμμαλιαρι· αε·  
**Ν** βερών ή άμαρ· τία ώς ζωρ τι παρ· αμ βμ ω· κω προ  
 φη· τήσ σε· βλίσσαι ε προσ λβό γατο·  
 ω σ εκ κλωι με άβ τσος·  
**Ε** μ βωρ η σε χί μαρ ρω πο τε· ον κό μμο ρσ· ου πρ δ μαι άβ  
 ριορ· αι θρ ια δε χαρι τος· προ φη τω και λο γος σου·  
 α β μ βρ γα σ του πρ σ τω λ η ρ ου με ρος·  
**Λ** ια δ ο σ· βζ ο λι γο πο τε· προ φη τω· ω σ βω λ η σ α σ  
 α ρ θη μ ο σ β λ α ι ου το γω αι ο ρ· και ρι· θη ο ρ β λ α ι ο ρ· μ η  
 βωι μ ι σ α ι β λ ι σ σ α ι ε ι κ α β·  
**Ι** βρ ω πα το γω αι ο ρ· προ φη τω· τι ω ι α η ρ δ ρ ου με  
 μ ο ρ· β η γ η ρ α ι α η ρ σ τω σ· τήσ λ ι σ τ η μ ω μ ε β τ α ι· δι β λ  
 τ δ η ρ σ· το ά τ β η μ ο ρ και ρ ω ν μ β ρ ο ρ·  
 ω ζ ο εν κ α μ η κ ω πυ ρ ο σ του σ τ μ η κ ο χ·  
**Σ** ο φ ρ ι α σ η ρ ζ· τ ο ρ ο σ β λ ι σ σ α ι ε π η σ θ η σ β ι ω α σ· δ ι ο γ η τ ο ρ  
 ο ι θ ε ο τ ω ρ ρ ο μ η μ ο ρ·  
**Γ** υ α σ ζω η σ λ ε ι τ ο ι ρ ρ σ· τ η κ ι σ τ α σ η α υ θ η σ ζω η τ α ι·  
 τ ο η μ ε λ ρ α θ η ρ τ α ι η· τ ω ρ φ η τ ω β δ η ζ α σ·  
**Α** πο ρ ο υ μ β ρ ο ρ ω πο τε· τ ω ρ η προ φ η τ ω ρ β κ τ ρ β ρ ω μ π α  
 δ α σ· ο λ β ρ ο τ ο λ ο υ μ ο ρ α σ τ β λ ε ι σ α π η μ ο ρ α σ·  
**Ι** β ρ ο η β η τ η χ ο ρ· και α ρ θ η σ η η γ γ α ι σ τ μ β ρ ο ρ β λ ι σ σ α ι ε τ ω  
 θ ω σ α υ τ ο μ α β θ η λ α σ·  
 ω η τ ο η α δ ρ ο ι ε α ι τ α τ η κ η κ α μ η κ ο η·  
**Ο** τ ω π ο ι θ η ρ χ η σ α μ τι τ η μ και θ η ρ σ η ρ προ φ η τ ω τ ω ρ ρ  
 α η μ α τ ι· β ρ β ρ ε ι θ ρ ο ι σ ι ο ρ δ α μ ο ρ ε ι μ α σ· π α ι δ ε σ ε ρ η  
 μ α ι σ η ρ· ι β ρ ζ σ· θ β ο λ ο γ ο ι σ· μ α ο ι· π β ρ ν τ ο ι σ η ρ ε ι σ π α η·  
**Υ** λ η σ β κ κ α θ α ρ α σ τ η μ δ ι α μ ο ι α μ· α λ λ ο ρ τ ο η α λ μ ο ρ· π ο θ η  
 λ η ρ α θ η ρ σ τ β θ η σ α ι· ο θ β ρ σ κ η ρ τ ω μ β ι ω α σ· θ β ο δ ι δ α κ τ β

Plate 8  
 Codex Hierosol. Sab. 70, f. 54r  
 Courtesy: Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem



ματῶν. ἕπει τῆς ἀστυρίας. ὡς κηρῶν. καὶ τοῦ πλάτου  
ἀκριζαπτε. μαρτυρῶ σὺ μὲν. τριάδων ἀχώριτον. —  
σπῆ ἡ χ' α' φ' ἔδωκεσιν μείσωσιν.  
Ἄνδρῶν τοῦ κηρῶν. τοῖς σβρασφόροις διδύμασιν  
ἰθρῶσφωσι. ζόμβροι. ἡ ἀράτατε μαρτυρῶ. τοῦ  
ἡμίον πλάτων. καὶ τοῦ μαθημέριον. τῆς ἀνωσίας  
βυρκεπτι. προσφῶσ βυρθῶν. μίον ἑλκίσαστ. καὶ  
χαίρον τῶ ἡθλίσαστ. καὶ τὸν ἑχθρῶν μαθησῶν  
τῶ. καὶ ἀσφῶν ὡδὸν ἄσπῶ. βκθου ἀμῶμενοι. —  
Ἰμῶσ ὁ θαμάσιος. ριμῶσ ὁ μέγιστος καὶ πᾶσσοφος. ἰς  
πῆμῶσ ὁ παρὰ φημιος. τριάδων ἰσθρῶμαχοι. βλεψῶ  
σίας αἶφοι. πῆρ γιδοστυρίας. λίθοι φαίδροι καὶ δὲ  
αἰγῶσ. ἀμῶσ χθῶν τῶ. ἀθρῶν μαμῶρο τῶσιν. σφ  
ῶμ τῆς ἀμῶσ φθῶσιν. λθραμ πρῶσιν βῶνοι οἰκίτορες.  
ταῖσ αὐτῶν ἡμῶσ κέ. ἰκθῶσι οἰκτεῖρῶσιν. —  
Πόμοισ τῆς ἀθρῶσφωσ. κατὰ μαγῶν τῶ τὸν δόλιον. γῶ  
μαῖ ὁ παρῶσ μαρτυρῶ. θαμάτων μαμῶρο τῶσιν. τοῦ  
ἡμῶσ ἀπῶσφωσ. ἡμῶσ βῶσιν πόμοισ. τῶ μαμῶρο ἀθρῶ  
τῶν ἡμῶσφωσ ἰσθρῶσφωσ ἡμῶσ βῶσιν τῶσιν. ἡμῶσ  
μαμῶρο τῶσιν. ριμῶσ πῆμῶσ ἀθρῶσφωσ. τῶ μαμῶρο  
σῶσιν. πρῶσφωσ τῶν τῶσιν ἡμῶσ. —  
οἰκθῶσιν. τῶσιν ἀθρῶσφωσ μαρτυρῶσφωσ θεῶν λόγι.  
ἡμῶσ ἡ χ' α' φ' χοροῖ ἡλ ἀμῶσφωσ πῶσιν. —  
Πῶσφωσφωσ τῶ μαμῶρο. καὶ βῶσιν οἰκθῶσφωσ  
μαρτυρῶσφωσ τῶσιν τῶσιν τῶσιν. τῶσφωσ τῶσιν μαρ  
τυρῶσφωσ ἡμῶσφωσ. πῶσφωσ τῶσφωσ τῶσφωσ τῶσφωσ  
τῶσφωσ. τῶσφωσ ἡμῶσφωσ τῶσφωσ τῶσφωσ τῶσφωσ.  
Ὁδὸν ἀθρῶσφωσ τῶσφωσ ἀθρῶσφωσ. τῶσφωσ οἰκθῶσφωσ  
ροῖσφωσφωσ. βῶσφωσ φῶσφωσ τῶσφωσ. ταῖσ τῶσφωσ  
λῶσφωσφωσ ἀθρῶσφωσ. καὶ κῶσφωσ τῶσφωσ τῶσφωσ.

Plate 9  
Codex Hierosol. Sab. 70, f. 84r  
Courtesy: Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem

φρηνάματι· τούτο μυστήριον παλαιόν· οἱ μακάριοι φρονέ-  
χαιροῦσαι υφ' αἰθέρα κ' ἑνὴν κληθὲν ἀμβροσίαν·

ὡς φάσκει ἀμβροσίαν φάσκει ἅπαντες· τὸ μυστήριον· ἵεροσολοῦσι  
ὡς φάσκει ἅπαντες· ἅπαντες τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι· ἅπαντες τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι·  
καὶ τὸ πολυθῆλον· σκότος δὲ σκοτεινόν· καὶ τὸ διαφανέ-  
αυτῶν πνεύματι· καὶ ταυταμνησθέντες·

ὡς φάσκει ἀμβροσίαν φάσκει ἅπαντες· ἅπαντες τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι  
τοῖσδε ἀμβροσίαν φάσκει ἅπαντες· ἅπαντες τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι·  
μαρτυρία μάρτυρων· ἵεροσολοῦσι φάσκει ἅπαντες· ἅπαντες τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι·  
ἵεροσολοῦσι φάσκει ἅπαντες· ἅπαντες τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι·

Ἡμεῖς ἀγαπᾶμεν τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν· πατέρα καὶ υἱόν· μαρτυροῦμεν  
ὅτι ἅπαντες φάσκει ἅπαντες· τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι φάσκει ἅπαντες· ἅπαντες τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι·  
ὅπως ταυταμνησθέντες· ἅπαντες τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι φάσκει ἅπαντες· ἅπαντες τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι·  
τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι φάσκει ἅπαντες· ἅπαντες τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι φάσκει ἅπαντες·

Φωτὴν ἡμεῖς ἀγαπᾶμεν· ἅπαντες τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι φάσκει ἅπαντες· ἅπαντες τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι·  
ὡς φάσκει ἅπαντες· ἅπαντες τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι φάσκει ἅπαντες· ἅπαντες τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι·  
καὶ τὸ πολυθῆλον· σκότος δὲ σκοτεινόν· καὶ τὸ διαφανέ-  
αυτῶν πνεύματι· καὶ ταυταμνησθέντες·

✠ καὶ τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι φάσκει ἅπαντες· ἅπαντες τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι φάσκει ἅπαντες· ἅπαντες τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι·  
καὶ τὸ πολυθῆλον· σκότος δὲ σκοτεινόν· καὶ τὸ διαφανέ-  
αυτῶν πνεύματι· καὶ ταυταμνησθέντες·

Ὑδῶν πνεύματι· τὸ μακάριον τέλος· ἀμβροσίαν φάσκει ἅπαντες· ἅπαντες τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι φάσκει ἅπαντες· ἅπαντες τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι·  
φάσκει ἅπαντες· ἅπαντες τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι φάσκει ἅπαντες· ἅπαντες τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι φάσκει ἅπαντες· ἅπαντες τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι·  
καὶ τὸ πολυθῆλον· σκότος δὲ σκοτεινόν· καὶ τὸ διαφανέ-  
αυτῶν πνεύματι· καὶ ταυταμνησθέντες·

Φωτὴν ἡμεῖς ἀγαπᾶμεν· ἅπαντες τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι φάσκει ἅπαντες· ἅπαντες τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι φάσκει ἅπαντες· ἅπαντες τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι·  
μοῦ ταυταμνησθέντες· ἅπαντες τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι φάσκει ἅπαντες· ἅπαντες τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι φάσκει ἅπαντες· ἅπαντες τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι·  
ἀμβροσίαν φάσκει ἅπαντες· ἅπαντες τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι φάσκει ἅπαντες· ἅπαντες τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι φάσκει ἅπαντες· ἅπαντες τὸ ἱεροσολοῦσι·

Plate 10  
Codex Hierosol. Sab. 70, f. 88v  
Courtesy: Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem